THE ANALYSIS OF THE AKP THROUGH THE PERFORMATIVE POLITICS FRAMEWORK: THE CASE OF 2018 ELECTIONS

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ABSTRACT

THE ANALYSIS OF THE AKP THROUGH THE PERFORMATIVE POLITICS FRAMEWORK: THE CASE OF 2018 ELECTIONS

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The aim of this research is to employ a different perspective on the AKP actors through the lens of performative politics. This interdisciplinary research also focuses on exploring the dramaturgical aspects of performative politics. Thus, the research focuses on analysing the dramaturgical impact of the actors by reconstructing the tools available for conducting research with a specific interest in theatrical studies. This means that although the question started with understanding the power of the AKP better by looking at performances, this led to a further quest on how we should conceptualise and analyse performative politics with a framework in the contemporary world. The performances that I will focus on are various performances in the 2018 elections, particularly focusing on Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The AKP is an excellent case study for comprehending the significance of performative politics as the party has been in power for the last two decades when these means became advanced, and they are keen to use them aggressively to affect the audience. In this research, such power, which became dramatically enhanced during the last decade or so, allowing radical changes in the discourses and leading to constant reconstruction of the repertoire, will be examined to understand how it functions.

Keywords: Performative Politics, Performance, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, AKP, Theatrical Studies

ÖZ

AKP'NİN PERFORMATİF SİYASET ÇERÇEVESİ İLE ANALİZİ: 2018 SEÇİMLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

ÇİFTCİOĞLU, Erdoğan
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Bu araştırmanın ana amacı, AKP'nin aktörlerini performatif siyaset penceresinden farklı bir bakış açısı ile incelemektir. Bu disiplinler arası araştırma aynı zamanda performatif siyasetin aktörlerinin dramaturjik yönlerini keşfetmeye de odaklanmaktadır. Bu tez bu nedenle, böyle bir araştırmayı yürütmek için var olan mevcut araçları, aktörlerin dramaturjik etkisini, tiyatro çalışmalarını da incelemek suretiyle, yeniden inşa ederek araştırmayı hedefler. Bu araştırma her ne kadar AKP'nin performatif yönleriyle daha iyi anlaşılabileceğine odaklanarak başlamış olsa da performatif siyaseti nasıl kavramsallaştırmamız ve analiz etmemiz gerektiği üzerine kapsamlı bir çalışma olmuştur. Örnek vaka çalışması 2018 seçimlerindeki çeşitli performanslar olmakla birlikte Recep Tayyip Erdoğan örneği özelinde analiz edilerek yapılmıştır. AKP örneği, performatif siyasetin önemine dair, partinin bu araçların geliştiği son yirmi yıllık dönemde iktidarda olması ve seyircileri etkilemek adına yoğun bir şekilde bu araçları kullanması dolayısıyla önemli bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Bu araştırma özellikle son on yılı aşkındır güçlenen, söylemlerde önemli değişiklikleri bile mümkün kılan ve repertuvarın sürekli yeniden inşasına imkân sağlayan gücün nasıl var olduğunu anlamlandırmak için tiyatro çalışmalarından da yararlanarak incelemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Performatif Siyaset, Performans, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, AKP, Tiyatro Çalışmaları

To a modern prince…,
and to my wife, family, friends, professors, and colleagues,
who willingly or unwillingly supported this project with visible
or unrecognizable labour at the backstage.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> If one focuses on language or discourse, then why not other key components of performance such as staging and acting as well? If on words, then why not on bodies? If on rhetoric, then why not its staging and framing? The concept of performance carries the potential to enlist such concepts in the attempt to achieve a wider interpretive purchase, taking the study of politics beyond the simple use of theatrical metaphors to describe political action.
>
> Introduction, the Oxford Handbook of Politics and Performance, Rai et al., 2021

The best actor in Turkish politics "is Tayyip Erdoğan. It is not difficult for him to find words while speaking … to decorate his words. He speaks in an exciting language without any hesitation. I am not bored while listening," pointed out Hakkı Devrim in April 2007 (Kılıç, 2007). There are several things that contributed to such excitement, even for a senior like Devrim. Erdoğan almost always had a strong, clear, and sharp message, and he spoke and engaged with his audience – not only with the people in the rallies but also reached to an audience through social media, live broadcasts, and news bites. There was a considerable amount of labour behind all those performances. He took his time to rehearse what he was going to perform. Like most influential actors on stage, he was seen sincere without any deception. His performances were always built upon a framework that engaged with the audience through a swing between anger and fear to hope and prosperity with a positive alternative through his leading position. He reconstructed the meaning of time and space, and his star-quality performance worked; his audience formed a house, turned into a community and what this meant for him was to deliver success in the ballot box, not only once but way too many times. What does his success in exciting millions of people over and over with his star-quality performance tell us?

A variety of things affect audience behaviour, but it is clear that Erdoğan's and many other actors' performances underlined the fact that performative politics is substantial

in forming audience behaviour. Performative politics has been seen as a romanticised topic perhaps because of the lack of knowledge about the subject caused by the role of performative politics being often neglected in making analysis. This is the reason why the success of Erdoğan in elections often surprised many researchers of Turkish politics (e.g., "CHP'li Akade," 2015).

The aim of this research is to get a different perspective on the actors of the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) through the lenses of performative politics. In order to do this, this study focuses on the theoretical framework of performative politics and its changing nature, especially in relation to technological developments as well as theatrical studies. This means that I will address the theatrical studies to enrich the theoretical framework. Thus, the aim of this research is both to improve the theoretical framework of performative politics, particularly in relation to theatrical studies, and to address and understand the influential power of the actors of the AKP with the performative politics framework; consequently, I will improve the framework of performative politics with in-depth research and also contribute to the literature on understanding the power of the actors of the AKP.

Research on performative politics do not simply focus on the end results of a performance as such but aims to examine the way in which performative politics work and how performative politics seizes its appearances into everyday performance. Dissolving the elements that form performance by taking it as a subject will reveal the romantic influence over us as the audience. The goal of this project, which is to conduct research on the AKP with the performative politics framework, will also allow us to see the performative politics framework in action.

Everyday performance can be observed anywhere with an audience, while only a few actors have the means to influence and transform the repertoire. This leads to one of the questions on performances, which is why some performances are more visible while others are not (Mouffe, 2007). I will address this question by differentiating everyday performance and performative politics. While they intersect one another, the actors of the latter have the means to engage that dramatically change influential power. The power of performative politics forms in a way that has its own recognition, which is able to transform the meaning-making significantly. Although everyday

performance that we perform (and imitate) has the power to transform meaning-making, the tools and methods that we have in everyday life limit our capability to be heard. In other words, while the actors of performative politics have the capability to reach mass society and, successful or not, somehow transform the repertoire, everyday performance that we act is formed with way less labour and influential power, and consequently much more imitated (Tarde, 1903). This is clear since while the actors of performative politics have the means to reach the masses, spend hours working on how to affect an audience, and make this their job, the actors performing in everyday life simply do not have such goals yet alone these means.

The structure of this research starts by addressing the framework of the project and some concepts both used to understand the AKP and used by the AKP in the early era. By doing so, I will also emphasise how the AKP used performative politics from the early era since, as I will underline, their position was highly contradictory. After addressing this framework, I will address the core of the theoretical framework chapter, which is what performative politics is. This part is mainly based on the discourses on performativity to provide answers on what performative politics refers to in this research so that we can establish a common understanding of the terms; a repertoire. After addressing the 'repertoire' of the AKP in the first part, and then the repertoire of this research, I will address the theatrical studies to give an in-depth understanding of the power of the actors on stage. I will address different methods of acting, debates around performance, the question on the aura, triggering or engaging with emotions and different dramaturgical aspects of acting on stage. In this part, I will primarily focus on Stanislavski's method as the base since the audience has a tendency to engage with emotional interaction rather than be triggered by rational thought in the contemporary world. This part is essential since positioning on how to comprehend a performance on stage with their relation to engaging with an audience creates the narrative on what to look for in a performance. In other words, this part will allow me to provide information on which and what to recognise as the elements of performing on stage. To fully comprehend the method, I will address the contrast between Stanislavski's method and Brecht's epic style, in which I will also address the debate between Adorno and Brecht's close friend Benjamin.

After addressing the theoretical framework, I will address the methodology chapter in which I will provide information on how performative politics can be comprehended in the contemporary world by (re)introducing the Performative Politics Framework (PPF). This part will address the Politics of Performance Framework of Shirin Rai (2014). Rai's work is a forerunner of research on the relation between performance and politics (Finlayson, 2021; Heath-Kelly, 2021; Rua Wall, 2021). I will reconstruct her framework and transform it with the abovementioned research. I, then, will focus on the story of the AKP and the dramaturgical aspects of the early performances of Erdoğan. Only then I will address the case study, in which I will focus exclusively on the general elections of 2018. This part will address three major performances and two short ones. The first performance is the first rally for the election of 2018 in İzmir, sixty-six days before the election (İzmir'de, 2018). The second is an extraordinary gathering for Jerusalem in İstanbul Yenikapı, which turned into a rally involving many actors on stage, including Erdoğan as the lead actor (Kudüs'e, 2018). The third is the İstanbul rally on the same stage with a different concept a month later and six days prior to the election (İstanbul Mitingi, 2018). The fourth one is a gathering for iftar with retirees ("Emekliler ile İftar," 2018). This was the most official, the shortest and most well-organised performance after the meal at the Presidential Compound. The last performance that I will focus on is at sahur in a dormitory dining hall with students (Erdoğan, 2018). Sahur in a dormitory was the most spontaneous performance of Erdoğan during the election in 2018. He performed in front of students at three after midnight without a script and was broadcasted online.

There has been an opportunity for me to research the significance of performative politics last couple of years, which formed around the change that can be observed, through which one can undoubtedly trace its role in Turkey, led by ambitious questions on how repertoire has been reconstructed and formed on a stage, and the capitalisation of power within the imagination of the audience. The results of previous research alerted me about the further significance of performative politics (Çiftcioğlu, 2016), which can be primarily defined as the power that allows substantial change on meaning-making, a way of constantly deconstructing and simultaneously reconstructing the meaning of things in which actors gain important influential power over their audience. Thus, one of the main goals of this research is to ask further questions in order to comprehend further the significance of performative politics in

the contemporary world that will allow us to recognise and analyse the elements of a performance rather than simply taking it as granted or acting as if it is a mystical psychological phenomenon.

By taking performative politics as a subject, we can clearly see through the lenses of performative politics that will allow us to recognise the power of rituals, theatres, micro performances through questioning bodily appearance, staging, costumes, auditory power, labour, or scripts to generate discourses that can either be accepted or challenged by the audience. This means that as we recognise the engaging ways of interaction between an actor of performative politics and an audience, we start to question the concepts on the body, changing modes of performance in space and staging process, auditory power, attempt to reach towards an aura, scripts, the performative labour, and audience behaviour.

I will recognise the powerful influence that performative politics has over the audience while studying it as a subject. Such power is based in knowledge and makes use of knowledge, reproduces knowledge through affecting the audience and overall reconstitutes own fields through everyday performance. This is where the knowledge on performing itself is called into question in the process of reproducing behaviour affecting what Butler rightfully defines as normalisation of social relations. This recognition goes as far as to question the (re)producing hegemonic projects in everyday life.

As Alpan suggests, "the best way to look at the impact of hegemony within the political terrain is to search … how it shapes the political identities, focusing on the performative aspect of the discourses" (Alpan, 2010, p. 4). Thus, hegemony is one of the key terms that will be addressed in this research. As every act that we do as human beings is something that we perform, some performances are much more influential over the audience than others, and the implementation of a hegemonic project finds its appearances in everyday performance that has been informed through the power of influential performance that is defined as performative politics.

Although it is not explicitly focused as a subject, this research recognises the reproduction of gender roles as performance (Butler, 1999), especially regarding the recognition of conducting research beyond the cartesian separation of body and mind

and agent and structure of the performative nature of acting. The anthropology literature on rituals (Geertz, 1980) and political performances (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007) has strongly influenced and encouraged such research as well as everyday visible ceremonies and behaviours (Goffman, 1956) as embedded performances (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991) within a repertoire with one of the best frameworks on politics of performance (Rai, 2014). This research also recognises concerns and counterarguments on the influential power of performative politics, such as the everyday form of resistance (Scott, 1987) and acting as if (Wedeen, 1998).

It is also important to note that we have correspondingly observed and live through such influence of performative politics as the audience who has been exposed to its extreme form in the Turkish context, which successfully gathered a significant audience, deconstructed and simultaneously reconstructed repertoire with extreme turns, and reproduced the power of the actors through performances.

Performative politics, in this research, refers to those performances that reach the mass audience's meaning-making, affect the audience, and reconstruct a repertoire through forming discourses on stage that directly affects everyday performance. Such meaning-making can be considered differently in particular socio-political backgrounds; "it can be either consolidative or challenging of the dominant narratives" (Rai, 2014, p. 1180). These performances that affect the meaning-making can take place in a variety of settings, including but not limited to institutions, social media, and other public spaces, where actors gather significant audience to influence. Performative politics can be staged anywhere as long as it is performed to reach a great audience. Although I have been criticising the conceptualisation of separation between public and private spheres in line with Hanisch (2006), such a performance's script can be imagined as a bridge between the so-called public sphere and the private sphere to mobilise the audience. For example, such a performance almost always includes topics like security or sexuality that affect the audience's meaning-making.

Though the actors of performative politics transform the meaning-making of their audience in an intended direction or not, depending on the success or failure of the performance, any actor of performative politics consciously attempts to influence the audience. In other words, actors of performative politics address to convince and

transform the meaning-making through a direction of an imagined version of the actor's version of the repertoire. An actor of performative politics must represent a stand that is already formed in the audience's imagination within the limits of repertoire, yet, an actor's goal is to engage with the audience and transform their meaning-making. An actor of performative politics must reconstruct a particular repertoire that addresses the very meaning with a particular goal; otherwise, the audience would not understand the performance. A performance should 'satisfy' the norms of the audience, at least to a degree, which the meaning-making projected. In this sense, a performance should be coherent and meaningful, thus, needs a type of logical stand. A performance can be challenged in many ways via misreading, misrecognition by the audience or can even be disrupted via a counter-performance; it is inevitably vulnerable, unstable, and in some ways disruptive.

This dynamic nature of performative politics is one of the main reasons why most of the political scientists see performative politics as an undesired subject to study, which as a result, further deepens the gap between the theory and the practice. I will address most of the concerns about conducting research on performative politics in the methodology part of this research. Taking these concerns aside, performative politics is crucial to our reading of the political itself to reveal and expose its 'magical' trick over us and bring it as a subject to uncover its 'mystic' appearance.

To understand performative politics, we need to understand its components while imagining its affects on an audience. In order to address the case study, I will address different modes of performances conceptualised by Julia Strauss and Donal Cruise O'Brien (2007). And then, I will use the political performance framework done by Shirin Rai (2014), and reconstruct it with the research that I will address in the theoretical framework on theatrical studies. Rai's framework will be useful to study how performative politics works through "moments/events/spaces" (p. 1180), while the former allows us to conceptualise different modes of performances such as trials, elections, and micro-performances. As this project mainly focuses on the micro-performances, such differentiation will also allow us to separate the mode of performance on this project from different modes.

We should be aware of the performances that actors engage with the audience that has an impact on how to perform in everyday life. As Rai (2014) rightfully points out Butler's (1999) perspective on Simone de Beauvoir's argument, 'one is not born, but rather becomes' and that identity that we perform is not something stable but instead barely constituted in time, the performance in everyday life practises as a "stylised repetition of acts" which forms our identity (Rai, 2014, p. 1181). She points out the fact that such reproduction of power in identity and rituals affectively normalise the order of things. Such conceptualisation of the reproduction of power relations through performativity allows us to question why and how some performances are more powerful over others and are much more influential in the everyday reproduction of power relations.

This research focuses on performative politics' affect taking into consideration the importance of everyday performance. The difference is that actors of performative politics have much more influence over the reproduction of power relations and positioning themselves as the authority, especially considering the fact that some can reach masses with 'star-quality' performances with the means at their disposal. Performances that we receive as acceptable, under the influence of the actor within the social relations of class, language, gender, race, ethnicity, and overall repertoire form our meaning-making process. Research on performative politics allows us to ask further questions on this relation between actors of performative politics and audience, who are also actors in everyday life.

As mentioned, I will reconstruct and use the framework of Rai (2014) considering the conceptualisation of Strauss and O'Brien (2007). Strauss and O'Brien conceptualise three different modes of performative politics that are inter-twined. These modes of performances are rituals, theatres, and micro-performances. I will underline the differences and similarities between them and clarify what a ritual is; a mode of performative politics that has a somehow expected outcome and more regulatory with predictable results, such as trials. I will address the theatres with semi-open results, where a space for improvisation is possible and yet has some sort of regulation to form its legitimacy like elections. The last one is the micro-performances, which is the one that I am conducting a research on. Micro-performances are more fragile, can be interrupted, and have open-ended results. Such conceptualisation helps us clarify how

to categorise performative politics. The following paragraph addresses what we should be looking for when we focus on a micro performance.

The framework of Rai (2014) goes into two different axes. The first axis maps the markers of representation. This axis includes the space, the body, scripts, and performative labour that is behind the scenes. Those four topics allow us to capture some of the core elements of performative politics. The second axis questions the affects of a performance. This includes the question of authenticity, liminality, resistance (if any), and mode of representation. In this part, I will further question Rai's framework with the in-depth research I made on theatrical studies. Consequently, I will reconstruct her framework as Performative Politics Framework to have a better tool for understanding performative politics in the contemporary world. In this chapter, I will address the importance of locating performance in time and space. Accordingly, this will add the third axis; locating performance in time and space. The third axis will refer to changes in the audience's world, the actor's world, and the performance's world. I will also focus on some of the elements like authenticity to address the last remining residue of mysticism in Rai's framework.

The audience is also part of a performance and brings it to life, participates, engages with, and reshapes the meaning of the performance itself. This does not mean that I will focus on the audience as a separate subject, but rather take it as a part of the subject itself since while actors perform, they must recognise their audience. Such a framework was built upon the "critical thought; …neo-Marxist literature on the reproduction of…hegemony through cultural practices" (Adorno, 1978; Gramsci, 1971 as cited in Rai, 2014, p. 1182). Actors of performative politics perform for the audience and with the audience to reshape the understanding of time and space and reconstruct repertoire. As they expect the audience to reproduce their discourses in everyday performance, this research does not further analyse the affect in everyday life.

The AKP in general and the election of 2018 in particular is a noteworthy case study because, during the last decade or so, they have shown significant performances supported by the new technologies and have used new methods in an era when imagining the performance's world and how an actor reconstructs the repertoire have

significantly been changing. Not only the era AKP in power was great for technological enhancement for performing, but also Erdoğan was keen to use those new technologies. For example, Erdoğan was one of the first actors to use three-dimensional giant holograms in the world (Ford, 2014). He made a speech through that giant hologram of himself as if he were there.

The case study part of this research will focus on Erdoğan's performances during the general elections of 2018, which had the power to transform the framework that we live in, constantly affecting the audience's imagination and, in return, changing the everyday performance. By doing so, we focus on the methods, the techniques and styles they used, how such micro-performance allows the actor to connect with an audience, including the way it works through the bodies, spaces, performative labour, staging, or auditory power. Although I have researched the 2004, 2007, 2011 and 2014 elections, the election of 2018 was the choice I made to conduct a research with the performative politics framework. After researching and even writing over seventy pages about all these elections, I concluded that I had to choose one of the elections because there was not enough space in this project for all. One of the reasons behind this choice between cases was that the election of 2018 was the last presidential election, where the technology was most enhanced. It was also the first election of the new presidential system. Although a brief informative part beginning from the 1980s will be defined, including the early performances, the case study will be about the election of 2018.

Çınar (2005) rightfully underlines that the AKP introduced a ruling metanarrative or a larger discursive field, which not only feeds from similar narratives but also constantly tries to transform society into their ideal future. In this regard, it also challenges the existing projects not simply by an ideological position but also with a possible imagination of meanings, images, or even understanding of future, past, and present. This is significant because of the way in which such a shift in the imagination of the audience heavily relies on the way it has been performed.

It is clear that the cultural hegemony depends on, or at least cannot be thought without performative politics, especially with the technological enhancements of the tools to reach masses and influence the audience. The power of performative politics is the

way of changing the narrative that we live in and reconstructing the repertoire not only from stages but also through media, offices, and universities and is not limited to a performance as such. This means that this research on performances during a general election should not limit the possibilities of imagining performative politics since all performances are reproduced and performed in many stages, including through everyday performance. The performative politics framework is not limited to a specific period of time, such as elections, but rather is a tool to understand such performances that form the meaning-making in space and time that an audience lives in.

The AKP use all imaginable ways of performative politics and is a perfect case to study since they constantly and aggressively reconstruct repertoires by emotionally engaging with the audience. More importantly, the era of the AKP is situated in the perfect time in which with the development of new methods, performative politics expanded, improved, became much more influential and created almost a new phase that we can even observe some experimental methods. The latter reason includes the powerful tools that became available in the last decade or so, which is at the disposal of the authority, whereas the former reason refers to the aggressive formation of the AKP's hegemonic project through performative politics that led to significant changes in the repertoires.

These constant changes in repertoires creates a difference between narratives and, as Aktar (2019) points out, even occurs in relation to the nationalist repertoire on 'Çanakkale Victory'. The goal of 2023 and the celebration of 1453 are also good examples of the impact of performative politics, specifically with relation to performing time, where such forming also appears as physical objects such as special coins for the democracy celebration of the 15th of July. Almost all versions feed from the same source, considering that repertoires themselves have the power to limit the actors, yet, they find a space to differentiate themselves from the other. This is not surprising, as in these cases, it has built upon already existing strong repertoire that created similar outcomes, and while the actors gain power to influence from the same repertoire, they also want to differentiate themselves from the other and transform the repertoire in their favour.

The following chapter will start by addressing the framework and concepts that have been used to understand the AKP and used by the AKP. In this sense, this chapter addresses the repertoire that has been used by the actors of the AKP. After these concepts and framework, I will focus on what performative politics is in the following chapter to form a common understanding of the concepts between you, as the audience of this research, and me. That chapter will be based on the research for comprehending performative politics better in the contemporary world and implicitly create a repertoire of the research. The third chapter of the theoretical framework will be based on theatrical studies to understand more about the power of the actors on stage.

The methodology chapter, on the other hand, focuses on how performative politics can be conducted as a research. I will start by introducing the conceptualisation of performative politics of Strauss and O'Brien and then focus on the politics of performance framework (PPF). The former conceptualisation eases the way to differentiate performative politics into different modes. In this part, I will also point out that this research focuses explicitly on micro-performances. The latter, on the other hand, will address the two axes in Rai's framework. This part will address the two axes defined previously and reconstruct the framework with the research I have made on theatrical studies, including adding the third axis. The research then illustrates how such a framework can help us recognise performative politics as a subject by implementing the framework and mapping the performative politics of Erdoğan during the general elections of 2018.

As mentioned, the main focus of this research is to get a different perspective on understanding the power of the actors of the AKP via performative politics. To conduct such research, the possible theoretical frameworks of performative politics needed to be in-depth researched considering the changing nature of performative politics, especially with relation to technological enhancements, and enriched with theatrical studies. This means that the idealist academic goal of this research is both to improve the theoretical framework of performative politics, especially in relation to theatrical studies, and to question and better understand the influential power of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the AKP through performative politics framework.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> Moving beyond one's disciplinary comfort zone, risky and messy as it can be, is where the cross-fertilisation takes place and the disciplinary co-constitutive nature of politics and performance comes to be articulated … There are many definitional and ontological issues to negotiate. (Rai et al., 2021, p. 17)

2.1. Introduction

The theoretical framework is one of the most critical parts of a research. The significance of a theory-driven questioning is the design that compares and contrasts previous works in the literature, the designated approach, and relevant literature to create the 'blueprint' of the research (Grant & Osanloo, 2014). Various theories provide unique viewpoints which raise different questions on the same subject. As a result, a researcher must provide information about which lenses to employ to conduct a research and clarify the path for the audience that the researcher will address. The information obtained for a research must always be evaluated within the theoretical framework to provide a clear explanation of what and how it has been researched. The theoretical framework is the blueprint of the research and becomes the structure itself since it is indistinguishable from the information that has been processed. In this sense, the theoretical framework becomes the core of a research to understand the researcher's viewpoint. In order to ease this process, I have addressed this chapter by dividing it into three parts.

The theoretical framework is divided into three chapters. In the first chapter of the theoretical framework, I will start by focusing on the mainstream framework that has been used to understand the AKP and used by the AKP. This chapter is to underline how the AKP is reflected and supported by some academic researches and framework of the early era. I will address some of the most influential works on the AKP and my concerns, and by doing so, provide the narratives in which the AKP has been formed.

This is important because even the discourses have changed over the years, some fundamental conceptualisations remain in their repertoire, such as acting as if the state 'is' an external entity. Moreover, as I will highlight, such contradictory positions in their conceptualisations made them actualised the movement with performative politics and gave them an insight into how, practice to use such power, and the means to form their movement.

After focusing on the framework of the AKP and how they conceptualise their concepts, I will explore the notion of performance with a particular focus on the relation between performing and being. The reason why such relation is significant is that I have to underline the position of this research in which performative politics works as a normation process that (in)forms how to perform in everyday life and even provides and transforms the knowledge on who audience think who they are. Thus, in this part, we will address the concepts so that we will have a common understanding.

This part will focus on what performance means for this research and how we should understand and conceptualise a performance. In this sense, this is the part where I conceptualise and contextualise the research. As Tarde rightfully points out that agents cannot be taken as an object of their own, but rather they own one another, they entrance each other, and one might also be an item in the list defining another (Tarde, 1903, 1999 as partially cited in Latour et al., 2012, p. 52); such influence occurs through a series of performance in everyday life via influencing the other. While imitating, observing, and working through the meaning-making process, it is clear that some performances are significantly influential that can even reconstruct the very meaning-making process and transform repertoires. I will address such performance as performative politics.

The research will focus on this chapter of the theoretical framework exploring the concepts of and around a performance. The performative nature of today's world is leading many (Khamis & Fowler, 2022; Leader, 2021; Lotina, 2021; Lotker, 2021; Sauter, 2021; Skwirblies, 2021; Spary, 2021) to do research on it, but it also comes with a baggage; a mis and overly usage of the theatrical terms in everyday life. In other words, the theatrical terms already mis and overly used within the repertoire in everyday life. Thus, I will also address the theoretical discussions on what

performance means. Moreover, I will also highlight the difference between performative politics and everyday performance in this part. Performances are not simply 'discourses' but rather the way in which define the matrix of how we act in everyday life (Butler, 1999). This is the part where I will focus on the debates around the concept of hegemony. This part is essential since, as it has been already pointed out, hegemony is not something to be exposed to but rather forms the way in which we live through and affect how we perform in everyday life. Thus, forming a hegemonic project is the explicit goal of performative politics; to affect the audience and form the meaning-making process. The last part of the second chapter also addresses the discussion on populism. Although this part is not long enough to cover the rich literature on populism and most research on populism does not directly address my question on how, I will briefly address populism because populism as a performed act became one of the most influential performances last decade or so.

After focusing on the mainstream framework of the AKP, what performance meant, how to conceptualise, and which conceptualisation I will use, then, I will address the literature on theatrical studies. It is clear that theatrical studies have rich literature in many ways, including but not limited to methods on how to act, how to imagine the audience, or how to engage or trigger emotions. The theatrical studies will provide information on how we can conceptualise the stage, audience, and performance itself. The stage becomes a mediation space for both actors of performative politics and the actors in theatre that can reach an audience. This means that even though there is a difference between actors of theatre and actors of performative politics, like the former literally get paid to act, this research focuses on the very relation between the actors and the audience. It is about the acting methods to engage with an audience. In other words, the theoretical part about the theatrical studies in this research is about the relationship between the actors and the audience, the question of how to connect with an audience, and the methods to affect them. The patterns of the audience and emotional paths also becomes a question, but I will only briefly address these patterns. The part of theatrical studies will mainly address various methods and discussions to comprehend how to understand actors on stage with relation to their audience, how to recognise the elements of a performance, which elements to look for, the engaging methods and practices and overall performative politics in the contemporary world.

All in all, the theoretical framework will be in three chapters to give a better understanding of the framework. The first part addresses the framework and the concepts of the AKP. The second part is about conceptualisation around and understanding performative politics, and the last part is about theatrical studies. In the part on theatrical studies, I will address different methods and schools of thought to have a better understanding of performative politics. As the theoretical framework gives the purpose through theory-driven questioning, the design to compare and contrast previous works within the literature, and gives the designated approach to have a meaning, all three chapters will address various angles and together make a whole on the theoretical framework of this research.

2.2. The First Chapter: The Framework and Concepts for and by the AKP

In this chapter, my aim is to provide information about the framework that has been used to research the AKP and used by the AKP. I will provide an example of this approach, influential points, and weaknesses. In this sense, the following chapter is to critically underline the mainstream framework used on understanding the AKP and how they conceptualised some concepts. As I will explain their contradictory position on concepts, it will allow us to further question the performative nature of the movement. It is clear that the performative politics framework allows us to understand the AKP from a different perspective. Although I have tried to provide a variety of frameworks to understand the AKP, from rationalists to multiculturalist aspects, the chapter became so much demanding and complex that I have decided to extend that work to an alternative project. This means that even though there is a clear need for comparison between different frameworks that are used to understand the AKP in order to clearly differentiate between using performative politics framework and others, this chapter only addresses some core ideas in which many of those perspectives could be traced back to.

Performative politics have a significant capacity to introduce a ruling metanarrative, a larger discursive field, reaching masses and transforming the meaning-making with images, voices, and discourses even about understanding future, past and present with powerful means. In order to conduct a research on the AKP with performative politics

framework, this chapter focuses on the framework used over the years with different ways of understanding and portraying the party.

The main operating assumptions of the most influential literature on understanding the AKP can be traced back to a few critical intellectual lineages: Durkheimian, Weberian and rational choice. All lineages have natural strengths and a few valuable analytical frameworks to grasp the power of the AKP. However, they all have significant limitations. Durkheimian lineage, for example, acts as if there is an external power over the audience, as if the state or society are external things. Their focus is on institutions or everyday performances searching with an agenda for progressive depersonalisation. Mostly taking Western experience as a norm, this literature "focus attention on what is, at least comparatively speaking, not there, or at best only imperfectly there in terms of impersonal institutions such as a working independent judiciary, functional markets, and good governance to the veritable exclusion of what is there:" (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007, p. 3) performative politics.

It is clear that the most researches in Turkey, have a tendency to focus on comparatively what is missing, including researches on the question on development or democratisation. This is clearly because of the Western dominance on Turkish academia. Such a comparative perspective leads to mis-explanations including but not limited to the primarily used conceptualisations based on religious or conservative perspectives.

One of the primarily used conceptualisation is based on the actor's relation to Islamic rituals and practices. The majority of the analyses rely on neoliberal concepts that are strongly structured with methodological individualism (MI) that misdirects the researcher and gives importance primarily to an individual's actions. In such research, the personalised norms become a tool to give a meaning to a reason. Even though few academics believe that MI is necessary for scientific study, this framework is inherently and unavoidably reductionist. This approach reinforces a typical logic, that should be questioned, with an explanation for actions that rationalise observed behaviour as a reason, which becomes reductionist as a result.

Some researchers purposefully utilize MI to study the AKP and explain the social phenomena (Baykan, 2018; Görener & Ucal, 2011). As a result, the efforts are aimed

at demonstrating results and (mis)explaining the causes that shape understanding as a phenomenon, such as making a meaning through individual actions. In this sense, the underlying individual reasons taken from each characteristic are used to explain the actors of the AKP. Conceptualising the AKP and its actors through MI would result nothing more than a generalisable information about the actors' practices. A formulation on meaning-making on individuals should not be considered as an external agent as such and related with the individuals perse but rather, if there is a need to research on an actor in spatiotemporal context, it must be coherent and critical with the conditions that such crystallisation of power on an actor appeared, which I will explain in the following parts.

One of the main approaches to understanding the AKP is with relation to Islam traces back to one of the most influential works, if not the most debated one, the centre-periphery relation brought forward by Mardin (1973). There are many academicians who supported his views, to name a few, Keyder (1987), Göle (1997), and Altan (1992).

The reason to underline Mardin (1973) is that he frames a historical social Islam by including cultural and class bases analysis. Based on the almost a binary opposition that stated as centre-periphery was to underline some social factors, especially culture, economy, and education. Such research tries to frame a dialectic relation between centre and periphery, adopting culturalist views through Weberian and Durkheimian lines. For example, the Weberian perspective is at the core of such a framework; understanding lower classes as mystically formed and are irrational beings, whereas middle classes act with an ethical code and somehow rational religious people.

One of Mardin's successes was to make the connection between religious practices and economic development in the Durkheimian sense that religion is a tool of sharing common values, rituals, morals, and a common symbolic world, yet, he still pointed out that it is nothing more than an external power over the individuals as if it is some 'thing' external. As Durkheim (1992) argues, religion is where moral power is felt and 'social sentiments' are revived. This is the 'fact' responding to a collective consciousness that forces individuals to behave in specific ways. I will further address the question of 'social facts', which will be seen under the second chapter on the

theoretical framework. However, I address here to underline that the view and contextualisation of historical social Islamic standpoint based on Durkheimian and Weberian perspective disregarding the dynamics of structures, social formation, and relationality.

Among the Turkish scholars, Berkes's historical analysis (1998) on Turkey is also significant, which displays similarities with Mardin's work. In other words, Mardin and Berkes have similar lines. Berkes focuses on the modernisation process of Turkey from the eighteenth century with relation to religion. He starts by focusing on the historical roots of the conceptualisation of secularism in Europe and with relation to the reformation efforts in the medieval structures of the late Ottoman Empire. He focuses on the laicism in the early Republican era, in which he calls out that French Laicisme was transformed via importing the idea (Berkes, 1998). The focus of Berkes' work is the precarious dynamics of laicism in a non-Christian country and how it ended up having a unique secularisation. Berkes strongly uses Weberian modernisation theory, in which he describes these early structures to have a religious spirit, very much influenced by the protestant ethic (Weber, 2013). Berkes makes a distinction between Ottoman and European structures by arguing that religion in Europe played a role and existed side-by-side, while in Islam, it had integrated one another. In this logic, Berkes forged one of the most significant distinctions between the secularisation process in Europe and Turkey.

According to Berkes, early reformist movements, especially regarding education, faced tough opposition from the traditional social classes including but not limited to Yeniçeris and Ulemas. Berkes points out that the modernisation efforts during the Ottoman Empire struggled due to the traditional system that had tremendous public support and those social classes. Berkes notes that the process of secularisation and modernisation of Turkey was not complete with the reforms leading to the establishment of the modern Turkish nation-state; the struggle continues for modernisation in contemporary Turkey with relation to the AKP, which heavily relies on the continuity of the struggle. Moreover, he believes that without the political manoeuvres of the elites, the process of modernisation might not succeed at all.

Mardin, on the other hand, claims that there was an interaction, a clash between the tradition and the modern (1973). To overcome such oversimplifications, he deepens his views about the history of modern Turkey with a conflict between old and new, between the sultanate and republic, and between secularism and Islam to the point that it is mutually transformative interplay of the modern and traditional, even though he objects to the 'multiple modernities'. According to Mardin, political scientists focus on some features of laicist legitimacy on the grounds of the Turkish modernity; instead, they should pay attention to the Islamic voice which put Erdoğan to the power based on the grounds of demand for reintegration with Islam in Turkish society.

Yalman (2009) underlines that with the rulings of January twenty-fourth, an influential discourse started around a duality between the state and society that overwhelmingly dominated the academic field. As in the many hegemonic projects, such discourses shaped public opinion through being opposed to each other. This project was to present freedom of choice to buy in a free market as well as civil society as a space for freedom independent from (and almost against) the state constitutes the realm of domination as if they were as things and direct opposition to each other. The most critical problem is that this is not only misleading; in many cases, this is deliberately deceptive. It is not overreaching to argue that such duality created a power centre that liberal and Islamic intellectuals since the eighties and also gathered significant power 'against' the Kemalist hegemonic project (Çınar, 2005). As I will mention in the following chapters, acting as if there is something out there, acting as if they are different from the other, creates an influential power that forms a base for influencing the audience.

This is to say, the rise of such dualism since the eighties with relation to neoliberalism actually theoretically originated in the sixties. The fact that the liberal and Islamic intellectuals formed an alliance, tools provided by such frameworks, and led to constructing the concept of the 'New Turkey' should be in question. As some theoretical roots of the AKP attribute to the new right ideology, which can be traced to an effortful blend of liberal ideas, conservatism, free-market, neoliberalism and neoconservatism, constitutes somehow complementing, yet, a fragile union.

In line with the neoliberal framework, some researchers were much louder and more straightforward than others, stating that political liberalism would be a result of the

neoliberal economy (Gürsoy, 2012). Hayek (2014), for example, fore-fronted neoliberalism with the 'moral superiority' of the market against the so-called big government and led to a conclusion of 'rolling back the state'. As Hall (1979) points out in his Gramscian analysis of Thatcherism, the new right has an ideological formation ranging from free-market policies and individualism to social conservatism based on the nation as a family. I will address this fragility in the following paragraphs, but what is significant in this fragile union is that such unification forms via performative politics since the framework does not rely on solid theories but more of an unstable and unhealthy relationship.

The liberal intellectuals in Turkey constructed a term to define this new era as the 'New Turkey' (Morris, 2005 as cited in Bora, 2016). This term represented a dramatic change between the old and the new, which renders owners of the term as the actors of the New Turkey, and consequently, as the main actors of this new framework. Focusing on the intellectual lineages of this term itself represents the theoretical origins of liberal intellectuals in Turkey.

Mardin (1973) points out that Turkish politics is characterised by continuity as an outcome of understanding through a framework of a "uni-dimensional confrontation" (p. 170). However, still a duality is conceptualised between, on the one hand, an almighty state and, on the other, a weak society. As a result of constructing this duality between state and society as separate 'things' inevitably caused a disregarding the totality, in which performative politics plays the most significant part in forming the discourse by reconstructing the relationship between the state as a thing and the society as a separate thing in the repertoire through series of performances. In this sense, the concepts of this reconstructed repertoire appeared as if this duality is the most significant and, in many cases, the only thing to focus on since it is this duality defined the reality. Rejecting the totality of the relationship between beings, which I will later address, and forming the knowledge around this duality causes a normation process among the audience. Such repertoire became dominant in which seen as if they are external to our reality, including but not limited to the class-based or race-based nature of both the state and the society.

Mardin's position of lack of strong civil society was reflected in his construction of history, which directly affected his audience. According to him, the problem concerning the Ottoman State was that the "confrontation was unidimensional … clash between centre and the periphery" and missing the clash between "state and church … nation builders and localists … owners and non-owners" (Mardin, 1973, p. 170). Mardin's reason depended on the lack of a strong society based on an orientalist and reductive justified with absence of revolution (Güngen & Erten, 2005).

The second republicanism was another term of the project promoted by the alliance between the liberal intellectuals to transform the Turkish political system into something else (Altan, 1992). The 'systems' antidemocratic and unproductive characteristics that were defined by these intellectuals needed to change dramatically. Therefore, according to this argument, the antidemocratic and unproductive elements of the republic should be disregarded radically, which for them meant a new beginning for the order of things as a radical point of change. Altan (1992), who is one of the forerunners of the conceptualisation of the second republicanism, defines this so-called 'radical change' as the democratisation of the system. However, such conceptualisation is undoubtedly in line with Özal's economic liberalism relying on a 'limited' conceptualisation of democratisation.

According to second republicans, the republic, which not surprisingly constructed as an external entity, was strongly resisting to change (to information society) since the core of the ideology of the republic was formed (and in a way dependent) on a position against the change. As Altan (1992) conceptualise the information society as the core characterised by the high technology into the production process, it inevitably transforms the need for labour-power. This is important since excluding labour-power from production decreases the profit and thus leads to compensation via selling the products in the greatest numbers possible. Thus, Altan (1992) concludes that they are vital for integration into the global system. The second republicanism forms a liberal state based on individualism and the free market (Erdoğan & Üstüner, 2004).

These conceptualisations based on external entities, such as the state, the economy, or individuals could contextualise since it fulfils the basic requirements of a party with actors leading the 'civil society' formed by visible individuals as opposed to

institutional norms and the status quo being implemented by ambiguous external forces, especially in the early era. Such a framework reaches over different perspectives like the arguments of 'strong state' and 'weak societies' (Heper, 1985; Migdal, 1988), or exceedingly controversial conceptualisations such as 'Deep State' (O'Neil, 2013; Vaner, 1987).

What forms a society, as opposed to such conceptualisation, is that society is a network of people performing in everyday life within in which they are both actors and audience and are affected by other actor's performances, especially by the ones who have the means to engage. In other words, the actors of everyday performance are linked through a repertoire that an I internalised and governed by, which I will address and explain in detail in the following chapter of the theoretical framework.

The repertoire built upon the abovementioned images of structures can only 'appear' with relation to a web of people in a performative order. In this sense, even concerning the conceptualisation based on satisfaction of individual desires, neither state nor civil society could exist independently from each other or a collective repertoire; since, in relation to everyday performance, actors would seek to form and form by the collective knowledge that is the repertoire itself. In other words, the self-central formation of a repertoire is self-contradictory since repertoire is collective by definition. Just as the actors depend on a repertoire and cannot be thought without it, civil society and its components cannot exist without the state and actors within its apparatuses, and visa vis. It is important to note here that, I would argue, this and many other contradictory positions of the AKP actually played an essential role in their movements, mastering on how to perform and engage with an audience. This conclusion became more visible over the years since Erdoğan and other actors of the AKP performed so well that they were able to reconstruct the repertoire with sharp turns over the years, including influencing the audience with such contradictory scripts.

It is important to note that even contemporary liberal conceptualisation in Turkey heavily rely on the freedom from the 'state', these freedoms actually originated with and in relation to state (Bunyan, 2014). Such duality is an intertwined formation in which one cannot be opposed to the other. Nevertheless, the concept of freedom formed around as if rational individuals are seeking to advance their position leads

individuals as an agent to perform for their own interests, which allows and creates an appearance as if there is an autonomous form of state or economy.

In line with liberal individualists, they have a common displeasure for power used by the 'state'. Instead, they place a higher value on other concepts in their repertoire. In the early era this was on individual freedoms and rational choices (Harris, 2002) but we have seen that it could very well change, which I will address later. Even a lot of things changed over the years, the liberal reforms against individuals' freedom to choose becomes in question (and answer) as they are 'practically visible' in everyday life.

Believing that human beings are entirely 'rational' on their own in itself does not consider the influential power of the actors through performative politics. The liberal framework is somehow based on a belief that agents should be liberated from rituals in everyday life. However, everyday performance is not and cannot be external to the rituals, kinship ties, and overall repertoires. Hence, what the liberal-individualist stance functions as a framework formed imagining individuals as an agent on their own is actually not depending on the expectation on the individual to make 'the right' choices based on their knowledge that drives from civil society, but on the contrary, addressing, engaging, and informing the audience to accept the framework proposed by various actors through series of performances. As I will later address, this is much visible in the case of Turkey as the repertoire reconstructed so many different and opposing ways through performative politics.

In this sense, it is important to note here that cultural hegemony is significantly better at comprehending the way in which the actors of the AKP operates. This research profoundly addresses the concept of hegemony, directly or indirectly, as the base rely on the conflicts constituted which actors impose their imagined version of the repertoire through an internalisation process, inform the audience about their identities and values as a framework (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). For example, as I will later point out that the religious responses for the fight allowing women to wear hijab in public spaces are reconstructed as a freedom of choice, right to education, and women's right rather than simply religious rights. Such changes would, in turn, restore the categorised relations. In this sense, the AKP used and performed the liberal conservatism as a form

of their framework in the early era through performing time, space, and overall repertoire, and gave a meaning to these conceptualisations.

Following the steps on the question of cultural hegemony, performative politics would indicate reconstruction through actors influencing the meaning-making process with performances in which turns to explain whom audience think who they are and reconstruct the very repertoire that becomes a reality which is actualised through performing in everyday life. In this sense, a character in everyday life be through a series of actions which internalised, and even become self-referential over time, by the actors of everyday performance. Therefore, the performances in everyday life actualised through performances in which actors have strong influence. This relationship will be addressed in the following chapter.

In line with the hegemonic struggle to influence the audience, a research with the Performative Politics Framework, which will be reconstructed in methodology with the findings of the theatrical studies, drive from the quest on explaining on how such performances influence the framework that we live in. Actors of performative politics has an influential power that 'mystically' addressing the 'heart' of the people to reconstruct the repertoire, which affect and construct a reality of a framework that we live in. Actors who are performing to reconstruct the repertoire preformed in a contingent engaging model in the contemporary world, between the actor and the audience, that provides a contested and transient atmosphere in which the audience affected by the actor. Consequently, the hegemonic framework that has been performed and influenced by the actors of performative politics establishes with and within a symbolic order.

As I have previously mentioned, the anthropology literature on rituals (Geertz, 1980) and political ritual (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007) have influenced such research as well as everyday visible ceremonies and behaviours (Goffman, 1956) as embedded performances (Bourdieu, 1991) and their affects on the audience (Tripp, 2013). Before moving on to the next chapter, it is central to underline the two sides of performativity; everyday performances and performative politics.

As we moved away from abovementioned almost dialectic formulation of whether power relies upon, simply put, top-down or bottom-up approaches, the power of

everyday legitimacy becomes visible that is symbolic and rests in actively participating within. In this sense, researching performativity has two intertwined areas. The one that actors perform in everyday life, as Goffman suggested and Butler explained, and the ones that actors perform with means to influence a significant number of audience and transform the repertoire. As many (e.g., Aktar, 2019) focus on the everyday performances of the AKP's audience, this project strictly focuses on the performative politics of the AKP, especially parties leading actor Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. I will focus on the way Erdoğan uses the 'almighty' power of performative politics to 'cast a spell' on the audience, which inevitably influences and reconstruct the repertoire of the audience. Thus, it is long overdue to research how performative politics has done in Turkey. This research allows us to understand the power of the AKP and provides information about the changing dynamics of performative politics last decade or so.

It is certain that using the performative politics framework helps us to see the AKP in a new light. Despite my efforts to present many frameworks for understanding the AKP with their strength and weaknesses, like the strengths and weaknesses of the institutionalist approach, the chapter became so difficult and complex that I had to compress and leave the comparison for another project. This means that, while there is a clear need for comparison between different frameworks in understanding the AKP to distinguish the perspective of the performative politics from other frameworks, this chapter only addressed a few core ideas from which many of the perspectives can be traced. In this sense, although some of the approaches I have covered may date back to the pre-AKP era, these are few influential works in which we could trace their affects in contemporary Turkey. I will further address the significance of this compression later under the avenues for further research.

2.3. The Second Chapter: Conceptualisation of Performative Politics

2.3.1. Introduction

The focus of this chapter is to explore the notion of performance with a particular focus on the relation between performing and being. As performative politics works as a normation process that transforms the repertoire, we, as a being, change within the repertoire around us. This chapter will first address the relationship between performative politics and everyday performance through defining and accepting that

performing is being. By doing so, I will address what performance is. Then, I will focus on the debates around the concept of hegemony. As hegemony is not something to be exposed to but rather forms how we live and perform in everyday life, a hegemonic project appears through performative politics via its affection on the audience through the meaning-making process. I will conclude this chapter by explicitly focusing on populism as one of the most popular acts in the contemporary world.

Strauss and O'Brien (2007) define performative politics as "politics of affect, emotion, and drama" (p. 2). Performative politics is not something new and has always been a way of influencing an audience. However, what has changed in the last couple of decades is that the technological enhancements allowed actors to have a deeper affect on the audience, reach greater amount of people, which is the mass society in the contemporary world, and became much more influential. Performative politics is not simply discourses produced by the actors but rather the way in which defines the matrix of how we perform and interact with others in everyday performance. Some scholars (e.g., Faderman & Timmons, 2006) focus on performative politics as if they mainly occur in the streets by social movements; however, although streets are very well theatrical, this is only the one side of the same coin.

As I will address later in this chapter, Butler (1999) argues gender is a matter of performances that familiarise people into a particular way of performing 'man-ness' or 'woman-ness' and (per)forming their identity. What makes Butler's argument so significant is that she rejects the Cartesian separation that there is a body, an interior, and mind, an exterior. Unlike, for example, Austin's work "in line with the concept of illocutionary acts, the acts can occur if the audience learns that the act has been performed" (Alpan, 2010, p. 63), the conceptualisation of a general influential performance, that is performative politics, is to understand the way in which actors of performative politics reconstruct and influence the internalised social norms and by doing so inform us, which one intentionally or unintentionally accepts or rejects.

Erving Goffman (1956) strictly underlines that when an individual appears in communities with the presence of others, sometimes individuals act in a calculating manner (and sometimes not). Whether there is a calculation, or consciousness in this

sense, or not, “we must also see that the others, however passive their role key seem to be, will themselves effectively project a definition of the situation by virtue of their response to the individual and by virtue of any lines of action they initiate to him” (Goffman, 1956, p. 3). The audience is not simply an audience but instead affected participants that perform in everyday life. As Sartre highlights, every participant as an audience asks themselves what he feels about the performance and instantaneously asks “what his neighbour is thinking” (Sartre, 1976, p. 67). This is certainly in line with Sartre’s antagonism against the self as an inner entity that shapes individuals, but what is important to underline is that performative politics has influential power over everyday performance; that is the way in which we perform in everyday life, and we also affect each other to an extend that actualise the framework that we live in.

Moreover, as actors of performative politics, whether successful or not, constantly appear on a stage to reconstruct the repertoire, they gain an emotional connection with the audience. This will be referred to as performative capital in this research. Performative capital is the emotional connection between the character that presented by an actor of performative politics and the audience, which develops with sequences of performances. It is the emotional capital of an actor in the imagination of the audience that develops and connects the actor with her/his audience. Actors of performative politics always search to gain strong influential memory-based affect on an audience which can last long, add on, or cashed out and even allow actors to make mistakes. This has been conceptualised in various forms, such as the actor’s signature moves or the actor or the essence of the actor and will be addressed in the third part.

While doing this research, it became clear that I must address the relation between being and performing to understand performative politics. By doing so, I will not only address the relation between being and performing but, as importantly, the difference between performative politics and everyday performance, which overall lead us to the question of hegemony.

This chapter is designed to address and understand performativity as conceptualised in this research. I must add that this research is not about a quest on the meaning of complex mechanisms of performances as such, which I firmly believe should be a topic for a different project. This chapter is about constructing a common repertoire

with the audience of this research to comprehend how I understand such conceptualisation. Assuming that not all audience of this research questioned the complex conceptualisation of a performance, I wrote this chapter to help and guide the audience to imagine the concepts the way I do and have a common repertoire. To do so, there are various actors that I will recall to better comprehend the performative politics and performance in everyday life. I will address Arendt, Tarde, Goffman, Butler, Laclau and Mouffe with a quest to describe the relationship between an actor and an audience.

I admit that their views are different; they even criticise each other and have different ontological positions. Although they have differences, I found their defining features and conceptualisation of performativity highly useful in describing performative politics. I argue that imagining their conceptualisation, however different they are, ease the ways in which we can imagine performative politics in the contemporary world. In other words, my aim is that while defining their concepts, you, as the audience, and I could comprehend performance within a common repertoire. This means that as all address the performative interaction of the subject with the other, the in-depth research on the political discourse of performativity is not at the core of this chapter. Instead, it is these conceptualised definitions of their time and space that lead us to imagine what this research's concepts on performance signify.

I will give a few examples of what I mean by their various views on performativity before starting the chapter. For instance, I found Arendt's quest on 'having a voice' or 'being able to be heard' highly useful in imagining performative politics (Arendt, 1958, 1973, 2006). There are various criticisms against Arendt like her approach is "phenomenological essentialism" (Benhabib, 2003). However, the phenomenological traditions and, for example, symbolic interactionism (e.g., Goffman, 1956) is in a rejection of functionalist normativism. In this sense, addressing Arendt might seem outdated as contemporary sociology moved 'beyond' a 'technocratic' vision. However, this would be understanding Arendt's perspective as if she has addressed the contemporary. In this sense, I am not addressing these actors to have a methodological inquiry but rather imaginative concepts on comprehending performative politics. Thus, Arendt has a problem that she addresses, so instead of

eclectically using her concepts or even methodologies, we must understand what she is conceptualising and defining like mass culture.

Another good example is Tarde (1903). When we focus on Tarde, a significance comes with relation to an actor's influence and interaction with other, including the impact of repetition as a social logic that generates and exist within repetition and not necessarily caused by the will of the individuals but could be very well unconscious, which should be understood beyond rational choices. This is because the 'others' are performing around the subject, and Tarde actually addresses his views on a condition of the possibility of sociability. However, as I later address with relation to the actor-network theory, there are various debates, such as on their categorisation between humans and nonhumans, the conceptualization of 'nature', or on "Epistemological Chicken" (Collins & Yearley, 1992). The ANT has even been debated around morality, in which some members have argued that the morality for the ANT is not a necessary categorisation. Moreover, unlike what I address as repertoire, for ANT the subject emerges from the actions of actors with their ability to 'align' in their 'self-interests'. Although I admit that such power exists within the matrix of norms that we perform in everyday life as a repertoire, they only exist to limit the ability to perform and not simply by rational choice. Yet, the ANT is helpful in imagining the performative interaction when we imagine a performance in everyday life, in which I will not address the dialectically structured debates between the 'nature pole' and the 'society pole', or the 'body' and the 'mind' and move beyond them through Butler's position that I will address later.

Another good example is about Goffman with relation to Butler. Even though I have used terms of both, according to Butler (1988, p. 528) , her views are opposed to Goffman (1956):

"Gender cannot be understood as a role which either expresses or disguises an interior' self,' whether that 'self' is conceived as sexed or not. As performance, which is performative, gender is an 'act,' broadly construed, which constructs the social fiction of its own psychological interiority. As opposed to a view such as Erving Goffman's which posits a self which assumes and exchanges various 'roles' within the complex social expectations of the 'game' of modern life, I am suggesting that this self is not

only irretrievably ‘outside,’ constituted in social discourse, but that the ascription of interiority is itself a publically regulated and sanctioned form of essence fabrication.”

Although Butler opposes Goffman, for both, identity is something performed and actualised. They are not addressing an ‘individual journey’ but rather collective endeavour, which is almost directly opposed to the performance relying simply on the individual choices. The agency is perform to ‘be’ in a more comprehensive social interactional order, in which some performances would be punished. Goffman (1956) questions and is concerned with the idea that there is a true self that needs to be quested for. In this sense, he argues that there is only performance. This means that, for example, to be a waitress is to perform being a waitress. The self, in this sense, is not the cause of a social situation but a result of it. There is no self that can ‘be’ without the external world. Moreover, in Goffman, there are correct ways to act. Like Goffman, Butler’s work is also based on the premise that there is no foundational identity. However, she goes beyond Goffman to investigate why the social world develops (gendered) identities in the first place. Butler offers a more Foucauldian understanding of performative, which is beyond Cartesian separation, that roots in discourses. Butler argues that sex and gender are overly used so much that it affects how identities are performed. The emphasis of the notion is that identity is brought and performed to life through discourses. These discourses shape the performative acts, which can even occur just by speaking about them, not to mention spoken by the actors who have the means to engage with a significant amount of audience.

I am clearly in line with Butler’s view on performativity. However, this does not mean I should not address Arendt, Tarde, Goffman, and others to describe and explain (sometimes comparatively) performance in the contemporary world. On the contrary, I must because the audience of this research is not and does not have to be (at least before reading this research), deeply involved in understanding the complex conceptualisation of a performance. I have carefully chosen these names as they closely examine the relationship between an actor (performing) and (affecting) an audience. For example, even though I have read Habermas, maybe even more than Arendt, and even though they both follow a Kantian lineage, despite Habermas's dedication for a (communicative) ration (Zabcı, 2012), Arendt often addresses the

affect of a performance between an actor and audience with concepts like persuasion (Degryse, 2011).

This part is not to address a question on the meaning of complex mechanisms of performances as such but rather a quest on how I can explain and ease the way of the audience of this research to comprehend how I imagine when I address performance in everyday life or performative politics. This is based on an assumption that not all audience of this research comprehend a performance the same way that I do, and the goal is to have a common repertoire.

2.3.2. Performing is Being

In Hegemony and Socialist Strategy, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) outline an approach in which any social objectivity is produced and actualised through acts of power that makes all social relations including the objectivity is political. This is an essential conceptualisation in which power does not appear as an external relation between identities, but this relation becomes identities themselves. Performative politics, and performance in general, form as a materialisation of emotions which is at the core of the political; the relation between an actor and an audience. Bishop (2012) rightfully underlines that this participation is not necessarily progressive, yet it is still transformative. This transformation forms in a hegemonic framework that we live in, which should not be considered as simply a matter of exclusion.

Moreover, this framework that we live in affects how we perform who we are. In line with Butler's view that the discourses on performing affects us in such a way that the way we perform is not simply imposed upon us but rather a cultural norm that governs our way of performing. This means that there is no reference to an internal act, but rather the normation process forms the way we perform in which we internalise as we live in the framework that we are. Performing in front of others not only regulates and creates a pattern to our performance but also informs others to behave similarly. It is clear that the construction of an I is a process that regulatory ways which affects the condition of whom we perform to be.

As Butler suggests, all identities work in a performative way through an internalised notion of norms. This is a clear rejection of a static idea of who an I perform to be. An

I constantly changes, ever in flux, and forms with the frameworks that we live in. There is no pure body to perform, yet, the way on how to perform to be is based on the internalised norms on different stages. This means that I cannot be expected to perform the same way in different stages, repertoires, and social relations. The framework, stage, lighting, and repertoires change so many times, even in one day, that an I has to perform different characters on different stages. In this sense, actors constantly change their characters in one stage to another even in one day. This does not necessarily mean we change between "roles" (Goffman, 1956) but rather we perform different "acts" (Butler, 1988).

Taking this changing nature of acting as a fact, it is also helpful to conceptualise performances into two different categories; everyday performance and performative politics. Although they are not that different from one another and even entrance each other, the former represents the performance that we perform in everyday life. Performing a boss, a mother, or a waitress is an everyday performance in which we have the power to influence the other (including via imitating one another (Tarde, 1903)) and form our behaviour with repetition of act (Butler, 1997). The latter refers to the performances that have significant capacity to introduce a ruling metanarrative, a larger discursive field, reach masses, reconstruct repertoire, introduce a new or somehow different framework that we live in with images, meanings and even understanding future, past, and present, and influence the audience in so many ways, with powerful tools and pre-worked mainly with a team, put labour to perfect it; and by doing so, actors of performative politics have the ability to transform who the audience think who they are.

Performative politics, in this sense, is at the heart of the political, as Laclau and Mouffe (1985) fairly defined in the Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. They underline that the social only exist in relation to forming society. This means that social is neither internal nor external to society, and they are constituted within the limits of what society can comprehend and form into a meaningful framework. This is the ontological stand to the problem that we face, in which performative politics inform the audience with a normation process and transforming the repertoire. By no means that the repertoire itself is external to the audience. However, it can be seen as external precisely because this reconstructing power of performative politics, which became visible and

accessible (to few) as its influential power got much stronger with the ability to reach masses and repertoires to form the framework that we live in.

Performative politics is at the centre of the political in which is not only about the discourses that have been produced but rather the way actors of the performative politics are able to perform, transform the repertoire, and influence the audience. As Gramsci rightfully underlines the connection within the limits of the question of the hegemony, we need to recognise the relationship between the political and performative politics today as it is not simply a matter of discourses but rather is the performative politics that form the hegemonic struggle between contesting discourses of the political.

As I have underlined that performative politics has a substantial influence over the audience and consequently everyday performance, there is another significant point to underline here. As we all perform in everyday life, only a few have the means and opportunity to become an actor of performative politics. This means that only a few are being heard, able to perform with such means and have the power of performative politics influencing the mass society we live in.

At this point, Hannah Arendt and her thoughts, especially on mass society, needed to be addressed. As she underlines that appearance, that is, being able to perform in front of others and be seen, is the critical element for plurality. The plurality is the core of the condition for all political life for Arendt, and as she quests for plurality the question is about being able to be heard, the problem that she points out is one of the core problems that I will address. As the actors of performative politics have excessive power over the audience, this influential power is something only a few has. Only a few actors have the means to be (over)heard in today's world. In other words, the power of being able to be heard by only a few is a relevant problem in the era that we live in. This is by no means that performative politics is not the path that we should focus on for an alternative projects; it has to be because such power of performance exists in the contemporary world to address the mass society and change the repertoire not simply as a cause, which I will explain in detail in the following parts.

Arendt (1958) refers to the condition of the audience by introducing the concept of social realm. This realm started to exist with the rise of mass society, and as she puts

it, “every increase in population means an increased validity and marked decrease of deviation” (p. 43), meaning that the larger the population more likely to be exposed to the social realm. In other words, the more people there are, the more likely to behave similarly and less tolerate the other.

Arendt underlines that the unnatural growth of the population led to growth in the social realm. This ‘unnatural growth’ is significant to underline since as we can clearly point out today, the unnatural growth of population in contemporary capitalism, as well as other reasons such as alienation, is in itself creating the mass society. This leads to expansion of the affect of performative politics done by the ‘star-quality’ performance of the actors of performative politics, which are not only reproduces a similar repertoire but, as importantly, makes the others not visible. Performative politics limits the possibility to be recognised by others and is only formed around star-quality actors who perform to gain support of the audience.

As Arendt underlines that “the appearance constitutes the reality”, we can also understand this in a wider perspective and agree with reservations that some actors’ appearances exponentially become influential to everyday life; expanding its core values, the narrative that even reconstructs emotions and overall norms that we internalise to perform. Thus, they have a greater impact on constituting reality.

As I have addressed, it is more visible to conceptualise this change as which one increases its power towards the other that forms the everyday life of a mass society, between everyday performance that we perform and performative politics. While the first one includes everyday behaviours, including imitations, the latter refers to the performances done by actors who have the means. Performance done by actors of performative politics dramatically increased its influential power over the audience as a mass society (and in a way (re-)form it), especially in the last decade or so, found new ways of engaging with the audience. This is by no means that such performances did not exist prior, but as a being, we have never been exposed to such performances that can easily reach millions at the same time.

One a side note, as I address the question on being able to be heard, I refer to performative politics as such. In this sense, although we can see there are various actors who would like to share their stage with other actors of performative politics or even

with actors in everyday life to perform in their (actors of performative politics) terms and conditions, being able to be heard is a problem between performative politics and everyday performance. On the one side, there are actors, despite few actors' intention to share their means, own such stages with possibility of being (over)heard by millions all most all the time and, on the other hand, we have actors performing in everyday life with a minimal affect on the repertoire. This does not mean that actors in everyday life do not have any affect, and sometimes they radically do (e.g., Blaise, 2017) but they often have minimal affect on the repertoire through performing in everyday life without any means (necessary) or the knowledge on how to affect.

If we highlight Arendt's conceptualisation from its own ontological standpoint, different dimensions for the contemporary world could be found (Ertuğrul, 2016, p. 243). Arendt rightfully recognised that the widest possible publicity is at the core of what she defines as the social realm. As she points out, as a being, we become almost entirely 'private' for seeing the other. This is true because, as a being, we have never been exposed to such a limited, and ironically, mass production of performances. The limitations on discourses and performances themselves over the expansion of a few actors' performances led to the deprivation of hearing others or being heard by them. In other words, the expansion of performative politics became so dominant, what was once house now turned into an audience that is ready to consume and emotionally driven mass society so much so that every so-called political discussion became the part of the normation process and consequently became recognised, in line with the conceptualisations mentioned in the first chapter, as if it is something external to our reality, as a 'thing' on its own. In this sense, performance should not be constructed as if it is an external entity but rather norms that we internalise, as Butler rightfully suggests. I believe it is significant to recall Gabriel Tarde here to further imagine and understand an impact of a performance.

Gabriel Tarde is one of the most significant thinkers on sociology and had engaged in various debates on what sociology is and should be about with Durkheim. Durkheim had a more substantial impact on sociology, but last decade or so, Tarde was reintroduced by several people, including Bruno Latour (2007). Latour pointed out that Tarde was the front figure on actor-network theory, and according to him, there is two significances of Tarde's work. First, Tarde refused to construct society as an

external and a higher entity. Rather, Tarde argues that society is a complex social order that is more than simply individuals that acts with or against an external entity despite his 'rival' Durkheim treating social facts as things. He instead suggested that social facts were not things, but all things were society. This means all things form the society and social facts are part of the formation. This is important on imagining the actor-audience relationship because this means that there is nothing outside there but rather, they are in one.

Tarde argued individuals are part of society and 'be' in relation to interacting with each other. This is the point where most researchers are mistaken about Tarde. While he rejects to believe that there was a superorganism as a society, he was not a methodological individualist (Barry & Thrift, 2007). For Tarde, alliances between actors generate momentary social patterns which also fades and reforms over time. As Latour puts it, Tarde refuses the individual as an agent that constitutes the society (Latour et al., 2012).

Tarde's individual, like an actor that I address in this research, is itself constitutes a part of the networks in which it is positioned. Tarde argued that "agents cannot be said, strictly speaking, to interact with one another; they are one another, or better, they own one another, to begin with, since every item listed to define one entity might also be an item in the list defining another agent" (Tarde, 1903, 1999 as partially cited in Latour et al., 2012, p. 52). Tarde's social theory included three different conceptualisations: imitation, adaptation, and opposition. The imitation is noticeably essential to understand the influence of performative politics, especially in relation to everyday performance.

Tarde's question was to understand the repetition of actions that people in society produce. This means that society constructed as members forming together and capability to imitate one another and reproduce their actions accordingly. Tarde goes as far as declaring that "imitation is the cause of all social likeness" (Tarde, 1903, p. 37). Thus, society appears as a group of beings that reproduces similar behaviours as they are likely to imitate one another. His suggestion on imitation is highly relevant when we focus on performativity. The observation process reveals a possibility in one decides, knowingly or not, to imitate and, by doing so, participate and reproduce

similar actions. The imitation not only reproduces the performances but also limits the possibility of different performances. As Tarde rightfully underlines, social interaction causes an influence on each other; entrance each other. What is significant in Tarde's work is the recognition of the power that lies in the interaction with others, causing a change in one's behaviour.

This power is destructive (and simultaneously constructive) and forms all of the behaviours and performances in everyday life. In this sense, such 'likeliness' forms a limitation on the ability to perform differently. Moreover, as it is clear today, actors of performative politics that gain significant power with new means to influence the audience, undoubtedly reconstruct the repertoire, consequently, have an impact on limiting the performances that the audience themselves performs. Thus, as a being that has a tendency to imitate, we reproduce the performances that we have been exposed to. In other words, as an audience, we have a tendency to imitate each other and influence by what we are exposed to and reproduce them in a way that limits the ability to perform differently in everyday life. This means that as an audience, we not only observe the actors on the stage but also learn how to act as an actor in everyday life. In other words, the actors of performative politics also inform the audience on how to be(have). In the case study, I will further highlight the way in which performances informs the audience. Before addressing this normation process, it is also important to underline the actor-network theory in general.

The Actor-network theory is a social theory that implies a constant shift in networks of relationships (Latour, 2007). There are some significant points to underline about the actor-network theory. First, the argument relies on the fact that nothing exists without those relationships. This means that there are no external sources to this relationality that do not exist in themselves. What is also noteworthy is that the ANT does not explain how or even why a network appears; instead, it aims to explore the relational ties within a network. As the actor-network term itself suggests, ANT explains the material-semiotic networks that create the whole, relating different elements forms a coherent whole that involves constant shifts within. This definition is instrumental since it means that relations among actors need to be constantly performed and make the whole. In other words, ANT suggests that as a being, we are part of the whole, and the way we perform in everyday always needs to be continuous

to form the whole. Such a social network forms as a relational interaction between an actor as an I and an audience as the other. ANT indicates that as soon as a member faces the other, becomes an actor, connects to the web of relations, and becomes part of the network. As I accept such conceptualisation, I must add that there is a fundamental problem of accepting such conceptualisation. What is problematic in the realisation of being part of such a network has limitations comes in accepting this close network.

The first limitation relies on its acceptance. Such promise that nothing lies outside this network, that means everything is part of this network, has a significant impact on performance. What is limiting is that acting as if something is not out there has a significant impact on performing itself. In other words, performing as if something is not out there significantly affects practice. Second, accepting such a network means the actors are not acting as if something is out there. Both intertwined points look very similar, but the first one implies the limitation caused by the acceptance of the limitation and acting accordingly as if something is not out there, while the latter refers to the missing possibility to act as if something is out there. Although they seem similar, they are essentially different since the one who accepts that something is not out there acts within the limits of a limited repertoire via rejecting it, while the second category refers to the actors who are not acting as if something is out there.

In both cases, unlike the ones who act as if something, for example, an enemy, a 'deep'est state, a goal, or a common unreachable purpose, an external force out there, in which strongly transforms the repertoire and affects the audience, the actors who are not acting as if something out there does not affect the repertoire in such ways and literally leaves the stage for the ones who have something to perform as if there is something out there. This means that with the power of performative politics, actors who in both intertwine points misses the opportunity of the great influential power of acting as if. As we structure a belief system around, acting as if, has a great influential power on a repertoire that Walter Benjamin (1936) underlines as the power of the ambiguity that uses imagination in which most of the actors of performative politics aggressively use.

Such power with different conceptualisations capitalises on repertoires. To further understand performance, I need to address the conceptualisation of repertoire. Brett Rolfe (2005) defines the term repertoires as a set of various performativity (instruments) and actions that are available to the actors and relevant organisations at that precise time. Repertoires refer to a shared understanding of narratives, symbols, or images. Repertoires are strongly transnational and spread not only between the audience of that performance but also through space (Snow, 2003). Repertoires can also be limiting as it feeds from the same pool and constantly reproduces familiar actions (Tarrow, 1998).

Even though it has such boundaries, repertoires have constant potential to transform and may adopt different meanings in different times and places (Tarrow, 1998). Moreover, it not only creates boundaries on what to perform but also how to perform. This limitation does not necessarily mean strict rules or fixed language but rather empowering an action to influence others by making them understand. Snow (2003) gives a great example, that is the food riots that can almost instantly be understood what it is around the globe. This is a way in which performances easily communicate with the audience. In other words, an actor acknowledges the need for a common symbolic language and understanding with the audience, which not surprisingly sets the boundaries for an actor. If the common repertory is missing, as Strauss and O'Brien (2007) correctly point out, either the audience will not understand the performance, or the performance will be misinterpreted (p. 76). It is also important to note that performative politics mainly occur for the mass society as the audience and thus leads to (and limits to) simplistic performances to address them all together without misinterpretation. In this sense, performing in front of a few hundred people is not the same as performing in front of millions. On a side note, there are now new tools to analyse the millions better and categorise them by gender or age, which will be address later in the case study.

In addition to using repertoire correctly, there are also significant material requirements. Infrastructural needs are crucial. A performance needs a stage to be performed, enough audience to influence or good planning and a scriptwriter. An influential performance needs to be worked on, requires a good amount of labour before it happens. In this sense, the contemporary world provides and simultaneously

requires actors of performative politics to have and use the means and methods like using colours in the 'correct ways', music or audio-visual representation and means such as television channels, newspapers, stages. These means transform in time but does not change that they are needed and owned by a few. A good example is how the influence of social media changed over the last couple of years. As social media is turning into the mainstream (Tremblay, 2019), money to promote self on social media is now required for 'owning' followers to influence.

