Since the early 1930s it was very fashionable for young Lebanese people to have photos taken in professional photography studios. The studio often offered a choice of scenes and costumes representative of different historical periods and gender roles. In this article we examine internationally-acclaimed artist Akram Zaatari's ongoing project titled *Hashem El Madani: Studio Practices,* which consists of numerous studio portrait photographs taken by Lebanese commercial studio photographer Hashem El Madani between the 1950s and the 1970s in Saida, Lebanon. In particular, I examine a set of same-sex kissing scenes photographed by Madani, which depict young women and men performing, ‹gestualizing›, posing and «embody[ing] gender-bending identities».[1]

As I will show, gender norms in Lebanon are in a state of flux; new and old models are both intersecting and conflicting with each other. In a socially conventional society, Madani's studio space allowed for unconventional moments of intimacy to be ‹played› out and captured. Zaatari takes advantage of a modern context and the artistic practice of appropriation to bring these moments to the fore, thereby engaging the evolving discourse around gender in Lebanon. Whereas the majority of scholarship surrounding *Studio Practices* primarily focuses on the performative aspects of the photographs and lens-based artistic techniques, I will examine the works through queer theory as it relates to appropriation. We will see that the images, as represented in the studio setting, with costumes, poses, and interactions of the couples, explore a sense of individual gender ambiguity through transgressive poses of queer and same-sex intimacy.

Akram Zaatari & The Arab Image Foundation

Akram Zaatari (born 1966) is a Beirut-based artist that has developed, over the course of his career, an interdisciplinary and expansive artistic practice that combines the roles of a photographer, filmmaker, archivist, curator, and critical theorist. Zaatari is best known for situating his art practices within a dynamic of exploratory critique using the conventional discourses of photographic and video practice, the documentary, and the archive. In 1997 Zaatari, co-founded[2] the Arab Image Foundation, a non-profit organization based in Beirut whose mission is to collect, recover, preserve, catalogue and study hundreds of thousands of photographs and negatives from North Africa, the Middle East, and Arab communities around the world covering the time period from 1860 to the present day. The urgent mission to preserve and acquire images from these specific regions came after the realization that many of the photographs and negatives from commercial photographic studios has already been lost due to human and natural disasters.[3]

For instance, in Beirut, most of the commercial photographic studios located in the downtown core, including their image collections, were destroyed by bombardments during the Civil War (1975–1990). Zaatari's efforts to preserve the photographic heritage of Lebanon resulted in the production of numerous video-based works and publications,[4] exhibited internationally, which pursued a series of interlocking themes, subjects and practices around issues of political resistance, the circulation and production of images in times of conflict, and gender performativity in the Middle East. Zaatari's «Studio Practices», the focus of this article, was the result of his study of the photographic archives of Hashem el Madani (1928–), one of Lebanon's most prolific local commercial photographers.

Hashem El Madani

Madani established his professional studio in 1953, in a modern space of the prestigious Shehrazade building; he eventually became Saida's leading studio portrait photographer, accumulating an archive of some 500 000 images ranging from identification cards, passports, weddings and christenings.[5] By his own estimate, Madani photographed 90% of Saida's population across all social backgrounds and classes, forming a «collective physiognomy» of the city.[6] His success continued until 1982 when Israeli troops invaded Saida and a bomb blew out Madani's studio window, killing one of his friends. Sadly, from then on his business never fully recovered. Today Madani's photographic works from the early 1950s to the late 1970s live on to reflect the very structure of an Arab town that has experienced rapid political and societal shifts. Far different from today's typical media depiction of warfare, terrorism, resistance, destroyed buildings, political and civil unrest, and marginalized and dehumanized subjects circulating in the media, Madani's photographic archive presents a diverse and dynamic Lebanon.

