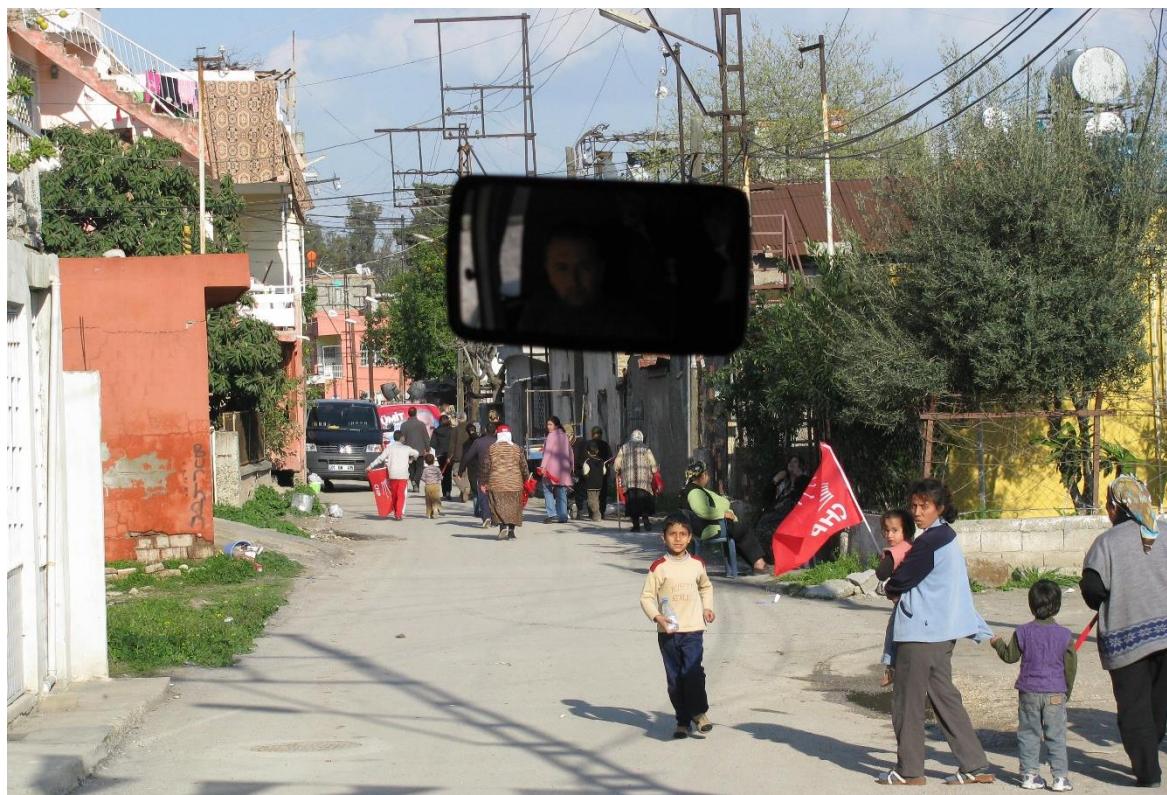




Politics from below in Turkey and beyond

Second Symposium of the Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey (CEST)



Centre de Recherches Internationales, Sciences Po

56 rue Jacob, 75006 Paris

Salle de conférences

STIFTUNG
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Symposium Theme

The Symposium on *Politics from Below in Turkey and beyond* seeks to identify and discuss, in comparative perspective, the dynamics, effects and modes of "politics from below". We use the broad wording "politics from below" in a heuristic fashion, in order to question classical definitions of the "political". This framing aims to suggest different understandings of politics. Political science on Turkey and the wider region has long been dominated by top-down and macro approaches, addressing mainly national institutions, political leaders, public discourses and legislative productions. However, sociology has shown that taking in account the implementation of policies by lower administrators, as well as their reception by citizens, challenges common perceptions of political processes. Anthropology has widely challenged the institutional and formal definitions of politics. Gender studies, as well as subaltern studies, have called for broader conceptions of politics. New conceptualizations have been proposed, like "infrapolitics" (Scott), "politique par le bas" (Bayart, Mbembe, Toulador), "vernacular politics" (White) or "low politics" (Bayat). Constructionist approaches have addressed the question from yet another perspective, suggesting that there is nothing "essentially" political, and that "the political", on the contrary, is constructed and contested.

The aim of this symposium is to open up the very definition of "politics" and discuss multiple social practices whose "political" dimension is at stake. Approaching politics from below encourages us to question the shifting borders and conceptualizations of politics. The symposium therefore encourages several pathways: firstly, to get away from event-driven and institutional analyses of politics by giving more attention to the everyday and the ordinary; secondly, to analyse the multiple social uses of institutions and devices in general; thirdly, to account for a wider range of actors (not only "professional" politicians but also citizens, consumers, residents, lower bureaucrats or activists, street-corner shopkeepers, hackers, etc.) and a wider range of practices (registration, consumption, migration, gossip and denunciation, but also aesthetics, etc.).

How does taking in account politics from below challenge our understanding of power dynamics? "Politics from below" is easily equated with resistance, subversion or autonomy - especially in times of growing authoritarianism. However, politics from below does not necessarily mean contestation, and may as well consolidate domination. Do larger transformations impact politics from below? For instance, does growing authoritarianism lead to the politicization of social phenomena or to the contrary to depoliticisation dynamics – may be both at the same time? Does neoliberalism impact ways of doing politics, for example fuel the informalisation of politics? How does this dimension challenge our understanding of power dynamics in contemporary Turkey and beyond?

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The **Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey (CEST)** is committed to the critical study of modern Turkey. It brings together the expertise of leading European research institutions with the aim to understand the society, politics and cultures of Turkey and its neighbourhoods and to promote Turkey as a case study for mainstream social sciences. The following institutions are part of CEST: University of Leiden, Karl-Franzens-Universität, London School of Economics, SciencesPo, Stockholm University, Hamburg University, University of Cambridge, and University of Oxford. The Consortium was launched in March 2015 at the University of Graz. The 2015 symposium took place at the University of Graz in October 2015 and dealt with *Populism, majoritarianism and crises of liberal democracy: Modes of illiberal governance in comparative perspective*.

Stiftung Mercator is the major funder of CEST. We are indebted for their generous support. Stiftung Mercator is a private and independent foundation. It strives for a society characterised by an openness to the world, solidarity, and equal opportunities. In this context, it focuses on strengthening Europe; increasing the educational success of disadvantaged children and young people, especially those of migrant origin; driving forward climate change mitigation; and promoting science and the humanities. Stiftung Mercator symbolises the connection between academic expertise and practical project experience. One of Germany's leading foundations, it is active both nationally and internationally. www.stiftung-mercator.de/en/

Network Turkey is an independent, non-profit organization which encourages debates on Turkish politics and society. It brings together the academic community with policy makers, civil society representatives, and the broader public and thereby promote an informed and open-minded discussion on developments in contemporary Turkey. www.network-turkey.org

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Synopsis of sessions

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14.00-15.00 Welcome and introduction

15.00-16.30 Keynote lecture

17.00-18.30 Panel 1. Historical Perspectives

Friday, December 2, 2016

9:00-10:30 Panel 2. Politics and Policies from Below. Theoretical and Methodological Issues