This is the part where we need to recall Arendt's views that I have addressed before. What is dramatically changing is the exponentially increasing power of performative politics with the new tools like 24 hours bite-news that are controlled by few people, which directly cause not hearing the many, to reconstruct repertoire and thus ending up great power on influencing the mass audience and affecting everyday performance. This means that the audience, which is part of this relational network, be informed by the actors of performative politics on how and what to perform and not only such an impact has the limitation of everyday performance among the audience but also addresses for the audience to internalise on how to perform to be through reconstructing the repertoire.

As mentioned, Butler's conceptualisation of performativity has a significant impact on understanding performative politics and its relation to performing in everyday life. To understand Butler, one must first clear the path of a misunderstanding. One of the vast misinterpretations, if not the most important one for Butler, is the idea that Butler distinguishes between sex, that is, the biological facticity relies on the physicality of human beings, and gender, that is, the cultural interpretation of behaving to be. Butler spent almost two decades trying to overcome such misunderstanding. She rightfully argues that performing a gender itself creates gender that ultimately is not separate from sex. Butler questions this very distinction that performing a gender affects us in such a way that "the construal of "sex" is not a bodily given on which the construct of gender is artificially imposed, but as a cultural norm which governs the materialisation of bodies" (Butler, 1993, p. 236). This implies that the construction of a body is a process that regulatory norms that affect its appearance, and one cannot see this as a static condition of a body. She strongly underlines that there is no reference to a pure body that simultaneously reproduce the formation of the body. This means that

performing as if there is a distinction between sex and gender itself has a significant affect, which creates a pattern to imitate its appearance in everyday life. Revealing this misunderstanding allows us to understand that the performance of gender does not only become the gender itself but reconstruction a way of performing as such. Butler further highlights this by arguing that the very act of saying something about sex ends up imposing a cultural norm.

Butler's argument relies on a claim that all identities work in a performative way through an internalised notion of norms. This is, in fact, one of the cornerstones to understanding what performance is. There is a conditionality for performing an I and this conditionality heavily relies on past performances, as Butler underlines as 'repetition of acts', that constantly reproduces an I.

Accepting such conditionality to perform has two significant consequences. First, if acting as such is conditional, this means acting as if intrinsically conditional as well. This means that all the debates around acting as if become meaningless (cf. Wedeen, 1998). There is no difference between performing as if and performing as such since both relies on the degree of influence that an I has been exposed to and the condition that has been constructed around. This could be explained as either internal or external, but in reality, there is no duality in which repertoire and repetition around this repertoire is the only precondition for performing an I.

Second, depending on how repetitive a performance occurs, it gains some sort of capital. This is the normation process that an I internalised over time and subjected around. When an I perform to be an I, takes a position and by doing so reconstitutes its reality, and this is inevitable creates a pattern to reproduce an I. It is clear that there is a difference between someone who performed to be for a short period of time and someone who performed for an extended period of time. Changing, what Butler defines as the regulatory power of the performances that have been reperformed for decades is significantly more demanding. Performative capital is nothing more than this capital that an I has been regulated by and internalised. An I finds its appearance with this memory-based (emotionally driven in the contemporary) capitalisation which is built around and with these relational ties to the others, and in relation to the whole.

Consequently, people have been performing in a certain way and in a certain time. In other words, these relations have been performed in a repertoire for a good amount of time. This will include but is not limited to the alienated nature of relational network and the mass formation of society caused by capitalism. This is significant to recognise, as I will further highlight in populist performances, the actors in everyday performance have been performing in a certain way. As the relational ties formed in that specific order, reconstructing the repertoire could only be possible through influential performances especially considering the fact that such means of performative politics are already ready to use and at the disposal of some actors. As neither such means nor such formation of relational ties of the social relations are disappearing, at least not soon enough, we must recognise them and address them accordingly.

It is also important to note that Wedeen's question on 'acting as if' is also a quest about comprehending time; how do we know that there is a 'truthful' performance which lasts? How do we know that the audience is not intentionally complying until they get to a destination where they no longer need to perform in such a way? How do we know that they embraced this order, internalized, and be? This is about the fragility of the performative order. As an I perform, an I may take a misleading act. For example, they could be afraid of a condition like a punishment, which leads to acting as if. This means that as the precondition of that performance disappears, they may act differently. This is based on the assumption that, for example, as everyone looks loyal to an actor and shows how much they support 'him', as soon as that precondition disappears, they expected to act differently. Wedeen takes to the point that the affect of performance might or might not last, so it cannot be an analytical tool for political scientists. In other words, she argues that the question of the lasting affect of a performance is so unknown that we cannot analytically comprehend it.

Even though I would not address the audience's side in this project, it is clear that everything in life, especially in contemporary capitalism, is fragile in nature. The acting as if has a constructive power and is not more fragile than the capitalist economy or everyday life in general. Even though we accept this problematic definition of acting as if, it is still clear that acting as if or the lasting affect of acting is a quest for an unknown future, which involves these fragilities at every level. It is also clear that

research about performative politics could be a quest to understand how performative politics works and affects the everyday performance that creates the present. In other words, even though performative order is fragile in nature, we cannot dismiss that such performances are actualized in the present and we can only address this (fragile) performative order by knowing how it functions. Butler (1993) argues that people's behaviour is repetitive of practices that become the 'way' of performing in society, and people who do not follow will be punished. Such normation of performances establishes the meaning through time and becomes self-referential which establishes the very meanings of the act. This is the social structure that, as a being, we are part of, witnessed, internalised, and reproduced in a performative way. In this sense, reproducing the common meaningful network as an actor who is also an audience of these dramaturgical acts, we are strongly affected by performances of the others. This means that while gender or any other performance appears as "a series of acts which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time" (Butler, 1988, p. 523), it also very well changes via the constant imposition of other performances that influence us and inform us how to be(have). In this sense, performances of others form a normal that anyone acts in everyday life has knowledge on the possible punishment on not to behave. In such conditions, an actor "emerges only within and as the matrix of … relations themselves" (Butler, 1993, p. 7). In this sense, we only perform as actors in everyday life through gaining knowledge to perform how. This knowledge on how to perform is not only influenced by the other actors in everyday life but also and more decisively, by the actors of performative politics in the contemporary world. In other words, like any performances around us, performative politics inform us about the norms in which we gain knowledge on the repertoire. Unlike any actors performing around us, actors of performative politics have the means to constantly inform, reconstruct and engage with us. This, in return, causes internalisation of the social norms imposed by the actors of performative politics and directly affect the framework we live in. This is nothing more than actors affecting the audience to implement a hegemonic framework, including imagination of concepts, images, meanings in which actors in everyday life perform to live through.

The question around hegemony starts with relation to Gramsci's (1999) focus on why the proletariat was acting against their interests under Mussolini's regime and actively embracing the discourses produced by the regime. As Laclau and Mouffe (1985)

underlines, there have been two key changes in understanding the concept of hegemony since then. First, in Gramsci's thought, hegemonic subjects are exclusively constituted with class dimensions. Second, for him, every social formation forms around a single hegemonic centre. As we have moved away from these two dimensions, the subjugation through the realm of institutions that hegemonic projects reformed as a reproduction of social and institutional relations and the public sphere, where beliefs and ideas were performed, became intertwined, and reconstructed through series of performances. While we perform in everyday life, some actors have so much influential power that forms and reconstructs the repertoires in which creates the framework that we live in.

As Heywood (1994) rightfully underlines, hegemony reproduced in cultural life through various actors in media, universities, and other institutions to manufacture consent and to gain legitimacy and becomes the self-referential formation of the performative politics through everyday performance. Hegemonic projects are something that we live through that are constant (re)introduction of norms and ideas via performances, which reveals a significant question on the relation between performance and knowledge itself. Knowledge and knowledge on how to perform (or not) becomes a way in which social normation forms and legitimise social structures (Heywood, 1994, p. 101). Thus, the hegemony forms within the framework that we live in through everyday performance that is embedded within the repertoire and on how to perform in everyday life.

An important point to underline about the concept of hegemony is the misconception based on its relation with coercion (Thomas, 2009). This misconception is an over-simplified dualist position that, as if, the conceptualisation of hegemony as a strategy to gain consent dialectically against coercion. In other words, one should not preconditionally accept that hegemony, or sometimes oversimplified as consent, is opposed to coercion or domination. As Peter Thomas (2009) argues, either/or position is in reality combined with their differences, and this duality is itself misleading. Both coercion and consent are immanent and intertwined; one emerges from the other, "depending upon the specific conditions of the conjuncture, as a form of appearance of the other" (Thomas, 2009, p. 166). This is important because if one can overcome this misconception, then it becomes clear that different modes of performances, as

mentioned previously, such as trials, with coercion or not, becomes the key element for forming a hegemonic project. In this regard, gaining consent actually lies in the struggle to gain consent (Roseberry, 1994).

Such a struggle is about institutions, images, symbols, words, and even movements and is not only addressed gain support for the actors by actor's star-quality performances but also simultaneously aim to reconstruct the repertoire in which transform everyday performance that we inform each other, talk about, confront, and understand or resist such domination that formed with domination itself (Roseberry, 1994, p. 361). This means that hegemony is not simply about forming a consent but rather a common meaningful framework in which we live in.

This is crucial, not simply because its contingency becomes apparent but also the ways and methods of performing becomes the primary dynamics. In other words, performative politics is the critical component of (re)production of understanding and internalise norms, including but not limited to time, space, and that constant deconstruction and reconstruction of repertoires in which the actors not only declare their ownership of the dynamics (within) as the actors of performative politics but also perform to influence performances in everyday life.

2.3.3. Populism as a Performed Act in a False Proscenium

After addressing the significance of reconstructing the framework that we live in through a series of performances, it is clear that to focus on contemporary performative politics; I must also address the question of the most common way of doing performative politics today, which is through populism. Populism is one of the most debated and complex conceptualisations because there is no precise and unequivocal definition. This is mainly because it does not belong to a specific ideology or class. In this sense, populism can appear differently in different repertoires. Laclau (1997) underlines the difficulties of conceptualising populism, stating that it has a unique feature with the change in each society (p. 167).

In addition to differences in the repertoires, the discussion of authoritarian populism, for example, highlighted and created further uncertainties on the definition (e.g., Hall – Jessop debate). The debate around the conceptualisation of populism has a

significant depth that should be a topic for another research and does not directly address my question on how. Nevertheless, it is still essential to address populism since it appears as one of the most powerful ways of mobilising an audience in the contemporary world.

In general, populism refers to mobilising people around a central subject that can serve as a focal point for accumulating inconsistencies and contradictions in everyday life. Populism is about gathering the audience together and mobilising them to address various problems. Research on populism goes beyond the discourses and searches for commonalities between different contexts that we see in various forms around the world. Populism has been discussed by various political theorists, all of whom have varying opinions on it. Mouffe, Laclau, Moffitt, Hawkins are some of the recent contributors. Moffitt (2016) defines populism as "a political style that is performed, lived, and enacted across a number of political and cultural situations" (Lotina, 2021, p. 682). Whereas Hawkins (2009) addresses discourses of the actors in which he points out the dualist nature of populism. Laclau and Mouffe (1985) also underlines such duality between the system's disadvantages groups against the order. In line with Laclau, Mouffe, in For Left Populism, points out that populism is "a way of doing politics" in "time and space" with different frameworks (2018, p. 14). There are two common recognitions on these various views. The first one is the duality between the 'good' and the 'evil'. This is not surprising since the duality between us and them in the scripts has been one of the engaging structures, if not the most engaging one. There are many attempts to explain the reason why such duality is so appealing. It could even be because of the dominance of the countries where the sun has a dualist nature; a rise and a set. However, the reason is not the core of the focus here, at least in this project, and we should identify that such duality is actualised and performed. In this sense, it is still essential to recognise that such duality is the common scripts of populist actors, but an actor does not necessarily need to perform and (re)produce such a duality (cf. Schmitt, 1996).

The second, and more importantly, such a way of doing politics heavily rely on the performative aspects. In other words, "populism is a performed act" (Marino, 2018 as cited in Rai et al., 2021, pp. 579–580). It appears in a specific time and space within a repertoire, forms with symbols, requires specific structural needs and takes a stage.

Although there are various modes of performative politics, as I have underlined, populism is strongly intact with micro performances.

I have highlighted that the people within a community performs and influence each other. Some performances are much more influential than others since while the actors of performative politics have the means to engage with a large audience, gather the audience and affect them, the actors of everyday performance do not have such influential power. As such, some performances are significantly influential. In this sense, populism is an act of actors of performative politics in a specific time and space. Angela Marino in Populism and Performance defines populism as "a unifying strategy of collective identification carried out through the everyday and the spectacular embodied act" (Rai et al., 2021, p. 579). This embodiment of the performances is significant to recognise. We not only perform in everyday life but also influenced by other performances. In this sense, the ones who have the means to engage with the audience have more influential power over the audience.

Considering the second common aspect of populism, I need to address two other characteristics of such way of engaging with the audience. The first character is that populist movements have a link between the leader and the followers, which crystalises over the actor's character on stage (Mouffe, 2018, pp. 49–50). In other words, the character that the actors perform on stage becomes the physical manifestation of the audience's common desires, so much so that any humour about 'him', for example, appears as a punishable act.

This relation between the leader and the audience, conceptualised as a way of performing, forms by the well-known and already addressed good old 'star quality' performances to engage and affect the audience. The actors who are the "charismatic leaders" of those performances become the actor of performative politics through a series of performances showing the audience that they are the "spokesperson that transmits the demands and concerns of the masses" (Saraçoğlu, 2018, p. 96). More importantly, such performances are not simply about these concerns. These performances also work through which the actors define and inform the audience about their concerns. In other words, through various performances, they crystalise their

character onto the physical manifestation of the audience's problems, caused mainly by capitalism, and after/meanwhile reconstruct the repertoire.

The second is the capitalist economy which forms the mass society. As mentioned previously, the capitalist economy has a significant impact on the way in which the audience performs in everyday life. In other words, the actors of everyday performance are organised, interact, and entrance with each other through a series of performances in the capitalist economy, which has significant affects like imagining the economy or state as if they are external entities. As mentioned, this involves the alienated nature of the audience, their emotionally driven performances in everyday life, and forming as a mass society.

The choreography that inscribes the actors of everyday performance into a certain symbolic order and forms a collective will is at the core of populism, like various ways of doing performative politics. On this point, the leading actor's job is to bring together and represent the unity of the audience while reconstructing the repertoire. In this sense, populism as a way of doing performative politics is a "performative practice of constructing the people on the symbolic level" (Lotina, 2021, p. 684). Populism expresses as a specific set of relationships between us, as a symbolically united and represented popular community, and them, the 'others' such as the enemies of the state, elites, deep state, Mexicans, Syrians, LGBTQ+, Nazis, and the list goes. This is clearly in line with what Gramsci (1999, p. 674) refers to as 'concordia discors' "that does not have unity for its point of departure but contains in itself the reason for a possible unity" (Lotina, 2021, p. 684).

In this sense, the common cause of the struggle could be more than addressing a group of elites and could be well organised as a quest for equality, freedom, or it can well appear as a "counterhegemonic" movement with a vision of alternative order (Lotina, 2021, p. 690), with the leadership of actor of performative politics in which actor engages with the audience who are already ready to engage. Populism is a "choreographing practice" (Lotina, 2021, p. 690) of "constructing the people on the symbolic level" (Lotina, 2021, p. 684) through a series of performances. Populism is a unifying act through reconstructing the repertoire in which leads to "(re)construction of people" (Saraçoğlu, 2018, p. 101).

In light of the performative politics of current populists, it is clear that populist performances should be addressed with relation to its context in time and space and the performance of the actors themselves (Peetz, 2021, p. 564). For example, Marino argues that left-wing populism is a performance to "re-create the state" (Marino, 2018 as cited in Lotina, 2021, p. 687). She emphasises the everyday performance of complex cultural arrangements embodied acts of performance to communicate unifying methods of collective identification. In this sense, such populism is understood as everyday performances that form via embodied acts.

Conversely, this misses the strength of hegemonic power over the audience. We must acknowledge that different performances not only enacted unifying methods on a repertoire, but this communal identification heavily influenced, transformed, and reconstructed by the actors of performative politics. It is clear that the dramaturgy of populism, as in most ways of doing performative politics in the contemporary world, is based on "seductive passion" (Mishra, 2019) by 'star quality' actors (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007).

Building on Judith Butler's (1997, 1999, 2010) argument that performativity is not simply an act that is performed into being but a reflection of power relations with relation to the regulatory power of these relations, when we accept the relationship between the actors of performative politics and the actors in everyday life is performatively constituted, then we witness a deliberate attempt to construct or redefine 'the people' in a specific way. In this sense, populism, an act of performative politics, has a significant amount of power to transform and reconstruct repertoire in which it could be used in counterrevolutionary projects, and we must address the means and possible ways of imagining the performance's world in which like many modes and ways of performative politics coincides with the emotionally driven ready to engage audience.

The patterns of such performances are beneficial to explore in understanding these movements. However, because of the repertoire change in time and space, we must also address the "spatio-temporal context" (Saraçoğlu, 2018, p. 95) that performance happens. This should include both catalysts that are global in nature, such as technological enhancements or ready to engage audience, and local, such as particular

historical context. We must address taking into account the means and causes that exponentially increased the power of performative politics; on the one hand, the technology that allowed, for example, actors to reach millions of people in a rally simultaneously with mega-watt speakers or the capitalist economy which, for example, causes alienated nature of the audience; and on the other hand, for example, a new electoral system within a country.

Since these elements to engage are well designed, implemented, at the disposal of the actors, and not disappearing soon enough, we must recognise the nature of the audience, the means developed to engage with them, and the specific repertoire that such performance happens through locating performance in time and space. In the following chapter, I will address the theatrical studies, considering both the nature of the audience and the means available for the actors.

2.4. Chapter Three: The Theatrical Studies

2.4.1. Introduction

Theatrical studies are one of the cornerstones for this research with its rich debates on performativity and are believed to provide some vital insights to understand performative politics in the contemporary world, especially with relation to methods used by actors on stage. Actors perform a dramatic action by including elements to give their characters a depth in which creates a relationship between audience and the actor on stage. This relationship between actors and audience is at the very heart of a performance. The audience's imagination sparked by the dimension of the stage that affectively transforms the meaning-making. In this sense, the actors on stage with all dimensions of a performance have power to influence the audience so much so that some would argue a performance can trigger audience to seek for alternative ways of performing in everyday life.

On the other hand, a performance can also take a path to engage with the audience more emotionally, rather than triggering them to question the reality that they are in. For this, actors should be ready to represent the character on stage. Actors use several key features to convey and engage with the audience. These features that are for

emotionally engaging performances include some elements like costumes, settings, audio-visual elements, or scripts.

It is clear that there is an outstanding parallel between actors of performative politics and actors who perform at a theatre stage. The most important similarity is the relation between actors and audience. The actor on stage becomes the authority for the audience. In this sense, participation and engagement is the core dynamics. It is also visible, for example, there is an urge for both actors to be adored within the audience imagination. However, the most significant outcome from such relation is that actors on stage has power to address the audience imagination in which gives them power to influence the audience meaning making.

Performances are flexible by nature. As the actor could perform different characters and tell a variety of stories on stage, actors of performative politics have a power so much so that discourses they present can change dramatically. In this sense, stage's communicative potential could lead to spark significant change in the audience's meaning-making. In line with such power, technological enhancements that augments the features of relationship of actors and audience undergone significant alterations.

In the following part, I will address similarities and differences between actors on stage and actors of performative politics, and from the similarities, I will highlight different methods of engaging with the audience. The framework on theatrical studies will allow us to recognise the literature on dramaturgical aspects of performative politics. By conducting research on different methods on how to engage with the audience in the contemporary world, I aim to provide answers on what to look for, how to recognise, and how to comprehend the dramaturgical aspects of performance on stage instead of simply contextualising it. As mentioned previously, this will allow me to reconstruct Rai's framework to have a better tool for understanding performative politics in the contemporary world and the power of the AKP.

2.4.2. Performing on Stage

The exceptional quality of a performance on live stage comes from the real-time nature of a performance. Brockett et al. (2017) rightfully points out that the simultaneous presence itself makes the performance one of a time. This means the presence of both

actors and audience sharing the experience makes it exceptional. Even in their physical appearance as an actor and audience creates a one of a time experience at that presence, a performance affects on the memory in which consciousness transform by the narrative (Baker et al., 2016). In this sense the relation between actors and audience is important and actors perform in the present moment, while paying attention to the how things appear in the audience's imagination and use a variety of strategies to grab the audience's attention.

Performances on stage attracts the audience through a storytelling. During a performance, actor has some sort of freedom to a degree to reimagine the story for new objectives to satisfy the audience (with them) (Pavis & Brown, 2016). There are various ways to engage and satisfy the audience. Both audiences have similar emotionally patterns in which they are there to consume a performance. As I will later address, such nature of the audience in this spatiotemporal context is at a performance ready to engage with the actor and there to consume. In other words, like the audience of performative politics, especially in rallies, the theatre audience is also self-satisfied ready to emotionally engage and concentred on the receiving the narrative (Sedgman, 2018). Furthermore, the lack of prescribed gestures for the narration of performance's world leaves the actors of that world to narrate and influence the audience. This means that the actors are responsible at that very moment on the success of engaging with the audience. As I will provide an example in the case study, weak emotional gestures and connection with the audience challenged and sometimes resisted by the audience. This is because the audience is strictly critical of the dramaturgical aspects and the performances are fragile in nature.

Performances are seen as a gathering, where audience come together, forcefully or not, to share emotions and socialise. Despite the view that performances are a form of escape and enjoyment, it is clear that stage is much more than an entertainment from the audience perspective (Trenos, 2014). An audience have expectation from attending to a performance in which they feel the collective act. The emotional gathering with a focus on an appearance on the stage itself creates the togetherness (Sedgman, 2018). In this sense, it is important for actor to eliminate the inconsistencies in the narrative and in the character, at least in the dramaturgical level, and should not be rigorously challenge the repertoire like performing fully naked on stage in the Turkish context.

As the consistencies in the dramaturgical level is vital, to a degree, an actor must improvise with the active audience engagement which creates a mutual interaction.

In most of the contemporary theatre, we can clearly point out that the actor narrates the performance as a way of triggering the audience. This type of narrative triggers the audience in a different relationship between actors and audience. Such a narrative addresses the audience to trigger them for rationalization and recognition of their self rather than engaging with them. Bennett (2017) defines such theatre as being narrated in another world but the narration itself makes it present. The audience in such a play examine the events with a rational perspective therefore disconnecting from emotional impulses towards the actors rather than emotional engaging with them. I will address further with in-depth research on this quest of rationalization of the audience in the following parts since there is a solid and well-formed theoretical discussion to address the audience subjugation.

On the other hand, actors frequently divide scenes into action units to increase dramatic action. A unit of action may include feasible pieces that actors preform depending on the character's goals (Brockett et al., 2017). This is important especially in the contemporary world because at the age of mass production, such units play a role on the memory. In other words, unit of action in a performance creates memorable moments that audience remember (Brockett et al., 2017). As I will address in the case study, Erdoğan, for example, often breaks his performance into units of action, changing his physical location on the stage or introducing another actor on the stage even though sharing the stage with another actor has some risks as we will see in the case study. As the memory serves for the benefit of the actor, the unit of action adds depth to character with the action that is being recognised by the audience.

Another significant element in performing on stage is the vocal characterization. Actors seek ways to distinguish themselves by their vocal characterizations with accents, dialects and even pronunciations. The vocal characterization is part of the auditory power which I will later address in detail but what is important to note is that such auditory power is not only important for vocal characterization but also affects the concentration of the audience. If the actors are inaudible, then the performance have a risk to fail. Moreover, the vocal variety is also important for an actor on stage

because the audience is likely to lose interest if the character performed at the same pace (Brockett et al., 2017).

Actors on a live stage are frequently directed by the directors and expected to carry out imagined characters on the stage. As the audience are present in that very moment, with applauds and slogans, they have power to immediately react to a performance. In this sense, audience is concern with the dramaturgical elements and the means of expression that the performance's world used.

Performances are unique public spaces that form with collaboration between actors and the audience. As many argues, a live performance cannot exist without an audience presence which creates the interaction between the actor and the audience. An audience in a performance is not a passive participant but rather ready to engage in the presence of the actor. In this sense, presence of both actors and audience makes the performance one of a time event in which intensifies the relationship.

2.4.3. The Quest for Emotions and the Aftertaste

Actors are responsible for engaging with the audience. They are responsible to act to deliver the imagined world of performance's world to feel real. Thus, they must study different methods to engage with an audience. During a live performance, the physical objects such as showing blood to intensify emotions could end up some audience to leave while some to stay. In this sense, we must accept that audiences are diversed (Abulafia, 2016) on the 'edges' of the repertoire. This is why actors of performative politics mostly rely on the relatively safe zone of repertoires. The methods of using the means and how it has been used are also important that, for example, fake blood could transform a frightening scene to comedy. In other words, as live performances are inherently fragile, making the audience feel strong emotions such as hope or fear has the potential for a sharper turn for resistance. Therefore, the design and objects on the performance's world are crucial. Emotions and discourses are shaped by the actor's performance which includes such objects in space. Witnessing an actor's emotional actions on stage, with the right means, elicits both cognitive and emotional responses (Taylor, 2016).

A stage's atmosphere is ideal for actors to engage with the audience. Even before the performance, the environment plays a crucial role and can cause the audience to feel variety of emotions. For example, a relax environment heightens feeling of hope. I will also focus especially on these atmospheres in the rallies, in which the audience feel part of the narrative through music, announcements, poems, symbols like flags even before the performance.

It is significant to underline here that there is an assumption that the audience seeks to solve the problem of being disturbed (Ridout, 2006). As thinking of disturbing emotions on stage, on scripts, on television or any contemporary performance, the audience as consumers demands to solve a problem to a degree. Such an assumption creates a reality that the audience seeks a good end. In other words, it is not overreaching to argue that almost always audience seeks closure and fill the hole that everyday life creates. This means that every disturbing emotion performed on stage almost always ends with a pleasant emotion, which is the main dynamics of making audience feel emotions in the contemporary world, but this does not have to be this way.

There is also another school that uses a different method. Le Théâtre du Grand-Guignol, a theatre of horror, is a crucial theatre that needs to be underlined because, as we will see in the case study, some performance does not have an end with the abovementioned pleasant emotions. The Grand Guignol theatre is significant for two reasons. First, Grand Guignol Theatre proved that logical explanations and science could be used and manipulated into a reason to make the audience feel disturbed (Gordon, 1988). Second and even more importantly, Grand Guignol provided an insight that leaving the audience with disturbing emotions is possible (Gordon, 1988).

As Grand Guignol theatre ends with disturbing emotions, it was the fear that was based on the basic human desires that varies from sexual anxiety to death, and fear of unexpected sanity which overall the constant human condition with its imperfect institutions. Not surprising but interesting enough, like melodramas that have a clear happy ending with the classic bourgeois notion of love and happiness, is the first school of thought, which is much visible today, ends with a closure and a feel of

comfort. The Grand Guignol school, on the other hand, concludes the story with disturbing messages. It is the immediate shocking and imminently sickening plots.

According to Mel Gordon (1988), the key subjects of the Grand Guignol were helplessness, the suffering of the innocent, and vengeance. As Edgar Poe shows, all seeds of terror that grow within the human soul were between three core stones; moral anxieties, physical horrors, or painful apprehensions of non-being, including death or losing mind (Gordon, 1988).

Although the question of rationality at the audience level will be addressed in the following chapters, it is essential to note here that the second point on whether or not to leave the audience with disturbing emotions or pleasurable ones will be useful in making an analysis on performative politics. In other words, as I will conduct research on performative politics during the elections of 2018, I will also focus on the endings of such performances. To that end, I will especially focus on the closing scenes of these performances to address the emotion that an actor of performative politics wants to achieve at the end for an aftertaste.

After highlighting the importance of those two different schools of thought, we should focus on how such performances are affective and what makes the audience feel. Costumes and makeup are well-known and oldest tools for actors to intensify the character's message. Actors use these tools to reflect their character on stage. It is possible to observe that actors rehearse in front of the mirror even with costumes. In this sense, especially costumes play a significance in performative politics. As I will address in the case study, the actors constantly change their costumes depending on the occasion.

Performances are confined with costumes and make ups, and actors can use abovementioned vocal characterisation to define the character and emotionally engage with the audience on stage. Another actor can narrate to a point where definitions could express the meaning of the imagined character. In this sense, as I will later highlight, Erdoğan, for example, use an external vocal character to define himself as the leader of the world or voices of the oppressed while his physical appearance enters to the stage.

Another important element of engaging and making audience feel emotions is the theatrical lighting which further allow to express the emotions of the actors. The aesthetics of light are used to elicit a variety of emotions (Abulafia, 2016) and they work well to illuminate and deepen the character on stage. To deepen the character on stage, a varied palette of light is used. For example, dark lights could be used to mystify the performance. Theatrical lighting empowers the character attention and does not interfere with theatrical performance (Brockett et al., 2017). In recent years, light from the audience, which is the flash on cell phones cameras, started to be used on live performances. In this sense, light further creates a one of a time experience which I will address in the case study.

As Chekhov (2019) rightfully underlines, creating a tension is also a mean to engage with the audience. I will also highlight this with relation to question of ambiguity but what is important here is that the performance could be engaging by making the audience imagine that something external to their reality and much powerful could lead them to empathise with the character on the stage (Chekhov, 2019). As I have previously underlined, acting as if has so much potential in engaging with the audience that actors inescapably use.

2.4.4. Methods for and by Emotions

It is important to recognise that both the audience and the actors on stage accept apparent ‘dishonesty’ to level of degree. This is not different than performing in everyday life. As many acts that we do in our own time with oneself does not fully appear in everyday life. Moreover, as mentioned previously, the characters that we perform change even in one day. However, this ‘dishonesty’ is clearly pointed out at theatre unlike performing on stage at a rally because of the expectation from the audience to reflect the character written as in the scripts. In this sense, for example, actors change their natural voice.

However, as soon as the character appears on stage, than the actor’s purpose is same for both actors of performative politics and acting in a theatre; to perform the character and engage with the audience. There are various ways to perform the character in which I believe that an actor should work from ‘inside out’ to perform the real emotions. The reason behind such a choice on acting itself affects the Performative

Politics Framework and will address in detail in the following parts for such a choice but what is important to highlight now is that the main reason for such choice is that audience are ready to engage, emotionally driven and part of a mass society, as mentioned previously. In this sense, to convert these emotions, an actor must, in a sense, embrace the character's emotions. This means that an actor should adopt methods to embrace the character's feeling and perform accordingly. On a side note, this is not the "inner-self" mentioned and rejected previously. This is the emotional patterns of an I has learned and performed in everyday life. I will explain in detail in the following part, but I wanted to highlight that this inside out model is based on the emotions learned within the repertoire and does not or should not refer to the 'true self'.

With the recall techniques that I will later address, the rehearsals including the emotional preparation before the performance is important. In this sense, both the vocal characterization and physical movement are also part of the rehearsals so that they can be recalled. Using physical movements to engage with the audience assists the actor performing on stage. Gestures or bodily movements can be used to elicit emotions because the character finds its appearance on the actor's body which arranges the emotions with what is being performed (Baker et al., 2016). In this sense, physical gesture aid in emotional engagement as it is the vassal of the character. For example, an actor can hit a stand to easily engage with emotions for a scene that wants to show anger. Actors greatly benefit from the correlation between the act and the feeling.

2.4.5. The Relation Between the Theatre Actors and the Actors of Performative Politics

It is possible to comprehend performative politics as a form of theatre performances so far as to argue that there is no fundamental difference. Some academics like Burgoyne (2018) argue that if a performance take sides in everyday politics, only than they become political. However, I find this not only discrediting the theatre but as importantly seeing political as an external 'thing' in line with above mentioned conceptualisation as if political is an external entity. A performance on a stage is inevitably political because it addresses the audience meaning-making, collective by nature, always has a potential for political change despite such attacks to pacify, and

most importantly it is the deepest form of the political as it emerges from the relation between the actor and audience whether in everyday life or as performative politics. In other words, whether the primary objective of a theatre or any other stage in this sense is to take a side on everyday politics or not, a performance is political. Performance on stage, on the other hand, is the ultimate form of a space to change the audience's opinions, influencing the audience's imagination and deconstruct and simultaneously reconstructing their meaning-making.

However, I must accept that there are still some differences between actors on theatre stage and actors of performative politics. Actors thrive in situations where there is uncertainty since they do not know the audience well. Actors of performative politics, on the other hand, use discourses to their somehow known audience. In other words, actors of performative politics know their ready to engage audience much better than the audience in other forms. In performative politics, most of the audience are well known and already studied as I will later explain. It is also noteworthy to point out that the characters on stage could differ. Actors of performative politics are almost always performing a character similar to everyday life to maximise their affect on the audience. This means that there might be a slight difference on the dramaturgical level of expressions (Mulrooney, 2018) as their character must be fit to repertoire.

On the other hand, in various ways, the relationship between actors in a theatre and actors in performative politics are similar at the core level including dramaturgical ways of acting, emotional engagement with the audience, adored in the eyes of the audience, perform to persuade the audience, and overall affecting the audience meaning making.

There are further similarities that both actors seek to be believed and adored. Actors performs the character in a poetic way to create an emotional connection so they will be appreciated. Like all actors, they develop skills and charisma with their own signature moves. Cronin rightfully address that actors are always preoccupied with what audience think(ing) about them (2008). Moreover, both actors are involved in stage-managed events for persuasion. Audiences are tempted to engage with the actors on stage and thus both performances are addressing audience meaning making (Cronin, 2008). In this sense, stage management is important for both managing the

relation between audience and between the actor and the audience in which leads to persuasion of the performance's world.

As the boundary between actors and audience are very thin, different ways of addressing audience is also in question. It is possible to see that some performances are directly addressing the audience to start a conversation and make them recognise their character as audience. For example, Nicholas Ridout (2006), one of the contemporary academics in theatrical studies, examines the audience's shame. He argues that the direct address to an audience disrupts the audiences from their comfortable dark seats and looking at them under the light brings a similar feeling of being looked at by the authority: the embarrassment of the self-reflection while they are exposed during sitting in the dark. The alienated nature of the audience caused by the bourgeois economy is precisely one of the reasons why performative politics has a strong influence over the audience. The actor gains the authority through means that are necessary for performing to engage with the audience.

Such a calling out the audience in modern theatre, as Ridout points out, undoes the fantasy, brings the audience back to reality, and recalls the audience from the illusion that they were watching from a safe distance. This is why the audience projector themselves and being much more active than a traditional theatre audience. Triggering the audience by compromising their safe distance reveals the "alienated participation in the political and economic relations that make us appear to be who we are" as the audience (Ridout, 2006, p. 96). In that precise movement, the audience faces the authority embraces the reality they are living in. As Caroline Heim (2016) highlights, mainstream productions are started to keep the audience lit in which the practice of bringing the light increases the audience performances that each member of the audience experiences the performance not alone but as if they are rational beings who are part of the collective community (p. 117). The goal of the actors of performative politics is the opposite. I will address this in detail in the following part but to highlight it is clear that the mass production of the alienated nature of the audience creates a ready to engage audience in which actors of performative politics use. I will further highlight this significant difference in the following part since it affects the very nature of conducting a research on a performance.

The audience of both performative politics and theatre are always preoccupied with everyday life. This is why audience either in theatre or at a rally often demonstrates everyday emotions with extreme forms. This is primarily because the strong feelings caused by everyday life such as anger towards what we perform in everyday life. In such an engaging moment, the audience form as a community "unanimity which engenders a communion of the most dissimilar minds through a shared idea or a shared feeling" (Jouvet, 1936, p. 11). At that very moment, the audience becomes actors who perform their first act in everyday performance with reconstructed repertoire, which is fear, tears, screams, applause, or even annoyance and disgust unite the audience.

Actors in a theatre can start a dialogue and, for example, question social injustice. Against questioning the injustice like in most modern theatres, actors of performative politics primarily perform to reconstruct the repertoire by addressing known values towards an objective, for example, to restore 'virtue', 'social harmony', 'economic prosperity' or simply 'nationalistic virtues'. Considering the fact that both actors and audience appear in real time and actors influence the audience's meaning-making, both theatres, whether modern, traditional, or performative politics are political.

Performances, as a way of communicating with others, is constrained by space and time, and hence does not have many opportunities to leave an impact. However, there is slight difference between performative politics and theatre, in this sense, as the actors of performative politics has the means to perform the character on stage. Performative politics is not that limited by time and space and thus have the potential for a radical change. In other words, actors of performative politics have a stronger position to influence their audience since they own the means to appear on a stage.

2.4.6. The Technological Enhancements that Effect the Affect of a Performance

Over the last decade or so, the technological revolution has had a significant impact on performances like in many areas. Such revolution has given actors more power to make narratives more cohesive. Performances are continuing to embrace new technologies to maximize their dramaturgical impact on the audience. This change also impacts the creative potential and compelling affects on the audience. It is important to note that such technologies have been used by many actors of performative politics,

including Erdoğan, which I will address in detail later, not only to engage with the audience but also to inform them that the actors have these means, are keen to use them and only through these means it is possible to affect a significant number of audiences. On stage, technological enhancements also enhance the affect of the performances like increasing the affect of the voice and the body. A great example is that some performances use animated characters on stage combined with an actor in flesh. Using such a technology on stage increases the audience attention and the technology itself becomes a mean to engage with the audience.

These technologies are important to recognise for multiple reasons especially with relation to performative politics. The first and the most obvious one is that the technology itself drives interest of the audience as it presents something new and interesting. The second, these technologies impressively increase the possibilities on the performance's world. I will further address this point but to highlight, giant screens, for example, allow five million people to view the actor clear. Thus, such technology allows actors to affectively reach the masses.

The third and probably the most important recognition I need to make is that such technologies inform the audience that those actors have such means, keen to use them and only the actors who have such means can be the actors of performative politics. This is not only further deepening the abovementioned conceptualisation of the political as if it is something external to our reality but also make audience to internalise the power relations between actors of performative politics and them. In this sense, such a use of technology plays an intimating role that silence the actors of everyday life.

Technological enhancement on the staging system also part of such use of technology. The lightening systems or video projections have dramatically improved over the years. For example, a digital light board, or hidden lights from various angle are some of the enhancements. Light also became available to the audience in which the audience participate by turning their cell phone flash and making the experience one of a time. In addition to lighting, video projections have been revolutionized by sophisticated technologies to engage with the audience with impressive graphics during a live performance. This can be seen in various stages of performative politics

that many screens play a role in a performance. For example, Yenikapı square in Turkey has potential for twenty-two screens to show not only the audience but also realistic animations of imaginary projects, which I will address in the case study.

The recordings of both videos and sounds are vital for the new production as the audience expectations became higher. In this sense, both digital recordings and the sound of on-off beats became important for a performance on stage (Bay-Cheng et al., 2015). The enhancements of recording technologies allow the sounds to transform in time and space. This means that sounds, songs, or beats created in one location and time then can be used in another. Moreover, as this research itself shows, the use of recording technologies on a live performance has resulted in the ability to record and preserve them. In other words, the ability to archive live performances allows further audience to engage with the performance and record them to observe.

There is a need for a side note here to address the significance of recordings through songs and their affects on the audience, with a noteworthy example on the auditory power. The "De la Rey" phenomenon is a great example to highlight the voices' significance on an audience. In 2007, South Africa was shaken by an Afrikaans song called "De la Rey" (Blerk, 2013). The debate over the song reached over the continent and created a discussion on whether it should be banned. On the one hand, few people took this as some sort of anthem, while others found it extremely challenging for the 'rainbow nation'.

De la Rey is the name of a general during the Second Boer War (Wessels, 2011) and the subject of the song. The song's lyrics refer to the General asking him to come and lead the Afrikaners. This song is an engaging one with militaristic rhythms and patterns. Carol Lotter (2007), a senior academic in musicology in South Africa, explains her experience with this song at a wedding with the following;

> During the Band's second break, one of the guests played a CD featuring De la Rey. I was astounded at what took place … there was a buzz in the air. The small groups merged into one large group as they approached the dance floor. The energy was electric as people began to dance, not merely to the catchy rhythm, but with conviction and passion. During the refrain they all spontaneously began to sing (perhaps shout-sing would be more accurate), stood embracing each other in a large circle, with some guests standing in the centre with their

> hands on their hearts or raising their arms, as if in protest or displaying some form of patriotism. The music seemed to represent something very powerful which galvanised a communal response.

Lotter highlights three significant points on voices and songs. First, the music, songs and rhythms are social. It is not an autonomous object instead they are embodied within a repertoire (Ansdell, 2004 as cited in Lotter, 2007) and contributes to the sense of being a part (Martin, 1995). Second, the meaning differs between repertoires, and thus it becomes a symbol of political struggle. In this sense, she points out that it is a sense of "the Afrikaner voice and presence". The third point is that the song became a symbol of a quest for identity.

On a live stage in the contemporary performative politics, songs, on-off beats, and music are always in the background, making a Zuschauerifying affect on the audience. I will highlight the Zuschauerifying process in the following chapter but what is important is that these technologies allowed such engaging songs to spread like wildfire and embraced by the actors of performative politics to make the audience feel like being part of a group and have an impact on the repertoire. Moreover, these technologies with high bass and clear voices through speakers allowed actors to use it on a live performance to make the audience feel deeper emotions through the most poetic ways possible for making sure the audience is ready to engage and consume.

It is also important to note here that recording does not necessarily for the future but could be simultaneously used as in the cases of live streaming. This means that performances that are recorded could also be simultaneously broadcasted. Actors might be unable to rehearse if the means of the performance requires different features like spontaneous performances with the applications like Periscope. One of the performances that the case study addresses such a broadcast in which Erdoğan reached millions of people at three after midnight.

Another technological enhancement to underline is about how the word of mouth has transformed. This is important because audience interaction during and after a performance has been revolutionized by technology. Twitter, Instagram, and other online platforms increased the post-performance interaction with relation to performance (Heim, 2016), which will also be discussed in the following chapters. In this sense, I need to highlight that such technologies had two significant impacts. The

first is that audience became actively interacting with others through new technologies while actor on stage tries to engage with them. In this sense, technology itself ironically takes the attention away. Although such change in means of communication is essential for performance's world as well, the engagement between actors and audience on a live event challenged by such distraction. In this sense, such technologies impacted the relation between actors and audience since it drives the audience attention elsewhere.

The second is that as recorded media became also distributed in everyday life, the character of the audience, who are actors in everyday performance, needed to use such technology to record the moment. Although this might seem a wanted act caused by simple recording of the moment, there is clearly more to that. For example, as the actors of everyday performance capture the moment with the actors of performative politics, they use it to empower their character in everyday life. This is not simply a choice but rather a need to empower their character in everyday life. A good example of this is, audience wants, which is because they feel like they need to, take a picture with Erdoğan so that they can use it in everyday life, share it online to empower their characters but ironically while doing so they do not engage with the actor performing on stage. There could be further research on such technologies impact on performances but what is clear for this research is that this is nothing more than a smoking act, which affects audience perception and limits actors' ability to engage with the audience. I will later address this in the following part.

2.4.7. Acting on Stage

The question of engaging with the audience and success in acting on a live stage becomes a topic almost always at the end of a performance when the audience will praise or criticize the actors and performance. These reviews are a collective experience that affects the audience. The psychological impact is at the core of these social formation as audience (Toma, 2019), in which affects the audience feelings. As part of this research, I acknowledge that performances have a psychological impact based on emotions that are all, without a doubt, socially constructed. This means that engaging with an audience and making the audience feel emotions needed to be understood, similar to performances in everyday life. In order to question the way to

engage with the audience, I will address different schools of thought; Bertolt Brecht's epic style, Stanislavski's acting techniques, and Chekhov's recall exercises. This part will allow us to understand the difference between reconstructing the audience repertoire with engaging the audience and making them question the reality we live in.

Notably, most acting techniques contend that emotions are subjective, yet, as I have addressed previously, the conceptualisation of the subject itself is also in question. In this sense, I have argued that a formation of a subject and its emotional formation is collective, and the experience of emotions does form with social relations. Through the actor's past emotional interactions with others, actors must use their previous experiences to bring out emotions and engage with the ready to engage audience. In other words, when we consider the emotional patterns of the audience, we should accept that such patterns are socially constructed in relation to others within the society.

The question of engaging performances becomes in question with Bertolt Brecht. Brecht thought that the reality must be depicted and the dramatization of societal inflexion points where decisions are made. He even takes this argument to a new level arguing that the dramatization of social norms infects to a point through an aesthetic alienation of the audience. This means that the social formation in the capitalist economy creates an alienation that needs to be overcome through self-consciousness and leads to a political construction rather than further alienating through performances.

Brecht's work is significant. His work pushes the limits of the audience to consider how alternative and 'radical' decisions can be instantiated. Brecht acknowledges the alienation caused by capitalism at every level and sees through it via arguing that a performative stage has a possibility to construct new norms. This research has addressed such construction in numerous ways and recognized it. The alienation that Marx repeatedly pointed out found its appearance and became strongly visible among the audience in a performance, and as previously mentioned, it has been used affectively to form a community.

Contrary to Brecht, to make an influential performance, actors not only acknowledge the audience and their alienated nature but also must act accordingly. What Hischak

(2019) calls the six elements of a performance is important for such recognition. Some of those elements include a transformation of being to confirm that the performance mirrors the performance's world, understand the whole sequence, and focus on the intensity of a performance. Performance's world is essential because as today's audience's world seeks a meaning, whether through simple dualism or not, they search for some sort of reason to engage with. In other words, actors perform to transform the norms of the audience and explain the performance's world to them. In this sense, the actor's job is to mirror the performance's world perfectly, through spending time and labour to fully comprehend the character and discourse.

Stanislavski (1949) points out that learning is at the core of assisting actors to improve their performance by giving them a greater grasp of how to represent the performance's world. Notably, repeating and learning what to perform on stage enable actors to recall the emotions that they are going to present (Stanislavski, 1949). Actors can conceive and improvise their sentiments and emotions to depict what character feels in the performance's world if they recall emotions (Hischak, 2019). Stanislavski (1949) and Hischak (2019) rightfully point out that recall allows actors on stage to perform better in a way that the performance becomes more alive. In other words, as the actor on stage recalls how to perform an action, it becomes more natural. They further argue that when we question the sequence of actions and the way in body performs, recalling establishes link between bodily movements and the scripts. Such an understanding of the sequence through a series of recalling method in which formed through multiple repetitions create some sort of an aura, at least an attempt, around the character, and they perform so much so better that actor can easily improvise according to their character.

To further discuss the significance of the recall technique that Stanislavski and his school of thought repeatedly pointed out, I should address the different recall exercises, more specifically Chekhov's recall exercises. Both schools of thought argued that imagination increases the ability of performers on live stage and theatre's capacity to construct the character via imagery through senses such as voices, sound, and sight (Chamberlain, 1999). Despite the common idea on the importance of the imagination, Stanislavski argued that emotional recall should be based on previous experiences of emotions. In other words, Stanislavski argued that the emotional

reactions should be fed from the actual past events that the actors on stage felt (Chamberlain, 1999). On the other hand, Chekhov argued that actors on stage become more influential if they perform on stage 'outside' their experiences that they gain from everyday life (Chamberlain, 1999). This means that Chekhov believed that performers would be better at representing outside their own experience.

This is an important distinction because, as Stanislavski pointed out that the emotional recall should be fed from actor's own emotional recalls, Chekhov argues that an actor must imagine the character without involving their own feelings. In return, this will allow actors on stage to have stronger imagination so that they can improvise when necessary (Chamberlain, 1999). Even though both schools of thought agree that imagination through recall enables actors to create 'lively' and influential performances, there is a significant difference between recalling the feelings of the experiences and simply imagining them. In this sense, Stanislavski criticized for being too subjective, and I need to address those concerns.

As I have previously underlined in this research, feelings, emotions, and agents cannot form without an interaction with one other and as Tarde rightfully points out that "agents cannot be said, strictly speaking, to interact with one another; they are one another, or better, they own one another, to begin with" (Tarde, 1903, 1999 as partially cited in Latour et al., 2012, p. 52). Thus such 'subjective emotions' are collective in nature. Moreover, although Chekhov's idea of reliance on external emotions outside their personal experiences is partly true, it is inevitably misleading. This is because all the emotional experiences that Stanislavski refers to as the emotional memory in which sensory reactions are associated with specific situations is collective in nature. In other words, it is already socially constructed, embodied within the repertoire, and thus it is inevitably not subjective.

To give an example, imagine there is a coup attempt in a country and the leading actor of performative politics gives a performance where he wants the audience to feel that he and his audience threatened. He does a great job if he already felt this threat for his sake. In other words, according to Stanislavski's point on recalling emotions, the actor represents the emotions that he already felt, and this makes a performance one of a time. On the other hand, if there were no threats, Chekhov would argue that he had to

imagine that he was threatened to perform better so that he developed some sort of imaginary emotions in his world of imagination. However, even such a case is valid; an actor must know how to feel threatened what is it to be threatened from experience because he cannot imagine otherwise. Thus, either way, the actor had had to feel threatened and understand the emotions to re-present them lively and accurately.

One of the most significant aspects of understanding performative politics, which is one of the main goals of doing such research, is analysing it, and addressing its spatiotemporal context. In this sense, the mass society, with all the affects of capitalism including but not limited to the alienated nature of the audience, only appreciate aesthetic elements of the performance in which the audience can find a space to analyse (Stanislavski, 1949). Moreover, as Hischak (2019) points out, feedback of the aesthetic elements of performance can occur in multiple ways, and it is crucial to involve other people's views to have a collaborative meaning. In other words, during the aftermath of a performance, it is essential for both audiences to have space to discuss the whole performance and also actors and scriptwriters to analyse the performance. The latter happens behind closed doors in Turkey, and the former is already occupied by a few actors to influence those discussions in such a space where discussion about the performance should have happened. This is why there are way too many television programs to discuss the performance of actors of performative politics to simply amplify the voice of the performance.

The aftermath of a performance is significant for actors since studying a performance lead the actors to internalize the way of performing, using stage and narrative. As a result, throughout the performance, the actors can envisage and recall their roles as well as their relationship with the audience (Hischak, 2019). Such an evaluation advances the performance and allows the actors to develop ways of recalling right voices, stage coordination including with relation to objects, and use of the body, thus leading to an advanced level of performing (Hischak, 2019). Moreover, this optimizes the right character for that performance and for the stage and harmonizes the movement leading to a more natural and 'lively' performance.

It is also important to comprehend how learning from different performances contributes to an engaging performance and a success on stage. The imagination of an

actor and perfecting their act on stage, which reflects the performance's world are inextricably linked. In this sense, actor's imagination is shaped by witnessing and rehearsing performances which leads to a better memory to recall (Chamberlain, 1999; Stanislavski, 1949).

Without studying the performance and reimagining it with that performance's time's emotional patterns, an actor would fail to judge engaging with the audience and presenting them accurately. As I have already underlined previously, it is essential to note once again that the emotional patterns are spatio-temporal. It changes with time and differs from one culture to another. While one culture accepts death as a joyful event as finally reaching God, the others might be devastated. Moreover, a performance done in the previous years, might not make the same affect on the audience as repertoire is ever in flux. For example, showing a mega project might cause a reaction among the audience while there is an economic crisis.

The relationship between actors and audience is the distinguishing feature of a live performance. As I will address in the following chapter, there is an attempt to reach towards an aura, a realness in a live performance that Walter Benjamin (1935) correctly defined. Other platforms such as television, lack such a direct engaging relation (Hischak, 2019; Hodge, 2012). This attempt to make performance one of a time experience makes performance successful, as many academics underline and allow actors to evaluate their performance as they act (e.g., Benjamin, 1935; Hischak, 2019). This gives space for actors to evaluate if they fail to engage with the audience that they can use their imagination and recall of another moment to enrich the performance by using narratives through their voice, body, and stage.

The stage is another dimension that plays a significant role in a performance. It is the space where actors use to reach and have a voice to influence the audience (Hischak, 2019). In the case of performative politics, such spaces are predominantly occupied by the actors of performative politics with tools and visual power. Remarkably enough, the audience treats the stage as a glory place as if the performance is 'more real' than everyday life. This is why it is significant to ensure performance captures the best part of the realness and appear as real in the audience's world (Stanislavski, 1949). In this sense, actors must feel and visualize the world of the performance as accurate. If the

actors can imagine the stage in their minds for performance and that it is the space in the performance's world, this will help to recall the character's features to represent events in the performance and engage with the audience.

It is essential to address further on one of the most influential actors of theatrical studies in this part, Eugen Berthold Friedrich Brecht. As I will further address, there is a significant relevance with performative politics as few actors try to use the stage as a space to make the audience question the reality they live in with thought-provoking performances aiming to rationalise the audience contrary to engaging performances. Brecht argued that reality was best recreated by an actor on stage corresponds with the social reality that the audience were in. In other words, he argued that the social reality that brought the audience together should be represented on stage, and he expected performance to reflect and question those social norms. Brecht wanted performance to create questions on the reality of the audience by triggering the audience to consider possible alternative decisions, social norms, and decision-making mechanisms through directly addressing the audience (Milling & Ley, 2017). Consequently, Brecht had a solid tendency to reconstruct repertoire via performances with an agenda that triggers the audience to question the reality that they are living in.

There is an ongoing discussion about whether there is a conflict between Brecht's point on the acting for triggering the audience through making them to question the everyday life acting as if members of the audience are only rational beings and Stanislavski and other emotionally driven acting techniques. In this research, I take Hulton's view that there is no apparent conflict between them (2012). In other words, the conflict on whether the audience should be driven into rational thinking or be engaged with emotions should guide the performance of the actors is unnecessarily dialectically constructed since both can be true. However, although the Brechtian style is affective for a few audiences, emotionally engaging performances with recall techniques of Stanislavski's methods are much more affective on ready to engage audience in the contemporary world. I will further address Bercht's view in the following parts and how he influenced Walter Benjamin and led him to have a heated intellectual discussion with Theodor Adorno.

A recall is a guide to constructing reality through normalizing and finding coherence in characterization. Although I can clearly say that as a being we are not strictly one homogenous-acting character as we have discussed previously, the audience of both the performative politics as well as everyday performance are primarily looking for a systemic behaviour. In other words, the audience love coherence in a character. According to Hulton (2012), if there is a gap between the scripts, actors, and the characters, it will likely lead to a situation in which emotions and themes might not be brought out clearly. In this sense, Hulton (2012) wants actors to construct complementary versions to a performance in which characters and discourses are presented differently. This is a clue on understanding how to perform better in which trying different body movements, voices and stage until actors develop their character that represents what is intended. In such a process, actors develop movements and voices on stage that are suitable to the script that is handed over and the sequence of actions. Hulton (2012) also suggests that one of the key focuses should be on strengthening the character through working on their voices and patterns of their movements should be one of the main focuses. This will allow actors to recognize the feature of the voices and movements. In this way, not only the scriptwriters will question and change the features that are hard to engage with the audience but also actors can improve their voice and spatial appearance to form a reality that increases the coherence of the character.

Imagining and training help actors to develop the use of their body, voice control and overall, the affectiveness of a performance. According to Stanislavski (1949), weak speech lowers an actor's affectiveness in expressing situations or constructing context since it disrupts the course of thinking and engaging. Stanislavski takes this argument to a different level and argues that because of the potential for misconceptions caused by poor speaking, he recommended that performers do not speak out of character even in everyday performance (Stanislavski, 1949). In other words, as Stanislavski suggests, actors should act within the character in everyday life to be consistency in the actor's behaviour.

Another critical point is voice and sound control. As highlighted, sounds reflect many emotions, including but not limited to one's gender or even their class and embodied power relations. It is hitting the right notes where the audience understands the

character's mind, capturing the social norms that form that character. In using voice to make performance more engaging, it is important to note several factors. As Hischak (2019) points out, these factors are the voice of elements; the pitch, tempo, intensity, and quality. Working on these elements of speech increases the affectiveness of an entire performance. Such quality on reflecting voices refers to the tonal quality and essential for engaging with audience (Hischak, 2019). When used well, voices can go as far as to inform the audience, even with relation to elements of the character. This means, for example, a feared and angry character would be expected to perform in a threatening tone.

The use of voices is essential to give the pitch, which is essential because the actors want to engage with the audience and influence the audience that keeps searching for an easy path to be informed. According to Hulton (2012), if the characters use pitch perfectly, it directly reflects the actor's emotions. Moreover, the scene will appear engaging when the pitch corresponds to the character that performed in the performance's world, in which as Hischak rightfully points out reflects the power relations between characters (2019). This is true even in a monologue. The power of voice has embodied power relations in which actors project their utterances. Indeed, even the meaning of the loudness or softness in using the voices is also socially constructed and embodied within the repertoire. For example, speaking loudly can make some audiences feel threatened or furious while making others feel safe. As I will address, the actors of performative politics often use pitches to keep the audience's attention.

Tempo is also another dynamic. As Strauss and O'Brien (2007) rightfully underline, there is always a possibility to be misunderstood or not to be understood at all during a performance. Tempo is critical in this sense. If the actor speaks too fast, it might be hard to understand and capture the narrative within the audience, and if the actor speaks too slow, then the audience becomes uninterested. Moreover, because the speed of communication expresses distinct states of mind, tempo is intimately tied to vocal power.

As previously mentioned, voices are also tied with the bodily appearances (Hulton, 2012). This coordination reaches a peak when an external sound becomes part of the

performance. If there is a voice over, the voice works like an external power over the audience to inform them. During that period, mostly there is a body that helps contextualize the scene that has been narrated. For example, there is always an external tick manly sound of an anchor calling Erdoğan on to the stage with compliments such as the leader of the world or the new Turkey's leader, while cameras take Erdoğan's walking to the stage and reflect it to the screen. By doing so, the body of Erdoğan helps the audience to imagine who and what the anchor is talking about. A good anchor is always part of performative politics on the live stage, which I will point out in the case study chapter.

It is important to note here that the concept of authenticity should be in question as well. Esslin (1959) rightfully suggest that since the audience became more consuming with mass society, this made highly subjective what it means performance to be authentic. As I have addressed previously, mass society is ready to consume the art (Arendt, 1958). Hischak (2019) takes the problem of conceptualizing authenticity to another level by pointing out that an audience determines authenticity by reviewing simply aesthetic factors. In other words, the audience as mass society at a performance to consume the aesthetic factors.

For performative politics, consent of the audience to transform their meaning-making rests on engaging with the audience through those aesthetic factors, yet a performance must reflect historical and logical accuracy by using customs, props, voices that are particular to that space and time. For example, if an ancient play contains a screen, an electronic watch, or a cell phone, the audience will not tolerate the inconsistency. In the case of performative politics on a live stage, if they, for example, give a flag of a different country, or instead of folklore they bring a heavy metal group, clearly the audience would not tolerate it, at least in Turkey because heavy metal has no space in the repertoire. A performance must reflect historical and logical accuracy that is embodied within the repertoire.

In addition to historical and logical accuracy, actors on stage must also keep their signature moves to their way of acting because the audience has expectations from an actor to perform in a consistency. In other words, the actor must keep their own signature of performing on stage (Hischak, 2019). If the actor alters his or her acting

signatures or signature moves, the audience perceive this as dishonest, and they will not engage as intended. This is important because the actors have a pattern to perform, yet the script might also lead the actor to be someone else. This gap is much easier to close in performative politics than in any other performance on stage. While an ancient script cannot change for the actors' signature moves, the scripts of performative politics are flexible in nature. The scriptwriters of performative politics write while imagining that specific actor and, by doing so, firmly close the gap. However, there is still a limit to this flexibility since both the scriptwriters always have an agenda, and it is always essential to make the character stay the same on the audience imagination. There are always signature moves and routines of the actors of performative politics, which I will address in detail.

2.4.8. The Interaction Between the Actor and the Audience

Imagining the audience, researching their state of mind, and understanding their expectations, and constructing the performance accordingly is essential. Ridout (2006) rightfully points out that the bourgeois economy has a substantial impact on how we construct our emotions and form what kind of audience we become at that specific time and space. According to Ridout (2006), the audience, who are alienated in the bourgeois economy, have a tendency to hide, thus, have to be triggered. For him, only in such a way that a negative aspect of fear reveals an opportunity for resistance to economic exploitation and remind the audience of "something of truth" (Ridout, 2006, p. 94). However, as I will later explain in detail, this is not (totally) the case because the mass formation of ready to engage audience is not caused by performances but rather as Ridout himself points out because of the bourgeois economy.

One of the keys to engaging with an audience is accepting the fact that actors had to engage with the audience making their character's feelings reach from the performance's world to the audience's world. On a side note, these two different conceptualisations do not mean actors and audience exist in different worlds, yet it allows us to capture better the complex process of influencing an audience. Engaging with an audience to feel emotion from the performance's world to the audience's and capturing the audience's attention is not easy and heavily depends on actors' performance to become more poetically engaging through artistic elements (Hischak,

2019) in the contemporary world. This is important and will address in detail later but what is conceptualized as triggering is not the best match for performative politics since the mass society as an audience there to consume poetic emotionally driven performances rather than questioning the problems caused by the bourgeois economy in everyday life.

It is clear that if the actors want to deeply engage with the audience, actors need to work on their techniques. Stanislavski (1936) argued that actors must perform emotions 'truthfully'. This truthfulness refers to representation on stage that is based on learned emotions in everyday life. In this sense, Hischak (2019) points out that instead of simply copying a past performance, making an audience feel must be based on an actor's recall of their experiences. This is undoubtedly in line with Stanislavski's method since he believed that actors could be successful if they reflect emotions when they recall previous emotions in a particular situation and display truthful emotions. In this sense, what is essential in the making audience feel such emotions is the capacity to recall and memorised through imagination (Toma, 2019).

The imagination has a big influence on audience behaviour, especially when it comes to emotional reactions. If an actor lacks imagination, she or he will be unable to create 'living' characters capable of recalling and conveying feelings (Hischak, 2019). The actors on stage must concentrate on bringing forth the character's personality and emotions. The idea of a character's spine, as proposed by Stanislavski, is crucial in that it requires discovering the character's drive or motivation (Hischak, 2019). As Hischak points out it is easier to engage and recall when the spine of character has been constructed (2019). As a result of such a process, the audience accepts the performance's world into their own. This is important since as the actors of performative politics' power resides on extending their discourses, informing the audience, and reconstructing their meaning-making from the performance's world, it becomes successful to the degree that it finds a space in the audience's world.

Another key part of communicating with the audience is vocal characterisation, which gives performers the skills and knowledge they need to reflect diverse emotional reactions of the character (Hischak, 2019). These gestures and vocal characterisation need to be in sync with language features such as accent or dialects (Hischak, 2019).

Dialects or accents can indicate whether or not someone is intimate, depending on the context and repertoire; hence, when an actor attempts to engage with the audience, proper use of linguistic styles lessens audience resistance to feel what is presented.

The audience's perception of the emotions in the narrative and the emotions exhibited on stage is influenced by how the artist uses gesticulations, including fascial muscles, on stage. To engage, in this sense, audience attention should be driven to the stage directions and the actor should engage to drive the attention in accordance with the script. The audience as mass society have some expectation attending to a performance. They expected performance to reflect the common repertoire, at least to a degree, and demand what they have been expecting before the performance. This is true for performative politics as well. A stage must be prepared to address an audience with a message. As I will address in the case study, staging is so vital that performing space, that is, reconstructing the repertoire in relation to physical spaces such as a mosque or a park, must be coherent with the visible stage.

It is also important to underline that actors of performative politics not only construct the meaning of a physical space but also performs time; the past, the present and the future. This reconstruction of understanding time and space, concepts, and overall repertoire itself helps to develop the narrative in which a hegemonic project becomes a reality. I will address this later, but what is significant in this part is to accept the fact that actors of performative politics do not exclusively there to address everyday performance and what the audience observed in everyday life, but as significantly to transform it through reconstructing the repertoire. For example, the meaning of being nationalist, the meaning of good old days, or the meaning of the better futures being performed in a performance's world to affect the audience and transform the repertoire. This happens not simply because of the actor's or performance's world's understanding of time or space, but rather it is a way of performing time and performing space to reconstruct the repertoire. For example, a celebration of the conquest of İstanbul, the day which is also known as the fall of Constantinople in different repertoires, became much more important last decade or so even though the conquest happened in 1453.

In this sense, the audience is well aware that the performance is set in, what I refer to as the performance's world, which does not necessarily reflects the everyday life, yet, the audience demands the stage and performance to conjure up a world that has been expected from the performance by the audience. As Hischak (2019) rightfully underline, the stage must address what the performance's world want to reflect. Such representation must be under question before the performance with all angles including but not limited to the objects on stage which creates an environment that matches the audience's expectations and the content of the performance.

One of the ways of matching such expectations, surprisingly, is through shocking the audience by the most dramaturgical way. In this sense, reviewing performances of traumatic experiences is a reasonable means of measuring the difficulty in producing strong emotions in the audience's world. Touring horrific areas for performances or experiences, for example, allows actors to experiment with new ways of understanding character and fear as an emotion (Willis, 2014) and to make one of a timeness of the performance on the audience's imagination. Willis (2014) points out the significance of such spaces. Her argument is based on theatrical performances' use of the stage that if such a stage is built upon traumatic sites, the sites themselves lead the audience to feel a wide range of emotions. Compared to performances on 'normal' stages, the settings in a historically important site associated with audience memory and allow the audience to construct emotions by the affect of such spaces (Willis, 2014). Performing such a scene is not always possible, which is one of the reasons why there are so many screens in new stages. They are there to transform the stage to present events within a different location leading to one of a time experience. As I will later address in the case study, this is one of the ways that Erdoğan as an actor of performative politics use. For example, he shows the island where the former prime minister Menderes was hanged with Menderes's pictures taken by the soldiers of the coup from these screens.

Willis (2014) rightfully underlines that the audience has desire to engage in such spaces. These performances are based on actors' imitation of historical knowledge through their body movements, use of voices and the scene itself and create one of a time experience (Willis, 2014). Making a performance one of a time, in Willis's view, is a commitment to the space, actions that performed in that space. In this sense, Willis's conceptualization is strongly related and constructed with relation to time and

space and their connection within the audience's imagination. Willis strongly points out the significance of physical space. The location itself has a significant power over the audience and we can see the actors of performative politics use such spaces. For example, the commemoration event for the people murdered on the Boğaziçi bridge, which was later named 15th of July Martyrs Bridge, was held on the entrance of the bridge itself where Erdoğan performed and read poems.

Another significant point with relation to space that Willis (2014) highlights is that when constructing a performance with involving audience in a space that merges with the performance's world, the audience mostly enjoys being there even if they are contextualized to connect any horrors, fears, or scary experiences. In that specific space, Willis (2014) points out that performances have an impact on reducing fears and anxieties by the comfortable amount they are being exposed to. In other words, the distance to the described reality itself makes space for the audience to feel secured. Such a distance from what has been presented and the audience's reality creates a space for actors of performative politics to take a leading position to reconstruct the repertoire.

This part of the research has highlighted the importance of engaging with the audience in performing on stage by addressing the Stanislavski's efficient technique of acting on stage. This allowed us to question what we should focus on addressing a performance. We should focus on the following dramaturgical aspects of the actors of performative politics when conducting a research. Actors should commit to being 'truthful' to and with their characters by naturally engaging with emotions and owning up to their characters. They should be aware of the audience at all times, and their rehearsals should ensure that their body movements, vocal characterizations, emotions, costumes, and script are all coherent. It is also clear that the scenes create an affect of an aura among the audience, which can be introduced to a degree with technological advances such as screens. All in all, the success of a performance is highly determined by the ability of actors to engage with the audience through the right use of their body and good vocal characterisation that is link to the character and surely the repertoire, as well as their preparedness through rehearsals, and well-designed stages.

As I have mentioned previously, according to Ridout (2006), the bourgeois economy has a significant impact on how we construct our emotions and what sort of audience becomes an audience in a specific space and time. The audience, according to Ridout (2006), who is alienated in the bourgeois economy has a tendency to suppress their emotions, he believes that there is a possibility for resistance against economic exploitation by reconstructing their feelings and reminding them "something of truth" (p. 94). Ridout is right to point out (to a degree) that fear (and other emotions) used by a performance has a way of reconstructing norms and repertoires in the imagination of the audience, making an audience feel and question the alienated nature of everyday performance.

The following part will address two significant differences in imagining the performance's world. On the one hand, imagining and making the audience approach a performance more rationally, triggering them to question and provoke thinking; on the other hand, engaging with an audience through dramatic poetic performances. This is important for performative politics because as some actors appear on stage, they address the audience to make them think, while others perform poems and nationalist songs to engage. A good example is Davutoğlu's character on stage. We can clearly see Davutoğlu, a former academic and Prime Minister of Turkey, shift from one side to another. While the early performances were extremely long and had a significant number of academic terminologies in his scripts (e.g., Ülke, 2015), in the later era, even his vocal characterization sounded like Erdoğan (e.g., Mersin, 2015). These examples can multiply but what is clear is that this difference is significant for comprehending performative politics in the contemporary world.

2.4.9. About Zuschauerifying the Audience

This research already addressed the significance of Eugen Berthold Friedrich Brecht multiple times. However, Brecht still needed to be further addressed with relation to the abovementioned difference. This subchapter is based on Nicholas Ridout's (2020) reading of Brecht in line with Ridout's strong views on the reflection of alienation among the audience in everyday life, which I have addressed previously. His point on Beobachten allow us to understand and question on Zuschauer, and the following part will explain these two concepts and their difference.

Ridout (2020) highlights that Brecht proposed a new kind of theatre and that this had been clear in the case of The Three-Penny Opera. One of the key moments that Brecht presents the meaning of the new kind of theatre, according to Ridout, is that through the following chapters:

> Das komplexe Sehen muß geübt werden. Allerdings ist dann beinahe wichtiger als das Imflußdenken das Überdenflußdenken. Außerdem erzwingen und ermöglichen die Tafeln vom Schauspieler einen neuen Stil. Dieser Stil ist der epische Stil. Beim Ablesen der Tafelprojek- tionen nimmt der Zuschauer die Haltung des Rauchend-Beobachtens ein. Durch eine solche Haltung erzwingt er ohne weiteres ein besseres und anständigeres Spiel, denn es ist aussichtslos, einen rauchenden Mann, der also hinlänglich mit sich selbst beschäftigt ist, "in den Bann ziehen" zu wollen. (Brecht, 1963-64 as cited in Ridout, 2020)

> Complex seeing must be practised. Then, however, thinking across the flow is almost more important than thinking in the flow. Moreover, the use of screens facilitates and imposes a new style of acting. This is the epic style. The spectators, as they read the projections on the screens, adopt a watching-while-smoking attitude. Such an attitude immediately extorts a better and more respectable performance from the actors, since it is hopeless to try to "cast a spell" on a man who is smoking and whose attention is thus already occupied. (e.g., Silberman, Giles& Kuhn 2014, as cited in Ridout, 2020, p. 164)

According to Ridout, there is a problem with the recent translation that I have used. The problem is that the German term "Rauchend-Beobachten" is not captured well enough because it actually refers to "smoking while watching" simultaneously. As he points out, it is crucial to capture these two events since the smoking "while" watching creates a different spatial recognition among the audience. Moreover, he argues that what does not capture the critical point is the term "watching". He points out that English is not elegant enough to capture the Zuschauer, that is a spectator and is imagined as Beobachten that is an observer. The difference is that while the latter suggests a higher level of attentiveness, the former is more passive and ready to consume. In line with Brecht's work, we can highlight that observer is "attending, noting, even remarking upon what is going on" during such an event (Ridout, 2020, p. 165). The act of observing what is going on around and on the stage and being Beobachten is based on the act of observation itself. On the other hand, Zuschauer is there to consume what is going on.