The Madani Project

In 1999 Zaatari began «The Madani Project», which appropriates and exhibits the numerous photographs and negatives from Studio Shehrazade to apprehend the multifaceted relationship that tied Madani to his clients, society, and the city of Saida in general.[7] This project particularly had impetus because Zaatari grew up in Saida and therefore had a personal link to the place Madani portrayed in his works. By recontextualizing Madani's photographs in the present-day, the Madani project becomes much more than an archive of forgotten images. It is a space that provides critical reflections, re-readings, and re-interpretations of the many found photographs, and sheds light on the rich, invisible Lebanese history.[8] As I will argue, in this space Zaatari unveils a ‹queer› undertone within these images. In this paper I utilize gender and queer theorist David Halperin's comprehension of the term ‹queer›. He contends: «‹Queer› is by definition whatever is at odds with the normal, the legitimate, the dominant. There is nothing in particular to which it necessarily refers. It is an identity without an essence. ‹Queer› then, demarcates not a positivity but a positionality vis-à-vis the normative».[9] Noting that the term ‹queer› has no equivalent in the Arab language, we must acknowledge that using it to mark the experiences of certain sexual minorities can inappropriately presume Western political associations. Therefore, what the term ‹queer› suggests for the Anglo reader within this context is a strong political inclination to consider the paper's outcomes beyond gay and transgender theory – given that bodies examined in the artworks do not necessarily subscribe to gay or transgender politics.[10]

Gender Norms In Today's Lebanon

Traditional Lebanese society, like in most Arab societies, is strongly masculinist and hierarchical with two sexes: male and female,[11] who live in separate spheres, interacting only during defined occasions. Within the male sphere emerges the highly regarded and often idealized notion of masculinity and manhood. Julie Peteet (1994) discusses several characteristics of an idealized «Arab masculinity» or (*rujulah*). This idealized Arab masculinity (*rujulah*) is defined by the image of the *rijjal* (macho male); a man who is physically muscular with sharp facial features, facial hair, well groomed and who projects self-confidence, publicly boasts his sexual prowess and escapades with women, has a sense of being decisive, opinionated, aggressive, assertive, tough, brave, dominant, reliable, virile, in control, respectful, and honourable.[12] Among the many characteristics, Arab masculinity is acquired and verified by expressions of fearlessness, assertiveness, and risk-taking. These characteristics are considered to be particularly important for traditional Lebanese men as they demonstrate men's sense of prideful manhood while also maintaining patriarchal and heterosexist principles. Furthermore, as shown by Matthew Gutmann (1996) and Norma Fuller (2003), the levels in which a man can prove his masculinity around him are through not just his manliness, but also through marriage and subsequently fatherhood[13]. Marriage confirms a respectable image of masculinity – it is the moment when the young male becomes independent and leaves his home to come to be the authoritarian figure in another household.[14] As a provider, the man does not actively participate in the order of the household but oversees its correct functioning, ensuring that anyone under ‹his› roof is well looked after.[15] This comprehensive yet strict gender role expression is taught at a very young age and deviations from that "normative" expression are considered to be wrong and stigmatized.[16]

This vision of masculinity is rigidly demarcated from other gender roles, a process which plays an integral part of identity formation. Today in Lebanon, most women's identities continue to center around the importance of virginity and on their achievements as wives and mothers.[17] Patriarchal men are still in control of the sexuality and sexual behaviours of their female family members. This is manifested through the father's decision of marriage choices for his daughters, and the ever-present frequent honour killings in Lebanese society, where male family members kill female members who have disgraced the family ‹honour› through their sexual behaviour.[18] The genders are defined by power: man's power and control, and woman's subordination. Traditional Arab masculinity, similar to Western hegemonic masculinity, asserts itself through the renunciation and control of femininity.[19] It goes even further so as to identify differing levels of power among masculinities themselves in order to maintain its position at the very top of the hierarchy.[20] For example Raewyn Connell (2005) describes the subordination of gay men by heterosexual men as a function of differing levels of power among the masculinities, with subordinate masculinities often conflated with femininity. In fact, since masculinity is defined in terms of a man in power, or a man who possesses power, then it is not surprising that those men who partake sexually with other men confer a status of (hyper)masculinity – considering they exert some form of power and domination over their sexual partner. Thus, beneficiaries of hegemonic masculinity have power not just over women but also over ‹lower grades› of men.

