

ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL

**ARCHITECTURES OF ELUSION:
NARRATING THE PLURALITY OF POLITICAL SPACES**



M.Sc. THESIS

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Department of Architecture

Architectural Design Programme

FEBRUARY 2024

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ

**YAKALANMAMA MİMARLIKLARI:
POLİTİK MEKANLARIN ÇOĞULLUĞUNU ANLATMAK**

YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ

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To my mother,



FOREWORD

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Melike Beşik
(Architect)



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ARCHITECTURES OF ELUSION: NARRATING THE PLURALITY OF POLITICAL SPACES

SUMMARY

In this research, I question how architecture positions itself in today's politically charged and multi-layered reality. To establish this process of inquiry, I borrow the concept of the *thick present* that Donna Haraway uses to describe the complex accumulation of economic crises, political tensions, social problems, and ecological hazards in the Anthropocene. In the political dimension of the *thick present*, I deal with protest, one of the most prominent spatial manifestations of politics, in order to investigate the potentials of architecture outside its traditional practices and to discover what it can and cannot respond to. I suggest that protests, beyond their dominant representations that often appear as instantaneous and intense reactions, are political knots that can reveal the political complexity of the *thick present*, and can be a research ground on which speculations can be made through the pluralities they contain. In this sense, the 20th Feminist Night March is the case of this thesis, which has a significant place in Turkey's political climate and has been subject to various political and spatial oppressions.

In this design research, I propose a practice in which architecture deviates from its conventional design processes and takes on a narrative identity that both reveals the plurality of the *thick present* and produces spatial criticism. This identity, which I define as narrating architecture, is built on Haraway's suggestion of staying in the *thick present* through storytelling. The architectural framework I have established, following feminist scholars such as Jane Rendell, Jill Stoner, Jennifer Bloomer, Penelope Haralambidou, and Sepideh Karami, proposes a critical approach to architecture's tendency to intervene and find solutions. Here, architecture as a speculative, unrevealed, and elusive narrator distorts traditional representations of protest and is interested in representing its plurality without violently exposing it.

I propose two design experiments; The Condenser and The Disinherited Fitment, under the name "Architectures of Elusion." These feminist, minor, plural, elusive, fictional, allegorical and ironic architectures describe the plurality of the 20th Feminist Night March through speculative narration; they disrupt meta-narratives by proliferating micro-narratives. The model, called The Condenser, works based on the audio recording taken from Cihangir Street, where the protest took place. Dealing with the thickness of the Feminist Night March, The Condenser appears as a speculator architecture in the form of a narrator. Strategically engaging with states of visibility and invisibility, the model offers an open-ended experiment in critically engaging with political spaces. The other experiment, The Disinherited Fitment, presents two temporally separated speculative drawings that produce narratives through architectural elements regarding a case of police brutality that occurred the same evening after the protest. These drawings allegorically criticize the hegemonic dynamics in spaces that exclude marginalized forms of existence through the infrastructure units that sustain the built environment in the region. For this reason,

Disinherited Fitment adapts to the denied and discarded states of architecture and reveals their testimonies about a case of police brutality.

These design experiments engage critically with both architecture and the political dynamics of protest spaces. While revealing the spatiality of politically charged events, they offer a minor practice of spatial critique by disrupting oppressive political realities through the creativity inherent in reinterpretation. As a result, "Architectures of Elusion," together with its theoretical background, establishes a ground for questioning how architecture can disrupt traditional norms and take part in the political dimension of the "thick present".



YAKALANMAMA MİMARLIKLARI: POLİTİK MEKANLARIN ÇOĞULLUĞUNU ANLATMAK

ÖZET

Bu araştırmada günümüzün politik olarak yüklü ve çok katmanlı gerçekliğinde mimarlığın nereye konumlanabileceğini sorguluyorum. Bu sorgulama zeminini kurmak adına Donna Haraway'ın Antroposen'deki ekonomik krizlerin, siyasi gerilimlerin, toplumsal sorunların ve ekolojik tehlikelerin karmaşık birikimini tanımlamak için kullandığı "kalın şimdi" kavramını ödünç alıyorum. "Kalın şimdi" nin politik boyutu içinde mimarlığın kendi geleneksel süreçleri dışındaki potansiyellerini araştırmak ve neye yanıt verip veremeyeceğini keşfetmek adına siyasetin en belirgin mekansal tezahürlerinden olan protestoyu ele alıyorum. Protestoların, genellikle anlık ve yoğun tepkiler olarak beliren baskın temsillerinin ötesinde, "kalın şimdi" nin politik karmaşıklığını açığa çıkarabilecek siyasi düğümler olduğunu, ve barındırdığı çoğulluklar ile üzerinde spekülasyonlar yapılabilecek araştırma zemini olabileceğini öneriyorum. Bu bağlamda Türkiye'nin politik ikliminde önemli bir yere sahip olan, çeşitli siyasal ve mekansal baskılara özne olmuş 20. Feminist Gece Yürüyüşü'nü araştırmanın merkezine alıyorum.

Mimarlığın geleneksel tasarım süreçlerinden saptığı, hem "kalın şimdi" nin çoğulluğunu ortaya çıkaran hem de mekansal eleştiri üreten bir anlatısal kimliğe büründüğü bir pratik öneriyorum. Anlatı Mimarlığı olarak tanımladığım bu kimlik, Haraway'ın hikaye anlatmayı "kalın şimdi" nin içinde kalma metodu olarak sunması üzerine kuruluyor. Jane Rendell, Jill Stoner, Jennifer Bloomer, Penelope Haralambidou ve Sepideh Karami gibi feminist akademisyenleri takip ederek kurduğum mimari çerçeve, mimarlığın müdahale etme ve çözüm bulma eğilimine karşı eleştirel bir yaklaşım öneriyor. Burada spekülatif, gözler önüne serilmemiş ve deşifre edilmesi zor bir anlatıcı olarak mimarlık, protestonun geleneksel temsillerini çarpıtıyor ve onun çoğulluğunu ifşa etmeden temsil etmekle ilgileniyor. "Yakalanmama Mimarlıkları" olarak adlandırdığım tasarım araştırmaları, normdan sapmış olanın varoluş hallerine yönelik bir yaklaşım sunuyor ve hem politik hem mekansal zeminlerde karşılık buluyor.

Bu araştırmada protestonun politik boyutunu ele almak için Jacques Ranciere'in siyaset felsefesine yönelik yerleşik tanımları bozan yaklaşımını benimsiyorum. Siyasetin meydana gelmesi için anlaşmazlık içinde olan tarafların bir araya gelebilmesi koşulunu öneren bu yaklaşımı takip ederek protestonun siyaseti mekansallaştıran en belirgin eylemlerden biri olduğunu öneriyorum. Ranciere'in polis kavramı ile tanımladığı güç dağılımını belirleyen, gerçeklik algısını kuran, gerekli gördüğü ilişkileri belirleyen ve kontrol altına alan bünye, protesto mekanındaki anlaşmazlığın önemli bir kısmını oluşturduğu için bu tezin kavramsal çerçevesinde yerini buluyor.

Protestonun politik, mekansal ve affektif çoğulluklarını ele aldığım ikinci bölümde Gilles Deleuze ve Félix Guattari'nin minör kavramı öne çıkıyor. Protestonun politik çoğulluğunu ele almak için Deleuze ve Guattari'nin edebi bağlamda başlattıkları minörlük tartışmasını politika eksenine taşıyan Nicholas Thoburn'ün yaklaşımını takip ediyorum. Minör politikanın sabitlikten uzak, dinamik, anlık ve her an her yerde olan yapısının protestonun politik çoğulluğunu oluşturduğunu iddia ediyorum. Protestonun mekansal çoğulluğuna yönelik tartışmayı ise ilişkili mimarlık kuramı ile beraber yürütüyorum. Mekanın olaylarla, deneyimlerle, kişilerle; politik, toplumsal ve bireysel pek çok katmanın varlığıyla sürekli dönüştüğünü ve yeniden üretildiğini iddia eden Henri Lefebvre, Bernard Tschumi ve Dorita Hannah gibi isimlerin yaklaşımlarına değiniyorum. Herkes İçin Mimarlık (2013) ekibinin “#OccupyGezi architecture” çizimleri, Merve Bedir ve Sampson Wong'un (2021) “Unsettled Urbanism” isimli çalışması, Ece Yetim'in (2021) “Dayanışmanın Farklı Ölçekleri” başlıklı protesto çizimleri ve Sepideh Karami'nin (2018) “The house, the wings, the balcony, the dissidents” isimli yazınsal üretimini inceleyerek protestonun mekansal çoğulluğunu, tartıştığım mimarlık kuramı üzerinden değerlendiriyorum. Tezin eleştirel zemini kurmak için ise Jane Rendell'in “eleştirel mekansal pratik” yaklaşımını ve Jill Stoner'ın “minör mimarlık” kavramını ele alıyorum. Mimarlığın geleneksel süreçlerinden ayrılan potansiyellerine işaret eden bu eleştirel yaklaşımların, protestonun mekansal çoğulluğunu ele almak için uygun zemini sağlayabileceğini öneriyorum. Protestonun affektif çoğulluğuna odaklandığım altbaşlıkta ise afekt kuramının öncülerinden sayılan Baruch Spinoza, Deleuze ve Guattari üzerinden afektlerin ilişkiselliğini vurguluyorum. Bu ilişkiselliğin politik boyutunu ele almak için ise feminist afekt kuramına yöneliyorum. Sara Ahmed, Sianne Ngai ve Claire Hemmings gibi isimleri takip ederek, afektlerin toplumsal gerçekliklerden ayrı tutulamayacağını ve bu yönleriyle politik nitelikleri olduğunu vurguluyorum. Ngai'den ödünç aldığım “minör afekt” kavramı, protestonun affektif çoğulluğunu ele almak için uygun kavramsal yaklaşımı sunuyor. Protesto ile özdeşleştirilen coşku, öfke, heyecan gibi majör afektlerin ardında her protestoyu birbirinden ayrı kılan ve çoğu zaman isim vermenin mümkün olmadığı minör afektleri keşfediyorum.

Üçüncü bölümde 20. Feminist Gece Yürüyüşü'nün “kalın şimdi”de önemli bir politik nokta olduğunu açıklamak adına öncelikle Türkiye’de kadın hareketinin geçmişine odaklanıyorum. Osmanlı Devleti'nin son yıllarından itibaren ele aldığım kadın hareketinin ilerleyişini, her dönemin güncel meseleleri ile ilişkili olarak takip etmek mümkün. Bu bölümde kadın hareketinin önemli dönüm noktalarına ek olarak kadın dergilerin göz önünde olmayan sayfalarında, bu büyük hareketin içindeki minör ilişkilerin izini sürüyorum. Bu anlamda kadın hareketinin barındırdığı kompleks ağlar ve ilişkiler onun kendi kalınlığına referans veriyor. 20. Feminist Gece Yürüyüşü'nü ele aldığım altbaşlıkta ise bu eylemin ikinci bölümde bahsetmiş olduğum politik, mekansal ve affektif çoğulluklarını çeşitli haber kaynakları, protestocularla yürüttüğüm görüşmeler ve kendi deneyimlerim üzerinden açıklıyorum.

“Anlatı Mimarlığı” isimli bölümde temel araştırma sorusuna yönelik metodolojiyi kurmaya başlıyorum. Mimarlığın kendi inşa süreçlerinden saptığı ve anlatıcı bir kimliğe büründüğü bu yaklaşım, onun “kalın şimdi”deki olası konumuna yönelik bir öneri sunuyor. Bu bölümde öncelikle Roland Barthes, Walter Benjamin ve Jean-François Lyotard’ı takip ederek anlatının bilgi üretme kabiliyetini ele alıyorum. Bu kabiliyet dahilinde anlatılar, iktidar ve otoriteler tarafından fikir birliği ya da ayrılığı yaratmak, çeşitli algıları üretmek, yok saymak ya da idame etmek adına araçsallaşıyor. Bu noktada Lyotard’ın tarihi olayları ve bilgileri tekilleştiren ve bütünleştiren meta anlatılara karşı önerdiği mikro-anlatı kavramını merkeze almakla beraber, anlatıya yönelik feminist yaklaşımlara odaklanıyorum. Bu bağlamda Haraway’in parçalı, öznel, kısıtlı ve konumlu bilgi üretimini benimseyen feminist hikaye anlatıcılığını vurguluyorum. Böylece mikro anlatılar ve konumlu bilgi üretimi, bu tezin kavramsal çerçevesi için önemli hale geliyor.

Devamında, araştırmada mimarlığın büründüğü anlatısal kimliği kuran feminist anlatı metodlarını ele alıyorum. Ranciere’in polis düzeninin kurulu gerçekliklerini bozuma uğratmak için önerdiği kurgu, Henri Bergson’un dürtüsel bir hayatta kalma metodu olarak ele aldığı zihinsel hikaye üretimi, ve Donna Haraway’in “kalın şimdi”nin zorlukları ile bir arada kalabilme adına önerdiği hikaye anlatıcılığı yaklaşımlarını bir arada değerlendiriyorum. Hélène Frichot and Naomi Stead’in eleştirel bir pratik olarak kurguyu mimarlık eksenine taşıdıkları ficto-criticism pratiğini de mimarlığa atadığım anlatıcı kimliğinin inşasında önemli bir konuma yerleştiriyorum. Bu anlatıcı kimliğin somut boyutunu ele almak için ise Jennifer A. Gonzalez’in nesneler yoluyla kendi kimliğini haritalama pratiğine referans veren “ototopografya” kavramını ve Ursula Le Guin’in olağan elemanları toplayıp bir arada taşıyarak anlatı üreten “taşıyıcı hikaye anlatıcılığı” yaklaşımını bir arada ele alıyorum. Hatıralar ile şimdiki zaman arasında beliren afektler, düşünceler ve nesneler gibi anlatı unsurlarını bir araya getirme biçimleri açısından bu terimler arasında paralellikler kuruyorum. Burada kurguladığım anlatıcı mimarlık kimliğine ek olarak ben de 20. Feminist Gece Yürüyüşü’nün mikro anlatılarını toplarken, taşıırken ve spekülatif biçimlerde yeniden bir araya getirirken bir taşıyıcı hikaye anlatıcısı kimliğine bürünüyorum. “Öteki Olanı Anlatmak İçin Alegorik Mimarlık” isimli altbaşlıkta bu tezin temel mimari metodolojisi olan “alegorik mimarlık” pratiği öne çıkıyor. Kavramı, Jennifer Bloomer’ın minör alegorik mimarlık yaklaşımı ve Penelope Haralambidou’nun öteki olan ile etkileşime geçme aracı olarak önerdiği alegori aracılığıyla tartışıyorum. Alegorinin, anlamı çoğaltma, gizleme veya açığa çıkarma kabiliyetinden dolayı, siyasetin ötekileştirilmiş öznelerinin lehine politik bir araç olarak belirlediğini öne sürüyorum. Bu tezde alegorik mimariyi 20. Feminist Gece Yürüyüşü’nün kalınlığını spekülatif olarak ortaya çıkarmak, “kalın şimdi”de mimarlığın konumunu tartışmak ve mimarlığın temsil yöntemlerini eleştirel biçimlerde ele almak adına kullanıyorum.

"Yakalanmama Mimarlıkları" başlıklı bölümde, tasarım yoluyla araştırma öneren The Condenser ve The Disinherited Fitment adlı iki tasarım denemesini ele alıyorum. Feminist, minör, çoğul, anlaşılması zor, kurgusal, alegorik ve ironik mimariler, spekülasyon keşif yoluyla 20. Feminist Gece Yürüyüşü'nün çoğulluğunu anlatıyor. Mikro anlatıları çoğaltarak meta anlatıları bozuyorlar ve politik açıdan yüklü bu olayı kalınlaştıran meseleleri ifşa etmeden açığa çıkarma pratiği sunuyorlar. The Condenser isimli maket, protestonun gerçekleştiği Cihangir Caddesi'nden alınan ses kaydı üzerinden işliyor. 20. Feminist Gece Yürüyüşü'nün kalınlığı ile ilgilenen The Condenser, anlatıcı kimliğine bürünmüş spekülasyon bir mimarlık olarak beliriyor. Görünürlük ve görünmezlik durumlarıyla stratejik olarak ilişkilenen maket, politik mekanlarla eleştirel bir şekilde etkileşime geçmek için açık uçlu bir deney sunuyor. Diğer deneme The Disinherited Fitment, protestodan sonra aynı akşam meydana gelen bir polis şiddeti vakasına ilişkin mimari elemanlar üzerinden anlatılar üreten, zamansal olarak ayrılan iki spekülasyon çizim sunuyor. Bu çizimler, bölgedeki yapı çevreyi ayakta tutan altyapı birimleri aracılığıyla, ötekileşmiş varoluş biçimlerini dışlayan mekânlardaki hegemonik dinamikleri eleştiriyor. Bu nedenle Disinherited Fitment, mimarinin yadsınan ve gözden çıkarılan hallerine uyumlanarak onların bu şiddet olayına dair tanıklıklarını ortaya koyuyor.

Bu denemeler hem mimarlık ile hem de protesto mekanlarının politik dinamikleri ile eleştirel bir şekilde ilişkililiyor. Politik olarak yüklü olayların mekansallığını açığa vururken, yeniden yorumlanmanın barındırdığı yaratıcılık yoluyla baskıcı politik gerçeklikleri bozarak minör bir mekansal eleştiri pratiği sunuyorlar. Sonuç olarak, "Yakalanmama Mimarlıkları," teorik arka planlarıyla birlikte mimarlığın geleneksel normları nasıl bozuma uğratabileceğine ve "kalın şimdi"nin politik boyutunda nasıl yer alabileceğine dair bir sorgulama zemini kuruyor.

1. INTRODUCTION: GATHERING

The time I took part in the 20th Feminist Night March in Istanbul was within a period of my constant contemplation of where architecture stands within the tension and complexity of our present-day condition. Although back then I had no anticipation that the march would become a pivotal point for my thesis research, the experience quickly became part of my ongoing contemplative process. This event, with its temporal background, its meaning for different groups, the limitations it was subjected to, its oppressed spatiality, its emotional dimension, its occurrence, presence, and dispersion, laid the fertile ground for me to speculate on questions that led me to this thesis.

Donna Haraway (2016) suggests the concept of "*thick present*" to describe the complex accumulation of economic crises, political tensions, social issues, and ecological hazards in the Anthropocene. I borrow this concept as a contextual keyword to explore the potentialities of architecture in our condition, to discover what it can and cannot respond to, and to question its position within this thickness. This thesis tackles protests as political nodes within the *thick present* that contain their own *thickness* beyond their dominant representations that usually signify them as instantaneous and intense reactions. These overarching representations of protest that exist in the news, headlines, and political discourse, often indicate jammed crowds in renowned urban areas and flatten the complexity and uniqueness of these events. These representations, which I refer to as major narratives, obliterate the thickness of the protest and diminish its multi-layered context in the *thick present*.

This research aims to disrupt the major narratives of protest and questions how architecture can be positioned in the political dimension of the *thick present*. To establish this ground of research, architecture primarily deviates from its inclination to intervene and find solutions, as well as its traditional processes of design and construction. In her book *Art and Architecture: A Place Between*, Jane Rendell (2006, p. 25) proposes the concept of *critical spatial practice* that is situated between art and architecture, public and private, and theory and practice. In the realm of *critical spatial practices*, the theory does not intend to explain the practice, nor does the practice aim

to validate the existing theory. Instead, theoretical discussions give rise to questions and issues, which are explored through practice (Rendell, 2006, p. 29-30). Therefore, the practice becomes a research methodology. *Critical spatial practices* that intertwine the theory and practice, define the broad methodology of the open-ended design research within this thesis. Here, the minor pluralities that exist beneath the meta-narratives of protest are critically examined through theoretical frameworks and explored through architectural design tools such as drawing and model-making.

The theoretical discussion in this research indicates the necessity of critical approaches to dismantle the meta-narratives of protest. Drawing upon Haraway's (2016) proposition of storytelling as a way to stay in the troubles of the *thick present*, I embrace narration as an alternative, speculative, and critically potent mode of knowledge-making. Therefore, drawing and model-making endeavors in this research depart from their positions in common architectural design processes under the concept of *Narrating Architecture*. This narrative identity suggests a *critical spatial practice*, embracing the *ficto-critical* approach of Helene Frichot and Naomi Stead (2020) and Jill Stoner's (2012) improvisational *minor architecture* that disrupts major architectural practices. The drawing and model-making practices mainly operate through Jennifer Bloomer's (1993) concept of *allegorical architecture*, which also disrupts binary assumptions between theory and practice. As a method of research, *allegorical architecture* multiplies meanings, proposes alternative ways of contemplation about what already exists, and suggests a performative ground for envisioning the nonexistent. Additionally, Penelope Haralambidou's (2007) perspective on *allegorical architecture* as a means of engaging with the *other*, defines the use of allegory in this research to reveal and explore the *minor narratives* and pluralities of protest. Here, drawing and model-making embrace the task of not only representing what already exists but also putting forward spatial criticism. They are stripped of their immutable position in most of the architectural processes and turned into performative tools of discovery and research. Drawing and model-making as design research methods, not only reveal the thickness of the march -including its temporality, facts, places, and events- but further intensifies it. The speculative spatial narratives produced through these methods scatter the overarching grand narratives of protest and enable exploration into its minor pluralities. On the other hand, the 20th

Feminist Night March, the case of this research, was examined through data collection processes that include interviews with protesters, historical research and site studies.

Here, I would like to emphasize that my interest in the politically tense Feminist Night March which has been consistently hindered by government and police, is not characterized by a bold, all-revealing, or assertive approach. While these protests are among the most attended in Turkey, my interest revolves around what is usually unseen in their dominant representations. This approach reflects my consideration of the complexity of the march in the politically tumultuous state of Turkey. At large, I consider the practice of not being caught, or "elusion" as I term it in the thesis, as a form of expression by the protesters in the Feminist Night March. As Sepideh Karami (2018, p. 307) writes; "that boundary – the line between what is permitted and prohibited – is a performing ground for a dissident, on which she has to walk, like a tightrope walker." I believe that this strategy of elusion requires a practice of attunement that highlights subjectivity. As a woman born and raised in Turkey, the endeavor of not being caught, by systems, constraints, oppression, government, or those who are in power, is my lifelong practice that constantly keeps my creativity in action. The reason for not writing this thesis in my native language, prioritizing privacy throughout the process, and my eager interest in architectures of elusion, stems from this practice. Moreover, I would like to emphasize that the subjectivity I employ outlines my situated perspective in the grand scheme of the issues that I deal with. Following the words of Jane Rendell (2006, p.156), "Where I am makes a difference to what I can know and who I can be." In this way, I present where the research extends and where it does not.

Throughout the thesis, the intertwined theoretical frameworks subtly circulate in different chapters and contexts. Although the chapter titles suggest a foundational categorization, I do not consider the concepts that are integral to all thought processes, as independent discussions. I believe that the plurality of protest, *critical architectural practices*, and narration as a way of staying in the *thick present* are interconnected and require to be contemplated together. I believe that through the theoretical frameworks presented in this study, each reader can draw different interpretations, and further pluralize the discussion.

As mentioned above, protest stands out as a significant point within the *thick present* due to its multi-layered complexity, which is central to this thesis. In Chapter 2, titled "Protest as the Site of Pluralities," I focus on the political, spatial, and affective pluralities of protest. To introduce the concept of otherness that is essential for the thesis, I tackle protest as an event where political antagonism becomes spatialized. Here, Jacques Rancière's philosophy of politics is in a significant position as he argues that politics emerges from disagreements. This emergence embraces the othered subject, by making it visible and vocal (Rancière, 1999, p. 29-30). Additionally, Rancière (1999, p. 28) notes that the majority of the processes referred to as politics are instances of the "police". The police establish connections, organizations, and distributions of power, aiming to maintain the validity of these constructs. Here, Rancière's understanding of politics and his concept of police become crucial in explaining the spatial dynamics of protest in the thesis.

After establishing the general framework of protest, I delve into its primal political plurality through Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's (1986) concept of "*minor*." I follow the approach of Nicholas Thoburn, who expands Deleuze and Guattari's literary discussion of *minor* to the political axis. Thoburn (2016, p. 367) defines the *cramped space*, which Deleuze and Guattari suggest as where the *minor* emerges, as the space of pluralities. This plurality unfolds among protesters as they gather, during their presence, and upon their departure. I claim that the on-the-ground reality of a protest is where its *minor politics*, characterized by immediacy, fluidity, and polyphony, can be observed.

I discuss the spatial plurality of protest in parallel with the relevant architectural theory. Henri Lefebvre (1991), in his well-known theory of the production of space, argues that space is continually produced through events, experiences, and people. Building upon this approach, I focus on the theoretical relation between events and space. In his theory of *event-space*, Bernard Tschumi (1994, p. 13) criticizes the modernist prioritization of perceiving space through the causality of form and function, asserting that architecture is not only a structure or volume but also a medium that hosts events and induces them to occur. I explore the political dimension of the *event-space* through the discussions of Dorita Hannah (2018), who extends Elizabeth Grosz's (2001) approach to examining architecture from disciplines outside of it, into the axis of performative architecture. In this context, I claim that protests establish a performative

ground that challenges the assigned meanings and functions of space. Despite their temporary presence, protests disrupt the norms of the site, redefine the use of space, and enable it to be a political site. Therefore, they lay the groundwork for a dynamic and unpredictable architectural reality. I reveal the plurality inherent in this dynamic, unpredictable, and improvisational spatiality through various representations of protests. In the examples, I refer to the *minor-major politics* discussed in the previous section. As I move into the feminist architectural practices that are central to this thesis, I identify Jane Rendell's (2006) concept of *critical spatial practice* as an appropriate modality to studying the site of protest and questioning the position of architecture in the *thick present*. Additionally, by invoking Jill Stoner's (2012) concept of *minor architecture*, I argue that this spatial plurality embodies a sense of the *minor*. I present examples including "#OccupyGezi architecture" drawings of the Architecture for All Association (2013), Merve Bedir and Sampson Wong's (2021) work titled "Unsettled Urbanism," Ece Yetim's (2021) protest drawings titled "Different Scales of Solidarity", and Sepideh Karami's (2018) literary work "The house, the wings, the balcony, the dissidents" to evaluate the spatial plurality of the protest along with the discussion of related architectural theory.

In the following subchapter, I suggest that one significant reason for protest to be a significant political node in the *thick present* is its affective plurality. After briefly discussing the term affect through Baruch Spinoza, Deleuze, and Guattari who are primary figures associated with affect theory, I focus on the concept through feminist theory to engage with its political aspect. By following feminist theorists such as Sara Ahmed, Sianne Ngai, and Claire Hemmings, who discuss *affects* not as independent reactions occurring in bodies but within their social and political contexts, I explore the role of *affects* in the emergence, existence, and aftermath of protests. As I did in previous sections, I elaborate on the concept of *minor* in the affective plurality of protests. Contrary to *major* emotions like anger, enthusiasm, or excitement that come to mind when thinking about protests, I discuss the nameless, nuanced feelings that make each protest unique. Additionally, by examining political and spatial pluralities discussed throughout the chapter in the context of affective plurality, I highlight how these three aspects are intertwined.

In Chapter 3, I introduce the 20th Feminist Night March as a favorably complex case to delve into the *thick present* with its temporal, spatial, political, and social

dimensions. I approach the thickness of the march by first examining its history and then the political, spatial, and affective pluralities outlined in Chapter 1. By delving into the temporal dynamics of the women's movement in Turkey through its minor narratives, feminist journals and archives, the complexity of the 20th Feminist Night March as a node in the *thick present* unfolds. I construct the subchapter "The Thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March in Istanbul" through my own experiences, observations, and interviews with protesters. Therefore, it reflects a situated and therefore limited experience. Indeed, my emphasis on feminist narrative methods, which I will discuss in the next section, is to embrace the interpretive and inclusive nature of the protest, reflecting on the plurality of experiences that I do not have access to.