According to Ridout, Brecht's new theatre is based on the line with the attitude that is different from the spectator. The act of smoking itself is an attitude that occupies

bodily posture while presenting an intellectual disposition. This is important because it is not possible to "'cast a spell' on a spectator who is "already occupied"" (Ridout, 2020, p. 166). These both terms that Ridout points out is not random. He correlates the relation between casting a spell through stage and being rational through being mentally occupied. As he underlines, the already occupied audience not only lit in cigar and interrupted his behaviour with the performance but also had to organize their hands, smoke, breath to his own pleasure. In other words, the already occupied audience is both already occupied and decides to join and observe when he or she is disrupted with the performance, and they are already "attending to his own pleasure" and ready to be distracted with something like paying attention to the performance (Ridout, 2020).

It is important to note that the interaction between the actors on stage and the audience has a connection in which the smoking-observer is not in the unseen comfortable dark place where they have not been realizing that they are there. In such a case, both parties critically recognize the time and space of the performance and the very function of the interaction. In other words, the Beobachten who is self-occupied by giving habitual satisfaction creates recognition of its appearance within the audience and distances herself or himself from the illusion. In line with Brecht, Ridout argues that with such a distance, the observer is able to observe with a clear vision on the representation, and for Brecht, this is a space for questioning social life and possible resistance. Such a pattern to form an audience to become an observer works both ways. This means that as Brecht created a new kind of theatre that allowed the audience to see beyond the mystification that appears on the stage and made the audience recognize the natural and unchaining rational thought, such a pattern of forming an audience can also work visa versa.

This sub-chapter was written after conducting the research on the case studies, and there is an apparent reason. As Ridout points out, Brecht's new theatre's goal was to make the audience smoking-Beobachten; the research on the case studies reveals the fact that there is almost always some sort of Zuschauerifying process that must be considered as part of the performance itself. In other words, there is a clear pattern to mystify the performance to do precisely the opposite of what Brecht wanted to achieve. There are clear themes in performative politics in which the audience has to be

"occupied" not with personal pleasure or with a personal act where they recognize their being in that specific time and space but instead with a collective action that they thought how to behave such as waving national flags, showing symbols, singing together, or clapping that all happens collectively with an external sound that telling them how to act. As I will address these Zuschauerifying processes in every case study, this goes well to synchronize audience behaviour, 'putting' them to their position and making sure that they are ready to consume as if they are not familiar to be. This process increases the interaction between the audience and the performance and makes the audience fully ready to engage with the actor.

2.4.10. Stanislavski's Method and Brecht's Epic Style

Stanislavski's method significantly differs from Brecht's vision. This subchapter will focus on those two different visions on acting. I will start by focusing on the difference in the acting techniques. Stanislavski has a significant impact on acting and how to act on stage. His main achievement was bringing theatrical studies as a professionally learned school of thought. He expected actors to have an adventurous, interesting, engaging and 'full' life (Stanislavski, 1949). By living such a life, actors would gain great emotional experiences, which had a direct affect on an actor's success on stage. Brecht, on the other hand, was a great thinker with great questions to solve. Brecht's Marxist background allowed him to see beyond theatrical studies and question the theatre itself.

We can clearly say that Stanislavski's conceptualization of theatre was formed as an engaging poetic art. Although Brecht was also believed theatre was art, for him, it could be something else; a tool to trigger masses. In this sense, Stanislavski's approach is more poetic, whereas Brecht's view is based more on questioning the everyday life. As Esslin (1959) explains, 'the epic poet' defines and represent the past, 'while the dramatic poet' offers the present. In this sense, the difference between poetic and epic styles is essential. The first refers to the emotional connection in which the audience feel that they belong to the act. They feel part of the question and answer and believe that they have felt that way too, and that is how it should be. The audience feels that the suffering, the pain, the fear and the anger that the actor represent is their common feeling and their common emotional repertoire. This is much easier for the audience

to engage in the contemporary world since the audience as a mass society has attending to consume.

The latter, on the other hand, refers to the form of a theatre not only the method of acting, staging, and even lighting but also the scripts itself allow the audience to question the bourgeois economy and any repertoire that is out there. It is not about sharing the common emotional reaction but rather questioning and disturbed with unquestionable things in everyday life. Despite Stanislavski's strong visions on creating believable acts, Brecht's vision was to create the ultimate theatre where the audience face (un)believable to question the reality they are living in. In other words, as Stanislavski's goal was for the audience to believe the performance's world and become part of it, whereas Brecht's goal was for the audience to question the everyday performances they are part of.

It is clear that both visions had differences, but they are both brilliant since both could have an impact on the audience. However, the difference creates a significant methodological alteration on how to imagine the performance's world. Stanislavski's method of acting is prevalent since it is more intuitive. It is based on the emotional truth of acting as Stanislavski argues that "important point was to feel: I am operating within the framework of the definite limitations associated with an aged person's physical condition; I am not just play-acting and mimicking" (Stanislavski, 1949, p. 32). It is based on merging the internal emotions of the actor's mind, which turns out as the character's mind. This is why he points out the significance of the emotional memory discussed previously.

Stanislavski's emotional memory, recalling the events and feelings that had actually happened in real life, closely correspond to how to act on stage. This method of acting created a significant impact on actors, and its affect is still visible today. For example, Joaqiom Phoenix lost almost twenty-five kilograms to play in Joker movie and get into character, or Tom Cruise chose to use a wheelchair all the time in set on one of his movies. This is to feel the emotional patterns of the characters as the actors.

Moreover, Stanislavski pointed out the significance of breaking down the scene into pieces, as mentioned previously. These represent not actual scenes but imaginable ones to smaller goals in acting through the live stage. This breaking down the scene into

pieces also needs to be connected to each other with truthful justification so that the audience feels the sequence. In this sense, for example, a script of performative politics is almost always designed to give fear, anger and hope in one speech. Stanislavski argues that an actor must take a part of the script, work on engaging emotions by their internal emotional recalls by part, and make sure the sequence between the emotions is connected to each other. In other words, every emotion that needs to be represented should be worked separately, making the whole. As I will further underline in the case study, most of Erdoğan's performances are designed into different scenes where he even changes his location on the stage to change between scenes.

On the other hand, Brecht saw theatre as an event not to get away and escape from reality but rather as a place to reveal objective perspectives towards the play. Brecht was concerned with the empathy of the audience with what has performed on the stage. He wanted them to see objectively and outside the narrative. Thus, the actors' mission is not to be the character but act as if she or he is the actor who plays the character. As Brecht points out, "at no moment must he go so far as to be wholly transformed into the character played … He has just to show the character" his feelings must not be formed with the character, and so the audience must not either (Brecht, 1949, p. 9).

Esslin (1959) rightfully describes the Brechtian method as a way of acting that is in quotation marks. In such an act, the visual appearance of the actor is itself a way of telling a story. In this sense, Brechtian view on actors should present their character and narrative they had given but not play them. Brecht's hopeful position on using theatre as a means for questioning the reality of the audience itself is very meaningful, and it already triggered political scientists, especially the Frankfurt School, about modern art and its affects.

I had underlined those two different schools of thought. I had appreciated Brecht's hopeful position to transform the theatre to Epic Theatre and his way of using the theatre itself as a tool to rationalize the audience and make them question the reality that they are living in. However, it is clear from today that we need a distance to such a method in performative politics. As I have addressed previously, this is because today the emotionally driven audience as a mass society is not there to observe and question the reality that they are in but rather feel that they are part of a larger group,

emotionally engage with the character presented on stage, and they are at a performance to consume it. However, before going further in line with the conclusion on those two different visions, I also need to address Walter Benjamin's the storyteller and the concept of aura. This will lead us to the discussion between Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno. To achieve this, first, I will address Benjamin's and Brecht's famous friendship, which was written as a book in 2004. Then, I will address Benjamin's storyteller and his concept of Aura. Some concepts of Walter Benjamin will be addressed in this part, and by detailing Walter Benjamin's view, I also address Adorno's concern about Brecht's influence over Benjamin. Some of Adorno's concerns will explain further why Stanislavski's method is more relevant today.

2.4.11. Brecht, Benjamin, and Adorno: Circling back to Stanislavski

> Under Brecht's influence, Benjamin is doing only stupid things.
> Theodor Adorno 1932 (Haselberg, 1977 as cited in Wizisla, 2009, p. 16)

2.4.11.1. The Friendship

Erdmut Wizisla (2009) wrote a book on the friendship between Benjamin and Brecht in 2004. According to Wizisla, their first meeting, which took place in Berlin in 1924, did not go as planned. Asja Lacis was the mutual friend between them and wanted them to meet. According to her memoirs:

> The conversation never got going, and the acquaintanceship petered out. I was confused. Was it possible that Brecht, such an intelligent person, could find nothing in common with Walter, a person of such intellectual curiosity and wide interests? (Lacis, 1971 as cited in Wizisla, 2009, p. 25)

Benjamin was 32 years old, and Brecht was around 26 back then. Even with his young age, Brecht was a great playwriter and poet. One of his early works was Baal, which was premiered in 1923, a combined force of lyrics and sexuality. It was the first seeds of the Epic Theatre.

The friendship between Benjamin and Brecht actually started in 1929. Wizisla argues that what brought them together was their aesthetic and political interests. We can also imagine the experience of exile from Nazi Germany. Benjamin travelled to different countries but joined Brecht at his house in Skosbostrand. They stayed there for a couple of summers. According to Wizisla's research, they listened to the radio, read

the papers together, worked and played chess in the garden, commented on each other's work. Benjamin and Brecht took trips together and travelled around especially to Svendborg where Brecht spent his early years of exile.

This deep friendship inevitably led to affection among each other's thoughts. Benjamin's other friends have accused him of being dramatically affected by his friend Brecht. Gunther Anders, who interestingly enough once married to Hannah Arendt, argued that there were significant differences in style. Gershom Scholem, a known philosopher, believed that his friendship diverted Benjamin away from Judaic tradition and made him Marxist. However, the most substantial criticism came from Theodor Adorno, and I will address this after focusing on Walter Benjamin's work.

2.4.11.2 Walter Benjamin

This part will address Benjamin's storyteller, his concept of aura, and his intellectual discussions with Adorno. To understand Benjamin, it is important to underline once again that theatrical performances create a different kind of experience with its one of a timeness and presence of both actors and audience (Bolter et al., 2006). In this sense, the experience with a piece of artwork is more engaging than watching through modern channels. Paintings, musical compositions, sculptures, and other great works create a unique experience. For Benjamin, this is because there is one-timeness of an experience of great works. In other words, for Benjamin (1935), such an aesthetic experience alludes to the one-time nature of artistic experience. In this sense, the artistic experiences are one of a time since they are incapable of reproduction, and thus, it is absolute. In line with this one of a timeness, Benjamin (1935) points out that this is based not simply on sensory awareness but also on the political. Using mass production through technology does not create the same piece of art but rather a potential tool. Using technology to reproduce these artworks mechanically removes the aura of art and makes it undistinctive, while the mechanical production works as a means (Benjamin, 1935). Benjamin strongly favours the aura that can only be found in an original work, where an audience have one of a time experience.

One-timeness of a performance is an essential point for performative politics. On the one hand, there are actors of both performative politics and theatre appear on a live stage performs to make it as one of a time experience as possible to reach towards an

aura like a storyteller, and on the other hand, the technological development helped to reach masses transformed the very nature of performative politics or, better yet, expanded its power and made performative politics to what it is today. The one of a time experience helps the audience develop the disposition and appreciation of it, which actors of performative politics want to achieve, but as Benjamin highlights, mechanical reproduction has so much power that they cannot disregard it.

Adorno and Benjamin's debate on the massification of art, particularly on the functionality of mass production, is important to recognise. In his later studies, Benjamin sees the means of reproduction of such art has the power to address a great number of audiences. In line with Brecht, Benjamin sees an opportunity and power for an alternative project. On the contrary, Adorno argued that such art is commodified, and the mass production of art turned into a commercial aspect within the cultural commercial.

Although all agree that technological enhancement has a significant impact, which also caused the loss of the experience, Adorno rightfully points out that Benjamin is too naïvely arguing that mass production could transform mass society through triggering audience for an alternative future. Even though I share a similar 'hopeful' position with Benjamin, I have argued that this is not through triggering and making the audience question, but instead through accepting the nature of the audience in their spatiotemporal condition and by using the new tools that developed with technology to engage with the emotionally driven audience. The position of the research in this question is essential as it defines the features of what to look at on a performance, which I have taken Stanislavski's position as the base. In the following part, I will explain such a position in detail and highlight a few concepts. Before we focus on the relationship between aura and performative politics, I will first address the storyteller.

2.4.11.2.1. The Storyteller

In the storyteller, Walter Benjamin starts by defining the storyteller. He defines it as a craft to tell the stories which are dying out. There are three main reasons for this, according to Benjamin. The first one is the society's transformation to an industrialized state which leads to rapid change. This change has created a mindset in which the past no longer has an impact on the audience. According to him, an impact of a story based

on war, for example, is highly limited. This is because the new war technologies transformed the knowledge of what war meant, thus leading the stories 'outdated'. His second reason is based on the impact of the World War. World War One created such destruction, and people no longer wish to talk about the past. Last but the most significant point is the rise of information. Benjamin gives a particular focus on the last point. He argues that the information "lays claim to prompt verifiability." In the past, according to him, intelligence, as well as experience, was much more valued even it could never be verified. This question on ambiguity is essential and will be addressed in detail, but before that, I will briefly focus on the origin of the storyteller.

According to Benjamin, storytelling is an "ancient craft" that is presented in the commonplace rooted into the repertoire. He argues that the storyteller takes a raw experience and forms a solid and valuable experience. They are those whose work connects with the others. He conceptualizes the storyteller as connected to something bigger, and the best of them is "rooted in the people". Nevertheless, what exactly do storytellers do? In order to answer it, I should address what the story is for Benjamin.

Every story has something useful and hidden, according to Benjamin. A story has a purpose in which what it tells is constructed for either moral or a piece of practical advice. This is not surprising since the storyteller performs in front of an audience; the story must lead to something. Nevertheless, what is significant is that the stories have lost their weight and transformed into something else. The experience of the performance of a storyteller declined because society transformed into the information society. One reason is that the experience of finding truth disappeared because the information was pushed through channels, and thus, wisdom through experience radically declined. We were much more dependent on others' experiences in everyday life. In other words, we do not find the stories necessary anymore.

There is an important point to highlight here. As politics, just like the economy, is defined as if it is something external to our reality, the information about politics became sacred in the contemporary world. In this sense, an actor of performative politics appears like a storyteller on stage. It is like a storyteller but not quiet because there are few differences. For example, performing in front of five million people is not the same as telling a story in everyday life. However, I still must address that there

is a similarity. On the one hand, an actor takes a stage to inform an audience and make them know with one of a time experience; on the other hand, such an actor tries to reach as many as possible through what Benjamin defines as mechanical reproduction. I will later highlight this in the question of aura but what is important is that although there are few differences, an actor of performative politics take the stage and act like a storyteller.

Another important reason for the decline of the storyteller in everyday life is that we became alienated from each other. What could a judge possibly tell a teacher or what a sex worker could tell a cop? Benjamin is not addressing the stories as the problem, even if they have old fashioned moral goals, but rather questions the society because "the communicability of experience is decreasing" and the experience of storytelling disappears. This is clearly in line with Brecht's big question on alienation, and this leads us to another significant concept that Benjamin underlines; the power of the ambiguity.

The question on ambiguity is an important question for performative politics as well. Benjamin writes about this excellent story that had been told by Herodotus to make us understand the power of the ambiguity. According to Benjamin, Herodotus tells a story about a King in Egypt who is defeated in a battle. After a couple of years, King sees his daughter as a maid, and he does not react. However, after seeing his servants in prison, he starts crying and mourning. The audience does not understand why exactly this happens. Everybody in the audience think they know the answer to his sudden reaction, but everyone's answer is different. In this example, some might think that King cried because he faced the fact that previous social ranks were abolished, or like Benjamin, some might think this is because it was the last drop that made him crack. The audience never know which is the correct answer, and this is the power of the ambiguity.

The power of ambiguity is important. Benjamin points out that stories are constructed around this ambiguity. Stories are not based on pure information but rather our own imagination becomes the key to answering the reason behind them, and this process of imagination creates the power behind the ambiguities. Then the question becomes, why is it not handed over to the audience, but the audience tries to solve it by

themselves? Information based sharing offers a why bound with scientific facts. This means fantastic ideas, or any form of imagination disappears.

On the one hand, we have imaginative fantastic ideas and miracles; on the other hand, we have an explanation, a why. Depending on the storyteller and the audience, even the same story creates a different reaction within the audience's imagination. On the other hand, according to Benjamin, information at a certain level is almost always the same. Ambiguity, in this sense, finds a romantic, positive conceptualization of Benjamin's thoughts. Indeed, we can see the similarities between Brecht's work. The ambiguity that Benjamin defines creates a fuel for the imagination, which I had addressed the importance of acting, and not surprisingly, it appears as a tool to make the audience think for explanations. However, clearly, there is more to the question on ambiguity.

Ambiguity is often used by the actors of performative politics. When an actor on stage cannot explain a reason, 'he' always creates ambiguity, just like a storyteller. This leads the audience to use their imagination to give their answers if ever they find a time to imagine it. In this way, when there is no objective reason to explain something, it almost always leads to ambiguous answers, which the audience's fantasy fills in. For example, if there is a problem with the economy, an actor can either find a scapegoat that the audience can clearly and 'objectively' point out or can just address it to foreign powers and act(ing) as if there is something out there. No one knows who or even what they are, what they do or how they do, but they do it. The result is there, so there must be a reason for making a King cry. In this sense, ambiguity is a powerful tool for performative politics and is not as romantically positive affect on the audience as Benjamin defines, which I will provide some examples in the case study.

2.4.11.2.2. Reaching towards the Aura

Walter Benjamin focuses on the political impact of new reproduction methods. He points out new reproduction methods does not capture the experience of the art and do not produce authentic art representations as it is not one of a time experience. Movies, for example, simply reproduce the object and lacks the aura. This is because the singularity of an object makes it one of a time experience for the audience. Benjamin

sees distinct objects such as handcraft items have the ineffable quality of being unique that creates the aura.

Benjamin rightfully points out that the mechanical reproduction of art has the potential to become a tool for fascist regimes. Art reproduction by mechanical means had political power, and Benjamin argued that it could be exploited as a harmful instrument. He pointed out that art was becoming a form of economic production at that time at a slower pace. Observing art, as Benjamin (1935) points out, is not solely result of sensory awareness but it is political. The premise is that people's senses of reality were thrown off by the move from original art to mechanical reproduction. Unlike original pieces, reproductions are vulnerable to manipulation (Adorno, 1967). As a result, the aura was gradually fade away. This was a problem for Benjamin not simply because the uniqueness of an art was disappearing with its one of a time affect on the audience but as importantly such transformation on the audience was dominated with just information.

Benjamin strives to express the quality of art that exists in specific space and time. In other words, he captures the significance of being present in that specific moment. When entering a museum, for example, the audience watch and engage with a unique art. This is a one of a time experience since if the audience visits there fifty years later, neither the audience nor the painting itself or the museum would be the same. However, with mechanical production, the image of that artwork can exist anywhere in various forms in different platforms (Adorno, 1967). In today's world, it may, for example, be distributed to millions of people via social media. As a result, a copied version is not as real. This means that such reproductions lack one of a timeness (Benjamin, 1935). Benjamin was also concerned that mechanical replication affecting the audience perception. In this sense, such are no longer a unique experience that affects the perception. This is important to recognise since as the actors of performative politics appear on stage, they want to make one of a time experience as much as possible while also considering the mass production of the performance with edited and manipulated versions through, for example, 24/7 news bites. I will address this in the following part.

2.4.11.2.3. a Tool or a Distraction?

The audience of traditional performances contemplated the art by making the writer, author, or artist the main focus his or her work. In this sense, as Sree (2015) defines that the audience is observed by the originality of the performance (p. 12). However, when it comes to mechanical reproduction, the focal point shifts to the focus of distraction. Different media forms like photography and films do not focus on the contemplation, as Benjamin (1935) points out. As reproduction plays a significant role in the contemporary world, it constantly distracts the audience from the real intentions with driving the attention to superficial concerns about things that do not always matter. The reproduced art forms are strictly detached from art itself and turned into a product ready to be consumed.

The rise of the new technologies and various media tools placed in the same era just as aura has been vanishing. Such exposure to the new reproduced forms, according to Benjamin, interfered with audience's perception with intense attention deficits and stimulus overload. He is concerned about the affects of excessive media on people's capacity to focus. The audience's time and space to imagine and think was filled by the reproduced art and media (Adorno, 1967). This outcome of the new era became a concern for both Adorno and Benjamin, yet their ideas were highly different.

Benjamin, according to Adorno, betrayed his own perspective on art especially in relation to aura. Adorno (1967) points out that the conceptualisation of aura was very contradictory, and this might be caused by spending much time with Brecht. One of the contradictory points for Adorno (1967) is that Benjamin sees hope through the mechanical reproduction of art thanks to Brecht. Benjamin believed that the power of mechanical reproduction of art could be used as a tool to trigger the audience to question the reality that they are living in, especially considering the fact that mechanical reproduction brings art closer to proletariat. For Adorno, this is contradictory since Hitler used exactly those tools to come into power.

Adorno finds Benjamin's view naïve that if such tools are being used, that is itself creates fascist regimes. Interestingly, but not surprising due to Brecht's influence, he is crediting the proletariat to question the reality that they are part of, with new media such as film and cinema, as an audience in which they could be triggered to uprise.

Adorno finds this very problematic and believes that he is being naïve because it is not the art that form the mass society, but the mass society wanted to consume the art. Once again, I should underline that Adorno and Benjamin agrees that the "aura" of art has declined. The argument here is that Benjamin thinks that the aura vanished as a result of mechanical reproduction. However, as Scannell (2003) rightfully points out Benjamin is holding on to something else in such conceptualisation.

It is clear that from Adorno's perspective, the conceptualization of aura is contradictory since Benjamin distinguishes the power of aura and then sees the similar power in new ways of communication, which is in line with this research. It is clear that in the storyteller, even though stories are not the original experience, there is an experience of engaging with the audience; the experience on stage is not simply the story itself but an experience as a whole. In other words, the actors on stage perform the performances world and want to form it as an experience in itself. Thus, inevitably, actors of performative politics search for the best ways to reach towards what Benjamin defines as an aura. This means that even the age of aura has been in decline, actors of performative politics attempt to reach towards an aura and try to make a performance more one of a time experience.

2.4.11.2.4. The Technology

Technological enhancements, especially breakthroughs, are expected to have a profoundly impact on society. As Benjamin (1935) rightfully underlines, the rise of information and new media has impact on people's perception especially on understanding of the arts. Benjamin points out that the mechanical reproduction undermined one of a time affect of the art (Gikandi, 2011). Benjamin's own experience with photographers and artmakers gave him insights into the mass culture and how it affected audience's perception (Gikandi, 2011). He believed that the technological enhancements caused mechanical reproduction, which directly affected the aesthetic perception.

Meanwhile, as part of his aesthetic theory, Adorno (1967) describe the mass media's collective impact on society with the term culture industry, which outlines the relationship between perception of the audience and the technological enhancements. Unlike Benjamin's view that the beauty of art resided in arts aura, he argued that the

release of art from rituals and tradition was the key for liberation. Adorno thought that aesthetic value is not constrained by imperial functions. Nevertheless, once again notwithstanding, both of them agreed on the problem of mass production with technological breakthroughs.

Benjamin, according to Adorno, failed to grasp that art reproduction existed before mass formation of production. However, Benjamin's point on using the power of the new mechanical reproduction as a means is itself not contradictory. In other words, as aura faded away, the new technical reproduction of art became available for Benjamin and, of course, Brecht to use as a means for praxis, but this inevitably makes the concept of aura into question.

Adorno and some of the members of the Institute heavily criticized Benjamin's intellectual ties to Brecht. Brecht strongly believes in the transformative power of the new mass media. Brecht believed that these tools could be used for the interests of the proletariat in which they become 'functionally transformative' and have 'destructive' potential. Brecht's positive thoughts on the use of mass media are far from static and reject passive critical attitude through prioritizing action. In other words, Brecht's positive views on the use of mass media are not static, and instead, he rejects a passive critical mindset to promote struggle in the field of praxis. On the other hand, Adorno's conceptualizations are much more passive and negates commodification theoretically but ignores the praxis.

Benjamin's conception of praxis on aesthetics and art is rightfully closer to Brecht's. In the face of the passive theoretical attitude of the Frankfurt School, Benjamin was far from intellectualism and embraced the transformative power of art in everyday performance. In Benjamin's article on mechanical reproduction (1935), we can clearly see the influence of Brecht's epic style. In that essay, Benjamin argues that in the age of mechanical reproduction, the aura disappears so that the absence of aura leads the production of art to the praxis of politics. He believes this essay, and his theory in general, was useful in a mass society to formulate the revolutionary demands in the politics of art (Scannell, 2003).

The discussion between Adorno and Benjamin was centred on the massification of art, especially through mass media, as well as its functional and practical transformative

nature over the audience. Benjamin sees the re-productionable nature of art as a loss of aura but also as the prospect of a new idea of art with relation to the new advancements in technology. With the advancement of reproduction, art has grown in popularity can now reach broader exhibitions and expand its audience, creating an opportunity and power through addressing the audience. This new artistic conceptualization has been communicated mostly through photography, cinema, and radio. Adorno (and Horkheimer), on the other hand, argued that art has become commodified and turned into a commercial aspect within the cultural commercial.

According to Adorno, Benjamin's belief that the commodity that would become popular as a result of the use of these tools will have such revolutionary power over the audience is a highly optimistic assumption. In other words, Adorno did not have faith in these new means to implement an alternative framework. Adorno advocated autonomous art and claimed that the artistic quality of the work should be evaluated rather than its commercial position, criticizing Benjamin's premise that new triggering possibilities may arise from the material in the cultural industry. In this sense, Adorno ignores the fact that a piece of art will almost always exist in the context of a prospective market relationship. More importantly, it is clear that every piece of art is created with or without the intention of an audience, yet it is inevitable to reach an audience. In this regard, the audience's meaning-making, and the nature of their interaction with the piece of art are undoubtedly crucial.

Adorno has also never believed that a work of art can have a transforming influence on mass society. Instead, he claimed that the new art might emerge from its inherent autonomy. Following the technical norms of autonomous art, he claimed, liberates art from its status as a taboo object. In this regard, Adorno differs from Brecht and Benjamin regarding the artwork's functional structure. Unlike Benjamin and Brecht's view on the transformative power of the new era, Adorno argued that "even if such a thing happens, the effect is usually superficial. In other words, it contradicts the structure of this work itself. The main social impact of the work of art is largely indirect" (Adorno, 2006, p. 242). Adorno took the criticism of the transformative power to the next level and argued that the main reason for Brecht and Benjamin to portray cinema and radio as art is for legitimizing the things that have been produced.

This is clearly a heavy criticism considering the fact that both Benjamin and Brecht are in such production.

With considering and researching these debates, the following conclusions were reached for the contemporary. Adorno argued that the artistic quality of the work of art with the power to reveal historical and social antinomies to find solutions to them through the movement of critical position, which is in line with his conceptualization of negative dialektik. In other words, it was the critical attitude of art that reached a meaning for any kind of change in audience meaning making. For him, art criticizes traditional forms and techniques that are corrupted with false consciousness within the culture industry. According to Benjamin, on the other hand, the new art has a potential for transformation. The artistic quality of work is related to its one-timeness, but since the mass society with all its contradictions is a fact in the contemporary world, it is the new developments in reproduction technologies that cannot be dismissed. But where would this debate lead us? Where indeed.

If this were a story told by a storyteller, it would conclude here to use the power of ambiguity. However, since this is an academic research, I will directly explain. I have started this subchapter by defining and comparing Stanislavski's method and Brecht's epic style. On the one hand, we have emotional recall methods, and on the other, we have an epic style to make the audience question the reality that they live in. I have also addressed a strong friendship between Brecht and Walter Benjamin, who profoundly affected each other. I have addressed Benjamin's work on the storyteller and his conceptualization as aura. According to Benjamin, storytelling disappeared for a couple of reasons, including alienation which is still one of the most dominant aspects in everyday performance. The logic behind his works was clearly in line with Brecht. He also addresses the power of the ambiguity in which the audience is left with their imagination. He gives value to this ambiguity since the audience of that performance starts to question. However, as I have underlined, this ambiguity can also be used by performative politics, which can easily take away the focus from the truth.

After the storyteller, I have focused on the concept of aura. Benjamin, like Adorno, believed that the aura was radically declined due to the mechanical production of art, which also disrupted people's perceptions of reality. However, with the influence of

Brecht, Benjamin was much more hopeful about the new condition. Adorno heavily criticized Benjamin and Brecht because they saw a potential for reaching the audience and making them question the proletariat nature of everyday life through new methods. In this sense, I agree with Benjamin and Brecht with reservations. As they use performance, theatre and any other form of new media to trigger the audience to think rationally and make them question the reality that they are part of, it is clear today that the mass society is there and emotionally driven. This makes a great difference. As Adorno highlights that the culture industry and mass society are already formed within the Culture Industry, and we cannot disregard this nature, the audience is there to consume the performance, and they are already Zuschauer. In other words, the consumer nature of the audience creates the fact that they are experiencing the performance to be 'cast a spell' on. There is no reason to suddenly transform into a smoking-Beobachten just because a light turned on to him or her. This does not necessarily mean Epic Theatre creates no difference, and it does, but it is highly limited. To put it differently, Epic Theatre is a tool and a way of questioning everyday life, but its affects are highly limited, so it only triggers a slow-paced change while there is a mass formation simultaneously.

On the other hand, we have Stanislavski's method to make the audience engage with and make them a part of the performance through emotions. As we can clearly see, the emotionally driven mass society is ready to engage. This means that what Brecht and Benjamin point out as a functionally transformative and destructive potential is, there, but not through triggering the audience to think and question the reality that they live in but rather to affect them with emotions to reconstruct the repertoire, give meaning to their world of thoughts, perform the time and space with building up and using a character on stage.

There are actors of performative politics like a storyteller on the live stage with irreplaceable existence at a time and space, sometimes even using the power of ambiguity to convince their audience. The actors of performative politics attempt to reach towards an aura, with its one of a time experience, but as mentioned, this is not easy as one person located on stage performing for millions. Moreover, while a performance needed to be one of a time experience to affect the audience further, such performance also needed to be ready to mass-produce. In this sense, the power of

performative politics transformed with technological enhancements not only for the live stage where realistic animations could appear but also on the mass production.

2.4.12. Conclusion

Audiences are profoundly affected by theatrical experiences. The reaction of an audience to a performance is directly linked with actor's capability to emotionally engage with the audience which creates a connection. The audience plays an important part in the success of an actor's performance on a stage. To depict genres and emotional themes, theatre performances combine sound, lighting, actor movement, and costumes. However, in order to portray the character's emotional reality, an actor must emotionally connect with the character so that character could reach from performance's world to the audience's world. Actors on the theatre stage and actors of performative politics are unavoidably interconnected as there is a performance's world addressing the audience's world to affect and leave an impact on the audience's meaning-making.

As a dramaturgical channel, the performance's world becomes an engaging imagined world for both actors of theatre and actors of performative politics with their audience. As the significance rely on this relation between the audience and the actors, at least for some schools of thought, there is an exclusive focus on how to 'cast a spell' on the Zuschauer.

It is clear that the self-satisfied ready to buy customers as mass society is at a performance to consume. Taking the condition of the audience, I had first started with the Guignol tradition. There are a couple of intakes from the Grand Guignol experience. One of the critical intakes is that for fear, the stage could be used to manipulate the rationale. In this sense, using scientific terminologies and unknown data sources could be a source to support fear among the audience. The second is that despite the general assumption that the audience must be left with pleasant emotions, leaving the audience with disturbing emotions is possible in which the theatre of Guignol is built upon. As I will later address, some of Erdoğan's performances leave the audience with disturbing emotions.

I have also addressed various concepts such as spectator participation, an attempt to reach towards an aura, an object of admiration, persuasion with different schools of thought like Chekhov's and Stanislavski's method, which both strongly agree on the key as the imagination. We have focused on the alienated nature of the audience and technological enhancements such as computer actors, on off beats, lighting systems, audio-visual representations, which led us to search deeper for acting on stage through recalling emotions, physical actions, and improvisations. I have also addressed the significance of the voices and sound control, hitting the right notes, tempo, speed, pitching and intensity of speech which overall reflects the power relations.

In addition to focusing on voices, I have also addressed the use of the body, especially with relation to voices, the significance of the facial muscles, accents, and dialects. I have also addressed the significance of the signature move of the actors, which performative capital is built upon. I have underlined that if the gap between the actor's own signature moves and character on stage is inconsistent, then the audience might not understand, misinterpret, or resist the performance. I have also underlined the significance of using space, especially on stage. I then profoundly compared Brecht's epic style and Stanislavski's method of acting. While the former argues that theatre should reflect social reality and audience should be driven into rational thinking through acting the character and via triggering the audience, the latter argued that emotions should be based for engaging with the audience through emotional recall and must be literally felt so that audience can feel and also becomes part of the theatre and narrative in which engages and connects between the performance's world and audience's world. In this sense, Stanislavski's method with emotional recall is based on engaging and using emotional patterns to cast a spell on the audience, while Brecht's Epic Theatre is a tool to question everyday life and trigger the audience to think about an alternative world.

I then addressed Walter Benjamin. Surprisingly, Benjamin was good friends with Brecht. I have addressed the storyteller. According to Benjamin, there were three reasons that the storytelling disappeared. These were World War One, the industrial state and most importantly, the rise of information. I have underlined the alienated nature once again while focusing on the storyteller. Also, I have addressed the importance of ambiguity. It is important to note here once again that actors of

performative politics appear on stage like a storyteller and attempt to reach towards an aura; however, they still must consider the mass media and the mass audience that they are simultaneously addressing.

I then address the question on the aura, which I believe that the performance on the live stage itself is to reach towards an aura, making performance more one of a time experience. Benjamin's conceptualization of aura, which is strongly based on one-timeness and incapability to reproduce, is something mystical, yet actors of performative politics attempt to capture. This part led to the questions of Adorno on Brecht and his influence on Benjamin. Although all agree that technological enhancement caused mechanical reproduction, which caused the loss of the experience, Adorno rightfully addressed that Benjamin is too naïve to think that new media could be used to transform mass society into a better future by making them question the life they are part of. I have underlined that this is, in fact, true. Even though I share the same hopeful position with Benjamin and Brecht, this is not through enlightening and triggering emotionally driven mass society to make them start questioning the life they live in but instead using the new tools to reconstruct the repertoire through engaging with emotions. Thus, in line with both Adorno's view on the mass formation of society and Benjamin's hope, this research takes a Stanislavskian perspective and relevant elements of performance to conduct the case study with relation to performative politics as a tool to be analysed.

2.5. Conclusion

The theoretical framework is one of the most critical parts of this research, especially considering the fact that this is a multidisciplinary research for now. As I have underlined the significance of a theory-driven questioning to design the blueprint of the research, I have addressed various views on this part, especially in the third chapter, on theatrical studies. We have focused on the importance of performative politics through defining the influential works, the meaning of performative politics in the contemporary world, and addressing the elements of performance in the contemporary world through a series of research on theatrical studies.

In the first chapter, we have focused on the influential framework of the AKP, if not the most influential one, especially in the early era, the liberal individualist framework.

This part is to underline some of the core concepts of the AKP, how AKP is reflected in most research, and how AKP used such conceptualisations as part of the repertoire. We can see these contradictory positions formed a discourse for the position of the actors of the AKP, like conceptualization as the Second Republic. I have addressed that this contradictory position is the reason why they became so powerful in influencing their audience and constantly addressing their audience's meaning making; because they had to. Even though I have pointed out the framework of the AKP, it provides us to a conclusion that such contradictory positions needed performative politics to be actualised in the imagination of the audience. This means that we cannot disregards the performative nature of the AKP.

In the second chapter, we have focused on exploring the conceptualization on performance. The reason for such a chapter is to have common understanding, a repertoire for you as the audience and me. Consequently, this part addressed to get a better understanding of what performance means in the contemporary world. In this sense, I have addressed the theoretical discussions about performativity. It is clear that we as a being have multiple characters in everyday life that we act, and we are changing with time and space. Moreover, the repertoire works as a normation process to govern us in which actors reconstruct through performative politics. In this sense, I have also addressed the relationship between performative politics and everyday performance by excepting that we are performing to be. As a result, we grasp what performance is in the contemporary world.

In this specific time and space, performative politics has power over everyday performance, which forms a ruling metanarrative. This is a way in which a hegemonic project forms its appearance. The consent is about the struggle to gain consent and is about becoming the actor of performative politics in the contemporary world. This also means that hegemony is not an external 'thing' to be exposed to, but rather the framework that we live in. This framework is constantly reproduced by everyday performance and reconstructed through performative politics. Thus, such a hegemonic project appears through performative politics to affect audience imagination, meaning making, deconstructing emotional patterns and concepts, including for example, nationalism itself.

In the third chapter, I have addressed theatrical studies. It is clear that theatrical experiences bear significant affects on an audience. For theatrical studies, the audience plays a significant role since all performances become a performance only being visible by the others. The stage becomes a mediation space for actors with their audience. There is a participatory focus in the contemporary world to cast a spell on the Zuschauer. The self-satisfied ready to buy customers as mass society is at a performance to consume as an audience. In this sense, I first addressed the Great Guignol theatre, which was built to make an audience feel fear. This was the par that I have underlined the importance of the lighting, makeup, voice, or costumes. This also provided the information that the reason can be manipulated on the stage and leaving the audience with disturbing emotions is possible. Then, I have addressed various concepts such as aura, participation, triggering the audience, and persuasion. I have also compared and contrasted different schools of thought like Chekhov's and Stanislavski's method. For example, they both agree that the imagination was the key, yet the former argued that actors must act outside the experience while the latter argues actors must recall the emotions, including recalling physical actions and gestures. I have also underlined what to look for when we research and analyse performance on stage, like digital recordings such as songs, on-of beats, facial muscles, dialects and accents, or lightings.

As I had clarified that Stanislavski's method was highly useful to understand the power of performative politics in the contemporary world, we have focused on a different perspective to compare and contrast; Brecht's Epic Theatre and epic style. I started with differentiating Beobachten and Zuschauer to understand the difference between Brecht and Stanislavski clearer since the former is an already occupied observer there to appear as an audience, the latter is the audience that is being affected and cast a spell on. On the one hand, we have Stanislavski's method as a dramatic theatre to make the audience engage through addressing the emotional patterns via emotional recalls and gestures. On the other hand, we have Brecht's Epic Theatre; a tool and epic show to question everyday life and its practices.

As I have addressed various academic research in all those three chapters, it is clear that the emotionally driven mass society is at a performance to consume it in the contemporary world. In this sense, Stanislavski's method with emotional recall is

much more influential than Brecht's epic style. As I have addressed Brecht's influence on Walter Benjamin, we have seen that both Brecht and Benjamin have a hopeful position with these new tools available. After focusing on multiple concepts of Benjamin that are greatly useful, I have addressed Adorno's concerns against Benjamin's contradictory position on the aura, which we should give a credit for since the mass society is not there to question and realize their position in the contemporary world, but instead, they are there as an audience to consume what has been presented. However, as I share a similar hope with Benjamin and Brecht, and accept the fact Adorno rightfully points out as the problem, it is clear that performative politics has the power to reconstruct the repertoire even for a better future through Stanislavski's methods since the audience attending to a performance to consume as a mass society.

All in all, the first chapter provided the mainstream framework, a repertoire, that has been used by and used to understand the AKP, and they are clearly disregarding the dramaturgical significance of the movement. The second chapter was to address the theoretical discussions about performativity in the contemporary world to establish a common understanding between the audience of this research and me. The third chapter addressed the theatrical studies, which as a political scientist and a researcher on performative politics, found incredibly useful. It was exciting but not surprising that the research led to debates between Brecht, Benjamin, and Adorno. A framework is a complex structure that allows room for the researcher to contextualise, compare with other frameworks, construct views on things, conceptualise, and address different literature, searching for the perfect 'frame'. Whereas the methodology is the part that sets the searching principle, tools and practices that are used to guide the research and lead the process towards a certain goal. As I have addressed multiple insights mentioned above, the next part of the research is to implement these insights and to enhance the politics of performance framework of Shirin Rai. I strongly recommend reading the rest of the theoretical framework not simply because the conclusion reflects only the tip of the iceberg, but more importantly, somehow, you have reached this research and became my audience. This means that the power of this research is only to a degree that you as the audience participate.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Research on performative politics is in itself a challenging task since it is not a common framework to analyse an actor or party. As I have underlined the meaning of how we should view and process performative politics in the theoretical framework, this chapter is to explain what methodological choices I have made, why I made those choices and most importantly, how would theoretical framework, especially the research on theatrical studies affected on those methodological choices. As a theoretical framework is a complex structure that allows a researcher to conceptualise, compare with other frameworks and develop views on their frame, the part of the methodology is to set the searching principles, tools and practices that are used to guide the research for a particular goal. After structuring theoretical framework with in-depth research on the framework and concepts that are used both to understand and used by the AKP, conceptualising performativity, and researching on theatrical studies, the goal of the first chapter of the methodology is to reconstruct the methodologies with in-depth research that I made in theoretical framework. The second chapter, on the other hand, will focus on the weakness, criticisms, deadlocks, and strengths of this methodology.

As I had underlined in the theoretical framework, the most common framework on understanding the AKP operates within a couple of key intellectual lineages such as Durkheimian, Weberian, or rational choice. Each has strengths and analytical useability to understand and compare cases. However, they also have significant limitations. One of the most common problems is understanding the cases with depersonalised structures. Weberian approaches, for example, privileges the institutions and are primarily based on the assumption that individuals act in their interests. There is a similar line in the Durkheimian sense that state and society are

external to the individual and to 'each other'. Those approaches mostly take the West (or the idea of the perfect West) as the norm, which leads to a mis-conceptualisation of the dynamics of that specific case. Migdal (1988), for example, famously focuses on his influential work, a dual conceptualisation as strong societies and weak states.

The framework in such research has a direct affect on methodology. All three different lineages that mentioned as an example focus on "what is, at least comparatively speaking, not there, or at best only imperfectly there in terms of impersonal institutions such as a working independent judiciary, functional markets, and good governance to the veritable exclusion of what is there" that is performative politics (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007, p. 2). This directly affects how any research is being implemented and the systematic design. As the audience of this research, you can find further details in the theoretical framework on this research's intellectual lineages.

In this research, qualitative content analysis of secondary and primary sources will be used to conduct research on the performative politics of the AKP. I have focused on the relevant literature and covered some of the frameworks to understand the AKP, questions on performativity, the question on hegemony, theatrical studies, performative politics, and in general, political sociology. The secondary sources that are related to the literature, especially on theatrical studies, are one of the cornerstones of the project. Both primary and secondary sources will be used in the case study. The footages analysed in the case study were also published online and easily accessible. They are also officially shared on the Presidencies website and are available to all. The only heavily corrupted footage was the spontaneous gathering with the students at three after midnight in the dormitory dining hall. However, the full version is still available on the discontinued live-streaming app Periscope's database in the President's account, where he live-shared the whole event.

This part of the research focuses on the practical application of conducting a research on performative politics. The methodology is the part of research written to understand the question of how any given research can be implemented. Thus, we will focus on the systematic designs of this research for grasping the aims and objectives of the research. It is clear that the interdisciplinary nature of this research makes it harder to find the preferred methodology, yet, it makes this part even more important. In other

words, bringing performative politics as a subject to conduct a research makes the part where we focus on how to analyse, how to collect data, and what data to collect is even more significant.

The methodology of this research brings forward politics of performances itself as a subject to analyse. In this sense, I have focused on theatrical studies in the theoretical framework also to search for how we can comprehend the performances better in the contemporary world. The case study, on the other hand, will be about understanding Turkey's AKP and, more specifically, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's influential power through the performative politics framework. The powerful actors all around the world, including President Erdoğan, use 'mighty' performances to engage with their audience. Such performances are so powerful that the relation between the actors and their audience creates an essential question on the conceptualisation of such performance in the academic world. Research in performative politics is quite different and is unpredictably challenging since conducting the research on the case study is not based on a ready-to-use framework or methodology but rather to comprehend the question on how while "moving beyond the disciplinary comfort zone" (Rai et al., 2021, p. 17).

The structure of this methodology is constructed into two chapters. The first chapter is about defining the methodology, and the second chapter addresses different criticisms, some examples of doing performative research in different fields, and weaknesses. The first chapter will start with different modes of performance defined by Strauss and O'Brien (2007). As performative politics appear in different modes, Strauss and O'Brien conceptualised three of them; rituals, theatres, and micro performances. Ritual represents repetitive performances such as trials. Theatres, which are not the theatrical nature I had referred to, are semi-open ended events like elections. The third mode is micro performances which is the subject of this study. This is the 'star quality' performance on a stage to influence an audience.

After addressing these three modes of performance and clearing that the micro performance is the mode that I address, I will focus on how I will address it and what to research for. In other words, the conceptualisation of Strauss and O'Brien is to make it easier to separate performative politics into different modes, while the latter part is

more on how to operationalise and do research on micro performances. I will address the framework of Rai as a methodology to research performative politics (2014). In this part, I will reconstruct Rai's framework with what I had theoretically framed in previous chapters. In other words, the theoretical framework will guide me to reconstruct the politics of performance framework. By doing so, I will transform the politics of performance framework to performative politics framework.

The politics of performance framework (PPF) of Rai has two axes (2014). The first axis addresses the body in/on view, staging representation, auditory power of word/scripts/speeches/voices and performative labour. The second axis is about authenticity, which I had addressed as an attempt to reach towards an aura, mode of representation, lasting moment of liminality and resistance to claim-making with humour or mimicry. In these two axes, we can clearly see an effort to construct a structure to analyse any given performance. The former "maps individual performance", while the latter "charts the political effects of performance" (Rai, 2014, p. 1178). As I have mentioned previously, performances are historically specific, and this inevitably leads to a need for a third axis for research to fully comprehend the nature of a performance; locating performance in time and space. This third axis addresses three different intersecting worlds; audience's world, actor's world, and performance's world. I will address these axes and construct the performative politics framework.

After focusing on how to analyse research on performative politics systematically, I will address the second chapter of the methodology. The second chapter discusses a few possible fields for performative politics and the challenges, criticisms, and weaknesses of research on performative politics. This part will address some of the concerns on the methodology like the subjective nature of such research, limited access, the danger of being part of exclusionary practices, overreliance on common sense, emblematic and sampling issues. As the methodology part of any type of research is to explain the methodological choices from every angle, the second chapter will focus on these weaknesses, criticisms and provide some in-depth reviews on the research methodology.

3.2. Methodology Chapter One: Performative Politics Framework

3.2.1. Modes of Performances

As mentioned previously, there are various modes of performance that will be considered as different ways of doing performative politics. As performative politics can be seen everywhere, we need a conceptualisation to categorise different modes. The structural conceptualisation formed by Strauss and O'Brien will be very useful (2007). As they had focused on politics of performance in their book staging politics, there are three modes of politics of performance. I will compare and expand one of their modes with an in-depth reconstruction. Their research led to highlighting three main modes of performance; state rituals, such as trials, theatre with 'semi-open ended outcomes' like electoral process and individual performances, or what they defined as micro-performances (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007). The last mode as micro-performance is the star-quality dramatic speeches and monologues, which I will address in this research.

These three modes of performative politics are different from one another. Rituals are repetitive. This forms its core characteristic and makes them much more predictable. Such predictability leads to easier reproduction of the symbolic formation. In other words, rituals have a strong power over the reproduction of power relations within social relations due to their predictable and expected results (Rai et al., 2021, p. 16). It is harder to confront against such performances since they are repetitive, have strict rules and regulations. This regulatory behaviour inevitably leads to a more conservative unification between actors and their audience. The audience knows well what they are facing; they have pre-knowledge on such mode of politics of performance. A good classic example of a ritual is trials, in which we can find plenty of examples during the AKP era.

The second mode of politics of performance is the theatres. Elections can be well categorised as theatres. They have rules and regulations but are somehow different from rituals since there is a good amount of improvisation within a common understanding. The results can be unexpected, but there is always a result that comes out in a similar way, counting votes, for example. There is always an actor that races to gain influence and legitimacy, but a theatre always has a beginning and an end. As

Strauss and O'Brien defined, such mode of politics of performance has a semi-open end, which one can predict a result (2007).

The last but the most critical mode of politics of performance in the contemporary world is the individual micro performances. Such performances "involves the old indefinable of 'star quality'" (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007, p. 3). We need to recognise that these three different modes of performative politics intersect and borrow from each other; they entrance each other to form the symbolic world. Nevertheless, the micro-performances became more and more powerful to influence the audience in the contemporary world, as I have clearly addressed in the theoretical framework. The third mode will be under question in this research in different scenes. These micro performances during elections will be addressed with the Politics of Performance Framework.

3.2.2. Performative Politics Framework

3.2.2.1. Introduction

After years of research, I found Shirin Rai's conceptualisation of the politics of performance framework very useful. It is intellectually structured, well designed, clearly observable, and accessible. As mentioned previously, the focus on the theoretical framework was three chapters. The first chapter was on the framework and concepts that have been used to understand the AKP. This was clearly for determining and analysing the repertoire of the AKP. This also pointed out the performative nature of the power of the actors of the AKP, as their contradictory positions gave a hint. The second chapter was about conceptualising performativity in the contemporary world. This chapter is to make a common meaning of the performative nature of social relations in the era we live in. Thus, while the former chapter addresses the repertoire of the AKP, the latter addresses to have a repertoire between you, as the audience of this research and me.

The third chapter was about in-depth research on theatrical studies, which was even more challenging since theatrical studies have rich and complex literature. The goal of that chapter was to gain insight from theatrical literature to possible angles for conducting research on the politics of performance framework so that we can

understand the AKP better. In other words, one of my aims at theoretical framework was to conduct in-depth research, especially on theatrical studies, so that we can have a better understanding of performative politics in the contemporary world. Thus, the third chapter aimed to answer how we can conduct such research better with insights from theatrical studies. I had addressed some significant problems of the contemporary world, and while doing such research, it became clear that because performances themselves are historically specific, we need to add the third axis; locating performance in time and space.

This chapter of the methodology will address those axes and I will reconstruct Rai's two axes and add the third one. The first axis for mapping individual performance on Rai's framework includes four intersecting elements: The Body In/On View, Staging Representation, Auditory Power of Words/Scripts/Speech/Voice, and Performative Labour. The second axis is about the political affects of a performance. This includes authenticity, which I will address as an attempt to reach towards an aura, mode of representation, a moment of liminality, and resistance to claim-making. The third axis for locating performance in time and space includes three intersecting elements; actor's world, audience's world and creating performance's world.

3.2.2.2. The First Axis: Mapping Individual Performance

The first one is the body in/on view, which is reading bodies through their appearances. Body appearance on a stage in front of an audience is inherently a performance. There are many angles to examining a body on stage. Understanding how bodies influence communication is particularly crucial for comprehending exclusion (Coole, 2007) and inclusion. The image of a body represents and reproduces the somatic norms, which reflects the limitation on the audience's imagination. The image of a body is not simply a limitation of the actors' appearances but alerts the audience with its normation procedures. In other words, the appearance itself is limited by the audience's expectations, and it also creates a normation process that affects the audience. The presence of different appearances in the view of an audience challenges such normation. As Anagnost (2004) points out, "if bodies are read as expressions of value … these expressions as a kind of coded text … value becomes a means for following the transcoding of inequalities that simultaneously operates in the production of

economic, social, political, and affective value bodies" (p. 192), thus every different appearance challenges the audience's imagination in which repertoire becomes in question.

To clarify, an appearance of a body forms through social relations (Butler, 1997, 1999; Disch, 1999). These relations form the ways in which they are presented, including giving consent to, or resisting this cultural construction. The appearance of a body of an actor leads them to perform in a historically specific and culturally framed way that shows their ability to gain support from their audience. But more importantly, as the actor appears on stage, 'he' has the power to reconstruct the imagination of the audience and transform what is and how it should be. This is clearly a reflection of the power relations that crystalises on the display of a body in which dress, words, gestures inform the audience and, consciously or not, draw attention to the appearance in which the power of the normation processes becomes visible. As I have mentioned in the theoretical framework, there is no other layer than the performance itself. In this sense, recognising identity is being performed reveals the possibilities, and thus class, sexuality, gender can play our difference in bodily appearance through performance and their reception. For this research, while we are focusing on the case study, I will carefully analyse bodily appearance on performances with no stone unturned. In other words, the bodily appearance itself also addresses the audience and leads to a normation process, including reconstructing identity, which will be addressed in detail while addressing the case study.

One of the insights that I had addressed in the theoretical framework was that costumes and makeups are ideal tools for altering an actor's movement and appearance and are utilised to engage with the audience; it is clear that we must address both of those elements. The costumes and makeups reflect their appearance and, for example, as rallies during elections are performed in different locations, actors have a tendency to dress accordingly. This means that both costumes, as well as makeup, also reflects the goal of the performance. Costumes that are worn by actors may cover the entire body, and makeup may cover the entire face. If a researcher can get close enough and since the costumes and makeups must be practised, then she or he can observe the goal of the actor and why 'he' dresses the way 'he' does, uses that costume and that makeup.

Not only backstage information but also stage information on costumes and makeups are useful.

Also important to mention, as Park (2018) rightfully underlines, makeup and costumes allow actors to hide their expressions which could create reactions among the audience. Both have the power to enhance emotionally engaging with the audience as well as to disrupt the narrative. For example, an actor who wants to appear young and healthy to energise the audience could be seen as cold just because of the costumes and makeup unfitted to actors desired appearance.

In addition to the importance of makeup and costumes related to bodily appearance, another significant finding in the theoretical framework was the importance of the use of physical gestures, particularly fascial muscles. As Stanislavski (1949) rightfully highlight is that to engage with the audience, an actor should repeat and learn what to perform on stage, which enables actors to recall and better play the physical actions and emotions. Physical gestures assist actors in emotionally engaging with the audience. As Baker et al. (2016) rightfully underline, theatrical performance warrants arrangement of emotions through physical gestures because the character found appearance in actor's body.

Physical gestures aid in the release of emotions in scenes, especially concerning certain emotions and certain parts of a performance. For example, when addressing the subject of fear, the emotions should correspond to physical gestures in such a way that actors should replicate feelings on their appearances, whether they are standing motionless or moving. Imagine an actor performing to make an audience feel anger. As the audience, we can understand the anger from his appearance. Specific facial expression is a signature of the actor which makes the audience angry, hopeful, or even happy. As Hischak (2019) underlines, actors must be conscious of their gestures and maintain control over the information conveyed via them. This is hard since unintentional gestures are also a possibility on a live stage, yet, it is crucial for the framework since physical gestures, especially facial muscles, are an essential part of engaging with the audience.

Another significant finding was the importance of using the body outside the stage as part of a performance. The waiting gestures to take a stage, for example, is actually a

part of the performance that we cannot disregard. If the actor sits on a chair and uses a computer, it reflects something, whereas if the actor is staying in the audience, it reflects something else. Moreover, as mentioned in the theoretical framework, an external voice can be used to define the body in multiple ways. Such performances reach a peak when an external 'god-like' sound becomes part of a performance. The coordination with external sounds is essential, which I will address later, but what is important to note here is that as I have address in the theatrical studies, it became clear that external voices are being used while imagining the body. In this sense, the body helps contextualise the scene that has been narrated. For example, as Erdoğan walks in the ale, a tick manly sound anchor calls the leader of the region, leader of the world, with many compliments, and this description of the actor merges with his bodily appearance walking to the stage. In other words, as the body of Erdoğan walks to the stage, he helps his audience to imagine who is the one that the anchor is calling. As mentioned, a good anchor is always part of performative politics on the live stage, which I will address in the case study. This helps actors reconstruct the audience's imagination of 'who' he is.

The appearance of the body is important because it is the very first point of engagement of the actor with the audience. The very first encounter starts a series of assumptions that feed from the repertoire. In this sense, actors of performative politics have a tendency to fill that moment with visible messages. For example, Rami Hamdallah, the head of the unity government of Palestine in 2018, appeared on stage like an academic. From his appearance, the audience could understand that he was not a strong actor of performative politics. While he spoke, the assumptions among the audience became true. By quick research, one could see that he was an academic who received his MA from the University of Manchester and his Ph.D. from Lancaster University (New Palest, 2013). As I have mentioned previously, such assumption among the audience does not necessarily be accurate, but in most cases, the precondition of such repertoire informs the actors on stage about how to represent the selected character. As Chekhov rightfully points out about his play The Seagull, in a performance, "one must never place a loaded rifle on the stage if it isn't going to go off. It's wrong to make promises you don't mean to keep" (Goldberg, 1976 as cited in Lotker, 2021).

The second one is staging representation. An appearance of an actor constitutes its reality in time and space. The stage is where the actors of performative politics take their appearance. As the performance appears in that specific time and space, it forms with symbols and shapes a backdrop; it takes a stage. A stage is a part of the presentation in which performative politics is being performed. There is an apparent struggle to take that space, in which actors declare their power to reflect, reconstruct, and claim the repertoire. As the body appears on the stage, it merges character and the actor, and reveals a performance by occupying the stage and speaking from performance's world through actor's body to "creating an aesthetic marking" (Rai, 2014, p. 1183). Sure, this does not mean that it has to be in an institutional space. It can be on buses, event centres, stadiums, opera houses, or a dining hall in a dormitory.

The space where the performance occurs not simply matters because of its capacities like acoustics, but as importantly, this is where an actor finds a space to reach and form an appearance as a reflection of the audiences' norms like statehood, sovereignty, strength, legitimacy with 'objects' and 'architecture' (Goodsell, 1988). As Lefebvre rightfully underlines, the localities, regions, and associations are attached to the particularity of the space (Lefebvre 1976–1978 as cited in Brenner & Elden, 2009, p. 360). This means that the spatial reflection is within the performance itself that reflects the repertoire. The usage of space allows us to see what the performance aim is even before the performance itself.

Such stages also have a backstage, where performance takes its finest shape which is "integral to the performance" (Heath-Kelly, 2021, p. 282). This is where unrecognised labour comes in. The backstage is somewhere unseen, but at the core of a performance, where directorial decisions are made, scripts are written, and performance comes into labour. Backstage is an important space that needs attention not only because of its invisibility to the audience and researchers but, more importantly, it is the place where "produces self-regulating subjects" with its pure power. As Rai (2014) rightfully points out from Sturken and Cartwright (2009), this space "is integral to system of power and ideas about knowledge" (p. 94). However, this is one of the most complex parts to focus on due to the limited access to the backstage.

Both the backstage and the stage merge into a performance that affects the audience's imagination. Mapping performances' way of appearance on a stage and into our imagination is essential to recognise since such recognition reveals the nature of a performance, which allow us to question the fragile nature of performances and, most importantly, undoes the fantasy.

As I have underlined in the theoretical framework, the stage is the space where actors use to reach their audience and have a voice (Hischak, 2019) and the audience as customer treats the stage as a glory place. This is why it is crucial to ensure that the stage represents the message. Stage captures the part of the realness and appears as real in the audience's world (Stanislavski, 1950). As a researcher of performative politics, we must address the stage as the part of the performance not simply because it is part of it, but more importantly, the message of the stage reflects, affects and influence both the audience and the performance itself. We cannot distinguish one another. An actor's world, audience's world and performance's world engage on that stage at that specific time and space. A good example is that if the actor wants to reconstruct an understanding of time, such as a new national holiday, the actor will decorate the stage accordingly.

The stage is part of the performance, and the researchers of performative politics should address it. Lighting, for example, is significant for a performance. As Abulafia underlines, theatrical lighting enhances visual aspects to portray emotions (2016). As theatrical lighting strives to evoke emotional responses in the audience, it has an important impact with new technologies on today's audience. The visual element of emotions, whether upsetting or joyful, is illuminated with a broad palette of lights. The aesthetic beauty of specific types of light, for example, implies hope. Moreover, lighting in a performance empowers actors to engage with the audience without explicitly disturbing the performance (Brockett et al., 2017). Light, on the other hand, retains its power as a distinct variant in that engages with the audience's innermost emotions. It can even be used to trigger the audience to question the alienated nature of the bourgeois economy (Ridout, 2006). In this sense, Rai rightfully points out the significance of the staging performance. From the findings, in addition to the extreme importance of the stage and backstage, the use of light should be part of understanding the stage.

The third is the auditory power of scripts, words, speeches, and voices. Butler (1997) underlines that the words and their constant reproduction and repetition serve to the normation in which they gain the power to regulate (and challenge) the norms. As actors gain a wider audience, they have more power over their audience. While there has been a significant amount of research on speech, including an embodiment of identities, acts, we also must focus on voices themselves, which is clear that voices, speech, and bodies work together. Recognition of the power of voices and words allows us to analyse the voice in which these acts are performed with. By doing so, the voices such as recognisable accents, songs, tempo, pitch, or rough 'manly' sounds will be more visible.

Voices strike the correctness and legitimacy of meaning-making and reveal the power where some voices are 'appropriate' to be heard while others are excluded (Rancière, 2011). We also should recognise the voices occupying spaces, including shouting, clapping, and collectively replying to the actors. It is important to note here that the voices are not conceptualised to represent recognition or points of view to be heard but literally voices themselves. It is not theoretically conceptualised as being seen or heard, but voices are literally voices. This does not mean being seen is unrelated since the appearance on the stage as well as being able to perform as an actor is a way to be recognised, to be seen, and forms in the materialisation of social relations, yet, voices, as conceptualised in this context, are voices themselves.

Voices often "territorialises spaces" (Rai, 2014, p. 1184). As mentioned, most of the contemporary scholars focus on the voices in the streets since their object is the people and protests, but the voices are also used in order to discipline and call attention to something, for example, the theme sounds of news. They appear in all forms, including national anthems and songs that claim unity or anger and fear among the audience. This is one of the core elements of a performance that I will address strictly, especially in relation to the election songs and what they stand for.

As we have underlined in the theoretical framework, voices are essential. They project power relations. On a live stage, vocal characterisation represents a distinctive quality of the character that is being presented. It can reflect anger, age, or sexual preferences. It characterises the actor in the imagination of the audience. As Flam and Kleres (2019)

rightfully underlines, actors find the character's specific way of emotional expression. As a result, actors performing on stage use a variety of voices to fulfil the character's needs throughout a performance. The tonal quality and use of the actor's voices helps bring out emotions like joy and fear (Hischak, 2019). When used well, for example, an actor performing an angry character would be expected to use a threatening tone and 'he' engages with the audience to make them feel.

While analysing a performance's voices, another critical aspect is the dialects or accents. Dialects or accents can indicate where someone is from and how he had educated. Actors of performative politics often use accents and many fails. Again, I should note that performative politics in the contemporary world works through emotions. To engage with the audience, performance must be genuine, and as Kaay and Kathleen (2016) underline, actors should alter their natural voices and portray broad gestures. In this sense, accents and dialects are precise and pinpoint the narrative. They have the potential to engage with an audience on a deep level, but also they have the potential to fail dramatically. This is why a researcher of performative politics needs to consider the dialect or accents as part of auditory power.

As mentioned above, the body and voice work together, which works on a different level with external voices (Hulton, 2012). This external sounds/voices work perfect as it appears out of thin air, 'he' not only directs the audience to sing, clap, and act collectively, which I had defined as the Zuschauerifying process, but also define the condition of the audience with relation to performance. The voice appears as an authority and leads the mass society. This is another critical aspect that a researcher on performative politics should focus on. As mentioned, a good example is that there is almost always an external tick manly sound of an anchor calling Erdoğan to the stage. Such a voice can also be used as a flashback for voice over, and the voice may reveal information about the past, present and future. This could even be a subject of its own for the researchers of performative politics, and it is an essential point for the framework.

The audience's engagement and focus are affected by an actor's voice. Weakly projected voices make a performance inaudible, and as a result, the audience is unable to comprehend the performance's narrative. An actor's changing the vocal (reflecting

characterisation) during a performance is also a major consideration. For example, if the actor's pace is same, the audience lose interest in the performance (Brockett et al., 2017). In this sense, hitting the right notes, power and intensity, tempo, the pitch of the speech and voice quality are significant to focus for a research on performative politics.

Tempo, for example, is important since if the actors speak too slow, it is hard to engage with the audience. Tempo is the speed of communication that conveys different states of mind and feelings like hate or peace. Pitch, on the other hand, is a way of engaging with the audience. Hulton (2012) claims that when characters employ pitch precisely, it immediately portrays the performers' emotions. Moreover, the scene captures an aura when the pitch corresponds and reflects the power dynamics between characters (Hischak, 2019). The one-time nature of that moment has a significant influence on the audience, which should reflect the emotion that actors want to present.

As the voices reflect the character, a mistake in pitch or tempo could lead to a problem for the actors of performative politics. As I had mentioned in the theoretical framework, actors have a performative capital which directly built upon what is being expected from them to appear. However, voice has the power to disrupt performance and even lead to resistance from the audience, like using humour. An excellent example of the importance of voices can be understood with Erdoğan's speech on 27th of March 2014 in Van (Selçuk, 2014). His voice was very high-pitched. This was because of all the performance he made during that election campaign, and even though this can be recognised as a health issue, the performance undoubtedly failed. It further led to resistance with humour to the narrative by mocking him with remixes and videos.

The fourth element is performative labour. It is essential to recognise the sweats and tears; the labour itself always produces value. Accepting the fact that labour produces value has an important affect on recognition of the labour that might be behind closed doors. As Shapiro (2013) underlines, we almost always do not recognise the labour that drives and creates value in a performance. Since performative politics affects everyday performance and that the everyday performance provides a repertoire to work on, then the question of labour that forms such performances becomes crucial.

In a rally, for example, what actors want to achieve is to be heard by their audience. Sure, performing in public is easier to some, to those who have performed and addressed their pressure of alienation, and hard to others, the trick of a performance is clearly not simply based on the 'star quality' that you are born with but rather the star quality that you worked for.

There is an education that consumes hours of work, forms with anxiety, and still possible to be not good enough. The scripts, for example, could have been written and rewritten for days and still possible to be not good enough. It is much more challenging to recognise performative labour since they are done by informal training behind closed doors. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognise. For example, as mentioned, Former Prime Minister Davutoğlu's 'Erdoğanisation' process in time, as mentioned previously, transforming from being a professor to a 'manly' actor like Erdoğan is extremely visible. In addition to such training, rehearsal time is also important. Rehearsal time is important because this is the time for discussion or coaching (Hischak, 2019, p. 104). As many actors of performative politics do not find time to rehearse their speeches, especially in elections, they make mistakes like misaddressing their audience. However, technology allowed them to make fewer errors over time, mainly due to the prompters, which are not visible to audience, that make actors perform more naturally. Performative labour is the labour that is behind a performance, which is not clearly visible. Then the question of reaching towards an aura has a direct relation with the labour behind it. Performance can still be misunderstood or unsuccessful for any other reason, but the significance of performative labour is outstanding.

As underlined before in the theoretical framework, we must recognise the acting method. As researchers of performative politics search from different methods, locating performance in time and space allow a researcher to address the needed method. For us, this should be Stanislavski's method. This is because the mass society is at a performance to consume and emotionally engage with the performance in the contemporary world, and for actors of performative politics, the Stanislavski method is much better since it recognises the importance of engaging with the audience and 'casting a spell' on them.

As mentioned previously, psychological capacity in recalling, imagining, and performing emotions need a good amount of labour (Toma, 2019). I had mentioned that there are several factors Stanislavski's method points out. As the actor on stage feels physically and psychologically pressured to be in front of others, action should always be there, embodied with the narrative. A good example is imagining an actor building a fire on stage. Stanislavski points out that to build that fire, one needs to make sure that dry woods are dry, matchbox or lighter should be on the actor and act accordingly (Stanislavski, 1936). Such simple details, like having the lighter on the actor, gives the narrative to the actor's imagination, and this turns into action. As the audience, we can clearly observe this as it becomes much smoother. In other words, we can detect whether there is an action. It is also important to note once again that imagination plays a crucial role in good acting (Chekhov, 2019; Stanislavski, 1936). The narrative, characters, story, stage, voice, light, in short, everything is built on imagination. Yet, the imagination here is the recallings of the actor. As an actor acts, 'he' should have been imagined that position and recall their emotions and actions.

Moreover, Stanislavski points out that this imagination should be broken into units of action (Stanislavski, 1936). This means that the performative politics framework can capture such moments. As the researcher is also an audience, one can clearly see the units and objectives of the patterns. In other words, as the performance is divided into different themes, researchers can observe these themes. For example, imagine an actor making the audience feel angry. After a couple of minutes, the conversation turns into hope. This is clearly what Stanislavski talks about. The narrative is divided into different emotions and makes the total in pieces.

It is also noteworthy that Brecht's model is also visible to a researcher of performative politics. If the actor addresses the audience, makes them realise, distance the audience and tries to make them question, this clearly aligns with Brecht's epic style. This is because the goal of the Epic Theatre was to trigger the audience to question the reality that they live in and turn them into Beobachten (Ridout, 2020). For Brecht, art could be more than art; for him, it could be a tool to trigger masses. In this sense, Brecht's approach was epic, whereas Stanislavski's method was more poetic. As I will address in the case study, we can see the differences, and it is noticeable that Erdoğan uses poetic methods to engage with his audience.

In this sense, the script itself is also crucial for mapping individual performance. This is not simply because it is the message wanted to be sent. But as importantly, the method of acting is also embedded within the scripts. Scripts direct actors and lead them on how to act. For example, if the script wanted to spread fear with reason, which we did see that reason could be manipulated like in the Grand Guignol, then the actors could even use scientific facts. Another good example is that if the script has a poem or song, then the actor should use their voices, pitches, and tempo perfectly; otherwise, the goal of that performance would not affect the audience in the way that was intended. If the scripts include triggering narrative like questions to the audience with unimagined possibilities, then actors inevitably perform differently. I had underlined the difference between engaging the audience with relation to triggering the audience to question everyday life. In this sense, scripts could convey almost two opposing sides in the contemporary world either "recourse to facts, logical, reason" or "speak directly to "the heart" by engaging emotions" (Strauss, 2021, p. 408). As mentioned, the latter is welcomed more by the audience due to the audience's ready to consume mass nature in the contemporary world.

Another topic that I had addressed in the theoretical framework was the power of the ambiguity. According to Benjamin, stories are constructed around ambiguity (Benjamin, 1936). He gives a positive value to this, but as it is clear, actors of performative politics appear on stage as a storyteller and use this ambiguity as a tool. In this sense, such ambiguity is a subject for scripts in which actors perform accordingly. This would include surprising facial gestures or anger. In all cases, it is clear that the performative politics framework should consider the significance of scripts to map the individual performance.