11:00-12:30 Panel 3. Informal Politics

14:00-15:30 Panel 4. Challenging the Borders of the Political. Politicization and Depoliticization in Practice

16:00-17:30 Panel 5. Contestation and the Consolidation of Hegemony

17:30-18:30 Concluding Panel

Symposium Programme

Thursday December 1st, 2016

14.00-15.00 Welcome and introduction

Christine Musselin, Vice-President for research, Sciences Po

Alain Dieckhoff, Director, Sciences Po-CERI

Kerem Öktem, Chair, CEST

Daniel Grütjen, Chair, Network Turkey

Elise Massicard, Sciences Po-CERI, CNRS

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15.00-16.30 Keynote lecture

Jenny White, Institute for Turkish Studies, Stockholm University

Mapping the Topography of Oppression

16:30-17:00 Coffee and tea

17.00-18.30 Panel 1. Historical Perspectives

Chair: Yavuz Köse, Hamburg University

Elif Mahir Metinsoy, Galatasaray University

Ordinary women's everyday politics during the Fall of the Ottoman Empire

Aleksandros Lamprou, Ankara University

State-society relations during the single party period. Politics through complaining and petitioning

Murat Metinsoy, Istanbul University

Everyday Politics of Ordinary People in Early Republican Turkey: From Petitioning to Violence

Discussant: Emmanuel Szurek, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

19.30 Dinner

Friday, December 2, 2016

9:00-10:30 Panel 2. Politics and Policies from Below. Theoretical and Methodological Issues

Chair: **Elise Massicard**, Sciences Po-CERI, CNRS

Chiara Maritato, Torino University

The role of ethnography in conceptualising politics from below. The case of the Diyanet's pious female bureaucrats

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Charlotte Joppien, Hamburg University

Turkish municipal politics – neither (only) from 'above' nor 'below'

Urszula Wozniak, Humboldt University

From gossip to the moral city. Shifting sensitivities within diverse mahalle spaces in neoliberal Istanbul

Discussant: **Paul Levin**, Institute for Turkish Studies, Stockholm University

10:30-11:00 Coffee and Tea

11:00-12:30 Informal Politics

Chair: **Bayram Balci**, Sciences Po-CERI, CNRS

Funda Üstek-Spilda, University of London

Choosing to be 'Invisible', dying to become visible. The (non) organization of domestic workers in Turkey

Béatrice Garapon, Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Bordeaux / EHESS

Clientelism and faction politics: the informal functioning of party politics in 1950s Turkey

Berna Zengin Arslan, Özyegin University

The Gülen Community schools: politics of science and education

Discussant: **Marie Vannetzel**, CURAPP, CNRS

12:30-14:00 Lunch

14:00-15:30 Panel 4. Challenging the Borders of the Political. Politicization and Depoliticization in Practice

Chair: **Karabekir Akkoyunlu**, University of Graz

Elizabeth De Luca, University of California at Irvine & Bogaziçi University
Politics of and in the Home. Elders and the caring municipality in urban Turkey

Mert Arslanalp, Bosphorus University

Navigating Boundaries: Towards An Integrated Understanding of Urban Politics from Below in Contemporary Istanbul

Samuel Williams, Musée du Quai Branly

Politics in the piyasa. Marketing, marching, and the emergence of gay identities in Istanbul

Discussant: **Laurent Gayer**, Sciences Po-CERI, CNRS

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15 :30-16 :00 Coffee and tea

16:00-17:30 Panel 5. Contestation and the Consolidation of Hegemony

Chair: **Kerem Öktem**, University of Graz

Jessie Clark, University of Nevada at Reno
Reproducing the nation in Southeast Turkey

Joakim Parslow, Oslo University

Lawyers against the law: The challenge of Turkish lawyering associations

Lorenzo d'Orsi, Bicocca University

New maps and aspirations, daily life and ways of remembering: Gezi movement and its aftermath

Discussant: **Elise Massicard**, Sciences Po-CERI, CNRS

17:30-18:30 Concluding Panel

Jean-François Bayart, Institut de Hautes Etudes Internationales et de Développement, Geneva / Ecole de Gestion et d'Economie, Rabat

Kerem Öktem, University of Graz

Elise Massicard, Sciences Po-CERI, CNRS

Jenny White, Institute of Turkish Studies, Stockholm University

18:30 Closing of the Symposium

Bios of convenors and keynote speaker

Christine Musselin is the Vice-President for Research of Sciences Po and a member of the Centre de Sociologie des Organisations, a research unit of Sciences Po and CNRS. She leads comparative studies on university governance, public policies in higher education and research, and academic labour markets. Her book, *La longue marche des universités françaises* published by the P.U.F in 2001 has been edited in English (*The Long March of French Universities*) by Routledge (2004). A new book, *Le marché des universitaires, France, Allemagne, Etats-Unis* was published in November 2005 by the Presses de Sciences Po and edited in English by Routledge in 2009. She has been a DAAD fellow in 1984-1985 and a Fulbright and Harvard fellow in 1998-1999.

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Alain Dieckhoff is Senior Research Fellow at CNRS and Director of CERI since 2014. His main field of research is politics and society in Israel, as well as the transformations of contemporary nationalism. He has authored six books, edited ten others, published more than fifty articles in journals and edited volumes. Among his books published in English: *Modern Roots. Studies of National Identity* (co-ed, Ashgate, 2001) ; *The Invention of a Nation: Zionist Thought and the Making of Modern Israel* (Columbia University Press); *The Politics of Belonging: Nationalism, Liberalism, and Pluralism* (ed., Lexington Books, 2004); *Revisiting Nationalism: Theories and Processes* (co-ed., Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); *Routledge Handbook of Modern Israel* (ed., Routledge, 2013); *Nationalism and the Multination State* (Hurst, 2016). In addition, he was a Visiting Professor at the Geneva Graduate Institute, the Université du Québec à Montréal, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv University and the London School of Economics. He is a member of the Advisory Council of the Princeton Institute for International and Regional Studies.

Kerem Öktem is Professor of Southeast European Studies and Modern Turkey at the University of Graz. He is also a Research Associate at the Centre for International Studies, University of Oxford. He works on authoritarianism, democracy, minorities and conflict in Turkey and its overlapping neighbourhoods. A particular area of interest is the study of Muslim communities in the Balkans and Muslim identities in the context of transnational Islamic networks. His latest publications include 'Exit from Democracy: illiberal governance in Turkey and beyond', *Journal of Southeast European Studies* (Vol. 16, No. 3, 2016), co-authored with Karabekir Akkoyunlu and the entry on Austria in the *Yearbook of Muslims in Europe*, Volume 8 (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

Daniel Grütjen is founding chairman of Network Turkey. He is also Head of Istanbul Office at the German foundation Stiftung Mercator. Prior to this, he was the coordinator of the Mercator-IPC Fellowship Program at Istanbul Policy Center. He is a political scientist and PhD candidate at Free University Berlin, focusing on Turkish politics and welfare state analysis.

