

“Politics of Emotions in Turkey and Its Connected Geographies”

11-12 January 2018, LSE

In collaboration with the Consortium for European Symposia on Turkey (CEST) and with the generous support of Stiftung Mercator, on 11-12 January 2018, Esra Ozyurek, Contemporary Turkish Studies Chair at the European Institute, LSE, organized a two-day interdisciplinary and international symposium on “Politics of Emotions in Turkey and its Connected Geographies”. The symposium aimed to have a closer look at the politics of emotions and affect from an interdisciplinary perspective. It sought to inquire the emotional and affective aspects of the political, social, economic, religious, and artistic fields in Turkey and its connected geographies. The more than thirty papers presented at the symposium explored the often invisible but highly effective hierarchies that are created among emotions themselves: which emotions are sanctioned or even actively cultivated and when? Which emotions are rendered inappropriate or unacceptable and for whom? They produced significant discussions about public and political expressions of emotions and how distinctive emotions showed salience under different political projects at different decades. Junior scholars as well as senior academics participated in the event. 21 social scientists from different disciplines presented their work during two day symposium. Also, a panel open to public was organized with the participation of invited senior academics; Yael Navaro (University of Cambridge), Carel Bertram (San Francisco State University), Ayşe Parla (Boston University) and Bilgin Ayata (University of Basel). Furthermore, CEST members Daniel Grutjen (Network Turkey), Yavuz Kose (Hamburg University), Paul Levin (Stockholm University), Elise Massicard (Sciences Po) and Kerem Oktem (University of Graz) participated in the event. Below, please see the programme and paper abstracts presented during the symposium.

“Politics of Emotions in Turkey and Its Connected Geographies”

DAY ONE (Thursday, 11 January 2018)

9.30-10.15am Welcome, registration and tea/coffee

10.15-10.30am Introduction Esra Özyürek, (LSE)

10.30am-12pm Session One chaired by Paul Levin (Stockholm University)

“Scaling Home, Connecting the Nation: Affective Atmospheres of Mosques in the Netherlands”—Murat Es (The Chinese University of Hong Kong)“The Istanbul Hilton:

Consumer Democracy and the Emotional Investment in Mid-Century Modern Architecture in Postwar Turkey”—Emre Gonlugur (Izmir University of Economics)

“Guilt and responsibility of the viewer: Representing the Armenian Genocide through art in Turkey”— Nora Tataryan (University of Toronto)

12-1.30pm Lunch

1.30-3pm Session Two chaired by Yael Navaro (University of Cambridge)

“Guilt and responsibility in public confessions of security officers on atrocities against Kurds in Turkey”—Yeşim Yaprak Yıldız (University of Cambridge)

“The affective space of the Kurdish conflict in the juridico-political: contentious memories of fear, defiance and resentment. ”—Özgür Sevgi Göral (Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales)

“Waiting with Hope and Doubt in the Trials of Terror” — Serra Hakyemez (University of Minnesota)

3-3.30pm Tea/coffee break

3.30-5pm Session Three chaired by Kerem Öktem (University of Graz)

“In the Name of the Father? Kemalist BDSM and the Affective Politics of Belonging in Turkey”— Rüstem Ertuğ Altınay (University of Vienna)

“In-between love and hate: The continuities and novelties of emotional political travel of conservatism in Turkey”— Nil Mutluer (Humboldt University)

“Populist Aesthetics and Turkey's Failed Coup: Seducing the Public through Televised Confessions” — Ergin Bulut (Koç University) & Başak Can (Koç University)

6-8pm Plenary session (at the Wolfson Theatre, New Academic Building) chaired by Esra Özyürek (LSE)

Panelists:

Yael Navaro (University of Cambridge),

Carel Bertram (San Francisco State University)

Ayşe Parla (Sabanci University / Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton)

Bilgin Ayata (University of Basel)

DAY TWO (Friday, 12 January 2018)

10-12pm Session One chaired by Elise Massicard (SciencesPo)

“Affective Pedagogies: Governing Youth in times of dissent” — Ayça Alemdaroğlu (Northwestern University)

“Where are you My Love? Love, Vulnerability, and Resistance” — Aslı Zengin (Harvard University)

“Breathing and Blockade: Notes on Materiality, Intimacy, and Resistance” — Umut Yıldırım (Boğaziçi University)

“Love as a political act: Affect, difference and the local protest music genre” — Ece Algan (California State University, San Bernardino)

12-1.30pm Lunch

1.30-3pm Session Two chaired by Yavuz Köse (Hamburg University)

