QUEER SPACE AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE COUNTER-SPACES IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

QUEER SPACE AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO THE COUNTER-SPACES IN ANKARA

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This is to develop a critical understanding for 'counter-formation' to power through the psychogeographic mapping of "counter-spaces" in Ankara. It is explored that these spaces, as the territories of the other or dissident subjects for resisting, socializing, and organizing, paradoxically create their own otherness and the hegemonic relations in the stable and invariable spatial ambiances, practices, experiences or borders. The main argument of the study, therefore, is based on the subversion overall dialectical reversal of 'counter' formation within space production as it is believed that they are forced to be converted into ghettos with these anomalies. In order to disclose such reversal within the morphogenesis process of the counter-spaces, the theoretical framework of this study primarily relies on the contemporary critical theory, Queer Theory. In this respect, the thesis attempts to construct an alternative spatial formation, which is independent from power relations, by re-conceptualizing the notion of Queer Space, against its problematic uses in the literature. This study claims that this renewed spatial approach to power has a potential to undermine solid and fixed epistemo-ontological grounds of the counter-spaces, as the underlying reason of their conversion to ghettos.

Keywords: production of space, ghettos of emancipation, counter-space, Queer space, psychogeographic mapping, subjectification, subordination, power, identity politics.

ÖZ

ANKARA'DAKİ KARŞI-MEKANLARA BİR ALTERNATİF OLARAK QUEER MEKAN

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Bu çalışma, Ankara'nın karşı-mekanların psiko-coğrafi haritalaması üzerinden, iktidara yönelik 'karşı-oluşum'a eleştirel bir anlayış geliştirmek için üretildi. Ötekinin ya da muhalif öznelerin sosyalleşme, örgütlenme ve direnme alanları olan bu mekanların, durağan ve değişmeyen mekansal ambiyanslar, pratikler, deneyimler ve sınırlar içinde kendi ötekisini ve hegomonik ilişkilerini ürettiği keşfedilmiştir. Bu yüzden çalışmanın temel argümanı mekan üretimi içinde bütün diyalektik tersine dönüşleri altüst etmek üzerine kurulur çünkü bu anomaliler ile karşı-mekanların gettolara dönüştürüldüğüne inanılmaktadır. Bu mekanların morfogenez sürecinde böylesi tersine dönüşlerin ifşası için, çalışmanın teorik çerçevesi öncelikle çağdaş eleştirel teorilerden biri olan Queer Teori üzerine kuruludur. Bu bağlamda, tez, iktidara karşı ve iktidar ilişkilerinden bağımsız alternatif bir mekansal oluşumu, literatürdeki yanlış kullanımına karşı, Queer Mekan nosyonunu yeniden kavramsallaştırarak yaratmaya çalışır. Tez bu yeni mekansal yaklaşımın, kentin karşı-mekanlarının gettolaşmasına neden olan katı ve sabit epistemo-ontolojik zemini bozacak potansiyele sahip olduğunu savunur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: mekan üretimi, özgürlük gettoları, karşı-mekan, Queer mekan, psiko-coğrafik haritalama, özneleştirme, maduniyet, iktidar, kimlik siyaseti.

To my parents...

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I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın for his academic knowledge, competence and support that prevents the study from adverse influences of the agent. Because of his precious interpretation and contribution, this study has reached an academic saturation in a short time. I would also like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Levent Şentürk who paved the way of existence of such a study through his seminal writing and always encouraged and supported the thesis in the production process.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> Great movements, vast rhythms, immense waves – these all collide and 'interfere' with one another; lesser movements, on the other hand, interpenetrate. If we were follow this model, we would say that any social locus could only be properly understood by taking two kinds of determinations into account: on the one hand, that locus would be mobilized, carried forward and sometimes smashed apart by major tendencies, those tendencies which 'interfere' with one another; on the other hand, it would be penetrated by, and shot through with, the weaker tendencies characteristic of networks and pathways. [1]

How movements, rhythms and frequencies occur in hydrodynamics is referred to by Henri Lefebvre to understand the production of spatial contents and forms. According to this metaphorical expression, linguistic, syntactic, semantic and even tectonic constructions of a space dominate and/or associate its social environment, like influences of social phenomena upon its production process. Qualitative and quantitative values in this symbiotic relationship establish themselves from what is major to affect what is minor. In this aspect, space as a social production defines its boundaries through cultural and political formation of a society for their reproduction.