In Chapter 4, "Narrating Architecture," I detach architecture from its conventional practices and construct its narrator identity through related theoretical discussions. Initially, I focus on the capacity of narratives to generate knowledge. According to Roland Barthes (1977, p. 79), narratives, which have existed since the dawn of humanity, possess the ability to create meanings, ideas, and beliefs among societies. In this context, Jean-François Lyotard's insight between narratives and society holds significance for the thesis. Lyotard (1994) argues that meta-narratives, seeking to totalize and legitimize historical events and cultural phenomena based on universal values, are failures of modernism and are insufficient to capture the complexity of human existence. In contrast to meta-narratives, he proposes the concept of *micro-narrative* as a form of narrative knowledge that better addresses the fragmented and complex reality of society. In this thesis, the concept of *micro-narrative* is of great importance. I argue that the plurality of protest that I examined through the concept of *minor*, can be spatialized through *micro-narratives*. Additionally, I argue that the decentralized structure of *micro-narratives* which deviates from the fixed grandiosity of meta-narratives, suggests a feminist mode of narration. I use the terms *micro-narrative* and *minor narrative* interchangeably to uphold the foundational concept of *minor*, which was explored in Chapter 2. In this thesis, Haraway's (1988) term *situated knowledge* lays the foundation for *minor narratives* as it stands in opposition to the idea of hegemonic objective knowledge by embracing limited location and experience. The feminist objectivity she proposes emerges on grounds that are not fully explorable. Following the narrative practices of Haraway and Anna Tsing, I argue that feminist

storytelling in the *thick present* includes the practice of engaging with *major* issues in *minor* ways.

As the feminist modes of narration, I connect Rancière's (2010) proposal for fiction to disrupt the *police order*, with Bergson's (2020) fabulation as an instinctual method for survival and Haraway's (2016) speculative storytelling as a way to stay in the *thick present*. These narrative methods are important in establishing the narrator identity that I will assign to architecture in the following chapter. Moreover, I argue that how the protesters improvisationally deal with spatial difficulties indicates performative modes of feminist storytelling in these sites. These instant, unpredictable, individual, and collective stories circulating among protesters oftentimes become tools to resist the centralized and excluding tactics of the *police order*. Hélène Frichot and Naomi Stead (2020) discuss the critical dimension of fiction within the framework of architecture. Their term *ficto-criticism* becomes noteworthy for this thesis, as I use fiction to speculate the *micro-narratives* of the protest by critically addressing its political, spatial, and affective pluralities. In the following section, I point out the palpable aspect of feminist storytelling by focusing on Jennifer A. Gonzalez's (1995) term *autotopography* which refers to the process of utilizing objects as a means to map one's own identity. As a situated and feminist practice, *autotopography* transcends established meanings in events and objects by centering subjectivity; and treats objects not in isolation from individuals and events but as intertwined with them. I associate the practice of *Autotography* with Ursula Le Guin's (1996) suggestion of *carrier storytelling*, which refers to narrating by collecting and reorganizing what already exists. I draw parallels between these terms in the way they bring together narrative elements such as *affects*, thoughts, and objects that oscillate between memory, history and the present. In this thesis, along with the *Narrating Architecture*, I claim the identity of a speculative carrier storyteller as I collect, carry, and reassemble the *minor narratives* of the 20th Feminist Night March.

In the subchapter named Allegorical Architecture for Narrating the Other, I introduce *allegorical architecture* as a way of narrative spatial making. I discuss the concept through Jennifer Bloomer's (1993) *minor allegorical architecture* and Penelope Haralambidou's (2007) suggestion of allegory for engaging with the other. I argue that allegory, due to its ability to multiply, conceal, or reveal meaning, emerges as the political instrument in favor of the othered subjects of politics. I employ *allegorical*

architecture for various purposes; including speculatively unraveling the thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March, and critically engaging with the position of architecture and its representational methods in the *thick present*. Here, unraveling the thickness refers to investigating the march by allegorically, speculatively, and spatially narrating it.

In the chapter named "*Architectures of Elusion*," I put forward two design experiments under Rendell's (2006) concept of *critical spatial practices*; *The Condenser* and *The Disinherited Fitment*¹². These architectural experiments provide a ground for research to investigate and speculate on the 20th Feminist Night March through spatial narration. Here, I become a *carrier storyteller* which I discussed in the previous chapter; now is the time to stimulate what has been collected in my bag, including all the questions, discussions, and concepts throughout the thesis. These architectures, namely feminist, minor, plural, elusive, fictional, allegorical, and ironic, narrate the plurality of the 20th Feminist Night March through speculative exploration. They disrupt the meta-narratives by multiplying its *micro-narratives*; and suggest a practice of revelation, without audaciously exposing what thickens this politically charged event.

The model named *The Condenser* operates through an audio recording taken from Cihangir Street, where the main protest took place. It is a narrator, a piece of architecture, and a speculator that is concerned with the thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March (Figure 1.1). It composes speculative narratives that draw their strength from an exaggerated, condensing, and inexhaustible creativity. The allegorical performativity of *The Condenser* establishes fugitive meanings and a multitude of narratives in its areas named *Funfair*, *Generator*, and *Affects*. By strategically engaging with the states of visibility and invisibility, it generates an open-ended experiment to critically engage with political spaces.

¹ Both of these works were featured in the group exhibition "Run of Luck" at Freyaalt in İstanbul from April 13 to May 7, 2023. Freyaalt is an independent collective that repurposed an apartment within a building slated for demolition in Cihangir, turning it into an exhibition area before its demolition. The venue has hosted a total of six exhibitions and one performance.

² Additionally, *The Disinherited Fitment* was part of the exhibition associated with the international conference "Researching beyond words: Investigating architectural research by drawing," held at the École Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture de Lyon, France, from November 30 to December 21, 2023.



Figure 1.1 : *The Condenser* (Beşik, 2023) (Image: Zeynep Fırat).

The Disinherited Fitment presents two temporally distinct speculative drawings that reveal the articulation of architectural elements about the case of police violence that took place after the main protest (Figure 1.2). Following Haralambidou's (2007) suggestion of allegorical architecture as a tool to engage with the other, *The Disinherited Fitment* generates spatial criticism by allegorically connecting the *othered* entities of architecture, which in this case is the infrastructure, and the marginalized identities who were subjected to this moment of violence. Here, *The Disinherited Fitment* attunes to the disowned states of architecture and speculatively narrates their testimony about a politically charged event within the thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March.

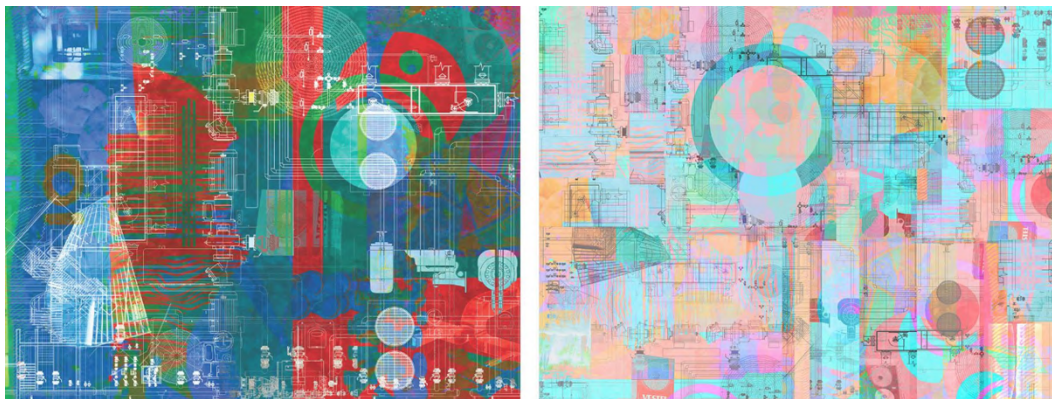


Figure 1.2 : *The Disinherited Fitment* (Beşik, 2022).

These experiments critically engage both with the field of architecture and with the political dynamics of the protest spaces. Here, as *critical spatial practices*, drawing and model-making open up a realm of discovery where theory and practice amalgamate. These narrating architectures reveal and further pluralize the minor narratives of protest through theoretical frameworks established through *speculative fiction*, *carrier storytelling*, *autotopography*, and *minor allegorical architecture*. They spatially narrate political events and present a *minor* spatial criticism by disrupting oppressive political realities through the creativity that is inherent in their reinterpretation. In conclusion, the integration of theoretical discussions and practice-led processes in this research suggests an inquiry into how architecture can become a critical narrative agency in the political extent of the *thick present*. Therefore, this research becomes a contributor to the studies that challenge overarching perceptions of political spaces and provides an alternative open-ended experiment of architecture transcending its common processes to engage with political realities.

2. PROTEST AS THE SITE OF PLURALITIES

The dictionary defines the term protest as “a strong complaint expressing disagreement, disapproval, or opposition” (Url-1). While this definition may be associated with a momentary dominant reaction, the emergence and existence of protest comprise a much broader temporal, spatial, and political context. In this chapter, I delve into this context through what I refer to as the pluralities of the protest. In relation to the initial definition, I examine the political character of protest through the theoretical framework of Jacques Rancière, who emphasizes and critically redefines the oppositional nature of politics.

According to Rancière (1999, p. 28), politics arise from disagreements between opposing groups, and many of the systems that are accepted as politics, such as hierarchical bureaucratic and administrative affairs, should be referred to as “police.” *Police* establishes connections, organizations, and distributions of power and aims to maintain the validity of these constructs. It determines a reality within its terms and integrates people into its singular, constructed order by implicitly determining which bodies should be visible and the extent to which words should be spoken (Rancière, 1999, p. 29).

Meanwhile, politics stands in opposition to the police. It is what abruptly makes the unexpected visible and what turns the noise, the chatter, into significant words (Rancière, 1999, p. 29-30). It occurs through the bodies that have been marked as invisible by the *police order*. The disagreement that Rancière (1999, p. 26) stipulates for politics is precisely related to this issue of visibility³. If one is invisible to the other, the disagreement becomes a clatter. To arise, politics requires a common stage to bring

³ Rancière conducts this issue through the uprising of the lower-class Plebeians against the privileged-class Patricians in ancient Rome. According to the Patricians, the uprising was not of a political nature. As Aristoteles writes, a Patrician says to the Plebeians; “Your misfortune is not to be, and this misfortune is inescapable.” (As cited in Rancière, 1999, p. 26)

opposing groups together, including those whose absence is taken for granted (Ranciere, 1999, p. 26-27).

In this thesis, I follow Ranciere's understanding of politics while evaluating the site of protest. If the space of politics is where the invisible becomes visible and the unheard becomes heard, protest becomes a performative act that makes political effort spatialized. David Harvey (1996, p. 264) notes that "the formation of politics is always subjected to a spatiotemporal construct that involves the relations of the self and the other." The site of protest as a political space sets up a stage of encounter with the other, albeit in tension. Thus, I argue that the protest is a relevant ground to deal with both the spatiality of politics and the politics of space.

In the site of protest, the *police* primarily employs denial mechanisms to systematically bring the existence of the other back to the query. Thus, the possibility of politics is continuously interrupted. The barricades, controlled circulation, and other common tools of the *police order* determine who should be invisible and inaudible at the site of the protest. Ranciere (2010, p. 37) exemplifies this tactic through the common slogan of police to eliminate the crowd in protest spaces, "Move along! There's nothing to see here!" He elaborates;

(...) on this street, there's nothing to see and so nothing to do but move along. It (police) asserts that the space for circulating is nothing but the space of circulation. Politics, by contrast, consists in transforming this space of 'moving-along', of circulation, into a space for the appearance of a subject: the people, the workers, the citizens. It consists in re-figuring space, that is in what is to be done, to be seen and to be named in it. (Ranciere, 2010, p. 37)

The protesters' expression of disapproval at the protest site challenges the denial that takes place through the *police order*. Therefore, politics become spatialized in these sites. Following Ranciere, I argue that a protest is not only political in terms of its content and purpose but also in how it emerges and exists within a site. My suggestion is that these states of existence expose the plurality of protests that are political, spatial, and affective. In the following sections of this chapter, I delve into protest within the framework of plurality by addressing these three aspects.

2.1 Political Plurality Of The Protest

In their book *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, Deleuze and Guattari (1986) introduce the concept of *minor* in the field of literature with its social, political, and philosophical matters. In a literary context, *minor* represents a form of writing that consciously accepts the conventions of a dominant -or *major*- language while intending to subvert or challenge those conventions from within⁴. Following the political aspect of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's (1986) concept of *minor*, the site of protest could be explained beyond its initially perceived aspects. And, in this section, the political plurality of the protest space is tackled through the lens of minor and major politics.

Major literature emphasizes the narratives of the individual and keeps social matters as a condensed reality within the background. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986, p. 17) It may employ certain impactful social events merely to make the configuration of the narrative more vigorous yet their position is none different than familial matters or everyday happenstances. This background setup is therefore spacious and does not dominate the narrative. *Minor* literature, however, emerges in a *cramped space* where the characters and their individualities cannot be separated from politics (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986, p. 17). Social and political issues are not mere additions to the narrative of *minor* literature. In fact, *minor* literature and the concept of *minor* at large, are inseparable from such matters. Nicholas Thoburn (2016) expands Deleuze and Guattari's *major-minor* duality on the realm of politics through the term *minority*⁵, and defines *cramped space* as the place of impossibilities where *minor politics* occur:

(...) the theory of *cramped space* contends that politics arises among those who lack and refuse coherent identity, in their encounter with the impasses, limits,

⁴ Deleuze and Guattari (1986, p. 17) analyze this concept through the political context of Franz Kafka, as he was a Jewish writer who wrote in the German language during the early 20th century by claiming that Kafka's "Prague German is a deterritorialized language, appropriate for strange and minor uses."

⁵ Thoburn (2016, p. 369) defines *minority* as "those who are positioned unfavourably in relation to privileged poles of class, gender, race, and so on, such that social relations no longer facilitate coherent and autonomous identity, even when citizenship is granted." He exemplifies the term in the context of African Americans, claiming that formal citizenship does not provide security or a coherent identity due to social barriers like unemployment, spatial segregation, incarceration, and unaddressed police brutality. He notes that these barriers are deeply ingrained into social dynamics that are resistant to change and questions whether society is fundamentally structured to sustain these impediments (Thoburn, 2016, p. 370).

or impossibilities of individual and collective subjectivity. *Cramped space*, as Deleuze puts it, is a condition where ‘the people are missing.’ (Thoburn, 2016, p. 367)

However, the word “missing⁶” does not lack particularity (Thoburn, 2016, p. 370). In fact, the “missing” state of *cramped space* contains pluralities. The sense of loss here has a political dimension, since the possibilities for new modes of existence can be found in the absence of identity. According to Deleuze (1995, p. 133), creativity arises from these spaces of impossibilities and compression. Since the *minor* cannot find a place in the dominantly established system, it has to create novel states that are conducive to its existence. The cramped state experienced by the minorities who cannot position themselves among the existing structures, narratives, and traditions that maintain the society, necessitates creative interventions. Yet these interventions cannot take place in public and within the *major* processes, instead, they appear in the crampedness of these established systems.

The representational aspects of *major* and *minor politics* are also distinct from each other. *Major politics* is a structure that maintains the existing identities through representational mediums including the news, articles, images, and headlines. It dominates politics with this very availability for representation. *Major politics* appears through events, captures the moments of intensity, and spreads them with its mediums of representation. Therefore, *major politics* has a significant impact on social perception (Kara, 2018, p. 31). It can enhance categorizations in society, control the perceptions of truth and falsehood, and play a *major* role in creating consensus. *Minor politics*, on the other hand, is not as suitable for such representation due to its momentary state and fluidity. As Claire Colebrook (2015, p. 153) writes, *minor politics* “could be something like a scream, noise, mark or disturbance.” This omnipresence makes it impossible for *minor politics* to be centralized or hierarchical.

Deleuze and Guattari (1986) do not define *minor* as opposed to *major*, but instead, point out that *minor* emerges in the voids of *major*’s dominance. Thus, it can be said

⁶ Following the discussions of Deleuze, Thoburn (2016, p. 376) exemplifies the notion of missing through the well-known Zionist phrase “a land without a people for a people without a land” which indicates Palestinians as a cramped minority in “territorial, economic, historical, geo-political, linguistic, and intimate” realms.

that *minor politics* physically arise in the places left blank by the *major politics*. A crowded square in the city where people are protesting might be perceived as the main place for politics, yet, politics may also emerge in a house where a group of friends come together to imagine a different world (Kara, 2018, p. 36). It is not possible to separate the spaces of *major* and *minor politics*, since *major* and *minor politics* cannot be separated distinctly. Judith Butler (2015) addresses the intertwined spatial formations encompassing both *minor* and *major politics* in the context of protests:

And when crowds move outside the square, to the side street or the back alley, to the neighborhoods where streets are not yet paved, then something more happens. At such a moment, politics is not defined as taking place exclusively in the public sphere, distinct from the private one, but it crosses those lines again and again, bringing attention to the way that politics is already in the home, or on the street, or in the neighborhood, or indeed in those virtual spaces that are equally unbound by the architecture of the house and the square. (Butler, 2015, p. 71)

As articulated by Butler here, when considered within its broader context, protests encapsulate both *major* and *minor* aspects of politics. Nevertheless, in most of their visual representations, protests tend to be aligned with *major politics* as the images taken from the top indicate jammed crowds in large urban spaces (Figure 2.1). Solely based on these flattened images, the beholder might interpret the protesters as a singular body and reduce their acts of resistance to a momentarily dominant reaction. These dominant representations of the protest associated with major politics do not include the situations, events, dynamics, and details that make each protest differ from the others. While protest as a product of *major politics* might transcend its immediate site, radiating across cities, nations, and even global spheres; its collective body also contains *minor politics* that are presumably not visible at first glance in these representations.

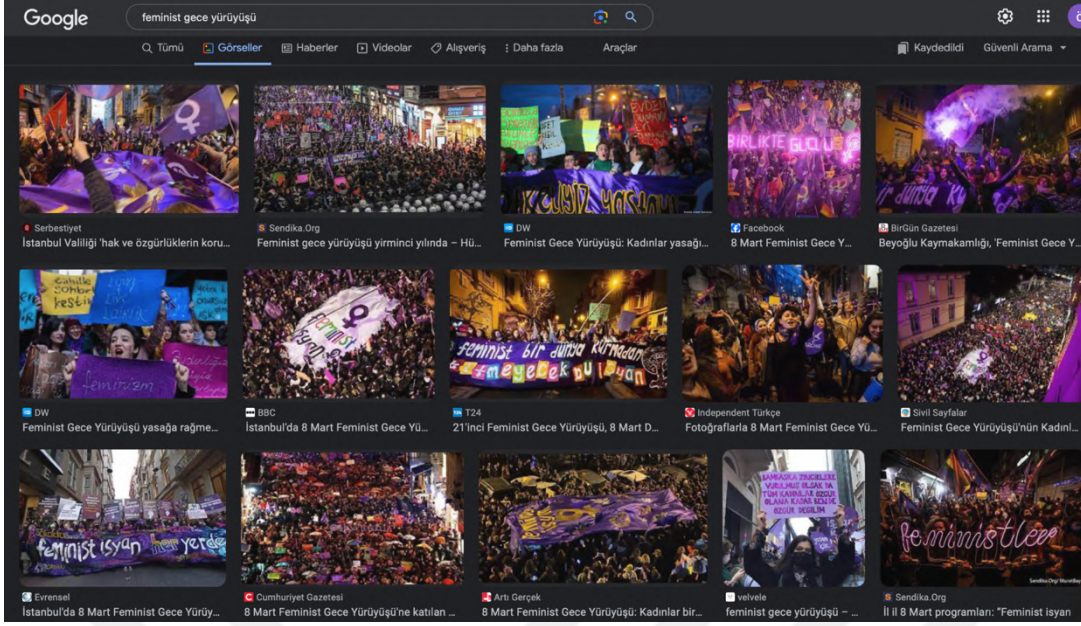


Figure 2.1 : Dominant representations of Feminist Night March in Google Image Search⁷ (Url-2).

In this context, I suggest that the protest stands out as an event that exposes the plurality of politically charged spaces. This plurality contains *major* aspects of politics, yet, it is mostly accentuated with the *minor* political dynamics that arise among protesters as they arrive at the site, during their presence, and upon their leaving. The corporeal reality of a protest is an appropriate case of *minor politics*; where things are instantaneous, fluid, and polyphonic. In the following section, I will delve into the spatial plurality of the protest through examples that reveal the *minor* and *major politics* within these sites.

2.2 Spatial Plurality Of The Protest

The performative aspect of protest socially and physically transforms its spaces, and it is precisely in these transformations that the spatial plurality of protest lies. This section discusses the spatial plurality of political space following the discussions in architectural theory that center the relation between event and space. Through the examples of spatial representations of protests, the spatial plurality and political plurality of the protest are examined together as I claim that they go in conjunction.

⁷ The primary and most prevalent images of the Feminist Night March, the case of this study, convey a similar visual language, making it challenging to separate different protests that spanning decades.

Henri Lefebvre's (1991) well-known theory of the *production of space* suggests that space is constructed through social and political processes. Thus, a space does not only refer to its collection of physical attributes, in fact, it is intertwined with individual or collective experiences. According to Lefebvre (2009, p. 170-171), there is no such thing as a non-political space, indeed, if a space cultivates an atmosphere of impartiality or indifference, this is the result of the various out-of-sight political strategies that have been previously carried out. Hence, space emerges as a social product that inherently contains political processes.

Lefebvre's (1991) proposal of *perceived space*, *lived space*, and *conceived space* sets the foundation for his concept of the *production of space*. I suggest that the site of the protest could be unfolded through these three concepts. The *perceived space* refers to the collection of physical attributes of space; banners, crowds, and barricades form the primal physical experience within the protest venue. *Conceived space* represents the conceptual aspect of space that encompasses the social and political connotations and meanings that are indicated by the physicality of the protest. Lastly, *lived space* highlights the performative aspect of the *production of space* as it refers to the transformation of the site of protest through the motions and experiences of protesters. I argue that the spatial plurality of the protest is dispersed through each of these three layers.

Bernard Tschumi (1996) establishes *event space* by eliminating the fissure between space and action, which he claims lies at the root of early 20th-century architectural theories. He uses the term to propose an architecture that is not only a structure or a volume but also a medium that hosts events and induces them to occur. Indeed, he emphasizes that space cannot be separated from experiences and movements, and that actions can transform the space. Thus, Tschumi (1994, p. 13) criticizes the modernist prioritization of perceiving space through the casualty of form and function⁸.

⁸ “[...] the static notions of form and function long favoured by architectural discourse need to be replaced by attention to the actions that occur inside and around buildings – to the movement of bodies, to activities, to aspirations; in short, to the properly social and political dimension of architecture. Moreover, the cause-and-effect relationship sanctified by modernism, by which form follows function (or vice versa), needs to be abandoned in favour of promiscuous collisions of programs and spaces, in which the terms intermingle, combine and implicate one other in the production of a new architectural reality.’ (Tschumi, 1994, p.13)

Tschumi (1996, p. 248) uses the concept of “shock⁹” as the cause of a fragmented and overlapping architecture. Shock, as a surprise factor, challenges architecture's permanence by weakening its domination, power, and authority. (Tschumi, 1996, p. 248) Following Tschumi, I argue that protests are events of *shock* in the urban context as they uncontrollably occupy and transform the spaces. Even though their presence is temporary, they challenge and disrupt the norms of the site. They redefine the use of space and enable it to operate as a political tool. Therefore, they lay the ground for a dynamic and unpredictable architectural reality.

Merve Bedir and Sampson Wong's project in The Venice Biennale, *Unsettled Urbanism* (2021), exposes the unpredictable and politically charged relationship between events and spaces. It focuses on the protests that began in Hong Kong in 2019, in response to the government's proposed extradition bill facilitating the transfer of alleged criminals. The 8-meter by 3-meter drawing examines how various spatial typologies including an airport, a shopping center, apartments, and a metro station, have undergone transformation in the context of the protests. The detailed sections in the drawing emphasize the impact of the protests on the urban fabric of Hong Kong and their role in altering the city (Figure 2.2).

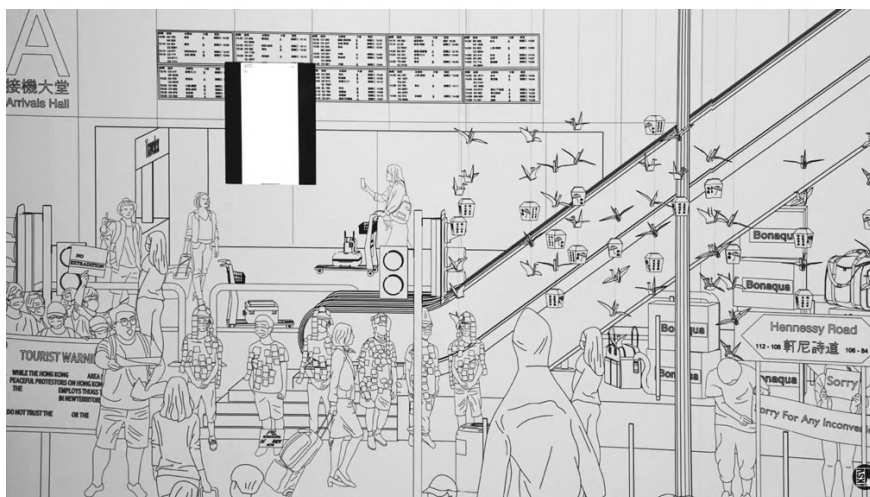


Figure 2.2 : *Unsettled Urbanism*, Merve Bedir & Sampson Wong, 2021 (Image taken from video; Url-3).

In the drawing, transient spaces such as airports and shopping centers possess a novel identity by evolving into occupied and enduring squares. Residential areas, on the

⁹ Tschumi initiates the discussion from Walter Benjamin's (1969) suggestion of “shock” as a way of experiencing art in the age of mechanical reproduction.

other hand, become semi-public spaces where protesters host each other and cultivate solidarity. The representations of these spaces transformed by the events allude to both *major* and *minor politics*. At first glance, the drawing conveys the general unsettled atmosphere of the protest as it stands out with the representations of the crowd and banners. However, at smaller scales, the spontaneous and unexpected moments of *minor politics* can be found. In the drawing, the jammed crowd of protesters in the shopping center is juxtaposed with a group of friends gathering in a small apartment (Figure 2.3, Figure 2.4). Thus, the drawing exemplifies the spatial plurality of political spaces and their ability to emerge at any moment and in any place.

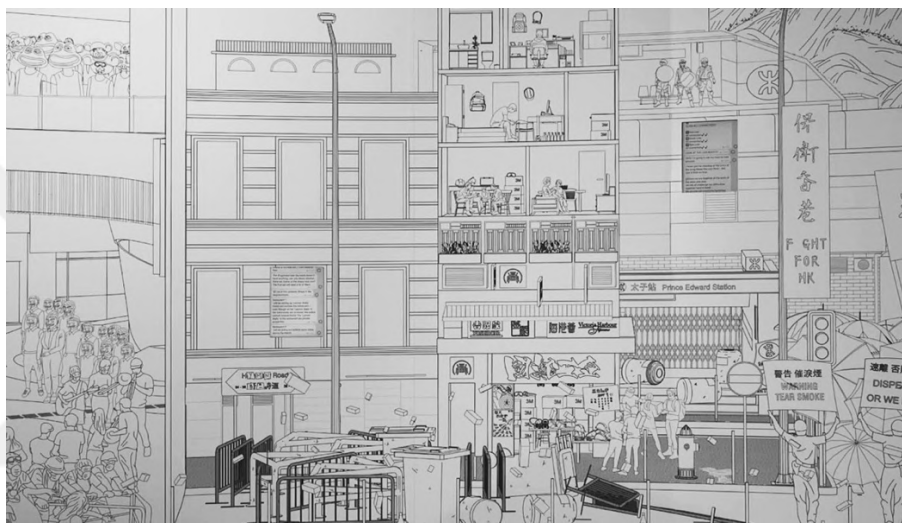


Figure 2.3 : *Minor politics in Unsettled Urbanism*, Merve Bedir & Sampson Wong, 2021 (Image taken from video; Url-3).