“Exiliness as a feeling and other emotions: Armenians in London” — Şahika Erkonan (Loughborough University)

“The Superflous and Redemptive Character of Exile” — Seçkin Sertdemir

“Affective geopolitics: Entanglements of geopolitical lives of Syrian refugees in Turkey” — Banu Gökarkınel (University of North Carolina) & Anna J. Secor (University of Kentucky)

3-3.30pm Tea/coffee break

3.30-5pm Session Three chaired by Esra Özyürek (LSE)

“Feelings from a Drop of Blood: On the Affectivity of Martyrdom in Turkey” — Mark Soileau (Hacettepe University)

“Grieving for the Future: The Politics of Monumentalization in Two Kurdish Martyr Cemeteries” — Çiçek İlengiz (Max Planck Institute) & Armanç Yıldız (Harvard University)

“An unstable sacrificial economy: Kurdish political martyrdom” — Marlene Schaeffers (Ghent University)

5-5.30pm Tea/coffee break

5.30-7pm Session Four chaired by Paul Kubicek (Oakland University)

“The Will and the Object: The Emotional Politics of the Gulmen/Ozakca Hunger Strike” — Sanem Su Avcı (Hacettepe University)

“Going Beyond Emotions: Populist Politics of Jouissance in Turkey” — İrem Taşçıoğlu (Goldsmiths College)

“What counts as Bedel? Politics of Emotions, Morality, and Loss in the Post Conflict Kurdistan of Turkey” — Esin Düzel (University of California, San Diego)

7-8pm Closing discussion on publication plans

Abstracts

Scaling Home, Connecting the Nation: Affective Atmospheres of Mosques in the Netherlands

Murat Es, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

There is a burgeoning literature about the feelings of anxiety and fear generated by Islamic landscapes in Europe. Repulsion and violence purpose-built mosques trigger for certain nativist groups have been extensively studied. Yet, little is known about the types of affective practices, connections and atmospheres mosques mediate. When inhabiting the transnational social spaces of European mosques operated by settlers from Turkey, one is exposed to myriad sights, smells and sounds that create an embodied experience of affective nation/alism. From the shape of tea glasses to the ceramic ornamentation used on the walls, from the smell of snacks to the motifs of carpets, from the sound of conversations in Turkish to the background noise of the TV tuned to the Turkish public broadcasting network, mosques create homely spaces imbued with, and cultivate a specific articulation of Turkishness. This paper approaches mosques as affective spaces of belonging that are constructed and experienced at the intersection of multiple scales. Through an ethnographic study of everyday embodied experiences of mosque-goers at several mosques operated by Turkish-Dutch communities, I ask: Which affective forces and learned emotions bring together distant places, various objects, and certain minoritized individuals to produce what kinds of belonging? I argue that affective spatiality of the Turkish-Dutch mosques simultaneously helps ontologize cultural difference and destabilize exclusive politics of belonging in based on territoriality.

The Istanbul Hilton, Consumer Democracy and the Emotional Investment in Mid-Century Modern Architecture in Postwar Turkey

Emre Gonlugur, Izmir University of Economics

This paper proposes to explore the emerging notions of democracy in postwar Turkey by examining the architectural consequences of the country's newfound political and economic alliance with the United States as well as their emotional resonances in postwar Turkish consciousness. Turkey's alignment with US interests in the immediate postwar years bore many fruits among which architectural projects proved a most effective conduit for the transfer of American values and ideals. In particular, the Istanbul Hilton Hotel (1951-55), designed by Gordon Bunshaft of the famous architectural firm of SOM, acquired a unique status in the popular imagination as an instantly recognizable symbol of the American good life. A Turkish-American joint venture, the hotel fell outside the usual repertoire of public buildings funded by the state. The building remained a touchstone of architectural debate and became one of the defining monuments of postwar modernism in Turkey. I argue that the modern architecture of the hotel was embraced by the public as an emblem of modernity as it spoke of a shift in Turkish modernization efforts towards a more open economic regime in sync with the consumer democracies of the West. The Istanbul Hilton was the object of a society's emotional investment. It held the promise that Turkey would soon emerge from its peripheral obscurity to become a prosperous democracy sustaining close ties with the "free world." By focusing on the reception of the modern architecture of the Istanbul Hilton within different emotional communities, this paper seeks to address how democracy was defined

in the emotional regime of mid-century Turkey. It proposes to explore how a commercial building type came to account for the changing notions of democracy in a country desperate for change and economic growth? What role did architecture play in accommodating popular demands for participation in mass consumption and how did that role contribute to the redefinition of citizenship and common good in the postwar decades? How did the Istanbul Hilton come to be associated with the free expression of female sexuality and what did that association say about the changing role of women in a democratizing society?