Elise Massicard is a permanent research fellow at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique/ Centre d'Etudes Internationales, Paris. Prior to her current position, she has been a research fellow at the French Institute of Anatolian Studies in Istanbul, where she acted as the director of the Observatoire de la Politique Turque. She was also a visiting fellow at the University of California at Berkeley. Her research focuses on the political sociology of contemporary Turkey, especially social movements, political parties, state-society relations, government practices, identity politics, and political territoriality (local governments, EU dimension) in times of political change. She has authored *The Alevis in Turkey and Europe: Identity and Managing Territorial Diversity* (Routledge, 2012) and co-edited with Nicole Watts *Negotiating Political Power in Turkey: Breaking up the Party* (Routledge, 2013) and with Marc Aymes and Benjamin Gourisse, *Order and Compromise. Government Practices in Turkey from the Late Ottoman Empire to the Early 21st Century* (Brill, 2015). Her new manuscript on the role of *muhtars* (neighbourhood headmen) in Turkey's government has been accepted for publication by the publisher Karthala. She has published extensively in academic journals. She is a founding member and a member of the Editorial Board of the *European Journal of Turkish Studies*, a peer-reviewed, online, open access academic journal.

Jenny White is a social anthropologist and professor at Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies. She served as president of the Turkish Studies Association and of the American Anthropological Association Middle East Section. She is the author of *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks* (chosen by *Foreign Affairs* as one of three best books on the Middle East in 2012); *Islamist Mobilization in Turkey: A Study in Vernacular Politics* (Winner of the 2003 Douglass Prize for best book in Europeanist anthropology); and *Money Makes Us Relatives: Women's Labor in Urban Turkey*. All have been translated into Turkish. She has authored numerous articles on Turkey and on Turks in Germany and lectures internationally on topics ranging from political Islam and nationalism to ethnic identity and gender issues. She also has published three historical novels set in nineteenth-century Istanbul, *The Sultan's Seal* (2006), *The Abyssinian Proof* (2008), and *The Winter Thief* (2010). *The Sultan's Seal* has appeared in fourteen languages. *The Sultan's Seal* was named one of the top ten first novels of 2006 by *Booklist* and was shortlisted for the 2006 Ellis Peters Historical Crime Award.

Bios and abstracts of speakers

Panel 1. Historical perspectives

Yavuz Köse is Professor of Turcology at the Asien-Afrika-Institut, Hamburg University. His research is focused on the social, economic, and consumption history of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. Among his latest publications are “The Confusion of the Agha: A Short History of Chocolate in the Ottoman Empire (17th–20th Century),” *Food & History* 12.1 (2015), 153–174; (ed.) *Osmannen in Hamburg – eine Beziehungsgeschichte zur Zeit des Ersten Weltkrieges*. Hamburg 2016; and (ed. together with Janina Karolewski), *Wonders of Creation: ottoman Manuscripts from Hamburg Collections*. Hamburg 2016.

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Elif Mahir Metinsoy, *Ordinary women's everyday politics during the fall of the Ottoman Empire*

Ordinary women's everyday forms of politics like their resistance and negotiation practices were important part of the political life during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the historiography on Ottoman-Turkish women and politics mostly focus on elite and educated women. This is partly because it is difficult to find historical sources on ordinary women. However, the main reason is that elite women's publishing activities and their attempts to found women's organizations are generally considered as part of formal, and therefore real, politics.

In addition, existing scholarship has generally focused only women's contributions to state policies and war mobilization. That was because most of the women examined until recently were wives and daughters of the elites or politicians of the time. Compared to them, ordinary women felt the difficulties of the war and destruction years much deeply and did not support the war mobilization as a whole. They frequently resisted the state policies concerning themselves in everyday life and mostly through unofficial ways like tax evasion, hiding deserters, fighting on bread queues or beating state officials. Their survival struggle and resistance also took official forms like writing petitions, sending telegrams or suing corrupt state officials.

This paper, using the methodology of history from below and subaltern studies and new archival sources, examines how ordinary, mostly poor Ottoman women, defended their rights and tried to survive through different means other than usual-formal politics at a time that Ottoman Empire declined and Turkish Republic was founded. The main goal of this paper is to show that for poor women there was no single way to participate in politics and women could become political actors not only by supporting state policies and war mobilization but also by resisting them. It envisions a broader understanding of politics that ordinary women are also involved.

Elif Mahir Metinsoy (1981) received her B.A. from Boğaziçi University, Department of Political Science and International Relations and her first M.A. from Boğaziçi University, Atatürk Institute of Modern Turkish History. After having a second M.A. degree from Strasbourg University, Department of Turkish Studies in 2006, she received her Ph.D. degree in 2012 from Boğaziçi University and Strasbourg University with her dissertation titled “Poor Ottoman Turkish Women during World War I: Women’s Experiences and Politics in Everyday Life, 1914-1923”. This study was awarded the “Best Doctoral Dissertation in Social Sciences Award” by Boğaziçi University

Scientific Research Fund in 2013. She has several articles and book chapters on Ottoman social history and women's history including her book *Mütareke Dönemi İstanbulu'nda Moda ve Kadın, 1918-1923* (*Fashion and Women in the Istanbul of the Armistice Period, 1918-1923*) (Istanbul: Libra, 2014). Her academic interests also include ordinary women's everyday experience of World War I and their everyday responses to wartime living conditions and state policies, women's movement, especially women's periodicals and associations during the Second Constitutional period, the representation of Ottoman women in art, literature, and press, including the Ottoman humor press between 1908 and 1923, and Turkish etiquette rules of the interwar period. She carried out post-doctoral research at Middle East Technical University, Department of History between 2013 and 2015. From spring 2016 onwards she gives lectures on gender and women's history at Galatasaray University, Department of Political Sciences.

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Aleksandros Lamprou, *State-society relations during the single party period. Politics through complaining and petitioning*

This presentation offers a close reading of hitherto untapped archival sources regarding the 1939 elections. Through extensive denunciation, petitioning, and an unofficial pre-election, provincial urbanites took advantage of the 1938 changes in state leadership and had a number of local candidates selected as MPs while discarding others proposed by Ankara. Petitioning and, in general, clandestine but extensive mobilization from below had an impact on state-society relations, state policies and politics more than has been accepted since, even in areas that had been seen *solely* with reference to high state politics. Petitions, denunciations, and their processing constituted a communicative and essentially political space that facilitated state society interaction and served as a means of empowerment of social actors at the local level to negotiate and occasionally modify the policies of an authoritarian single-Party regime. In turn, the state appeared pragmatic in its attempt to boost its legitimacy through considering societal complaints and demands, although, in doing so, it demonstrated class, ethnic, educational, and religious biases. Nevertheless, in this way the regime became more amenable to popular participation and its policies to manipulation by society. In contrast to what mainstream literature and contemporary political debates argue about the single-party period in Turkish history, thousands of similar petitions in the Turkish state archives hint at the extent of this essentially political space of exchange between state and societal forces, forcing us to re-think the limits of politics in an authoritarian single Party regime.

Aleksandros Lamprou studied History and Ethnology (BA, 2000 Democritus University of Thrace), Middle Eastern History (MA, 2001 Manchester University) and Turkish History (PhD 2009, Leiden University). He is currently teaching at the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, Ankara University. He has formerly taught Modern Turkish History at the University of Crete. His research interests include state-society relations, social engineering projects and petitioning. His publications include *Nation-Building in Modern Turkey: The People's Houses, the State, and the Citizen 1932-1951* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015); "Negotiating gender identities during mixed-gender activities: amateur theatre in the 1930s and 1940s in Turkey", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 42/4 (2015), 618–637; and "Nationalist mobilization and state-society relations: the People's House's campaign for Turkish in Izmir, June – July 1934", *Middle Eastern Studies* 49/5 (2013), 824-39. He is currently doing research on the Greek refugees to Turkey and the Middle East during the Second World War.