In addition to bodily appearance, staging, auditory power and voices, performative labour and scripts, the last extension to the first axis is the performative capital. When actors of performative politics repeatedly appear on stage, whether or not they are successful, they gain an emotional connection with the audience. This capitalises over time in the imagination of the audience. Performative capital is the emotional bond that develops between the actor and the audience over the course of a series of performances. It is a capital in the imagination of the audience. Actors in performative politics are always looking for a solid memory-based influence on an audience that

can last for a long time, be added to, or cashed out of, and even allow actors to make mistakes.

As many argue, the signature move of the actors is essential (Hischak, 2019). A character on stage is exclusively designed by the scriptwriters, and an actor always has a way of performing on stage. According to Hischak (2019), as the actors have their signature moves on performing a character, the audience have an expectation from an actor to perform the character fit the imagined way of performing the character. This is important because as the actors have a pattern on how to perform on a stage, the scripts could have a conflict with that. In this sense, performative politics is easier to recognise such a pattern since the character on stage is already constructed in the scriptwriter's imagination in relation to the actor.

The script does not come with different characters to act on stage (at least not often), but this does not change the significance of the consistencies. Any inconsistency would cash out the performative capital, whereas consistency itself is valuable. A researcher on performative politics should consider, at least to a degree, the question on performative capital, what it is built upon and address each performance whether or not there is any inconsistency of the character. This inconsistency could be caused between script\character on stage and the actor (Hischak, 2019). I will also address this in the case study to explain with examples, including whether the character is internalised by the actors via their spontaneous responses to issues, as Stanislavski (1936) suggested.

3.2.2.3. The Second Axis: Affects of Performance

The second axis of PPF is about mapping the affect of performative politics. Rai suggests four different concepts that need to be addressed for mapping the affect of performative politics. The first element that Rai points out is the authenticity of the representation. This refers to the actors' claim to represent their audience affectively (Saward, 2009), meaning that the audience needs to believe the actor is representing them. Although Rai (2014) simply points out the question in play is the authenticity to make a claim on representing their audience and gain legitimacy, I take a step forward and argue that what she conceptualised as authenticity is not only to gain support but one of the core elements of a performance which leads a way of radically (or less)

transforming even the understanding of what legitimate is, what they themselves claim to represent and what is 'authentic' for them; as I have previously underlined the authenticity, which is referred as reaching towards an aura in this research, it is one of the core elements of a performance that affects the audience. Performance needs to try to reach towards an aura to strongly affect the audience so that actors on stage has the power to transform the audience's meaning-making and reconstruct their very identity. Such formation takes its purest appearance in the assuredness and conformity formed by the actors with the power of landscape of the audience's imagination. Attempting to reach towards an aura and making a performance as one of a time experience as possible to the audience is at play as an ontological state in which constantly finds new ways of performing its being.

Questioning authenticity is essential, as many actors of performative politics claim to represent their audience as an authentic leader; there are significant problems in conceptualising authenticity. As previously mentioned, authenticity is one of the last remaining mystical residues in Rai's framework. This is directly linked with the question about representation and the ability to be heard, and in the Turkish case, for example, is significantly problematic due to the actors' constant effort to minimise such spaces to the others through controlling mass media and owning other means. We can point out the formation of an audience in which the social relations lead to some sort of force to stabilise the society through performative politics that tries to create an aura. In other words, even the spaces became limited for new actors, the actors who are performing "deemed to be authentic" (Rai, 2014, p. 1185); otherwise, as they lose their constant attempts to reach towards an aura, they lose their power to influence their audience and ability to reproduce the power relations in which they are privileged.

Researching the question on aura is significant. The performative politics framework should use Benjamin's concept of aura, as I had addressed in the theoretical framework. There are some inconsistencies in Benjamin's concept because as he argued that the aura has disappeared, the mass production of new media appears as a tool conceptualised as if it has a possible similar affect. Benjamin argued that in the age of mechanical reproduction, the artwork losing its "one-timeness", its aura, leads to availability for mass consumption. He does not necessarily argue that this is a bad

thing as he finds hope in line with Brecht. But by contrast, he also speaks of the decline of the storytelling and the possibility of shared experience. It is clear that "less and less frequently do we encounter people with the ability to tell a tale properly…more and more often there is embarrassment all around … something that seemed inalienable to us, the securest among our possessions, were taken from us." (Benjamin, 1936, p. 36).

I have concluded in the theoretical framework that as aura is disappearing, the actors of performative politics appear on stage like a storyteller, and what happens is that they attempt to reach towards an aura, making the performance one of a time experience. Rai defines this as authenticity, but I found that reaching towards an aura is more precise to conceptualise for performative politics, and there is an excellent reason for that. The major schools of thought in theatrical studies debates on how authenticity is read. The conceptual debates on authenticity in terms of the personal and subjective level appears especially in relation to Stanislavski (1949). In contrast, Brecht, for example, refashions the authenticity since he believes that the reality must be depicted in his practices. In this sense, the dramatization of societal inflexion points through an aesthetic alienation of the audience leading to political reconstruction through using rationale in which the audience consider alternative paths for everyday life.

For framework's narrative, as the goal is to analytically conduct a research on a performance and not to create a further mysticism, it is better to conceptualise as 'an attempt to reach towards an aura' rather than 'authenticity' since the one of a timeness in that specific time and space is the driving motive for the conceptualisation of aura and the concept of authenticity is much more mystically formed, and overly used.

The question of reaching towards an aura is concerned with the one-timeness of the performance. As Benjamin (2006) rightfully underlines, the conceptualisation of aura concerns the incapability to reproduce based on one-of-a-kind experience in a time and space. This makes such performance important in the eyes of the audience since they would never catch that moment again the same way that they do. In this sense, actors of performative politics always try to make it creative while keeping the original message since they must build it on a narrative. For example, they could change their accent, their costumes, their voice, they could sing and use different effects to try to

make performance one of a time experience for the audience. Meanwhile, they have to send a message to all.

Mechanical reproduction is part of the question of reaching towards an aura for two main reasons. The first reason is that the art form loses its one-timeness and its original form (Benjamin, 1935). The decrease in value is a result of losing its aura, meaning the art piece is no longer performed in that specific time and space. This also means it is no longer unique. The second is that these replications are also a topic for performative politics framework as the performance wanted to reach and influence a significant amount of audience (maximum possible). Thus, while actors of performative politics try to make it as one of a time experience, they still have to perform for the reproduction. This means, a performance is not only being performed to influence the audience on a live stage but also forms with concerns about the mass production. In this sense, the performative politics framework is also concerned with this attempt to make it one of a time irreplaceable experience while also organising it for the ones who are watching on different platforms.

The second concept is the mode of representation. One of the most remarkable works done by Clifford Geertz (1980), which I have referred to multiple times already, can be very informative to understand this conceptualisation. Geertz highlights that through performances, we tell stories to our audience as well as to ourselves about themselves and ours. Stories, in this sense, form the meaning. The mode of representation is framed with literally visible and clearly recognisable narratives and symbols. As Bruner (1996) points out, such relation is interactional and framed within common narratives. Bruner's constructivist version of performative politics forms in a methodological individualist way, so it leads to a conclusion that an I (in)form through action and language-based representation.

Although Bruner has a significant point, it is needed to be addressed that such a micro-level of focus misses the whole process in general that the performative politics with words in a script, appearance, and stage also a process of subjectification and formation of its audience as a whole. Moreover, although words are indeed a way of forming the structures, also non-verbal communication is a part of such formation (Rai, 2014, p. 1186). It is a fact that performing is socially constructed. Learning how

to perform in front of others is embedded within that knowledge. Such knowledge reproduces the way in which actors learn to perform via education, including manuals and courses. In other words, the way how to perform and the mode for that performance is historically specific and framed by the social world.

The third point is the question of the moment of liminality. Turner (1967), as previously mentioned, defined such movements as a realm of possibilities. It is a space where "disruption of the stable is possible" (Rai, 2014, p. 1186). Performative politics have the power to transform the audience's imagination to reproduce their power to have the stage. The question on liminality creates a space for acting in unexpected ways. This is a significant point because as actors of performative politics reconstruct the repertoire, they could create a radical change since it can lead to a lasting moment of liminality. In other words, actors are capable of transforming social relations (Alexander, 2006) with a moment of liminality, and a question for further studies should be: how much influential power does an actor need to make such influence over their audience to create a lasting moment of liminality?

A significant point of performative politics is the fragility that could occur both against the performance but also with the performance in that very movement of liminality. It is fragile, as Turner (1982) underlines when examining rituals; it defies and confronts the limits. Turner defines movements of liminality as 'dangerous' since it flattens the hierarchies in which individuals are formed. This negative perspective on the state of liminality is quite problematic for a perfect reason. The so-called danger that Turner classifies is not only the reality of everyday life but also inevitable. This instability is inherent to the capitalist economy, which has the most significant impact on forming social hierarchies in the contemporary world, not to mention performing in everyday life itself.

Turner's reservation on such movement is somehow understandable since in the state of liminality, the audience show outside the known boundaries of the repertoire. They can behave in many extreme ways with unimaginable acts. Nevertheless, such power should not be classified as unfavourable but rather a radical behaviour that has the power to change the narrative. As Szakolczai (2000) stretches such a moment of liminality to a permanent state in which he challenges Turner's limitations on how far

such a moment can last, I agree with Szakolczai that the moment of liminality has a permanent affect. When the liminal moment passes and actors once again become the subjects of law, still, the impact of such moment of performative politics remains and has significant power that can even redefine customs and laws.

The fourth concept is resistance to claim-making. Most performances are accepted to a degree by the audience, but still there is a good amount of performance that is rejected or mocked by the audience even during the performance. It is important for the performative politics framework to focus on those resistance if there is any. For example, a slow-paced performance was done by Kahraman in the Kudüs gathering that I will address in the case study resisted by the audience shouting for Erdoğan to take the stage. Such resistance can appear in multiple ways. Street demonstrations are the most visible one, yet, such mobilisation can form a resistance with or without (and despite of) an actor of performative politics in the contemporary world, which is not the primary subject of this study.

Another way resistance can appear during a performance is through mimicry and "menace – where hegemonic codes are challenged, but through words that are recognised by the hegemon" (Rai, 2014, p. 1187). This means that repertoires can be subverted in the language that is dominant (Alexander, 2006). As I had underlined in the theoretical framework, those who perform to resist through mobilisation and mimicry can use a similar language and script of the dominant actors.

In addition to mobilisation and mimicry, resistance can also be passive. Being passive somehow has a negative connotation in the repertoire, predominantly because of contemporary capitalism, but the resistance in such form can be very destructive (and constructive). Ignoring, not paying attention, or overlooking as an audience to a performance can disrupt the power relation, and as I have already underlined, the audience and actors only together make the performance a reality. They are the two sides of the same coin. Not only the message that an actor wants to deliver clearly is not received on the audience's end, and they are resisting to receive it, but also such circumstances disrupt actors' ability to perform further in an enthusiastic, influential way.

Another significant way of resisting performance is humour. It is important to note here that while humour is frequently used to resist the powers' narrative, it is also possible to be used by the authorities on stage since it significantly affects the repertoire. Temel, for example, the name used in the Turkish racist jokes, has been disappeared from the Turkish repertoire of names. In other words, no one wants to name their child Temel anymore. This shows the power of humour on the repertoire.

In this sense, humour is used both to implement discourses and affect the repertoire by the actors of performative politics and also to resist the power's narrative. For example, the jokes against the AKP at Gezi Park were phenomenal, which created a significant influence on the audience. Another good example of resistance to such a claim-making was made by the Worker's Party of Turkey (TIP) (Tele1, 2021). While Vice President of Turkey, Fuat Oktay, was speaking for the budget of 2022, TIP members started to play a song called 'lie' with a tiny loudspeaker. TIP members as the audience of that speech made this resistance to get a penalty so that they can have a speech with their right to answer for disrupting the procedures. What was more interesting is that while the Vice President of Turkey was performing a speech, TIP members interrupted with a song in which everybody, including other members of the parliament, was shocked. They did not have any preparation whatsoever for such a situation, and that very moment of disruption was a perfect representation of the fragile nature of performative politics.

A performance itself could even cause such resistance. Fake blood, high-pitch sounds, funny or damaged costumes or scripts could cause resistance from the audience (Gordon, 1988). The physical representation of elements, voices, body usage, every part of a performance open to contestation and live performance is fragile in nature. An actor of performative politics could call wrong names of the city, their pronunciation, or pitches could lead to a colossal misfire. As Rai rightfully underlines the significance of resistance to claim-making, it is important for the performative politics framework to consider in two levels. Such possibility for resistance could be already formed, for example, by the opposition, pre-performance. But it also can be very well form by the performance itself unintentionally. In this sense, the performative politics framework's focus on the resistance to claim-making should be in two dimensions; caused by the counter movement and performance itself.

3.2.2.4. The Third Axis: Locating Performance in Time and Space

In line with Rai's work, we had focused on the two axes of politics of performance framework. I added several insights that I had learned from the theoretical framework, especially from the theatrical studies. The theoretical framework allowed me to recognise what has been missing in Rai's work, a third axis; locating performance in time and space. Although Rai's framework suggested that actors perform and "do not do so in a vacuum-social relations embedded them as cultural histories, political economy, everyday norms and rituals" (p. 1182), the performative politics framework must include much detail on the changing nature of the performance itself. I am not only addressing the historically specific repertoire that actors came out of but, as importantly, the way in which performance is able to be performed in that time and space.

A performance cannot be imagined beyond time and space. This is not simply a question of one-timeness that I had addressed previously but rather an analysis of the conditions that a performance occurs. The conditions that we live in constantly transforms and has significant affects on repertoire, audience, actors, how to perform, what performance mean and many other dimensions.

Clearly, performative politics, especially dramaturgical ways of performing, is nothing new but the condition that it occurs like the capitalist economy or technological enhancements can change dramatically in time and space. For example, changes in audio-visual technologies allow new ways of performing on stage, like holograms. This is clearly about technological enhancements for performing in that specific time with specific technology. In addition to performance itself, the condition that performance occurs, the historical background, the repertoire itself affects what type and how a performance occurs. In this sense, on the one hand, we have improvements, changing technologies, enhancements that affect both performance and the political affect of that performance.

On the other hand, we have the conditions that the actor brought the character onto the stage. This is both refers to the condition of the audience as well as the actors. Thus, I have concluded that we need to address this dimension as the third axis and concluded that the third axis on locating performance in time and space needed to be divided into

three categories; the actor's world, the audience's world, and the performance's world. While the first two refers to a specific time and space related to actors that emerged in the context in that specific repertoire, and audience, who influenced by social conditions that they live in, the latter refers to the technological enhancements, possible ways of reaching the audience, tools available for a performance to create a 'performance's world' at the time being.

In this sense, the third axis of the performative politics framework locates a performance in its condition. It is clear that there are more significant influences than others. For example, neoliberalism directly influences the repertoire, which affects all dimensions. We cannot compare performance in ancient times to today without acknowledging its spatio-temporal condition. This is clearer as time changes and technology develops, especially when we consider the last decade or so, the transformation in imagining the performance's world is remarkably noticeable.

The dimensions of the actor's world and audience's world are concerned with the repertoire it emerges as well as with relation to changes in what is global in nature like capitalism. For example, Stanislavski's method is more influential in the contemporary world because the audience as a mass society is at that performance to consume. Thus, poetically connecting and casting a spell on the audience is more influential than realistic representations (Hischak, 2019).

There are many points to consider within the actor's world and the audience's world, including but not limited to emotional patterns like the audience's tendency to love coherence, as the bourgeois economy has a great impact on how we construct emotions, or as Ridout rightfully points out, the alienated nature of the audience. We can expand these conditions such as shorter attention span (on a task), which became especially relevant last decade with increasing use of phones and social media that increases reachability/accessibility or hyper-information that pushed through multiple channels which caused an information dump.

I had addressed the dimensions of the actor's world and the audience's world in two different parts of this research. We had focused on the condition of the actor's world and the audience's world in the contemporary era throughout the theoretical framework. The second part will be addressed in the case study.

In addition to these two dimensions, the third axis of the performative politics framework would also focus on the performance's world. To make an influential performance, understanding 'performance's world' is important. What Stanislavski points out in relation to performance's world is understanding that imagined world. However, I address this concept from a different angle. As Stanislavski uses a more static form of the imagined world or stage's world as performance's world, I address this in the creational level that is more dynamic in the sense that the imagined possibilities for forming that world are also changing dramatically. In other words, even though the imagined world of performance is the performance's world, creating and imagining that stage with new possibilities changes the performing nature on that stage. This means that technological enhancements create new worlds for acting on stage. In this sense, a researcher on performative politics must consider the condition for imagining that performance. For example, technological enhancement of performative politics in the last decade became greatly visible. To name a few, computer actors, holograms, new lighting systems, on-off beats, digital recording with external voices, long-range speakers, enormous screens, online platforms, photoshops, live filters, augmented reality, virtual reality.

As technology has a profound impact on performative politics, performances rapidly embrace new technologies to release their creative potential to reach the masses and make the performance one of a time experience. These changes enable live performance to turn into more engaging with audience participation even post-performance (Bay-Cheng et al., 2015). Such change also transformed the nature of performative politics since it is now possible to record and capture that very moment and archive them.

In the contemporary world, technology noticeably empowers engagement with the audience. The means of communication between actors and audience constantly transforms to influence the audience. This transformation in the performance's world needs to be considered in the performative politics framework. Thus, the third axis aims to locate a performance in the condition that actors performed. In this research, I have addressed these spatio-temporal changes in multiple chapters within the theoretical framework, which made it clear that the performative politics framework needed the third axis on locating performance in time and space.

3.3. Methodology Chapter Two: Researching with the Performative Politics Framework

3.3.1. Introduction

Researching and understanding the performative politics of the AKP and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is extremely informative since both performative politics is a field that is increasingly standing out in the contemporary world, but also Erdoğan has been keen to use the most advanced technologies. Erdoğan made affective use of performance to influence his audience and achieve countless goals. His speeches, whether they represent reality or not, are now widely seen as related to emotionally engaging performances, resulting in his rising and staying in power. Even with changing discourses, his consistent powerful performances made him connect with a large audience, resulting in his electoral triumph. The extent to which he reconstructed norms and values to achieve his goals with powerful performances provides a foundation for exploring into implications of performative politics. Outstandingly, his emotionally engaging stage performance reconstructed new norms and knowledge, as evidenced by the shifting patterns of discourses. A study at his capacity to change discourses while still bringing his audience to varied ideas through emotions demonstrates the need for a deeper analysis of performative politics to understand his power and performative politics in the contemporary world.

3.3.2. Analysing with Performative Politics Framework

It is noticeable that researching performative politics is not a very old way of conducting a research. However, there is a large body of literature on the subject in theatrical studies, especially in line with discourse analysis. Discourse refers to a performative mode of communication, as language is founded on a stage that is expressed in dramaturgical ways, whether it involves words or not. In this sense, performative politics is not only in relation to language as such, but it further analyses to understand the dramaturgical ways that actors perform with relation to the audience and the social dimensions of how we perform them. In this sense, imagined conceptualisations that influence the repertoire are mostly performed and reproduced in everyday life.

Particularly, theatrical studies, which I have greatly benefited from and helped me to reconstruct the performative politics framework, is a broad field of study that draws on methodologies and theories from a variety of disciplines, including but not limited to political science. Additionally, performative politics framework has the potential to implement in different fields of study where there is an actor performing against an audience, for example, in trials.

It is also worth noting that performative politics and everyday performances have an unanticipated worldwide reach. A few examples are well-known hunger strikes or the currently expanding strikes related to repertoire influenced by Netflix's squid game tv series ("For Some South K," 2021). Performances can outspread territories even with non-verbal interactions such as throwing a "dirty shoe" to the actor on stage (Noori Farzan, 2018). Even while it is apparent that new technologies have increased the reach of a performances, the repertoire of different audiences varies according to cultural norms and comprehension of the act. This means that, just as every performance requires an audience, the key goal to influence the audience's imagination is through reconstructing the repertoire.

As Vanderveken and Kubo (2001) argue, such performances are based on the premise that language is multifunctional and may perform engaging with different emotions in different repertoires. This means that the language describes different actions in different repertoires. The utilisation of distinct elements of the statement in performances enables an audience in distilling the meaning of that performance. Although concentrating on the act itself is critical, it is still restricted to a degree on able to make the meaning as the audience while conducting a research. As an actor of performative politics takes the stage, 'he' not only engages with his audience but aims to transform their knowledge on the concepts including but not limited to time, space, norms, and values. Thus, a researcher undoubtedly becomes part of the audience.

When we research the power of performative politics, we are concerned with how actors have appeared on stage and performed mainly with the repertoire of their audience to reconstruct the meaning-making. To put it differently, research on performative politics is also concerned with the social and cultural contexts of a

performance. We cannot envision a performance without an audience, and as such, we cannot imagine an analysis of a performance without the social context that the audience is living in. According to Harrison (2011), doing such research requires using a variety of approaches and instruments to study various types of knowledge. It employs linguistic and social concepts to find particular insights in a performance, which takes place in a setting that transforms into a stage and changes over a period of time. By aiming to identify underlying meanings in a performance, such research needs to address 'hidden' but visible meanings to be made explicit (Harrison, 2011). This means that, to determine what a performance might imply, research with the performative politics framework must employ a different angles and approaches, many of which should be influenced by theatrical studies.

In this sense, the performative politics framework maps a performances by examining performances done by actors who are using dramaturgical aspects of power dynamics to engage with the audience and reconstruct their meaning making. Many academics, including but not limited to Foucault, Mouffe, or Butler, points out that such research itself is a tool to identify, which also means reconstructing the knowledge on the subject, by looking at its dynamics in history. Understanding performative politics, observing, and pointing out its nature dissolves their influence over us. In other words, rather than 'objectively' reaching towards a saturation point of a result, research on performative politics is based on the meaning-making of the structures observing the dynamics (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Bringing in and recognising performative politics is vital because, in this way, performance is recognised as a tool for influencing and articulating the meaning-making process of the actors and pushing the audience to question the influence of performative politics on their repertoire. By recognising performative politics for what they are, we could reduce their capacity to influence us by understanding and considering the differences on the precondition of that very performance and how we have been affected by it. As mentioned before, Butler rightfully underlines that social norms are extremely fluid, and ever in flux, which means that it is socially constructed around this fluidity. This means that norms and identities that are performed are part of social fluidity, and I constantly change to be through being an audience and an actor both in everyday performance and performative politics. In this sense, actors cannot

be expected to perform the same in everyday life (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). This means that people do not have a fixed character to perform.

Accepting the fact that an I transform with performative politics, we need to understand and examine this power. This can be a bit concerning for some academics since, as Foucault (1972) rightfully highlights, such analysis becomes limited use in uncovering objective knowledge. This means that not all academic research can be undertaken using formal eye-witnessing structural analysis, especially considering the fact that the researcher is necessarily a member of the audience, which inevitably involve subjective knowledge. Otherwise, instead of a non-opinionated 'formal' interpretation that they want to achieve, frequently and unintentionally express their viewpoints incorporated inside the work categorised under so-called objective perspective (Foucault, 1972). Furthermore, while the researcher's symbolic understanding of the social world or social practices may not be generally recognised, the way in which a researcher is expected to understand inevitably embodies in a symbolic world. In other words, researchers are always part of the audience, and it is critical for researchers to realise this.

In the light of understanding performative politics, being the audience of such performances through any versions recorded or not makes the experience, living in the context and thus becoming a part of the performance itself. Relevance in this framework is crucial since such knowledge can only be understood being part of that performance. For example, as Erdoğan's influential power is important to provide light on the mysticism of performances, this can only be understood by being part of the audience and knowing the repertoire. In other words, the meaning of performances of Erdoğan could only be understood by a limited audience who knows the repertoire and is part of the audience, and might mean nothing to someone who lives, for example, in Mozambique. Thus, the criticism of the analysis of performative politics framework being subjective is only relevant to a minor degree.

According to Foucault (1972), knowledge can be gained by discourse analysis, however, as the analysis produces knowledge from the discourses and (who) use discourses, the focus also be devoted to the individuals who use such discourses, context and institutions that actualised such discourses; such a research seems

subjective. However, as the tools of performative politics are held by few, the performative politics framework as a method of study deals with the formation of that performance. It is the stage, the tools, the ways of performing, and the institutions to reach the audience where few actors create an influential world in which they are able to reconstruct the repertoire with their star quality and emotionally engaging performances. They gain legitimacy, and that struggle for influential power of the stage in itself is a struggle for hegemony (Strauss, 2015).

Laclau and Mouffe (1985) highlight the question on consent by pointing out the resources on such mechanisms. This is further detailed in questioning existing power relations with and within the social practices. As mentioned previously in the theoretical framework, in line with such a conceptualisation, when viewed through the lens of performative politics, hegemony is a struggle to gain consent in which is through performative politics for reconstructing the repertoire. One example is Erdoğan's reconstruction of nationalism through Ottomanist concepts in the early era to promote his idea of a strong 'new' Turkey. In doing so, he transforms what nationalism means to his audience to gain support with everyday forms of legitimacy through everyday performance.

Actors, according to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), use and subjectify performance in order to promote specific ideas and norms. As a result, understanding how performative politics works through audience imagination is necessary for understanding the affectiveness of actors of performative politics. The impact of performative politics allows for a study of these ways of practising performative politics in order to question the way actors form "hegemony; domination in the mind" (Strauss, 2015). In other words, as performative politics work through audience imagination and reconstruct repertoire, it is significant to analyse performative politics since it is a way to gain legitimacy in which understanding time and space, including actors' ideal future forms in audience imagination.

3.3.3. Implementation and Criticism

Conducting research on performative politics is significant because it highlights the way in which actors informs the audience and reconstructs the repertoire. A researcher could utilise performative politics framework to make a meaning of diverse power

relations in various performances and repertoires. For example, in nationalist policies, a performative politics framework could offer information and insights about the connections between identity and economy and how it is actualised.

The sharpest criticism against the performative politics framework is the view that researches on performative politics are subjective. As a research methodology, the application of the performative politics framework involves a qualitative focus on visual content. However, it is impossible to conduct research without focusing on the performance and becoming the audience of that performance. Thus, the researcher's view of comprehending performance inevitably affects their analysis. Moreover, besides being part of the audience, a researcher still must know and make meaning of the repertoire. As Wodak and Chilton (2005) rightfully underline, how people write is deeply and inevitably influenced by practices. In this sense, one's perception of a performance is influenced by their knowledge, understanding, and imagination.

Furthermore, these criticisms argue that such an analysis limits the researcher and is constrained because it does not thoroughly examine various social implementations. Even if there is further research on the audience and researching the social implications of those performances, the argument is that these researches do not effectively address the practices of exclusion as the audience cannot be regarded as a homogenous group as 'one'. This means that such a way of conducting research leads to a decision on whether the subject is part of the knowledge or not (Dotson, 2011). This decision is inevitable, and a research must explain the imagined audience since when we address as an audience, the question becomes what we do mean and what kind of interaction with the performance is addressed as an audience. In other words, we categorise people, or any other concept, with power as the lead actor of such a research. This is why these researches need a detailed explanations and various views from different angles as a part of theoretical framework to explain the imagined concepts including but not limited to the audience. The main concern driving this criticism as Dotson points out is that as (an external) point of view, what kind of, presupposing of an audience, is included during its conceptualisation. This is an important criticism concerning the power to reconstruct and give a meaning to a repertoire of a research in which gives power to a researcher to define the boundaries of the concepts.

It is important to note that as researcher is part of the audience in such project, the gap between the so-called external position is likely to minimize. This is an unavoidable problem to a degree, however as we had 'self-consciously' accepted that we are part of the audience and cannot observe from outside, we inevitably cannot take knowledge of subject and treat it as knowledge of object since, I and as the audience of this research you, are also part of the subject. Moreover, the theoretical focus of performative politics does question the possibility of being objective to begin with. In the process of critical thinking, a researcher is entrusted. Addressing the social mechanism in which power operates and to make such an analysis, a researcher must accept the fact that they are not only part of the audience but simultaneously lead actor of the research. This means that neither being objective is possible nor it is desirable. Otherwise, the researcher becomes distant from the subject in question and could not fully comprehend the repertoire and the normation process.

Performative politics framework as a research tool can be used in various fields. It can be used to investigate different modes of performative politics, including but not limited to how they are performed in everyday life and how they have been performed to influence the audience. However, it is important to note here that for the performative politics framework to be applied in these studies, the researcher should conduct in-depth research on varies fields especially considering theatrical studies, since performative politics framework is relatively new and theatrical studies, for example, are reasonably rich.

The performative politics framework is an effective tool for detecting and analysing social issues in various disciplines. As a result, performative analysis has the potential to be widely used. For example, the field of law is more fixed with legal documents, laws, and already known acts. However, it is also performative and emotionally engaging, primarily through the process of judgement (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007), which became a powerful tool to trigger injustices in societies (Tripp, 2007).

Per Tripp (2013), for example, examines art as a means of resistance in everyday life against actors of performative politics in the Middle East. Tripp (2013) investigates artistic interventions that have evolved for and through struggle, as well as within the struggle that has occurred inside the institutions of the state and the political economy.

Performative politics as subject concerns with the relation between an actor and audience on how objects and issues are formed, interpreted, and expressed in social practices. Underlining such complex relationships by examining the relationship between performative politics and everyday performance with combining different approaches that is dynamic in complexities allow us to demystify the power of performative politics.

Performative politics framework mainly analyses videos, on-off beats and songs, news, official speeches and rallies by politicians, parliamentary debates, interviews, and manifestations as primary and secondary sources in time and space through addressing the use of the stage, the body of the actor, staging representation, auditory power of words/scripts/speech/voice, performative labour, scripts, attempt to reach towards an aura or resistance of the audience.

In this sense, novels, letters, books that define the repertoire might also be analysed (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002); such secondary sources can be used to understand the repertoires of that specific time and space, at least to a degree. Visual materials like television programs or YouTube videos were less common to conduct research in political science, but they became more and more visible since there is an increasing importance of performative politics in the contemporary world. Moreover, as performative politics is only part of the story, political scientists also need to analyse the other side of the coin: everyday performances. There are many areas to focus on in everyday performance, such as art. Overall, performative politics can be seen in various stages, and should be examined thoroughly.

Performative politics framework also has some similar difficulties like discourse analysis, such as inevitable emblematic issues. A part of this problem surfaces as what might be defined as inner breaths because of the inter-disciplinary nature of the research. This term refers to a tautological problem that might appear in an inter-disciplinary project by reproducing the conceptualization borrowed from one field to the other. In this sense, we should understand that some of the conceptualizations of theatrical studies are influenced by political science and vice versa. For example, borrowing terms from Nicholas Ridout's (2006) work is a great idea, but his conceptualization strongly relies on the concept of alienation that he borrowed from

Marx. By no means that Ridout was wrong, or his work could not be used, but his causation was already embedded inside the political science. To overcome such a tautological problem, I had carefully used the concepts and ideas, defined them in detail, and most importantly, recognized that such a problem may occur. This problem was addressed and overcome by maximising the depth of the concepts in the theoretical framework.

Another tautological problem that I could have had was about the performative politics framework. As I have reconstructed the performative politics framework with the research I have made, I was from the very beginning an audience of Erdoğan, whom I have critically analysed his performances. As Erdoğan was an influential actor in engaging with his audience, he clearly gave insights on how to perform as an actor of performative politics. At some point, I have started to question whether I was making a tautological mistake since the tool that I was going to observe Erdoğan with was designed the way in which Erdoğan influenced me as the audience. I was almost sure this was the biggest trap for this project. However, when I read with a critical approach to the research, I have realised that this was not the case at all. I have reconstructed one of the most used frameworks with a critical approach and added elements necessary not to examine Erdoğan but to examine any actor of performative politics. The third axis on locating time and space, or addressing the scripts separately or even demystifying authenticity with the concept of aura was not about Erdoğan per se but more on my quest on understanding performative politics better in the contemporary world. Thus, I am sure I was not fallen on to that trap.

Another problem concerning emblematic issues is that all types of performative analysis necessitate the presence of a performance. I had conducted the case study without attending any of the performances in the case study. This criticism was partially correct but made me question a more profound concern. It was clear that one cannot be there physically all the time to observe closely since even being there is not enough, had to be in front, or otherwise, one would end up watching a similar thing (not the same experience) from the screens that we can watch from the recordings. Moreover, it would not be possible to use new means and observe the past since the latest technologies, which allows ultra-high-definition visuals with spatial-audio recording features, are now available. The more profound concern, however, was more

than being at a live experience. It was the socio-economic conditions that I have observed these performances, where I would not have to worry about anything but this project. Being able to spend months watching and analysing these recordings repeatedly clearly is not the same as being an audience to attend there with millions of questions and problems in their mind. I have no clear answer to this problem which I believe almost always creates a gap between academic research and a reality. Even though I accept that this creates a gap, I must say that this is how things function today. If you have time, which is a luxury in the contemporary world, you can only then conduct research. Thus, I can only admit this is the limit of this or most research projects in the contemporary world.

In line with the concerns on the case study, another criticism rose, which was that performances chosen for the study are inextricably linked to the researcher's choice of research subject and questions. This is about the question on sampling. The performative politics framework heavily relies on qualitative methods. Thus, such research cannot be addressed with the dynamics constructed for quantitative analyses.

Sampling is one of the most concerned topic on performative politics framework like many qualitative methods. Most studies analyse a standardized object and, by doing so, standardize it and the conceptualization known by all. According to the core idea of these criticisms on sampling, a research's purpose is to reach a saturation point that there is no real need for further study. However, in practice, reaching a saturation point or even reading all relevant material on a given topic is impractical, especially when considering how common it is to conduct research in today's world and how easy to reach the relevant information. For a relatively new study area such as performative politics, the goal is to ensure performance is understood more comprehensively. And analyses are revised upon coming across different performances as well as different frameworks that were not included previously in addressing performative politics. This takes a great amount of time and effort just to consider the meaning in depth.

Another criticism relies on the fact that as performance appears on many occasions, such research reveals the obvious; performance is being performed in front of an audience. In other words, the researcher provides information from what is visible and apparent. Moreover, the dynamics behind the scenes, such as the writing process of

the scripts, are not clearly visible to the audience and thus cannot be analysed clearly. This means that even the individuals who are informed about the power of performative politics are partly blind because they might not be able to see past the complicated dynamics that designs a performance. Both concerns are partly valid but quite tautological since there is always a limit to gaining information for a research.

Performative politics framework is inevitable interpretive, which creates one of the most debated element as it appears like a subjective in analysis. In such a research, researchers should have a research framework that allows them to critically examine performative politics and views within the performance critically. Wodak and Chilton (2005) highlights that researchers are themselves part of an analytical system from which personal values cannot be extracted. A researcher may shape and give meaning to a performance based on their idea of the repertoire. Researchers might unintentionally choose performances that fits to their expectations, and there is a risk on projecting their perspective that reflect a prejudice on the data. As Toolan (1997) correctly underlines, conducting research like performative politics in itself aims to have a social impact by revealing its elements and demystifying it. This means that rather than focusing on inevitable weaknesses that I will address in the following part, such research should be critical and explain why the researcher thinks in such a way in detail. For example, as we focus on the use of the colours on stage, we can examine them via reflecting through a repertoire that already existed and had researched on why it reflects such a way, like the colour green recognised as nature globally but another shape of green, turquoise, is Islamic in the Turkish repertoire.

The criticism that such analysis tends to be driven ideologically is highly problematic because it accuses research by consciously (or not) implementing their biases and selectively analysing accordingly. For example, according to Fairclough (1992), because some of the content of a performance is hidden and mystified, researchers can embed their ideology into analysis by creating ideologically significant aspects and drawing suppositions from them. Such criticism goes as far as to argue that researchers conduct the research to fit their agendas (Pennycook, 2010). Indeed, as mentioned above, these criticisms are accurate to a degree, but we must also consider that a researcher must be involved in the research and become part of the audience to comprehend the repertoire. Since there are no possible ways that researchers are not

part of the audience to examine a performance, then the assumption that researchers impose their views is not applicable. Once again, it is important to note that to examine a performance, a researcher must be involved with the repertoire.

Another important criticism is, as Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000) underline, there is always an overreliance on common sense in such research. This is a more substantial criticism since common sense or what we can imagine as repertoire has an influential power over the researcher and creates a risk for overreliance on common sense. On the other hand, when the researcher is aware that they have been influenced by the repertoire, only then they can imagine questioning this overreliance. To put it differently, accepting that repertoire has power over the researcher since she or he has been involved in knowing and acknowledging the repertoire allow the researcher to question the overreliance. Moreover, it is important to note that a research on performative politics recognises the fluidity of the performance in everyday life and, by doing so, promotes alternative ways to perform either on stage or in everyday life.

In this sense, the concept of hegemony will play a significant role. Particularly, Laclau, for example, argued that hegemonic power forms via conceptualising things. This means the performative politics framework when applied to Erdoğan's performance on stage, not only results in understanding the power of performative politics in the contemporary world but also addresses the way in which Erdoğan uses the power of performative politics to introduce a ruling metanarrative, a larger discursive field and a possible imagination of images, meanings, or even understanding of future, past, and present.

Researching the AKP and Erdoğan's performance on stage reveals a new way of understanding both the AKP as well as performative politics since the case highlights the importance of performative politics and provide insights. This is important to note here once again that while the research aim was to analyse the AKP as a case study with the performative politics framework, as I went in-depth research, I recognised that the AKP also provides insights about performative politics, especially considering the fact that they have been on stage more than two decades. The use of the stage to shape power relations is one of the strands that run through the analysis.

The performative politics framework addresses how actors on stage reconstruct repertoire, which forms the subject material through the performative politics framework. Specifically, PPF concerns how performative politics is used in the way in which reconstruct the repertoire that is performed in everyday life. This part of the research highlighted that the performative politics framework is a powerful research framework, but still, some concerns exist. The overall question on the AKP and Erdoğan's performances and use of the stage for reconstructing the meaning-making and forming their ideal future, the performative politics framework is the ideal tool to comprehend performativity in the era that we live in. This study generates insights on how performances are mastered on engaging with the audience that ends up reconstructing the repertoire.

Such an approach has been criticized for being subjective, tautological, providing information that is obvious, ideological driven and making it challenging to analyse unseen parts of the performances. However, to do such research, researchers must be involved, learn, and inevitably influenced by the performances to a degree since we are part of the audience. In other words, such research requires a certain level of experience on the repertoire, and those concerns are relevant to some level, but this does not change the fact that such research is necessary in understanding the contemporary world of performative politics as well as to understand the power of the AKP. The two of the strongest criticisms, on the other hand, are the overreliance on common sense and the problem of inner breath. The former one will be addressed by recognition and accepting that we are influenced by the repertoire. The latter was addressed by detailing conceptualisations in the theoretical framework.

As mentioned previously, some scholars in different disciplines will find it a bit difficult to apply the performative politics framework in their research where an 'objective' analytic approach is necessarily required. Furthermore, there might be limitations on language, which often put boundaries on analysing performative politics since the researcher lack the linguistic capacity to comprehend both the performance and the repertoire.

However, even with such barriers, I still would argue that performances are being used in such a way that actors engage with audience in the contemporary world and result

in political changes around the globe. Erdoğan's reconstruction of nationalism through Ottomanist concepts in the early era is a good example of promoting his idea of a strong 'new' Turkey. He reconstructed through a series of performances that brought out how an actor of performative politics changes the nationalists' repertoire and reconstruct 'his' audience's imagination of themselves. If the use of performative politics inevitably leads to a reconstruction of repertoires around the world, then we must comprehend and analyse the power of performative politics (with the PPF). The following chapter is the case study, and I will conceptualize the performative politics of the AKP and Erdoğan with the performative politics framework.

Before I conclude this chapter, I have to highlight various factors about this project. The first one is that most of the translations were done by me but double-checked with a couple of people; some were native English speakers. Still, all the poems and songs were quite hard to translate, and the aim was to reflect the meaning rather than poetically engage with the audience of this research. A couple of terms that are used sounded absurd, like "Counsellor of Presidency and the President of the Congress and Cultural Centre and Exhibition Hall". This is not a puzzle caused by a bad translation. I am sure because these terms sound absurd in Turkish as well like this made-up bizarre title. Also, important to note that, on the one hand, some concepts are used to signify the same things and used interchangeably, like ready to engage audience, mass audience or emotionally driven audience. At the same time, some concepts are visibly separated, like triggering as opposed to engaging. Also, the election of 2018 or during the election of 2018 does not refer to the election day per se but a process in which actors started to actively perform for the election. Thus, for example, when I write "as he was aggressively performing on stage during the election of 2018", I mean the process that was happening before the election. In line with this, when I address a performance of Erdoğan, it does not simply refer to Erdoğan as an actor randomly taking the stage, but a structured performance actualised by a group of people who creates and makes Erdoğan as a character on stage, which involves multiple actors like scriptwriters and directors of a performance. Similarly, I have used 'we' or 'us' (instead of I) in two different ways. First, 'we' refers to you, the audience of this research, and me. The second 'we' refers to the audience of Erdoğan, including me. Another point to highlight is that all footages and videos on the case study are publicly available online on the presidency's website. Only few needed an online research, but

all are publicly available and easily accessible. For example, the one within the dormitory was highly edited and manipulated on the presidency's website but still available online on the database of Periscope, a discontinued live streaming app.

3.4. Conclusion

The methodology is the part of any given research to understand the question of how the research can be structured and implemented. It is the systematic design of how data collection, what type of data is being collected, and how the researcher will explain the analyses. It is visible that there were two primary concerns about this part of the research. The first one is that it is hard to address a methodology since performative politics is a fairly new subject. The second is that the interdisciplinary nature of this project makes it even harder to find the preferred methodology.

Taking these difficulties as a given since it was clear from the beginning, this methodological design was based on qualitative content analysis of secondary and primary sources with the performative politics framework. We have focused on some of the literature that covers theatrical studies, performative politics, hegemony, and in general political sociology. In the theoretical framework, I have used secondary sources, and in the case study, I will use both primary and secondary sources.

In the chapter on the theoretical framework, I have addressed the framework and concepts of the AKP, the theories around performative politics, and debates within the theatrical studies. In this part, my aim was to research a practical application of performative politics. I have addressed how we can conduct a research on performative politics. Thus, this part of the research was to question possible methodologies to research performative politics. Performative politics is a relatively overlooked subject by political scientists, yet, a case study on Erdoğan itself provides the significance of performative politics. The powerful actors all around the world use 'mighty' performances to reconstruct repertoires and influence their audience.

The structure of the methodology was divided into two chapters. The first chapter was to address different modes of performative politics and reconstruct Rai's framework. I have addressed the performative politics framework since such conceptualisation allows us to understand the way we collect the data. In other words, the framework to

grasp the performative politics is also part of the methodology because it inevitably defines and helps us to clearly highlight how we systematically address the research question and collect the data.

In the first chapter, I have started by addressing different modes of performance that Strauss and O'Brien conceptualised. These are rituals, theatres, and micro-performances. State rituals, on the one hand, are trials, national holidays and other types of ceremonies; and on the other hand, electoral processes, for example, are theatres with semi-open ended outcomes. The last one is the micro-performances that are based on actor's performance with star-quality dramatic speeches and monologues.

After addressing these three modes of performative politics and highlighting the last mode as the relevant mode, I have addressed how to operationalise and search the data we should be look for addressing a performance. I have addressed Shirin Rai's axes of the politics of performance framework. The first axis addresses the body in/on view, staging representation, auditory power of words/scripts/speeches/voices and performative labour which I have added the importance of the scripts and performative capital. The second axis is about mapping the affects of a performance which involves the question on authenticity. I had addressed the elements as authenticity, which is better conceptualised as an attempt to reach towards an aura, mode of representation, lasting moment of liminality and different forms of resistance to claim-making. As I have reconstructed Rai's politics of performance framework to performative politics framework, I have added the third axis on locating performance in time and space. The third axis would include three different but intersecting worlds; audience's world, actor's world, and performance's world.

As mentioned previously, the three axes of the performative politics framework are structured well. It addresses multiple angles with important insights. Bodies or voices, for example, crystallises on the display of a body and voices in which dress, appearance, gestures, pitches inform the audience and draw our attention to the power relations. On the other hand, a stage appears in a specific time and space and forms with symbols and shapes the narrative. The localities or norms like statehood are represented within that space and has a significant impact on reaching towards an aura. All axis that PPF covers will be addressed in examining the case study, yet some

elements are not relevant to all performances that I am going to address. In this sense, how the research is structured, implemented, systematic design of how data collection is going to happen, what type of data is being collected and how I am going to analyse is recognised within this framework.

After focusing on the Performative Politics Framework itself, we have focused on the possible areas for implementation, concerns about a research on performative politics, and addressed some questions on the methodology.

I have addressed different angles on performative politics how modes of communication are seen, including ethnographic communication analysis. It is clear that there are many angles to approach such a study, yet, almost all of them are addressed with similar questions. As Gumperz (1999) underlines, there is always a question on communicative barriers that concern cultural, social, and language-based data collection since no researcher can gain all the cultural insights at the same time, especially if they are foreign. Moreover, as Montgomery (2008) underlines, the multipurpose nature of performance itself is problematic since it may refer to more than one action. For this reason, the audience, including the researcher, may interpret differently. The best and the most common answer to such a problem is to conceptualise the meaning of things clearly and fulfil the requirement of, as Harrison (2011) rightfully underline, various types of knowledge. Harrison's point on various types of knowledge is a powerful way to overcome issues on conceptualisation.

One of the sharpest criticisms against the performative politics framework is being too subjective. The researcher's view on social practices is likely to affect the analysis. It is clear that how people perform and contextualise such performance is deeply influenced by social practices. However, as I have addressed this issue, it is inevitable to be objective since the nature of such research is to learn and influenced by the repertoire. Moreover, it is neither possible nor desirable to become 'objective' on such research. This does not mean that researchers of performative politics should disregard the issues such as the possibility of exclusionary practices on the knowledge of the case, emblematic issues, and in more general, the problem of sampling. The performances chosen for the study are inextricably linked to the researcher's choice of research topic and questions. The foundation for performative politics is mainly based

on qualitative methodologies. Research on performative politics cannot be contested by the dynamics designated for quantitative analyses for multiple reasons, including the extreme desire and goal of reaching the point of saturation.

Another important criticism was the overreliance on common sense (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). This is quite an important issue, but it is contradictory since the criticism relies on common sense. Nevertheless, it is still important to consider because it is clear that there is a reliance on common sense since common sense is one of the driving forces of understanding the repertoire. As I have addressed, the only way to partially overcome this is by recognising the problem. In other words, accepting that repertoire has an influence on the researcher because she or he has participated in learning and realising it allows the researcher to question the overreliance. In addition to overreliance on common sense, another significant criticism was the problem of inner breath. While the former will be addressed by accepting that we are inevitably influenced by the repertoire and should be aware of that fact, the latter was addressed with detailed conceptualisations in the theoretical framework.

Focusing on methodology for performative politics led to the transformation of research itself. As was addressed in this research, there has been a strong emphasis on social issues, especially on power relations. For a relatively new area of study, performative politics addresses these problems as part of the narrative and analyse to make meaning of the relation between performative politics and everyday performance. These analyses are built upon coming across a performance that influences the audience that aims to reconstruct the audience meaning-making process. This inevitably leads to the unique nature of research on performative politics since the tools to conduct research with the performative politics framework is relatively new. For this reason, such research has been taking years and unimaginable efforts to give its meaning in depth.

As Toolan (1997) rightfully underlines, since projects (like research on performative politics) have a tendency to affect an audience and impact on meaning-making by revealing its elements and demystifying it, thus, rather than focusing on inevitable weaknesses, a researcher must be more critical and detailed in explaining why they think in such a way. This is why the theoretical framework was almost more than one-

third of the research. I had addressed the framework and concepts that are used by the AKP, how we should conceptualise performativity so that we have a common understanding, and how theatrical studies can help us understand the performative nature of the AKP, and performative politics in general.

Many academics, including but not limited to Mouffe or Butler, points out that such analysis itself becomes a tool for addressing the power relations and reconstructing the knowledge by focusing its structure in specific time and space. In this sense, research on performative politics is based on addressing the performances from observing the dynamics. Moreover, as Rai powerfully points out, the goal of the PPF is to map performances that will allow us to question alternative ways of analysing the political to "a more creative, connected and critical gaze" (Rai, 2014, p. 1195).

CHAPTER 4

THE CASE STUDY

4.1. Introduction to the Case Study

Since the 1970s, there has been a significant expansion on the meaning of the terms of theatricality, including ‘theatre’, ‘stage’, ‘performance’. The use of these theatrical terms is claimed much more quickly, frequently, vaguely and is overused by various actors including but not limited to journalists, politicians, union leaders, and scientists. Moreover, usage of these theatrical terms affected the repertoire (and by the repertoire) in which the actors of everyday life also used them in similar ways. This expansion of such terminology from the theatre had created some sort of negative connotations, including terms like staged, mask, roles, or entrance. Despite these ‘metaphorical’ usage, theatrical terms are rarely well addressed only in academia in more descriptive and explanatory ways to conceptualise the contexts. While Goffman (1956) was pointing out the representation of the self is the acting in everyday life as a role, on the other hand, Geertz (1980) exceptionally conceptualised the state in Bali through theatrical terms.

For an outsider, the theatrical studies or, in this sense, performative politics might seem a set of romantic conceptualisations of the most observable unit of the cultural structure, which has a limited time span, meaning that it has a sharp beginning and an end, and a set of acting in a specific occasion. However, the conceptualisation of theatricality is neither should affected by these negative misconceptualisations and unclear metaphorical usage nor those romantic concepts of what an audience observes and defines the acts in everyday life when found similarities with stage acting or performative politics. It can well be an analytical tool to observe and overcome the understatement of the forecast of what might happen when a performance occurs.

A performance is seen as artistic since it has been pre-defined as if it only appears in an art institution by an actor, whereas found non-artistic if it takes place within the frame of a political, legal, or religious institution. This points out the pre-condition of a performance already defined by the authorities and forms a misconceptualisation as if, for example, a political speech is not a performance. This misconceptualisation leads to take things for granted, missing many details from the power to influence via engaging in many areas, including legal trials or even weddings ceremonies in which missing the forecast of possible endings or demystifying its affects via a methodology that is based on a recognition of a performative politics that we have been exposed to, or significance of the audience who are not a passive recipients of the message but also reproduce in everyday and their relations with other actors.

All in all, theatricality has been thrown as a critical concept in some significant works. Nevertheless, it would not be wrong to argue that such excessive usage of theatrical terms in everyday life are neither mean something useful nor forms a well-structured analytical tool. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, there are some significant works to conceptualise this theatricality.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Strauss and O'Brien (2007) presented one of the best categories for performative politics. They point out that most of the scholars in political science focus on institutions and practices from the Western experience of increasing depersonalisation and doing research on what is not there, including but not limited to the function of the markets and governance. It is also essential to focus what is there; "engaging each other through the kinds of performances that engage the emotions and enable new relationships between state and society to be imagined and acted on" (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007, p. 2). Performative politics is the politics of affect, emotion, and drama (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007). This is by no means of disregarding the importance of structures as such, but to get the whole, it is substantial to comprehend the emotional engagement and imagination which constructed via performances.

The power of performative politics is visible everywhere around the globe, especially in the contemporary world, wherever there is an audience and is central for contestation and challenges as well as a reification of power. Performative politics is

a means of communication, with all the potential of (re)forming possibilities, especially leading to change in the meaning-making of the audience by the actors who has the means. Performative politics are the performances that have the means and knowledge on how to engage with a large amount of audience, which, as the audience, we encounter and are exposed to in everyday life.

As mentioned in the previous chapters, different modes of performances like trials as rituals will be considered modes of performative politics. As performances can be seen everywhere, there is a need to conceptualise such a broad topic to fully comprehend. To conceptualise different modes of performative politics, I have used the structural framework that Strauss and O'Brien formed.

There are three different modes of performative politics. As Strauss and O'Brien (2007) define that 'ritual is repetitive', this gives its most important characteristic, meaning that rituals are much more predictable. This predictability leads to the constant reproduction of the symbolic world that the audience and actors perform. Not surprisingly, these fixed performances are filled with strict rules and regulations, leading to a more conservative unification of the audience. The audience has pre-knowledge and expectations on such an occasion. On the other hand, theatres search for rules and regulations, but allow some improvision and yet founds a common understanding. This is by no means that they do not have rules; for example, elections have strict rules yet differ from the rituals of national holidays. The last but the most significant mode for the contemporary world is the individual micro performances that "involves the old indefinable of "star quality"" (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007, p. 3), which is the mode I will focus on. This conceptualisation of different types of performances tends to intersect with one another, borrow from each other in performative politics. Still, one thing is clear the individual performances became more and more significant last decade or so.

The chapter on the theoretical framework covered numerous frameworks to explain the AKP, theories around performative politics, and debates within theatrical studies. The objective in the methodological section was, on the other hand, to investigate a practical application of conducting performative politics research. As a result, this section of the research focused on possible techniques for studying performative

politics. Although most researchers on political science tend to overlook performative politics, the case study on Erdoğan demonstrates its importance in the contemporary world.

The methodology was broken down into two sections. The first chapter was concerned with Rai's structure that led to the reconstruction of her framework, and the later part addressed some concerns about the methodology itself. I have focused on the performative politics framework under methodology because it helped us understand how we should collect data for such study. To put it differently, the framework for understanding performative politics is also a part of the methodology because it necessarily defines and guides us in highlighting how I systematically address the research question and gather data. I have addressed how to operationalise and search the data after addressing these three modes of performative politics and highlighting the last mode as the relevant one.

The two axes of Shirin Rai's politics of performance framework (2014) critically analysed and have been focussed on in-depth. The first axis addresses the body in/on view, staging representation, auditory power word/scripts/speeches/voices and performative labour, to which I have added the significance of scripts and performative capital. On the other hand, the second axis is about mapping the affects of a performance which involves the question on authenticity. I had addressed as an attempt to reach towards an aura, mode of representation, (lasting) moment of liminality and different forms of resistance to claim-making. I have added the third axis on locating performance in time and space to Rai's framework. The third axis will include three different but intersecting worlds; audience's world, actor's world, and performance's world.

As stated in the methodology, the performative politics framework will be used to comprehend the power of the AKP better. To address the case study, I will briefly focus on the historical background of the AKP and Erdoğan's early performances. These two parts allow the audience of this research to comprehend the story of the AKP in historical context, Erdoğan's early performances and even recognise the early signature moves of Erdoğan.

After these two parts, the research will focus on the three distinct axes during 2018 to systematically comprehend the election of 2018 with the PPF. I will start with the third axis, locating performance in time and space. As previously stated, it became noticeable during my research that performances are historically specific. As a result, for such research, we must analyse the time and space in which a performance is performed. I will begin by discussing Turkey's systemic changes and political situations during the 2018 election. This section will cover the new "Turkish model of Presidency" (Gözler, 2017, p. 14) and Turkey's overall condition. This section will also address how the audience's world has changed dramatically in the last decade. Then I will address the third aspect of this axis, which is the change in the performance's world. I will also underline examples of various approaches to live stages and the impacts of features like microblogging.

The case study will focus on the other axes after briefly discussing the shifts mentioned above in the actor's, audience's, and performance's worlds. I will focus on different examples of performances during the election of 2018, which will include a rally in İzmir (İzmir'de, 2018) which I will refer as the İzmir rally from now on, a gathering in İstanbul called "Curse the Tyranny, Support to Jerusalem" (Kudüs'e, 2018), which I will refer as the Kudüs gathering, a rally in İstanbul (İstanbul Mitingi, 2018), which I will refer as the İstanbul rally, and two short performances, one with the retirees at iftar ("Emekliler ile İftar," 2018), which I will refer as the iftar gathering, and one with the students at sahur in a dormitory dining hall (Erdoğan, 2018), which I will address as the sahur gathering. As previously stated, I will focus on locating the performance in time and space, focus on the body, which will include some descriptive information about the performances, staging the performance, auditory power, performative labour, scripts, resistance to a performance, and the question of attempting to reach towards an aura, respectively.

4.2. Performative Politics and the Story of the AKP

The following part of the chapter analyses Turkey's AKP in a historical context. The goal of this research is not simply to criticise the actors and performances as such but rather to show how those influential performances the way they are to understand politics in the contemporary world. This is not to question the legitimacy or morality

of those performances, considering the fact that performances are widely conceptualised with a somehow negative connotation as shown in the previous chapters, but rather to highlight the dramaturgical ways in which actors perform and reconstruct repertoire. Thus, the main question is how. Such conceptualisation of performances will lead to analyse the symbolic formation and, in which formed to reconstruction by the actors via media or any other platform with performative politics. In order to do such research, I will historically focus on the party, and then address Erdoğan's performances in the early era.

4.2.1. Drafting the framework of the actors of the AKP

After separation from the National Vision movement (NV), it was unexpectedly fast to form a new party as the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and made them the ruling actors in Turkey. The AKP was established on the 14th of August 2001 and became the ruling party on the 3rd of November in 2002, only one and a half years later. The story behind this success that has been established without institutionalisation as a party, in which the actors of the AKP found their appearance on the stage, needed to be addressed. The connection between the audience and the actors was the key to forming the new party. This is by no means the ruling actors have the power to decide what the audience wanted to observe, but they were relatively free since they did not have any institutionalised strict norms on topics or rituals. However, this does not mean that they were not relying on performative politics; on the contrary, they heavily relied on it to gather the audience.

Following the closure of the Virtue Party (VP), the deputies who remained independent continued their efforts to establish a new party from two wings called traditionalists and reformists. The traditionalists founded the Felicity Party (FP), while the reformists founded the Justice and Development Party (AKP). The new movement that separated from the traditionalists declared themselves as the opposition of the system and tried to position themselves against the National Vision. The actors of the new party attempted to construct a new identity different from the traditional position. This part of their story is about forming themselves as a party and constructing their image within the mass society while consolidating their position through getting supported by the powerful actors already known.

Since the party was newly established and did not have any time to institutionalise, the roots of the new party were marked with different events, scenes, actors, and different modes of performative politics such as trial in which one of them was striking; the imprisonment of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. He was imprisoned because he performed a poem when he was the mayor of İstanbul in the Siirt Provincial Organization meeting. He has sentenced under the Turkish Punishment Law 312/2, a law against aggravating people to hatred and grudge via provoking class, race, religion, sect, and regional differences, by Diyarbakır State Security Court almost for a year in jail ("Erdoğan'a 10," 1998). After he got out of jail, the process of forming a party speeded up. This was one of the turning points for Erdoğan as an actor, among many actors in the AKP. The audience that already felt trapped in everyday life, especially concerning economic crises, easily engaged with the audience of this non-trialled jail process which led to solid empathy towards Erdoğan. Many actors in history have used such mode of performative politics, and from those experiences, one thing is sure such trials almost always misfire and ends up the opposite of what they intended to do.

As many scriptwriters know very well, a trial offers the ideal setting, bringing the drama to light with well-structured rules and regulations. The set is self-controlled and basic. In the Turkish case, the authority placed in the centre supported by the statute of Atatürk (a symbol of the father of the nation) was physically raised above everyone else, including the audience, defence, and prosecution. The audience is at the back. There is a large space for the performances of the actors, prosecutors, lawyers to speak their prepared speeches. Trials are well known for drama, and they almost always form some sort of mass entertainment (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007, p. 12). However, Erdoğan's case was not one of the usual trials, which is one of the modes of performative politics, since there was no usual trial to form an audience nor allow Erdoğan to gain support.

A trial is always a part of the actors' show of power. Strauss and O'Brien (2007) defines the trials as "space and orders relationships" (p. 6). Trials not only to inform the audience who the authority is but even more critical is that such performances redefine values, consequences of a behaviour, and the repertoire. In other words, trials are a mode of performative politics that informs the audience about the new norms and reconstruct the repertoire by reintroducing the discipline and the punishment system

in power. Moreover, they inform the audience who is in charge. It is not surprising that such a normation with visible force often backfires, leading to a resistance to attempt of quick change in norms.

Charles Tripp (2007), who had worked many years searching on the People's Court of the first phase of the Iraq revolution, found how the perfectly new regime was set on stage, a theatrical moment between the old and the new. He also pointed out both the process and the results showed significant reactions. As he underlines, the media was well positioned to create widespread reporting, including television, creating enormous entertainment for mass society. This was to educate the public into the "new norms of the regime, and what is particularly meant by its 'revolution". The trials were strongly dramatized from the courtroom to mass media. However, something unwanted occurs, as almost always do in trials, the defendants started to gain sympathy from the audience, especially when the targets of the revolution expanded to much-less obviously 'guilty' ones.

Even though (and primarily because of) there was no apparent show of a trial, Erdoğan, who had a significant amount of audience, gained further influence, and reached more audiences. During his hundred and twenty days prison experience, Erdoğan gained immersive national support and created a one of time experience through engaging with the audience one by one, primarily through mails. These members of the audience felt included and shared mercy and anger with strong empathy. This was a large backfire to the authority who had the power to make such a fast trial and made Erdoğan a prisoner. Not surprisingly, when he got out of jail, his discourse was constructed around the rule of law and democracy. The actors of the AKP were separating themselves from the National Vision and traditionalists and forming a new multicultural democratic party.

In addition to referencing the rule of law and democracy, another strong argument of the AKP was constructed around inequality of the distribution of income. The actors of the AKP represented themselves as they were coming from a working-class. As they were performing as if they were representing the working class, they were also cleverly promoting social reconciliation.

During this period, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Abdullah Gül, and Bülent Arınç were the main actors. Erdoğan started his political career with the National Salvation Party (NSP) when he was twenty-one. When he was twenty-three, he wrote a play as "mas-kom-ya", performed it and took lessons from one of the top actors in Turkey; Nejat Uygur ("Yıl 1977," 2012). Although this is not officially announced, his closeness with Uygur over the years was visible (e.g., "Nejat," 2013). Erdoğan officially became an actor when he became the President of Beyoğlu youth wing. He later became a member of the İstanbul youth wing. An important turning point of his career was the election of 1994 when he became the mayor of İstanbul.

Erdoğan spent four years in charge while constructing an image that he was just like anybody else. He was acting as if he was simply an actor of everyday performance. As someone who graduated from a university, a young politician with proactive support of democracy made his audience much more diversified, forming from different backgrounds. He gained a great sympathy among them. However, it is not hard to predict that his image as someone against corruption and in favour of the working class is one of the keys to influencing his audience and gaining immersive support.

It is clear to see a shift from National Vision with Erdoğan's performances, who soon will be the leading actor of the new party. The discourse against capitalism, Zionism, and the language produced in relation to Islam in the National Vision was replaced with this new movement. Indeed, the so-called new was nothing more than a neoliberal discourse, promoting peace forming with the powerful actors. In order to organise this peace, the new party established multiple meetings with different groups like associations, capital groups, and foundations. These gatherings were centred around promoting depolarisation, human rights, and democracy. It was clear that the discourses performed to those groups was strongly empowered by a carrot that is with such a change in power will dramatically improve their economic/social conditions.

There was a ritual to visit the United States of America as an actor since the 1980s in Turkey. Erdoğan did not break this long-lasting tradition. He visited the United States, and during his visit, he also gathered with different lobbies, including the Jewish Lobby. These visits were to create his character as a connecting point between different worlds, position him as a middleman supporting 'depoliticisation', and

differentiate himself from the National Vision and the traditional movement. This visit was also a declaration to the audience in Turkey that the United States of America and the various groups he visited had supported him.

In Turkey, on the other hand, the introduction of the new movement to the large capital groups took place with a meeting given by TÜSİAD Advisory Board Chairman Bülent Eczacıbaşı at his home in Yeniköy. In this meeting, which was loudly clarified that this was not a TÜSİAD meeting, Erdoğan, who was the candidate to fill the gap in the centre between the left and right wings, declared his views, including his commitment to full membership of the EU and good relations with the International Monetary Fund. Eight business members from TÜSİAD, including Sabancı Holding (Ömer Sabancı), Anadolu Industry Holding (Tuncay Özilhan), Tekfen Holding (Feyyaz Berker) was attended this meeting. While Erdoğan was acting to get the support of the big capital groups, the businesspeople were already in such a long search for a new Özal and could not remain silent to a movement that received such support from their audience.

TÜSİAD members were not the only powerful actors Erdoğan was aimed to get support. Another important group that needed to be addressed was the Turkish Armed Forces. It has been argued that in an effort to get along with the Turkish Armed Forces, Erdoğan made contact with the members of the army and gave his thoughts about the abovementioned topics. These talks were in the press arguing that "Erdoğan was assured by the Turkish Armed Forces", but immediately after these news, a denial came from the Turkish Armed Forces (Çakır & Çalmuk, 2001). It was stated that the Turkish Armed Forces were always outside of daily politics and were equidistant to all people, parties, or organisations.

In addition to these groups, Erdoğan contacted the 'semi-old' bourgeoisie that was aggressively searching for change in actors since they were 'suffered' a severe shrinkage of the post-crisis period, lost their companies, and 'their' banks were seized by the regulatory bodies. Mehmet Emin Karamehmet, who was the president of the Çukurova Group and the owner of Pamukbank, Mustafa Süzer, who was the former owner of Kentbank, and Halis Toprak, who was the owner of Toprak Holding and Toprakbank, met with Erdoğan, arguing that they were the victims of the IMF, Derviş, and the regulatory body BDDK. It is not surprising that they had huge expectations

from a new party to come to power. The bourgeoisie, who lost their banks and companies with the 2001 crisis, have tied their hopes to the actors of the AKP. Not surprising, but an interesting point to underline here is that both the bourgeoisie who lost their banks as well as the people who were subjected to work under those capitalist relations, namely the workers of this bourgeoisie and the people who trusted to put their money into their failed banks, were tied their hopes to the same actor. In other words, Erdoğan and the AKP became an inter-class hope for different groups, which meant that they were able to form a large group of audience.

The audience should not be understood as passive receivers of a message. Although it is clear that each day audience transforms to become more and more of a 'customer', especially with relation to the Zuschauerifying process, the audience themselves creates the meaning out of a performance, especially in the early era. In other words, while the performance to the audience of different groups by Erdoğan was not significantly different from each other, the imagination of the audience created different meanings. The audience has their interpretive framework created from their universes of discourses and forms a meaning of what they are participating in. This means that it is always reductive to consider performance as something static, in which the reality is that the audience gives a different meaning even to the same performances. Erdoğan was cleverly put together economy and democracy with vogue terms, and as I will later address, he was supported more by the repertoire rather than reconstructing it in the early era.

In order to become an influential actor in Turkish Politics, the actors of the AKP have endeavoured to define a common area of interest with different influential groups. Following the gathering with the abovementioned groups, the new movement led by Abdullatif Şener, Abdullah Gül, and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan started the process of becoming a party with a new political perspective. Former party executives, representatives of non-governmental organisations, and intellectuals came together at Abant to form the new path for the new party, discuss the political model proposed, and form the party's program. After this meeting, the party's basic principles were determined as democracy and transparency and accepted to perform an identity as the Muslim Democrats. This was one of the starting point to a long journey of reconstructing the repertoire.

A few months after the Abant meeting, on the 14th of August 2001, the Justice and Development Party was established as the 39th party of the Turkish political life, and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was elected as the leader of the new party. Adalet, included in the name of the Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, represented social, political, legal, and economic Justice for everyone, while Kalkınma represented awareness and democracy in relation to improving economic income and resources.

As the new actors of the AKP, even though there were no radical ideas, wanted to influence or gather an audience, they aggressively invaded the world of meaning of the masses and captured their attention. The new-born party was reconstructed both the spiritual and the material repertoires over time. Even the name itself was a reference to the concepts of Justice and Development. The notion of justice, which is one of the issues that Islam loudly emphasises, points to spirituality, being fair, and giving everyone the right to be equal. Justice also represents balance and, in this sense, is an important concept, if not the most important one, determining the framework in which Islamic economics was also constructed. The concept of justice was related to the universe and provides the meaning of things and their relations. This concept is one of the two elements determining the framework formed by Islamic economics.

While referring to justice as something about the universe, it also refers to the importance of avoiding excess of things as a being to ensure the balance of coexisting as human beings. In this sense, justice can only be provided within the totality. Thus, the relation between the universe and being, and our behaviour with relation to consumption; the concept of justice was also a reference to the balance of society that was done via the goal of internal justice. The Kul Hakkı was the idea that refers to justice for all constructed around ‘Just society’, which refers to work and putting the ‘labourer first’ (Tabakoğlu, 2005). One might argue that these were the concepts that were constructed much before the AKP, but this repertoire was severely reconstructed and transformed in years, meaning that even the idea of justice, constantly redefined by the AKP and how it has been reconstructed, will be addressed systematically in this research.

The change that came with the AKP was not only how they defined their understanding of politics but also how they organised as a political party with their leadership

positions. This means that the actors of the AKP had to define themselves, their understanding of the world, including ideal futures and past with the meaning of things, while simultaneously differentiating themselves from the National Vision and the traditionalists. They strongly underlined that no office could be held even within the party without an election. The new party was a fresh start in which the actors of the AKP found a space to replace the strict rules they were opposed to during the Fazilet Partisi era, such as the absence of intra-party democracy or headquarters choice not to financially support their local organisations like youth wings.

The actors of the AKP aimed to make a party charter that emphasises participatory democracy based on trust and transparency. With a slogan that "From now on nothing will be the same as in the old Turkey" (Yeni Ak, 2019), the AKP has won the opportunity to reflect their views in the parliament because of the other members of the parliament, who resigned and joined the new party in which the number of seats represented in the National Assembly that reached fifty-one. The AKP became the first party in the elections of 2002, which was shortly after its foundation and became the Government with 34.29 per cent of the votes. CHP became the second with 19.38, following the AKP. The remaining nine seats were independent, and most of the parties, including the National Movement Party, MHP, did not pass the election threshold.

Erdoğan could not participate in this election due to his ban caused by the poem and, thus, could not participate in the 58th Government. For this reason, Abdullah Gül, who was elected from Kayseri, became the elected Prime Minister, while Bülent Arınç was elected as the Speaker of the Parliament. Almost five months after the election, there was a new election on the grounds of irregularity in Siirt that paved the way for Erdoğan to become a member of the parliament. Immediately after the elections, Abdullah Gul resigned, and a new government was established, led by Erdoğan as the prime minister. The former Prime Minister Abdullah Gul became the Foreign Minister. The story that started as a movement of the Muslim Democrats who separated from the NV became a government under the leadership of Erdoğan with the identity of conservative democracy. This election, as well as others, will be addressed in the following chapters.

4.2.2. Forming the Conservative Democratic Identity of the AKP

Performances are contingent. They rely on the existing structures, discourses, and cannot be predicted. However, one thing is certain; performative politics is transformative. Even though they heavily rely on existing structures, they lead to transformations in these structures (Sewell Jr, 1992). Performative politics provides and changes the values and sets the boundaries in which the normation process, including how to perform in everyday life, can be thought, and by doing so, actors of performative politics reconstruct the repertoire. In other words, as the actors perform, they provide knowledge on how to perform, how to act in certain ways, what are the norms, and overall, actors transform the audience by reconstructing the repertoire and consequently inform them about who the audience think who they are.