Figure 2.4 : *Minor politics in Unsettled Urbanism*, Merve Bedir & Sampson Wong, 2021 (Image taken from video; Url-3).

In her book *Architecture from the Outside: Essays on Virtual and Real Space*, Elizabeth Grosz (2001) suggests an exploration of architecture through disciplines that

are outside of it by creating a *third space* for these encounters. In her discussion of the temporality of space, Grosz (2001, p. 116) notes that “space, like time, is emergence and eruption, oriented not to the ordered, the controlled, the static, but to the event, to movement or action.” *Event-space*, as the theory of architectural performativity, disrupts the common principles of architecture both in theory and practice. In her book *Event-Space: Theatre Architecture and the Historical Avant*, Dorita Hannah (2018) theorizes *event space* by drawing on Grosz’s (2001, p. 64) proposal of infecting architecture with its outside. Here, Hannah (2018, From Event-Space Section, para 5) suggests a *third space* where architecture encounters performativity that comprises “ephemerality, fictionality and flux.” This encounter disrupts architecture’s desire for stability and therefore, politicizes the field of architecture (Hannah, 2011, p. 4). Hannah’s discussion of performativity could be brought to the realm of protest spaces. The spatial performativity in the protest site oftentimes gives rise to minor politics that further politicize these spaces. The protesters' strategic use or intervention of space, especially in response to spatial constraints or when creating alternative forms of expression, exemplifies the concept of spatial performativity¹⁰. Consequently, the protest and its site reciprocally transform and politicize each other through the unfolding events and active participation.

In her work, *The Different Scales of Solidarity*, Ece Yetim (2021) represents the spatial plurality of political spaces in her set of drawings about the protest that happened as a result of the murder of Sarah Everard by a police officer in London. She strategically employs 90-degree axonometric¹¹ and incorporates well-known landmarks such as the Big Ben Tower and the London Eye in the drawing to enhance the spatial context of the protest taking place on Westminster Bridge. Within this large-scale urban space representation where these structures coexist, protesters almost appear as a singular crowd (Figure 2.5). This depiction encapsulates the *major politics* within the protest; the particular aerial perspective of a crowd transformed into a collective entity alongside two of London's most iconic landmarks, offers significant insights into the protest's general spatial arrangement.

¹⁰ See Chapter 3.2 for an exploration of how the 20th Feminist Night March, the case of this research, was transformed through spatial performativity.

¹¹ 90-degree axonometric combines the elevation and top view by eliminating the sides. This way of drawing provides a spatial ambiguity that is associated with the drawings of John Hejduk. (Allen, 2019)

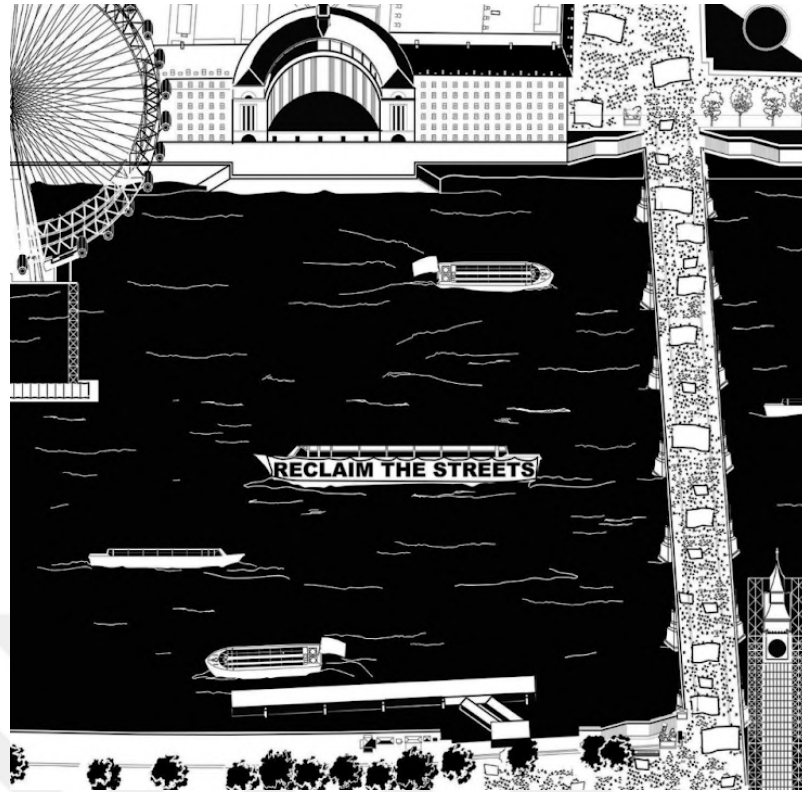


Figure 2.5 : The Different Scales of Solidarity, Ece Yetim, 2021 (Url-4).

As Yetim zooms into the clock of the Big Ben Tower, the banner held by protesters reads "Text me when you get home." The clock in the tower displays the time 22:05, marking the moment when Sarah Everard was murdered. In contrast to the prominently political demands depicted on banners atop the bridge, this section refers to *minor politics* since it alludes to the everyday safety network established among women (Figure 2.6).

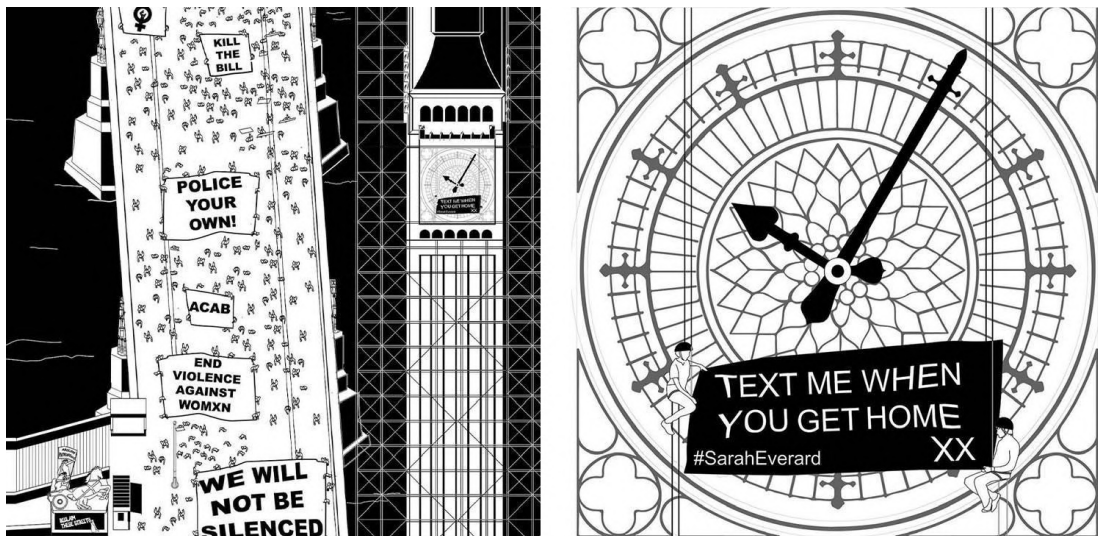


Figure 2.6 : The Different Scales of Solidarity, Ece Yetim, 2021 (Url-4).

In her book *Toward a Minor Architecture*, Jill Stoner (2012) suggests a shift from “major” architectural design paradigms and formulates a critical spatial making under the theme of “minor architecture.” She reveals the political aspect of this term by defining a *minor* architect as a *minor* destructive character that “may sabotage as well as fix, and wilfully take apart rather than assemble” (Stoner, 2012, p. 91). I claim that the improvisational spatial making in the site of protest suggests a *minor architecture*. Moreover, I suggest that *minor politics* and *minor architecture* are intertwined, and so are the political and spatial pluralities in the site of protest.

Butler (2015) mentions that the spatial performativity in the protest space is produced not only between the protesters but also through spatial elements and their relationships with the bodies. Butler (2015) writes;

So though these movements have depended on the prior existence of pavement, street, and square [...] it is equally true that the collective actions collect the space itself, gather the pavement, and animate and organize the architecture. As much as we must insist on there being material conditions for public assembly and public speech, we have also to ask how it is that assembly and speech reconfigure the materiality of public space and produce, or reproduce, the public character of that material environment (p.71).

Butler’s emphasis on spatial performativity can be observed in Architecture For All Association’s [Herkes için Mimarlık Derneği] (2013) set of drawings in the context of the 2013 Gezi Park protests. The drawings serve as a documentation project that emphasizes the political identities taken on by the spatial elements within the protest site. Even though these protests had far-reaching impacts over the entire city, there were intimate confines of interaction among the protesters. *Minor architecture* arises in these intimate *cramped spaces*, where the elements take on entirely new functions and reveal the instantaneous and unexpected manifestations of *minor politics*. These transformations of spatial elements in the urban environment were in response to the transitory needs of the protesters. The drawings document these objects and their novel functions through architectural representation methods. (Figure 2.7, Figure 2.8) However, even though the drawings comply with the traditional forms of representation that seek to establish dominance over the object of architecture, this

documentation ironically captures the essence of *minor politics* within these formed objects. Indeed, they suggest a *minor architecture*.

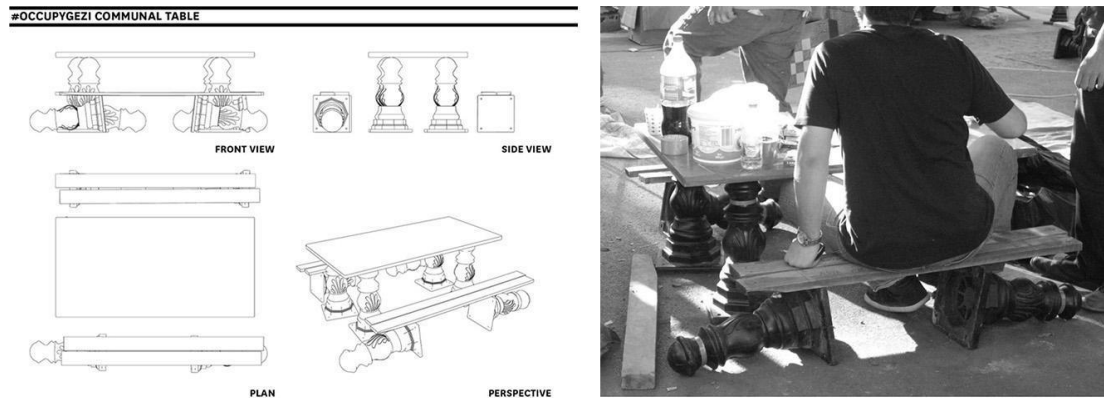


Figure 2.7 : #occupygezi communal table, Architecture For All Association, 2013 (Url-5).

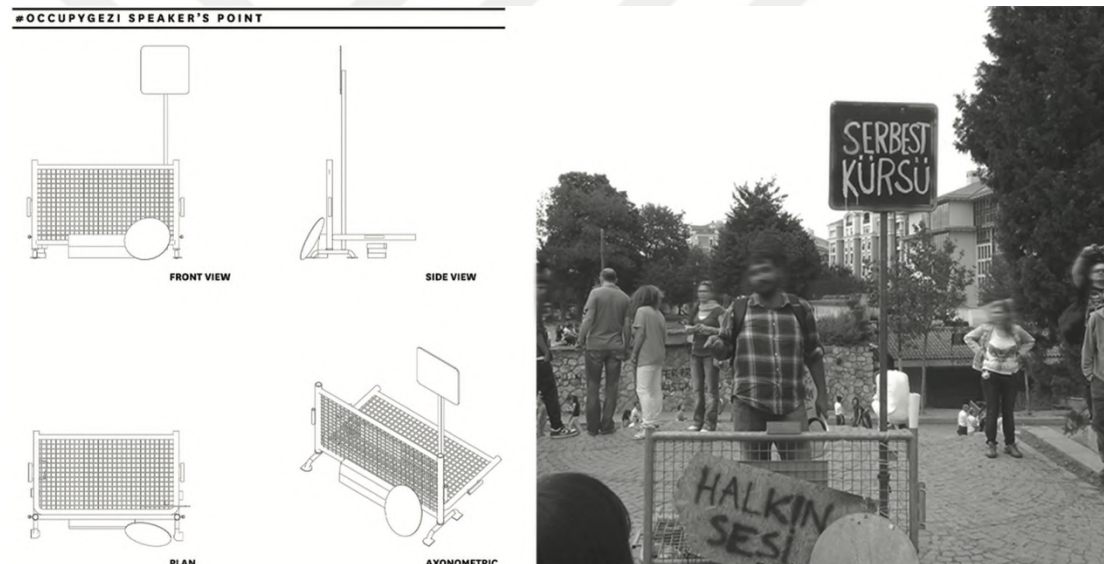


Figure 2.8 : #occupygezi speaker's point, Architecture For All Association, 2013 (Url-6).

In her book *Art and Architecture: A Place Between*, Jane Rendell (2006) proposes the concept of *critical spatial practice* situated between architecture and art, between theory and practice, and between public and private. *Critical spatial practices* redefine the relationship between architecture and its function by revealing the plurality of space that transforms through events and experiences¹². These practices reject defined

¹² In her practice of site-writing, Rendell describes writing as a feminist mode of producing the space deviating from architectural design principles. Following the feminist poet Audre Lorde's (1983) well-

perceptions about spaces but rather address them through movement, individuals, time, objects, relationships, and associations.

Rendell's critical spatial practice in the context of politically charged spaces can be observed in Sepideh Karami's (2018, p. 267) literary work titled *The house, the wings, the balcony, the dissidents*, where she characterizes the house as the "backstage of street politics." Karami (2018) categorizes various parts of the house as "stages" in the context of *minor politics*, exploring what their functions and meanings are for dissidents (Figure 2.9). Thus, the house transforms into "the place for an oppositional life being played, lived, and practiced" (Karami, 2018, p. 262). Actions, events, individuals, and objects point to the political potential inherent in the domestic space, thereby, indicating the spatial plurality of political spaces. Karami here presents a *minor* architectural practice by speculative writing and revealing the plurality of politically charged spaces.

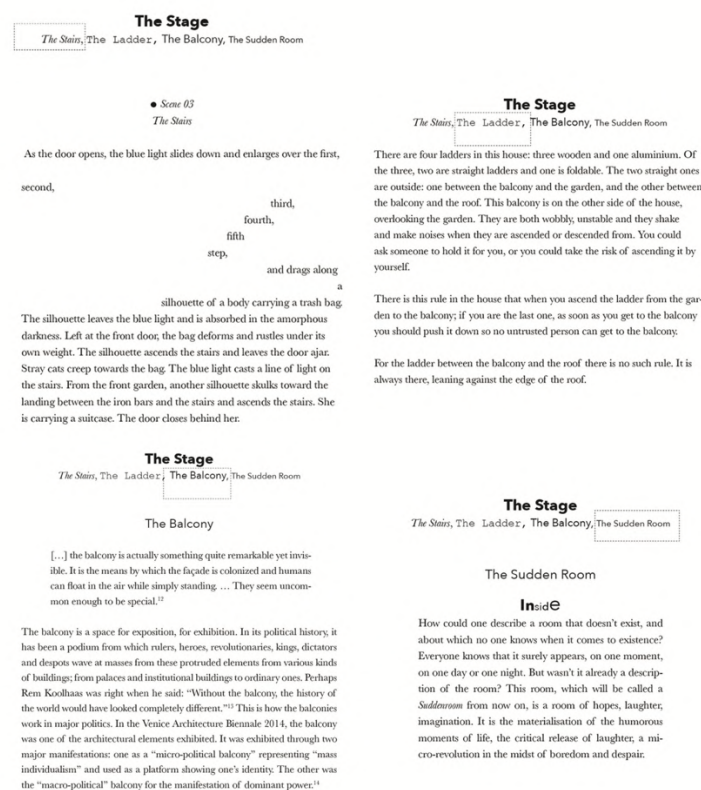


Figure 2.9 : Written stages as performative political grounds in “The house, the wings, the balcony, the dissidents” (Karami, 2018, p. 267-297).

known statement “the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house,” Rendell argues that this kind of spatial practice suggests an alternative way to form criticism. (Rendell, 2010, p. 28)

As seen in Karami's work, *minor architecture* as a *critical spatial practice* disrupts fixed perceptions of space. It breaks away from the design processes of *major architecture* and enables the contemplation of the space in speculative ways. Therefore, I argue that the critical ground established through *minor architecture* has the potential to reveal the plurality of political spaces. Seeing this potential, I position myself as a *minor architect* in this thesis as I speculate on the spatialities of protest.

In conclusion, the protest as an event suggests a dynamic and plural spatiality. In this section, Lefebvre's (1991) concept of the production of space through social and political processes, and Tschumi's (1996) concept of event-space that emphasizes how event and place produce each other, form the foundational theoretical background for addressing the spatial plurality of protest. Hannah (2018), following Grosz's (2001) approach that brings architecture together with different disciplines, expands the event-space theory through architectural performativity that is inherently political. Stoner's (2012) *minor architecture* also proposes improvisational performativity that references numerous spatial-making processes within the protest. Additionally, Rendell's (2006) concept of critical spatial practice disrupts fixed and singular understandings of space, encouraging its perception through its dynamic matters such as events, individuals, objects, and associations. This approach, in conjunction with other relevant theories under discussion, stands out as a suitable approach for exploring the minor pluralities of protest space.

2.3 Affective Plurality Of The Protest

The affective dimension of the protest has a substantial role both in the formation and examination of its site. In this section, I delve into the affect theory within the critical feminist framework that suggests a thorough way to explore both the *affects* of politics and the politics of *affects*. Following this revelation, I argue that the affective plurality of The 20th Feminist Night March suggests a leading political outline to analyze and further narrate this event.

As a pioneer of the theory of *affect*, Baruch Spinoza (1996, p. 154) defines the term as “affections of the body by which the body's power of acting is increased or diminished, aided or restrained.” Following Spinoza's definition that revolves around the body, Deleuze and Guattari (1988, p. 257), discuss affect as a way to enter a relationship

with the other. Thus, the subject who is in the position of affecting simultaneously takes the risk of being affected. Brian Massumi (2015, From Navigating Movements section), who delves into the concept of affect by building upon Spinoza and Deleuze and Guattari, notes that *affects* “are our angle of participation in processes larger than ourselves.” He suggests that *affects* lead to a profound sense of integration into existence (Massumi, 2015, From Navigating Movements section). Indeed, *affects* connect us to what is around us and form our attachments and interconnectedness.

In the nineties, the concept of affect was central to scholars, theorists, and critics to engage with ongoing political, social, and cultural transformations. (Clough, 2008) This “Affective Turn,” associated with scholars such as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick and Brian Massumi (Clough, 2008), prioritized non-linguistic states such as emotions and feelings as active participants in constructing meaning. In this period, the term of affect was considered distinctly from emotion and characterized by being pre-personal, visceral, noncognitive, and autonomous (Leys, 2011, p. 437). In the following years, affect theory has been discussed within the feminist theory by scholars such as Sara Ahmed, Sianne Ngai, Clare Hemmings, and Ann Cvetkovich. The feminist perspective on affect deconstructed the conventional categorizations of *affects*¹³ and challenged the dichotomy of thinking versus feeling that has been used to oppress women throughout history (Boler, 2016).

In her critical analysis of the affective turn, Sara Ahmed (2014, p. 207) rejects the distinction that *affects* are pre-personal and unconscious, in opposition to emotions, which are deemed as personal and conscious¹⁴. She emphasizes that different bodies generate different affective responses in a given context. Therefore, she suggests that *affects* are, to some extent, socially constructed and therefore have political meanings. In her book *Ugly Feelings*, Sianne Ngai (2007) suggests that comparatively *minor* and politically ambiguous feeling states such as irritation, paranoia, and anxiety might be useful to identify and challenge our condition. For instance, she claims that the societally disowned and uglified feeling of envy has the potential to be a critical agency for recognizing and opposing institutionalized and political injustices (Ngai, 2007,

¹³ As a well-known name in the affect theory, Silvan S. Tomkins (1963) formulated nine primary affects in three categories; positive (interest-excitement and enjoyment-joy), negative (distress-anguish, anger-rage, fear-terror, disgust, dissmell, shame-humiliation), and neutral (surprise-startle).

¹⁴ Following Ahmed, throughout the thesis I use the terms affect and emotion interchangeably.

From Envy section, para 5). Similarly, Ahmed (2021, p. 68) claims that the negativity of complaint “is not only a feeling or an attitude. It is a political action.” She also focuses on the oppositional and therefore resistive potentials of negative emotions, and how these undesirable emotions become desirable through these political potentials.

I believe that affective dimension is present both before and after the protest. It is the common sentimental background that brings the protesters together. Jeffrey Juris (2008, p. 66) argues that this background continually provides emotional resources to the protests and keeps the movements ongoing. Moreover, Clare Hemmings (2012, p. 148) argues that “affective solidarity” is necessary for a sustainable feminist movement. For her, it is the “affect – misery, rage, passion, pleasure – that gives feminism its life” (Hemmings, 2012, p. 150). Thus, I argue that protest is the ground where affective intensity in *major* political movements finds its expression.

Following the discussion on the concept of *minor* from previous sections, I borrow Ngai's (2007) term *minor* affect to examine the affective plurality of protest. Although the protest is an event that is generally associated with *major* emotions such as anger, enthusiasm, and fear, I argue that the low-intensity, non-object directed, and unintentional *minor* feelings are inherently related to the political and spatial plurality of protest. *Minor* emotions, which instantly emerge or disappear and oftentimes are impossible to name, do not fit into the basic binary of positive-negative emotion. Just as the immanence of *minor politics* that eludes capture, I suggest that these *affects* possess a similar nature and contribute to the uniqueness of each protest.

Following the feminist framework of affect theory, I use *affects* as the diagnostic tool for explicating the protest in the *thick present*¹⁵, the term that Haraway (2016) uses to refer to the ongoing multi-layered contemporary reality. Haraway (2016, p.1) emphasizes that within the challenges of the current reality, inclining towards two extreme emotions such as hope and despair can be equally hazardous. Rather than adopting such escapist sentiments, one can embrace an extensive affective spectrum to exist thoroughly in the ongoing reality. In this context, Zofia Zaliwska and Megan Boler (2019) extend Haraway's (2016) inquiry of "thoughts we think with" into the concept of "the feelings we feel with" that emphasizes the significance of the affective

¹⁵ The term will be elaborated upon in the subsequent chapter.

dimension of staying in the thick present. This concept embraces affective discomfort and underlines the informative process of questioning both what emotions we experience and how we experience them. In this research, the concept of "feelings we feel with" occupies a crucial position, as I utilize affective elements both for situational analysis in the context of protests and as narrative components.

I argue that the site of protest is a ground that hosts a complex affective range¹⁶ that is integral to the essence of protest, and the spatial and affective plurality of the protest are interconnected¹⁷. The ambiguity of *affects* can momentarily shift the spatial dynamics within these politically charged spaces. At the same time, spatial experiences in these sites also trigger the fluctuation of certain *affects*. In contrast to what is seen in the dominant, numeric, and immutable representations of protest spaces, affective states establish a non-hierarchical and plural ground to investigate these sites.

In this research, I employ the political framework from Ahmed alongside Ngai's concept of *minor affect*, synthesizing them with Zaliwska and Boler's concept of "feelings we feel with" to comprehend the plurality of protest within the *thick present*. I consider the affective plurality of The 20th Feminist Night March as an outline to analyze and narrate its *minor politics*¹⁸ (Figure 2.10). In addition, I employ the *minor* and ambiguous modes of *affects* that challenge generic perceptions of protest to narrate the politically charged spaces of the 20th Feminist Night March. The narrative flexibility afforded by this affective ambiguity creates a ground for speculative

¹⁶ The political reality that motivates individuals to protest against injustices usually evoke supposedly negative emotions such as anger, frustration, sadness, and fear. However, the plurality of the protest also comprises the positive emotions at the other end of the spectrum. For a brief affective context of the feminist night march, see Chapter 3.2.

¹⁷ As an expository example of the relationship between affect and spatiality in protests, Vivien Tauchmann's (2020) study could serve as a reference, in which she questions the Horseshoe Theory which claims that two extreme political views are in fact akin to each other. As part of the research, Tauchmann participates in various right-wing and left-wing protests. As a result, she notes that in right-wing protests, the prevailing collective emotion seems to be rage, and the spatiality of the site embraces uniformity among protesters yet is characterized by a hierarchy between the leader and the masses (Tauchmann, 2020, p. 111). The focus of the protesters is directed towards an authoritative figure, often the speaker, and this relationship serves to further fuel the dominant emotion of rage. On the contrary, left-wing protests exhibit a decentralized spatiality as the attention and interest of protesters are not concentrated on a single authoritative figure. Diverse micro-groups, colorful banners, and polyphonic speeches are common. In these protests that lack a dominant emotion, there is a spatially dispersed arrangement that accommodates activities such as dancing and singing, alongside serious political discussions (Tauchmann, 2020, p. 112).

¹⁸ In addition to the interviews conducted with protesters, I am incorporating my own experiences and observations into the analysis to reveal the affective dimension of the protest.

spatialities. While this research utilizes affect to uncover the minor instances and nuances within the thick present, it also regards affects as a complex realm to be explored through methods such as writing, drawing, and model making.



Figure 2.10 : Affective mapping of the 20th Feminist Night March on the research model *The Condenser*¹⁹ (Beşik, 2023)

¹⁹ See the research model *The Condenser* in Chapter 5.1.

3. PROTEST AS A POINT IN THE THICK PRESENT

This chapter examines the *thickness* of the 20th Feminist Night March, along with its broader context of historical accumulations. Here, the complexity of the 20th Feminist Night March as a node in the *thick present* is revealed by delving into the temporal dynamics of the women's movement in Turkey. In her book *Staying with the Trouble*, Haraway (2016, p. 206) proposes the term "*thick present*" as "the temporality of the thick, fibrous, and lumpy 'now,' which is ancient and not." Thus, the *thick present* cannot be separated from the past, since it suggests a broad perception of temporality. Throughout the book, Haraway (2016) uses the term to refer to the ongoing complex accumulation of economic crises, political tensions, social issues, and ecological hazards.

Haraway's (2016) suggestion to thoroughly exist in the *thick present* is to stay present in its troubles. She opposes common polarizations of ideas including the belief that we are either moving towards a collapse or the hope for a utopian escapism (Haraway, 2016, p.1). Once the *thick present* is not perceived as something to escape from but rather a neverending unfinishedness; the inherent probabilities within this thickness begin to manifest themselves.

In this thesis, the case of the 20th Feminist Night March was explored to focus on a political anchor within the *thick present* due to its broad political plurality, spatial dynamics, and affective complexity. I argue that Haraway's suggested practice of being present also requires a retrospective comprehension of the thickness that we stay in. Therefore, in this chapter, the historical examination of the women's movement in Turkey is used to make sense of the political, spatial, and affective thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March.

3.1 The Women's Movement in Turkey

The women's movement in Turkey has consistently reflected the social, economic, and political agenda of each decade, experiencing periods of stagnation and progression.

For this reason, the categorization in this chapter does not divide the movement into equal periods. Instead, it is established through various periods of progress within the movement. In addition to outright historical facts, the movement is traced through women's journals of different periods, as seen in the chapters titled through journals and associations. The chapter begins with the 19th-century Ottoman era and focuses on the early years of the Turkish Republic, the emergence of protest movements in the second and third waves of feminism²⁰, and the period following 2003 when annual feminist night marches began. The women's movement in Turkey is a grand narrative that has been expanded over decades, however, throughout the chapter, I suggest a *minor* approach by selecting various statements and images that might have been overlooked in archival research of journals and other media.