Despite this, the structure of patriarchy has undergone some significant changes in response to the transformations and complexities of the present-day, and the

culture of globalization. As described by Samira Aghacy (2004) Lebanese men are becoming increasingly concerned with the «feminization of culture» where men who belong to the urban middle class are increasingly focused on their body image (formerly reserved for women). Aghacy further notes that men are «captivated by new ideals of male fashion, style and beauty, these men polish their nails, wear earrings, diet, exercise, and undergo plastic surgery to improve their appearance».[21] This is also true for older men who employ chemical creams, shampoos and hair transplants to deal with their hair loss. Additionally, television programs such as the successful *Star Academy,* aired on *The Lebanese Broadcasting Corporation,* shows young unmarried men and women living together, which counter customs and traditions. These young men and women participate in the show on an equal basis without discrimination between them. Furthermore, middle class educated fathers are becoming increasingly participative in their families, sharing responsibilities with their working wives, while learning about being nurturing, caring, and emotionally expressive.[22] Daniel Monterescu develops the model of a «situational masculinity» to show the discourses of masculinities that manoeuvre between the essentialist discourse of Islamic conservatism and liberal-secular masculinity.[23] Monterescu's thesis is that

> between Islamic pious masculinity (characterized by its conservatism) and the ‹modern› liberal-secular masculinity that is also developing in the Arab world (characterized by tendencies toward modernity and Westernism), men practice a masculinity, which defines itself at first and foremost Arab, as opposed to the two previous models.[24]

Thus, Arab masculinity is a «situational masculinity», which is situated ambiguously between those other two masculinities, and so they inhabit a space of transition.

These complex gender dynamics emerging in today's Lebanese society seek to radically question, redefine and ultimately subvert the value of traditional masculinity. Yet we must be mindful, that the reach of such changes in masculinity is restricted to the middle class urban sector of Lebanese society, who see the meaning of masculinity and femininity becoming progressively blurred, varied, and problematic. For others, such changes are seen as potential betrayals and threats to one's culture, values and language. As a result, supporters of traditional masculinity are resisting these changes by reinforcing traditional roles and images, and attempting to ensure that post-war Lebanon remains under hegemonic male control.[25]

Masculinity And Sexual Practices

The categories of sexuality are less clearly defined in the Arab world than in North America and Europe. As cited by Brian Whitaker «Arab society is traditionally more concerned with sexual acts and roles rather than with sexual identities and/or orientations».[26] Therefore the Western binary of heterosexual/homosexual is replaced by that of active/passive, a distinction based only on the roles taken during sexual intercourse.[27] The sexual role played during anal sex between men is key to sexual identity. As long as the man assumes the active ‹top› role during sexual intercourse and uses his position of male domination to coerce his partner, neither his masculinity nor his heterosexuality will be questioned.[28] Accordingly, the submissive role during sex is always seen as feminine and of lower status, which means women, boys, prostitutes and adult gays, than that of the aggressor or penetrator. As a result, the self-assumed sexual identity of men who engage sexually with other men will inevitably be related to the role they take during the sexual act rather than the sexual act itself.[29] Within the widespread heterosexual hegemony in Lebanon, we are increasingly seeing «men adopting the new

terminology and self-conceptions of a gay identity under the influence of Western examples, while continuing to observe traditional distinctions of older/younger, active/passive, and even masculine/non-masculine in their personal relationships».[30] A contemporary example is a study by Ghassan Moussawi (2007), revealing that the vast majority of Lebanese men participating in same-sex activities identify mainly as ‹non-heterosexual› men rather than gay.[31] The term is widely used among men who are not necessarily ‹out› or exclusively gay-identified. However, what is problematic is that the majority of these men assume that homosexuality is the negation of masculinity, so, they feel the need to embrace and engage in what is considered normative masculine behaviour. Therefore, constructions of men's masculinities are both rigidly hegemonic and yet staunchly challenged. Referring to this contradiction, Lynne Segal states, «however assertively or defensively seeking a space inside the dominant culture, homosexual subcultures have a tantalising relationship with the masculine ideal – part challenge, part endorsement».[32] As we will see, these dynamics play out to various degrees within Madani's photographic collection as appropriated by Zaatari.