Guilt and the responsibility of the viewer: Representing the Armenian Genocide through art in Turkey

Nora Tataryan, University of Toronto

In *Emancipated Spectator*, Rancière (2011) makes it very clear that there is neither a straightforward road from the act of looking at an artwork to the process of understanding the state of the world, nor a direct path from intellectual awakening to political action. He explicitly says that he doesn't see hope in such works of art, asserting that they reveal the truth, which was not noticed before by the spectator, and in doing so, predict that the spectator will feel guilty because of their ignorance and start acting in a certain way. If we consider the ways in which Armenian Genocide has been represented in contemporary art in Turkey in the last ten years we discover that most of the production has been created with the intent to produce specific feelings in its spectators rather than giving space to the viewer to reflect on the artwork. In my paper, taking the cue from Rancière's argument, I will explore the ways in which art in the Turkish context has been aimed at producing guilt as it addresses unrepresentable histories and its political outcomes. Rather than employ a visual analysis, reviewing various forms of art practice, my paper will not only discuss art's internal mechanisms which invalidate such attempts to produce guilt but will also explore the multi-layered meanings of guilt as an emotion.

Yesim Yaprak Yildiz, University of Cambridge

Guilt and responsibility in public confessions of perpetrators

This paper aims to discuss the processes of effacement of guilt and responsibility in public confessions of state officials on state violence against Kurds in Turkey in 1990s. Confession of a wrongdoing is regarded crucial for both legal and moral reasons as it supposedly addresses guilt and responsibility. Besides, confessions of state violence tend to be celebrated as forms of speaking truth to power, as they reveal crucial information on past political violence that could be used to hold the state accountable. Yet as I will argue in this paper through an analysis of the confessional narratives of a paramilitary officer, a policeman and an intelligence officer in Turkey, public confessions hardly challenge state power. What they have in common is that while acknowledging the wrongdoing they committed, they simultaneously efface guilt and responsibility through varying strategies, including narratives of self-excuse, self-justification, naturalization of the wrongdoing and generalization of guilt. Drawing upon Jacques Derrida's and Paul de Man's commentaries on Rousseau's confessions, I will argue that confession is simultaneously an avowal and a disavowal of a wrongdoing.

Temizöz and Others case as the affective space of the Kurdish conflict: fear, defiance and resentment

Özgür Sevgi Göral (EHES)

A criminal investigation on the enforced disappearances, extrajudicial and arbitrary killings that took place in Cizre during the 1990s, commenced in 2009. Since the 1990s, Cizre represented a symbolic, political and **spatial** margin of Turkey. Several strong emotions like fear, defiance, despise, guiltiness, resentment, anger and repulsion were produced and disseminated during the hearings of this case, namely Temizöz and Others, which drew attention from different actors. On the one hand, indictment and other official narratives invoked a peculiar conglomeration of these emotions and on the other hand narratives of the complainants and the defendants also produced and disseminated controversial emotions. The case became a symbolic politico-legal realm of encounter for these contentious emotions and narratives. Contrary to initial expectations, it ended with the acquittal of all the defendants in 2015. I claim that the trajectory and the affective space of this legal case are crucial for a deepened understanding of the Kurdish issue. How different asymmetries were established around these emotions, which rendered some of them acceptable and memorable while rendering some others invisible? How this affective space influenced and interacted with other emotions prevailing over the Kurdish conflict? To answer these questions I will analyze the indictment and the minutes of the hearings. Also, I will construe the interviews conducted with the complainants and lawyers along with my observations obtained during the hearings. I contend that the affective space and contentious narratives of Temizöz and Others case reveal crucial insights about the political and the legal, the past and the contemporary of the Kurdish conflict.