3.1.1 Şüküfezar, Women's World, The White Conferences

Women's movement in the Ottoman Era started in the early 19th century as women began expressing their demands for rights and freedom following the ongoing societal changes (Çakır, 2010, p. 103). Following the the proclamation of the Imperial Edict of Reorganisation [Tanzimat Fermanı] in 1839 that proposed secular ideals in political, social, legal, intellectual, and economic areas; the most prominent reform for women was in the field of education (Şenel, 2018, p. 1077). As a result of this educational transformation, there was a surge in the establishment of women's journals, associations, and conferences that aimed to vocalize and support women (Şenel, 2018, p. 1078). Şüküfezar²¹ Journal, published in 1886, was the first magazine with an all-female editorial team and contributors. Further on, the Women's World Journal [Kadınlar Dünyası] (Figure 3.1), published between 1913 and 1921, played a significant role in the advancement of the women's struggle (Çakır, 2010, p. 105). During this period, journals that embraced women's traditional role in the home discussed topics related to housework, marriage, and children. On the other hand, in

²⁰ In this chapter, the use of terms such as "second-wave feminism" or "third-wave feminism" is solely to indicate temporal references since the women's movement is examined over a broad period. I do not intend to flatten the complexity of the women's movement as I acknowledge that the processes within the movement are interconnected and oftentimes do not conform to the limitations of these broad categorizations.

²¹ In the first issue of the journal, the authors displayed a critique towards gender roles by stating their intention to challenge the common insult "long hair, short mind" that targeted women (Çakır, 2010, p. 106).

more progressive publications, gender equality, women's education, and employment rights came to the fore. Unlike other women's journals of the time that gave superiority to men's opinions on women-related issues, the Women's World Journal was a significant publication that took a radical and independent stance (Çakır, 2010, p. 105). Despite the perception of the women's movement in the Ottoman Empire as an imitation of the European women's movement, the Women's World Journal embraced the foreign term "feminism" (Çakır, 2010, p. 106-107).



Figure 3.1 : Women's World Journal, Issue 194, 1921 (Url-7).

In this era, ethnic minority women, including Armenian, Kurdish, Greek, and Circassian, founded women's associations centering their own issues and concerns (Çakır, 2010, p. 112). While the majority of the women's associations at that time

revolved around women's education and employment, there were also minor associations that had other specific causes. For instance, the association founded in 1913 under the name "Mamulat-ı Dahiliye İstihlakı Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyesi" opposed the Westernization of fashion trends in women's clothing and strived to increase domestic production to reduce the monetary flow to Europe (Daşcıoğlu, 2023, p. 129). Another notable example is the "Association of Women Dressing Simply" [Sade Giyinen Kadınlar Cemiyeti], which introduced itself in the Turkish Women Journal [Türk Kadını Dergisi] in 1918 by criticizing the involvement with fashion during wartime as an extravagance (Daşcıoğlu, 2023, p. 129).

As seen in these cases, women in this era were engaged in nuanced and minor dialogues amidst the complexities of the ongoing wartime reality. The women's efforts to establish a presence in the tumultuous final years of the Ottoman Empire can also be traced spatially. For example, the renowned platform for dialogue that consistently convened Ottoman women in 1911, The White Conferences [Beyaz Konferanslar], took place at the house of an anonymous and voluntary woman (Çakır, 1994, p. 156). These conferences usually hosted 300 people and served as gatherings where women had the chance to rebel against the inequalities and, at times, propose solutions (Çakır, 1994, p. 157). As seen in these examples, the women's movement of this period did not hesitate to center minor issues, turn a newspaper column into a political forum, or transform a house into a political space in the face of constraints.

3.1.2 Women's People Party, Turkish Women's Union, The Voice of Woman

The Republic of Turkey, founded in 1923, prioritized Westernization and modernization while carrying out reforms in many areas (Diner and Toktaş, 2010, p. 43). In this context, the government assigned a new position to women, primarily raising the next generation of citizens of the secular Turkish Republic. During this period, along with the laws regarding the equality of men and women, there were restrictions on traditional clothing that were out of western dress codes (Diner and Toktaş, 2010, p. 44). With the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, Nezihe Muhiddin and a group of pioneer women attempted to establish Women's People Party

[Kadınlar Halk Fırkası], following the suffragette movement in the world²² (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 119). The government rejected this attempt by arguing that women should not be allowed to establish a party since they had not yet gained their political rights²³ (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 148). In this context, the content about the acquisition of women's political rights in the second article of the Women's People Party's bylaws is removed, and the Turkish Women's Union, which advocates for more moderate demands, was established in 1924²⁴ (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 150). The union aimed to empower women by increasing their consciousness to exercise their social and political rights. Yet again, their request for women's voting rights in local elections in March 1927 was rejected by the authorities (Kılıç, 1998, p. 348). Following the efforts made during this period²⁵, women gained the right to vote and be elected in municipal elections in 1930 (Kılıç, 1998, p. 348). In celebration of this achievement, a rally was organized by the Turkish Women's Union in Istanbul on April 11th, 1930 (Figure 3.2, Figure 3.3). After this event, the Turkish Women's Union considered its goals achieved and annulled itself in 1935 (Kılıç, 1998, p. 348). Latife Bekir, who became the head of the Turkish Women's Union after the resignation of Nezihe Muhiddin²⁶, stated that women gained equal rights with men with this achievement in Turkey (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 258). According to Yaprak Zihnioğlu (2003, p. 257), this decision was also influenced by the pressures of the Republican People's Party, which governed the country at that time, to close down the union.

²²The suffragette movement that fought for women's right to vote was already on the agenda of the women's movement in the last approximately 50 years of the Ottoman Empire (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 119).

²³ According to Zihnioğlu (2003, p. 149), the reason for the rejection of the Women's People Party was that the government recognized the issue of women's rights as part of its own secularization process. It was a strategic choice to present women's rights as their own achievement while ignoring women's efforts in the process.

²⁴ The provision in place of the removed second article reads; "To elevate womanhood in intellectual and societal domains and attain a contemporary and advanced position" (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 150). According to Zihnioğlu (2003, p. 149), this situation indicated a regression in terms of women's rights in Turkey.

²⁵ In this period Nezihe Muhiddin and other members of the union attempted to bring back the second article in favor of political rights of women, which was removed when the Turkish Women's Union was established. In this context, they carried out a series of activities, applied to congresses, and held meetings with members of parliament for mutual negotiations (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 196).

²⁶ During these years, Nezihe Muhiddin, the founder and most active member of the union, was exposed to many irregular accusations and was slandered in anonymous articles published in *Cumhuriyet*, the famous newspaper of the period. When Nezihe Muhiddin was excluded from the union and resigned as a result of the defamations, Yunus Nadi, who was against the union, wrote an article in the same newspaper titled "Thank God We Are Saved" (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 164). In this sense, the defamation processes against Nezihe Muhiddin are thought to be planned and strategic.



Figure 3.2 : The announcement of the rally reads; "This rally is the first public manifestation of the Turkish woman who gained the right to vote." (Url-8).



Figure 3.3 : The women's march after obtaining the right to participate in local elections in Sultanahmet Square, Istanbul, 1930. (Kılıç, 1998, p. 350).

The Turkish Women's Union was reestablished in 1949, this time the organization was in alignment with government policies and terminated its political cause. The newly formed union aimed to reinforce the role of women as self-sacrificing mothers, wives, and responsible citizens serving their families. (Kılıç, 1998, p. 350). The recession of the women's movement all over the world in the period between the two world wars

was also reflected in Turkey. According to women's rights activist Şirin Tekeli (2010, p. 194), the women's movement in Turkey stagnated for almost four decades following the annulment of the first Turkish Women's Union. Although women's magazines and associations were active during this period, they were mostly devoid of political identity. For instance, the well-known journal *The Voice of Woman* [Kadın Sesi], stated in its first issue in 1957 that the necessary rights had already been given to Turkish women and therefore the main aim of the journal was to civilize unemployed women who were living in villages (Sarıtaş and Akıllı, 2015, p. 633). Similarly, women's associations of the period revolved around the idea of aiding women in need, yet they lacked any political stance (Sarıtaş and Akıllı, 2015, p. 633). Due to the detachment of women's journals and organizations from their political context, this era indicates a period of stagnation within the women's movement in Turkey.

3.1.3 Progressive Women's Association, Protests, Campaigns

In Turkey, the 1961 Constitution²⁷ allowed citizens to benefit from new organizational freedoms and enabled them to amplify their rights. However, during this period when socialist ideas were circulating, the women's movement did not hold a significant presence (Kılıç, 1998, p. 351). Second-wave feminism, which began to rise in the world in the 1960s with the phrase "the personal is political", manifested itself in Turkey in the 1980s²⁸ (Tekeli, 1990). Until that year, the women's movement progressed within the framework of the socialist movement concerning the country's agenda.

Following the establishment of the Progressive Women's Association in 1975, other left-wing organizations such as the Democratic Women's Union, Workers' Women's Union, and Revolutionary Women's Associations were formed²⁹ (Tekeli, 1998, p. 343). These leftist organizations focused on social and economic issues, such as the right to childcare for working women and the free milk campaign for financially

²⁷ The constitution was in favor of fundamental rights and freedom, and declared that the Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular, and social legal state (Url-9).

²⁸ In the 1980s, feminist movement in Turkey radically targeted patriarchy and male dominance in the context of private realms (Diner and Toktaş, 2010, p. 56).

²⁹ Socialist women's movement in Turkey during the 1960s and 70s did not fully embrace the term feminism as they believed that it would weaken the collective leftist revolutionary movement. (Abadan Unat, 2018, p. 331)

struggling women with children. They also brought the agenda of the world's leftist thought to the forefront of the women's movement³⁰ (Figure 3.4). The first March 8th march which was organized by the Progressive Women's Association in 1976, featured the slogan "for a world without war" on its poster³¹ (Women's Voice, April 1976, Issue 9).



Figure 3.4 : Representation of women resisting the capitalist system in Europe and Turkey in Women's Voice Journal (Issue 5, December 1975, p. 3)

In the 1980s, feminist organizations began to emerge. On May 17, 1987, women organized a march titled "Against Physical Violence Towards Women" at Kadıköy Yoğurtçu Park in Istanbul³² (Figure, 3.5). The march was the first legal public space action organized in Turkey after the 1980 military coup. During the event, women used colorful banners with drawings and prints, and trans women gave public speeches for the first time in a march (Socialist Feminist Collective, 2013).

³⁰ In an interview conducted in 2017, well known Turkish feminist Şirin Tekeli expressed her criticism of leftist women's organizations from that era, deeming them explicitly anti-feminist in many ways. She claimed that the leftist groups of that time interpreted feminism as a bourgeois ideology and believed that socialism was the sole means to liberate women (Url-10).

³¹ The publication of the Progressive Women's Association, "Women's Voice," emphasized the significance of March 8th, in the context of the struggle of unionization by textile workers in New York on March 8, 1857. The journal asserted that the meaning and importance of March 8th cannot be separated from workers worldwide (Women's Voice, Issue 8).

³² The march was organized in response to the use of the proverb "a woman should not be without a stick on her back and a baby in her belly" during the divorce suit of a woman that was subjected to physical violence. The slogans of the march included: "Women in Solidarity Against Violence", "Punishment for Violence", "We Don't Want the Paradise Where Violence Comes From", "Women Exist, Enough with the Words of Women", "There is No Justifiable Violence", "Violence Originates from the Family", "Don't Be Ashamed, Speak Out" (Socialist Feminist Collective, 2013).



Figure 3.5 : March Against Physical Violence Towards Women, May 17, 1987 (Socialist Feminist Collective, 2013).

The march evolved into a much larger organization named “Solidarity Campaign Against Violence”³³. As part of the campaign, the Women's Festival was held on October 4, 1987, at the Kariye Museum in Edirnekapı. The proceeds from the festival were used to publish the book "Scream! Let Everyone Hear," based on the experiences of women who witnessed domestic violence (Tekeli, 1998, p. 342).

A year later, the women leading the campaign opened the “Temporary Modern Women's Museum” in Istanbul on March 8 (Karakuş, 2023). The art installations centered the objects related to themes such as unpaid domestic labor, menstruation, and birth control methods (Figure 3.6). The museum stayed open for a week following March 8 and hosted panels on the political aspects and organizational efforts of the women's movement (Karakuş, 2023). This museum adds an ironic layer of materiality to the predominantly discourse-driven March 8 International Women's Day that is often brought upon talks, panels, and symposiums. Here, the fragments and the coalesce of everyday objects from women's lives allow for observations on the reality of everyday oppression.

³³ See the campaign statement distributed at the Women's Festival held at the Kariye Museum on October 4; Url-11.



Figure 3.6 : “Monument of Unknown Woman” in Temporary Modern Women's Museum, March 8, 1988 (Url-12).

On November 2, 1989, The Purple Needle Campaign³⁴ was initiated by selling purple needles as ironic self-defense objects on ferries between Kadıköy and Karaköy (Koç, 2023). One of the main slogans of the campaign, "We Want the Streets and the Nights," brought women's rights to the city into the feminist agenda. On the evening of the campaign, women took action by entering venues such as taverns, pubs, and coffeehouses where women were mostly not welcomed. Approximately three weeks later, this incident found its place on the front page of Milliyet Newspaper under the headline "Women Raided the Tavern" (Figure 3.7). Some of the conversations that occurred in these spaces between them and men were later published in the feminist journal Kaktüs (Issue 10, 1990, p. 30-31). In these dialogues, feminists tried to confront men with the fundamental issues of the women's movement. One of the conversations reads;

At Güven Meyhanesi:

Man: We suggest that women find another place.

³⁴ See the "Declaration of Women's Liberation" that inspired the campaign; Url-13.

"So, is this an illicit spot?"

Man: Not necessarily. It's just a place for drinking, at the very least. This area is problematic, morally speaking, especially for women. There's a disparity between the experiences of women and men. Men have the freedom to go anywhere because there is no equality. Equality is entirely absent. Women do not enjoy the freedom they desire.

"Who is responsible for immorality?"

Man: Society is.

"Does any woman cause disturbance for you?"

Man: "Whom have women disturbed so far?"

"So, is it men engaging in immoral actions?"

Man: "Yes, men are responsible for it." (Kaktüs, Issue 10, 1990, p. 30-31)

Beyoğlu'nun arka sokaklarında ilginç tartışmalar **Kadınlar meyhane bastı**

● "Mor çuvaldız kampanyası"ndan sonra meyhanelerde eylem kararı alan 30 kadın, gece Beyoğlu'nun arka sokaklarındaki meyhanelere girerek erkeklerle beraber içki içip onları "kadın sorunlarını" tartışmaya zorladılar

● Tartışma sırasında, "bizim bildiğimiz kadının yeri evdir. Çocuğa kim bakacak?" şeklindeki soruya, feministler "Emrinçeye kadar tamam. Ondan sonrası de pekiâ bakabilirsiniz" yanıtı verdiler

HABERİ 15. SAYFADA



Kadın hakları Beyoğlu'nda bugüne kadar sadece erkeklerin gittiği meyhanelerde önceki gece oluşan görüntü, kadın haklarını "hararet"le" savunan bir grup feminist ile sorunlarına kendi değer yargıları içinde cevap yetiştirmeye çalışan bir akşamı aldı. (Fotoğraf: Serdar AKINIAN)

Figure 3.7 : "Interesting discussions in the back streets of Beyoğlu, Women Raided The Tavern" 22.11.1989, Milliyet Newspaper

Campaigns against sexual harassment were heightened following the Constitutional Court Decision³⁵ on January 12, 1989. Following the decision, feminists primarily

³⁵ The Constitutional Court, comprised entirely of men, had decided by majority vote that Article 438, which proposed a 2/3 reduction in the punishment for the perpetrator in cases where the victim of rape was a sex worker, was in accordance with the Constitution. See the constitutional court decision: Url-14.

united against Article 438, which was in support of the oppression of sex workers (Figure 3.8). During this period, they released press statements and distributed proclamations. On February 18, 1990, feminists orchestrated a march that commenced in Üsküdar and ended in Bağlarbaşı (Figure 3.9). The march advocated the recognition of sex work as a legitimate profession.³⁶ As an outcome of these actions against sexual harassment within this year, Article 438 was abolished in November 1990 (Law No. 765..., 1990). Yet, the discourse on sex work remained as a leading discussion within the feminist movement. Various perspectives of feminists found a place in the discourse, as seen in issue 7 of the Feminist Journal (1990). One of the articles asserts;

438 is a law that highlights the circumstances of all women; it affects not only sex workers but all women. I oppose 438 because it serves as a reminder that my body doesn't belong to me but to the patriarchy. To affirm control over my own body and identity, and to resist this system, I declare 'No to 438!' for myself. Furthermore, in defiance of patriarchal definitions and control, I assert that we are all sex workers. (Feminist Journal, 1990, p. 22)

In addition to approaches that frame sex work as a condition of womanhood, other articles have emphasized that the statement of "we are all sex workers" may lead to overlooking the unique experiences and circumstances faced by women engaged in sex work (Feminist Journal, 1990, p. 24). These discussions signal the initiation of inquiries that will establish the foundations of intersectional feminism that will rise in the following years, which embraces the plurality of women's experiences.



Figure 3.8 : A protest on Zürafa Street, where brothels are located in Karaköy, Istanbul (Feminist Journal, Issue 7, March 1990, p. 24).

³⁶ Some slogans of the protest were: "Neither chaste nor unchaste, we are women." "There is no justified rape." "We want the nights and the streets." "Sex work is not a crime, it's a job" (Url-15).



Figure 3.9 : The protest on the cover of Feminist Journal (Issue 7, March 1990).

3.1.4 Pazartesi, Roza

Third-wave feminism, which focuses on the fragmented, polyphonic and diverse nature of women's experiences in the context of sexual, religious, ethnic and class differences, began to emerge in Turkey in the 1990s (Diner and Toktaş, 2010, p. 56). The traces of third-wave feminism in Turkey can be observed in the feminist journal "Pazartesi" [Monday], which was first published in 1995 with these words: "At home, working outside, studying, married, single, divorced, Turkish, Kurdish, with children, without children, overweight, slim... let's come together as women on Mondays" (March 1995, Issue 0). As a journal aiming for an intersectional feminist stance, Pazartesi not only addressed women's issues in the socio-economic context, but also incorporated content related to humor, relationship anecdotes, erotic stories, homosexuality, culture, and art. A year later, six Kurdish women launched the first feminist Kurdish women's magazine, "Roza"³⁷, due to the lack of publications representing them in the feminist literature in Turkey. In this period, the issue of racism, which was a global concern within third-wave feminism, began to find its place in Turkey's feminist movement. In this period, while women with different experiences were encouraged to establish their own spaces, an integrative organization of women was lacking. Pazartesi Journal (January 1997, p. 7) in its issue 22, addressed this

³⁷ According to the inaugural issue of the Roza magazine, the idea for an independent Kurdish journal arose from the incident of an intervention that Kurdish women faced due their speech and banners in the women's march held on March 11, 1989 (Roza Journal, Issue 1, April 1996).

situation and expressed a desire for a March 8th where all the women can come together (Figure 3.10).



Figure 3.10 : "Let this March 8 be different!" (Pazartesi Journal, January 1997, Issue 22, p. 7).

3.1.5 Feminist Night March

On March 8, 2003, the first-ever Feminist Night March was held under the theme of "Women Against War" (Yükler, 2022). The march was organized in the context of the U.S. invasion of Iraq with the slogan "All those who start wars and make war decisions are men, is it a coincidence?" The march took place on a small part of Istanbul's well-known Istiklal Street, starting from Taksim Square to Mis Street (Yükler, 2022). In the next year, due to the escalating incidents of femicides, the Feminist Night March was organized in the same route under the slogan "Not a grave, but a shelter." In 2005, the protest took on the name "Feminist Night March" and all the following marches have been held under this name. In the following years, resistance against the patriarchy stayed as the central theme of the marches. Moreover, protests have become inseparable from LGBTQ resistance (Figure 3.11). The "We Rebel Against Femicides" campaign which was initiated in 2010, influenced the upcoming years of protest (Yükler, 2022).



Figure 3.11 : LGBTQ resistance in 8th Feminist Night March in Istiklal Street, March 8, 2010 (Url-16)

Following the increased police resistance in the aftermath of the 2013 Gezi Park Protests and the banning of the LGBTQ Pride March in 2015, the Feminist Night March gained significance as the last major remaining demonstration (Büyükgöze, 2023). In 2014, the first police intervention and violence against the march took place. That year, access to Taksim Square as the final destination of the march, was blocked (Büyükgöze, 2023). In the following years, the issues of police intervention and violence were part of the main themes of marches. In the 15th-year press statement of the Feminist Night March in 2017 (Figure 3.12), the first sentence reads: "In the Feminist Night March, women and trans people³⁸ are once again side by side in the streets, squares, Istiklal Street, right in the heart of life." (Url-17) Although the March changed in direction numerous times over the years, the march that took place between Tünel and Taksim Square, along İstiklal Street, until the year of 2018 (Figure 3.13).



Figure 3.12 : “No Means No,” 15th Feminist Night March in Istiklal Street (Url-18).

³⁸ For several years, march posters were addressing "women and trans people" in the name of trans visibility. However, this expression was removed from the posters in 2018 after being deemed as transphobic (Büyükgöze, 2023).

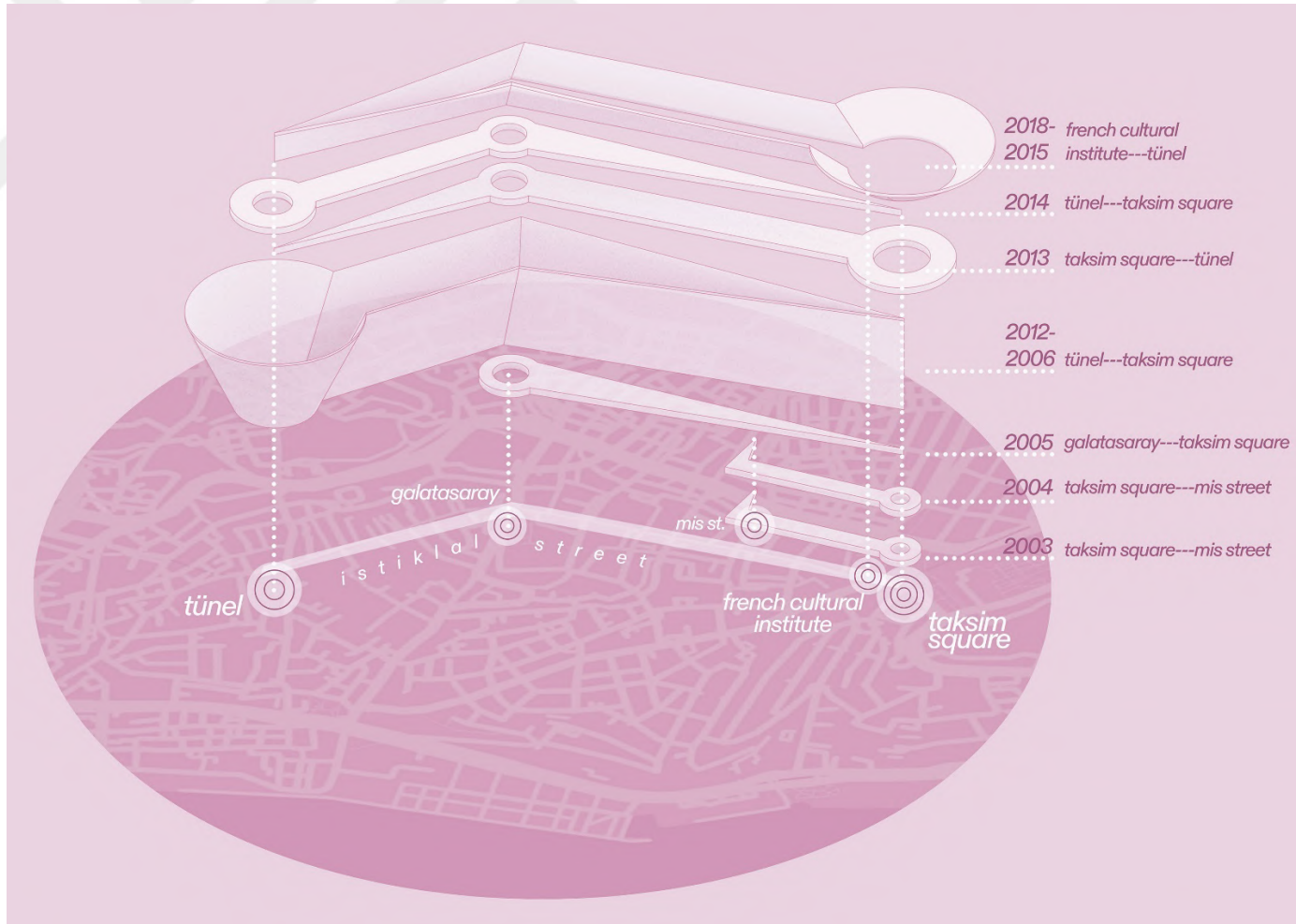


Figure 3.13 : Marching routes between 2003-2018 in Beyoğlu (Beşik, 2023).

In the 2019 Feminist Night March, most of the roads leading to Taksim were closed (Figure 3.14), and the march that hosted thousands of people was dispersed by the police violence. The 18th Feminist Night March in 2020, themed "Istanbul Convention Saves Lives³⁹", was officially banned by the Istanbul Governorship (Url-19). That year, gathering on Istiklal Street was not permitted, instead, the march took place on nearby Siraselviler Street. Some of the protesters continued marching to Karaköy, another neighborhood in Beyoğlu district. Women who stayed on Siraselviler Street faced police violence and 34 protestors were detained by the police (Url-20). In the next year, The 19th Feminist Night March took place in the same route as the previous year (Figure 3.15). Even though the press release was read on Siraselviler Street, women turned the streets they could enter into protest spaces (Url-21). The march emphasized the heightened incidents of domestic violence and femicides in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic⁴⁰. Due to the ongoing pandemic, many women participated in the march with purple masks.

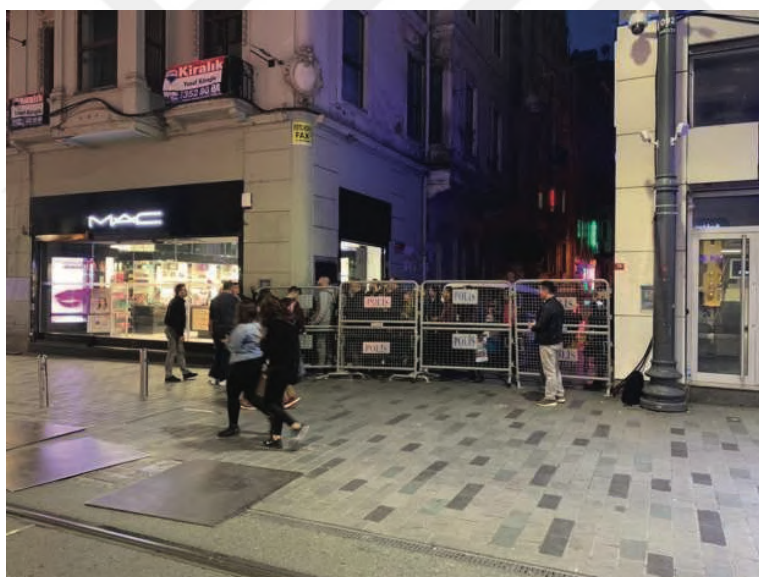


Figure 3.14 : Police blockade on the streets that lead to Istiklal Street, March 8, 2019 (Url-23).

³⁹ Istanbul Convention is an international treaty on preventing and combating violence against women that was initiated in Turkey among 12 countries in 2011, May 11 (Url-22). In 2019, discussions and objections regarding Turkey's potential withdrawal from the convention were brought to the political agenda in Turkey.

⁴⁰ According to the 2020 report by the "We Will End Femicide Platform," 300 women were killed, and the deaths of 171 women were recorded as "suspicious." The report claims that 60% of the murdered women were killed at home (We Will End Femicide Platform, 2021).



Figure 3.15 : 19th Feminist Night March in Siraselviler Street (Image: Meltem Akyol) (Url-24).

In recent years, March 8 has become a day that embraces intersectional feminism as it brings together subjects of diverse backgrounds, classes, ethnicities, sexual orientations, gender identities, and political perspectives. Thus, the significance of the women's movement in Turkey is recognized among individuals who are subjected to ongoing economic, social, and cultural issues. In fact, the increasing spatial constraints that target the March over the last years (Figure 3.16) are contributing to a broader acceptance of the event among various groups.