The AKP came to power with the start of differentiating itself from the Islamist National Vision. As this was one of the core arguments, the leading actors constantly promoted that they had changed their position and now have a conservative democratic identity. A book was written by Erdoğan's advisor Yalçın Akdoğan (2004), "Conservative Democracy", highlighted conservativism, which meant the importance of the traditional values, whereas democracy referred to human rights and freedom of religion. While defining parties' political identity, they have positioned themselves as the actors of change and universalism within the axis of globalisation while accepting the importance of social and cultural traditions. The identity constructed by the actors of the AKP was impressive given that it has been constructed around both conservative values and a leading position in change simultaneously. One may argue that this is an ironic misconceptualisation of ideas in which both dialectically opposed positions melted in the same pot. However, this is not only wrong but also misses the most crucial part of the AKP; the whole project was built upon the performative power of the actors, which allows such positions to melt in the same pot and built upon the constant reconstruction of meaning; namely performative politics.

The Justice and Development Party claim an identity that both supports conservatism and a leading position for change. This idea could be traced back to the Frankfurt School. As they have suggested, instead of the idea of conservation preserving the values of the past and tradition, conservatism can be considered as the utopia of the

present movement (Baker, 2006). Conservatism always has a renewed old, a new place to recall. This forms a structure where the values of the past can be reconstructed in which the future generations own and live through (Bora, 2021). This means that the ideal future forms via performing the past, which the actors of the AKP constantly tries to form in multiple ways from the 15th of July to claiming Nowruz. As I will further address in this research, this is one of the keys to understanding the power of the AKP, and by all means, the actors of the AKP knows this well. Some argue that this paradoxical point forms the dynamics of conservatism in which becomes a pragmatic practical attitude that instrumentalises to form the movement as a part of a historical-social change, with its insistence on what is essential and absolute (Çiğdem, 1997). However, this formation itself is the core of what political is in this sense, (per)forming the meaning of things and legitimising its existence.

Unlike the National Vision, the actors of the AKP have the power to reconstruct the existing world of meaning through new symbols. This is because the whole project depended on redefining the boundaries and the power of the actors of the AKP (per)forms through this formation. One of the most reliable sources for conservatism, or any other structure in that matter, heavily relies on the world of meanings. Conservatism needed to rely heavily on performative politics since the actors who promote it must promote it well due to its 'inconsistencies' with ongoing life and the change that comes with it. In other words, conservativism struggles to emerge without performative politics since its inconsistencies cannot be suppressed without a star-quality show. The general aim in such conservatism is to address the family values, sex, property, and security, including national values, local bonds, and other NGOs, where 'he' came to be and form 'his' position on earth.

New Conservatism has combined these values with neoliberal policies by highlighting religion, family, tradition, and community while minimising government intervention (to the market) and promoting 'the' globalisation. The success between such political actors is not the deconstruction itself but rather the active role of constant deconstruction and reconstruction, which gave a good practice on how to use performative politics in any situation. In other words, performing to reconstruct the repertoires, merging the idea of so-called minimising Government, limiting state, a free-market economy, economic efficiency, and individual freedom with conservatism

since the 90s gave an excellent opportunity for actors to practice on how to perform constant reconstruction of ideas in the contemporary world (Özkazanç, 2007). This means blending the ideas and merging them into one pot allowed them to master their influential power of performative politics.

While becoming a powerful actor with the reconstruction of national traditions, family values, and religion, what the actors of the AKP constructed was the separation of the economy as an external field (Özkazanç, 2007). This means that the actors of the AKP choose to reconstruct the repertoire that excludes what the so-called economy is and, by doing so, overshadows the class dimension of the capitalist economy. This is by no means class is not the definitive part of this structure but indeed constructed differently than expected (Özkazanç, 2007).

It is essential to underline that most academics believe that the new right ideology formed its discourse via moral, cultural or faith and dismissed the economic-centred political structure. In this research, I argue that this is not the case. The problem is that while acting the economic relations as if it is something external, the emotional connection addressed by the actors heavily relied on everyday problems, which reflected on their appearance and within the repertoire. In other words, locating economic relations as if it is an external entity is in itself a position within class-based relations, and it was inevitably addressed in numerous ways. This means that the meaning of things positioned concerning economic structure both with and within.

There is no performative politics without addressing crises caused by the capitalist economic relations in the contemporary world due to the substantial problems that capitalism constantly reproduced. What happens is that performative politics allowed the reproduction of moral and religious values while addressing problems caused by economic relations. This might sound familiar with arguing that identity politics suppressed the class dimension of the capitalist economy while forming social groups. However, instead, it is the argument that performative politics has the power to reconstruct the meaning-making, including what being is, which the actors of the AKP used well and in which reveals the hope that different actors of performative politics can reconstruct an identity that powerfully addresses the class dimension of the capitalist economy.

We should not disregard the most significant part of this formation; that is, by performing their contradictory identity well, they also gain the ability to excessively use performative politics. This reveals significant questions. If such powerful performances are able to promote change and conservatism simultaneously as well as making problems of the capitalist economy attach to identity, then what else can performative politics be able to form? Or how far can this power reach? The story of the AKP gives a clue to understand these questions and reveal a path to question how (much) this is possible.

Another essential dimension of the performative politics of the actors of the AKP is to (in)form their audience via deconstructing the relation between Islam and democracy by performing a discourse of democracy through political Islam. This discussion between Islam and democracy considered a debate since the 90s, but necessary to note that the meaning attributed to the definition of democracy or even Islam is not stable. Radical groups have the idea of the democratic struggle as opposed to the principle of Islam. The idea was that the main pillars of Islam contradict democracy, which is the tool for the imperialist goals of the Christian West. While some perform their identity this way, others performed themselves as if democracy is the primary tool to build a social structure that forms a way to create direction ordered by Islam. Such unstable values within the repertoire allow additional space for actors of the performative politics to reconstruct the meaning-making. All the above mentioned contradictions, vogue terms in the repertoire and unstable practices in everyday life creates a further possibility in reconstructing the meaning-making. It is clear that nothing is stable in life, but as the concepts constructed broadly, it clearly becomes easier to reconstruct the meaning through performative politics.

If we closely examine the National Vision tradition, democracy is nothing more than a tool. Democracy is necessary to be in power and to establish some sort of systematic election system, legal pluralism, which is needed to be internalised, creates a legitimate structure. One of the key symbols to construct this idea, not surprisingly, came from Islamic history, the Medina Agreement. This is the agreement between Hz. Muhammad (PBUH) and non-Muslim tribes and immigrants in Madinah. With a voluntary contract, it was claimed that groups with various religions, beliefs, and lifestyles could apply the law that allows them to coexist together. The idea was that

the congregations against the actors in power would be able to protect individual rights, civil society, and lead to legal pluralism instead of the rule of the majority.

The conservative democracy expressed by the AKP in its program also refers to the importance of civil society and aims to minimise the power of the political actors, which is believed to be the path for freedom. The interpretation of democracy by the actors of the AKP was very much dependent on the free market. By getting support from different capital groups, which I have underlined earlier, the actors of the AKP declared themselves against the power relations that have formed and crystalised after the 28th of February. Democracy represents the means that lead the transformation of values, beliefs, ideas into a 'common decision' in which the civil society envisages the voluntary partnership with different interests and the free-market economy. By no means this is a fixed term, as we have seen and will see, but rather a constant change that becomes the core of such 'conservatism'. For example, the slogan 'one language, one flag, one state, one homeland', which Erdoğan declared to reconstruct the nationalism, yet again, in Hakkari in 2008, was also representing the change in the narrative ("Erdoğan Hakkari'de," 2008). This is only one of the examples of a performance that the reconstruction of nationalism once again was the goal of changing its meaning.

The free-market economy was accepted and constructed for ensuring the freedom of the individual. In this sense, it is clear that Freedom refers to a political form that can only be achieved by providing economic freedom (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985). Individual freedom primarily aims for economic freedom in which political freedom is not necessarily the most significant part of the meaning. In other words, political freedom is not part of the construction of individual freedom and not the key to unlocking the free market, but the individual freedom to choose in economic relations is (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985).

By combining conservatism and liberalism, the actors in everyday life were subjected to free-market policies. Religion, traditional rituals, and even NGOs became tools for forming the identity. The issues around gender, sect, and race were constructed around the framework in which they directly or indirectly supported each other. This merge between different ideas for the future under 'economic freedom' was unstable, and this

instability is apparent today more than ever. The significant part of this formation was that constructing different identities together was itself the goal of the hegemonic project of the AKP while neither directly referencing the class struggle nor by addressing it directly. This is by no means it was unintentionally constructed. What was clearly intentional is that the different groups were addressed to gather as an audience under the individual freedom in which the actor's supported neoliberalism under the new party. If one of the key terms for the new party was to perform an identity (politics) in which performativity of the actors of everyday performance was informed and constantly reconstructed by the actors of the performative politics, the other was supporting neoliberal policies. This means that the class struggle was only relevant to a degree for the actors of the AKP. They choose to address the issues caused by capitalism in different ways, such as constantly addressing them as if the actors of the party were from the working class.

Thus, the definition of the conservative democracy for the actors of the AKP was constructed around the three pillars mentioned above, in that specific time and space. The first one was the pluralist democracy. The pluralist understanding of democracy was based on supporting participation, the importance of engaging in non-governmental organisations, especially to fill where the Government was planned to be inactive (anymore). The second one was the priority of the private sector. The actors were addressed to become the leading actor for transformation to neoliberal policies within the framework of structural reforms, including but not limited to democracy, social security, health, and education. The third was the identity politics in which the AKP formed around 'multiculturalism'. These three pillars were staged with performative politics, influenced a large number of audiences, and by doing so, actors of the AKP reconstructed the repertoire.

The actors of the AKP expressed their views in the conservative democracy booklet as; "While counting identity differences as a natural freedom area, the common values and citizenship awareness that will hold together the pluralistic whole we call "nation" have special importance" (Akdoğan, 2004, p. 71). For the AKP, the common values that will keep the pluralist' body' together 'comes' from the tradition of the religion of Islam. Islam is the key repertoire upon which the pluralist body was built. In his

performance at the International Conservatism and Democracy Symposium, Erdoğan expresses his view on religion:

> Making politics through religion, making religion a tool, carrying out an exclusionary policy in the name of religion harms both social peace, political pluralism, and religion. … There is a very serious difference between caring about religion and religious people, being a party that accepts religious 'social functions of values' and being a party that aims to transform society by power and state apparatus by turning it into a religious one. ("Erdoğan: Din Üzerinden," 2004)

By analysing the change from the National Vision tradition to the AKP in which the actors became the primary dynamics in the process, I conceptualise the transformation via performative politics. The formation of the new party was strongly built upon performative politics that allowed actors to form the meaning of the symbolic world. The process that constructs the social reality depends on its formation, inherently related, and each piece carries its relationships with other parts that make up the whole. The fact that such a rapid formation led them to rely heavily on performative politics made this movement far more different than other political parties in Turkey since the constant practice of deconstruction and reconstruction of the meaning-making with performative politics gave them such a power that allowed them to change their position dramatically in time. In other words, the practice of performative politics gave a strong ability to the actors of the AKP to transform the repertoire constantly and dramatically. While constructing conservative democracy, the actors of the AKP changed the meaning-making, including the interpretation of Islam to support justice and democracy, multiculturalism, and the free market (Akdoğan, 2004, p. 89). However, what is more significant as a case study is not simply about the ideas they promoted but rather how they managed to implement such a project. We must recognise that since the very beginning, the actors of the AKP were active actors of performative politics, and they have gained great power and ability to perform since then.

4.3. The Performances of Early Era

As mentioned previously, conducting research on performative politics should not start with a meta-theory. Instead, it starts by focusing on actual performances and asking why they are the way they are, how such performances formed and what made

such performances possible. The following part will concentrate on the early era of Erdoğan as an actor of performative politics. This part will not specifically use the performative politics framework but rather highlight some moments in time to highlight Erdoğan's early performances. It will include some examples from 2004, 2007, and 2011. I will also address some routines and signature moves of Erdoğan that has been part of his character on stage from the early era.

It is important to note here that there is no clear distinctive periodisation on Erdoğan's performances since he has been using similar patterns, he has signature moves, and similar frameworks, yet, there is a trend that some elements were dissolving over time, while some methods have become more distinctive. During the research, it became clear that this gradual change over time is not only in relation to changing discourses but also the means he owns changes. For example, in the early era, it was not possible to make a rally for five million people, or, it is now possible to show realistic animations of imagined projects. These dramatically changes how to imagine the performance's world. In this sense, the early era symbolically refers to the performances before his presidency.

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was the prime minister of the Turkish Republic between 2003 and 2014 and became President of the Republic in 2014. Many performances of Erdoğan were well structured, especially during the campaigns for elections.

In the early era, especially during the election of 2004 and 2007, Erdoğan performs a character from a rural social background with a lower-class family. He and his audience knew this well, but there was more to it. In his early performances, he performed to represent the poor in the 'Westernized rich tables'. His performances were often self-evoking his manhood and commonness to engage with the audience. Such a position led him to subvert the dominant, 'West oriented elites' in which he mimicry and menaces with his behaviour. All his performance has been laboured with many rehearsals, not all are very successful, but when the "labour that goes into a performance that treads the mimicry/ menace/ success boundaries well" (Rai, 2014, p. 1190), in return, he disaggregated every possible way in which he engages with the audience. Erdoğan's multiple audiences in different cities, different classes, and different races experienced and, consequently, understood his performance differently.

This is mainly because he did not have the media under his control, so his performances were more addressed to the people in the rallies rather than the masses through television. The scripts he presented in the early elections, especially in 2004 and in 2007 or even 2011, were more localised than after his presidency. Although he often used local words, accents, and songs, it is noticeable that he used more local words, more local songs, and even local folk dances in the early era.

There are many references and subjects to study with relation to the body in the 2004 and 2007 elections, like the issue of headscarf. Performing bodies is not only about the discourses but also through performing it by clothing, and bodily appearance which informs the audience about signs of how to perform in such body. The way and what they perform as an actor of performative politics carry their imagined identities leads the audience, and for them to perform identities in various ways while also evoking new identities. Different performativity elements are indicated by sex or class in bodily performances and their reception (Rai, 2014). There are various elements like symbols, the use of stage, or auditory power coordinating to make the most influential performance with intended imagined affect on the audience. The struggle here is to influence the audience while representing the performance's world to affect the audience. At the same time, the bodily appearance creates the stage a live space by inhabiting it, reaching from performance's world to audience's world, and by doing so, making an artistic marking it. In this sense, the role of the body itself an essential part on influencing the audience' meaning making whether it is in a dormitory dining hall, or a Presidential Palace.

In early performances, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the AKP used the body to form a phenomenon in which, over time, capitalised over Erdoğan's image. One of the good examples of early era was a television advertisement in 2007 that showed many pictures with different audiences that Erdoğan met. Erdoğan was represented as a strong charismatic leader with his subjects. The reason why they used so many photos with a crowded audience was to influence the undecided voters. In other words, this was for the undecided voters and made them feel that everybody is voting for the AKP (and Erdoğan). However, it is possible to argue that promoting the leader of the party is also an effort to merge the image of the party with Erdoğan. Such concentration over

one body inevitably transforms the party into a single leader party in time. This transformation became much visible in later years.

In the early era, it is possible to observe that Erdoğan often mentions his physical health. He mentions multiple times that he has lost many kilograms during the rallies; he is well and healthy and powerful. For example, he said that he used to be 98 kg and down to 90 during the 2007 election. He highlighted that he lost this much because of his hard-working schedule. He also declared he was taking good care of himself, drinking much water and parsley-lemon-water mix for his voice (Kırca, 2007). He added that he was well, healthy, and young. It is not surprising, considering his age was much younger than the opposition leaders and that he wanted his physical energy to be reflected on his character.

There was also a significant debate on the question of the appearances of women's bodies. When we consider youth and women's bodies in a socio-historic context in Turkey, one of the heated debates during the early performances was the question on the headscarf. There has been a crystallisation around the symbol of the headscarf in which a visible physical object turned into a symbolic confrontation. The headscarf was more than a religious symbol. It has been constructed as a sign of class, a level of education, resistance, and even a question of loyalty to the Republic itself. The headscarf was too alien to some of the audience's repertoire that even the issue of 'foreignness' was raised, and some argued that such objects could only appear in 'Arabia' (Eyvaz, 2006). This is significant to recognise since it is an example that a physical object became a part of the normation process on the appearance, which reconstructed its meaning through performative politics over the years. As the actors of performative politics on stage to inform not only through their physical appearance but also through discourses on the body, the subject as headscarf in the repertoire was no different.

Erdoğan reconstructed the question of the headscarf. "It was a matter of freedom. This is a problem of education … matter of freedom in education … it is not a matter to ask for a vote, to exploit for votes" about the headscarf ("Karar 18," 2007). He was able to give a broader meaning of a headscarf to represent freedom, equality, and institutional injustice. This crystallisation of norms on a physical object is important

to show how norms are reflected on an object but what is more important is that Erdoğan was able to reconstruct this through performative politics.

Erdoğan's political life had been faced with challenges, which he overcame in time. He faced solid opposition in the 2007 snap election in July, which he won. While serving as the Prime Minister, Erdoğan campaigned for constitutional amendments, which the members of the Turkish Armed Forces perceived as the defender of secularism against Erdoğan (EveryCRSReport, 2007). During the early rallies, Erdoğan's clothing was reflected secularist repertoire in Turkey with his working-class appearance on stage, which I will address later. The working-class politician's image became Erdoğan's character on stage. However, he usually wore a costume that was appropriate for the occasion and mirrored something local. For example, as Erdoğan wanted to engage with the Kurds in northern Turkey, he wore a less formal outfit.

Since the early performances, Erdoğan performed using various gestures to attract the audience's attention. In most performances, Erdoğan enters the stage through the middle of the stage, where there is a door (from backstage). He shifts his position on the platform for each point he makes as he divides his speech into unit of actions. Erdoğan manages to integrate his physical presence with the message by utilising the various places on stage (Election Camp, 2011). As he talks about 'us', he shows and touches his chest to emphasise the message's relevance and his commitment to the cause. Erdoğan's pace is inversely proportional to this slight movements, and taking-a-second to breath method allowed him to control his breath for a longer performance. Erdoğan used his physical appearance on stage to direct the narrative and audience since the early era. Moreover, as I address later, he will also use his staging skills with relation to the use of the body to engage with the audience differently through the use of the stage with new technologies to reach millions on a live stage, such as turning his back to drive audience attention to the screens that show realistic animation of their future projects. This is a clear example of the change in imagining the performance's world. Actors turning their back to the audience used to have refrained.

As I have been searching for different elections, what was sparking in the early era was that the folklore dancers almost always came to the stage, or the backstage, and performed with traditional clothes after the actor ended his performances. The stage

suddenly transforms into a cultural object. As mentioned before, an actor of performative politics heavily relies on 'his' stage. They merge in their audience's imagination. As Erdoğan leaves the stage, cultural folklore dancer comes there and transform the meaning of that stage. Suddenly the audience finds a piece of themselves with the background of the AKP. In other words, as cultural dancers enter the stage, they transform the stage into a more personal experience for the audience. This differed in every region. For example, when he visited the Black Sea region, there were traditional regional dances as horon. He was very regional in that election. He spatialised this regionalisation everywhere he went. He said, for example, "This is the land of Bayburt, it will be accepted. The prayer of the people of Bayburt … I know that", he said to the slogans that cheer him as Prime Minister Erdoğan ("Başbakan," 2007).

Compared to the election of 2018, during the early era, Erdoğan relied more on repertoire than perform to reconstruct the repertoire. He often visited local spaces, such as mosques. He gave speeches after the prayers. He always chatted with the media members after attending rituals, ceremonies, and performances to show his physical appearance there to perform a character as if he is simply an actor of everyday performance. In other words, in the early era, Erdoğan performed in public spaces to build the image of his character as if he was one of the people acting in everyday life. Moreover, to get the media's attention, which was not at his disposal at that time, he performed as if he was just an actor of everyday performance in more mediatic events. For example, as 2007 was a dry year for Turkey, he attended to a pray for rain ("Başbakan," 2007). Such pray was not only to appear on the media but also to engage with the audience, creating a discourse between religious and scientific norms while gaining performative capital on the character as Erdoğan in the audience imagination as if he was just an actor in everyday performance by making it as given. This is important to underline since, in most of the early discourses he created, he often positioned himself as an actor of everyday performance to build his character within the repertoire. This swing between reconstructing the repertoire and gaining influence by the repertoire is visible, and in the later years, he heavily reconstructs the repertoire, as I will address in the election of 2018.

The amount of labour Erdoğan put into his performances are remarkable. As he started acting on stage in theatres at a young age, he carefully used his voice and gestures to connect with his audience. He visited every single city at least twice to make a speech during the election campaigns. He travelled with his family around Turkey. Erdoğan spends much time with his audience, which needs good oral and written communication skills, lives on the roads during campaigns for months, and works long hours, as many actors do. Behind all these labours, an actor still has to manage the time and carefully work on their performances. Erdoğan performed more times in the early era than during the election of 2018. For example, the election of 2007 was a movement for Erdoğan where he travelled all around Turkey not only once but twice and even mocked the opposition for being unable to travel around Turkey. This election is the clue that actors of performative politics "are not born but are laboured for and over, with more or less resources, with greater or lesser effect" (Rai, 2014, p. 1193). Erdoğan was a great example of such power of an actor of performative politics; he learnt and followed not just official norms and regulations (at least in the early era), but also ordinary informal customs and rituals. Erdoğan as an actor on stage, is always calm. He uses his energy well in this sense. Throughout the performance, he can control his voice, including but not limited to a steady tone and being loud when necessary. As Shapira (2015) underlines, such performance needs to be mastered of belly breathing. This means that he uses his diaphragm to breathe rather than just the upper section of the lungs like most people. This allows Erdoğan to perform longer, keeping his voice calm and perfecting his vocal characterisation.

The auditory power has a significant impact on engaging with the audience. Performing discourses and affecting audience in a performance merges with the external sounds, music, voices of the external sounds, or the audience's voice, which becomes a part of the experience. In this sense, actors of performative politics excessively use anchors, poems, songs, on-off beats, and bands to make a claim on the repertoire (Rai, 2014) and at that very moment when audience are emotionally engaged deeply, he reconstructs the repertoire. Erdoğan knew the significance of the auditory power and used it more and more over the years, as I will address in the case study. As significantly, what has not changed since day one is that Erdoğan knew the imperative nature of the actor's voice on stage. From the early era, Erdoğan speaks the language of everyday life, the 'ordinary man' in conversational Turkish. He subverts

the mainstream in Turkey, which was opposition parties that are 'Westernized political actors' as Erdoğan kept reconstructing the repertoire. Erdoğan emphasizes the message's seriousness with his voice. When underlining components that require attention, he projects his remarks loudly. However, he also pauses with informational facts such as the number of highways and projects. This is because while he wanted to keep the audience attention, he also used performance to inform the audience. Erdoğan's voice is consistent on a standard speaking rate, regardless of whether it is elevated or reduced, ensuring everyone has heard the message. Although he made dramaturgical mistakes over the years (e.g., Selçuk, 2014), for an actor who took the stage thousands of times over a couple of decades and considering the fact that such performances are fragile in nature, these mistakes are minor overall.

The actors of the AKP, specifically Erdoğan, was well known for the strength of the voice of his character, and they used engaging songs to make audience ready to engage, zuschauerifying his audience. In 2007, for example, they used a song of Uğur Işılak ("İşte AK," 2007), who was given permission to both the AKP and the CHP to use his song and CHP argued that the AKP stole their song. The song of the AKP for the 2007 election was called everything for Turkey as it promoted statehood, religion, gender roles, and even blood. It argued that "we know the state as our father … everything is for this nation" and had a tone of drums and loud voices. These songs were also included cultural musical tools and folkloric regional sounds. As it is clear, the AKP used every possible repertoire to reach different audiences and make sure the audience could find a part of their everyday character and engage with it. The results of the early era with relation to music were so impressive that the songs for elections became one of the most invested elements of performative politics over the years, which I will address later in the case study. Işılak, on the other hand, later became a strong supporter of Erdoğan, famous musician, and a member of the parliament. He wrote 'Haydi bir daha' (One more time) for the following election in 2011 and many others for the AKP, including the viral song Dombra. Most of his songs set to the tune of marching and nationalist songs.

In the early era, wherever Erdoğan went, his regionalised slogans were there. For example, when he visited Bayburt, there were banners "Madem Bayburtluyuğ biz bu hökömeti istirük" which if it was not local it would be "Madem Bayburtluyuz biz bu

hükümeti istiyoruz" ("Erdoğan:," 2007). It is always hard to define an accent in a different language, but there is a clear auditory difference in Turkish. There are more of these examples, especially in the early era. As I have already underlined, voices territorialise spaces. They appear in all forms, including but not limited to calling for unity and, in this case, it was regional support in general elections. Although we still see the local repertoire in many performances, there has been a clear shift from the local repertoires to the national ones. This is clearly in line with Erdoğan's goal of 'unity', centralisation of power, increasing support by the mass media and, as importantly, the enhancement of technology and consequently increasing power of the performative politics over the last decade or so.

When considering auditory power, one of the most significant unrecognised actors that sometimes even appears on stage is the anchor. Erdoğan has been a long-standing anchor since the İstanbul municipality election of 1994 (Yenikapı'nın, 2016). Orhan Karakurt has been performing with Erdoğan for almost three decades, taking stages, reading poems, calling Erdoğan to the stage and sometimes, when there are multiple actors, leading the performance as an external voice. Karakurt has been in the stages since the secondary school years. He has a 'man'ly, 'powerful' voice. He engages with the audience as an external sound reads a poem and excites the audience waiting for Erdoğan to take the stage of Erdoğan's performance since Erdoğan's candidacy for İstanbul municipality. After so many successful performances, when Erdoğan became the President, he made Karakurt one of the Counsellors of the Presidency and the President of the Congress and Cultural Centre and Exhibition Hall. In one of the interviews, Karakurt claims that he is the one who coordinates all the sounds and stage arrangements, from protocol to program flow, and he defines his position well; "not many people know my name, but everybody knows me" (Yenikapı'nın, 2016). These words perfectly portray such a position. He acts as an external mediator between the audience and the actor. His voice immediately breaks the fourth wall and, as an external voice, act as a commanding actor to engage with the audience leading them to perform as demanded. In other words, he is the external sound of the performances of Erdoğan since the early era. It is also noteworthy that there is not enough information regarding Karakurt even though he performs a significant role in Erdoğan's performances. This is not surprising since as already underlined that the

labour behind the scenes of performances is often neglected and is not recognised. However, such labour is essential and cannot be dismissed.



It is also important to recognise that even though Karakurt performs in most national and international performances, the anchor changes with the context of the performance. For example, during the Balkan Leader Summit back in 2011, Erdoğan was called on stage by a female anchor. This could be because of the repertoire in the region embraces such a vocal character as an external voice (Balkan A, 2011). Whatever the real reasons behind such change between performances, it informs us that the external voice could be female, could change between performances based on the repertoire of the audience, is essential, and Erdoğan knows this well.

Another important actor we must recognise that worked behind doors was Erol Olçok. He was the advertisement consultant of Erdoğan. Olçok graduated from İstanbul University Aesthetics and Art History in 1986. After organising the first advertising campaign in the Turkish local elections for Erdoğan, he worked as a Press Consultant at İstanbul Transportation Incorporation. In 1995, he officially became the press consultant of Mayor Erdoğan. He married Nihal Olçok, who later became an actor of the opposition party organised by the former Prime Minister Davutoğlu. He designed the logo of the party, “don’t stop, keep going”, and many other slogans, flags, and all advertising elements, including but not limited to television ads. He worked with Erdoğan in eleven elections since 2002. Sadly, he was murdered with his son on the Bosphorus Bridge in the coup attempt. Although I cannot clearly point out and compare the post-Olçok era, since many things have changed since then, it is still possible to point out that he was good in his job advertising the party and Erdoğan.





Another honourable mention is Aydın Ünal. He was one of the long-lasting scriptwriters of Erdoğan. He graduated from the Hacettepe University Faculty of Literature. He worked in various media channels in different positions such as writer, reporter, and manager. He has published many books, including poems, articles, and stories. During these years, he acted as the Press Advisor of the Hak-İş Trade Union Confederation. Ünal served as Prime Ministry Consultant, Prime Minister Chief Advisor, the State Ministry of Economy Consultant and President Chief Advisor since 2002. He wrote the speeches of Ali Babacan, who later formed another opposition party. Between 2007 and 2015, he worked as a scriptwriter. He resigned from his position and was elected as a member of the parliament. He was one of the earliest scriptwriters of Erdoğan. This research clearly shows that even though discourses changed over time, the framework of Erdoğan's speech is almost always the same. In this sense, as mentioned previously, performative politics engage with "the masses for continuous mobilization, maintaining unity, dynamism and coordination" and "performances connect the ruler and the ruled by showing" (Yabancı, 2020, p. 109) the character. Ünal was the scriptwriter who created such a framework, which became a pattern of Erdoğan's character on stage.




As I have underlined a few differences between the early era and the election of 2018, there was no clear periodisation between the early era and during the election of 2018. However, it was also clear that there was a slight shift between referencing the local

repertoires to addressing the national repertoire. In line with this, there was another shift from getting support from the repertoire to reconstructing the repertoire. These shifts are not clearly visible because it is a swing back and forth depending on conjecture as well as the ability to perform with the new technology. This is one of the reasons we must locate a performance in time and space. However, before we move to the following capture to locate the case study in time and space, I will also address a few signature moves and rituals of Erdoğan from the early era.

4.3.1. Erdoğan's Routines and Signature Moves

> As I've told you, do something a hundred times over, understand, recall every single moment and your body, by its nature, will recognise an action you already know and will help you repeat it. (Stanislavski, 2008, p. 172)

I have already covered some of Erdoğan's routines and signature moves. For example, I have addressed that Erdoğan drinks lemon, parsley, and egg mixture every morning during the elections for his voice. In this part, I will further add some of the routines, and signature moves that I have not mentioned previously. One of the most interesting routines of Erdoğan is something that is not clearly visible. As a well-educated actor of performative politics, Erdoğan has a routine when he gets a microphone. Mostly with one hand, but sometimes with both, he grabs and palms the microphone. Depending on the type, he either holds or palms the surface of the microphone right before he makes a speech. He often does it when changing between the microphones during a performance. This routine is known by the control room that as soon as he makes a move to change his microphone, the screens show the audience. In other words, the people in the control room, who decide what to show when, know his routine of palming the microphone and act accordingly. Having watched most of his performances, I have captured some visuals of a few of them. However, even though we are not able to see it, if one listens carefully, it is possible to hear the voice of his palm. This might seem superstitious, but it is actually a physiological practice, which the actor recalls his movements and the character. As Stanislavski points out, it helps the actor with the naturality of the repetition of the act and on a side note, this sound appears like a manifestation of an actor of performative politics reaching towards audience's world.



It is also necessary to recognise that there is a structure, a framework in Erdoğan's scripts. There is a series of patterns in his speeches. I will further address this structure under scripts in the case study, but it is also important to underline here since it has been with him from the early era. Erdoğan starts his performance by addressing the audience. The audience is consistently named as the name of the city even in the multinational performances, which I will also address in the case study. He uses the name of the city and starts by giving compliments to the audience. Entrances with compliments are also in question, which will be addressed. These compliments in the very beginning always have two parts. In the first part, Erdoğan mainly emphasises clearly visible and recognisable cultural, local, and easily perceptible values and objects. The second part of the compliment goes into higher values that are not that visible or recognisable such as the national will or historical figures. The second part relies heavily on performing past and future. As the first part recognise the audience with their local values, the latter part reconstructs the repertoire, making the audience recognition of the values attributed to them in relation to the past or the future.

After the compliments, Erdoğan reads a poem. This is primarily a stanza of a poem, and right after he reads the poem, he either add a couple of lines as if it is part of the stanza, or he addresses the poem and gives it a meaning. Erdoğan often uses multiple poems in different parts of his performance. Performing a poem is one of the peak moments of engaging with the audience in the performance, and most of the strong messages come right after such a moment. I will address a few examples in detail in the case study.

Erdoğan's speeches almost always have two core dynamics. The first one is addressing the opposition parties. He addresses their claims and replies in the early era. However,

in the later scripts, his addresses turn more on marginalising them. In the election of 2018, he addresses the opposition parties as if they are not a legitimately competing element of the election. This allows him not to address opposition claims and further consolidate his voters. The second dynamic is addressing the icraats. Icraats are the projects/action/performance mean in English, but what it refers in his scripts during the election of 2018 is the projects they had done when they came to power. As the first dynamic shifts more to marginalising the opposition parties as if they are deviant, the weight of the second element becomes more visible. However, the second dynamic has another problem. It is always getting harder to raise the hand, promoting more significant projects that drive attention. In this sense, the later projects become more futuristic, like making a space force and planning a hard landing on the moon.

Erdoğan's structure of his performances is very poetic. It starts with solid compliments, circles around those two dynamics, and connects the lines with engaging poems. In the early era, he ends by singing a song with the audience. "We walked together on those roads, we got wet together under those rains, now every song I listen to, reminds me of you" which is one of the most famous songs he performs among many (e.g., AKP Şarkısı). However, in the later years, his performances mostly end with Rabia.

Rabia is one of the signature moves of Erdoğan. This symbol was addressed in the early era but did not symbolise until 2014. The election of 2007 was one of the very first times he publicly referred to the nation as a whole as one nation, which later he directly reconstructed the Rabia symbol with these contents. He later explained what he meant in 2007; "I said one nation. Why one nation? Because it covers the ethnic elements living in that country called nation. Turkish, Kurdish, Arab, Circassian, Abaza, Bosnian … are all one nation" and he added, "under the umbrella of citizenship … we gather, we become one." He further stated that as "we gather together as citizens, we need a flag, one flag-one homeland" which later reconstructed to something else, which I will explain in the case study. As mentioned previously, actors of performative politics in Turkey almost always find a space to reach and form an appearance as a reflection of the statehood, sovereignty, legitimacy, and cultural "objects" (Goodsell, 1988) like flags which are the most substantial values in the national repertoire. This 'oneness' in the election was a reflection of merging the bodily appearance of the

leader with the party. This was the early reconstruction of the symbols, which crystalised on a Rabia symbol in upcoming years. I will later address his version of Rabia in the election of 2018 when he started to use it aggressively at the end of his performances.

Although these are the end of his scripts, performances of Erdoğan end with his signature move. Erdoğan likes to give/throw things at the audience. One of the most common things that he gives/throws are the red carnations to the audience, among other things like tea or soccer balls. Erdoğan has been performing such an end since the early era and became known as part of his performance. In this sense, as Erdoğan starts giving/throwing stuff, especially carnations, he informs the audience that the performance has come to an end. This became a signature move of Erdoğan. Moreover, as he throws flowers, among other things, to the audience, which historically works the other way around that audience throw flower to the actors, he appreciates the audience and reflects the nature of performative politics. An act to reach from the stage to the audience, from the performance's world to the audience's world. I will further underline the significance of his move in the case study, but it is important to recognise that Erdoğan has been making this his signature move from the very early era.



The election of 2004



The election of 2018

Unlike most of the structure of his scripts, there was a slight shift in the auditory part of the performance. This does not mean that the importance attributed to the auditory power changed. Erdoğan's performances always have various songs and on off beats.

In the early era, we saw folkloric dances and music that performed to the audience before or after the leading actor took the stage. However, this changed in time and instead of the folkloric dances and live music, recorded sounds and beats took their place. Although we could always see both examples, the local folkloric dances fade over time and leave its auditory gap to fill by the recorded uplifting songs. These uplifting songs dominate the performances as every gap is filled with those songs. Moreover, both the anchor and Erdoğan even sing those songs with the audience with or without the melody. For example, as mentioned, every time Erdoğan made a speech in the early era, he gave the lyrics of a song at the closing scene of his performances; "we walked together on those roads, we got wet together under those rains, now every song I listen to, reminds me of you" (e.g., AKP Şarkısı). He definitely made an impact with this song in the repertoire. We would not hear him singing this song on television, as a literal song, with a professional singer, with its melody until 2015, but he apparently sang in 2003 ("Böyle," 2003). Although the folkloric dances and music gave a one of a time experience in the early era, there is an apparent auditory repetition in later performances as the uplifting songs constantly play in the background in every performance.



Another essential routine of Erdoğan that needed to be addressed can be seen in his costumes. From the early era, Erdoğan always performed on a stage with a modern look. His costumes were always a shirt, a jacket and almost always a tie. In the case study, we will see that Erdoğan performs multiple performances every day, especially during the elections with different costumes in different places. This aggressive change in costumes itself informs us of the significance of the costume in a performance. Erdoğan also has a few signatures on his costume. He almost always wears a scarf even the weather is hot. Those scarves have symbols of various elements of the local repertoire, including the local soccer team's name. In this sense, he uses his body and appearance through costumes to engage with the audience through local repertoire.



In the Die Welt newspaper, there was an article about Erdoğan's costume titled "how does Erdoğan's winning jacket affect the fashion world?" referring to the famous lucky jacket (Sendker, 2020). President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's checkered jacket became a symbol of his victory in the elections. Erdoğan has worn this checkered jacket to vote since March 2014. He broke this tradition only on the 7th of June 2015 elections, and the AKP lost its chance to come to power on its own as a party. Despite the discourse on whether or not the jacket brings a luck, the article stated that while dark and monochrome suits are seen as the norm in Turkey, as in many countries, Erdoğan's checkered jackets drew attention. The article argued that Erdoğan reached beyond the established norms put forward his own vision in terms of costume. In this sense, he reconstructed the repertoire on costumes. Ferruh Karakaşlı, a fashion designer, argued that these jackets are a declaration that informs the audience he is a different actor with his visions and does not follow the norms. These extraordinary jackets themselves show if nothing else, Erdoğan cares about his costumes.



It is also important to note that in most rallies, depending on the audience, from the early performances to date, Erdoğan has a routine of entering the stage accompanied by a bulk of security bodyguards who are on stage together with him as a stage object. This bulk of security bodyguards as objects are performative markings that are meant to inform and draw the audience's attention to Erdoğan and what he is performing. Such security statements as objects are performative markings that are meant both to inform and draw the audience's attention to Erdoğan. In this sense, the dramaturgical affect of the protection appears as an exposition that addresses the repertoire in relation to characteristic of the image of significance in which the audience informs by these

objects. These bodyguards as objects on the stage almost always appear on live stages since the early era.

Another significant pattern of Erdoğan is about using the new technologies as an object. As I have underlined in many chapters of this research, technology is one of the most important aspects of engaging with the audience. Technology itself provides new ways of imagining the performance's world. New tools allow massive rallies and provide new ways of engaging with and within the audience. However, it is also clear that the technology used for the performance itself engages with the audience and informs them. For example, a hologram is not only a tool to reach the masses but also informs the audience that the actors have these means, are keen to use them, and declare that the ones who have these means have the power to become an actor of performative politics. Moreover, such technology itself captures the audience attention with its own 'spell'.

The AKP has been keen to use technology from the early performances. We have seen holograms, voice messages, broadcasts on social media, or realistic animations over the years, which I will address in the case study, but their ability to use the technology as an object is noteworthy from the very beginning. As the technology itself captures attention, the robot ASIMO is an excellent example of underlining such attention from the early era.

During the election of 2007, only after two years when ADSL was introduced and when there was neither Facebook nor Twitter in Turkey, they have formed a Turkish ASIMO, which was a robot that engages with the audience and performs to gain voters. ASIMO, the Ak Robot, is a Turkish-speaking robot that performs to gain attention from voters and asks the audience to support the AKP.



From a rally in 2007



From an interview with the Ak Robot

One of the citizens asks 'him' whether books are free now (for the Turkish education curricula)? About education, "he" replies: "Free as usual … when we come to power alone … we will provide equal opportunities in education to everyone." (mehmethfatihbaris, 2007). Another participant from the audience asks: "Can we reclaim the lands we lost?" The robot responds: "So, will the Turks return the lands claimed from abroad?" Someone from the audience asks a question and gets angry at the AK Robot because it could not reply. Ak Robot says: "let's meet at the Ak Party and discuss." And citizen replies: "Do not avoid me, brother ASIMO".

There were a few different discussions that the robot managed to perform. As Diana Hemibaşı, a citizen of Turkey who is Armenian, asks 'his' views on the non-Muslim population in Turkey a couple of months after Hrant Dink's assassination, he replies, "Armenians are also our citizens." As another person asks about the rope, which was another symbol of this election that the leader of the ultra-national party throws a rope at Erdoğan and asks him to make the death penalty legal again, the robot replies: "we didn't ban the death penalty they did … come on Ahmet … you are a man who reads." Another good example is as one of the reporters asks him about whether Diesel will fall under one Lira, Ak robot answers: "did they asked companies which producing diesel cars or Opet, for example, … they are driving me crazy like this Ahmet, I am mad" (mehmethfatihbaris, 2007).

It was clear that the robot itself symbolised change and technology. The technical specification of the robot was that it had a small screen that puts some images, a microphone, and a camera. There were no algorithms or artificial intelligence in it. Nevertheless, the idea itself made a substantial impact on youth and became a symbol for change and technology in the election of 2007. Certainly, the AK Robot had the sound and a temper of a man and just a talking microphone, but there was more to it; the actors of the performative politics have significant influence over the audience with and by the technology. The AK Robot not only drives the audience's attention with its technology and makes a symbolic reference to change but, more importantly, represents the technology that evolves to expand the power of performative politics over the audience and informs the audience that such means are available to some actors, making them the actors of performative politics. Thus, such use of technology declares, intimidates, and normalise the power of performative politics, which informs

the audience that only the people who have such a capability could reach the masses. In other words, such use of technology is in itself a declaration that the actors in everyday life cannot reach the masses, and only the actors who have such means can perform to reconstruct the repertoire of the mass society. It is also noteworthy that dependence on the appearance of a body has been changing, which can be seen from performing in front of millions of people with one actor on stage through screens in live rallies. Although such a basic robot does not fully reflect what is to come and what will be experienced soon enough, it well represents the change in performative politics and AKP's use of technology as an object since the early era.

4.4. The Presidential Election of 2018

I have underlined in the methodology that I will use the performative politics framework to comprehend the power of the AKP. To fully grasp the election of 2018 with the PPF, the following part will address three different axes. I will start by addressing the third axis; locating performance in time and space. As mentioned previously, during my research, it became clear that performances are historically specific. Thus, we must consider the time and space that it happened. I will start by addressing systemic changes and political conditions Turkey were in during the election of 2018. This part will include the new 'Turkish model of Presidency' and Turkey's general condition. In this part, I will also briefly address the audience's world that radically transformed within a decade. Then, I will address the third element of this axis, which is the change in performance's world. I will briefly focus on some examples of new types of live stages and elements such as microblogging or social media that makes performative politics much more potent in today's world.

After briefly focusing on these changes in the actor's world, audience's world and performance's world, the next part will focus on other axes. I will map the individual performance and the political affects of a performance during the election of 2018. These examples during the election of 2018 will include İzmir rally, Kudüs gathering, İstanbul rally, iftar gathering, which is the one with retirees and sahur gathering with students. As mentioned previously, after focusing on the third axis, I will focus on the first axis. In this part, I will focus on the body, which since it is the first part it will also include few descriptive information about the performances, staging the

presentation, auditory power, performative labour, scripts. Then, I will address the second axis, which includes resistance to a performance and the question on the attempt to reach towards an aura.

Some performances heavily relied on some elements, leaving me to examine accordingly. In other words, as I will examine all the performances mentioned above, some of the performances were more dependent on some elements, therefore, creating a more substantial impact on the research. For example, the auditory power used in the İzmir rally was dominating the narrative more than other elements, and there were very distinctive scenes that made me conduct the research consequently. At the same time, for example, I will briefly focus on sahur with the students regarding auditory power as it was short, and there was no distinctive movement. As mentioned previously, this was expected from the beginning since neither performances were the same with each other nor their audience were. However, the abovementioned performances will be addressed with all the elements that the framework provided for us and conduct the research with these angles. Moreover, some elements of the axes are addressed as a whole, specifically performative labour, due to the lack of information and the general nature of the topic, and the question on reaching towards aura, since it will also be addressed under other topics.

4.4.1. The Third Axis: Locating Performance in Time and Space

As I had mentioned in the methodology, the conditions that the actor is able to bring the character onto the stage is important. These conditions refer to the condition of the actors, the audience, and the performance's world. I have determined that this dimension should be addressed as the third axis and this axis on locating performance in time and space should be divided into three categories: the actor's world, the audience's world, and the performance's world. While the first two refers to a specific time and space associated with actors who emerged in that specific repertoire and audiences who are influenced by the social conditions in which they live in, the latter refers to the technological enhancements, possible ways of reaching the audience, and tools available for a performance to create a 'performance's world' at that time. The third axis of the performative politics framework, in this sense, locates performance in its condition. There are various influences on every level, such as neoliberal policies

or technology. In this sense, for example, Stanislavski's method is more influential in the contemporary world since the audience as a mass society is there to consume, thus, leading to a poetically engaging performance to cast a 'spell' on them as mentioned previously.

The following part of the case study addresses the dimensions of the actor's world and the audience's world, and then the performance's world. Although I had addressed on the conditions of the actor's world and the audience's world in general throughout the research, the following part will focus on the specifics during the election process in 2018. After that, I will focus on the performance's world, particularly what technology brought in the imagining performative politics in 2018.

4.4.1.1 Audience's World and Actor's World

Turkey in 2018 was a strictly polarized, socioculturally and politically fragmented country like today (Polat, 2020; Selvi, 2021; Toplumun, 2018). There are great number of studies on inequalities, securitisation, and polarization trends in Turkey (e.g., Alacaci & Erbaş, 2010; Zabcı, 2003; Gezici & Hewings, 2007; Günok, 2018). These studies not only provide us information about the inequalities and polarization but also creates a base on imagining the audience. In this condition, following the motion proposed by the AKP and the MHP, the Turkish Parliament 'decided' early elections only a year after the last ballot box ("Erken," 2018). Turkey held simultaneous presidential and legislative elections on June 24, 2018, marking the country's first elections under its new presidential system. Erdoğan became the president elect in the first round ("Seçim 2018:," 2018), effectively ending the argument within the opposition parties on who would win the second election (Arpat & Öğretir, 2018; Demirbaş, 2018; Portakal & Şentürk, 2018). In the parliament, on the other hand, the AKP could not secure the majority seats, receiving 295 out 600 seats (Sırıklı & Türkten, 2018). However, the People's Alliance (Cumhur İttifakı), composed of the AKP and the ultranationalist party MHP, managed to secure 344 of the seats. These election results meant that the actors of the AKP would stay in power. The election of 2018 was Turkey's nineteenth multi-party election since 1950, when there was a reintroduction of a multi-party system. However, this election was different from the others since it was the first competitive presidential election, with a dramatic increase

in the concentration of power in the hands of the actor who had been elected. This concentration of power led to a dramatic decrease in the Rule of Law index, which became excessively visible during the election process (Botero et al., 2018). In this sense, the new presidential system built upon concentration of power leads to additional instruments for the actors of the AKP that are not available to many actors of performative politics in democratic countries.

One of the most visible tools that the actors of the AKP used was the control over mass media, which will be addressed in detail. This uneven power balance between the actors favoured the AKP and amplified the elections' significance. The importance of the election was the fact that it was not simply to decide the government per se but, more importantly, whose hegemonic project would radically be projected with the centralized power and tools became available. This does not mean that winning the election meant to transfer the means, including media, yet it generated new possibilities for different fronts. Moreover, the new system's dynamic nature became a tool for all parties. Although the goal of the AKP transforming into a new system that needs coalitions for elections is to make sure their position on authority with more than 50 per cent vote undoubtedly stays, the new system occasionally created opportunities for the opposing parties to form a group and unintentionally made small parties gain significance for the majority.

The elections of 2018 entry point of the new conditions; the ideal distribution of power among state branches such as the judiciary, legislative and execution was centralized, resulting in further centralisation of power with the support of the institutionalisation process of the new presidentialism. In other words, the separation of powers was already damaged, but the electoral result of this election had an impact on how newly established presidentialism was going to be institutionalised. Despite that the first presidential elections were not for another two years, many observers (Özkul, 2018; Sayın, 2018b; Zeyrek, 2017) argued that the government was planning an early election after the referendum in 2017. This 'need' for election was crucial for the new system to speed up and prevent the new opposition from forming. Although there was no reaction to the leader of the CHP Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's call for an early election in October 2017 (Sayın, 2017), the possibility of an early election was still being discussed (Karadağ, 2018; Sayın, 2018a). The leader of the İyi Party, Meral Akşener,

claimed that the government was organizing the election at the second anniversary of the coup attempt on the 15th of July 2016 (Gül, 2017). On the 17th of April, the leader of the MHP, Devlet Bahçeli, called for early elections to be held on August 26th (Erdem, 2018). Bahçeli earlier stated that the MHP would support Erdoğan for election and Erdoğan and Bahçeli met on the following morning of the 17th. Following their meeting, Erdoğan declared an early election stating that 'we' needed this election to solve the "politic uncertainties" (Torun & Ceylan, 2018). They set the date in 66 days, and the election took on the 24th of June.

The elections in 2018 provided significant insights about the conditions in a developing but unstable system caused by shifting political institutional structures and holding via performative politics. The following part will address two contextual aspects of performative politics during the electoral campaign. The first one is the locating actor's world, in which will focus on the instruments that the actors of the AKP had. The second is the audience's world, which will focus on the audience and the environment they live in. Both points will be addressed in relation to global and local changes within the Turkish context. Only then I will focus on the performance's world. This will address the developments and technologies available for the actors of performative politics during the 2018 election.

The 2018 elections were the final act of a new system characterised by power concentration that gave the AKP with extra instruments not available to most other actors in other nations across the world (Gözler, 2017). There were two significant power of the AKP. The first, control over the mass media, which I will explain in detail. The second is the control over judiciary. Although these happened in time, the two crucial factors were affective during the elections. These two issues combined created further unequal power balance between the ruling authorities and the opposition parties during the 2018 elections.

First, despite the fact that all opposition parties were denied access to the media well before the 2018 elections, this process deepened dramatically during the election process. One of the most significant expansions to control mass media by the AKP was in 2011. The government had expanded its influence with the acquisition of Turkey's second-biggest media group by convincing Doğan media to sell the some of

its channels to the capital group favoured by the government (Millet ve, 2011). The Doğan group completely backed down just before the 2018 elections, selling the rest of its existing media properties (Doğan Medya 916, 2018). This meant not simply just shutting down channels for criticism but, more importantly, owning the stage exclusively for the actors of performative politics of the AKP. Second, with the centralized establishment of the new political framework, the judiciary started to be instrumentalized. As I have addressed, in many countries, the actors of the new political frameworks almost always use the judiciary process as a mode of performative politics against different groups (Tripp, 2007). Although I had addressed this mode as a topic for another research yet, it is essential to note that the new framework came to live in a condition that was already highly (de)securitized with judicial tools (Gürsoy, 2012).

It is also important to note that the actors of the AKP's control over these means made it much easier for them to reconstruct the repertoire. In other words, as the audience was exposed to mass media controlled by the actors, they seized the power of the stage to a new level during the last decade. A great example of this transformation could be seen from the peace process to the war process (Çiftcioğlu, 2016). It also made it harder for the opposition to cross an alliance since the opposition lacked the stage to propagate a coherent oppositional narrative. As a result, a government that exclusively owns the tools for performative politics and opposition with unprecedentedly limited stage were some significant dynamics of the June 2018 elections.

The June 2018 election was the first election of the Cumhurbaşkanlığı Hükümet Sistemi (CHS). This means that to understand the context, there is a need to highlight the importance of the system. Presidential systems around the world have two crucial characteristics. First is the separation of powers. In presidential systems, the principle of separation of powers means that actors who are elected as legislators are not part of the government. There is a clear distinction between political actors and the office's function. In other words, the governing body, legislation, and judiciary are clearly separated. Their boundaries, responsibilities, and objectives are significantly different. In this regard, the executive, legislative, or judicial branches intervene with each other with their non-hierarchical responsibilities. The second point is the checks and balances. It is vital to understand that when one branch, whether executive, legislative

or judiciary, interferes with the other, two other branches must exercise their authority to stop it (Gözler, 2017, p. 155). Following this separation, there is rigidity between offices (Samuels, 2009, p. 704). This means that the executive takes office with an election for a certain time and relies on one person only. One person becomes not only the head of the executive but also the head of the state (Poguntke & Webb, 2005, p. 2; Slann, 2005, p. 116). In this sense, presidential systems are "winner takes all" (Siaroff, 2005, p. 142). Not surprisingly, only in a few cases, such power of the executive office limited with separation of power.

Turkey has had several constitutions, with the modern Turkish constitutional history beginning in 1921 with ratification. This constitution was revised in 1924, 1961, 1982, 2010 and 2017. Although some argue that the parliamentary system was introduced in 1961 (Özbudun, 2012), as Gözler (2017) rightfully points out that the milestones for constitutions go back to the Ottoman constitution of 1876 (p. 79). However, the presidential system has been in the repertoire due to the fact that since the 1980s, the presidential system has been discussed from time to time. One of the early debates started with the Özal era in the 1980s when he argued presidency is best fit for Turkey (Demirkaya, 2017). This was clearly in line with his neoliberal policies. This desire for the presidential system was also followed by Süleyman Demirel (Selvi, 2016). However, only the AKP government was able to change the system to a presidential system, making the system more "stable" (Alyanak et al., 2018).

On the sixteenth of April 2007, a year before the first presidential elections, Turkey held a constitutional referendum. This referendum was to include eighteen amendments to the constitution. After the referendum, Prime Ministry was abolished and replaced with the presidency, the seats in the Parliament increased from 550 to 600. The president became much stronger, including more control over selecting the Council of Judges and Prosecutors (HSK) members, formerly known before the referendum as the Supreme Board of Judges and Prosecutors (HSYK).

It is important to note here that the election of 2018 was undergone in the system where the power is officially centralized and open to use for the actors of the AKP. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan has already been affectively manoeuvring to maintain power since the day he became president of the republic within the old system in 2014. He constantly

promoted a constitutional change to a 'unique' system, which called out as abusive constitutionalism (Gözler, 2017). As Ayan Musil (2014) suggested, the Turkish electoral system already contains majoritarian leadership based elements. This inevitably led to maximum power concentration. Therefore, during the election process in 2018, the actors of the AKP had a strong office of the presidency and control of the mass media.

It is also important to note here the way of the electoral competition in these circumstances. The Turkish electoral system for parliamentary based on a majoritarian system with closed party listing, and one of the highest thresholds of the world with a ten per cent nationwide threshold (Gözler, 2017). Even though many had argued that it would be changed right after the referendum (e.g., Kuzu, 2016), this sharp majoritarian system still remains today as of 2022. The most significant change was the electoral coalition, in which if a junior partner did not pass the threshold with the coalition, they would still have a seat at the parliament. Important to note that the Nation Alliance (Millet İttifakı) was able to form; this change ended up relatively positive effect on representation in the election.

While the actors of the AKP represented Turkey's long-standing conservative-nationalist political tradition, the opposition parties were made up of various factions with smaller populations. CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) was the biggest opposition party and had been constructed as the 'other elites' against and by the AKP since 2002. The logic behind the new system was that the actors of the AKP would stay in charge since the so-called right-wing audience, including MHP voters, was almost sixty per cent of the voting population. The three other main opposition were the HDP, the Iyi Parti and the SP.

In these circumstances, the People's Alliance called for early elections in 2018 while there was a state of emergency, only about a year after the presidential referendum. There were a couple of counter moves by the opposition parties to this snap election. One of them was that CHP moved fifteen of its members of the parliament to İyi Parti to avoid any possible decision by the Supreme Election Council on whether or not İyi Parti could participate in the election since it was a newly established party (Gürcanlı, 2018). This meant that the İyi Parti became a group in the parliament and guaranteed

that they would participate in the election. Although CHP, İyi Parti and SP nominated their own candidates for the presidency, another significant impact of the new system was that the ideologically dissimilar groups managed to form the Nation Alliance, including but not limited to Islamist SP. Erdoğan tried multiple times to convince the Islamist SP, but they were not persuaded (Çetinmühürdar, 2018; Demirkaya, 2018). In this sense, the SP played a strong defence against the criminalization of the Nation Alliance.

It is also important to underline that there was still a state of emergency after the announcement of the early election decision. This was a concern for opposition parties. For example, CHP declared that the election under the State of Emergency was not brave (honourable) (Yazıcıoğlu, 2018). Amongst opposition parties, there were also concerns from international actors. Spokesperson of U.S. Department of State Heather Nauert stated that it would be a challenge to organize a fair, free and transparent election while there were state of emergency (Albayrak, 2018) and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe called for the postponement of the election, stating that the current condition for the election would not comply with European criteria (Nebehay & Heavens, 2018).

In addition to the structural changes in voting procedures, including alliances, the new power concentration, the early election, and the general condition of Turkish politics, the audience's world dramatically changed over the years. The audience now have different characteristics when they appear at a performance and have different goals. For example, one of the excellent questions is about the shorter attention span of the audience. Many (Abramson, 2016; Mcspadden, 2015; Watson, 2015) argued that the people have now had a shorter attention span. This was not scientifically observed, and there were also counterarguments pointing out that this was a myth (Maybin, 2017). Simon Maybin, a BBC reporter, pointed out that this is a myth caused by the 2015 Microsoft Canada Consumer Insight team's research. This research 'proved' that people's attention span has drastically shortened; however, the research data based on a website that turns out does not even recognise where the original data came from (Maybin, 2017). However, besides this myth, there is a significant amount of attention to the attention itself because of the amount of information has been exploding to be focused on. In other words, the focus on attention span is not random because the

human capacity to comprehend information is limited, and a great amount of information is being pushed to the mass society.

There are now too many distracting elements that the bourgeois economy pushed to everyday life and many lost tracks. As I have addressed previously, the attention span is not the problem, but rather the focus, tools, information, and everyday performance that needed attention became valued. In this sense, as part of the mass society, each member of the audience wanted to appear with new tools they had been provided. Social media, for example, became a space that could dramatically affect the everyday life of the audience. I will address these changes also under the change in performance's world since it became a part of performative politics, but for general observation of the audience's world, social media had an impact in so many ways. For example, if a member of the audience shares an insulting comment on President Erdoğan, they could get arrested (Baştuğ, 2016; Can & Kaya, 2020). These power channels are bidirectional and work through finest capillaries of society. In this sense, recording the actor's physical appearance performing on the stage is itself turns a power move among the audience. This is not only to prove that they were there but also they were close to the physical appearance of a powerful actor. For example, taking a photo with Erdoğan's physical appearance crystalizes that moment in which the audience could show to expand their influence in everyday life. I will address some of these examples of such situations.



Rallies in İzmir and İstanbul, 2018

Such audience behaviour can be considered as a lack of attention, but rather, this is a new way of reproducing the power of performative politics through everyday performance, or as Benjamin would suggest, the power of mechanical reproduction. Research done in 2020 shows that the daily time spent on mobile devices dramatically increased from 32 minutes in 2011 to 132 minutes in 2019 (Palandrani, 2020). Same research shows that the number of social media users reached 2.96 billion people in

2020, increasing from 970 million in 2010. As such forms transformed the word of mouth, the actors of performative politics find new ways to use this. In this sense, Erdoğan is a perfect observer of the audience emotional patterns. As I will address in the following part, he aggressively started, more than ever, to use music, poems, or even appearances of children on stage. The emotionally engaging performance of Erdoğan reached to a peak that categorically recognisable as 'a form of art'.



A rally in İzmir, 2018

Focusing on the emotional patterns of society, as underlined previously, is one of the most important keys to success on stage. As the bourgeois economy has the greatest impact on how we construct emotions (Ridout, 2006), in 2018, the audience loved coherence, at a performance to consume it, watch a performance to escape from the reality they live in and as importantly emotionally driven. This means ready to buy customers as the audience are there to consume the artistic factors, dramaturgical aspects, and outlying issues. They are already there to cast a spell on in which the zuschauerifying process that I have addressed before became part of these performances. In this sense, the following part focus on the tools that 2018 was given to the actors of performative politics.

4.4.1.2. Creating Performance's World

As mentioned, performance happens in a time and space. It is crucial to underline the tools available for actors when the performance happened. In this sense, the third element of the third axis of the performative politics framework is to highlight what is possible when forming the performance's world. In other words, research with the performative politics framework must consider the condition of imagining addressed performance. As focussed on the early performances, it is clear that the technology dramatically changed over the years.

As the possibilities increased with new technologies, the imagination, which is the core for performance's world, opened to new possibilities on performing (Leader, 2021; Rai, 2014; Sauter, 2021; Spary, 2021). With such possibilities, actors rapidly embrace new ways to reach mass society. As many (Bay-Cheng et al., 2015) argued, these changes enable live performance to turn into more engaging events. In this sense, the actors and directors try to create a performance's world full of original experiences to make the event one of a time, such as addressing throe giant holograms (e.g., Ford, 2014). In 2018, the means of interaction and engagement between actors and audience were spectacular. The dramatic transformation in technology transformed the performance's world. I will address some of the tools that have been used during the election of 2018, but I will also highlight some of the changes under different elements of the axis, such as auditory power.

One of the biggest squares for rally opened in 2014 and were available during the election in 2018, which is a remarkable example of how performance's world transformed. Although following numbers are claimed based on estimates on a rally in 2016 (Demir, 2016), it still shows the imagined possibilities with new technologies. The Yenikapı Square have a capacity for five million people. It can hold the largest sound system ever installed in Turkey with a power of 1 million watts with thirty sound system towers. This allows people to hear the actor on stage and the songs or beats clearly from one and a half kilometres of distance. This square can have twenty-two led screens that have impressive quality. The audio and video transmissions in the square were built with steel ropes pulled over the cranes. For this, over six thousand meters long steel rope and over five thousand meters fibre line were used. This is an unprecedented square where masses gather for a rally. In 2018, this square was used twice by Erdoğan.




A rally in İstanbul, 2018

The Yenikapı square is an excellent example of how the stage technologies have been transformed. The increase in capacity meant a change in imagining the performance's world. As the square could go up to five million people, an actor on stage must perform accordingly. In this sense, the use of technology transformed the stage, making a performance a combination of live, pre-recorded, and broadcasting events. The screens showed both the actor as well as the audience with drones and images like mosques in the background. The performance had different audio and visual effects. For example, showing the flags looking up with drones became a part of the narrative.

The giant screens in every corner showed both the audience and the actor. Moreover, as we had seen for the first time at a rally in 2018, Erdoğan became a narrator during a performance on stage since the screens would show what projects could happen if they get elected with realistic animations. In other words, Erdoğan turned back to the audience and started to perform as a mediator and a storyteller presenting the videos to inform the audience about the future with realistic animations.



Lighting was also much improved when we compared it with the early era of the AKP. The performances in the dark became daylight. Moreover, it has been used as a part of the performance. We could clearly see the transformation both for inside and outside performance. In indoor performance, lights did not make any shadows and showed the actor older than 'he' is since it came from different angles. In the outdoors, it has often used when it is dark. Moreover, it has been used various times to engage with the audience. A good example is when the performance was at dawn; actors asked the audience to turn their cell phone light to make a more romantic and engaging performance.



The sounding system became unimaginably strong. One Megawatts, for example, made voices like digital recordings, on-off beats and music, and any other audio-visual representations such as anchors voice could reach up to one and a half kilometres without any cracking sound. Such a system affects the whole performance's world since now the actors are not performing for a few close to them but way too many. The audio systems, in this sense, are crucial to creating such public spaces where actors of performative politics could reach millions simultaneously with the intended pace and required clarity. This is important not only on the actor's level of reaching towards the audience but also important considering the fact that there is almost always music in the background, making the audience engage emotionally with the performance. In this sense, hearing what is being performed on stage is the primary key to engaging with the performance. Such technology was also supported with the wireless microphone so that the actors could walk on the stage freely.





In addition to using such audio-visual representations like digital sounds and music on a live stage, actors' ability to reach masses through recordings was unheard of. For example, in 2017, less than a year before the election, Erdoğan made a voice recording that in every call, the caller became an audience to Erdoğan. The recording was for the anniversary of the 15th of July Democracy and National Unity Day, which was the date of the failed coup, and instead of the ring tone in every call, Erdoğan's voice recording was saying:

> As your President, I congratulate the 15th of July Democracy and National Unity Day and wish Allah's mercy on our martyrs and health and well-being for our veterans. (Kurumdan, 2017)

On a side note, as I had addressed previously, performing time is important for a hegemonic project. As Çınar (2005) rightfully points out, such performance serves to form "one nation= one state= one history model" (p. 167), and what Erdoğan performed with this new tool was for reconstructing a failed coup to become a national holiday.

It is also worth noting that the word of mouth has transformed in multiple platforms within a decade. Communication between each other became much faster, more affordable, and more accessible. WhatsApp, which was created in 2009, reached over two billion active users globally, is one of the most prominent examples of technology used in the contemporary world (Iqbal, 2022). The instant messaging app has altered the way people connect to each other, and the performance's world affects that reached a new capacity for echo. Such apps became end-to-end encrypted, providing a central hub for communication, file sharing, group chats, and enhanced mechanical reproduction.

The word of mouth changed dramatically in various forms. For example, since its launch in 2010, Instagram has reached over two billion active users in 2021 (Rodriguez, 2021). In October 2021, there were over forty-nine million Instagram users only in Turkey, which is around 60% of the entire population (Statista Research Department, 2022). With a growing number of users, Instagram, and other platforms with supporting tools like smartphones fundamentally revolutionized performative politics as well as everyday performance. In addition to these technological changes, microblogging was also transformative. One of the most significant social networks/microblogging is Twitter. Approximately over 200 billion tweets were posted every year (Lossio-Ventura et al., 2021). Since its initial launch in 2010, Twitter pled a pivotal role in the way people share information, communicate, mobilize, and act. The service allows users to microblog in brief texts, allowing users feeds to constantly update with new information, especially concerning real-time events, that are "beyond the capacity of the state authorities to monitor" (Tripp, 2013, p. 75).

As it is clear, these developments change the audience's world and undoubtedly change the performance's world, especially concerning the interaction with/on a live stage. Moreover, what is also significant is that all these data are part of the change in the performance's world. Artificial Intelligence, as well as the big data itself, transforms the scripts. The patterns inform the scriptwriters and actors on stage so much that they can change their way of performing straightaway. In other words, these new tools of everyday performance also inform the actors of performative politics on the emotional and behavioural patterns of the audience. This means that not only word

of mouth has transformed but become visible and analytically accessible to the actors last couple of years.

With relation to data, another critical turning point is the digital payment systems. This not only changed the way we spend money and how we comprehend labour but also transformed the depth of the digital trail that we leave behind. Payments, social media platforms, app usage all leave such a trail behind, accumulating gigabytes of our everyday behaviour. These vast databases are ready to process through algorithms to discover trends and develop instructions that optimize search engines, target audience behavioural patterns and provide real-time directions for performative politics.

It is also clear that performing in everyday life transformed with platforms like YouTube, Twitter, Instagram, and overall expansion of the Internet, and the new tools are available and accessible for everyday actors. It became a space for building up your own character in everyday life. In this sense, actors of everyday performance reproduce the affect of performative politics and create a significant amount of power via echo of the original performance. For example, an audience of Erdoğan's performance takes a video, a photo or microblog about it and reproduce what has been performed. In this sense, Erdoğan not only performs for the live audience but also performs for the reproduction through these channels. Moreover, the audience also likes to reshare and share during and after the performance to point out that their characters were there.

As I had previously highlighted in various chapters, Turkey, like the entire world around us, is changing rapidly. I had addressed the conditions in Turkey during the election of 2018, including the new 'Turkish model of Presidency'. Such systemic change further served with ongoing media ownership to the actors of the AKP. However, there was time to time opportunities for the opposition parties. I also briefly addressed changes in the audience's world, like the smartphone revolution. As I had addressed in the theoretical framework, the audience is emotionally driven and ready to buy customers at a performance.

I have addressed the changes in the performance's world. I have underlined on one of the biggest squares for a rally and how it has changed the way performance appear. Moreover, I have highlighted on the importance of microblogging, social media, and

big data and how they radically transformed performative politics and has been directing the way actors perform on stage.

Briefly noting these changes in the audience's world, actor's world and performance's world, the following part will address different examples of performances during the election of 2018 as a case study to comprehend the performative politics of the AKP in detail. By doing so, we will also see the performative politics framework further in comprehending the power of the AKP. The examples are a rally in İzmir, Kudüs gathering in İstanbul, İstanbul rally a month later with in the same square, and two short speeches, one with retirees at sunset meal at Ramadan, which will be addressed as iftar gathering, and one with the young audience at before sunrise meal, that will be addressed as sahur gathering.

I have chosen these five different performances for a couple of reasons. The İzmir rally was the start of the campaign for the election of 2018 ("Erdoğan'ın," 2018). It was well organized with some ways similar but also had different affects with the new technologies. The Kudüs gathering was the weakest combination of performances due to the amount of labour put in since it has decided to perform an only couple of days ahead of the performance. This was not simply a rally of Erdoğan but more of a long show in which many actors on the stage perform one by one. The third is the İstanbul rally which was also at the same stage a month later and six days prior to the election, but the performance was quite different. The fourth performance was iftar gathering with retirees, which was a brief one with the most official settings and the last one was a sahur gathering in a dormitory dining hall with students, which was spontaneous.

4.4.2. The First Axis: Mapping Individual Performance

4.4.2.1. The Body

As I mentioned previously, this part describes the bodily appearance of actors on stage and, while doing so, introduces the performances and is designed to make the audience of this research comprehend the performances that we focus on. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's body has been emotionally charged, substantially influential and affectively accepted. I will address some of his appearances and how he used his body. As mentioned, these sub-topics entrance each other since, for example, the external voice

merges with the body itself, and one cannot be fully comprehended without the other. Thus, for example, auditory power merges with bodily appearance and make the whole. As mentioned multiple times, a character like Erdoğan appears on stage as a charismatic leader that wants to connect with the audience emotionally. We clearly see during the election that Erdoğan as the leader of the party, merge with his bodily appearance. From clothing to his use of voice, he emotionally engages with the audience and transforms their meaning-making.

We had seen various performances during the election process in 2018. Although there were only sixty-six days left after the declaration of the election, there was a substantial amount of performance Erdoğan made. There were also multiple errors due to the lack of performative labour caused by the lack of time. In this sense, the very first performance, which was performed in İzmir, was one of the top performances for the election of 2018. As mentioned, one of the significant transformations in performative politics is that as the actors appear on stage, there are many screens not only to show the actor but also to use different bodies merging with the actor's image in different ways for affecting the audience with cinematic affects.

The first performance in İzmir was a great example of how using the body becomes in question. Erdoğan is a successful actor on stage. As he appears on stage and greets the audience with the Rabia symbol, he reminds the narrative, which I will underline in the part of the script, and the Rabia symbolises within the body. At the performance in İzmir, he uses his body to stress and emphasizes on the meaning of the script. For example, he takes the wireless microphone at the beginning of a new topic and walks toward the audience. We can see at the performance in İzmir he walks as he asks the audience; "we wanted freedom for all, not for certain clans, is this a crime? Is the economic development of all individuals a crime? Is it a crime to want wealth for all?". He takes a further step and tells the audience that they do not have problems related to Alewis or Sunnis, and he adds, "Our single red line is against terrorism". At that movement, his voice goes high, and he gets back at the bench. He uses his body to change the narrative of the speech. This is not directly changing the topic of the speech, but as he changes the emotional expression, his voice and facial expressions, he likes to use the body and his posture. He divides the emotional representation of the performance via using the body appearance. His facial expressions also represent

words and emotions. The following images are from two different scenes. As the one behind the bench shows, he talks about positive values, and the second scene is where he performed an angry character.