Serra Hakyemez, University of Minnesota

Waiting with Hope and Doubt in the Trials of Terror

What picture of waiting do we attain if we approach it as a form of life? Waiting in terror courts undergirds the everyday, figures in reckoning time, and prompts anticipations for the future while charging the present with a range of anxieties. Reflections on waiting underscore the predicaments it entails when people feel stuck in the present time of waiting without the capacity to move forward or backward (Hage 2009), or when the present seems devoid of vitality (Crapanzano 1985). Waiting can become lethal when it is experienced as a form of life that enfolds the fear of an unknown “other” who stands as the symbol of and justification for terror (Das 2016; Lear 2015). How could life experienced in the form of waiting gain vitality under such conditions of injustice? This paper focuses on the families of Kurdish detainees waiting for the release of their relatives during the period known as the negotiation process (2013-2014) between the PKK and the Turkish state. Keeping in mind that previous episodes of the “process” had been terminated without bringing out any changes to the lives of political prisoners and detainees, the affective tone of waiting was shaped by a sense of hope that was underwritten by pulsating doubt. The literature on protracted war and violence underlines the kind of cynicism that national politics gives birth to (Allen 2013) and the capacity of national struggles to instill hope time and again (Kelly 2006). By attending to the tension between doubt and hope in the unfolding of the negotiation process, this paper argues that the affective landscape within which the “process” was felt and thought of is irreducible to cruel cynicism or blind optimism. Drawing upon the experiences of the families of Kurdish detainees in and around terror courts, it examines the interlocking of hope and hopelessness, resentment and anticipation, acting and waiting.

In the Name of the Father? Kemalist BDSM and the Affective Politics of Belonging in Turkey

Rüstem Ertuğ Altınay (University of Vienna)

As an ideological formation associated with Turkey's first president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, Kemalism has been rearticulated by different actors in the service of competing political projects and retained its significance throughout the republican history of Turkey. Secularism and Turkish nationalism remained as the main characteristics of Kemalism. Since 2002, as neoliberal globalism, neo-Ottomanism, and Sunni Islamism gradually emerged as the pillars of the governing Justice and Development Party's vision for a "new Turkey" and the President Erdoğan embarked on replacing Atatürk as Turkey's authoritarian father figure, Kemalism has largely lost its power. My presentation analyzes how this moment of crisis has inspired new articulations of the ideology as well as diverse aesthetic practices that seek to both sustain and transform it. To understand the role of affect in these processes, I examine BDSM (Bondage&Discipline/Domination&Submission/Sadism&Masochism) photography and social networking practices in the light of archival research. The examples of Kemalist BDSM photography I study reveal the importance of women's affective labor for the sustenance of Kemalism and challenge the gendered politics of melancholia and nostalgia that characterize mainstream engagements with the ideology. Moreover, these photographs question the politics of "infantile citizenship," which have been vital to the affective construction of Kemalist citizenship since Turkey's formative years. Using BDSM both as a venue and a model, these images suggest new strategies for conceptualizing and experiencing national belonging in Turkey. Kemalist BDSM thus shows the importance of sexual practices for understanding the politics of emotions in the country. Kemalist BDSM practices also present an opportunity to revisit and revise the Western scholarship on BDSM, especially the psychoanalytical approaches.

Populist Aesthetics and Turkey's Failed Coup: Seducing the Public through Televised Confessions

Ergin Bulut (Koç University) & Başak Can (Koç University)

Following the failed coup attempt on 15 July 2016, Turkey's mainstream media featured a number of former Gulenites on TV and revealed their confessions regarding how they were "fooled" by Gulen's network. The confessional genre used by these former members mostly draws on major features of populist communication style: demonization, conspiracy, and myth making. Seduction is key to these confessional performances in the sense that they aim to seduce media commentators and the public through spectacular and emotive narratives, i.e. – Fethullah Gulen threw orange peel to his disciples, he sent his undershirt to successful followers, F. Gulen is the reincarnated anti-Christ and he works for the CIA. Putting the "media events" literature (Dayan and Katz 1992) in conversation with "mediated populism" (Moffitt 2016; Mazzoleni, 2003) and state anthropology (Payne 2007; Robben 1996), we conduct an interpretive analysis of Gulen Movement's former members' televised confessions along with the gestures, props and stage devices used in these shows. Ultimately, we examine how emotional confessional genres serve as ideological framework in which officials responsible for cultivating this network are not held accountable. Ultimately, we argue that by creating emotions of awe, shock, fear on the part of the audience, these televised confession performances do not settle but rather blur the past by creating monster-like subjects who cannot be held accountable to a nullified justice system.