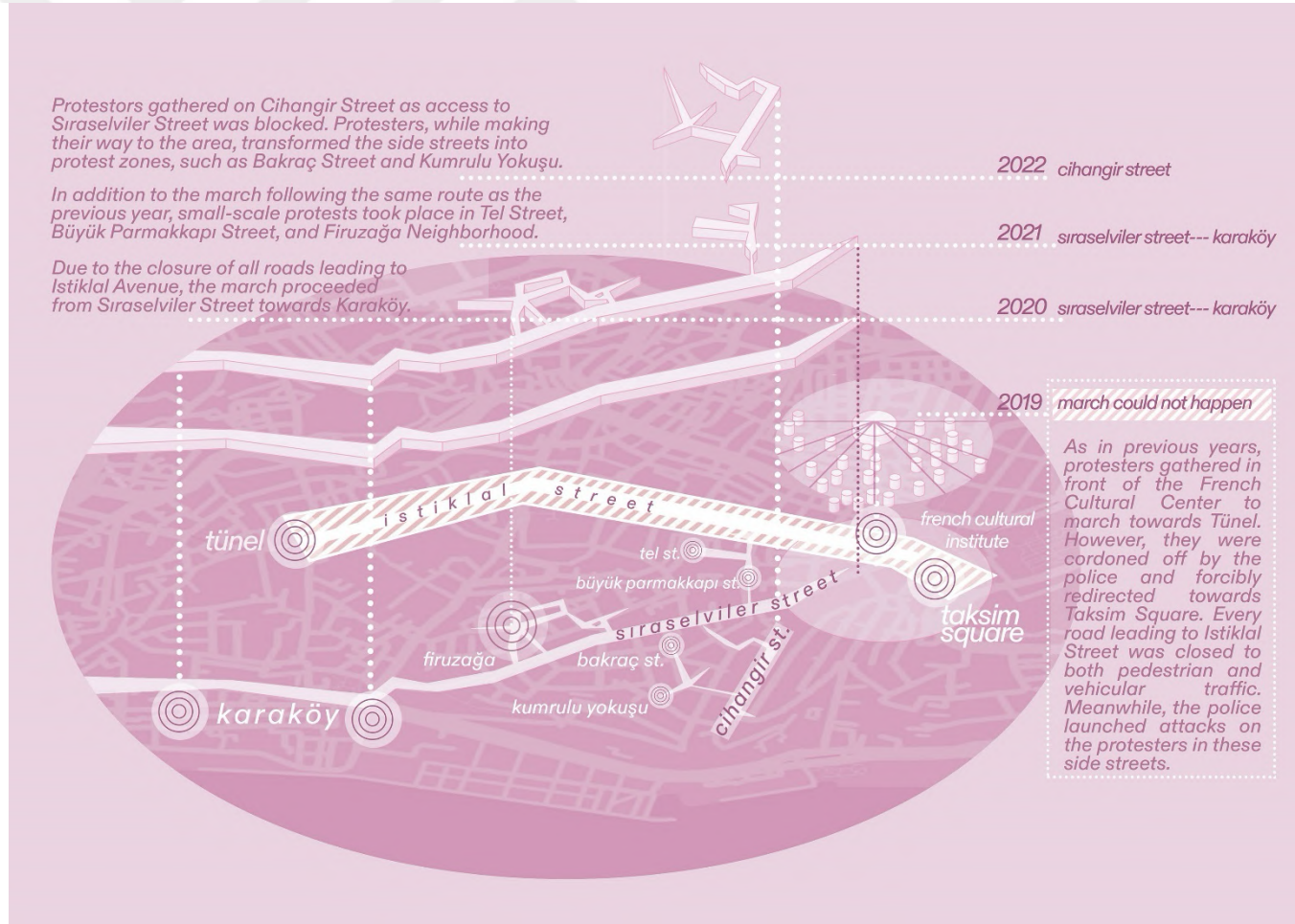


Figure 3.16 : Marching routes between 2019-2022 in Beyoğlu (Beşik, 2023).

3.2 The Thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March

As discussed in the previous sections, the 20th Feminist Night March has an extended and complex historical background in Turkey. Along with this temporal aspect, the march contains spatial, political, and affective complexities that make it an eligible point to delve into the *thick present*. In this research, the 20th Feminist Night March defines a ground that is both exploratory and speculative. I examine the thickness of the march, portraying it as a space where meanings, connections, and relationships are constantly generated. Here, I must clarify that as a participant in the march and the researcher of this study, I articulate this thickness through my experiences and kept records from the day including written notes, text conversations, images, and audio records, in addition to the interviews I conducted with protesters.

Just as the previous years, The 20th Feminist Night March in 2022 was banned from using the celebrated protest venue Istiklal Street in Istanbul due to the bans issued by the Istanbul Governor (Url-25). Feminist organizers determined Siraselviler Street, where the 18th and 19th Feminist Night Marches took place, as the gathering place on social media (Url-26). However, since access to the street was blocked from many sides, protesters met on Cihangir Street in the same neighborhood. Nonetheless, even this street could not be accessed before March. All kinds of transportation to the area were blocked. Subway lines closed down several stops connected to the venue, the bus routes were redirected, and all the roads were closed to vehicle traffic. The surrounding streets were excessively blocked and barricaded by the police (Url-27). Most of the protesters were unable to get past the barricades and police brutality to reach the venue. And there were random, illicit arrests before the March. Such as the case of 38 women, put under custody on their way to the protest (Url-28). To get to Cihangir, many protesters, myself included, attempted to reach the area by navigating around the district, following the indirect route of Gezi Park- Atatürk Cultural Center- Gümüşsuyu (Figure 3.17).

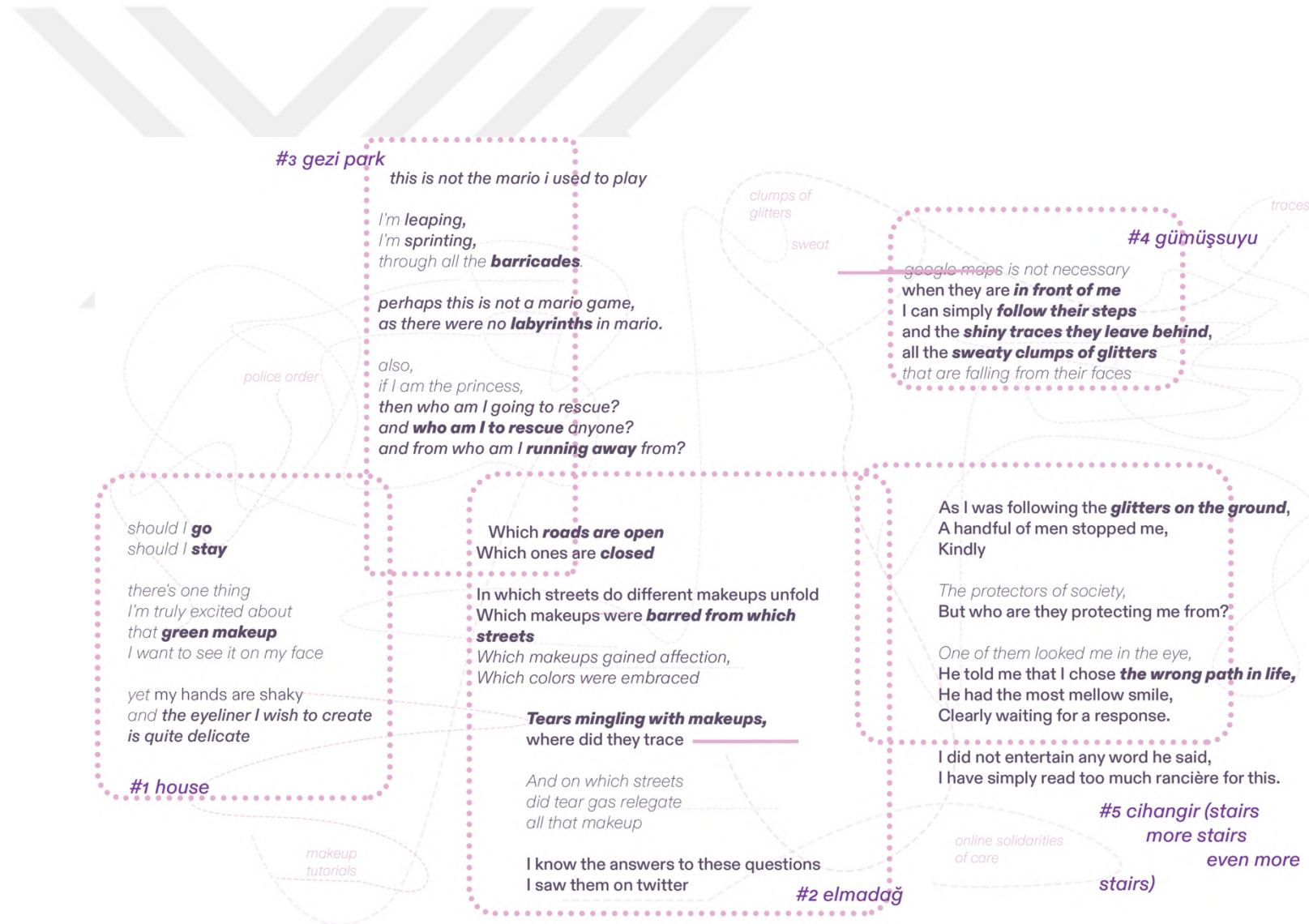


Figure 3.17 : Written excerpts about reaching to the 20th Feminist Night March (Beşik, 2022).

As protestors, our main tactic to overcome the police was to use social media platforms, especially Twitter, for information exchange and safety. The protestors who were with banners, parade outfits, and make-up, constantly used Twitter to access safer routes for reaching the venue for the March⁴¹⁴². During the March, protestors systematically dealt with the repressive mechanisms of the police (Url-29). Yet, by raising their voices and knocking down the barricades, they made the existence of the March undeniable (Url-30; Url-31). Protesters created their own spaces as a result of the police restrictions: in addition to the crowd that filled the street, some went to the top floor of a multi-story car park and read declarations, some climbed on top of the cars and shouted slogans (Figure 3.18). The protest had a major impact on the entire district.



Figure 3.18 : 20th Feminist Night March in Cihangir Street (Url-32).

⁴¹ While trying to reach the protest site, I was able to recognize protestors in the street, solely based on their colorful glitter makeup, without banners or any political indicators. Within all these spatial restrictions, I was able to reach the protest site only by following them. I believe that this shows a coherent example of *minor politics* are absent in the grand narratives of the march.

⁴² Another common tactic to reach the protest site was to pretend to be a foreigner since Cihangir is a common neighborhood for accommodation among tourists. Many protestors communicated in English, claiming they were trying to return home, and managed to get past the barricades without encountering violence.

There was one key regulation change that thickened the set-up of the Feminist Night March 2022. One year before, on March 20, 2021, the Turkish government decided to withdraw from the Istanbul Convention, which was in force to prevent gender inequality and violence. From that day until a year later, at least 302 women were killed and at least 254 women died suspiciously (Url-33). Therefore the main theme of the 20th Feminist Night March was the Istanbul Convention. In addition, the ongoing economic crisis, homophobia, and transphobia came to the fore during the protest (Figure 3.19). The banners were unfurled for gender-based violence victims and the protesters collectively mourned at this venue. The Feminist Night March is a unique collective space for diverse actions and expressions such as grieving, resisting, opposing, and rage. Yet, it stands as a joyful gathering, a casual fun outing for many. It is the place of colorful clothes, makeup, creative and humorous banners, flirty encounters, cheerings, and loud songs sung together (Figure 3.20).



Figure 3.19 : The main slogan of Feminist Rebellion reads “We cannot make ends meet” [Geçinemiyoruz] in the context of the ongoing economic crisis (Url-34).



Figure 3.20 : Site of protest as a celebration venue (Url-35).

On this site, seeing a friend, giving and receiving compliments, singing the most joyful songs, shouting slogans with enthusiasm, seeing a banner about femicide, and being constantly repressed by the police builds a unique and complex emotional intensity. In addition to the *major affects*⁴³ such as rage, exuberance, or sorrow; unnamed, complex, momentary, ambiguous, and fluid *minor affects* contribute to the affective plurality of the protest.

Another politically charged *cramped space* of the 20th Feminist Night March was the narrow and idle Arslan Yatağı Street, where the March 8 celebration venue RX Nightclub is located. Shortly after the main protest, the entrance to the nightclub, where the protesters planned to gather, was blocked by police groups and barricades. Thus, the protesters spontaneously turned the street into a joyful protest site by turning on music, singing the songs loudly, dancing, and playfully shouting slogans. This spontaneous transformation that exemplifies the spatial

⁴³ Ngai (2007, From Introduction Section, para 6) mentions the existence of grand emotions that philosophy and literary criticism mainly focus on, such as anger, fear, sympathy, melancholia, and shame. I refer to them as *major affects* as part of the discussion as these emotions are distinguished from *minor emotions* that Ngai (2007, From Introduction Section, para 6) defines as noncathartic and unprestigious.

plurality of protest, blurred the boundaries of resistance and joy. In a sudden moment, protestors were attacked with pepper spray by the police. Thus, this site has spontaneously become a politically-charged space within the thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March⁴⁴. A solidarity of care emerged among the protesters who ran away from the street, as the protesters shared objects that would soothe the skin, such as milk, lemon, and antacids in water bottles. I believe that in this space that hosts numerous events in a short period, it is not possible to define the affective intensity with several different emotions. The *minor* feelings between moments of exposure to violence and the onset of solidarity converge together with the political and spatial plurality in this site.

In the following chapter, I will set up the *Narrating Architecture* that amplifies the *thickness* of the 20th Feminist Night March by reproducing its micro-narratives, some of which were examined in this section. Through this narrative identity, architecture critically engages with the political, spatial, and affective dynamics inherent in the 20th Feminist Night March. Thus, *Narrating Architecture*, while spatializing the thickness of the protest, will further intensify the plurality of the protest as a point in the *thick present*.

⁴⁴ See the hashtag on X; #RXdePolisSiddetiVar (Url-36)

4. NARRATING ARCHITECTURE

The spatial narratives defining the broad methodology of this thesis are in use not only to describe an event but also to generate knowledge. This capability of narrative particularly within its social context has been examined by literary theorist Roland Barthes. According to Barthes (1977, p. 79), narratives have existed since the beginning of humanity, among everyone and everywhere. Narratives emerge and circulate through literary, oral, and visual states such as myths, fables, history, paintings, movies, news, and conversations. Thus, they are transcultural and transhistorical (Barthes, 1977, p. 79). Even though narratives frequently subsume certain happenings, it is not at all times the main concern of narratives to portray an event. Narratives also have the ability to create meanings, ideas, and beliefs. Thus, oftentimes this power of narrative is used intentionally for political agendas. These agendas employ narratives to create or break consensus, subtly establish social perceptions, and initiate paradigm shifts. According to Barthes (1977), it is possible to understand social dynamics that are not easily seen by grasping the accepted narratives that are not open to questioning within that social group. Thus, narratives, apart from producing new meaning and knowledge, ensure the perpetuation of systems in place.

The knowledge-producing capacity of narrative can be observed in the field of historiography. In his work *On The Concept of History*, Walter Benjamin (2020) criticizes the common historicism that ratifies the causal connections between great events within a dialectical flow. This kind of historicism establishes a chronological narrative of an exclusive history through significant people, dates, and documents. Since the records contained in this history belong to the holders of power, they also dominate the knowledge within it. This domination determines what is right and what is wrong, and maintains its position of power by perpetuating its narratives. It makes

certain narratives inviolable to control the realm of objectivity⁴⁵. In contrast to historical narratives that present a purposeful progression, Benjamin (2020) advocates for a fragmented approach to historiography. These fragmented and minor narratives exist beneath the grand events within the common practices of historicism.

The pluralist and minor modes of the narrative have been embraced by feminist theorists as a situated mode of knowing that challenges the hegemonic knowledge production. In this chapter, I will examine the feminist framework of narratives as a methodological anchor of this thesis, and subsequently, connect this framework to architectural theory and discuss the potential of spatial narrative as a knowledge originator.

4.1 Feminist Modes of Narration

The development of feminist theories of narrative, which advocates for pluralistic, subjective, and situated perspectives in response to the hegemony of objective knowledge could be associated with the narrative turn in the field of social sciences. The *narrative turn* signifies an epistemological change as it challenges the positivist approach to objectivity by engaging with the narratives of individuals or groups. (Goodson and Gill, 2011) This turn is associated with the postmodernist approach of critically engaging with modernist epistemology that is built upon the dominance of European colonialism. (Riessman 2008) Modernism, due to its link to globalization, comprises grand narratives, in both their scale and scope. Jean-François Lyotard (1994) uses the term *meta-narrative* (metarécit) to describe this attempt to totalize and legitimize historical events and cultural phenomena based upon universal values. In his book *The Postmodern Condition*, Lyotard (1994) states that meta-narratives are failures of modernism and are in fact insufficient to reflect the complexity of human existence⁴⁶. In opposition to *meta-narrative*, he suggests *micro-narrative*⁴⁷ as a

⁴⁵ Ranciere's (2010, p. 37) exemplification of the well-known phrase that is mentioned in Chapter 2, "Move along!" There's nothing to see here!" is a narrative established by the authority in the protest venue to control the perception of reality. According to this narrative, the site of demonstration is reduced to a circulation area and detached from its political character.

⁴⁶ Lyotard also criticizes the modernist expectation of scientific knowledge by claiming that knowledge cannot be reduced to science. He writes; "knowledge is not only a set of denotative statements, far from it. It also includes notions of 'knowhow,' 'knowing how to live,' 'how to listen' [savoir-faire, savoir-vivre, savoir-écouter], etc." (Lyotard, 1994, 18)

⁴⁷ Petit-récit in French.

narrative knowledge that better addresses the fragmented and complex reality of society. Unlike the tendency of *meta-narratives* to universalize and standardize, *micro-narratives* pluralize and decentralize the knowledge within the human condition.

This pluralistic approach to knowledge production is central to many feminist scholars. As a well-known example, Haraway's (1988) term *situated knowledge* stands in opposition to the idea of hegemonic objective knowledge. Through this term, she argues for feminist objectivity that "is about limited location and *situated knowledge*, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object." (Haraway, 1988, p. 583) She writes;

(...) feminist embodiment resists fixation and is insatiably curious about the webs of differential positioning. There is no single feminist standpoint because our maps require too many dimensions for that metaphor to ground our visions. (Haraway, 1988, p. 590)

The feminist objectivity she proposes emerges on grounds that are not fully explorable. Thus, *situated knowledge* addresses the *minor* aspects within these limitations and lays the foundation for *minor narratives*⁴⁸. Haraway (2016) refers to Anna Tsing⁴⁹ as a feminist storyteller as Tsing deals with *major* concepts such as the Anthropocene through *minor narratives*. Her site-specific approach addresses the issues of the Anthropocene at varying scales through non-human perspectives. Feminist storytelling in the *thick present* engages with issues in *minor* ways regardless of how *major* the issue is.

The 20th Feminist Night March stands as a grand narrative in its larger context including its historical background, socio-political intensity, and representations, as I discussed in Chapter 3. Therefore, the feminist standpoint of storytelling defines my primary objective of engaging with this event by unveiling and speculating on its

⁴⁸ I use the terms *micro-narrative* and *minor narrative* interchangeably to coherently integrate the foundational concept of *minor* into the narrative discussion.

⁴⁹ In her book "The Mushroom at the End of the World," Tsing uses matsutake, a valuable wild mushroom that lives in human-disturbed forests, as the main character to narrate the Anthropocene. Indeed, the book starts with the sentence: "What do you do when your world starts to fall apart? I go for a walk, and if I'm really lucky, I find mushrooms." (Tsing, 2015, From Prologue section, para. 1) Tsing (2015) notes that mushroom here lays the ground of curiosity that is necessary for surviving in the precarity of our troubled condition.

micro-narratives. I suggest that the pluralistic realm of *situated knowledge* and *minor narratives* provides the necessary framework to unfold the plurality of protest. In this research, I analyze and spatially narrate the plurality of the 20th Feminist Night March through this framework⁵⁰. In the following sections, I aim to examine feminist modes of storytelling that formed this research and reveal them as critical tools that resist fixation and speculatively disrupt the perception of reality established by what is claimed to be the rational mind.

4.1.1 Fiction as a Method of Survival

According to Ranciere (2010), one of the strategies of the police to sustain its order is to propagate a defined perception of reality. Thus, the perception of the events defined by the *police order* might be a fictional product that has the potential to circulate delusive realities. Yet, at the same time, fiction can be the main tool to subvert these constructed realities, Ranciere (2010) writes;

The practice of fiction undoes, and then re-articulates, connections between signs and images, images and times, and signs and spaces, framing a given sense of reality, a given 'commonsense'. It is a practice that invents new trajectories between what can be seen, what can be said, and what can be done. (p. 149)

Here, I am associating Rancière's political suggestion of fiction, with Henri Bergson's (2020) approach to the concept of fabulation based on spontaneous improvisation. Bergson examines fabulation⁵¹ as a visionary faculty that involves the formation of partially personalized entities, which found its initial expression within religious contexts and expanded into the realms of art and literature. He claims that when faced with the threat of death, humans may save themselves from the situation through these momentary narratives they mentally constructed⁵², indeed, he notes that “a fiction, if

⁵⁰In order to establish a situated and pluralistic approach towards the March that disrupts its meta-narratives, I extract micro- narratives both from the conducted interviews that center subjective and minor lived experiences including my own.

⁵¹ The English translation of the book uses the word myth-making. Here, I chose to use the word fabulation, which is the direct translation of the French word that Bergson uses.

⁵² Bergson (2020, p. 120) explains the function of fabulation through the case of a woman who was on the top floor of a hotel and rushed to get into the lift as the elevator door was open. Suddenly, the man in charge of operating the elevator had just appeared and pushed her back into the corridor. Immediately after, she realized that neither the man nor the elevator was there; due to a malfunction, the door could

its image is vivid and insistent, may indeed masquerade as perception and in that way prevent or modify action” (Bergson, 2020, p. 109). In times of crisis, instinctual fabulation, or fiction, transcend the limitations of the rational mind, and come up as methods of survival.

Donna Haraway (2013, p. 4) challenges the assumed opposition between fact and fiction by claiming that the essence of scientific practice is rooted in interpretation and testimony, which are storytelling endeavors. Her suggestion of *speculative fabulation* questions the status quo, suggests alternative ways of thinking and indicates connections between humans, non-humans, technologies, and ecosystems (Haraway, 2016). She advocates for *speculative fabulation* as a feminist, responsive, and situated storytelling practice, rather than relating to a predefined vision of the future. Therefore, *speculative fabulation* is her suggestion to stay in the complexity of the *thick present*. (Haraway, 2016, p.133)

I suggest that there are parallels between feminist storytelling and the instantaneous responses that protesters improvise to the spatial restraints of the police at the 20th Feminist Night March. I claim that in politically charged conditions, Bergson's fabulation as an instinctual method of survival and Haraway's storytelling as a way to stay in the *thick present* both suggest improvisational responses. Thus, I argue that how the protesters deal with spatial difficulties indicates performative modes of feminist storytelling. I believe that the plural, instant, unpredictable, individual, and collective stories among protesters can resist the centralized and excluding tactics of the *police order*.

Hélène Frichot and Naomi Stead (2020) discuss the critical dimension of fiction within the framework of architecture in their book *Writing Architectures: Ficto-critical Approaches*. They point out the relationship between architecture and fiction, they write: “Every architectural proposition is a kind of speculative fiction before it becomes a built fact, just as every written fiction relies on a setting, the construction of a coherent milieu in which a story can take place” (Frichot and Stead, 2020, p. 11). Furthermore, they suggest the term “ficto-criticism,” referring to the combination of

be open on her floor even though the elevator was still waiting below. Bergson (2020, p. 120) interprets the situation as follows; she was about to throw herself into the void and a hallucination, or fabulation, saved her life.

fiction and criticism that engages with the field of architecture, including its practice, problems, sites, and theories (Frichot and Stead, 2020, p. 12). They argue that fiction as a narrative mode is inherently critical since it disrupts the grand narratives by speculating on the stories of those who are othered or deemed unimportant (Frichot and Stead, 2020, p. 15).

In the conceptual framework that I establish, Rancière's fiction a political tool of disruption converges with Bergson's fabulation as a survival technique and Haraway's feminist speculative fabulations. This framework defines the ficto-critical architectural practice in this research that suggests a critical spatial practice. Here, fiction becomes a critical spatial tool that speculates on the *micro-narratives* of the protest by critically addressing its political, spatial, and affective pluralities. It suggests a strategically instinctual practice of disobeying the narratives of the *police order*. In addition, it offers a practice of *minor architecture* by critically engaging with the conventional practices and representation tools of architecture⁵³.

4.1.2 Autotopography and Carrier Storytelling

Feminist storytelling, a situated practice, requires attunement to the materiality of its surroundings. In this section, I explore the palpable aspect of feminist storytelling, by connecting Jennifer A. Gonzalez's "autotopography" and Ursula K. LeGuin's concept of "carrier storytelling." Jennifer A. Gonzalez (1995) suggests the term *autotopography* to refer to the process of utilizing objects as a means to map one's own identity. *Autotopography* includes the selection and arrangement of mementos and artifacts that contain subjective significance within a spatial context. Here, an object acquires a unique and profound identity when assigned a particular meaning to it.

Gonzalez employs Ricoeur's concept of *trace*⁵⁴ as a central element in *autotopography*. The concept of trace perpetuates the narrative complexity of memory

⁵³ Following the ficto-criticism discussion, I suggest that most of the architectural representation methods contain imaginative and speculative potentials by their nature. These methods, which are model-making and drawing in this research, embrace fiction to reveal such potentials. See Chapter 5 for the research projects.

⁵⁴ Paul Ricoeur (2014) suggests the concept of trace to emphasize autobiographical objects as a means to construct the narrative identity of one's self. His hermeneutic phenomenology framework suggests the possibility of deciphering the significance of semiotic events, symbols, and signs by delving into their traces.

in opposition to history's insistence on precise and linear progression (Gonzalez, 1995). In the realm of history, events are perceived to be amenable to objective scrutiny. In contrast, memory is typically perceived to be vague, unreliable, and therefore secondary since it represents the recollection and interpretation of personal or collective experiences that are subjected to alterations (Gonzalez, 1995). *Autotopography*, as a “lieu de mémoire”⁵⁵, employs subjective knowledge to form narratives that extend beyond the meta-narratives of history⁵⁶. Therefore, I claim that *autotopography* suggests a form of *situated knowledge*, and is a feminist practice. It transcends established meanings in events and objects by centering subjectivity and treats objects not in isolation from individuals and events but as intertwined with them. In this research, I employ *autotopography* as a method that embraces objects, *affects*, relationships, and conversations as its narrative elements (Figure 4.1). Through *autotopography*, factual realities and subjective connotations within the spaces of protest operate together and materialize the tension between history and memory in these politically charged sites.



Figure 4.1: Narrative objects of the solidarity of care in the 20th Feminist Night March (Beşik, 2022).

⁵⁵ According to Gonzalez (1995, p. 140), the tension between memory and history is the basis of Pierre Nora's concept of “lieu de mémoire”, meaning site of memory, which refers to the physical and intangible elements that contain cultural and historical meaning for a group or society.

⁵⁶ An example would be the Monument Of Unknown Women in Chapter 3.1.3. This work maps states of non-existence, such as invisible labor or unfulfilled desires, through everyday objects in the lives of women.

I associate the practice of Autotography with Ursula Le Guin's (1996) suggestion of *carrier storytelling*, which refers to narrating by collecting and reorganizing what already exists. Under the Carrier Bag Theory, Le Guin (1996) draws analogies between herself as a fiction writer and the gatherer women from prehistoric times. In opposition to the heroic narratives that Le Guin (1996) associates with hunters; gatherer's stories unhesitantly deal with mundane, *minor*, and simple realities. While hunting requires intense concentration for a defined target, gathering allows mental deepening and associations, therefore, opens up space for narrative creativity. Le Guin's method, collecting and carrying what already exists and reorganizing them in speculative ways, suggests a feminist mode of storytelling. Following LeGuin, Haraway (2016, p. 40) notes that "no adventurer should leave home without a sack." With narratives in a carrier bag, one can speculate, explore, and bind the past and the present.

