

Emre Busse

Ethnicity as Desire

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Edited by

Kathrin Dreckmann, Bettina Papenburg and Jami Weinstein

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Emre Busse

Ethnicity as Desire

Post-Colonial Gay Pornographic Film in Europe

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements — VII

1 Introduction — 1

- 1.1 Orientalism and Gay Pornographic Film — 1
- 1.2 To Gaze and To Desire: Issues of Ethnicity and Gay Pornography — 4
- 1.3 Critical Review of Existing Literature — 14
- 1.4 Methodological Statement — 21
- 1.5 Chapter Outline — 25

2 Between the Hammams of Maghreb and the Basements of Paris: French Productions — 28

- 2.1 Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire (FHAR) and Maghrebi Men — 30
- 2.2 *Good Hot Stuff* and the United States impact — 33
- 2.3 Jean-Daniel Cadinot — 35
- 2.4 Cadinot's Wave in France and the United States — 40
- 2.5 Jean-Noël René Clair and the Politicization of Hardcore Pornography — 45
- 2.6 Banlieues: Poor but Sexy! — 52
- 2.7 Citébeur: Contemporary French-Maghrebi Gay Pornography from Paris — 57
- 2.8 The Citébeur Wave and the 'Dangerous Maghrebi' Fashion — 60

3 *Men of Turkey*: German Productions between Turkey and Germany — 64

- 3.1 Zip Production – *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* — 67
- 3.2 Trimax Films – Istanbul Boys — 68
- 3.3 Re-Orientalizing the Sexual Desire towards Men of Turkey — 70
- 3.4 The soundtrack of Zip Production and Trimax Films — 85
- 3.5 Acting and Porn Stardom in the movies of Zip Production and Trimax Films — 86
- 3.6 Media Coverage of Zip Production and Trimax Films in Germany — 88
- 3.7 The Distribution of Pornographic Media in Turkey and Technological Developments — 92
- 3.8 Ethnic Pornographic Productions in Germany: Street Boys and GayHeim — 94

4 A Glory Hole to the Iron Curtain: Eastern European Male Identity and Gay Pornography — 102

- 4.1 *Young Russian Innocents*: Swedish Potro Videos — 109

4.2	JNRC Films and the French Productions of Eastern European Gay Pornography —	115
4.3	<i>Men of Balkans</i> : The Balkan Men Trend in Gay Pornography —	117
4.4	BUM Videos: <i>Yugo Power</i> and the Comeback of Zip Production —	120
4.5	BigStr Network and the Czech Porn Bloom —	121
4.6	Big Swing: BelAmi Online —	126
4.7	Markku Heikkinen and <i>All Boys</i> of the Czech Republic —	131
4.8	Russian Tourists in Prague —	133

Conclusions —	136
----------------------	------------

Bibliography —	144
-----------------------	------------

Filmography —	151
----------------------	------------

Appendix-I —	154
---------------------	------------

Appendix-II —	157
----------------------	------------

List of Images —	229
-------------------------	------------

Index —	234
----------------	------------

Acknowledgements

After watching the Zip Production's *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* series, as a young gay man from Turkey, I was very impressed. Not realizing what these films carry within, I was excited to see someone who looked like me physically, someone who excited me, and helped me to navigate my queer desire. Those were the first movies that came up on my computer screen when I searched 'Turkish gay' in the search bar of the porn tubes that I was checking. Years later, I watched the series and prepared a presentation as part of the side event I co-curated in Schwules Museum Berlin in May 2017, which led me to meet with one of the producers and directors of Zip Production, Ben Tamam. After my presentation, Tamam handed me over the entire archive of Zip Production with complete trust, asking me if I was interested in doing an exhibition at the Schwules Museum Berlin. A few months later, after receiving the archive and letting it sit in my room for a bit, I decided to turn this knowledge into academic research and consequently into a book, and ask the questions that were with me throughout the entire time regarding my position on these films.

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I dedicate this book to her.

1 Introduction

Pornography is a highly expedient, effective as well as affecting, cultural genre to consider the phenomena of post-national identities in Europe today. Its position outside the high art and culture (with its often-colonial implications) or mainstream media makes pornography more accessible to marginalized and underrepresented groups, both as producers and consumers. Yet, porn's critical potential remains largely underestimated. What further sets pornography apart from other genres of representation is its almost visceral appeal to the spectator's body as it elicits immediate somatic responses. In "Body Genres," Linda Williams evaluates pornography along with horror and melodrama, because what these three genres have in common, according to Williams, is the immediate excess they elicit in their audiences.¹ Like horror, pornography is not recognized by our intellect alone but perceived – at least partly – through bodily or emotional responses. Pornographic images are therefore not only a visual representation of sexuality, but are effectively part of the sexual activity itself. Ironically, although pornography is ever more accessible and omnipresent in our digital day and age, the stigma over its immorality and harmful societal effects persists since the earliest days of pornographic productions – and across various political affiliations or ideologies as well. Because of its long and continuous history, and despite it not being generally considered a respectable field of study, pornography has a vital role in generating an archive of both a nation's shifting cultural environments and the operations of coloniality, gender, and sexuality within them.

1.1 Orientalism and Gay Pornographic Film

This triangulation between coloniality, gender, and sexuality was vital to the exhibition "The soft g-queer forms migrate," which I had co-curated for Schwules Museum, Berlin, in 2017.² As a side event of the exhibition on May 14, 2017, I presented German-Turkish gay porn films produced in Turkey to explicate certain power relations that form through desire between the two countries and are historically connected based on labor migration. A week later, the director of Zip Production, Ben Tamam, who visited me at the museum after my presentation, invited me to visit his archive, which was filled with physical materials, including VHS tapes, photographs, media coverage, letters from the audience, promotional materials, and a soundtrack cassette. While studying the archival material, I wondered how this archive can contribute to the discourse of ethnic representation in gay pornography and to the prior academic litera-

1 Williams, Linda. "Film Bodies: Gender, Genre, and Excess." *Film quarterly* 44, no. 4, 1991, 2 and 3.

2 See: <https://www.schwulesmuseum.de/ausstellung/g-queere-formen-migrieren/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

ture that has largely focused on the examples from the U.S. and France. I decided to trace similarities and differences between the material in the archive and those productions from France and the United States and analyze what has been missing in the literature to expand the current discourse based on the physical archival legacy in my possession.

One of the merits of this study is that it focuses on the studio tradition of pornographic film production, which presents the audience with audiovisual signature style and directorial positions and production statuses rather than self-distributed/subscription-based web pornography, which mostly lacks corresponding production conditions. Studio tradition in gay pornography introduces the status of the directors/producers more elaborately compared to the self-distributed ones. Self-produced/distributed pornography often doesn't require a production team since most of these films are produced with a smartphone and a tripod. By discussing studio tradition in gay pornography, this book also allows for a future discussion of the production status of pornographic films throughout the progress of digital technology.

During the review process of the archival material, I realized that these films provide knowledge on sex, which is hard to access in mainstream culture because of prevailing censorship and cultural elitism. While discussions around Orientalism and colonialism do include considerations about sexualities, these discussions often ignore talking about sex. Stuart Hall characterizes Orientalism as the cognitive disposition to perceive the Orient as a complementary entity to the Occident, as termed by him "The West and the rest." This perspective envisions the Orient as static, lacking historical development, and serving as a canvas onto which Western fantasies of an idealized 'Other' are projected.³ The concept of 'Orientalist' was first articulated by Edward Said, who defines it as:

Anyone who teaches, writes about, or researches the Orient – and this applies whether the person is an anthropologist, sociologist, historian, or philologist – either in its specific or its general aspects, is an Orientalist, and what he or she does is Orientalism.⁴

The work of Said, though, especially his book *Orientalism*, deals with sexuality, has been criticized for its reproduction of the binary opposition of East and West. José Esteban Muñoz, for example, warns of "the totalizing implications of Said's theory."⁵ However, Said and his contemporaries did not analyze pornography, although it is one of the most available – and I would say obvious – pieces of content to depict sexuality in colonial and post-colonial settings. A significant portion of literary texts concerned

³ Hall, Stuart A. *The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power*. In *Essential Essays, Volume 2: Identity and Diaspora*, edited by David Morley, Durham: Duke University Press, 1992, 205.

⁴ Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Random House, 1979, 2.

⁵ Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Cultural Studies of the Americas. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, 89.

with Orientalism that followed Said's work failed to examine the products of gay pornography, especially the persistent use of ethnic actors and themes in the market of commercial pornography in Europe, which points to the interaction of broader issues of 'racial' difference and racialization within the intimate social spaces of sexuality.

As a relatively common phenomenon in European representations of gay sexuality, ethnic pornography has been a growing trend in the porn film industry over the past 40 years. When talking about gay ethnic pornography, this follows the minimal characterization by Maxime Cervulle and Nick Rees-Roberts, who described it as a "term widely used in French gay sexual culture to designate the particular genre of porn involving non-white men."⁶ Prior to their co-authored monograph *Homo Exoticus: Race, Classe et Critique Queer* (2010), Cervulle presented a paper on French gay ethnic pornography with an emphasis on the intersections of 'race,' class, and sexuality at the 2006 *Post Porn Politics* symposium, which had been organized by the late Tim Stüttgen at Volksbühne theater in Berlin.⁷ Consequently, scholars such as Royce Mahawatte, Joseph Allen Boone, Tan Hoang Nguyen, and Evangelos Tziallas have since studied the various representations of ethnicity based on gay pornographic cinema in the U.S.-American and European (but mainly French) contexts. The initial concentration of European gay ethnic pornography production in France has shifted in recent years, as the French industry has since inspired other filmmakers and producers based in Germany, Sweden, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary. However, the critical evaluation of these productions outside of France remains sparse, especially considering the ever-evolving history and popularity of gay ethnic pornography throughout Europe.

While ethnic pornography serves as a focal point, it is not merely an isolated subject of inquiry. Rather, it functions as a portal through which to interrogate broader cultural and historical dynamics. By probing pornography's cultural significance within the context of colonialism, this work endeavors to unveil the complex interplay of power, representation, and identity. Hence, while pornography serves as a central example its analysis is intrinsically linked to broader discussions surrounding colonial legacies and their enduring impact on contemporary society.

Furthermore, the relationship between gay ethnic pornography and Orientalism, which is, in my opinion, not limited to the East, remains under examined. Following the release of Said's previously mentioned book, the term 'Orientalism' refers to the predominately Eurocentric view of the Orient and its orchestration in producing

⁶ Cervulle, Maxime, and Nick Rees-Roberts. *Homo Exoticus: Race, Classe Et Critique Queer*. MéDiAcultures. Paris: Armand Colin: INA éditions, 2010, 60 and 61.

⁷ Cervulle, Maxime. "Erotic/Exotic. Race and Class in French Gay 'Ethnic' Pornography". In *Post/Porn/Politics: Symposium/Reader: Queer-Feminist Perspective on the Politics of Porn Performance and Sex-Work as Culture Production*, edited by Tim Stüttgen, Berlin: B-Books, 2009, 180–193.

knowledge about it.⁸ The process of Orientalization – of applying this Orientalist gaze – is thus a strategy to continue dominating and controlling certain things, such as the supremacy of Western culture. This then resulted in the East having unequal and unfavorable interactions with the West. In fact, according to Said, the East was losing its subjectivity and self-representation and becoming subordinate to the European discourse about it.⁹ Pornography and ethnography together help to analyze how Orientalism facilitates such unequal interaction with the West, as Said has pointed out. Ethnography itself provides a framework for understanding and interpreting cultural phenomena, including how individuals and societies construct and perceive sexuality. Combining theoretical considerations pornography and ethnography here points out that the pornographic and ethnographic gaze operate in a structurally analogous manner; they interact in film images based on similar documentative aspects.

1.2 To Gaze and To Desire: Issues of Ethnicity and Gay Pornography

The typical porn movie, at least in the hard-core category, is constituted by an endless series of people fucking. However, as Richard Dyer claims,

as long as there is consciousness-raising, there is narrative. Even if all that is involved is sex between two men, the following narrative elements are present: the arrival at the scene of sexual intercourse, establishing contact, undressing, exploring various parts of the body, coming, parting.¹⁰

Pornography and ethnography point to a broad discussion of pleasure and knowledge that are heavily linked to social practices. Although the limit of pornographic knowledge is carnal, ethnographic knowledge, by addressing cultural structures, extends beyond that. Since the ethnography presented in pornographic films contains documentary elements of making sexual knowledge accessible while domesticating the Other through the gaze, it also allows for the creation of a network to analyze what it means. What Miller-Young argues while discussing the presence of the black woman in photography can also be applied to the narrative of gay ethnic pornography. Miller-Young points out that:

Ethnography offers a lens, a conceptual apparatus, and a method to think about the relationality and economy of images, techniques, discourses, bodies, subjectivities, desires, and state logics

⁸ Lau, Lisa, and Ana Cristina Mendes. *Re-Orientalism and South Asian Identity Politics: The Oriental Other Within*. Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series. London; New York: Routledge, 2011, 1.

⁹ Said, Edward W. *Culture and Imperialism*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1994, 1.

¹⁰ Dyer, Richard. "Male Gay Porn: Coming to Terms." *Jump Cut*, no. 30, March 1985, 27.

that brought the colonized under view in the domain of empire. Pornography did not arise on the margins of the empire but was at its core.¹¹

Therefore, the relationship between ethnography and pornography is interconnected, even though it remains under examined. However, gay ethnic pornography, as a sub-genre, helps reveal the societal and historical discourse of male-to-male sexualities.

Although the discourse in heteronormative and homosexual systems differs in many ways, ethnography provides a methodology that can unpack the commonalities of these power dynamics. In his book *Colonial Harem* (1986), Malek Alloula analyzes a postcard that was produced in France depicting Algerian women, and asks: “What does it matter if the colonized Orient, the Algeria of the turn of the century, gives more than a glimpse of the other side of its scenery, as long as the phantasm of the harem persists, especially since it has become profitable?”¹² For example, in the context of gay ethnic pornography, the profitable phantasm moved from the Harem to the temporary houses of migrant workers, which have also been used as porno film sets. While this particular genre shows how gaze relations and aesthetics have changed over time, it also provides knowledge through its unintended documentary approach. It is a domain of knowledge production because it is about gay pornography, and this book operates between multilayered gaze relations. Discussing the work of the writer Richard Fung, José Esteban Muñoz points out:

Fung’s disidentification with the generic and racially inflected protocols of porn opens up a space that breaks down the coherence of white domination in the gay male erotic imagery. This disidentification access possibilities, through the unlikely vehicle of Orientalized body that are ultimately sex-positive, but nonetheless struggle to free up the ethnocentric conceit that dominates the category of the erotic in the pornographic imaginary.¹³

Gay ethnic pornography contributes to the breakdown that Muñoz proposed, and it broadens the ‘ethnocentric conceit’ by using gaze relations and objectification. For example, Russian masculinities could be exoticized, too, and gay ethnic pornography enables such content.

The inclusion of gay sex tourism, especially within ethnic pornography, offers a perspective on the intersections of sexuality, ethnicity (racialized identities), and commodification. Since sex tourism has deeply imbued implications on the history of colonialism, sex tourism provides a ground for practicing power relations. Por-

¹¹ Miller-Young, Mireille. “Exotic/Erotic/Ethnopornographic: Black Women, Desire, and Labor in the Photographic Archive.” In *Ethnopornography: Sexuality, Colonialism, and Archival Knowledge*, edited by Pete Sigal, Zeb Tortorici, and Neil L. Whitehead, 39–66: Duke University Press, 2020, 43.

¹² Alloula, Malek. *Colonial Harem*. Trans. by Myrna Godzich and Wlad Godzich. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986, 3.

¹³ Muñoz, José Esteban. *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics*. Cultural Studies of the Americas. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999, 87.

nographic films with the sex tourism narrative facilitate such a colonial power dynamic through societal norms. Additionally, gay sex tourism in pornography offers a lens to understand the performative aspects of the racialized masculinities and femininities as part of labor, as Gregory Mitchell calls commissioned performances.¹⁴ In particular, the analysis of gay ethnic porn within the context of sex tourism underscores the commodification and fetishization of ethnicity and sexuality in contemporary media, and sex tourism as an often applied narrative element provides the historical context of such power relations.

Previous studies have often emphasized financial power as the primary motivation behind Orientalist gay sex tourism while ignoring the reasons to seek such 'adventure.' Additionally, the common mistake in analyzing gay sex tourism in North Africa and Eastern Europe is assuming that it shares a similar history and motivation as heterosexual sex tourism. However, the distinction between heterosexual versus homosexual sex tourism points out an essential aspect of history: since acceptance of homosexuality is part of progressive politics of today, suppressed homosexuality can, by contrast, help us analyze societies historically. Moreover, the concept of gay sex tourism reflects these progressive policies in the West, as it is also part of the phenomenon wherein images of gay-friendliness have become an advertising tool by holiday agencies in the West. All the same, 18th-century England, for instance, considered homosexuality as a disorder, and this was part of the motivation that created discreet homosexual sex tourism in the East by the 19th century.¹⁵ Due to colonialism, such discourse has since shifted, whereas this posture of discretion was later replaced with a more open adventure for the white middle-class man. Therefore, the historical aspect of gay sex tourism provides a deeper insight into colonialism and post-colonialism. For example, Bunzl also argues that:

The tropes of availability, passion, and pansexuality ultimately congeal into a topography of embodied Otherness. Constructed on the neocolonial terms of a Western gay male subject seeking adventure in an exoticized East, they delineate a socio-sexual field structured by an economy of Eastern supplies for Western demands.¹⁶

Although Bunzl pointed out that the dynamics of the socio-sexual field of sex tourism are structured by financial power, gay pornography reveals that such financial power cannot be the only dynamic that lays behind the motivation for seeking sexual

¹⁴ Mitchell, Gregory. *Tourist Attractions: Performing Race and Masculinity in Brazil's Sexual Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015, 36.

¹⁵ Ewing, Boal Christopher. *Toward a Better World for Gays: Race, Tourism, and the Internationalization of the West German Gay Rights Movement, 1969–1983*. *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 61, 2017, 109–134.

¹⁶ Bunzl, Matti. "The Prague Experience: Gay Male Sex Tourism and the Neocolonial Invention of an Embodied Border." In *Altering States: Ethnographies of Transition in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, edited by D. Berdahl, M. Bunzl, and M. Lampland. University of Michigan Press, 2000, 86.

pleasure in the East. Homosexuality was classified as a ‘disorder’ in 19th century England and the association of such ‘perversions’ with Ancient Greece, and the ability of colonial subjects to experience liberty in the Orient through anonymity, availability, and displacement as well as power through colonial access, centered Orientalism as a negotiator in the context of gay pornography. Therefore, Orientalism also functions as a negotiation between heteronormative and homoerotic biases. This book aims to investigate how the international circulation of ethnic porn facilitates Orientalism as a way for viewers in the West to negotiate their own oppressed homosexuality.

Studying pornography can provide a tool to examine the ways in which the dynamics of Orientalism function through the expression of different sexual orientations. The discussion about power dynamics in both straight and gay pornography contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the position of gay ethnic pornography and can help explain how these power dynamics are deeply attached to colonialism and Orientalism. In most straight interracial porn movies, ‘big black cock’ is marketed as a merit to which hypersexual masculine black men often ‘conform’ to, whereas in interracial gay pornography and gay ethnic pornography being top, bottom, or versatile often changes within the conventions of gay porn. While black men are racialized and often compelled to perform hypersexualized masculinity, they might be expected to comfort white tourists or white partners who benefit from the socio-economic privilege as their whiteness remains unmarked. Although this book does not aim to compare straight and gay pornography, it is crucial to include some critical points of straight or bisexual interracial pornography and its politics in order to provide a clearer understanding of the prevailing tropes of colonialism and Orientalism.

Pornography frequently adopts the same Orientalist tropes that are often critiqued as furthering racism. In doing so, it enables a working through hostility and explores the ambiguity of power relations at the core of desire. For example, in Chris Ward’s film *Raiders of The Lost Arse: The Mummy’s Hand* (2002), the so-called American Institution of Advanced Studies of Archeology Expedition, which searches for the Tomb of Sethmosis the Great (1736 BC), consists predominantly of white American porn actors, who then end up having group sex in the desert. Two members of the archeology institution, who are played by Jeremy Tucker and Jeff Allen, had an interracial sex scene in the tomb, which leads to the conjuring of Sethmosis himself, played by Bryce Pierce (a white American porn actor). Sethmosis forcefully coerces Jeff Allen to have sex with Jeremy Tucker, leading to an interracial threesome with a mummified white American Pharaoh. Chris Ward, the director of the film, continues the tradition of portraying black characters as non-American (in this case, Egyptian) in his films *Arabesque* (2005) and *Tales of Arabian Nights I, II, and III* (2010), followed by another series by U.S.-based gay porn filmmaker, Collin O’Neal’s, *World of Men* (2006–2009). This book relies on comparisons with examples from the United States that often reproduce clichés rooted in traditional Hollywood cinema, which, too, influenced the earliest gay ethnic pornography in France, such as the films by Jean-Daniel

Cadinot. For example, on the screens of both mainstream and porn theaters, white actors have represented Arab men, as seen in *The Message* (1976) or *The Sheik* (1921). Hansen, Nichols and Needham point out that ‘the Other’ in the discourse of Orientalism is

pure representation and it is the representation of non-white, non-male, non-heterosexual, non-Western, non-capitalist as everything we, who are everything the Other cannot be, need. The Other is also a representation of power, of that which power cannot admit to in its own quest for legitimacy.¹⁷

However, these inauthentic depictions, ‘failing’ to accurately or authentically represent non-white people, eliminated the potential power that Hansen, Nichols, and Needham mentioned both in mainstream cinema and gay pornography. The concept of authenticity within the realm of pornographic film production is indeed multifaceted and subject to continual interrogation. Initially introduced as a critical tool, authenticity serves as a lens through which to examine the production conditions and socio-cultural contexts that shape these films. Particularly noteworthy is the significance of authenticity in capturing the lived experiences and environments of the actors, many of whom participate in filming within the intimate confines of their own homes. This aspect inadvertently documents not only the performances but also the habitats and social spaces of the actors, adding layers of depth and realism to the narratives portrayed on screen. However, the notion of authenticity in pornographic cinema is inherently fraught with contradictions. While the production conditions may lend a sense of genuineness to portraying certain aspects of the actors’ lives, the genre often operates within a realm of fantasy and illusion. Pornography, by its very nature, plays with the boundaries of reality and fiction, leveraging the cinematic medium to create heightened and exaggerated representations of sexual desire and pleasure. For instance, the delivery guy in the porn movies doesn’t necessarily have to be a delivery guy, but the sex is real. In this context, authenticity becomes malleable as the phantasm of porn that blurs the lines between reality and fantasy, challenging traditional notions of what is deemed authentic within the genre. As such, while authenticity may hold significance within the production process, particularly in documenting the environments and experiences of the actors, its relevance ultimately becomes subsumed by the overarching fantasy that pornographic cinema seeks to construct. Rather than serving as a fixed and immutable concept, authenticity within pornography is continually negotiated and redefined, reflecting the dynamic interplay between reality and illusion inherent to the genre. To quote Laura Helen Marks, “Authenticity in pornography is always partial and contingent; it emerges through a negotiation between the viewer’s belief and disbelief, and the performer’s identity and fan-

¹⁷ Hansen, Christian, “Skin Flicks: Pornography, Ethnography, and the Discourses of Power.” *Discourse* 11, no. 2, 1989, 65.

tasy persona.”¹⁸ Thus, while authenticity may retain importance within certain aspects of pornographic film production, its ultimate significance is tempered by the fantastical and temporary nature of the medium itself.

While these productions strategically instrumentalize racialized characters to access a foreign culture, these ‘inauthentic’ performances deconstruct what they tried to achieve on a textual level. Here, the aim is to clarify what it means to be authentic and inauthentic in the context of ethnic porn, since most authenticity discussions around the theme of pornography shifts between the misconception of the ideal self and the ideal Other. The concept of authenticity in this case detaches itself from the idea of “developing a consciousness of gaining a recognition from the society or assuring a place in the society,” as Charles Taylor argues.¹⁹ In pornographic acting or performance, the idea of authenticity is far from being an ‘ideal’ authentic individual; instead, it is a stereotype that is being constituted by meeting the clichés of what the majority expects from the performers to have pleasure. What makes pornographic films authentic is limited to the specific key frames, such as the appearance of the performers or filming of the performance of standardized sexual intimacy. Therefore, the documentary aspects of porn movies here rely on reflecting these stereotypes in the most cliché ways possible to make the audience believe what they see is authentic. As a result, they represent the reflections of social norms.

In this book, the concept of stereotype is based on the representational practice that highlights cultural and ethnic differentiations. Orientalist discourse has developed the Western ‘Self’ by creating the ‘Other’ through stereotyped and exaggerated representations of the Orient. Due to this binary opposition between Self and Other, Orientalism has reverted to crude preconceptions like the stereotypes of Arabs (depicting the men as discreet, masculine, macho, etc.), which also apply to Turks, Kurds, and, to some extent, Eastern Europeans. Such dynamics of othering influence pornography and the ‘authentic’ performance in the pornographic narrative as well, although the hard-core format and lack of a clear storyline in the repertoire of gay ethnic pornography, such as in the films of Jean-Noel René Clair or Ben Tamam, reveal the power dynamics of Orientalism.

Additionally, the authenticity in pornographic media heavily relies on the ‘satiety of the media,’ which is a psychological reassurance of the reality of the media that has been consumed.²⁰ Linda Williams also points out that “a desire to see and know more of the human body [...] underlies the very invention of cinema” and perhaps hard-core

18 Marks, L. H. “Invisible: Gay Women in Southern California Pornography of the 1980s”. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, vol. 21, no.1, 2015, 121–148.

19 Taylor, Charles. *The Ethics of Authenticity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

20 Bolter, Jay David, and Richard Grusin. *Remediation: Understanding New Media*. MIT Press, 1998, 53.

pornography is a way to expose the desire to understand one's own desires.²¹ Williams argues that in terms of visibility and knowledge in hard-core pornography and gay ethnic pornography, such knowledge is directed at the bodies of the sexualized Other. On the one hand, gay ethnic pornography stands in the 'maximum visibility' that comes with hard-core pornography, which makes the audience believe what they see is an authentic performance. On the other hand, it detaches their representations from the sanctified heteronormative spaces and everyday homophobia, which defines the fantasy.²² Orientalized and exoticized men filmed in porn are not given actual agency equal to others, meaning that they play roles but are not 'themselves' or, in a way, are made to ventriloquize their lives instead of be viewed as equal participants, in such a way that the ethnic viewer would not necessarily see themselves in these ethnic portrayals.

In this context, gay ethnic pornography can be considered, as Jeffrey Escoffier argues, to constitute a homo-realist porn genre. In his recent book *Sex, Society, and the Making of Pornography* (2021), he states that the "homo-realist porn film hews to a fine line between documentary and fantasy; it attempts to integrate both sexual fantasy and the actual world."²³ Considering the associated social and political conditions in gay ethnic pornography, detaching this kind of pornography from its documentary value is difficult. At the same time, it heavily relies on the imaginative work of fantasy. In the context of hard-core gay pornography, fantasy often distinguishes itself from the actual world by re-creating heterosexual spaces, such as a house of a guest worker as an overrunning gay sex paradise. Therefore, it separates the represented subjects from the real world while keeping some of the documentary aspects in an Orientalist fashion. The goal of this book is to demonstrate how these filmmakers and producers construct ethnic identity through different aspects of culture and aesthetics. How do they authenticate their ethnic subject in the European version of these films? Is there a fetishistic pursuit in presenting an authentically foreign body?

In the context of gay ethnic pornography, the term fetish plays a pivotal role in understanding how certain inequalities, including those related to ethnicity, become eroticized and marketed. The fetishization of ethnicity within this domain involves the commodification of difference, where power dynamics intersect with desires. Fetish, in this context, operates as a mechanism through which power inscribes itself onto bodies and identities, shaping the representation and consumption of sexually explicit/erotic content. The term fetishization in gay pornography reflects broader

21 Williams, Linda. *Hard Core: Power, Pleasure, and the "Frenzy of the Visible"*. University of California Press, 1989, 36.

22 Bronski, Michael. *Culture Clash: The Making of Gay Sensibility*. Boston, Mass: South End Press, 1984, 161.

23 Escoffier, Jeffrey. *Sex, Society, and the Making of Pornography: The Pornographic Object of Knowledge*. Ithaca, NY: Rutgers University Press, 2021, 62.

societal power structures and hierarchies, emphasizing the need for critical inquiry into the intersection of sexuality, ethnicity, and power dynamics. In the narrative of gay ethnic pornography, fetishization is built through not only ethnic differences but also norms, financial inequalities, and class differences. The often-used sex tourism and generational migration-related themes blur the distinction between identity and identification to facilitate the fetishistic faculty of the Western gaze. Deborah Cameron and Don Kulick argue that “identification is a psychoanalytic concept concerned with the operations through which a subject is constituted. Identifications are processes through which individuals assimilate an aspect or property of an other and are, in that process, transformed.”²⁴ Gregory Mitchell argues the process of “racialization” through performance and performativity is similar to the comparison that Cameron and Kulick have elaborated through the interconnection between identity and identification.²⁵ Therefore, arguing the fetishization of ethnic identity or ethnic performance helps unpack how it reflects the identification and the performativity of ethnicities.

This book also explicates the ways in which the genre of gay pornography has differentiated itself from those phantasies that are perpetuated by Hollywood cinema and found its own way of narrating the power and desire between Western Europe and the East (and its peripheries). Frantz Fanon points out that “canters of rest and relaxation and pleasure resorts [were developed] to meet the wishes of the Western bourgeoisie [...] these are the stigmas of this depravation of the national middle class [...] [who] will have nothing better to do than to take on the role of manager for Western enterprise, and it will in practice set up its country as the brothel of Europe.”²⁶ However, the division of East and West becomes conventional in the context of gay ethnic pornography through sex tourism. The definition of East occasionally changes in gay pornography: sometimes East refers to Eastern Europe, and other times it designates the South West Asian/North African (S.W.A.N.A.) regions.²⁷ Therefore, the motives for sex tourism to Maghreb or Prague could occur by similar Orientalist dynamics. These dynamics not only continue to inspire sex tourism, but also pornography. In the Eastern European context, dynamics of Orientalism become more apparent through

²⁴ Cameron, D., and D. Kulick. *Language and Sexuality*. Cambridge University Press, 2003, 139.

²⁵ Mitchell, Gregory. *Tourist Attractions: Performing Race and Masculinity in Brazil's Sexual Economy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015, 37.

²⁶ Fanon, Frantz. *The Wretched of the Earth / Frantz Fanon. With Commentary by Jean-Paul Sartre and Homi K. Bhabha*. New York: Grove Press, 2004, 154. See also: Fairchild, Halford H. “Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* in Contemporary Perspective.” *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1994, 196.

²⁷ S.W.A.N.A. is a decolonial word that designates the Southwest Asian/North African region. It replaces characterizations such as Middle Eastern, Near Eastern, Arab World or Islamic World that have colonial, Eurocentric, and Orientalist origins and were created to conflate, contain, and dehumanize our people. I use S.W.A.N.A. to speak to the diversity of our communities and to forward the most vulnerable in our liberation.

See: <https://S.W.A.N.A.alliance.com/about> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

sex work and financial crisis than through ethnic and cultural differences, which are the main aspect of S.W.A.N.A.-focused gay porn.

The frame of sex tourism, sex tourists, and mobility issues, catalyze the legacies of Orientalism and colonialism in the context of gay pornography that puts ethnography at its center. This book employs the suggestion of Ryan and Hall to define the notion of sex tourism, yet it does not endorse an oversimplified meaning of it or an artificial clarity of the term. Davidson articulated the idea of sex tourism while describing sex tourists as individuals who “use their economic power to attain powers of sexual command over local women, men, or children while traveling.”²⁸ The concept of sex tourism, specifically the interaction between men, is not just based on the demonstration of economic privileges or the idea of a new experience. For example, the DVD jacket of *Nomads* articulates the economic power disparity between local populations and sex tourists:

In the spirit of the North-South exchanges, Europe sends its young to work in North Africa with the goal of transforming a riad into a multi-ethnic arts center; a kind of rural lodge where many students live together. Lucas, a young Frenchman, sets off from Marseilles to spend his holidays in the country of a Thousand and One Night. Without much money, he travels in last class. On the boat he meets Karim, a young traveler returning home, who owns a little hotel close to the soul in the capital's Medina. He offers to let Lucas stay in his luxurious cabin introducing him [to] Arab hospitality and local customs. Twenty years after Harem, 17 actors show us the modern Maghreb where friendship and sensuality are one and the same thing.²⁹

Jean-Daniel Cadinot is farming something about power as actually being multi-ethnic and thereby egalitarian. Significantly in the context of Europe, sex tourism has transformed drastically throughout time, considering the involvement of cheap plane travel and the migration waves in Europe and its peripheries as a result of wars and socio-economic crises. How the transformation of sex tourism is reflected through the evolving history of gay pornography in Europe, and how this transformation contrasts or overlaps with the legacies of Orientalism and colonialism, is something this book seeks to answer.

This literary work focuses in particular on France, Germany, and Eastern Europe, given that a comparison of those regions will reveal a complex structure of desire, gender, and ethnic representations. While this book contributes to the discussions about post-coloniality in Europe through the ethnicization of sexualities, it also contributes to the discussions of sexuality and social class by focusing on the ethnic subjects marginalized by European hegemonic social structures.

This book also enables a comparison of different conceptualizations between the ‘West’ and the ‘East’ as both Germany and France have had, for different reasons, an

²⁸ O’Connel Davidson, Julia. *Prostitution, Power and Freedom*. Cambridge (U.K.): Polity Press, 1998, 75.

²⁹ See: DVD jacket of *Nomades* directed by Janel-Daniel Cadinot, 2005. See also: <https://www.gay-dvd-shop.com/cadinot/nomades-gay-dvd.htm> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

influx of migrants since the 1950s. As shown in the first chapter, French examples of gay ethnic pornography followed the sex tourism narrative with the movies by Jean-Daniel Cadinot (Cadinot Films) who produced his movies in Maghreb. Later on, other studios like those of Jean-Noël René Clair (JNRC Films) and Stéphane Chibikh (Citébeur) moved production to the banlieues of Paris. This rotation of settings allows a demonstration of the issues of both sex tourism and migration through an Orientalist perspective.

German examples of gay ethnic pornography portray, as discussed in the second chapter of this, two different stereotypes of Turkish men. On the one hand, these films are low budget productions that depict more masculine, hairy men. On the other hand, they accommodate a narration of more mainstream role-play scenarios that mainly include a cast of young, waxed, and not necessarily masculine men. My selection of German examples of gay ethnic pornography will contribute to the discourse of 're-Orientalizing the Oriental' – that is to say, by supplanting the imagined Oriental with the actually existing East while reflecting the issues of trans-nationalism, migration, and labor. This argumentation will support similar objectives addressed in the French-Maghrebi context of gay ethnic pornography while at the same time enriching the tension of this context by adding current perspectives.

Based on the methodology and the research objectives outlined above, the critical engagement with my research material will contribute to ongoing debates concerning Orientalism as well as colonialism and contribute to the growing field of pornography studies. In addition to pornographic films, this book includes media archives and interviews, which expand the methodology of pornography studies by broadening the textual context around which they have traditionally been centered. Nevertheless, these studies are of great importance since, up until now, most discussions around pornography were not considered to be part of an academic endeavor. Additionally, Maxime Cervulle, Nick Rees-Roberts, Royce Mahawatte and Evangelos Tziallas' works not only consider the relation between U.S.-American mainstream gay pornography and its racial and ethnic representations, but they also, for the first time, discuss examples from Europe (mainly France). However, no historical study has yet bridged the gap between earlier European gay ethnic pornography and its current, specifically German-Turkish, examples.

Shifting away from the German-Turkish context, the third chapter will focus on examples of gay ethnic pornography produced in Eastern Europe. Eastern European productions expand the discussions of Orientalism and colonialism outside the S.W.A. N.A. regions and explore the gay Other outside Europe's Anglo-Saxon, French, or Germanic peripherals. The third chapter analyzes male erotica produced in Russia, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Hungary. While the examples discussed in the third chapter point to a broader area, this chapter will also provide a detailed chronology of sociopolitical and economic events through the porn movies that will be introduced. Eastern European examples of gay ethnic pornography additionally invite the discourse of the white Other and what it means in male-to-male erotic narratives.

Dividing this book into three main chapters, each segment allows me to focus on the major objectives of this book from a different angle by asking (and answering) some questions:

- How do pornographic films authenticate their ethnic subject in different European countries and how can the fetishism of presenting an authentically foreign body be best approached?
- How is it that the concept of Orientalism continues to inspire contemporary gay pornography in a supposedly post-colonial context?
- Is the transformation of sex tourism, which affects countries differently, reflected through the ever-evolving history of gay pornography in Europe? And how does this transformation contrast or overlap with the legacies of Orientalism and colonialism?

Since ethnography and pornography try to assure their audiences that what they witness is reality itself, I will seek to answer, throughout each chapter, both what this ‘reality’ tells us in the context of gay pornography as it relates to each societal context, and what we can learn about desire and the gaze, while addressing the motives that result from the power and desire in gay ethnic pornography in Europe. Furthermore, this book aims to analyze how different aspects of the production – financing, selection of cast and location, acting, payment, camera work – contribute to an overall narrative effect that articulates social norms. For example, the shooting locations of these films were mainly happening in either the houses of these men or two-star hotels, which helped produce alterity. In the following chapters, the book will discuss the temporary nature of these spaces among men who often live in households that include families and women, thereby expanding the discussion to include thoughts about the nature of guest workers and their homes as being liminal, temporary, and threatening to native workforces. Since ethnography and pornography try to assure their audience that what they have seen is the reality itself, I will try to answer throughout this book what this ‘reality’ tells us in the context of gay pornography within each societal context.

1.3 Critical Review of Existing Literature

Most of the recent studies concerning gay ethnic pornography have focused on examples from France, ranging from the early films by Cadinot until the very recent Citébeur Films. While scholars like Jaap Koojiman discuss the Maghreb from the canon of Cadinot as a pornographic utopia, Cervulle, Rees-Roberts, and Mack demonstrate how gay ethnic pornography repeats itself by exploiting poverty in the ghettos of Paris because of the re-location of the sub-genre from the Maghreb to the banlieues of Paris. To analyze gay ethnic pornography, this book also reviews these texts, which

provide archival information, and discusses the gay rights movement and the ‘issue’ of ethnic identity in France.

Todd Shepard’s work provides detailed historic information on how social movements and the vocalization towards Maghrebi men have overlapped.³⁰ Shepard provides a historic background of ethnic and racial representation within the gay rights movements of the 1970s, such as *The Front Homosexuel d’Action Révolutionnaire* (*Homosexual Front for Revolutionary Action-FHAR*) and resources like *Trois Milliards de Pervers: Grande Encyclopédie des Homosexualités* (*Three Billion Perverts: The Big Encyclopedia of Homosexualities*), which contains contributions from Michel Foucault, Félix Guattari, Jean Genet, Guy Hocquenghem, and many other intellectuals and activists of that time. FHAR’s manifesto on sexual desire toward Arab men in France and the opening chapter of *Three Billion Perverts*, “The Arabs and us,” spoke about sexuality and North Africa, specifically Arab men, but without the active participation of Arab men themselves.³¹ Shepard’s work is concerned with the period between the late 1960s and late 1970s, a time when the gay rights movement in France became more visible and the sexual desire towards Maghrebi men more clearly articulated. However, the voices of Maghrebi men about their *own* sexual desire remained silent for the most part – until recently.

The work of Denis M. Provencher investigates the stories of queer Maghrebi and French-Maghrebi men who were either born in France or had the migration experience of moving to France.³² Provencher’s work allows the reader to understand the contemporary testimonies that contribute to the history that Shepard provided earlier while also filling the gaps in the more recent history. Although Provencher’s work is highly influential in the field of gay pornography, the actual viewpoints of the subjects his films portray are mainly ignored. By interviewing directors and actors who produced gay ethnic pornography in France and Germany, the book provides a now-written oral history of their past experiences and their recollections of the productions (and their reception), thus adding to some of the shortcomings of Provencher’s research.

The works of Maxime Cervulle and Nick Rees-Roberts demonstrated the rich potential of examining Orientalism and post-coloniality through French pornographic cinema, without accounting for the potentially empowering effects they may have for non-white bodies. As Cervulle mentions: “There is no room for queers of color as

³⁰ Shepard, Todd. *Sex, France, and Arab Men, 1962–1979*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017.

³¹ Guattari, Felix. *A Guattari Reader*, edited by Gary Genosko. Blackwell Readers. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, 187. This version appeared in French in Guattari’s *La révolution moléculaire*, Fontenay-sous-Bois: Encres/Recherches, 1977.

³² Provencher, Denis M. *Queer Maghrebi French: Language, Temporalities, Transfiliations*. Contemporary French and Francophone Cultures. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017.

speaking subjects; rather, they appear as erotic bodies in ethnic porn, in productions by the Dargos, Replay, and Jean-Noël René Clair studios, or else as suffering bodies called on to confess all on the set of the gay channel Pink TV.”³³ Even if in his examples from France Cervulle highlights the compulsory political censorship toward the voices of queers of color, I do not believe pornography necessarily has to have the responsibility to please underrepresented communities. What interests me here is how this blatant political position of those productions invalidated the clichés by overperforming them – almost as a caricature. Cervulle and Rees-Roberts have discussed, individually as well as together, that these films can be called both ethnic and post-colonial but, at the same time, neither of the terms provides a precise description, due to the ways in which these films can either overlap or be divergent from each other on different occasions. Although, as an umbrella term, gay ethnic pornography works to convey the theme of interracial pornography, it is still intersecting based on tropes of colonialism that are not simply represented through ethnic differences. However, both gay ethnic pornography and post-colonial gay pornography are sufficient in this context due to the overlapping issues of ethnicity and post-colonialism.

Cervulle and Rees-Roberts have also pointed out that both definitions of this subgenre are problematic with regard to the sustainability of the colonial order and the Eurocentric gay male identity that masks the issues of ethnicity.³⁴ Although the ‘issue’ of ethnicity seems to be masked in gay pornography, it is still hard to assume that a Western audience is the only one who consumes these films. The post-colonial mobilities and migration, as well as technological developments, diversify the audiences of these films: they help unpack these issues through their gaze and participation in consuming for pleasure. As Evangelos Tziallas states, “there is a discursive shift from Orientalist representation and perception to contemporary ones, brought about by continual migration and the dissolution of distance.”³⁵ Up until Jean-Noël René Clair’s (JNRC) work as a director of gay pornography, films were usually limited to the trope of sex tourism, in which middle-class white European or North American tourists left their home countries to seek exotic, sexual encounters in ‘the Orient.’ Jean-Noël René Clair changed this narrative and put the male bodies of immigrants in France in front of his lens. JNRC’s ‘rerouting’ in gay ethnic pornography articulated the narrative of sex tourism in gay pornography and diversified the record by pointing to the general trends in West Europe, such as generational migration and desire towards migrant men.

Following Cervulle and Rees-Roberts, Royce Mahawatte brings forth a similar argumentation, supporting the reproduction of racial exoticization that these films

33 Cervulle, Maxime. “French Homonormativity and the Commodification of the Arab Body.” *Radical History Review* 100, 2008, 177.

34 Cervulle, Maxime, and Nick Rees-Roberts, 2010, 63.

35 Tziallas, Evangelos. “The New ‘Porn Wars’: Representing Gay Male Sexuality in the Middle East.” *Psychology and Sexuality* 6, no. 1, 2014, 96.

have created.³⁶ Challenging these arguments, Mohamed Amadeus Mack recently called Citébeur rather innovative with regard to Linda Williams' take on maximum visibility.³⁷ The creative approach that Amadeus Mack emphasizes here is the anonymity of Citébeur characters, who conceal themselves by either using instruments such as balaclavas and sunglasses or by choosing shooting locations such as basements, construction-areas, underground tunnels, etc. Citébeur is also representing a unique position by providing examples from contemporary French culture, considering that ethnic pornography is not always on demand. Mack also included the position of porn stars and their engagement to the genre by including Francois Sagat and his first appearance on Citébeur representing Maghrebi men under the name and character of Azzedine. Mack's analysis of Azzedine helps to broaden the means of porn stardom in European gay pornography and bridges the genre while comparing similar experiences between West European and the U.S. mainstream gay pornography.

My book will further address a certain blind-spot in the works by Linda Williams, Tan Hoang Nguyen, Richard Fung, and Constance Penley, who discuss pornography in connection to race and class but, nevertheless, focus mainly on examples from North America. Most of their arguments evolve around the racial stereotypes of the West and the position of non-white men within this configuration. Fung, for instance, argued that "the vast majority of North American (pornographic) tapes featuring Asians [...] privilege the (white) penis while assigning the Asian the role of the bottom; Asian and anus are conflated."³⁸ Fung's argument corresponds vividly with contemporary representation of these bodies in the visual sphere. However, these arguments are of great importance since most of the literature fails to account for the issue of 'race' during the rise of gay and lesbian studies in the 1990s. For instance, David Halperin argued that

the focus on gay subjectivity is sharpest in the case of white, socially privileged gay men, whose agency and autonomy are not likely to have been compromised by political oppression or external constraint and whose behavior cannot be explained by other social facts: that is why much of what I will say here will refer to them.³⁹

Overall, the omission or neglect of race, ethnicity, and class creates a gap that prevents gender, feminism, and pornography studies to further evolve. However, pornography

³⁶ Mahawatte, Royce. "Loving the Other: Arab-Male Fetish Pornography and the Dark Continent of Masculinity." In *More Dirty Looks: Gender Pornography and Power*, edited by Pamela Church Gibson. London: Cromwell Press, 2004, 127–36.

³⁷ Mack, Mehammed Amadeus. *Sexagon: Muslims, France, and the Sexualization of National Culture*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2017, 241.

³⁸ Fung, Richard. "Looking for My Penis: The Eroticized Asian in Gay Video Porn." In *A Companion to Asian American Studies*, edited by Kent A. Ono. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2008, 240.

³⁹ Halperin, David M. *What Do Gay Men Want? an Essay on Sex, Risk, and Subjectivity*. University of Michigan Press, 2007, 23.

studies acknowledge the importance of research that accounts for the intersectionality of race, ethnicity, and class in its relationship to pornography. Pornography studies, as an academic field, have the ability and potential to respond to what this knowledge means.

While there has been much research that is concerned with Maghrebi men in French gay ethnic pornography, other ethnic representations within pornography have often been ignored. For example, Jean-Noël Réne Clair paid specific attention to Eastern Europe, and the collapse of Yugoslavia and Soviet Russia. In 1995, Jean-Noël Réne Clair directed *Zone Interdité I* and *II* and one year later he added two other porn films, *USSR (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics)* (1996) and *СССР (the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Russian)* (1996), appropriating the Soviet aesthetics for his porn movies. The following year, Jean-Noël Réne Clair capitalized on the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia. The two movies were *Milices Para-Militaires* and *Outrage*, one of which also included the storyline of French and German military members servicing in the barracks of NATO. In addition to centering on the Soviet Union and NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia, Jean-Noël Réne Clair also perpetuated narratives that were highly inspired by the stigmatization of Roma people and Turks, as evident in *Balkan Connections/Men of Balkans* and *Les Turcs* in 1997. Five years later, he returned to the same topic with a movie called *Gypsy Sex*. The last production of Jean-Noël Réne Clair was *JNRC Bulgarian Casting Call* (2009), a compilation of Bulgarian men who are willing to take part in his movies.

Throughout the literature, an involvement with the multifaceted relations between Germany and Turkey in gay ethnic pornography are rare and insignificant, although these examples act as a bridge that connects the chronology of European gay ethnic pornography. Joseph Allen Boone, who provides a detailed history on the tropes of Orientalism and colonialism in relation to homoeroticism, briefly mentions French and German-Turkish examples of gay ethnic pornography as being those “filled with a politically freighted history of accrued meaning.”⁴⁰ Historically, there has been a great deal of confusion in the literature regarding the examples from Turkey. Tziallas and Boone both mentioned Zip Production as a preliminary example of Turkish gay ethnic pornography, however, Trimax Films has been ignored in the literature even though they produced their films in the same era as Zip Production. Additionally, both Zip Production and Trimax Films were based in Germany, and traveled to Turkey to produce their films, which were mainly sold in Germany. While Zip Production and Trimax Films produced their films in Turkey, there have been other European porn film production houses that have specific focus on Turkey, such as Jean-Noël Réne Clair, and GayHeim. This book will address the lack of research by providing archival information as well as an analysis of those examples that are produced outside of

⁴⁰ Boone, Joseph Allen. *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2014, 408.

Turkey. Moreover, my study of recent studios like GayHeim will also contribute to discourse on mobility issues of non-European men while demonstrating how these new productions can be refugee – or migrant – positive while, simultaneously, perpetuating Orientalism.

Following the Cold War and the Velvet Revolution, the Czech Republic garnered significant attention as a focal point of post-communist transition and European integration efforts. Meanwhile, the collapse of Yugoslavia and ensuing conflicts in the Balkans reshaped regional dynamics, contributing to a complex landscape of cultural exchange and identity formation across Eastern Europe. Despite these shared historical trajectories, studies on Eastern European pornography often adopt a narrow lens, focusing primarily on country-specific case studies without acknowledging the broader patterns of re-orientalization and exoticization that permeate the region. While scholars have extensively analyzed productions from industry giants like Bigstr Network and BelAmi Online, scant attention has been paid to earlier examples that explicitly engage with themes of war and trauma, such as Potro Videos and JNRC Films. By overlooking these nuanced narratives, our understanding of Eastern European gay ethnic pornography remains fragmented, obscuring the interconnectedness of socio-political forces and cultural representations within the region.

Thematically, the Eastern European examples of gay ethnic pornography can be divided into two main storylines: socio-economic anxieties and sex tourism. Additionally, different from the Maghrebi-French or Turkish-German examples, the context of Eastern Europe links and showcases the complex social structures created by recent political history. Several authors have recognized the social dilemmas and the issues of post-war ethnic identity in Eastern European gay porn films, such as Dan Healey or Joseph Brennan. Both authors contributed detailed analyses on Czech examples, with the special focus on the movies of Bigstr Network, which I address in the third chapter.⁴¹ The movies of Bigstr network take their motivation from the gay-for-pay genre that came as a result of fear from AIDS in the mid 1980s. Kevin Bozelka argues that “AIDS influenced the creation of a gay-for-pay superstar persona in the mid-1980s-alooof, never to be anally penetrated, usually avoiding intimacy.”⁴² However, in the Eastern European context, the motivation of gay-for-pay derives from the financial anxieties of Eastern Europeans, which are furthermore impacted by recent political developments and warfare. The gay-for-pay theme of Czech porn films differentiate itself from the social anxieties of HIV while neglecting the gay-for-pay theme through

⁴¹ Healey, Dan. “Active, Passive, and Russian: The National Idea in Gay Men’s Pornography.” *The Russian Review* 69, no. 2, 2010, 210–30. See also: Brennan, Joseph. “Exploitation in All-Male Pornography Set in the Czech Republic.” *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 22, no. 1, 2019, 18–36.

⁴² Bozelka, Kevin John, “The gay-for-pay gaze in gay male pornography,” *Jump Cut* 55, fall 2013. See: <https://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc55.2013/BozelkaGayForPay/text.html>. (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

the Eastern European culture, presenting gay sex as the last financial resort to survive. While gay-for-pay or gay baiting as a result of financial anxieties dominates the narrative structure of half of Czech gay ethnic pornography, the other half focuses on re-branding the Czech identity of young men by representing them in rather utopian scenarios. BelAmi traced the strategies of mainstream U.S. gay pornography while positioning men of BelAmi as upper-middle-class. These young travelers seek pleasure in popular gay holiday destinations, not only in the Oriental East but also in South Africa.

A considerable body of literature does exist on the movies of BelAmi Online. BelAmi videos have been analyzed from various aspects that contribute to the overall discourse. For instance, Joseph Brennan argues how BelAmi has both attempted to change the perception of Eastern European gay fantasy while also providing an oral history from the producer Georges Duroy.⁴³ Although most of the literature discusses the restructuring of Eastern European ethnic identity, only a few scholarly works examine how BelAmi responds to the tropes of Orientalism and colonialism. Additionally, until BelAmi, Eastern Europe has been portrayed as a land of sex tourism for men from Western Europe or the U.S. However, in the videos of BelAmi such narratives change and BelAmi's characters become tourists themselves who are seeking for sex in South Africa or in Greece. The Orientalizing position of BelAmi is quite vague and kind of 'inauthentic' when compared to the evident realities between the East and the West, as Said has demonstrated. BelAmi's performative Orientalism contributes to Said's argumentation by comparing the history and knowledge of gay pornography and sexualities in the Czech Republic as well as Slovakia to the ways in which the mainstream porn industry, such as U.S.-based gay porn companies, perform Orientalism in their films. Considering this contribution, the third chapter lays the groundwork for further research about the adaptation of Orientalism as a marketing strategy and its consequences for contemporary pornography.

The context of Eastern Europe also benefits my study by bringing a discussion on antagonizing the sexual Other. The narrative of sex tourism that is often used in the films of gay ethnic pornography helps to understand how such a power relationship has been established. Eastern Europe's colonization by the powers of the West constructed the Oriental East. However, the focus of Orientalism usually lies on the East of Eastern Europe. Although there have been studies that are concerned with the Orientalization of Eastern Europe by cultural actors in both France and Germany, most of these studies ignore the aspect of sex and pornography.⁴⁴ I consider Eastern Europe to be a popular destination of sex tourism, which has been also marketed as an asset in

⁴³ Brennan, 2019, 22.

⁴⁴ Hodkinson, James R, John Walker, Shaswati Mazumdar, and Johannes Feichtinger. *Deploying Orientalism in Culture and History: From Germany to Central and Eastern Europe*. Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2013.

the narrative of the gay porn films. Furthermore, by addressing an Eastern European concept of sex tourism, I emphasize an antagonizing perspective on the sexual Other.

1.4 Methodological Statement

For all their differences, producers and consumers in the aforementioned European countries have had a comparable way of interacting with gay ethnic pornography, and each nation shares similarities about how this phenomenon went through social changes. Considering films from specific nations in the form of singular case studies, my book will enable a discussion that aims to analyze gay ethnic pornography as a transnational product of both a European pornographic film industry and its consumer networks, and further locate these practices of production and consumption within post-colonial, historical, and psychosocial contexts of cultural production. Combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches, this book attempts to formulate analyses of: (1) the historical shift (media and cultural) of this phenomenon within both Europe and the S.W.A.N.A. regions; (2) the structuring gaze of the white, middle-class gay consumer as constitutive of gay ethnic pornography's representational system; and (3) the cross-cultural shift from an ethnic gay identity as the 'other' to the production of ethnic gay identity as the agent of 'othering.' The perspective of this study differs from the approach of cultural anthropology as it focuses primarily on media cultures and the ways in which they align with ideologies and consequently (re-)produce meanings about sexuality, gender, race, nationality, and class. This study will adopt a mixed-method approach that analyzes discourses, representations, and experiences articulated across a different range of media and data collection, including digital and analog material, interviews with filmmakers, and letters from the audience which are all considered to be manifestations of social anxieties regarding gay sexualities throughout Europe.

To test my research objectives, this book evaluates the content of European examples of gay ethnic pornography by drawing on the methodology of cultural materialism. Doing so, I will demonstrate how the cross-cultural exchange during the last 40 years has shaped the representation of non-white gay identity in gay ethnic pornography and revealed its political and ideological underpinnings. My methodology draws on Robert Aldrich's *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (2003), Edward Said's legacy of 'Orientalizing the Oriental' as formulated in his critical 1978's work *Orientalism*, and Linda William's concept of 'hard-core utopia.' I aim to utilize this specific combination of different theoretical frameworks to explore the new frame of exoticization and eroticization of poverty, labor, as well as relocation. What can ethnic differences tell us about the desiring gaze while addressing the motives that result from the power and desire in the gay ethnic pornography in Europe?

I employ three major geographical contexts – French, German, and Eastern European – in their distinctiveness to challenge the interconnected and overlapped struc-

ture of pornography as a field of study that necessitates the critical engagement with politics, culture, arts, and media. The interconnectedness of porn productions in different European national contexts enriches not only the analysis of each specific example's content, but it also substantiates my argumentation of how these productions gained visibility in each of the national porn sectors. On the one hand, this study wants to address an under-examined area of academic research within the field of pornography studies and beyond. These three different geographical contexts explore the articulation of ethnicity and sexuality through the relocation of cultures rooted in socio-economic crisis. Structuring this study into three corresponding main chapters, each of which is dedicated to a particular geographical context, enables an analysis of sexual desire and cultural antagonism through pornographic content. On the other hand, this book suggests that my methodological approach constitutes an original intervention, the comparative, trans-regional framework with the theory production of porn studies.

Additionally, the media archive of Zip Production presented in the appendices of the second chapter, helps bridge how gay ethnic pornography represented in the printed media. The critical approach to these movies is constituted by a visual-content analysis of the post-colonial middle-class gaze relations in mainstream pornography. During my research for this, I engaged in a systematic literature review while comparing the examples of gay ethnic pornography in Europe systematically to understand the power dynamics through the porn industry, including casting and staging. While doing so, I interviewed the owner of Zip Production to analyze his observations and the cultural shift through the observer and observed to test my research questions. Thus, in focusing on various representations shaped by ethnicization and sexualization, my research enables the analysis of an understudied area affected by post-colonialism and Orientalism in Europe. This book reveals where the dynamics of ethnicization and sexualization can overlap and be separated through similarities and differences. These outlined nuances provide a more detailed understanding of how the hegemonic male body is historically structured and performatively enacted. Although my case studies differ geographically and contextually, they converge in their discussions about the commonalities of post-coloniality and Orientalism as well as their developments regarding the sociopolitical events that also facilitate pleasure. In addition to the case studies, this book is also linked to the issue of archiving sex, as most of the examples I bring to light are largely inaccessible or hidden in archives.

The conditions of accessing archival pornographic material have become a significant topic in arts, culture, academia, and politics today. Although there has been no systematic initiative toward preserving pornographic media, a few (and mostly private) institutions have been collecting pornographic printed media for their libraries and archives, such as the *Mémoire des Sexualités* in Marseille, *Canadian Gay and Lesbian Archives* in Toronto, *Leather Archives Museum*, in Chicago, *the Erotic Art Museum* in Hamburg, *the Erotic Museum*, in Amsterdam, and *Schwules Museum**, in Berlin. David Squires points that

These institutions do, however, ground the changing ideological terms in a material practice of collection and dissemination that demonstrates the limited efficacy of society's attempts to representing itself to itself.⁴⁵

However, it remains difficult to access archival material of pornography, although it needs, in my opinion, to be preserved and accessible at an institutional level. The reluctance to properly preserve pornographic material stems, in part, from skeptical discussions and perceptions of pornographic media in the mainstream, and from the constant backlash against pornography by a conservative and elitist rhetoric. At the same time, academia, arts, and culture often demean pornographic productions while at the same time arguing for its important contribution to cultural and sociological research and beyond. The pornographic theaters' challenge, however, is not only the political backlash against their existence and the production of pornographic content, but the technological evolution that has since taken place as well as the recognition of the apparent democratization of the internet as a public space.

The far-reaching electronic distribution of pornography throughout the recent decade allows for various new data sources to measure the use of pornography more objectively. Like pornography in general, gay ethnic pornography shows significant technological developments during the approximately 30 years of its recorded history. Early examples of gay ethnic pornography have been marketed in the video home system (VHS) format, which complicated a socio-economical approach, since they have been sold in either adult video stores or sex shops and thus hinder the accessibility to this material. This assessment is based on two reasons: for one, not everyone is able to afford VHS tapes for their temporary pleasure. And secondly, being a customer or showing physical presence in a so-called adult film store was widely considered taboo. Such issues about access to pornographic material have obviously changed once pornography became widely available on countless online platforms. While access to the internet requires certain financial expenses, too, it is eventually more affordable than buying a single VHS tape. However, free access to the internet and regulations on media content as well as censorship became the issue of this new, contemporary online era. Especially the latter has profoundly adverse effects on academic or cultural work on pornography, considering that most accessible, free 'archives' are online porn streaming platforms, blogs that publish archival pornographic media, and forum sites. These websites can neither be taken for granted nor do they constitute reliable, permanent archives since such pages are regularly shut down, modified by

45 Shanley, Caitlin. "APPENDIX Clandestine Catalogs: A Bibliography of Porn Research Collections". In *Porn Archives*, edited by Tim Dean, Steven Ruszczycky, and David Squires. New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2014, 441.

the uploader, or censored by legal authorities because of political regulations on the circulation of pornographic content.⁴⁶

More recent examples of gay ethnic pornography, which are the subject of this study, are available as Digital Video Discs (DVD) and sold online by filmmakers and the production houses themselves. During my research, I downloaded or purchased most of my material on websites such as Citébeur.com, JNRC.fr, gayshop.com, or BelAmiOnline.com. However, most of the films produced between 1990 and 2005 are not available for download or purchase on either VHS or DVD. Especially the movies of Zip Production and Trimax Films are only available online on porn film blogs or porn film streaming platforms like PornHub, Xhamster, Xtube, or RedTube.⁴⁷ The accessibility of such (in most cases illicitly) user-uploaded content is contingent upon the decision of the users to keep these movies online, a choice that might also be determined by external factors such as copyright infringement claims or censorship. Additionally, most of these streaming platforms are operated by the MindGeek company, which has been accused of tolerating (or even profiting from) sex trafficking, child abuse, and revenge porn. My intention in mentioning these platforms is not to justify their importance but to underline that they were, in most cases, the only access to my research material. I certainly agree with Peter Alilunas, who demonstrated that the repudiation of pornography by second-wave feminists was, partly, initiated by MindGeek:

The consequences of this acceptance go far beyond MindGeek's massive, privacy eroding data collection schemes; rather, it directly influences the collective set of cultural beliefs about pleasure itself and whether or not it should be accepted in a healthy, open manner or rigidly regulated and demarcated into separate spaces.⁴⁸

Alilunas was further concerned with the disappearance of video rental stores and its after-effects on the perception of pornography within the realm of new technologies and ever-evolving IT monopolies. The after-effects, in his view, are not just about the viewer experience, they furthermore determine the production and preservation of pornographic material.