In this study, the coexistence of different sexual, spiritual and ideological identities for socializing, organizing and resisting and the socio-spatial network of the counter being in Ankara are interpreted as manifestations of dynamic and fluid movements in the social production of spaces. The morphogenesis of domains of superimposition or interpenetration within counter-formation, defined as counter-spaces, is analyzed through Lefebvre's discussion on the dynamic and, perhaps, organic production

[1] Henri Lefebvre. The Production of Space, Blackwell, 1991, pg. 87.

process. This study attempts to explain the reasons of spatial proximity of LGBTI-friendly spaces, political spaces and resistance spaces, as the counter-spaces, in the city.

In the psychogeographic mapping of , it is noticed the sources of these movements producing the counter-spaces lead to pacifying and fading dynamism out of their spatial boundaries as well. This study, thereby, attempts to conceptualize the counter-spaces through not just interactive and interfering relationships within social production, but also central fixations and restrictions in these relational formations. However, in Lefebvre's theory, neither the symptoms associated with the sphere of influence of major and minor movements nor the manifestations of the manipulative dynamism of these movements is contemplated. For a critical reading of spatial production of counter-formations, thereby, this thesis benefits from contemporary critical theories on the notions of subject and power.

This reading develops an alternative for inconsistencies within the dialectical structure of Lefebvre's space theory, which lead to limited and fixed spatial relations. This study claims that a third alternative is required in dialectical relation to enlarge the domain of interactions of productive movements in the production of space. For this thesis, Edward Soja's concept of "Thirdspace" proposed for "plural", "polyscopic" and/or "polyvalent" relations, rather than dialectical ones, paves the way for the criticism of the morphogenesis process of the counter-spaces in Ankara. However, Soja's discussion is not clear enough to understand the need of a third alternative in space production. For this reason, spatial reading of the counter-spaces, in this thesis, is to develop a critical understanding for dialectical relations within space production by generating an alternative spatial approach against power relations through re-conceptualization the notion of Queer Space. This new spatial approach attempts to compensate for the contradiction within Lefebvre's theory and the deficiency within Soja's discussion in order to subvert overall material and non-material boundaries of spatial fixation and restriction of the counter-formation in Ankara.

1.1 The Statement of the Problem

In this thesis, it is observed that the counter spaces in Ankara, as the socio-spatial constructions of the otherness, have several contradictions and internal inconsistencies for their counter-formations, owing to the Cartesian structure and the dialectical reversals in their ontology. The symptoms in the production of these spaces emerge as fixed counter representations and bodily performances. The liberatory effects of their ambiances and experiences cannot be disseminated to the rest of the city because of their non-material spatial boundaries. Therefore, they inevitably have the risk of turning into not just spaces of emancipation for the other, but also public ghettos, which is defined in this thesis as 'the ghettos of emancipation'.

Contemplating concepts of 'emancipation' and 'ghetto' together is epistemologically impossible as ghetto means the place of asylum or exile of any minority. The juxtaposition of these concepts in this study is a result of the ambivalence within the concept of "power" which contains the process of both subordination and subjectification, which is discussed comprehensively in the following sections. This ambivalence derives from the fact that power is not only what is opposed as the founder of the subject and its desire, and the condition of its existence, but also what is strongly committed for being of the subject. The paradoxical relationship between the 'ghetto' and 'emancipation' is the glimpse of the psychic relationship between the subject and power. This study strives to expose the paradox in each of the two cases by questioning the dialectic between subjectification and power.

1.2 Theoretical Framework of the Thesis

The goal of this study is to develop a criticism of the spatial boundaries of the counter-spaces in Ankara by comparing normative and deviant representations with multiple and unstable possibilities in the production of space. This is because the subject against the hegemonic authority as one both experiencing and producing the counter-spaces creates them with power's assumption and knowledge. It is claimed that such a spatial consciousness in order to stimulate new strategies for a counter organization paradoxically justify and consolidate spatial boundaries of power relations.