I draw parallels between *autotopography* and *carrier storytelling* in the way they bring together narrative elements such as *affects*, thoughts, and objects that oscillate between memory, history, and the present. I claim the identity of a *speculative carrier storyteller* by collecting, carrying, and reassembling the *minor narratives* of the 20th Feminist Night March. Thus, this subjective mapping suggests an autotopographic practice. In doing so, I challenge the *major politics* that dominate spatial representations of the protest, within a *minor*, plural, and feminist framework.

4.2 Allegorical Architecture for Narrating the Other

Differing from previous feminist narrative modes, *allegorical architecture* stands out as the main architectural method in this research. Allegory, with its nature of multiplying meanings, suggests a critical narrative practice. In this architectural research, allegory intersects with *minor architecture* and becomes instrumental in engaging with otherness. Here, Jennifer Bloomer's discussion on these concepts can serve as a reference to elaborate.

Jennifer Bloomer (1993), in her book titled *Architecture and Text: The (S)Crypts of Joyce and Piranesi*, explores allegory as a form of architectural criticism that challenges conventional boundaries between theory and practice. She emphasizes the

critical potential of allegory by drawing upon Benjamin's discussion of the term⁵⁷, characterized as “fragmentary, ambiguous, palimpsestic, and hieroglyphic;” and serves as an invitation to misreading. (Bloomer, 1993, p. 137) Thus, it is a critical practice that challenges denotations by its nature.

Bloomer's allegory is influenced by the literary concept of *minor*⁵⁸ by Deleuze and Guattari. In her proposal of allegory as a critical tool, she presents the concept of *minor architecture* that questions the conventions of architectural practice and theory by forming criticism within the field of architecture. (Bloomer, 1993, p. 174) As an example of allegorical *minor architecture*, Bloomer references John Hejduk's (1973) *Wall House II* (Figure 4.2). She interprets this structure as a house that has physically and metaphorically transcended its boundaries. She describes how the “skin” of the building ruptures and contracts, transforming into a condensed Euclidean plane, while its contents “seep and bleed” outwards; hollowing out not only the house but also the architectural theories of that century⁵⁹. (Bloomer, 1993, p. 174)

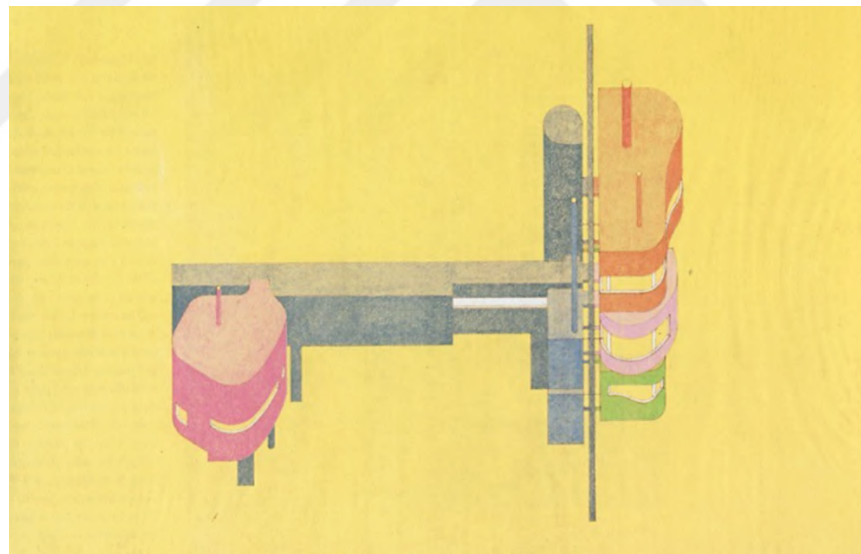


Figure 4.2: Wall House II by John Hejduk (1973) (Url-37).

⁵⁷ Benjamin embraced the elusive structure of allegory as a tool for criticism. A notable example can be found in his work *On the Concept of History*, where he characterizes Paul Klee's *Angelus Novus* as the Angel of History—an allegorical figure—to suggest a critique of progressive historical narratives (Benjamin, 2020, p. 5)

⁵⁸ See chapter 2.1

⁵⁹ Bloomer (1993, p. 174) argues that the other name of design, *Bye House*, indicates a farewell to the traditional codes of architectural object.

Further on, Bloomer contemplates another two architectural structures designed by John Hejduk (1980); *House of The Suicide* and *House of the Mother of the Suicide* (Figure 4.3), in commemoration of the Czech dissident Jan Palach. After their design and partial installation, these structures remained incomplete within the Georgia Institute of Technology Building for years. Bloomer interprets this state of incompleteness as a form of marginality in architectural context;

These incomplete objects remained to stick in the craw, consumed but not digested, irritating the system... The incomplete project defies authority. The incomplete house is invalid, a sick body in the system, an uncomfortable blockage of the system's ability to consume what threatens. (Bloomer, 1993, p.174)



Figure 4.3: House of *The Suicide* and House of *the Mother of the Suicide* by John Hejduk (1980) (Image: James P. Williamson) (Url-38).

According to Bloomer (1993), these structures can be seen as *minor architectures* that challenge conventional notions of completeness and permanence as they allegorically embody a disruptive approach toward the architectural field and power dynamics at large. As seen in this case, *minor architecture* can manifest unintentionally. It is in alignment with the critical and political nature of allegory. Jill Stoner (2012), in her

book *Toward a Minor Architecture*, discusses how *minor architecture*, like the case mentioned above, emerges in a state of becoming. *Minor architecture* indicates a departure from the established norms of commodity, originality, permanence, and perfection. Therefore, this incompleteness emphasizes the potential for architecture to critique established norms and authority, and engage with the politics of space and architectural design (Stoner, 2012).

Bloomer reveals the political nature of allegory through Tafuri's (1980) concept of *architectural symbol* in his book *Theories and History of Architecture*. Here, I argue that the unique ability of *architectural symbol* to “reveal and hide at the same time” (as cited in Bloomer, 1993, p.40) renders allegory a strategic political tool. Allegory, with this ability to multiply or conceal meaning, emerges as the political instrument for subjects whose politicization stems from their absence. It is a tool for political critique that enables the construction of narratives for politically marginalized or *othered* groups.

Penelope Haralambidou (2007, p. 234), although not in terms of political critique, frequently employs allegory in her architectural research, and notes that engaging with the *otherness* through *allegorical architecture* suggests a ground for experimentation. It exists in the realm of imagination as it is oftentimes detached from the material construction of a building. Thus, it primarily aims to critically engage with the field of architecture, including its theory and representation. Moreover, Haralambidou (2007, p.225) notes that an “allegorical architectural project can be employed to unravel another piece of work, a site, or drawing itself by questioning its underlying syntax.” Ultimately, *allegorical architecture* can be defined as an exploratory vehicle for critical examination and interpretation.

Following Bloomer and Haralambidou, I employ *allegorical architecture* for various purposes; including speculatively unraveling the thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March, and critically engaging with the position of architecture and its representational methods in the *thick present*. Here, unraveling the thickness refers to investigating the march by spatially narrating it (Figure 4.4). Simultaneously, the performative aspect of the unraveling process operates to further densify the thickness of the protest.



Figure 4.4: *The Condenser*, the model for an attempt to reveal the thickness of 20th Feminist Night March (Beşik, 2023).

In this thesis, protest is claimed to be an event of spatial performativity as it transforms streets into political arenas. Moreover, retrospective analysis of the protest is seen as a means to perform upon the past. These performative acts indicate material and immaterial spatialities that become an integral part of the *allegorical minor architecture*. The research projects that will be explained in the following chapter are *allegorical minor architectures* that perform criticism in addition to conveying information. Their emergence, like the protest itself, aligns with the spontaneous and performative realm of memories, associations, objects, and *affects* that associate the past and the present. Here, the affinity of *allegorical minor architecture* with narrative establishes a performative and critical ground where these multi-layered spatial relations are tackled.

5. ARCHITECTURES OF ELUSION

If you can't be free, be a mystery.

- Rita Dove (1989, Canary, Grace Notes)

I define the design experiments in this chapter as *Architectures of Elusion*, drawing inspiration from antagonistic practices of evading, fleeing and even disappearing, in the face of oppression. Similar to the protesters who come up with the utmost creative tactics to avoid being caught by the police, *Architectures of Elusion* aims to establish furtive speculative narratives without being caught in the established hegemonies of architectural design. *Minor politics*, *minor spatialities*, and *minor affects*, which are already elusive with their immanent, fluid, and momentary nature, appear in the *Architectures of Elusion* as narrative elements.

Rendell (2004, p. 145) argues that critical theory serves as a tool for imagining what is not there, other than solely reflecting on what already exists. Thus, her *critical spatial practices* center architecture as a mode of thinking and questioning (Rendell, 2006). Here, *Architectures of Elusion* offers a research methodology that goes beyond the simple description of an event, instead suggesting a *critical spatial practice* that questions, reproduces, speculates, and spatializes an event with its plurality.

The narrative identity of architecture employs feminist modes of narration in its own making. As a mode of fabulation, it maps through the objects, events, and *affects* collected in its carrier bag. This *autotopographic* practice of mapping both narrates the 20th Feminist Night March and pluralizes its *micro-narratives*. Such multiplication takes place through allegory; here, meanings are diverted, opened, and folded in strategic forms through associations. Therefore, these architectures elude capture.

Karami (2018, p. 53) notes that “minorising the spaces of *major* through the performative lens enables a criticality from within.” Thus, I minorize the spatialities of the 20th Feminist Night March, which I argue to be a product of *major politics* in Turkey's political climate, by performatively revealing their *minor* pluralities through

narrating. Here, the 20th Feminist Night March as a speculative ground enables an elusive critical spatial practice, a *minor architecture*.

I put forward two experiments under the name of *Architectures of Elusion*; firstly, *The Condenser* as a narrator architectural model, and then *The Disinherited Fitment* as two segments of speculative architectural drawings. These architectures, namely feminist, minor, plural, elusive, fictional, allegorical, and ironic, narrate the plurality of the 20th Feminist Night March, disrupt its meta-narratives, and suggest a practice of strategic revelation towards the thickness of this politically charged event.

5.1 *The Condenser*

The model of this research is *The Condenser* (Figure 5.1, Figure 5.2), it is a narrator, a piece of *minor architecture*, and a speculator that operates the micro-issues drawn from the thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March. It puts forward an experimental approach to design research in the form of allegorical place-making by magnifying invisible, overlooked, seemingly insignificant interstices of political space. Here, model making, a common method for representing a real concept in the ordinary design processes of architecture, betrays such expectations and becomes the field of research and discovery. As an example of feminist storytelling, *The Condenser* is unbounded from dictating a potential reality, instead, it derives meanings from neglected and othered places, and speculatively pluralizes them.



Figure 5.1: *The Condenser* (Beşik, 2023) (Image: Zeynep Fırat).



Figure 5.2: *The Condenser* (Beşik, 2023).

The Condenser is 40 cm long, 45 cm wide, and 36 cm high; consisting of plexiglass, 3D printed pieces, acetate, fabrics, threads, and wooden pieces. There are three main zones in *The Condenser*; the first one is *Funfair* which establishes the spatiotemporal narrative of the March, the second is *Generator* which is in charge of how the *affective solidarity* takes place, and the third is the *Affects* part which deals with the preeminent feeling/affective layers of the protest (Figure 5.3). As its name suggests, *The Condenser* intensifies actions, sounds, movement, inactivity, humans, non-humans, *affects*, and different sorts of accumulations within the space. It generates an open-ended experiment to investigate political spaces by strategically and allegorically engaging with the states of visibility and invisibility.

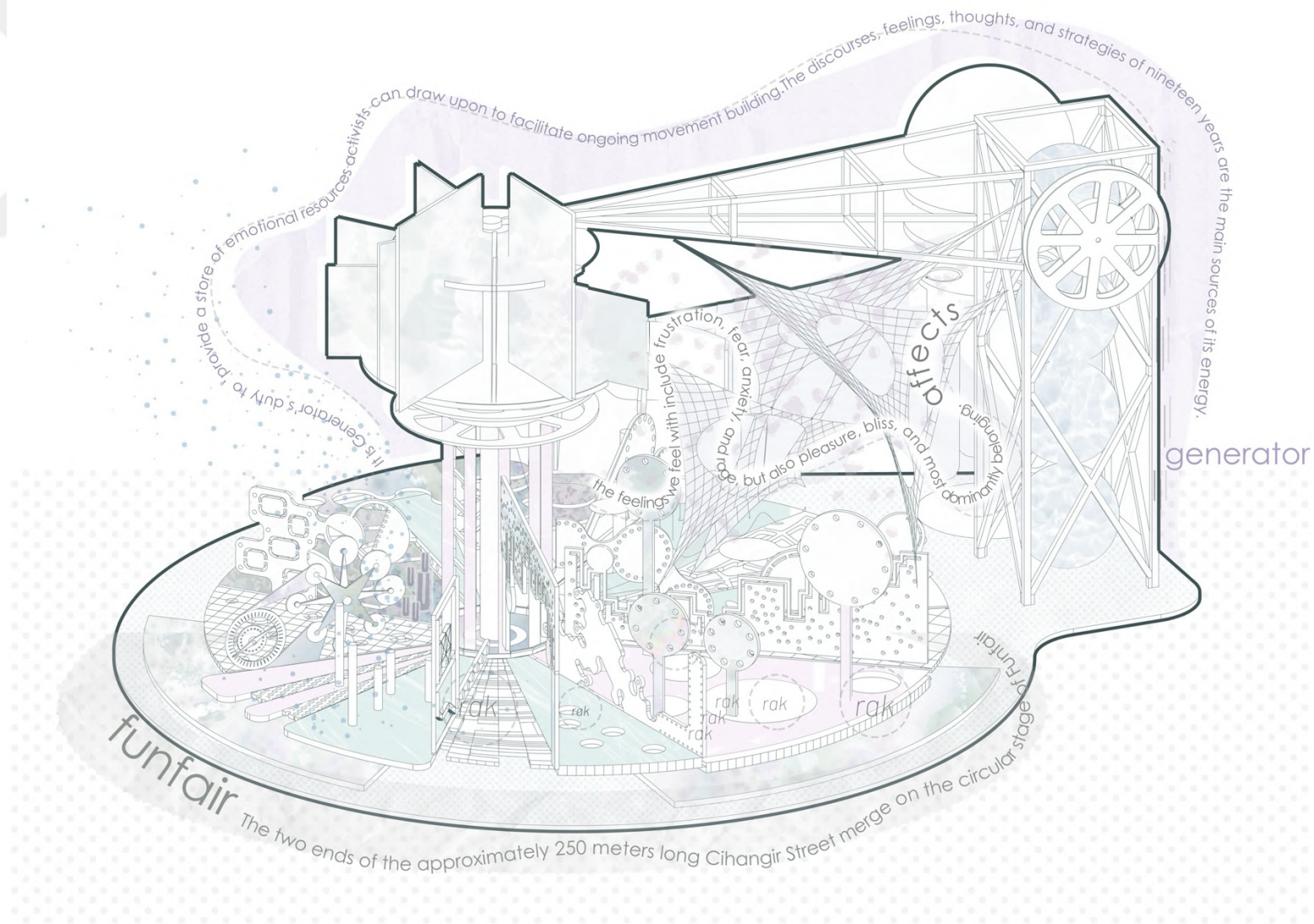


Figure 5.3 : Zones of *The Condenser: Funfair, Generator, and Affects* (Beşik, 2023).

I argue that instant, unpredictable, individual, and collective acts of protesters embody narrative qualities. Such tactical narratives within this site are the main tools to disrupt spatial constructs of the *police order*. With this approach, *The Condenser* uses allegorical strategies as performative feminist storytelling methods. Here, the complexity and multi-layeredness of the *thick present* are not seen as a characteristic to be flattened and suppressed but rather a peculiarity to narrate (Figure 5.4). As discussed in Chapter 4, *The Condenser* uses fiction as a method of resistance and suggests an inquiry into the politics of space through allegorical spatial making. It explores the possibility of critical space-making by baffling its observer through its odd existence, seeding curiosity over its endeavor. The observers then, unfold *micro-narratives* and add new meanings to existing stories. In this sense, the parallels between its operation principles and feminist storytelling become visible.

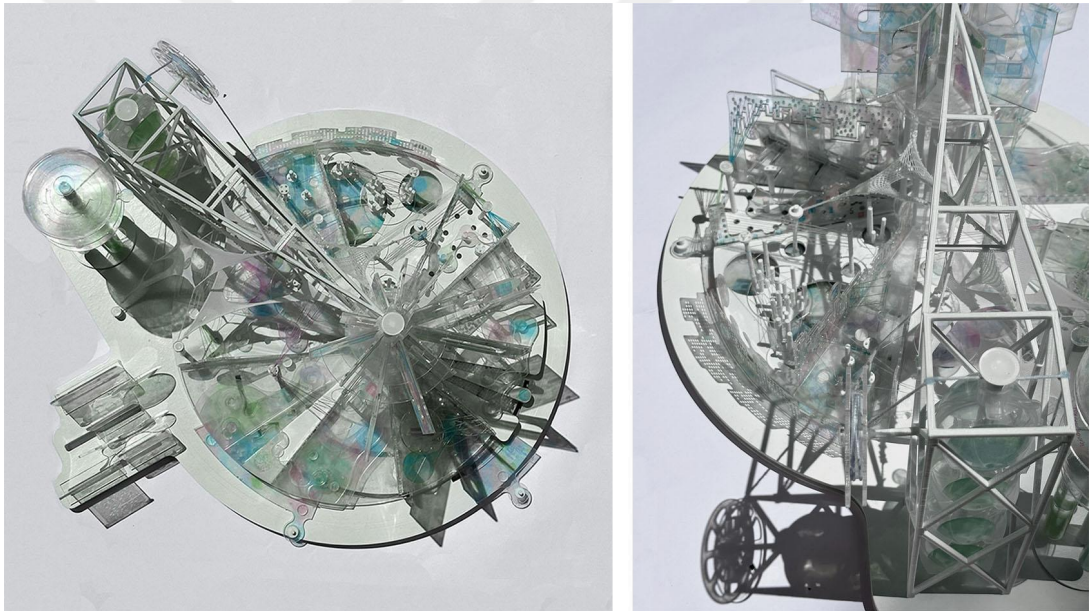


Figure 5.4: Layers of *The Condenser* (Beşik, 2023).

The Condenser's constant oscillation of materializing and dematerializing the various elements, and *micro-narratives* of the protest through allegorical strategies mimic the protesters' practices of elusion. I argue that these practices are inherently speculative, and obligatory to overcome various obstacles when reaching the venue. Following the discussion in Chapter 4.2, allegory here is a form of making where unreasonable,

unjustified, infidel forms of data; *the feelings we feel with*⁶⁰, become inseparable from the spatial criticism. Therefore, *The Condenser* is both concerned with conveying the essence of this fluidity and uses it as a way of self-formation.

5.1.1 Funfair

Funfair is built upon a 9-minute and 26-second audio recording taken from the Feminist Night March 2022 in Cihangir Street. Slogans, songs, musical instruments, laughter, and other sounds are auditory data that set the spatial notations for the *Funfair*. The main circle is divided from the center into segments based on these references (Figure 5.5). They influence these segments depending on the exuberance and intensity they create throughout the recording. These auditory data start to disrupt the temporal order since they are processed through the affective dimension of the audio recording. Moreover, the interviews with the protesters add up to its spatial configurations⁶¹.



Figure 5.5: Segments of *Funfair* (Beşik, 2023).

⁶⁰ Zaliwska and Boler's (2019) concept of *the feelings we feel with*, which is an affective extension of Haraway's (2016, p. 12) "thoughts we think with", puts emphasis on the affective dimension of staying in the thick present.

⁶¹ The protesters were asked to recollect their personal and collective experiences, and feelings, and, describe the physicality of the protest venue through unassertive questions such as "Did you have specific preferences regarding your appearance (clothes, makeup, etc.) while preparing for the March?" or "What were the most impressive and memorable slogans during the protest?" Moreover, they were asked to associate certain slogans and experiences with colors, textures, and forms for *The Condenser* to allegorically speculate in this zone.

The two ends of the approximately 250-meter-long Cihangir Street merge on the circular stage of *Funfair*. The street becomes cyclical as if it feels like it has no beginning or an end during the intensity of the protest, enunciating the state of being surrounded by an affective unity instead of defined linearity. As given context in Chapter 3, being present on this street is itself an achievement due to the prior obligatory actions such as trespassing the countless barricades and avoiding police brutality while remaining unseen. Therefore, togetherness here resembles being encircled by the crowd, creating a collective loop of trespass and arrival. This togetherness triggers an affective intensity in the audio recording that establishes *Funfair*. Thus, the slogans are the main notations that divide unequal segments within the circle. Each segment between slogans is either stretched or compressed according to the affective intensities within the auditory data. Many protestors interpret this street as the site of visibility. It is where new interpersonal connections emerge, and safe social settings exist. Due to the decentralized spatiality of the protest, this street offers a social permeability where even what is far away becomes visible, rather than getting lost among the crowd. The transparent plexiglass material is used to emphasize this plurality and strategic visibility for elusion. It enables interpretation through intersections, overlaps, and juxtapositions of the narrative layers.

Following Haralambidou's (2007) suggestion of allegory as a tool to engage with the *other*, *The Condenser* forms its political strategy by allegorically multiplying, abstracting, and obscuring the established meanings in the site of protest. For instance, the allegorical abstraction in *The Condenser* provides controlled visibility into the politically sensitive nature of the March, as it was employed to parodically censor certain moments in the audio recording. The zone *Funfair* uses the slogans in this recording as its main reference points, and allegorically interprets them as the primary structural elements of the protest (Figure 5.6). It emphasizes the constructive ability of the slogan in this politically charged space and the unique resisting capacities of irony and hilarity. Slogans are formed not only through their primal meanings, word accents, and rhythms but also through speculative and fictional writings that focus on conducted interviews and subjective reflections. Some sentences and words drawn from these writings imbue the materialized slogans with allegorical meanings. In doing so, they suggest a narrative approach that not only conveys existing records but also further pluralizes the protest.



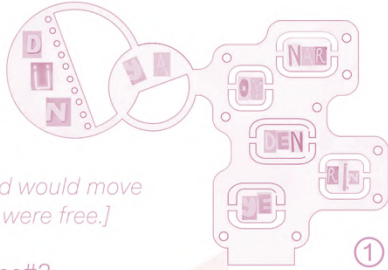
Figure 5.6: Notations of *Funfair* (Beşik, 2023).

The slogans are expressed playfully and rhythmically with the letters cut out from the banners of the protest. Even though the slogans are repeated in certain periods, they do not establish dominance and are shaped according to the collective sociality at the site. In *The Condenser*, the slogans appear on transparent surfaces as porous structures. These structural forms enable them to serve as hooks and connection points where novel narratives can be established (Figure 5.7, Figure 5.8, Figure 5.9).

4:13"-4:40" & 9:01"-9:25" in audio recording followed by 27 seconds of clapping, shouting, whistling, and tambourine

dünya yerinden oynar kadınlar özgür olsa

x3(dünya yerinden oynar x2 kadınlar özgür olsa x2



[The world would move if women were free.]

interviewee#3:

"I think this slogan echoes "jin jiyen azadi." Liberation for us suggests the capability of **shaking** the world, **overturn** its intertwined systems, and perhaps **breaking them apart**.

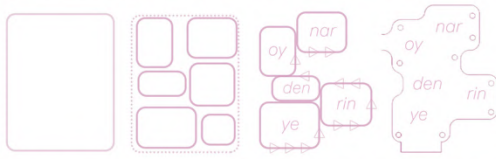
it feels as if we, nearly the half of the population that is under control, is being **dispersed** through a profound sense of liberation.

Instructions

- Duplicate the circle, and move one of them far away.
- Intersect the original circle with the distant one.
- Poke small holes along the vertical line of the original circle.



- Split a rectangle.
- Insert the syllables of the sentence "ye-rin-den-oy-nar"[would move] into it.
- Move the reversed syllables from bottom to top, left to right. Poke holes on each corner.



There was a game where you try to hit things coming out of **a hole** with a hammer,



Whac-A-Mole!

A series of Sisyphean tasks, one might argue, yet, it is not futile
No one has any idea

on what's going on beneath the surface you're hitting

Two worlds intersect with each other; they are essentially one world, but they appear separate as they tremble. Perhaps two worlds are intertwined. As the world shakes, it moves from its place, turns upside down, shifts left and right. Meanwhile, women walking in a predetermined straight path, face the challenge of passing through a constricting tunnel. It is a tough one, but those who pass through it are now floating, freely, finally.

- Lay the letters of the word "kadınlar" [women] from top to bottom, and continue horizontally as they begin to reach the ground.
- Poke small holes along the edges throughout the sequence.

- When the letters of "özgür olsa" [if they were to be free] pass through the narrow tunnel, let them start scattering everywhere, disrupting the previous orderly sequence.



- During this spreading phase, let it contain round voids resembling target-marked spots, similar to the Whac-A-Mole game.
- Letters avoiding being targets should spread within the inner voids without intersecting with these marked spots.



Figure 5.8: Construction of the slogan "The world would move if women were free" [Dünya yerinden oynar kadınlar özgür olsa] (Beşik, 2023).

The vertical layout of the narrative is based on a section drawing of the street. The cross-section is drawn out from the approximately 23-meter void between two buildings facing each other. This drawing is the main reference for the audio recording operated on the circle. By forming a spatial layer of reality in a model that is mostly built through abstractions and allegorical strategies, this drawing exposes the relationship between the buildings on both sides of the street during the protest. Indeed, the applause, slogans, and flags hung from different heights of the buildings had a *major* impact on the protest. This section drawing also establishes the distorted temporality and spatiality of the narrative by emphasizing the narrow axis of the street and blurring the length of the street through a circular loop. The circularity refers to the resilience of 20 years of protesting and the inherent ongoing exertion.

Primarily being a site of collective rage and grief, interviewees also defined the site as an “amusement park,” “freedom,” “expression,” and “celebration,” area. Thus, as a dissident zone, *Funfair* allegorically employs these secondary connotations as its main spatial references. *Funfair* is also articulated by tweets with hashtags; #feministgeceyuruyusu, #8mart, #8M2022 [Feminist Night March, March 8, 8M2022]. The visual references from tweets are used as a contribution to *Funfair's* *minor narratives*; such as cut-out letters from the banners and makeup color palettes⁶² of the protestors. These subjective recollections are -auditory excerpts, written notes, the reminiscences of visual and sensory data- the gatherings of the storytelling happening in *Funfair*. Far from unwavering dualities and certainties, *Funfair* draws its tone from where seemingly *minor* issues intersect with speculative imagination.

5.1.2 Generator

According to the dictionary, a *Generator* refers to “a machine that converts one form of energy into another,” and “a person or thing that generates” (Url-39). As backup energy sources, generators are activated when the main power fails. Located outside *Funfair*, *Generator* allegorically serves as a collector machine processing the affective, historical, and social accumulations of nineteen years of the Feminist Night March,

⁶² March 8 is the day of the unique and striking make-up which is a symbol of self-expression. However, the interviews suggested the difficulties it caused in terms of navigating around the police barricades. The point where makeup turns into an obstacle in the political dynamics of space is an example of how *minor* issues can inflate the thick present.

along with the larger women's movement that I examined in Chapter 3.1. It is the energy source for the protest, which cannot be obtained from the main systems in place, including the *police order*. *Generator* (Figure 5.10) consists of a repository, the synthesis zone, an archive of care, support systems required to establish the affective structure, and reels that carry out the energy transfer to the center of *Funfair*.



Figure 5.10: *Generator* (Beşik, 2023) (Image: Zeynep Fırat).