Murat Metinsoy, *Everyday Politics of Ordinary People in Early Republican Turkey: From Petitioning to Violence*

The Turkish single-party period was an extraordinary era marked by profound changes led by a modernizing authoritarian state. Historical scholarship on this period has conventionally focused on high and formal politics. The organized, formal or collective movements and actions have been accepted as an only form of political participation. Therefore, due to the barriers before the formal participation of ordinary people's in politics, the ordinary people have been regarded to be fully excluded from the policy-making. Scholars have barely touched upon the daily ways through which ordinary people responded to the state policies and consequently influenced the state decisions.

This study examines the everyday and informal forms of ordinary people's politics, with particular focus on peasant and working class politics during the first two decades of the Turkish Republic. It scrutinizes the diverse patterns of daily protest, resistance and selective adaptation strategies employed by these groups against the social and economic policies of the single-party state. It presents an alternative picture in which the poor workers and peasants participated in politics in everyday life and compelled the state to modify its decisions, and thus thwarted the state's economic and social modernization projects. .

On the basis of new archival sources giving information about daily contacts between the state and society and theoretically drawing on a broader conception of politics as an everyday struggle over the allocation of scarce sources, emphasizing non-institutional patterns of the peasant and working class politics, this study delves into the popular dynamics that influenced the history and politics of the modern Turkey from beneath. This paper, addressing wider debates about the relations between the state and society in the republican Turkey, reveals the daily and mostly informal interactions between the state and ordinary people and add a major caveat to "the strong-transcendental state and passive-society thesis."

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Murat Metinsoy (1978) is Associate Professor at Istanbul University, Political Science and International Relations Department. He received his Ph.D. degree from Bogazici University in 2010 with a dissertation titled "Everyday Politics of Ordinary People: Public Opinion, Dissent, and Resistance in Early Republican Turkey, 1925-1939.", which he has been revising for publication from an international publishing house. He studies social history of early Republican Turkey, labour history, peasant movements, everyday and informal forms of domination and popular resistance under authoritarian regimes, Turkish secularism, and social impact of the wars in Turkey during the 20th century. His first book, published in 2007, deals with the survival strategies of the peasants and working class in the face of authoritarian policies of the Turkish single-party regime during the Second World War. For this book, he was awarded the Best Young Social Scientist Award by The Turkish Social Science Association and the Best Book Award by the Ottoman Bank Archives and Research Center. He received a five-year doctoral fellowship from the Ohio State University and carried out doctoral research in USA in 2007-2008. He carried out postdoctoral research at the Department of History, Middle East Technical University between 2011 and 2014, with post-doctoral research fellowships from The American Research Institute in Turkey (2011), The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (2011-2012), and The Turkish Academy of Science (2012-2014). His articles were published in international and national journals such as *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *International Journal of Turcologia*, *Turkish Studies*, *Toplum ve Bilim*, *Tarih ve Toplum* and *Toplumsal Tarih*.

Emmanuel Szurek is an Associate Professor at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris. His research focuses on linguistic policies in interwar Turkey and the transnational history of orientalism and Turkish studies. His book, "Governing with Words: a Linguistic History of Nationalist Turkey," is under contract with Oxford University Press. With Güneş Işıksel, he coedited *Turcs et Français. Une histoire culturelle 1860-1960* (Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014).

Panel 2. Politics and policies from below. Theoretical and methodological issues

Chiara Maritato, *The role of ethnography in conceptualising politics from below. The case of the Diyanet's pious female bureaucrats*

This contribution addresses the key role played by reasoning and heuristics in the elaboration of conceptual understanding of power relations regulating policies. In particular, it resorts to political ethnography to pay attention to the ways policies are performed in the everyday. Therefore, ethnographic observation, far from being the mere inclusion of a "human factor", is employed to uncover the structural features of public policies. Within this framework, "politics from below" is conceived as a process related to an inductive reasoning balancing the practical immersion in the research's fieldwork and the continuous reflection on the issues at stake.

However, to conceptualise the meanings and practices of a policy requires being prone to a process of continuous questioning of both assumptions and received categories. The researcher engaged in this process is thus an interpreter more than a translator in between social science and the socio-political context that is being scrutinized. One of the main challenges in defining "politics from below" definitely lies on the following question: to what extent and how are the fieldwork constituting the "below" and the formulation of analytical categories mutually shaped?

In the attempt to cast light on these issues, the work largely refers to the Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet*)'s policy aimed at employing an increasing number of female religious officers working as preachers (*vaizeler*). By directly observing the preachers' everyday engagement in providing women and families with religious services, the contribution alights on how a "pious female bureaucrat" has come to the foreground. The inclusion of devout women within the state bureaucracy calls into question the evolution of Turkish state's boundaries over religion and urges to a broader redefinition of the intertwined relationship between women, religion and the state in contemporary Turkey.

Chiara Maritato obtained a PhD in Political Science in 2015 at the University of Turin where she is currently a Postdoctoral research fellow. She was visiting researcher at the Istanbul Boğaziçi University and at the Istanbul Research Center for Islamic Studies (ISAM). She investigated the bureaucratization of the Turkish female religious officers and the intertwined relationships between women, religion and the state in contemporary Turkey. While focusing on the evolution of Turkish state's monopoly over religious services and moral support both in Turkey and abroad, her research interests broadly address political ethnography and women's engagement in religious institutions.

Urszula Wozniak, *From Gossip to the Moral City. Shifting Sensitivities within diverse Mahalle spaces in Neoliberal Istanbul*

This paper sheds light on the negotiation of “sensitivities” (*hassasiyet*) in the new landscapes of not only ethnically diverse, but also sexual and gendered *mahalle* spaces of today’s Istanbul. The neighbourhoods of Tophane and Kurtuluş, two *mahalle* which allegedly mirror the two ends of a moral axis, reflect the complexity of the current political transformations that have been shaping both Turkey as a whole and Istanbul in particular. More than two years after the Gezi uprising and in light of the currently ongoing military operations in South-Eastern Turkey the polarization of society appears to be a continuously applied mode of governance that has introduced a new level of morality to the political discourse and shaped normative ideas on family planning, sexuality and other realms of biopolitics. With the analysis of neighbourhood-based battles over norms and values, the paper examines how this mounting level of polarizing public moral talk reverberates in the making of the two neighbourhood spaces. Instead of re-applying the Islamic vs. secular dichotomy or the Muslim or gay binary as categories of analysis that obscure the multiplicity of conflicts and interests at stake, the paper wants to contribute to the discussion on how to investigate moral antagonisms and cases of violence beyond established analytical frameworks. While the ethnographic study relies on an analysis on the everyday encounters in the *mahalle* (and the absence thereof), the paper specifically focuses on the role of “gossiping” in mediating ideas on behaviour doomed as in/appropriate in the given *mahalle*. This involves a heightened interest in the mundane practices of self-appointed old and new “guards” of the *mahalle*, including street-level bureaucrats, shopkeepers (*esnaf*), but also new residents and consumers.

Urszula Woźniak is a doctoral candidate at Humboldt University and currently a DAAD research fellow in Istanbul. From 2013 to 2016, she worked as a research assistant at the Department of Social Science at Humboldt University Berlin. In her PhD project, she looks at disparate territorial orders of norms and morality in two historical Istanbul neighborhoods.