The movies that I discuss at the beginning of the first chapter can be considered a fitting example for this debate. *Mektoub: Fantasia Arabe* (ca. 1920), which, as Joseph Allen Boone has argued, constitutes one of the first depictions of the colonial sexual history between the Maghreb and France, is today only available on Xhamster and has

⁴⁶ Bronstein, Carolyn. "Pornography, Trans Visibility, and the Demise of Tumblr." *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 7, no. 2, 2020, 251.

⁴⁷ In 2021, during the research phase of this book, the porn streaming platform Xtube was shut down as a result of sex trafficking accusations. See: <https://www.out.com/news/2021/7/06/xtube-popular-adult-website-shutting-down>. (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

⁴⁸ Alilunas, Peter. "Contemporaneous Mundanity and Pornography Regulation by Indifference." *Porn Studies* 9, no. 1, 2022, 13.

been uploaded by an anonymous user.⁴⁹ However, should this user decide to delete the video from their channel, the availability of *Mektoub: Fantasia Arabe* will depend on the initiative of its copyright holder, who is not identifiable as of today.⁵⁰ But even if the video remains online, a user from a location where pornographic content is restricted cannot access this file. Additionally, retrieving these platforms can cause security concerns, as access to those sites is indictable in some countries. These conditions of research proved challenging for the data collection for this book, which was ultimately contingent upon the availability of alternative – that is, alternative to mainstream – porn film production. In addition to researching content online, I reached out to producers and directors of Zip Production and Trimax Films, who made a significant contribution to this project. Furthermore, these contacts helped clarify some of the misinformation regarding the aforementioned production houses and their histories, since some of the productions I mention lack first-hand information in the literature. Another challenge to my study was the fact that a significant percentage of pornography studies-related works are being challenged by legal restrictions, and that these ramifications as well as the secrecy surrounding pornography contribute to its low brow status within academia and beyond.

1.5 Chapter Outline

The first chapter will discuss French examples of gay ethnic pornography, charting from the vocalization of desire towards Arab men in 1970s France and the first examples of Jean-Daniel Cadinot, who put the Maghreb and the Maghrebi men at the center of his porn films. Moving on from Cadinot's Maghreb, the first chapter will continue with an in-depth analysis of the films of Jean-Noel René Clair, who changed the direction of gay ethnic pornography in France by relocating the desire towards Arab men in the Maghreb to that in the banlieues of French cities. Jean-Noel René Clair secures a critical spot in the history of gay ethnic pornography, given that his interest in fetishizing ethnic minorities within Europe is not limited to the Maghrebi men. He also produced examples with a specific focus on Turks, Russians, and the Romani people that inspired other production companies to create similar examples, as I discuss in the following chapters. While demonstrating how Jean-Noel René Clair has changed the narrative of earlier gay ethnic pornography, I further analyze the ways in which these films negotiate the discourse of Orientalism and post-colonialism in Europe through gay sexuality. Following my analysis of Jean-Noel René Clair's movies and the means of his productions, I conclude with the Paris-based porn studio

⁴⁹ Boone, 2014, XVII.

⁵⁰ Incidentally, this is a frequent problem since online porn film streaming platforms often do not contain the accurate credit information of these films and thus cause misinformation by default.

Citébeur and its Maghrebi-French actors, which has been founded by Stéphane Chibikh. Other than Jean-Daniel Cadinot and Jean-Noël René Clair, Citébeur plays with the clichés and stereotypes of migrant men while re-Orientalizing the desire for Arab men. While discussing these three production houses individually, I furthermore address the history of French gay ethnic pornography and its impact on gay audiences.

The second chapter focuses on German-Turkish productions of gay ethnic pornography filmed in Turkey: Zip Production and Trimax Films. The latter entered the ethnic pornography market in Europe with a unique aesthetic and narrative style. Their productions are of critical importance, especially since the public perception of gay culture is more and more liberal in Europe and the Turkish migrant community appears to be irreversibly embedded into German culture. The chapter will present a detailed analysis of both Zip Production and Trimax Films that has been missing in the discourse of gay ethnic pornography. In addition to the films produced in Turkey, this chapter also highlights examples that focus on Turkish men based in Germany. Director Marcel Bruckmann produced the *Turkish Cum Guns* series between 2003–2008 for the Street Boys company. The *Turkish Cum Guns* series provides a base for comparison with the examples that have been produced in Turkey, and, at the same time, they provide knowledge on how generational migration and Turkishness have been handled by the means of gay pornography. By doing so, these productions allow comparisons with Citébeur, which shares similarities considering the stereotypes and stigmatizations of second and third-generation migrant men in Europe. When compared to the previous examples produced in Turkey, the inclusion of the *Turkish Cum Guns* in this chapter helps to better analyze how the issues of ethnicity and Orientalism are nuanced through labor migration and social issues. Besides focusing on these examples, the appendices of this chapter, which consists of the media archive of Zip Production, will contribute to the discussion of how these production houses have been represented in the German printed media. Additionally, I interviewed the director and the producer of Zip Production, Ben Tamam. His perspective will enrich the methodological approach to their films.

The third chapter focuses on Eastern European examples of gay ethnic pornography, produced both inside and outside Eastern European countries. Besides Czech and Slovak studios such as BelAmiOnline and sub-production houses of Bigstr Network (Czech Hunter, Debt Dandy, Dirty Scout), the Swedish studio Potro Videos, the French Jean-Noël René Clair, and the German Zip Production studio (which changed its name to BUM Videos for Eastern Europe to act as a new production company) produced examples that have a specific focus on Eastern Europe. Although BelAmi Online and Bigstr Network appear utterly divorced from the production houses, their approach to exploitation and re-Orientalization makes them comparable with the productions from abroad. Historically, I begin the chapter with examples from Sweden and France and consider how these films built fascination towards Eastern Europe through social and financial traumas, which will be re-branded by the Czech examples later on. While Czech examples of gay ethnic pornography have only been

produced in the Czech Republic (unlike the other European models), no other nation or ethnicity has been included in the narrative, which will be addressed later in the third chapter through a discussion on self-exoticization in porn. Yet, these Czech examples attract many international porn fans and followers. Thus, the book will discuss these examples to respond to the question of what the mobility/immobility of such productions would mean.

After almost 40 years of production, these productions deciphered a network of fascination and antagonism through their pleasurable material. The focus of the first two chapters is to discuss the specific concept that exploits the colonial legacies and Orientalized sexual commodification of non-white men. The third chapter of this book provides an alternative approach that is missing in the prevalent argumentation concerning ethnic and racial representation of the Eastern European men in gay pornography. It provides an insight into ethnic and racial positionality through social class and war trauma within Europe.

In conclusion, this book provides an in-depth study of the political and ideological meanings of gay ethnic pornography that have been shaped over the last 40 years. While demonstrating how this study and its archival practice can expand the discipline of cultural studies and, more specifically, pornography studies, it offers an innovative research method to respond to the questions raised as well. In conclusion, my book also elucidates how gay ethnic pornography in Europe has shifted from the porn film production companies to the public personas of the porn stars, who self-distribute their works through the technologically evolving sphere of the internet. I believe this volume, through its deliberate inclusion of media archives, testimonies, letters from the audience, and interviews with the directors of the films, will expand the text – and representation – centered on contributions made to the field of pornography studies.

2 Between the Hammams of Maghreb and the Basements of Paris: French Productions

Pornography is a site of both entertainment and pleasure. Yet, the pleasure that it induces is profoundly structured, not only by ideological constructs of sex and ‘race’, but also by political triumphs and insecurities. Nowhere is this more evident than in what Cervulle and Rees-Roberts have termed as ‘gay ethnic pornography’: “a term widely used in French gay sexual culture to designate the particular genre of porn involving non-white men.”¹ *Mektoub Fantasie Arabe* (ca. 1920) is considered as the first example of European gay ethnic pornographic film.² The film was produced in France, but similar productions soon followed in other European countries. *Mektoub Fantasie Arabe* tells the story of curious French tourist Dickie, who sneaks into the emperor Abd-el Zob’s palace and ‘unexpectedly’ experiences polysexual encounters that include penetration by Abd-el Zob and his guards.³ However, it is possible to chart the phenomenology of ethnic pornography long before the *Mektoub Fantasie Arabe* from 1920, perhaps starting from Napoleon’s expedition to Egypt in 1798 that is followed by the French conquest of Algiers in 1830, and the establishment of protectorates in Tunisia in 1881 and Morocco in 1912.⁴ In his instructive survey *Colonialism and Homosexuality*, Robert Aldrich argues that the dynamics around colonial idea as:

One is indeed the emblematic flight from the religious and social demands of Europe (even tolerant and naughty fin de siècle Paris) to search overseas for wealth, warm climates, enchanting landscapes and cultures, and some sort of self-realization. Colonialism manifestly aided such journeys.⁵

1 I employed the terminology “gay ‘ethnic’ pornography” from the essential and inspiring work of Maxime Cervulle and Nick Rees-Roberts. See Maxime Cervulle, and Nick Rees-Roberts. “Queering the Orientalist Porn Package: Arab Men in French Gay Pornography.” *New Cinemas* 6, no. 3 (2009), 198. See also: Cervulle, Maxime. “Erotic/Exotic. Race and Class in French Gay ‘Ethnic’ Pornography”. In *Post/Porn/Politics: Symposium/Reader: Queer-Feminist Perspective on the Politics of Porn Performance and Sex-Work as Culture Production*, edited by Tim Stüttgen. Berlin: B-Books, 2009, 180–193.

2 Some of the movies I mention are only available to internet users on xHamster today. *Mektoub Fantasie Arabe* (ca. 1920) is one of them. According to Wikipedia, “xHamster is a pornographic media and social networking site headquartered in the Cypriot city of Limassol. xHamster serves user-submitted pornographic videos, webcam models, pornographic photographs, and erotic literature, and incorporates social networking features. xHamster was founded in 2007.” See: <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt3815774/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024). See also: <https://de.xhamster2.com/videos/mektoub-circa-1920-gay-bisex-from-nexus79-13563082> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

3 Joseph Allen Boone provides a deeper insight regarding *Mektoub Fantasie Arabe* in his work *Homosexualities of Orientalism*. See: Boone, 2014, XVII.

4 Aldrich, Robert. *Colonialism and Homosexuality*. London; New York: Routledge, 2003, 329

5 Aldrich, 2003, 337.

Long before the emergence of the pornographic film industry, remarkable examples from French literature and arts, including painting and photography, testify to the pornographic potentials of the colonial relationship in the S.W.A.N.A. regions. The novels of Henry de Montherlant, Roger Martin du Gard, André Gide (and even post-1920 literature such as Jean Genet and Tony Duvert) and the memoirs and paintings of François Augiéras explored the assumed proximity of North African and Arab men to homosexuality not only as a sexual fantasy but also as a social construct.⁶ These literary examples documented the tropes of colonialism and Orientalism connected to sexuality and society's memories. Gay ethnic pornography, as a subgenre, is shaped by literature and historiography that orchestrate ethnicities and their attached social and cultural codes. The narrative of this genre relies on the dynamics, such as economic power, mobility, and sociocultural difference, that have become discrete sociopolitical markers. These elements simultaneously create a space for commonalities and polarizations, making gay ethnic pornography a rich field of study.

Gay ethnic pornography mainly employs two stereotypes of foreignness: while one presents a racialized animality of the ethnic subject, the other works as a triumphant debasement through humiliation and fetishization. These two types of foreignness have been represented in gay ethnic pornography throughout time and across media. However, a critical approach is needed to account for which communities are at stake when it comes to pornographic depiction in diverse media forms. In addition to these considerations, this genre has been dominated by European white middle-class men until the porn industry became inclusive of people of color from Europe in director and producer positions. This shift happened only after the 2000s, when gay ethnic pornography reached its peak as a popular genre in the mainstream porn industry. To understand the motives of the pre-2000s gay ethnic pornography in the film industry, it is important to look into how this phenomenon moved from the S.W.A.N.A. regions to France and how it first became a social and cultural issue. It is also key to understand how this phenomenon became re-localized as a marketing strategy.

This chapter aims to understand the power dynamics embedded in racial and sexual commodification, and class exploitation, and the ways in which these dynamics inform the porn industry's marketing strategies and media coverages in France. Combining this literature review with discourse analysis, I aim to explore different aspects of exoticization and eroticization of the colonial subject to understand the tensions of ethnic difference embedded in pornographic representation, and what that

⁶ In literature examples of ethnic pornography, French writer Tony Duvert becomes the only one who realizes the post-colonial potential of such erotic tension. In his book, *Diary of an Innocent* (1976), he also points out the discrimination that the Maghrebi man is experiencing in France, besides his joy of having sex with them. *Diary of an Innocent*, translated into English in 2010, could be one of the few literature examples of gay 'ethnic' pornography that recognizes the post-colonial social potential of racialized sexuality towards Arab men.

can tell us about the operations of a gay male gaze. Unlike the other topics covered in this book, the French context of gay ethnic pornography has been dealt with by different scholars at different times. Therefore, the literature review in this chapter leads me to broader discussions rather than a detailed presentation of historical facts that are already included in the works of the scholars this book refers to. In contrast to a conventional historiographical examination, the subsequent two chapters delve into specific examples that have yet to receive extensive scrutiny or analysis within academic discourse. Consequently, their references are limited to a select number of scholarly works. The primary objective of this study is twofold: firstly, to furnish a foundation for dialogue by shedding light on underexplored aspects, and secondly, to establish connections between French gay, ethnic pornography and its counterparts in German and Eastern European contexts. This approach widens the scope of investigation within the field. It offers a nuanced understanding of the interplay between cultural and geographical factors in producing and receiving such material.

2.1 Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire (FHAR) and Maghrebi Men

By 1960, almost one million Algerians had migrated from Algeria to Europe – mainly to France – making Algerians the largest ethnic minority in France.⁷ This was followed by the independence of Algeria in 1962, and, as Todd Shepard states in *Sex, France, and the Arab Men*, the erotic fascination with Algerians was infused with hatred and fear. 1962 was also the year when the *homophile* movement became more and more visible in France.⁸ The October 1964 issue of the popular far-right magazine *Europe Action* bore the headline “Soon There Will Be One Million of Them” and the cover image showed a group of Algerian men photographed from a distance without any visible female figures. The independence of Algeria was perceived as a hypermasculine threat against the ‘gentle’ French society.

The gendered crisis of virility created a new kind of representation for North African Arab men in France, in which racial dehumanization and triumphant debasement were thrown into a mishmash of sex. French erotic cinema of the period was late in reflecting this change due to legal restrictions. Since there was a legislative ban on showing and producing porn movies in France, most attempts at erotic narratives

7 Here I refer to *Europe-action* 22 (October 1964), front cover. The headline of the magazine stated: “Soon There Will Be One Million of Them.” See also: Aldrich, 2003, 329.

8 Shepard, Todd. *Sex, France, and Arab Men, 1962–1979*. Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017. The reason why I chose to describe the word *homophile* is based on the fact that it was the prior version of the LGBTI+ movement from today. The primary organizations and media that supported and represented sexual minorities from the 1950s to 1960s worldwide are collectively referred to as the *homophile* movement.

were integrated into non-erotic dramas as highly romanticized depictions of human sexuality. In addition to this, “the legislative changes that made the legal production and distribution of all pornographic films in France possible began after Giscard d’Estaing’s election in May 1974.”⁹

This moment also coincides with gay rights movements growing stronger alongside other social movements. For instance, on Wednesday, March 10, 1971, Ménie Grégoire hosted a radio program on the national broadcaster RTL titled “Homosexuality: This Painful Problem” with Father Guinchat, a priest, and André Baudry, the head of France’s only ‘homophile’ organization, as guests.¹⁰ This historic program, where homosexuality was discussed openly on a popular French radio station, was disrupted by a group of activists who would later call themselves the FHAR (*Front Homosexuel d’Action Révolutionnaire*). This group was registered with the police as a humanitarian anti-racist front, in order to avoid censorship and being shut down. The FHAR intervention provided the issue with much more visibility than the radio program would have ordinarily generated. On April 23, 1971, almost two months later, FHAR released a manifesto in the Maoist newspaper *Tout!*.

The manifesto plays a central role in the discussions of gay ethnic pornography because the FHAR members betrayed anti-racist impulses by fetishizing Arabs while reproducing conventional middle-class white male rhetoric. This text is not fully available online, but this study on gay ethnic pornography will allow the reader to reach the complete text of the manifesto of FHAR, for the first time in English. Considering the importance of accessing this text, this book will be quoting the manifesto. Following this, the book will feature the column by FHAR in the newspaper and the manifesto to discuss the general view towards Maghrebi, Arab men. The discourse of FHAR explicitly addresses the discussion of sexualization through an assertive political ground. The manifesto speaks volumes on the issue of sexualized Arab migrant bodies and the questionable solidarity of politicized intellectual French gay communities.¹¹ The initial publication of “Trois Milliard de Pervers,” however, remains embedded into a sense of mystery, given that a French court seized all available copies and ordered them to be destroyed, in addition to fining the designated director of publications, Guattari: 600 francs for affronting public decency. As a result, very few people are said to have been able to see the original publication that, apart from Guattari’s introduc-

9 Callwood, Dan. “Anxiety and Desire in France’s Gay Pornographic Film Boom, 1974–1983.” *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2017, 31.

10 As it is explained in Michael Sibal’s article, “The homophile movement – which disliked the word ‘homosexual’ for stressing sex rather than love – was predominantly middle-class, conformist and politically and socially conservative.” See: Sibal, Michael. “L’arrivée De La Libération Gay En France. Le Front Homosexuel D’action Révolutionnaire (Fhar).” *Genre, sexualité et société* 3, 2010, 265 and 267.

11 See: *Appendix* for the entire manifesto

tion, has never been reprinted until 2015.¹² Here, I would like to add the remark of Sophie Thomas on the position of FHAR:

Note on FHAR: In France, this evolution has been different. The revolutionary movement, the FHAR, was launched with a political agenda right from the start. There was no conjunction of marginal homosexual movements with political movements: the problems of homosexuality were immediately posed as political questions. This Maoist movement – formed around the journal *Tout!*, the edition of May '68 – refused not only to accept that homosexuality: was an illness or a perversion, but advanced the view that it concerned a normal sexual life. Similarly, the women's liberation movement, the MLF (*Mou'l Jement de libération des femmes*), argued that feminine homosexuality was not only a form of struggle against male chauvinism, but also a radical questioning of all dominant forms of sexuality.¹³

FHAR's published manifesto and the intervention on the radio show could be considered the first social criticism of the fascination with and the fetishization of the North African and Arab males in France issued from intellectuals and activists of middle-class French society. Outside their 'revolutionary' view on the hyper-sexualization of immigrant men in *Tout!*, FHAR also released two further publications, *Le Fléau Social* and *L'Antinorm*, which aimed to contradict the gay liberation movements of the time from a radical perspective.¹⁴ During their events and parades, they carried banners with slogans such as "High School Boys Are Cute" or "Down With The Dictatorship of Normal". Their statements and banners show that what conservative media as well as parts of the more assimilative forces in the Gay Liberation movement saw as perversions was what they carried as a badge of honor.¹⁵ As they put it in *Tout!*, 'these over 343 bitches' will speak for both themselves and the Arabs. In the following issue of the *Tout!* (May 17, 1971) the newspaper demonized sex workers and pornography, positing

12 See: Felix Guattari, ed., *Trois Milliards de Pervers: La Grande Encyclopédie des Homosexualités* (La Bussière: Acratie, 2015). Guattari's "Liminaire" was reprinted in French in Felix Guattari, *La révolution moléculaire* (Fontenay-sous-Bois: Encres/Recherches, 1977), 110–19; and in its English translation in Félix Guattari, "Thee Billion Perverts on the Stand," Gary Genosko, *The Guattari Reader*, 185–192.) Gary Genosko mentions that in 2002 a partly censored copy of "Trois Milliard de Pervers" surfaced on the website of the French journal *Critical Secret* but access was password protected. The omitted parts concerned 32 pages under the title "Pédophilie"; see Gary Genosko, "Busted: Félix Guattari and the Grande Encyclopédie des Homosexualités," *Rhizomes* 11/12, 2005/2006; (accessed February 1, 2020); available from <http://www.rhizomes.net/issue11/genosko.html#4>. (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024). See also: Guattari, Félix, Cathy Bernheim, Gilles Chatelet, Michel Cressole, Fanny Deleuze, Gilles Deleuze, Catherine Deudon, et al. *Recherches. N°[12] [Mars 1973], Trois Milliards De Pervers. Grande Encyclopédie Des HomosexualitéS*. Paris(73 rue Buffon): Recherches, 1973.

13 Guattari, Felix. *A Guattari Reader / Pierre-Felix Guattar*, edited by Gary Genosko. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, 187.

14 McGrogan, Manus Christian. "Tout! in context 1968–1973: French radical press at the crossroads of far left, new movements and counterculture." Thesis, University of Portsmouth, 2010, 7.

15 Hocquenghem, Guy, Scott Branson, and Gilles Deleuze. *Gay Liberation after May '68*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2022.

a Maoist perspective of a Trotskyist organization called the *Lutte Ouvrière*. Manus Christian McGrogan describes this article in his work *Tout! in Context 1968–1973: French Radical Press at the Crossroads of Far Left, New Movements and Counterculture*, as an attack on the capitalist understanding of homosexuality that reduces gay sex to pornography and ‘prostitution’.¹⁶

In this particular historical context, this could be considered revolutionary, and even be understood as an empowering text that expressed solidarity with migrant Maghrebi men – at least to a certain extent. However, the article also served as an example of how Western gay ethnic pornography produced anti-racist content without sharing the space with the non-white individuals. Unfortunately, the following issues of the newspaper did not produce the empowering space for the ‘Arab comrades’ as FHAR had intended. Instead, it provided an illustration of how Orientalist tropes were being justified by European men. How the manifestation of FHAR excused French white gay men’s perceived right to engage in sex tourism in the Maghreb is described by Christian Fournier in the *Dictionnaire de la pornographie*, in addition to what Mehammed Amadeus Mack mentions briefly in his seminal work *Sexagon: Muslims, France, and the Sexualization of National Culture*. Writing on *Tout!* showed pseudo-solidarity, and it did not invite a new discussion on the commodification of North African and Arab bodies. Yet, it did demonstrate how white middle-class men of the post-68 French society are implicated within the discourse of racial and sexual commodification. Later, this illustration will result in the first big hit of French gay ethnic pornography in Jean-Daniel Cadinot’s movies, especially the *Nomades* series.¹⁷

2.2 *Good Hot Stuff* and the United States impact

Before turning to Cadinot’s films, to better understand the historical context, it is also important to note how gay pornography regained prominence on France’s mainstream film market.¹⁸ Following the change in the law on the screening of pornographic films in 1974, Algerian-born filmmaker Norbert Terry recognized the potential market for gay erotic and pornographic cinema and wanted to import to France Jack Deveau’s *Good Hot Stuff* (1975) from the U.S., along with filmmaker Jacques Scandolari, who released the films under the nickname Mervin Merkins. *Good Hot Stuff* is a feature-length documentary focusing on Hand in Hand Films, a gay porn film studio based in New York (USA). The film is narrated by Mark Woodward, a frequent Hand in Hand Films protagonist and famous gay porn star of the era. Hand in Hand Films was a popular gay porn production company during the golden era of porn, from the late

¹⁶ McGrogan, 2010, 173.

¹⁷ See: <https://www.cadinot.fr> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

¹⁸ Callwood, 2017, 28.

1960s to the late 1970s. *Good Hot Stuff* includes excerpts of a ‘best of’ compilation from the Hand in Hand Films of the time. The last part of the film contains an orgy scene that reminded many viewers of James Bidgood’s *Pink Narcissus* (1971). However, it is later confirmed to be an original Hand in Hand Films production, inspired by *Pink Narcissus*.¹⁹

The scene in question has Orientalist overtones: it begins with a belly dance, which turns into a dream sequence where the actors interact with each other only half awake, in a dimly lighted room, almost ecstatic, with belly dancer gears. The headline of the poster reads: “See... The palace of pleasure! The Sultan with his slaves.” This emphasis in the marketing confirms the Orientalist stereotype through cinematic representation. The film was shown in six different movie theaters and earned around one million francs at the box office, which can be considered a great success for the period of nascent porn film production immediately after the lifting of the ban on pornographic films.²⁰ It is an important example of how colonial legacies and Orientalism have been instrumentalized in gay pornography. Screening this film to the audiences in France invites new questions, such as did French viewers perceive the film in a particular way? How did the France’s former colonial presence in North Africa and the presence of Algerian minorities in France shape the audience’s reception?

A year before importing *Good Hot Stuff* (1975) in 1974, Norbert Terry produced a straight porno film, which included the representation of a black woman. The film was called *Couche-moi dans le sable et fais jaillir ton pétrole* (Get Crude in the Desert and I Will Make Your Oil Gush, 1975), and the focus of the film was on the oil crisis. Norbert Terry was already aware of the marketing potential of issues related to the colonial legacies of France and the political climate of that time. With *Couche-moi dans le sable et fais jaillir ton pétrole* (1975) and the import of the *Good Hot Stuff* (1974), Norbert Terry and Jacques Scandelari capitalized on the already prominent global interest in this topic. They since continued their careers in the porn film industry as producers and filmmakers, establishing two different production companies that produced porn films that inspired the first French mainstream gay porn film *Harem* (1984) by Jean-Daniel Cadinot. Following the attention Cadinot received with his films, the dominant narrative of gay ethnic pornography changed its direction from homo-erotic soft-core films to hardcore gay pornography, which later created a whole genre in the European gay porn industry. Following Jean-Noël René Clair and his legacy as a pioneering director of hard-core gay ethnic pornography, Dargos, Studio Replay, and Citébeur film companies continued working in the genre, but from different perspectives. However, one of these companies, Citébeur, stands out, especially because the pro-

¹⁹ This has been discussed during the panel discussion on *Good Hot Stuff* at the Porn Film Festival in Berlin in 2015, where I was personally present. See: <https://pornfilmfestivalberlin.de/en/film-2019/good-hot-stuff/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

²⁰ Callwood, 2017, 35.

ducer Stéphane Chibikh is of Maghrebi descent. This is relevant because, as Maxime Cervulle states, there is little room for queers of color as autonomous subjects, “rather they appear as erotic bodies in ethnic porn, in productions by the Dargos, Replay, Jean-Noël René Clair studios, or else as suffering bodies called on to confess all on the set of the gay channel Pink-TV.”²¹

2.3 Jean-Daniel Cadinot

Dan Callwood discusses pornographic cinema through the theory of Felix Guattari. He explains:

Guattari called this sort of cinema a “minor art”, “an art that can be used in the service of people who constitute a minority. A major art is an art in the service of power.” Guattari saw the act of depicting explicit homosexual sex as political in and of itself, regardless of the intention.²²

Considering the post-independence shifts in colonial power dynamics, how could pornography work in the service of minorities? Also, what makes porn a minor art that is illicit or, at best, does not evoke the same aesthetic experience as fine art?²³ It is worth unpacking the very specific notion of ‘the minor’ developed by Guattari (and Deleuze). Especially in the French context of gay ethnic pornography, the power relations within the movie shift quite often and unexpectedly. Disregarding Stéphane Chibikh’s ethnic background, his Citébeur productions might be considered as serving both minorities and the mainstream, as the productions themselves actually differ. Because he falsely marketed the ethnicities of the cast, Jean-Noël René Clair is a problematic figure as the way he represented men can be considered exploitative against the background of more recent understandings of representational politics in the history of gay ethnic pornography. For instance, he produced a movie called *Turks/Les Turks* (1997) in which the majority of the cast was Algerian. Secondly, he brought the scene of ethnic pornography to the social housing projects of suburban France and changed the direction of ethnic pornography from the Maghreb to France. Jean-Noël René Clair produced porn films depicting numerous ethnicities and social groups such as ‘Turks,’ ‘Africans,’ ‘Gypsies,’ ‘Balkans,’ ‘Soviet Russians,’ and so on. But perhaps the potential of visualizations is not to be found in the role of the producer, but in that of the audi-

²¹ Cervulle, Maxime. “French Homonormativity and the Commodification of the Arab Body.” *Radical History Review*, no. 100, 2008, 177.

²² Callwood, 2017, 29. The quote is from Felix Guattari’s *Molecular Revolution: Psychiatry and Politics* (1984).

²³ Two recent publications edited by Hans Maes are devoted to this fundamental question; see: Maes, Hans, and Jerrold Levinson. *Art and Pornography: Philosophical Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. See also: Maes, Hans. *Pornographic Art and the Aesthetics of Pornography*. Publikationsort: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2013.

ence: many people might search for ethnic porn because they want to see themselves represented. The trend for ethnic fetishes inadvertently produces representation where perhaps there was none. The question then becomes what the quality of that representation is, and therefore how Jean-Noël René Clair's exoticization of the actors influences the effectiveness of the porn and the production values of the movies.

These considerations also apply to the work of other filmmakers that use ethnicization as a crucial instrument in their films. The productions of Dargos and Studio Replay are an example, as these two specific companies are non-existent in today's digital archives. The inadequate archiving of pornographic materials reminds us of the importance of producing intellectual work around this subject in order to keep the cultural memory of certain groups alive.²⁴ Citébeur is the only company that is still active and producing contemporary examples of gay ethnic pornography. Chronologically, these companies are part of the same lineage when it comes to illustrating the sociopolitical value of gay ethnic pornography in Europe.

When discussing the movies of Jean-Noël René Clair, it is fundamental to also consider the productions by Jean-Daniel Cadinot, since these two pioneers of ethnic pornography represent different approaches towards ethnic fetishization. Although Cadinot's career started earlier, their filmographies demonstrate an artistic dialogue between each other. Jean-Daniel Cadinot is a Montmartre, Paris-born photographer and filmmaker. He began his career with short-length porn films, and he moved on to full-length production with his first major success, *Harem* (1984).²⁵ The film narrates the story of a young Frenchman discovering the mysterious city of Casbah, Morocco. The description on Cadinot's official website goes well with the film's Orientalist patterns almost in the manner of a work of literature:

It all starts at a hammam. In the steamy bath, a French teenager discovers Arab sensuality at its best, like a thunderbolt. But when his young Moroccan leaves the building, he becomes invisible in the kasbah's alleyways. Our young hero sets out to follow him through the busy streets but, too far behind him, he gets lost in the souks where he will discover, in the back rooms of shops, the very particular hospitality of Eastern traders. Among the waves of bronzed men comes an ebony Adonis, probably the most beautiful in all of Cadinot's collection. The play of his white clothes over his black skin gives his scenes an extraordinary sensuality...²⁶

²⁴ I also wanted to analyze the movies of Dargos and Studio Replay; however, they are no longer available. According to Act-Up Paris, these studios, and Pink TV and Menoboy companies played a considerable role in relapsing the HIV epidemic by promoting bareback sex in France and the Maghreb. However, these companies produced films in the early 2000s, and during the transition era from DVD to online streaming platforms, they shut down, and the DVDs are no longer available. See: <http://site-2003-2017.actupparis.org/spip.php?article2440> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

²⁵ The title of the film was translated as *Sex Bazaar* for the audience in the U.S. and UK.

²⁶ See: <https://www.hotcast.fr/de/dvd/detail/13285-sex-bazaar> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

Until here, the text exposes the poetic production of ethnicity of the encounter of French teenagers with Arab sensuality. The following part of the text focuses on how sex tourism is presented as a 'holiday program,' and how wild, audacious, and explicit it is:

Without doubt, it is one of the most dazzling pages in the history of gay eroticism. Cadinot is responsible for the most sensual holiday programme on the subject of Northern Africa. Since these images, there must have been an onslaught of gay charter flights to Northern Africa!²⁷

After the screening of *Good Hot Stuff* (1974) in France, Cadinot created his own version of interracial porn with Arab men recalling the colonial and transcultural exchanges of France in the most homo-Oriental way possible. This is also the first representation of sex tourism (in French overseas colonies) in gay porn filmography. The Maghreb is represented as a labyrinth-like space filled with Arab men. The film presents a hammam scene where Moroccan guys are enjoying each other, and as soon as the French tourist enters the room, they welcome him to join their session.

The social position of the hammam here is important, as it already provides a semi-public setting for homosocial encounters. This setting is often used in the narrative of gay ethnic pornography because at the same time it eroticizes and exoticizes male-to-male contact. The hammam, known as the Turkish bath, is a social place where people cleanse their bodies and mentally relax while socializing. Eve Sedgwick describes homosociality in *Between Men* as explicitly not homosexual, in fact enabled by homophobia. In this sense, a hammam is also a quite homo-social surrounding where men perform massages on each other, or dance for each other, and help each other clean and relax. The same goes for the women as well. This creates a certain intimacy between people who share this isolated space. Hammams are therefore public and private at the same time. This duality creates a sort of a sacred space to perform rituals that would otherwise have been considered immoral to the heteronormative society. So, while this hammam scene points out the versatility of these Arab men, it also points out the fact that this versatility explicitly exists in a steamy closet. As Sedgwick argues in the *Epistemology of the Closet*, this form of discreet intimacy has its own social rules, agreements, and a power dynamic in itself, which relies on maintaining homosocial decency.

Sedgwick further states in her theory of the erotic triangle how homosocial encounters are dependent on male-female-male space structures to ensure that, through the presence of a woman, homosocial relations are not perceived as homosexual.²⁸ This statement expands Edward Said's binary view on Orientalism, in which he argued that the West was portrayed as male/masculine and the Orient as female/feminine. Sedgwickian triangulation of homosociality (male-female-male) functions here to obscure

²⁷ See: <https://www.hotcast.fr/de/dvd/detail/13285-sex-bazaar> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

²⁸ Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. Gender and Culture. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985, 21.

homosexual desire. A transnational masculine concept (as an alternative to Orientalist masculine and Occidentalist feminine) would help translate this triangulation to a revised version of Orientalist male erotica.²⁹ Although there is no actual male-female-male triangle in such a hammam concept as Sedgwick suggested, in the hammam scenes of Cadinot films, femininity is mainly represented by the Orientalist tourist who is perceived as being 'properly gay' by the global West. By 'proper gayness', I mean the closeness of ethnic actors to aligning with the stereotypical understanding of how an openly gay person can look or act – such Western perception, by default, positions non-white actors as 'not gay enough' in discourse, either visually or theoretically.

The ability of North African and/or Arab men, especially black men, to be sexually versatile is often neglected in French gay ethnic pornography. Rather, these men are often cast according to a rigid binary: either as 'aggressive' tops or 'needy' bottoms who need the hand of a white man. This might have its origins in the myth that homosexuality was introduced to the rest of the world by European people, as it happened with the concept of heterosexuality. This differs from the Orientalist idea that associates sexual deviance and promiscuity precisely with the non-European. Therefore, the underlying logic of the hammam scene comes from a straightforward Orientalist idea of the bathhouse as a site of sexual disinhibition that contrasts with the stereotype of Christian-European propriety. This reading of the hammam scene offers a discussion on how homosexuality is being perceived within black and brown communities.

Frantz Fanon discusses the concept of homosexuality within the black communities in a more instructive way. In the narrative of gay ethnic pornography, it is quite apparent that these two affirmations have been instrumentalized to commodify black and brown men as a tool for empowerment and redemption for people of color themselves.

Many non-white people might search for ethnic porn because they want to see themselves represented, and the representation here possibly enables access for the colonized subjects. However, it has to be taken into account that these films have not been produced with an audience of minority ethnic groups in mind, who, nevertheless, have perceived the movies and felt 'seen' by them due to the limited access to means of representation. Sexual positions and preferences can be helpful in under-

29 In their analysis of Sedgwick's triangulation, Maxime Cervulle explores the concept of the heterosexual performance as a "troubled body double" in JNRC Films. Cervulle argues that this fantasy of heterosexual performance "possesses the audience through an epistemological privilege over the actor." This interpretation of Sedgwick's work also applies to earlier examples, such as Jean-Daniel Cadinot's films, which create a similar tension through implications and the overlapping fantasy of 'discreet' escapades of homosocial coincidences. See: Cervulle, Maxime. "Erotic/Exotic. Race and Class in French Gay 'Ethnic' Pornography". In *Post/Porn/Politics: Symposium/Reader: Queer-Feminist Perspective on the Politics of Porn Performance and Sex-Work as Culture Production*, edited by Tim Stüttgen, Berlin: B-Books, 2009, 183 and 184.

standing whose desire is aimed to in order to be lured by such choices. Versatility as a sexual position helps to sustain resemblance, as viewers of different preferences can identify with the actors on screen, although the narrative limits the desire of Maghrebi men.

Outside the versatility the Arab men were allowed in the hammam scene, in the rest of the scenes in *Harem* that included sexual intercourse, the roles are more rigid. All Arab men who show interest in the young French tourist do so in the active sexual role. The tendency in gay ethnic pornography to assign preferences to the characters on the basis of ethnic stereotypes is familiar from another pornographic film sub-genre (interracial porn) which is especially prominent in the United States of America, where white men are paired with African American or Latino ones. In U.S. interracial porn, most of the time, the black or Latino man penetrates the white man. In his work *Pleasures of the Orient: Cadinot's Maghreb as Gay Male Pornotopia* (2011), Jaap Kooijman asks how the “conventions of American interracial gay porn can be connected to European-made gay porn situated in the post-colonial Maghreb.”³⁰ He answers this question with the affirmation of Nikos Papastergiadis: this perspective would fit the ‘ideology of conquest through sexual penetration’, which runs parallel to the ideology of white superiority.³¹ Fanon provides an example where a sadomasochistic dialectic is at play: “There are, for instance, men who go to ‘houses’ in order to be beaten by ‘negroes’: passive homosexuals who insist on black partners.”³² The drive behind these two sub-genres of mainstream gay porn are connected and function in a similar way, since this is about a reversed master narrative and the role of sex in playing out a colonial subconscious. Later on, in this chapter, the same ideology will manifest itself in reverse, where being penetrated will symbolize the migrant ‘invasion’ of Europe. Assigning the role of the penetrating, dominant, macho male to Maghrebi men both maintains a colonial logic of the Other as savage and posits a kind of post-colonial settling of scores with the former master.

Twenty years after *Harem*, in 2004 Cadinot revisited North Africans with a similar film called *Hammam*, showing that the popularity of the theme had not declined. In fact, a new generation was ready to be told the same old story. The portrayal of the sexual dynamic that had not changed despite the wide integration of North African communities in France in the intervening years. In *Hammam* (2004), Cadinot took his lens outside the Maghreb and showed for the first time in his movies North

30 Kooijman, Jaap. “Pleasures of the Orient: Cadinot’s Maghreb as Gay Male Pornotopia”. In *Indiscretions*. Leiden: Brill, 2011, 102.

31 Papastergiadis, Nikos. “Tracing Hybridity in Theory.” In *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multicultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*, translated by Homi K. Bhabha, 257–281. London: Zed Books Ltd, 2015, 260.

32 Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. 1st ed., New ed. New York: [Berkeley, Calif.]: Grove Press; Distributed by Publishers Group West, 2008, 177.

African descendants in France as working-class. The protagonist, Marco, meets an electrician, Haythem, who comes to fix the electricity in Marco's building. They have sex, and Haythem asks Marco to deliver a letter to his father in Morocco. Following this scene, the story continues in Morocco. Haythem's inclusion in the narrative can be considered as Cadinot's late recognition of how the ethnic pornography trend became a hit with Maghrebi communities in France. Haythem makes the first move to attract the attention of the white gay man who hired him. Maxime Cervulle discusses Haythem in this scene, and states that the "Arab male is put down to biology, therefore reinforcing standard racial typologies that reduce non-white people to their bodies."³³ Gay ethnic pornography will turn this motive into a strategic marketing tool and use it often as a caricatured reality in introductory dialogues.

Besides Haythem (representative of a gay guy descending from a working-class Maghrebi), it is hard to find examples of French citizens of Maghrebi descent in Cadinot's narrative. After *Hammam*, Cadinot continued producing interracial porn films. Subsequent directors of this genre, however, aimed to change the focus from North Africa to the banlieues and housing projects of France, where the socio-economic class was mobilized as an engine of desire as much as the ethnic background of the performers.

2.4 Cadinot's Wave in France and the United States

Cadinot's exploitation of Maghrebi men and the concept of gay sex tourism was followed by later porn film producers in France and the U.S. These later productions, however, did not depict the cultural sphere; instead, they used the Maghreb as a film set for an Orientalist porn theme. Compared to the Cadinot productions, the following examples defused the dynamics around gaze while positioning Maghrebi men in empty hotel rooms or using found footage of the Maghreb, in which none of the actors appeared. These movies point to a timeline after Cadinot and before Jean-Noël René Clair productions, where no French-Maghrebi actors were depicted in France. Therefore, the Maghrebi men who took part in those productions represent neither Maghrebi men from the Maghreb nor Maghrebi-French men from France. While Cadinot films showed these actors socializing in the Maghreb, which allows the audience to build cultural references, the following productions trapped these men in isolated settings, consisting only of their bodies and some interior decoration that signifies an Orientaly decorated household which should therefore be perceived as Maghrebi. The fact that the Maghreb theme is provided by decoration and by Maghrebi actors meant that these films were produced more easily, thus reducing the cost of production. Therefore, these in-between-era productions offer more of an illustrated or, so to say, decorated way of Maghrebi-men erotica.

³³ Cervulle, 2009, 187.

Following Cadinot, Gay French Kiss made *Escapade en Algérie* (Escape from Algeria) in 2002, directed by Hocine. *Escapade en Algérie* is one of the most Cadinot-esque films produced in the same era. Protagonist Michael joins his friend who visits his cousin in Algeria, and a few more so-called Céfrans will join them during the visit. Céfran is a French term to describe 'white' French people. The term Céfran is used for the first time in the film Gay French Kiss not only to define who they are but as an element to capitalize on the 'white' identity in an Arab-themed French production. Similar to Arab men being eroticized in French gay porn movies, in the films of Gay French Kiss, Caucasian identity was also marketed, which suggests that the Cadinot-wave in the gay porn world has created an interest in the 'white' French men in the gay porn market. Additionally, from the first examples in the early 2000s, affected by Cadinot, their films were more scripted until 2010. The late productions of Gay French Kiss, however, produced their films in a less scripted way, which is closer to the style of JNRC. *Escapade en Algérie* was the only example of an Arab-themed movie of Gay French Kiss.

Like Gay French Kiss, MenoBoy Body Prod and Alexander Pictures companies produced Maghrebi-themed porn productions. MenoBoy is a gay porn studio based in France that began making videos in 2003 under the direction of Ludovic Peltier. MenoBoy joined Studio Presse in 2017, a prominent gay porn film network that currently distributes French gay porn production houses, including the films of Cadinot and JNRC. MenoBoy's online platform offers 560 videos ready to stream from their line of DVDs. Overall, MenoBoy presents various French men from different ethnicities and backgrounds; however, the first productions of the company mainly focused on the Maghrebi theme with North African and Arab men, to follow the trend that Cadinot created. MenoBoy produced several films, such as *Le Riad* (The Riad) in 2012 and *Plaisirs Cachés d'Orient* (Hidden Pleasures of Orient) in 2015, which has a special focus on Maghrebi. Similar to the late Cadinot productions, MenoBoy filmed interracial porn, depicting Arab men having sex with each other. Both films' plot is based on the story of French tourists exploring the streets of the Maghreb and their encounters with locals. Besides French tourists seeking adventure, MenoBoy also shows sex between locals. The movies of MenoBoy are less scripted compared to the films of Cadinot; however, set design, music, and marketing strategies are pretty similar.

The set design of the MenoBoy series seems less staged compared to the high production values of Cadinot films. These productions recreate the sex tourism fantasy in the Maghreb but with a reduced visual impact. For instance, in *Plaisirs Cachés d'Orient* (Hidden Pleasures of the Orient) (2015), there is a hammam scene that could have taken place in any European hotel spa, looking completely different than the authentic hammams presented in Cadinot films. Almost ten years later than the actual Cadinot productions, the MenoBoy series with a Maghreb focus turns the genre into more of a caricature, eliminating elements of authenticity and turning it into a loosely Orientalist set that impacts the verisimilitude and targets an audience for whom such rudimentary resemblance would be enough to build ethnic fantasy.

Starting from Cadinot, who shot his films in the Maghreb and informed his audience visually and culturally, the following JNRC productions moved to a hard-core level and introduced the Beur element (non-white migrant men from France) to the ethnic genre. Following JNRC, Citébeur came up with the Maghrebi-French stereotype from France and took Cadinot's and JNRC's Maghrebi men parody-style aesthetic to a new level, reflecting the fear and fascination towards Maghrebi men in France. While these three different directors/production houses represent three different histories and positionalities regarding Maghrebi men and the colonial history of France, MenoBoy revived Cadinot's nostalgia through a rudiment approach. Perhaps the vague nostalgia that MenoBoy stirred reintroduces the Cadinot-style sex tourism to a new generation of porn audience who cannot access Cadinot films' easily while teasing the core audience of Cadinot. The demand for these MenoBoy series, three decades after Cadinot's *Harem* (1984), demonstrates that desire towards Maghrebi men outside France is real. Despite Citébeur's French-Maghrebi banlieue parody, such sex tourism narratives show a resistance towards perceiving Maghrebi men as the gay Other.

MenoBoy movies don't depict outside scenes like Cadinot did, and most of their films, such as *Plaisirs Cachés d'Orient* and *Le Riad*, have been filmed in the same location. The later examples of MenoBoy changed its direction from Cadinot style to catch the zeitgeist of its time. These latter productions focused on Maghrebi men living in the ghettos of France, close to the aesthetic Citébeur has created. However, the movies of MenoBoy did not engage with the aesthetics of poverty and socio-economical codes that Citébeur committed to representing fully.

Unlike Gay French Kiss and MenoBoy, Body Prod, established by French director Hervé Bodilis, produced examples of gay ethnic pornography while using the slang that JNRC originated in the gay porn world, such as 'Beur.' He started as a photographer, continued as a gay porn filmmaker, and later continued his career with heterosexual porn films. Hervé Bodilis produced hundreds of gay and straight porn films co-produced by one of France's most known adult TV channels: Dorcel TV. Hevré Bodilis produced the Casbah series where he introduced the Maghrebi men following Cadinot's legacy. Best of Special Petit Beurs from 2009 is one of the most famous productions that Body Prod ever created together with Dorcel TV. The film is a compilation of solo, duo, and group scenes of Maghrebi young men. Furthermore, Maghrebi men are being filmed in front of a camera while masturbating or having sex; this compilation includes a scene where one of the actors is jerking off while riding a donkey. Bestiality here is orchestrated with the codes of anti-civilization. Hypersexuality of non-white men is also visible in other examples of gay ethnic pornography, like the German-Turkish productions, which will be analyzed in the second chapter.

Comme des Anges (Like Angels) is one of France's understudied gay production houses. *Comme des Anges* was built in 1996 and one of their first productions, *Derrière La Dune* (Behind the Dune) from 1996 is one of the first productions that followed the footsteps of Cadinot. Although this film does not mention Maghreb or North African Arab men, the vacation theme near the dunes hints at the Cadinot tradition these

studios followed. Additionally, there is only one Arab actor in the film, Jassim, who appears in the hotel scene. The sex scene in the dunes happens between French Caucasian men on a carpet accompanied by Oriental music in the background. However, their later productions shifted what previously occurred in the repertoire of MenoBoy. In the last productions of Comme des Anges, the Arab theme moves to the metropolises of France ten years after Citébeur. Between 2014 and 2015, Comme des Anges released a four-part series called *Thugs and French Arab Boys*. Like Citébeur productions, the *Thugs and French Arab Boys* series showed French men, mainly Maghrebi and Black, as 'bad boys' and their sexual encounters in the ghettos, abandoned buildings, basements, and cruising parks. Comme des Anges changed its name to Costla Production (Costla Prod) since the movies after *Derriere La Dune* (Behind the Dune) were mainly focused on young French men. Although the early work of Comme des Anges distantly referred to Cadinot's cinema, later productions followed the same strategies of exploiting poverty and ethnic identities, just as Citébeur did. These productions have repeated the Cadinot style of homo-Oriental erotica with an increased dose of hardcore pornography scenes and less of a storyline. Besides keeping the legacy of Cadinot alive, these productions introduced more up-to-date plots that portray North African men who live in France and visit the Maghreb as a tourist or expatriate. This plot twist of picturing Maghrebi-French men as a visitor to North Africa was not the case in the films of Cadinot. Additionally, unlike Cadinot's films, these current alternative productions include North African and Arab-only cast members that challenge the power dynamics fueled by the issues of sex tourism. In these Cadinot-inspired productions, Maghrebi men are also portrayed as middle-class expatriates who visit the Maghreb for leisure and are accommodated in resorts. This shifting position of Maghrebi men from locals to expatriates makes the class issues more apparent while helping to reveal the means of sex tourism in a neo-colonial setting. Such scenery does not represent the self-ethnicized desire of a migrant or expatriate; however, it highlights the potential for further analysis.

In addition to French productions, I would like to mention a U.S.-based production house that followed the footsteps of Cadinot, including hiring Maghrebi actors. Although these U.S.-based porn productions circulated in Europe as well, their way of representing Maghrebi men provides an outsider perspective and offers comparable data considering the French productions that mainly targeted France but circulated globally. Therefore, analytically speaking, these productions from the United States contribute to the overall discussion by considering their handling of ethnicity in gay pornography and thus following the legacies of colonialism.

Alexander Pictures, for instance, is based in San Diego, California, and was founded by Russian producer and director Alexander Matunine. Although Alexander Pictures is not from France, they wanted to join the trend that Cadinot had created. The France-based Dark In productions distribute Alexander Pictures films within Europe. Before the Arab-themed movies, Alexander Matunine also produced a series called *Bananas From Brazil* and *Seeing What Happens*, where he introduced Brazilian

men to the U.S. market. Following Brazilian examples of ethnic pornography, Matunine joined the Cadinot-wave and produced two series that eroticize and Orientalize Arab men through the generic settings of prison and sex tourism. Alexander Pictures filmed *Arabian Prison*, *Arabian Men 1&2*, *Arabian Fantasy*, *Arabian Desert Camps*, and *Arabian Fever* between 2006 and 2015. Alexander Pictures tried to join the Cadinot-wave and enlarge their audience by catering to the French market as well, which led to the production house becoming part of the French gay porn film network Studio Presse and GayArabClub. Compared to the Raging Stallion company, which produced Arab-themed U.S. productions, Alexander Pictures produced their films exclusively with Arab actors. Although most of their productions targeted an international audience, some films followed U.S. mainstream porn themes, such as sex in prison. For instance, *Arabian Prison* is a 110-minute film comprising five short films that depict different prisoners and their sexual encounters. Since prisons are a government-organized environment with a supposedly neutral dress code, Alexander Pictures relied on the skin colors and variety of *taqiyyas* that the actors wore in order to exoticize them. However, the inmates, played mainly by Maghrebi actors, wore the orange jumpsuits often used in the U.S. prison system.

These productions came out 15 years after the first original Cadinot productions. Although these productions were not the high-end productions that Cadinot did, they still managed to keep the Orientalist fantasy in the French and international gay porn scene alive. However, none of these production houses has managed to change the narrative or observe the political shifts as JNRC and Citébeur productions did. Because of that, these productions carried Cadinot's legacy with a low budget and repetitive perspective that doesn't leave much room to discuss the re-Orientalization of post-colonial France. Still, these productions and their legacies were left out of the existing debates on French gay pornography.

Whereas Cadinot-style gay pornography shows a socialization of the characters and depiction of urban spaces, the production houses that followed, such as JNRC, reduced these elements to indoor scenes and less socialization, which led to storylines becoming more of a parody and an imitation. Compared to the symbolism-loaded scenarios of Cadinot, JNRC offered a new portrayal of Maghrebi men where their bodies, the interior design, and short interviews became the signifiers of their exoticization. While Cadinot's Orientalist 'sex-tourism scenarios' directly referred to the tropes of colonialism, Maghrebi men from France in temporary housing pointed out another version of such representation. While these two directors were not active at the same time (JNRC started producing ten years after Cadinot began), their work represents a continuity of the colonial gaze. These two directors also followed two different methodologies of shooting their films, allowing for a comparison that helps demon-

strate the instrumentalization of ethnic desire. An article published in *Gay Times* magazine in 2016 described Cadinot's shooting method:

He would script a scenario, then throw it open to the performers, adapting his ideas to take account of their personal tastes, and allowing them to control the actual sex scenes. In this way he could fuse his own interest, his predilection for certain settings and ambiances, with a level of freedom and participation for the actors.³⁴

According to this anecdote, freedom given to actors existed during the sex scenes; however, the rest of the production was designed by Cadinot himself. However, in the movies of JNRC, since the plot factor was reduced to only an interior performance, actors were not given the freedoms they had in Cadinot's films, and control of the sex scenes was part of the directorial method – especially as there were few other film aspects to direct.

The same *Gay Times* article also mentioned that the utopia-like depictions of the Maghreb were Cadinot's criticism of the Christian church.³⁵ While presenting a critique of the Christian church, Cadinot did not take into account Orientalism. Instead, as Jaap Kooijman suggests, “constructing the Maghreb as an exotic place of unconstrained and excessive sex, conform[s] to the colonial discourse of homoerotic Orientalism.”³⁶ However, in the hard-core films of JNRC, such critique is replaced with the direct depiction of migrant male bodies and their temporality. While Maghrebi men become an exotic comfort destination for white French tourists, the actors of JNRC point out the ambivalent desire towards migrant Maghrebi men. Such coloniality stands outside the frame of sex tourism and brings it to more current and political events that became part of the ethnic desire. Therefore, the transition from Cadinot-to-JNRC-style cinema helps unpack French coloniality and how such coloniality shapes contemporary sexualities and the desire between men.

2.5 Jean-Noël René Clair and the Politicization of Hardcore Pornography

Cadinot relied heavily on the romanticized elements of the Orientalist narrative. Unlike Cadinot, Jean-Noël René Clair removed the picturesque description and replaced it with candid images of migrant men during sex. Such replacements complicated and contrasted with the migrant men's stereotypical depiction in front of the camera, considering the tropes of Orientalism and colonialism attached to the previous examples of gay pornography. But, at the same time, such a replacement revealed the discussions of gaze and ethnicity relations of gay pornography from a

³⁴ Thrower, Stephen. “Vive Cadinot.” *Gay Times*, London, England, no. 369, 2009, 54.

³⁵ Thrower, 2009, 54.

³⁶ Kooijman, 2011, 109.

post-colonial context. Cadinot's revitalization of the phenomenon of ethnic pornography in France influenced the other directors, who applied his strategies to more hard-core pornography. Jean-Noël René Clair, for example, decided to take the genre to a new level, recognizing that he no longer needed to travel to North Africa to make a porn film that would sell in France. Jean-Noël René Clair was born in Tübingen, Germany, and raised in France. He directed and produced over eighty gay porn films achieving global renown within the business. He maintained Cadinot's legacy of hard-core porn and expanded his repertoire by several ethnicities in addition to North African and Arab men. His movies were titled in a very literal way that explained what the audiences were about to see. Some examples include *Africa Sex*, *Gypsy Sex*, *Studio Beurs 1–4*, *Turk*, *USSR*, *CCCP*, *Balkan Connection*, *Légionnaires*, *Militaries*, *Studio Banlieue*, *Tropics*, *Black Blancs & Beurs*.³⁷ Besides the titles being highly scandalous, JNRC also hinted at how he will be changing the narrative of gay ethnic pornography by using terms such as *beur* and *banlieues*. Although he contributed to the Cadinot style narrative of gay ethnic pornography with his earlier films such as *Tropics* or *Africa Sex*, he was the first one, except Cadinot's soft-porn exploitations, to narrate the sexual tensions within the French banlieues in France, especially in Paris.

Jean-Noël René Clair substituted the lack of the storyline of his films with the PR materials, such as DVD Jackets or the text on his official website (<https://www.jnrc.fr/>). To analyze his movies, this book also relies on these PR materials since they are complementary elements of his hard-core style to fetishize his models. Following JNRC, most hard-core porn studios applied the same PR strategies that function as part of the scenario. For example, Citébeur, EricVideos, and BravoFucker implemented the same written strategies to strengthen their visual images. In this context, ethnic fantasy functions through a pornographic package with visual and textual material for arousal. These PR texts can be considered as literary forms of pornography: along with the movie, they constitute a certain fantasy, as these texts help the audience build an ethnic fantasy by reviving the tropes of Orientalism. In his PR materials, Jean-Noël René Clair often uses two themes: being a discreet male who identifies as heterosexual but secretly engages in homosexual sex, and being a bisexual man who enjoys fucking both men and women.

Discreetness or implied bisexuality is a constant element in the films of Jean-Noël René Clair, which has been adopted by other directors and producers of the genre. In terms of marketing, Jean-Noël René Clair employed discreetness to sexualize and exoticize his characters. For example, the back cover of the *Gypsy Sex* DVD states: "Halit is a straight dude from Kosovo who has a thing for submissive boys. Nothing excites him more than a young male avidly working on his big schlong. He loves to fuck their mouth before taking their ass. A young ass with a tight hole feels so

³⁷ See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/en/dvd> (Last Access Date: 03.04.2024).

good!”³⁸ and the text on the web page for *Gypsy Sex* continues: “Another great find from JNRC! Masculine to the max, elegant, charming and very sexual. The dude in this video is straight, but he loves to be watched. And that includes guys as much as girls. He knows his thick cock and big set of balls are going to have your mouth watering with desire!”³⁹ Before discussing the ethnic and socio-economic elements of JNRC’s films, I would first like to discuss the role of straightness in the gay film narrative and its position in the ethnic pornographic film narrative.

The privileged status of straight performance is part of a global trend in gay porn. The motivations behind the commodification of straight men’s performance are numerous. Straightness can be used to frame a ‘bring them to the dark side’-narrative, as Susanna Paasonen describes the ‘gay-for-pay’ genre in her inspiring article.⁴⁰ Often there are also economic and moral reasons. For instance, in the *Czech Hunter* movies, the point of view of the audience is that of the guy holding the camera, whose sexual preference is never made explicit.⁴¹ He picks up a straight guy in public somewhere in the Czech Republic and offers him money to have gay sex. This is a naive version of male sex work in Eastern Europe that serves as a mockery of poverty. In reality, nobody knows if these cast members were gay or straight. Still, the bisexuality of these men is crucial to the script’s taboo-breaking roleplay.

The U.S. version of the ‘gay-for-pay’ narrative is built on the moral side of heterosexuality and the instrumentalization of gay sex, rather than a prank. The *Baitbus* website, for instance, created a narrative where straight male performers were randomly picked up from the street and offered to have sex with a female porn star for money. One of the requirements for this script was that the male performer had to be blindfolded. While expecting an interaction with a female porn star, he found out that it was a gay man who touched him and appeared to be upset about this prank scenario. However, he comes around to the pleasure of the gay interaction, and, considering the money, continues filming with the gay performer until he comes. These two versions of ‘gay-for-pay’ narratives both instrumentalize sex work: on one hand, that it is somehow shameful (and therefore hot in a porn context) to be a sex worker, and on the other hand, the internalized homophobia that produces an illusion of straight men with an unapologetic desire for gay men.

38 See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/en/dvd/detail/5264-gipsy-sex> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

39 See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/en/dvd/detail/5264-gipsy-sex> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

40 Paasonen, Susanna. “The Literal and the Hyperbolic: Mapping the Modalities of Online Porn.” In *Carnal Resonance: Affect and Online Pornography*, 0: The MIT Press, 2011, 150.

41 Czech Hunter is the only gay porn production company that is still actively making gay porn films in the Czech Republic. Czech Hunter is also one of the first porn production companies that marketed “gay-for-pay” as a profitable sexual strategy. The gay-for-pay narrative of Czech Hunter productions brings a new perspective on sexualization of worker-class white men in the Eastern European context.

Combining straight performance, ethnicity, and socio-economic background, JNRC creates an alternative fetish for the middle-class white male. When he wanted the audience to desire gypsies, he went ahead and added the element of straightness to the gypsy man in question, so that he might appeal to a wider audience. In a JNRC production, the audience is not introduced to the straightness as they would be in, say, 'gay-for-pay' movies. In the JNRC narrative, the straight reality of hunter gays and/or sex workers does not exist, although straight men are mostly introduced as working-class, migrant men of color. The general presumption that gay people are statistically more likely to climb the social ladder of class than their straight counterparts, live in cities, and are more materially wealthy, complicates the narrative.⁴² Although internalized homophobia undoubtedly still exists, a new gay superiority towards straight men can be identified, which sees them not as 'normal,' but as animal-like and brutish.

In JNRC's films we do not see white middle-class bottoms waiting to be penetrated by Arab men as we did in Cadinot. In the so-called new perspective of JNRC, marginalized communities interact within their own social circles. Their performance of heterosexuality and socioeconomic status are enough to make them desirable, and do not need the additional element of mixing classes and/or ethnicities. In Cadinot's narrative, the encounter between European men and non-European black or brown men was presented as if the men of color were seen through the eyes of the white man. Although Cadinot used discreet or straight-acting characters in his films for the (post) colonial affiliations of their body-image, he also instrumentalized them in the construction of a binary between liberated white gay men and repressed Arabs. In *Imperial Leather* (1995), Anne McClintock states:

...before the era of high Victorian imperialism, Africa and the Americas had become what can be called porno-tropics for the European imagination – a fantastic magic lantern of the mind onto which Europe projected its forbidden sexual desires and fears.⁴³

A hundred years later, such projections translated into a post-colonial marketing strategy in JNRC's films that included the white French men through pornographic fantasy. State control, class difference, and ghettoization was translated into new forms of racial animalization, fear of the other, and fear of the immigrant in the narratives of post-colonial French gay pornography. JNRC separates the Other, the immigrant, conventional use of their person of color actors, and focuses on the context of the military in his commodification of heterosexual officers in the French army.

⁴² Heaphy, Brian. "Gay Identities and the Culture of Class." *Sexualities* 14, no. 1, 2011, 59. See also: Lunbeck, Elizabeth. "The Narcissistic Homosexual: Genealogy of a Myth." In *History and Psyche: Culture, Psychoanalysis, and the Past*, edited by Sally Alexander and Barbara Taylor, 49–67. New York: Palgrave Macmillan U.S., 2012.

⁴³ McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*. New York: Routledge, 1995, 22.