As I have watched hours of his performances in more than a hundred stages from beginning to end, one of the interesting points in this performance in İzmir rally with relation to body usage was about the particular interest in children. As mentioned previously, the screens not only show the actor but also presents the audience with different technologies like drones and microfocus. In the age that a phone could 100x zoom with optical lenses, the screen shows each audience clear as light. In this sense, for some reason, every time Erdoğan or the audience as a mass did not appear on the screens a child was on. The appearance of a child's face is an emotionally driven, already constructed safe zone that also increases attention. Although there is a variety of research on the explanation of why a child is driving a person's attention, founded cute and emotional (Alley, 1981; Sprengelmeyer et al., 2009), these are not necessarily the cause for showing children on the screen. Since we do not know the reason behind this move, instead, we should accept this as a preconception both for us and the directors of this performance, and clearly, their appearance was part of the performance.





In addition to Erdoğan's successful use of his body and body of the audience on the screens, there is also a surprise actor who attended on to the stage. Erdoğan invited İbrahim Tatlıses, a folk singer who recorded over forty albums, a former cinema actor with thirty-seven movies/shows, most of which heavily rely on gender stereotypes that were articulated with a conservative discourse (Tan, 2012), and hosted one of the most popular programmes on television called Ibo Show (Anguner, 2021). He also committed crimes of violence against women (Sancak, 2020). He is quite an interesting character especially when we consider he was also prosecuted for separatist propaganda in 1987 because he had sung a Kurdish song in Sweden in 1986 (Yüksel, 2020). Nevertheless, the allegation was dropped because he expressed his 'regrets'. In 2011, there was an attempted assassination of Tatlıses (Sukan, 2011). Assassins shot him from his face with a Kalashnikov rifle, and a bullet entered the back of his skull and exited from the front.

During the performance in İzmir, he visited the performance, and Erdoğan asked him to come to the stage. This was structured with an alternative script, meaning that it was only a possibility that he could enter the stage. We can be sure about this because it was hardly directed, asynchronized, and he was barely walking. As I will also underline the auditory power, his appearance on a stage was a calculated risk taken by Erdoğan since Erdoğan knew what he was going to demand from him. In other words, Erdoğan was already prepared for his appearance on the stage. The surprise was that he was able to.





Another exciting moment with relation to the body in this performance was at the end. As the other actors appear on stage with Erdoğan, Erdoğan callouts for children to come to the stage. We would already know by then there was a particular focus on children at this performance because of all the ultrazoom on their faces that reflected on the screens. Conversely, what was more than bringing children on the stage was that as he calls children on stage 'spontaneously', the children were ready to go on to the stage. Moreover, the nearest child that was on the stage with Erdoğan was wearing a t-shirt of Gazi Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and a hat with a symbol of the AKP. As one of the most nationalist cities in Turkey that crystalizes their nationalism especially on the image of Ataturk as well as other symbols, the audience of İzmir rally would welcome such a symbolic scene.







Another essential part that recognized from this example is the importance of the photographic angle of a performance. As we had already covered, the performative politics is not only for the audience that is there anymore but also to cover possible audience with mechanical reproduction for mass society. When we put down the two photos together, one from live coverage and the other from a camera angle, we immediately recognize two things. The first is background changes. This could be well done with photoshop, but when I watch the live footage, I see a clear cut on the back of the stage for more photographic pictures. The second recognisable thing is the angle itself. The vertical angle has a significant impact on the misjudgement of the power of the actors (Giessner and Schubert, 2007 as cited in Cores Sarría, 2015, p. 30). As the actors of performative politics like to be seen strong from a lower angle to make them

look stronger, photographers located right on the edge of the stage and the cut of the background was designed for the photos.

As we know by now, Erdoğan takes his performance very seriously, as his whole power including his legitimacy rests on his performance on stage, and most of his moves are calculated and well structured. It would be speculative to argue that these moments of 'surprises', such as children appearing on stage with spontaneous calls, are calculated, but we cannot disregard that these moments of 'surprises' when Erdoğan performs occasionally happen. However, there are some performances and surprises with much less calculation since, as I will address in performative labour and audience resistance parts, there is not always enough time to get fully ready, especially for surprises. The following performance that I will address on the question of body is the performance at Kudüs gathering on the 18th of May 2018. This was organized within days just after over sixty Palestinians were killed due to the Israel attack against protestors to the opening program of the US embassy in Jerusalem on May 14th (Abdelaziz et al., 2018).

Erdoğan entered the square with his wife and a security crowd. The twenty-two Led Screens showed him entering, waving the Rabia symbol. This was one of a kind performance where there were multiple actors from different parties as well as actors around the globe taking the stage. Erdoğan greeted the audience while he walked to the stage, and there was a line on the stage, shaking other actors' hands. This was shown on the screen while there was music and anchor calling him the leader of the century. It was important for Erdoğan to show his audience that Erdoğan as a character is welcomed by various actors who have their own symbolic world with different cultural narratives, which has proven and recognised by the audience, and simultaneously informed the audience about Erdoğan, with the symbolic elements of these various actors including but not limited to these actor's costumes, their races, and overall appearances.






After he greets the other actors on the stage, Erdoğan greets the audience and then greets the audience together with other actors like a prolong. He welcomes the audience once again on the stage with Rabia, and following Erdoğan, all leaders move towards the backstage where they wait for their turn. A large tent was built just for them as the backstage where they watch the performance from screens with air conditions. We do not have any video confirmation about the backstage, but we have a few photos of the backstage and video as they walk through the path and enter the tent from the footage of what the audience saw via drone's camera on the screen.



The first actor on the stage was South African preacher Abdurrahman Sadien, a great Qur'an orator and a champion of the World Qur'an Reading competition of 1988. He appeared in a white dress, sitting on his left leg. On a side note, the colour white has a strong representation in Islamic repertoire as there were a hadith declaring the best dress is white (Akyüz, 2014). The interpretation of the hadith goes as far as to declare a mystical form that the Prophet "transforms a magic power, which is considered to be a bar in colours, into cryptography in the codification of the new religion" (Gündüzöz, 2003, p. 76). With the significance of the colour white, most of the orators' wear white, and the audience immediately recognize the orator. Sitting on the right leg, on the other hand, has a meaning in the South African repertoire. Abu Bekir Efendi, who was sent to South Africa more specifically Cape Town for missionary reasons from Ottoman Empire, where almost two centuries later Abdurrahman Sadien learnt Qur'an, written that the "prostration in the second prayer-unit, he should bend his right leg flat on the ground under him and sit on the right foot while stretching his left leg straight out, and keeping his toes pointed towards MAKKA" (Effendi & Syrier, 1960, p. 58). This

created a repertoire for South African Muslims, which only means a sort of respect for the audience of this performance.



After this performance, the leader of the Büyük Birlik Partisi (BBP) takes the stage. As the aim of this research to address Erdoğan's performance, I will address others briefly, especially with relation to scripts and patterns. BBP leader and MHP leader Bahçeli both never left the stand and talked behind it. Their facial expressions are minimal. Bahçeli has different pitches during his speech but will address this in the following part. After both speeches, Rami Hamdallah, the head of the unity government of Palestine back in 2018, takes the stage. From his appearance, the audience could understand that he was not going to engage emotionally. As he spoke, the audience's assumptions became a reality. As an academic, his speech was not as engaging as the others. Such assumption on bodily appearance among the audience is not necessarily valid, but in most cases, the precondition of such repertoire informs the actors on stage by representing the selected character with the preconception of the audience (Delaney, 1990). There are many mistakes during this performance which I will address in the relevant part.

After his speech, Binali Yıldırım, the last prime minister of Turkey, takes the stage. He almost always overly used his gestures, especially when he walked around the stage. Even though this is a subject of another research, such movement is clearly a sign of excitement. He was also the first to take the wireless microphone and walk towards the audience. While he walks towards the audience, we see a giant ring on his right hand, which was part of his costume. He would later explain the meaning of that ring just before the İstanbul election when he was a candidate for the municipality. He claimed that it was his "son's gift, the stone on it was torn from the stone in the tomb of Ibrahim in the Kaaba" (Yılmaz, 2019). After his speech, the anchor reads a poem, and the audience assume Erdoğan was going to enter the stage since this was a sign and this whole performance was taking way too long. However, the speaker of the Grand National Assembly, Ismail Kahraman, takes the stage walking and talking very

slow, primarily due to his age of 78 at that time. The audience started to resist his speech which will be addressed under audience resistance.



As the anchor did not announce any other actor with such compliments, the audience understood finally it was Erdoğan's time to take the stage. As he was walking from the backstage, the drone cameras showed him walk. He was wearing a classic suit, but like in many cases, he had a scarf. There was a Turkish flag on one side of the scarf, and on the other side, it was a Palestinian flag. He walked at the edge of the T shape podium. During his speech, cameras were merging his appearance with a mosque as well as showing him from different angles with drones and high-quality ultra-zoom cameras even from his back.



As I had mentioned that scripts are often used to address actors of performative politics bodily appearance, we have a great example here. Erdoğan underlines that "Israel is targeting our country and myself." He shows his physical appearance with his fingers. As I had addressed, the camera technology improved during the last decade. In this sense, for example, after he shows himself then, the camera zooms on the audience, passing him as if there is an external entity passing through him towards the audience. After Erdoğan, Director of Religious Affairs Ali Erbaş comes to the stage and starts praying ("Zulme Lanet, 2018). While Erdoğan leaves the stage, he prays, and screens show him praying while leaving the stage.





While Erbaş was praying, we see that the audience had started to leave. After the prayer, the anchor farewells the audience and tells them that there will be an iftar meal for a hundred thousand people at the back. As half of the audience left after this announcement, the actors came back to the stage. This was a misdirection which I will address later. The actors take the stage and fashionably starts to give/throw carnation flowers to the audience. This is a signature move of Erdoğan as in most of his performances, Erdoğan gives/throws things, especially red carnations and sometimes even tea or a soccer ball, to the audience since the early 2000s. I had addressed this in multiple chapters that Erdoğan has been throwing red carnations to the audience at the end of his performance, and this is his signature move of ending a performance.

The third performance that I am going to address is İstanbul Rally. This was six days before the election. There are a couple of significant moments related to bodily appearance in this performance. Erdoğan takes the stage in a more casual dress without a tie, and after he greets the audience with his wife, he takes his jacket off. The first interesting part of this performance related to the body that we can recognise immediately was that he turns his back to the audience for the first time. This is not a common staging tactic and is not desired condition for actors (Benedetti, 2005). As Erdoğan built his character to directly address the audience while he was informing about something and as if he is only talking with someone, he turns his face against the audience and becomes a narrator to the videos playing. As I will address in detail about this way of using the stage later, his body movement directs the audience to focus on the screens. This directory method is not only to show where to look at but also provides information on the importance of that video since even Erdoğan himself ‘stopped’ performing and took a step back to watch the videos with amusement. This was part of the performance, yet, in that very moment, the audience felt as if it was so important that it could stop the narrative.




It was also interesting that there was a sexual division among the audience in this rally. Females were in the front of the audience. This is a noteworthy act for two reasons. First, the significance of being close to the stage becomes detectible, and second, the segmentation becomes visible. As physical closeness to the actor is imagined to be more influential of the performance's world, this also works for the audience's world as the audience would proudly take photos to increase their power in everyday life. In this sense, the physical closeness to the stage itself becomes valuable. Although there were some tendencies before, I have never observed this many people separated by gender in his performance. It is not hard to predict that the data has driven to a conclusion that women have to be in front. It is also important to note here that as gender segmentation among such mass audience happened in the İstanbul rally, it would not be wrong to assume that this could and would happen with different types of segmentation on the bodily appearance of the audience. There is not enough information that I could reach to a conclusion on how such segmentation of the audience formed, but it is clear that there was a segmentation in İzmir as children appeared various times on the screens as well as on the stage and the female audience were in the front of this performance.

Another significant point was the aggressive use of the Rabia symbol in this election. As Erdoğan in every performance attempt to reconstruct their Rabia symbol with its meaning for the last couple of years since its original reconstruction from Arab Spring, which I will address in part about the scripts, this one went as far as to strongly engage with the audience and saluting Erdoğan with Rabia by millions. Such a symbolization is an address for unity as many would rightfully underline that among the audience, it creates a sense of being part of a community and recognition of power (Jaffe, 1988) and has been used various times in many cases in performances over the history from a peace sign to hailing.









The last important moment for this rally about bodily appearance appeared on the stage with high-level actors of the AKP. Erdoğan gets his jacket back and salutes the people with the A-level actors who were MP candidates from İstanbul. He takes groups with different actors, hold hands together and salutes people with different groups. As a powerful symbol of the party, he gets back at the stage, holds hands with the MP candidates and salutes the audience. In other words, Erdoğan's physical body itself appears as the power that drives the rest. This was highlighted with the theme song written just for him. As he further salutes the audience by leading the MP candidates towards the audience, the anchor gives compliments to Erdoğan himself. This is not simply because there was a dual election both for the presidency and for members of the parliament but also because of the way power relation crystalized over Erdoğan's image. Working both ways, his appearance with the other candidates also empowered his appearance. While holding hands, they walk on the edge of the T shaped stage and clump at the edge.



The fourth example is the gathering with retirees. There are a couple of interesting moments in this short speech, especially with relation to the script, which will address later. This meal is hosted by Erdoğan and his wife at the presidential palace. There were round tables and a bigger table in the middle. Erdoğan takes the stage and addresses them behind the stand. Unlike his performance in İstanbul, his stage and appearance were much formal as this was a performance hosted at the presidency. His

facial muscles also look tired, perhaps because this performance was just after the meal from the day-long fasting.



The last performance that I am going to address from a short video of Erdoğan visiting a Higher Education Credit and Hostels Institution Hüseyin Gazi (Veteran) Student Dormitory. Such a corruption of the video itself suggests that this was an unusual and unanticipated performance. When Erdoğan left the dormitory, the sun was not up. Considering the meal they ate, the timing and praying time with relation to the sun, they started to eat around three after midnight, and as can be seen from the clock in the background, his approximately ten-minute speech started at 03:00 AM sharp and ended at 03:12 after midnight. It is important to note that he outperformed himself during this election. For example, on the day of this performance happened, he performed in a rally in Adıyaman ("Erdoğan: Kürtlerin," 2018), he performed in İstanbul at the iftar program of the Turkish Private Public Buses Association, where he famously said, "Uber Muber is no more. That business is done" ("'Uber Diye," 2018). And he visited this dormitory in Ankara around 3:00 after midnight. According to Anadolu Agency, his live performance at Ankara Dormitory was live on various social media platforms and watched over two million viewers with the highest watched broadcast record of 2018 (Ekiz, 2018).

The performance at 3:00 after midnight started with an interesting entrance. The leading actor in Turkey, President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, recognized a social media account on Twitter. The student twit was inviting Erdoğan for a sahur meal. The student asked to host him in their dormitory for one night and have a sahur together. As Erdoğan saw this invitation, he replied: "I'm coming if your tea is ready" (Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan, G, 2018) Even though I do not have any confirmation that this was already arranged prior to the actual series of events with performative labour that is not being recognized, yet this invitation gathered audience for a performance that reached masses, leading to the 2.1 million live views of sahur performance. In

other words, such declaration as a dialogue itself appeared as a performance that undoubtedly became successful that Erdoğan was able to reach over two million people at 3:00 after midnight.

It is important to recognize that there was so much video editing on this performance. Typically, videos of Erdoğan's performance should have a more extended projection of the performance. However, since it was 3:00 AM, Erdoğan looked tired after two different performances in two different cities, and he spoke without a script; we can see that Erdoğan was not at his best game. Thus, leaving us a manipulated video that is much edited. I have tried multiple sources, including the Presidency database, but they were all corrupted even though the event was a live broadcast. We could only reach the original recordings via the Periscope live broadcast database.

He sat with students wearing a green tie and a black suit. The colour green was not random. It has significance within the Islamic repertoire. "Reclining on green", "green garments of fine silk" are some of the examples that appear in the Qur'an (Sura 76, Sura 55). In this sense, green is heavily associated with heaven. As he performed in sahur and reached not only the students but millions who were up around 3:00 after midnight for sahur, he carefully chose the colour green. One might argue that this is clearly recognizable that Erdoğan chooses what to wear in which performance, but what makes such performance interesting is the labour behind the appearance on stage. In other words, as it is evidently clear that Erdoğan wears something for this occasion, it also provided us information on how much he cares about what to wear on a performance because only on that specific day, he changes costumes three times ("Seçim Kampanyalarında," 2018). In other words, he wore at least three different costumes during that day. In Adıyaman, he was not wearing a jacket or tie with a different shirt with stripes. In İstanbul, he was wearing a blue jacket with a blue tie. In Ankara, he was wearing a green tie and a black suit. As I had addressed those costumes are essential for actors of performative politics to physically declare what they are going to represent, the significance manifests itself from these three costumes on one day.

Moreover, as he enters the dormitory with a green tie and a suit, two students welcome him wearing the uniforms of the two biggest rivals of soccer teams in Turkey, namely

Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe. Indeed, this is not a coincidence. As two students wearing the biggest rivals of soccer teams, they appear together with Erdoğan, taking pictures in line with Erdoğan's dream of unity, which I will address later under the topic of scripts.



During this meal, Erdoğan talks and makes jokes to the students, performing an intimate character, engaging with students, asking their names and where they came from addressing their everyday life problems. As mentioned previously, a photograph of Erdoğan itself has power. As channelling through their appearance with Erdoğan, characters within the audience perform in everyday life via social media, gaining some sort of influential power. The physical appearance of Erdoğan himself nearby them makes their everyday life character much more powerful through capturing that moment. This is clearly a distraction among the audience to hear the performance and engage with it as they are too busy to focus on their appearance with Erdoğan. Capturing Erdoğan's physical appearance is much more important to them than watching him perform.



During the election of 2018, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's appearance has been emotionally engaging and influential in various ways. He always used physical gestures, including facial expressions well. From clothing to his use of voice, he emotionally engaged with the audience and transformed their meaning-making. He used the stage not simply to show his bodily appearance but, more importantly, as mentioned above, used the stage and his body with coordination to his emotionally divided scenes of those performances. Most of the performances were also focused on

the audience's body through micro zooming, including explicitly focusing on children. We had seen that he shared the stage with other actors who already have performative capital in audience imagination, including Bahçeli and Tatlıses. Such performances also formed with the physical appearance of other actors of other nations, including Africans with their native costumes on stage. Erdoğan always appeared in the middle of the stage and at the front while walking with multiple actors. He almost always wore scarves that had symbols relating to that performance; even the weather was hot. In 2018, he turned his body against the audience for the first time to lead them to focus on the screens. He kept using his fingers to give meaning to his idea of unity. Although he was tired in some performances since it was Ramadan, he almost always looked strong. He changed his costumes multiple times each day, appearing with the right costumes to different occasions. Moreover, Erdoğan's use of his body was also projected well on the reproduction of the performance through various media channels, including social media. He also greatly coordinated with the external sound of the anchor and music with his timing on stage. In this sense, the external sounds merged with his body within the audience imagination. Although some mistakes were made and risks were taken, from clothing to his use of facial expression, he succeeded in emotionally engaging with the audience using his body well.

4.4.2.2. Staging the Performance

The staging of a performance in time and space is one of the most important aspects of forming its reality. As mentioned previously, the performance's world appears through a stage. In other words, a performance forms with symbols and shapes a backdrop of its reality, and it takes a stage. By occupying and claiming the stage through the performance, the stage appears as "an aesthetic marking" (Rai, 2014, p. 1183). This does not necessarily mean it has to be on an official stage but could be in a dining hall of a dormitory.

The stage is significant because the imagined performance addresses the audience by reflecting their imagination and the performance's influential power. Cultural, racial, ethnic, religious dimension mirrors within that physical structure and even pre-performance, the audience consciously or unconsciously affected by the staging itself. It has its own power of influencing the audience. In this sense, the symbols on the

stage and the use of that space allow us to see what the performance's aim is. As stated in the theoretical framework, the stage is the space where actors reach out to communicate with their audience and have a voice (Hischak, 2019), while the audience as a customer treats the stage as a place of glory. Therefore, it is crucial to make sure the performance's world on stage accurately reflects the message.

Stages almost always have a backstage, where performance is perfected (Rai, 2014) . This is where some of the unrecognized labour happens. The backstage is an unseen area, but it is at the heart of a performance, where directorial decisions are made, scripts are repeated, and the show begins to take its finest shape (Rai, 2014). As I was not able to capture the complete picture of the backstage, we can only see a few of the backstage on some of the performances and thus leave us with limited information.

Mapping how the stage was organized in 2018, I will address the abovementioned performances. We will follow the same pattern, starting with İzmir rally, then Kudüs gathering, then İstanbul rally and ending with two short but different performances of sahur and iftar. There was an indoor meeting before the performance in İzmir. The indoor meeting was the sixth İzmir congressional meeting of the AKP, and that performance was for a closed group. After that short performance, Erdoğan appeared on a stage directly in front of trees within the gymnastic part of the stadium. This was a great space to perform since one of the most substantial parts of this performance was youth, as we can see from the children appearing on the screens as well as on the stage. I will address children constantly appearing on stage later, but what is important is that although there were many places to perform in İzmir, for a reason unknown to us, someone chose Erdoğan's performance to be there.





In the performance at Kudüs gathering, on the other hand, there were an incredible number of flags, and some of them were Palestine's. The background had two giant screens on both sides. In the middle of the background, we can see a picture of shadows

of people resisting. There were Turkish and Palestinian flags merging in the middle. There is a big stamp on all sides, and on the Palestine flag, there was a stamp written: “İstanbul stands for (on behalf of) humanity”. There are also flowers at the corners of the stage, and we should recognize this since one of the signature moves of Erdoğan is to give/throw something to the audience. The stage is filled with turquoise carpet. The turquoise colour means Turkish in French because the mineral with the same colour was named turquoise after being brought to Europe from Ottoman Persia (Beale, 2010). The stage itself was T shaped, and actors could walk towards the audience.





From the moment Erdoğan entered the square and left the stage for backstage to wait his turn, the anchor gave great compliments with enthusiasm. Actors lined up as he entered the T shape stage, waiting to shake his hand. Among them, there was a variety of actors from BBP leader to Prime Minister of Palestine. This was an interesting moment of the election of 2018. Like early elections that Erdoğan performed, once again, he appeared on stage not alone. In the last couple of years, the other actors were allowed to be on the stage with him only at the very beginning or at the end. This is not surprising, but what makes this moment one of a time is that a variety of actors appeared on the stage all around the Islamic World, including but not limited to African countries, and some even performed. They all welcomed Erdoğan.

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Emine Erdoğan walks to the end of the T shape stage and welcome the audience while the rest of the actors walk to the middle as if this is a fashion show by actors wearing different colour costumes and claiming different repertoires. This is one of a time appearance where anchors announcement of Erdoğan as the world leader physically became symbolised on the stage.

The background of the stage was also well designed. The three-dimensional photos were attached to the background. When looking from a distance, it showed the Turkish

flag and Palestinian flag merging, and when we focus on the actors, it showed a shadow of the people resisting.







Live performances take a stage. However, with the aforementioned tools, the stage transformed into a more influential platform where audio-visual support from the screens with different live angles recorded and animated videos became available. This is another dimension of contemporary performative politics that became available over the last decade, and it has its own scripts, pace, and music. For example, the flow of these short videos is faster and brighter, with changing frames from one scene to another with music filling the void. I will address these videos later, but we see various use of those screens. We see that the screens captured different moments of the performance and projected to the audience with special affects during the live performance. As in the example of Kudüs gathering, we could see special affects on the screens like people and mosque merge into one visual, focusing on the audience from the back of the actor, super focusing on one audience, showing the actor from below and showing the crowd from above are some of them. As mentioned in previous chapters, technology created new opportunities for imagining the performance's world, and the technologies like this opened a new dimension to performative politics.





The actors of the gathering/rally were also used Erdoğan's signature move together with Erdoğan, giving/throwing red carnation to the audience. It is important to underline this signature move once again. As we had seen, Erdoğan likes to give/throw something to the audience, and he mainly chose red carnations. There are two interesting points on this signature move. The first one is that he mostly give/throw red carnations, also known as dianthus. This is an interesting choice of flower. The term dianthus comes from Greek literature, mentioned first around two thousand years ago, meaning divine (dios) and flower (anthos) (Teague, 2010). It has different meanings in different repertoires. For example, in Portugal, the red carnation represents the Carnation Revolution of 1974 ("1974: Rebels," n.d.). It represents overthrown of the authoritarian Estado Novo with a coup d'état. In Turkey, carnations are used in different forms of art, including but not limited to paintings from Ottoman era (İnalcık, 2016). Whatever it was symbolising in the Turkish repertoire it now also became a signature move of Erdoğan.

In addition to the meaning of the carnation, the divine flower, there is a more interesting point on these parts of Erdoğan's performance. It is the act itself. Flowers are generally expected to be given/thrown to the actor on the stage, especially on the opening nights of performances. More than two hundred years old audience ritual was born to appreciate the actor on the stage. It was first started by throwing money and later turned into throwing and giving flowers to the actors on stage (Sulcas, 2014). Erdoğan reconstructs this ritual by reversing the process, appreciating the audience. Despite the norm that the audience's world reaching towards the performance's world giving something from nature and alive, Erdoğan reconstructs this by reversing the process in which the performance's world reach towards the audience's world. This is clearly in line with how Erdoğan and many other actors of performative politics see the relation between the performance's world and the audience's world; a path for legitimacy where performance's world is reaching towards the audience, claim-making in the imagination of the audience and reconstructing ready to consume and emotionally driven mass audience's meaning-making. Despite the acts' romantic nature, Erdoğan's signature move makes the audience the receiver. Moreover, as Erdoğan has been giving/throwing carnation to the audience, it became a signature move of Erdoğan and a routine that informs the audience that the performance came to an end.



Using the same stage, Erdoğan performs at the square once again a month later. There are a couple of interesting moments in that performance. As we have seen, staging technologies were powerful in 2018. The newly created square, Yenikapı, gave the actors different possibilities. Up to five people capacity, this square is perfect for actors that use technologies well like Erdoğan. With twenty-two screens on the square, performance becomes a combination of affects of screen technologies, including animations and live performance. With the support of drones and micro zooming cameras, the live performance merges with different effects. The screens show the actor on stage as well as the audience with a broad viewpoint, where the audience feels the crowd. With micro zooming, cameras could show the perfect moment of the audience's face. It can create an affect like viewpoint from the audience focusing towards the actor and from the performance's world to the audience's world.



In this sense, the director of the performance decides where to focus and when to focus. Such a directory also forms the audience's voice, in which the director chooses when the audience's voice could be heard from the speakers. What was unique about this performance is that for the first time, we see Erdoğan turning his back to the audience

to perform as a narrator for the well-prepared videos. This was one of a time experience, where Erdoğan narrated the audience for videos while all were watching. In this sense, Erdoğan breakdowns and explains the meaning like a film treatment. It starts by him asking the director whether there is a video of the newly built Atatürk Kültür Merkezi (Atatürk Cultural Centre). This cultural centre also has a symbolic meaning since many protesters in Gezi Park Protest used it, went up and fired torches from the centre. The construction began on the 13th of February, and the grand opening was 10th of February 2019. Although it was not finished, Erdoğan showed the interior and exterior design of the centre as one of the almost-done projects.

As soon as Erdoğan asks the director, he replies, "Let's project on the screens", turns to the audience and directs them, "let's watch these giant screens". While the director was opening the video, he told the audience that his opponent also had been observing them. It was clear that there was performative labour behind this new video concept. As he makes it as if it is something spontaneous, the narrative of the videos one by one has a pattern. Moreover, Erdoğan, a well-known actor, would not address the audience off-script or without knowing that there was a video. While the video plays, Erdoğan narrates to the audience and explain "something like this", and during the video, he asks, "Yes. How is it? How is it? You see a beautiful globe here". The AKM was not finished back then, but it was started. He starts to talk about Taksim Square. As he claims, Taksim had experienced a severe problem on Fridays (referring to the Friday prayer). He said 'we' made the solution of building a great mosque. He points out: "there is an inevitable/certain (malum) church", and now 'we' have a great mosque there.

Although Erdoğan was making his point through the church and a 'serious' problem, I must address this mosque as a side note as it has been part of performing space on stage, making a new meaning to what has imagined being there based on a physical structure/project. Erdoğan's and many other Islamist imaginations of the ideal future crystallized on this public space since the first half of the 90s. After the victory of 1994, when Erdoğan became the mayor of İstanbul, an Islamist administration to power in a local government created an expectation of an increase in Islamic presence in public spaces (Çınar, 2005). In this context, the months after they came to power, they started talking about building the largest mosque in the Middle East in Taksim

Square. The secular nationalists started an aggressive campaign against the project since Taksim Square was not just any place but at the centre of İstanbul, representing a monumental square of Turkish modernity and identity of the Republic within the imagination of the secular nationalists (Çınar, 2005). For them, it was unimaginable that a mosque could overshadow such symbolic space. The controversial mosque was withdrawn by the Islamists in 1994, turning the matter into a contentious dispute on public spaces between Islamists and secularists (Çınar, 2005, p. 115). It is not a coincidence that Erdoğan presented the Ataturk Cultural Centre same time as the mosque as we could confirm with multiple scripts that Erdoğan's imagination of one nation based on the reconstruction of the nationalist identity formed with Islamic values. By no means does this make the AKP not modernist, as it was a different version of nationalism.





Erdoğan likes to engage with the audience via questions that he gives the answer for. He mostly asks to engage with the audience with simple answers, and he repeats the answer he wants. Those questions are mostly yes or no questions, and we have seen them over the years. Such an attempt has the potential to fail. In the performance where he defined and described videos, he addressed more complex questions. For example, there are only a few performances where Erdoğan asked the audience to raise a hand, and the İstanbul rally was one of them. In the İstanbul rally, Erdoğan asks the audience, "you know the famous Ramie barracks, right? Those who know, raise a hand so I can see. I see. Maşallah!". By doing so, he fills the answers to the audience imagination while making them feel united and positioning himself as the leader of the audience. During the election, some argued that Erdoğan asking more questions because Erdoğan's performance aimed to consolidate the audience rather than recruit new votes (Işık, 2018). This could be true to some level; however, we can observe that Erdoğan liked to ask questions to the audience from the early era.



As Erdoğan continue with his speech, he asks about the Yassıada; “Now I have another important news. There was the Yassıada, huh? We are turning Yassıada into an island of democracy and freedoms. I wonder if there is something about this in the directory?” On a side note, this island is located within the sea of Marmara. Yassıada was used by the Byzantines for the exile of certain actors (Davies, 1976). After modern Turkey became a republic, the island became the property of the state. Between 1960-61, the school buildings in the island became the venue for the trials of the Democrat Party, which ended up sentencing Prime Minister Adnan Menderes to death.

Erdoğan turns his back and says: “Let’s show the island of democracy and freedoms in its final form. I am showing it to you now.” While the video was running, Erdoğan started to lead the audience. “This is the old one.”, he comments to the audience to pray, “Al-Fatiha”. The video shows the 1960’s Yassıada, the Yassıada in 2013, on May 28th of 2018 and the future as The Island of Democracy and Freedoms 2019. This is not only about the Island but, more importantly, about performing time and space. As the space on the stage screens showed while Erdoğan giving its meaning, he not only reconstructs the past with audio-visual support but also reconstructs the present and the future. While the 1960 Island was full of former executed Prime Minister, 2013 showed the ruined houses. After the past, the video shows an exact day; May 28, 2018. In that part of the video, we see the island in construction, and Erdoğan checks the Island from his plane. In the last part, we see a three-dimensional animation of the future of the Yassıada; The Island of Democracy and Freedoms 2019. While showing this video, Erdoğan comments: “They roped (hung) Menderes with that CeHaPe mentality”. I will further address this construction of Erdoğan on how he pronounces the CHP in the auditory power. He further asks, “What did you do Muharrem, while Menderes and his friends were being taken to the rope? You supported it from behind. You cannot make history to forget you!”. “Now, we have made and will make the island this way.” Erdoğan shows the video comparing with the past. “With God’s permission, we will hold international meetings there. And in

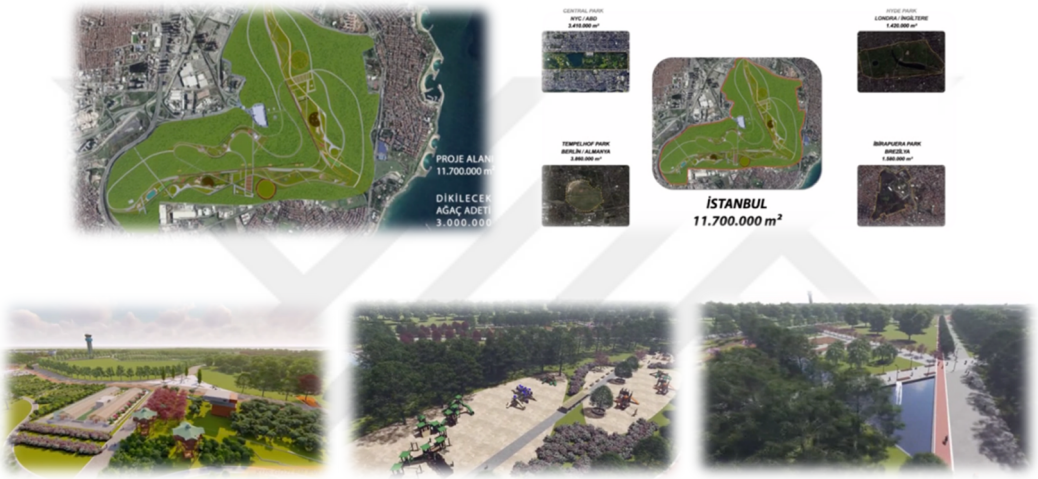
these international meetings, we will lock ourselves to the island for two days, three days or four days, and we will get out of there with results. There are some examples in the international community, but we did not have any. And its name is the island of democracy and freedoms." The music continues.



Scenes from the video Erdoğan presents;
performing the past, the present and the future.

One of Erdoğan's most substantial impacts on the audience is often seen in performing space. A good example can be seen during the İstanbul rally as the national gardens which named People's Garden (Millet Bahçesi). This concept of national gardens was discussed often during the election of 2018. However, what makes such performance in İstanbul more than a discourse relies on how Erdoğan performs such space. He shows on the screens with three-dimensional realistic animations. Before he shows to the audience, he tells the audience that there is a similar space in Elazığ. He then points out that his opponent was making fun of these projects. He immediately reconstructs such a space. "You know unfortunately we had martyrs there recently", referring to a place in Elazığ "and I gave orders to TOKI", the government agency of Housing Development Administration of Turkey, about "the place where we lost our martyrs, we will build a people's garden there, not houses. We are building a people's garden, and we will put a martyr's monument in the middle of" there. Right before he shows the audience the realistic animations on the screens, he recalls the repertoire on the people's garden to reconstruct it with the national value of martyrdom. In this sense, right before he shows the People's Garden, he engages with the audience through stronger emotional patterns. In other words, he made the audience feel and built right on that feeling in that very moment to give new meanings to a space. Actors of performative politics often use this. The emotional patterns of that time and space are

always easy to engage with, and by using such patterns and engaging where was not even relevant to the context, actors of performative politics build a meaning upon that feeling. This reconstruction itself is a powerful tool in which emotionally driven mass society could engage with the performance's world. Such reconstruction could go as far as to declare an emotional connection with a physical object or a time or a space. Performing space is a stimulating but often used tool, and as the value attached to the physical space through performative politics in the imagination of the audience, it makes the audience feel something to a space. This is an excellent example of such performance.



After the video of one of the biggest parks in the world, Erdoğan starts addressing the following video. "Today Panama is Panama because of the Panama channel." he said and added, "True. True. Suez Canal is Egypt's biggest source of income, and it turns out, he (Mr Muharrem) talks many lies back and forth. I already know that you will do what is necessary in a week", referring to the election. "Yes, we are watching Canal İstanbul now". "How is it? Should we vote? Thank you. İnşallah Canal İstanbul will bring a fresh air to İstanbul and to our country."



Referring to his car project Erdoğan asks, "We call it a domestic national car. Elan Musk, Tesla, visited us. Thanks to Tesla, we talked carefully. They (opponents) say

we are twenty years behind. Shouldn't we have a car that belongs to us as made in Turkey?" On a side note, Elon Musk, owner of Tesla Inc., visited Erdoğan in 2017 (Gumrukcu & Evans, 2017). Erdoğan addressed Musk's visit in various performances during the election of 2018, including gathering with young people. This is not surprising but important to underline since the image of Elon Musk appearing with Erdoğan was contextualized by Erdoğan's scriptwriters and gave him credit. In other words, the image of Musk, a well-known actor (Ball et al., 2021), created a scene for Erdoğan to claim a position of leading in technological enhancements.

This is one of the first times that a performance of Erdoğan has so much video to offer. As the technology of animation became realistic, the actors of performative politics started to use it aggressively. This was something new in 2018 and is clear that it will get stronger.

This series of videos shows what has been done and is in progress. This is conceptualized as icraat. A word originated from Arabic refers to accomplishments, actions, projects, or performance in Turkish. It is recognizable that the actors of the AKP like to address what they had done and what they would do as projects. On a side note, such large-scale infrastructural projects led to relocating resources through distributive politics with relation to patronage by providing jobs and contracts (Marschall et al., 2015). By doing so, such projects not only reproduce the power relation and are welcomed by the low-income and middle-income citizens, but as importantly, provide a vision in which, thanks to the new technological enhancements, the audience now have a visual confirmation of the possibilities. It is possible to see the tools to represent icraats transformed dramatically over the years. As it was only words a decade ago, by 2018, Erdoğan could show his projects even though they were just fictional.

In iftar gathering, we see that the stage Erdoğan addressed them was much official. It was in Presidential Compound, and the stage was symmetrically designed. There were six flags, two prompters and Erdoğan with Anthurium flowers in the middle. Thanks to the photographer, we have visual confirmation of the stage from the actor's angle. The audience hall was designed with twenty mid-size tables that twelve people could sit each and the main table where Erdoğan was sitting located in the middle with the

capacity of thirty-two people, including him. The large table in the middle were the concentration of power where high-level actors ate. We could see the last Prime Minister and his wife and Erdoğan's seat and his wife. As Erdoğan sat at the hole entrance, he could be seen from different angles. As some of the guests saw him, and some were sitting their backside during the meal while the performance was happening on the stage, the rest saw him directly. In other words, all the audience had perfect angles watching Erdoğan during the whole event. The stage, on the other hand, was symmetrically designed. On the live coverage, we see one anthurium in the middle, but for the audience attending the event, there were two more anthuriums to cover the prompters. We can clearly see the well-designed luminaire towards Erdoğan from multiple angles from the back of the stage. They are not noticeable from the video, but as the photo from the back shows the shadows, we comprehend that there were multiple luminaires to provide the perfect intensity of the light.



On the other hand, sahur gathering was an unorthodox performance. Although Erdoğan was wearing a suit, the stage was highly unofficial. It was a dormitory's dining hall, where Erdoğan performed. As mentioned previously, there is no clear-cut line between everyday performance and performative politics. In this sense, his performance not simply started when he got a microphone, but the whole event was a performance to influence the audience. As he entered the dormitory with students, the cameras were on. Millions were watching, and Erdoğan performed as if he was someone from the audience. As he took the microphone, it was profoundly different from the other performances. There were not any prompters, lights, or even a traditional stage. He was literally in the middle of the audience, addressing them. He ate with them and gave his messages. It was clear that he briefed about the capacity of the dormitory, which he mentioned.

The script and overall stage performance were unexpectedly weak, and at that moment, it was not important. His appearance itself performed for him. The performative capital

that he already built up among the audience with performative politics allowed him just to visit a dormitory and, by doing so, perform to eat with students. This performance was not simply about the short speech he gave but eating with young people in a dormitory environment, which allowed him to perform an everyday performance. He was a rock star visiting a common space to 'get close' with his subjects, the young students in a dormitory dining hall and the millions watching the broadcast. As I will later address, Erdoğan, as an actor, was not very successful on this performance performing Erdoğan as a character since he did not have the most important elements that are almost a precondition for Erdoğan to perform the Erdoğan; for example, the scripts or any zuschauerifying process that made the audience prepared to engage. Once again, it is also important to note that all students gain some sort of influential power by being around them. This is how their characters in everyday life gain further significance. This is why they kept taking videos and photos during the performance. Imagining the great possibilities of their character both online and offline in everyday life in Turkey simply risen from taking a picture while dining with Erdoğan. This is why there were no students without phones during the event.





As mentioned previously, stages always have a backstage where performance takes the most refined shape and where people involved in that performance, such as scriptwriters or costume makers, stay. The backstage is somewhere unrecognized but notable if the audience focuses carefully. Particularly, it was way harder to reach the backstage footage but watching over hours of performance in 2018, I can address a few. Most of the stages Erdoğan performed has a backstage right behind where he performs. The structure had two doors. The one in the back was opening to the outside, and the one in the front was opening to the middle of the stage. Between these doors, there were screens showing the live stream coming from different cameras, and all actors came through the doors. Even though this structure was similar in most performances, there were also different backstages. For example, in the performance

in İzmir rally, it was on the right corner. It was fully open, and we could see who was there, including the controller and director of the performance.





In a few examples, such as the series of performances at Kudüs gathering, there were portable backstages where all actors wait for their turn. We could see the portable backstage of the Kudüs gathering from the photos. There were four corners with seats, air conditioners, two big screens and four speakers. As they entered the backstage, they sat in an official order where Erdoğan and PM of Palestine sat together, and Yıldırım, Bahçeli and Destici on the right corner. After their pictures have been taken, we see that Erdoğan welcomes different actors, including İbrahim Tatlıses. From the photo, we see that the actors constantly change their seats. For example, we can see the Minister of Interior Affairs. In this sense, there was a constant change within the seats but one thing is for sure, man has dominated the backstage just like the stage.






It is clear that staging the performance is a thoughtful process with the need of coordination, pre-laboured and formed stages, emotional connecting symbols and videos with the audience, and most importantly, the tools necessary to perform an influential performance either as a square with millions of people during the day or as a small dormitory dining hall at three after midnight. It is, for example, not a coincidence that when the anchor says hope, Erdoğan presents himself on the stage and walks forward, using the space where the audience could welcome him. In Erdoğan's and the AKP's campaigns and speeches, political branding portrays the simplifying complex ideas and views through symbolic representation while reconstructing repertoire via using emotional patterns of the audience, especially with music and poems. As previously noted, performative politics aims to reconstruct and inform the audience about their norms through performing discourses, campaigning

and setting agendas, distinguishing themselves and the audience from the 'other', and promoting and reconstructing the meaning-making of the audience. Once a critical component of performing on stage in front of the audience needed some balloons, a few flags, simple melodies, and local folklore dances, now reached to a level that an actor show their promises with realistic animations, sounds and constant music without cracking sounds and showing audience at the background on screens with drones and micro zooming them and providing them footages of real or imagined projects. As the staging technologies got superior, so did the new possibilities to influence the audience and to imagine the performance's world became powerful.

4.4.2.3. Auditory Power and Voices

The auditory power of scripts, words, speeches, and voices is one of the core elements of a successful performance. There has been a great amount of research on speeches, but only a few foci on the voices themselves (Strauss, 2015). Such research on performative politics would include the scripts but also recognize the way in which it performed including the vocal characterization. The voice in which these acts are performed includes a specific focus on melodies, poems, slogans, songs, tempo, and pitches (Roa-Cadena & Puga, 2021, p. 103). The voices immediately connect between the audience's world to the performance's world and vis-à-vis. As mentioned before, they appear in different forms. Martial music is a well-known example of auditory power.

As Paul Mason (2012) has broadly defined choreomusicology as "the study of the relationship between sound and movement within any performance genre" (p. 5), we should consider the relationship between sound and the body usage, either rhythmic or a perfect arrhythmic, where performance and music are in a relation of interdependence (Lowell, 1992). Following this conceptualization, it is clear that the auditory power also projects within the body. The audience feels the music, zuschauerifying and enthusiastic about the performance. The rhythm and on-off beats make the audience get excited about the performance. This could be because they already recognise the rhythm and recall their emotions since they already knew it. Even though this reasoning is controversial, it is clear that this is a preconception of

both the directors and the audience, so directors use it to engage with the audience, making them feel excited.

Moreover, the auditory power also supports and merges with the actor's body within the audience's imagination. For example, while the anchor calls Erdoğan the leader of the world and plays half a martial song in the background, Erdoğan enters the stage or walks towards the audience, using the physical appearance merge with the sound and voice. The power of the sounds is undoubtedly essential for performative politics, and there is much labour behind these scenes.

As we have focused on the election of 2018, we clearly understand that Erdoğan takes auditory power seriously. This is not simply about his exceptional vocal characterization, but also about hitting the right notes, coordinating with external sounds both with anchor and audience, his pitches where necessary, tempo and speed. The importance of sounds can be seen from how Erdoğan performed during the election of 2018. We can observe this as he starts with compliments to the audience, reads poetry with star quality, or from the constant playing almost a martial song. He gives the melody to idioms, performs dialects, or even sings for the audience. He also constructs a different pronunciation of the opposing part's abbreviation CHP as Ce-Ha-Pe instead of softer Ce-He-Pe. By doing so, Erdoğan not only creates a clear distinction within his audience repertoire but also gives a negative connotation through sound. In this sense, the former refers to the fact that pronunciation of CeHaPe allows Erdoğan to both differentiate his audience as us and them and make a recognizable word for his followers to use in everyday performance but also reconstructs the very meaning as if it is a new abbreviation. In this sense, the latter also refers to the relation with the pronunciation as CeHaPe sounds more distinct, unpleasant, and rough.

The auditory power is essential for performative politics regardless of political opinion (Öztürk, 2014), and Erdoğan knows this well. For the performances of Erdoğan in 2018, before and after a performance and during every void is filled music that involves nationalist lyrics and rhymes or even simply rhythms. As mentioned previously, such music exponentially increases the way in which the audience zuschauerifying, even more ready to engage with the actor on stage emotionally. He

even took this to a new level in 2018, and sometimes we observe that while he performs on stage, the music simultaneously plays in the background.

It is possible to comprehend the significance of the tunes getting stronger over the years. For example, during the election of 2007, the AKP had three songs. In 2011, there were six songs for the election. For the election of 2018, there were nine different songs. In 2019, there were twenty-one songs for the election. The songs during the elections of 2018, when there were two elections both for members of the parliament and presidency, even the name of the songs tells a story; Carry on With You (refers to singular you), People's Alliance, Erdoğan Erdoğan, Time (is) Turkey('s) Time, Erdoğan Anthem, Come on, Together Turkey, Harvest Time, One Heart Erdoğan.

To comprehend the significance of the auditory power, the performance in İzmir rally is precisely reflecting the condition. I will address his compliments and praise to the audience later in parts about the scripts, and the following part addresses examples of auditory power. As Erdoğan enters the stage and compliments the audience, he reads a part of a song by Neşet Ertaş. As a side note, Ertaş was a well-known Turkish folk music singer honoured with UNESCO's National Living Human Treasure Award (Özünel & Kasapoğlu, 2013).

Dost Elinden Gel Olmazsa Varılmaz, Rızasız Bahçanın Gülü Derilmez, Kalpten Kalbe Bir Yol Vardır Görülmez, Gönülden Gönüle Gider, Yol Gizli Gizli. Yol Gizli Gizli.	Without a Friend's Invitation, Cannot Be Arrived, The Involuntary Garden of Roses Cannot Be Harvested/ Collected, There Exists a Path from a Heart to Another, Yet It Cannot Be Seen, Goes From Heart to Heart. The Path Is Hidden (Secretly). The Path Is Hidden (Secretly).

Immediately after the lyrics he read, he addresses the audience using the lyrics to give his opening scene a meaning: "Yes. I came to you with all my heart, with my heart, İzmir", and he adds: "I believe that we have not been able to fully explain ourselves to İzmir until today. It is time to pave the way from heart to heart". In many cases, Erdoğan uses a poem to connect with the audience. These are the peak moments of engagement with the audience where generally follows up with a message that Erdoğan wants to give. There are also many idioms Erdoğan similarly used. For

example, he defines their projects with an idiom: “the donkey dies, its saddle remains, the human dies, his/her works remain”. Such idioms have a meaning in the imagination of the audience and performing them gives a value from the everyday performance to the performance’s world.

The following example of auditory power is also one of a kind. Erdoğan starts to talk about his recent visit to Hatay. He visited border troops and the border military station in Reyhanlı/ Hatay. Many actors, musicians, and athletes visited Hatay to gather with soldiers to support Operation Olive Branch, which was a cross-border military operation by the Turkish Armed Forces to Afrin District of Syria. Ibrahim Tatlıses was also there and sang for the soldiers among the many artists.

In İzmir rally, Erdoğan highlights their visit to support the soldiers and interrupts his speech and asks his man, “can you bring him to the stage?” and adds, “I shouldn’t force you. Can you come?”. The screens show Tatlıses among the audience. Tatlıses hardly walks to the stage. Erdoğan tells the audience that they had sung the song by Esat Kabaklı to the soldiers. “Do we have this song with us now?” Erdoğan asks the director. And the song “Know My Son” starts playing. “Travel my son, knock over enemies that want to occupy your land, who is your friend, who is your enemy, sense my son, write your history in your honour, son”. Erdoğan tries to sing the song but immediately fails. His plan was to sing that song with Ibrahim Tatlıses, but he could not synchronize with the song and gave the microphone to Tatlıses. This song slowly volume down because as soon as Tatlıses gets the microphone, he starts to tell a story. As I will address this later in the scripts, we are not focusing Tatlıses’s story now, but what is important that as soon as Tatlıses finishes the story, Erdoğan leads the performance; “Now! Dear Tatlıses” turns to the audience and adds “I looked around that day, you know (the song) they used to make us sing in the military and during the military education; Highlands, Highlands!” and without hesitation, the audience starts to sing, and Erdoğan adds “I saw the maître sings that. Sing it here too!”

On a side note, in 2012, this song was banned in the Turkish Armed Forces due to the sexist nature of the song. The AKP government banned Yaylalar (Highlands) song that includes lines such as “Restrain the neighbour’s daughter” and “Wherever you come (from) sister-in-law, leave and let you sister come!” in the lyrics which clearly contains

expressions that insult women and also show violence against women. However, Erdoğan himself broke the restriction and sang with soldiers in the visit to support Operation Olive Branch as the song turned out to be a military cadence.

There is a need to address these calls and respond to military cadences in further detail before Tatlıses's singing. A military cadence is a traditional call and response song that is performed while marching, working out, or running. For such a performance, there is no need for instruments to play, and they are a type of song that leads the audience throughout the act of work being done. Almost all cadences are in a call and response format in which an actor starts a line and the audience, as part of the performance, complete it, which is believed to form teamwork and camaraderie during the process (Frannie, 2014). Such cadences call to synchronize the beat and create a familiar rhythm among the audience. Interestingly, the cadences were started to appear in the military repertoire as late as the first half of the 20th century. However, the call and response form of auditory interaction has a long history.

Although some forms of the call and response could also trace back to psalm-singing in churches during the 17th century, call and response is a common pattern of performance in various African cultures, including in public assemblies, civic debates, religious ceremonies, and different forms of rituals. African Americans have continued this tradition in various ways, including religious rituals, street movements and music in many forms such as blues, jazz, and hip hop (Keegan, 2005). Historically, the appearance of call and response in pop culture dates to slavery. The call to a response travelled around the globe with slavery, especially following the first enslaved Africans to the Americas (Keegan, 2005). Enslaved people were not allowed to express their music, but as the call and response beat corresponds to the rhythm of the work, they were allowed by their masters. In this sense, the enslaver used the song to bring consistency to the work assigned.

The call and response patterns are based on repetition. There were also arguments that it was also about performing time (Small, 1996). In this sense, repetition plays a sequence that could go on for hours and function to "dissolve the past and the future into one eternal present" (Small, 1996). For almost two hundred years, the call and response as military cadences are still a powerful form of interaction with the audience.

Although it is clear that “right?”, “is it?” or performing “Rabia” are also some good examples of call and response and have a great affect on the sense of community. Not only does such a response to a call indicate the focus but also an exceptionally powerful declaration of what the actor was performing.

The actors on stage and the audience engage in call and response with various forms through audio and audio-visual performance, in which the actors signal the audience, like showing microphones towards them or asking a question. Moreover, the attention during the call and response is at its peak, so much so that the actor directly controls the response. For example, in İzmir rally, Tatlıses sings the Yaylalar (Highlands), and when the audience responds to their line once, he points out that the line should be sung twice and right after he informs the audience, they sing twice responding to his call.



The Yaylalar (the highlands), is a call and response form of folklore song that has officially compiled in 1971 by Muharrem Akkuş and is believed to be from Erzurum, Aşkale. This song has been used in various places, including within the compulsory military education, is within the repertoire of the audience, and as soon as Tatlıses starts to sing and call the audience, the audience responds affectively. As the calling actor on the stage, Tatlıses, performs his part, which is the main lines, the audience responds as “highlands!” (See Appendix A.1.).

This was clearly a special moment. Such moments have a substantial impact on engaging with the audience. Thus, even though making a well-known singer, who came from death, sing a call and response song itself a strong scene of performative politics, the power of such a moment has various opportunities for the leading actor. In this sense, as mentioned previously, one of the main goals of performative politics is to reconstruct the meaning-making process of the audience, and such a moment reveals an opportunity for the leading actor. Erdoğan as a great actor of performative politics, did not miss this chance.

Even though Tatlıses appearance on stage seemed spontaneous because Erdoğan asks the possibility of Tatlıses coming to the stage, Erdoğan already knew what he was going to ask from him. As they could not sing the first song, he skipped to the second one, and because it was not the version he was planned, he asked for a second round for the version he wanted.

Erdoğan leaned on Tatlıses and said; "No! The way you sang to us. Münbiç Münbiç." Turns out, Tatlıses reconstructed the lyrics of the song, and as a successful actor of performative politics like Erdoğan would not miss this opportunity. He asked Tatlıses to sing with the lyrics Erdoğan wanted. As Tatlıses visit to İzmir rally was already designed in Erdoğan's mind and in his scripts, he knew what he was going to perform right after Tatlıses performed the Münbiç version of the Highlands.

On a side note, Münbiç and Afrin is a provenience in Syria where the abovementioned Operation Olive Branch were held. Tatlıses is noticeably an actor of performative politics since he had the means to reach a great number of audiences, including with a well-known television show and a television channel. He has not been actively performing, especially after getting shot in the head, but he had a performative capital in the audience's imagination. In this sense, he used his power to reconstruct the well-known call and response type of folklore song to encourage the soldiers. Instead of the original lyrics as "the moon is light at the evening, my burden is a boxwood spoon, restrain the neighbour daughter, our boy is in love", he changed the lyrics for the war; "come, turn on (open) from the evening, come around Münbiç, you looked, Münbiç is not nice, come around Afrin" (see Appendix A.2.). However, there was also another reconstruction built on top of what Tatlıses has performed.

Erdoğan takes back the microphone and declares that the opposition was offended by the Münbiç version of the song. He says: "They were offended by it. So, why? Tatlıses says, come around Münbiç. He says, come around Afrin. To whom? To the soldiers. We became one with our artists, our athletes, and our soldiers there". This is the second round of reconstructing the meaning of the song. The first one was for the soldiers by Tatlıses and the second one was for the audience in İzmir Rally. They both used auditory power over the different audiences, and the latter one was to marginalize the opposing parties as the other.



In Kudüs gathering, anchor as an external sound leads the performance. As many actors were taking the stage, he directed them with kind invitations. However, as Erdoğan was about to take the stage, he used his usual magnifying introduction. Anchor took the microphone and started to compliment Erdoğan with great adjectives: "the voice of the oppressed, to the presidency of the world with its forty hearts and upright stance, the hope of our bleeding geography, President (Cumhurbaşkanı) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is coming to the stage". Music like a war march was playing in the background; the audience started to sing the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan melody. On a side note, in 2018, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Melody was highly popular. This melody was originated from a folk song composed in 1963. The song was reconstructed in many forms by various groups ("TRT Haber'de," n.d.). It has been performed in stadiums by soccer fans or in the military as cadences. The song lyrics transform from "don't step on snow, leaves a trace" to "Recep Tayyip Erdoğan". The new lyrics were (just) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, but the melody was the same.

As Erdoğan walks to the stage, the anchor keeps telling these compliments like "the loud (positive) voice of the Muslims and the oppressed around the world", or "The one who takes the side of the oppressed by saying the world is bigger than five" referring Erdoğan's address on United Nations which he questioned the five UN Security Council permanent members' veto power.

This was a long entrance without a speech. He was on the stage with other actors to welcome the audience. He waved with Rabia, showing gestures and greets with his body like his heart and head. Since the walking, shaking hands with other actors, welcoming audience unexpectedly takes quite a time, the anchor starts reading what he had in his inventory, including poems like "wake up my yiğidim (brave person)" (Genç, 2002). We clearly see that this was unexpected due to anchors repeating himself. The screens were showing Erdoğan welcoming the audience; we can see in the background that the anchor was looking at his inventory on what to say. He takes

his time since the music in the background also plays, like every time Erdoğan enters to stage. This was planned to be added under the audience resistance as the goal was partially failed, but because of the music in the background and Erdoğan's welcome, it was not a failure for the audience. Moreover, as this gathering was organized in a couple of days, such small mistakes on a live stage are often common.





The anchor starts the performance by introducing South African orator Abdulrahman Sanie. He introduced to the audience that the South African orator was going to perform for 'our' Kudüs (Jerusalem) martyries and all our martyries. There is a need to highlight this because the performance named Kudüs gathering was manifestly to support Kudüs. In this sense, the anchor first declared Erdoğan as the leader of the voice of the Muslim world and oppressed and then called the people who died in Kudüs our martyries. The whole event was full of constructing Erdoğan's image as a world leader from the opening scene with multicultural symbols with multinational actors to the moment it ended.

The performance started with a recitation of the Qur'an by a South African orator Abdurrahman Sadien. Sadien is also an important actor in Islamic World, especially in Africa. He started reading Qur'an in 1996 when he was only seven (Hakkında, n.d.). He became a hafiz at the age of eleven. The famous Kari Abdulbasit recognized him when visiting South Africa and started the Qur'an recitations with him. He graduated from mechanical engineering in Egypt and, in 1988, he became the first in the world Qur'an reading competition held in Cairo. Besides the most important fact that he was representing the transnational nature of this performance, he was also popular among the global audience. In this sense, such a recorded event could reach more than the audience there in İstanbul. However, as I will later address, this event was mostly for the Turkish audience and Erdoğan's image for the coming election. Moreover, although Sadien was quite popular globally, considering both the temperature at that day and the aesthetic nature of Qur'an recitation, engagement with the audience was

highly limited. I will later address this side of the performance within resistance among the audience.





Although I had underlined that we would exclusively focus on Erdoğan's performance on stage, this unique series of performances is one long performance, and I need to address at least some distinct behaviours of other actors. Even though normally anchor does not take the podium to perform, we see him on the podium mediating between actors. Anchor announced the first actor, BBP leader Destici. Destici starts his speech with a poem. Although his pitch was good, his performance was overall weak for a couple of reasons. The peaks and rhythm were not in line with the script. The inverted sentences kept causing errors for spelling and interrupting his flow. This was not caused by his vocal coordination but because of the script itself. We understand the lack of performative labour not only from the flow of the script but also from the content of his speech. For example, he ends his speech by performing Necip Fazlı Kısakürek's poem; "Let me see the wreckage of Israel, let me spit on the face of those who call them a state".

There are two critical problems with this poem. First, Destici himself called Israel a state a minute ago during his speech, which reflects an inconsistency on his script. The second and most importantly, there is no such poem by Kısakurek ("Necip Fazıl'a," 2017). We first see these lines on a Twitter account called malcomxtr on November 20, 2013, 30 years after Kısakurek's death (malcomxtr, 2013). Then, a couple of months later, a Facebook community opened with these lines in 2014. Only six years later, the group reshares the same lines from another account called deşifrevizyon (decryption) as if this is a poem of Kısakürek. Conveniently, the content on deşifrevizyon, which declared itself as a media company with over twenty thousand followers, was deleted. It is also interesting that on their Instagram page, they call themselves the Turkish Intelligence Agency (Deşifrevizyon, n.d.). Important to note that this fake Kısakürek's poem was created to be used, and with Destici's performance reached millions of people. As we accept that this was not intended, it

shows that the amount of labour needed for a good script was missing. We understand this both from the flow and from the context of the script. The misquotes, the rhythm and the scripts were not well structured.

After Destici, MHP leader Bahçeli presented to the stage. Although there were different actors and only Erdoğan complimented while taking the stage, as Bahçeli invited to stage kindly, the audience started shouting "Ya Allah Bismillah Allahuekber" with its melody. The audience performed so long that Bahçeli had to raise his hands' couple of times to take the lead. Like most of the actors of the performative politics, he also read poems and lyrics of songs. One of the poems he read was from Mehmet Akif İnan; "I dreamed of Masjid al-Aqsa, was saying; convey my greetings to Muslims … I can't stand this separation, let Islam embrace me" (İnan, 2013). Although Bahçeli performed various poems, this was one of the engaging ones. Performing this poem was so important that not only Destici, Bahçeli, and Kahraman but also Erdoğan performed the same poem. It was a perfect poem for that moment, and all the scriptwriters knew it, which ended up four different actors of performative politics performing the poem within an hour. I will also address this in the following paragraphs because as all performed the same poem, Erdoğan performed with a minor correction.

One of Bahçeli's poems was also successfully structured within the script. As he performed Sezai Karakoç's long poem, he ended with the "What does Jerusalem say to me now" line, which was almost the beginning of the poem, and then he adds his own words; "Jerusalem has fallen on the consciences of believers and Muslims, due to all the cruelty experienced with all its weight. Jerusalem, under torture, is the trap of the superstitious people." This is an excellent example of reconstructing repertoire. As the poem ends, he fills his ideas into the audience's mind in that specific emotional moment as if it is part of the poem.

We also should recognize that Bahçeli also had problems with the script. The lines were way too long, and because of this script with endless sentences, he had problems with how to perform the script. I will further address this under scripts, but what is important for this part is that as Bahçeli used high pitches and emphasized some words strongly, the script made it hard to perform clearly.

After Bahçeli, Prime Minister of Palestine Rami Hamdallah took the stage. He spoke Arabic. There was a failure with this performance as the translator appeared later than Hamdallah on to the stage. The translator wanted to intervene twice, and then, on the second try, he used his voice. He started with a loud voice and silenced the voice of Hamdallah. I will address this moment in detail later under audience resistance. However, for this part, we can say that performance in another language did not have the imagined affect on the audience as the auditory power was not affective. The translator read from the script, and unlike the anchor, there was no emphasis on any word, any pitch or even a use of his body. There was a vocal conflict between the translator and Hamdallah, and I will address this in detail later. One of the interesting moments of Hamdallah's speech was when he said Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in his Arabic speech; the audience reacted and shouted Erdoğan so loud that Hamdallah had to take a breath on his speech.

After Hamdallah, former Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım takes the stage. His vocal coordination was good, and his speech was clear. However, it is surprising that he did not perform any poems, songs, or other forms to easily engage with the audience. This was probably because he was coordinated with Erdoğan. As he gave clear messages, he was not the lead actor on this performance.

The audience under the sun with hours of performance was expected Erdoğan, but following Yıldırım, the speaker of the Grand National Assembly, İsmail Kahraman, takes the stage. His auditory power was weak. He was reading slowly from a piece of paper. During his speech, the audience became impassioned and resisted his performance which I will address later. For the auditory power, we can clearly hear and see that he was failing to engage with the audience.

After Kahraman, the anchor takes the stage and starts to perform. He asks the audience, "Are you ready İstanbul? It is time, İstanbul." Then, he proceeds with the routine of the introduction of Erdoğan. Not surprising but important to note that he almost used the exact same introduction when Erdoğan took the stage to greet the other actors and the audience. A piece of music with lyrics played in the background while the anchor introduced Erdoğan. This was caused by lack of performative labour and typically does not happen, but given the three-day notice for the event, it is not surprising.



The audience constantly and loudly performed and shouted, “here is the military, here is the leader/hero”, “Head/Chief (Reis) take us to Jerusalem”, and the clear Recep Tayyip Erdoğan melody. On his performance, Erdoğan performed five long poems with a perfect pitch. His voice was rich and understandable. He used his voice to direct the script. The significance of the auditory power of the actors became clear with the same poem performed by different actors; Destici, Bahçeli, Kahraman and Erdoğan.

Erdoğan realized that this was going to be performed for the fourth time in an hour by different actors, and before he performed the poem, he added an idiom to his speech; “Repetition is fine, even if it is one hundred and eighty times.” This idiom was a perfect match for this performance because as Erdoğan used this idiom back in 2009, he underlined that this was half Turkish half Arabic idiom (“‘Et Tekraru,’” 2009). I will further underline his script later in detail. Nevertheless, what is important is that although Destici, Bahçeli, Kahraman and Erdoğan performed the same poem, there was a clear difference in how they performed it. In this sense, the invisible labour behind closed doors, the performative labour, shows itself. As poem reading is an art, one must work a great amount of time on how to perform it (Bloom, 2007).

After Erdoğan, Director of Religious Affairs Ali Erbaş came to the stage and started praying. One important note here is that most of the prayers in Turkey are in Qur’an’s original language Arabic. However, this was different. Erbaş started praying in Arabic, but then he prayed in Turkish, performed in both languages. However, Erbaş did not use prompters and read a paper in front of him, which is normally a bad sign for engaging with the audience, the control of his voice was perfect. This was one of the performances that the importance of auditory power became apparent. The audience engaged with the actor as he prayed with a clear voice, perfect pitch, and right notes. The act of praying has a significant engagement with the audience on most occasions since the audience repeats the exact word out loud or in themselves and or responds

with amen. However, the length of this series of performances by different actors under the sun while fasting must have caused a problem between engaging with the audience.



Performances at Kudüs gathering spontaneously translated in different languages including Arabic. Although this was important to reach different audiences around the globe, it is always hard to engage with performance with barriers such as language or, more generally, repertoire.

In the İstanbul rally, Erdoğan used auditory power well to reach the audience, as mentioned above. There was precise vocal characterization as a classic Erdoğan voice. He knows where to go loud, how to perform a poem, how to glorify the audience, and how to sing. He used his voice to direct the audience to the screens. There was nothing extraordinary except the new ways of performing and various scriptural design changes, as mentioned in a different part of this case study. In this sense, nothing extraordinary about his voice meant a good sign for him because he had already mastered his vocal characterization on how to perform Erdoğan.



On the other hand, the performance in iftar with retirees was an indoor performance. This was in a more official stage, and the performance was structured accordingly. Erdoğan was introduced to the stage with an unusual official announcement right after the meal. An external sound introduced him as “Now, President Mr Recep Tayyip Erdoğan will make his speeches. I would like to present you to the podium. Here you take, Mr President.”. He walks slowly to the stage. As usual, he greats and compliments the audience. Unlike other performances, there was no external music or any kind of poem. It was not an ordinary performance but still had the usual framework

of his script, including icraats. After Erdoğan finishes his speech, the external sound thanks for the speech on behalf of everyone and adds, “Distinguished guests, our Iftar organized by President Mr Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and respected lady Emine Erdoğan has come to an end”. As this performance was organized in an official set, the anchor, which could be a recorded message, organized the structure of the timing and informed the audience that what was happening and will happen as an external sound.



On the other hand, the Sahur gathering was one of the most unofficial performances Erdoğan made during the election of 2018. As he ate dinner with the students that lived in the dormitory, the performance was off script and not well prepared. We can see this throughout his speech, both on the audience level and from the performative angle. In this sense, the stage was the dining hall itself where Erdoğan performed a character sharing intimate time with the youth, eating a meal with them, and having small talk with them. During his performance, he took a wired microphone and addressed the audience. We can even hear the sounds cracking in the highly edited video version of the live performance. Once again important to note that there were not any unedited versions of this performance in many sources. The only way we could watch the whole performance was from President’s account on periscope’s database, a database of a discontinued live streaming app (Erdoğan, 2018).



One of the core aspects to consider when conducting research on performative politics is auditory power. As one of the most influential actors of performative politics, Erdoğan understands the importance of auditory power and how it can be used. In almost all performances in 2018, there was constant music, either recorded or live. He

was constantly introduced by an anchor with magnifying compliments. He used audio-visual support with giant screens, read poems to engage and even sang for the audience. During the election process of 2018, we even saw that he made a well-known singer sing a reconstructed version of a folklore song and used it in his scripts to give its a new meaning. He used many idioms to make the audience understand clearly and localize his performance. He embraced and used new technological opportunities to perform his character on stage, that is, to perform to gather the audience together, and he embraced his vocal characterization following with his bodily appearance. Moreover, by doing so, he used audiences' emotional patterns to reconstruct the audience meaning-making through his performance.

4.4.2.4. The Performative Labour

As Erdoğan's legitimacy comes from the power of performative politics, which turns a success in a ballot box, he put a significant amount of effort into his performances. The election process of 2018 was not different. The stages were well designed. He changed costumes multiple times for different performances on the same day. He used his voices and movements to engage with his audience. He declared that he would visit fifty-five cities in sixty-six days and as I have watched all his performances during the election process, he performed more than a hundred times ("Erdoğan'ın 'miting'," 2018). Erdoğan is a remarkable illustration of the power of performative politics. He spent much time with his audience and embraced his character, which necessitates outstanding psychological capacity in recalling emotions and actions. He becomes the character rather than playing on stage. We can see throughout his facial expression, having sharp turns between emotions, his recalling patterns of performing throughout his performances. In this sense, he engages with the audience, making them feel emotions, and with that power, he reconstructs the repertoire of the audience.

As Rai highlights, the actors are not born but are instead cultivated over time, with different resources (2014). Erdoğan has been addressing a large audience since his early years in politics. He has strengthened his relationships with his audience as the leading actor of both the AKP and Turkey. Noticeably, the repertoire, the technology, and the era he started to perform played a significant role in his success to become an actor of performative politics. However, there is a great amount of unrecognised labour

behind such performances. As he used perfect vocal characterisation and his body, we can see through his performance on stage that he learnt how to perform well. This is not surprising since his success on stage meant vote in the ballot box and creating a strong legitimacy within the Turkish repertoire. He used recall practices as he did not play the character but became the one. As mentioned previously, there is a difference between acting and being the character. As Stanislavski rightfully underlines, such performance increases the level of emotional engagement and connection between the actor and the audience. In line with Stanislavski's vision of performing on stage, Erdoğan felt what he was performing. He felt in every different scene, which was observed throughout his performances. As the scene changes, Erdoğan's character's emotional representation changes with it. As he performed anger, he was angry, and as he performed to be proud, he was. We could see this throughout the performance on his face, gestures, voice and even his body as a whole. In this sense, especially considering the short nature of the performances in 2018 due to audience fasting in Ramadan, Erdoğan mastered these emotional downs and ups. The scenes were intertwined more than ever due to the time limitations. Yet, because he rehearsed enough, he could perform well. We have seen this in his off-script performance in the dormitory at three after midnight. He recalled the script from his memory, and the emotions came with it. In this sense, even the scriptural structure was at play.