In this study, a special production of a counter being is discussed through a criticism of their binary categories and dichotomic structures by referring to a broad theoretical basis, from Neo-Marxism to Post-Marxism. For that purpose, this thesis firstly is based on Lefebvre's theory of production of space to analyze the morphogenesis of the counter-spaces. In this spatial reading, it is noticed that a dialectical production has some contradictions because of the risk of conversion of a thing to its anti-thing, which is interpreted as the transformation of places of socializing, organizing and resisting for emancipation into public ghettos. To develop a critical understanding for social and spatial boundaries of the "counter-spaces" in the city, this ghettoization is interpreted by utilizing Judith Butler's criticism on the gendered body, in Queer Theory. It is acknowledged that Butler's deconstructive approach toward gendered body paves the way for dislocation of boundaries of the counter-spaces, which is produced by spatial performativity of political subjects.

1.2.1 Space Production

Lefebvre claims that there is strong relationship between spatial theory and spatial practice by saying that space should be considered as a social product. In other words, space is not just a material thing, but also what constructs and effects phenomena generating it. According to Lefebvre, space production occurs in the dialectical relationship between products and producers, which is conceptualized as the social production of space or "Social Space". Lefebvre's argument is that: "A social space is constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of (sensory) data, nor by a void pocked like a parcel with various contents, and that it is irreducible to a 'form' imposed upon phenomena, upon things, upon physical materiality."[2] Space, according to this statement, is produced with spatial practices of subjects. Lefebvre emphasizes the importance of the body to understand the role of "spatial practices" for space production[3] — "spatial practice" is one of three moments of dialectical production of space. The other two elements in the triad are based on the relation-

[2] Ibid., pg.27.

[3] Lefebvre's approach to the notion of "body" is not same with the notion discussed in this thesis. Lefebvre uses this notion as physical part of the subject in the production of space apart from Butler's discussion of subject-formation.

ships between space and representation: “conceived space”, in other words “space of representation”; “lived space”, in other words “representation of space” or “spatial representation”.

Lefebvre claims that users are exposed to representations of space by saying that producers always act according to representation within the production of space.[4] Representation which creates manipulation within the space production is what causes the subjectification of the body which is objectified by Lefebvre in the discussion on spatial practices. Power determines not just spatial practices, but also the production of space by creating the representation of it. This is the symbiotic relationship between representing thing and represented thing, which creates absolute space of the power that effects not only the mind but also the body, in the dialectical relationship of Lefebvre’s triad.

> Social space, which is at first biomorphic and anthropological, tends to transcend this immediacy. Nothing disappears completely, however; nor can what subsists be defined solely in terms of traces, memories or relics. In space, what came earlier continues to underpin what follows. The preconditions of social space have their own particular way of enduring and remaining actual within that space[5]

In this study, the concept of “Social Space”, which organizes its social production through practices of imagination and reflective thought, is discussed based on the notion of the “phallic formant”. This space that creates/ is created by performative body is produced by not only “the repressive apparatus”, but also “the ideological apparatus” by representing it.[6] The representation as both the producer and the product of

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[4] Ibid., pg. 43.

[5] Ibid., pg. 229.

[6] Althusser, in analyses of the relations between the economic structures and the civil society, defends the thesis of that the revolutionary resistance and struggle need to be completely positioned against the capitalist state power and its legitimacy in politics to dismantle it. “The whole of the political class struggle revolves around the state”, but Althusser argues that, in the book: *On the Reproduction of Capitalism: Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, the seizure of the state power is not sufficient to overcome the subordination, and “the state apparatus” needs to be changed for it through the example of the social revolution of 1917. The functioning of the political conditions of plural but invisible ideological apparatus are ensured by “the repressive apparatus” massively and predominantly by violence, including physical repression - Althusser’s theory of the state formed not only on “the repressive apparatus” and “the state power”, but on “the ideological apparatus”, which is listed as

space creates its spatial power by dominating its spatial use and ambiance, which is defined metaphorically as "vertical space" by Lefebvre.