The first military theme of the JNRC Films appears in *Legionnaires I* (1995) which includes solo jerk-off scenes of ‘masculine’ and mostly white French soldiers. Following *Legionnaires I* and *Legionnaires II* (1995), JNRC recognized the market potential in praising the nation state, militarism, masculinity and its troubled relationship with gay sex. On JNRC’s website, the text for *Bidasses* (1996) states: “French straight soldiers and military contractors show their big dicks.” The text continues: “We have invited over a young soldier named Tommy. He is gay and dominant. He needed to shoot a load, so we filmed him jerking off his fat dick. He loved flirting with the camera, knowing that he was going to be watched by loads of guys who’d love to suck him off!” Here, the written text on the DVD jackets functions as a supplementary element that adds to the contextualization of the visually represented scenes. Tommy, for instance, is not appropriately introduced within the plot of the film. Additionally, this text mentions that Tommy is a white, gay soldier, which helps us both to understand the narrative and to analyze these movies. The text on the DVD jackets foregrounds those narrative details, making them easily searchable ‘key words’ for the film and helping to categorize it. For that reason, these paratexts are part of the context (in which the film’s overall narrative gains meaning) and experience of consuming pornographic films. JNRC movies employ the aforementioned mix of sociopolitical concepts, thereby illustrating a very particular sociopolitical tension in France from the perspective of middle-class white men. Almost every movie he made later on became the basis for a sub-genre in the mainstream porn film industry. Like the hammam in *Cadinot*, the military is also a homo-social space, although, contrary to the hammam, it does not constitute a semi-private sphere but is suffused with patriarchal state pressure on young males to ‘serve their country’. In JNRC’s repertoire, *Bidasses* stands out as one of the few movies that focuses on white males’ fantasy. This gives it a certain potential for subversive self-ethnicization. The mid-1990s were also the period where an Eastern European white male was allowed to be sexually commodified by a middle-class or wealthy males from the West.

JNRC Films released compilation movies such as *Casernes* (1999) and *Outrage* (1997), which included scenes from *Bidasses* and original footage that was recorded for the movie itself. The paragraph about *Casernes* on JNRC’s website states: “Welcome to the barracks. Frenchmen, *rebeus*, Russians, Turks: all the males are there to meet you in the intimacy of their room where they will masturbate hard and spit liters of spunk. A stunning 3-hour-long film that celebrates virile masturbation.”⁴⁴ JNRC makes it obvious that he added the French men to the mix of ethnic varieties as a marketing strategy, to increase the potential customer base, but this does not enable working-class white men to gain power through assumed sexual liberation and self-discovery as it does for people of color in France. The screen time and the depiction of white men in JNRC Films is far more limited, compared to the people of color depicted in

44 See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/en/dvd/detail/21761-casernes> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

those videos. Even the scenes where these white actors masturbate have less of a visual introduction, where the audience can see their faces, compared to similar scenes depicting Maghrebi men. This just illustrates the fascination toward the phallus using all the clichés that come with ‘manhood’. The coming to manhood is often achieved in the films of JNRC through militarist desires or inaccessibility of sex.

One of these clichés is the bellicose nature of men, and consequently the coming to manhood is often achieved in the films of JNRC through militarist desires: following *Bidasses*, JNRC Films continued to produce military-themed porn movies, before his focus shifted towards the banlieues and the housing projects of suburban Paris. One of these movies particularly stands out as groundbreaking in terms of JNRC Films fully realizing the potential for the triumphant sexualization of post-cold-war Eastern Europe. In *Outrage* (1997), Eastern European soldiers enjoy an inflatable black male doll in their tent. Up until that point, JNRC movies had focused on French army recruits and football players from France, but with *Outrage*, *USSR*, and *Balkan Connection* (all released in 1997) he changed his direction to the East, though maintaining his interest in the spheres associated with homosocial (and often toxic) masculinity.

The audience is not informed of why they are watching French and Serbo-Croatian speaking soldiers. Considering the position of France during the Balkan War, this film points to the complex relationship between France and Yugoslavia and the countries that declared independence after it has been bombed by NATO. Yugoslavia was also one of the first European countries that supported Algeria during the Algerian War and, after the collapse of Yugoslavia, France engaged in a diplomatic friendship with Serbia. The fact that the film points to the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia is evident in the presentation of flags that belong to the member nations of NATO. However, the previous triumphs and insecurities regarding the Yugoslavian narrative were implemented by means of the director’s multi-culturalist approach, which turned the film into a war parody, not pointing to any of the historical and political facts. Despite the movies that put Maghrebi men in the center of the narrative, in *Balkan Connection* (1997), JNRC pictured a more mixed group of cast members, hinting at his understanding of the NATO. However, such a setting, instead of focusing on the power relationships interconnected to militarism, it rather focuses on the ethnic backgrounds of the cast members. What is being fetishized here is perhaps not the ethnic difference as such, but the typical 1990s idea of a ‘new multi-culturalism.’ Multiculturalism developed as a reaction to the culture wars that originated in the Western world, specifically in the U.S. in the 1980s and 90s following the civil rights movements in the 1950s, and then by ongoing migration that divided Western societies. As Jeff Chang points out, “One side of the multiculturalism movement confronted overwhelming whiteness in institutions of power and fought to open up positions of power to the outsiders. The other saw an ocean of negative images and tried to reverse the tide with

their own visions.”⁴⁵ The idea of new multiculturalism transformed not only the U.S. but also Europe. Such multiculturalism found its representation in gay pornography as well, which makes sexuality an asset to analyze culture wars and their possible meanings.

Considering the previous films of Jean-Noël René Clair, other than French men or Russian soldiers, men of color are portrayed as either discreet bisexuals or straight men who engage in gay sex due to a lack of interaction with women. However, in such a NATO setting, the audience is also encountering black French soldiers who are not described as discreet heterosexuals or bisexual men because, when portrayed within a nationalist or militarist setting, JNRC does not seem to have a problem representing their homosexuality overtly and in a less ‘discreet’ fashion. But when it comes to exploiting black men from Maghreb or France, the dynamics change, and they are pushed into more heteronormative settings. In *Outrage*, the audience is introduced to several different military barracks, some with French-speaking and some with Serbo-Croatian speaking soldiers, but only the latter are often drunk, and portrayed as aggressive machos. However, the inclusion of the black blow-up doll in the French barrack hints at a new direction for JNRC Films in terms of how racial difference and black bodies are portrayed in French gay porn. Besides JNRC’s attempt to represent black French soldiers alongside the white ones, he applied the previous mechanism of racialization through hostility and fascination with the soldier speaking the Serbo-Croatian language. JNRC’s reformatory attempt is reflected in the storyline that takes place within the NATO barracks in Eastern Europe, putting both black and Eastern European bodies in a position that shifted between hostility and admiration for the ethnic pornographic gaze.

The comparison of a director’s style across different productions often neglects the nuanced changes in production conditions within the pornographic film industry, which have undergone substantial evolution over time. These transformations are evident in technological advancements, shifts in distribution channels, and economic imperatives. Within a sector deeply entrenched in economic criteria, it becomes imperative to contextualize the emphasis on a director’s perspective. Directors, akin to brands, wield considerable influence, with their names serving as signifiers of a specific aesthetic or thematic approach. For instance, JNRC Films strategically employs the name of Jean-Noël René Clair as a brand for its studio-based gay porn films. However, behind the polished appearance of these productions lies a stark reality often characterized by meager budgets and limited resources, particularly when compared to mainstream U.S. counterparts.

Such discrepancies are manifest in the shooting locations of these films, often set in unconventional spaces such as the homes of migrant men, two-star hotels, or other

45 Chang, Jeff. “On Multiculturalism: Notes on the Ambitions and Legacies of a Movement.” *GIA Reader* 18, No. 3, 2007, 80.

social spaces frequented by marginalized communities, including gay individuals. These spaces, transformed into impromptu studios, not only reflect the economic constraints faced by the production teams but also inadvertently contribute to the documentary nature of these films. The absence of a proper production team and financial resources leaves directors grappling with numerous challenges, forcing them to adopt a more hands-on approach to filmmaking. In this context, directors may feel compelled to foreground their names, leveraging them to assert authorial control and distinction amidst the constraints imposed by the production environment.

Moreover, the lack of financial resources shapes the physical production conditions and influences the thematic and narrative choices within these films. Directors may be compelled to explore narratives that resonate with their personal experiences or those of the communities they represent, thereby imbuing the movie with authenticity and sociocultural relevance. However, it is essential to recognize that while economic constraints undoubtedly influence the production process, they do not necessarily dictate artistic merit or the potential for critical engagement. Instead, they serve as contextual factors that must be considered alongside broader sociocultural and economic dynamics shaping the pornographic film industry. Hence, a comprehensive analysis of production conditions is indispensable for elucidating the multifaceted interplay between directorial styles, economic imperatives, and the evolving nature of pornographic cinema.

2.6 Banlieues: Poor but Sexy!

One year after the release of *Outrage*, JNRC Films released their new movie series called *Studio Beurs* (1998), establishing the term *beur* as a marketing tool across French pornographic cinema.⁴⁶ As Denis M. Provencher explains in the introduction to *Queer Maghrebi French*, the term *beur* is used for a ‘second-generation French citizen of Maghrebi descent.’⁴⁷ JNRC Films recognized the erotic potential of the ghettoization of French cities such as Paris and Marseille. *Studio Beurs* offers a series of solo scenes where we see *beur* men enjoying themselves in front of the camera. The series was recorded in Jean-Noël René Clair’s studio rather than on-site or in the banlieues; therefore, many aspects of the aesthetics are similar throughout the entire series and can thus be disregarded. The second of the JNRC film series to focus on *beur* men is *Studio Banlieue* (2003), which explicitly refers to the Arab banlieueards of France. The film’s meta-text states: “It’s 3 o’clock in the morning. JNRC is driving in the night, looking for someone. Moments later he finds him, and brings him back to the studio. A young

⁴⁶ See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/en/dvd/detail/5285-studio-beurs-1-2> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

⁴⁷ Provencher, Denis M. *Queer Maghrebi French: Language, Temporalities, Transfiliations*. Contemporary French and Francophone Cultures. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017, 13.

Arab dude, good looking and confident, hung and horny. The guy is rock hard in front of the camera, dying to shoot his load!”⁴⁸ As Mehammed Amadeus Mack mentions in *Sexagon: Muslims, France, and the Sexualization of National Culture*, JNRC’s 3 AM shift almost constitutes a type of ‘social work’, helping to fulfil the urgent desires of Franco-Arab men by having them ejaculate on camera.⁴⁹ Like *Studio Beurs*, *Studio Banlieu* includes mostly solo performances, except in its final scene which stages an Arab guy named Khalid’s first gay sexual experience. Although JNRC realized the sexual tension latent to the collective imagination around France’s Arab minority, he did not go deeper into their social and financial background outside of presenting them in France instead of the Maghreb.

After producing a handful of films focusing on Maghrebi men from France, JNRC came up with various locations that diversified his films to include ethnic and racialized subjects. However, these films brought the issue of authenticity to his porn films. Previously, based on the titles of his films, he built a career on a documentary approach toward Maghrebi-French and Eastern European men: he shot beurs and called the movie *Beurs*, and the same goes for Turks and Africans. His works from the early 2000s are a valuable tool for analyzing how he handles the issues of ethnicity and also allow a better understanding of his earlier works. In his later productions, JNRC visited Africa to produce new films following the trend set by Cadinot. *Men of Africa* (2000) – later the title was changed to *Africa Sex* – is one of the first movies he claimed to have filmed on location in Senegal, though it is hard to confirm this information since the audience is not shown any outdoor location. In the movie *Turk*, there is no Turkish-speaking cast, and while the description on the JNRC website states that the movie was shot in Turkey, similar to *Africa Sex*, it is hard to confirm whether this was indeed the case. In addition to this ambiguous information, which raises questions about the significance of fictional/shifting ethnicities in gay pornography, the same text specifically lists a Pakistani cast member for the movie *Turk*.

Porn film producers often claim the authenticity of their subjects as part of their marketing strategy. For example, most studios producing ethnic pornographic films, like JNRC Films or Citébeur, often mention that the cast members are 100% Maghrebi. Although pornography represents real sexual encounters between humans, when it comes to social hierarchies, socioeconomic classes, religion, occupations, taboos, and clichés, it often employs fiction. What does it mean to fake a Turkish identity in a gay porn movie? What does it mean to promote a Pakistani identity in a movie where Turkishness and the sexuality of Turkish men are what is being commodified? Collin O’Neal worked with Latin American, Turkish and Arab cast members indiscriminately in his movie series *World of Men* (2006–2009) and *Tales of The Arabian Nights* (2010). *World of Men: Turkey* (2008), for instance, has no Turkish cast, although the aim of the

⁴⁸ See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/en/dvd/detail/5248-studio-banlieue> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

⁴⁹ Mack, 2017, 226.

movie is to commodify the sexuality of Turkish men. The protagonists of the movie are Armando, Orlando, Axel Ryder, Jean Franko, Hani, and Adrian, and none of them are Turkish. Directors are quite aware that they are selling a fantasy: therefore, anyone who comes aesthetically close to the stereotype of Turkish men in the West will do and becomes automatically Turkish in the pornographic realm. The Pakistani character also suggests that the aim of the movie is not to document authenticity with regard to the actors. The reason that the nationality of the Pakistani actor is mentioned in the promo text is simply that it fits the demographics of the film by representing men of color.

In pornography, the authenticity of the cast members is a matter of performance as well as marketing. In an ethnic pornographic context, the issue of authenticity shows similarities with far-right generalizations about ethnic minorities by replacements of ethnic actors in gay porn from one ethnicity with another, thus implying that they are the same. In some cases, such as Francois Sagat (Citébeur productions), or Axel Ryder (Collin O'Neal productions) white actors are even employed to represent Maghrebi or Turkish men. For parts of the audience, such replacements could be unrecognizable, as it happened in the case of Francois Sagat because of his muscular features and hairy body. However, it helps to understand how the issues of authenticity translate the hegemonic view on sexualized ethnic minorities in Europe. Although Jean-Noël René Clair seeks to establish authenticity of ethnic minorities in his movies, he disregarded them as potential audiences. JNRC knows his audience well, which consists mostly of middle-class white French gay men, who are not looking to identify with the characters in the films. On the contrary, they identify with what they do not find in themselves and thereby develop a sexual interest that is triggered by the politics of that time in Europe as well as by the collective subconscious. Maxime Cervulle also pointed out, “paradoxically, there is a kind of realism in pornographic performance that declares its own performativity.”⁵⁰ Similar to the ethnic misrepresentations in the productions of JNRC Films, Cazzo Films, and Raging Stallion Studios – a more recent Paris-based porn production company – Citébeur, introduced Francois Sagat to global porn stardom as an Arab man from France called Azzedine in the 2005 movie *Wesh Cousin 5: Relax Man!*. In fact, Sagat is a Caucasian French man, though his tattooed scalp and the Turkish or Algerian flag tattoo on his back contributed to the ‘ethnic drag’ he enacted in his debut for Citébeur. After receiving threats from ‘weird extremists’, he decided to modify the back tattoo, citing a lack of interest in politics and explaining that he had not intended it to be a reference to Turkey or Algeria, but to fashion designer Alexander McQueen’s Eye Collection.⁵¹ Whether the actors are interested in politics or not, the power of representation remains, just as Francois

⁵⁰ Cervulle, 2009, 183.

⁵¹ Julien Sauvalle’s interview with François Sagat for *Out.com* published on January 27, 2017. See: <https://www.out.com/popnography/2017/1/26/francois-sagat-gay-porn-sex-symbol-interview>. (Last Access Date: 03.04.2024).

Sagat will be desired through his cross-racial porn film personas, regardless of his actual ethnicity.

Francois Sagat's rise to porn stardom brought extra attention to the Citébeur company one year after its launch. This was also the time when JNRC Films recognized the sexual potential of the working-class aesthetic with productions such as *Studio Banlieue* (2003). Citébeur joined the race and released their first movies in which banlieusards and *beur* characters were fetishized on the grounds of their ethnic and class affiliations. In her inspiring work, *Skin Flicks on the Racial Border: Pornography, Exploitation, and Interracial Lust*, Linda Williams discusses the term *racialized sexuality* coined by Abdul JanMohamed.⁵² Williams makes a parallel between the hypersexualization of black bodies in gay male porn, and the 'hysterization' of white women's bodies in hetero-male porn, asking the question "What happens when the racialized body becomes the subject of pornography's unique brand of confession?"⁵³ In response to this question, Williams suggests that *racialized sexuality* is not necessarily as silent as Abdul JanMohamed proposes, and claims that "phobic fetishization works in the service of fueling a pleasure that has become more complex, a pleasure that serves more than white former masters."⁵⁴

Prior to Citébeur, director and producer positions were dominated by white middle-class French citizens like Cadinot and Jean-Noël René Clair. Stéphane Chibikh challenges this stereotype by looking into the power dynamics behind gay ethnic pornography from different angles. Can it be that Chibikh represents a whitewashed Maghrebi man who replicates JNRC with a slightly different aesthetic and approach? Or is it possible that he is trying to change the power positions in pornography by gaining access to them, and using racialized sexualities as a tool for redemption? While it might be possible to answer this question affirmatively, what is important here is that his movies made assumptions like these possible in the first place due to the way he presented the banlieues and their corresponding stereotypes. However, Citébeur is the porn studio that most explicitly affiliates itself with the housing projects of French suburbs. Citébeur is a combination of the words *Cité*, which means housing project and *beur*, an often-derogatory term for second-generation French citizens of Maghrebi descent.⁵⁵ Citébeur also introduced other slang terms to further sexualize *beur* males from the housing projects such as: 'wesh', 'lascars', 'cousins', 'rebeu', and 'racaille.' As Maxime Cervulle mentions, 'racaille' (English: rabble; mob, or ordi-

52 JanMohamed, Abdul R. "Sexuality on/of the Racial Border: Foucault, Wright, and the Articulation of 'Racialized Sexuality'". In *Discourses of Sexuality: From Aristotle to Aids*, edited by Domna Stanton. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1992, 94–116.

53 Williams, Linda. *Porn Studies*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004, 272.

54 Williams, 2004, 279.

55 See: <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/french-english/cite> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

nary people) was used by the former Minister of the Interior and later president Nicolas Sarkozy to describe the banlieue riots in 2005.⁵⁶

Citébeur uses the tagline ‘Arab gay porn’ prominently displayed next to its name on the website. Citébeur has partnerships with thirty-four other web pages all around the globe that focus on interracial or ethnic gay porn. Some of these include but are not limited to GayArabClub, BoLatino, Cadinot.fr, JNRC.fr, HarlemSex, MachoFactory. The continued popularity of these sites is questionable, as Citébeur was the only production company still active in 2021. Especially in the age of self-distribution and marketing, with platforms such as OnlyFans or JustForFans, as well as the established pornographic streaming platforms such as PornHub, partnerships such as those with Cadinot or JNRC Films could only function as legacy-building projects, or as a way of mobilizing a stigmatized, whitewashed and almost racist pornographic network. It also functions as an archive of knowledge and sexual history that is often ignored or not deemed worthy by film and media institutions.

The issue of archiving gay pornography needs further research, although this book aims to provide chronological data regarding the production houses that focus on the subgenre of gay ethnic pornography. However, a comprehensive survey would be complicated to compile by the fact that most of the films discussed in this study targeted a niche audience. As a result, the life expectancy of the porn films relies on film collectors or the archival work of their producers. After forty years, access to these movies has become an issue not only limited to the audience, but also to academics and artistic workers who have difficulty accessing these productions. Central to these productions is that they centralize Middle Eastern, mostly Arab male characters (and subject positions) which, in the context of Europe’s mostly white male pornography, are often ignored. The partnership of ethnic pornographic film companies creates an unintentional archive of racialized sexualities that can be used as an historical and post-colonial resource. At the end of his article *French Homonormativity and the Commodification of the Arab Body*, Maxime Cervulle asked an important question, “How might we borrow Sam Bourcier’s productive term ‘living archive’, the auto reflexive and performative nature of which would allow us, as Michel Foucault suggested long ago, to archive the silences, the gaps, and the absences to resist the hegemonic regime of the current gay culture that seeks to normalize the history of sexual minorities, and doing so, produces a white past and white future?”⁵⁷ This question is still valid and may well be applied to European gay ethnic pornography.

⁵⁶ Cervulle, 2008, 182.

⁵⁷ Cervulle, 2008, 178.

2.7 Citébeur: Contemporary French-Maghrebi Gay Pornography from Paris

While Jean-Noël René Clair changed the geographical direction from the Maghreb to the Maghrebi men in the banlieues of Paris, Citébeur was certainly the company that paid specific attention to the representation of these men, including second and third generation diasporas in France. Therefore, it also provides an insight into the analytical framework of pornography by showing generational migration and their representation. While Citébeur reproduces some of the issues discussed before, it also reflects how the hegemonic Western gaze sexualizes and socializes these men. In doing so, Citébeur has produced some of the most controversial content of post-1980s gay pornography in Europe, which is what keeps the company alive. Its controversial aspect is based on its distinctions from previous examples, which did not rely on a ‘banlieue aesthetic’ besides the fact of putting Maghrebi men – mostly naked and assuming they live in the banlieues – in front of the camera. The founder, their narrative, language, fashion, side productions, cast, and even the porn star personas of the company interrupted the silence of ethnic pornography and allowed them to sexualize marginalized social and economic positions, and to re-define the erotic repertoire of post-colonial Europe. With forty years’ activity in the business, Citébeur is by far the oldest gay porn film production company in Europe and has achieved a kind of cult status in the gay porn industry.

While marketing the former series that they produced as DVDs, Citébeur has moved most of its content to online platforms. Despite the competition of porn streaming giants such as Xhamster, and Pornhub, and self-distribution on-demand platforms like OnlyFans and Just4Fans, Citébeur has maintained its strong presence through their website www.beuronline.com and the Beuronline app. Beuronline.com states:

Meet other gay Arab, black, white, Latino, Asian men... Our goal is to promote multicultural friendship & love in respect of all people regardless of their origins or skin color. Bisexuals and straight men interested in gay encounters are also welcome... Beuronline allows you to discreetly meet with other gay or bisexual men.⁵⁸

Beuronline app already has more than half a million members on their platform, and this kind of cross-marketing system helps them keep their business going in the digital era of online media consumption.

The visual language of the app welcomes users with characters from their graphic novels, showing that Citébeur offers the full porn media package including a social networking app, published graphic novels, and adult films. Few merchandise strategies in the porn industry match what Citébeur has been offering. In 2019, Men.com collaborated with Tom of Finland in a multilateral approach that included

⁵⁸ See: www.beuronline.com/home (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

Tom of Finland inspired movies, and product placements from the Tom of Finland Online Store.⁵⁹ However, though the Men.com's collaboration with Tom of Finland is the closest kin to Citébeur's expansive strategy, let's assume that it only managed to capture the attention of leather fetish enthusiasts within the gay community, who would not normally visit Men.com due to its lacking fetish content.

Since Citébeur speaks to a niche category in gay pornography, it is a less obvious candidate for collaborations than the more broadly targeted Men.com. On the other hand, Citébeur offers graphic novels similar to the style of Tom of Finland. The focus of Tom of Finland is on oversized penises and vintage muscle-hunk, leather cruising boys, meanwhile Citébeur's character is the banlieue and migrant man who speaks ghetto slang, has a tendency to criminal activity, and likes using firearms and violence. John Mercer defines the homoerotic prototype as 'the idealized object for the gay reader'.⁶⁰ Tom of Finland and Citébeur play with similar signifiers of the macho male. However, Tom of Finland comes out of California's fetish community in the 70s, while Citébeur built on the early 2000s.

These graphic novels provide the context that Citébeur imagines for their films, even though the audience could only see to a limited extent in the hardcore sex scenes. Most of them feature characters with armed guns, practicing physical and verbal abuse, using homophobic slurs and ghetto slang. Perhaps the caricaturizing aspect of the comic enables producers to go 'further' with their politically incorrect rhetoric. One of the main problems of ethnic pornography is authenticity, but in the graphic novels the producers have no such concerns. Nevertheless, the nostalgic medium of Citébeur actually adds to its authenticity. Two of these comics, *Le Gang* (2012), and *Le Gang Is Back*, have been translated into English and were published by the Berlin-based gay publishing house Bruno Gmünder. *Le Gang* is a two-part series and tells the stories of macho Franco-Arabs and their 'celebratory' violent acts that enhance their sexuality while propagating the criminal migrant stereotype that is widely familiar in the Western media.

These two publications complement each other and convey the general message of the Citébeur production company. Citébeur differs from earlier examples of French gay ethnic pornography, in that it glorifies the figure of the troubled migrant man, typically propagated by the media in Western Europe. The narratives tend to center the Franco-Arab male gaze, and even the commodified and submissive white male figure. With Citébeur, Stéphane Chibikh managed to create an outlet for one type of Franco-Arab gay men that functions almost as a badge of pride. Prior examples had relied on repetitive victimization and silencing of these subjects' sexuality. However, in

⁵⁹ Tom of Finland is a cult gay leather fetish homoerotic artist, created by Touko Valio Laaksonen. See: Ferguson, Michael. "Tom of Finland." *Journal of Homosexuality* 66, no. 6, 2019, 857–862.

⁶⁰ Mercer, John. "Homosexual Prototypes: Repetition and the Construction of the Generic in the Iconography of Gay Pornography." *Paragraph* 26, no. 1–2, 2003, 289.

Citébeur videos, the audience does not see a victimized Arab male image, although they embody the image of the debauched working-class migrant male, they also represent powerful figures while owning the ‘negativity’.

According to the producer of Citébeur, glorification of banlieue aesthetics is also a way to communicate and negotiate a desire between Maghrebi French men and white middle-class French viewers. However, such negotiation or double-sided sexualization is not apparent in the Citébeur’s movies. In the July-August 2003 issue of the mainstream gay magazine *Tétu*, Maury cites Stéphane Chibikh for emphasizing the mutual attraction between white French men and *beurs*, and that he finds it realistic to reflect this double-sided sexualization in pornography.⁶¹ Chibikh reproduces the negative outlet of Franco-Arab male; however, he also acknowledges the commodification of white men within the Franco-Arab community, and its functions within the dynamics of masculinity. Most of the white male cast is portrayed as submissive bottoms who are ‘used and abused’ by aggressive Franco-Arab machos throughout the narrative. As Mohammed Amadeus Mack remarks, ‘the eroticization of difference’ is a two-way street: in this case, both sides are trapped within heteronormative structures, as the assimilated Maghrebi men represent the ideal homosexual, who is also shaped by the norms of heterosexuality.⁶² What the films do, rather, is to open up a space for the underrepresented, where a reversal of the white gaze in pornographic representation takes place.

In the complete world of Citébeur, the perceived character traits of men are augmented not only by firearms, attitude, or the use of slangs to signify their socio-economic status: their poverty is also highlighted by a particular style of fashion that further compliments their sexualization. Gabriel Ojeda-Sagué notes that “the bodies and styling in Citébeur scenes are meant to reference, mimic, and embody a virility supposedly composed by the socio-economic condition and racial designation of the characters depicted.”⁶³ The style depicted in Citébeur movies has strong references to the British *chav* and migrant men’s streetwear in Europe. This depiction, in part, communicated a working-class aesthetic. Although subjects of this sub-category are ethnically white, they are fetishized based on their class affiliation. Such exoticization overlaps in gay ethnic pornography, except that chavs are, to a certain extent, not often portrayed as socially dangerous or criminal. Chavs are young working-class men predominantly associated with Northern England. They are known to wear matching jumpers or sports jackets and sweatpants, chain necklaces, baseball caps, white tank tops, and white socks. This might sound similar to the street style of hoods and ghettos in the U.S.; however, the chav aesthetic is in no way flashy. In the Citébeur movies, chav style appears as the dress-code of the banlieues and has a slightly different voca-

61 Maury, Louis. “Cantique de la racaille,” *Tétu*, July-August 2003, 36.

62 Mack, 2017, 235.

63 Ojeda-Sagué, Gabriel. “The Whiteness of François Sagat.” *Porn Studies* 8, no. 1, 2021, 109.

bulary. In the context of Citébeur, such aesthetics are elevated through the contemporary representations of the French-Maghrebi twist, including the fake products of high-fashion brands representing upper-class fashion. Some sportswear clothing frequently appeared in chav porn, such as Adidas or Nike, replaced with fake Gucci. Both the upper and middle classes could purchase Adidas and Nike. Still, owning the fake Gucci, which is a good-enough-fake to not be recognized as one, and turning it into an object that signals an identity, demonstrates the protest against class difference by reassessing the codes of the upper class through fake sweatpants. Overall, these elements help the sexualization of banlieue aesthetics together with the social stigmas and stereotypes that are attached to migrant men by the hegemonic view. The aestheticization of stereotypical migrant fashion is not limited to the French context. In German productions, such technique has been used in gay pornography, orchestrating the style of young Turkish men from the late 90s and early 00s. Street Boys produced the *Turkish Cum Guns* series, which has similar fashion expressions as Citébeur. However, in the German context, such distinct aesthetics were borrowed from the U.S.-American Hip-Hop movement by the second generation of migrant Turks as a response to the NSU (*Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund*, National Socialist Underground) movement and growing Neo-Nazism after the generational labor migration.⁶⁴ Fashion expressions in pornography help reveal how sexualization operates with codes of culture and, in an ethnic context, point to how ethnicization works with the cultures of class and its aesthetics.

Citébeur responded to the tropes of colonialism and Orientalism already present in *Mektoub, fantasie arabe* from 1920: the starting point of gay ethnic pornographic film history, only from the peripheries of Paris, almost 40 years after the Algerian independence. Citébeur challenged the general discourse of pornography that internalizes the discourse about the victimization of the less powerful caused by mainstream pornography. Through the diverse range of ethnicities represented in European pornography, Europe eroticizes itself in lieu of the anticipated whiteness of the audience. French citizens with immigration background or migrant men created their own sphere of erotics, emancipating themselves from the victimhood that the general discourse around pornography had confined them to. They created a space for their pleasure by way of an unapologetic, glamorized post-colonial banlieue virility.

2.8 The Citébeur Wave and the ‘Dangerous Maghrebi’ Fashion

Similarly to the wave Cadinot films have created, Citébeur has been followed by international and French porn companies that have altered the representation of Maghrebi

⁶⁴ Byrd, Brenna Reinhart. “Stylized Turkish German as the Resistance Vernacular of German Hip-Hop.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Hip-Hop*, edited by Justin A. Williams. Cambridge Companions to Music, 292–300. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 295.

men from French ghettos. Like the examples that followed Cadinot, the productions following Citébeur have transformed the codes of ethnic pornography and made it close to the so-called chav category, where the signifiers of the working-class are reduced to a particular fashion aesthetic. These alternative productions, such as Eric Videos, used the codes that Citébeur had initiated and turned them into a vocabulary that consolidates the stereotypical narrative of Maghrebi men from France. Unlike Citébeur itself, the engagement of the productions that followed it remained limited to the fashion style and aggressive behavior of the actors, placing these examples into an in-betweenness of category. Some movies from these production houses can still fall under ethnic or interracial pornography. However, the way that the ethnicities are represented in those productions can be considered as 'blackfacing', since some of the characters promoted as Maghrebi were performed by white French and Spanish actors. The authenticity issue pointed out earlier when discussing the films of JNRC has evolved into an approach where ethnicity becomes an element that can be attachable through fashion, style, and behavior. This kind of approach eliminates the resemblance or even relatability to a possible ethnic audience, as it represents the social issues of working-class or migrant communities as pleasure elements for the white middle-class audience.

The trope of the 'dangerous Maghrebi' that Citébeur coined remained consistent in other examples of French gay porn that followed: Balaclava masks, chain necklaces, guns, and sweatpants became the signifier for Maghrebi men. While Citébeur was blooming, the other production houses, such as Eric Videos or Brute De Sexe, also attempted to produce their own version of gay ethnic pornography by adopting an aesthetic similar to Citébeur but did not limit their repertoire to Arab and North African men only. Eric Videos used a similar banlieue fashion in most of his films to cater to sneaker and sports fetish. Sneaker and sports fetish in the European pornographic context is also linked to the working-class aesthetics of British gay pornography.⁶⁵ Looking at the films on the Eric Videos web page, they categorized their movies according to their themes, and the 'Arab Guy' theme is one of the largest on their web page. Like Citébeur, most of their films were shot in cruising parks, basements, abandoned houses, or in the banlieues. In the movies of Eric Videos that show only white men, the locations are often rooftops or studio apartments, which does not communicate a lot about the background of the actors. In their 'Arab Guy' themed videos, kidnapping, stalking, or rape are regularly used to stir cultural tension, similar to what Citébeur did. Regardless, their way of marketing videos does not reveal much about the video's content, rather than that it is a hardcore bareback porn film.

The earlier Arab-themed porn films of Eric Videos were solo performances where the actors jerked off watching hetero porn magazines. In these solo performances,

⁶⁵ The owner, producer, and director of Eric Videos also has an OnlyFans account where he sells his adult content to his followers. However, he does not appear in his company's films.

Eric Videos either entirely blurred their actors' faces or had them wearing balaclavas. Eric Videos doesn't give catchy titles to their films; instead, they use sentences that describe the video. In their first examples of Arab-themed videos, tags explicitly stated that the Arab men are watching heterosexual porn films and jerking off while watching. In the first movies, the actors' faces were blurred or they were wearing balaclavas. In the movies of Eric Videos, the focus is on hard-core bareback sex, which intentionally does not leave space for dialogue or interviews with the actors that audiences used to see in the previous examples of gay ethnic pornography. However, in those earlier films that blur the actors' faces entirely, the actor is performing a non-scripted performance that creates intimacy, like the movies of JNRC Films. Later Arab-themed films were mainly built on cruising, gang bang, kidnapping, and rape scenarios that interrupt voyeuristic intimacy and move to a *Citébeuresque* way of representing Arabness through pornography. Besides Arab-themed videos, Eric Videos have categories divided by age, settings such as garden, basement, terrace, or kitchen, as well as categories such as ethnicities, hair, and skin colors.

These cruising, rape, and kidnapping role play scenarios are not only limited to the Arab-themed videos, although they appear more frequently in this context. The videos locate the narrative at the beginning of each film, which turns out to be a narrative that builds up on agreeing to bareback sex. Therefore, Eric Videos is clearly targeting the similar audience group who might be attracted by *Citébeur* or JNRC Films but also like to check the extensive portfolio that Eric Video presents. Looking at the other categories, Eric Videos also represented Latino and Black men in similar ways, that also resonate with the representational strategies employed in Arab-themed porn movies.

French productions of gay ethnic pornography have critical importance, since these examples show interest towards an ethnic Other from various approaches that help understand the relationship between gay sexuality, colonialism, and Orientalism both inside and outside of Europe. While earlier examples focused on the gay sex tourism between France, Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco pointing to the direct relationship between colonialism and the perception of homosexuality, later productions showed how such relationships function in a post-colonial setting where Maghrebi men are represented through class and the experience of generational migration. Additionally, some productions help to understand how such colonial relationships and the mechanisms of Orientalism function between East and West Europe through politics and economics. The various geographical contexts displayed in French productions help connect how directors and producers from other European countries, such as Germany or Sweden, engage with the history of colonialism and Orientalism through filming gay pornography.

Like fashion, pornographic cinema captures the *zeitgeist* of its time. Ironically, porn is so mainstream, yet the stigma of morality remains attached to it. Despite pornography not generally being considered a respectable field of study, it has a vital role in generating an archive of a nation's shifting cultural environments and the opera-

tions of raciality/coloniality, gender, and sexuality within them. French gay ethnic pornography of the last decades is of critical importance in this regard because they represent a radical shift in the contemporary aesthetics of gay pornography, owing to the fact that some of the producers and directors are of Maghrebi descent. In addition, it sits harmoniously with a network of examples of gay ethnic pornography from Germany and Eastern Europe, which will be explored in the next two chapters.

3 *Men of Turkey: German Productions between Turkey and Germany*

The pioneering examples of French gay ethnic pornography introduced in the previous chapter were echoed by many Western European and U.S.-based porn film companies and independent film producers, who adapted the tropes of the genre to their various sociopolitical and historical contexts. The shift in the fetish ethnicity provides a resource to analyze the extent to which the White hegemonic canon in gay pornography is applicable. Besides the stereotypical dynamics of interracial gay pornography, where black men are fetishized for their 'race', diversified interest in gay ethnic pornography correlates with the broader and current influences of such alterations in fetishizing and being fetishized. After exploiting porn narratives involving Maghrebi men, the gay porn industry in Western Europe also turned their interest to Turkish men, another large immigrant group. The first major example of gay ethnic pornography centering Turkish men was directed by Jean-Noël Réne Clair. Released in June 1997 by JNRC Films, *Les Turks (The Turks)* featured a compilation of solo jerk-off scenes casting men of Turkish descent. The significance of various sorts of scenes, such as these solo jerk-off scenes, is to centralize the ethnic subject for the audience's observation. Most of these solo jerk-off compilations are supported by the description on the DVD jacket or the description on the website to help build an ethnic fantasy, which, in the examples of JNRC, are built around the idea of a straight male showing off for gay viewers. On JNRC Films' website, a descriptive text for the film reveals supposed stories from shooting the jerk-off scene of each cast member. For example, one description states:

This video has been a bit of a struggle to start with, because Paolo is a totally straight dude who is used to being admired by women. Thinking of other guys getting off while watching him was kind of strange to him. Nevertheless, after a while, the sexy male started getting more at ease in front of the camera and the result is worth checking out. That's if you like hung sexy hunks playing with their big cock!¹

As the description points to a narrative pattern where the 'default' Turkish man is straight or straight-acting, this exposure to the international gay porn industry broadens his sexuality. Additionally, the position of the director here is the one of a mentor who 'teaches' the actor how a Turkish man can open up about his sexuality, and of urban snobbishness regarding those living outside Western capital cities, similar to the metropole-periphery relations of colonialism. In his interview with *Du&Ich* magazine, a gay lifestyle and porn magazine from Germany, director Frank Ripplloh, who directed homoerotic cults such as *Taxi Zum Klo* (Taxi to the Toilet) (1980) and *Taxi Nach Kairo* (Taxi to Cairo) (1987), shares his observations regarding Turkish

1 See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/de/dvd/detail/5228-turk> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

men, using similar rhetoric mentioned on the DVD jacket of the JNRC's *Turks* (1997). Ripploh states:

At first, it is irritating that almost every man, from bus drivers to village police officers, can be sexually turned on if the circumstances are favorable and the tourist adheres to the game's rules. Turkish men like to be sucked and are extremely anal-oriented. The finger is in the ass in no time, and if you don't want to be fucked like a mangy dog behind a bush, you must set the appropriate signals early; otherwise, it will happen. It is advisable to stay in control and know that putting a condom on a Turk is not always easy. Unfortunately, they are often too uneducated, and some people throw away the lifesaving *Lümmeltüte* (willy bag) with a macho gesture. And if the magic of the hot hours is so great, 'once is never,' [the global AIDS crisis of] 1993 no longer applies. 'One wrong fuck' is enough, says the American cleverly, and is right about it. Discussing AIDS with Turks beforehand, with hands and feet if you don't know the language, only produces misunderstandings and completely de-energizes the mood necessary for handsome Mustafa to get stiff while walking. Either you do without unprotected anal intercourse, or you always have the thing close at hand.²

Ripploh highlights that Turkish men refuse to be fingered, eliminating the idea that they could be bottom. The implication is that Turkish men have sex with other men to fuck any ass. Additionally, Ripploh's answer points out how the straight-men fantasy is built with complementing Orientalist clichés, such as the comments that signal animalistic desire and stigmatization of following safe sex practices. Because, according to Ripploh, Turkish men would refuse to consider it as a risk and refuse to make any concessions about. JNRC uses texts that have similar rhetoric as a tool that smooths the way for his films. These DVD jackets can also be considered homo-Orientalist literature produced through gay pornography. In his movie *Turks* (1997), JNRC constructs the protagonist's history through these descriptions, which function with the visual material that JNRC presents.

While the straight male fantasy, with its Orientalist undertones, is at work in these descriptions, the character names of some of the cast members in the compilation raise questions about both the elements that help to build ethnic desire and considerations of what authenticity means when it comes to ethnic pornographic fantasy. JNRC's movie *Les Turcs* provides a domain that contributes to the authenticity issues of this genre. In fact, this compilation from JNRC Films does not include a single Turkish cast member, and Jean-Noël René Clair did not even bother to give Turkish names to the characters in the movie. Yet, as always, pornography's play with the perception of reality is an important factor in its appeal. On the DVD cover, Jean-Noël René Clair places one of the characters in front of a digitally-modified image of a Turkish flag, visually strengthening the ethnic presentation of the porn package. Ironically, *Les Turcs* (Turks) does not offer anything in terms of real focus on Turkey or Turkish men,

2 Ripploh, Frank. "TÜRKEI: Zwischen Orient und Okzident—Teil 1: Der große Erlebnis-Reisebericht von DU&ICH-Autor Frank Ripploh." *DU&ICH* magazine, September 1993, 17.

but instead uses the identity branding as a catch-all for filming masturbation scenes from migrant men of color from elsewhere in Europe or the Maghreb, providing a blueprint for other gay porn productions in Europe. Using the flags of the nationalities of real or supposed backgrounds of porn actors became popular after JNRC did it. The DVD jackets of Collin O'Neal's *World of Men* series, Bravofucker's *Ramses*, *The Lebanese Fucker*, and BelAmi's *Greek Holiday*, provide some examples that followed these strategies to strengthen their visual codes, which evoke actors' ethnic identities as well as advance the overall narrative.

The fetishization of Turkish identity in Jean-Noël René Clair's film is considerably different from the U.S. version of gay ethnic pornography of the era as presented by Collin O'Neal, who introduced the genre to post-9/11 U.S. audiences via the series *World of Men*. Featuring films produced in countries across the world, including Argentina, Israel, Colombia, Lebanon, Spain, and Turkey, Collin O'Neal promoted gay ethnic pornography in the U.S. for almost a decade after Jean-Noël René Clair. However, it is important to note that O'Neal's films were the first pornographic representations of Turkish men that had been marketed outside of Europe. Despite the differences (between the more authentic presentation of Turkishness in Jean-Noël René Clair's films, and Collin O'Neal's white and muscled 'Turkish' models), both directors' appropriate ethnicity, 'race', and class in their eroticization of men. Freed from concerns of authenticity, the porn industry (cast members, directors, studios, etc.) marketed national identities to a global audience as a means of being performative and playful. After the first French films, two pornographic film production companies based in Germany – Zip Production and later Trimax Films – produced examples of gay ethnic pornography between Turkey and Germany, entering the European market with a unique narrative and style. Based in Hamburg and Hessen, these two companies were owned by men of Turkish immigration background (except for one white ethnic German). This chapter will consider these two companies by concentrating on a variety of different aspects of their works, including their history, narrative patterns, the position of the director and cast, media representation, production, and distribution. So far, there have been no studies focusing on Zip Production and Trimax Films and exploring their legacies through the lens of culture, gender, and pornography studies.

From the 1990s onwards, when the public attitudes toward gay culture became more and more liberal and gay imagery even enters the mainstream in Europe (specifically in Germany). A study on German examples of gay ethnic pornography enables a timely analysis of these different sexual and cultural productions that define and produce alterity. This local specification is especially productive since the Turkish immigrant community appears to be irreversibly embedded within German culture. The specific focus in this chapter on the relationship between German and Turkish identity will contribute to the overall discussions of gay pornography considering the interconnected relationship between post-colonialism, sexuality, and Orientalism. German-Turkish examples of gay pornography help to analyze the issue of ethnicity in the pornographic gaze in terms of social significance that are deeply permeated in Ori-

entalism and colonialism while unpacking questions surrounding generational labor migration as well as ethnic and religious otherness in comparison to the hegemonic structure of the West.

The focus here on the German-Turkish context of gay ethnic pornography shows how ethnic interest alters in different sociopolitical and economic contexts, and why it matters. Even though the German-Turkish context shares similarities with French-Maghrebi productions, it differs with regard to their relationship with both colonialism and migration dynamics. Additionally, the German-Turkish context provides various representations that contribute to the overall repertoire of gay pornography. For instance, while the first chapter discussed issues pertaining to colonialism, the German-Turkish context allows us to discuss labor migration in the context of the fetishization of ethnic identity in gay pornography. Therefore, in a broader European context, while these examples are comparable, they differ in each national context. These nuances also help to understand gaze relations and objectification. For instance, Turkish masculinity can be exoticized in Germany, but also within Turkey itself, and these two different scenarios are associated with different social circumstances. Thus, pornography provides a fertile ground for studying the structure of knowledge production, for example on the basis of studying audience demographics or the distribution of the copies. In the following sections, two film series will be analyzed, Zip Production – *Ahmet's Fuck Tour*, and Trimax Films – *Istanbul Boys*, considering their position in the European context of gay ethnic pornography.

3.1 Zip Production – *Ahmet's Fuck Tour*

Taking its inspiration from *JNRC Films* (Jean-Noël René Clair's studio), Zip Production was founded in Hamburg in 1995 and produced German examples of gay ethnic pornography based in Turkey. This is also around the same time that *JNRC Films* changed its approach from aestheticizing men in the Maghreb to featuring a completely new aesthetic of Maghrebi men in the *banlieues* of Paris. While we can observe *JNRC* now acknowledging and marketing the homo-Oriental potential of the *banlieues*, Zip Production producers Ben Tamam and Murat Bal decided to follow Jean-Noël René Clair's 'original' strategy. Even though both studio owners are from Germany, Murat Bal has a Turkish background, with his relatives having migrated to Germany as guest workers. Interestingly, Zip Production did not produce any movies in Germany, despite the appeal that potentially lies in the prevalent ethnic stereotyping of the cast members in German production houses. Instead, the producers decided to travel through Turkey to associate the *Men of Turkey* series to the cities they visited.

Zip Production was popular in the European mainstream porn industry for almost a decade, as the studio was specifically interested in shooting a series on Turkish men along with Trimax Films. As part of this choice, these two production houses dominated the market in Germany and received a notable interest in the gay porn film

market across Europe. Zip Production's most popular series was called *Ahmet's Fuck Tour: Men of Turkey*. It was their version of exploitative sex tourism, in which a German couple travels through Turkey in search of sex between locals – beginning with *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* and continuing with other productions where Turkish cities are named in the titles: *Men of Adana*, *Men of Istanbul*, *Men of Antalya*, *Men of Izmir*, *Men of Ankara*, *Men of Alanya*, *Men of Bursa*, and *Men of Edirne*. In addition to the *Men of Turkey* films, Zip Production also released compilation films with scenes taken from *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* under the names *Turkish Fuck*, *Men of Zip*, and *Zip Solo*. In addition to their Turkish focus, Zip Production later released a film called *Men of Marrakesh*, focusing on Moroccan men in a narrative that stylistically combines the works of the French porn directors Jean-Daniel Cadinot and Jean-Noël René Clair. *Men of Marrakesh* did not reach the success that the *Men of Turkey* series had, and only exists as one short compilation. Later on, under the pseudonym of BUM Videos, the producers of Zip Production released a DVD called *Yugo Power* that focuses on Eastern European men, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

3.2 Trimax Films – *Istanbul Boys*

Migrating from Erzincan, Turkey to Germany, in 1997 Şevket Şahin founded the porn production company Trimax Films in Frankfurt, Germany. He directed and produced his films in Turkey and Germany. Trimax Films grew to become one of the major forces behind the ethnic pornography trend in German and European mainstream porn. While Zip Production focused on exploiting the masculine men from Turkey, Trimax Films from Frankfurt introduced alternative ways of exoticizing Turkish men. After attracting attention with the *Şahin K.* films, the Trimax Films crew traveled to Istanbul to compete with Zip Production's *Istanbul Boys* gay porn series.³ The films in the series have titles such as *Burning Asses*, *Let's Enjoy It From the Butt*, *Horny Youngsters*, *Every Night From the Ass*, *C'mon and Drive Me*, *My Jealous Guy*, *Hungry For Ass*, and *Fuck Me Ali*.

In fact, this was the only gay porn series Trimax Films had produced up to that point. The studio initially became popular with their straight porn films, notably featuring the porn star Şahin K. His films can be considered examples of straight ethnic porn films, in which the audience often sees Şahin K. having sex with non-Turkish cast members. After these films received attention from the mainstream media in Turkey, Trimax Films entered the gay porn market by producing the *Istanbul Boys* series,

3 Şahin K, Şahin Yılmaz or Şaban Acar (born 1968; Ortaköy, Aksaray) is a Turkish-German porn actor and director. He gained his fame by acting in over 170 low-budget porn movies from *The Istanbul Life* (ca.2003–2007) series. He received the best director award from Berlin Erotic Film Festival in 2002. His films are classified as ethnic European, Turkish, German.

directed by Metin Sözen⁴, featuring only Turkish-speaking cast members. While the series is named *Istanbul Boys*, none of the films depict scenes set in a particular Istanbul location. In contrast to Zip Production, Trimax Films did not authenticate their films using footage of urban views of Istanbul.

Contrary to stereotypical expectations that exist in gay ethnic pornography, there are almost no overly-masculine, hairy, Orientalized, macho alpha-male figures in the cast; instead, the young actors are smooth and more androgynous.⁵ Representations of bodies are far from the expectations of an ‘ideal,’ hairy, beefy, muscled Turkish man. This aesthetic resonates with that of the films produced by the Slovak porn studio BelAmi Boys which brought the twink concept to mainstream pornography. BelAmi Boys is a gay pornographic film studio with offices in Bratislava, Prague, and Budapest. It was founded in 1993 by Slovak filmmaker George Duroy, who took his pseudonym from the protagonist Georges Duroy from Guy de Maupassant’s novel *Bel-Ami*. The gay male bodies in *BelAmi Online* have no body hair, are around 22 to 25 years of age, and mostly white. The aesthetic style of BelAmi is limited to this stereotype, and the sexual positions between cast members are quite egalitarian and fluid, with most playing versatile sexual roles. Outside the clear Turkish ethnic focus of Trimax Films’ series, its approach to sexual performance could be considered as similar to the style of BelAmi, with both production companies adapting the narrative genres of U.S. mainstream gay pornography.

Trimax Films can be considered the first producer of Turkish-German gay ethnic pornography made for a target audience of Turkish-speaking people. Not focused on the (potentially bilingual) target viewer of the Zip Production films, Trimax Films centers both the Turkish-speaking community in Germany and Turkey’s own porn audience. Across the releases, Trimax Films added authenticity to their films through specific use of language, narrative, and marketing. The Turkishness in their films does not have the representation of stereotypical Turkish male bodies as its focus. Although these films advertise the fact that they are ‘100% Turkish,’ there are no significant landmarks shown to actually identify a location in Turkey. Similar to the situation with Zip Production films, the distribution of Trimax Films material was not legal in Turkey and the films became available to most of the Turkish porn film audiences

4 Şahin K and the news regarding his porn films are covered by Turkish media. He even participated in talk shows in Turkey, such as “Disco Kingo,” “Beyaz Show,” and “Dikkat Şahan Çıkabilir” in the early 00s.

5 I employed the term alpha-male as Scott Barry Kaufmann describes: “Alpha” males are those at the top of the social status hierarchy. They have greater access to power, money, and mates, which they gain through physical prowess, intimidation, and domination. Alphas are typically described as the “real men.” In contrast are the “Beta” males: the weak, submissive, subordinate guys who have a low status, and only get access to mates once women decide to settle down and go searching for a “nice guy.” See: <https://scottbarrykaufman.com/the-myth-of-the-alpha-male/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

See also: Russell, E.L. *Alpha Masculinity: Hegemony in Language and Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.

only when online streaming became widely available. Despite the language barrier, Trimax Films still marketed their films in Germany through its official distribution page, which had a German top-level domain (Trimax.de).

3.3 Re-Orientalizing the Sexual Desire Towards Men of Turkey

Zip Production blended influences from two French gay ethnic pornography pioneers, Jean-Daniel Cadinot and Jean-Noël Réne Clair. Here, the context of Germany and Turkey and their history of labor migration makes the issue of class difference more significant, especially in the context of a sex tourism narrative between these two countries. In the movies of Zip Production, the directors adapted Cadinot's narratives, blending sex tourism with 'class tourism.' In this context, sex tourism works across an intersectional aesthetic, associating working-class masculinities and ethnicity. The narratives of the Zip Production movies mimic the Cadinot-style touristic gaze, with every episode of *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* leading off with an introductory scene about the city that Ahmet is traveling to. The audience sees the city from the perspective of someone inside a car on their way to meet the 'men' of the town. After Ahmet finds sexual partners in the city that he is visiting, most of the time the encounter ends up taking place in a two-star hotel room or a pension. The scene begins with masturbation or a soft sex scene or a short interview where the audience is offered minimal information of the cast member who supposedly is a local man of that city. After that introduction, the style of the movie transforms from Cadinot to JNRC, with the encounter becoming a hard-core porn scene between Middle-Eastern-looking men.

The narrative elements of Zip Production's films support Dyer's previously mentioned analysis of narrative content, while adding new class and ethnic markers that distinguish the filmmaking from other examples of gay porn. In the opening scene of *Men of Adana*, the camera shows some people traveling on the back of a truck, possibly seasonal field workers. They realize that they are being recorded by the camera and ask the man behind the camera where he is from. Once they learn that he is from Germany, they clap with cheer. Opening a hard-core gay porn film with such a scene points to the agency of the colonized and patterns of class-based sexualization and poverty as motivators for the director and his choice of point of view within the scene. The scene obviously plays with the stereotypical 'guest worker' image that is so common in Germany.

Moreover, this scene hints at how migrating to Germany became marketed as a social ideal for the working-class of Turkey.⁶ The Turkish men's cheering in reaction to the cameraman's answer that he is German contributes to the image of Germany as

6 Gokturk, Deniz, David Gramling, and Anton Kaes. *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955–2005*. 1st ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007, 1.

the ‘savior.’ Since the 1960s, the labor migration phenomenon has had a big impact both in Germany and Turkey. For the Turkish working-class, migrating to Germany was idealized in relation to the socio-economic challenges in Turkey. On the one hand, political challenges pushed many minorities in Turkey to seek refuge in another country. These ethnic and religious minorities, such as Alevites, Assyrians, Kurds, and Yezidis, sought refuge in Germany as workers since it was the best option compared to the political situation at home. On the other hand, socio-economic factors pushed people from rural areas in general to find more opportunities for their future abroad. Beyond the actual act of labor migration, the idea – or dream – of becoming a migrant worker also played into a dynamic that put Germany in a post-colonial position. The existence of the porn scene with locals is a stark reminder of how this colonial positionality still exists in the working-class communities when the word ‘Germany’ is pronounced from a car’s window. This imagery and the ‘touristic’ Western gaze contain the ‘ethnic subject’ through a colonizing dynamic of viewing.

While Zip Production produced *Ahmet’s Fuck Tour* from a perspective that overlapped sex tourism and class tourism, Trimax Films’ take on gay ethnic pornography was based on cliché visual cues to remind audiences that the films are set in Turkey. The *Istanbul Boys* series was filmed with a script that provided the audience with a storyline not very different from other mainstream porn narratives. These storylines imitate U.S. mainstream porn films of the 1980s which were supposedly imitating real life – usually, a scenario in which a worker is fantasized about or fetishized his job. In the *Istanbul Boys* series, the fascination with the working-class mirrors the dynamics found in U.S. mainstream porn. There are storylines such as a young student looking for a flat and going to a viewing, during which the flat owner tries to seduce him, and they have sex. In another example, a feminine guy has bought a bed and does not know how to build it, so he invites someone to build it with him, but they end up talking about sex and then sleeping together. These storylines have no specific ‘Turkishness’ to them, except that the cast speaks Turkish. However, these storylines enable the audience to imagine and watch a mainstream porn narrative with a Turkish storyline that tries to distract from the hardcore structure of pornography through this newly introduced cultural elements. Imitating this American genre requires certain production elements (expensive equipment, celebrity cast, and set) that are difficult for an amateur porn studio to reproduce, an element that itself takes on meaning in the noticeable quality differences between the productions. By appropriating the high-quality register of U.S. productions with an ethnic concept, Trimax Films’ choices

engage with the debates at the center of the debates on *pornographic welfare* within the American mainstream pornographic film industry.⁷

The concept of *pornographic welfare* refers to the standardization of certain economic representations within the U.S. mainstream pornographic film industry: particular aesthetic choices and depictions of the body are meant to create a specific social and economic identity. The concept is also helpful for analyzing how narrative elements in ethnic pornography create a social hierarchy while instrumentalizing poverty. Trimax Films and its *Istanbul Boys* series is a prime example to consider through this lens, since they copied the narrative style of mainstream U.S. porn movies in the Turkish context. Different from both the French pioneers of ethnic pornography and their fellow German studio Zip Production, Trimax Films offered a new kind of fascination and fetishization of ethnicity while adhering to the typical mainstream narrative that is common with mainstream porn around the globe. To understand how these ‘ideal’ subject positions shifted in gay pornography, the example of Brandon Lee, who challenged stereotypical representations of effeminized or emasculated Asian (bottom) males in U.S. mainstream gay pornography, enables a base for a broader comparison. Lee, a Filipino-American gay porn star, was instead introduced as a strong top with a ten-inch penis. In a landmark essay, Richard Fung argued that the perceived insufficient masculinity of Asian men in mainstream gay pornography often leads to storylines in which white tops commodify or dominate Asian bottoms.⁸ Following Richard Fung, Tan Hoang Nguyen adds to this analysis of the sexual position of Asian men in mainstream gay pornography in the context of Brandon Lee, stating that:

On the one hand, through its gendered and racialized formal codes and narrative conventions, dominant film and video portray Asian-American men as feminized, emasculated, marginal subjects of representation. On the other hand, they also provide visual and aural access to how bottomhood can be experienced differently – socially, politically, and sensationally. That is to say, film and video mediate the pressures between bottomhood’s ideological and carnal effects.⁹

As Hoang points out, these racial codes might connect audiences to the scene by commodifying the subjects by their ‘races’ in ways that reflect wider social stereotypes. Up until Brandon Lee, Asian male representation in U.S. gay pornography was limited to the stereotype of effeminate bottomhood. Like Asian representations in U.S.

⁷ Tan Hoang Nguyen’s critical account of Brandon Lee explains how U.S. mainstream gay pornography provides non-white ethnicities with a certain type of sexual currency. See: Nguyen, Tan Hoang, “The Resurrection of Brandon Lee: The Making of a Gay Asian American Porn Star.” – In *Porn Studies*, edited by Linda Williams, 223–270. New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2004.

⁸ Fung, Richard. “5. Looking for My Penis: The Eroticized Asian in Gay Video Porn.” In *Asian Canadian Studies Reader*, edited by Roland Coloma and Gordon Pon. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017, 86–102.

⁹ Nguyen, Tan Hoang. *A View from the Bottom: Asian American Masculinity and Sexual Representation*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014, 25.

mainstream gay pornography, Turkish performances in U.S. mainstream gay pornography were limited to certain stereotypes. A prime example is the work of the previously mentioned American gay porn director Collin O'Neal, who introduced the gay ethnic pornography genre to U.S. gay audiences via the series *World of Men*. This series includes films from countries across the world, including Argentina, Israel, Colombia, Lebanon, Spain, and Turkey. The introductory text for *World of Men: Turkey* states:

We admit it – we've always had a bit of a weakness for the look of Turkish men. Swarthy, hairy, built like gods, and usually possessing a nice, thick, and uncut butt-prodder Turkish penises. Collin O'Neal takes his terrific eye overseas yet again, and once again delivers a powerhouse fuck-load of powerful fuckers. We'll also freely admit that we love these films; nobody does more for international relations than this terrific line.¹⁰

As this statement makes obvious, Collin O'Neal portrayed Turkish males for the U.S. gay porn audience as powerful, masculine, hairy 'fuckers' who perform as tops. Yet, despite following in the footsteps of Jean-Daniel Cadinot's Orientalization of the ethnic identities, one popular actor, Aybars Türker – who is a migrant porn-star from Turkey – does in fact challenge these stereotypes, in a manner inversely similar to Brandon Lee. Aybars Türker, also known just as Aybars, challenged the stereotype of the hairy, macho, dominant-top Turkish man in gay pornography by performing versatile roles, and at times 'power bottom' roles taking 10-inch dildos in his ass with pleasure. According to the biography on GayHotMovies "Aybars Türker has concentrated on working with Raging Stallion, Cazzo Films, and Falcon Studios. He is quite talented and has starred in movies which involve 21 categories ranging from compilations to outdoor scenes."¹¹ In comparison to European examples of gay pornography, the positional versatility of porn stars like Aybars in the U.S. helped break down ethnic stereotypes in U.S. mainstream gay pornography.

The positional shifts initiated by porn stars like Brandon Lee and Aybars can be seen as a reactionary performance against their racial and ethnic misrepresentation in the mainstream gay porn film industry. These shifts should be considered in contrast to personal histories and relationships to migrant experiences and integration politics of the directors working in Europe for Zip Production and Trimax Films. Considering Collin O'Neal's *World of Men* series and Aybars Türker's performances in various production houses, it might be said that the influence of Zip Production's style was limited to European examples of gay ethnic pornography. As discussed before, the Zip Production movies are similar to Jean-Noël René Clair's style and his pornographic commodification of Turkish men. The authenticity of Jean-Noël René Clair's

¹⁰ See: <https://www.gay-dvd-shop.com/World-Of-Men/Collin-ONeals-World-Of-Men-Turkey.htm> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

¹¹ See: <https://www.gayhotmovies.com/porn-star/194342/Aybars-Turker.htmlNeals-World-Of-Men-Turkey.htm> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

examples of Turkishness and Collin O'Neal's white and muscled 'Turkish' men both play with notions of ethnicity, 'race', and class, even if from different perspectives. However, the videos of Trimax Films engage neither with the style of Jean-Noël Réne Clair nor the U.S. examples of Turkish-themed gay porn films. Trimax Films produced examples of gay ethnic pornography outside the standardized narrative. Both Brandon Lee's and Aybars Türker's performances provide new, non-stereotypical representations in porn for Asian and Middle Eastern gay audiences. However, examples of gay ethnic pornography exported from Europe rarely challenge the standard categorization of non-white performers in certain sexual positions. Nguyen writes that "as gay Asian and North American cultural critics and artists have noted, the playfulness and negation between looking and being looked at... fucking and being fucked, being top and being bottom, continue to be inaccessible for gay Asian men, who are relegated to only one side of the equation, that of bottomhood, if and when they figure in the equation at all."¹² Both the narrative tropes and aesthetics of Zip Production and Trimax Films complement each other in producing an archive of representations for minorities who do not see themselves in standard European gay porn.