The Photographic Studio Portraits: The Kissing Scenes

Photography as an instrument has lent itself to the exploration and experimentation of performed identities. To animate the photographs, in some instances, Madani would sometimes select and propose to his clients various poses that were inspired images of people posing in catalogues. In other instances, the photographed subjects would themselves select poses, similar to the convention of portrait studio, and asked to be photographed while performing exaggerated takes on their everyday selves through invented gestures, poses, and situations. For example young men would ask to be photographed with the Kodak advertisement, which featured a full-scale cardboard cut-out of an American woman holding a camera and offering Kodak rolls. Other times young men would dress-up as cowboys, dress-down shirtless to show off their muscular bodies or simulate wrestling matches; they also performed as pro-Palestinian militia fighters.

The most captivating and perhaps surprising of these photographs are those that depict same-sex kissing. For instance, *Tarho and El Masri* (illustration 1) depicts two young, handsome, clean-shaven men in their early twenties. White semi-transparent sheer curtains neatly frame both young men, which hints at a theatricality to the actions they are about to perform. Judging by their appearance, the young men seem to have very different styles. Tarho (on the left) seems to be more conservative. He is depicted wearing a black long-sleeved buttoned-up dress shirt. His hair is styled in a classic clean crew cut, which was popular among young Lebanese men who served in the military or were part of an athletic team. On his right finger, Tarho is wearing a band suggesting he might be either married or engaged. The other young man, named El Marsi, is portrayed in a more liberal way wearing a casual short-sleeved white shirt with his collar opened up and flattened. His gel-greased, sleeked, comb-back hairstyle – influenced by the industry of American film and popular music of the time – suggests a more mainstream attitude. Their physical posture and attraction to each other is, like so many of Madani's images, very ambiguous. The photograph captures a staged moment where El Masri affectionately clasps his friend's neck and he tenderly kisses his cheek. It is difficult to determine the exact nature of the relationship between the two young men. Like most of the other photographs, the title is vague; little is told about the subjects photographed. Were these two brothers, two friends, or maybe even secretly lovers?

1 Akram Zaatari, *Tarho and El Masri. Studio Shehrazade, Saida, Lebanon, 1958. Hashem el Madani.*

Similarly, *Bashasha (left) and a friend* (illustration 2) depicts two young girls kissing. Both young women are positioned in the middle of the photograph and framed by white sheer curtains. The girls have their hair lifted and parted to the side and to the back revealing their lips touching and their facial expression. We notice the young girl's jewelry that function as visual markers to highlight the girls' femininity. The girls have their eyes open, however Bashasha (on the left) seems to hide a smile or laugh, suggesting she is aware of the flirtatious performative act. Her friend (on the right), on the other hand, has a more sober expression, as if to suggest that the moment is less of a play act, but actually an intimate encounter between both. In this context, Bashasha's friend (on the right) tightly grabs her, pulling her in for the embrace. At that moment, Bashasha seems to be responding to her friend's assertive actions in a fun-loving way. Their curious dynamic suggests that both subjects are not entirely in a playful ‹disguise›. That is to say even if the young girls are ‹playing› or ‹acting› around, in order to display homoerotic affection in front of the camera, their capability to ‹truly› perform is jeopardized by one of the girls. In fact we could suggest that Bashasha's stance and gesture calls attention to a slight discomfort, which might be the result of a shame, embarrassment and awkwardness for expressing such homoerotic sentiment. These images of same-sex kissing were, as described by Madani, outcomes of a desire to imitate the gestures and actions of actors and actresses filmed by other photographers and filmmakers:

> Films inspired people a lot. They came to perform kissing in front of a camera. In a conservative society such as Saida, people were willing to play the kiss between two people of the same sex, but very rarely between a man and a woman. I remember only one couple that came to the studio and kissed in front of the camera, and they were not married. The rest of them were people of the same sex. One of them plays the woman, while the other plays the man.[33]

2 Akram Zaatari, *Bashasha (left) and a friend. Studio Shehrazade, Saida, Lebanon, early 1950s. Hashem el Madani.*

Madani's quote suggests that the playfulness and the mimicry performed by the two young same-sex couples kissing was considered to be an acceptable social practice in his studio. In the conservative setting of Saida, gender segregation was, to a certain extent, the socially acceptable norm[34]; therefore the studio relies on gender substitution. Madani explains the homoerotic kiss as a result of «models of gender segregation, propriety, and shame specific to his milieu»,[35] claiming that throughout his entire career only once did he witness a kiss between an unmarried, heterosexual couple. In fact, according to Madani, the simulated tender, caring pose between the young same-sex couples was actually a way to avoid social taboos of an unmarried heterosexual affection, which were strictly prohibited outside of marriage. What we may consider as expressions of same-sex desire and love between the subjects, are seen as ‹playful› acts within their original context.