> It (the phallic) fulfils the extra function of ensuring that 'something' occupies this space, namely, a signifier which, rather than signifying a void, signifies a plenitude of destructive force – an illusion, therefore, of plenitude, and a space taken up by an 'object' bearing a heavy cargo of myth. The use of value of a space of this kind is political – exclusively so. If we speak of it as a 'subject' with suck and such an aim and with such and such means of action, this is because there really is a subject here, a political subject – power as such, and the state as such. [7]

In this respect, perpetration of the political identity of space and the subject position performing this perpetration are subordinated to power. "Representational space" is both the space of performances and a set of images, symbols, signs of the represented things.[8] Does that Lefebvre's approach to the use value of a space as not just the domain of power relations but also the source of its mean transformation of the space into power itself? In this question, which one organizes the other or what is the subject or the object is quite ambiguous. In this study, this complexity is discussed in a way so that space loses its homogeneity in the course of time under the influence of dominant power or ideology on the one hand; it produces its own ideological and practical hegemony with its characterized spatial identity, on the other. The hegemony of space creates behavioral and perceptual identity categories imagined and performed in the real, and imaginary world of the subject who experiences it. The boundary of hegemonic identity determines the borders of space by separating inside from outside or the center from the periphery.

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the religious, the educational, the family, the legal ISA, the political ISA, the communications, the cultural ISA. In this respect, the revolution against state power is provided with the change of both apparatus of the state in the interlocked relationships otherwise, "no class can hold State power over a long period without at the same time exercising it hegemony over and in the time State Ideological Apparatus".

[7] Ibid., pg. 287.

[8] Ibid., pg. 295.

1.2.2 Critical Approach to Dialectical Structure of the Space Production

The socio-spatial dialectic of relationship between power and the subject, which is a difficult phenomenon to observe but one of the most visible ways is how space is occupied or appropriated and by whom,[9] is established on the ontological debates of power and the subject. Subjects who create their own perpetration from what they are opposed to produce paradoxically their subordination since political opposition based on dichotomy inevitably creates its own stability and limits. In this context, the space of perpetration of identity politics has solid and fixed boundaries as a result of the regulation and control of power's practices, which causes the subjection of body in order to legitimize the strategies of power. The spaces of resistance or emancipation as "counter spaces" create their own ghettos or hierarchy, and psychically become a part of what they oppose. This is because the political identity that creates spatial fixing of "counter spaces" fundamentally subjects itself to what it refuses and/or exceeds. Therefore, the objective of this study is to develop a criticism of spatial boundaries of the counter-spaces by comparing static and permanent categories and identities and fluid/temporal ones in a material and metaphorical sense.

Any strategy or policy against power has to refuse to be positioned in fixed spatial boundaries in order to overcome the limitation of both the body and its practices since there is a strong relationships between social pressure and spatial dominance. The public space of the strategic and/or political practices is discussed in the domain of Queer Theory as the place of subjectification (*subjetivation*) of the body. According to Butler, the boundary of the body[10] is a social construction determined with what is hegemonic in public sphere.[11] For Butler, limitation of body through sub-

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[9] Ibid.

[10] This argument is related with Butler's critical theory for feminism, in the book: *Gender Trouble*. That the subject reproduces the power producing it within its own perpetration creates "ambivalence" in the relationships between power and subject. Butler asserts that fantasmatic impacts of ontological boundaries of gendered body can be eliminated with the subversion of static identity categories. According to Butler, the notion of sex constructed socially and culturally on the duality between male and female forms continuously the basis of the gender through the heteronormative performativity. Eliminating any dominion relations generated through gendered body can be provided with instability of identity politics that produce it, which includes the performance independent from the subject and performativities of the "anonymous body". Gender norms, for her, can be eradicated with "the proliferation of gender forms", "deterioration of the balance of substantive identity" and "subversion of compulsory heterosexuality roles".