Erdoğan explaining something to almost three million people in a rally.

Performative labour is one of the most complex parts of researching performative politics. As I was not there to observe how much he worked for his performances, including his labour on memorising scripts, emotional recalls, vocal characterisation, or the staging of the performance, I could only observe the results as performances on stage. There were only a few elements that I could address under performative labour.

The calmness with which Erdoğan performs, for example, needs a lot of energy and knowledge on how to perform on the stage to be archived. Throughout the performance, he manages to keep his voice in check and maintain a steady tone while remaining calm. His calm attitude demonstrates that he benefits from breathing. According to Shapira (2015), an actors calm demeanour indicates that he has mastered the art of proper belly breathing. This implies that Erdoğan using his diaphragm to breathe in which he had learned and practiced. I could also address what he had done for performing during the election. We have observed that Erdoğan performed multiple performances every day with different costumes in different places. We had seen him in three different cities in one day. Moreover, in gatherings like iftar and sahur, we could see Erdoğan gathering together with the audience, eating together with them, taking his time for the audience to capture his physical appearance with smartphones from early in the morning to late at night. He planned to travel to fifty-five cities (Güder, 2018) but performed over a hundred times. It is clear that Erdoğan puts a significant amount of labour to perform in public spaces during the election processes, and 2018 was nothing less.



Erdoğan is posing for students one by one.

4.4.2.5. The Scripts

Erdoğan had a standardised template for performing in front of the mass audience. Although this changed in different scenes, such as sahur within dormitory hall, on most occasions, especially in front of the mass audience, there was a template. He often performed time and space. His script backs and forwards while addressing and performing time, including the imagined future and the past. The design was built upon informing the audience who the audience should think who they were, and who the audience should think they will be and by doing so, addressed who they think who they are. He used every opportunity to inform the audience, including special days like Father's Day or spatial names like Taksim or Kudüs. I will address a few examples

from the scripts. Although there were different candidates for the election, like Demirtaş, Akşener, Karamollaoğlu, and Perinçek, as we would see, he only addresses İnce as his opponent. As mentioned previously, this is because he wanted to dialectically structure his position against the 'deviant' while acting as if the other actors were not even candidates. This further deepens the impact of performative politics on everyday performance, which I will also address in the following parts.

At the beginning of his speeches, he starts by complimenting the audience with an engagingly designed romantic poems, phrases, and songs. He always have a 'poetic' entrance. He also uses dialects, idioms, or a poem of the regions where he performs. His speeches are always well designed, addressing the local values. We had seen this element over the years, but it got better within time.

When we compare with the earlier performances, there are more mistakes in the scripts. This was expected since his leading scriptwriter was killed during the coup attempt in 2015. We observed that he was a bit more nervous for several reasons. He tried harder to engage with the audience. He gave breaks between lines, giving an audience time to react, and he started to ask questions to the audience more than ever. He asked these questions even when he was promoting his accomplishments and projects, making the audience engaged. In this sense, he reached a new level of engagement with the audience. This does not mean he spoke directly to the audience throughout the event, but instead, he asked the questions that he knew what the answer would be and after seconds himself answered it.

He used one of the core techniques of alienating the audience from the opponents to tighten the ranks, following a zuschauerifying process. In this sense, he marginalised the other opponents. Erdoğan often reconstructs the image of the opposition in the audience imagination not as a rival but, instead, an unnecessary and unwanted deviant element of the election. Once he constructs the opponents as deviant in the repertoire, there is no need to consider them political opponents.

In this sense, when one constructs political opponents as marginalised groups, the only topic left for the scripts is defining projects. In other words, as Erdoğan marginalised opponents, the only space for him to address, as he does not address other actors as opponents, is the service policies with projects. It is possible to recognise that the

election of 2018 was not easy for Erdoğan in this sense. This is because performing on describing mega projects has a problem in itself like the condition of economy or the imagined projects had to be as mega as the previous ones.

In 2018, scriptualizing new projects could not fill the expectation as he already imagined and performed mega projects. As it was almost impossible to generate more significant projects than the previous ones he already told involving the whole country, he introduced projects like National Gardens and Coffee Shops, which were highly debated. We could see that he was more confident with the projects he addressed in the previous elections, like the third bridge or the largest airport. In other words, Erdoğan's performance heavily relied on introducing new projects, and the main problem was that it creates a dilemma on not being able to produce new content especially considering the global economic crises and need to create more ostentatious projects than the previous ones.

Considering these circumstances, especially the campaign structure for consolidation, it was not surprising that Erdoğan used call and response, constantly asking the audience questions, and giving space for the audience to shout slogans and sing Recep Tayyip Erdoğan melody. In such a case, Erdoğan expanded his standard template, especially on opening scenes, welcoming and complimenting the audience, strongly marginalising the other actors, showing what they had done over the years and what they would do, singing, performing poems, and collectively committing to the Rabia symbol respectively.

Before moving to the case by case examples, it is important to address the Rabia symbol as it appears the same in every script. The original symbol appeared in late August 2014 in Egypt. Egyptian protesters used the Rabbi'ah sign as a symbol, a hand gesture. The sign was named after Rabaa al-Adawiya Square, where the Muslim Brotherhood held a sit-in protest to mark the anniversary of Morsi's inauguration (El-Shenawi, 2013). It resulted in the deaths of nearly six hundred people and numerous injuries. The Rabia symbol was formed as a message of sympathy for the thousands wounded and many killed by the Egyptian Armed Forces. The squares name formed within body gestures and represented protesting against tyranny in general. As Erdoğan was one of the first leaders who used the Rabia symbol (Öztürk, 2021), he

appreciated it so much that he reconstructed the symbol. He created a new symbol in the Turkish repertoire. As the symbol represents resistance against Tyranny around the globe, in Turkey, Erdoğan's reconstruction referred to 'one-ness'. For such a symbol to be reproduced in everyday life with its new meaning, Erdoğan had to perform it a great amount of time. As he performed more, he formed a performative capital crystalised on the sign and performing the sign also became a power move. Not as important, but, like giving/throwing carnation to an audience, the Rabia symbol also became a signature move of him.

As the Rabia symbol was reconstructed in the Turkish repertoire, Erdoğan started to attach the symbol with new lines, such as the slogan of the election of 2018. Erdoğan almost always addresses the Rabia symbol and the election slogan at the closing scene of almost every performance in 2018. For example, in İstanbul Rally, Erdoğan asks the audience: "Are we saying it's time for unity again? Do we say it's time to be alive (dirlik)? Do we say it's time for İstanbul? Do we say it's time for Turkey?" and he adds "So, let's all turn towards our Rabia". "Our Rabia, … are we ready? Isn't the sound low?" and then Erdoğan says "One nation!" and the audience replies, "One nation!", Erdoğan says "One flag!" and the audience replies, "One flag!", Erdoğan says "One homeland!" and the audience replies, "One homeland!" Erdoğan says "One state!" and the audience replies, "One state!" And then Erdoğan explains: "One nation; one nation 81 million, one flag; the crescent, red from the blood of our martyr, star as our martyr, one homeland; they will not divide us, they will not destroy us. One state." And he adds "for all this, we only need one thing: we will be one, we will be big, we will be alive, we will be sisters/brothers. Together we will be Turkey". The Rabia symbol, as in this version used almost similar in all end scenes of Erdoğan's performance.

In the opening scenes, Erdoğan always compliments the audience by addressing them with the name of the city. It is important to note here that there are some findings that the compliments are a compliance strategy (Grant et al., 2010). These findings show that people comply more when they receive a compliment (Ruhi, 2007 as cited in Karlberg et al., 2015). However, the question on the compliments is much more complex and needs further research on the topic especially with relation to complimenting the audience from a stage. Whether or not it creates a compliance, such

opening scenes are well designed since it gives ready to engage audience a positive feeling in the very beginning as the actor on stage starts to perform.

There is almost always two parts in Erdoğan's compliments. In the first part, he addresses the audience with local repertoire and goes into specific values. This usually is about performing present. The second part is about the significance Erdoğan reconstructs and gives a meaning of who the audience think who they are. Such design of the compliment parts of the scripts are well structured. The first part creates interest with clearly visible and recognisable cultural, local, and easily recognisable values. The second part reconstructs by using higher values that are not visible or recognisable such as historical figures or national will. This is mainly based on either past or future. As the first part allows to open up the emotions, the second part is to reconstruct via building up those emotions. The first part is his recognition of the audience, while the later parts are audience recognition of themselves primarily through past or future.

In İzmir rally, Erdoğan starts by complimenting the natural beauty of İzmir and addresses the local repertoire. This was a more visible and factual part. As mentioned multiple times, localisation is highly important for Erdoğan's performance from the early days. In this sense, Erdoğan follows a line about the beauty of the local spaces such as districts and long beach cords. Then, he addresses folk songs and Efe dances. After recognising physically visible and culturally available compliments, he then reads a poem and says they could not express themselves well to İzmir. Before moving on to the second part. He asks; "ready?" and moves to the second part of the compliments where he addresses the higher values; "İzmir is the city of liberation, city of Gazi Mustafa Kemal, the city of democracy, the city of the national will, the city of the resurrection movement of the power of the AKP". There is a clear pattern in scripts for these compliments that we can even see in the most unofficial or official events like sahur in a dormitory hall and iftar in the presidency.

After the compliment part, as mentioned previously, Erdoğan speech has two core dynamics. The first one is marginalising the opposing parties. The second is addressing the projects and what they had done. In İzmir rally, Erdoğan reconstructs opponents' image as if they are deviant. "Mr Kemal," says Erdoğan, "was taken from the airport

with tanks protecting him. … there is a document, you burned Mr Kemal, you are putschist!".

Erdoğan makes the peaks during his speech and adds, "My brothers. CeHaPe has now turned into the trumpeter of FETO in our country, which our judiciary has registered as a terrorist organisation. Not only that, but CeHaPe is also the spokesperson of all terrorist organisations from PKK to PYD, who are shouting our country and our nation". As Erdoğan has two dynamics, he always circles around them. This script was no different. As he marginalises the strongest opponent with the above-mentioned script, after a while, he circles back to addressing them with a different script but the same narrative (See Appendix C.1.). Erdoğan addresses these two elements back and forth, but there is a clear distinction. While he addresses the opposition parties, he gets angry, and while he talks about his projects, he gets excited. These emotions also intertwine with each other as the back-and-forth merges together at a point.

On a side note, it is important to highlight once again that performative politics has great influential power on everyday performance. It strongly centralises the narrative in which this normation process informs the actors in everyday life through performances of actors of performative politics. As mentioned, this centralisation further deepens with such a narrative. As Erdoğan declares opposition as a deviant, he reconstructs repertoire so that the audience would not even imagine engaging with other actors of performative politics. In other words, as performative politics already has a significant impact and limitation on everyday performance, Erdoğan's marginalisation further deepens the problem since other actors of performative politics become unimaginable to engage with.

During the performance, Tatlıses takes the stage. I am not addressing his call and response singing as I have already done, but the story he told was also interesting since it was a spontaneous moment. We clearly understand from the story that it was spontaneous, but what makes it clear is that Tatlıses asks Erdoğan whether he remembers that day not once but four times.

In the story, Tatlıses explains why he was attracted to Erdoğan. He says that when İdo, his son, was two months old, there was no natural gas in his house. He says that they had a very big house, but it was cold. So Tatlıses called Erdoğan when Erdoğan was

mayor of İstanbul and asked for natural gas. Apparently, Erdoğan said it was not on the budget, but he would pay it out of his pocket, and Tatlıses adds: “our natural gas was connected immediately, and İdo saved from the cold!”

It is not hard to point out what is wrong with this story. As spontaneous moments are much more fragile, this story could have an impact in most countries. First and most importantly, paying “from the pocket” to an already wealthy singer for his “very big house” to connect natural gas lines is overwhelmingly destructive for the image of the actor as most of the audience in Turkey is suffering from the economic conditions they live in. Second, there is literally no clear answer to what this story tells. It further creates questions on what the story meant. Is Erdoğan a generous person? Is he the hero to “save” İdo from the cold by paying from his pocket? I cannot clearly tell the aim of the story, but what is clear is that this was a risk Erdoğan took on the stage; shared the stage and handed over the microphone to another actor. Erdoğan knew Tatlıses had a strong loyalty, but it was still a risky moment. As Strauss and O’Brien (2007) points out, such moments are fragile. This fragility surfaces within this moment. On a side note, İdo, who was saved from the cold in this story, would complain that his natural gas bill is too high due to the surcharges made in 2022, and ironically said, “I won’t die like this, shoot a missile instead” addressing the ‘authorities’ made the raise, only three and a half years after this performance (“Elektrik Faturasını,” 2022).

After Tatlıses performance, Erdoğan started the icraats and project’s part. He explains that they worked continuously and defined the projects, like bridges. He points out that Turkey was in depth with the IMF, and they paid all the depths. Erdoğan tells all the different decisions, projects, and accomplishments they made over the years. Erdoğan tells the audience that “with the funds of 50 billion liras that we have created in 15 years, İzmir has had its share of this”. In this part, he explains some projects related to local football teams. The last scene was after the icraats, which are accomplished and future projects. Erdoğan asks the audience, “Is İzmir ready to make history on June 24th?”. The audience replies, “yes”. Erdoğan asks, “Is İzmir ready to tear and be free from the shirt cut for them on June 24th?” Audience replies, “yes”. Erdoğan asks, “Is İzmir ready to give an answer to those who see your will as a given on June 24th?” Audience replies, “yes”. “Is İzmir ready to make its choice in favour of democracy,

development, and service on June 24th?" Erdoğan asks, and the audience replies, "yes". And Erdoğan replies, "Yes! Wonderful! (Maşallah)".

Erdoğan then addresses the Rabia as the way mentioned previously and ends with a song lyric singing with the audience; "My brothers/sisters. Now, of course, the weather is sunny today. It's 31 degrees hot. But let's say it differently, shall we? Are you ready?" He asks. Then as Erdoğan speaks one line of the lyrics of the song, the audience repeat, "we walked together on those roads, we got wet together under those rains, now every song I listen to, reminds me of you! Everything reminds me of you! Everything reminds me of İzmir!"

In the Kudüs gathering, there were different actors and different scripts. Although their speech was different and written by different scriptwriters, we see a common language. As the actors of performative politics like romanticising the concepts through defining them with various adjectives, we can see common adjectives in this performance. For example, when they address Israel state, they use phrases like Zionist, a terrorist state, or evangelist. In this sense, Bahçeli, in line with his long-sentenced script, made the most prolonged adjective phrase on Israel; "Evangelist capitalist imperialist domination is a poisoned spear that stucked in the heart of Jerusalem." Another example was that all the actors' thanks Erdoğan for responding to the replacement of the consulate of the USA to Jerusalem and his leadership. They all addressed the solution as Turkey in general and People's Alliance and Erdoğan in particular.

Erdoğan walks to the stage with compliments from the anchor. He greets the audience and takes the microphone. As usual, his opening speech flatters the audience with compliments; "Bismillahirrahmanirrahim. İstanbul Yenikapı is having an especially different special today. For the hundreds of million people whose hearts beat for Jerusalem, whose anger rises for Jerusalem, whose hearts burn for Jerusalem, I greet all my brothers/sisters who are at the Yenikapı square today with my most heartfelt feelings." Addressing the significance of the audience appearing in there, representing millions of people.

During his speech, Erdoğan performed various poems, but three were outstanding to understand the power of performative politics. The first one is the repeated poem. As mentioned previously, he started this poem with a perfect idiom, which was half

Arabic, half Turkish, because he realised that Destici, Bahçeli, and Kahraman were all performed the same poem before him. Thus, he started saying that "Repetition is fine, even if it is one hundred and eighty times" (See Appendix B.1.).

This was a very interesting moment that four different well-known actors performed the same poem. It clearly is a special case to study as it has performed with four different actors at the same staging, the same poem to the same audience. Although we could see that the audience attention was different due to the timing of the performance, while some performed before and others later, we could see the significance of auditory power, including but not limited to vocal control and vocal characterisation. We see and hear the difference actors made on how to perform, including different pitches and even different rhythms. Moreover, the audience reaction was much different. Although Erdoğan performed last, he was cheered much more. This is not surprising since his character on stage has a performative capital on audience imagination in which they were expecting him on stage and hearing a poem from him. His voice and pitches were already known by the audience, as most of the audience had already heard him perform. This does not necessarily mean Erdoğan performed the poem great, and he was, but what is noteworthy on the audience's world is that the audience were cheering for Erdoğan, and they finally were seeing him perform. In other words, the image of Erdoğan in the audience imagination also affected the audience, in which return, inevitably increased the pleasure caused by the poem.

The second poem was a few lines from the poem of the national anthem of Turkey. The complete lyric of the poem consists of forty-one lines of verses, of which the first eight became the anthem. He used this poem as a bridge to reconstruct the Çanakkale War. Before he performs the poem, he asks, "what is the last major example of this attack wave? Çanakkale." And he defines that the oppressors have walls from steel, and to their attack, Muslims were not just prayed but acted. He then performs the poem (see Appendix B.2.).

Right after Erdoğan performs probably the most known poem in the repertoire, he adds, "Jerusalem is also what Çanakkale is to us." Over the various performance, it is possible to recognise the reconstruction of the repertoire by Erdoğan. This

deconstruction and reconstruction process mostly starts right before the emotional moment where he deconstructs and defines what is, and right after poem, song, or any other emotionally engaging moment, he reconstructs the repertoire. In this sense, he first defines Çanakkale as the last major example of this wave of attack and explains with many emotionally engaging adjectives and, by doing so, he deconstructs a war that happened hundred and three years ago and became one of the strongest foundational values in the Turkish National repertoire. With the strength of this repertoire, he then gets further emotionally engaging with the audience with the above-mentioned lines from the poem of the national anthem. After this further engagement with the audience, he reconstructs Çanakkale war by defining it as the same. Erdoğan points out that a struggle in which hearts, wrists and souls are shown will surely result in victory as in the Çanakkale war. He argues, "when we focus on Çanakkale and compare with today we were missing … action … the only thing that the oppressor understand is power".

At that moment, Erdoğan starts performing another poem written by the same poet, Mehmet Akif Ersoy (see Appendix B.3.) And right after performing the poem, Erdoğan starts another round of reconstruction. Erdoğan informs the audience: "The Yenikapı was here on August 7th for July 15th coup attempt. We did a similar gathering. These are the projects that brought between us. We are unable to prevent even the terrorist organisations that have come among us. The organisation called DAESH appeared. This organisation only prosecuted Muslims … from Al-Qaeda to Bokoharam, PKK to FETO; these terrorist organisations serve the same purpose. Their only aim is to disrupt Muslim unity and peace." Erdoğan then says that "there is good news from our Lord. Let's come together as one; let's come as one wrist and one heart. Are you ready for unity?" This is clearly in line with his performances for the election of 2018, where he kept asking for unity and symbolised it with the Rabia. He takes this unity to a different level and informs and declares his leadership to the audience.

"What are we going to do?" he asks the audience and tells them that the fact, which as ambiguous reasons that we cannot confirm, that the country most targeted by Israel was Turkey and the leader that was most targeted was himself, which argued that it shows the rightfulness of their attitude. He further said in the following parts that if that person, referring to the actors in Israel, was targeting him, he was on the right

track. He adds that even they have nuclear weapons, they had their faith. He declares and informs the audience that Turkey leads the Muslim world under his leadership. Another example of this was at the end. He turns to the audience and says: “We are honoured to lead the Muslims in this struggle. We invite all Muslims around the world to shake off, to rise again and to resurrect!” Whether or not this affected Muslims around the world, it definitely affected the audience who was watching him perform. They had been informed, not only by the script but also throughout the performance with other actors around the world, including actors from Africa with their native costumes, that Erdoğan was leading the Muslim world and they were part of a privileged group who was leading the rest of the Muslim nations as they were from Turkey, the leading country of the Muslim world.

After his thanks to the audience around the globe, he turns the audience and asks for Rabia. This last moment reveals the answer for who the targeted audience is. As they turned on to the Rabia; one nation, one flag, one homeland and one state, this was clearly for the Turkish audience. The nature of this series of performances was built upon an international scale. Conversely, as I had mentioned previously, these series of performances were also to increase Erdoğan’s influence on the Turkish audience as the election was so close. As a wise actor of performative politics, Erdoğan would not miss such an opportunity to ask for unity once again. The script was well designed with reconstructing the repertoire, from Çanakkale to terrorism, and the Rabia was the peak moment that made clearly visible that the script was written to address the Turkish audience. As appeared on the peak moment, Rabia was promoting “oneness” of symbols from the national repertoire such as nation, as the Turkish nation, or flag, as Turkish flag.

When we focus on the İstanbul gathering on the same stage, a month later, there is a sharper version of Erdoğan’s framework. The following is the compliment scene of the performance. As usual, the first part, which is almost always before the “I greet you” phrase, addresses the facts and adjectives already known by the audience primarily about now, and the second part is based on the higher values that are not visible or recognisable and occur in either past or future. There were many unusual approaches in this performance, which is recognisable. For example, he tells the audience his structure during the performance or, as I had mentioned previously, he

showed long videos and acted as mediatory between the video and the audience. Erdoğan starts with the following opening scene;

İstanbul , aşkım, sevdam, yârim İstanbul yoldaşım, sırdaşım, sığınağım İstanbul kardeşim, kaderdaşım, yoldaşım İstanbul	İstanbul, my love, my dear half, İstanbul my comrade, my confidant, my shelter, İstanbul my brother/sister, my colleague, my comrade İstanbul
Sade bir semtini sevmenin bile bir ömre bedel olduğu İstanbul, Güleni şöyle dursun, ağlayana bile bahtiyar İstanbul	İstanbul, where even loving a plain neighbourhood is worth a lifetime. İstanbul, happy even for those who cry, let alone who smile.
Bugün yine muhteşemsin İstanbul Bugün yine destan yazıyorsun İstanbul Bugün yine bize güç ve cesaret veriyorsun İstanbul.	You are gorgeous again today, İstanbul You are epic again today, İstanbul. Today you give us strength and courage again, İstanbul
Sizleri muhebbetle selamlıyorum İstanbul.	I greet you with love, İstanbul.
Gökkuşağı renklerini senden aldı, Gümüş rengini senin yakamozlarından çalar Şairler asıl sana vurgundur, Aşıklar sana tutkun, Mimarlar sana inanır, Sultanlar sana meftun, Leyla sensin, Aslı sensin, Şirin sensin, Gönülleri yakan kor ateş sensin İstanbul.	The rainbow colours from you, The silver colours from your collars, Poets mainly emphasising you, Lovers in love with you, Architects believe in you, Sultans are in love with you, You are Leyla, you are Asli, you are Sirin You are the fire that burns hearts, İstanbul.
Malazgirtte Alparslan'ın yüreğinde senin aşkın vardı. Kudüs'ü alırken Selahattin sana sevdalıydı.	Your love was in the heart of Alparslan in Manzikert. Saladin was in love with you when he took Jerusalem.
Ertuğrul'un ufkunu aydınlatan yine sendin.	It was you who enlightened Ertuğrul's horizon.
Söğütte Osman gazi fidanı senin için toprağa dikti.	Osman Gazi planted the sapling in the soil for you in Söğüt.
Osmanlı çınarı senin ilhamınla dallarını tüm cihana yaydı.	The Ottoman plane tree spread its branches all over the world with your inspiration.
Çanakkale de Mehmetler senin için toprağa düştü.	Mehmets fell to the ground for you in Çanakkale.
İstiklal harbinde Anadolu senin için kıyama kalktı.	In the War of Independence, Anatolia stood up for you.
Maraş'ta Sütçü İmam, Antep'te Şahin Bey Erzurum'da Nene Hatun senin için savaştı.	Sütçü İmam in Maraş, Şahin Bey in Antep, Nene Hatun in Erzurum fought for you.
Kastamonu'da Şerife Bacı yüreğine seni sardı.	In Kastamonu, Şerife Bacı embraced you in her heart.
Pakistan'da Muhammed İkbal şiirlerini senin için yazdı.	In Pakistan, Muhammad Iqbal wrote his poems for you.
Afrika'da mazlumlar senin için dua etti. Sen kırık kalplerin devasısın.	

Sen mazlumların umudusun. Sen istikbalimizin kutup yıldızısın İstanbul. Seni saygı ile hürmet ile özlem ile selamlıyorum İstanbul.	The oppressed in Africa prayed for you. You are the cure for broken hearts. You are the hope of the oppressed. You are the pole star of our future, İstanbul. I greet you with respect, honour and longing, İstanbul.

This complimenting part was the most extended opening scene ever in Erdoğan's performance. As going through hours of Erdoğan's performance, I have never encountered such a long opening scene. This could be because there were only six days left for the election, and the opposition had faith in the second round of the election, which the highest supported second candidate would race one on one and had a real chance against Erdoğan. He wanted to make sure this would not happen.

As mentioned previously, there is a framework that Erdoğan builds his speeches on. However, the length and strength of his speeches change overtime during the election process. For example, as the script normally includes some ways of marginalising other candidates, the closer it gets to the election day, the more it gets space for such promise. In other words, his scripts became longer and more melodramatic. This very long opening scene is one of the good examples. As he started to ask more questions to the audience during the election process of 2018, in the last performance that he could reach this many people, he aggressively asked questions, used call and responses. As we had covered, this is to engage with the audience making sure that they all feel the same.

After the complimenting part, he gives extended greetings to the various groups like martyr's families with relating the Father's Day, and he says, "it is the Father's Day … and we are holding the most 'father' rally in İstanbul." He then starts to pray, "Oh Lord! İnşallah (Hopefully), this presidential system will be strengthened with us, with the AK Party, on Sunday (the election day)." The audience replies, "Amen!". As that day was the third day of the Feast of Ramadan, he says, "I pray to my Lord to make us live another holiday on the night of June 24th", and the audience replies, "Amen!". The call and responses, asking questions to the audience were significantly a lot on this performance. The followings are some examples from his script; "Are we ready İstanbul? Are we ready to roar for the strong parliament, for a strong government on

June 24th? Are we writing another legend for a strong Turkey? … Did we have drinking water (in İstanbul)? … Could you find drinking water in İstanbul? Had the mountains of garbage rose? Did the Ümraniye garbage dump explode in Ümraniye? How many people died? … Yes, let's vote for it (the projects on the screens)? How (is it)? Those who accept? The ayes have it … the famous Ramie barracks, right? Those who know, raise a hand so I can see … Are we going to give the answer to these fake hypocrites (takiyeciler) on June 24th? … Do we call it's time for İstanbul?" These are a few examples of his questions. He often replies to these questions immediately. "İstanbul made its decision.", "Our Brothers do not know this.", "Yes!", "İnşallah", "Maşallah".

For the first time, Erdoğan told the structure of the performance to the audience. He told them that the performance was divided into two parts. The first, he told the audience, he was going to talk about İstanbul, and the second part was to tell what they had done in Prime Ministry and Presidency era.

Another noteworthy part of his script was the part he mentions the old İstanbul. During his address to the audience, he asks whether or not the Ümraniye garbage dump exploded in Ümraniye, an event that happened in 1993. He then informs the audience, "this is CeHaPe. Wherever CeHaPe is, there is a dump. Wherever is CeHaPe, there is filth. There is thirst. There is pollution. There are deaths." And he dialectically positioned the Ak Party (White Party); "Ak Parti is cleanness. Ak Parti is peace. Ak Parti is happiness. We had provided this. We have achieved this, and we continue to do so". What makes such a dialectically constructed script interesting is that when we focus on concepts such as dirt and cleanness, we recognise that they are one of the deepest socially constructed concepts. As many (Hunter & Tomes, 1999; Nash, 2007) argued, social norms on cleanness are deeply socially constructed values in many societies, which even involves racial values such as whiteness and blackness. On the performative side, as Erdoğan performs right after this question and answer moment, when there was a peak of engagement with the audience, he defines the opposition party as dirt and Ak Party as clean. By doing so, he reconstructs not only the meaning of cleanness and dirtiness but also the political parties as well. After all, on the audience side, there is now a possibility of a party being clean, and dirt can actually refer to a party.

He then addresses the icraats part on accomplishments and projects with an engaging script. For example, Erdoğan turns to the audience and asks them, "You know the famous Ramie barracks, right? Those who know raise a hand so I can see. Maşallah. We are establishing a library with seven million volumes of books … we are turning İstanbul into a house of culture and art … They are not doing anything. They are just insulting Tayyip Erdoğan." As most of the projects had videos, and we had covered them, I will not address them here not to be repetitive. However, I can highlight, as usual, the script of Erdoğan mentions the candidate with the second-highest supporters Mr Muharrem between lines. For example, Erdoğan says: "You're talking about corruption. Know your place, Mr Muharrem. He talks about corruption. Know your place … How did we do these projects then?" or during the videos, for example, he says, "The history will not forgive you".

One of the exciting parts of this performance was, as most of his scripts ends with accomplishments or future projects with a positive feeling, this script ends with negative values. Erdoğan ends with the following; "This nation knows the CeHaPe mentality very well. Yesterday they were supporting Junta members … he (Mr Muharrem) visited the Edirne Prison … to the guy who was supported by a terrorist organisation … I am now asking my nation, are you going to give the answer to the guy who visited the guy who was supported by the terrorist organisation in the election of July 24th? … They killed 15-year-old Yasin Börü while buying sacrificial meat … CeHaPe is Poverty … Remember those days … oil queues." During this research, I had addressed the one-of-a-kind theatre of the Grand Guignol, the theatre of fear, and what it revealed that unlike bourgeois theatres with happy and positive endings, there is a possibility for an alternative end of a live performance with negative values (Gordon, 1988). The performance ends with negative feelings, and by doing so, leave the audience feel disturbed with those negative emotions.

Moreover, Grand Guignol theatre proved that logical explanations and science could be used and manipulated into a reason to make the audience feel disturbed (Gordon, 1988). In this sense, a week before the election, Erdoğan ended his speech with disturbing 'facts'. This was unusual for the scripts he usually performed, but addressing this many people and leaving them with disturbing feeling, had a possible positive affect for the short run as we see that the disturbing feelings, especially with

relation to feeling safe and secure, always affects the audience to hold on to the actors in charge at least on the first site and dramatically decrease afterwards (Asser, 2008). On this detail, Erdoğan ended with negative values on one of the last performances he made six days before the election of 2018.

After Erdoğan gives his speech, he then starts the end scene with the Rabia ritual. “That’s why, again, do we give the answer they deserve to these fake hypocrites (takiyeciler) a week later? Do we say it’s time for unity again? Do we say it’s time to be alive? Do we say it’s time for İstanbul? Do we say it’s time for Turkey? So, let’s all turn to our Rabia together. Are you ready? Louder!” And then the above-mentioned Rabia ritual begins.




The following scripts were from the iftar meeting with retirees. Even though this was not a speech for great numbers of audience, he follows a similar structure. There were prompters, and we could see, unlike the speech in the dormitory, this was on script. He started by greeting the audience on behalf of himself and his nation. He said that he was delighted to be together with them, his retired sisters/brothers, who had spent their lives serving our country and our nation by working hard to bring halal food to their families. The script goes from one layer to another, building on three things as this speech was a short one. First is what they did for the retirees. The second is the “old Turkey”, and the third is what Erdoğan asks from the retirees.

After Erdoğan greets the audience with flattering words, the script goes into informing part on who the audience think who they are. “You are our brothers/sisters who have not retired from life, but just retired from your job where you gave your years … Retirement is just a stop on this long journey. After you retire from your job, a new era begins … With retirement, each of you has the time to do whatever your heart desires, from dealing with literature, engaging with soil, civil society activities and politics. That is why I see retirement not as an end but as a new beginning. I know that you have more to do for yourself, your family, and your country. You, the hidden

power of our country, will be needed for your contributions both in social life and in politics." He was making his way for his demands from the audience, which he wanted retirees to tell the 'old Turkey' to the young people, and he reminds this in his speech multiple times.

The script then addresses what they have done over the years, from pensions to holiday bonuses. He then gives some news about the people who were waiting for the retirement queue even though they were completed their requirements, making them retire immediately and they would get their first-holiday bonus with Ramadan. After this announcement, he says: "We are determined to implement more, that's why we call for a strong parliament, that's why we call for a strong government, that's why we call for a strong Turkey.

"Together with our retirees, we will make this struggle successful by saying, İnşallah (I hope) it's time for unity", one finger was up at that moment, but the rest was unexpected for the audience. It was unusual for a script to follow the "it's time for unity" just by following with "it's time for Turkey." As the standard phrase goes for "aliveness", the scriptwriter thought this would be inappropriate for the speech for the retirees. It was the right choice, but what is central is that both the actors and the audience were waiting for the rest as it became a signature script for the election and was heard on various occasions. This was clear to the audience that the script did not call for aliveness. In this sense, we comprehend that even the slogans of the election campaigns could change with the audience, and this change in scripts could be recognised by the audience as they were also the audience of other performances.

The script then addresses once again the 'old Turkey' with the oil queues and addresses report cards that merged with personal stories like Erdoğan's father used stamps back in days. Then the script once again addresses what Erdoğan wants and ends with what he gives. He once again adds, "Today's youth do not know these … Today, we must tell them … my request from you is to tell the young people about the old Turkey. We couldn't get the books … Hopefully, this generation will be our creation. Remind them … Every now and then, it is useful to remind our young people of the old Turkey. You will do this too … you will now get a pension every month rather than every three

months." And he adds the above-mentioned bonuses and makes the people who were waiting to be retired become one before the election.

When we focused on the gathering in the dormitory with the students, we immediately recognised that there were neither stage nor prompters. Not having any prompters meant that there was no script to be read. However, this does not mean there were no scripts. As we had seen, in this performance, Erdoğan recalls the previous performances on stage. He recalls the script from his memory, including his structure. However, recalling scripts from memory where most of the scripts were available on prompters in any given performance also created a gap between the actual scripts and what he could recall. Thus because of this gap, he made mistakes. This is the reason why we could only watch the whole performance of the live broadcast from the Periscope database. He starts by greeting the audience as usual. He congratulates the holy month of Ramadan and wishes that Allah accept their worship and fasting. He told the audience how happy he was to be there with them on such an occasion. Erdoğan recognises the audience by declaring that they have an excellent dormitory for thousand four hundred and forty people and that the students were in a final's week. After this recognition, as usual, he addresses the audience future. He tells the audience that they would walk into a bright future by completing a successful life as a student. He wishes luck to students for their future.

Then he starts talking about their projects, achievements and what they did since they came to power. The first one was not usual. He underlined that they had changed the compulsory age for being a member of the parliament to eighteen. "The difficult thing is to choose, not to be chosen," he says and moves on to the part where he addresses opposition, saying that these 'people' were saying they were going to fill the parliament with children. "But they do not know that the conquest of İstanbul was made at the age of twenty-one." Typically, after this first address to the opposition, the script structure goes back and forth between projects and opposition, but before this happens, he takes this question of age further and makes a mistake.

Erdoğan says that the age to be elected in the West is eighteen, and he adds, "the age of this immoral prime minister of Austria, who is trouble for us right now, is actually 30 years old. He was 28 years old when he was a foreign minister. He was very spoiled

and got above himself. And he became pretentious against Turkey. We have 200-250 thousand citizens there … but as Turkey gets stronger, they get mad. We are a G20 country … they could not enter there". This was a mistake since as he was promoting the age of office down to eighteen, he then addresses this "immoral" prime minister's age not more than thirty, and he was just twenty-eight when he was a foreign minister as if the age was the problem. As he was promoting eighteen as a good age for office, he actually gave the message that even thirty is way too young. These mistakes happen when actors go off-script but important to recognise since it allows us to see the significance of the elements of performative politics in the contemporary world. In this sense, Erdoğan as a character on stage cannot be without those elements. Such a mistake is one of the reasons why it is not possible to reach the whole live broadcast except the original broadcast on the Periscope database. There was no address to age in any version of the performance that was shared online. This shows that, as mentioned previously, Erdoğan as an actor can not be Erdoğan without having these elements of performative politics.

After this age part, he turns back to projects. As I have mentioned, he recalls the scripts and addresses the question on the IMF, Tesla's visit and all the above-mentioned topics that appear in the different scripts. The descriptions on his performance were almost identical as they recalled from a script. He concludes his performance by addressing the audience. He said he expected great dynamism from them, from young people. "The future is ours", he says and adds: "With this young population, we will turn this to our advantage with this dynamic population. İnşallah (hopefully) we will conclude with success in 2023 and before that on June 24th." And then Erdoğan says that he will not see 2053 and 2073, which are entrusted to them. He wishes clarity and prays Allah for students' clarity of mind. After Erdoğan's performance, an audience takes the floor, which I will address in the following chapter. During/after a guy from the audience talks, Erdoğan immediately thanks the audience, and the video ends instantaneously.

4.4.3. The Second Axis: Affects of Performance

4.4.3.1. The Audience and Resistance to Performance

As in most of the rallies, there are always hundreds of thousands of people as the audience. The İzmir rally, Kudüs gathering and İstanbul rally were crowded. The İstanbul rally, which was six days before the election, was with the largest audience ever in a live performance in Turkey's history. The iftar and sahur were for small groups of people watching as live audience but reached many through broadcasts. The dynamics of the audience changes with the performance time and space. For example, when Erdoğan performed in a dormitory dining hall, the audience was young, and the people who watched the broadcast online were more involved with technology. As we can see throughout the video of that performance, everyone was trying to get selfies to share their moment with the President online and capture that moment.

Although the audience change, we can still see a variety of resistance to performance at different levels. For example, the weather or the length of the performance affects audience engagement with the performance. As mentioned previously, such resistance could be passive, like not listening or smoking in a performance that actors want to engage deeply, or could be active like shouting slogans that could affect the actor on the stage. In this sense, performative labour clearly plays a significant role. The more the labour is, the more performance becomes what is intended. This clearly reveals from the fact that three-day notice performance of Kudüs meeting. This was the performance that had the highest moments of mistakes and resistance.

As mentioned previously, one of the areas of study of performative politics is the affect on the audience and what the audience feel and think, especially considering the fact that such performances reach expanded with technology. However, this is a topic for another research. In other words, the search on the audience, which is the other side of the coin, needs further research on comprehending the power of performative politics from the audience angle. Following this base, I will primarily focus on the audience reaction during a performance and further analyses on the above-mentioned moments, starting with İzmir rally.

In İzmir, we could see that the weather was not perfect for a performance as it was around 25 degrees and there were clouds which made it even hotter. This is why it was a shorter performance, around fifty minutes, including Tatlıses's singing. Even Erdoğan declared this during his speech. We see that everyone was wearing hats, and the audience was not pleased with the condition.

Although there was no apparent resistance from the audience, the second actor that Erdoğan shared the stage for the first time was a possible moment of liminality. As Tatlıses unexpectedly told a story, which was clearly against Erdoğan's will, he could have said anything. As mentioned previously, the story he told was off-topic and could cause many questions in any other country. Moreover, although Erdoğan knew Tatlıses was loyal to him, still, he took a risk-sharing his stage with him.

In the Kudüs gathering, there were a good amount of people but not as much at the İstanbul rally a month later in the same square. This was mainly because there was only three days' notice before this performance. As soon as the U.S. took action in Jerusalem, Erdoğan called for a meeting of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (Demirci, 2018), and this performance was set in motion for the day this meeting was held, which was only within three days. Thus, it was expected to have multiple moments of resistance to what was performed.

The first moment in this performance, which is a questionable example for this research since I do not have any confirmation on the audience feeling but still noticeable, was the Qur'an recitation. As most of the audience in contemporary performative politics form with enthusiasm and ready to consume the performance, the Qur'an recitation by its nature a slow and more like an aesthetically relaxing and engaging with different kinds of emotions. As an audience, I could say that, generally, Qur'an recitations are on closed doors or in public spaces like mosques, and it is more to think, relax and even address existential crises. It is much harder to engage in such a ritual under the sun, where the temperature is high. Moreover, as this was not very common to perform on stage, it is not far-fetched to argue that the audience was not expecting this ritual. In other words, the audience repertoire of an actor performing on stage does not cover such ritual. However, what makes such a point questionable is that last decade or so, the AKP government allowed and encouraged the Qur'an

recitation to be in other public spaces, in opening ceremonies and within other rituals such as weddings. In this sense, I would not know whether this became a part of other rituals like opening ceremonies, or these rituals happen because of contemporary power relations. Therefore, I cannot clearly say that such a performance failed to engage with the audience the way it was imagined, but there were some indicators from the audience's face.

The second moment was caused by the translation problem. As the meeting was performed in multiple languages, when the Prime Minister of Palestine Rami Hamdallah performed on stage, there was no translation in the beginning for a couple of minutes. We could hear from the speakers that someone was asking where the translator was and why he was not on the stage. During that moment, we could see Hamdallah was waiting for a reaction from the audience where he was performing his opening scene. The translator comes to the stage hardly breading. He has Hamdallah's speech in Turkish in a paper, and the first try to interrupt the PM fails and then he starts the second try with a louder voice. He interrupts Hamdallah's speech and starts to read, and this is important; he reads from the script.

The language barrier undoubtedly affects the relationship between the audience and the actor not simply because the translation comes from the back but as clear in this situation, even the PM performing, the audience was only hearing from the translator, taking him as a leading actor of the performance. The whole facial expression and the way PM performed was not reaching the audience. Moreover, during the speech, there was a constant back and forth between the translator and Prime Minister, and neither knew where to start and where to end. This created a chaotic scene where they were not in sync and interrupted each other's words. Sometimes they even spoke simultaneously, and the translator's microphone echoed the voice. This was a precise moment where what has imagined was not reaching towards the audience's world. We could see this from the Hamdallah's face and the unanticipated reactions from the audience, like screaming out of context when Hamdallah was mentioning Erdoğan's name.

Another setback during this performance was the problem of attention for two key reasons; weather and fasting. During the election of 2018, this was a general problem

for all performances. The weather was getting warmer each day, and people were fasting. This meant that they were not eating and drinking anything for around fifteen hours, and the audience was almost always standing under the sun. This affected both the audience and the actors and led to shorter performances in line with a shorter attention span.

This performance, on the other hand, was way too long. The actual performance was around a hundred and forty minutes, but people had to be there quite early before the performance, listening to the music while searching for their spot. We have seen people taking action like opening umbrellas to protect themselves from the sun and possible dehydration until the leading actor Erdoğan takes the stage.





Considering this condition, it was almost inevitable to see resistance from the audience. After so many actors on stage, Kahraman was the next, and he was just before Erdoğan. Kahraman was introduced by the anchor with a poem, and the audience imagined that Erdoğan was coming to the stage as this was normally a signalling process. As mentioned previously, the speaker of the Grand National Assembly, Ismail Kahraman, was seventy-eight years old back then. His talking pace was very slow. He read from a piece of paper. The pitch was ordinary, and he was repeating what many said before him. While he was performing, the audience started to sing the Recep Tayyip Erdoğan melody. We could be able to see the shock on his face. His speech was interrupted multiple times, and at the end, the audience was cheering hard with the melody that the sound reached towards the video suppressing Kahraman. I am not sure he ended his speech because of this, or it was the end, but what was clear is that he kept interrupted because of the active resistance from the audience demanding Erdoğan instead of him. This was not surprising considering the above-mentioned facts but clearly was an excellent example of active resistance from the audience.



Right after Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's performance, the head of religious affairs takes the stage and starts praying in both Arabic and Turkish. This was the last scene of the performance, and we could see people either leaving or doing something else like talking with phones, not paying attention. Right after the prayer, the anchor takes the stage. He thanked the head of religious affairs and told the audience there was an iftar preparation for a hundred thousand people, which was less than the number of people there. He was signalling the audience that this was the end of the performance. He performs an ending scene with phrases like happy Ramadan, may Allah be with you, thank you for joining us, may your future be full of hope while music was playing in the background. As the iftar was for only a few people, the audience tried to leave as fast as they possibly could.

There was a synchronisation problem between the scenes. For example, we could recognise this by each performance that the script was addressing the same poems. This became further clear with this scene. As half of the audience leaves, the anchor takes back the microphone and says that the leaders were coming back to the stage to greet you once again. Destici, Bahçeli and even Erdoğan came back to the stage to give/throw red carnations to the audience, but half of the audience was already either left or leaving, and they did not come back. The ones on the front were not able to leave, and thus the front side was full, but as the camera shows the square in a glance, we could see the front was only there, and all those actors left with few audience.






In the İstanbul rally, a month later in the same square, there were much more people as the audience than the Kudüs gathering. Although Erdoğan had a similar framework, this performance was quite different in terms of the use of technology, as mentioned

previously. There were moments when the audience was not capturing what was intended, especially during the question and answer part.

The question and answer part is always a challenge for the scriptwriter because even though most of the question and answer parts lead to simple answers like yes or no, some are more complicated, leading the audience to confusion and making them give the wrong or a mixed answer. The actors would not want such a moment when there is no loud, clear and 'one' answer. For example, when Erdoğan asked whether there was any garbage in İstanbul before they came to power, the audience divided with their answers; some said no while others said yes. To suppress such a moment, Erdoğan always makes a move, says the answer, and by doing so, informs the audience. The questions almost always have a risk of getting the wrong answer. As mentioned previously, Erdoğan has built up a stronger question and answer method in the election of 2018. He has been trying this for the last couple of years before the election of 2018, but such moments always have a possibility to get the wrong answers, especially if the script was not written well, which we had seen in multiple performances over the years. For example, in the speaking at the 'rally' for the referendum for the presidency and an opening ceremony of Mersin City Hospital, a year before the presidential election, the script was so bad that Erdoğan had to laugh and blame the audience ("Mersinliler," 2017). Erdoğan addresses the audience that "those over 40 know very well the old Turkey, lack of resources" and asks the audience "yes or no to that system?". Erdoğan was waiting for no as an answer, but the audience said yes. And then ask a further question on whether they say yes or no to the current period? And audience said yes. While Erdoğan got his answer for the second question, he was not over with the first one, so he asked the first question again. Yes or no to the old system, and the audience once again answered yes. Erdoğan took a deep breath and laughed, "you are confused". They were confused, and this was clearly a mistake of the scriptwriter. As mentioned previously, the reason for such a question and answer is to make sure the audience would say the answer expected all together. The actors should not make them think yes or no but make them give the answer that has already been delivered to them like, yes? Right?

During the short performance of iftar, the only resistance from the audience that can be observed is the exhaustion of the members of the audience. The age of the audience

does not simply cause this, but as they had been fasting for hours and ate a good amount of food especially considering the food given by the presidency, their energy was way too low, and so was their enthusiasm to engage with Erdoğan's performance. Erdoğan spoke accordingly, which is why this performance had the shortest length out of all of Erdoğan's performances in 2018.



During the sahur with the students, Erdoğan performed within the audience. This was a different performance since there was neither a stage nor a script. As I have mentioned previously, his speech was based on recalling the previous script. The video was a couple of minutes long in every source that I could find online, including in the Presidency database, and was highly corrupted. However, after a couple of hours of research, I was able to reach the database of the discontinued app called Periscope, where the full live version was uploaded by the President's account. In the full video, I hear that someone was calling for not to forget the meal prayer by the student. They asked for this at least four times, which was clearly part of the flow. However, they had to skip the prayer since as soon as Erdoğan sees the microphone, he makes a move and starts to perform.

While Erdoğan was making his speech, the audience was not paying attention to his speech but primarily to his appearance. As mentioned before, this is because his physical appearance is much crucial for the audience since they wanted to capture the moment where they were this close to the President. This is not ideal for performative politics on two levels. First, the audience was not paying attention to what he was saying. His speech became irrelevant at that moment, if not meaningless. This is not surprising since capturing that moment could change their lives, as mentioned previously. The second and, even more importantly, the audience of this live broadcast envision a question on Erdoğan's influential power over the young people. In other words, his young audience within the dormitory not paying attention to him did affect his audience on the live broadcast.



There was another interesting moment in this performance. As soon as Erdoğan finishes his speech, a guy in the audience starts to shout. This was unexpected. The Chef of the dormitory started to shout out of nowhere. His voice was so high that he could interrupt Erdoğan's ending scene. He said, "Mr President! Five of our engineers built a tank in Konya, as a helicopter and as a tank, a great success for our country." Erdoğan immediately thanks and says Bon Appetit. The video shuts down immediately. The fragile nature of performative politics once again became visible at that very moment. Although this was not a consequential moment for Erdoğan, this clearly shows the fragile nature in which the engagement between the actor and the audience could go much worse. Moreover, the audience could resist his policies or what he has been performing. Although he did not do such resistance, still showing the audience that they could join the performance itself was a risk so that all the videos except the video on the periscope database corrupted, and this was one of the scenes that were deleted.




The Chef (the one with the moustache)

The audience's engagement with the actor is significantly more complex than it looks. The expansion of social media made it even harder for actors. As the actors must consider the live events, they also must consider both live broadcasts and their appearances on the recorded media, including but not limited to the news-bites and video-on-demand (VOD). Resistance towards the actor's message and his performance could be seen as passive and active and caused mainly by the design of the performance. It could be caused by the script or even by costumes. We could also see that the audience reaches towards the performance's world and try their voice to

be heard. These are the moments that show the fragility of performative politics, which we could see in many forms like shouting or even throwing a shoe (Asser, 2008). These are also the moments that manifestly shows the audiences' participatory nature of a performance. Although we had not seen any dramatic active or passive resistance to disrupt Erdoğan's performance on stage in the election of 2018, this does not mean that it will not happen. Live performances always have a fragile nature, and even with the radical 'security' measures for the audience taken, there is always a possibility of active or passive resistance to performative politics.

4.4.3.2. Reaching towards an Aura

A live performance's goal is to reach towards an aura, so actors emotionally engage with the audience, address the audience's imagination and reconstruct their repertoire, including their very identity. The actors' assurance and uniformity at that very moment, together with the power of the audience's imagination, make this formation in its purest form. The attempt to seek towards an aura makes performance as 'authentic' as possible. Reaching towards an aura is about the way actors perform to make the experience one of a time through, for example, poems, songs, flags, throwing red carnations, unique videos of projects merging with music.

As Rai (2014) rightfully underlines that the actors of performative politics are "deemed to be authentic"; otherwise, they lose their ability to influence their audience and reproduce the power dynamics in which they were favoured. As discussed in the theoretical framework, Benjamin's concept of the aura is used in this research since it refers to the one-timeness of the event in which the audience is engaged. I had concluded in the theoretical framework that as aura is in decline, the actors of performative politics appear on stage to make a performance one of a time. In this sense, what happens is that they attempt to reach towards an aura. The one-timeness is the driving motive for the conceptualisation of aura, the conceptualisation that concerns the incapability to reproduce based on one of a kind experience in a time and space. The replications are also a topic for performative politics framework as the performance wanted to reach and influence the significant amount of audience and aims the maximum influence and while tries to make it as one of a time experience, they still have to perform for the reproduction. Thus, performance not only happens to

influence the audience on a live stage but is also concerns with mass production, especially when we consider the one of a time live broadcasts. In other words, as there is also mass production with edited videos such as in news bites, there is also live broadcast that could reach masses through online tools and well count as one of a time. This was clear in the performance of Erdoğan in the dining hall of a dormitory. Erdoğan performed within the audience, and this performance created an aura among the dining hall, but it was also live broadcast, and the audience watched it live.

As I had already addressed many aspects of different examples from the election of 2018, including but not limited to the body, staging, auditory power, and voices, I have covered most of the attempts to reach towards an aura. This part will address general points as concluding notes on those moves.

During the election of 2018, Erdoğan had a classic template of his performances. In the opening scene, he greets the audience with compliments. These moments were an attempt to reach towards an aura. Although the template was strictly designed from opening scene to closing scene, the scope of the content changed with the audience he addressed for making the performance one of a time. In the opening scene, we see and hear that Erdoğan uses the dialects and symbols of that region. In this sense, he performs to make the performance as intimate as possible. His scripts are well designed to address the local norms including but not limited to spaces, soccer teams, folkloric dances, or local artists. He also flatters the audience with the second part of the greetings with higher values between past and future. He then addresses the opponent(s) and icraats (past and future projects) back and forth. He performs a few poems between lines, which is essential since the rest of the lines are more fixed. In other words, defaming and marginalising opponents and defining icraats have a fixed nature since neither opponent and his adjectives nor the projects change, and in between them, Erdoğan makes such moments one of a time through his performance of reading various poems or singing. Contrary, this fixed nature of the future projects was also addressed in the election of 2018 through performing and leading the first time shown videos as an external sound. This means that there was also an attempt to make icraats more one of a time experience of the audience since it was performed via animations and real-time videos, including in a time frame from past to present to future.

The closing scenes were also addressed to create such a moment full of signature moves like Rabia ritual, giving/throwing red carnations, anchor promoting Erdoğan and even loud beats and music. As mentioned, these acts also create such a moment special since they are, for an audience, one of a time experience. From the reproduced version of the performance through videos on demand, or live stream, none of the online audience captures the feeling it created at a live performance. As the audience cheer and sings together, being part of that very moment itself creates a moment. In this sense, a group acting as a crowd is in itself one of a time experience, and such moments that reach towards an aura were created through the above-mentioned moves in ending scenes.

Another critical aspect of reaching towards an aura and making one of time experience, as mentioned previously, happens through the stages. The stages were well-thought in Erdoğan's performance addressing the audience with relation to that specific context. In this sense, stages themselves were the signals of that performance. The backgrounds and the stage were making the performance's world into the physical space. In 2018, such backgrounds and stages were also supported by the videos showing the past, the present and the future. They correspondingly showed the live broadcast of the performance through drones and superzoom. These screens on the stages allowed various live affects, such as showing a mosque merging with the audience or micro zooming towards children in the audience. This staging also made the performance's world one of a time since both the stage was designed and created just for the event, and the visual effects, including showing the audience's banners on the screens, to address the mass audience were possible.

As mentioned previously, one of the most interesting moments was when Erdoğan, an actor of performative politics, performed as if he was performing in everyday life, eating food with a student in a dormitory dining hall. As this moment was one of a time, the audience online was highly interested in watching him, which made the live broadcast record of 2018 at three after midnight. He also gave the most intimate moments with the audience in this performance.



Auditor power was also used to reach towards an aura. There were a couple of moments where one of a timeness made its peak during the election of 2018 with relation to auditory power. One of them was Tatlıses took the stage and sang with the audience. As an actor who got shot in the face, Tatlıses's appearance on the stage was welcomed by the audience, and this was a surprise for them. Erdoğan himself was also making the events one of a time with poems he read and songs he sang. The anchor and the music were also part of the auditory power which gave enthusiasm to the crowds. Such enthusiasm combines with the performance and makes it even more special.

The live performance is much more than performing from a recording, especially in relation to the distance of the audience. As the audience appears as a crowd, they cheer, shout, and sing together. There are flags and original banners supporting local soccer teams or other nations flags. In this sense, the audience also makes the performance one of a time. I had underlined several times that our focus is not on the audience, but it is clear that the audience, like hooligan groups of a soccer team, themselves makes such a moment one of a time. The rallies in 2018 were also great in this sense. The audience were ready to buy, and both the actor and anchor knew how to engage with the audience and make them enthusiastic about performing audience.



Erdoğan clearly spent a lot of time addressing his audience. He performed so many times over the years. He was ready to perform an Erdoğan on stage in 2018. In other words, before the election of 2018, he was already embraced his character, which necessitates outstanding psychological capacity in recalling emotions and physical actions. When we accept that he was successful in performing Erdoğan, then the scripts, staging, auditory power, and other aspects become even further important. In

this sense, for example, if a script was addressing a facial expression such as anger, Erdoğan performed that expression well. We can see his success in performing throughout the scripts that demanded a constant change of emotions, which provides us information on Erdoğan's successfully recalling different emotions in a short period of time. Another example, as mentioned previously, is the calmness of Erdoğan while performing an Erdoğan, which needs a great amount of practice. In other words, Erdoğan was very calm in his performances which shows ability and power on representing the character.

In this sense, as I have addressed in the theoretical framework, what makes actors attempt to reach towards an aura is the emotional engaging performance through different methods. In line with Stanislavski's method, Erdoğan engages and performs the character and rather than addressing the audience as if they are at a performance to question their everyday life, he engages with the audience through emotions. This kind of performing creates that performance special, which audience have a one of a time emotionally engaging experience. As the contemporary world creates a mass audience in which there to engage emotionally, Erdoğan has been using this in his favour. The 2018 election was not different. He addressed from the performance's world with flattering emotions, perfectly performing emotional poems, and even singing to and with the audience's world. In this sense, the live performance of Erdoğan also means seeing Erdoğan perform, including songs and poems, live on stage, which makes the experience one of a time. During 2018, we have seen Erdoğan give the audience a voice more than ever through the method of question and answer. We have even seen a call and response singing. As mentioned previously, this election was strongly based on consolidating votes rather than addressing new voters, which we can clearly understand from his structure and the way of addressing the audience.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This research was triggered by a general concern that arose in one of the courses I took in 2015; even though political scientists often research the performative nature of the social movements, the actors of performative politics are often neglected in the analysis. This concern led me to question the dramaturgical aspects of the AKP and, more specifically, Erdoğan on his performative impact on the audience. Erdoğan was a great example because even the discourses changed dramatically over the years, there was still a strong loyalty to his character on stage. In this sense, I started to wonder how. As I have searched more and more, I realised that Erdoğan has been very keen to use every possible means to engage with his audience, which was in the perfect era where these means became boosted with technological enhancements. This further increased my concerns about performative politics in the contemporary world.

As I started this project, I found myself struggling to define what performative politics signifies. To answer that question, first I had to address the repertoire of the AKP to search for an answer within the concepts and framework they used. It was clear that their controversial positions had to be reconstructed within the repertoire which formed via performative politics. After focusing on their concepts, I addressed what performance means for this research to have a common understanding between you as the audience of this research and me. Arendt's conceptualisation of mass society and mass culture was highly useful. I also addressed Tarde's Acter-Network theory and his concepts, such as imitation. I then addressed Goffman, who described everyday performance well. Although they have been criticised, if their concepts are addressed in their own ontological state, they are greatly useful in imagining performance, especially concerning being heard and performing through interacting with others in

everyday life. Moving beyond these concepts, I have addressed Butler's conceptualisation of performativity.

As Butler rightfully underlines, all identities work in a performative way and are driven by the norms that we internalised. In this sense, performances are acts (including repetition of acts) that we perform. These norms that we internalised are heavily relying on the network of actors performing in certain ways. In such a sense, the repertoire is the knowledge of how to perform in that 'certain ways'. As the actors perform in everyday life, repertoire also has power over the actor's way of performing. As mentioned, certain actors have the means to affect the audience, and they can affectively change the repertoire. In this sense, I had to address the concept of hegemony. Hegemony should not be understood as a dialectical concept between consent and coercion but instead, struggle to gain consent and reconstruct the repertoire through various stages by actors of performative politics. As the actors of performative politics appear on stage, they often perform to reconstruct the repertoire for their imagined project, so the way actors perform in everyday life changes. In other words, actors of performative politics know and learn the ways of performing on stage and perform to affect the actors of everyday performance. To answer the question on how, there was a need to conduct research on theatrical studies. This would later help me question and improve the framework that I had focused on.

In this respect, I addressed actors of theatre and actors of performative politics. This part was not comparatively designed as this research focused on the relation between the actors on stage and their ways of engaging with the audience. This means that although one literally gets paid to perform, still, the question is about mastering on how to engage with the audience. I addressed different methods of acting, including Stanislavski's method, which I found well suited for this project. I compared Stanislavski's method with different methods. I specifically emphasised and compared Stanislavski's method to Brecht's epic style. The main premises of these two different schools of thought are as the former focuses on engaging with the audience through most poetic ways to 'cast a spell', the latter aims to trigger the audience to question the reality they live in. I was very sceptical about Stanislavski's position at the very beginning of the research, but I ended up supporting his way of performing for a perfect reason.

As I was suspicious that these debates should not be for the first time in history, I made a great amount of research and then decided to focus on the debate between Benjamin and Adorno. One of the most surprising points for me on this research was that Brecht, whom I have researched for comparing with Stanislavski, was a key figure on Adorno's critiques on Benjamin. This was because Brecht and Benjamin were very good friends, and with Brecht's influence on Benjamin's thoughts, Benjamin believed that such power of mechanical reproduction could be used to trigger the audience. I admired Benjamin's and Brecht's devotion to praxis, but there were a few issues. First, mass society is not the cause of the mechanical reproduction. Even though it has power over the audience, this could only occur simultaneously with the mass formation of the society in the contemporary world. This means the affect of triggering the audience would be very limited. The second is that the mass society is at a performance to consume the dramaturgical aspects of the performance as they are ready to engage and emotionally driven. In other words, the audience expectation in the contemporary world is to engage with the performance. Thus, I circled back to Stanislavski, as he explains dramaturgical ways of engaging with the audience. This was important since it plays an ontological state for critically analysing the framework on how to conduct a research on performative politics.

Although performative politics can be observed in various forms, from democratic countries to the most authoritarian regimes in the contemporary world to implement different projects, it is clear that the Stanislavskian methods of acting are the most engaging one. As mentioned, performative politics itself is problematic because it has so much power over the repertoire; it suppresses and dissolves different ways of acting in everyday life. This means, regardless of the project, performative politics has a destructive (and simultaneously constructive) power over the various repertoires in the contemporary world. However, this does not mean we can reject, ignore, or dismiss its existence.

The more disturbing fact is that the engaging methods are so influential that Brecht's epic style of triggering the audience to rationally question the reality that the audience lives in, for example, is not as affective. This is because the audience has a tendency to engage with emotional interaction rather than be triggered by rational thought in the contemporary world. As mentioned, the audience treats the stage as a glory place as if

the performance is ‘more real’ than everyday life, and this is why it is essential to ensure a performance captures the best part of the realness and appears real to the audience’s world. As mentioned, the epic style defines and represents the past, while the dramatic style offers the present emotions. The Stanislavskian way of acting addresses the audience to make them feel that they belong and are part of the act. This tells us a lot about both the audience and the actors, who intentionally perform to cast a spell on the audience. The emotionally engaging way of doing politics is clearly the strongest path to convince the audience in the contemporary world because the audience, as a mass society, is there to consume the dramaturgical aspects and not to question the reality they live in caused mainly by contemporary capitalism, including but not limited to alienated nature of the audience.

However, we should not confuse that even though this pattern of engaging and emotionally driven nature of the audience changes, this does not mean that performative politics, which is at the core of convincing an audience, disappears. In other words, even the method of engaging with the audience changes, performative politics is here to stay because the enhanced technologies and these new means to engage, like gathering millions of people and showing them animations that look real, now exist.

From the very beginning, I have accepted the role of performances on subjectification on the audience, whether affected by everyday performance or performative politics. In other words, actors as a being are part of the subjectification process of the others. However, some actors have much more power to influence with the means at their disposal in the contemporary world. Although I have been addressing performative politics unfavourably, I concluded that neither these means nor the mass nature of the audience caused by bourgeois economy, including the alienated nature of the audience, will disappear soon enough. As Scannell (2003) describes Benjamin’s position as ‘he was holding to something else’, in this research I was also holding to that ‘something else’, which was the possibility of performative politics that could put forward as Mouffe (2018) rightfully pointed out in the For a Left Populism.

Keeping this in mind, I thoroughly searched for different ways to operationalise such conduct on understanding how. I used Strauss and O’Brien’s conceptualisation on

different modes of performances to separate between them, such as the difference between trails and micro performances. In this part, I pointed out that this research was explicitly designed to address the micro performances. As many suggested (Finlayson, 2021; Heath-Kelly, 2021; Rua Wall, 2021), Rai's framework was one of the best frameworks for analysing micro performances. Rather than simply using the framework, I critically approached and reconstructed the framework. To do so, I (re)addressed the theatrical studies to search more on dramaturgical aspects of an actor performing on stage. I concluded that the first axis of Rai needed to address scripts separately and should address the question of performative capital, including signature moves. One of the elements in the second axis also needed to be reconstructed in order to demystify the last remaining residue of mysticism on Rai's framework. This refers to the conceptualisation of authenticity. I found 'reaching towards an aura' with relation to one of a time experience more analytical rather than the concept of authenticity. In other words, as many suggested, authenticity is a highly debatable mystical concept, but reaching towards an aura grips the situation better and is much more analytical. I also found Rai's framework 'beyond time and space'. Even though a performative research inevitably includes spatiotemporal features, I argued that this needed to be in a different axis with three intersecting elements; audience's world, actor's world, and performance's world. I have used these concepts and reconstructed these terms since what is happening in these (not) separate worlds in their spatiotemporal features are essential, especially the third element. The third element is more distinct because it also involves how one can imagine a performance's world with the means available. Thus, I have reconstructed Rai's Political Performance Framework to Performative Politics Framework (PPF) so that we would have a better grasp on understanding performative politics in the contemporary world. The elements in the PPF allow us to demystify and analytically comprehend a performance. The dramaturgical ways on engaging with the audience are at the core of such a framework, which is driven by the research on theatrical studies. I used the PPF to analyse the case of the AKP during the election of 2018. This allowed us, as for me and the audience of this research, to analytically understand what was being done to engage with the audience, which led to success in reconstructing a repertoire. I will address the broader relevance in the following part.

Despite all the efforts to mystify Erdoğan and to romanticize his performances, even as academic research (e.g., Öksüz, 2018), I have shown that there was no supernatural source, mystical affects, or spiritual power of Erdoğan or any other actors of performative politics, but rather good old labour on learning how to engage with an audience, how to affect them, and how to act on stage, and surely owning the means necessary.

5.1. The Thesis

In this respect, the overall thesis has been that we can comprehend the power of the AKP better with performative politics using PPF, which led to a broader quest on how we should conceptualise performative politics, how the actors are using performative politics, and how to conduct analytical research on performative politics in the contemporary world. To do so, I have addressed the abovementioned aspects and used the reconstructed framework to analyse the case study. Thus, this is the analysis of the AKP through the performative politics framework: the case of 2018 elections.

5.2. Broader Relevance of the Project

There are a couple of contributions of this project. The idealist academic goal of this research was both to improve the framework on comprehending performative politics, especially in relation to theatrical studies, and with the reconstructed framework, to better understand the influential power of Erdoğan and the AKP. This project offers an alternative approach to comprehending actors of performative politics in the contemporary world. Thus, the contributions of this project are having a better grasp on understanding performative nature of the contemporary world, having a reconstructed analytical tool to comprehend performative politics, understanding the AKP with performative politics framework, and possibly triggering the audience of this research on using performative politics as an engaging tool in the contemporary world through understanding how.

The first contribution allows us to easily comprehend performative politics in the contemporary world. I have defined the difference between everyday performance and performative politics through a series of research on various academics mentioned above, who are concerned with the relation between audience and actor. The second

contribution is that I have critically analysed the politics of performance framework and reconstructed it with the followings. The first axis had four intersecting elements; the body in/on view, staging representation, auditory power of words/scripts/speech/voice and performative labour. I added the scripts as part of the first axis on mapping individual performance. The second axis is about the political affects of a performance. This includes authenticity, which I have addressed as an attempt to reach towards an aura, mode of representation, a moment of liminality, and resistance to claim-making. I have also added the third axis for locating performance in time and space, which includes three intersecting elements: actor's world, audience's world and creating performance's world. I argue that not only conducting a different research on Erdoğan or any other actor in Turkish politics but also for other actors in different contexts with performative politics framework would be very useful on understanding performative politics in the contemporary world.

The third contribution is that I have used this framework to address Erdoğan and the AKP. Although there are various researches on the AKP and Erdoğan, researches on dramaturgical aspects that Erdoğan used to engage with the audience are highly limited. I addressed the reasons for such limitation in various chapters but to highlight few; such a recording and sharing technology to observe and analyse a performance is relatively new, academics often hesitate to research on the dramaturgical aspects of a performance, and the performative politics became much and much relevant last decade or so. However, such research on the relationship between an actor and audience reveals the mysticism on the power of influencing the audience, which is a reconstruction in the repertoire to have a broader success on a hegemonic project to be performed in everyday life and directly affects the audience behaviour, including but not limited to the voting in the ballot box. In this sense, it is essential to comprehend the AKP and Erdoğan with performative politics framework, and political scientists interested in Turkish politics should be encouraged to do so.

Finally, such projects always have a goal to affect the audience of the research to imagine on how alternative projects could be implemented. My question on how always had a partially hidden but visible agenda. Although I have not directly addressed the question on what to do with comprehending performative politics other than demystifying and understanding it through conducting research on it, knowing

how also allows certain actors to act in a way in which alternative projects could be implemented. This is why despite heavy criticism towards Brecht and Benjamin, I have found their devotion for praxis admirable. However, as Adorno rightfully puts it, they were naïve to think that triggering some audience would lead the audience to face and resist the reality they live in. Thus, I have concluded that Stanislavski's methods on how to engage and affect the audience have a more significant impact on the framework that we live in. This is undoubtedly in line with Mouffe's vision on the For a Left Populism (2018). The difference is that I have addressed a broader concept on dramaturgical ways of engaging with the audience as performative politics and preoccupied with the question how. In this sense, I believe that certain relationships could only be dispersed and alternative projects could only be implemented with performative politics in which emotional engaging methods are used in the contemporary world and I am fairly confident that this research will have an impact on actors who have the means to engage.

5.3. Avenues for Further Research

For further research, I will address three different areas of study. The first is about the certain things left behind. This research was an exciting project, but such excitement simultaneously created an exhausting journey. I have pushed limits, but still, specific concepts, aspects and elements had to be left behind, which I find helpful in defining avenues for further research. One of the things was my quest for researching emotions, especially with relation to fear. Understanding emotions could improve addressing dramaturgical aspects. Even though one can observe changing emotional patterns within a society like a pattern of humour, yet, emotions are complex mechanisms. Some people, for example, enjoy and even pay to feel fear, whereas others cry when they are happy. Research on these complex mechanisms in relation to performative politics has great potential but has to be a research on its own. Another part that had to be left behind was about different modes of performative politics. As mentioned, this project was solely built upon micro performances, but political rituals such as trials and theatres such as voting procedures with the semi-open outcome also have great potential for further research. The last part I had to leave behind was a comparative analysis of different approaches to understanding the AKP. The comparison between different approaches was left behind because reconstructing the framework and using

the framework to address one election as a case study took long enough for a project. Moreover, even though I have addressed a thirty-five-page long comparison, it made the chapter unbearably complex, which led me to delete and make a compact chapter on defining a few core approaches. However, as mentioned previously, it is still important to compare different approaches with the performative politics farmework to further highlight the similarities, differences, and strengths between such framework and others, like a comparison between the performative politics framework and the institutional approach.

In addition to the cases, concepts, and the topics under comparative approaches that I had to leave behind, the second avenue for further research is about using the performative politics framework. Such a framework could be used to analyse actors of performative politics like Erdoğan in different elections or any other actor in the Turkish context and could also be used to conduct a different actor around the world. For example, research with performative politics framework on an actor like Volodymyr Zelenskyy during the election or during the war could be very intriguing. Such research would further allow us to create a discourse on understanding performative politics and demystify dramaturgical aspects of 'addressing people's heart' with 'star quality' performances which simultaneously decrease the power of the performative politics in everyday life and allow actors who have the means to engage for alternative projects to further comprehend the power that drives from engaging with an audience through understanding these methods.