Another fascinating example of gender performativity and ambiguity in Madani's work is *Najm (left) and Asmar (right)* (illustration 3). On the right is Asmar, who is positioned, frontally wearing a white fabric wrapped around his torso and a bride's veil and clutching a bouquet of plastic flowers. To the left, his friend Najam wears a long sleeved white-stripped Oxford shirt, accessorized with a pork pie hat and a leather studded wrist bracelet. He stands towards the side with his hand positioned on Asmar's shoulder, slightly touching his hand. In reference to this photograph, Madani suggests that the photograph depicted: «a session of disguise. […] [It] was completely acting. I gave them the white dress to play with».[36] In addition to his stiff posture, Asmar gazes directly into the camera exhibiting a very uncomfortable facial expression. Najam, on the other hand, seems relaxed, pleasant and confident. His eyes, which stare directly into the camera's lens, are glittering of emotions. His facial expression seems to depict a young confident man. Najam's confidence can be interpreted in the way that he gets to ‹play› the masculine part-

3 Akram Zaatari, *Najm (left) and Asmar (right). Studio Shehrazade, Saida, Lebanon, 1950s. Hashem el Madani.*

ner. In contrast, Asmar is depicted as feminized and therefor occupying subordinate space in a patriarchal context.

It is clear that, though these original photographs seemingly transgress Lebanon's traditional gender roles, these transgressions are tentative, obscure, and ultimately understood as merely ‹play›. Zaatari's tactic of appropriation seizes upon these moments and uses new contexts to read them differently than they might have been when Madani first took the photographs.

Taken from Madani's studio, Zaatari's appropriated images are of a series of black-and-white silver gelatin photographs, that have been reprinted in various sizes from 35mm, 6 x 6 cm, and 6 x 4.5 cm, and 4 x 5 cm negatives. Collectively the selected photographs are titled: *Hashem el Madani: Studio Practices.* All the photographs are un-cropped, with the subject(s) filling the frame, though some older photographs show the subject(s) placed further away from the camera (i.e., sitting at a table or standing by the wooden chair). The photographs tend to have a grey background and are specifically mounted on white paper and displayed in plain white frames. The title of each photograph contains a typical set of elements: the names and description of individuals depicted, though sometimes the individuals' names are anonymous, the location – *Studio Shehrazade in Saida, Lebanon* – and the date of the photograph. The series title references Hashem El Madani while adding the phrase «*Studio Practices*», highlighting the dual nature of the images as examples of both Madani's photographic practice and of Zaatari's focus in his ongoing research at the Arab Image Foundation. A peculiar status of authorship is seen in the project. Each image has three authors: the original photographer (Madani), the portrait subject, and the author of the artwork (Zaatari). In addition, two dates appear: the original date at the time the photographs were taken, and the date when the photographs were appropriated into Zaatari's work.[37]

Zaatari, as the artist, takes the ephemeral moments of transgression/play captured in the original photographs and puts them on display, often in much larger sizes. He is stating that these moments *happened,* and refuses to let them be forgotten within the archives. By re-contextualizing Madani's original photographs, Zaatari reinterprets the neglected, forgotten and/or suppressed memories, stories, and experiences of the individuals photograph, allowing them to take on a new varied meanings. His role is similar to that of a curator who gives life to the photographs by arranging them, to be seen, and to become aware of their cultural codes. In the context of today's rapidly changing and clashing gender norms in Lebanon, where viewers *can* conceive of non-heterosexual identities, Zaatari is asking if something more than ‹play› was happening in Madani's studio. By questioning the traditional discourse gender and sexuality, he generates new narratives based on private memories and experiences.[38]