The narrative elements of Zip Production's *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* mix elements present in early works of Cadinot – where he presents the North African city that he was visiting – and Jean-Noël Réne Clair, who shows scared yet excited migrant men in front of the camera. Every episode of *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* starts with an introductory scene about the city that Ahmet is traveling through in the episode. The audience sees the city from the perspective of someone inside a car, on his way to meet the men of the city. In the *Istanbul Boys* series of Trimax Films, every episode has a different theme, such as sex at the fitness studio, teacher and student, tenant and the landlord, repairman, etc. All in all, most of these episodes contain the ever-popular gay baiting narrative.

Each episode of Zip Production's *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* series can be divided into three categories based on the number of cast members in the scenes: single, duo, and threesome. The structure of solo sex scenes creates an intimate viewing experience where the actor is the center of a viewer's observation. In solo scenes, the point of view is directed from a subjective perspective. Although the viewing experience is still subjective regarding duo scenes, the issues of preferences and reciprocal pleasures become more apparent. It might distract from the one-to-one effect of solo performances. In ethnic pornography, if solo performers are the ones that are fetishized for their ethnicities, then the viewer's position or the director's lens are the ones who help build such a dynamic without needing more actors. Therefore, these three different forms of filming create various ways of operating ethnic desire. Although the narratives are built in the same way across these three different categories, the cinematic tools such as mise-en-scene, POV (point of view), and editing choices are deployed dif-

¹² Nguyen, 2014, 154.

ferently, demanding separate readings of how movies in each category represent masculinity in the German-Turkish context. In the solo performances of *Ahmet's Fuck Tour*, most of the scenes are filmed in the conventional solo shots often used in American porn films. This style gives viewers the sense of looking at a still picture rather than watching a moving image. In these solo performances, there is a power dynamic displayed through the camera angle that is further supported by the postures of the porn actors. Most of these solo scenes have been captured from a low angle that shows the performer as someone who is 'above' the viewer, higher-up, or even godly. This relates to the idea of elevating masculinity through cinematic tools in porn. When male characters are captured from a low angle, the viewer accesses their bodies from below, creating a hierarchy between the viewer and the viewed. In addition, the low camera angle makes actors' limbs look longer and bigger than they are. This enhances, for example, the penis size or the actual height of the cast member.

Low-angle shots are often preferred in porn movies in order to enhance the body image and size of the cast member, therefore creating an unrealistic image. This film technique was used extensively in the solo scenes of Ahmet's Fuck Tour, enhancing the masculine qualities and playing into the stereotypes of Middle Eastern men. Like the solo scenes from the movies of Jean-Noël René Clair where he focuses on Middle Eastern or North African migrant man, Zip Production went in the same direction by portraying these men in highly masculine ways through filming techniques for Western European/North American viewers – in addition to the dark skin, hair, sharp facial features, and masculine postures of the actors.

In most of the solo and duo performances in *Ahmet's Fuck Tour*, cast members are asked to introduce themselves and talk about what they are like in life and in sex. After that, they either start to interact with each other or masturbate in front of the camera. Most of the dialogues are presented with German subtitles of discussable quality. For example, in *Men of Adana*, there is a small dialogue between the cast members that is not quite audible. However, the German subtitles show almost four full sentences for it, in which the audience learns that the guy who is the bottom in the scene is hurting because of the top's penis size. Although it is not clear if this dialogue actually took place, the translation here is used for the purposes of exoticization, based on stereotypical ideas about Turkish (top) men. In *Men of Istanbul 3*, a male cast member who has sex with a trans woman talks to Murat Bal afterward, asking him, "Was it small? Your friend showed his little finger to you to signal that my dick was small before filming. My dick is bigger than that, but I got a little nervous because of the camera." Although the interview scenes in the beginning of each film seem to be very staged and shallow, the interviews that are captured after filming and edited in the movie help characters gain more personality.

These interviews are adopted from the style used in U.S. mainstream gay pornography where most of the cast is mocked by the studio's interview questions, which profess to express shock at the invented claim that many of the porn actors are having gay sex for the first time. To give a specific example, we can look at the audition tapes

of the label Sean Cody. Sean Cody, headquartered in San Diego (United States) produces content that offers online services and deals with straight acting, gay-for-pay themes, and marketed straight masculinity as gay sex. In a sense, a set-up that encourages gay sex without admitting that the men involved are gay. Some characterization tactics in Sean Cody's audition tapes are also available in the Zip Production catalog. Cüneyt Çakırlar has also noted that Cody's 'auditions' are similar to the 'talking head' intros of Zip Production films – enhancing, by authenticating, a form of straightness (exposed to gay gaze).¹³ However, the dominant muscle features of Sean Cody and the fact that the models are generally hairless are not seen in Zip Production films. As Craig Tollini describes, “the majority of Sean Cody's models, regardless of their position in anal sex, had the type of body expected in mainstream gay pornography, with defined abdominal muscles and developed arms and chest muscles.”¹⁴ Although Zip Production and Sean Cody differ in their aesthetics and use of bareback sex, the strategy followed in audition tapes bears similarities, which shows that the gay-for-pay narrative is common among genres. Straight male fantasy is instrumentalized in many different records.

In porn, interviews before the sex scenes aim to help us personify these 'bodies' and provide additional material to eroticize and exoticize the actors, exploiting for fantasy information their backgrounds, whether they have had sex with men, or even their body language which reveals if the cast members are excited or nervous about the gay encounter. In the Eastern European context, for instance, these types of interviews are instrumentalized to threaten straight men with blackmail and convince them to have gay sex for money. It is also important to note that these interviews are translated into German through subtitles that make *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* understandable for German and Turkish-speaking audiences, rather than leaving the meaning of the conversation to the imagination of the spectator. Most of the sentences are not perfectly translated, which actually seems to be an editorial choice made by the studio. Translating a dialogue incorrectly as an intentional editing choice plays with the language barriers and creates a meaning that is polarized in the comparative analysis of these dialogues or interviews. In *Men of Adana*, the audience is introduced to a jerk-off scene followed by a conversation. In this specific conversation scene, one of the actors says something quite short and hard to understand. However, the mumbling is translated from Turkish as “*es wäre schön, jetzt deine Votze zu ficken*” (*it would be good to fuck your cunt now*). This translation does not only refer to the anal penetration that did not yet happen, but also employs language that supports 'straight men fantasy' in gay porn.

13 Çakırlar, Cüneyt. Baiting the Straight: Cyber-queering Gay Male Pornography. [Unpublished Master's Dissertation, MA in Cultural Studies]. Istanbul Bilgi University, Istanbul, Turkey. 2002.

14 Tollini, Craig. “Different Portrayals of Masculinity in Gay Bareback Pornographic Videos: Comparing Sean Cody with Treasure Island Media.” *Porn Studies* 4, no. 4, 2017, 427.

In *Homo Exoticus*, Maxime Cervulle and Nick Rees-Roberts explain such strategies while referring to Nacira Guénif-Soulimas.¹⁵ Guénif-Soulimas mentions the compulsory heterosexuality-homophobia stereotypes assigned to young Arabs in France. This stereotype is diversified into other ethnic representations, which are instrumentalized by the alternative productions of the same subgenre.¹⁶ The subtitle here does not use the word ‘asshole’, instead replacing it with ‘cunt’, a perverse replacement that recycles typically heterosexual terminology. However, such translation choices help enhance the fantasy of heterosexual, bisexual, or even gay macho men performers that they enjoy the replacement of a vagina with an asshole.

Like the translation errors that function to catalyze the lustful expression of the desire for and between Turkish men, the background noises in these porn videos hint at similar patterns and intentions. In most of the solo scenes, viewers hear background noises like female moaning that is meant to show how the supposedly straight actors are watching heterosexual porn to get hard in front of the camera. As with the language and translation choices, the background noises in the *Ahmet’s Fuck Tour* play a vital role in enhancing the eroticization of the cast member by reinforcing the straight macho-male fantasy. These editorial choices come as no surprise, considering the subtitling and dubbing strategies that are widely common in the Western film industry. As Tessa Dwyer states:

In many ways, screen translation constitutes a battlefield, with war continuing to rage between its two dominant modes: subtitling and dubbing. This battle is at once historic and current, figurative and practical. It is also culturally specific. In the past, screen culture sub/dub debates have been most vocal in Western, English-speaking contexts where neither method is entrenched.¹⁷

Like the subtitles, the casting in *Ahmet’s Fuck Tour* helps to racialize the homoerotic exchange between Turkish men. Such an exchange varies in this series, which relates to social homoerotics through various preferences and trans-femme inclusion. In the *Men of Istanbul* series, audiences are introduced to two scenes where we see trans-femme cast members. To include such a scene that features a trans cast member was not typical for French and ex-Yugoslavian ethnic gay porn films but, in Zip Production’s *Ahmet’s Fuck Tour*, two different trans cast members participated in the set *Men of Istanbul 3* and *Men of Istanbul 4*. In French and ex-Yugoslavian/Eastern European examples of gay porn, it is hard to find a series that includes trans cast members. Aside from the scenes that include trans characters, it is hard to classify sexual roles – e.g., top or bottom – neatly in these Turkish production films. Like Zip Production, also

¹⁵ Cervulle, 2010, 74 and 75.

¹⁶ Guénif-Souilamas, Nacira. “De nouveaux ebbénismes intimes: le garçon et la fille beurette.” In *Les Féministes et le Garçon Arabe*, edited by Nacira Guénif Souilamas and Eric Macé, Paris: L’Aube, 2004, 101–112.

¹⁷ Dwyer, Tessa. *Speaking in Subtitles: Revaluing Screen Translation*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017, 47.

Trimax Films used cross-dressing, for instance in their film *Bekletme Beni (Don't Make Me Wait)*. In Zip Production's movies, trans-femme cast members appear in belly dancer outfits, the film even opens with a short dance performance by the trans-femme cast member. This belly dance performance also refers to *köçek* or *rakkas* dancers. As Şehvar Beşiroğlu describes, the *köçek* was typically a very handsome young male 'slave' or a Romani dancer, and the *rakkas* was usually cross-dressed in feminine attire and was employed as an entertainer who appeared between the 17th and the 19th-century era of the Ottoman peninsula.¹⁸ In *Ahmet's Fuck Tour*, a scene with a trans-femme belly dancer commemorates the legacy of *rakkas* and *köçek* dancers with a very modernized canon. The *köçek* tradition of gender-fluid dancing still exists in Anatolia as a dance by choice, as entertainment, but also as a survival form of labor assigned to men having feminine movements, where they are exploited. This inclusion enables a queerer or gender non-conforming reading of these films that challenges the stereotypical aesthetics of this genre. Yet, when the scenes with trans casts are included, *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* invites a more extensive discussion around femme or trans performance in Oriental homoerotic content. In the context of gay ethnic pornography, offering a visual variety by including trans identities or 'feminized' male actors also points to the issue of Orientalist voyeurism. This belly dancer performance and inclusion of trans-femme actresses shifts the aesthetics of gay ethnic pornography.

The 'European' staging of these films and the power dynamics regarding Europe, and its distinct histories of gender are destabilized as overly masculinized aesthetics and characterizations shatter and bring a new perspective highly linked to Orientalist clichés. Discussing the *köçeks*, Joseph Allen Boone states that "their very plasticity – their ability to be shaped and reshaped according to context, creator, reader, or onlooker – is what has made them so powerfully attractive to many homosexually inclined European sensibilities that have looked to the Middle East for confirmation of sexual possibilities denied at home."¹⁹ On the one hand, the belly dancer scene, which is a reference to the *rakkas* and *köçek* dancers in a particular homoerotic context, challenges the voyeuristic desire between adornment and estrangement. On the other hand, the masculinity of the sex partners of these belly dancers and trans-femme actresses re-assures stereotypical aesthetics of gay ethnic porn thanks to their overly masculine appearance. This particular scene proposes various readings from actors' or actresses' positions and what they represent, and also the viewer's part, considering the direct references imbued in Orientalist homo-erotica.

Such challenging dynamics also appear in Trimax Films' *Bekletme Beni (Don't Make Me Wait)* (2008) through a different aspect of homo-Oriental desire: the phenomenon of the *bath boy*. Here it is important to revisit the phenomenon of the bath boy

18 Beşiroğlu, Ş. Şehvar. "Music, Identity, Gender: Çengis, Köçeks, Çöçeks." [Unpublished Article]. Istanbul Technical University State Conservatory, Istanbul, Turkey, 2019, 5.

19 Boone, 2014, 86 and 87.

in Middle Eastern, especially Ottoman, history. Trimax Videos recreated the *bath boy* phenomenon, similar to the discourse around the *köçek* figure, which points to non-masculine Orientalized references through homoerotic social encounters. Like Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Snake Charmer* (1879), Trimax Videos pictured a young man bathing to charm an older man with more masculine features. The bathing fantasy of Trimax is similar to the belly dancing scene of Zip Production, and both scenarios heavily rely on the binary codes often implied in Orientalist homoerotic art. In contrast to the bath boy and *köçek* performances, rent boys challenge such narrative by presenting a straight-acting masculine young hustler concept. While Oriental desire is mainly fueled by the distinction between performances of femininity and masculinity, such desire is altered through the contrast of youth and overtly masculine attitude that is recognized in the narrative of ethnic pornography as well. In the historical records, we can find many visual artifacts that feature young men as the desired other by representing them as effeminate or feminized, a phenomenon where "constructions of masculinities are challenged and engaged."²⁰ By parodying often-used examples of homo-Oriental lust, Zip Production could widen their audience through sexualities. Cenk Özbay argues that engagement with transvestism typically exists in the culture of rent boys. He points out that the rent boy can be also fetishized or romanticized by trans people:

While transvestites enjoy the young virility and 'real' masculinity of rent boys, the latter are happy to show how masculine and sexually active they are by having sex with the 'girls.' In most cases, a transvestite mentors an inexperienced rent boy and she teaches him how to have good sex. Although it seems a mutually satisfying relationship, these escapades with transvestites are indeed very risky for rent boys. Transvestites can easily ridicule a rent boy for not having a sufficiently large penis or for not achieving a fulfilling sexual performance.²¹

According to Özbay, the rent boy phenomenon represents a cultural hybridization and theatrical display of exaggerated masculinity.²² This is the performative display of masculinity that Zip Production instrumentalizes as an asset to secure the masculinity of their actors. Unlike what they do in their solo videos, Zip Production movies do not introduce these actors, who interact with trans actresses through an interview. However, the aforementioned belly dancer scene enables these actors to perform defined heterosexual roles, unlike the non-binary gay versatility that exists in the Trimax Films releases. Further, the rent boy or 'gay-for-pay' phenomenon of performative masculinity in Turkey is echoed in the way migrant status is perceived in the German gay scene. In his autobiographical memoir, *Fucking Germany: Das Letzte Tabu oder mein Leben als Escort* (Fucking Germany: The last taboo or my life as an Escort),

²⁰ Boone, 2014, 88.

²¹ Özbay, Cenk. "Nocturnal Queers: Rent Boys' Masculinity in Istanbul." *Sexualities* 13, no. 5, 2010, 658.

²² Özbay, 2010, 649.

Cem Yıldız underlines how his migrant position enabled him to become a successful rent boy through performing specific tactics of masculinity and cultural codes of migrant Turkish men. In his book, he mentions that such interest towards Turkish rent boys exists in Turkish migrant communities in Germany due to the mutual trust that is built on discretion:

...Anderseits vertrauen sie mir wahrscheinlich eher, weil ich den Erst der Lage einschätzen kann und mich definitiv an das Gesetz des Schweigens halte, während die Deutschen ja ständig mit der Regenbogenfahne rumlaufen und am Ende noch in der Talkshow sitzen und alles ausplaudern. (While they probably trust me more because I can assess the situation first and definitely adhere to the law of silence, the Germans are always running around with the rainbow flag and at the end still sit on the talk show and gossip everything).²³

Both in Turkey and Germany, the rent boys will often make themselves more desirable through discretion, performing exaggerated masculinities, and leaning into their socio-economic marginality. Although the DVD covers of Trimax films have a disclaimer stating that the films are 100% Turkish, Trimax does not bring together a cast that would be considered ‘authentically’ Turkish. Instead, Trimax presents a variety of different possibilities and fantasies common to porn, only adapted to the Turkish context. However, in contrast, Zip Production aims to create a compilation of authentic Turkish men on camera, so scenes with trans cast members can be interpreted as a new vector in the re-Orientalization of the desire of Turkish men. Excluding these few scenes, the overall compilation of *Ahmet’s Fuck Tour* presents versatile gay sex encounters where sexual roles are not determined by the social and cultural norms of masculinity and femininity. In contrast, in Trimax Films scenes, the distinction between masculine and feminine is more determined. For instance, in *Istanbul Boys – Çapkın Gençler* (Rascal Youngsters), the audience is introduced to ‘daddy and twink role play’ – a dynamic never explored by Zip Production. In the movies of Zip Production, the bodies of cast members alone are the catalyst for the Oriental desire: hair, skin color, language, gestures, etc.

Similar codes and actions are deployed to increase pleasure in French gay ethnic pornography, where re-Orientalization is built through the neocolonial subject positions of the migrant men. Like the JNRC and Citébeur production houses in France, Trimax Films and Zip Production did eroticize and romanticize poverty in their productions. This comparison can be seen very clearly in Citébeur films in which, as Mehammed Amadeus Mack argued, the director “Chibikh was accused of eroticizing poverty and romanticizing a daily routine of confrontation that dominates

23 Yıldız, Cem. *Fucking Germany: Das letzte Taboo oder mein Leben als Escort*. Frankfurt am Main: Westend Verlag, 2009, 111.

Here, I translated the German version to English.

miserabilist representation of the suburbs.”²⁴ Without a doubt, Citébeur intentionally picks locations and outfits that fetishize the minority working-class in Paris. However, in the case of Zip Production and Trimax films, it can be argued that the romanticization of poverty was driven by a desire for authenticity. Citébeur’s releases came almost five years after JNRC, Zip Production, and Trimax Films.

Similarly to the way the construction of the Playboy Mansion, as Paul B. Preciado points out, invokes specific social codes that defined masculinity and social class, the memory of working-class and guest worker aesthetics were coded just as clearly in the films of Zip Production and Trimax Films through the use of particular design elements.²⁵ For instance, the house shown in the movie by Trimax Films is close to the local working-class aesthetics in its interior. In contrast, the architectural design of the house and its probable location evoke the homes where the guest-workers from Europe and middle-class Turkish people spend their holidays in Turkey; the portrayal of this house allows for a rich analysis of how these houses create meaning by their architectural and interior designs. Just like the sense of temporary that becomes important in the representation of almost unfurnished immigrant houses in the Jean-Noël René Clair Films, elements of working-class and guest-worker aesthetics as an alternative to the representation in the productions of Zip Production and Trimax Films reflect what these films mean architecturally. Unlike the empty, single bed stage design seen in JNRC Films, some of the movies by Zip Production are recorded inside houses that belong to the local men, with an emphasis on their actual interior decoration. Using these private spaces of actors, as it is done extensively in *Men of Istanbul 3* and 4, provides visual background information and situates the men in an economic and social context that is different from the blank space of JNRC Films.

In addition to these houses, hotel scenes in Zip Production’s movies also offer a sociological reading about access to sex and where and how homosexual sex can be accommodated. These neglected hotel rooms, which are essential elements, especially in French and German ethnic pornographic films, both create aesthetic integrity regarding the social identity of the working-class man in those films and reconstitute an exotic construction over it. The romanticization of poverty in the films of these three pioneering production houses can perhaps also be explained taking into account the difficulties of gay networking within discreet looking and marginalized middle- and working-class communities, which differs greatly in comparison to upper-class gays who have more resources and access to sexual intercourse or travel for sex tourism. In the movies of Zip Production, the film’s locations are either two-star pension rooms or traditionally decorated homes located in the working-class neighborhoods in the outskirts of the Turkish cities the producers visit. In an exclusive interview I car-

²⁴ Mack, 2017, 228.

²⁵ Preciado, Paul B. *Pornotopia: An Essay on Playboy’s Architecture and Biopolitics*. New York: Zone Books, 2014, 22.

ried out with Ben Tamam for this book, he explains how the casting process worked and how he engaged with the sex ghettos of Istanbul:

It was a very simple thing. We printed some cards with our name and a mobile phone number. We hang around in cafés or parks and if I saw someone that was my type, my Turkish friend spoke with him and asked him whether he would be ready to play in a film. Depending on the reaction, my friend went on. Sometimes he just gave our card and when we got a call, we talked about our project. Sometimes he told the guys directly what it was about. If you asked a Turkish or a young Kurdish man if he could get a shot (in front of the camera), he had to say yes, because of his male honor. A Turkish/Kurdish man always can jack off! And if he agreed, we went to a small, shabby hotel in Aksaray. Our first film was completely shot in the same place. Later we were more cautious, and we shot in several places, sometimes private, because we realized that there were criminals who wanted to steal our equipment (even though we had just two cameras) or who wanted to blackmail us because of our film. Luckily, it happened only once. And in this one time we were lucky, because the police did not believe the blackmailer, because the idea seemed so absurd to the police, that they did not even look into our pockets in which the recorded videotapes were.²⁶

The non-response of the police indicates the invisibility of such events in Turkish society and points to the perception of homosexuality and how the police view it as an absurdity. Additionally, there are structural implications in what Ben Tamam shares. How police take sides with Ben Tamam, a white tourist/producer who visits Turkey from Germany, makes him a credible source, considering the internalized racism even in such scenarios. Like Zip Production, Şevket Şahin and Metin Sözen faced similar situations and difficulties despite most of the movies seem to be captured in the same villa starring the same actors. For instance, Hasan Payla is one of the Trimax Films porn stars who took part in films some of which will be discussed later. In most Trimax Films, including their famous Şahin K. pornos captured in a villa, the interior changed according to the script. The villa is often decorated with an Oriental corner, floor carpets, and traditional pillowcases. In some bath scenes, a waist cloth is used, clearly referencing the Turkish hammams. These objects are fixtures of houses in Turkey and in the diaspora. In fact, such Oriental home decor is often more popular outside Turkey since it represents important cultural connections and histories. The symbols and items help individuals deal with homesickness or feel connected to their homeland despite the migration experience. Although Trimax films certainly included these elements to Orientalize the actors for Western audiences, these choices also have an inverse effect of helping migrant men or local Turkish audiences identify their sexuality with these cultural references in a process of self-Orientalization.

Although most of the movies from Trimax Films do contain these powerful cultural reminders, the studio will intentionally avoid sharing such details in a few films. For example, in another film from the *Istanbul Boys* series called *Sıcak Yatak (Warm Bed)* (2007), the audience is introduced to the same villa setting, yet the space has been

²⁶ Interview with Ben Tamam, 30th of May 2019, Schwules Museum, Berlin, Germany. See: *Appendix*.

remade into a homemade fitness studio. Even though the first half of the movie intentionally creates an illusion of a fitness studio, the second half of the film takes place in another room of the villa where a poster with horses in nature is hanging on the wall. Although the first part of the movie tries to avoid showing traditional Turkish visual cues, it was hard for the filmmakers to hide the souvenir-shop-like atmosphere of the set design in the villa for the duration of the movie.

The Turkish pastoral aesthetic is also featured on the DVD covers of Trimax Films. In most of the *Istanbul Boys* series, there is a background image that reflects the natural wonders of Anatolia. Waterfalls, valleys, curated parks, and even photos of holiday resorts figure on the DVD covers of Trimax Films. Besides representing Turkey's touristic and natural tropes, the DVD cover of *Çapkın Gençler (Rascal Youngsters)* (2003) even makes a historically-grounded joke: a daddy figure is positioned backward on a donkey, a direct reference to the Seljuk satirist Nasreddin Hodja. Nasreddin Hodja is a philosopher and storyteller from the 13th century who often uses dark humor to transmit his messages. To this day, he is a prominent figure in Turkish culture and literature whose stories are repeatedly included in the syllabi of primary schools across Turkey, since he represents the Seljuk roots of Turkish identity. However, such a reference on a gay porn DVD cover takes Nasreddin Hodja's satire to a new level, his identity recast as a gay Anatolian daddy figure. Of course, this joke could only speak to an audience who knows this story.

In contrast, for the Western audiences, the image might seem to reference the derogatory term *Ziegenficker* (Goatfucker), a derogatory term used in Western European countries such as Germany or Netherlands to describe men from North Africa, the Middle East, and Central Asia. In a prominent example from March 2016, German satirist Jan Böhmermann called Recep Tayyip Erdogan, President of Turkish Republic, a goatfucker:

Böhmermann, among other things, called Erdoğan 'a man beating girls', and said that he is keen on 'fucking goats' and he would 'suppress minorities, kick the Kurds, hit Christians while watching child pornography.' Much of the rest of the poem is devoted to associating Erdoğan with various less accepted forms of sexuality. Böhmermann deliberately played with the limits of satire and said several times that this form of abusive criticism was not allowed in Germany.²⁷

As exemplified by this clash between Böhmermann and Erdogan, 'goatfucker' is still deployed as a nasty term that mocks non-white males by insinuating their lack of sexual socialization. Here, the image on the DVD jacket is also related to how Orientalism associates hypersexuality (or the animalistic excess) with the Orient. Here, bestiality is instrumentalized as a xenophobic tool of depicting class and 'racial' differ-

27 See: <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/feuilleton/medien/ermittlungen-gegen-jan-boehmermann-wegen-erdogan-gedicht-14163940.html> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024). See also: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B%C3%B6hmermann_affair#cite_note-Schm%C3%A4hkritik_FAZ-7 (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

ence. It is racialized and framed as ‘anti-civilization’, where civilization is assumed as exclusively Western. Therefore, although this image on the Trimax Films’ DVD jacket may seem like a culturally specific inside joke, it is also an expression of the Westernized definition of anti-civilization, as indicated by a certain type of male sexuality.²⁸ Consequently, it can be said that the DVD covers of Trimax Films contain signifiers or messages that speak differently to multiple audiences at the same time. However, in contrast, it is hard to say that such ethnic or cultural references were present in the cover art for Zip Production films. Altogether, both Zip Production and Trimax Films provide a polyvalent libidinal space where audiences from different backgrounds could find something to engage with and jerk-off through the identity politics unfolding on screen. Scholars such as Rich Cante and Angelo Restivo point out how pornography creates a space to contend with identity politics:

After all, in its continual re-inscription of all spaces around us, all male pornography at some point becomes the field for the (utopian) reinvention of the world eternally promised by identity politics. Gay porn thereby presents a cultural critic with the complicated task of untangling the intricate knots connecting real historical beings not only to real historical spaces but also to the imaginary ‘subjects’ of historical discourse networks – as well as to the phantasmatically charged spaces where history is retroactively imagined to have played itself out, and where it will presumably continue to play itself out in the open book that is the future.²⁹

Besides creating an imaginary pornographic space through its films proposing multiple possibilities of identification, Zip Production also intervened in real-life physical homo-social spaces with their video release parties. In Tom’s Saloon & Tom’s Dancehall in Hamburg, formerly known as the P.I.T. club, Zip Production had their video release parties in early 2000s. They organized screenings for their films, which became homosocial spaces for their audiences in Hamburg. The *Men of Antalya* release party was one of the most significant video release party events for Zip Production, as it was promoted with flyers hung around gay spaces in the city. For decades, the P.I.T. club had a history of being a meeting point for leather fetish communities, even hosting the first exhibition of the Finnish homoerotic artist Tom of Finland in the 1970s. Some of the works from that exhibition were later re-exhibited with Tom of Finland’s notes in Galerie Judin in Berlin in 2020.³⁰ In the second half of the 2010s, P.I.T. club changed its name to Tom’s Saloon & Tom’s Dancehall as an homage to Tom of Finland.

²⁸ Glocalization, the simultaneous occurrence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies in contemporary social, political, and economic systems. See: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/glocalization> (Last Access Date: 03.04.2024).

²⁹ Cante, Rich, and Restivo, Angelo. “The Cultural-Aesthetic Specificities of All-male Moving-Image Pornography.” In *Porn Studies*, edited by Linda Williams. New York, USA: Duke University Press, 2004, 143.

³⁰ See: <https://www.galeriejudin.com/artist/tom-of-finland/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

The in-person homosocial spaces created by Zip Production were not limited only to the video release parties in Hamburg. Zip Production also established a member organization called Zip Club to create a network of gay men with a specific taste in pornography. In response, the studio received letters from interested men outside Germany, even though their postcards advertising the club only appeared in German. Membership allowed members to receive new videos of Zip Production without shipping costs, invites to in-person events, the latest information about the company's productions, and a free gay scene guide. When Zip Production actively produced and marketed their films, the internet and especially social media were not as prominent or developed as today. Consequently, most engagement between the studio and their members, audience, and potential cast members took place in analog form. A review of these letter correspondences demonstrates a sustained interest in becoming members or filming with the studio from non-white and migrant populations.³¹ These innovative engagement strategies by Zip Production were later digitally replicated by the Citébeur production company of France as the Beur mobile application. Membership clubs, events, and the presence of these apps aimed to non-white users creates a neocolonial division between the gay communities in Europe.

3.4 The Soundtrack of Zip Production and Trimax Films

One of the elements that helped Zip Production re-Orientalize their releases was the music they selected. Oriental-sounding music has been used in many introduction scenes, suggesting to the audience that the cultural setting was Turkey. The featured music that is often used in Turkish celebratory events such as wedding ceremonies or child-circumcision gatherings. Most members of the audience from Turkey or the wider Middle East will recognize the traditional music and are likely to find it conflicting in relation to a gay porn scene. However, using such traditional music helps the visual image feel more 'authentically Turkish' by staging the 'Other' for Western viewers, for whom this music is foreign yet palatable.

Zip Production even released a soundtrack album recorded by *TayFun*, a Hamburg-based DJ who frequently performs live at Turkish weddings in Germany. This merchandising strategy of selling the porn soundtrack on a cassette is noteworthy given the gay context. Yet, releasing porn film soundtracks is not an unknown strategy in Turkish erotic cinema. During the 1970s, Turkish porn studios released soundtrack albums as LPs for underground promotion of their films. For instance, Figen Han, a pioneering actress of Turkish erotic cinema in 1973 released an LP album at the climax of her career called *Pisi Pisi – Haydi Bastır*. *Haydi Bastır (Go for It)* was also the name

³¹ Due to the data protection regulations, the exact numbers or personal information of the senders is protected.

of the erotic film in which she was the protagonist. On this album, Figen Han can be heard dirty talking or even moaning during the songs.³² Surprisingly, however, Zip Production's soundtrack album contained nothing particularly sexual. The songs produced by *TayFun* can be classified as folksy and traditional. Marketing such a product reveals the studio's strategy to appeal to customers' nostalgia or longing for their home country, a common marketing tactic towards migrant communities in Europe. In Zip Production's releases, the soundtrack goes on and off randomly, rather than introducing or supporting what's on-screen. Oriental tunes can be heard in the middle of the penetration scenes, and then fade out again unexpectedly. In contrast, Trimax Films used a soundtrack only during the intro and outro scenes to support text credits and images. Furthermore, the music choices of Trimax Films are of a Western generic style of music, mirroring the use of music in the 70s erotica films from Turkey that tended towards Westernized aesthetics through the use of memorable psychedelic rock tunes as soundtrack.

3.5 Acting and Porn Stardom in the Movies of Zip Production and Trimax Films

Due to the itinerant nature of Zip Production's releases, the studio limited its casting to men found in each featured city. At Trimax Films, however, a more open casting policy gave space for a range of actors including one young versatile porn star, Hasan Payla, who challenged Aybars Türker's sole claim to the versatile Turkish porn stardom. Hasan appears in multiple films during the *Istanbul Boys* series, and in each of them, we see him performing a different position or scenario. With a stereotypical twink aesthetic – featuring a skinny, young, short, and smooth body – he often performs versatile characters even within the same movie, switching between top and bottom roles. Such versatility does not exist in the Zip Production films. While Hasan Payla's career is perhaps limited to the *Istanbul Boys* series, his fluid performances made him a star. On the DVD covers of the *Istanbul Boys* series, promotional text reads:

These Turkish boys have a lot to offer. They throw a spectacular gay party, and it wasn't long before they got bored. What happens next is hot sexual encounter with each other. They are young, hairless, and ready to get dirty with each other. These guys are from Istanbul! Istanbul Boys.³³

In statements such as “these Turkish boys have a lot to offer,” the men's Turkishness is instrumentalized in a way that seems to reveal the producers' desire to ‘Turkify’ every pornographic sub-category, to make the films more marketable. The strategy also

³² Further, outside Turkey, there are numerous porn soundtracks albums that have been produced as supplementary marketing material for porn or erotic films.

³³ Text stated on the DVD jackets of *Istanbul Boys* series produced by Trimax Films.

demonstrates how Trimax Films sought to subvert the clichéd representation of hairy Turkish macho men, making Trimax Films a challenger to mainstream U.S. companies. The young and hairless – but ‘dirty’ – boys of Istanbul are bodies of a new racialized economy of homoerotic fetishization that mixes occidental aesthetics and oriental ideals of ‘beautiful boys.’ This in-betweenness of the actors’ representations recalls clichéd depictions of Middle Eastern homoeroticism, tropes which Joseph Allen Boone categorizes into three different styles: “First is the ubiquitous image of the beautiful boy as an object of ardent male desire. Second is the age-differentiated sodomy as the primary formation of male-male sexuality in Islamic culture. Third is the fantasies of hammam (or bathhouse) as a privileged spatial locus for male erotic encounters.”³⁴ In many ways, porn actor Hasan Payla could fit into all these three different categories of Middle Eastern homoeroticism in terms of his body type and self-presentation. However, he challenges the characterization of the ‘beautiful boy’ as a submissive bottom in racialized pornography. In Trimax Films, age-differentiated sodomy exists, but it does not fall into the orientalist cliché with a hypermasculine man encountering a male dancer or an effeminate performer.

Turning back to the casting by Zip Production, porn stardom like that of Hasan Payla is hard to come by since almost every episode introduces audiences to a completely different cast. While this makes sense given the traveling, location-based focus of finding men in each Turkish city, the audience oddly never sees Ahmet, the supposed protagonist of the series. With its POV solo shoots, one is not sure whether Ahmet is the camera itself, the camera operator, or the guy behind the cameras. This mystery helps the audience imagine themselves as Ahmet, fulfilling a sort of peeping fantasy. Cast members in Zip Production films were selected through rather old-school methods, as explained by Ben Tamam during an interview with the author of this book. Tamam explains how he mediates the invisible Ahmet character:

There is not really a specific reason behind the name, but the main actor of this film is the reason. He was one of our models in the first film. In this time, he just came out of prison. In fact, he breaks out and needs money urgently. He was a ‘professional thief’ and, as he told us later, there were a lot of situations where he could have stolen all our equipment. We were incredibly naive and easy-going. But for some reason, probably because we loved him and he loved us, we worked with him and he took care of the money in the car during the shots or watched our equipment. And he was ready to do anything in the film, so we came up with the idea of filming with him.³⁵

Although Zip Production did not pay attention to advancing the stardom of their cast members, they filmed scenes that support the depiction of Middle Eastern homoeroticism that Boone mentioned. In some of the episodes of the *Ahmet’s Fuck Tour*, actors took part in shower scenes that recall the oriental hammam fantasies or even Muslim

³⁴ Boone, 2014, 51.

³⁵ Interview with Ben Tamam, 30th of May 2019, Schwules Museum, Berlin, Germany. See: *Appendix*.

ghusl rituals.³⁶ While cast members do not perform pre- and post-sex *ghusl* actions, the shower scenes right after sex could hint to culturally knowledgeable viewers who have this religious background. In Turkish culture, *hammams* are an important semi-public social space where same sex participants perform cleansing and socializing, which is often associated with Islamic rituals. Since the usage of *hammams* is divided along gender binaries, their architecture acts as a catalyst for the imaginary of homosexual desire. The shower scenes in the Zip Production films contain aesthetic elements, such as audiovisual depiction, with culturally loaded meaning. The audience hears water; the cast members and crew converse while cleaning their bodies in the shower, similarly to the interactions in a hammam. These shower scenes help personalize the cast members and relate them to the audience by depicting non-sexual activities. Unlike the porn star status that Hasan Payla achieves in the Trimax Films releases, Zip Production builds up its characterization of the Turkish cast by staging relatable, real-life experiences that touch on cultural memory.

Overall, however, both studios avoided close personalization of their actors in terms of representing different types of ethnicities from Turkey. Like JNRC Films, Zip Production and Trimax Films avoided personalization by using vague derogatory terms towards the actors, much like in the movies of Citébeur. Especially in Zip Production films, which play with the sexualization of working-class aesthetics and poverty, the use of derogatory terms contributes to a sexual mythology of poverty and exoticism mirroring the ghastly reality of the social and political struggles faced by ethnic minorities in modern Europe. The films of Citébeur use the derogatory term *beur* to try to empower its subjects through its pornographic redefinition. In contrast, Trimax Films avoids such derogatory characterization with the Hasan Payla character. Similarly, Zip Production never introduces Ahmet as a *Kanake*, a derogatory term used against migrant guest workers, even though such terminology would have further consolidated the orientalist gaze of the series.

3.6 Media Coverage of Zip Production and Trimax Films in Germany

While Zip Production and Trimax Films both marketed their films primarily in Germany, it is almost impossible to find any information in German media archives about Trimax Films. In the appendix section of this book, a list of German media coverage of Zip Production films can be found, including interviews, reviews, and articles about

³⁶ *Ghusl* is an Arabic term that refers to the full-body ritual purification that is mandatory before the performance of various rituals and prayers, for any adult Muslim after having sex, for ejaculation, and for the completion of the menstrual cycle. However, *wudu* and sleeping can be done without performing *ghusl*.

the *Ahmet's Fuck Tour* series.³⁷ This appendix has a historical importance for several reasons: firstly, this archive is not readily available online or offline today since none of these gay community publications are still running. Secondly, these materials were classified and shared from personal archives only for the purpose of the research of this book. The archival material has been collected by Ben Tamam, producer of the Zip Production, who offered full consent to bring in his archive and the legacy of Zip Production's to a contemporary academic and artistic audience. This media archive is an important source of historical material to analyze the evolving representation of Turkish LGBTIQ+ communities in Germany, and to bring to light the gay ethnic pornographic history of Europe and the S.W.A.N.A. regions. This section will analyze nine German magazines – *Adam Plus* magazine, *BUDDY* magazine, *Du & Ich* magazine, *EuroGay* blog page, *Hinnerk* magazine, *KERLE* magazine, *PIM* magazine, *Playground* magazine, and *TOY* magazine – plus one Turkish and German bilingual publication called *LUBUNYA* distributed only in Germany. As these articles demonstrate, the Zip Production movies captured the attention of mainstream German gay media between 1999 and 2004. *Adam Plus* magazine and *KERLE* magazine did interviews with Ben Tamam, the producer of Zip Production, and the bilingual magazine *LUBUNYA* ran a feature with Murat Bal, the co-producer of Zip Production.

In *Adam Plus* magazine, the interview questions mostly focused on Tamam's vision, as well as speculation if the cast was in fact bisexual or gay. Additionally, Tamam was asked an interesting question about the relationship between Islam and gay porn production: "Did you indicate that Islamic fundamentalists make your work here in Germany more difficult? What do you want to say?" This type of questions usually inquires about the reaction of the audiences in Turkey eye-to-eye on Islam while ignoring the possible 'reaction' of Turkish gay porn viewers in Germany. Even questions in the Turkish–German bilingual magazine *LUBUNYA*'s interview by Hakan Tas asked a similar question on Islam and the 'difficulties' of producing porn in Turkey. Moreover, it is interesting to note that both *Adam Plus* magazine and *KERLE* magazine shared their Zip Production interviews with the same headline: *TÜRKEN-POPPEN* (Turkish bonking). These two interviews represent the Zip Production movies in terms that establish racial and ethnic otherness instead of acknowledging the strong existence of a Turkish identity in Germany.

Analyzing the prevalence of this subject across Ben Tamam's whole archive of ten different gay lifestyle and pornography magazines published in Germany, we find two titles that published six articles across six different issues. These are the *Buddy* magazine issues 58, 79, 82 and the *TOY* magazine issues 224, 227, 242. Nine out of ten magazines wrote about Zip Production in German, and as mentioned, one of them, *LUBUNYA* magazine, wrote bilingually in both German and Turkish. Four out of the ten magazines interviewed the producers of Zip Production, and six out of ten published PR

³⁷ See: *Appendix*.

material for their films or included reviews. Most of the film reviews highlight stereotypes about hairy, masculine, and discrete Turkish men. By emphasizing the discrete label in their reviews, these German magazines ignored the real-life homosexual identity of many of the cast members, instead of representing them as heterosexual men choosing gay sex for money. In addition, most of these reviews use made-up terms to overly exoticize their content – such as *Türkenhonig* (Turkish honey, which supposedly refers to sperm) or *Bosporusmänner* (Men of The Bosphorus). The second term *Bosporusmänner* later inspired German homo-Oriental literature as well. Bruno Gmünder, a German homoerotic publishing house, released two different stories set in Istanbul by Paul Adamson and Thomas Schwarz for their famous *Loverboys* series.³⁸ *Loverboys 134–Heisse Nächte in Istanbul* (2013) and *Loverboys 145–Männerspiele am Bosporus* (2015) are the two books where the German writers adapted gay ethnic pornography for erotic literature. Unlike the Zip Production approach centering local Turkish men, the books from the *Loverboys* series tell the story of two adventurous gay German tourists and their getaway in Istanbul. On the books' cover art, the famous Italian porn star Alex Marte represents Turkish men for the audience in Germany. This choice shows how the stereotypical language used to describe cast members in Zip Production movies later inspired homoerotic literature, where non-German nationals and ethnic identities became a tool for sexual commodification.³⁹

Taking a closer look at the interview features, three out of four start with the same question: “How did the idea come about?” This suggestive question immediately sets a tone for the reader that shooting a porn film in Turkey is very scandalous. The following questions were primarily variations on “how do the cast members react to starring in porn films?” and “what was your experience shooting porn movies in Turkey?” Overall, these interview questions create a perception that presents Zip Production films as a daring challenge to produce, even though one of the founders has Turkish background. Interestingly, though, in most of the interviews, the interviewee is Ben Tamam, a German national. In one interview for *LUBUNYA* magazine prepared by GLADT (Gays und Lesbians aus der Türkei – Gays and Lesbians from Turkey), we find Murat Bal, who has a migrant background, responding to the interview questions. Murat Bal mentions that his inspiration to start filming ethnic-style porn films came from seeing Arab boys during his holiday in the South of France. He noted that he has a great interest in the Arab men he had encountered in France, as this interest shaped his sexuality as well. He describes his experience in *LUBUNYA*

³⁸ *Loverboys* series are the compilation of 166 books in total that are published by the Germany based Bruno Gmünder publishing house. Each book in the series focus on a different story that is written by a different author.

³⁹ In addition to the Turkish representation *Loverboys* series also released a *Loverboys Classic 1: Ali, Sohn der Wüste* (Ali, the son of desert) where the author André Leroy told the homo-Oriental eroticism between Ali and Hassan in a desert.

magazine to document or expose the untold, which is, in this case, the sexuality of men in Turkey.

Similarly to Stéphane Chibikh, Murat Bal grew up with the experience of coming from a migrant background, even if they do not always engage with this part of their biography. When it comes to presenting ethnic stereotypes in their films, they represent an insider position that gives them the confidence to confirm stereotypes as facts for the Western audience. In her book, *Declining the Stereotype*, Mireille Rosello states that “in the context of ethnic stereotyping, the grammar of facts and figures, with its accompanying level of articulations, is fetishized; it is an open invitation to plunge into our list of preconceptions.”⁴⁰ Another author, Mehammed Amadeus Mack, also mentions how Stéphane Chibikh, “who now shies away from media engagement”, was critiqued by the mainstream gay media for flaunting culturally inappropriate stereotypes in his films.⁴¹ *Citébeur* came almost ten years after Zip Production, and, since then, the perception towards gay pornography has changed given that there is significant visibility in the media, academy, and culture industry. However, the ethnic coding employed by Murat Bal, Ben Tamam, and Jean-Noël Réne Clair comes from their ‘realistic’ approach to gay pornography as producers of the first examples in the genre in the 1990s and early 2000s. Interviews found in the Zip Production media archive confirm this journalistic or documentary approach. Although there are repetitive clichés that pornography consistently repeats, there is also a potential for films to render visible unspoken or ignored sexualities and make them topics of discussion in the media. Such a possibility can create more space for underrepresented gay communities to be recognized and self-actualized, all while being sexualized.

Beyond the interviews with the Zip Production producers, a review of *Men of Adana 2* made by the editors of *Du und Ich* magazine, Peter and Paul, for the December 2003-January 2004 issue, reveals loaded stereotyping common at the time in the review, the two editors are introduced as European porn film detectives. Such entitlement gives them the power to qualify the productions they are reviewing. Like most of the reviews in other gay magazines published in Germany, Peter and Paul use many clichés to introduce the actors as ‘hairy young Turks’ who are scandalously jerking off in front of the camera. They were shocked by how much these men could cum in front of the camera. Peter stated that he would love to have an operation to become one of them, as if the transition from one ethnicity to another is possible through medical procedure. In addition to this odd wishful thinking, Peter mentions that such movies would not be possible under the governance of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Paul responds to this remark sarcastically and states that Europe has a lot to learn from

⁴⁰ Rosello, Mireille. *Declining the Stereotype: Ethnicity and Representation in French Cultures*. Contemporary French Culture and Society. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1998, 135.

⁴¹ Mack, 2017, 228.

those stallions.⁴² This specific review is a prime example of white supremacist rhetoric that alienates and antagonizes sexualities from outside Western Europe. Prof. Roderick A. Ferguson argued:

Locating sociological arguments about sexuality within white racial formations taking place in the early decades of the twentieth century also begs the question of how contemporary arguments about the socially constructed nature of sexuality might point to such formations in our present period as well.⁴³

According to Ferguson, the re-construction of homosexual identity in the late 20th century followed homonormative notions of the Western, white, middle class; this resulted in effectively marginalizing working-class and non-white gay and bisexual men. It is also possible to observe the risks attached to this normative construction of homosexuality from Murat Bal as well as Stéphane Chibikh, who in reaction fetishizes homosexuality on class and ‘race’ margins of society. Murat Bal mentions in the end of his interview that he tried many times to shoot porn films with Turkish men in Germany, but he could not convince anyone to participate. Taking his filming to Turkey, Bal admits the extent to which a colonial and/or Orientalist gaze is reproduced in the production of his films, despite the director’s Turkish-German background.

In contrast to the rich materials found about Zip Production in this media archive, Trimax Films was almost invisible in the German gay media of the time. There could be two main reasons for that. First, we need to remember the disclaimer in the lower half of the *Istanbul Boys* series that specifies that the films as ‘100% Turkish.’ Unlike in the Zip Production, Trimax Films does not add German subtitles, and credits are written in Turkish, suggesting that the target audience of Trimax Films are people who really speak Turkish. Then, Trimax Films did not market or advertise their films in Germany as Zip Production did: they marketed their films online and not necessarily to German-speaking audiences. In fact, the marketing languages of Trimax Films were Turkish and English.

3.7 The Distribution of Pornographic Media in Turkey and Technological Developments

The many legal restrictions on pornographic film distribution and production shape the demographics of the audiences. In order to understand how class differences play

⁴² See: *Appendix*.

⁴³ Ferguson, Roderick A. “‘race’-Ing Homonormativity: Citizenship, Sociology, and Gay Identity.” In *Black Queer Studies: A Critical Anthology*, edited by E. Patrick Johnson and Mae G. Henderson. Duke University Press, 2005, 53.

out across geographies, culture, and politics, the main audiences for German-Turkish gay ethnic porn films in the 90s and 00s can be split into three groups:

1. The *German audience*, which was the main target audience for these films as they were marketed first in Germany, mostly in Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Cologne, Stuttgart, and Munich.
2. The *Turkish-German audience*, whose members live in Germany and therefore would have relatively easier access to these films.
3. The *Turkish audience*, whose members could only gain access to these movies online when porn became more easily accessible around 2004.

In Turkey, selling or producing pornographic films is illegal. According to article 226 of the Turkish Criminal Code, pornographic film distribution, production, and even storage are all illegal activities.⁴⁴ However, even prior to widespread internet access, Turkey had a 'pirate' film market that allowed people to buy VHS, DVD, and VCD versions of porn films on the street or under the table in film stores. In addition to the genuine risks and harms involved in porn production, there is also risk and harm to gay porn consumption in heteronormative or conservative societies. Therefore, it is hard to say what the buyers of these Germany-based ethnic porn production companies looked like in Turkey before watching pornographic films online became popular.

From 2004, however, pornographic film streaming became more common when porn blogs gained traction on alternative streaming platforms to *YouTube*, which does not allow pornography. *Pornhub*, *RedTube*, *YouPorn*, *PornMD*, *Tube8*, and *Xhamster* all became leading streaming platforms during the first years of their subscription-free porn streaming model. Later, *Pornhub* declared its monopoly by taking possession of *RedTube*, *YouPorn*, *PornMD*, and *Tube8* and sharing these platforms under the central *Pornhub* name. *Xhamster* is still the only competitor to *Pornhub*, which has maintained its sustainability with an optional premium subscription system since 2012. These digital platforms allowed audiences in Turkey to stream German-produced Turkish gay porn movies. From 2004 to 2011, pornography on the internet was not under any kind of government control or censorship in Turkey.

In 2011, however, the ruling party of Turkey, *AKP-Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi* (Justice and Development Party), decided to issue new regulations on internet usage, which has allowed government filtering of websites that include 'obscenity' or 'sexual solicitation.' As a response to such laws, by 2011, the internet pornography audience of Turkey had already begun using VPN proxy routers to gain access to pornography via an IP address located in a different country not bound to such restrictions. However, the knowledge required to do this again limits the audience of internet pornography to those who are digitally savvy enough to operate VPNs. Therefore, the audience of

⁴⁴ Türk Ceza Kanunu Madde 226 (Turkish Criminal Code No.226). See: <https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5237.pdf> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

gay ethnic pornography in Turkey after 2011 likely consists of younger people with the know-how to use free VPN proxy providers, or older audiences who acquired such knowledge or access by themselves or with the help of an acquaintance. Feona Attwood pointed this speculative side of online pornography with the note from Henry Jenkins: “at the center of controversy surrounding any new media, as the public adjusts to the larger shifts in the ways an emerging medium, shapes our relations to time and space or transforms the borders between public and private.”⁴⁵ As a result of such social shifts that redefined the borders of public and private in a society, Turkey became one of the countries who scapegoats legal online pornography by associating it with child pornography, and terrorist or illegal activities.⁴⁶

Additionally, by law, Turkey’s internet censorship of pornographic content should be limited to instances of child abuse and sexually explicit media. In April 2011, the Telecommunications Directorate of Turkey (known as TIB) released a list of 138 words which were prohibited search terms on the internet. ‘LGBT’, ‘homosexual’, ‘transvestite’, ‘gay’, ‘transgender’, and ‘lesbian’ are some of the words that were included in the list.⁴⁷ These increasingly conservative regulations impact access to gay pornographic material in Turkey. These technological and legal divisions of the porn audiences lead to a sociocultural division in gay ethnic pornography and limits its scope to reaching audiences mainly within the borders of Europe.

3.8 Ethnic Pornographic Productions in Germany: Street Boys and GayHeim

Over the years when Zip Production and Trimax Films were active, ethnic porn film production in Germany between 1995 and 2005 is, according to the archives, limited to a single series of films. Director Marcel Bruckmann from Düsseldorf produced the first examples of gay ethnic pornography with an all Turkish-German cast between 2003 and 2007 in collaboration with his production company Street Boys, Man’s Art, and, XY Films. Marcel Bruckmann is a prominent figure in the porn film industry, as he is one of the founders of TitanMen Productions, a well-known gay production house in the U.S. He also received several awards for his achievements, including the lifetime achievement award during the HustlaBall Awards in 2009. Bruckmann produced a four-film series explicitly focusing on Turkish men in Germany. It is called *Turkish Cum Guns* (2003–2008), a compilation of solo and duo films that portray Turkish men from dif-

⁴⁵ Attwood, Feona. *Porn.Com: Making Sense of Online Pornography*. Digital Formations. New York: Peter Lang, 2010, 1.

⁴⁶ Altintas, Kemal, Tolga Aydin, and Varol Akman. “Censoring the Internet: The Situation in Turkey (originally Published in June 2002).” *First Monday* 7, no. 6, 2007, 2.

⁴⁷ See: <https://www.amnestyusa.org/internet-freedom-in-turkey-system-error/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

ferent cities in Germany. The first two series, *Turkish Cum Guns 1* and *2* (respectively 2003 and 2005), mainly depict solo jerk-off performances by the actors in a photography studio.

The film starts with a slideshow introducing the actors, showing their portraits, stating where they come from, how old they are, and saying their names. In the second series, this introduction slideshow changed to a more visual one by depicting the hometown of the actors. After the introduction slide, the movie starts with the solo pieces accompanied by oriental music in the background.⁴⁸ Following the solo performances, the series continues with duo performances where the audience sees actors having sex either in the photo studio where they performed solo scenes or in a room that is turned into a fitness studio or a bedroom. These duo performances of the series' first two films are similar to what Trimax Films did. Even the fitness-studio scenario of Trimax Films is appropriated in exactly the same style but with different actors. Contrary to Zip Production's and Trimax Films, the first two films of the series did not include much dialogue or an interview with the actors. There are also actors with Arabic names, such as Rashid, who perhaps represents more than just the Turkish actors, even though this was not the intention of Marcel Bruckmann. In that sense, the movie is structured similarly to JNRC: both followed similar strategies of typecasting their actors according to the theme.

The 3rd and 4th series of the film include German cast members and a more structured storyline of role-plays. These role-play scenarios depict a technician or repairman fantasy. Those fantasies also rely on the fact that those were the jobs many Turkish people did after migrating to Germany as guest workers. Their sexual positions toward Germans in these two films are also chosen to illustrate migrants and people with migration backgrounds between fear and fascination. During the series' last two films, although actors with Turkish migration backgrounds are sexually versatile here, they perform as top/active when a white German actor is involved. Sexual preference or positions should not be seen as defining broader subject positions; it reproduces the prejudices and stereotypes of anal sex between men.⁴⁹ These stereotypes have been challenged by new terminologies such as 'power bottom' or 'submissive top' that have become a trend in the alternative gay porn scene recently; the common knowledge is still to associate top/penetrative acts with dominant sexual power.⁵⁰ Besides the sexual power politics, such sexual positions provide a cultural excess of masculinities through

48 Most of the cast members' names and hometowns have been misspelled in the introduction slide; for example, Recep has been written as Recip or İskilip, an Anatolian town near Çorum, written as İskilib.

49 Ravenhill, James P., and Richard O. de Visser. "It Takes a Man to Put Me on the Bottom": Gay Men's Experiences of Masculinity and Anal Intercourse." *The Journal of Sex Research* 55, no. 8, 2018, 1033–1047.

50 See: <https://www.thehomoculture.com/2015/01/04/power-bottom-101/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024)

antagonism and resemblance.⁵¹ Versatility plays a compensation role, considering masculinity's assignment through the binary codes of sexual positions. However, such versatility does not exist between white Germans and Turkish actors, which places them close to the narrative created in *Cadinot* and *Citébeur* films and the ways they pictured Maghrebi men together with white French actors.

Different from the films produced in Turkey, *Turkish Cum Guns* also have stylistic differences. Their fashion choice for the movies represents Turkish underground music and street fashion from Germany, especially Berlin. Due to U.S. sanctions after the Second World War, the presence of U.S. soldiers was heavy in Berlin, and their socialization with migrant societies of Berlin, such as Turkish people around the wall, introduced the U.S. cultures, such as Hip-Hop and R&B, to these communities.⁵² Especially after the attacks of the NSU movement (National Socialist Underground/ Nationalsozialistischer Untergrund) targeting mainly single migrant guest worker men from Turkey since the early 00s that were met with reactions from all migrant groups, and the young Turkish migrant community responded to the Neo-Nazi attacks with their Hip-Hop music.⁵³ Bands like Islamic Force, Karakan, Cartel, and musicians like Killa Hakan became popular in the Turkish-German communities. Like music, activist groups also reacted to growing Neo-Nazism in Germany and responded with their revolting manifestos, such as the 'Kanak Attak Manifesto.' According to the ARD, the German regional public broadcasters organization's online outlet: "originally, the word 'Kaname' referred to the inhabitants of an archipelago in New Caledonia, an archipelago in the southwest Pacific and almost half of the inhabitants of this archipelago are Kanaks. The word probably comes from the Hawaiian term for 'man' (kana)."⁵⁴ After the 1970s, the word was used as a derogatory term to describe migrant guest worker men: Italians, Greeks, Spanish, and especially Turkish men. Later, young migrant communities turned the tables and are now confidently calling themselves 'Kaname', just like American black rappers who call themselves 'niggas' (NdA: used in this specific context to reflect the slang used by African-American rappers in songs and real life and not in reference to dynamics of said word). In the Kanak Attak (Kanak Attack), the community group describes their common position as: "an attack

51 Hart, Trevor A., Richard J. Wolitski, David W. Purcell, Cynthia A. Gómez, Perry N. Halkitis, and The Seropositive Urban Men's Study Team. "Sexual Behavior among HIV-Positive Men Who Have Sex with Men: What's in a Label?". *The Journal of Sex Research* 40, 2003, 179–188.

52 See: 140Journos documentary about Killa Hakan and underground Turkish Hip-Hop from Germany: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p46QYOqXuI8&ab_channel=140journos (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

53 McCarthy, Margaret. *German Pop Literature: A Companion*, edited by Margaret McCarthy. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2015, 101.

54 See: The article from Gabrielle Trost published on *Planetwissen* web page: https://www.planetwissen.de/geschichte/deutsche_geschichte/geschichte_der_gastarbeiter/pwiewissensfrage550.html. (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

against the ‘Kanakisation’ of specific groups of people through racist ascription which denies people their social, legal and political rights. Kanak Attak is therefore anti-nationalist, anti-racist and rejects every single form of identity politics, supported by ethnic absolutist thinking.”⁵⁵

Such strong movements in the social and cultural underground are usually reflected in ethnic pornography through fashion, as the cultural aesthetics of such movements were present in the *Turkish Cum Guns* series, both in the films and on the DVD jackets. Compared to the aesthetic style of Citébeur, it shares similarities, and the overall European version of gay ethnic pornography puts the men from the S.W.A.N.A. regions in their focus signals to the existing social issues of Europe. Although *Turkish Cum Guns* did not include interviews that might enrich these discussions regarding the style of their actors, such representation carries the knowledge that such protest reactions existed in gay cultures. Ethnic pornography as a genre provides a base to trace and analyze such knowledge. *Ahmet’s Fuck Tour* by Zip Production, together with Trimax Films’ *Istanbul Boys* series and the *Turkish Cum Guns* series by Street Boys productions, provide complementary data concerning post-colonial mobility and the issues of gay sex tourism. While the films of Zip Production point to a traditional sex tourism narrative and Trimax puts a mainstream twist to gay porn in Turkey, the productions of Street Boys handle the issue of desire toward migrant men from Turkey within a German context. Such a chronological rerouting narrative of gay ethnic pornography between Germany and Turkey also points to the problems of authentic desire and how such desire alternates with regard to the migrant Turkish men in Germany. The diversifying interest that shifts from the Orientalized Eastern destinations, such as Turkey, to the ghettos of Berlin shows how the issues of ethnic desire subverted the multicultural gaze. The *Turkish Cum Guns* did not come out as an intervention like the *Kanak Attak Manifesto*, which, as Fatima el-Tayeb argued, “shifted the focus from the racialized subjects to those engaged in racializing them.”⁵⁶ However, the data that we can collect based on the *Turkish Cum Guns* series helps us to demonstrate the unexamined agency of migrant men and the representation of their sexualities through porn film series. Additionally, the *Turkish Cum Guns* series and the subsequent productions from Germany offer ways to analyze the everyday experiences and marginalization of second- and third-generation migrant men through representations of ethnic desire.

One of the actors from the series also appears in a film by Marcel Bruckmann titled *Turkish Delights in Berlin*, available on online gay porn streaming platforms.⁵⁷ However, the information regarding this film is not credited on any porn streaming platform. Looking at the styles of the movie he directed, this footage visually corres-

55 See: https://www.kanak-attak.de/ka/about/manif_eng.html (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

56 El-Tayeb, Fatima. *European Others: Queering Ethnicity in Postnational Europe*. Difference Incorporated. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011, 151.

57 See: <https://gaysporno.xxx/vd/3194298-turkish-delights-in-berlin/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

ponds to the films he produced for the Man's Art Productions. Since the DVD collection of Man's Art or Marcel Bruckmann's other productions are unavailable today, this film will remain a mystery. This six-minute-long film takes place in Berlin, Germany, and narrates a homoerotic encounter between a German customer and a *döner* kebab chef. *Döner* kebab is used here to identify Turkish men while catalyzing a gay fantasy around guest worker migrant men. In the opening scene, we see the customer running in a rush while the camera captures the landmarks of Berlin.

After a long run, the German man sees an offer for a bottle of water and goes into the store to buy one. Before his entrance, the chef was jerking off looking at a straight porn magazine. Once the customer goes in, he zips his pants and asks what he wants. After buying a bottle of water, the German customer leaves, but he realizes that he forgot his mobile phone and once he goes back to pick up his mobile phone, he sees that the chef keeps jerking off naked and he keeps watching until the chef came in a bowl of *döner* kebab sauce. Besides being an exceptional example of the tropes of gay ethnic pornography in Germany, the film hints at a national trope that angers migrant guest workers in real life. According to a VICE Germany interview done in 2017 with a *döner* kebab restaurant owner in Germany, the question about ejaculating in sauce is one of the most asked questions and rumors that he has heard.⁵⁸ In addition to the VICE interview, the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* reported that German police had complained about a *döner* sauce containing sperm.⁵⁹ This coverage, and especially the reporting by the established German magazine *Der Spiegel*, demonstrates that this narrative became a commonplace, under the form of an urban myth. Despite the hostile intention of this accusation, the invocation of this urban myth in gay pornography was shown to be part of the pleasure.