In the zone of *Generator*, such networks of solidarity are spatialized allegorically. *Generator*, as a machine, betrays its origins⁶³ by employing feminist modes of narration. It is a feminist tool⁶⁴ that materializes the concepts of maintenance and care throughout the protest. 19 years of protesting contains an extensive repository of

⁶³ Here, I refer to Haraway's (1985) argument of masculine nature of the machine that has its roots in capitalism and violence.

⁶⁴ *Generator* can be understood in terms of Fricot's (2016, From Introduction section, para. 12) explanation of a tool: "...a tool is not only something that can be handled, like a hammer, or a spanner, or a motorised power tool; a tool is also a conceptual tool. A tool may well be immaterial, a think-tool, a mnemonic device, but that is not to suggest it cannot have an enormous impact on a situation, in relation to a site and an associated problem[...] No one takes hold of a tool, concept or otherwise, in quite the same way, just as no problem, site or situation is ever entirely the same."

knowledge, primarily focused on methods of safeguarding oneself against police violence. Various objects such as lemons, antacids, spray bottles, and milk, are present during each year of the protest due to their capacity to alleviate the effects of pepper spray on the skin. The appropriation of these mundane objects into the realm of protest serves as an example of *minor politics*. The visual archive at the juncture of the *Generator* and *Funfair* exposes these objects and their omnipresence in the site, surrounding those who might need them. The *Generator* functions akin to a laboratory as it processes cumulative knowledge and seamlessly synthesizes textual materials and affective resonances. The *Generator's* repository encompasses diverse inputs, ranging from instructions on the preparation and application of antacid solutions on the face to the utterances of an elderly feminist during the protest (Figure 5.11). The overlap in this zone perpetuates the production of novel meanings and perspectives. *Generator* is structured through the common objects of Feminist Night March and offers an outlook to witness the multifaceted political experiences of women, therefore, suggests an *autotopographical* practice of mapping its identity.

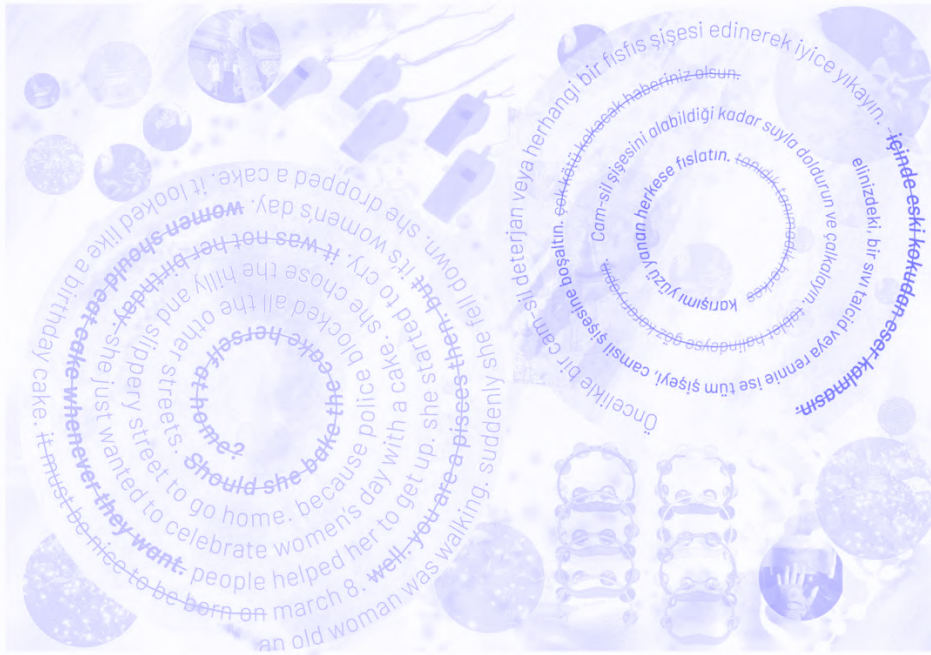


Figure 5.11: A section within the narrative layers of *Generator*; consisting of written excerpts, archive images, and common objects of the 20th Feminist Night March. (Beşik, 2023).

Juris (2008, p. 66) suggests that the collective accumulations in political movements provide emotional resources that keep the movements ongoing. This statement

explains the basic allegory and the duty of *Generator* as it provides the necessary energy with its store of resources consisting of discourses, feelings, thoughts, and strategies for the 20th Feminist Night March and forthcoming protests. As a materialized fictional structure, *Generator* takes its inspiration from the slogan “protest is the woman's legacy for women [protesto kadının kadına mirasıdır]”, which is frequently seen on the banners. This zone maps how the past of the protest relates to the present by centering the experiences of senior feminists and protesters. The tactics and suggestions that accumulated over the years to deal with the *police order* and its violence, physically manifest in the model as structural support systems. These elements ensure the simultaneous and two-directional flow between the past and the present, and form the performative zone for *affects* to emerge.

5.1.3 *Affects*

In *The Condenser*, emotions are tackled as a kind of bodily knowledge that form the knots and ties that constitute the affective aspect of the narrative. Zaliwska and Boler's (2019) concept of *the feelings we feel with*, is the main code of this zone, referring to the affective dimension of *thick present*. In the *affects* zone, thoughts and feelings do not indicate a clear distinction between them. Here, feelings are regarded as both the indicator and a result of thoughts.

Based on the interviews interweaved with my experience of the site, *the feelings we feel with* include *frustration, fear, anxiety, and rage*, but also *pleasure, bliss*, and most dominantly *belonging*. However, as I explained in Chapter 3, this site hosts countless *minor affects* that do not even have names or precise definitions. These affective layers can be traced on the model through colored threads attached to pores and hooks, each of them referring to a different protester's interaction with certain elements of protest, such as slogans, music, and memories (Figure 5.12, Figure 5.13). Despite their vague appearance in the model, these threads complicate, disorganize, entangle, and thicken *The Condenser* (Figure 5.14). Interviews, writings, recordings, and personal notes are used to speculate on the affective dimension of the protest. As a carrier storyteller, The Condenser embraces the minor, mundane, and overlooked narratives in these data by spatially revealing and rearranging them.

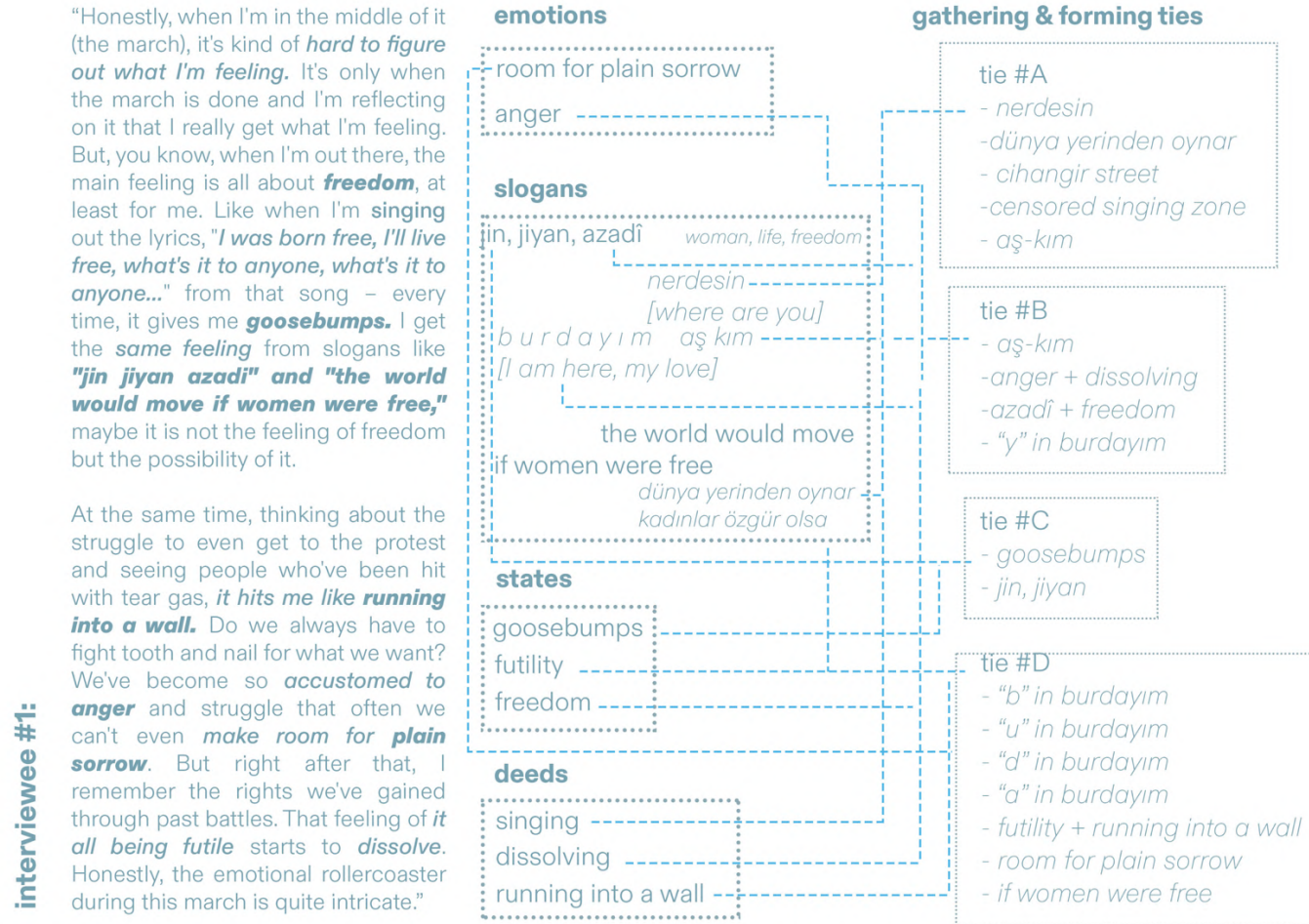


Figure 5.12: Gathering and forming affective ties, based on interviewee #1 (Beşik, 2023).

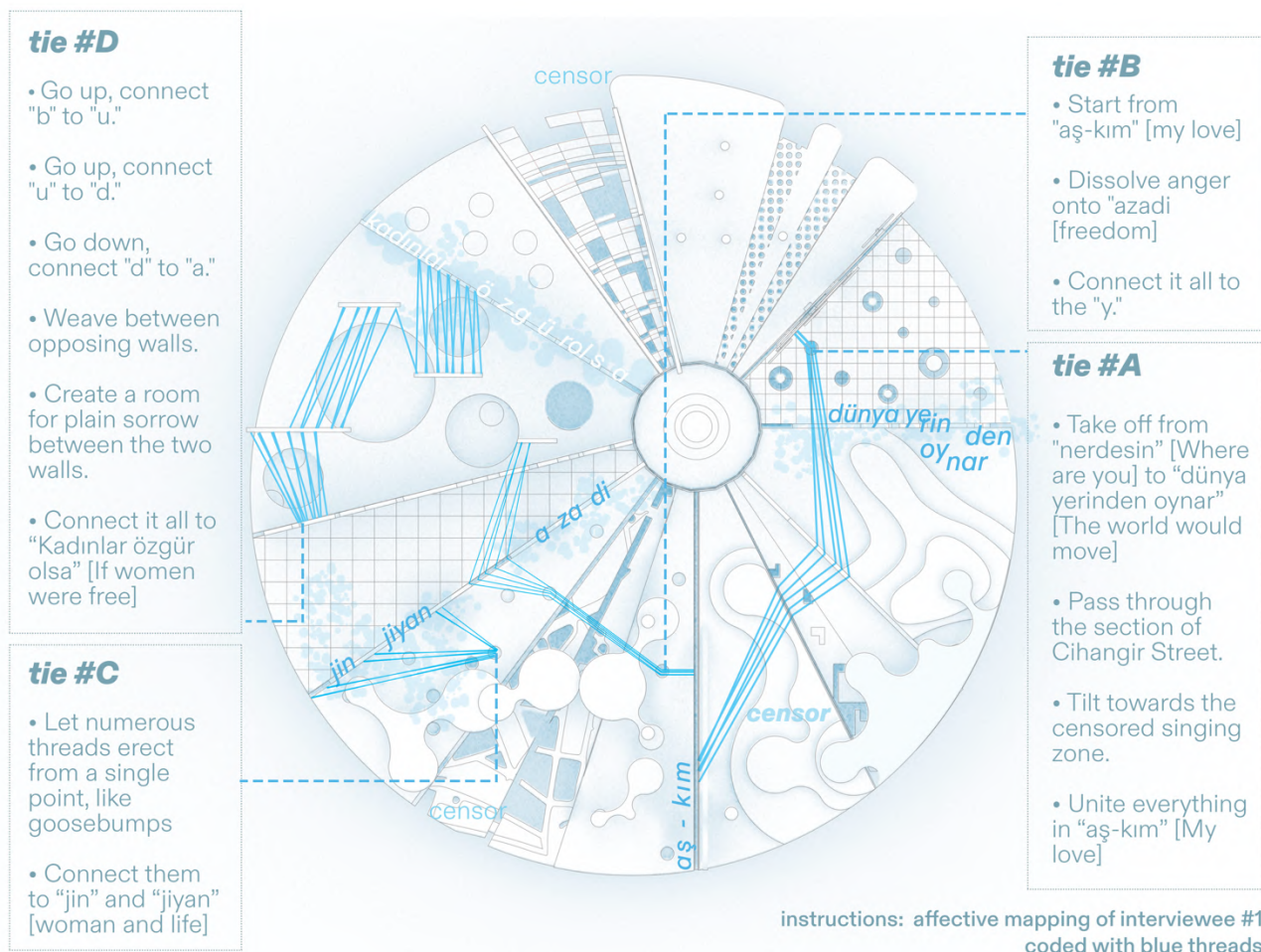


Figure 5.13: Affective mapping in *The Condenser*, based on interviewee #1 (Beşik, 2023).

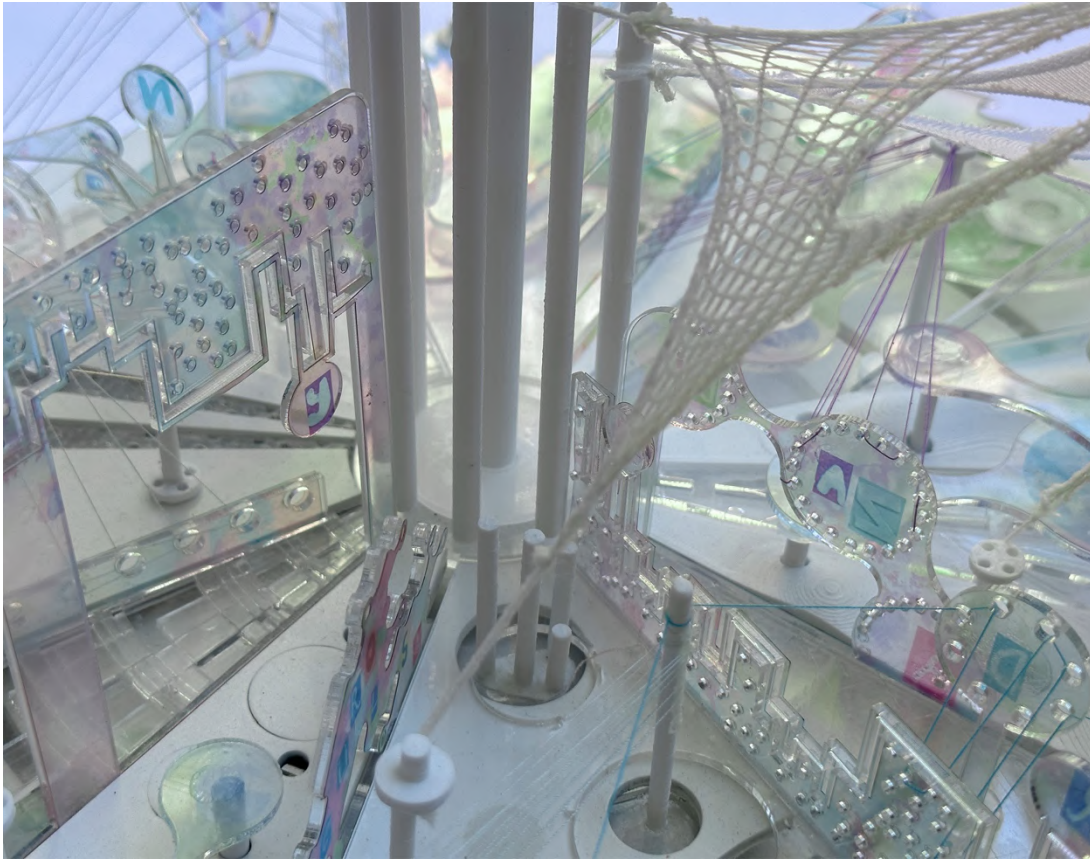


Figure 5.14: Affective ties in *The Condenser* (Beşik, 2023).

The foundational spatial references of storytelling within this zone derive from the gathered data about the protest. The placement of different threads and patterns on the *Funfair*, is determined according to the conducted interviews. However, the arrangement of these threads also continues with a momentary and intuitive performativity. Retrospectively engaging with the protest during the process of making *The Condenser* creates a narrative configuration of spontaneity. The materialization of these narratives draws inspiration from Haraway's (2016, p. 12) understanding of how the relations of the *thick present* are configured:

It matters what matters we use to think other matters with; it matters what stories we tell to tell other stories with; it matters what knots knot knots, what thoughts think thoughts, what descriptions describe descriptions, what ties tie ties. It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories.

The relationships that tie and knot through the topography of the *Funfair* do not only describe a past event. Similar to the spontaneity inherent in the strategies of the protest

itself, these networks are established with spontaneous performativity that suggests an architecture. This temporally non-linear narrative spatializes the networks among slogans, thoughts, emotions, bodies, and many other entities present in the protest (Figure 5.15).



Figure 5.15: Affective intensity of the protest (Beşik, 2023).

The most dominant feeling, *belonging*, physically manifests itself as the white fabric. In the interviews, this feeling was described with these words; “soft,” “phantasmic,” and “blanket-like.” Thus, the architectural existence of *belonging* in *The Condenser* is inspired by these descriptions. The place where *belonging* is located corresponds to the joyful peak in the audio recording. Therefore, belonging as an affect contracts and loosens depending on the incidents during the March, and becomes more visible as the voices begin to unite. It is attached to different ends of *Generator* and to the slogans and emotional threads in the *Funfair* area. Essentially, ‘belonging’ represents *the spirit of the protest* (Figure 5.16). It is the alchemized state that floats above the March with its tender structure, bringing relief wherever it is needed.

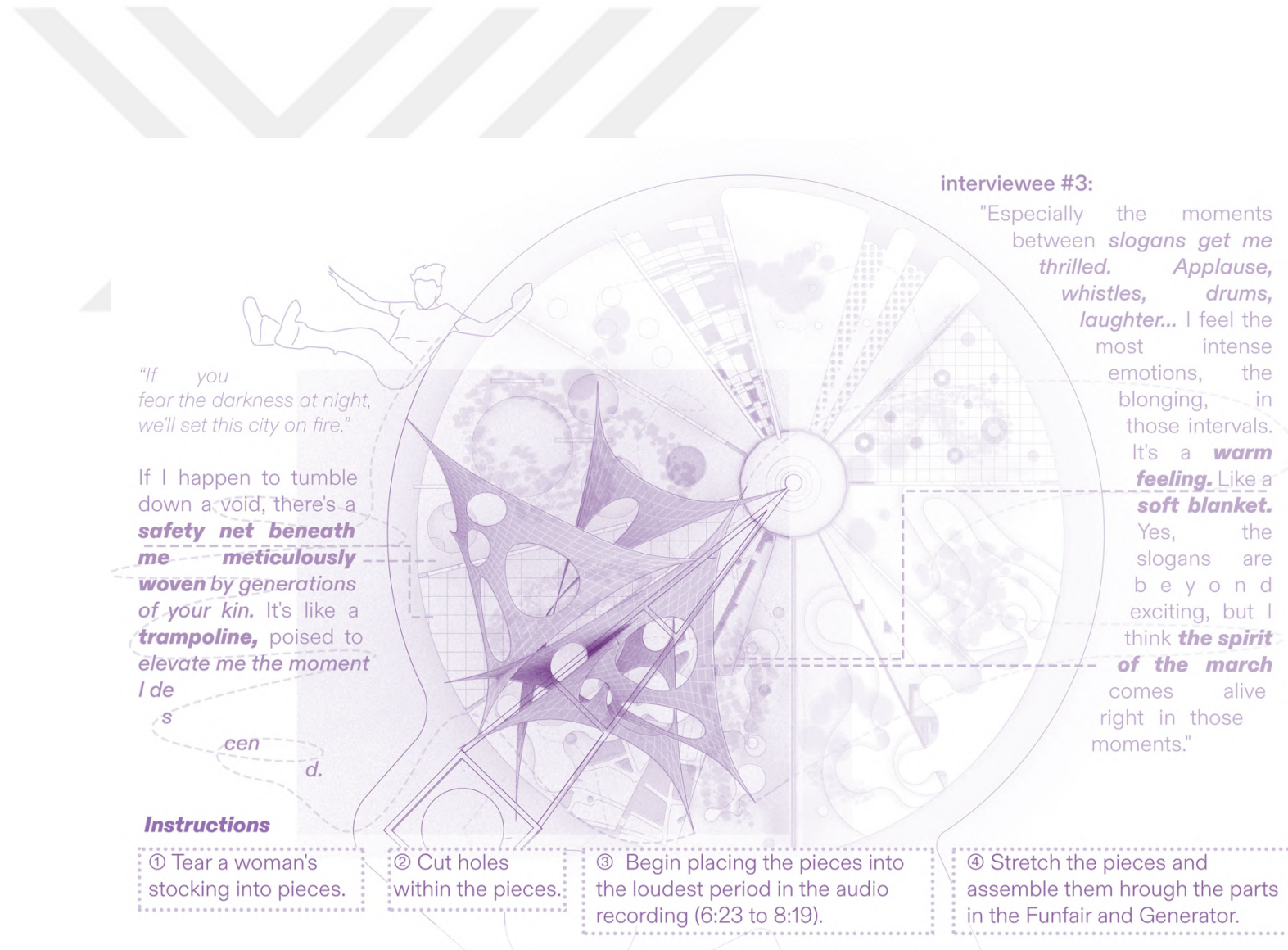


Figure 5.16: *The spirit of the March in The Condenser* (Beşik, 2023).

5.2 The Disinherited Fitment

The Disinherited Fitment is the spatial narrative of the *cramped space*, Arslan Yatağı Street, that has been witness to police violence. The work presents two speculative drawings that tackle the temporality of the event by attuning to the residues within this specific *cramped space*. Here, the spatial narrative is not interested in precisely describing a past event. It rather investigates the fragmented dialectic of the past and the present in this politically charged site. Primarily, Drawing #1 narrates the event in its instant, socially, and emotionally charged condition. Subsequently, Drawing #2 presents fragmented and settled reflections on this past event during a site visit, four months after the event. Here, the narrative becomes an alternative historiographic agency to augment and re-assemble what belongs to the past.

Narrow and secluded Arslan Yatağı Street (Figure 5.17, Figure 5.18) is the site in which *The Disinherited Fitment* came into being⁶⁵. Broken paving stones, graffiti, fire escapes, and degraded wall paints set the tone of this *cramped space*⁶⁶. Moreover, the street mainly consists of infrastructural units such as ventilation pipes, AC units, water drainage and manhole covers that maintain the surrounding built environment. Such humble units that keep the building functioning are directed into this street.



Figure 5.17 : Arslan Yatağı Street.

⁶⁵ See Chapter 3.2 for the brief explanation of the occurrence that took place in this street.

⁶⁶ I refer to this site as a cramped space. I believe that the momentary state of happenings within this space exposes the tendency of minor politics to emerge at any place at any moment. As Deleuze (1995, p. 133) denotes, “creation takes place in choked passages”, thus, this cramped space becomes the ground for spatial narratives born out of minor politics.



Figure 5.18 : Details and traces in Arslan Yatağı Street.

In this project, infrastructural units are allegorically tacked as parts of the urban backstage that are intentionally left out of sight. Architecture itself possesses infrastructural qualities as it maintains the relations between individuals, places, and objects (Frichot et al., 2022, p. 12). However, infrastructural elements are the *othered* entities of architecture, “opening into the perception of a whole world of invisible labors that are more than human.” (Bellacasa, 2014, p. 27) Brian Larkin (2013, p. 329) writes;

Infrastructures are matter that enable the movement of other matter. Their peculiar ontology lies in the facts that they are things and also the relation between things. As things they are present to the senses, yet they are also displaced in the focus on the matter they move around. We often see computers not cables, light not electricity, taps and water but not pipes and sewers.

Following Larkin, I argue that it is possible to draw parallels between infrastructures and *othered* forms of existence or labor. For instance, domestic labor that is commonly performed by women sustains the maintenance of households and, therefore, functions much like an infrastructure. It functions repeatedly and systematically, though often taken for granted. Thus, the labor remains invisible even when it is directly in sight. In this context, the positions and contexts of the subjects of March 8th in society could be contemplated through infrastructures that inflate the *thick present*. Here, as

proposed by Haralambidou (2007), *allegorical architecture* becomes a tool to engage with the *other*.

As an *other* way of engaging with this site, I suggest the concept of Architectural Ethnography, proposed by Momoyo Kaijima, Laurent Stalder, and Yu Iseki (2018). Architectural Ethnography is based on observation and takes architectural drawing out of its traditional use. This kind of ethnographic drawing aims to document, research, criticize, and create novel discussions about space. Even though the “ethno” in ethnography refers to “people” (Kajima, Kalpakci, Ngo, 2020, p. 17), the observation is not human-centered, and non-humans in the space come into play in such drawings. In this kind of spatial making, Bihter Almaç (2021, p. 54) interprets the architect's role as observing and recording. Here, I argue that *Architectural Ethnography* might be a favorable tool of spatial narration as it coalesces the materiality of the past with prospective speculations⁶⁷. By employing Allegorical architecture and Architectural Ethnography, *The Disinherited Fitment* attempts to narrate a politically charged *cramped space* by associating its materiality with the subjects who experienced police violence on this site.

As the initial step in the process of Architectural Ethnography, I employ speculative writing to initiate the exploration into the *otherness* of the space (Figure 5.19, Figure 5.20). This type of *autotopographic* fictional writing suggests an observation amalgamates human and nonhuman perceptions as the dynamics of witnessing constantly oscillate. Am I observing them, or are they observing me? Or, did they bear witness to the events, or did the events, in their own right, bear witness to them? These questions intertwine in this site study as the ownership of voices becomes indistinguishable and gives rise to a polyphonic, pluralistic, and dynamic blueprint of both the spatiality of this event.

⁶⁷ In a conversation with Momoyo Kaijima, Andreas Kalpakci and Anh-linh Ngo; Tim Ingold (2020, p. 17) argues that architecture is speculative and future oriented while anthropology is the study of what is already existing, oriented to the past. However, he claims that this is not a rigid distinction, since it is not possible to speculate without engaging with the past, and it is futile to comprehend the lived world without speculating for the unknown.



the fire escape

*a silent witness to the fiery burn
on countless faces,
finds itself in a bit of a conundrum here.
Instead of gracefully guiding folks from top
to bottom,
it's doing a flip,
trying to haul those below upwards
in its acrobatic endeavor.*

I often feel akin to an escape stair,
a regular escape
a mental one
lingering here for years in
anticipation
of a fire that may never occur.

Serving as a refuge
for the everyday escapes
inbetween the fleeting moments
of a few cigarette puffs.
It's oddly empowering
to be perched above it all,
a sense of dominance
surpassing even the watchful
gaze
of the cameras in front of me.

the skin

I need my own approval to be in pain
otherwise it is just suffering
and i will just send messy signals,
to the nerves,
to the brain

the brain does not feel pain
but rather serves as the means to make me feel pain
i envy that state of being an observer,
doing what is necessary
without really getting involved.
and staying completely detached
is it a skill to develop?

i feel the pain of pepper spray
but brain enjoys the back kisses of a
lover

after all
skin is where you start

and where you end.