Affective pedagogies: governing youth in the times of dissent

Ayça Alemdaroğlu (Northwestern University)

In a series of controversial speeches in 2012, the then Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan declared that the goal of his government is to bring up religious youth. Erdoğan's declaration garnered a strong reaction from the society. The protests in the Summer of 2013 helped crystallize this reaction, while it marked the ruling Justice and Development Party's (AKP) growing concern to discipline and control society, in particular its youth. During the protests, the state officials systematically discredit, criminalize and repress youth protestors. How did the government address young people in the aftermath of the protests? And what was the place of emotions in the AKP's effort to control dissent and manufacture consent among youth? Recent youth essay competitions that were organized by two conservative associations with organic links to the government are emblematic of this effort. The paper focuses on *The Spirit of Conquest, Fatih the Conqueror and Youth*, the largest of recent essay competitions and a harbinger of many more "spirit competitions." By examining student essays as well as the framing of the competition by its organizers, politicians and the mass-media, the paper looks at the emotional work that the politics of the past does in the present. It argues that the government utilizes essay competitions to construct and administer youth publics by what Anne Parkinson (2016) calls affective pedagogies that aim to inculcate loyalty, self-esteem, pride, and hope for the future. The paper concludes, however, at this current historical juncture in Turkey with all its economic and political problems, this affective pedagogy might be no more than feeding "cruel optimism" (Berlant 2010) in youth.

Where are you My Love? Love, Vulnerability, and Resistance

Aslı Zengin (Harvard University)

This paper explores the relationship between queer love, vulnerability and resistance in Turkey by focusing on two distinct yet related issues in the LGBTQ activist agenda: first, campaigns and rallies organized around "hate crimes" against LGBTQ people, and second, politics of public queer visibility, social inclusion and gender/sexual justice. A discursive focus on queer love has gained more widespread public attention during and after the Gezi protests in 2013, the time when the LGBTQ presence and visibility reached a remarkable point among different political platforms. Since then, there has been a growing emphasis on circulating the language and public displays of queer love as a medium to vocalize the vulnerability of LGBTQ lives in Turkey. Focusing on ethnographic vignettes on the uses of queer love within the LGBTQ movement in Istanbul, I theorize queer love as an embodied and discursive space of vulnerability, which is both mobilized and mobilizing. I trace the following questions: What is the relationship between vulnerability and love? How does this relationship define the political subject of the LGBTQ movement? How do LGBTQ activists deploy the notion of love to delineate the sites for social change, sexual justice and gender equality? Last but not least, how can we approach love as a constellation of vulnerability, rage, persistence and resistance, and following bell hook's (2001) formulation, as an action instead of seeing it as a feeling within the specific context of the LGBTQ movement in Turkey?

Breathing and Blockade: Notes on Materiality, Intimacy, and Resistance

Umut Yıldırım (Boğaziçi University)

In an attempt to crack a referential circuit between the human (knower) and the nature (external) in militarized settings and in critical discussion with the recent anthropological literature on life (Kohn 2013), ecological intimacy (Weston 2017) and resistance (Cadena 2011), I shift my ethnographic lens, in this paper, to the plants, vegetables, and trees of the Hevsel Gardens in Diyarbakır. Historically known to be the “lungs of Diyarbakır,” Hevsel is one of the richest natural reserves in the Middle East in terms of agricultural productivity and biodiversity, and provide minimal livelihood for around 100 families, who had settled in the southern shantytowns of the city in 1990s as a result of the forced military displacement of rural Kurdish communities by the Turkish state machinery. Here I argue that Hevsel shifted from a synonym of “surroundings” to a metonymical eco-political border, worthy of its own affective force as a memorial site reminiscent of the Turkish military blockades and the corresponding Kurdish uprisings in the face of the Turkish state’s ongoing reification of the area as “gardens.” I am interested in this paper in how this ecological border was differentially remade by the Turkish state and the Kurdish freedom movement both materially and affectively, in their complex efforts to describe the quality of everyday life in the area after the fact of its destruction, and by so doing to provide a practical means for both essentialising that destruction and orienting its rehabilitation. I argue that Hevsel, as the material and metaphorical lungs of the city, constitutes an unruly and fractured process of breathing continually given new momentum by violent processes like military blockade, infrastructural gridding, gentrification, and gradual ecological destruction. “Breathing,” as an ethnographic concept, carries both material pertinence as a respirational capacity for human and non-humans alike and rich philosophical connotations to reflect on an affective life force interrupted and intermittently stolen by military occupation, construction business, and commodification. The geographically, materially, and affectively regimented movements of Kurdish families through those bits of urban fields enables me to show how this violent matrix of disruption is reconfigured on the ground to ask whether the most abject instances of militarized life could deliver spaces of breath to survive.