The series mentioned above is not the only example produced in Germany on this theme. Following the Syrian Civil War, the refugee crisis became a significant sociopolitical issue in Europe and Asia Minor. Since then, refugees and their alleged sexual interests have been depicted in the mainstream media, including documentary films, TV programs, and photography. For example, Turkish documentary film director Ayşe Toprak directed *Mr. Gay Syria* in 2017. The movie's synopsis on the online streaming platform Mubi states: "*Mr. Gay World* contest promises two gay Syrian refugees in Istanbul an escape from their lives and an answer to invisibility..."⁶⁰ Besides the film's powerful therapeutic resistance message, it portrays the Western world as the last resort to find peace and happiness.

58 See: https://www.vice.com/de/article/wnzxnm/10-fragen-an-einen-donerverkaeufer-die-du-dich-niemals-trauen-wuerdest-zu-stellen?fbclid=IwAR2Un2eflCXtGbUoHtNVoa-l3vWFTOZMUDq-qeZ2m4yS_n6lxTl9kqKpOmk (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

59 See: <https://www.spiegel.de/fotostrecke/moderne-mythen-zu-schoen-um-falsch-zu-sein-fotostrecke-108127.html> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

60 See: <https://mubi.com/films/mr-gay-syria> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

2017 is a noticeable year considering the refugee visibility in mainstream media as well as in pornography. In 2015, the then-chancellor Angela Merkel welcomed one million refugees from Syria, naming the situation as extraordinary in terms of the challenging conditions of it. 'Refugees Welcome' became a famous slogan in the pro-refugee movements of Germany. The porn-film market also capitalized on the indie-porn scene's 'Refugees Welcome' motto. Swedish porn film producer and director Erica Lust produced *Refugees Welcome* in 2017, directed by Canadian filmmaker and photographer Bruce LaBruce. Refugee-themed gay porn movies mainly positioned non-refugee actors and the producer Erika Lust as sexual saviors who liberated refugees from the homophobic and anti-modern South. Even the synopsis of the film characterizes refugees as poetic and almost pitiful: "When Erika received a confession about the experience of a Syrian refugee and his recent arrival in Germany, she could think of no better guest director for the job than the prolific yet controversial Bruce LaBruce."⁶¹ *Refugees Welcome* (2017) positioned its protagonist, a Syrian refugee named Moonif, as a vulnerable character who is beat up by the fascists. In the usual scenario of gay pornography, especially in France, migrant men or Arab men are portrayed as hypermasculine and macho. However, Erica Lust's sympathy for the experience of a Syrian refugee failed to show how intended vulnerability and anti-refugee violence are systemically experienced and what it says about sexual pleasure. Instead, the film repeated the standard view of Western media, which does not give space to the refugees to speak for themselves.

In addition to examples of the indie-porn scene such as *Refugees Welcome* (2017), refugee-themed gay porn films also found their place in the amateur gay porn scene in Europe. For instance, a newly established porn film company in Munich (Germany) called GayHeim.de (GayHeim means the house of gays) produces examples of gay ethnic pornography that include Turkish, Iranian, Greek, Croatian, Brazilian, and German men alongside a category of men characterized as 'Flüchtlinge' (Refugees). As this example demonstrates, new trends have evolved within the realm of gay ethnic pornography, especially in Germany, that are significantly influenced by recent political events such as the European refugee crisis over the course of Syrian Civil War that started in 2011. For instance, in 2021 GayHeim.de has released a video called *Refugee fucks naked German-Turkish in Munich/Germany*.⁶² They arguably capture the spirit and use the word 'refugee' as an exotic Oriental tool to sexualize one of their cast members. Furthermore, what is interesting about the movies of GayHeim is that they are, after Zip Production and Trimax Films, one of the first porn film houses to produce films in Germany and to include actors from different ethnic backgrounds, including refugees.

⁶¹ See: <https://erikalust.com/films/refugees-welcome> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

⁶² See: <https://www.icegay.tv/de/movies/2402521/fluchtling-fickt-naked-deutsch-trke-in-munich-germany> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

In a way, GayHeim creates a power dynamic between Arab men, refugees, and others. Before GayHeim, the power dynamic was divided between migrant men from S.W.A.N.A. and the West. GayHeim followed the similar power dynamics that Zip Production and Trimax Films instrumentalized by adding undefined sub-categories – such as ‘Southern (Südländer),’ ‘Refugees (Flüchtlinge),’ ‘German-Turk (deutsch-türke),’ and the antiquated national identity ‘Yugo’ (meaning Yugoslavian) – to speak to the ethnic pornography audience with an updated terminology. Looking at the entire filmography of GayHeim, it is hard to find any white German cast member beyond the very first productions.

GayHeim is a low-budget production house that produces amateur films with amateur porn stars. However, it is an important example to represent Germany’s current cultural and social frustrations from a raw point of view. Although GayHeim does not develop a solid visual aesthetic like Citébeur, they still manage to reflect populist right-wing rhetoric and stereotypes directed at migrants or refugees through the marketing of their movies. This also shows that the recent European productions of gay ethnic pornography are not only bridging Europe with S.W.A.N.A. regions, but they reflect the post-colonial power dynamics and current frustrations within Europe through the gaze relations.

The refugee theme seems to be increasing both in gay and heterosexual pornography due to Russia’s invasion of Ukraine in February 2022. Ukrainian refugee men have not become a topic in gay pornography until now, although it is hard to say the same for Ukrainian refugee women. Especially on online streaming platforms, the quantity of the data regarding refugee-themed pornography is high. According to Mohammed Amjahid’s article on Zeit.de, the world’s largest online porn platform, Pornhub, claimed to be removing refugee-themed pornography, referring to the issue as a ‘very delicate matter.’⁶³ However, refugee-themed pornography still exists in the libraries of Pornhub and Xhamster today. Besides the online porn streaming platforms, self-distributing platforms are on the rise, and examples of refugee-themed porn movies are also emerging on such channels.

Apart from GayHeim, it is almost impossible to identify active gay ethnic porn productions in Germany today in terms of studio made gay porn film production, except for the self-distributed porn film platforms such as OnlyFans or Just4Fans. However, it is possible to say that ethnic porn or porn stars create their porn personas through self-Orientalization on these platforms. This also applies to actors living in Turkey and working through self-distributed porn content platforms. Just as VHS and DVDs have been replaced by digital media, homemade porn will soon be taking the place of current production companies. Here, the interplay between performance and performativity appears to lean heavily toward performance/identity, diverging from

⁶³ See: <https://www.zeit.de/gesellschaft/2018-05/sexisms-refugeeporn-refugees-pornography-germany-analysis> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

the traditional emphasis on storyline prevalent in studio-based pornography. Porn stars now actively market their identities and performances as primary selling points, a departure from the narrative-driven approach of studio productions. This shift prompts suspicion regarding the decline of ethnic pornography production in Germany today. It raises intriguing questions about the evolving landscape of post-national identities in Europe, positing pornography as a lens through which to examine these cultural phenomena.

A proper analysis of gay ethnic pornography filmed and distributed between Germany and Turkey remained untold until now. Pornography is a highly interesting cultural product to consider the phenomena of post-national identities in Europe today. Its position outside the mainstream media and the colonial legacy of 'high art' makes pornography more accessible yet underestimated. Two leading production houses, Zip Production and Trimax Films, authenticated the men from Turkey with visual and cultural references, which allowed the mixed audience to either identify with the actors or fetishize them (or both at the same time). It is often taboo to talk about the politics of gay sex in the context of labor migration, or how ethnic differences inspired cultural production, such as pornography. The recognition that Zip Production and Trimax Films received influenced *Street Boys* and the *GayHeim* series. Such influence helps the power issues of European post-coloniality translate through a pornographic lens. Transnationality and the mobility of pornography carry its recent memory within, and it reveals how the tropes of Orientalism are coded and decoded through viewing and filming sex between men.

In these films, there seem to be two forces of fetishization at work that are embedded in ambivalence. On the one hand, to some audiences, these films can be made only through a 'gay-for-pay' scheme and they invest in the scandalousness of the imagery produced. On the other hand, it works as an eroticization and Orientalization of Turkish men, of their culturally embedded homosociality, and of the queer proximity it bears toward fluid masculinity. One of these positions may be more sex-positive, and, within the Turkish context, such representations might be empowering for those struggling to navigate their desires. The archival material present in the appendix of this chapter, specifically the letters from the audience, shows a connection and resemblance between the actors of Zip Production and the migrant men from Germany who wrote the letters. Audience reception, PR material, interviews, and the film materials themselves, point out the issue of navigating desire in a post-colonial context through intergenerational mobility, in this specific example. Although the effect of these might not fulfill the word 'empowerment' in this chapter's conclusions, comparing the negative assessments of the examples in the previous chapter, I wanted to use this word as a reminder of the positive potential that might lie in these films. These movies carry a kind of knowledge that elucidates the ignored topic of post-colonial politics of sexuality in Europe.

4 A Glory Hole to the Iron Curtain: Eastern European Male Identity and Gay Pornography

Eastern European identity is a bigger fetish in gay porn than one might assume. Following the Cold War the fall of the Iron Curtain and the NATO intervention in Yugoslavia in the 1990s made Eastern European sexualities more accessible to porn film audiences in Western Europe and the United States. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union, sex tourism and pornographic film production emerged as industries in countries such as Russia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, and Bulgaria. The classic narrative of gay (and straight) sex tourism invests in the white upper-middle-class man from a First World country who travels to a Third World country to have sex. Eastern Europe became an exception to this colonial and Orientalist narrative. However, the colonization of much of Eastern Europe under the Austro-Hungarian Empire up until the First World War was accompanied by a cultural discourse that the scholar Ezequiel Adamovsky defines as Euro-Orientalism.¹

Through its focus on gay ethnic pornography, this chapter expands the notions of Orientalism and nineteenth-century colonialism to include the Eastern European context. Like the German-Turkish context, this specification will contribute to the discussions on how ethnicity could be orchestrated to exist outside the hegemonic understanding of whiteness. While this study consisted, until now, of case studies that focused on specific nations, this chapter is subsumed under the umbrella term of Eastern Europe in order to provide a more extensive discussion of the rich material collected. Another reason for this grouping is that (most of) these countries used to be part of the Soviet Union, which is, as we will see, negotiated in many of the movies discussed.

As Ezequiel Adamovsky argues, the concept of Euro-Orientalism emerged in the era of French Enlightenment and shaped especially by French literature that included examples in which many of the stereotypes and prejudices traditionally associated to the Orient were transferred onto the Slavic peoples.² Colonization is not always the result of belligerent invasions but occurred in new ways throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. To be more specific, Austria expanded into the Balkans during 1878–1908 and the French engaged in practices that I would describe as neo-colonialist, specifically based on the extraction of labor and resources from this region. The colonization of Eastern Europe by France and Germany, and the Orientalization of

1 Adamovsky, Ezequiel. "Euro-Orientalism and the Making of the Concept of Eastern Europe in France, 1810–1880." *The Journal of Modern History* 77, no. 3, 2005, 591.

2 Adamovsky, 2005, 592.

Eastern Europeans, was a well-established phenomenon that goes back to the early 1800s as Ezequiel Adamovsky and Robert L. Nelson claim:

The German patterns of understanding and control over their Eastern neighbors, since at least the 1850s, fit neatly into the European global understanding of colonizer and colonized relationships.³

However, the Western European man's fascination with their Eastern European neighbors was not reflected in pornographic narratives until the late twentieth century. After events like the fall of the Iron Curtain and the Velvet Revolution, Eastern Europe became an attractive destination for both American and Western European male visitors and filmmakers for sex tourism and pornography.⁴ The bloom of Eastern European theme pornography in the early 90s doesn't come as a surprise, since the Velvet Revolution in Prague and the fall of the Berlin Wall both happened in 1989. European and U.S. gay porn production companies employed men from the post-communist Eastern countries to sexualize their post-war states and social challenges for their viewing pleasure.

This chapter focuses on the Eastern European examples of gay ethnic pornography; however, it is essential to describe what I mean by Eastern Europe. The films examined here are produced mainly in Russia, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Latvia, and Hungary from 1992 on. The beginning of the 1990s is also essential for the advancement of LGBTI+ rights in the region. In 1993, Joseph Stalin's ban on sexual acts between men had been lifted in Russia. By removing the ban, the Eastern European gay male erotica became accessible as legal products to the U.S. and the Western European countries and also to their home markets. The early examples of this phenomenon were either produced by Western European and American filmmakers, or by the local production companies to meet the tastes of a porn market dominated by Western Europe and the U.S. I would like to first focus on the examples produced by Western countries, which tend to be more consistent in terms of conceptualization of Eastern European gay porn narrative. I will then go on to focus on regional examples of ethnic pornography in order to compare different discourses of ethnic male erotica of Eastern Europe.

³ Nelson, Robert L. *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion to the East: 1850 through the Present*. Studies in European Culture and History. Transferred to digital printing ed. Basingstoke [u.a]:

Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, 7. It is important to note that Robert L. Nelson stated that the history of colonialism in Eastern Europe is much older than 150 years. However, the specific colonialism referenced in this volume, that which appeared during the new imperialism of the latter half of the nineteenth century, is our focus.

⁴ Here I take increasing number of porn film companies and their sex work focused narratives as a resource. Companies or web pages such as Bel Ami, Czech Hunter, Czech Gay are explicitly centering the sex work related themes.

Before elaborating on the historical background of this chapter, I would like to unpack some of the terms that are going to be used. One of these terms is trauma. Elm, Kabalek, and Köhne suggested that:

...subsequently, the filmic ways to adopt, imitate, transform, process, or 'work through' experiences and symptoms of violence and 'trauma' will be discussed in sections referring to almost exclusively to the mentioned countries and societies while reflecting on the historical context of catastrophes and individual or governmental acts of violence connected to them.⁵

Trauma, within the context of Eastern European gay ethnic pornography, encompasses the lived experiences of individuals and communities grappling with the aftermath of historical catastrophes and systemic violence. These traumas are deeply rooted in the region's post-war financial crises and ethnic marginalization, leading to a complex interplay of socio-political and personal upheavals. In these films, trauma serves as a lens through which the social body is examined, offering insights into the multifaceted layers of pain, resilience, and identity formation within the Eastern European context. These films aim to capture the lived realities of individuals navigating a landscape marked by historical and contemporary challenges by depicting the consequences of such traumas, whether through narratives focusing on specific issues, such as unemployment or broader societal struggles. Here, I follow their approach to trauma as an analytical tool to investigate the means of social body inherited in gay pornography that thematize Eastern Europe through its history. The traumas that I will be referring to were caused by the different consequences fueled by the post-war financial crisis and ethnic marginalization. Each of these particular causes are reflected as part of the pornographic narrative, either by focusing on one single issue or several, thereby strengthening the reality effect of these films and making the storyline more understandable.

Eastern European examples of gay ethnic pornography built heavily on this region's past and its current financial catastrophes. Compared to the French and German productions, Eastern European gay ethnic pornography employs historical events such as war or its subsequent financial crisis to spin the wheels of pornographic power dynamics. This chapter argues reasons for straight males or bisexual males wanting to have gay sex in Eastern European films that are detached from their religious or heteronormative cultural aspects and instead serve as a survival strategy. Memory is essential in talking about trauma, a concept of trauma theorized by clinical psychology and sociology. The ways I approach traumas are mainly based on social and economic aftermaths and history, but also on the reflections of directors and cast members and how they perceive such traumatic states.

5 Elm, M., K. Kabalek, and J.B. Köhne. *The Horrors of Trauma in Cinema: Violence Void Visualization*. Cambridge Scholars, 2014, 4.

As Peter Leese mentions, “there is a distinction between trauma’s representational problems, which are connected to its inherent, intrapsychic tendency to disguise itself, and its striving for articulation.”⁶ The representational problems that Leese mentioned are highly apparent in the examples of Eastern European gay pornography, and the disguise of these traumas through sex between men contributes to the overall analysis of these productions, considering their proximity to class and ethnicity. Sublimating traumatized memory of the body into pleasurable experiences carries analytical and historical notions. On the one hand, most of these film scenarios are made up and do not reflect the actual situation of the cast members involved in filming. On the other hand, history and financial catastrophes are based on these countries’ factual realities, making them realistic and documentary-like. Given that traumatic experiences had a foundational role on men in the countries of the former Soviet bloc, I am interested in the ways these individual experiences were utilized in pornography and how they were translated onto the screen.

Some of the first examples of gay ethnic pornography that showed Eastern Europe from a Western perspective were produced by companies in France, Germany and Sweden: Jean-Noël René Clair – JNRC Films from France, Ben Tamam, Murat Bal, and BUM Film from Germany, and Peter aka Potro, Potro Video from Sweden. Meanwhile, in Slovakia and the Czech Republic, local film companies produced examples of ethnic pornography in mostly one of two ways: either as the incorporation of sex tourism and the gay-for-pay narrative into the country’s national identity, or as a more redemptive Eastern European narrative and aesthetic where young white males celebrate their sexuality.

First, let’s delineate the history of these companies and their productions to allow the reader a rare insight into this archival field. Potro Video from Sweden produced the first examples of gay ethnic pornography among other local and foreign gay porn filmmakers in Russia: *Young Innocent Russians I & II* (1994), *Young Soldiers Disclosed* (1994), and *Russian Suburban Youth* (1997). Following Potro Video, Jean-Noël René Clair also produced films with an Eastern European focus. Among these films were *USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics* (1996), *СССР – Союз Советских Социалистических Республик* (1996), *Balkans Connection/Men of Balkans* (1997), *Gypsy Sex* (2002), and *JNRC Films Casting Call Bulgaria* (2009). BUM Videos from Germany produced only one movie that is titled *Yugo Power* (2004).

In Russia, local production companies joined the trend of using Eastern European male sexuality after the West European productions. Dan Healey claims that the *Kazaki* (*Cossacks*) (2004) might be the first example of Russian gay pornography with an ethnic focus that is produced locally.⁷ *Kazaki* is produced in 2004, eleven years

6 Leese, P., J.B. Köhne, and J. Crouthamel. *Languages of Trauma: History, Memory, and Media*. University of Toronto Press, 2021, 3.

7 Healey, 2010, 223.

after the first example of the genre produced by Potro Video. *Kazaki* was created by St. Petersburg-based porn film studios Kaline.⁸ Following *Kazaki*, few more examples were produced locally in Russia until Putin's 'gay propaganda' law in 2013. Of course, underground productions have appeared since 2013, but since the focus of this study is officially studio-made porn (rather than amateur or underground porn), this analysis of the Russian context will be limited to the years between 1993 and 2013.

In the Czech Republic and Slovakia, the production of gay ethnic pornography had a close relationship to gay sex tourism. Since a strong sex industry was maintained in the Czech Republic despite a highly restrictive political context, the Czech examples cannot be compared with the post-Soviet ones. One of the first efforts at utilizing sex tourism in the Czech Republic is the company CzechBoys, which was launched in Prague in 1999 with a seven-film series called *Twink Party* (1999). Following CzechBoys, the porn site Locker Room produced *Prague Orgy* in 2004. Another local porn production company, Czech Hunter, made over 500 films, which were numbered rather than titled. Bigstr network (Czech Hunter, Dirty Scout, and Debt Dandy) and BelAmi Videos (BelAmi Online) are among the few gay porn production companies that are still active and based in various Eastern European, such as Prague, Budapest, and Bratislava.⁹

Czech Hunter is one of the first porn production companies to have established 'gay-for-pay' as a popular narrative in Eastern European ethnic pornography. The gay-for-pay concept was exported from the U.S. when the HIV epidemic was on the rise during the early 90s. Kevin John Bozelka confirms: "AIDS influenced the creation of a gay-for-pay superstar persona in the mid-1980s-alooof, never to be anally penetrated, usually avoiding intimacy".¹⁰ The Eastern European version of the gay-for-pay narrative, such as those produced by Czech Hunter, differ significantly from the AIDS-influenced U.S. version. Here, gay-for-pay evolves into a narrative where the porn actor would do anything for the money, including being penetrated or even verbally and physically humiliated. Czech Hunter challenges the impenetrable porn star persona tradition of the U.S. by using Czech Koruna to play with the straight male fantasy. However, while the U.S. version is 'problematic' in so far as it further stigmatizes AIDS, one might say that Czech Hunter sends a message that it is not necessary to worry about STIs when it comes to having sex with Czech men. In examples from the U.S. the audience is often introduced to a safe-sex scene in a similar narrative. For instance, in the Bait Bus films, spectators encounter how a single man is picked up

⁸ Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any information on Kaline studios.

⁹ BelAmi Videos changed their name to BelAmiOnline since the production company carried their productions exclusively online in 1999.

¹⁰ Bozelka, Kevin John, "The gay-for-pay gaze in gay male pornography." *Jump Cut*, No. 55, fall 2013. See: <https://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc55.2013/BozelkaGayForPay/text.html>. (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

from the street and offered cash to have sex with a woman in front of the camera. But his eyes need to be blindfolded so that afterward the actress, who was present during the offer, is replaced by men. Once the protagonist realizes he is part of a prank, he bursts out in anger to then actually enjoying having sex with a man. This gay-for-pay scenario of Bait Bus uses a condom during the anal sex scenes that, according to Bozelka, are part of the stigmatization of AIDS by heterosexuals. However, in the videos of Czech Hunter, most scenes depict bareback sex. In the gay-for-pay concept, eliminating condoms also becomes part of the story, which could imply risking sexual health for money. The local men from Prague are portrayed as desperate for cash, carrying a vague position of being sex-positive while risking their sexual health.

Following Czech Hunter, Bigstr network launched two other websites, Debt Dandy and Dirty Scout, which adapted the gay-for-pay narrative for a more contemporary audience where post-Soviet financial trauma meets with Eastern European males' recent agenda such as social challenges of unemployment and economic anxieties of millennial neoliberal Europe. The promo video on Debt Dandy's website states: "In Eastern Europe, over 40% of the guys aged 18–25 already have serious debts." Debt Dandy offers a helping hand to the financially troubled guys by offering them money to star in porn films. The website also claims that it is "100% unscripted, real amateurs, and shocking."¹¹ Within the realm of porn, none of these has to be accurate. In fact, most sites build their marketing strategies on contriving authenticity.

Bigstr based the narrative of Dirty Dandy on a more corporate style of gay-for-pay in which a job interview evolves into a sexual fantasy of mobbing. Dirty Scout puts a bilingual ad (in Slovakian and English) in a newspaper offering cash to young men. This ad's whole purpose was to entice young men. In return, the cameraman asks for a sexual service. Dirty Scout is another Czech gay porn site that reinterprets the gay-for-pay narrative in the Eastern European context. Dirty Scout has a straightforward slogan: "They want a job; we want their holes."¹²

Joseph Brennan argues that these three companies "construct a nostalgic fantasy that encourages viewers to long for a historical social reality (the early years of post-communist Czech Republic) that does not necessarily exist today, and yet that continues to function as a key national myth, particularly among viewers of all-male pornography."¹³ These three companies might lean on a form of nostalgia, but they also represent the recent development of the social and financial conditions experienced by Eastern European youth. Especially the corporate narrative and aesthetic style of Debt Dandy and Dirty Scout is significantly informed by the anxieties of Eastern Europeans who have only recently been adopted into the capitalist community of the EU. Considering these social and financial anxieties, these companies con-

11 See: <https://www.debtdandy.com/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

12 See: <https://www.dirtyscout.com/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

13 Brennan, 2019, 20.

tribute to the discussion of Eastern European gay pornography by providing an analysis of Soviet nostalgia as well as the current economic state of Eastern Europe, which itself is linked to post-Soviet traumas.

In the same years when the Western companies are exploiting Russia (during the late 1990s and early 2000s) and its peripheries, a Slovakian gay porn company BelAmi launched offices in Bratislava, Prague, and Budapest, championing an aesthetic alternative to Western mainstream porn companies' representation of Eastern Europe. BelAmi Videos was founded in 1993 in Slovakia, and soon grew to become one of the most significant gay porn companies, even creating its own genre. As Michael Hone stated, "Bel Ami ranks consistently high in having the biggest orgies, unprotected sex, beautiful lads and bodies, the biggest dicks in the industry, and even incestuous between brothers, notably the Peters twins."¹⁴ Although Hone offers no definition of beauty, what qualifies as 'beautiful lads' in BelAmi's videos is: smooth skin, (primarily) white, blond, muscular, and not overly feminine (nor excessively masculine).

Noticing the Eastern European and Russian potential in gay pornography, the prominent U.S.-based porn company Lucas Entertainment decided to collaborate with local companies and producers. Born in Soviet Russia, Michael Lucas worked as an escort in Germany, before migrating to New York to work in the porn film industry as an actor and producer. After the fall of the Soviet Union, Lucas visited Russia to make two films with the same name called *To Moscow with Love 1* and *2* (2001, 2002). In 2004, Lucas Entertainment went to the Czech Republic to co-produce *Prague Sex Express* with Best Czech Boys. After this collaboration, Lucas Entertainment produced another movie set in the context of Eastern Europe titled *Cruising Budapest* in 2007.

Following the lead of Lucas Entertainment, another U.S.-based porn film company, Collin O'Neal, found success with the *World of Men* series that included visits to Turkey, Lebanon, Colombia, Argentina, Australia, Israel, East Berlin, and more. Like Collin O'Neal, Lucas Entertainment focused on the ethnic pornography genre and produced *Men of Israel* in 2009 with a cast of all Israeli men. Lucas Entertainment produced their own merchandise, such as the Lucas Men International calendar showing porn models from outside the United States. Lucas Entertainment's *To Moscow with Love 1* and *2* (2001, 2002) and *Cruising Prague* (2007) followed the mainstream approach of representing Czech and Russian men, similar to the method of Collin O'Neal's *World of Men* series. Such an approach re-constructs the power dynamics from a perspective that eliminates the financial crisis and traumas mentioned earlier; however, in this context, the U.S. perspective allows us to analyze later examples from Eastern Europe and helps to translate the changing perspectives both from in and outside Eastern Europe.

14 Hone, M. *All-Male Pornography: From Antonio Rocco's Alcibiades to George Duroy's BelAmi*. Independently Published, 2018, 128.

4.1 *Young Russian Innocents*: Swedish Potro Videos

I watched most of the movies on online streaming platforms. Most of these companies are no longer active, and their pornographic material is no longer around ever since the market for DVDs and VHS has vanished in the meantime. No one can assure that these videos will remain accessible on streaming platforms that only profit from pop-up advertising and clickbait banners. In addition to the films themselves, I have explored the blurbs on the back of DVD covers, and the film descriptions from websites to support my reading of the visuals. For this chapter, I took the artist William E. Jones' video work *The Fall of Communism as Seen in Gay Pornography* (1998) as a source, since it includes footage from a number of ethnic porn films with a particular Russian focus that no longer exist.¹⁵ The film *Young Russian Innocents 1&2* (1994), *Young Soldiers Disclosed Part I* (1994) and *Russian Suburban Youth* (1997), for instance, are the only accessible via a few amateur gay porn streaming platforms.¹⁶ Besides those platforms, Jones' is the only archive that one can refer to. In addition to the video work itself, this chapter will refer to interviews in which Jones discussed his work, as it contains crucial information about *Young Russian Innocents* (1994) and Potro Video.

With the *Young Russian Innocents* series released in 1994, the Swedish porn production company Potro Videos produced one of the first examples that features Eastern European gay ethnic pornography.¹⁷ Most of the movies either have a military narrative that suggests the Cold War was still ongoing or depict the social traumas of the post-Soviet Eastern Bloc. *Young Innocent Russians* was produced as a two-part series, both of which are a compilation of the solo and duo scenes. Each of these mini episodes opens up with an interview between Potro and the film's subject. This conversation was mediated by a translator who appears as an agent of Potro later in the series.

The founder of Potro Videos is an anonymous Jean Genet fan from Sweden who went by the name Peter. According to the information that Jones shared with me, he picked the name because it was easy to pronounce for a global audience. Peter worked as a school teacher but resented teaching the children of middle-class people, so he

15 THE FALL OF COMMUNISM AS SEEN IN GAY PORNOGRAPHY (video, color, sound, 19 minutes, 1998) – Every image in *The Fall of Communism as Seen in Gay Pornography* comes from gay adult videos produced in Eastern Europe since the introduction of capitalism. The video provides a glimpse of young men responding to the pressures of an unfamiliar world, one in which money, power and sex are now connected. See: <https://www.willamejones.com/portfolio/the-fall-of-communism> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

16 Although it seems like Potro Video took the video the same year that they recorded *Young Russian Innocents 1&2* (1994), *Russian Suburban Youth* was published later in 1997.

17 At the beginning of *Young Soldiers Disclosed*, a showreel introduces Potro's early and upcoming works. It shows that he originally wanted to publish *Young Russian Innocents* as *Innocent Boy Debutants* in Russia 1&2.

decided to become a porn producer and director instead. In the interview I conducted with Jones, he said:

When Potro shot *Young Russian Innocents*, he told the boys that these were tests, not to be released as final products, and whoever did well would be cast in a more extensive production. For most of the boys, this didn't happen. He paid them all \$50 – in those early post-communist days, about one month's rent in Moscow – and never saw them again. The exception was Christian, who starred in a later Potro video that was more like a conventional gay porn movie.¹⁸

In light of the narrative involving Potro's exploitation of young Russian performers, it's pertinent to revisit Elm, Kabalek, and Köhne's conception of trauma as a lens for understanding the social dynamics embedded within gay pornography. Potro's actions, depicted in the anecdote, reflect a form of exploitation that can inflict lasting psychological and emotional scars on the individuals involved. The promise of future opportunities juxtaposed with the reality of exploitation underscores the complexities of trauma within this context. The experiences of these performers promised opportunities yet ultimately left abandoned after being exploited for Potro's gain, highlight the enduring effects of post-communist socio-economic struggles and power differences. This narrative serves as a poignant example of how trauma permeates the fabric of Eastern European gay ethnic pornography, shaping both the narratives portrayed on screen and the lived realities of those involved.

Young Russian Innocents (1994) was presumably Potro Videos' first movie. Following *Young Russian Innocents*, Peter released *Young Soldiers Disclosed Screen Test*, *Russian Suburban Youth*, *Spanish Boys in Intimate Screen Test*, and *Out of the Sea*.¹⁹ Again, according to the information that William E. Jones shared, the *Spanish Boys in the Intimate Screen Test* series was shot in the Canary Islands with a slightly different aesthetic where there were no interview scenes or an additional hand. Both Russian and Spanish videos included shots of the boys urinating in jars, but these scenes had to be cut out for U.S. distribution. Since none of these scenes are online today, let's assume that what has been transferred to the digital platforms was from the U.S. distribution. Jones mentioned that "in Los Angeles County, pissing in porn was forbidden, something the director Bad Brad (Braverman) found out when the Sheriff's Department raided his studio and confiscated material." Even without 'pissing' scenes, the Potro Videos productions are thought-provoking.

Scripted interviews are a regular feature of porn. Their point is to introduce the performer and flesh out their story to fuel the imagination of the audience. In most

¹⁸ William E. Jones, writer, historian, and artist shared what he knows about the Potro Videos with his full consent. I received his letter of confirmation that states I am allowed to use this information for my research.

¹⁹ There is no concrete information on the exact publication dates of some of these films; however, considering the release dates of *Young Russian Innocents* and *Russian Suburban Youth*, these movies might have been released between 1994–1999.

cases, what the audience sees is an already hired performer being interviewed as a cringeworthy icebreaker before the sexual performance starts. Potro Video's interview scenes are always introduced as casting videos, shot before they go on with the actual movie, in which Potro asks the performer a series of questions, such as why do they want to be in a porn movie, have they ever been in a porn movie before, if they feel relaxed or anxious, or what do their parents or partners think about it. Following these questions, he explains what will happen next. Answers to the question of "why do you want to participate in a porn film?" are mostly the same: money and a good time. To explicitly vocalize sex work is a characteristic of European gay ethnic pornography, which seems to be not so popular outside of Europe. This can be considered in relation to the cultural myth of prostitution in Russia. As Eliot Borenstein argues "the post-Soviet prostitute was burdened with the symbolism that might seem wildly disproportionate to her status, she became a sign of Russian national humiliation – of the desperation of a country forced to sell off its natural and spiritual resources to unscrupulous clients from other lands."²⁰ Borenstein further argues that "the Russian prostitute represented the anxieties of post-Soviet masculinity in crisis, where the loss of the empire, the onslaught of the market, and the competition with a triumphant West were presented as kind of male sexual humiliation."²¹ Let's read Potro Video's *Young Russian Innocents* series with this crisis of masculinity in mind. Dam Healey suggests that Russian gay pornography of the 1990s has two key elements: "the all-male military utopia and the idyllic gay sexuality in the countryside."²² However, *Young Russian Innocents* challenges these two key elements through a simple interview scene, adding a new feature that will be a dominant sub-genre in Eastern European gay ethnic pornography: the gay-for-pay.

The post-Soviet crisis of masculinity and male sex work in the context of gay pornography expand Said's notion of Orientalism and the East-West binary by including Russian male bodies. The inclusion of Russia and Eastern Europe challenges the conventional Western narrative of the antagonized foreign male bodies by their whiteness. Considering the previous examples of gay ethnic pornography in Europe, notably those of Cadinot or Jean-Noël René Clair featuring Arab men in France, *Young Russian Innocents* shows a more complex power relation since the imagery is not shaped by a binary colonizer versus colonized dynamic. Fetishizing the post-war traumas of Russian men through gay-for-pay narratives adds a new element to the meaning of the sexual Other in European gay politics and aesthetics.

Besides the interview scenes, the Potro Videos introduce another narrative agent in these films that has never been featured in the earlier examples of the genre: the

²⁰ Borenstein, E. *Overkill: Sex and Violence in Contemporary Russian Popular Culture*. Cornell University Press, 2008, 79.

²¹ Borenstein, 2008, 80.

²² Healey, 2010, 223.

translator. This person trims the cast members' pubic hair, talks to them, undresses them, gives them hand-jobs, fingers them, and even checks their mouth and teeth, which echoes familiar erotic tropes of the masseur, the gym instructor, the school-teacher, etc. The presence of a second person in the frame during what is supposed to be a solo video is a challenge both to the genre and its meaning. His involvement is not that of a sexual partner, but rather a mediator of the viewer's relationship to the foreigner. This person could be the translator (assuming that he is the translator, because of the voice-over, and that he has a translator-like role in making the performer legible to the audience as a sexual subject), but since his face is barely visible, it does not matter who he is. What matters here is how this control mechanism functions and what it adds to the sexual appeal of the film. These hands are in a way disembodied: they operate both as sexual body parts (without a body) and as erotic instruments used for multiple purposes such as controlling, helping, and arranging. The international audience of pornography today could read *Young Russian Innocents* in different ways. One potential reading is that there is a '(helping) hand-built' hierarchy between the cast and the hand, and between the actor and the audience's 'helping hand.' These hands have specific codes: they look clean and healthy and seem to belong to a middle-aged white male – probably anticipating the video's main target, i.e. Western audiences, since these films were not distributed in the East.

This second person also serves as an interlocutor for the audience not familiar with Soviet aesthetics, culture, and customs. During the Soviet Union, the circulation of Soviet erotica was limited, especially in the West. Thus, *Young Russian Innocents* (1994) enabled the global audience to see what male sexuality could be in Russia. As much as a tutor who introduces these bodies in the film, the role of this 'mediating hand' is also to set the boundaries and moderate how we should perceive the subject of the film. Although similar in its narrative structure and the employed dynamics of otherness, no such interlocutor appears in *Spanish Boys in Intimate Screen Test*, the third series from Potro Videos. This suggests that the audience needs no introduction to desirable Spaniards. In *Overkill: Sex and Violence in Contemporary Russian Culture*, Eliot Borenstein writes:

...in 1990s Russia, pornography enjoyed a peculiar status in that it was doubly ubiquitous: not only was the first post-Soviet decade marked by a proliferation of pornographic texts and images on newsstands, televisions, and even shopping bags, but pornography seemed all the more pervasive in that it is featured prominently in the standard litany of woes afflicting post-socialist society.²³

The rise of pornography during the first decade of the post-Soviet era might have seemed arguably liberal. However, alongside the HIV epidemic, porn contributed to the negative perception of homosexuality and prostitution as invasive elements from the West that came to spoil whatever moral was left over from the communist past.

²³ Borenstein, 2008, 53.

Simultaneously, in Western Europe and the U.S., post-Soviet citizens, their culture, and sexualities were understood as oppressed and alien. Therefore, otherness was constructed in multiple and ambivalent ways on both sides. However, Bornstein's remark also applies to other media besides film. His understanding of pornography includes printed publications such as magazines, newspapers, and graphic novels. Based on this definition, gay pornography has not benefited from the supposed libertarian wave that followed the fall of the Iron Curtain, because gay porn was not printed but only circulated underground.

Following the *Young Russian Innocents* series, we could say that Potro Videos' two other series have a specific Russian theme. The first one is called *Young Soldiers Disclosed* (1994). In this film, Potro follows the same strategy of undressing and interviewing young men who supposedly served in the army. Potro shows various army men, including marines, aviators, and soldiers. Before interviewing the army men, Potro states that this is an audition, and if they succeed, these men can take part in the actual productions. He relies on the translator's help as he did during the shooting of *Young Russian Innocents*. Although the narrative seems repetitive, Potro includes an Estonian soldier, Tõmi, who defends the Estonian border to the 'new border of Russia.' Unlike Tõmi, most of the cast members represented the former Soviet army. Tõmi's inclusion changes the narrative and shows Russia as an enemy to Estonia, which hints at the new position of Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

However, in his interview, Tõmi shares that the only reason he wanted to act in porn was girls and to make money, which resulted in the cut of this scene. In the movie's last scene, Potro depicts a Spanish soldier completing his screen test out of the blue. Potro shares a disclaimer, as flowing text over the screen, while a Spanish soldier is being interviewed. The text states: "Jose is a 19-year-old Canarian serving in the Spanish elite troops 'La Legión' on the desert island of Fuerteventura in the Atlantic outside of the Sahara and the African coast." The two-part series has a soundtrack of military orchestra music and a variety of army uniforms that supports the narrative. Although Potro appeared to carry a political message in his movies by including Estonian and Spanish army men, he did not clarify his message and it remained a vague caricature of the military.

The other movie of Potro Video that continues with the Russian theme, *Russian Suburban Youths* (1997), portrays a group of young men playing basketball in the 'suburbs' of a Russian city. These young men dressed in what can be described as American street style, we see colorful jumper jackets, jean pants, and jean shorts that slightly expose the butt cheeks. In addition to their interest in basketball, the street style of these young men signifies the inevitable cultural change in Russian daily life. While this group of young men is playing basketball, the camera rotates to a couple that is entering a building of a housing estate next to the basketball court. In the following scene, the audience is introduced to the heterosexual porn performance of this couple. Young men who decided to stop playing basketball go up and join the couple that had just finished having sex. From that point on, the movie continues with collec-

tive jerk-off and (bisexual) group sex scenes. There is an ambiguous plot twist between the sets where the young men decide to go into the building and the couple ends up having sex.

The woman and the man from the first sex scene seemed to be apart while another woman appeared in stockings and prepared breakfast for this man. Later on, the woman from the first scene shows up in the other room to have group sex with the young men. This particular twist in the setting creates the illusion of portraying suburbs as brothels, supporting the message of sexual freedom that Potro wanted to share. In the history of gay pornography, suburbs are often described as sites of sexual liberation. For example, in the movies of Citébeur or Eric Videos, two French companies constantly use the suburban aesthetics of French banlieues as a site of sexual attraction. In the French examples, suburbs carry the cultural codes of migration and working-class, whereas, in Potro Videos, this might not be the issue yet.

Although Potro Video produced mainly gay porn films up until *Russian Suburban Youths* (1997), Peter, as producer and the director of the company, was targeting a broader range of audiences while keeping the homosexual tension in his movies. Looking at the chronology of his movie's portrayal of the two different sides of Russian men, in the first example, young men gave interviews and explained why they had no choice but to do porn. In the second one, Russian men seem to enjoy their free time with their stylish clothes and celebrate their sexual freedom and youth. This 81-minute-long film represents the bisexual portrayal of Russian men compared to Potro Videos' filmography.

Even though the previous examples of Potro Video depict the social crisis of post-Soviet Russia, one late example hints to the mainstream Eastern European-themed gay porn productions. The film is called *Out of the Sea* and, unfortunately, due to lack of information, the film's production year is missing; however, looking at the style and actors who appeared in *Russian Suburban Youths*, the film seems to be shot in the same decade. Despite the previous examples that reflect the financial hardships and traumas, *Out of the Sea* starts with a romantic storyline of two men coming out of the sea and cruising in nature until they end up in Moscow as two flamboyant tourists. After checking the landmarks, wandering around the Kremlin Palace wearing hot pants, they meet with a woman in a café. Following a short conversation, the three of them leave to have sex in an apartment. During the gay sex scene, two actors start wrestling and, as one of them seems to have passed out, and the other one carries him as the main porn event of the film fades out. The film is only available on a pirate porn streaming platform with a Russian title; therefore, the knowledge regarding this production remains very limited, while still providing a variety of Potro's Russian narrative, which is similar to the examples from the U.S. as well as Bel Ami Online from Prague and Bratislava. What sets Potro apart from the other examples is how he portrayed the same theme with two utterly different forms of objectification in the same era. The diversity in the fetishization of Russianness results in multiple additional readings of his films.

The movies of Potro Videos have particular importance considering that other gay porn film companies, such as *Kalinka Films*, are not available anymore in either online or physical archives nowadays. Despite the later Russian or Estonian productions of gay pornography, Potro somehow helps document gay sex in post-Soviet Russia while breaking the fourth wall with his unmannerly interactions and interpretations. Besides implementing long term economic reforms, Perestroika promised some sort of social liberation, which, after the 1980s, became manifest in erotic art, although this appears to be a very late occurrence. On a local level, this delay suggests that such promises of sexual liberation mostly worked for the outsiders of post-Perestroika Russia.²⁴

4.2 JNRC Films and the French Productions of Eastern European Gay Pornography

Following the success of Potro Videos, the French director Jean-Noël René Clair of JNRC Films realized the market potential of post-Soviet male sexuality and produced seven movies with an Eastern European narrative. Here the main themes included military men and gay-for-pay as well. In chronological order, JNRC's catalog of Eastern European ethnic porn includes *USSR* (1996), *CCCP* (1996), *Miles Para-Militaires*, (also known as *Mercenaries*, 1996), *Outrage* (1997), *Balkans Connection* (also known as *Men of Balkans*) (1997), and *Gypsy Sex* (2002).²⁵

Jean-Noël René Clair's first movie, titled *Légionnaires I* (1995), can be considered as one of the first European gay porn movies that has specific focus on Soviet army. He is accepted as a pioneer in terms of utilizing Eastern European masculinity, the identity of post-communist men, and the financial struggles that followed the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The protagonist, a soldier in the French army of Eastern European origins, introduces the set-up of the film:

I'm called Thief and I'm a paratrooper in the south of France. Originally, I'm from Eastern Europe. Being in the army is the best way for me to keep fit. I wanted to give porn a try because I know that other guys get a boner when they look at me. That's what happens with my superiors anyway, I can see their hard-on pushing against their uniforms as they check me out... The same is going to happen to you!²⁶

The film works by mixing the stereotype of the masculine heterosexual soldier with the Western cliché of post-communist Eastern European identity. The protagonist does not say that he is gay, but he enjoys arousing other men.

²⁴ Borenstein, 2008, 55.

²⁵ See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/en/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

²⁶ See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/de/dvd/detail/21765-legionnaires> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

Contrarily to how military intervention is referred to through the use of German and French flags in the first chapter of this book, the gay male army utopia is constructed of different narrative elements in *USSR* (1996): while the scenario involves the usual military barracks and sexualization of war culture, one scene also shows a Soviet spaceship captain masturbating. The text reads:

Ladies and Gentlemen, this is your Big-Dicked Captain speaking. My space sausage is about to take-off while you stare at your screens with disbelief and desire. Yes, Ladies and Gents, my rocket is huge, thick and loaded with hot creamy fuel! Watch it point towards the sky as it prepares to penetrate the atmosphere!²⁷

The presumed right to invade space is the hallmark of colonial thought, as well as it is about the Cold War space ‘race’. Space discovery (or invasion) is a long-lasting competition in the world. Mainly between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, especially Russia. Metaphorically invading space is also being considered as a patriarchal action embedded in war culture. Therefore, as it has been narrated in the movie of Jean-Noël René Clair, the spaceship captain occupies a strategic militarist position that has not often been part of the narrative of gay ethnic pornography. However, since the Soviet Union is no longer an existing threat to Western countries, Cold War nostalgia found its way into porn in the 2000s. War and military themes often propose a utopian environment for homosexual desire, and political triumphs and insecurities, as seen in ethnic pornography, become more of an effective tool to portray such environments. That is similar to the prison theme that was significant in Arab-themed porn films from the U.S. As John Mercer describes “[...] these scenarios as performing an important function within gay porn by offering idealized spaces for the acts of pornography: voyeurism, narcissistic display and active/passive role-play.”²⁸

Jean-Noël René Clair’s next movie, *СССР* (Союз Советских Социалистических Республик, the Russian abbreviation for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (1996), takes a man from the former Soviet Union as a case study. The back cover of the DVD and the text from the webpage states:

JNRC has dispatched a team to Russia to study the behavior of men from the East. This video features two young Russian Army dudes, boned-up and ready for action. It’s a real pleasure watching these two hard, muscular bodies and rock-hard cocks!²⁹

The idea of ‘a team sent to study the behavior of Russian men suggests a kind of anthropological study of cultural and ethnic others. A similar rhetoric has been used to commodify North Africans in Maghreb or Turkish men in Germany. The ethnogra-

27 See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/de/dvd/detail/5> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

28 Mercer, John. “In the Slammer: The Myth of the Prison in American Gay Pornographic Video.” *Journal of Homosexuality* 47, no. 3–4, 2004, 151.

29 See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/de/dvd/detail/5259-cccp> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

phic study is mobilized as part of the pornographic fiction. In most ethnic porn, either the names of places, local slang, or even the local language is used to support the credibility of the storyline. In *USSR* (1996), a Soviet Union flag is used as a backdrop, and Potro Videos used Soviet Army music as the film's soundtrack. Jean-Noël Réne Clair used additional elements to make sure that what the audience is watching is authentic.

The alleged educational and documentary value of pornographic cinema was often used as a legal defense strategy in favor of pornography: producers of pornography generally tried to bypass censorship by explicitly presenting sexual images as factual and artistic documentation.³⁰ Besides the fictional story it claims to tell, a pornographic film documents actual human bodies, non-scripted pleasure, and orgasms. In addition to this straightforward meaning of documentation, the sub-genre 'reality porn' further promises that what is presented is footage from real life.³¹ It is important to explain the distinction between reality porn that is quite similar to the format of reality TV and actual, authentic amateur porn which is often overlapped with reality porn, since both of them are marketing the concept of reality: incest, role-play, and gay-for-pay were popular themes of the reality porn sub-genre and are often related to 'amateur porn.' In most reality porn, such as that produced by Reality King, Czech Hunter, and Reality Dudes, the cameraman engages with the cast and participates in the movie. Gay ethnic pornography incorporated some of the critical elements of reality porn, such as mock interviews, cameraman involvement, including footage from the city that the movie was filmed in, and so on. This documentary style strengthens the authenticity, so the viewer may relate more to it. *USSR* (1996) is one of the first movies in which Jean-Noël Réne Clair reinforces authenticity by using a flag, real military gear, language, and music. In addition to these elements, gay ethnic pornography promoted post-communist Eastern European nationalities as novel to pornography – many of these movies are marketed with a 'first-time' tagline.

4.3 *Men of Balkans*: The Balkan Men Trend in Gay Pornography

Where the first of Jean-Noël Réne Clair's Eastern European-themed films thematized the gay male military fantasy of the Soviet Union, the later ones rather focus on the post-communist identity crisis of Eastern European men. The first significant example of his later filmmaking is *Balkans Connections*, sold in the U.S. as *Men of the Balkans* (1997). The VHS video front cover says, "the roughest, toughest, hairy, tattooed men

30 Sconce, Jeffrey. *Sleaze Artists: Cinema at the Margins of Taste, Style, and Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007, 97.

31 Longstaff, Gareth. "From Reality to Fantasy: Celebrity, Reality TV and Pornography." *Celebrity studies* 4, no. 1, 2013, 71.

from Bulgaria let it ALL hang out!”³² Gay ethnic pornography of Eastern Europe changed its direction to country-specific examples: Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary, and the Czech Republic became the top destinations for Western European and U.S. porn filmmakers. Jean-Noël Réne Clair pioneered this ethnic division that goes way back to the Nazi invasion of Eastern Europe and even before. For the gay porn audience, this has been introduced as a sort of premiere. However, the ethnic segregation and degradation of ethnicities were openly instrumentalized by Nazism during World War II. To ‘trace’ Germany’s colonization of Eastern Europe, we need to go back to Poland’s reinvention in the nineteenth century and the Prussian colonial settlements in Europe. Robert L. Nelson states that:

[...] for as long as colonialism has existed, it has existed in Europe. All the hallmarks of the new imperialism of the nineteenth century, as well as both its murderous and more informal manifestations in the nineteenth century, exist in the history of Germany and Eastern Europe.³³

Taken from literature, this example demonstrates, again, how deeply rooted discussions about the East vs. West division were in Europe and how the resulting political tension and power dynamics manifested in other branches of artistic production as well. *Balkans Connection* (1997) is a 90-minute-long compilation of solo and duo scenes featuring Bulgarian men. Most of the duo scenes start with a conversation in Bulgarian that happens outdoors in nature. The scene continues as the pair ends up in a room and start having sex. Unlike *Young Russian Innocents*, there is no interviewer, or any other mysterious person who moderates between the cast and the director. This time, Jean-Noël Réne Clair built his narrative purely around the environment and the actors. In his later works, he brings the scripted narrative elements back to the idyllic countryside of Eastern Europe.

Jean-Noël Réne Clair applies the two main elements of Eastern European gay ethnic pornography in his cinema as well, one being the army and the other being a post-communist pastoral fantasy. As part of the latter, he uses the word ‘Gypsy’ to glamorize and humiliate Eastern European men. With *Gypsy Sex* (2002), Jean-Noël Réne Clair changed his focus from Bulgaria to Kosovar and Roma people. In this film, he pairs an ethnic stereotype with the familiar “heterosexual male who enjoys participating in gay adult movies”. Roma people, or the Romani community, is a nomadic community mainly located in Southeast Europe. Roma people have been stigmatized throughout history and are often called by the derogatory term ‘gypsies’. Jean-Noël Réne Clair instrumentalized these cultural stigmatizations against the social identity of Roma people and commodified male sexuality by incorporating these men into his narratives of heterosexuality/bisexuality and gay-for-pay. In *Gypsy Sex*, Jean-Noël

32 See: <https://www.davidkordanskygallery.com/viewing-room/firsthand-william-e-jones> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

33 Nelson, 2012, 6.

Réne Clair invites ‘straight Gypsy dude’ Halit from Kosovo to have anal sex in front of the camera for money. The introduction text on Jean-Noël Réne Clair’s web page states:

Halit is a straight dude from Kosovo who has a thing for submissive boys. Nothing excites him more than a young male avidly working on his big schlong. He loves to fuck their mouth before taking their ass. A young ass with a tight hole feels so good!³⁴

Here, the link between the characterization of ‘Gypsy’ men and the pastoral or rural fantasy are supported by the nomadic customs of Roma people. For example, the film introduces ‘Gypsy’ culture to the audience through their moving way of living. Such a nomadic way of living is not based on the tradition that has its roots in the 14th century: it is deeply affected by wars and xenophobic attacks. Angus M. Fraser also points out that “modern stereotypes still characterize Gypsies as a wandering people, even though settled Gypsies are in the majority.”³⁵ Instead, the standard narrative in gay pornography portrays ‘Gypsy’ men as wanderers, and if not wanderers, they are shown as part of a ghetto culture. Additionally, the migration of Roma people does not happen individually but in the form of nuclear families. However, the description of ‘Gypsy’ men is based on the textual information printed on the DVD jacket and the internet page of the film. The actual film is no different from a typical gay porn movie that films men having sex in front of the camera without a developed scenario.

In *Gypsy Sex*, the way JNRC includes characters who are presented to be Turkish and Kosovan, he perhaps generalizes and mixes the ethnic and cultural diversity of his films to make them more eccentric for his audience. In *Gypsy Sex*, the audience is, besides the typical JNRC narrative, also introduced to the houses they supposedly live in, including a compilation of short films that contains solo and duo sex scenes. For both scenarios, the camera follows the actors from the outside to the inside of their homes. These houses are either squats or small rooms that lack basic facilities such as heating to represent the nomadic lifestyle of Roma men. Compared to the other set-up scenarios of JNRC, such as in *CCCP* (1996) or *Outrage* (1997), the audience is introduced to more of an authentic setting that contradicts methods used in the JNRC films.

Additionally, *Gypsy Sex* includes some narrative elements that aim to strengthen both the fantasy of straight men in gay porn and the authenticity of the nomadic lifestyle of the Roma people. For example, in one of the solo scenes, the actor introduces himself on a horse and then goes to his house. However, such a move is not shown, and the scene zooms out from the actor’s face and fades to a drawing of the Virgin Mary holding Jesus. During this solo scene, the camera often focuses on the poster of naked women that are glued on the top of the actor’s bed. However, *Gypsy Sex* could be considered an obscure example compared to the previous JNRC movies with an

³⁴ See: <https://www.jnrc.fr/en/dvd/detail/5264-gipsy-sex> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

³⁵ Fraser, Angus M. *The Gypsies*. Peoples of Europe. Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A.: Blackwell, 1992, 2.

Eastern European focus, based on the ways in which he handles the issue of social and political traumas through ethnicization. This particular film contributes to the overall analysis of his movies by providing the default for the future representations regarding Roma men that later on will receive more visibility in the European gay porn scene, as in the case of EastBoys (www.eastboys.com), a platform dedicated to a series that followed JNRC Films' footsteps and produced films under Caravan Boys – Hot Gypsy Boys. The other gay porn examples that invested in narrating 'Gypsy' male-to-male sex are mainly categorized as gay-for-pay or bait porn genres. There was also a U.S.-based Mexican-Romanian gay porn star named Ari Gypsy from the early 2000s who appeared in bait-bus movies, such as the ones produced for *Manover30* and *Ungloryhole* gay porn film companies. Like the bisexual or top-only non-white men of JNRC, Ari Gypsy is portrayed as straight or bisexual in most films that follow the tropes of European gay ethnic pornography. The U.S. example also shows that the usage of the fantasy of straight or bisexual 'gypsy' men was not a particular theme only within Europe.

One of the primary triggers for this interest could be the Roma people's mobility after the establishment of the European Union and the launch of free movement between member countries. The migration crisis within the European Union countries triggered both fear of and fascination with the Roma people. *Gypsy Sex* does not share much of the Eastern European side of the story, though it does give voice to a silent phenomenon – that is to say, the sexuality of the Romani male. In the post-communist Eastern European context, *Gypsy Sex* offers an alternative pleasure that expands the knowledge of male sexuality of an ignored community in Europe.

4.4 BUM Videos: *Yugo Power* and the Comeback of Zip Production

Jean-Noël Réne Clair is not the only director who produced gay porn films in Bulgaria. In 2005, the German producers Ben Tamam and Murat Bal, who founded the prominent Zip Production, under the name BUM Film, made a short series called *Yugo Power* (2005). In *Yugo Power* – *Yugo* being short for Yugoslavian – a German tourist is fucked by ten different cast members, including Eastern Europeans and Africans. However, this gang bang was not like the mainstream kind in which, most of the time, the cast members are brought into a scene where all parties are 'willingly' involved in sexual interaction. Rather, *Yugo Power* starts with a group of Eastern European men waiting for someone to walk by whom they can 'kidnap.' When the German tourist walks by, he gets kidnapped by them and taken into the film's set, an industrial space. Once inside, they handcuff and chain him before leaving the room. After a while, two of them come back and release him. They start to strip off his clothes, and the three of them have sex. The Eastern European men we saw at the beginning of the film then take turns to have sex with the German tourist, and, towards the end of the film, out of nowhere, a black guy joins the scene. Aside from this group scene, *Yugo Power*

includes two solo scenes. The inclusion of a German character kidnapped and gang-raped by Eastern Europeans is a commentary on the social transformation of Europe and its pornosphere.³⁶

In the narratives of BUM Film, the Oriental sex tourism fantasy familiar from Jean-Daniel Cadinot's cinema is transformed into a triumphant post-communist sexual tension between Eastern Europe and the West. Whereas Cadinot's erotics brought together the colonizer and the colonized, the BUM Film productions utilize a form of neocolonial tension. It is worth noting that this movie's production year, 2005, was also when sex tourism, as a sub-genre of gay male erotica, was already a hot topic in other Eastern European countries such as the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Hungary.³⁷ BUM Film inadvertently illustrated the socio-political tension between the post-communist East and Western Europe by showing a German man being fucked by ten Bulgarians.

4.5 BigStr Network and the Czech Porn Bloom

The Eastern European-produced porn films often include sex work in their storylines, but not as part of an exploitation-narrative, as it is characteristic for BUM Film or Jean-Noël Réne Clair. Productions from the Czech Republic mainly used sex work as a way of thematizing the country's financial obstacles. Before the bloom of the gay-for-pay genre in the Czech Republic, one of the first Czech gay porn companies, CzechBoys (founded by Pavel Rada), adapted the American twink genre for the Czech context. With the *Twink Party 1–7* series (1999), CzechBoys produced the first Czech gay porn films. A twink is understood to be 18–23 years of age, have smooth or clean-shaven skin, be skinny rather than muscular, not overly masculine, and predominantly white. As well as a sexual type, twink is also a norm-making term that defines beauty standards in gay subculture. The orgy scenes from CzechBoys' *Twink Party* series would later inspire similar content from the Slovakian BelAmi Boys company. CzechBoys widened the scope of what Eastern European porn could be, previously defined by the sort of narrative promoted by *Young Russian Innocents I & II* (1994). CzechBoys continued to produce gay porn content until 2006. CzechBoys and Bel Ami tell us about the changing relations between Eastern and Western Europe by removing war culture and its after-effects from their narrative. This 'bland', white twink porn neatly corresponds with the non-pornographic representations and recreates an image of Eastern Europe from a 'politically' less risky perspective.

³⁶ Here I use the term pornosphere, a concept introduced by Brian McNair, to describe the exchange and circulation of sexually explicit materials. McNair, B. *Porno? Chic!: How Pornography Changed the World and Made It a Better Place*. Routledge, 2013.

³⁷ The narrative of the following films that appeared in the mid-2000s.

Following CzechBoys, the Czech Hunter film company adapted the gay-for-pay genre to thematize the Czech Republic's social challenges. A typical Czech Hunter movie starts in a public space, where a man holding a camera hunts down young Czech guys and ask them what they would do for 7,000 Czech Koruna. The young men act innocent, giving the impression that they are surprised by the offer, and do not anticipate taking part in a porn film minutes later. The man behind the camera does not immediately let on that this will be a porn film, but offers hints when saying that it will be a quick job that does not require talking. It is only when they are in private that he asks for a blowjob. Interestingly, we see the camera man paying his prey before he commences with the blowjob. After that, he offers more money to complete their recording with anal sex. Here the young men often react surprised, rejecting the request immediately; however, thinking of the cash they are going to make, they tend to quickly change their minds.

The desire for straight men is a well-known phenomenon in gay culture, and it was frequently used as a narrative of homo-erotica, including pornographic film. Gay-for-pay first emerged in the U.S. mainstream gay pornography, and then European filmmakers adapted the genre to suit their contexts. Kevin Bozelka states that "the history of gay-for-pay pornography is nearly, if not necessarily, coextensive with that of gay pornography."³⁸ Besides the attraction of watching straight men having gay sex, part of this genre's appeal is to see it happening for the first time in an unprotected sex setting. To take part in gay porn is a socially transgressive act, in some cultures even more than in others. Incorporating such dynamics is another way in which gay-for-pay can be made ethnic. In addition to this, John Mercer argues, the financial alibi in gay-for-pay absolves the distinctive tension between straight and gay men.³⁹ Considering the relationship between the audience who subscribe to these productions and the performer, gay-for-pay could be a transgressive genre where money functions as a catalyst of multiple dynamics simultaneously. Especially in the post-communist context, it exposes the performer's new social status, whether it is accurate or not. In the U.S. version, gay-for-pay performance was mainly moved between straight and gay sexual fantasies without being directly linked to the social and economic class.

In Potro Videos' *Young Russian Innocents* (1994), the gay-for-pay elements were very apparent. Most of the cast members highlighted that one of the main reasons why they agree to participate in a porn film was money. Taking notice from *Young Russian Innocents* (1994), Czech Hunter elevated the gay-for-pay narrative by making

38 Bozelka, Kevin John, "The gay-for-pay gaze in gay male pornography." *Jump Cut*, no. 55, fall 2013. See: <https://www.ejumpcut.org/archive/jc55.2013/BozelkaGayForPay/text.html>. (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

39 Mercer, John. "Gay for Pay." In *The Handbook of Gender, Sex, and Media*, edited by Karen Ross. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011, 547.

it more of an apparent phenomenon.⁴⁰ The banner of Czech Hunter web page states: “Czech boys do it for money! It is true: the difficult social situation in the Czech Republic supports our hobby.”⁴¹ The Czech Republic took a more liberal stance towards pornography during its transition from communism to democracy. During the first years of this transition, porn production and sex work were not considered criminal offenses.⁴²

Perhaps the social situation that they mentioned was also the reality of that time, however, as a company that is still active today, this social reality is more of a nostalgic fantasy that supports the myth of a particular Czech identity. Using the same narrative for more than a decade, Czech Hunter has produced over 500 gay porn films, achieving a kind of cult status in the gay porn industry. Post-communist socio-economic trauma and nostalgia has proven a sustainable source of income for the Czech sex industry. Before Czech Hunter, it was mainly production companies from Western Europe and the U.S. that showed specific interest in capitalizing on post-Soviet male sexuality and the erotic narratives that might be related to the fall of the communist regime. It is also worth noting that, since a straight character in the film can, de facto, be paid only once to have gay sex for the first time, each actor can only appear once in this genre. This means that more than 500 Czech amateur porn actors, supposedly heterosexual, contributed to this genre. It is also important to highlight that the movies do not have a name; instead, they are numbered: the number of Czech guys they hunted represents a kind of score.