Using such a framework to analyse different actors would also create a path for a comparative approach. It is once again important to note that the AKP embraces all aspects and different ways of engaging with the audience. Erdoğan and the AKP is an excellent case study since they continually reconstructed repertoires by emotionally engaging with the audience through every possible means. Even though the AKP and Erdoğan is a great case study due to their keenness to use new technologies and their devotion to performative politics, specifically engaging with the audience through emotional interaction, it is still important to note that the AKP and Erdoğan is one of the many examples. This means that comparison with the performative politics framework might also reflect the difference and similarities with other cases. Moreover, such comparison will allow us to see whether Erdoğan himself differ from

other actors of performative politics who engage with the audience with emotionally engaging methods. In other words, even though the AKP used every possible means to affect the audience by emotionally engaging with them, yet, a comparison would be a meaningful research on whether they have unique features or not. In this sense, Erdoğan is an excellent example of an influential actor of performative politics but whether he put something unique is another quest not yet addressed.

The third and the last avenue for further research is about the performative politics framework. Even though Rai's pioneer work on how to comprehend a performance is well designed, there is always a space for improvement on such frameworks. I reconstructed Rai's framework and added the abovementioned elements including dramaturgical aspects of performative politics. However, I must add that these elements that we are searching for in a performance are a reflection of the spatiotemporal aspects of the contemporary. This means that as I used Stanislavskian engaging methods as a baseline for comprehending a performance better because of the mass formation of the society, I firmly believe this does not have to be so in the future. In this sense, I needed to point out that such formation of society is ever in flux, and therefore this framework needs a transformation in time. Moreover, as this was a cross-fertilisation between different disciplines, I have good faith that academics who study theatrical studies could add different dramaturgical elements to improve how we can better comprehend a performance of an actor of performative politics. This means that there is a possibility for further research for the performative politics framework in the contemporary world and this is a must for the future.

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APPENDICES

A. SONGS

1.The original version of Highlands:

Ay akşamdan ışığıdır	The moon is light at the evening
Yaylalar yaylalar	Highlands highlands
Yaylalar yaylalar	Highlands highlands
Yüküm şimşir kaşıktır	My burden is a boxwood spoon
Dilo dilo yaylalar	Dilo dilo highlands
Yüküm şimşir kaşıktır	My burden is a boxwood spoon
Dilo dilo yaylalar	Dilo dilo highlands
Komşu kızını zapteyle	Restrain the neighbor daughter
Yaylalar yaylalar	Highlands highlands
Yaylalar Yaylalar	Highlands highlands
Bizim oğlan aşıktır	Our boy is in love
Dilo dilo yaylalar	Dilo dilo highlands
Bizim oğlan aşıktır	Our boy is in love
Dilo dilo yaylalar	Dilo dilo highlands

2.The reconstructed version of Highlands:

Ay akşamdan aş da gel	Come over in the evening
Yaylalar yaylalar	Highlands highlands
Yaylalar Yaylalar	Highlands highlands
Münbiçi dolaş da gel	Come around Münbiç
Dilo dilo yaylalar	Dilo dilo Highlands
Münbiçi dolaş da gel	Come around Münbiç
Dilo dilo yaylalar	Dilo dilo Highlands
Baktın Münbiç hoş değil	You see, Münbiç is not nice
Yaylalar yaylalar	Highlands highlands
Yaylalar yaylalar	Highlands highlands
Afrini dolaş da gel.	Come around Afrin.
Dilo dilo yaylalar	Dilo Dilo Highlands
Afrini dolaş da gel.	Come around Afrin.
Dilo dilo yaylalar	Dilo Dilo Highlands

B. POEMS

1. Poem from the Kudüs gathering

Mescid-i Aksa'yı gördüm düşümde,
Bir çocuk gibiydi ve ağlıyordu.
Varıp eşiğine alnımı koydum.
Sanki bir yer altı nehir çağlıyordu.
Gözlerim yollarda bekler dururum.
Nerde kardeşlerim diyordu bir ses.
İlk Kıblesi benim ulu Nebi'nin.
Unuttu mu bunu acaba herkes?

I dreamed of Masjid al-Aqsa,
It was like a child and crying.
I arrived, put my forehead on its edge.
It was like an underground river was rushing.
I wait with my eyes on the roads.
Where are my brothers? A voice was saying.
I am the first Qibla of the great Nabi.
Has everyone forgotten that?

2. Stanza from the National Anthem Poem

Arkadaş! Yurduma alçakları uğratma sakın,
Siper et gövdeni, dursun bu hayâsızca akın.
Doğacaktır sana vadettiği günler Hakk'ın,
Kim bilir, belki yarın belki yarından da yakın.

My friend! Never ever let the dastards into my land!
Render your body as a shield; bring this heinous raid to an end.
For soon shall break the blissful days God promised, for sure;
Perhaps tomorrow, who knows, perhaps even sooner than that.

3. Another Poem from the poet of the National Anthem

'Yıllarca, asırlarca süren uykudan artık,
Silkin de: Muhîtindeki zulmetleri yak, yık!
Bir baksana: Gökler uyanık, yer uyanıktır;
Dünyâ uyanıkken uyumak maskaralıktır!
Eyvâh! Bu zilletlere sensin yine illet…
Ey derd-i cehâlet, sana düşmekle bu millet,
Bir hâle getirdin ki, ne din kaldı, ne nâmûs!
Ey sîne-i İslâm'a çöken kapkara kâbûs,
Ey hasm-ı hakîkî, seni öldürmeli evvel:
Sensin bize düşmanları üstün çıkaran el!

Now from years and centuries of sleep,
Wake up: Burn the oppression in your neighbourhood, destroy it!
Take a look: the heavens are awake; the earth is awake;
Sleeping while the world is awake is a charade!
Alas! Against these abominations, you are the disgrace…
Oh, woe of ignorance, this nation, by falling for you,
You have made it such that there is neither religion nor honour!
Oh, dark nightmare that has descended upon the creed of Islam,
Oh, the enemy of the truth, first must kill you:
You are the hand that makes the enemies superior to us!

C. SPEECHES

1. Part of his İzmir Speech

"What did he say to us? Do not go to Afrin. What are you (he) saying? There is cruelty there. There is constant harassment. Mr Kemal, don't waste your time. We did not and will not allow the slightest subdivision of these lands … I am now giving you the final figures. The number of those neutralised in Afrin reached 4305. The number of people neutralised in Northern Iraq 372, in Cudi, Gabar, … etc. is 281. Shall we leave Mr Kemal? Shall we continue? We will. We will. This nation has given us this task. We will not leave the blood of our Mehmed on the ground. Eeey İzmir, are we teaching these lazy people, these abusers, a lesson? Eeey İzmir, on June 24th, do we use our preference for service, for projects, for action?"

D. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Çiftcioğlu, Erdoğan

E-Mail:

Data and Place of Birth:

EDUCATION

Ph.D. Political Science and Public Administration *Middle East Technical University (METU)*
2017-2022

M.Sc. State, Society and Development *School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) University of London*
2015-2016

B.A. Sociology *State University of New York (Binghamton)*
2011-2014

B.A. Political Science *State University of New York (Binghamton)*
2011-2014

B.S. Global and International Affairs *Middle East Technical University (METU)*
2011-2014

B.S. Global and International Affairs *State University of New York (Binghamton)*
2011-2014

History (Minor) *State University of New York (Binghamton)*
2011-2014

ACADEMIC AWARDS

SOAS Distinction in Dissertation

ODTÜ *Honors List* Spring 2014

Binghamton University *Deans Honors List* Fall 2014

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Olba Grup Technology - *Chairperson* *Istanbul, Turkey*
2021-Present

Olba Grup Automotive Ind. & T. - *Chairperson* — *Istanbul, Turkey* 2021-Present

Skor Veri - *Chairperson* — *Istanbul, Turkey* 2019-Present

Koru Sigorta/Insurance - *Head of Strategic Develop. and Planning* — *Istanbul, Turkey* 2020- Present

Koru Sigorta/Insurance - *Financial Products Coordinator* — *Istanbul, Turkey* 2019-2020

Jardine Lloyd Thompson (JLT) - *Paid Intern* — *London, United Kingdom* 2016

State University of New York (SUNY) - *Temporary Position* — *Ankara, Turkey* 2015

"CIRI Human Rights Data Project" - *Undergraduate Assistant* — *New York, USA 2014*

EUROsimA - *Director General* — *Ankara, Turkey 2013-2014*

Binghamton Model United Nations - *Member* — *New York, USA 2013*

U.S. Democratic Party Campaign - *Member* — *New York, USA 2012*

METU Model United Nations - *Member* — *Ankara, Turkey 2011*

UNDP & Vodafone T. F. & Habitat Assoc.'s No one will be computer illiterate – *Informatics Ambassador* — *Mersin, Turkey 2010*

European Youth Parliament f. W. - *Member* — *Nizhny Novgorod, Russia 2009*

Mersin Toroslar Muni. Youth Parliament - *President* — *Mersin, Turkey 2008-2009*

National Youth Parliament - *Member* — *Ankara, Turkey 2008-2009*

Long Term Exchange Student — *Benoni, Gauteng, South Africa 2007-2008*

EXPERIENCES

- ***Language Skills –*** English (Proficient), Arabic (Beginner)

- ***Turkish Insurance Institute 37th Casualty Insurance Long Term Training Programme***
- ***IT Skills –*** Advanced use of Microsoft Packages (Word, Excel, Access, Outlook, PowerPoint)
- ***NGOs –*** METU Foreign Policy and International Relations Club, METU Model United Nations Club, Binghamton Model U.N., EUROsimA 2012-14.

OTHER EXPERIENCES

Mediterranean Games - *Attaché* *Mersin, Turkey*
2013

Long-Term Lived or Visited Countries

South Africa, United States of America, United Kingdom, Mozambique, Jordan, Russia, Czechia, Scotland, Belgium, Netherlands, Azerbaijan, Singapore, Indonesia, Seychelles Uzbekistan, Maldives.

OTHER SKILLS

- ***Piano –*** Advanced.
- ***Chess*** – Club-standard; awards in various tournaments.
- ***Sailing –*** Awards in various yacht races.
- ***Water polo –*** Binghamton University water polo team.
- ***Swimming –*** Freestyle, second-place award in Mersin races.
- ***Scuba Diving –*** PADI Open Water Diver Level 2.

TRANSLATIONS

Considine, M. (2020). Politika Söyleminin Analizi (Aksoy, C. & Çiftcioğlu, E, Trans.). In F. G. Gedikkaya and H. Altınok (Ed.), *Kamu Politikası Yapımı* (pp. 65-77). Pegem Akademi Yayıncılık. (Original work published 2005)

E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

AKP'NİN PERFORMATİF SİYASET ÇERÇEVESİ İLE ANALİZİ: 2018 SEÇİMLERİ ÖRNEĞİ

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan etkileyici bir liderdir. Böyle bir etkiye birçok şey katkıda bulunur. Erdoğan'ın neredeyse her zaman güçlü, net ve keskin bir mesajı vardır ve dinleyicileriyle konuşur, etkileşime girer; sadece mitinglerdeki insanlarla değil, aynı zamanda sosyal medya, canlı yayınlar ve haberler aracılığıyla bir seyirci kitlesine ulaşır. Aslında tüm bu performanslarının arkasında hatırı sayılır miktarda emek vardır. Ne yapacağını prova etmek için zaman ayırır. Sahnedeki en etkili aktörler gibi, herhangi bir aldatmaca olmaksızın samimi görünür. Performansları her zaman seyirciyle öfke ve korku arasındaki bir bağ ile umut ve refahın vaat edildiği ve kendisinin lider konumu aracılığıyla olumlu bir alternatifle etkileşime giren bir çerçeve üzerine inşa edilir. Zaman ve mekânın anlamını yeniden inşa eder ve yıldız kalitesindeki performansları işe yarar; Dinleyicileri bir etkileşim ağına, bir seyirci topluluğuna dönüşür ve bunun onun için anlamı, sadece bir kez değil, çok fazla kez sandıkta başarı olmuştur. Erdoğan'ın yıldız kalitesindeki performansıyla milyonlarca insanı tekrar tekrar heyecanlandıran ve etkileyen başarısı bize ne anlatıyor?

Seyirci davranışını birçok şey etkiler, ancak Erdoğan'ın ve diğer birçok aktörün performanslarının, performatif siyasetin seyirci davranışını oluşturmada önemli olduğu gerçeğinin altını çizdiği açıktır. Performatif siyasetin, siyasal analiz yapılırken sıklıkla ihmal edilmesinin nedeni, muhtemeldir ki, bilgi ve analiz eksikliği nedeniyle romantikleştirilmiş bir konu olarak görülmesidir. Erdoğan'ın seçimlerdeki başarısının Türkiye siyasetini araştıran birçok siyaset bilimciyi sık sık şaşırtmasının nedeni de budur (örn., "CHP'li Akade," 2015).

Bu araştırmanın temel hedefi, performatif siyaset merceğinden AKP aktörlerine farklı bir bakış açısı kazandırmaktır. Bu araştırmayı mümkün kılmak için, performatif

siyasetin potansiyel teorik çerçevelerinin, performatif siyasetin değişen doğasını da dikkate alarak, özellikle teknolojik gelişmelerle ilgili olarak kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenmesi ve tiyatro çalışmalarıyla zenginleştirilmesi gerekiyordu. Dolayısıyla bu araştırmanın amacı, hem performatif siyasetin -özellikle tiyatro çalışmaları ile- teorik çerçevesini geliştirmek, hem de AKP aktörlerinin etki gücünü performatif siyaset çerçevesi ile ele almak ve anlamak olmuştur. Sonuç olarak, bu çalışma, performatif siyasetin çerçevesini derinlemesine araştırmalarla geliştirmeyi ve AKP'yi anlamlandırma üzerine kurulan literatüre katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemiştir.

Performatif siyaset üzerine yapılan araştırmalar sadece bir performansın nihai sonuçlarına odaklanmaz; performatif siyasetin nasıl işlediğini ve performatif siyasetin gündelik performansı nasıl etkilediğini incelemeyi amaçlar. Konu olarak performansı oluşturan unsurları ele alarak çözmek, seyirci olarak üzerimizdeki romantik etkiyi de gün yüzüne çıkaracaktır. Bu projenin amacı olan Performatif Siyaset Çerçevesi ile AKP üzerine araştırmalar yapmak, aynı zamanda Performatif Siyaset Çerçevesini (PSÇ) de işlerken görmemizi sağlamıştır.

Gündelik performans, bir seyirci kitlesinin bulunduğu herhangi bir yerde gözlemlenebilirken, sadece birkaç aktör repertuvarı etkilemek ve dönüştürmek için gerekli araçlara sahiptir. Bu, performanslarla ilgili sorunlardan önemli bir tanesini açığa çıkartır; bazı performanslar daha görünürken, diğerleri değildir (Mouffe, 2007). Bu soruya gündelik performans ve performatif siyaseti birbirinden ayırarak değineceğim. Bu iki kavram, birbirleriyle kesişirken, ikincisinin aktörleri, etki gücünü çarpıcı bir şekilde değiştiren araçlara sahiptir. Performatif siyasetin gücü, anlamlandırmayı önemli ölçüde dönüştürebilen, kendi tanınırlığına sahip bir şekilde oluşur. Gerçekleştirdiğimiz (*taklit* ettiğimiz de dahil) gündelik performansın anlamlandırmayı dönüştürme gücü olsa da gündelik yaşamda sahip olduğumuz araçlar ve yöntemler duyulma yeteneğimizi ciddi anlamda sınırlandırmaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, performatif siyasetin aktörleri kitle toplumuna ulaşma ve başarılı olsun ya da olmasın, bir şekilde repertuvarı dönüştürme yeteneğine sahipken, gerçekleştirdiğimiz gündelik performans çok daha az emek ve etki gücüyle var olur ve sonuç olarak genellikle *taklittir* (Tarde, 1903). Bu nettir, çünkü performatif siyasetin aktörleri kitlelere ulaşmak için araçlara sahipken, bir kitleyi nasıl etkileyeceği üzerine saatlerce

çalışırken ve bunu işleri haline getirmişken, gündelik hayatta performans gösteren aktörlerin özünde ne böyle bir hedefleri vardır ne de araçları.

Bu araştırma, projenin çerçevesini hem AKP'yi anlamak için kullanılan hem de AKP'nin erken dönemde kullandığı bazı kavramları ele alarak başlamaktadır. Bunu yaparken, aynı zamanda AKP'nin erken dönemden itibaren performatif siyaseti kullandığının altını çizeceğim. Bunun en bariz sebebi konumlarının son derece çelişkili olmasıydı. Bu çerçeveyi ele aldıktan sonra, teorik çerçeve bölümünün özüne, yani performatif siyasetin ne olduğuna değineceğim. Bu bölüm esas olarak, performatif siyasetin bu araştırmada neyi ifade ettiğine dair cevaplar sağlamak için performatifliğin üzerine söylemlere dayanmaktadır. Böylece terimler hakkında ortak bir anlayış, bir repertuvar oluşmaktadır. İlk bölümde AKP'nin bir kısım 'repertuvarına', ardından da bu araştırmanın repertuvarına değindikten sonra, aktörlerin sahnedeki gücünün derinlemesine anlaşılmasını sağlamak için tiyatro çalışmalarını inceleyeceğim. Farklı aktörlük yöntemlerini, performansla ilgili tartışmaları, aura konusunu, duyguları tetiklemeyi veya duygularla etkileşime girmeyi ve sahnede aktörlüğün farklı dramaturjik yönlerini ele alacağım. Bu bölümde, öncelikle Stanislavski'nin temel olarak yöntemine odaklanacağım, çünkü seyirciler günümüz dünyasında rasyonel düşünce tarafından tetiklenmek yerine duygusal etkileşim eğilimindedirler. Bu kısım çok önemlidir; çünkü sahnedeki bir performansın nasıl anlaşılacağına dair konumlandırma, seyirciyle etkileşime girme yöntemleri ile birlikte, bir performansta ne aranacağına dair önemli ipuçları verir. Başka bir deyişle, bu bölüm sahnede performans sergilemenin unsurları olarak hangi elementleri ve neyi anlamlandırmamız gerektiği hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Yöntemi tam olarak kavramak için, Stanislavski'nin yöntemi ile Brecht'in epik tarzı arasındaki karşıtlığa değineceğim ve burada Adorno ile Brecht'in yakın arkadaşı olan Benjamin arasındaki tartışmaya da odaklanacağım.

Takip eden bölüm, Performatif Siyaset Çerçevesini (PSÇ) (yeniden) tanıtarak performatif siyasetin günümüz dünyasında nasıl anlaşılabileceği hakkında bilgi vereceğim metodolojidir. Bu bölüm Shirin Rai'nin (2014) Performans Politikaları Çerçevesini derinlemesine ele almaktadır. Birçok kişinin belirttiği üzere (Finlayson, 2021; Heath-Kelly, 2021; Rua Wall, 2021) Rai'nin çalışmaları, performans ve siyaset arasındaki ilişki üzerine yapılan araştırmaların öncülerindendir. Rai'nin Çerçevesini

yeniden inşa edecek ve yukarıda belirtilen araştırmalarla dönüştüreceğim. Bunun sonrasında AKP'nin hikayesine ve Erdoğan'ın ilk performanslarının dramaturjik yönlerine odaklanacağım. Bunlardan sonra ise örnek vaka çalışması olarak 2018 genel seçimlerini inceleyeceğim. Bu bölüm üç büyük performansı ve iki kısa performansı ele almaktadır. İlk performans, seçimden altmış altı gün önce İzmir'de yapılan 2018 seçimlerinin ilk mitingidir (İzmir'de, 2018). İkincisi ise İstanbul Yenikapı'da Kudüs için yapılan olağanüstü bir etkinliktir. Bu, başrol aktörünün Erdoğan olduğu ve sahnede birçok aktörün katıldığı mitinge dönüşen bir etkinliktir (Kudüs'e, 2018). Üçüncüsü bir ay sonra ve seçimden altı gün önce farklı bir konseptle ve yine aynı sahnede düzenlenen İstanbul mitingidir (İstanbul Mitingi, 2018).

Daha sonra ele alacağım kısa performans ise, emekliler ile iftar buluşmasıdır ("Emekliler ile İftar," 2018). Bu, Cumhurbaşkanlığı Külliyesindeki yemekten sonra en resmi, en kısa ve en iyi organize edilmiş performanstır. Odaklanacağım son performans ise öğrencilerle birlikte bir yurt yemekhanesindedir (Erdoğan, 2018). Yurt yemekhanesindeki bu Sahur yemeği, Erdoğan'ın 2018 seçimlerindeki en spontane performansıydı. Gece yarısından sonra saat üçte öğrencilerle birlikte önünde yazılı metin olmadan sahne aldı ve çevrimiçi olarak yayınlandı.

Son on yılı aşkın süredir gözlemlenebilen değişim etrafında şekillenen, Türkiye'deki rolünü net bir şekilde gözlemleyebildiğimiz, repertuvarın bir sahnede nasıl yeniden inşa edildiği ve biçimlendirildiği ve iktidarın seyircinin hayal gücündeki kapitalizasyonu üzerine iddialı konuların ve soruların başını çektiği performatif siyasetin önemini son birkaç yıldır araştırma fırsatı buldum. Önceki araştırmaların sonuçları beni performatif siyasetin önemi konusunda daha da fazla düşündürdü. Özellikle anlam yaratma konusunda önemli bir değişime izin veren bu güç, aktörlerin seyircileri üzerinde önemli bir etki gücü kazandıkları, anlam dünyasının sürekli olarak yapısöküme uğratmanın ve aynı anda yeniden inşa etmenin bir yolu olarak tanımlanabilir (Çiftcioğlu, 2016). Bu nedenle, bu araştırmanın temel amaçlarından biri, günümüz dünyasında performatif siyasetin önemini daha fazla kavramak için, bir performansın unsurlarını basitçe kabul etmek veya mistik bir psikolojik fenomenmiş gibi davranmak yerine tanımamızı ve analiz etmemizi sağlayacak daha fazla soru sormaktır.

Performatif siyaseti bir konu olarak ele alarak, ritüellerin, tiyatroların, mikro performansların gücünü, bedensel görünümü, sahnelemeyi, kostümleri, işitsel gücü, emeği veya metinleri sorgulayarak seyirci tarafından kabul edilebilecek veya meydan okunabilecek söylemler üretimini günümüz dünyasında Performatif Siyaset Çerçevesi ile anlamlandırarak daha net görebiliriz. Bu, performatif siyasetin bir aktörü ile bir seyircisi arasındaki etkileşimin yollarını anladıkça, beden üzerindeki anlamlandırmaları, mekânda ve sahneleme sürecinde değişen performans biçimlerini, işitsel gücü, bir auraya ulaşma girişimini, metinleri, performatif emeği ve seyirci davranışını sorgulamaya başladığımız anlamına gelir.

Performatif siyasetin seyirci üzerindeki güçlü etkisini, onu bir konu olarak incelerken tanımlayacağım. Böyle bir güç bilgiye dayanır ve bilgiyi kullanır, seyirciyi etkileyerek bilgiyi yeniden üretir ve genel olarak gündelik performansla kendi alanlarını yeniden oluşturur. Butler'ın haklı olarak sosyal ilişkilerin normalleşmesi olarak tanımladığı kavramı etkileyen, davranışı yeniden üretme sürecinde kendini gerçekleştirme bilgisinin sorgulandığı yer tam olarak budur. Bu tanıma, gündelik yaşamda hegemonik projelerin (yeniden) üretilmesini sorgulayacak kadar ileri gider.

Alpan'ın önerdiği gibi, "hegemonyanın siyasi alandaki etkisine bakmanın en iyi yolu ... söylemlerin performatif yönüne odaklanarak siyasal kimlikleri nasıl şekillendirdiği"dir (Alpan, 2010, s. 4). Bu çerçevede düşünüldüğünde hegemonya, aslında bu araştırmada ele alınacak anahtar terimlerden biridir. İnsan olarak yaptığımız her eylem gerçekleştirdiğimiz bir performans olduğu için ve bazı performansların seyirci üzerinde diğerlerinden çok daha etkili olduğunu düşündüğümüzde hegemonik bir projenin uygulanması, performatif siyaset olarak tanımlanan etkili performansın gücüyle bilgilendirilmiş gündelik performansta karşılık bulur ve var olur.

Konu olarak açık bir şekilde odaklanmasam da bu araştırma, cinsiyet rollerinin yeniden üretimini performatif açıdan (Butler, 1999), özellikle özne yapı, beden ve zihnin Kartezyen ayrımının ötesinde araştırma yapma açısından, sahiplenir. Ritüeller üzerine antropoloji literatürü (Geertz, 1980) ve siyasal performanslar (Strauss & O'Brien, 2007) gibi araştırmaların yanı sıra gündelik görünür ritüelleri ve davranışlar (Goffman, 1956) performans siyaseti üzerine en iyi analitik çerçevelerden biri (Rai, 2014) ve repertuvara gömülü performanslar (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991) bu çalışmayı

güçlü bir şekilde etkilemiş ve teşvik etmiştir. Bu araştırma aynı zamanda, gündelik direniş biçimleri (Scott, 1987) ve 'öyleymiş gibi' davranma (Wedeen, 1998) gibi performatif siyasetin etki alanı ve gücü hakkındaki endişeleri ve karşı argümanları da dikkate almaktadır.

Ayrıca, Türkiye bağlamında aşırı biçimine maruz kalınan, önemli bir seyirci kitlesini başarıyla toplayan, repertuvarı aşırı dönüşlerle yapısöküme uğratan ve aynı anda yeniden inşa eden, performanslar yoluyla aktörlerin gücünü yeniden üreten seyirci kitlesi gibi performatif siyasetin etkisini de gözlemlediğimizi ve yaşadığımızı belirtmek önemli.

Performatif siyaset, bu araştırmada, kitle seyircisinin anlam dünyasına ulaşan, seyirciyi etkileyen ve sahnede söylemler ile bir repertuvarı yeniden inşa ederek gündelik performansları doğrudan etkileyen performansları ifade etmektedir. Bu tür anlamlandırma, belirli sosyo-politik arka planlarda farklı olarak düşünülebilir; yani bu "baskın anlatıların konsolide edici veya zorlayıcı olabilir" (Rai, 2014, s. 1180) olmasıdır. Anlamlandırmayı etkileyen bu performanslar, sadece aktörlerin etkilemek için önemli seyirciler topladığı kurumlar, sosyal medya ve diğer kamusal alanlarda değil aynı zamanda çeşitli ortamlarda da gerçekleşebilir. Performatif siyaset, büyük bir seyirci kitlesine ulaşmak için gerçekleştirilebildiği sürece her yerde sahnelenebilir. Her ne kadar Hanisch'e (2006) paralel olarak kamusal ve özel alanlar arasındaki ayrımın kavramsallaştırılmasını eleştiriyor olsam da böyle bir performansın metinleri, seyirciyi harekete geçirmek için sözde kamusal alan ile özel alan arasında bir köprü olarak düşünülebilir. Örneğin, böyle bir performans neredeyse her zaman seyircinin anlam dünyasını etkileyen güvenlik veya cinsellik gibi konuları içerir.

Her ne kadar performatif siyasetin aktörleri, seyircilerinin anlamlandırmasını amaçlanan bir yönde dönüştürse de (dönüştüremese de) performansın başarısına (veya başarısızlığına) bağlı olarak, performatif siyasetin herhangi bir aktörü bilinçli olarak seyirciyi etkilemeye çalışır. Başka bir deyişle, performatif siyasetin aktörleri, anlamlandırmayı, aktörün hayal ettiği bir repertuvar versiyonunun aracılığıyla ikna etmeyi ve dönüştürmeyi hedefler. Bir başka deyişle performatif siyasetin aktörleri, seyircinin hayal gücünde repertuvarın sınırları içinde zaten oluşmuş bir duruşu temsil etmelidir, ancak bir aktörün amacı seyirciyle etkileşim kurmak ve anlam dünyasını

dönüştürmektir. Performatif siyasetin aktörü, anlamı belirli bir hedefle ele alan belirli bir repertuvarı yeniden inşa etmelidir; aksi takdirde seyirci performansı anlamlandıramaz. Bir performans, seyircinin normlarını, en azından bir dereceye kadar anlam dünyasını 'tatmin' etmek zorundadır. Bu anlamda, performans tutarlı ve anlamlı olmalıdır ve bu nedenle bir tür mantıksal duruşa ihtiyaç duyar. Bir performans, yanlış okuma, seyirci tarafından yanlış tanınma yoluyla birçok yönden sorgulanabilir hatta bir karşı performans yoluyla kesintiye uğrayabilir; kaçınılmaz olarak savunmasız, dengesiz ve bazı yönlerden yıkıcıdır.

Performatif siyasetin bu dinamik doğası, siyaset bilimcilerin çoğunun performatif siyaseti incelenmesi istenmeyen bir konu olarak görmesinin ana nedenlerinden biridir ve sonuç olarak teori ile pratik arasındaki boşluğu daha da derinleştirir. Bu araştırmanın metodoloji bölümünde performatif siyaset üzerine araştırma yapma konusundaki kaygıların çoğuna değinmekteyim.

Bu kaygıları bir kenara bırakırsak, performatif siyaset, onun üzerimizdeki 'büyüsünü' ortaya çıkarmak ve onun 'mistik' görünümünün ötesine geçip teşhir etmek suretiyle bir özne olarak ele almak, politiğin kendisini okumamız açısından da çok önemlidir. Bir başka deyişle Performatif siyasetin, bir konu olarak ele alınması siyasal alanı okumamız açısından çok mühimdir ve böyle bir çalışma onun üzerimizdeki 'büyülü' ve 'mistik' görünümünü gün yüzüne çıkarır ve anlamlandırmamızı sağlar.

Performatif siyaseti anlamak için, bir seyirci üzerindeki etkilerini hayal ederken bileşenlerini anlamamız gerekir. Örnek vaka incelemesini ele almak için, Julia Strauss ve Donal Cruise O'Brien (2007) tarafından kavramsallaştırılan farklı performans modlarına değineceğim. Sonrasında ise, Shirin Rai (2014) tarafından yapılan Performans Politikası Çerçevesini kullanacağım ve tiyatro çalışmaları üzerine teorik çerçevede ele alacağım araştırmalarla yeniden inşa edeceğim. Rai'nin çerçevesi, performatif politikanın "anlar/olaylar/mekânlar" (s. 1180) üzerinden nasıl işlediğini incelemek için yararlı olurken, Strauss ve O'Brien'ın yargılamalar, seçimler ve mikro-performanslar gibi farklı performans biçimlerini kavramsallaştırmamıza izin verir. Bu proje esas olarak mikro performanslara odaklandığından, bu farklılaşma aynı zamanda bu projedeki performans modunu farklı modlardan ayırmamızı sağlamaktadır.

Aktörlerin seyirciyle etkileşime girdiği performansların farkında olmamız ve bunun gündelik yaşamda nasıl performans gösterdiğimiz üzerinde farklı formlarda etkileri olduğunu bilmemiz gerekir. Rai (2014) haklı olarak Butler'ın (1999) Simone de Beauvoir'ın argümanına bakış açısını işaret ettiği gibi, "biri doğmaz, aksine olur" ve gerçekleştirdiğimiz kimliğin istikrarlı bir şey değil, zaman içinde zar zor oluşturulmuş bir şey olduğu, gündelik yaşamdaki performans, kimliğimizi oluşturan "eylemlerin stilize edilmiş bir tekrarı" olarak gerçekleşir (Rai, 2014, s. 1181). Aslında bu, iktidarın kimlikte ve ritüellerde bu şekilde yeniden üretilmesinin, düzeni etkili bir şekilde normalleştirdiğine dikkat çekiyor. İktidar ilişkilerinin performatif siyaset yoluyla yeniden üretiminin bu şekilde kavramsallaştırılması, bazı performansların neden ve nasıl diğerlerine göre daha güçlü olduğunu ve güç ilişkilerinin gündelik yeniden üretiminde nasıl çok daha etkili olduğunu sorgulamamızı sağlar.

Bu araştırma, gündelik performansın önemini göz önünde bulundurarak performatif siyasetin etkisine odaklanmaktadır. Aradaki fark, performatif siyasetin aktörlerinin iktidar ilişkilerinin yeniden üretimi ve kendilerini otorite olarak konumlandırmaları üzerinde çok daha fazla etkiye sahip olmalarıdır; özellikle de bazılarının ellerindeki araçlarla 'yıldız' kalitesinde performanslar ile kitlelere ulaşabileceği gerçeği göz önüne alındığında açığa çıkar. Sınıf, dil, cinsiyet, ırk, etnik köken ve genel repertuvarın toplumsal ilişkileri içinde ve aktörün etkisi altında, kabul edilebilir olarak aldığımız performanslar, anlamlandırma sürecimizi oluşturur. Performatif siyaset üzerine yapılan araştırmalar, performatif siyasetin aktörleri ile gündelik yaşamda da aktör olan seyirci arasındaki bu ilişki hakkında daha fazla soru sormamızı sağlar.

Daha önce de belirttiğim gibi, Strauss ve O'Brien'ın kavramsallaştırmasını göz önünde bulundurarak Rai'nin (2014) çerçevesini yeniden yapılandıracağım ve kullanacağım. Strauss ve O'Brien (2007), birbirinden kopuk olmayan üç farklı performatif siyaset tarzını kavramsallaştırır. Bu performans biçimleri ritüeller, tiyatrolar ve mikro performanslardır. Aralarındaki farklılıkların ve benzerliklerin altını çizeceğim. Bu çerçevede ritüellerin ne olduğunu anlatacağım; öyle veya böyle bir sonuca sahip, yargılama süreçleri gibi, öngörülebilir sonuçlarla daha düzenleyici bir performatif siyaset tarzı. Tiyatro diye betimledikleri ise doğaçlamanın kısmi olarak mümkün olduğu ama meşruiyetini oluşturmak için bir tür düzenlemeye tâbi olduğu yarı-açık sonuçlarla oluşan performanslardır. Bu kategoriye en güzel örnek

seçimlerdir. Sonuncu kategori ise, üzerinde araştırma yaptığım mikro performanslardır. Mikro performanslar daha kırılgandır, kesintiye uğrayabilir ve açık uçlu sonuçlara sahiptir. Böyle bir kavramsallaştırma, performatif siyaseti nasıl kategorize edeceğimizi açıklığa kavuşturmamıza yardımcı olur. Aşağıdaki paragraf, mikro performansa odaklandığımızda nelere dikkat etmemiz gerektiğini ele almaktadır.

Rai'nin çerçevesi iki farklı eksene ayrılır. İlk eksen, temsil işaretlerini anlamlandırır. Bu eksen, perde arkası da dahil mekânı, bedeni, metinleri ve performatif emeği içerir. Bu dört konu, performatif siyasetin bazı temel unsurlarını yakalamamıza izin verir. İkinci eksen ise bir performansın etkilerini sorgular. Bu, otantikliğini, liminaliteyi, direniş (varsa) ve temsil tarzını anlamlandırır. Bu bölümde, tiyatro çalışmaları üzerine yaptığım derinlemesine araştırmalarla Rai'nin (2014) çerçevesini sorgulamaktayım. Sonuç olarak, günümüz dünyasında performatif siyaseti anlamak ve daha da iyi bir araca sahip olmak adına bu çerçeveyi dönüştürerek, Performatif Siyaset Çerçevesi olarak yeniden yapılandırdım. Bu bölümde, zaman ve mekânda performansı konumlandırmanın önemine değindim. Bu inceleme aslında üçüncü ekseni eklemektedir; zaman ve mekânda performansı konumlandırmak. Üçüncü eksenin, üç farklı alt kategorisi vardır; seyircinin dünyasındaki, aktörün dünyasındaki ve performansın dünyasındaki değişimler. Ayrıca, Rai'nin çerçevesindeki otantiklik gibi mistisizmin son tortularını da ele almaktayım.

Açıktır ki seyirci aynı zamanda bir performansın parçasıdır ve onu hayata geçirir, katılır, onunla etkileşime girer ve performansın anlamını yeniden şekillendirir. Bu kabul, seyirciye ayrı bir konu olarak odaklanacağım anlamını taşımamaktadır, aksine seyirciyi konunun bir parçası olarak ele alacağım anlamına gelir, çünkü aktörlerin performansı var ederken seyircilerini tanımaları ve beklentileri karşılamaları gerekir. Böyle bir çerçeve "eleştirel düşünce; ...neo-Marksist literatürün... kültürel pratikler yoluyla hegemonyanın yeniden üretimi üzerine" dayanır (Adorno, 1978; Gramsci, 1971, Rai, 2014, s. 1182'de alıntıladığı gibi). Performatif siyasetin aktörleri, zaman ve mekân anlayışını yeniden şekillendirmek ve repertuvarı yeniden inşa etmek adına, seyirci için ve seyirciyle birlikte performansı gerçekleştirirler. Seyircilerin söylemlerini gündelik performansta yeniden ürettikleri düşünülmesine rağmen, bu

araştırma çerçevesi gündelik yaşamdaki etkiyi daha derin bir şekilde analiz etmemektedir.

Genel olarak AKP ve özel olarak 2018 seçimleri dikkate değer bir vaka çalışmasıdır, çünkü on yılı aşkın bir süredir yeni teknolojilerle desteklenen etkileyici performansları, bir aktörün repertuvarı nasıl yeniden inşa ettiğinin önemli ölçüde değişmesi ve performansın dünyasını bambaşka şekillerde hayal edip var edebildikleri bir dönemde gerçekleştirmektedirler. Bu çerçevede yeni yöntemleri kullanma şansını yakaladılar. Bu vaka çalışmasını sadece AKP'nin iktidarda olduğu dönemdeki teknolojik gelişmeler değil, aynı zamanda Erdoğan'ın bu yeni teknolojileri kullanma arzusu da önemli kılmaktadır. Örneğin Erdoğan, dünyada üç boyutlu dev hologramları kullanan ilk aktörlerden biridir (Ford, 2014). Sanki oradaymış gibi dev hologramıyla bir konuşma gerçekleştirmiştir.

Bu araştırmanın vaka çalışması kısmı, içinde yaşadığımız çerçeveyi dönüştüren, seyircinin hayal gücünü sürekli etkileyen ve karşılığında gündelik performansı sarsan ve değiştiren Erdoğan'ın 2018 genel seçimleri sırasındaki performanslarına odaklanmaktadır. Bunu yaparak, kullandıkları yöntemlere, tekniklere ve stillere dikkat çekip, bu tür mikro performansın aktörün beden, mekân, performatif emek, sahneleme veya işitsel güç aracılığıyla çalışma şekli de dahil olmak üzere bir seyirciyi nasıl etkilediğini ve ilişki kurduğunu görünür kılmaktayım. Her ne kadar 2004, 2007, 2011 ve 2014 seçimlerini araştırmış olsam da 2018 seçimleri, performatif siyaset çerçevesiyle incelenecek en iyi seçimlerden biridir. Bahsettiğim tüm bu seçimler hakkında araştırma yaptıktan ve hatta yetmiş sayfadan fazla yazdıktan sonra, örnek olarak bu seçimlerden birini seçmem gerektiği sonucuna vardım. Bu seçimi yapmamın sebebi projede tüm seçimler için yeteri kadar alan olmamasının yanı sıra, 2018 seçimlerinin teknolojinin en çok geliştiği ve yapılan en son cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimi olmasıdır. 2018 örneği aynı zamanda yeni başkanlık sisteminin de ilk seçimiydi. 1980'lerden başlayarak erken performansların da dahil olduğu kısa bir bilgilendirme bölümü tanımlanmış olsa da vaka çalışması 2018 seçimleri hakkındadır.

Çınar (2005), haklı olarak, AKP'nin sadece benzer anlatılardan beslenmekle kalmayıp aynı zamanda toplumu sürekli olarak ideal geleceklerine dönüştürmeye çalışan bir iktidar üst (meta) anlatısı ya da daha geniş bir söylemsel alan getirdiğinin altını çizer.

Bu bağlamda, mevcut projelere karşın sadece ideolojik bir konumlanmada kalmayıp, aynı zamanda anlamların, imgelerin ve hatta geleceğin, geçmişin ve bugünün anlamına olası bir hayal gücüyle de meydan okumaktadır. Bu, seyircinin hayal gücündeki böyle bir değişimin büyük ölçüde performatif bağlamda gerçekleştirilme şekline atfedilmesi nedeniyle önemlidir.

Kültürel hegemonyanın, özellikle de kitlelere ulaşma ve seyirciyi etkileme araçlarındaki teknolojik gelişmelere de bağlı olarak en basit tabiri ile performatif siyaset olmadan düşünülemeyeceği açıktır. Performatif siyasetin gücü, içinde yaşadığımız anlatıyı değiştirmenin ve repertuvarı sadece sahnelerde değil, medya, ofisler veya üniversiteler aracılığıyla da yeniden inşa etmenin yoludur. Yani sadece bir adet performansla sınırlı değildir. Bu, genel seçimler sırasındaki performanslar üzerine yapılan bu araştırmanın, performatif siyaseti hayal etme olanaklarını sınırlamaması gerektiği anlamına gelir; çünkü tüm performanslar gündelik performans da dahil olmak üzere birçok aşamada yeniden üretilir ve gerçekleştirilir. Performatif siyaset çerçevesi, performansları anlamak için seçimler gibi belirli bir zaman dilimiyle sınırlı değildir ve bir seyircinin olduğu ve içinde yaşadığı mekân ve zaman da dahil olmak üzere anlam yaratmayı oluşturan her türlü performansı anlamak için bir araçtır.

AKP, performatif siyasetin akla gelebilecek tüm yollarını kullanmaktadır ve seyirciyle duygusal olarak etkileşime girerek repertuvarları sürekli ve yoğun bir şekilde yeniden inşa ettikleri için analiz etmek adına muazzam bir örnektir. Daha da önemlisi, AKP dönemi, yeni yöntemlerin gelişmesiyle birlikte performatif siyasetin genişlediği, geliştiği, çok daha etkili hale geldiği ve bazı deneysel yöntemlerini bile gözlemleyebileceğimiz neredeyse yeni bir aşama yarattığı mükemmel bir tarihsel zamanda yer almaktadır. Bu sebeplerden ikincisi, son on yılda ortaya çıkan ve otoritenin emrinde olan güçlü araçları içerirken, bir önceki neden, AKP'nin hegemonik projesinin performatif siyaset yoluyla repertuvarlarda önemli değişikliklere sebep olarak yoğun bir şekilde gerçekleştirilmesine atıfta bulunmaktadır.

Repertuvarlardaki bu sürekli değişimler, anlatılar arasında ciddi farklılıklar yaratıyor ve bu farklılık Aktar'ın (2019) işaret ettiği gibi, 'Çanakkale Zaferi' üzerine milliyetçi repertuvarla ilişkili olarak bile ortaya çıkıyor. 2023 hedefleri ve 1453'ün kutlanması,

performatif siyasetin, özellikle zamanın performe edilmesi açısından, iyi birer örnektir. Bunun yanı sıra 15 Temmuz'un demokrasi bayramı olarak kutlanması için özel paralar gibi fiziksel nesnelerin var edilmesi de performatif siyasetin zamanı anlamlandırmak için nesneler ile gerçekleştirildiği sayısız örneklerden bir tanesidir. Hemen hemen tüm versiyonlar aynı kaynaktan beslenir, özellikle repertuvarların aktörleri sınırlama gücüne sahip olduğu düşünülürse. Ancak aktörler kendilerini diğerlerinden ayırmak için bir alan bulmaya çalışırlar. Bu şaşırtıcı değildir; çünkü bu durumlar, benzer sonuçlar yaratan ve zaten var olan güçlü repertuvar üzerine inşa edilmiştir ve aktörler repertuvardan kitleleri etkilemek için güç kazanırken, aynı zamanda kendilerini diğerinden ayırmak ve repertuvarı kendi lehlerine dönüştürmek isterler.

Bundan sonraki bölüm, AKP'yi anlamak için kullanılan ve AKP tarafından kullanılan belli başlı çerçeveler ve kavramlara değinerek başlamaktadır. Bu anlamda bu bölüm, AKP aktörleri tarafından kullanılan repertuvara değiniyor denilebilir. Bu kavramlar ve çerçeveden sonra, bu araştırmanın seyircisi olarak sizinle benim aramdaki kavramlar hakkında ortak bir anlayış oluşturmak için bir sonraki bölümde performatif siyasetin ne olduğuna odaklanmaktayım. Bu bölüm, günümüz dünyasında performatif siyaseti daha iyi anlamak için yapılan araştırmalara dayanmakta ve dolaylı olarak araştırmanın repertuvarını oluşturacaktır. Teorik çerçevenin üçüncü ve son bölümü ise, aktörlerin sahnedeki gücü hakkında daha fazla bilgi edinmek için tiyatro çalışmalarına dayanacaktır.

Metodoloji bölümü ise performatif siyasetin bir araştırma olarak nasıl yürütülebileceğine odaklanmaktadır. Strauss ve O'Brien'ın performatif siyasetinin kavramsallaştırılmasını tanıtarak başladıktan sonra performans siyaset çerçevesine (PSÇ) odaklanmaktayım. İlk kavramsallaştırma, performatif siyaseti farklı biçimlere ayırmayı kolaylaştırırken, bu araştırma açıkça mikro performanslara odaklanır. İkincisi ise Rai'nin çerçevesindeki iki ekseni ele almaktadır. Bu bölüm, daha önce bahsettiğim iki ekseni ele alacak ve üçüncü ekseni eklemek de dahil olmak üzere tiyatro çalışmaları üzerine yaptığım araştırmalarla çerçeveyi yeniden yapılandırmaktır. Araştırma daha sonra böyle bir çerçevenin, çerçeveyi kullanarak 2018 genel seçimleri sırasında Erdoğan'ın performatif siyasetini haritalandırıp performatif siyaseti bir konu olarak anlamlandırmamıza nasıl yardımcı olabileceğini göstermektedir. Bir başka

deyişle bu yeniden yapılandırılmış yöntemi kullanarak 2018 seçimlerini incelemektedir.

Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, bu araştırmanın ana odağı, AKP aktörlerinin iktidarını performatif siyaset üzerinden anlayarak farklı bir bakış açısı kazandırmaktır. Böyle bir araştırmanın yapılabilmesi için, performatif siyasetin olası teorik çerçevelerinin, performatif siyasetin değişen doğası göz önünde bulundurularak, özellikle teknolojik gelişmelerle ilişkili olarak derinlemesine araştırılması ve tiyatro çalışmalarıyla zenginleştirilmesi gerekiyordu. Bir başka deyişle, bu araştırmanın idealist akademik amacı, hem performatif siyasetin kuramsal çerçevesini, özellikle tiyatro çalışmalarıyla ilgili olarak geliştirmek ve dönüştürmek, hem de Recep Tayyip Erdoğan ve AKP'nin etki gücünü performatif siyaset çerçevesi üzerinden farklı bir bakış açısı ile sorgulamak ve daha iyi anlamaktır.

Özet olarak Butler'ın haklı olarak altını çizdiği gibi, tüm kimlikler performatif bir şekilde var olur ve içselleştirdiğimiz normlar tarafından yönlendirilir. Bu anlamda, performanslar gerçekleştirdiğimiz eylemlerdir (ve eylemlerin tekrarlarıdır). İçselleştirdiğimiz bu normlar, büyük ölçüde belirli şekillerde performans gösteren aktörler ağına dayanmaktadır. Böyle bir anlamda, repertuvar, bu 'belirli şekillerde' nasıl performans gösterileceğinin bilgisidir. Aktörler gündelik yaşamda performans gösterdikçe, repertuvar da aktörün performans tarzı üzerinde güce sahiptir. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, bazı aktörler seyirciyi etkileme araçlarına sahiptir ve repertuvarı özellikle duyguları kullanarak; ancak bununla sınırlı olmamak üzere değiştirebilirler. Bu anlamda hegemonya kavramına değinmek zorundaydım. Hegemonya, rıza ve zorlama arasındaki diyalektik bir kavram olarak değil, bunun yerine, performatif siyasetin aktörleri tarafından çeşitli aşamalarda rıza kazanma ve repertuvarı yeniden inşa etme mücadelesi olarak anlaşılmalıdır. Performatif siyasetin aktörleri sahnede var oldukça, hayal ettikleri projeleri için repertuvarı yeniden inşa etmek için performans sergilerler, böylece gündelik yaşamdaki aktörlerin performans biçimleri değişir. Başka bir deyişle, performatif siyasetin aktörleri, sahnede performans göstermenin yollarını bilir, öğrenir ve gündelik performansın aktörlerini etkileyecek şekilde performansı gerçekleştirir. Bu noktada nasıl olduğu sorusuna cevap bulabilmek için, tiyatro çalışmaları üzerine araştırma yapmaya ihtiyaç vardı. Bu daha sonra odaklandığım çerçeveyi sorgulamama ve geliştirmeme ciddi anlamda yardımcı oldu.

Bu bağlamda tiyatro aktörlerini ve performatif siyaset aktörlerini inceledim. Bu araştırma, sahnedeki aktörler arasındaki ilişkiye ve onların seyirciyle etkileşim kurma biçimlerine odaklandığından, bu bölüm özünde karşılaştırmalı olarak tasarlanmamıştır. Bu genel olarak aslında, tiyatro aktörlerinin işinin kelimenin tam anlamıyla sahneye çıkmak olmasına rağmen, ana odağın seyirciyle nasıl etkileşime girileceği konusunda ustalaşmakla ilgili olduğu anlamına gelir. Bu bölümde Stanislavski'nin bu proje için çok uygun bulduğum yöntemi de dahil olmak üzere farklı rol ve aktörlük yöntemlerine değindim. Stanislavski'nin yöntemini özellikle vurguladım ve Brecht'in epik tarzıyla karşılaştırdım. Özellikle bu iki farklı düşünce okulunun öncülerinden ilki seyirciye "büyü yapmak" için en şiirsel yollarla etkileşime girmeye odaklanırken, ikincisi ise seyirciyi içinde yaşadıkları gerçekliği sorgulamaya teşvik etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Araştırmanın en başında Stanislavski'nin yöntemleri hakkında çok şüpheliydim, ancak önemli bir nedenden dolayı kendimi yöntemlerini desteklerken buldum.

Bu tartışmaların tarihte ilk kez olmaması gerektiği üzerine şüphelendiğimden, epeyi araştırma yaptım ve Benjamin ve Adorno arasındaki tartışmaya odaklanmaya karar verdim. Bu araştırmada benim için en şaşırtıcı noktalardan biri, Stanislavski ile karşılaştırmak için araştırdığım Brecht'in, Adorno'nun Benjamin'e yönelik eleştirilerinde kilit nokta olmasıydı. Bunun nedeni, Brecht ve Benjamin'in çok iyi arkadaş olmalarıydı ve Brecht'in Benjamin'in düşünceleri üzerindeki etkisiyle Benjamin'in, mekanik yeniden üretimin gücünün seyirciyi tetiklemek için kullanılabileceğine inanmasıydı. Benjamin ve Brecht'in praksis'e olan bağlılıklarına hayran kaldım, ama birkaç sorun vardı. Birincisi, kitle toplumunun mekanik yeniden-üretimin sonucu olarak kabul edilemez olmasıdır. Seyirci üzerinde gücü olsa da bu ancak günümüz dünyasında toplumun kitlesel oluşumuyla eşzamanlı olarak gerçekleşmektedir. Bu, seyirciyi tetiklemenin etkisinin çok sınırlı olacağı anlamına gelir. İkincisi, kitle toplumunun, performansın dramaturjik yönlerini tüketmek için bir performansta olması gerçeğidir; çünkü etkileşime, bağlanmaya ve duygusal olarak yönlendirilmeye hazırdırlar. Başka bir deyişle, günümüz dünyasında seyircinin beklentisi performansla etkileşimde olmaktır. Bu sebeplerden ötürü, seyirciyle etkileşim kurmanın dramaturjik yollarını açıklarken bunu en iyi anlatan Stanislavski'ye dönmem gerekti. Bu, performatif siyaset üzerine bir araştırmanın nasıl

yürütüleceğine dair çerçeveyi eleştirel olarak analiz etmek için ontolojik bir durum olduğu için önemliydi.

Her ne kadar performatif siyaset, günümüz dünyasında demokratik ülkelerden en otoriter rejimlere kadar farklı projeleri uygulamak için çeşitli biçimlerde gözlemlenebilse de, Stanislavski'nin yöntemlerinin etkileşime girmek açısından en dikkat çekici olduğu aşikardır. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, performatif siysetin kendisi sorunludur; çünkü repertuvar üzerinde çok fazla güce sahiptir. Günlük yaşamdaki farklı davranış biçimlerini yani gündelik performansları bastırır ve sönümlendirir. Bu, projelerden bağımsız olarak, performatif siyasetin günümüz dünyasındaki çeşitli repertuvarlar üzerinde yıkıcı (ve aynı zamanda yapıcı) bir güce sahip olduğu anlamına gelir. Ancak bu, varlığını görmezden gelebileceğimiz veya reddedebileceğimiz anlamına gelmez.

Daha rahatsız edici gerçek şu ki, duygusal olarak etkileşime giren yöntemler o kadar etkilidir ki, örneğin, Brecht'in seyirciyi içinde yaşadığı gerçekliği rasyonel olarak sorgulamaya iten epik tarzı, o kadar etkili olamaz. Bunun nedeni, seyircinin günümüz dünyasında rasyonel düşünce tarafından tetiklenmek yerine duygusal etkileşimle meşgul olma eğiliminde olmasıdır. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, seyirci sahneyi sanki performans günlük hayattan bile daha gerçek, görkemli bir alan olarak ele alır ve bu nedenledir ki bir performansın gerçekliğin en etkileyici bölümünü yakalaması ve seyircinin dünyasında gerçek olmasını sağlaması çok önemlidir. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, epik stil geçmişi tanımlar ve temsil ederken, dramatik stil şimdiki duyguları sunar. Stanislavski'nin yöntemleri, seyircilere performansa ait olduklarını ve eylemin bir parçası olduklarını hissettirmek amacıyla hitap eder. Bu aslında bize hem seyirci hakkında hem de seyirciye bir 'büyü yapmak' için performans gösteren aktörler hakkında çok şey anlatmaktadır. Siyaset yapmanın duygusal olarak etkileyici yolu, günümüz dünyasında seyirciyi ikna etmenin en güçlü yoludur; çünkü seyirci, bir kitle toplumu olarak, seyircinin yabancılaşmış doğası da dahil ancak bunlarla sınırlı olmamak üzere esas olarak günümüz kapitalizminin neden olduğu gerçekliği sorgulamak için değil, dramaturjik yönlerini tüketmek için oradadır.

Bununla birlikte, şunu karıştırmamamız gerekir; seyircinin duygusal olarak etkileşime giren ve yönlendirilen doğası değişse de, bu seyirciyi ikna etmenin özünde yer alan

performatif siyasetin ortadan kalktığı anlamına gelmez. Başka bir deyişle, seyirciyle etkileşim kurma yöntemi değişse bile, performatif siyasetin etkisi devam edecektir, çünkü milyonlarca insanı bir araya getirerek hitap edebilecek imkanlar ve onlara gerçek görünen animasyonlar göstermek gibi teknolojiler ile çok gelişmiş etkileşim araçları günümüz dünyasında artık var.

Araştırmanın en başından beri, performansların seyirci üzerindeki öznelleştirme rolünü ve ister gündelik performanstan ister performatif siyasetten etkilendiğini kabul ile başladım. Başka bir deyişle, bir varlık olarak aktörler, diğerlerinin öznelleştirme sürecinin bir parçasıdır. Bununla birlikte, bazı aktörler günümüz dünyasında ellerindeki araçlarla seyircileri etkilemek için çok daha fazla güce sahiptir. Her ne kadar performatif siyaseti olumsuz bir şekilde ele alıyor olsam da, ne bu araçların ne de seyircinin burjuva ekonomisinin neden olduğu kitle doğasının, seyircinin yabancılaşmış yapısı da dahil ancak bunlarla sınırlı olmamak üzere, yakın zamanda ortadan kalkmayacağı sonucuna vardım. Scannell, (2003) Benjamin'in pozisyonunu arka planda "başka bir şeye tutunuyordu" olarak tanımlarve bu araştırma da aynı zamanda o başka bir şeye tutunmaktadır. Bu başka bir şey Mouffe'un (2018) Sol Popülizm İçin kitabında haklı olarak işaret ettiği gibi performatif siyasetin alternatif projeler için ortaya koyabileceği güçtür.

Bunu akılda tutarak, performansların nasıl işlediğini anlamak ve araştırabilmek için farklı yollar aradım. Strauss ve O'Brien'ın farklı performans modları üzerine kavramsallaştırmasını, yargılama süreçleri ve mikro performanslar arasındaki farklar gibi aralarında ayrım yapmak için kullandım. Bu bölümde, bu araştırmanın açıkça mikro performansları ele almak için tasarlandığına dikkat çektim. Birçoklarının önerdiği gibi (Finlayson, 2021; Heath-Kelly, 2021; Rua Duvarı, 2021), Rai'nin çerçevesi mikro performansları analiz etmek için en iyi çerçevelerden biriydi. Sadece çerçeveyi kullanmak yerine, çerçeveye eleştirel bir şekilde yaklaştım ve yeniden inşa ettim. Bunu yapmak için, sahnede performans gösteren bir aktörün dramaturjik yönleri hakkında daha fazla araştırma yapmak gerektiğinden, tiyatro çalışmalarını ele aldım. Rai'nin ilk ekseninin metinleri ayrıca ele alması gerektiği ve imza hareketleri de dahil olmak üzere performatif sermaye sorununu ele alması gerektiği sonucuna vardım. İkinci eksendeki unsurlardan birinin, Rai'nin çerçevesindeki mistisizmin son kırıntısını temizlemek için yeniden inşa edilmesi gerekiyordu. Bu konu, otantikliğin

yeniden kavramsallaştırılması konusudur. Bir 'an' deneyimiyle ilişkili olarak 'auraya doğru uzanmayı' otantiklik kavramından daha analitik buldum. Başka bir deyişle, birçok kişinin önerdiği gibi, otantiklik oldukça tartışmalı mistik bir kavramdır, ancak bir auraya doğru uzanmak durumu daha iyi kavrar ve çok daha analitiktir çünkü tek seferlik deneyimlere dayanır. Ayrıca Rai'nin çerçevesini de "zaman ve mekânın ötesinde" buldum. Performatif bir araştırma kaçınılmaz olarak mekânsal ve zamansal özellikler içerse de, bunun kesişen üç unsurla farklı bir eksende olması gerektiğini savundum; seyircinin dünyası, aktörün dünyası ve performansın dünyası. Bu kavramları kullandım ve bu terimleri yeniden inşa ettim, çünkü bu ayrı dünyalarda (olmayan) mekânsal ve zamansal özelliklerinde neler olup bittiği esastır, özellikle de üçüncü unsur yani performans dünyasındaki değişimler. Üçüncü unsur daha belirgindir, çünkü aynı zamanda bir performansın dünyasını mevcut araçlarla nasıl hayal edebileceğini de içerir. Bu nedenle, Rai'nin Performans Politikası Çerçevesini, Performatif Siyaset Çerçevesi (PSÇ) olarak yeniden yapılandırdım ve böylece günümüz dünyasında performatif siyaseti anlama konusunda daha iyi bir çerçeveye sahip olmaktayız. PSÇ'deki öğeler, bir performansı analitik olarak anlamaya ve gizemini çözmemize fayda sağlamaktadır. Seyirciyle etkileşim kurmanın dramaturjik yolları, tiyatro çalışmaları üzerine yapılan araştırmalarla yeniden inşa edilen böyle bir çerçevenin merkezinde yer almaktadır. PSÇ'yi 2018 seçimlerinde Recep Tayyip Erdoğan'ı analiz etmek için kullandım. Bu, benim ve bu araştırmanın seyircisi olarak sizler için, seyirciyle etkileşim kurmak adına neler yapıldığını analitik olarak anlamamızı sağlamaktadır.

Erdoğan'ı mistikleştirmeye ve performanslarını romantikleştirmeye yönelik akademik araştırma olarak (örn., Öksüz, 2018) dahi ortaya çıkan tüm çabalara rağmen, Erdoğan'ın veya performatif siyasetin diğer aktörlerinin doğaüstü bir kaynağı, mistik etkileri veya olağan dışı bir gücünün olmadığını, bunlardan ziyade bir seyirciyle nasıl etkileşime geçileceğini, sahnede nasıl sunulacağını ve onları nasıl etkileyeceğini öğrenmek için sarf edilen emeğin olduğunu ve tabi ki bu gücü oluşturmak için gerekli araçlara da sahip olunması gerektiğini gösterdim.

Bu bağlamda genel tez, AKP'nin gücünü PSÇ kullanarak performatif siyasetle daha iyi kavrayabileceğimiz yönündeydi ve bu da performatif siyaseti nasıl kavramsallaştırmamız gerektiği, aktörlerin performatif siyaseti nasıl kullandıkları ve

günümüz dünyasında performatif siyaset üzerine analitik araştırmaların nasıl yürütüleceği konusunda daha geniş bir arayışa ön açtı. Bunu yapmak için, yukarıda belirtilen yönleri derinlemesine ele aldım ve vaka çalışmasını analiz etmek için yeniden yapılandırıldığım çerçeveyi kullandım. Dolayısıyla bu, AKP'nin performatif siyaset çerçevesi üzerinden analizi: 2018 seçimleri örneğidir.

PSÇ ile 2018 seçimlerini tam olarak kavramak için, örnek vaka incelemesi bölümü üç farklı ekseni ele almıştır. Üçüncü eksene değinerek başladım; performansı zaman ve mekânda yerine oturtmak. Daha önce de belirttiğim gibi, araştırmam sırasında, performansların tarihsel olarak özgün olmasının önemi ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu nedenle, bu performansların gerçekleştiği zaman ve mekânı düşünmemiz gerekir. Türkiye'nin 2018 seçimlerinde içinde bulunduğu yapısal değişimlere ve siyasi koşullara değinerek başladım. Bu bölümde yeni 'Türk Modeli Başkanlık Sistemini' ve Türkiye'nin genel durumunu ele aldım. Ayrıca, on yıl içinde radikal bir şekilde dönüşen seyirci dünyasına da kısaca değindim. Ardından, bu eksenin üçüncü unsuruna, yani performans dünyasındaki değişime odaklandım. Bugünün dünyasında performatif siyaseti çok daha güçlü kılan mikroblog veya sosyal medya gibi yeni sahneleme yöntemleri ve unsurlarının bazı örneklerine kısaca odaklandım.

Kısaca aktör dünyasındaki, seyirci dünyasındaki ve performans dünyasındaki bu değişimlere odaklandıktan sonra, diğer eksenleri inceledim. 2018 seçimleri sırasında Erdoğan'ın bireysel performansı ve bir performansın hedeflendiği politik etkilerini haritaladım. 2018 seçimlerindeki bu örnekler arasında İzmir mitingi, Kudüs buluşması, İstanbul mitingi, emeklilerin olduğu iftar toplantısı ve öğrencilerle sahur buluşması yer aldı. Daha önce de belirttiğim gibi, üçüncü eksenden sonra, birinci eksene odaklandım. Bu bölümde, ilk bölüm olduğu için performanslar biraz betimleyici bilgi içerse de alt başlık olan beden, sunumun sahnelenmesi, işitsel güç, performatif emek ve senaryolar hakkında incelemeler yaptım. Daha sonra, performansa karşı direnci ve auraya ulaşma girişimi hakkındaki konuları içeren ikinci eksene değindim. İbrahim Tatlıses'in sözleri yeniden inşa edilmiş bir türkünün sahnede okutulmasından, Erdoğan'ın mikrofon pratikleri veya duruşuna, seyircinin direnerek böldüğü performanslardan, okunan şiirlerin anlamlarının yeniden nasıl inşa edildiği gibi birçok örneği tez içerisinde analiz ettim.

Bazı performanslar tüm unsurları detaylı içermediği veya gözlemlenemediği için her bölümde her konu bulunmamaktadır. Başka bir deyişle, yukarıda bahsettiğim tüm performansları incelediğim gibi, bazı performansların içerikleri bazı unsurlar açısından daha fazla belirgindi, bu nedenle araştırma üzerinde daha önemli bir etki yarattı. Örneğin İzmir mitinginde kullanılan işitsel güç, performansa diğer unsurlardan daha fazla hakimdi ve sonuçta araştırmayı yapmamı sağlayan çok farklı sahneler vardı. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, bu en başından beri beklenen bir şeydi; çünkü ne performanslar birbirleriyle ne de bir seyirci kitlesi diğeriyle aynı değildir. Ancak yukarıda belirtilen performanslar, çerçevenin bize sağladığı tüm unsurlarla ele alındı ve araştırmayı bu açılardan yürüttüm. Dahası, eksenlerin bazı unsurları, bilgi eksikliği ve konunun genel doğası nedeniyle bir bütün olarak, özellikle performatif emek gibi alt başlıklarda var olurken genel olarak diğer konular kapsamında da ele alınmaktadır. Bu noktada tekrarlamamak adına da bu bölümlerde yeniden işlenmemektedir.

Böyle bir tezin birkaç katkısı bulunmaktadır. Bu araştırmanın idealist akademik amacı, hem performatif siyasetin özellikle tiyatro çalışmaları bağlamında kavranmasına ilişkin çerçeveyi geliştirmek, hem de yeniden inşa edilen çerçeveyle Erdoğan ve AKP'nin etki gücünü daha iyi anlamaktır. Bu proje, günümüz dünyasında performatif siyasetin aktörlerini anlamak için alternatif bir yaklaşım sunmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu projenin katkıları, günümüz dünyasının performatif doğasını daha iyi kavramak, performatif siyaseti anlamak için yeniden yapılandırılmış bir analitik araca sahip olmak, AKP'yi performatif siyaset çerçevesiyle anlamak, ve muhtemelen bu araştırmanın seyircisine, performatif siyaseti günümüz dünyasında etkileyici bir araç olarak nasıl olduğunu anlatarak kullanma konusunda harekete geçirmektir. İlk katkı, günümüz dünyasındaki performatif siyaseti kolayca anlamamızı sağlar. Gündelik performans ve performatif siyaset arasındaki farkı, seyirci ve aktör arasındaki ilişkiyle ilgilenen yukarıda bahsedilen çeşitli akademisyenler üzerine bir dizi araştırma yaparak tanımladım. İkinci katkım, Rai'nin performans politikası çerçevesini eleştirel bir şekilde analiz etmem ve aşağıdakilerle yeniden inşa etmemdir. İlk eksen kesişen dört alt başlığa sahipti; beden, sahneleme, kelimelerin/senaryoların/konuşmanın/sesin işitsel gücü ve performatif emek. Ben buna metinleri de, bireysel performansı haritalama konusundaki ilk eksenin bir parçası olarak ekledim. İkinci eksen, bir performansın politik etkileri ile ilgilidir. Bunlar, otantiklik (ben bunu yukarıda bahsedilen sebeplerden bir auraya ulaşma teşebbüsü olarak betimledim), temsil

tarzına, bir liminalite anına ve temsiliyet ilan etmeye karşı direnişe ulaşma girişimi olarak ele aldığım alt başlıklardır. Ayrıca, performansı zaman ve mekânda konumlandırmak için üçüncü ekseni de ekledim, bu da birbiriyle kesişen üç alt başlığı içerir: aktörün dünyası, seyircinin dünyası ve performansın dünyasını yaratmak. Sadece Erdoğan ya da Türk siyasetindeki herhangi bir aktör hakkında değil, aynı zamanda performatif siyaset çerçevesi ile farklı bağlamlardaki diğer aktörler için de farklı bir araştırma yapmanın günümüz dünyasında performatif siyaseti anlamak için çok yararlı olacağını savunmaktayım.

Üçüncü katkı ise, Erdoğan ve AKP'yi anlamak için bu çerçeveyi kullanmamdır. AKP ve Erdoğan üzerine çeşitli araştırmalar olsa da Erdoğan'ın seyircilerle ilişki kurmak için kullandığı dramaturjik yönler üzerine yapılan araştırmalar oldukça sınırlıdır. Bu sınırlamanın nedenlerini çeşitli bölümlerde ele aldım, ancak birkaçını vurgulamak gerekirse; bir performansı gözlemlemek ve analiz etmek için böyle bir kayıt ve paylaşım teknolojisi nispeten yenidir, akademisyenler genellikle bir performansın dramaturjik yönleri hakkında araştırma yapmakta tereddüt ederler ve performatif siyaset son on yılda çok ciddi bir şekilde varlığını göstermiştir. Bununla birlikte, bir aktör ile seyirci arasındaki ilişki üzerine yapılan bu tür araştırmalar, seyirciyi etkileme gücüne dair mistisizmi açığa çıkarmaktadır; bu güç, gündelik yaşamda var olan hegemonik bir projede daha geniş bir başarıya sahip olmak için repertuvarda yeniden yapılandırmadır ve sandıktaki oylama da dahil, ancak bunlarla sınırlı olmamak üzere, seyirci davranışını doğrudan etkilemektedir. Bu anlamda AKP ve Erdoğan'ı performatif siyaset çerçevesiyle kavramak esastır ve Türkiye'de olan (veya olamayan) siyasete ilgi duyan siyaset bilimcileri bunu yapmaya teşvik edilmelidir.

Son olarak, bu tür projelerin her zaman alternatif projelerin nasıl uygulanabileceğini hayal etmek için araştırmanın seyircisini etkileme hedefi vardır. Nasıl olduğu sorusu zaten her zaman kısmen gizli ama algılanabilir bir biçimde gündemi oluşturmaktadır. Her ne kadar performatif siyaseti anlamanın gizemini çözmekten ve onun üzerinde araştırma yaparak anlamaktan başka ne yapılacağı sorusuna doğrudan değinmemiş olsam da, nasıl olduğunu anlamlandırmanın bazı aktörlerin alternatif projeleri için yardımcı olacağını düşünmekteyim. Bu yüzden Brecht ve Benjamin'e yönelik ağır eleştirilere rağmen, onların pratiğe olan bağlılıklarını takdire şayan buldum. Bununla birlikte, Adorno'nun haklı olarak ifade ettiği gibi, seyircileri rasyonel düşünceye doğru

tetiklemenin seyirciyi içinde yaşadıkları gerçeklikle yüzleşmeye ve direnmeye yönlendireceğini düşünmek saflıktır. Bu nedenle, Stanislavski'nin merkeze oturttuğu seyirciyi nasıl etkileyeceğine dair yöntemlerinin, içinde yaşadığımız çerçeve üzerinde daha önemli bir etkiye sahip olduğu sonucuna vardım. Bu kuşkusuz Mouffe'un Sol Popülizm İçin (2018) vizyonuyla paraleldir. Aslında aradaki fark, seyirciyle performatif siyaset olarak etkileşime girmenin dramaturjik yolları üzerine daha geniş bir kavrama değinmiş olmam ve nasıl yapıldığı sorusuna odaklanmamdır. Bu anlamda, günümüz dünyasında çarpık ilişkilerin dağıtılabileceğine ve alternatif projelerin duygusal etkileşim yöntemlerinin kullanıldığı performatif siyaset ile ancak hayata geçirilebileceğine ve bu araştırmanın, etkileşim araçlarına sahip aktörler üzerinde bir etkisi olacağına inancım tamdır.

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