Charlotte Joppien, *Turkish municipal politics - neither (only) from 'above' nor 'below'*

This paper argues that politics ‘from below’ and ‘from above’ are inseparable. The analytical (and often normative) separation drawn between ‘the state’ (often associated with domination, authoritarianism etc.) and ‘the people’ (often equated with resistance or a ‘just cause’) is an artificial one. Indeed, the picture is messier, as ‘the people’ are not necessarily more inclusive or pluralist but may instead cling to sectarian interests – and to non-democratic practices to satisfy those. I suggest that formal and informal politics are not two distinct practices (political/non-political or at times legal-illegal) but instead complement each other. In the case of Turkey, a country with a long bureaucratic tradition, this means that informal practices often provided for the (social) cohesion and stability required by formal politics. By example of municipal politics, this paper seeks to demonstrate to which extent ties exist between political and (assumingly) non-political as well as formal and informal spheres of Turkish politics. The presentation draws on fieldwork (participant observation and interviews) conducted in 2011 and 2013 in Konya and Eskişehir comparing AKP and CHP-led municipalities, as well as local party organizations and the cities’ ‘civil society’ at large.

The focus is on people as (political) actors transcending the different realms. Thus the paper argues that with regard to Turkish politics an analysis focusing on the personal, and not the institutional, is much more promising to explain how politics 'functions'. This is generally agreed on with regard to clientelist and patronage practices. However, the paper shows that with regard to local political actors also biographical questions of 'belonging' as well as religious or ethnic affiliation play an important role. As such, primary identities 'from below' find a non-formal entry into institutional politics and claims are answered without being part of formal political debate. Similar conclusions may be drawn with regard to civil society organizations that often do not make their voice heard due to institutional access but due to personal networks.

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Charlotte Joppien has finished her Ph.D. at Macquarie University, Sydney in the Department of Anthropology. Her research on the 'Culture of Everyday Politics – Politics of Everyday Culture' focusses on municipal politics in Konya and Eskişehir, Turkey, and the ways political parties and municipalities align to local culture but also constantly seek to reshape it according to their own ideological disposition. It has been accepted for publication by Routledge. The research was supported by an International Macquarie University Research Excellence Scholarships (2012-2016), a TÜBITAK research scholarship (2013) and a research scholarship by Orient Institut Istanbul (April-December 2011), to which she remained affiliated as a research fellow until 2015. Currently she works as project coordinator for the conference Turkologentag 2016 with 400 participants. She has published a book on AKP ideology (*Die Türkische Regierungspartei AKP – Eine Untersuchung ihres politischen Konzepts Muhafazakar Demokrasi*, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2011), edited a book on 10 years AKP in 2012 and co-edited volume one of the proceedings of Workshop Türkeiforschung in 2014 (Springer Press). She has also published at Research Turkey as well as various journalistic articles. She regularly lectures on Turkish politics to both academic and non-academic audiences.

Paul T. Levin is the founding Director of the Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies (SUTS). He has published works on international relations and public administration and is the author of *Turkey and the European Union: Christian and Secular Images of Islam*. He is also the creator of The *TurkEU Blog*, which focuses on the discourse about Turkey within the European Union. Before assuming his current position, Dr. Levin served as Program Director for Governance and Management Training and taught International Relations at the Department of Economic History, both at Stockholm University. A recurring guest lecturer at Oxford University's Programmes in Leadership and Public Policy. He received his Ph.D. from the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California in 2007, after earning an M.A. in Political Science also at USC.

Panel 3. Informal politics

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Bayram Balci holds degrees in political science and in Arab and Islamic studies from the Political Studies Institute of Grenoble and Aix-en-Provence. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on Turkish Islamic movements and their missionary activities in post-Soviet Central Asia. He was a Jean Monnet post-doctoral fellow at the *European University Institute* in Florence, where he worked on Central-Asian communities in Saudi Arabia and their contribution to the re-Islamization of the region. Further in his career, he was a scholar at the French Institute of Anatolian Studies in Istanbul and set up the French Institute of Caucasian Studies in Baku, while researching on relations between the Shia and the Sunni Muslims in the South Caucasus. From 2006 to 2010, he was the director of the French Institute of Central-Asian Studies in Tashkent. From 2012 to 2014, he was a visiting fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, D.C. Current research: Turkey in the Middle East, Central Asia and the South Caucasus.

Funda Üstek-Spilda, *Choosing to be 'Invisible', dying to become visible. The (non) organization of domestic workers in Turkey*

“Bargaining with patriarchy” has influenced nearly all discussions about gender and women’s position and rooms for resistance in Turkey. While this is an extremely useful concept, is there life beyond it? Focusing on the (non)organisation of domestic workers in Turkey, the paper looks at women’s capabilities to organise, resist and alter their situation in the labour market. Domestic work is the most gendered area of informal work, and tends to remain hidden behind closed doors. It is also an exceptionally “female” type of work, as majority of both the employers and employees are women. The political unwillingness in Turkey to take up domestic work as a policy area stems from patriarchal gender roles and women’s place in the society as dependents of men. The widespread contention that domestic workers would have social security from their husbands and would not need/ask for social security themselves is one outcome of this mindset; and the apparent non-organisation of domestic workers is put forth as evidence to support this claim. However, work accidents which resulted in some domestic workers’ losing their lives, and some being severely injured, changed both the domestic workers’ choice to remain “invisible” and opened them a path for new and more visible forms of resistance. This paper shows the different modes of resistance domestic workers use, and argues that these different resistances are not arbitrary but developed and acquired through their experience in the informal labour market, which pushes them to become “political” in order to survive. When there is no “higher politics” seeing over their conditions, women create their own to alter or improve their lives. The data for this paper comes from an ethnographical study conducted in Istanbul with women working in the informal sector (2012-2013).

Funda Üstek-Spilda is a post-doctoral researcher at Goldsmiths, University of London, at the Department of Sociology. She is part of the ERC-funded “ARITHMUS: How data make a people” research project (www.arithmus.eu). She works on the issue of missing people in statistics. She obtained her Doctorate from University of Oxford, Department of Sociology (2015) on the invisible labour of women workers in the informal sector; and a Masters from University of Oxford, Department of Social Policy and Social Work (2010) on the invisible educational disadvantage of second-generation migrants in Denmark and Germany. She currently works on refugee and migration statistics to understand how mobile populations go missing in official statistics.

Béatrice Garapon, *Clientelism and faction politics: the informal functioning of party politics in 1950s Turkey*

This paper aims to understand the informal functioning of political parties in the 1950's – in particular the Democratic party that was in power, to help us understand better the macro dynamics. Observing at a local level, it tries to understand how people voted – in villages and small towns, and what it meant to be a member of a political party. Therefore it tries to assess and discuss the concepts of clientelism and factionalism, and see how relevant they can be to explain the political life of the period. Whereas everyone agrees that voting does not only rely on convictions, especially in the 1950, and that there can be some kind of social transactions, the concept of clientelism is often used to over-simplify all kind of analysis. It is also often used as a very negative term, to discredit a political party, or dismissed as a non-scientific concept. The paper claims that we should look further and rethink the whole concept of clientelism, as it is for faction politics, that really is at the core of the functioning of party politics, even if it is outside of "visible" politics. The paper focus on an analysis local organizations of the Democratic Party, local elections and political meetings in three regions (Adana, Diyarbakir and Erzurum). It is based on the local press, memoirs of local politicians, but also diplomatic reports, sociological work of that period and oral interviews with eye-witnesses of the period.