Following Czech Hunter, the Debt Dandy and Dirty Scout companies produced alternative narratives to Czech Hunter, but relying on similar patterns and concepts. Debt Dandy gets their cast members from newspaper ads offering money to young guys who live in the Czech Republic and are in debt. Once in touch with Debt Dandy via phone, they are asked for sexual intercourse for quick cash. Where in Czech Hunter, there is a flirty tension between the cameraman and his subject, in Debt Dandy, this flirty atmosphere has been exchanged for real desperation, as the indebted young man is abused by the Dandy holding the camera. At the beginning of every movie, the Dandy asks why the actor needs the money. Most of the time, they share the same reasons, basic needs such as rent or groceries that speak to the real financial difficulties the young men go through. In some scenes, the power relationship in Debt Dandy goes even further, erring on sadomasochism.

⁴⁰ Chronologically, between Potro Video and Czech Hunter’s production time, Eastern European’s focus did not focus on the gay-for-pay narrative. However, BUM Film hinted the sex tourism in their history.

⁴¹ See: <https://www.czechhunter.com/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

⁴² Diamond, Milton, Eva Jozifkova, and Petr Weiss. “Pornography and Sex Crimes in the Czech Republic.” *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 40, no. 5, 2011, 1038.

As Joseph Brennan states, “the greater the debt, the more humiliating the act.”⁴³ Similar humiliation scenes have existed in U.S. gay pornography for more than a decade. If we take HazeHim.com as an example, the web page banner states, “straight college fraternity guys getting hazed into gay sex.”⁴⁴ In the Eastern European context, the idea of getting hazed into gay sex – that is, sex as a form of humiliation and abuse – sits in the complicated intersection of class struggle and a historically founded crisis of masculinity. However, we should also acknowledge that there might be a crucial distinction to be made between this concept and the SM sex. Hazing does not seem to be about pain as pleasure, or submission as power, but just ‘abuse as abuse’; which is quite different from the erotics of SM, which are based on the principles of safeness, consent, and saneness. Even so, for a viewer, the pleasure in watching someone being ‘abused’ usually does not take into consideration the framework under which the particular movie was produced.

Dirty Scout sexualizes similar social and financial anxieties in narratives constructed around a job interview. Young Eastern European men (according to answers that they gave during the interview, mostly Czech and Slovakian) are invited to an office where they will be asked to do a recorded interview. The interview starts with typical questions such as educational background, salary expectations, work hours, etc. At the end of the interview, the job agency representative usually makes an offer: the candidate may either pay a fee for his consultation service in cash, or, if they do not have money, perform a sexual favor instead. From the moment that candidate gets naked, more questions start to come up, with additional cash offered by the job agency representative in return for answers. At the end of the narrative, the candidate leaves with a cash tip, a new job contract, and a porn film to prove it.

All the sites of the Bigstr network – Czech Hunter, Debt Dandy, and Dirty Scout – use the financial difficulties of post-communist Eastern Europe as the narrative framework of their productions. Since these three websites belong to the same distributor, by subscribing to one, users gain access to all three. Besides those of the Bigstr network, another Czech site, Czech Gay Authentic Videos (known by the abbreviation CzechGav), offers access to seven different gay porn sites (CzechGayFantasy, CzechGayCasting, CzechGayMassage, CzechGayCouples, CzechGayAmateurs, CzechGaySolarium, and CzechGayToilets) each with a different profile such as gay-for-pay, darkroom, sexwork, anonymous sex, massage, hidden camera, casting call, and more. While some of these sites offer refined versions of the narratives familiar from the Bigstr network (CzechGayCouples and CzechGayCasting, for instance, are very typical, supposedly authentic gay-for-pay scenarios), others are more fresh, using a hidden-camera conceit to allow viewers the ‘illicit’ experience of observing a man in a solarium, a toilet, or even in a sexual massage session.

⁴³ Brennan, 2019, 24.

⁴⁴ See: <http://hazehim.com/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

Toilets, massage studios, and saunas are typical both of pornography and real-life cruising playgrounds. The CzechGav network mixes aspects of national and regional culture to sexualize these public spaces along ethnic lines. These sexual spaces could often remind the viewer of the financial obstacles encountered by Eastern European men. However, the niche network of CzechGav offers a vibrant urban narrative while hoping for a financial benefit out of these niche tastes. Joseph Brennan defines networks like CzechGav as “specialized networks, that offer variations on a single theme or genre niche.”⁴⁵ The specialized network of CzechGav brings a new narrative into their genre, where they combine cruising and sex tourism in an authentic way.

Some sub-genres on CzechGav, such as setting the gay-for-pay narrative in a public toilet, are also used in U.S. and Western European pornography. Yet, CzechGav maintains its local specificities while being part of a more global trend in gay porn. The videos on CzechGayFantasy.com are set within a sex club for which one has to buy a ticket at the door to have sex, not with other visitors to the club, but with the Czech men that work there. It is important to mention that it is not just cruising but a kind of prostitution joint where some people are clients and others work there. Architecturally, the venue is not a typical darkroom or sex club. Rather, wooden walls that resemble the traditional Czech forest cabins with differently sized and placed glory holes functioning as space dividers. Some of the glory holes are large enough to fit a person, and some are placed high enough, with chains for holding up people’s legs, so that they can function for anonymous fisting sessions. Other glory holes are paired with biometric pictures of the person behind them. This allows the clients of this space to see who they are interacting with, while the person on the other side of the panel still has no idea. Moreover, darkrooms and classic toilet cubicle-style glory holes allow clients more ways to have anonymous sex. There are two camera views in the movies of CzechGayFantasy.com. One that shows the inside of the club from the perspective of the clients, and one placed on the other side of the wall showing the people who work there.

The Czechness of this fantasy is built around the particular place that sex work occupies in relation to the Czech national identity as conceived in porn. Czech gay pornography created an ethnic-national aesthetic that functions in tandem with sex tourism. CzechGayFantasy emphasizes the elements of sex work by providing video footage of the ticket counter, and the interior architecture of the space, which separates the clients from sex workers. These wooden dividers function as a mechanism for enforcing both sexual and social hierarchies. Sex workers either have their legs cuffed or are bent over a massage bench. But the club’s clients are anonymous only to the sex workers, not to the viewers of this website. Through its association with sex work, anonymous sex becomes another key element of the Czech sexual fantasy. The

⁴⁵ Brennan, 2019, 145.

anonymity of the clients functions almost like the sort of control element you would find in a BDSM narrative, thus reaching out to that audience as well.

In addition to the portraits, the audiences of CzechGayFantasy can see the reaction of the sex workers. The voyeuristic audiences are satisfied because they can see what both the clients and sex workers cannot. Two sets of footage are visible to the viewer simultaneously: one that shows the actual sex between clients and sex workers, and another showing mostly the upper bodies of the sex workers, transmitting pleasure through gestures, postures, verbal dialogue and vocal expressions such as moaning. In the part where the audience can observe the sex, they also follow the dynamic between the clients, hear the discussions, and observe multiple interactions at once. Besides sheer voyeuristic pleasure, this set-up also satisfies the viewer by allowing them a similar position of power as the cameraman in Czech Hunter, Debt Dandy, and Dirty Scout: controlling and penetrating, at the same time. Yet, another form of identification that is available to the audience is one with the sex worker. This particular example continues the sex worker fantasy while allowing the audience to be involved not only by observing the sex worker but also the customer and the whole architectural setting. Such a setting allows the audience more access, although the different camera angles limit their perspective. What separates this example from the previous ones, such as CzechHunter or Debt Dandy, is the expansion in the access to the depicted customer in the sex club who is not holding a camera but can be observed by the camera and the limitations of camera angles that impair the observation. The audience can also identify with the actors who enjoy anonymous sex in such a setting while being informed that this is a Czech gay fantasy that sets the ethnic desire in addition to the active/passive dichotomy in semi-anonymous sex.

4.6 Big Swing: BelAmi Online

The CzechGay and Bigstr. Network alternated post-communist nostalgia with an amateur porn aesthetic, while Bel Ami Videos and CzechBoys were dedicated to promoting a more mainstream, or normative, international aesthetic within the Czech Republic and its neighbors. Bel Ami Videos was founded in 1993 by the Slovak native Georges Duroy, who chose both his *nom de plume* and the name of his company as a reference to Guy de Maupassant's novel *Bel Ami* (1903).⁴⁶ George Duroy took the pictures of amateur Slovakian male models and sold them U.S.-based gay porn magazine *Freshmen*.⁴⁷ Today, Bel Ami is operated from three countries, namely Budapest (Hungary), Prague

⁴⁶ Morrison, Todd G. *Eclectic Views on Gay Male Pornography: Pornucopia*. Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2004, 161.

⁴⁷ Kroll, Gerry. *Nature in the Raw: Gay Erotic Fiction from Freshmen Magazine*. 1st ed. Los Angeles: Alyson Publications, 1996.

(Czech Republic) and Bratislava (Slovakia), from where the company continues to produce gay porn. In addition to film content, they also publish calendars and photo books with the German publishing house Bruno Gmünder, which publishes books for the French porn company Citébeur. Bel Ami adopted the aesthetic of the U.S.-based straight porn producer Vivid Entertainment, established in 1984. Their videos feature young, skinny women with plenty of plastic surgery, often glistening with oil. Similarly, the typical Bel Ami boy is a pretty twink who enjoys bareback sex. As opposed to the post-communist trauma many other Eastern European gay porn films tap into to arouse their audience, Bel Ami's videos offer a positive view on male sexuality. According to Michael Hone, who provided a detailed analysis on BelAmi Online, this joyful attitude was the idea of Marty Stevens, one of the first models of Bel Ami videos in 1991 (the year that the Soviet Union has collapsed), who since joined the production team as a chief photographer.⁴⁸

The physical similarity of Bel Ami's models was prominent enough to become the subject of a movie called *Taboo: The Peter Twins* (2010).⁴⁹ This body type is dubbed 'Bel Ami discipline' and can only be the result of "working out, a non-fat diet, and abstinence, which allows them to ejaculate abundantly."⁵⁰ This diet is a metaphor to describe lookalike Bel Ami models that almost remind the viewer of a familiar resemblance. According to their interview on the Gay Twins WordPress page, Elijah and Milo Peters – two of Bel Ami's popular models – are not actually related, although they share enough similarities that Bel Ami could cast them as part of incest narratives.⁵¹ In their movie *An American in Prague* (1997), Bel Ami presents an idealized version of Prague through their models' glossy bodies. *An American in Prague* tells the story of George Duroy's assistant, who hosts a porn actor cast for their next production while George is away. The film opens with George's assistant having sex with a friend before going to pick up the actor who is travelling to Prague. The film includes very few pictures of the historical landmarks of Prague. The rest of the film features scenes from a nightclub, a villa with a huge garden that has palm trees. In contrast to the political unrest in Eastern Europe after 1990, Bel Ami's world looks clean and slick and is all about pleasure and leisure. The UK's mainstream gay lifestyle magazine *Gay Times* emphasized Bel Ami's glossy aesthetic and reads their narrative as a healing one: "When porno naysayers bang on about filthy moral corruption, Ian Jackson sug-

⁴⁸ Hone, 2018, 121.

⁴⁹ Lukas Ridgeston directed this film for his porn film company in 2010; however, later on, Bel Ami adapted the narrative to their concept and continued casting the same actors as twins for their films.

⁵⁰ Hone, 2018, 120.

⁵¹ See: <https://gaytwins.wordpress.com/about/> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

gests a peek at the clean-living Bel Ami boys' for sexual healing."⁵² A question to be asked is how far this 'White-otherness' of Eastern Europeans should extend to be racially marked within whiteness, and whether Bel Ami counts as ethnic pornography when the identity that it fetishizes is the hegemonic one.

Bel Ami's remaking of the Eastern European man's image is not only about aesthetics, but about realigning their representation according to social and economic shifts. With their series *Out in Africa* (2006), Bel Ami attempts to produce a subversive version of ethnic pornography. The back cover states:

[...] In Cape Town, South Africa, there are both natural landmarks and popular tourist attractions to visit. For example, a monkey park, an ostrich farm where one can feed the birds, buy products made from ostrich leather and even eat ostrich meat [...]. The *Out in Africa* series doesn't just show the models sightseeing. The three *Out in Africa* videos feature the models in their private lives, getting together for sexual encounters on their own while director George Duroy is busy filming elsewhere.⁵³

As the text states, the Bel Ami boys only go sightseeing and have sex with one another. They do not engage with South African society. There is only one black and one mixed-'race' model in *Out in Africa* (2006), which would be a disappointment to the dedicated consumer of Africa-themed gay porn. Although the DVD covers include elements of African art and design, it is hard to find African features besides the found footage of Cape Town that appears sporadically in the series. There is no research on Bel Ami's audience demographics; however, given that its models are typically the white 'boy next door'-types typical of mainstream U.S. pornography, we might assume that the audience is a white majority too. While *Out in Africa* (2006) was loyal to Bel Ami stereotypes, *Out in Africa 2* (2006) includes a 'special guest,' Adam Dexter, a black man. *Out in Africa* functions as part of Bel Ami's re-creation of the Eastern European man as someone who visits Africa as a sex tourist, just like any Western middle-class white gay man would do. The interracial performance in an Eastern European gay porn film challenges the context of Bel Ami, while still strengthening its Westernized image by bringing colonial sex tourism stories back into porn. Also, the term ethnic porn here is something we should question. What sort of ethnic porn is the *Out in Africa* series, Eastern European or African? Has the real issue become not the cultural/sexual otherness of Eastern Europeans, but the political and economic conditions that make Czech, Hungary, and Slovakia disproportionately large contributors to the sex industry? Perhaps, this can be seen as another version of 'interracial porn,' given that it is a significant category in hard-core porn, both straight and gay. The purpose of Adam

⁵² Jackson, Ian. "When Porno Nay-sayers Bang on about 'Filthy Moral Corruption', Ian Jackson Suggests a Peek at the Clean-living Bel Ami Boys' for Sexual Healing." *Gay Times*, London, England, no. 336, 2006, 241.

⁵³ See: <https://www.gaydvdempire.com/1069355/out-in-africa-1-gay-porn-movies.html> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

Dexter's performance seems there to justify that the Bel Ami boys are even in Africa. In 2014, the Gay sex blog Sword claimed that Bel Ami whitewashed their 'mixed-race' models, by erasing their multi-ethnic backgrounds in their promotions and called Bel Ami a 'white-only' gay porn site.⁵⁴ George Duroy responded to the claim in this way:

I was repeatedly accused of 'racism' by some because I don't use different ethnicities... We live and create our programming in an ethnically homogenous region of Central Europe. Walking the streets of Bratislava, I have the opportunity to see an African American (or only African or Latino) about twice a year. It doesn't mean we are racist. We simply work with the material we have.⁵⁵

The footage from South Africa that features in the *Out in Africa* series is mostly sourced from wildlife documentaries showing animals having sex, or picturesque natural landscapes. This is also true of another vacation-themed Bel Ami series, *Greek Holiday* (2004). Like *Out in Africa*, Bel Ami models visiting Greek islands, mainly the footages from Mykonos, have been used to support Grecian sexual fantasy as a background for the Bel Ami production. As George Duroy explained, Bel Ami productions' holiday themes add up aesthetic elements because they could only work with what they have, ending up using "exotic" travel themes for marketing purposes, for branding and to promote their DVDs.

Besides consolidating Bel Ami Videos' Westernized image, the *Out in Africa* series treats the labor of sex work in a humorous way. Bel Ami released these films as 'reality series', suggesting to the audience that there is some element of authenticity. While previous examples of Eastern European gay pornography presented sex work as a choice people were pressed to make given the economic circumstances of the post-communist era, *Out in Africa* bore the tagline "All play and no work!" on the DVD's front cover. The approach of Bel Ami here is both redemptive and satirical. George Duroy's Bel Ami broke out of the gay-for-pay narrative so prevalent in post-communist Eastern European gay porn by creating narratives in which the characters were happy, loaded and carefree. George Duroy's challenge to the Western conception of Eastern European pornography mirrors the plot in Maupassant's *Bel Ami*, as Susan M. Barrow argues:

Protagonist Georges Duroy retains the brute code of survival internalized during military service in Algeria. In order to thrive as a civilian in treacherous Parisian milieus, he deploys predatory tactics cloaked by a veneer of civility. Starting as a fledgling journalist, he will infiltrate and ultimately conquer the hierarchies of power. It is in settings evoking aspects of the Orient that Duroy will form liaisons with the influential consorts who aid in his ascension. Duroy emerges as a

⁵⁴ See: <https://www.thesword.com/bel-ami-tries-to-appease-racist-bel-ami-members-who-hate-black-people-by-reminding-them-that-austin-merrick-isnt-actually-a-full-black-person.html> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

⁵⁵ See: <https://bananaguide.com/article/88414/bel-ami-responds-to-the-sword-s-racism-charge> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

pagan idol through appropriation of guises of the Orient, a triumph marking the erosion of the core values of French civilization.⁵⁶

Bel Ami, the porn company, presented a new and redemptive image of Eastern Europe compared to the others with little difference from films produced in the U.S. Although Bel Ami created an alternative to the dominant gay-for-pay narrative, George Duroy's films do share features with the films of that genre, such as that most of his characters claim to be straight.⁵⁷ The three leading gay porn producers of Eastern Europe, Bel Ami, Bigstr, and CzechGav provide three different takes on how to sexualize Eastern European identity after the collapse of communism. While Bel Ami portrays a Western reality that speaks to the assimilation of the region into the EU, and the economic growth of the new millennium, Bigstr and CzechGav focused on the sexual commodification of Eastern European political struggle aimed at Western audiences.

While the prominent porn production in Czech Rep., Slovakia and Hungary allowed some degree of pornographic self-representation in that region, Russia and other post-Soviet countries became the primary subject for Western production companies. U.S. filmmakers paid specific attention to the post-Soviet erotica. While gay pornography provided access to the Eastern male sexualities, it also reflects the power dynamic by operating within the East's post-communist traumas. The relationship between colonizer and colonized is supported by the different formulations of masculinity that helped to illustrate and sexualize the power dynamic of East and West. The primacy of purportedly heterosexual men in gay porn from this region speaks volumes of the workings of this power dynamic.

In addition to these European examples of gay, ethnic pornography, we should also mention some of the movies made by Michael Lucas of Lucas Entertainment. Although Lucas Entertainment is a New York-based gay porn film company, Michael Lucas is a Soviet Union-born, Russian-Israeli filmmaker and porn actor. Lucas migrated first to Germany and worked as a sex worker and then moved to the U.S. where he continued to produce films both as producer and performer. Lucas Entertainment made several movies focusing on Russia and the Czech Republic. Their first Czech film was a collaboration with Best Czech Boys, who also produced the *Twink Party* series. Their collaboration is called *Prague Sex Express* (2004), and the film presents Prague as a sexual utopia, much like in Bel Ami's movies. The back cover of *Prague Sex Express* reads:

There's a lot of porn coming out of the Czech Republic. I've heard it's because that particular country has very liberal views about gay sex. Straight boys don't mind doing it on camera for

⁵⁶ Barrow, Susan M. "East/West: Appropriation of Aspects of the Orient in Maupassant's 'Bel-Ami.'" *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 30, no. 3/4, 2002, 315.

⁵⁷ Hone, 2018, 129.

money, and there is a high degree of sexy young strippers, especially in Prague. But what kind of video do you get when some, or many, of the boys aren't really gay? You certainly can thrill to their bodies, but the action between them cannot equal what happens in the porn that is made by genuine homosexuals.⁵⁸

The Eastern European gay ethnic pornography of Lucas Entertainment blends the gay-for-pay narrative of Bigstr network with Bel Ami's aesthetics to create its own Americanized version. According to Lucas, the reason why the Czech Republic is producing porn films is related to the liberal politics over gay sex. Similar rhetoric continued in the following film of Lucas Entertainment also set in Prague. In *Straight to Prague* (2005), not only gay and straight men were penetrated by Lucas, even the landscape was. The DVD-back cover states:

Follow Michael Lucas as he penetrates the landscape, hearts, and butts of Prague! At the most popular hotel in town, hot 3-ways, steamy seduction, and irresistible Czech men abound. Want to know how Czech men stay warm on cold Prague nights? Take a vacation STRAIGHT TO PRAGUE!⁵⁹

The 'landscapes' Michael Lucas is exposed to are limited to the saunas, hotels, gay bars that function as spaces for sex work. Although Lucas Entertainment represented Prague and Czech male sexualities from a utopian and apolitical perspective, Michael Lucas believes that porn filmmakers should take 'significant responsibility' for gay politics in their movies.⁶⁰ However, this responsibility seems to be limited to sober and protected sex and the stigmatization of AIDS. Michael Lucas directed a documentary focusing on homophobia in Russia, *Campaign of Hate: Russia and Gay Propaganda* (2013), and he took part as an actor in several documentaries about gay visibility and gay rights movement such as *Sex Positive* (2008) and *Jonathan Agassi Saved My Life* (2018). Michael Lucas also produced examples of Israeli gay ethnic pornography from a similar perspective as in Collin O'Neal's *World of Men*. His multicultural background provided him with pornographic content that he could market to the U.S. audience with a neoliberal slant on sex work, sex tourism, and gay-for-pay fantasies.

4.7 Markku Heikkinen and *All Boys of the Czech Republic*

In 2009, Finnish film director Markku Heikkinen released a documentary film titled *All Boys* that focuses on the thriving gay porn scene in the Czech Republic. The synopsis of the movie states: "In the wake of cultural events like the Velvet Revolution and the fall of the Berlin Wall came the rise of a newfound adult film industry in

⁵⁸ See: www.lucasentertainment.com (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

⁵⁹ See: https://www.lucasstore.com/shop/feature-films/straight_to_prague/re-films/straight_to_prague/ (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

⁶⁰ Lucas, Michael. "On Gay Porn." *Yale Journal of Law & Feminism* 18, 2006, 300.

Eastern Europe. Since then, Czech actors in gay erotica and sites like Bel Ami have risen to iconic status.”⁶¹ The documentary portrays directors, protagonists, and even audiences, who have a particular interest in Czech gay porn. Dan Komar and Alan Pelikan, described as two noticeable directors behind the Czech gay porn bloom, provide helpful insight considering the work conditions, their relationship with porn filmmaking, and the nuclear families they built through the porn film industry.

Dan Komar is originally from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He moved to Prague after the Velvet Revolution and described Prague as becoming one of the most vibrant cities for young men. However, looking at the filmography of Dan Komar, his very first porn production is called *Postcards from Riga* (2002), in which 18-year-old Raivo Lexus was recruited to become a new exclusive actor for Triumvirate Productions. Raivo travels from his small town to Riga to be trained by Ray Renfro. After some hot sex with the train conductor, Ludvig Lyons, Raivo joins Ray and gets to work. Ray feels rejected when Raivo is invited to a bareback sex party but feels seen again when a chance encounter with a handsome waiter, Danny DeNiro, revitalizes his sex drive. The film’s cast comprises thirteen actors from both Latvia and Russia.

Like the Potro Videos and Jean-Noël René Clair, Dan Komar found Russia and its peripheries interesting, especially after the fall of communism and the following events like the Velvet Revolution or the fall of the Berlin Wall. However, this interest has two sides. As explained in the previous section on BelAmi, George Duroy was working for U. S.-based gay porn magazines. And in order to be able to take part in this mainstream gay scene, George Duroy marketed Eastern European male sexuality by selling his models’ sex life as innocent, as a body of ‘male virginity.’ Dan Komar also followed the thematization of male virginity and directed two films in Prague, *Virgin Tales* (2004) and *Virgin Tales 2: Revenge of the Virgins* (2005). The *Virgin Tales* series can be described as a version of Potro Video’s *Young Russian Innocents* with a script. However, *Virgin Tales* does not engage with the social realm of post-Soviet financial catastrophe as *Young Russian Innocents* did. However, Dan Komar pictures Czech men as socially and sexually inexperienced; he avoids exploiting their socio-economic backgrounds or their emotional states resulting from the radical political changes that they recently experienced. *Virgin Tales* was filmed almost ten years after the films of Potro and JNRC, but it shows that the portrayal of Eastern European men and their alleged lack of sexual experiences and youth were solid assets for the mainstream porn industry.

The *Virgin Tales* series is also an example of Dan Komar’s production after moving to Prague. Unlike JNRC and Potro, Dan Komar refers to Prague as Central Europe, which insinuates that he took a more updated terminology since the Czech Republic joined the European Union in 2004. His rebranded vocabulary perhaps describes Prague more accurately; however, the content of his films did not follow the update that he put on his DVD jackets. Content-wise, most of his movies were similar

61 See: <https://mubi.com/tr/films/all-boys> (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024).

to the narrative and aesthetics of BelAmi Online. Unlike Dan Komar, the director of *All Boys* documentary film introduces a Czech gay porn film producer, Alan Pelikan, who creates similar films like Dan Komar or BelAmi. However, Alan Pelikan produced some of his movies for specific European target audiences, such as French or German-speaking customers. For example, *Les Garçons de Prague* (The Boys of Prague) was shot explicitly for a French-speaking audience interested in young men from Prague. Like BelAmi, Alan Pelikan also targeted the mainstream porn audience by exploiting Czech men's sexuality; however, different from BelAmi's naturalist clean-cut aesthetic, Alan Pelikan spoke more to the working-class. Examples like *Les Garçons de Prague* are limited: even so, these movies act as resources to understand how re-Orientalization or self-exoticization of poverty functions in the post-colonial context.

Alan Pelikan also shares how much he usually pays his actors. He states in the documentary *All Boys* that he likes to shoot during Christmas because "most actors are out of town, and the ones who stay need money the most because they don't have a family". He stated that during Christmastime, he pays between 7,000 to 9,000 Czech Koruna, which ranges at other times around 13,000 to 15,000 Korunas. This information is important because up until this point, no record shows how much the average pay is in the Czech porn industry. Another aspect that the documentary points out is that some of the actors are bisexual. In their private life, they participate in heterosexual monogamous relationships in which their partners know what is happening. There is also a scene where one of these couples is having a conversation about the gay porn business and how it helps to maintain their family's finances.

Overall, Markku Heikkinen's documentary is essential to fill the historical gap that resulted from the fact that most of these production houses have vanished from the gay porn archives or internet channels. It also provides additional information that a viewer does not learn from watching pornography, such as the salary range or the actor's relationship with women outside the film. Although it is insufficient to generalize the Czech gay porn industry based on the history of two specific companies, it is still helpful to connect its chronology. The documentary ends with a prediction from Dan Komar, who thinks the popularity of Central European gay pornography will go down because of the future developments in internet technologies. By the time plane travel became affordable compared to the past decades, the directions of sex tourism had changed to other destinations. Although it is not as popular as it used to be, ethnic pornography is still produced by self-employed actors and amateur porn companies in and outside Europe.

4.8 Russian Tourists in Prague

Compared to the French and German examples of gay ethnic pornography, where Maghrebi or Turkish men were never represented as tourists, an example from the Czech Republic dared to reverse this stereotypical, representational structure by presenting Russians as tourists who visit Europe. In 2005, the Czech production house

Gladirex released *Russians in Prague* (2004), a film in which two young Russian men spent their summer holiday in Prague. During the movie, the audience is introduced to the sightseeing activities of this couple and their sexual encounters with both the hotel staff and each other. This film was co-produced and edited by the Best Czech Boys film company, which could also be a parent company of Gladirex, considering the lack of its online presence. Unlike the earlier examples of Russian-themed gay porn films, this film presents young Russian men as individuals who can afford to travel to Europe during their summer holidays. Even though this was the only production under the name Gladirex, this film challenges the ways Russian were typically represented in gay pornography. Although the overall narrative kept repeating similar stereotypes as other Russian-themed porn movies, this example reflects the spirit of the time by changing the storyline of their films, portraying the protagonists as tourists in a Czech gay porn from 2005, showing the changing economic status of Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The Eastern European context brings a new perspective on the sexual Other within Europe, allowing us to locate white bodies in relation to a post-colonial frame of analysis. In his research, Larry Wolff argues this as an emerging style of colonialism and the Orientalization of the Eastern European as a concept of post-Enlightenment by the French-inspired West.⁶² Eastern Europe's colonization by the Western powers constructed an Oriental East. In the narrative of pornography, such a re-Orientalization of Eastern Europe was orchestrated by including the recent political history and the following socio-economical aftermaths that positioned Western Europe as superior, similar to the power dynamics and the articulation of legacies of Orientalism portrayed in the S.W.A.N.A. regions. However, the focus of Orientalism usually contains the East of Eastern Europe. Andrei Terian argues:

Orientalization is a process which was applied not only by Western Europe to Eastern Europe, but it can equally well be said to characterize the relations between countries situated only in the West or only in the East of Europe.⁶³

The collapse of the Iron Curtain and the gradual expansion of the European Union redefined the power dynamic in Europe. In the new millennium, anti-migration policies were high on the agendas of right-wing and centrist (and even some left-wing) Western politicians, a xenophobic ideology that was not only directed against nations outside the EU, but also against Eastern European countries that have recently joined the Union. One of the main reasons the UK left the European Union is the fear of migration from the Eastern European countries, as has been openly declared by con-

⁶² Wolff, Larry. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994, 11.

⁶³ Terian, Andrei. "Is There an East-Central European Postcolonialism? Towards a Unified Theory of (Inter)Literary Dependency." *World Literature Studies* IV, no. 3, 2012, 21.

servative politicians in the country.⁶⁴ The knowledge embedded in the porn films discussed here becomes more apparent in the light of current political tension in Europe, despite the downgraded aesthetic and cultural status of pornographic filmmaking.

⁶⁴ Guma, Taulant, and Dafydd Jones, Rhys. “‘Where Are We Going to Go Now?’ European Union Migrants’ Experiences of Hostility, Anxiety, and (non-)belonging during Brexit.” *Population Space and Place* 25, no. 1, 2019, 2.

Conclusions

In her work on ‘body genres,’ Linda Williams evaluates pornography alongside horror films and melodramas.¹ According to Williams, what these three genres have in common is the immediate somatic response they elicit in the bodies of their audiences. In ethnic pornography, the body of the performers serves another crucial attribute, one that could be considered similar to the intermediacy assigned to the physical responses to these very films: the body of the actor is, ultimately, a marker of their ethnic ‘Otherness.’ Ethnicity, as a representative tool in the pornographic narrative, brings the supposed intermediacy of the body together with sociopolitical and economic tensions, and provides a resource to analyze the possible meanings of these elements through sexual pleasure.

This study has shown that ethnicity, as a sub-category in gay pornographic film productions, provides an extensive repertoire representing male sexualities in both Europe and S.W.A.N.A. regions.² It is, however, not enough to understand the different forms of representation as instances of stereotype formation or to argue that such representations are never reflective of the lived experience itself – especially because various forms of expression in pornography are always influenced by social and political realities.

Based on these markers, boundaries defining what can be shown and seen in the gay porn film market at a particular time and place are created, which also means that those distinctions are constantly redrawn and shift depending on various external factors that exceed our intimate, sexual pleasures. But it also shows that sexual pleasures can be implicit in reproducing and establishing certain conceptions of ‘normal’ homosexuality. These external factors, which ultimately change a demand in the market for particular representations in gay male pornography, were identified in this book as political, economic, and based on upward mobility. While this volume has shown that most of the movies in the gay ethnic porn genre portray gay men in a derogatory way, such platforms also provide a space for positive representation, or representation at all, for gay men from Europe and S.W.A.N.A. regions.

Up until now, most discussions around gay ethnic pornography were focused on country-specific case studies. Especially in the European context, most research has focused on discussing examples of ethnic pornography depicting French-Maghrebi or Czech men. For example, discussions of French-Maghrebi men are in great numbers while German-Turkish movie productions, who occupy a similar status as the French-Maghrebi ones, remained vastly understudied. On the one hand, these previous discussions provided a fruitful ground for a broader debate regarding the conceptuali-

1 Williams, 1991, 3.

2 Following the timeline of Maxime Cervulle as he charts the gay ethnic pornography in Europe with the very first movie of Cadinot, *Harem* (1984). See: Cervulle, 2009, 182.

zation and theorizing of ethnic pornographic productions. On the other hand, country-specific productions like the ones mentioned earlier disconnected the topic from its more comprehensive history and from the history of migration movements, especially those between Europe and S.W.A.N.A. regions.

In the European context, the inclusion of German-Turkish or Swedish-Russian examples in this book provides a more comprehensive approach to understand the role of 'post-colonial Europe' in contemporary settings of cultural production. Turkishness as an ethnic category falls under 'White-other,' ethically similar to Russian and Iranian people. In this way alone, this book demonstrated that whiteness is never a homogenous category and only exists in relation to an Other that is considered non-White, or 'not White enough.'³ It is fragmented, and the hegemonic/imperial/colonizing whiteness is only a particular form of whiteness. Against this background, the middle chapters of this book complement the idea of how ethnicization through sex is orchestrated by the power dynamics between ethnicities and how these ethnicities have been perceived, and eventually constituted, by each other. This study was able to show that 'White-other' as an ethnic categorization is often ignored or grouped under the non-White category, defined as Middle Eastern, which continues the colonial rhetoric for South-West Asia and North Africa. However, such grouping causes the erasure of particular ethnicities and limits our understanding of the hegemonic structure of 'Whiteness.' Therefore, several case studies in this manuscript related to the existing theory of gay ethnic pornography and how ethnicity as a sub-categorization reveals and enlarges the perspective of understanding the power dynamics encoded in sexual pleasure on a broader range.

The discourse analysis conducted in this study reveals that the under-examined examples of gay ethnic pornographic films provide a broad resource to understand political triumphs and insecurities embedded in relations between Europe and the S.W.A.N.A. regions, which help to fill a gap that is regularly avoided in discussions about post-colonialism and Orientalism. The three case studies, which constitute the body of this volume, attempted to fill in this gap, considering the existing studies carried out on ethnicity and pornography studies. Specifically, this doctoral study expanded the discourse on earlier European gay ethnic pornography and its current focus on specifically German-Turkish and Eastern European productions, such as the ones filmed in Russia. Besides the inclusion of these under-examined film productions, each chapter contributed to prior discussions of Orientalism and post-colonialism in the European context by investigating how these filmmakers and producers construct ethnic identity through different aspects of cultural representations and aesthetics. While contributions to the topic of ethnic male erotica in the U.S. or French-Maghrebi functioned as an indispensable base for this book, especially the lack of a discussion

3 Ergin, Murat. "Is the Turk a White Man?" Towards a Theoretical Framework for Race in the Making of Turkishness." *Middle Eastern Studies* 44, no. 6, 2008, 845.

regarding Russian and German-Turkish examples of gay ethnic pornography, makes this literary work fundamental to a more comprehensive understanding of Orientalism and post-colonialism and the ways that these categories can (and are) shifted or redrawn through class, migration, and recent sociopolitical events. Additionally, this publication suggests how different aspects of the production – financing, selection of cast and location, acting, payment, camera work, etc. – contribute to an overall narrative effect that articulates social norms. These aspects vary in each case study considerably and are depended on their unique historic positioning regarding geopolitics and power relations.

Therefore, overall, the findings of my content analysis contributed to the existing discourse that mainly focused on the French-Maghrebi examples of European gay ethnic pornography by bridging different productions from European countries, which were previously only distinctly discussed. The findings of my analysis supported the argument that ethnic differences, and the portrayal of these differences, is limited to the representation of different ethnicities, cultures, and socio-economical classes, such as the images of Turks and Arabs originating from a particular historical context, greatly influenced by colonialist and Orientalist discourses over the years. These stereotypical images also became the selling point for pornographic materials that helped continue reproducing these biases throughout Western Europe. Similarly, the same Orientalist and colonialist discourse that stereotyped Turks and Arabs through pornography shaped representations of Eastern Europe by re-generating the issues of ethnic otherness, socio-economic catastrophe, and political events. Throughout this book, the attempt was to demonstrate how these stereotypical representations in gay ethnic pornography could be altered and what these modifications would mean when compared to the previous examples. In order to do so, we looked at and analyzed recent examples of gay ethnic pornographic films in addition to the archival material, which represented the basis for this publication. For example, the inclusion of an analysis of GayHeim Studio's production enriched this book in that it demonstrated how gay ethnic pornography has evolved following Zip Productions, Trimax Studios, and Street Boys. GayHeim did so by adding narratives around migration and refugee status as part of the pornographic category. This recent example, again, confirmed the thesis that ethnic pornography, as a sub-category of gay pornography, is influenced by and responds to current political events as well as its previous history.

Furthermore, it became apparent how social movements such as FHAR (Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire) or political consequences such as the collapse of the Soviet Union have affected depictions through the pornographic lens and how external factors influence the possibilities of pleasure between men, not just on a 'legal' level but also in terms of what pleasures are intelligible. Specifically in the narrative of gay ethnic pornography, these sociopolitical changes are more visible. Another example of this can be identified in 'interracial' porn films.

Although the focus of this research seems, at first glance, to be limited to porn studies, it does crucially contribute to cultural studies. The media archive from Zip Production, which can be found in the appendix section, has constituted an invaluable resource for this book in that it presents mixed reviews of these productions and demonstrates vividly how they are perceived in the German gay press. In addition to the interviews conducted with the filmmakers, this media archive made a significant contribution to the discourse analysis of the second chapter. Although the analysis and the presentation of the media archive are limited to the second chapter of this research, it contributes to the overall research by providing data from different media. Including this additional data from printed sources also enables possible research questions for future research. However, despite this trove of material, first-hand accounts, and comprehensive analyses, the effect of gay ethnic pornographic films on viewers and its correlation with society remains understudied. For example, examining whether the West perceives Arab male erotica or Turkish male erotica differently from the Arab or Turkish media would be a valuable contribution to the existing academic research.

While this book contributes to both post-colonial studies and Orientalism studies through pornography studies, it also enriches an understanding of recent and prior history. As the main starting point of this theme, this book builds on the vast research about French productions, especially Cadinot's films. Cadinot's shaping of this narrative as an Orientalist travelogue cannot be considered independent of sex tourism, therefore, it cannot be limited to one country alone but has to be considered transnational. This manuscript shows that the boundaries of sex tourism, one of the main elements of ethnic pornography, are not limited to an Orientalist narrative but also emerged in Europe in the form of sex work due to economic depression. This raises questions about how Orientalism is understood within the West/East Europe divide, as well as outside of Europe. Following the Cadinot films, it became obvious that the French ethnic pornographic productions are significantly influenced by both the immigrant visibility in France and the stereotypical images that reactively manifest themselves with this visibility. Although the first examples of ethnic pornographic films followed a narrative of Orientalist sex tourism in the Maghreb region, later examples evolved into narratives in France where immigrants or Maghrebi men from immigrant backgrounds take the center of the stage.

In the context of Germany and Turkey, the relationship between sex tourism and Orientalism transforms into a storyline where class differences arising from labor migration are played through pleasure, beyond being an Orientalist sex tourism experience. Likewise, in the third chapter, the presentation of sex work as 'easy money' in the face of economic difficulties, quite common in examples from the Czech Republic, also reveals how this dynamic has historically maintained its continuity. Although these case studies seem inherently different, they all suggest an interconnected perspective of the sexualization of ethnic others filtered by cultural representation and recasting. Despite the increasing xenophobia, anti-migrant sentiments, and political

movements in Europe, gay ethnic pornography provides a domain of knowledge regarding the anxieties caused by those right-wing movements through an exaggerated and caricature-like, yet pleasurable, perspective. Compared to the heterosexual examples of the analogous genre, gay ethnic pornography did this from an overly exploitative viewpoint that is placed between pleasure and frustration.

This book aimed to adopt a mixed-method approach that analyses discourses, representations, and experiences articulated across a different range of media and data collection, including analog and digital archival material and interviews with the filmmakers. Employing three primary geographical contexts helped the methodological approach to both challenge and articulate the understanding of ethnicity through pornographic media. Unlike the examples that distinctly expose the power dynamics between white and non-white identities brought about by culture, labor, and sociopolitics, the inclusion of some of the examples from Turkey and Russia helped to explore the articulation of ethnicity and sexuality through cultures rooted in socio-economic despair and considering their white-Other positions.

This book furthermore illustrates the retraced and shifted ethnic representation in gay ethnic pornography in Europe by focusing on the media produced by small-scale (amateur) and medium-scale film production houses, but it also proposes further research on how the topic of ethnicity is represented in self-distributed VOD (video on demand) platforms that porn actors use to publicize and distribute these videos. With the surge of social media platforms such as TikTok, Instagram, and YouTube, the creator's presence and their bodies became the center of the content. Alternative media platforms such as OnlyFans, Just4Fans, and FanCentro allowed content creators to provide sexually explicit materials such as nude pictures and pornographic content to paying subscribers. With the progression of the COVID-19 pandemic, the demand for these platforms, both by content creators and paid subscribers, increased irreversibly. The labor market of the mainstream porn industry is often critiqued for the work conditions and treatment issues, which are now challenged by these alternative but popular ways of producing pornographic media content. Porn actors became the directors and producers of their own movies, becoming the primary profit makers of their productions.

Additionally, the content creation process allows for a more organically established relationship with customers and helps to build a personal connection between porn actors and viewers. Most of these content creators engage with the other content creators and their fans by including them in their movies. Such attempts help build a more sex-positive, inclusive network, which in turn affects the porn film viewing habits and changes the limitations on participation. However, it is also worth mentioning that although these platforms seem liberating considering the challenges of old-school porn filmmaking, they have their own ethical and financial problems. These platforms also profit from the content creators, including pornographic content creators, by charging them up to 20% of their revenue. The amount of profit varies from platform to platform. Even though it seems like an innovative way of content

creation that comes with empowerment and liberty, it may effectively reproduce, although altered, some of the critiqued structures of the mainstream porn film industry. In 2021, OnlyFans shared a piece of information that pornographic content will no longer be allowed by October of that year, citing Mastercard and Visa's card security concerns.⁴ The decision of OnlyFans to suspend the ban on sexually explicit content came after an intensive social media backlash and a consequent financial crisis. What this example also demonstrates is that these online platforms cannot be taken for granted, and that the so-called security concerns might push sex workers and content creators back into the hegemonic, old-school contractual agreement systems.

Ethnic pornography also exists within these self-distributed online VOD platforms. The Orientalization and the ethnicization of porn stars comes as a package that is easily attached to the porn stars' identity. Compared to the previous examples where porn stars have limited control over expressing themselves, in self-distributed online VOD platforms, these stars take over the control, bringing the subjective perspective to a more precise dimension regarding Orientalization and ethnicization of the pornographic subject. Including ethnicity as part of the porn star persona in self-distributed online VOD platforms alters gay ethnic pornography and sustains the subgenre from an evolving perspective. For example, gay OnlyFans stars from Turkey might be a good example, as they describe their ethnic identities in a self-fetishizing manner to their subscribers, presenting themselves as ethnic Oriental subjects, like in the case of Kurt Adam, or even Turkish Twunk, who describes himself as "a 22-year-old sugar boy from Turkey".⁵ However, their content avoids, for the most part, including ethnic or Oriental elements. Emerging porn stars like Kurt Adam or Turkish Twunk are also helping to shape a new trend in the porn film industry that is selling their content to mainstream porn film platforms.⁶ For example, NextDoorStudios, founded by Stephane

4 Taylor, Lorenz, and Alyssa Lukpat. "OnlyFans to Ban Sexually Explicit Content, Citing Partners' Pressure: Business/Financial Desk." *The New York Times*. New York, N.Y: New York Times Company, Late Edition (East Coast) edition, 2021.

5 Wolf Man, the name also refers to the wolf tattoo on his chest, and it is also a symbol for Turkishness considering the myth that Turks came from wolves. See: Aslan, Namik. "About the Meaning of the Motif Term and the Wolf Motif in Turkish Origin Myths." *Milli folklor* 11, no. 87, 2010, 72–77. Twunk is a term to describe a gay male between the ages of 18–25 who has beardless young man features and a body of a hunk muscular man. According to Nick Haramis, the word twink and twunk originated from the British word 'twank,' a derogatory word for gay sex workers. See: Haramis, Nick. "The Age of the Twink." *The New York Times* magazine, 14th of May 2018, 34.

(<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/14/t-magazine/age-of-the-twink.html>) (Last Access Date: 17.03.2024). See: <https://onlyfans.com/twunkturk> (Last Access Date: 15.02.2021).

6 In June 2023, Turkey banned nationwide access to the adult subscription site OnlyFans following a court order, which came after a conservative-led campaign against the platform's pornographic content. However, content creators and subscribers can access OnlyFans through changing their VPN locations. See: <https://bianet.org/haber/turkey-bans-onlyfans-following-court-order-280055> (Last Access Date: 10.07.2024).

Sirard, co-founder of BuddyProfits and one of the remarkable gay porn production houses in the U.S., collaborated with Kurt Adam in a movie called *A Night in Turkey* in 2022. Kurt Adam appears in this film with Tyler Wu, an Asian American porn star visiting Turkey.

Like Kurt Adam, several emerging porn star actors around the globe reproduce the narrative of gay ethnic pornography. In the neocolonial context, the question to be asked is how these self-distributed platforms Orientalize and ethicize themselves as sexual subjects. While this book brings together an expanded corpus of the physical productions of gay ethnic pornography, it also opens a threshold for further research that is triggered by the new technologies and social circumstances. Further research on ethnic representation in self-distributed gay pornography will contribute to the discourse and enrich it in the light of changing technologies for porn viewing and producing experiences.

One of the main challenges throughout the writing of this book was accessing the physical and online materials. The very existence of the video stores or sex shops specializing in pornographic media (VHS, VCD, DVD) is challenged by the new media technologies that transferred most of the physical materials into a digital format. The transition from analog to digital caused an erasure issue for the small-scale production houses that could not market their former physical productions on digital platforms or did not have the resources and followers to do so profitably.

Regarding digital media, most small-scale production houses were only available on 'pirate' gay porn streaming platforms. Their online 'life expectancies' depend on either the life of the uploader's account or the life of that platform. These gay porn streaming sites often do not include proper credit information about the movies they publish. Therefore, the central part of this research depended on accessing private archives that preserved physical DVDs of these productions. Although a handful of institutions maintain gay cinema and arts, small-scale productions and pornographic movies are generally not considered artistic productions that need to be archived. The future of these streaming sites that function as a free online archive format mainly depends on challenging right-wing politics and regulations regarding their sustainability and the challenges mentioned above. The access issue, as demonstrated in the second chapter regarding Turkey's porn film audience and their access issues, could be an example of this situation. As a result of the access issues challenged by technological developments, financial concerns, and politic circumstances that deem pornography's place in the arts and media institutions and archives questionable, sampling issues and limited access to the media products restricted a broader discussion for this study.

Based on the findings, this thesis has significantly contributed to the academic discussions about gay ethnic pornography in Europe. This thesis demonstrated the mechanisms of ethnicization and how these mechanisms can be altered through the lens of sexual pleasure between men. This publication aims to show how under-examined areas of ethnic pornographic content contribute to the overall discussion from a cri-

tical view, while filling the gaps of the previous literature that could not connect. The methodological approach of this study proposes an innovative path considering the previous textual base of pornography studies by broadening its structure to further inclusion of archival data and interviews. The book aims to utilize this specific combination of different methodologies to explore the new frame of exoticization and eroticization of poverty and what ethnic differences tell us about the gaze, while addressing issues of ethnicity and the narrative of sexualities in the politics of the representation within European gay pornography. This book demonstrated that the narrative of European ethnic pornography is a dynamic one and that is constantly evolving around issues of cultures, economics, politics, and technology. While this investigation concentrates on productions before the onset of online content subscription services, it also raises the question of how gay ethnic pornography is reflected through the new media.

Pornography allows both the producer and the consumer to see the body as a cultural object reflecting the norms and values of the majority of society. While pornography allows observing the body that represents the social norms and values embedded in them, it also reveals how these social norms and values are structured. The integration of ethnic minorities into particular geopolitical rhetoric perhaps is nothing new; however, male erotica exploits such weaponized rhetoric through sexual pleasure and turns it into an area of communication and negotiation for socio-economic and cultural differences. Pornography studies, as a recently emerging field in academia, support contributions to culture, arts, and media studies from a perspective often stigmatized and overlooked. My hope is that this book can help to challenge these counterpetitions by reminding us of the knowledge that pornographic productions carries within.

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Appendix–I (Between the Hammams and the Basements of Paris: French Productions)

English translation of FHAR (The front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire) column published on the Tout!¹

MINORS HAVE THE RIGHT TO DESIRE
15 YEARS

There are the paws spread with red, some guy's red meat, and now he's confused. He wants to run far away, fast, somewhere else. The piss sticks to his thigh through his trousers, which he took off, earlier, in a small room, under the gaze of a guy who was dying for it.

But, no mistake, he was dying for it, too. He couldn't take it anymore. At night, he'd smeared handkerchiefs, both hands buried under the bed sheets, and he could almost feel them against him, the mouths, the dicks that he was giving birth to with each rubbing. So, he had made up his mind, dragging his fly along the banks of the Seine River.

And then, the opportunity, the fear, yes, when the guy winked at him, but what, the hell, it was his right to look at the barges like everyone else... You had to make up your mind, yes or no, ...and then, he remembered, he looked so lost, the night, in the family shack, afterwards... with his smeared handkerchief and his granny's breath on his end... Never mind, the guy in question, he had like a dirty Arab face, He didn't exactly smell like roses, but he was tired of his monk's solitude.

First, he followed him to an old movie theater. The Arab, he paid, that's natural, isn't it? Scared shitless, messing up the repression... That was for today, the big thing. In the dark, his hand went down to his thighs. The other one, he didn't flinch, he kept his mouth shut, he let it go, not so unpleasant, all things considered. Must have wet them too, the man, since he stopped the fumbling hand.

THE SPECTATORS, in the dark, they were watching the western, the other one, in the toilet, he was trying to fuck him. But it stank. He had him pinned up against the urinal, and the water was wetting the kid's pants. He got out of there. Not here, it's too disgusting. He came out again, with the guy in the back.

So, change of scenery. There's a bachelor pad nearby. And here we go again for a ride. We still must give it a try. The two of them had gotten naked. The other, he was

¹ Translated from French to English by author and Vincent Passerat.

wagging his dick with a nasty smile. That's love with a man, damn it. And he insisted, the Arab, he tried to fuck him on the stomach, drooling oily spittle on him. Got pissed off in one fell swoop. Too stubborn for his taste. No more fun, a good series of smacks and no more comedy. Let's get on with it. The little one, he really couldn't get rid of the urge to do it, not with a clown, but God, no matter how queer he is, the rascal in question has got it in his wrist. You've got to fight back, man.

A vase, a bargain. You wanted my ass, you're not my taste, here's some feelings. It was more like it smashed his face in two. It splashed everywhere, all red and bleeding, in luxury technicolor. No time to say "wow, man, a crack in his portrait and rather at low tide, his dick, non-existent even.

He panicked. Not used to blood. He left quickly.

Paws spread with red, pants covered with piss, negative assessment. He's confused. He wants to run away, far, fast, somewhere else. But, after all, when you think a bit, it's gone, the urge for a cock? It's not your fault for being a virgin. It passes, but for that you must start again, to relax. Another guy, another cock, you must make yourself understood when there are fifteen banks (cocks) that you can hear: "Pee-pee touch, no pee-pee touch, little piggy". Yeah, that's right, family dating.

No peek-a-boo between gentlemen, no, no kidding. To hell with it.

*Look, this guy is nice
it's a little late tonight, but tomorrow, God damn it, yes, tomorrow...
An underage faggot.
And became joyful*

*FORBIDDEN
under 18 years old*

"Maybe if I had never gone to bed with Algerians, I would have never been able to approve the F.L.N. I would have probably been on their side, anyway, but it was the homosexuality that made me realize that Algerians were no different from the other men." Jean Genêt.

The above text appeared to some non-homosexual comrades as racist. So, we discussed among ourselves about our relationships with our Arab friends. It's true that French homosexuals, in their own way, have a certain form of racism: how could you imagine that a fifteen-year-old white boy, even a faggot, could escape racist conditioning? But we are sure that the racism of the militants, who only live out their relationship with Arabs through big words, is more alienating than ours.

First, everyone lives on the image of the old European faggot who only sleeps with little Arabs. Besides, it's never the other way around. How can we not see this as a revenge we've agreed to take on the colonizing West? Do you think we can have the same relationship with everybody or that the average French with the Arabs when we do the act that the bourgeois morality makes the most shameful?

Yes, as oppressed people, we feel a very strong solidarity with the Arabs.

WE'RE OVER 343 BITCHES

We got fucked by Arabs

WE ARE PROUD OF IT AND WE WILL DO IT AGAIN

SIGN AND HAVE THEM SIGN AROUND

*WILL THE NEW OBSERVER PUBLISH IT???*²

² Tout! April 23, 1971, France. Text by *Front Homosexuel d'Action Révolutionnaire* (FHAR). Text excerpt from the original manifesto called 'Minors have right to desire' and translated from French to English by Vincent Passerat for this research.

Appendix–II (Men of Turkey: German Productions between Turkey and Germany)

A Media Archive of Zip Productions

This media archive was handed over with full consent from Ben Tamam, the director, and the producer of Zip Productions, for this research. Tamam managed to classified printed media articles and promotional materials, including magazine articles, interviews, reviews, advertising leaflets, membership cards, party flyers, and letters from viewers. Due to data privacy concerns and respect for the viewer letters, I decided to share only a few examples and to redact the private information of viewers who sent those letters. The reason I include letters is to show the diverse interest in the films of Zip Productions. Additionally, almost all these magazines are not active anymore, and there is no public institution where these magazines are archived today. For that reason, some of the magazine issues are indexed by their issue number, and some are organized with the month and year they were published. Overall, this archive contains 14 magazine articles (13 of them written in German and 1, *Lubunya* magazine, published bilingually in German and Turkish), one blog review, three letters, and additional promotional materials that include a membership card, party flyers, a photo of the soundtrack album, DVD jackets, and posters. Berlin's queer scene magazine *Siegessäule* magazine wrote the earliest article about Zip Production, in August 1999, and *Hinnerk* magazine published the latest report, in August 2004. However, since some of the magazines included in this archive are organized by their issue numbers, this information might not be accurate.

Magazine articles indexed by date

„Lesbisches Auge“ sucht Autorinnen

Beim Erscheinen des ersten „Mein lesbisches Auge“ ging bereits ein Ruck durch die lesbische Republik. Nun soll dieser Sonderausgabe des „Mein heimliches Auge“ des Tübinger Konkursbuchverlages eine Schwester folgen, die sich in ähnlich unverschämter Weise dem Thema lesbischer Erotik und Sex widmet. Die Herausgeberinnen Laura Meritt, Sophie Hack, Stephanie Kuhn und Regina Nössler suchen Erotisches aus allen Genres: Tagebucheinträgen, Gedichten, Essays, Kurzgeschichten, Photos und andere Beiträge. Themen aller Art sind erwünscht, erlaubt ist was gefällt – also Mädels, Augen auf und aufgeschrieben!

→ Einsendungen bis zu 20.00 Druckzeichen bis Ende des Jahres an: Lesbisches Auge, c/o Hack/Kuhn, Potsdamer Str. 139, 10783 Berlin oder lesbisches.auge@tmd.de

Gebärdensprachkurs für Lesben und Schwule

Wir alle haben schon des öfteren unser „Becks“ aufgrund unerträglicher Watt-Stärke mit Händen und Füßen bestellen müssen. Noch schwieriger wird's, wenn die neue Bekanntschaft gehörlos ist. Wohl dem, der die Deutsche Gebärdensprache (DGS) beherrscht, die allein auf Mimik und gestischen „Vokabeln“ beruht. Das Fundament zur flüssigen Kommunikation ohne Worte können Schwule und Lesben nun in einem 12-wöchigen Gebärdensprachkurs legen. Der Kurs beinhaltet zwölf Termine à eineinhalb Stunden, ab Donnerstag, dem 28. August wahlweise um 17 oder 19 Uhr.

→ Anmeldung bei Sebastian Büchner, Flötenländische Str. 17, 10439 Berlin, Fax: 447 35 467. Anmeldeschluss: 19. August.

„Der Türken-Report“ – ein Drehbericht

„Folgende Geschehnisse sind frei erfunden, Ähnlichkeiten mit abgedrehten oder noch abzdrehenden Türken pornos, die zum Beispiel „Men of Istanbul“ heißen könnten, sind rein zufällig.“ Die Redaktion

Istanbul war eine heiße Stadt. Das fiel Jörg Off und Achwas Solis gleich auf, denn kaum hatten sie ihre Maschine verlassen, traf sie die Hitze wie ein Schlag ins Genick. Die Stuttgarter Porno-Firma „Zipper Productions“ hatte sie in die arabische Metropole geschickt, um den ersten deutschen Türkenporno zu drehen. Das Konzept war simpel: „Wir sprechen die Jungs einfach an und wenn's nicht klappt, rennen wir was wir können. So machen wir das in Deutschland doch auch“, hatte Jörg gesagt. Achwas hatte nicht lange überlegt – das war ohnehin nicht seine Art – und war mitgeflohen. Schließlich hatte er damals in Italien die Idee für die Würstfabrik-Location gehabt. „Angelo – der Schinkenspaizer von Parma“ war ein Weiterfolg geworden. Nachdem sie in ihrem „drittklassigen Hotel in einem Istanbul-Bezirk“ eingeklinkt hatten, machten sich Jörg und Achwas auf in die Stadt. Minarette und bärtige behaarte Männer wohnen ihre Blicke. Einer geeigneter als der andere, um „einer wachsenden Fangemeinde in Deutschland“ Freude zu bereiten. „Wir sollten auf das Gesicht und auf Bärte und Behaarung achten“, meinte Achwas noch. Der erste, den sie ansprachen hieß Kara Ben Klinsmann und erklärte sich „spontan bereit mitzumachen“. Zurück im „drittklassigen Hotel in einem Istanbul-Bezirk“ baten sie Kara, bevor er loslegen würde, sich kurz vorzustellen. Also stellte er sich vor die Videokamera und sagte „Hallo, ich heiße Klinsmann und bin Wasserträger. Und jetzt fang ich an.“ Dann legte er sich auf ein Bett und holte sich einen runter. „Klasse, völlig handlungsfrei, das wird ein Renner“, dachte Achwas, während er versuchte, trotz seiner Erektion die Kamera ruhig zu halten. So ging es die nächsten Tage weiter. „Von 17 Männern erklärten sich 13 weitere spontan bereit mitzumachen.“ Die vier anderen verhalfen Jörg und Achwas dazu, Istanbuls Straßen schnell kennenzulernen. Wieder zu Hause, nannten die beiden den Film „Der Türkenreport“ und verschickten Pressmaterial an schwules lesbische Stadtmagazine. Und tatsächlich: Im Augustheft der **SIEGESSÄULE** erschien eine Besprechung. Und wenn Achwas und Jörg nicht gestorben sind, drehen sie noch immer ab.

Paul Schulz

→ „Men of Istanbul“, der erste türkische Homoporno von „Zip Productions“ ist 110 Minuten lang, kostet 99 DM und kann unter der Hotline 040/736 735 00 bestellt werden

Fig. 1: Siegessäule Magazine – August 1999.

BODY-CLIP-VIDEO
GERMANY

PIM * POSTBUS 6114 * NL-7503 GC ENSCHEDE
SONDERINFO - I * FRÜHJAHRSSPECIAL * MÄRZ 2000



FRÜHJAHRSSÜBERRASCHUNGEN:
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• EROTIC COMBAT*8 • OIL RASSLIN' ORGY • BERLIN SPANKING PARTY •
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Nur für Handel und Gewerbe

Achtung! Ab sofort Schnäppchenkäufe mit Videomeilen!

Fig. 2a: PIM Magazine March 2000.

TITEL: Men of Istanbul
 VERÖFFENTLICHUNG: 89-1-05-3
 VERLAGSNUMMER: C-20-1-MOI
 HOLLÄNDISCHER VERLAG: Preis: 99,- DM



erzählen („Deutsche Fotzen lecken“) und in aller Schlichtheit sehr ausgelassen und glücklich wirken. Und was echte, türkische Freunde sind, wollen diese natürlich die Mutprobe gemeinsam bestehen, um noch Jahre das Geheimnis miteinander zu teilen und zu bequatschen. Es ist rührend, wie schnell es im Eifer des Gefechts zu **sexuellen Übergriffen** kommt, der Ältere sich den Jüngeren schnappt und unterwirft. **Orientalischer Solo-Jack-Off kennt andere Wichtechniken.** Überraschend ist, wenn es einigen Männern kommt, daß sie plötzlich wie elektrisiert die Hand wegziehen und das Ejakulat wie Milch rauslaufen lassen und genüßlich das kleine Nachbeben an sich beobachten. Natürlich sind die Boys und Kerle **alle um Sack und Schwanz rasiert.** Davon könnten sich einige deutsche Borstenviecher eine Scheibe abschneiden, auch wenn die Socken der Bosporosmänner mehr qualmen. Ein wenig störend wirkt die penetrante türkische Musik, die des Mannes liebstes Spiel begleitet, aber **die Authentizität von Türkenklimbim, verträumter Augen und großkalibriger Schwänze geht ans Herz und in die Hose.**

Gute Nachrichten für unsere Solo-Fans. BC hat einen neuen heißen Draht zur französischen Hafenstadt Marseille aufgebaut und besorgt Videos mit französischen, arabischen und bulgarischen Männern, die sich vor der Kamera einen runter holen und auch bereit sind, mit zur Verfügung gestellten, jungen Schwuchteln, aktiven, kernigen Sex zu machen. BC-Kunden dürfen gespannt sein. Dieses und noch viel mehr im neuen **MAN-SOLO-KATALOG** im Herbst

Fig. 2b: PIM Magazine March 2000.

Titel:
Men of Istanbul

Bestellcode:
C-20-1-MOI

Trotz extremer Überlänge
Preis: 99,- DM












Im letzten Jahr sorgte eine äußerst sympathische Man-Solo-Produktion für Aufsehen. Kenner wissen, daß sich mit MAN-SOLO-VIDEOS kein Verdienst machen läßt, da die Kaufgruppe zu klein ist. Die Hamburger Zip-Produktion hingegen schuf mehr aus einer privaten Lust heraus in aller Naivität einen Videobestseller, der sich verkaufte wie warme Semmeln. Der deutsche Ben, der sich den türkischen Nachnamen Tamam (was so gut wie okay heißt) gab, steht auf Türkensex, sein Kumpel Murat, gebürtiger Türke, ebnete ihm durch seine spezifischen Sprachkenntnisse und dem Fingerspitzengefühl, wie man mit osmanischen Männern umzugehen hat, am Drehort Istanbul den Weg. Sie brachten wildfremde Männer dazu, **vor der Kamera die Hosen runterlassen und ungeniert zu wichsen.** Im Arbeiterviertel in Istanbul war das mit der harten Deutschmark in der Tasche kein Problem. Die Jungs bekamen für einen Solo, wofür sie einen Monat hart arbeiten müssen, und die Handarbeit läßt sich sehen. **14 türkische und kurdische Männer** wurden in Teebuden überredet, gegen Bares in einem verschwiegene Hotel Hand an sich zu legen. Besonders rührend kommt rüber, wenn die **charmanten Proletarierboys, vom Semmelringelverkäufer, KFZ-Mechaniker und Wasserträger bis zum Bauarbeiter,** erst ein wenig scheu auf dem Hotelbett rumrutschen, von ihrer Arbeit und den Hobbies



Fig. 2c: PIM Magazine March 2000.