Love as a political act: Affect, difference and the local protest music genre

Ece Algan (California State University, San Bernardino)

Drawing from my ethnographic fieldwork in Southeast Turkey, this paper will explore the politics of difference as expressed via love in the local protest song genre and through music sharing practices among youth in the city of Şanlıurfa. The politics of love in Turkey as expressed through music has always been enmeshed with other politicized emotions relating to social class status and alterity as Özbek (1998) illustrated in her seminal work on Arabesk music genre in Turkey. Similarly, the local protest music as produced and shared among youth in Şanlıurfa treats love as a political act to be experienced in ways other than the traditionally sanctioned in a conservative region that polices intimacy by restricting it to the realm of arranged marriages. The protest music in Turkey has conventionally been anti-establishment with political messages ranging from freedom for political prisoners, better living standards for workers to the discrimination and oppression of the Kurdish people as popularized by the artist, Ahmet Kaya. However, the local protest music genre, which is a hybrid

between arabesk and political protest music, mostly features poems about unrequited love as well as a societal critique of the socio-political conditions, traditions and beliefs that restrict intimacy. In some of these songs, embedded in the song lyrics along with references about life in the East are also the realities and difficulties of being Kurdish. Based on my respondents' experiences of sharing local protest songs in Şanlıurfa and an analysis of the lyrics and poems used in them, this paper will discuss the politics of love in the region as well as the ways in which these songs communicate and problematize difference and belonging to an "Eastern" (doğulu) identity.

Exileness as a feeling and other emotions: Armenians in London

Şahika Erkonan (Loughborough University)

In his well-known article on Armenian diaspora, Khachig Tölölyan (2002) argues that diaspora as a concept should be redefined for every individual cultural context and special attention should be paid to the cultural identity and specific memory of each group. To discuss this further in the Armenian context he states, "We were told that the Post-Genocide diaspora was to think of itself as exilic, existing provisionally, for an uncertain period of time, awaiting the return. While it waited, it had to engage in an organized struggle to sustain Armenian identity" (2002: 9). This research aims at exploring the emotions of a group of British-Armenian community living in London by looking into the ways in which they mediate their feelings of exileness through their memories. My initial talks with the community members reveal that although these members are not exiles themselves, they transmit a kind of 'a feeling of exileness' through a certain set of narrative forms which enable them mediate their post memories of Armenian Genocide of 1915. These narrative forms do not only frame the images of homeland for the community but they also construct certain 'political emotions' towards various political and cultural geographies that need to be further discussed.

The Superfluous and Redemptive Character of Exile

Seçkin Sertdemir (Independent Scholar)

As the autocratic regime ruled by totalitarian methods is becoming more established in Turkey we witness one of the largest waves of exile in country's history. This large scale phenomenon deserves more attention philosophically and sociologically especially within the context of the current rise of nationalism and anti-immigration policies around the world. The concept of exile has usually been defined as a "condition of someone being sent from their own country especially for political reasons". Nevertheless, the current movement in Turkey does not fully fit the criteria of such explanation. Greater numbers of journalists, academics and other groups of government opponents go on exile in or out the country due to "political reasons" by arbitrary decisions taken by the government to construct a "new regime". Could we describe this new type of exile as a post-totalitarian type? In this paper, first of all, we would like to focus on how exiled individuals or groups have been made to look "superfluous" potentially suffering from pauperisation having no political or social rights in their own country. This analysis could contribute to understanding how these people have been put through an unjust process of dehumanisation. Secondly, we will explain how it could be possible to defeat this condition of exile by questioning its redemptive character.

Affective geopolitics: Entanglements of geopolitical lives of Syrian refugees in Turkey

Banu Gökarkınel (University of North Carolina) & Anna J. Secor (University of Kentucky)

The war in Syria is transforming the bodies and territories well beyond the sites of fighting. For Turkey, the war has reconfigured (geo) political and spatial imaginaries in ways that both express and exceed the real conditions of the crisis. In this paper, we address the embodied affective geopolitics of the Syrian war from the perspective of ordinary Turkish nationals (in Istanbul, Konya and Malatya, focus group research conducted in 2014-2016) in relation to their encounters both with Syrian refugees and the discourses that frame or contest Turkey's open door policy. Building on recent work in politics of emotions, affect and bodies in feminist geopolitics and political geography, our analysis focuses on 1-- feelings of uncomfortable identification that can provoke a turn away from the other for fear from becoming more alike or of allowing repressed likeness such as sectarianism to come to light, 2- feeling of threatening proximity wherein the denigration of Syrian bodies and lives converge with a desire for a spatial organization of bodies that would put literal boundaries between 'us' and 'them', and 3-how the imminent embodied and affective challenge posed by the influx of three million Syrians in Turkey requires addressing the ethics of how to hear and respond to the pain of others. We argue that while geopolitical imaginaries are typically understood to spatially array enclosures of "us" and "them", an affective and embodied approach to geopolitics opens these cartographies to topological dynamism and entanglement.