Béatrice Garapon is a PhD student at Bordeaux's Institute of Political Science (IEP Bordeaux) and Paris School for Advanced Studies in Social Sciences (EHESS). She is currently writing a PhD about the Turkish Democratic Party and its grassroots organizations (1946-1960), in both history and political science. She studied political science and international relations at Sciences Po Paris and taught at Galatasaray University in Istanbul.

Berna Zengin Arslan, *The Gülen community schools: politics of science and education*

The Gülen community has an ambiguous and unusual position in the political field in Turkey. Unlike many previous Islamic groups in Turkish Islam, the community carefully distances itself from direct and explicit involvement with party politics and political organizations. It rather concentrates in its activities on the fields of civil society, education, economy and the media, and identifies either as a *hizmet* movement, or as a civil society group, which has no purpose but to serve to other people to gain God's approval. This attitude of the community is frequently misevaluated in the literature as a disengagement from politics, a positive involvement only with democratic civil society and also as turning "their backs on politics altogether." On the other hand, a group of writers in the literature rightly focus in the community's ownership of a media network, engagement with the state and its open support of right wing conservative parties running in the elections (such as AKP from the 2002 elections until 2014 local elections), and argue that the community is nothing but apolitical. However, this paper focuses on the community's science schools where it engages with science and science education, and argues that along with its media, dormitories and 'houses', these secular spaces of the (science) schools are the community's major domains of politics. This politics is built through the everyday interactions between students, elder brothers, teachers and other workers, but not at the political parties, and it involves cultivating a new pious Muslim subjectivity on the one hand, and struggling against the exclusion of Islam from modernity and science on the other. This paper is based on ethnographic research conducted at two

private science schools of the Gülen community – one for girls and one for boys – and theoretically informed by the cultural studies perspective on everyday life as a sphere of politics and science studies/feminist studies of science perspective claiming that science is not an objective but a deeply political field.

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Berna Zengin Arslan graduated from Bilkent University with a B.Sc. in Electrical and Electronics Engineering. She completed her MSc. in Gender and Women's Studies Program at the Middle East Technical University with her thesis on Women Engineers in Turkey, and obtained her Ph.D. in Sociology from the University of California Santa Cruz in 2009. Her doctoral dissertation is entitled 'Pious Science: The Gülen Community and the Making of a Conservative Modernity in Turkey'. Dr. Zengin Arslan was awarded a two-year Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship for the period of 2010-2012 and with this fellowship, she acted as a visiting assistant professor at the City University of New York Graduate Center. She also received the Turkish Science Academy Award in 2015 in the fields of Sociology and Gender Studies, and the Sociological Review 2014 Prize for Outstanding Scholarship, with the article 'Legal Pluralism and the Sharia: a comparison of Greece and Turkey,' jointly written with Bryan S. Turner. Her research areas are sociology of religion, studies of secularism, sociology of science and technology, and gender studies.

Marie Vannetzel is a researcher in political sociology at the CNRS in Amiens (Centre universitaire de recherche sur l'action publique et le politique), and a member of the ERC project WAFAW (When Authoritarianism Fails in the Arab World). She completed her doctoral thesis on the social embeddedness and mobilization of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (*Les Frères musulmans égyptiens. Enquête sur un secret public*, Karthala, 2016). She did fieldworks in Egypt about the post-2011 electoral dynamics, and in Turkey about the exiled Egyptian Muslim Brothers. She now studies the process and impacts of the reforms of food and energy subsidies in Egypt and Lebanon

Panel 4. Challenging the borders of the political. Politicization and depoliticization in practice

Karabekir Akkoyunlu is Assistant Professor at the Centre for Southeast European Studies, University of Graz, and a founding member of the Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey (CEST). He completed his PhD at the London School of Economics, where his research focused on the transformation of hybrid regimes in Turkey and Iran. He studied Persian at Isfahan University and taught courses on Middle East politics and theories of democratisation at the LSE. At Graz, he teaches courses on comparative politics, research methods and modern Turkish history. In 2011 – 2012, he co-directed a research project at Southeast European Studies at Oxford (SEESOX) on Turkey's Western relations in the context of the Arab Uprisings. Akkoyunlu frequently contributes to forums such as The Huffington Post, Open Democracy, Al Monitor, Hurriyet Daily News, The Hindu and CNN International. He holds a B.A. in History from Brown University and an M.Phil in International Relations from the University of Cambridge. His most recent publication is the Special Issue titled "Exit from Democracy: Illiberal governance in Turkey and beyond", co-edited with Kerem Öktem for the Journal of Southeast European and Black Sea Studies.

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Elizabeth De Luca, Politics of and in the Home. Elders and the caring municipality in urban Turkey

In the midst of a purported crisis of the family, municipal governments in many Turkish cities from all major political parties have launched "social projects" such as friendly medical visits for older adults and short- and long-term Alzheimer care centers. Drawing from Carol Delaney's critique of kinship and the state as separate domains (Delaney 1991, Yanagisako and Delaney 1995), the paper documents how the realms and boundaries of the family, state, and paid labor are drawn and reworked through such municipal projects of elder care and responsibility. As municipal officials seek to determine and meet the "needs" of elders and their families, they create new relationships with citizens and their neighborhoods. These relationships are forged through the expertise of international gerontology, popular discourses of the fall of the family, and negotiations of what it means to ethically care for the aging.

Some scholars have argued programs such as these are corrupt forms of patronage and a barrier to civil society and more comprehensive welfare regimes. Insights from Middle Eastern and Postcolonial Studies, however, suggest that research involving such services must also look beyond their relationship to liberal assumptions about political participation and the distinction between kinship and citizenship. The relations of care generated through these programs suggest a "politics of below" that cannot be separated from global demographic imperatives of aging populations or the salience of the family in Turkish political discourse. The paper describes the ethics and practices of elder care in two urban municipalities as constitutive, rather than derivatives, of the realms of the family, the state, and paid labor. Through this analysis the municipality emerges as an important scale of political analysis within the anthropology of Turkey.

A. Elizabeth DeLuca is a PhD Candidate in Anthropology at the University of California, Irvine with a specialization in Anthropologies of Medicine, Science, and Technology. A Guest Researcher at Boğaziçi University's Social Policy Forum, she is currently conducting ethnographic research for her dissertation project, titled "Elders and those who care: social and medical assistance in urban Turkey". Her research is supported by the Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research

Abroad Award and the National Science Foundation (Cultural Anthropology and Science and Technology Studies). She also holds an MA in Social Science from the University of Chicago (2012) and serves as a Contributing Editor at *Cultural Anthropology*. Her ethnographic work focuses on knowledge formation, the politics and ethics of care, and the formalization of the family as an economic resource and political actor.