Kultur Film

Die zwei coolen Biker-Jungs Fitze und Fatze zeigen dem unfreundlichen Campingwart, wie tief unten Service beginnt. Foto: laune Filmproduktion

Mein Fetisch, dein Fetisch

Mit „Sneaker Sex 2000“ und „Men of Istanbul 2“ gehen zwei junge deutsche Pornoproduktionen in Serie

Die Traumänner der beiden Hamburger Ben Tamam und Murat Bal finden sie in Pornofilmen so gut wie nie. Oder wer kennt schon Sexstreifen mit türkischen oder arabischen Darstellern – von dem einen oder anderen Cadinot-Streifen mal abgesehen?

Auch Oliver Lück aus Berlin bekam in Videos nur selten zu sehen, was ihm privat beim Sex nie fehlen soll: Socken, Turnschuhe, Füße lecken. Weil klagen nicht viel nutzt, bleibt nur selberrmachen. Und weil ihm mit seiner eigenen TV-Filmproduktion das Know-how und das Equipment ohnehin zur Verfügung stehen, hat er 1998 seinen ersten eigenen „Sneaker Sex“-Porno verwirklicht.

Inzwischen ist er bei Teil drei („Sneaker Sex 2000“) angelangt, mit noch mehr willigen Laiendarstellern und bisweilen bewusst albern-absurder Handlung. Da wird ein Campingplatz zum Schauplatz wilder Fußorgien bzw. in einer zweiten Story das Pornoklischee vom Pizzaboy in ein selbstironisches Extrem gesteigert, bei dem sich Heizungsmonteure, Schornsteinfeger und Avon-Beraterinnen die Klinke in die Hand geben. Wer reine Rammorgien erwartet, kommt logischerweise nicht auf seine Kosten. Hier wird vor allem geleck, dass die Zunge glüht.



Wo Lück filmtechnisch um Perfektion bemüht ist, pflegen Tamam und Bal bei ihrer inzwischen zweiten „Men of Istanbul“-Produktion den Charme des Semiprofessionellen und Authentischen. Ihre Modelle haben sie nämlich in der Westtürkei einfach auf der Straße angequatscht und zum Wichsen bzw. Ficken auf ihre Hotelzimmer eingeladen. Ein Unternehmen so abenteuerlich und wahnwitzig, wie es klingt und das für die beiden Pornoregisseure auch nicht immer ganz ungefährlich war. Etwas schüchtern noch ziehen die Kurden ihre Klamotten aus und gehen schließlich mit sichtlichem Spaß und männlichem Stolz zur Sache.

Auch wenn man die jeweiligen Fetische nicht absolut teilt – wer einfach mal Pornos jenseits des euro-amerikanischen Mainstreams sehen will, hat bei beiden Videos sein Vergnügen. Und schließlich lernt man ja auch in sexuellen Dingen bekanntlich niemals aus...

as

„Men of Istanbul“, Teil 1 und 2 gibt's in Pornoshops oder unter
© (040) 73 67 35 00 bzw. www.zip-production.de
Auch „Sneaker Sex“ hat der gut sortierte Seahändler im Regal stehen.
Bestellung auch unter © (030) 212 46 98-0 bzw. www.laune.de

Von der Straße vor die Kamera:
„Men of Istanbul 2“
Foto: zip-production

24

hinnerk 06/00

Fig. 3: Hinnerk Magazine – June 2000.



Fig. 4a: KERLE Magazine Cover August – September 2002.

Liebe Kerle-Leser!

Lästermäuler gibt's doch immer. Typen, die alles besser wissen, alles besser können und überhaupt bei dieser oder jenen Veranstaltung alles doof finden. Warum gehen die denn überhaupt noch hin? Konstruktive Kritik sollte immer auf offene Ohren stoßen, aber wer nur anderen Leuten seine Unzufriedenheit kund tun möchte, für den sollte es kein Publikum geben. Lieber sollte man selbst aktiv dazu beitragen, dass das Ergebnis verbessert werden kann. Und man darf nicht vergessen, dass viele Leute immens viel ihrer Zeit opfern, um eine Veranstaltung zu schaffen, die den Besuchern zusagt. Blinder, verbales Um-sich-schlagen hilft also keinem. Das gilt nicht nur für Veranstaltungen sondern für jegliches Werk, das Menschen schaffen. Positiv denken heißt es hier – und nicht alles für selbstverständlich nehmen. Sind gerade Schwule die größten Lästermäuler? Oft hat man den Eindruck. Wenn es sonst nichts mehr zu erzählen gibt, dann drischt man auf alles ein, was ins Blickfeld rückt. Strahlen diese böse Zungen dann auf andere eine negative Aura aus, dürften sie sich eigentlich nicht wundern... In diesem Sinne wünschen wir viel Spaß mit dem neuen Heft, für das sich wieder mal das ganze Team mächtig ins Zeug gelegt hat.

Das Kerle-Team
 REDAKTION@FOERSTERMEDIA.COM

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Inhalt

- 4 News und Termine
- 9 Web-Tipps
- 10 **Fotos:** Mr. Black
- 16 International Mr. Leather
- 20 Türken pornos
- 24 **Fotos:** Kelly Madison
- 28 Story: Bärenjagd
- 32 **Fotos:** The Joint
- 38 Story: Bulle im Fitness-Center
- 42 **Fotos:** Mike Lanzini
- 46 Story: Haarige Geschichten
- 48 Leserbrief
- 52 Kontakte
- 74 KERLE-Bezugsquellen
- Impressum

Titelfotos: Groß: MenPicturePress - Klein: Foerster Archiv (aus „The Joint“), Henning von Berg

KERLE 3

Fig. 4b: KERLE Magazine Content August – September 2002.

TÜRKENPOPPEN

Haarige Beute für Kerle

Wer Kontaktanzeigen – auch in KERLE – aufmerksam liest, dem entgeht nicht, dass ausländische Mitbürger als Sexpartner gefragt sind. Auch, aber nicht nur bei Schwulen. „Türken willkommen...“ – was liegt also näher, als Pornos mit ihnen zu drehen?

Und siehe da, zwei türkische Mitbürger, seit Jahren in Hamburg ansässig, haben ihre Landsleute entdeckt – und die zeigen, was sie mit ihren Säbeln anfangen können. Es handelt sich keinesfalls um „sexuelle Ausbeutung“, schließlich bekennen sie sich dazu, selbst auf haarige, kräftige Kerle zu stehen, „da traue ich mich nicht einmal, sie für ein Video abzulichten...“. Absolut verkehrt, schließlich mag die KERLE-Fangemeinde gerade solche Männer...

VON WOLFGANG FEY



→ Seit geraumer Zeit macht ein Label auf sich aufmerksam, das die Wünsche all jener befriedigt, die Türken in Videos erleben wollen – wenn sie sie schon nicht ins Bett bekommen. In Hamburg gründeten der in Deutschland geborene Ben (29) und der in der Türkei geborene Murat (27) Zip-Production. Die Fangemeinde, die ihre Videos liebt, wächst... Die Fragen beantwortete Ben Tamam.

Wann kam die Idee, „Türkenpornos“ zu drehen?

Durch einen Marseille-Urlaub, in dem ich Models von Clair-production kennengelernt habe. Die Idee, Pornos mit Männern von der Straße zu drehen, erschien mir einleuchtend. Das in der Türkei zu machen, lag auf der Hand, da wir Türken sind.

Ist es einfacher, Türken in der Türkei anzusprechen als in Deutschland?

Nun, anders. In der Türkei muss man schon recht vorsichtig sein, wenn man nicht das Ehrgefühl verletzen will, daher fallen wir nicht gleich mit der Tür ins Haus, aber andererseits sind Männer dort offener

Fig. 4c: KERLE Magazine Interview by Wolfgang Fey August – September 2002.

→ **men gemacht habt? Dass es bei Außen-**
aufnahmen Probleme geben kann, weiß
ich von einer Produktionsfirma, die He-
teropornos in der Türkei dreht...

Ja, das hat uns auch erreicht. Auch wir hatten schon Probleme, aber nicht mit der Polizei, sondern mit ehemaligen Darstellern. Die haben uns aufgelauert und wollten uns ausrauben. Die Geschichte war beim Istanbul 2 Film, den wir im Osten der Türkei gedreht haben. Einer der Darsteller aus dem ersten Teil (er hörte, dass das Team wieder im Land ist) wusste, wie schwierig es für uns Filmemacher sein würde, der türkischen Polizei zu erklären, warum man mit schwulen Videomaterial das Land verlassen wolle. Er lauerte dem Team nachts vor dem Hotel auf und bedrohte uns mit einer Pistole. Er war sich ziemlich sicher, dass sowohl die Waffengewalt als auch die Angst vor Scherereien mit der Polizei Druckmittel genug sein müssten, um den Geldforderungen nachzugeben. Es kam zu einer Rangelei mit anschließender Autojagd durch Diyarbakir.

Die Polizei beobachtete die Autojagd, stoppte die Wagen. Nun machte der Erpresser seine Drohung wahr und berichtete von dem Pornomaterial. Ich dachte, jetzt ist alles aus, doch auch Pornomacher scheinen einen Schutzengel zu haben, denn der Erpresser verstrickte sich auf der Polizeiwache in zahlreiche Widersprüche. Den Polizisten kam die Story mit den Schwulenpornos im tiefsten Kurdistan so absurd vor, dass sie eher an eine Lüge zur Rechtfertigung des Überfalls dachten und das Team irritiert laufen ließen. So wars, ich bin froh, dass seitdem sowas nicht nochmal passiert ist.

Bezeichnest du dich als bisexuell oder schwul?

Tja, wohl schon schwul, aber nicht gay. Ich hasse das Wort gay, weil es suggeriert, damit würde ein Lebensstil zusammenhängen der mich dazu verpflichtet, mir eine Billy-Puppe ins Regal zu setzen. Ein Mann geht mit einem Mann ins Bett. Das ist alles. Darum braucht man nicht viel Aufhebens zu machen, oder?

Wollen die Darsteller eine Kasette haben oder ist ihr Interesse an den Aufnahmen nach der Geldübergabe erloschen?

Einige wollten. Wir haben immer abgelehnt, weil wir vertraglich zusichern, dass wir die Filme in der Türkei nicht vertreiben. Wenn wir den Darstellern aber eine zuschicken, brechen wir den mit ihnen geschlossenen Vertrag. Das haben alle bisher eingesehen und aus Gründen ihrer eigenen Sicherheit auf eine Kopie verzichtet.

Aus der anfänglichen Wichserei und Blaseerei wurde bei der letzten Produktion mehr und mehr auch eine Sache mit Analverkehr. „Men of Istanbul 3“ darf man als gelungensten Streifen eurer Serie bezeichnen. Geschah dies auf Kun-



Fig. 4d: KERLE Magazine Intervire by Wolfgang Fey August – September 2002.

TÜRKENPORNO



Haben sich überhaupt schon in Deutschland lebende Türken bei euch beworben?
Ja, aber nicht wirklich ernsthaft. Die, die es getan haben, wollten es wohl einfach mal ausprobieren, meinten es dann aber doch nie ernst genug.

Wie groß ist euer persönliches Interesse an Pornos?
Geteilt. Murat guckt sich sowas gar nicht an, ich sehe einige Filme schon recht gern, wobei mich die meisten Ami-Produktionen eher abschrecken. Ich mag auch Heteropornos und Transenfilme, aber das ist so 'ne kleine Perversion von mir... Ich finde aber, es gibt inzwischen einige nicht mehr ganz so schlimme Produktionen, die durchaus sehenswert sind.

Wieviele Filme habt ihr zwischenzeitlich produziert?
Acht. Als nächstes kommt ein BEST OF aus den ersten 5 Filmen raus, danach ein Film, der in Antalya gedreht wurde, der aber noch in der Mache ist, zudem wir wohl noch mehr Szenen drehen werden...

Wie waren die Reaktionen in Marokko?
Verschreckter als in der Türkei. Die Türken sind Geschäftsleute. Wenn du denen sagst, ich biete dir das und das an, und ich will das und das, dann klappt das. In Marokko, obwohl männliche Prostitution dort wirklich allgegenwärtig ist, ist das mit dem Filmen nur bedingt möglich gewesen. Die Leute haben einfach viel zu viel Schiss. Dann musst du in hypertouristischen Apartments gehen und auch da fühlst du dich nicht wirklich sicher. Das mit dem Sex dort klappt wahrscheinlich viel einfacher als in der Türkei, aber für uns sind Türken zugänglicher.

Sind Abstecher in andere (islamische) Mittelmeerländer geplant?
Damals, als die Taliban noch herrschten, haben wir oft über ein "Men of Kabul" Scherze gemacht. Ja, wir wollen schon, allein: uns fehlen die entsprechenden Bedingungen. Entweder ist es furchtbar verboten, oder furchtbar langweilig oder beides. Damaskus ist geil, Kairo auch, aber du weißt selbst, was da gerade abgeht. Ich habe wenig Lust, ein Jahr in Untersuchungshaft in einem ägyptischen Gefängnis auf meine Verhandlung zu warten, selbst wenn ich dann freigesprochen werden sollte...

Ist die Filmerei inzwischen ein Vollzeit-job oder macht ihr das weiter nebenbei?
Da unsere Filme ein recht kleines Publikum haben, wir z.B. keine in die USA verkaufen, weil die sich einfach nicht für Türken interessieren, ist es immer noch nebenbei. Ein sich selbst finanzierendes Hobby, was auch daran liegt, dass wir ziemlich verschwenderisch sind, wenn wir in der Türkei drehen. Uns überzeugt jede Geschichte über kranke Mütter und nahende Feste, zu denen noch ein entsprechendes Schlachtier gekauft werden muss, sodass das Herz erweicht und die Geldbörse sich öffnet... Tja, Orientalen...

Seid ihr aus rein kommerziellen oder eher persönlichen Interessen darauf gekommen, „Türkenpornos“ zu drehen?
Eindeutig aus persönlichen, sexuellen und nicht-kommerziellen Gründen. Man kann, bei allem Stress, den ein Dreh mit sich bringt, viel Spaß haben.

Wie sind die Reaktionen, wenn ihr eure Landsleute auf die Filmerei anspricht?
Hier halten wir das eher verdeckt, auch weil wir keine Lust haben, Zielscheibe für irgeleitet islamische Fundis zu werden, die glauben, sie müssten die Ehre ihres Landes wieder herstellen. Dort, in der Türkei sind die Reaktionen recht unterschiedlich. Die, die wir ansprechen, machen meistens wirklich mit. Die Quote derer, die ablehnen ist gering. Unsere Freunde haben um uns oft Angst, und raten aufzuhören, weil es eben doch gefährlich sein kann. Bisher ist uns, toi toi toi, noch nichts passiert.

Hattet ihr tatsächlich schon Schwierigkeiten in der Türkei, wenn ihr Aufnahm-

KERLE 21

Fig. 4e: KERLE Magazine Interview by Wolfgang Fey August – September 2002.

denwunsch oder lassen die Hemmungen der türkischen Akteure nach?
Danke! Kundenwünsche sind sehr unterschiedlich. Einige wünschen sich wieder mehr Wuchsszenen, also Solonummern. Andere wollen romantische Szenen á la Cadinot mit Hammam-Interieur und allem drumrum. Ich denke, es liegt einerseits daran, dass wir mutiger werden, auch von den Darstellern mehr zu verlangen, weil wir vielleicht merken, dass sie dazu bereit sind. Andererseits haben wir auch mehr Erfahrung, mit wem was geht und was nicht. Aber auch der erste Film hat ja durchaus seinen Charme und seine Fans.

Du hast angedeutet, dass islamische Fundamentalisten euch die Arbeit selbst hier

in Deutschland das Produzieren erschweren. Was willst du dazu sagen?
Wir haben uns nur gleich am Anfang überlegt, dass es eine Gefahr darstellt, dass nicht nur ein Onkel, sondern auch ein wie-auch-immer-Verblendeter die Ehre des Landes, der Familie, der Religion wieder herstellen möchte, die er durch unsere Filme beschmutzt sieht. Das ist auch der Grund, warum wir darauf achten, nicht mit Fotos von uns überall zu erscheinen. Wir haben aber noch nichts dergleichen erlebt, und wir geben uns, so komisch es klingen mag, Mühe, die Regeln des religiösen Anstandes zu wahren, nicht bewusst religiöse Sentiments zu verletzen.

Gibt es bereits DVDs bzw. sind in abseh-

barer Zeit DVDs geplant?
Nein. DVD lohnt sich bei unseren Auflagen nicht wegen des teuren Glasmasters. Da unsere VHS-Kassetten so günstig sind, sind es eindeutig Kaufkassetten. DVD kommt oft da raus, wo VHS sehr teuer und nur im Verleih war, um ein Kauf-Medium nachzuschieben. Das geht bei uns nicht. Wer DVD kaufen würde, würde VHS nicht mehr kaufen, das macht für uns aber keinen Sinn. Leider. Wenn die Master billiger werden, denken wir nochmals darüber nach.

Seid ihr mit eurem Erfolg zufrieden?
Hattet ihr mit einem größeren geschäftlichen Erfolg gerechnet? Wie reagierten die Familie, Verwandte und Freunde auf eure Aktivitäten?
Wir sind superzufrieden, und hoffen einfach, dass es so weiter geht wie bisher. Natürlich planen wir auch Neues, vielleicht was im Heterobereich, dann aber immer nur zusätzlich zu dem, was wir bestimmt weiter machen werden. Freunde und Bekannte reagieren recht aufgeschlossen und interessiert. Porno ist eben doch nicht mehr so in der Schmutzdecke wie noch vor zehn Jahren.

Eure Serie lebt vom unverbrauchten Charme der Akteure und ihrer erkennbaren Scheu, sich beim Sex filmen zu lassen. Werdet ihr bei diesem Stil bleiben oder habt ihr darüber nachgedacht, einen „Spielfilm“ zu produzieren?
Ich denke, dabei werden wir bleiben. Es ist auch das, was uns reizt, Spaß macht und Spielfilme sind schon so viele gute gemacht worden.

Welchen Typ Mann bevorzugst du/ihr persönlich?
Schon die Typen aus unseren Filmen und schlimmeres... (lacht) Es gibt Typen, denen wir in der Türkei nachlaufen, die könnten wir in keinem Film zeigen. Aber so ist das. Die Wege des Herrn sind ungründlich und ich habe mir schon lange abgewöhnt, über den sexuellen Geschmack Anderer die Nase zu rümpfen, also sollen die es auch lassen.

Wann erscheint euer nächster Titel? Wie wird er heißen?
Er wird nach der Sommerpause, also auf jeden Fall noch vor den Herbstferien erscheinen und es ist ein BEST OF ZIP. Also das Beste aus den ersten 5 Filmen mit teils unveröffentlichtem Material und in einer kompletten Neubearbeitung.

PS: ADAM-Lesern wird nicht entgangen sein, dass das Interview auch in der eben erschienenen ADAMplus „Porno“ abgedruckt ist. Freilich kamen dort eher „gemäßigte“ türkische Modelle zum Abdruck. Dass das Label auch KERLE-Leser befriedigen kann, beweist diese Fotografi. Nicht verpassen: ADAMplus „Porno“ ist auch was für jeden KERLE-Leser. Jetzt im Handel!

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KERLE 23

Fig. 4f: KERLE Magazine Interview by Wolfgang Fey August – September 2002.



Fig. 5a: Adam Plus Magazine Cover August/September 2002.

SPRÖDER CHARME DER SÜDLÄNDER

Türkenpoppen

Wer Kontaktanzeigen aufmerksam liest, dem entgeht nicht, dass ausländische Mitbürger als Sexpartner gefragt sind. Auch, aber nicht nur bei Schwulen. „Türken willkommen...“ – was liegt also näher, als Pornos mit ihnen zu drehen? VON WOLFGANG FEY

Seit geraumer Zeit macht ein Label auf sich aufmerksam, das die Wünsche all jener befriedigt, die Türken in Videos erleben wollen – wenn sie sie schon nicht ins Bett bekommen. In Hamburg gründeten der in Deutschland geborene Ben (29) und der in der Türkei geborene Murat (27) Zip-Production. Die Fangemeinde, die ihre Videos liebt, wächst... Die Fragen beantwortete Ben Tamam.

Wann kam die Idee, „Türkenpornos“ zu drehen?

Durch einen Marseille-Urlaub, in dem ich Models von Clair-Production kennengelernt habe. Die Idee, Pornos mit Männern von

der Straße zu drehen, erschien mir einleuchtend. Das in der Türkei zu machen, lag auf der Hand, da wir Türken sind.



Ist es einfacher, Türken in der Türkei anzusprechen als in Deutschland?

Nun, anders. In der Türkei muss man schon recht vorsichtig sein, wenn man nicht das Ehrgefühl verletzen will, daher fallen wir nicht gleich mit der Tür ins Haus, aber andererseits sind Männer dort offener – besonders vor der Heirat – wenn es um Sex mit anderen Männern geht.

Haben sich überhaupt schon in Deutschland lebende Türken bei euch beworben?

Ja, aber nicht wirklich ernsthaft. Die, die es getan haben, wollten es wohl einfach mal ausprobieren, meinten es dann aber doch nie ernst genug.

Wie groß ist euer persönliches Interesse an Pornos?

Fig. 5b: Adam Plus Magazine Interview by Wolfgang Fey August/September 2002.

„Es gibt Typen, denen wir in der Türkei nachlaufen, die könnten wir in keinem Film zeigen.“

Die haben uns aufgelauert und wollten uns ausrauben. Die Geschichte war beim Istanbul 2 Film, den wir im Osten der Türkei gedreht haben. Einer der Darsteller aus dem ersten Teil (er hörte, dass das Team wieder im Land ist) wusste, wie schwierig es für uns Filmemacher sein würde, der türkischen Polizei zu erklären, warum wir mit schwulem Videomaterial das Land verlassen wollen.

Er lauerte dem Team nachts vor dem Hotel auf und bedrohte uns mit einer Pistole. Er war sich ziemlich sicher, dass sowohl die Waffengewalt als auch die Angst vor Scherereien mit der Polizei Druckmittel genug sein müssten, um den Geldforderungen nachzugeben. Es kam zu einer Rangelei mit anschließender Autojagd durch Diyarbakir. Die Polizei beobachtete die Autojagd, stoppte die Wagen. Nun machte der Erpresser seine Drohung wahr und berichtete von dem Pornomaterial. Ich dachte, jetzt ist alles aus, doch auch Pornomacher scheinen einen Schutzengel zu haben, denn der Erpresser verstrickte sich auf der Polizeiwache in zahlreiche Widersprüche.



Den Polizisten kam die Story mit den Schwulenpornos im tiefsten Kurdistan so absurd vor, dass sie eher an eine Lüge zur Rechtfertigung des Überfalls dachten und das Team irritiert laufen ließen. So wars, ich bin froh, dass seitdem sowas nicht nochmal passiert ist.

Bezeichnest du dich als bisexuell oder schwul?

Tja, wohl schon schwul, aber nicht gay. Ich hasse das Wort gay, weil es suggeriert, damit würde ein Lebensstil zusammenhängen der mich dazu verpflichtet, mir eine Billy-



Puppe ins Regal zu setzen. Ein Mann geht mit einem Mann ins Bett. Das ist alles. Darum braucht man nicht viel Aufhebens zu machen, oder?

Wollen die Darsteller eine Kassette haben oder ist ihr Interesse an den Aufnahmen nach der Geldübergabe erloschen?

Einige wollten. Wir haben immer abgelehnt, weil wir vertraglich zusichern, dass wir die Filme in der Türkei nicht vertreiben. Wenn wir den Darstellern aber eine zuschicken, brechen wir den mit ihnen geschlossenen Vertrag. Das haben alle bisher eingesehen und aus Gründen ihrer eigenen Sicherheit auf eine Kopie verzichtet.

Aus der anfänglichen Wicherei und Blaserei wurde bei der letzten Produktion mehr und mehr auch eine Sache mit Analverkehr. „Men of Istanbul 3“ darf man als gelungensten Streifen eurer Serie bezeichnen. Geschah dies auf Kundenwunsch oder lassen die Hemmungen der türkischen Akteure nach?

Danke! Kundenwünsche sind sehr unterschiedlich. Einige wünschen sich wieder mehr Wicherszenen, also Solonummern. Andere wollen romantische Szenen à la Cadinot mit Hammam-Interieur und allem drumrum. Ich denke, es liegt einerseits daran, dass wir mutiger werden, auch von den Darstellern mehr zu verlangen, weil wir vielleicht merken, dass sie dazu bereit sind. Andererseits haben wir auch mehr Erfahrung, mit wem was geht und was nicht. Aber auch der erste Film hat ja durchaus seinen Charme und seine Fans.

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Wir haben uns nur gleich am Anfang überlegt, dass es eine Gefahr darstellt, dass nicht nur ein Onkel, sondern auch ein wie auch immer Verblendeter die Ehre des Landes, der Familie, der Religion wieder herstellen möchte, die er durch unsere Filme beschmutzt sieht. Das ist auch der Grund, warum wir darauf achten, nicht mit Fotos von uns überall zu erscheinen. Wir haben aber noch nichts dergleichen erlebt, und wir geben uns, so komisch es klingen mag, Mühe, die Regeln des religiösen Anstandes zu wahren, nicht bewusst religiöse Sentiments zu verletzen.



Gibt es bereits DVDs bzw. sind in absehbarer Zeit DVDs geplant?

Fig. 5c: Adam Plus Magazine Interview by Wolfgang Fey/August/September 2002.

„Ein ehemaliger Darsteller hat versucht, uns zu erpressen, aber wir hatten einen Schutzengel.“



Geteilt. Murat guckt sich sowas gar nicht an, ich sehe einige Filme schon recht gern, wobei mich die meisten Ami-Produktionen eher abschrecken. Ich mag auch Heteropornos und Transenfilme, aber das ist so 'ne kleine Perversion von mir... Ich finde aber, es gibt inzwischen einige nicht mehr ganz so schlimme Produktionen, die durchaus sehenswert sind.

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Acht. Als nächstes kommt ein BEST OF aus den ersten 5 Filmen raus, danach ein Film, der in Antalya gedreht wurde, der aber noch in der Mache ist, zu dem wir wohl noch mehr Szenen drehen werden...

Wie waren die Reaktionen in Marokko?

Verschreckter als in der Türkei. Die Türken sind Geschäftsleute. Wenn du denen sagst, ich biete dir das und das an, und ich will das und das, dann klappt das. In Marokko, obwohl männliche Prostitution dort wirklich allgegenwärtig ist, ist das mit dem Film nur bedingt möglich gewesen. Die Leute haben einfach viel zuviel Schiss. Dann musst du in

hyperteure Apartments gehen und auch da fühlst du dich nicht wirklich sicher. Das mit dem Sex dort klappt wahrscheinlich viel einfacher als in der Türkei, aber für uns sind Türken zugänglicher.

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Damals, als die Taliban noch herrschten, haben wir oft über ein „Men of Kabul“ Scherze gemacht. Ja, wir wollen schon, allein: uns fehlen die entsprechenden Bedingungen. Entweder ist es furchtbar verboten, oder furchtbar langweilig oder beides. Damaskus ist geil, Kairo auch, aber du weißt selbst, was da gerade abgeht. Ich habe wenig Lust, ein Jahr in Untersuchungshaft in einem ägyptischen Gefängnis auf meine Verhandlung zu warten, selbst wenn ich dann freigesprochen werden sollte...

Ist die Filmerei inzwischen ein Vollzeitjob oder macht ihr das weiter nebenbei?

Da unsere Filme ein recht kleines Publikum haben, wir z.B. keine in die USA verkaufen, weil die sich einfach nicht für Türken interessieren, ist es immer noch nebenbei. Ein sich selbst finanzierendes Hobby, was auch daran liegt, dass wir ziemlich verschwenderisch sind, wenn wir in der Türkei drehen. Uns überzeugt jede Geschichte über kranke Mütter und nahende Feste, zu denen noch ein entsprechendes Schlachtthier gekauft werden muss, so dass das Herz erweicht und die Geldbörse sich öffnet... Tja, Orientalen...

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Hattet ihr tatsächlich schon Schwierigkeiten in der Türkei, wenn ihr Aufnahmen gemacht habt? Dass es bei Außenaufnahmen Probleme geben kann, weiß ich von einer Produktionsfirma, die Heteropornos in der Türkei dreht...

Ja, das hat uns auch erreicht. Auch wir hatten schon Probleme, aber nicht mit der Polizei, sondern mit ehemaligen Darstellern.

Fig. 5d: Adam Plus Magazine Interview by Wolfgang Fey August/September 2002.

PORNO



Nein. DVD lohnt sich bei unseren Auflagen wegen des teuren Glasmasters nicht. Da unsere VHS-Kassetten so günstig sind, sind es eindeutig Kaufkassetten. DVD kommt oft da raus, wo VHS sehr teuer und nur im Verleih war, um ein Kauf-Medium nachzuschieben. Das geht bei uns nicht. Wer DVD kaufen würde, würde VHS nicht mehr kaufen, das macht für uns aber keinen Sinn. Leider. Wenn die Master billiger werden, denken wir nochmals darüber nach.

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Eure Serie lebt vom unverbrauchten

Charme der Akteure und ihrer erkennbaren Scheu, sich beim Sex filmen zu lassen. Werdet ihr bei diesem Stil bleiben oder habt ihr darüber nachgedacht, einen „Spielfilm“ zu produzieren?



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Welchen Typ Mann bevorzugst du/ihr persönlich?

Schon die Typen aus unseren Filmen und schlimmeres... Es gibt Typen, denen wir in der Türkei nachlaufen, die könnten wir in

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Wann erscheint euer nächster Titel? Wie wird er heißen?

Er wird nach der Sommerpause, also auf jeden Fall noch vor den Herbstferien erscheinen und es ist ein BEST OF ZIP. Also das Beste aus den ersten 5 Filmen mit teils unveröffentlichtem Material und in einer kompletten Neubearbeitung.

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ADAM PLUS 47

Fig. 5e: Adam Plus Magazine Interview by Wolfgang Fey August/September 2002.



Fig. 6a: LUBUNYA Magazine Cover October 2002.

Çiçek Bakır

Kilavuzu Karga Olanın...



Erkekleri Kullanma Kilavuzu
Yazarı: İhan M. Uçkan
Yayınları: Gündüz Kültür
Türü: Deneme

Günlük hayatımızın kolaylaştırılan birçok cihaz ve aracı ambalajıyla birlikte, bir de kullanma kilavuzu vardır. Bulutlar makinesinin, çamaşır ve fırınlar makinelerinin v.s. Çünkü bir çoğunu kullanmamız bilmediğimiz bu araç ve gereçler elinde is günümüzde: örneğin bulutlağırmak, çamaşırhanemiz kırı; fotoğrafı almak, veya hiç çıkmaz. **Erkeklerin** de işlevi bir cava olduklarından yıla yakın yaşar Uçkan, bu cava türünün en verimli ve doğru yolda nasıl kullanılacağını der başı saptamaları bulunmaz, hatta bulunmazda da kalmaması, bundan bir de kitap şeklinde toplamış. Güncü kitapta kadınlar yönelik hazırlanmış ama ben yine de burada «kader kadına» olduğunu düşünürden yola çıkarak, bütün ilme eklediğimizi de eklediğimizi düşünürüm. Bence bu kadın erkekler ve onları kullanma konusundaki derin ve içgörüler olarak sağda solda durtun biziyle derinleştireceğimize aydınlatıcı olduğunu bir bulupuz.

Sayın Uçkan, erkeklerle kurulan ilişkilerin bir oyun olduğundan yola çıkarak ve kitabı bu çerçevede dürt biziyle sunuyor:

1. Oyuna başlarken;
2. Taktiler;
3. Oyuna girmemek;
4. Oyundan dışarı.

Yazar, oyunun en önemli özellikleri şöyle tanımlıyor: «Oyunun amacı eğlenmektir. Ve oyunun en olmazsa olmazı kuralıdır, oyunun kuralları olmalıdır». Aslında kitap iki işleviyle yoruk: bir tür jurnalistik denemeyi; diğeri çok ilmi. Çünkü kitapta birçok soruya cevap veriliyor. ABD-SSCB arasında gitti her stratejilerin anlatılıyor. Örneğin el gitti çarın taktilerinden biri, onun benden sonra kadın kadın (bu soru kitapta anlatılmıyor) benden herhang birini, doğu çok hassas ayarlanıyor, derin ve güçlü kamadanın kısımları yapılandırılıyor. Kurallarla ve kurallarla hiç bir şeyi razi olmamalıdır, çünkü bir şeyi razi olmaması her zaman daha da avazı getireceği iddia edilmektedir.

Yeni tanımlar etkileyecek en önemli hükümler içinde, kırım kırım halinde çok renkli güzellikler gösteren pozitif bir düşünce yapısına sahip olduğunu vurgulayarak belirtiyor. Yeni ayın ila tanınma sırasında (dıştan sahanıyla ila tohumları temastan), özellikle kısa cıvalar veriyoruz: «Hayatın erkekleri aydınlatıcı deneye seriyor» diyor yazar. Yarı söz anlatıyacağına, bu kitapta aşk, macera, entrika, politik, seks ve hatta psikoloji bilem var. Yok yok!

Kitabın cıvala soruları apmalarıyla erkekler kendimize nasıl bağlanırlar? İhtiyaçlarımızı, güzelliklerimize göre nasıl buluruz? Halka katılıp oynatabileceğiz, ondan hangı konularda neler edilebileceğini der yola ama doğu bilimleri yoruk. Bu kadar çok parlatı fikirlerinden bir de sözün içi içi her halber şunları: İhan Uçkan: «Beyaz altı Frensi başına beklemeyi, öğrenmek. Çünkü beyaz altı prene artık bir erkek çağırıyor». Bunu okuyan Raportör, prene görebilmek ve ona ulaşabilmek için kapalı bulduğuy kuleyi parlatı zıvırlar ve ona mahzun kemediği için vergi kaçakçılarından tutuklandı yine başka bir kuleye kapandı. (Bu da beşim notum).

Kitap yine de ilginç ve mutlakla bir kere kargırlanmaya değer. Öyleki tanıdığımız erkeklerden bir de kitabı okuduktan hemen sonra kapına girim bir ay gide (bezetmede hata olmaz) bırakalım: «Bu kadın bir işi düşünün»

Bilimçilerin, karar alıcı; okuyun, kullanın; ister kitabı, ister erkekleri...

Şiir

anonim

kapalı perdeler arasında
aslında geride
belli de derinde
manevi deşerlerin
fiyatı biçimler
kaybolmuş kalesizlik
bey kurup etmez
sonu çok zaman geçer
perdeler ıner
enflasyon düşer
herveyi küçük
sokak sarar
parlak her kulpuz
düşüğü çalar
insanlık maneviyatı
peş keş çekilip
kilyaya satılır
düdüklü karpeler
arınakta orospu olur



İşinçilerini porno filmlerine gösterdiği ilginç hepiyet yakından tanıyoruz. Eşinçisi porno filmlerinin gösterdiği sinematika, Almanya'nın bütün kentlerinde gile çekirtilen kınıyor. Amerika, Fransız ve Alman porno film yapımcılarından anılarından sonra da bu sektöre katılmış. 15 yıldır Almanya'nın kentinde bir kentinde yaşayan Murat, porno film sektörüne kendisini bir tesadüf sonucu peççile anlatıyor.

Evet, Murat bu işe nasıl başladığını bir de senden dinleyelim.

Aslında sigortacı olduğum ama bu bana çok ilginçti geldi ve bu işe başladım. Dolayısıyla tamamen tesadüf sonucu diyebiliriz.

Eşinçisi porno film sektöründe özellikle İslam ülkelerinde çevirdiğiniz filmlerle tanınıyorsunuz. Bize bölümleri bir düşünceyi nasıl oluşturdu hakkında neler söyleyebilirsiniz?

Ben yıllardan beri tatilim Fransa'da geçiriyordum. Orada yaşayan Arap kökenli gençler oldukça ilginç geliyor ve onları çok beğeniyordum. Eee, tesadüf dedik ya, günün birinde sohbet ederken arkadaşlarımdan birini porno film çekimi yapan birinden tanıştım ve beni kendisiyle tanıştırdı. Böylece «çarp»-ışınlar verdiğim jekt oluştuğu oldu.

«Men of Istanbul», «Men of Izmir», «Men of Ankara», «Men of Adana» isimlerini verdığınız filmlerinizi Türkiye'de çektiniz. Oradaki koşullar eşinçisi porno filmi çekmeye elverişli mi?

Bir zor bir de kolay yanı var. Kilyaylı, gençlerle çok gabuk tanışıyor. Ancak onları bina etmek o kadar da kolay oluyordu. Bu bağlamda çok dikkatli olmak gerekiyor. Bazı gençler film çekiminin yasa dışı olduğunu zannetmiş her nefesi bile etmiş. Bunun yanı sıra bir çok köşü öyle de kargırlamış. Bu iş beni daha çok hobi olarak görüyordum. Para getirmiyordu sadece götürüyordu. Gençlere böylece para kazanıyor.

Porno filmlerinde yer alarak kilyayı nasıl buldunuz? Bu bağlamda nasıl sorunlarla karşılaştınız?

Beğendiğim insanları sokaklarda buluyordum ve onlarla konuşarak ilme etmeye çalışıyordum. Bu tabii ki kolay değildi ve çok dikkatli olmak gerekiyor. Kimseyi biziyle edinmeyeceğimi bir iş düşünüyordum. Yapadığımız korkunç bir olay oldu. Bir gençle birlikte kilya tılar ve kurbulmamız bir mucizedi.

[Çevirmenimiz Kınay Ali Özkan] Bir erkek ama, ama sehr sehr sehr Schindler für Pornofilm-interview. Die Kaiserin schlugen in Deutschland werden alle in Sarkophagen gelegt. Nach den amerikanischen, französischen und deutschen Produktionen haben mich auch die Türkei Kaiserin Markt entdeckt. Murat, der seit 15 Jahren in Hamburg lebt, wird von mir durch einen Zufall dazu kam.

Murat, bitte doch mal selbst, warum du in der Branche arbeitest.

Ich war im Versicherungsbereich, aber das war sehr monoton – und da habe ich in diesem Sektor angefangen.

Ich der türkische Pornosektor soll der Hauptstadt durch eine Person zu bekannt gemacht werden, die für die türkischen Länderden gemacht hat. Kannst du uns erzählen, wie man auf solche eine Idee kommt?

Ich verbringe meiste Urlaub mit Freunden in Frankreich. Die türkischen Junges dort interessieren mich sehr, sie gefallen mir.

Ich sprach zu einem Zufall, eines Tages, während eines Gesprächs, sprach einer meiner Bekannten dort von einem Produzenten, mit dem er mich durch auch befreundet war. Auf diese Weise ist dann eine Idee entstanden.

Filme wie «Men of Istanbul», «Men of Izmir», «Men of Ankara», «Men of Adana» habe ich für die Türkei gedreht. Sind die Bedingungen da so gut für solche Filme?

Das hat zwei Seiten. Einerseits habe ich die jungen Männer schnell kennen gelernt, andererseits ist es sehr schwierig, sie zu überzeugen. Man muss sehr vorsichtig sein. – Einige Mädchen haben sich aufpassen sollen, während und haben mir den Kopf geschüttelt. Ich habe schon eine Menge erlebt, aber ich habe diese Arbeit insgesamt eher als Hobby, als harte Arbeit gesehen.

Wie hast du die Leute gefunden? Und was hast du dabei erlebt?

Auf der Straße versuche ich sie zu überzeugen, zu überzeugen, ich habe es manchmal nicht einfach. Ich habe es manchmal geschafft, manche haben mich auch eingeladen, aber es ist nicht immer so einfach. Man muss eine Menge Geld ausgeben und den Umständen.

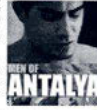


Fig. 6b: LUBUNYA Magazine Interview by Hakan Taş October 2002.

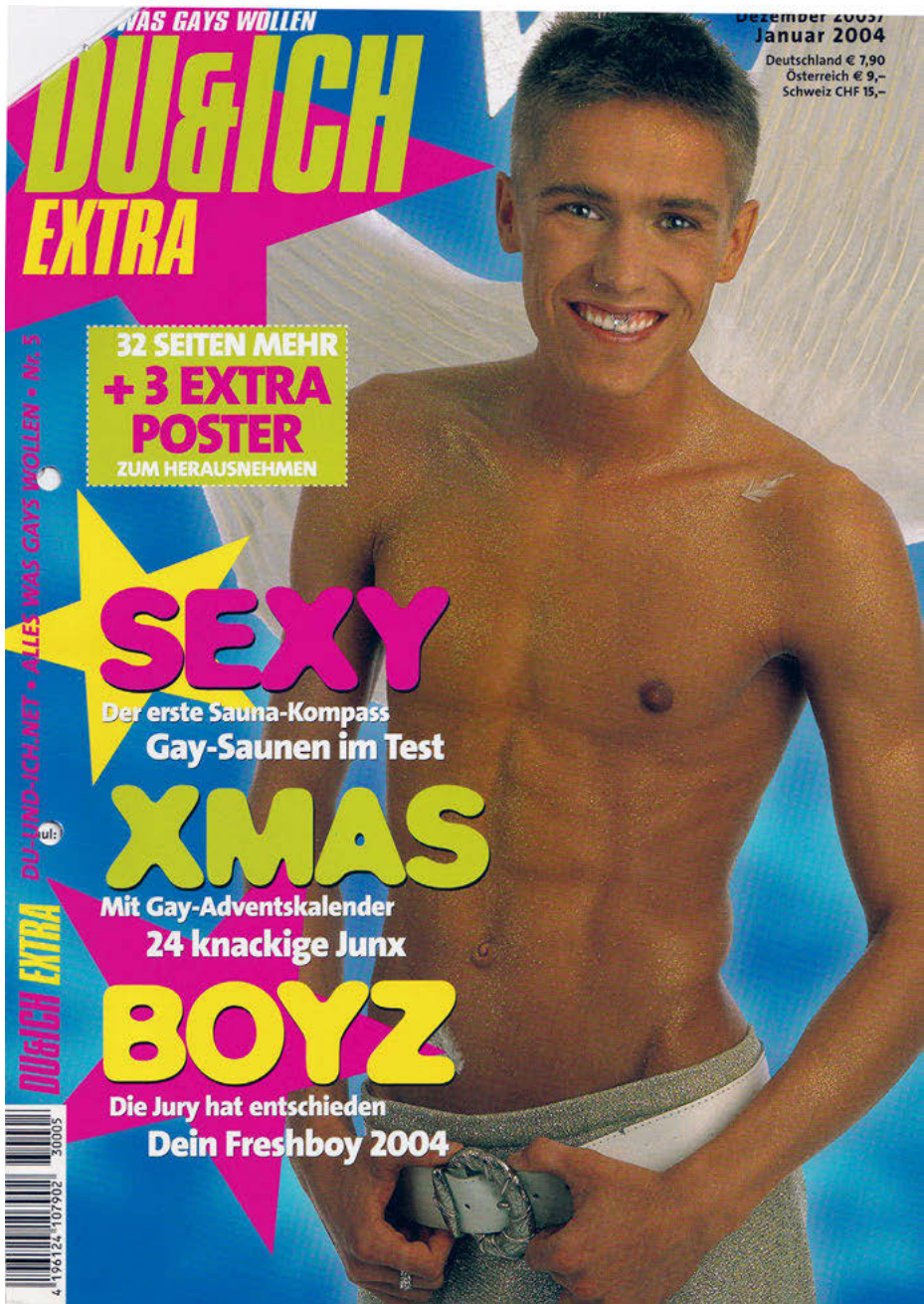


Fig. 7a: Du und Ich Magazine Cover December 2003 – January 2004.

KULTUR • PORNO

Beischlafkandidat



Sind die Türken jetzt endlich reif? Auf die Frage gibt „Men of Adana 2“ eine eindeutige Antwort: Reif wie Backobst! Und auch Europas Porno-kommissare Peter & Paul sind der festen Überzeugung: „Türken rein!“ lautet das Gebot der Stunde

Die ersten Türken pornos von Zip Productions präsentierten noch ein Bild vom türkischen Männersex jenseits aller europäischen Standards: Soloszenen, wie wir sie aus dem Baltikum kurz nach der Öffnung des Eisernen Vorhangs kannten. Men of Adana 2 dagegen zeigt, welche Fortschritte der Homosex in der Türkei gemacht hat: kopulierende Paare und sogar echte Dreier! Darf Brüssel da noch länger blockieren?

Paul: Und dazu echte Körperbehaarung! Eine kulturelle Bereicherung erster Kanone!
Peter: Der Daddy in der ersten Szene guckt so penetrant in die Kamera, als wolle er gleich seine Verwandten in Bottrop grüßen.
Paul: Penetrant ist das Stichwort. Und sein kiffender Kollege ist äußerst penetrabel. Hut ab: Das ist europäische Maßarbeit!

Noch ein Pluspunkt: Das Kondom scheint in Kleinasien weiter verbreitet zu sein als im Beitrittsgebiet. Da hat der Osmane den Balten deutlich überflügelt!

Paul: Jetzt beklagt sich der Kiffer, weil Daddy's Dödl zu groß ist!

Peter: Das hätte es unter Atatürk nicht gegeben!

Paul: Und Daddy sagt einfach: „Halt's Maul, das gefällt dir doch!“ Mal ehrlich, da können Europas Möchtegernhengste doch noch was von lernen ...

Mangels Türkischkenntnissen sind Peter und Paul auf die durchweg lustigen Untertitel angewiesen. Die stören im Übrigen genauso wenig wie die nett dahinplätschernde orientalische Musik.

Paul: Hast du gesehen, wie viel der Jungtürke abgespritzt hat?

Peter: Wenn das der nationale Durchschnitt ist, lass ich mich sofort umoperieren ...

Leider wurde auch in diesem Video wieder eine orientalische Dramaqueen versteckt, die Homo-Pornos nicht von My Fair Lady unterscheiden kann ...

Paul: Große Gesten sind halt Teil der süd-ländischen Kultur. Hauptsache, sie bläst ordentlich.

Peter: Es bläst und saugt der Muselman ...

Paul: Nun ist mal Schluss, du Kartoffell!

Durch den gesamten Film hindurch geht es leidenschaftlich zur Sache, und: Es wird auch viel geküsst! Dass die Kamera mal wieder ein bisschen amateurhaft herumstolpert und



Fig. 7b: Du und Ich Magazine Review by Peter & Paul, December 2003 – January 2004.



TÜRKKEI

KULTUR • PORNO






uns die immer gleichen Fahrten durch türkische Städte zeigt (diesmal: Adana, wer hätte es gedacht!), das gibt der ganzen Sache den Charme des Authentischen und stört nur ganz wenig.

Paul: Hier kommt der Kiffer aus der ersten Szene wieder, und diesmal kriegt er was Kleineres, die Memme!

Peter: Den Pickel am Sack finde ich ein bisschen eklig ...

 Aber unter hygienischen Gesichtspunkten erfüllt Men of Adana 2 alle Beitritts-voraussetzungen. Mehr geduscht wurde in einem Türkenporno nie.

Paul: Ich persönlich habe mich ja in den kleinen Metin verguckt. So süß wie türkischer Honig! Ach, könnte man ihn nur in

Euro bezahlen!

Peter: Ruf Brüssel an, vielleicht kann man ihn ja schon mal vor-beitreten lassen.

Auch wenn die letzten Szenen in Men of Adana 2 ein bisschen durchgehechelt wirken: Das Video lohnt sich. Vor allem gibt es auf der DVD super-extended-special-extra-long Trailer von sämtlichen Zip-Produktionen und alleine das ist genug Material, um sich die deutsche Vorhaut bis zum EU-Beitritt wegzuschubbern.

Peter: Wenn ich von jetzt an Riviera sage, meine ich natürlich die Türkische Riviera!

Paul: Wieso, gibt's noch ne andere? ◀

*Men of Adana 2, Zip Productions
ab sofort im Handel*




Fig. 7c: Du und Ich Magazine Review by Peter & Paul, December 2003 – January 2004.



Fig. 8a: Playground Magazine Cover 2004.

Regenbogen

WAS TUT SICH IN DER SZENE? PLAYGROUND BERICHTET

**Nur "aktiv":
Viele türkische
Männer kehren
den Macho raus**



MÄNNERSPIELE AM BOSPORUS

Szene Türkei
Harte Männlichkeit an der türkischen Riviera

Antalya ist unbestritten der touristische Mittelpunkt der türkischen Riviera. Man fliegt drei Stunden mit dem Sun-Express oder mit der Condor vom deutschen Grau in die südliche Sonne, im Oktober liegen die Temperaturen noch bis 25 Grad, selbst an Weihnachten sind 18 Grad keine Seltenheit, die Regenwahrscheinlichkeit gering, allerdings können im Winter die Nächte kalt werden. Die Südtürkei ist in erster Linie eine Kulturlandschaft, die antiken Städte wie Perge oder Aspendos sind so spektakulär wie ein Besuch in Pompeji oder in Delphi. Mit dem Dolmuş, dem Bus oder dem Mietwagen ist man in kürzester Zeit in Phaselis, Termessos oder Side, alles antike Städte, die nach wie vor faszinieren. Es gibt natürlich organisierte Touren, aber wer es individuell liebt und auch mit Land und Leuten in Kontakt kommen will, der kann es gefahrlos auf eigene Faust unternehmen. Nach einer kräftigen Prise Kultur geht man am Spätnachmittag oder abends ins Hammam, empfehlenswert ist das

Demirhan-Hammam direkt hinter dem Gebäude der Turkish Airlines, aber in Antalya sind fast alle Hammams zu empfehlen, nicht unbedingt, weil es überall „Action“ gibt, sondern weil es meist junge und freundliche Masseure sind, die den Körper durchwerkeln! Wie attraktiv manche türkische Männer sind, braucht nicht betont zu werden, es geht in den Tourismus-Zentren auch unverkrampt zu, weil viele junge Türken in Antalya, in Side oder in Alanya ohne Familien leben, weil sie selbst als Saisonkräfte im Tourismus arbeiten.

Man muss nur die Tiegärten über dem Yachthafen besuchen, schon wird man angesprochen, was man daraus macht, bleibt einem selbst überlassen. Andererseits ist den Türken die Penetranz, die man mitunter in nordafrikanischen Ländern begegnet, fremd, sie flirten oder unterhalten sich gern, aber meist bleibt es dabei, am Strand von Lara und Konyaaltı, das sind die Hausstrände von Antalya, kommt man sich dann vielleicht schon näher, aber der Besuch der Strände am Abend ohne Begleitung erscheint weniger ratsam, außer, man hat nur abge-

zahltes Geld bei sich und keinerlei Wertsachen.

DER SCHWULE STRAND

Es ist natürlich immer von Vorteil, wenn man Grundkenntnisse in Türkisch hat und bei Gesprächen zwischen den Türken schon ahnt, worauf das Ganze hinauslaufen könnte. Wenn man sich „einig“ geworden ist, geht es längst nicht immer um Geld, sondern der Tourist dient oft als sexuelles Ventil für den Libidostau, den junge Türken fern der Heimat bekommen. Sie wollen häufig den aktiven Part



ZUM KENNEN LERNEN...



TÜRKISCHE FREUNDE

61

Fig. 8b: Playground Magazine 2004.



Fig. 8c: Playground Magazine 2004.



DUNKLE TYPEN

spielen, aber sie sind flexibler, als man denkt. In Alanya gibt es einen „schwulen Strand“, der Odysseus-Beach, so etwas gibt es auch in Bodrum oder Cesme, denn viele Türken agieren bisexuell und wenn dann ein Tourist allein am Strand verweilt, ist dies eine willkommene Gelegenheit, aber wenn man nicht will, wenn man auf Annäherungsversuche nicht eingeht, dann wird man in Ruhe gelassen. Die Orte sind freilich inzwischen sehr touristisch, Alanya war vor einigen Jahren fest in russischer Hand, Side ist nach wie vor in deutscher Hand, die Cafes heißen Melitta und es wird deutscher Bohnenkaffee von Jacobs und deutscher Apfel- oder Käsekuchen angeboten. Es gibt eine deutsche Fußgängerzone mit „Bild“ und Nescafe, wer es mag, der ist dann ganz in einer deutschen „Kolonie“ wie auf Mallorca. In Antalya entgeht man diesem Rummel fast ganz, denn schließlich ist Antalya eine Großstadt, da sieht man auf dem Basar alle Nationen, ein Tee kostet 30 Pfennige, ein Bier eine Mark (Efes-Pilsen), selbst ein Abendessen mit Wein wird kaum teurer als zehn Mark ausfallen, die Türkei ist zumindest im Moment für die harte D-Mark ein Urlaubsparadies! Der Einkauf im Bazar lohnt sich allemal, ein „echtes“ Chiemsee-Shirt kostet 20 Mark, Schuhe und Textilien, aber auch Lederwaren sind äußerst günstig. Mit dem Dolmus nach Demre, dem antiken Myra, wo Sankt Nikolaus gewirkt haben soll, kostet 3 Mark, die Fahrt zu den Stränden ist meist kostenlos, oft wird man noch zum Tee und Sismek (Mohrring, süß oder herzhaft) eingeladen. Als Quartier sind die Pansiyohes oder Hotels in der Altstadt zu empfehlen, vor allem das Hotel „Frankfurt“ unter deutscher Leitung oder das Hotel „Pera-Pera“, überall spricht man deutsch und ist in fast allen Fällen behilflich. Die türkische Inflation ist galoppierend, im Oktober 99 bekam man für 100

Mark über 3 Millionen Lira, so wird Antalya und die ganze Südküste ebenfalls ein Tipp zum Überwintern für deutsche „Snowbirds“, vor allem viele Münchner haben sich Ferienwohnungen oder gar Ferienhäuser gekauft, es gibt sogar bayrische Makler, die allerdings einen türkischen Kompagnon brauchen.

SPEZIALMASSAGE IM „HAMMAM“

Im Cafe „Gül“ (Glück) ist die Wirtin Münchnerin und der türkische Ehemann spricht ein perfektes Bayrisch, dass man denkt, er käme aus Passau oder Altötting. Ein Nachtleben existiert freilich nur in Ansätzen, in den Touristenghettos wie Side gibt es sicher jede Menge Discos, aber das türkische Nachtleben ist eher rar und dann ganz anders, eben mit Bauchtanz und einem dicken Sänger und alle proper und adrett gekleidet. In Antalya und Alanya gibt es ein paar Hippitypen, aber das ist die Ausnahme, das sind Entwurzelte, die sich dann auch meist ins Ausland absetzen, schwules Leben oder gelebte Homosexualität ist undenkbar, nur mit Transvestiten macht man eine Ausnahme, sie sind weniger geächtet, zumindest in liberalen Kreisen, weil sie nicht mehr zum Kreis der Männer gehören.

Es gibt auch schon Spielhallen und Billardcafes, die Moden von Istanbul kommen auch in den Süden und man ist bereits weit entfernt von der Strenge Anatoliens, aber oben ohne zu baden ist nach wie vor eine Provokation und ein Mann in zu kurzen Shorts ist ein Kuriosum und wenn er Pech hat, die „Aufforderung zum Tanz“!

Wie stark fundamentalistische Strömungen bereits Fuß gefasst haben, ist schwer zu beurteilen, nach außen sitzt der Türke im Cafe, spielt Tavlá, isst Baklava, raucht und sieht fern, vor allem Fußball, der Nationalsport, der das Ringen und Gewichtheben und Boxen abgelöst hat, der Kult um die eigene Mannschaft ist noch stärker als in Deutschland. Aber

die Männer in der Türkei sind schön: Orhan gibt mir im Demirel-Hammam eine „Spezial-Massage“, für 30 Marker bin ich im Paradies und Abdallah joggt mit mir zum Strand und dann



MÄNNER AUS ADANA

weiß er „zufällig“ eine Umkleekabine, die nicht abgeschlossen ist und abends hören wir Hakan Peker oder den neuen Superstar Tarkan... Man sollte sich auf eine Türkei-Reise schon ein wenig vorbereiten, ein bisschen Türkisch öffnet viele Türen und je weiter man ins Landesinnere kommt, umso archaischer werden die Sitten und Gebräuche, aber auch die Gastfreundschaft ist dort in Kapadokien oder in der Südosttürkei ungemein herzlich.

Wie auch die Männer viel liebevoller miteinander umgehen, als dies in Westeuropa üblich ist, die Männer haken sich bei ihrem Freund unter, manche gehen auch Hand in Hand, aber das hat sexuell natürlich nichts zu bedeuten, das ist so usus unter engen Freunden, was nicht heißen soll, dass es in der Türkei nicht glasklare Hierarchien gibt, der Pascha oder Effendi ist von allen geachtet und respektiert!

„Unser Autor Mike Molto hat auch über Jahre einen besonderen Aspekt der türkischen Männerzene in Deutschland und in der Türkei beobachtet. Für Playground hat er einige Szenen aus seinem interessanten Bericht zusammengestellt.“

**RIFAT:
STOLZ AUF SEINEN SCHWANZ**
Rifat ist 1.80 groß, er hat schon mit elf Jahren angefangen zu ringen,

deshalb ist kein Gramm Fett zuviel an seinem Body. Er raucht mäßig und trinkt keinen Alkohol. Er hat zwei Jahre in Deutschland gelebt, bei seinem Bruder in Aschaffenburg. Er hat dort sogar für den renommierten Verein „Mombisgerungen“. Aber die deutsche Moralität war nicht sein Fall. Gut, unter den Ringerkameraden gab es durchaus Freundschaft und Geselligkeit, aber ansonsten war ihm das Leben in Deutschland zu stressig, zuviel Hektik.

Rifat ging zurück nach Istanbul, obwohl seine Familie aus Bursa stammt, aber in Istanbul bekam er einen Job als Marktleiter in einem riesigen „merkez“ am Rande der Stadt, kein schlechter Job, wenn auch nur mäßig bezahlt. Aber er hat viel Kontakt mit der Kundschaft und ist bei allen beliebt.

Im Vordergrund steht aber seine Familie, seine fünf Geschwister, für die er sich als ältester Bruder verantwortlich fühlt. Vor allem seine zwei jüngeren Brüder verehren ihn als Vorbild, denn mit 20 war er Dritter beim Örlingen in Edirne. Sein Name stand in allen Zeitungen, die ganze Familie war mächtig stolz auf ihn. Einmal im Monat fährt er mit dem Bus nach Bursa. Er möchte, dass seine Brüder eine Handellschule besuchen,



Die Türken - auf Video

Die Fotos zum „Regenbogen“ stammen alle aus dem Video „The Men of Adana“ und „Men of Istanbul 3“ von Zip Productions. Mehr: www.zip-production.de



GEIL UND HART: DIE TÜRKEN VON DER ZIP-PRODUCTIONS

TÜRKISCHE FREUNDE

denn sein Vater verdient als Koch so gut wie nichts, außerdem ist er häufig krank und Rifat muss einspringen.

Rifat ist bisexuell, aber darüber wird nicht geredet, er war sogar für ein halbes Jahr mit einem reichen älteren Italiener zusammen, sie haben in Italien gelebt. Er onaniert viel, ist mäßig religiös, aber zum Freitaggebet geht er natürlich wie alle seine Kollegen. In seiner Freizeit hört er entweder Ziki Müren oder Westliches wie Pet Shop Boys oder Erasure, weiche männliche Stimmen müssen es sein, ganz im Gegensatz zu den „Hulk“-Postern an der Wand, ob ihm der Gegensatz bewusst ist, sei dahingestellt.

Rifat geht dreimal die Woche in ein Fitness-Studio in Topkape, außerdem coacht er eine Jugendmannschaft des dortigen Ringervereins. Er hat noch alle Griffe und Tricks drauf, die gibt er an die Jungs weiter.

Obwohl schon 35 ist er noch unverheiratet, offizielle Begründung, er könne sich den in Türkei obligatorischen Brautschmuck nicht leisten. Er schätzt schöne Körper bei Männern, obwohl er sagt, dass der Ringersport für ihn nichts mit Sexualität zu tun hat. Wenn er kämpft, sei der Körper des anderen nur „Material“, das er bezwingen wolle. Er würde auch nie den passiven Part übernehmen, er fühlt sich ganz als Mann. Ohne falsche Bescheidenheit ist er stolz auf seinen stattlichen Schwanz, seine Geilheit ist oft ein Problem für ihn, aber nach Feierabend zieht er sich mit seinem besten Freund Erdal in das Lager eines Teppichhauses zurück und sie onanieren sich gegenseitig. Das ist in der Türkei weit verbreitet, das ist quasi „Freundspflicht“ und wird unter Kumpels selbstverständlich nicht als irgendwie homoerotisch gesehen, sondern ist eher ein Akt der Sexualhygiene. Rifat ist nicht gebunden, in einen

Puff möchte er nicht gehen, das ist nicht sein Ding, das hat etwas von Sünde und er ist schließlich Sportler und jemand, der sich für „rein“ hält.

Dann spendiert er lieber einem Transvestiten einen Drink in einer der Bars am Taksim, wo sexuelle Freiheiten erlaubt sind, von denen junge Türken in Anatolien nur träumen können.

ERROL IST IMMER DER AKTIVE

• Errol ist Stricher in Frankfurt, die Familienverhältnisse zerrüttet, der Vater ist krank, die Mutter will zurück in die Türkei, die Familie ist gespalten zwischen den Kulturen. Errol träumt von Chevignon-Jacken und Reebok-Schuhen, von Statussymbolen der westlichen Kultur. An ein Zurück in die Türkei ist bei ihm nicht zu denken. Sein Vater hat ihn vor 2 Monaten rausgeworfen, nun schläft er entweder bei Freunden oder in einem stillgelegten Bundesbahnwaggon am Güterbahnhof. Obwohl er sich auf öffentlichen Toiletten waschen muß, sieht er immer gepflegt und ordentlich aus. Das ist sein Markenzeichen, immer wie aus dem Ei gepepelt, so mögen ihn die Freier. Er verlangt normalerweise einen Hunderter, macht aber Abstriche, wenn er einen Kunden schon näher kennt oder wenn er einen Schlafplatz braucht.