Feelings from a Drop of Blood: On the Affective Martyrdom in Turkey

Marc Soileau (Hacettepe University)

Martyrdom is an attribution bestowed upon an individual who dies a usually violent and often bloody death for the sake of a cause or struggle on behalf of a group ("us") and at the hands of an enemy ("them"). In the case of martyrdom in Turkey, the group identity is most prominently conceived of as a Turkish nation with Sunni Islamic overtones. Because it brings together themes like community, us vs. them, struggle, violence, and death, martyrdom is itself heavily laden with emotion, and bears strong affectivity – the potential to convey and engender emotions in members of the relevant community. These emotions may include sorrow, indebtedness, pride, anger, and vengeance. Because the martyr bears such cultural gravity and thus political utility, his or her memory is perpetuated through various means, such as the naming of streets, school textbooks, dramatic images, poetic expression, and emotional discourse. It is through these media that the affectivity of martyrdom is actualized. This paper will analyze the forms through which martyrs are commemorated and emotion thereby conveyed in the context of several historical moments in Turkey: the wars that constitute the republic's birth narrative, the fight against separatist terrorism, and most recently the coup attempt of 15 July 2016. It will show how the emotions engendered through the martyr motif and its dramatic symbols can be utilized to garner the support of citizens, though these emotions might be felt differently by different individuals from different sets of surroundings in different temporal moments.

Grieving for the Future: The Politics of Monumentalization in Two Kurdish Martyr Cemeteries **Çiçek İlengiz (Max Planck Institute) & Armanç Yıldız (Harvard University)**

As a result of the initiation of a very precarious peace process between the Turkish state and the PKK, from 2013 to 2015, several martyr cemeteries were constructed in the Turkish Kurdistan. The construction of martyr cemeteries continued peacefully until the inauguration of statues planned to be placed in the cemeteries. Until then, the cemeteries were unofficially authorized by the Turkish state and were considered “liberated spaces” by the Kurdish movement. However, once the news of the unveiling ceremonies of the statues reached wider publics, they were attacked by the Turkish security forces. This paper focuses on two stories of these attacks which ruptured the non-conflictual construction processes of the cemeteries. Interrogating the stories of the statues of Mahsum Korkmaz and Zeynep Kınacı through ethnographic material and media coverage, this paper analyzes how the line between grieving and transforming the grief into a potential of imagining another future is controlled by the state power and plays with the limits of imagined “liberated spaces”. Considering the destruction of the martyr cemeteries by the Turkish security forces in 2015, it argues that the governance of dead bodies and the aesthetic regimes that accompany them occupy a significant place in the political agendas of both powers claiming sovereignty in the Turkish Kurdistan. It discusses monuments as affective objects, mediating not only the aesthetic experience of the grieving subject, but also, through such aesthetic experience, they transform ‘mourning remains’ (Eng and Kazanjian 2003) into future making, which is why they are considered to be more prominent threats to the Turkish state, in comparison to the martyrs’ cemeteries.

An unstable sacrificial economy: Kurdish political martyrdom

Marlene Schaeffers (Ghent University)

Acilar ust uste yilgildikca kelimeler birer enkaza donusuyor altinda

As pain piles up, words turn into rubble underneath

The above is a citation from one of the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) annually published Martyr’s Albums (Sehitler Albumleri) which assemble hundreds of obituaries for fallen PKK guerrilla fighters, penned by friends and comrades. What kind of emotional labour do these obituaries perform, I ask? How are the words they contain able to grapple with pain piling up? And how does the labour of ruined words render death a potent yet highly ambiguous political force? At once celebrations of heroic self sacrifice and intimate sacrifice of personal grief over the loss of loved ones, obituaries like the one I cite above reveal the PKK’s culture of martyrdom to be the one that continuously labours against the doubts and anxieties spawned by violent death and at rendering thereby productive for the political collective. Celebrating martyrdom, the paper suggests is not a self evident reflex of nationalist ideology, but a fragile endeavour that has to grapple with mortality’s destabilizing affects. It thus shows violent death to be a potent but highly destabilizing effect of emotional engagement which a moral economy of sacrificial debt and redemption finds hard to fully tame.