Mert Arslanalp, *Navigating Boundaries: Towards An Integrated Understanding of Urban Politics from Below in Contemporary Istanbul*

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"Insurgent citizenship" and "political society" are two distinct analytical approaches to the study of contemporary modalities of popular politics in the globalizing megacities of the developing world. James Holston's "insurgent citizenship" approach conceives the impoverished peripheries of southern megacities as sites of citizenship activity that contests exclusionary and inegalitarian citizenship formations by generating new urban rights claims. Questioning the use of citizenship and civil society frameworks, Partha Chatterjee's "political society" approach on the other hand claims that much of popular politics in the developing world takes place in a paralegal realm where popular sectors and the state contest and negotiate over exceptional measures on a flexible terrain ultimately shaped by the strategic requirements of governing than the legal-normative dictates of law and citizenship. This paper explores and challenges these two approaches by drawing on the case studies of contemporary urban conflicts in Istanbul's gecekondu neighborhoods based on 12 months of fieldwork. In line with Chatterjee's approach, it shows that negotiating exceptional measures to access formal property ownership continues to be a prevalent modality of popular politics in contemporary Istanbul. Nevertheless, the strategic appropriation of legal action by Istanbul's urban squatters in the last decade also reveals the limitations of drawing unsurpassable analytical boundaries between the politics of citizenship and the politics of exceptions. To reach a better empirical and theoretical grasp of one key arena of politics from below in contemporary Turkey, the paper examines both the concrete practices by which these urban communities mobilize the resources embedded in each realm and their consequences for the transformation of the propertied urban citizenship formation.

Mert Arslanalp is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Boğazici University. His research and teaching are located at the intersection of Comparative Politics, Political Sociology, and Urban Studies with a particular focus on the interaction between contentious politics and democratization. His current book and article projects, based on his dissertation "Claiming Rights, Negotiating Exceptions: Politics of Urban Citizenship in Istanbul and Buenos Aires," examine the variant development of urban citizenship within the context of contestations over globalizing megacities. He speaks Turkish, English, and Spanish and has conducted research in Turkey and Argentina. He previously worked as a Visiting Professor at Ozyegin University. Mert holds a BA from Boğazici University and a Ph.D. from Northwestern University.

Samuel Williams, *Politics in the piyasa. Marketing, marching, and the emergence of gay identities in Istanbul*

Recent historical and social scientific accounts of the fraught public emergence of gay identities in Turkey during the last several decades foreground the critical institutional role played by Istanbul Pride, an annual summer march along İstiklal Street. Brutally

supressed in 1993, informally sanctioned in 2003 with the AKP's rise to power, yet currently in increasing legal jeopardy, social mobilisation around this now highly publicized annual march precipitated the emergence of the first sexual rights NGOs in Istanbul. Indeed, this street-level political agitation is often credited with enabling the development of a vibrant gay nightlife scene in Taksim during the 2000s, and it is among most widely cited examples of the promise of a politics from below in contemporary Turkey.

Drawing on oral histories I have collected with different stakeholders, archival research in the collections of march organizers, and ongoing fieldwork in Taksim, this paper offers an empirical analysis of the historical development of Istanbul Pride since the 1990s and its role in the public emergence of gay identities in Istanbul. It argues that contrary to the established scholarly picture of Istanbul Pride, grassroots political mobilisation did *not* create the political conditions necessary for the emergence of a gay scene in Taksim; rather, a developing gay scene has created the social conditions necessary for such political mobilization. My microhistorical analysis of the development of a gay scene in Taksim demonstrates that petty capitalist marketing rather than grassroots marching has prised open public spaces in which gay identities have become visible in Istanbul. The paper concludes by examining how current threats to sexual rights mobilisation in Istanbul are not simply the result of a top-down change in government policy but a fundamental bottom-up change, as the gay nightlife market in Taksim has collapsed, partly as a by-product of grassroots anti-capitalist agitation.

Samuel Williams is a social anthropologist whose work explores intersections between culture and economy with an ethnographic focus on the peoples of Turkey and the wider post-Ottoman world. Drawing on approaches from political anthropology, economic anthropology, and the study of material culture, he has a particular specialism in the anthropology of markets. Building on the formative scholarship of Clifford Geertz, his doctoral work at Princeton University (PhD 2016) offered a contemporary portrait of two historic marketplaces in Istanbul during recent decades of political and economic reform:- the Grand Bazaar and Istiklal Street. While adapting this research for publication with The University of Chicago Press, he is also at work on a multi-sited postdoctoral project investigating why people value gold, focusing in particular on the global market today for Anatolian "pillow gold". Having taught anthropology at the University of Sydney, Princeton University, and the University of London, in 2016/17 he has been invited to be a postdoctoral fellow at Musée du quai Branly in their research project, "value and materialities".

Laurent Gayer is a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, Centre d'études et de recherches internationales (CERI-Sciences Po), Paris. He is the author of *Karachi: Ordered Disorder and the Struggle for the City*, which was published by Hurst (London), HarperCollins (Delhi) and Oxford University Press (New York) in 2014. He is also co-editor, with Christophe Jaffrelot, of *Armed Militias of South Asia: Fundamentalists, Maoists and Separatists* (Hurst/Columbia University Press, 2009) and *Muslims in Indian Cities: Trajectories of Marginalization* (Hurst/Columbia University Press, 2012). He is currently working on the intersections between crime-fighting and labor-disciplining in Karachi's industrial areas.

Panel 5. Contestation and the consolidation of hegemony

Jessie Clark, *Reproducing the nation in Southeast Turkey*

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How have Kurdish women's bodies been incorporated within nation-building processes in Southeast Turkey by both national and local pro-Kurdish governments? Since the early 2000s, government investment in gendered development in the Kurdish southeast has brought women to the forefront of struggles over political power and belonging in Turkey's Kurdish question. Women's reproductive practices, in particular, are central to this struggle. While birthrates continue to decline in Western Turkey, they remain high in the predominantly Kurdish Southeast, causing popular speculation that Turkey's population is becoming increasingly Kurdish. Simultaneously, President Erdoan and the ruling Justice and Development party continue to extol the virtues of large families through pro-natal speeches and political incentives. It is clear that questions over demography are intertwined with Turkish-Kurdish geopolitics, yet little is actually discussed of the everyday practices and feelings of Kurdish women in the Southeast regarding fertility. This paper shares stories from two years of ethnographic fieldwork in Diyarbakir with women participating in literacy and family planning programs. It addresses two key questions. First, how are women's reproductive practices differentially (geo)politicized by both Turkish national and pro-Kurdish municipal governments development initiatives? For example, how do reproductive practices become tied to discourses of terror, and how are these discourses understood and received by women? Second, how do women respond to development interventions? Ultimately, I demonstrate the ways seemingly 'private' choices about family making are essential to geopolitical visions of states and nations. The body is the site upon which narratives about nation, community, family are constituted and contested in Southeast Turkey.

Jessie Clark is an Assistant Professor in Geography at the University of Nevada Reno. She holds a BA in Geography from the University of Oregon and a MA and PhD in Geography from the University of Arizona. She previously taught at the University of Oregon. Jessie works in the field of feminist and political geography. She is broadly interested in how ordinary and everyday spaces and bodies, specifically related to gender, are touched by and influence geopolitical processes. Her work in Kurdish Southeast Turkey beginning in 2006, funded in part by the National Science Foundation, examines the role of social reproductive practices in the formation of ethno-national identities and state and human security. She teaches in areas of political, cultural and Middle East geography. Her research is published in several geography journals, including the *Annals of the American Association of Geographers*, *Gender, Place, and Culture*, and *Geopolitics*.