Er sei aber immer der Aktive, er lässt sich einen blasen, ficken überhaupt nicht, dann erfüllt er lieber ausgefallene Wünsche wie Schlagen oder einen Freier anpissen, damit hat er überhaupt keine Probleme. Wenn jemand darauf steht, warum nicht, ihm ist es egal, wo er hinpiss! Errol hat einen Blick für gute Freier, er ist gut aufgelegt oder hat einen flotten Spruch auf den Lippen, das mögen die Freier. Mit Stammkunden spricht er auch mal über seine Probleme. Viele wollen ihm helfen, aber meistens bleibt es ein Lippen-

bekenntnis. Wenn sie abgespritzt haben, denken sie wieder an ihre eigenen Sorgen und Nöte.

Manchmal wechselt er auch die Stadt, fährt nach Stuttgart oder Köln, aber in Frankfurt sei doch das meiste Geld zu machen. Spezialisiert ist er auf dicke Männer, hier bekommt er selten einen Korb, sagt er. Von dem Geld kauft er sich geile Klamotten, Cowboystiefel und teure Markenjeans. Er ist ganz abgefahren auf diesen Konsumzug, obwohl er eigentlich am Rande der Gesellschaft steht und weder hier in Deutschland noch in der Türkei wirklich heimisch ist.

Erol ist mittelgroß, stämmig, stark behaart, am liebsten sind ihm verheiratete Schwule, wo er auch

noch die Frau bedienen kann, aber in die richtigen Swinger-Clubs lässt man ihn nicht hinein. Einen guten Job wünscht er sich, reines Wunschdenken, denn er hat nach der 8. Klasse die Schule abgebrochen, sein Zeugnis ist so schlecht, dass er keine Chance für eine Lehrstelle hat, aber nach geregelter Arbeit ist ihm ohnehin nicht. Sein Leben spielt sich momentan in den einschlägigen Clubs rund um die Alte Gasse in Frankfurt ab, mitunter wohnt er bei Freunden. Wenn sie ihm lästig werden, haut er wieder ab; was danach kommt, weiß er selbst nicht so genau. Aber er hält auf sich, ist immer korrekt gekleidet, hat gute Umgangsformen, ist höflich. Er mag keine ausgepölpelten Typen, deshalb ist er auch in den Bars ein gerngesehener Stricher, weil er keinen Ärger macht und keine Drogen dealt. Zu anderen türkischen Strichern hat er kaum Kontakte, mitunter geht er ins „KISS“, das ist eine Anlaufstelle für Stricher, um ein Kännchen zu trinken oder seine Wäsche zu waschen, aber von effeminierten Typen hält er nichts, das sind keine echten Türken, echte Türken sind richtige Männer wie er, ein äußerst widersprüchliches Weltbild!

In Playground Nr. 5:

**ABDUL
SPRITZT SIEBENMAL AB
FICKER UND GEFFICKTE
Mike Molto berichtet**



zip-production

Fig. 8e: Playground Magazine 2004.

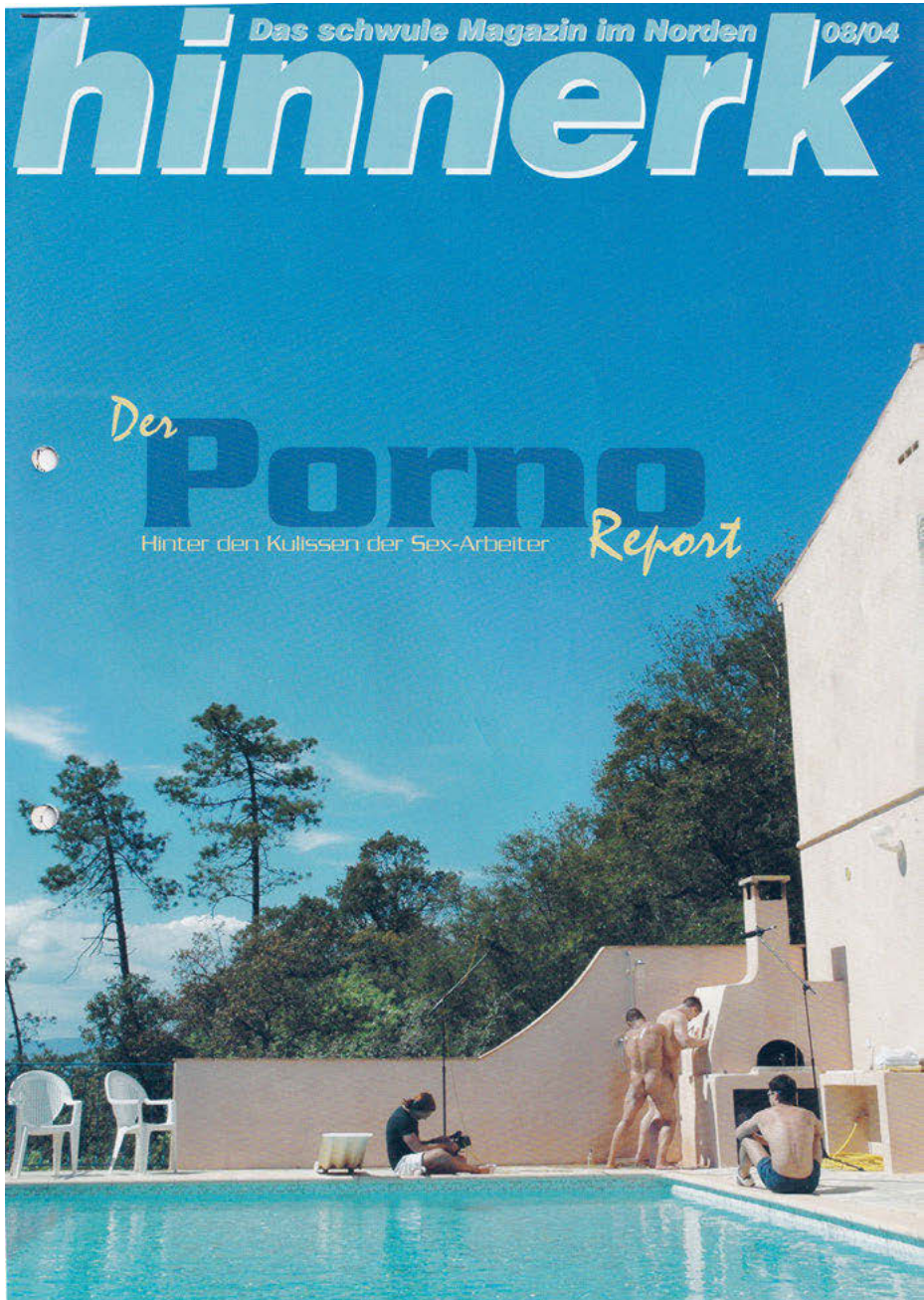


Fig. 9a: Hinnerk Magazine Cover August 2004.



Potenz-Beweise

Seit fünf Jahren drehen Ben Taman (38) und sein Partner Murat Bal in der Türkei Pornos mit meist heterosexuellen Amateuren: „Zip Production“ – ein kulturelles Experiment.

Wie kamst du auf die Idee, in die Türkei zu fahren und dort fremde Männer zu fragen, ob sie sich vor deiner Kamera einen runterholen?

Taman: Ich kannte solche Filme aus Marseille. Ich fand diese Pornos Klasse und hatte Lust, so etwas mal selbst auszuprobieren. Aber wo? Dann lernte ich Murat kennen, übrigens in einer Dönerbude, und erzählte ihm von meinem Plan. Er war sofort begeistert und schlug Istanbul als ersten Drehort vor.

Wie geht Ihr beim Filmemachen vor?

Am Anfang waren wir schon sehr nervös. Wir hatten keine Ahnung, wie die Typen reagieren würden, wenn wir sie ansprechen. Aber wir sammelten schnell positive Erfahrungen. Meistens geben wir den Jungs eine Karte mit unserer Nummer und wenn sie Interesse zeigen, dann machen wir ein kurzes Vorgespräch. Es gibt da ein paar Tricks, wie man in orientalisch geprägten Ländern bei Geschäften vorgeht. Protzen gehört da oft zum guten Ton. Es war natürlich ein Riesenvorteil, dass Murat Türke ist und sich mit den Gepflogenheiten auskennt.

Gab es Probleme mit dem Gesetz?

Bis vor kurzem war die Produktion von Pornos in der Türkei nicht illegal. Lediglich Einfuhr und Vertrieb waren verboten. Die neue, stark islamistisch geprägte Regierung hat das leider geändert – jetzt ist auch das Drehen strafbar. Das verschlechtert unsere Bedingungen ungemein: Das letzte Mal brachten wir gerade genug Material für einen halben Film mit.

Sind die Männer vor eurer Kamera alle Heteros?

Die meisten sind heterosexuell. Aber „Homo“ und „Hetero“ funktionieren in der Türkei nicht als Kategorien, weil noch keine Identitätsgesellschaft nach westlichem Muster ausgebildet ist. Dort existiert schlicht kein homosexueller Lebensentwurf. Hier bei uns ist Sex zwischen Männern die Aufgabe von Schwulen. Dort ist es eine Frage des Alters und der Situation.

Sollten sich die Drehbedingungen in der Türkei nicht wieder verbessern – habt ihr schon an Ausweichmöglichkeiten gedacht?

Ich würde gerne auch mal in Deutschland drehen, aber ich weiß noch nicht genau, wie man das am besten anstellt. Hier sind die Leute wieder komplett anders drauf. Man darf nicht vergessen, dass viel junge türkische Männer, gerade wenn sie vom Land kommen, gerne ihre Potenz unter Beweis stellen – das ist hierzulande eher nicht so.

Interview: FLORIAN FREI



Fig. 9b: Hinnerk Magazine August 2004.



Fig. 9c: Hinnerk Magazine August 2004.

Magazine articles categorized by issue number:



Fig. 10a: BUDDY Magazine Cover Issue 58.

NEUE VIDEOS NEUE DVDS NEUE VIDEOS NEUE DVDS NEUE



Izmir, das sind rund 1 Million Menschen, Wirtschaftszentrum, Stahlwerk, Fabriken, Brauereien, Militärfahrten... und somit Anziehungspunkt für **Scharen strammer Jungtürken** vom Lande - sie kommen bis aus dem tiefsten Anatolien - **randvoll mit frischem Türkenhonig**. Hier hoffen die Burschen auf Arbeit, Vergnügung und Abenteuer... Das könnt ihr haben, versprochen die Jungs von der **zip-production**, und lockten die grossschwänzigen unter ihnen in kleine einfache Hotels zu ganz spontanen Strip- und Solowix-shows, **röhrenden Oral- und Analvergnügungen**. Ein neuer orientalischer Männerbasar, in dem es nur so dampft und pufft und spritzt. Vier geile Heterotypen muss der schöne Ahmet hart lutschen, bis sie ihm den Arsch aufreissen.... Das Video **MEN OF IZMIR** der **zip-production**, zehn geile Jungtürken, ca. 100 Minuten Laufzeit, gib's jetzt in allen Video- und Sex-Shops. Wo nicht - fragen!!! **Vertrieb für den Handel:** Sönke Baumeister & Partner Vertrieb, Berlin (Anschrift siehe S. 66).

MEN OF IZMIR
AHMET'S FICK-TOUR 2
zip-production

52

Fig. 10b: BUDDY Magazine Issue 58.



Fig. 11a: BUDDY Magazine Cover Issue 79.

VIDEOS NEUE DVDS NEUE VIDEOS NEUE DVDS NEUE VII



Es beginnt mit einem Outdoor-Dreier, der in einem präzise gefilmten Analakt mit dem Geschiebe von 2 Schwänzen in einem Loch - giftelt. Für die Zweier-, Dreier- und Vierer-Kopulationen hat der Franzose zehn ganz normale nette Typen angeheuert, wie sie dir jederzeit und überall zwischen die Beine laufen können. Diese Junx werden für die verschiedenen Szenen zu immer neuen Paarungen zusammengeführt. Geil finde ich den Badewannenakt. In der letzten Triommer verarztet zwei stämmige Kerle einen weisshäutigen kleinen Wixer nach Strich und Faden.

Auch Monsieur Berry schert sich wenig um Werbung für seine Werke: Bildmaterial aus den Filmen gibt es nicht. Und seine Website ist ein ziemlicher Krampf und nix als Versandkatalog, im Angebot Filme, Fickschmiere, Unterwäsche...



Berlin) aus. Adresse, Fon und Fax: Seite 66

Das sind noch Kerle! Junge Ahnents, Özcan und Hasans aus den Tiefen Anatoliens, kraftstrotzend, ungeschliffen, haarig, wild, naturgeil im wahrsten Sinne des Wortes und schier überkochend vor brodelnden Säften, wenn sie sich in Antalya herumtreiben, um in dem Ferienort einen Job zu ergattern und einen Stich zu landen. Die Junx von der zip-Produktion nutzen dieser Überdruck schamlos aus, wenn sie die Kerle auf der Strasse anquatschen, ihnen einen Megaorgasmus und dazu noch „Kohle satt“ versprechen. Dann hemmt die unter Geilstrom stehenden Orientalen nichts mehr, weder ein Regisseur, eine Kamera, noch dass sie in die geile Fresse und das anale Loch eines Mustafa ficken. In diesem neuen Film gibt es eine extrem realistische, total orgiastische Fickszene zwischen einem etwas femininen Lokenkopf (der seinen Hengst wie besessen zu Höchstleistungen anfeuert) und dem mit einem Riesenzapfen bestückten Türkenbullen, dass dir Hören und Sehen vergeht! Insgesamt bietet das 110 Minuten lange Video 8 Szenen (Solo-, Zweier- und Dreierakte) mit 13 Türkenchwänzen.



Fig. 11b: BUDDY Magazine Issue 79.



Fig. 12a: BUDDY Magazine Cover Issue 82.

Scharf auf siebzehn neue TürkenGurken? Oder.



Wer von gespritztem türkischen Honigsirup nicht genug kriegen kann, darf sich mal wieder 90 Minuten lang mit **17 (!) neuen Jungs und Jünglingen** (urwüchsige Typen, im Arbeiterviertel von Adana auf der Strasse angemacht und zum Showlick überredet) - in 10 Akten (solo, zu zweit, zu dritt), hammerhart aufgeilen. **>MEN OF ADANA 2<** der **zip-production** erschien jetzt als DVD. Hinweis für den Handel: zip werden vertrieben durch Sönke Baumeister & Partner, Adresse im Impressum, Seite 66. ★ Mehr über orientalischen Männersex auf der Webseite www.zip-production.com

26

NEUE VIDEOS NEUE DVDS NEUE VIDEOS NEUE DVDS NEU

Fig. 12b: BUDDY Magazine Issue 82.



Fig. 13a: TOY Magazine Cover Issue 224.

Türkendolch






Türken – geile Männer mit großen, dauerharten Schwänzen. Immer geil, immer Fickbereit? Klischees vielleicht, aber für einige geile Fantasien reichen sie für vielen von uns.

Die jungen Männer aus Adana entsprechen auf jeden Fall den Vorstellungen in der neuesten Zip-Produktion „Men of Adana“. Vielleicht sind die Burschen für einige von uns noch zu jung, aber was sie zwischen den Beinen baumeln haben, ist schon ausgewachsen genug. Einige gute Schwanzlutscher sind darunter und ein paar Kerle können sogar für ihr Alter recht ausdauernd ficken.

- Mehr dazu unter
www.zip-production.de





22

Fig. 13b: TOY Magazine Issue 224.



Fig. 14a: TOY Magazine Cover Issue 227.



Fig. 14b: TOY Magazine Issue 227.



Fig. 14c: TOY Magazine Issue 227.

Unclassified



Fig. 15: Unclassified.

kommen! **Aahhhh!**

MEN OF ISTANBUL

ze. Alles bis zum letzten Hürchen perfekt ausgeleuchtet. **MEN OF ISTANBUL** ist 110 Minuten lang und kann für 99,- DM direkt bei der Hotline 040/73673500 der Hamburger Zip-Produktion bestellt werden. Weitere Infos auch im Internet: www.zip-production.de

Zur Einhaltung der gesetzlichen Vorschriften wird das Video nicht anonym verschickt, sondern von einem Lieferservice diskret, nach Terminabsprache und gegen Altersnachweis dem Besteller nur persönlich ausgehändigt.

11

Fig. 16: Unclassified.

EUROGAY

BODY & SOUL

magazin news pinnwand links shopping galerie coming-out chat

Stars & Entertainment | Musik | Buch & Kultur | Body & Soul | Trends & Events | Reise | Kino & Vi



Bis zu **13,7% Rendit**

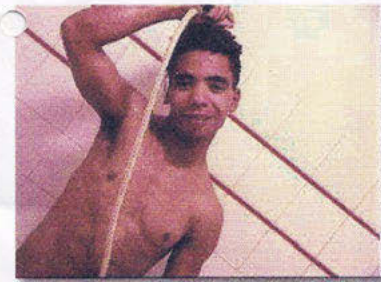
Infos hier anfordern

Erfolg mit türkischen Männern

Porno als Hobby

von Mark Prott

(15.6.01 - mp) In den letzten Jahren haben jenseits des Mainstream einige kleine deutsche Porno-Produktionen in verschiedenen Fetisch-Nischen Platz genommen. **EUROGAY** berichtet. Ein dieser Produktionen ist zip-production aus Hamburg, die in ihren Videos ausschließlich türkische orientalische Männer zeigt. Wir stellen dir zip-production und ihre Filme vor.



Das Konzept, das hinter den Filmen von zip-production steckt, ist so simpel wie erfolgreich: Ben Tamam und sein Partner Murat Bal reisen in die Türkei oder den Orient, sprechen auf der Straße Männer an, die ihnen gefallen, und filmen diese Männer später, wenn sie sich in ihrem Hotelzimmer einen runterholen. "Wir machen das so, da wir erst einmal relativ dezent die Leute ansprechen, wobei unsere Frage erst einmal ist, ob sie Interesse haben, überhaupt in einem Film mitzumachen. Das ist aus religiösen Gründen in der Türkei immer schon ein Problem, weil es eigentlich ein Bilderverbot gibt und religiöse Menschen sich gar nicht erst fotografieren lassen wollen."

Fast alle machen mit

Wenn die angesprochenen Männer sich grundsätzlich bereit erklären, erfahren sie in einem zweiten Gespräch von Ben Tamam und Bal, worum es genau geht: Sie sollen sich vor der Kamera selbst befriedigen oder Sex mit einem anderen Mann haben. Für die meisten gibt es dann kein Zurück mehr, denn eine Ablehnung könnte womöglich Zweifel an ihrer Potenz aufkommen lassen. Völlig undenkbar für einen türkischen Mann.

Bei ihrer ersten Produktion "Men of Istanbul" waren die beiden Hamburger selbst noch überrascht von der großen Zahl Freiwilliger. Etwa 35 Männer wurden angesprochen, von denen sich 17 meldeten, um sich über die Filmproduktion zu informieren. 14 haben sich dann schließlich vor die Kamera getraut. "Beim ersten Mal war das für uns sehr aufregend. Wir haben uns natürlich gefragt, ob es überhaupt geht, wie wir uns das vorgestellt haben, oder ob die angesprochenen Männer uns gleich eins in die Fresse hauen. Das war natürlich schon irgendwie riskant", erzählt Ben Tamam grinsend.



"Men of Istanbul 2" - eine lebensgefährliche Produktion

<http://www.eurogay.de/entertainment/6638.html>

Fig. 17a: Euro Gay Blog Interview by Mark Prott 2001.

Sonntag, 17. Juni 2001

EUROGAY - Body & Soul: Porno als Hobby

Seite: 2



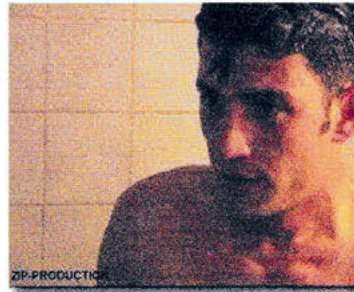
Dass ihr Plan so erstaunlich gut geklappt hat, führt Ben a das gute Gespann zurück, dass er und sein türkischer Partner abgaben. Der Türke Murat Bal konnte sich gut in Mentalität der Türken hineinversetzen, und Ben Tamam verbreitete als Deutscher den internationalen Anschein d Produktion. Dieser war für viele der angesprochenen Männer wichtig, die sich garantieren ließen, dass der Film nicht in der Türkei veröffentlicht werden würde. "Wenn da nur Türken gewesen wären, wären die wahrscheinlich misstrauischer gewesen. Da aber klar war, dass wir auc Deutsche sind, war den Männern auch glaubhaft zu machen, dass es uns nicht darum geht, ihnen persönlich schaden."

Trotz mancher unvorhergesehener Komplikationen und jeder Menge Nervenkitzel haben Tamam und B "Men of Istanbul" schließlich fertig gestellt. Als das Video auf den Markt kam, bestätigten die guten Absatzzahlen ihnen, dass sie eine Marktlücke entdeckt hatten. Dies spornte sie an, trotz der hohen Produktionskosten weitere Videos in der Türkei zu drehen. Das zweite Video entstand im Osten der Tür und hat die beiden Hobby-Regisseure in ernsthafte Gefahr gebracht.

Erpressung nach Sex?

Einer der Darsteller aus dem ersten Teil, der hörte, dass das Team wieder im Land war, wollte die Filmemacher erpressen. "Der wollte unsere Kamera und unser Geld haben, was wir ja gar nicht mehr hatten, weil das am letzten Drehtag war. Andernfalls wollte er uns mit dem schwulen Videomaterial an die Polizei verraten", erzählt Ben. "Der hat uns sogar mit einer Pistole bedroht, und es gab richtige Verfolgungsjagden durch die Gassen in Diyarbakir."

Die Polizei beobachtete die Verfolgungsjagd und stoppte beide Wagen. Tamam und Bal befürchteten schon, dass die Polizei jetzt doch noch das Videomaterial finden könnte. Doch der Erpresser verstrickte sich in Widersprüche, und die Hamburger erzählten der Polizei, dass sie mit dem Erpresser geschlafen hätten. "Das war schon schlimm genug, ist aber nicht verboten. Die Polizisten haben uns dann zwar echt verächtlich angeguckt und uns fast nicht mehr die Hand geben wollen. Aber unsere Aussage war glaubhaft, und sie haben uns abgekauft, dass wir nach Sex erpresst worden wäre



Sex zwischen Männern im Islam nicht ungewöhnlich



Seitdem sind noch drei weitere Videos von zip-production erschienen: "Men of Marrakesh", "Men of Ankara" und gerade vor einer Woche "Men of Izmir". Für das jüngste Video haben Ben und Murat zehn Männer aus der türkischen Metropole vor die Kamera geholt, die allein od zu zweit Spaß vor der Kamera haben. Untertitel des etwa hundertminütigen Videos ist "Ahmet's Ficktour 2".

Sex zwischen Männern ist in der islamischen Welt nichts Ungewöhnliches. "Allein schon deshalb, weil die Frauen jungfräulich in die Ehe gehen müssen. Da ist es zumindest in einem gewissen Alter nicht ungewöhnlich, dass man r einem Mann Sex hat", erzählt Ben. "Gleichzeitig wird das

<http://www.eurogay.de/entertainment/6638.html>

Fig. 17b: Euro Gay Blog Interview by Mark Prott 2001.

aber nie thematisiert. Wir haben zum Beispiel eine Geschichte erlebt, da haben wir einen Mann getroffen, zu dem wir nach Hause gegangen sind, um mit Sex zu haben. Kurz vor seinem Haus sagt er zu uns: 'Wartet noch mal kurz.' Er geht rein - relativ spät am Abend - und schickt seine Frau und seine Kinder zu einer Freundin - um dann mit uns Sex zu haben. Wir dachten uns nur: 'Merkt die denn nichts?'"

Niemand spricht offen darüber

So etwas passiert überall, und gleichzeitig wird es nie irgendwo thematisiert. Geht man beispielsweise in Istanbul in ausgewiesene schwule Läden und fragt die Besucher dort, ob sie schwul sind, so wird man mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit eine verneinende Antwort erhalten. "In der Türkei wird über Homosexualität nicht gesprochen, man tut es einfach", bestätigt der Porno-Produzent. Selbst zu blasen oder sich ficken zu lassen, kommt für viele türkische Männer aber nicht in Frage, wie man auch in den Videos von zip-production sieht.



Ben und Murat sind ihre Filme ein Hobby, das sich finanziell selbst trägt. Leben können sie nicht davon, beide gehen noch ihrem erlernten Beruf nach. Ihre Produktionen, die sie in ihrem Urlaub in der Türkei oder in Marokko drehen, verschlingen sehr viel Geld, viel mehr, als sie in Deutschland für einen vergleichbaren Streifen hinlegen müssten.

Nächster Drehtermin: Herbst 2001



"Die Männer in unseren Videos lassen sich ihre 'Dienstleistung' gerne bezahlen. Zusätzlich haben wir unglaubliche Bestechungszahlungen - du musst alle fünfhundert Meter, die du mit deinem Wagen fährst, die Polizei bestechen, dass sie deinen deutschen Führerschein auch wirklich akzeptiert. Und in jedem Hotel in dem wir drehen, zahlen wir den dreifachen Preis, weil letztendlich natürlich schnell schnallen, was wir da machen. Die sind nicht fies, aber die wollen bezahlt kriegen, dass den Mund halten. Das alles macht unsere Produktionen echt teuer", so Ben Tamam.

Trotz allem sind die nächsten Videos

schon in der Mache. Tamam und sein Partner Bal haben schon im türkischen Adana und in Antalya gedreht. "Wir sind mit dem Drehen weiter als mit dem Herausbringen", so zip-production. Nach "Men of Izmir", der jetzt erschienen ist, soll ein weiteres Video im Herbst und eventuell auch noch eines vor Weihnachten erscheinen. "Wir werden dann im Herbst erst wieder drehen, weil wir jetzt erst einmal keinen Urlaub haben", so die Hamburger.

(c) Fotos: zip-production

► [zip-production Website](#)

► [Alles, nur nicht gewöhnlich: Schwule Porno-Trends 2001](#)



Fig. 17c: Euro Gay Blog Interview by Mark Prott 2001.

Selection of Zip Production VHS Jackets

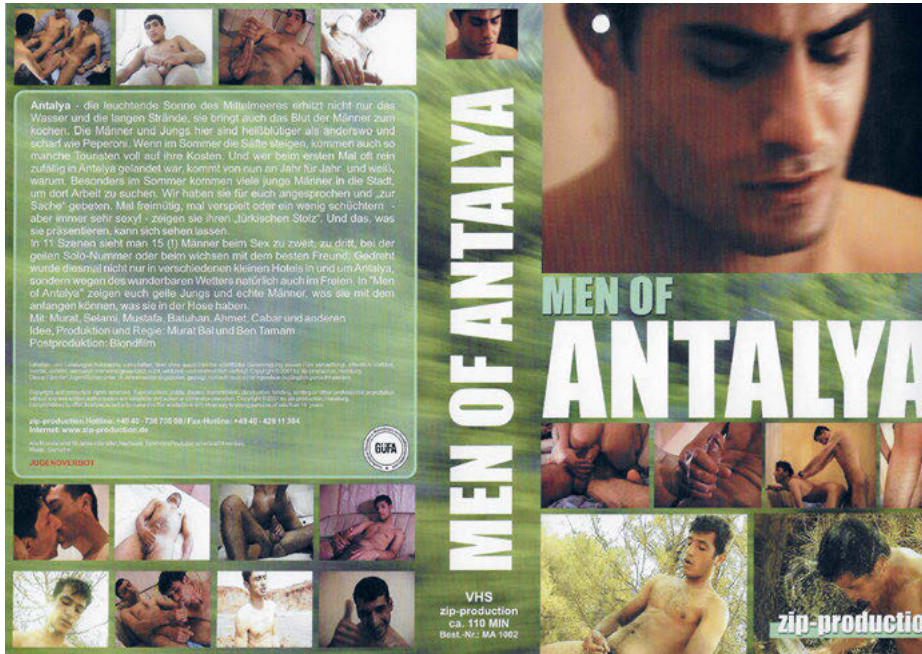


Fig. 18: VHS Jacket of Men of Antalya 2003 © Zip Production.

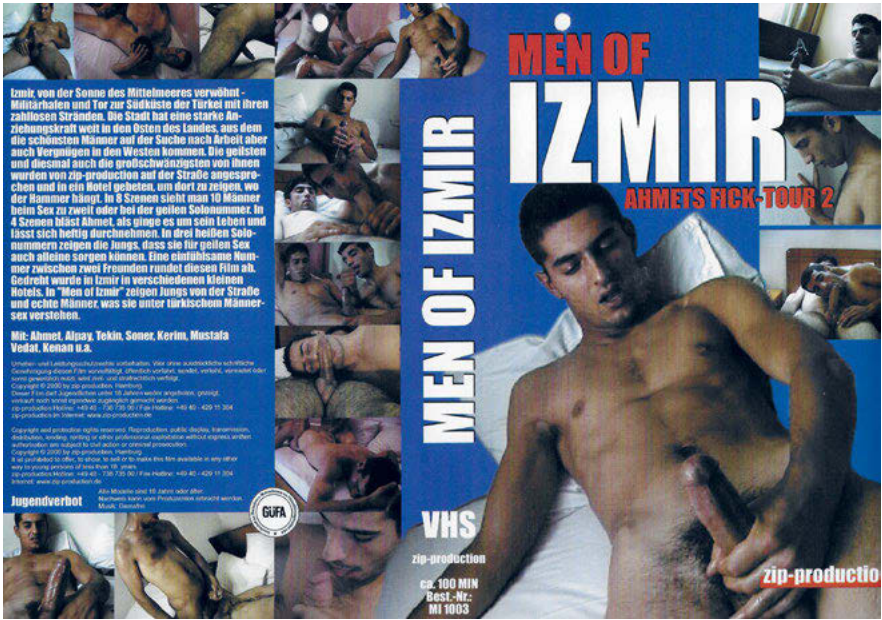


Fig. 19: VHS Jacket of Men of Izmir 2000 © Zip Production.



Fig. 20: VHS Jacket of Men of Istanbul 2002 © Zip Production.

Zip-Club Membership Card



Fig. 21: Zip Club Membership Card front © Zip Production.

☐ Ja, ich möchte jetzt im kostenlosen Zip-Club Mitglied werden. Meine Vorteile: ✓ Keine Portokosten bei Direktbestellungen. ✓ Eventnews. ✓ Kostenloser Szeneguide für den Orient. ✓ Informationen über alle Neuerscheinungen bei Zip. Name Straße & Nr. PLZ & Ort	Bitte mit 1,-DM freimachen Zip-Production Postfach 10 35 45 20024 Hamburg
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Fig. 22: Zip Club Membership Card back © Zip Production.

Release Party Flyer

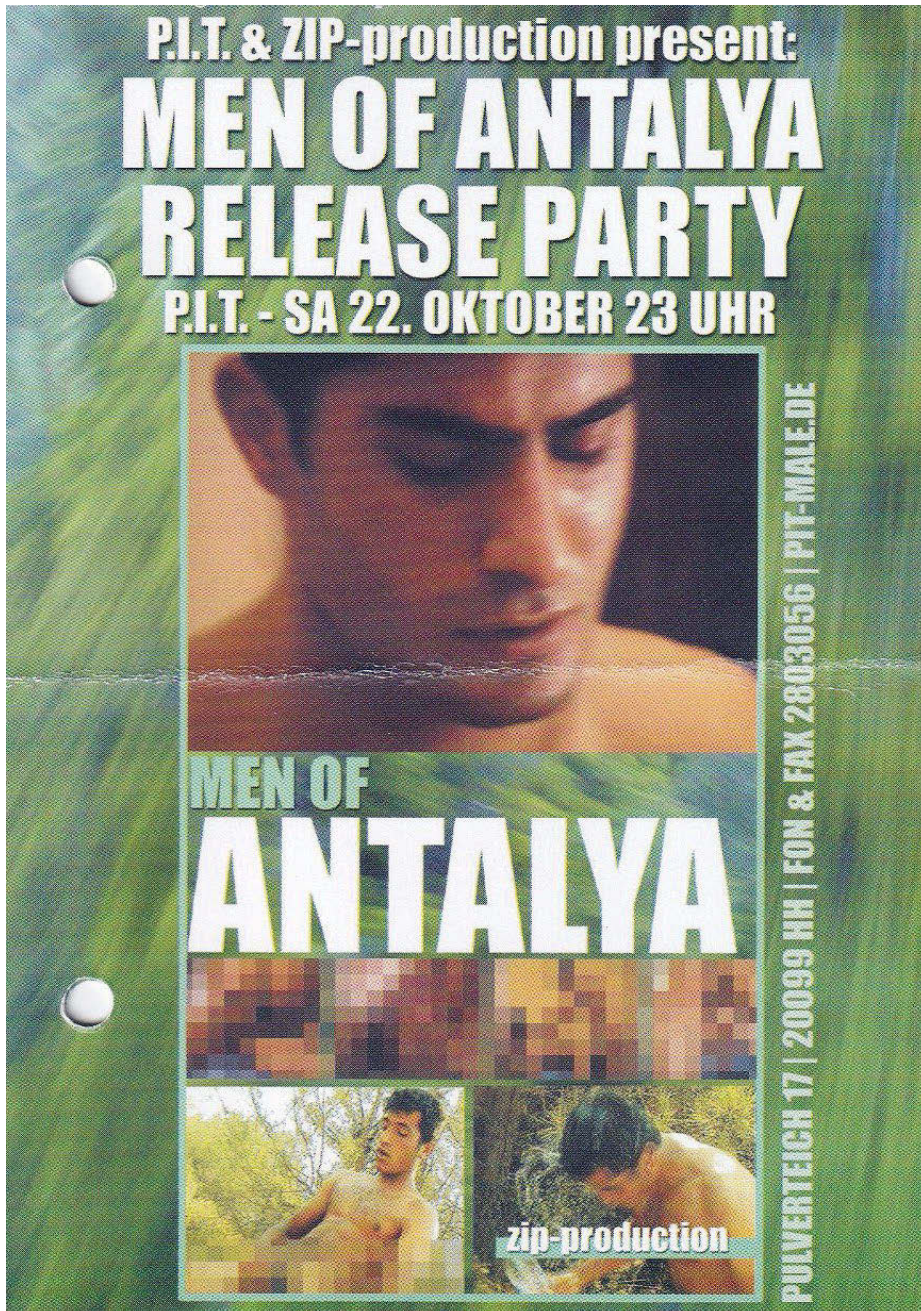


Fig. 23: Release Party Flyer © Zip Production.

Flyer of Zip Production

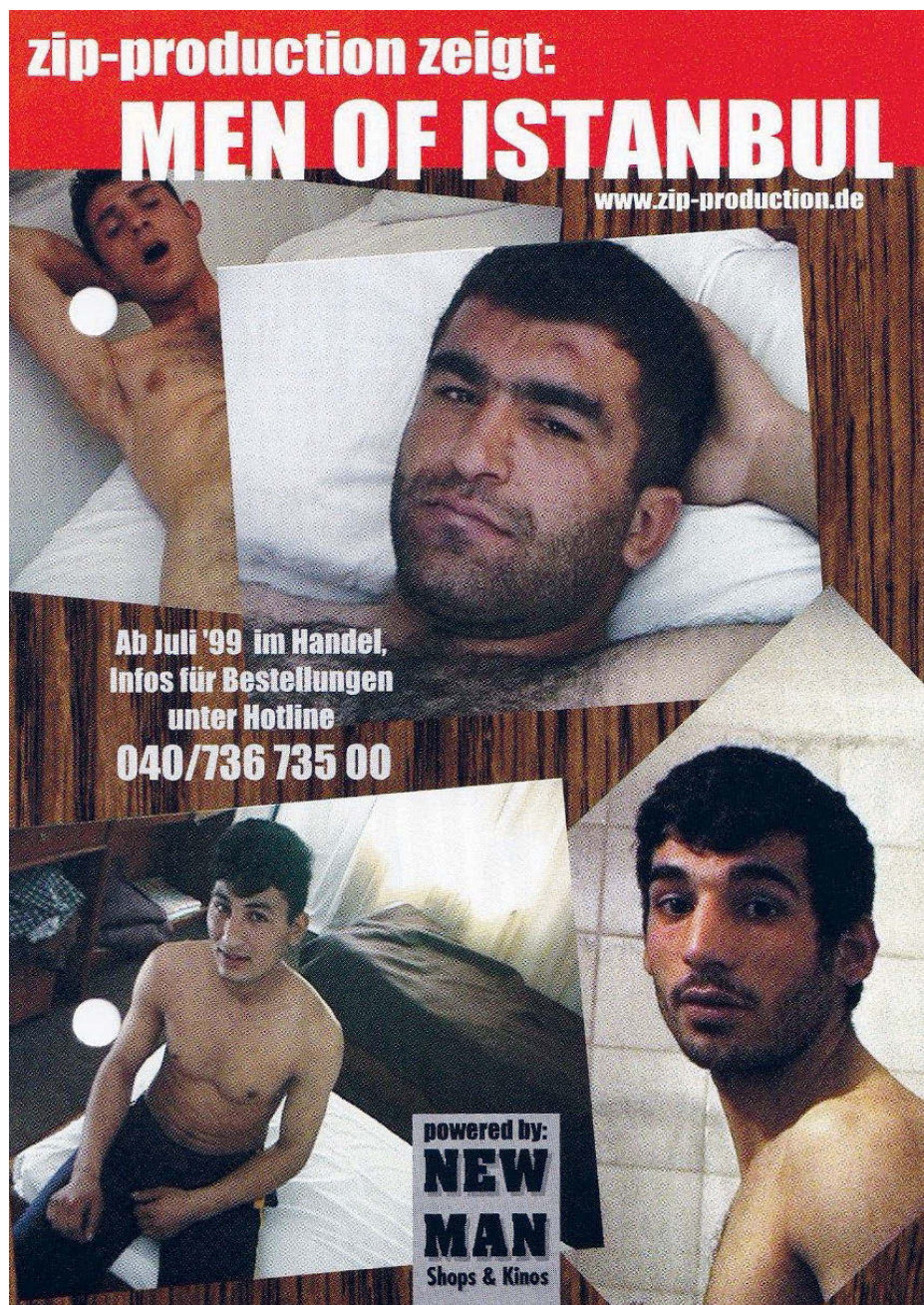


Fig. 24: Flyer of Zip Prodcution © Zip Production.

B Examples of letters from the audience

Zipp- Produktion

23. Dezember 2002

Hallo und merhaba

Ich bin der [REDACTED] bin 24 Jahre jung halb arabisch, halb türkisch und in Deutschland auf die Welt gekommen.

Bin ca. 1,75 m groß und wiege 70Kg
Wenn nicht gefärbt schwarze Haare und blaue Augen.

Sexuelle vorlieben?

Na ja möchte mich nicht auf passiv oder aktiv festlegen es kommt auf den Partner an!!!

Und auch die Atmosphäre sollte passen, da ich noch nie Sex vor einer laufenden Kamera gehabt habe ist es noch Neuland für mich.

Prüde bin ich nicht dafür zeig ich mich gerne!

Ich war GO-GO Tänzer in verschiedenen Diskotheken.

Also wenn Ihr mich näher kennenlernen wollt ruft mich doch einfach an oder schreibt mir, würde mich sehr darüber freuen!!

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Fig. 25: Example Nr.1 © Zip Production.¹

¹ Letters have been digitally manipulated to protect the owners' data privacy.

ZIP-Production

HAMBURG

Toledo, 20 May 2004

Dear Sirs,

Let me congratulate you on your videos and DVD productions. First I have heard of you was in a rental video shop in Madrid. They had several of your releases which can be rented (for three days) or purchased. Most of times, the rental ones, were engaged especially at the weekends. So I decided to buy them when available, but it was difficult, as I said, because they were nearly always missing, but in the end I got three of them.

But last winter when I went to the mountains I was in touch with a sex shop in a small town called Seu D'Urgell in the province of Lleida. I talked to them about you and they offered to order them for me, which was wonderful because in a provincial town like this one must be discreet. One month later they sent me all your productions, which I have enjoyed very much. Let me say that in my opinion, **you are simply the BEST!** It is the kind of porno films I had always dreamt about. So keep on trying to find those wonderful *ordinary street men* because most of us are fed up with those unreal, bodybuilt, American men (many times better built than sexually gifted).

Would you be so kind as to keep me informed about your new releases in the future? And what about posting me **YUGO POWER** in the DVD version, which is the only one I haven't yet? I would like, if it were possible, the *cash on delivery* system, that's to say, you send it to me and I would pay the whole amount (including sending expenses) when receiving your parcel (please, no external signs of what it is). Could be that OK? I'd really appreciate it.

Thank you very much in advance and I hope hearing from you very soon.

Fig. 26: Example Nr.1 © Zip Production.

C Interview with the Director of Zip Production

C.1 Zip Productions Interview–Ben Tamam–Producer and Director 30th of May 2019, Schwules Museum, Berlin

How did the idea of Zip Production come out? Please give more information on the company's story and how it came to be.

When I studied, I often went to porno cinemas in France. And I saw films from JNRC (Jean-Noël René Clair), which asked boys from northern Africa that live in France to jack off in front of a camera. The idea inspired me from the beginning. And so I told a Turkish friend in Hamburg about these videos, and he told me: 'Do you know what we will do? We do the same in Turkey.' That was the beginning of our filming, and we only needed a camera and some money to make this journey. The few friends we talked about it; told us we were crazy. But we spread our idea not too far, cause we both have regular jobs. Only some near friends and my father knew about this. By the way: he loved the idea and the movies.

When did you decide to go to Turkey to start this gay porn series?

At this time, Turkey was a good choice for our project. On the one hand, gay sex was not forbidden by law. The purchase and sale of pornography were banned in Turkey. Not, however, the production, probably simply because no one had thought that someone would be so crazy to try that. On the other hand, it was the time before the Internet became common, and if you told someone in Turkey that the film was for Europe or America, he did not even think about the idea that someone in Turkey would face him. So, we did our first film in the late 90s 1999 in Istanbul.

How did you select your actors, and how was the casting process?

It was an effortless thing. We printed some cards with our names and mobile phone number. We hung around in cafes or parks, and if I saw someone my type, my Turkish friend spoke with him and asked him whether he would be ready to play in a film. Depending on the reaction, my friend went on. Sometimes he just gave us our card, and we talked about our project when we got a call. Sometimes he told the guys directly what it was about. If you asked a Turkish or a young Kurdish man if he could get a shot (in front of the camera), he had to say yes, because of his male honor. A Turkish / Kurdish man can always jack off! And if he agreed, we went to a small, shabby hotel in Aksaray. Our first film was shot entirely in the same place. Later we were more cautious, and we hit several areas, sometimes private, because we realized that there were criminals who wanted to steal our equipment (even though they were just two cameras) or tried to blackmail us because of our film. Luckily, it only one time happened. And at this one time, we were lucky because the police had not believed the

blackmailer. After all, the idea seemed so absurd to the police that they did not even look where the recorded video tapes were in our pockets.

Did you work with professionals, or did you contact friends from the scene to work with?

No, not with professionals, because we didn't like all these American professional porno movies with pink-pig-looking-like shaved models. We were looking for the "normal guy next door" but Turkish or Kurdish.

For specific reasons, did you choose cities like Adana, Edirne, and Antalya? Did you specifically focus on eastern cities that were not highly populated?

Our first films were shot in Istanbul. And after, it was the curiosity of other cities (after all, we only sometimes wanted to go to Istanbul). In some cities, it was also easier because we met people who helped us and had contact with other men. But it was not a conscious decision against capital cities; there are also films from Ankara. But Turkey has many beautiful cities and in all towns a lot of sexy men.

Where did the 'Ahmed's fuck tour' title come from?

Not really a specific reason behind the name, but the leading actor in this film is the reason. He was one of our models in the first film. At this time, he just came out of prison. He broke out and needed money urgently. He was a 'professional thief' and told us later there were a lot of situations where he could have stolen all our equipment. We were incredibly naive and easygoing. But for some reason, probably because we loved him and he loved us, we worked with him, and he took care of the money in the car during the shots or about the equipment. And he was ready to do anything in the film, so we came up with the idea of filming with him.

Did you have any difficulties during the shooting?

It depends on what you call difficulties. Considering how easygoing we were, we did not have any problems at all. One single time, in the night, some bandits were waiting for us in front. They wanted to steal our equipment. We went straight to the police and with the police officers back to the hotel. After this, they tried to convince the police what we were doing. But the police did not believe them. For us, that all went very smoothly.

Did you benefit financially from the release of the DVDs? If so, did this happen at the time, or did this happen later?

In the beginning, we produced the old VHS. It was the time before the DVDs. We didn't know how much you would gain in porn like that. So, our first film was much too

expensive in production. Big movies earn a lot of money in America. But in Europe, you only sell 100 or 150 copies. And who wants to see Turks jacking off? Fortunately, we hit a nerve with our films and sold so much more movies than usual that we covered at least our costs and had money to produce other films. We always made the film as much money as we needed for the next. So, it was more of a self-paying hobby. The DVD conversion was ok for us, but we earned less than before because you can copy a DVD. Then, when everything went to the Internet, our desire for porn films was almost over, and at some point, we just stopped. However, the movies became a real hit when they went online and in illegal ways.

How about the popularity of the movies? Were you happy with the results?

Sometimes, when I went to a porno cinema and saw one of our films, I was between shocked and happy. On the one hand, seeing your product in public was nice. On the other hand, I knew about the story behind all these things off-scene and couldn't watch a porn movie like before. I never knew how popular or not famous the movies were because we got very few reactions. But these reactions were important because they showed me who watched our films. It was from each demographic adult group. Some of our consumers wanted us to make contact with one of our models; sometimes, someone offered to play in a movie.

How was the feedback from the audience?

As I said, there needed to be more feedback. What was, on the other hand, also good because we were made aware that there could have been adverse reactions from the Turkish community. Finally, we violated religious feelings or the sense of honor of certain people. But this reaction also failed. And when we got feedback, it was positive, encouraging us to continue.

Would you consider a similar European project with the queer migrant community?

My first reaction is: No. First, because I lost interest in doing porn movies, and second, cause with all this new media, it's a new time, and you never do porn movies only for a small audience. And third, it was a unique charm to do a bit of something forbidden, and dangerous, to have fun. In the migrant community in Germany, it would have a much more political dimension.

DTRIMAX Films (TRIMAX GmbH) IMAGE ARCHIVE

Archival material was transferred with the full consent of Sinan Şahin, son of Şevket Şahin. I had the pleasure of meeting Sinan and Şevket personally during my presentation at the Porn Film Festival Berlin in 2023. Before this, the images in this book were not accessible in any public or private forum. Their release significantly contributes to the archiving of pornography and fosters communication between scholars in pornog-

raphy studies and adult film creators. One of the paramount hurdles in writing about adult films is the accurate documentation of their data, compounded by the challenge of obtaining permissions from filmmakers and producers who often prefer anonymity and restricted access. Şevket Şahin's and Sinan Şahin's openness has not only provided me with invaluable support but has also altered the traditional dynamics, mirroring the pioneering approach of Ben Tamam. I extend my heartfelt gratitude to both production houses for their generous support. Their forward-thinking stance is a beacon of progress in a field often shrouded in secrecy, and their contributions have paved the way for a richer understanding of the cultural and societal implications of adult entertainment. This gesture of transparency is a transformative step toward demystifying the industry and enriching academic discourse on a global scale.



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ISTANBUL Boys
G152

KAÇAMAK

TÜRKİSCH 100%

ISTANBUL Boys #7

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Tonformat	Bildformat	PAL Color	Laufzeit	DVD
2 Kanal Türkisch	4:3 (Wides)	Interlaced 0	ca. 90 Min.	Hauptfilm • Kapitel SlideShow • Internet

4 058925 193503

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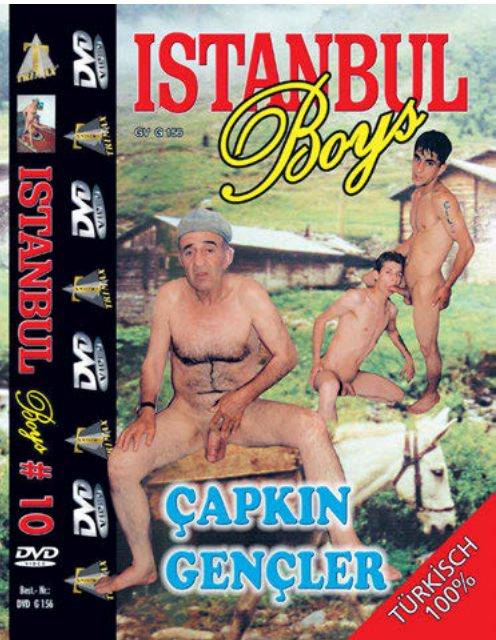


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List of Images

A Media Archive of Zip Productions

Magazine articles indexed by date:

- Fig. 1 Siegesssäule Magazine – August 1999
- Fig. 2a PIM Magazine March 2000
- Fig. 2b PIM Magazine March 2000
- Fig. 2c PIM Magazine March 2000
- Fig. 3 Hinnerk Magazine – June 2000
- Fig. 4a KERLE Magazine Cover August – September 2002
- Fig. 4b KERLE Magazine Content August – September 2002
- Fig. 4c KERLE Magazine Intervire by Wolfgang Fey August – September 2002
- Fig. 4d KERLE Magazine Intervire by Wolfgang Fey August – September 2002
- Fig. 4e KERLE Magazine Intervire by Wolfgang Fey August – September 2002
- Fig. 4f KERLE Magazine Interview by Wolfgang Fey August – September 2002
- Fig. 5a Adam Plus Magazine Cover August/September 2002
- Fig. 5b Adam Plus Magazine August/September 2002 Interview by Wolfgang Fey
- Fig. 5c Adam Plus Magazine August/September 2002 Interview by Wolfgang Fey
- Fig. 5d Adam Plus Magazine August/September 2002 Interview by Wolfgang Fey
- Fig. 5e Adam Plus Magazine August/September 2002 Interview by Wolfgang Fey
- Fig. 6a LUBUNYA Magazine Cover October 2002
- Fig. 6b LUBUNYA Magazine Interview by Hakan Taş October 2002
- Fig. 7a Du und Ich Magazine Cover December 2003 – January 2004
- Fig. 7b Du und Ich Magazine December 2003 – January 2004
- Fig. 7c Du und Ich Magazine December 2003 – January 2004
- Fig. 8a Playground Magazine Cover 2004
- Fig. 8b Playground Magazine 2004
- Fig. 8c Playground Magazine 2004
- Fig. 8d Playground Magazine 2004
- Fig. 8e Playground Magazine 2004
- Fig. 9a Hinnerk Magazine Cover August 2004
- Fig. 9b Hinnerk Magazine August 2004
- Fig. 9c Hinnerk Magazine August 2004

Magazine articles categorized by issue number:

- Fig. 10a BUDDY Magazine Cover Issue 58
- Fig. 10b BUDDY Magazine Issue 58
- Fig. 11a BUDDY Magazine Cover Issue 79
- Fig. 11b BUDDY Magazine Issue 79
- Fig. 12a BUDDY Magazine Cover Issue 82
- Fig. 12b BUDDY Magazine Issue 82
- Fig. 13a TOY Magazine Cover Issue 224
- Fig. 13b TOY Magazine Issue 224
- Fig. 14a TOY Magazine Cover Issue 227

Fig. 14b TOY Magazine Issue 227

Fig. 14c TOY Magazine Issue 227

Unclassified

Fig. 15 Unclassified

Fig. 16 Unclassified

Review from EuroGay Blog from 2001

Fig. 17a Euro Gay Blog Interview by Mark Prott 2001

Fig. 17b Euro Gay Blog Interview by Mark Prott 2001

Fig. 17c Euro Gay Blog Interview by Mark Prott 2001

Selection of Zip Production VHS Jackets

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Release Party Flyer

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Examples of Letters from the Audience

Example 1

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Example 2

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Istanbul Boys

4038925 193312	DVD G-144	Istanbul Boys #1 "Götten Gir Bana"
4038925 193336	DVD G-145	Istanbul Boys #2 "Yarraga Doymayan Götler"
4038925 193381	DVD G-147	Istanbul Boys #3 "Daracik Götler"
4038925 193404	DVD G-149	Istanbul Boys #4 "Agzima Fiskirt"
4038925 193435	DVD G-150	Istanbul Boys #5 "Götten Sik Beni"
4038925 193497	DVD G-151	Istanbul Boys #6 "Gizli Fantaziler"
4038925 193503	DVD G-152	Istanbul Boys #7 "Kacamak"
4038925 193510	DVD G-153	Istanbul Boys #8 "Yanan Götler"
4038925 193602	DVD G-155	Istanbul Boys #9 "Azgin Fortcular"
4038925 193619	DVD G-156	Istanbul Boys #10 "Capkin Gencler"
4038925 193749	DVD G-157	Istanbul Boys #11 "Acitmadan Sik Götten"
4038925 193756	DVD G-158	Istanbul Boys #12 "Yanan Götler"
4038925 193763	DVD G-159	Istanbul Boys #13 "Sik Beni Ali"
4038925 193770	DVD G-160	Istanbul Boys #14 "Göte Susayanlar"
4038925 193848	DVD G-162	Istanbul Boys #15 "Doyumsuzlar"
4038925 193879	DVD G-163	Istanbul Boys #16 "Birlikte Ucalim"
4038925 193930	DVD G-165	Istanbul Boys #17 "Götten Tadina Varalim"
4038925 193961	DVD G-167	Istanbul Boys #18 "Benim De Canim Cekt'i"
4038925 194005	DVD G-168	Istanbul Boys #19 "Dogum Günü Partisi"
4038925 193985	DVD G-170	Istanbul Boys #20 "Gec Dümene Sür"
4038925 194142	DVD G-176	Istanbul Boys #21 "Bekletme Beni"
4038925 194159	DVD G-177	Istanbul Boys #22 "Kiskanc Erkegim"
4038925 194401	DVD G-178	Istanbul Boys #23 "Sen Nasil Istersen"
4038925 194418	DVD G-179	Istanbul Boys #24 "Hayir Deme Bana"
4038925 194425	DVD G-180	Istanbul Boys #25 "Kiskanc Erkegim"
4038925 194586	DVD G-181	Istanbul Boys #26 "Susadim Sana"
4038925 194678	DVD G-182	Istanbul Boys #27 "Sicak Yatak"
4038925 194685	DVD G-183	Istanbul Boys #28 "Askin Saati Olmaz"
4038925 194821	DVD G-185	Istanbul Boys #30 "Cildirtan Arzu"
4038925 194845	DVD G-187	Istanbul Boys #29 "Capkinlar Krali"
4038925 194913	DVD G-188	Istanbul Boys #31 "Zevkli Saatler"
4038925 194920	DVD G-189	Istanbul Boys #32 "Azgin Gencler"
4038925 195231	DVD G-190	Istanbul Boys #33 "Her Gece Götten"
4038925 195248	DVD G-191	Istanbul Boys #34 "Ofiste Ask"

Person Index

Adamovsky, Ezequel 102, 103, 144

Alilunas, Peter 24, 144

Alloula, Malek 5, 144

Alldrich, Robert 21, 28

Amjahid, Mohammed 100

Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal 91

Attwood, Feona 94, 144

Bal, Murat 67, 75, 89–92, 105, 120

Barrow, Susan 129, 130, 144

Baudry, André 31

Beşiroğlu, Şehvar 78, 149

Bidgood, James 34

Bodilis, Hevre 42

Boone, Joseph Allen 3, 18, 24, 25, 28, 78, 79, 87, 144

Borenstein, Carolyn 111, 112, 115, 144

Borenstein, Eliot 111, 112, 115, 144

Bourcier, Sam 56

Bozelka, Kevin 19, 106, 107, 122, 144

Böhmermann, Jan 83

Brennan, Joseph 19, 20, 107, 124, 125, 144

Bruckmann, Marcel 26, 94, 95, 97, 153

Bunzl, Matti 6

Cadinot, Jean-Daniel 8, 12–14, 25, 26, 33–46, 48, 49, 53, 55, 56, 60, 61, 68, 70, 73, 74, 96, 111, 121, 136, 139, 147, 150–153

Cakırlar, Cüneyt 76

Callwood, Dan 31, 33–35, 145

Cameron, Deborah 11, 145

Cante, Rich 84, 145

Cervulle, Maxime 3, 13–16, 28, 35, 38, 40, 54–56, 77, 136, 145

Chibikh, Stéphane 13, 26, 35, 55, 58, 59, 80, 91, 92, 152

Clair, Jean-Noel Réne (JNRC) 9, 13, 16, 18, 25, 26, 34–36, 40, 45, 46, 51, 52, 54, 55, 57, 64–68, 70, 73–75, 81, 91, 105, 111, 115–121, 132, 151–153, 211

Deleuze, Gill 32, 35, 146

De Montherlant, Henry 29

De Moupasant, Guy 40, 69, 126

De Visser, Richard 95, 148

Deveau, Jack 151

Dexter, Adam 128, 129

Diamond, Milton 123, 145

Du Gard, Roger Martin 29

Duroy, Georges 20, 69, 108, 126, 128–130, 132, 146, 151, 152

Duvert, Tony 29

Dyer, Richard 4, 70, 145

Dwyer, Tessa 77, 145

El-Tayeb, Fatima 97, 145

Elm, Michael 104, 110, 145

Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip 83

Ergin, Murat 137

Escoffier, Jeffrey 10, 145

Fanon, Frantz 11, 38, 39, 145

Father Guinchat 31

Ferguson, Roderick 58, 92, 145

Fraser, Angus 119, 146

Foucault, Michel 15, 55, 56, 146, 147, 149

Fournier, Christian 33

Franko, Jean 54

Fung, Richard 5, 17, 72, 146

Genet, Jean 15, 29, 109, 144

Gérôme, Jean-Leon 79

Gide, André 29, 146

Grégoire, Ménie 31

Guattari, Felix 15, 31, 32, 35, 146, 149

Guénif-Soulimas, Nacira 77

Guma, Taulant 135, 146

Halperin, David 17, 146

Han, Figen 85, 86

Hansen, Christian 8

Haramis, Nick 141, 150

Healey, Dan 19, 105, 111, 146

Heikkinen, Markku 131, 151

Hoang, Nguyen Tan 3, 17, 72, 148

Hone, Michael 108, 127, 130, 146

JanMohamed, Abdul 55, 147

Jenkins, Henry 94

Jones, Rhys Dafydd 109, 110, 118, 135, 146, 150, 151

Jones, William 109, 110, 118, 135, 146, 150, 151

Jozifkova, Eva 123, 145

- Kabalek, Kobi 104, 110, 145
 Killa Hakan 96
 Komar, Dan 132, 133, 152, 153
 Koojiman, Jaap 14, 39, 45, 147
 Köhne, Julia Barbara 104, 105, 110, 145, 147
 Kulick, Don 11, 145
- LaBruce, Bruce 99
 Lee, Brandon 72–74, 148
 Leese, Peter 105, 147
 Longstaff, Gareth 117, 147
 Lust, Erika 55, 79, 99, 152
- Mack, Mehammed Amadeus 14, 17, 33, 53, 59, 80, 81, 91, 147
 Mahawatte, Royce 3, 13, 16, 17, 147
 Marks, Laura Helen 8, 147
 Marte, Alex 90
 McClintock, Anne 48, 147
 McQueen Alexander 54
 McGrogan, Manus Christian 32, 33, 147
 Mercer, John 58, 116, 122, 147
 Merkel, Angela 99
 Merkins, Mervin 33
 Miller-Young, Mireille 4, 5, 147
 Mitchell, Gregory 6, 11, 147, 148
 Muñoz, José Esteban 2, 5, 148
- Nelson, Robert 103, 118, 148
- O’Connel, Davidson 12, 148
 O’Neal, Collin 7, 53, 54, 66, 73, 74, 108, 131, 153
 Ojeda-Sague, Gabriel 59
 Özbay, Cenk 79
- Paasonen, Susanna 47, 148
 Papastergiadis, Nikos 39, 148
 Payla, Hasan 82, 86–88
 Pelikan, Alan 132, 133
 Peltier Ludovic 41
 Penley, Constance 17
 Peters, Milo 127
 Peters, Evan 108, 127
- Pierce, Byrce 7
 Preciado, Paul 81, 148
 Provencher, Denis Michael 15, 52, 148
- Rada, Pavel 121, 153
 Ravenhill, James 95, 148
 Rees-Roberts, Nick 3, 13–16, 28, 77, 145, 148
 Restivo, Angelo 84, 145
 Ripploh, Frank 64, 65, 148, 150, 152
 Rosello, Mireille 91, 148
 Ryder, Axel 54
- Sagat, Francios 17, 54, 55, 59, 148
 Said, Edward 2–4, 20, 21, 31, 37, 73, 83, 84, 96, 110, 111, 134, 148, 213
 Scandelari, Jaques 33, 34
 Sconce, Jeffrey 117, 148
 Sedgwick, Eve 37, 38, 148
 Shepard, Todd 15, 30, 149
 Sirard, Stephane 141
 Sözen, Metin 69, 82, 151–153
 Squires, David 22, 23, 145, 149
 Stüttgen, Tim 8 3, 28, 38, 145, 149
 Şahin, Şevket 68, 69, 82, 150, 213, 214
- Tamam, Ben 1, 9, 26, 67, 82, 87, 89–91, 105, 120, 150–153, 157, 211, 214
 Taş, Hakan 175, 229
 Taylor, Charles 9, 48, 141, 146, 149
 Terian, Andrei 134, 149
 Terry, Norbert 33, 34, 151
 Tollini, Craig 76, 149
 Türker, Aybars 73, 74
 Tziallas, Evangelos 3, 13, 16, 18, 149
- Ward, Chris 7, 151, 152
 Weiss, Petr 123, 145
 Williams, Linda 1, 9, 10, 17, 55, 60, 72, 84, 136, 144, 145, 148, 149
 Wolf, Larry 134, 141
 Woodward, Mark 33
- Yıldız, Cem 80, 149