The Will and the Object: The Emotional Politics of the Gulmen/Ozakca Hunger Strike

Sanem Su Avcı (Hacettepe University)

This paper takes off as a monograph of the hunger strike realised by Nuriye Gülmen and Semih Özakça in Ankara since March 2017, and finalizes with a discussion on the political consequences of the overuse of objects of emotion. Moving on from the theoretical framework put forward by Sara Ahmed, which argues that emotions work to create the surfaces of collective bodies through the circulation of commonly shared objects of emotion; it approaches the hunger strike as a form of political action that works on the emotions of love, guilt, honour, empathy, compassion and anger in an attempt to construct a unified political community based on likeness of feeling. As the lives of strikers are reduced to biological processes through the effects of enduring starvation, these “sacrificed bodies” are transformed into objects of emotion around and by means of which a community is hoped to (re)build itself. This argument is illustrated with an extensive sample of discourses by the strikers and their supporters that can be found on online resources, showing these emotions at work across the first 75 days of the hunger strike. The paper then goes on to contrast these discourses with discourses on the “martyred” members of the security forces, to demonstrate how the same emotions are cultivated by different political projects for similar aims at times when the community is perceived to be at risk of dissolving. The paper concludes by arguing that objects of emotion are not totally arbitrary; and that insistence on objects of emotion that do not “hold” can lead, instead of a galvanization, to a mortification of political dynamism.

Going Beyond Emotions: Populist Politics of Jouissance in Turkey

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This paper tries to go beyond emotions in order to, paradoxically, grasp the very nature of the politics of emotions that undergird authoritarian-populism in Turkey which is embodied by the AKP and the President of Turkey. The ascending scholarly trend that scrutinizes the rise of authoritarian populism in Western and Eastern Europe by emphasizing the so-called ‘regressive’ emotional tendencies like resentment, anger, xenophobic hatred etc. has paradoxical effects. On the one hand, it provides us a way to challenge the ‘social constructionist’ methodologies by introducing emotions. However, on the other hand, the very way ‘emotions’ are articulated in this ‘critical’ discourse is on the verge of succumbing to an idealized bifurcation of ‘populism’ and ‘liberal’ rule of law, anticipating the dissolution of the former if only ‘rational’ cognition would take the upper hand by favouring human rights, constitutionalism and the ideal of humanity. This paper attempts to forgo the Western critical mode of addressing the regressive ‘emotional’ aspects of populism by introducing the Lacanian psychoanalytic inquiry on jouissance into the picture in the non-Western context of Turkish populist politics. The argument is that this approach helps us to transcend the straightjacket of the ‘regressive’ populism-‘progressive’ liberal rule of law dichotomy and respectively, its rhetorics of emotions. It shifts the perspective from emotions to jouissance in forging identities, which implies the resistant quality of the symptoms to dissolve themselves even though their irrational core becomes explicit. Thus, in the remaining part of the paper, I try to delineate the particular content of this politics of jouissance, which I argue falls on the side of the masculine in the Lacanian schema with its exclusive references to exception and focus on the interrelated aspects of the ‘heroism’ of the leader, the discourse of victimhood and conspiracy fantasies which ultimately encircle around this core.

What Counts as Bedel? Politics of Emotions, Morality and Loss in the Post-Conflict Kurdistan of Turkey

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Emotions take on a central role in the conflict and post-conflict periods; they inspire collective action, support ideological frameworks, and forge political communities with a moral ground. In cases of protracted conflicts, emotions also reflect both the strengths and the contentions within the political communities. This paper looks at bedel (paying the price, sacrifice), a central value with emotional power, in the Kurdish movement. Based on one-year fieldwork in Diyarbakır between 2011-2015 and interviews with common members of the Kurdish movement, it examines the ambiguities and economies attached to bedel in the political community in the post-conflict period. The Kurdish politics underwent a major transformation in 1999. After his capture, the Kurdistan Workers' Party leader Abdullah Öcalan announced the end of the struggle for a nation-state, and put forth an agenda for democratic self-rule within the boundaries of Turkey. Some called this period, "warring with pen," pointing at the new forms of struggles in public policy, grassroots organizations, and parliamentary politics. Yet, such forms required different sets of skills than radical militancy, which lead to contentions around the proper political subjectivities and proper emotional regimes. The recent contentions around bedel sit on this transformation. I argue that the emotional workings of bedel in Kurdish community reveal the deep schisms in the movement with regard to crafting a new political model and its moral universe.