[11] Judith Butler. "Bodily Inscriptions, Performativite Subversions," Gender Trouble, Routledge Press, 2006,

jectification justifies and reinforces power by which it is identified. Owing to that the subjectification of body which is constructed on power relations consolidates the norms that produce it, any political activity based on identity politics paradoxically reproduces power, even if it is oppositional, in that subjectification of the body psychically rationalizes and naturalizes power relations and its practice. Butler asserts that power simultaneously includes both subordination and resistance against itself.[12] Within the context of subjectification related to subordination process, power is what controls and constrains the subject, and the prerequisite of the being of it as well.[13] Therefore, any identity which creates its positions or performativity as a precondition for resistance justifies regulatory strategies of power regimes by normalizing and disseminating them.

The critical approach to the counter-spaces in Ankara, adopted here, stresses their limited spatial practices of identity politics based on antagonism. In this respect, Butler states that what is possible is a reposition of hegemony with subversive performativity instead of overcoming it completely as it is not absolute and transcendental power, but multi-centered and multi-polar relations. In the domain of "micro-power relations", resistance practices in the fixed spaces of permanent identity is a futile effort, they are even what feeds the notion of power. Dislocation of power [14], thereby, can be achieved by converting the rigid and inefficient boundaries of fixed and static categories, identities, spaces and forms of resistance to variable and productive ones. Each act of fixing generates new forms of power.

1.3 Methodology

The thesis analyzes the maps of morphogenesis of spatial boundaries and positionalities of spaces defined as ghettos of emancipation. It aims to construct integral

pp. 174-194.

[12] Judith Butler. "Subjection, Resistance, Resignification: Between Freud and Foucault," The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection, Stanford University Press, 1997, pp. 83-106.

[13] Judith Butler. Dispossesion: The Performative in the Political, Polity Press, 2013, pp. 155- 163.

[14] In the issue of political economy, the dynamic self-generating forms of resistance have to be produced against capitalism's revolutionary motives, which is conceptualized as "permanent revolution".

environments in the city through the mapping psychological and sensual effects of the physical forms and locations of these spaces, and observation of various "behavioral experiments" in these spaces. This study uses mapping of the relation between human psychology and urban environment to explore the spatial strategies or tactics of both construction and resistance of the oppositional identity. It analyzes the ghettos of emancipation as the result of the division of the city into zones of distinct ambiance by using the technique of psychogeographic mapping of the Situationist International. The technique of urban exploration for a critique of contemporary city is based on transforming the cartography of the modern city through "the integral construction of the environment in dynamic connection with behavioral experiments"[15].

Production of an alternative space with performances of the "anonymous body" causes the reconstruction and reformulation of urban spatial boundaries. The psychogeographic mapping of the dynamism of these spaces is related with "the material setting of life" and "the behaviors", which is provided with sudden change of experimental behavior and ambiances of a space that creates a systematic and provocative dissemination of *détournement*. In the Situationist notion, a complete and sudden change of the spirit is necessary for reconstruction of the city through experiences and desires of the body. "The variety of possible combinations of environments" and "analogues to the dissolution of pure chemical bodies in an infinitive number of mixtures"[16] create both metaphorical and material method of this reconstruction. Qualitative and/or quantitative reconstruction of an environment and ambience of a space is the systematic provocation of integral thrilling game, which is theorized by Guy Debord with the theory of *dérive* (drift). Situationists who have considered the architecture's function as provocation[17] have judged the experimental behavior of psychogeographic drift as a technique of urban exploration and temporal reconstruction.(Figure 1.1, 1.2, 1.3)

Debord's psychogeographic drift through the city, in contrast to the known and experienced circulation of the city causes a *détournement* of bodily and spatial experiences of subjects (Figure 1.4). The thesis is formed on analyzing and exploring the illusion

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[15] Tom McDonough. The Situationists and the City, London: Verso, 2009, pg.16.

[16] Ibid., pp. 37-66.

[17] Ibid., pg. 135.

of what are defined or considered as counter-spaces of the city through their psychogeographic mapping. Boundaries of 'ghettos of emancipation' as the anomaly of counter-spaces are related to spatial fixing of visibility and accessibility of the other.