Joakim Parslow, *Lawyers against the law: the challenge of Turkish lawyering associations*

After a phase of openness, the process of creating a new constitution for Turkey has taken a turn inward as the AKP regime becomes ever more insistent on concentrating power in the hands of Tayyip Erdoan. The Turkish state thus appears to be returning to the tradition of top-down legal engineering dominant since the 1920s. At the same time, however, the landscape of activist organizations run by lawyers is more crowded than ever. With over thirty lawyering associations pursuing issues ranging from a right-wing concern with defending the nation to a left-wing desire to overturn the capitalist order, it has also never been more diverse. Why would so many lawyers and political activists

choose to “play the game” of law at a time when it is overwhelmingly apparent that the legal system itself is being undermined by executive authorities? What are their implications for the uses and conceptions of law in Turkey? This paper argues that the bewildering array of lawyering associations in Turkey results not just from clashing political causes, but also from contradictions in Turkey’s judiciary and in the strategies activists are consequently forced to adopt in order to effect change. In the 1970s, lawyers faced with draconian military and state security trials broke out of the confines of bar association bylaws and courtroom procedure to establish the *Çağdaş Hukukçular Derneği*, which brought the struggle for rights into the streets. During the careful liberalization of the late 1990s and early 2000s, numerous other groups emerged across the political spectrum. Whether they oppose the AKP regime or support it, I argue, these groups are not merely extensions of the formal juridical order; they also constitute a grassroots engagement with the law that, in its multiplicity of ideological worldviews, modes of activism and political goals, refuses to conform to the categories, narratives, procedures, and ends of the state’s own legal institutions.

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Joakim Parslow holds a Ph.D. in Near and Middle Eastern Studies from University of Washington (2015) and an MA in Turkish Studies from the University of Oslo. He is currently acting associate professor of Middle East studies at the Institute of Cultural Studies and Oriental Languages at the University of Oslo. His research focuses on the politics of Turkish law with particular attention to the political, intellectual and legal contestation of "exceptional" legality, including martial law, states of emergency, military trials of civilians, and specialized criminal courts.

Lorenzo d’Orsi, *New maps and aspirations, daily life and ways of remembering: Gezi movement and its aftermath*

Based on a fieldwork conducted in Istanbul since 2013, this paper shows how Gezi movement and its aftermath redefine political languages for a youth participating to global youth-scapes. It also reflects on the emic meaning of the “political”, because political/apolitical are not neutral labels but are imbued by historical meanings, acting as markers of identity boundaries. Then, it investigates how the historical power-relations act as both resources and constraints for subjects’ agency.

Gezi movement is here considered as a “collective thereness” (Butler 2013) of groups and individuals considering themselves as different for political, religious, cultural reasons and as a “liminal space” (Turner 1967) where these people reflectively distance themselves from a taken-for-granted reality. The “doing-together” (McDonald 2010) of daily practices (eating, singing, sleeping) created unexpected intimacy, transforming differences from reasons of conflict into resources. By assembling symbolic sources in unpredictable ways, Gezi commune allowed protesters to escape “mimetic” resistance with hegemonic-power (Arextaga 2005). The movement developed a new future, intended as cultural horizons towards which people aspire (Appadurai 2013), partially dismantling cynicism, the emotion structuring public life in Turkey (Navaro-Yashin 2002).

Gezi movement mostly impacted on biographical paths. The extraordinary experience people lived is reproduced in lifestyles and everyday practices but these practices also reproduced habitus, thus slowly re-establishing the symbolic boundaries overcome in the

mobilization. The protest memorialization and the production of Gezi martyrs underline this aspect. Through the language of martyrs the protest is implanted in leftist-revolutionary tradition: a disrupting event is re-embedded into a consolidated political language reproducing ways of resistance that are historically co-constructed with the hegemonic State-power and that represent the “warp” and the “woof” of the same tissue (Herzfeld 1997). Therefore, subjects appear as embedded between new aspirations and the concrete possibilities of action, new imaginaries and the returning of the everyday grammars.

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Lorenzo D'Orsi is finishing his PhD in Cultural Anthropology at University of Milano Bicocca. Since 2013 he has carried out ethnographic fieldwork in Istanbul on youth experience, inter-generational memory transmission and new global movement of protest, focusing on the families of former leftist revolutionaries affected by the military coup of 1980-1983. Starting from Gezi movement, that in 2013 redesigned youth social imaginary, the research reconstructs the public and private uses of memory. The work investigates the plurality of ways of remembering, the weight the political experience of the 1970s and the painful memory of the coup have in the relationship between generations. With a socio-constructivist approach the work focuses on plurality of meaning of silence, on embodied memories and historically built emotions, and on the continuity and discontinuity young people establish with memory-frame inherited by previous generations. Working both on memory and movement of protest made generational bonds target of research.

For his Master Thesis at Sapienza University of Rome, D'Orsi conducted research in Montevideo, Uruguay, on the politics of memory about the civic-military dictatorship (1973-1985). Working with Tupamaros guerrilla families, he focused on the experience of torture, the public commemorations and the private ways of remembering. His research won ACAT prize in 2011. The comparative approach allowed him to improve his analysis in two contexts that, though affected by similar events (military coup and political repression of leftist movements), faced different memorializations and different articulation between global and local languages of memory. He is author of essays in journals and book chapters in Italian, English and Spanish and has presented his works at several international conferences.

Closing Panel

Jean-François Bayart, a specialist in historical sociology and comparative politics, is a professor at the Graduate Institute, Geneva, where he holds the Yves Oltramare Chair for Religion and Politics in the Contemporary World. He is also Director of the Chair of Comparative African Studies at the Université Mohammed VI Polytechnique, Rabat, and Director of the *Fonds d'analyse des sociétés politiques* (FASOPO).

Jean-François Bayart was Researcher at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) from 1976 to 2015 and Director of the *Centre de recherches internationales* (CERI) from 1994 to 2000, and is Founder of the *Politique africaine* (1980) and *Critique internationale* (1998) journals, as well as Karthala's *Recherches internationales* (1998) collection. He has been a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of *African Affairs* since 1983. Jean-François Bayart is particularly interested in the role of religion in the formation of states in Africa and the Middle East (Turkey, Iran), proposing a new problematisation of identity, culture and globalisation.

Published works include *L'Etat en Afrique. La politique du ventre* (Fayard, 1989), *L'Illusion identitaire* (Fayard, 1996), *Le Gouvernement du monde. Une critique politique de la globalisation* (Fayard, 2004), *L'Islam républicain. Ankara, Téhéran, Dakar* (Albin Michel, 2010), *Les Etudes postcoloniales, un carnaval académique* (Karthala, 2010), *Sortir du national-libéralisme. Croquis politiques des années 2004-2012* (Karthala, 2012), and *Le Plan cul. Ethnologie d'une pratique sexuelle* (Fayard, 2014). Jean-François Bayart has also led or co-led several books, including *Le politique par le bas en Afrique noire : Contribution à une problématique de la démocratie* (Karthala, 1992, with A. Mbembe, C. Toulabor) ; *Religion et modernité politique en Afrique noire. Dieu pour tous, chacun pour soi* (Karthala, 1993) and *La Cité cultuelle. Rendre à Dieu ce qui revient à César* (Karthala, 2015, with Ariane Zambiras). He has taught in Paris, Lausanne, Turin, Geneva and Rabat.