The four elements could
match the senses. Seeing -
fire, hearing - air, taste and
smell - water, touching -
earth. If it was up to me to
decide, the touch should
have been fire, it should have
been red.

AC units

In that moment, everything eluded
my awareness. Is the water I produce
truly H₂O? Could hydrogen and
oxygen be playing tricks on me? I've
long recognized that the bitter
liquids causing chaos are not water
at all. Curiously, no one has ever fled
desperately from my bodily
secretions. Perhaps there's nothing
to escape from after all.

With my other half inside the building
or lost,
, all that remains is a sense of mourning.

The circular openings on the tech-
nical blueprints of the air condi-
tioning units get tangled up
as if
they've sprouted a multitude of
eyes.
They're causing such a ruckus that
even the security cameras
are taking
an unscheduled
break.

Figure 5.19 : Speculative writing as the site study of Arslan Yatağı Street; the fire escape, the skin, AC units.



security camera

the ultimate anti-self-development entity
no awareness no sense of self or personal truth
here. i watch others.
others live their lives
sometimes they eat chinese food on a basement
floor restaurant.
they sometimes dance,
shout, cry and run.

knowing so much about everything around but
not being able to talk about myself is somewhat
discouraging.
does this count as self-awareness?

I see everything in fragments.

like this:

- - - - -

graffiti

there is so much joy in being looked at
what did john berger really said?

men watch.
women watch themselves being watched.

in certain moments I stop
watching myself being watched

and I become the one who watches

it indeed is a rare occasion
maybe once in a year
in early spring
or in late winter

The broken stones on the ground and the
wall cracks decide they've had enough of
playing the
backstage
to an urban backstage;
they want to be the *column,*
the beam,
or anything useful.

Meanwhile, the plumbing pipes
encircling the street
maintain their stoic existence
through a series of straight and calculated
lines

to the left

to the right

to up
and down

water drops

Among the various bodies
of water, the liquid form
stands out as the most
enchanting. I let go.
Surprisingly, the ground
remains unsoiled, and the
droplets, like a vanishing
act, dry instantaneously
on a sunny day. The
rhythmic sound of each
drop echoes - **tap,**
tap,

tap.

**each tap eaves a circular
trace
some of them large
some of them tiny**

**they are getting lost
among the circles of
broken AC units**

**and blurring them
radically**

Figure 5.20 : Speculative writing as the site study of Arslan Yatağı Street; security cameras, graffiti, broken stones, plumbing pipes, water drops

Drawing #1 (Figure 5.21) crystallizes the fleeting moment of police violence that has targeted the protesters. The sudden end of festivity, the dermal encounter with pepper spray, and the onset of protesters' shouts expose the violence of this moment. However, the layered structure within the drawing aims to narrate what is beyond the immediate act of violence by alluding to a spectrum of its physical implications and affective associations. Technical drawings, images, and hand-drawn textures on surfaces from the site converge to articulate not only the political plurality of the event but also the marginalized states of the architecture on the street. Here, disowned states of architecture and excluded identities of politics embrace a thickening through allegory, both in the representation and spatial making. The physical elements on the street serve as the witnesses that reveal the non-human perception of the incident. A ficto-critical text that was produced on the site reads:

The fire escape, witnessing the burning faces, has become unable to do its work. Dissidently reversing its intended function of descending from top to bottom, it attempts to lift those below upward as it turns upside down. However, it is quick to accept the failure, and stays where it is and does ever not move again.

The round openings of air conditioning units blend into each other, appearing as if they have numerous eyes that are more alive than the security cameras. They hesitantly mix with the round traces left by the drops of water on the ground, those that make the tedious sound of tap, tap, tap.

The broken stones on the ground and the cracks in the walls become distorted in their scale, expanding and shrinking simultaneously. They become the main characters as they are no longer content with being the backstage of an urban backstage.

The plumbing pipes surrounding the street maintain their stoic stance, not compromising their precision as they establish the order of the sketch, the blueprint, the outline.

Graffiti, on the other hand, rubs against surfaces, leaving half-hearted traces as it scrapes along, desperately needing to be seen for what it actually is.

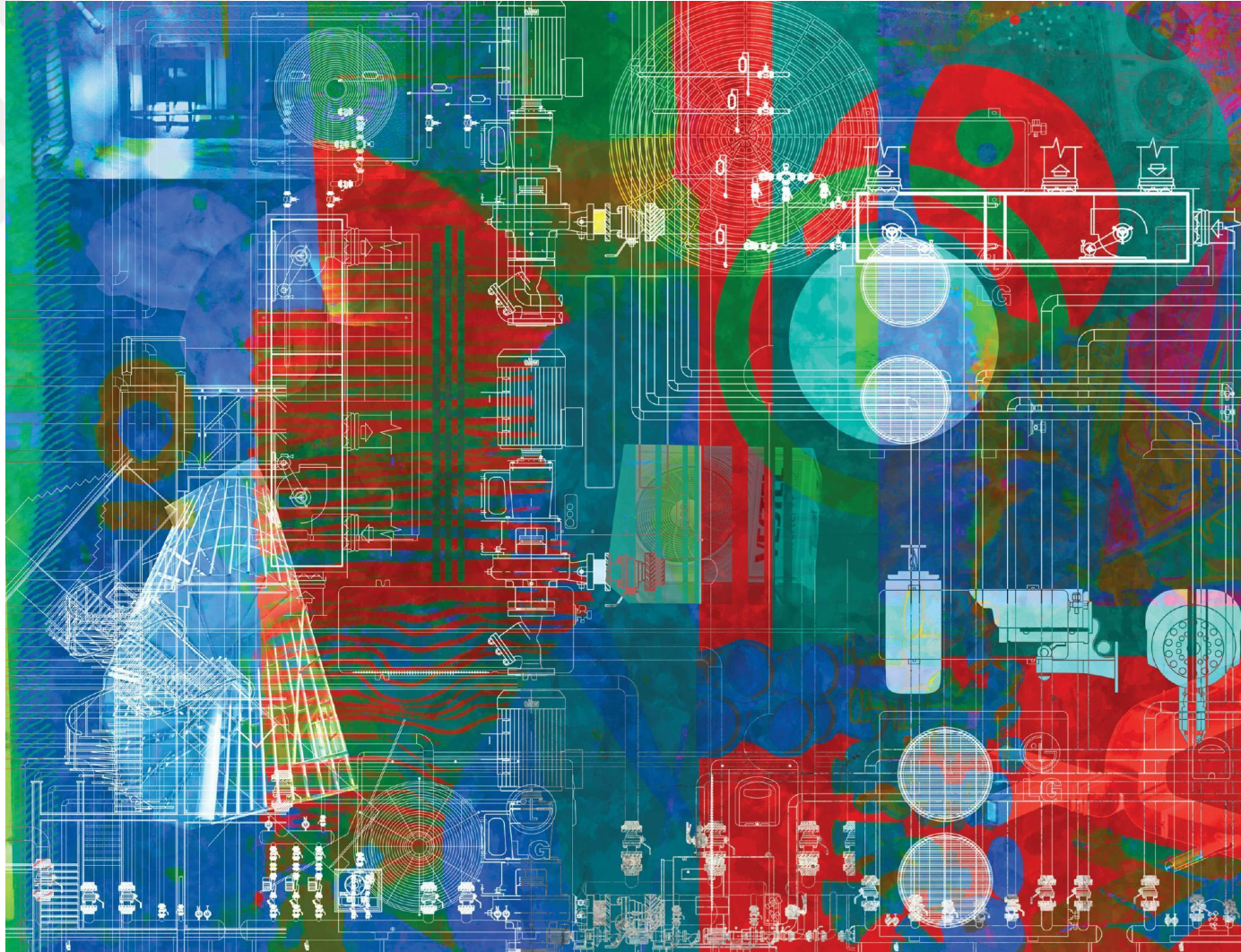


Figure 5.21 : *The Disinherited Fitment*, Drawing #1 (Beşik, 2022).

In contrast to the security cameras in this narrow street, I embody an unstructured and ambiguous observer who is detached from the violence of a state of vigilance. Here, the attempt to initiate a connection that extends beyond mere observation through not only my eyes but also by touching, and even inhaling. By becoming the observer myself, I enable the infrastructural and residual elements to reveal any subconscious associations about the event. Through this intimate exploration that centers the non-humans, I endeavor to capture the affective essence of this specific event of violence on March 8, 2022. The focus on the affective dimension sets the politically charged foundation for a speculative spatial narrative. Here, *The Disinherited Fitment* allegorically engages with spatial making and representation to offer a political and spatial critique of the hegemonic dynamics of space.

During my site visit four months after the event, I was attuned to the silent, effortless, and humble existence of non-humans. The observation resulted in the revelation of a dissolution. The recordings from the site -drawings, writings, and photographs- aim to reveal the reflections about a brief moment of violence in the past, within the thickness of Feminist Night March. I see this as an intuitively dialectical relationship between space and myself, as we have both been witnesses to the incident and are reunited after four months. Together on the site, a reflective contemplation takes place and as a result, an affective exchange initiates a temporally distorted and fragmented narrative. Thus, Drawing #2 (Figure 5.22) suggests a meditation on the mystical, ambiguous, yet complex nature of this event.

Parallel to their appearance, these drawings resemble an intimate scan of this site aimed at revealing its intimate accumulations. Here, the speculative drawings trace the excluded identities and spatialities that have deviated from the norms. Indeed, allegory becomes a tool for both in the narration of the *cramped space* and in engaging with the otherness of architecture and its representational methods. The superposition of technical and intuitive drawings and images reflects the thickness of a politically charged moment of shock through temporally distorted narratives. Thus, narrative unfolds its potential to be a spatial agency that reveals the plurality of political space, away from assigned meanings and canonical expectations.

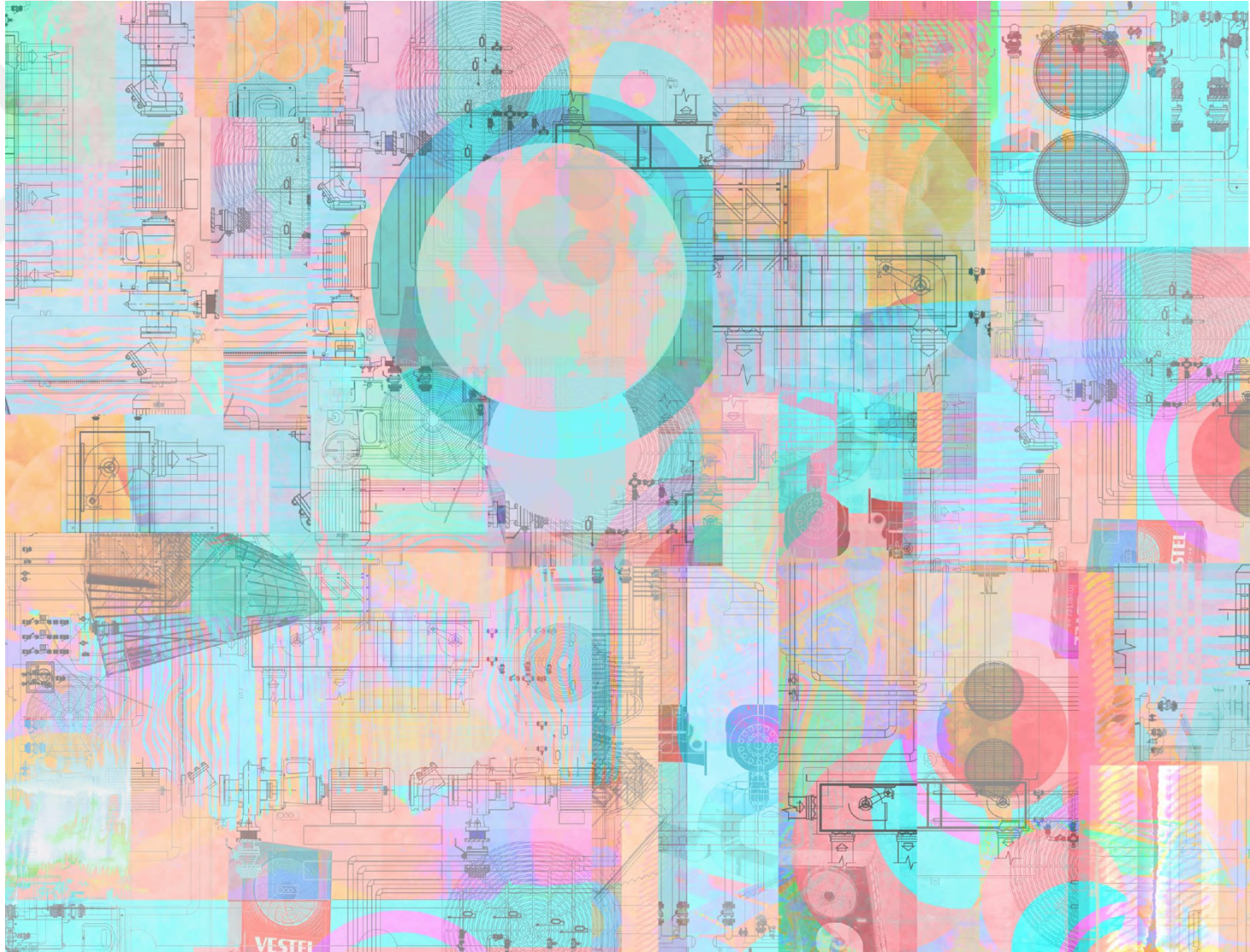


Figure 5.22: *The Disinherited Fitment*, Drawing #2 (Beşik, 2022).



6. CONCLUSION: DISPERSION

Protests tend to be characterized as grand narratives that are extensions of specific political movements, where the crowd of protesters transforms into a collective body and the multitude of objectives are reduced into prevalent slogans. Yet, within these overarching narratives of protests, minor narratives indicate the multilayered and pluralistic nature of the event. In this thesis, protest, with its grand and minor narratives, was tackled as a political anchor within Haraway's (2016) term *thick present*, which refers to the ongoing troubling realities that characterize the complexity of Anthropocene. As a point in thick present, protest encapsulates its own thickness interwoven with both overarching grand narratives and minor narratives that are situated, plural, and momentary.

The objective of this research was to challenge the dominant narratives of protest and explore the role of architecture within the political dimension of the thick present. In this endeavor, architecture has departed from its norms and conventions by becoming a speculative tool for revealing the thickness of the protest. Here, architecture adopted an identity that is narrative-driven and critical, as it is primarily intended to disrupt the meta-narratives of protest. Throughout the thesis, Rendell's (2006) concept of *critical spatial practice* which comprises theory and practice, was embraced to investigate both the thickness of the protest and the narrative identity assumed by architecture. The necessity of a critical approach to engage with protest has become evident through theoretical discussions. Thereupon, drawing and model-making as *critical spatial practices* were adopted as research methodologies in this thesis. The 20th feminist night march has been selected as an appropriate case to address the plurality of protest within the thick present, due to its history, multifaceted political reality, socio-cultural aspects, and the spatial constraints it was subjected to.

In the chapter titled "Protest as the Site of Pluralities," exploring the political, spatial, and affective pluralities of protest through the concept of *minor* provided an opportunity to point out why protest is an appropriate anchor to engage with the *thick present*. Moreover, addressing the dynamic, ephemeral, elusive, and unfixable nature

of protest revealed the interconnected structure of protest's political, spatial, and affective pluralities. I began by embracing Thoburn's (2016) approach that extends Deleuze and Guattari's (1986) concept of the *minor* into the field of politics. *Minor politics*, which in this context refers to the immediate, improvisational, and immanent dynamics of protest, offered the basic conceptual framework for critically approaching the dominant and overarching perceptions of protest. While I introduced the term *minor* to explore the political plurality of protest, the term became central to further discussions. Therefore, the spatial plurality of the protest was examined in the light of its *major* and *minor* politics. While doing so, I established the necessary architectural framework for this thesis through theoretical discussions including Lefebvre's (1991) theory of the production of space, Tschumi's (1994) concept of *event-space* and Hannah's (2018) architectural performativity to delve into the spatiality of protest. Here, Jill Stoner's (2012) concept of *minor architecture* became a significant term to point out improvisational spatial arrangements in the protest that contribute to its spatial plurality. I also evaluated architectural representations that address the spatial plurality of protest. Such examples along with theoretical discussion indicated how the spatiality of protest has a major impact on its plurality. Further on, while addressing the affective plurality of protest, I have adopted the politically charged take of feminist scholars such as Ngai, Ahmed, and Hemmings on the concept of affect, and suggested that affect can be an appropriate tool for both investigating and speculating on protest. Ngai's (2007) concept of *minor affect* became the central concept that distinguishes protests from each other and ensures their affective plurality. Apart from the major emotions such as rage, grief, or exhilaration, which are usually associated with protest, I suggested that the minor emotions that are instantaneous, complex, and difficult to name are the affective states that form the thickness of the protest. Throughout the discussion, I tackled the political and spatial dimensions of affects and revealed the interconnectedness of the political, spatial, and affective pluralities of the protest. The results obtained from these three subchapters indicated that the minor states underlying the overarching narratives of protest were the main factors that constitute its plurality.

In order to reveal the thickness of the 20th Feminist Night March, I primarily examined its past. In the chapter titled "Protest As A Point In The Thick Present," I addressed the women's movement in Turkey beginning in the final years of the Ottoman State. Despite the women's movement being a grand narrative, throughout certain points of

the chapter I aimed to reveal its *micro-narratives* through the ordinary pages of archived women's journals. I revealed the issues of concern that the women's movement centered throughout different periods, its position in society, its tactics, and its ways of resisting oppression. Examining these layers together has provided a framework to explore the significance of the Feminist Night March within the women's movement and its contextual relevance in the *thick present*. While explaining the 20th Feminist Night March, I integrated firsthand accounts from both my personal experiences and interviews with participating protesters. In this chapter, practice-led research was embraced to explore the protest by utilizing methods such as mapping, writing, and drawing. This approach was in favor of revealing the thickness of the March through its minor narratives and provided essential data to for the subsequent aspects of the research that revolve around practice.

Within the context of the initial question of this research, how and where architecture might position itself amidst the complexities of the *thick present*, I proposed assigning it a narrative identity. In Chapter 4, "Narrating Architecture," I initially focused on their capacity of narrative to generate knowledge throughout human history. A key term in this section was Lyotard's (1994) concept of *micro-narratives* that reveal the fragmented complexity of human experience as a response to the *meta-narratives* of modernism that fixate and singularize knowledge. Following this discussion, Haraway's (1988) concept of *situated knowledge* that prioritizes limited experience over hegemonic knowledge production became central to discussing feminist modes of narration. Moreover, the concept clarified my stance on the processes of data collection and knowledge-making in this thesis. Even though I claim that the 20th Feminist Night March is a grand narrative with its historical context, socio-political reality, and representations; the numerous *micro-narratives* within this protest suggest a *minor* ground to engage with this event. Thus, the narrative works of feminist storytellers such as Haraway, Tsing, and Le Guin, who address *major* issues through *minor* and situated frameworks, became fundamental inspirations for this study.

Here, I assigned the feminist narrative modes under the categories of fiction, *autotopography*, *carrier storytelling*, and allegory, into a narrator identity of architecture. Here, Rancière's (2010) suggestion of fiction as a political tool was embraced along with Bergson's (2020) fabulation as an instinctual method for survival and Haraway's (2016) speculative storytelling as a way to stay in the thick present. In

order to establish the material dimension of the narrative identity of architecture, Gonzalez's (1995) practice of *autotopography* which focuses on mapping one's identity with objects was examined along with LeGuin's (1996) feminist *carrier storytelling* which is about narrating through gathering and rearranging what already exists. In this research, the identity of a *carrier storyteller* was adopted by both me as a researcher and the *Narrating Architecture*. As a *carrier storyteller*, I have embraced the concepts, information, discussions, and narratives that I have gathered throughout the thesis.

In the following section, I introduced *allegorical architecture* as a minor spatial practice that embraces uncertainty, plurality, and transience, by adhering to Bloomer's (1993) discussion of the term. Here, Bloomer's *allegorical architecture* as a critical tool disrupting the boundaries between theory and practice, intersects with *critical spatial practices* that also reject the binary opposition between these two realms. Furthermore, I discussed the potential of allegory as a political spatial narrative tool by following Haralambidou's (2007) suggestion of *allegorical architecture* as a critical means to engage with the *other*. Thus, this pluralistic narrative method connected the realms of architecture and feminist narrative methods.

In the chapter titled "Architectures of Elusion", I discussed two projects of this research as *critical spatial practices*. Firstly, *The Condenser* was examined as a narrator model revealing the *micro-narratives* of the 20th Feminist Night March that contains critical writing, drawing, and collage in its processes. As a result of the performativity inherent in model-making, *The Condenser* became a speculative research ground, not merely concerned with the exact description of the event but with further pluralizing and reconstructing it. On the other hand, *The Disinherited Fitment* presented an inquiry into the spatio-temporality of political events through speculative drawings. Both of these works suggested minor architectural practices regarding the *Narrating Architecture* discussion presented in the previous chapter.

Both of these projects were exhibited at the Freyaalt venue in Cihangir, and additionally, *The Condenser* was produced at this place (Figure 6.1). Among the visitors to the exhibition held at the venue located in the neighborhood Beyoğlu, which has hosted the 20-year history of the March, were many who had participated in the 20th Feminist Night March. In the exhibition, the dialogues emerging through these

projects suggested another layer of reflective engagement with the protest, becoming integrated into the thickness of protest in Beyoğlu.

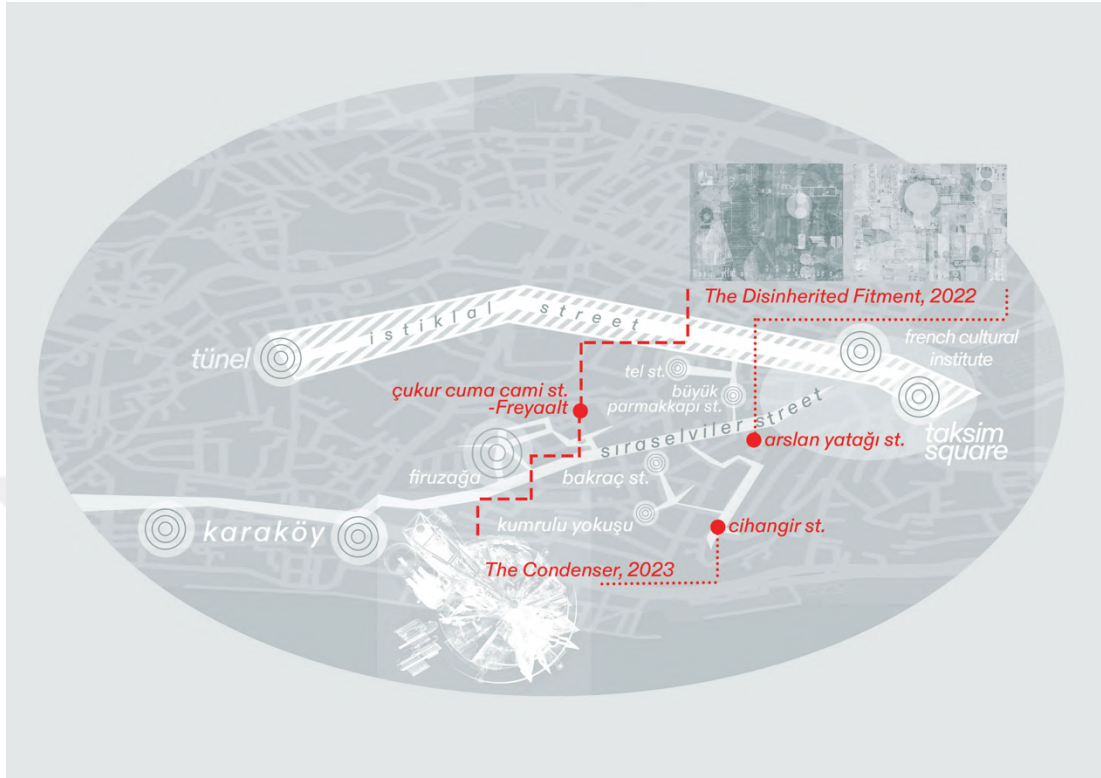


Figure 6.1: The Condenser and The Disinherited Fitment in Freyaalt, Cihangir.

The Condenser employed fiction to speculatively spatialize the multi-layered relationships in this site of protest that include the dynamics between humans, non-humans, abstract, concrete, past, and present. For instance, *Generator* as a speculative spatial construct, materialized the abstract layers of accumulated history within the movement and emerged as a vital backup source of energy for the protest. *Autotopography* here enabled the creation of a mapping that highlights micro-narratives through objects associated with the march. As an *autotopographic practice*, as a researcher, I mapped my own position within the context of the march; and *The Condenser* as a performative ground suggested a feminist mode of recording that embraces the materiality of the event. Along with me, *The Condenser* embraced the identity of a *carrier storyteller* within the protest by carrying and rearranging gleanings from interviews, archive scans, audio recordings, site studies, and memories. It utilized the overlooked, minor, mundane, and seemingly insignificant instances as fundamental narrative elements. The practice of *allegorical minor architecture* as a mode of pluralizing and spatializing meanings played a crucial role in establishing the

speculative spatiality of *The Condenser*. For instance, contemplating the protest action itself as a spatiality has enabled slogans to emerge as fundamental structures. Here, *allegorical architecture* that embraces multiplication rather than restriction, presented a *minor architectural practice* that resists completion and permanence. Therefore, *The Condenser* as a *critical spatial practice*, disrupted established meanings, narratives, and modes of making by suggesting a minor performative ground in between the theory and practice.

The Disinherited Fitment, on the other hand, employed allegory to generate spatial criticism by embracing Haralambidou's (2007) suggestion of allegory as an architectural tool to engage with the *other*. It suggested a *minor architectural practice* by establishing an allegorical relationship between the infrastructural objects as the othered entities of architecture and the protesters that were marginalized by the police order. The *ficto-critical* writing practices as part of the process have opened a speculative ground that questions the witnessing of non-human entities in space in the context of politically charged events. In this sense, the mapping of this space through its elements suggests an *autotopographic* practice. As the drawings were produced over a while, the narratives in my *carrier bag* were fragmented, gained new meanings, and found new ways of coming together. In this regard, *The Disinherited Fitment* suggests a critical spatial practice where the boundaries between human and non-human blur in the process of making.

Observing protesters encountering these projects nearly a year after the 20th Feminist Night March became part of the process; it was possible for me to make inferences that this thesis might have achieved its aim, which was to disrupt the meta-narratives and representations of the protest. I witnessed that many protesters primarily expressed astonishment when they encountered *The Condenser*, and then developed an intense interest and belonging to the model as they began to unravel the layers of the model. They shared their memories, experiences and affective states relative to the march in response to my explanation of the model. Thus, *The Condenser's* expectations of performative openness and to be further pluralized were met. I also had the opportunity to discuss *The Disinherited Fitment* with protesters who were subjected to the police brutality that the drawings center. The common reaction I observed among the participants who appreciated the allegorical peculiarities, was an intimate commonality of perception. I believe that anyone who encountered these two works

and made an effort to comprehend and interpret them further intensified the thickness of the protest.

The thesis aimed to disrupt the meta-narratives of the protest as an urban event by integrating theory and practice. The process was initiated by investigating the pluralities and narratives inherent in the protest. Subsequently, this research assigned a narrative role to architecture and presented it as an experimental practice-led research within the discourse. Therefore, this thesis falls under *critical spatial practices* by challenging the reductive and generalizing conceptions of political spaces through both theory and practice. As outlined in previous discussions on *minor allegorical architecture*, these modes of spatial making refrain from asserting completeness and permanence. Instead, they generate *situated knowledge* and present a study that is conducive to further pluralization and discussion. Contrary to architectural design processes and representations that analyze a space for proper intervention, here, architecture multiplies meanings, generates situated knowledge, opens up a space for inquiry, and presents a study that is conducive to further pluralization and discussion within the *thick present*. Ultimately, the presented theoretical framework and spatial practices offer a critical approach that seeks to unveil the plural, elusive, minor, and speculative reality of political spaces that surpass their conventional perceptions.



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