In conclusion, Zaatari's main interest rested in the impulsive actions of decontextualizing original images by taking them out of their social and political economy. In this sense, we may think of Zaatari's immense investment and research in the archive as one that is ‹queer› – not identifying queer identities, but rather casting a shroud of ambiguity upon hegemonic Lebanese masculinity, both locally and internationally. Zaatari accomplishes this by creatively reexamining the photographic collection through a different perspective in order to disrupt dominant essentialist claims of sex, gender, sexuality, and desire – socially, politically, and visually. Thus, Zaatari readdresses the discourse of gender and identity in today's larger context, subverting the established identity boundaries and signifies a continuous critique of contemporary, mainstream politics.[39]

Anmerkungen

1 Kaelen Wilson-Goldie, «Openings Akram Zaatari», in: *Artforum International* 48. 5, January 2010, p. 189.

2 The other co-founding members include Lebanese artists Walid Raad, Fouad El-Koury, and Samer Mohdad.

3 Hannah Feldman, «Excavating Images on the Border», in: *Third Text* 23. 3, 2009, p. 312.

4 These include: *The Vehicle: Picturing Moments of Transition in a Modernizing Society* (1999); *Portrait du Caire: Alban, Armand and Van Leo* (1999); *Van Leo* (2000–2001); *Pratiques photographiques au Liban (1900–1960)* (2001); *Mapping Sitting: On Portraiture and Photography* (2002); *Hashem el Madani: Studio Practices* (2004-); *Hashem el Madani: Itinerary* (2007-); and *Hashem el Madani: Promenades* (2008-).

5 Since the 1950s to the 1970s, Madani's studio grew into a complete photographic archive consisting of thousands of portrait images. This is in part due to prints that remained unclaimed by the clients for various reasons. Mostly, clients were unable to retrieve their photographs because of their financial situation. Today, the Arab Image Foundation (AIF) owns and manages the entire unique collection of Madani's archive (including the images and negatives that remain in studio Shehrazade) representing more than half of the Foundation's collection.

6 *Hashem El Madani: Studio Practices,* eds. Bassil, Karl, Lisa Le Feuvre, and Akram Zaatari, Second ed. Beirut 2007, p. 6.

7 Ebd.

8 Feldman 2009, p. 309–322.

9 David Halperin, *Saint Foucault: Towards a Gay Hagiography,* New York 1995, p. 62.

10 David Ruffolo, *Post-Queer Politics,* Burlington 2009.

11 The Arabic word that the Qur'an unambiguously uses for the biological man (or male) is *dhakar* (which also means the male organ) while the word *ountha* is used to describe the biological women (or female). See: John Kaltner, *Introducing the Qur'an for Today's Reader,* Minneapolis 2011; Safaa Monqid, «Lexique Trilingue Autour Des Questions Relatives Aux Femmes Trilingual Glossary of Women's Issues», in: *Égypte/Monde arabe* 3.9, 2012, p. 257–270.

12 See: Julie Peteet, «Male Gender and Rituals of Resistance in the Palestinian ‹Intifada›: A Cultural Politics of Violence», in: *American Ethnologist* 21.1, 1994, p. 31–49; Rhoda Kanaaneh, «Boys or Men? Duped or ‹Made›? Palestinian Soldiers in the Israeli Military», in: *American Ethnologist* 32.2, 2005, p. 260–275; Jason Hart, «Dislocated Masculinity: Adolescence and the Palestinian Nation-in-Exile», in: *Journal of Refugee Studies* 21.1, 2008, p. 64–81; Linda Gren, *Each Day Another Disaster: Politics and Everyday Life in a Palestinian Refugee Camp in the West Bank,* University of Gothenburg, 2009; Ghassan Moussawi, «Queering Beirut, the ‹Paris of the Middle East›: Fractual Orientalism and Essentialized Masculinities in Contemporary Gay Travelogues», in: *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography,* 2013, p. 858–875.

13 See: Matthew C. Gutmann, *The Meaning of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City.* Berkeley and London 1996; Norma Fuller, «The Social Constitution of Gender Identity among Peruvian Male in Masculinity», in: *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America,* ed. Matthew C. Gutmann, Durham and London 2003.

14 As noted by Naila Nauphal, due to the migration of men in search of work, the numbers of female-headed households in rural areas during Civil War increased making women the main provider of the family. See: Naila Nauphal, «Women and Other War-Affected Groups in Post-War Lebanon», in: *Focus Programme on Crisis Response and Reconstruction, Working Paper2: Gender and Armed Conflicts: Challenges for Decent Work, Gender Equality and Peace Building Agendas and Programs.* Geneva 2001.

15 See n. 14.

16 See: Dawn Szymanski and Erika Carr, «The Roles of Gender Conflict and Internalized Heterosexism in Gay and Bisexual Men's Psychological Distress: Testing Two Mediation Models», in: *Psychology of Men and Masculinity* 9, 2008, p. 40–54.

17 See: Samira Aghacy, «Lebanese Masculinity», in: *Al-Raida (Lebanese American University, Beirut)* XXI.104–105, 2004, p. 2–3.

18 See: Danielle Hoyek and Sidawi Rafif Rida, «Murders of Women in Lebanon: Crimes of Honour between Reality and the Law», in: *«Honour»: Crimes, Paradigms and Violence Against Women,* eds. Lynn Welchman and Sara Hossain, Melbourne 2005, p. 111–136; Christine Sylva Hamieh and Jinan Usta. *The Effects of Socialization on Gender Discrimination and Violence: A Case Study from Lebanon.* Beirut and Lebanon 2011.

19 See: Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men.* New Brunswick 1990.

20 See: Raewyn Connell and James Messerschmidt, «Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept», in: *Gender Society* 19, 2005, p. 829–859.

21 See n. 18.

22 Ebd.; Daniel Monterescu, «Stranger Masculinities: Gender and Politics in a Palestinian-Israeli ‹Third Space›», in: *Islamic Masculinities,* ed. Lahouchine Ouzgane, London 2006, p. 123–143; Marta Bosch, «The Representation of Fatherhood by the Arab Diaspora in the United States», in: *Lectora* 14, 2008, p. 101–112.

23 Daniel Monterescu, «Stranger Masculinities: Gender and Politics in a Palestinian-Israeli ‹Third Space›», in: *Islamic Masculinities,* ed. Lahouchine Ouzgane, London 2006, p. 123–143.
24 Ebd.
25 See n. 18.
26 Brian Whitaker, *Unspeakable Love: Gay and Lesbian Life in the Middle East.* London 2006, p. 206.
27 See: Bruce W. Dunne, «Homosexuality in the Middle East: An Agenda for Historical Research», in: *Arab Studies Quarterly* 12.3/4, 1990, p. 55–82; *Sexuality and Eroticism among Males in Moslem Societies,* eds. Arno Schmitt and Jehoeda Sofer, Binghamton 1992.
28 See: Ian Lumsden, *Homosexuality, Society and the State in Mexico.* Toronto, Canadian gay Archives, 1991; Stephen O. Murray, *Latin American Male Homosexualities.* Albuquerque 1995; Stephen O. Murray, *Homosexualities.* Chicago 2000; Gutmann 2003; Murray/Roscoe 1997; Annick Prieur, *Mema's House, Mexico City: On Transvestites, Queens, and Machos.* Chicago 1998; Ghassan Moussawi, «Not ‹Straight›, but Still a ‹Man›: Negotiating Non-Heterosexual Masculinities in Beirut», in: *Introducing the New Sexuality Studies,* eds. Steven Seidman, Nancy Fischer and Chet Meeks. London and New York 2007.
29 See: Raewyn Connell, *Masculinities.* Sydney, 1995.
30 Murray/Roscoe 1997, p. 313.
31 See: Moussawi 2007.
32 See n. 19,p. 144.
33 *Hashem El Madani: Studio Practices,* eds. Karl Bassil, Lisa Le Feuvre and Akram Zaatari, second ed. Beirut 2007, p. 12.
34 See: Tarek El-Ariss, «Playing House in the Studio of Hashem El Madani», in: *Camerawork: A Journal of Photographic Arts* 34.1, Spring/Summer 2007, p. 10–17.
35 Bassil u. a. 2007, p. 13.
36 Ebd., p. 102.
37 See: Anthony Downey, «Photography as Apparatus. Akram Zaatari in Conversation with Anthony Downey», in: *IBRAAZ,* January 2014, p. 1–18.
38 See: *Lost and Found: Queerying the Archive,* eds. Mathias Danbolt, Jane Rowley and Louise Wolthers, Copenhagen, Contemporary Art Center, 2009.
39 Ebd.