The reason why the counter-spaces cannot be places of emancipation for the other is that the opposition originated from the power itself fixes its psychogeographic pattern and experiences in the rigid spatial boundaries. Although their spatial ambiances and experiences superpose and interpenetrate with each other in their habitat, these spaces are not able to disseminate their subversive effects to the rest of the city. What makes micro-psychogeographic of spaces for organizing, socializing, resisting legible and imaginable is what systematically provokes a sudden change of experimental behavior and ambiance.

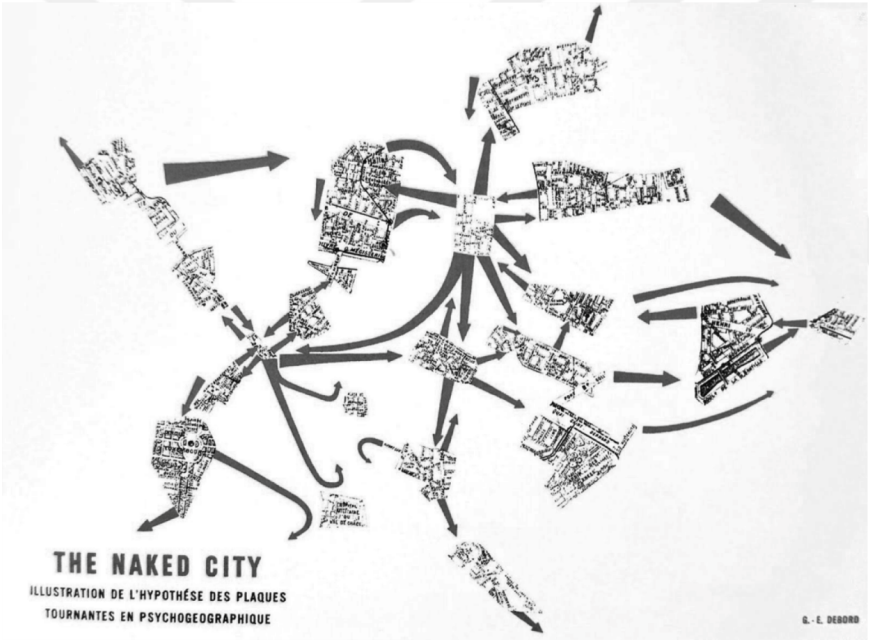


Figure 1.1: Psychogeographic mapping of a city. Guy Debord, The Naked City, 1957.

The main reason why the terminology and technique of the S.I. constitute the methodology of this study is to avoid the monotype and inefficient analysis of the traditional mapping methods for the exploration of the city. Situationists' integral construction of an environment, which is discussed in the context of "Unitary Urbanism", is created with the multi-layered, parametric and temporal spatial relations and productions. The S.I has two main techniques to explore the city, which seen as un-scientific and

too subjective: the first is "a simple mass-observation of the way people behave" in the different urban environments; the second one is "the assessment of the psychogeographical drift" which is undirected pedestrian's circulation in a particular quarter of the city. These two techniques provide non-traditional spatial reading for a critical understanding the boundaries of counter-spaces through diagrams of imaginary variations of ambience and the spatial practice with the visualization of the certain shifting angles or certain receding perspectives of spaces.

The spectrum of the momentary ambiance or environment of counter-spaces – it is constituted by the assemblage of structures and routes, and of functions and their interrelations for the S.I.– in the urban imaginary is analyzed and explored with these techniques. To make spatial boundaries of ghettos of emancipation perceptible and comprehensible, the awareness of psychogeographical effects has an important role for explorations of possibilities of the body's emancipation. By saying that "built environment might change with the eternal spectrum of desires of its inhabitants"[18], the S.I. claims that various experimental behaviors and ambiances create more fluid and more entertaining urban spaces. In the conception of the S.I., the city divided into distinct quarters[19] is reconstructed owing to psychological and sensual effects of the modifiable form of the urban spaces and its repetitive spectacles, which is seen as the precondition of emancipation of the body.

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[18] Ibid., pp. 32- 36.

[19] According to Simon Sadler, the contemporary city has the seductive effect on its inhabitants. In his book titled as *The Situationist City*, he asserts that the city of the power or capital has to be subdivided into quarters in order to govern and organize social structuring of the city, which effects inhabitants' mood, behavior, and choice of route as the drift through the city.

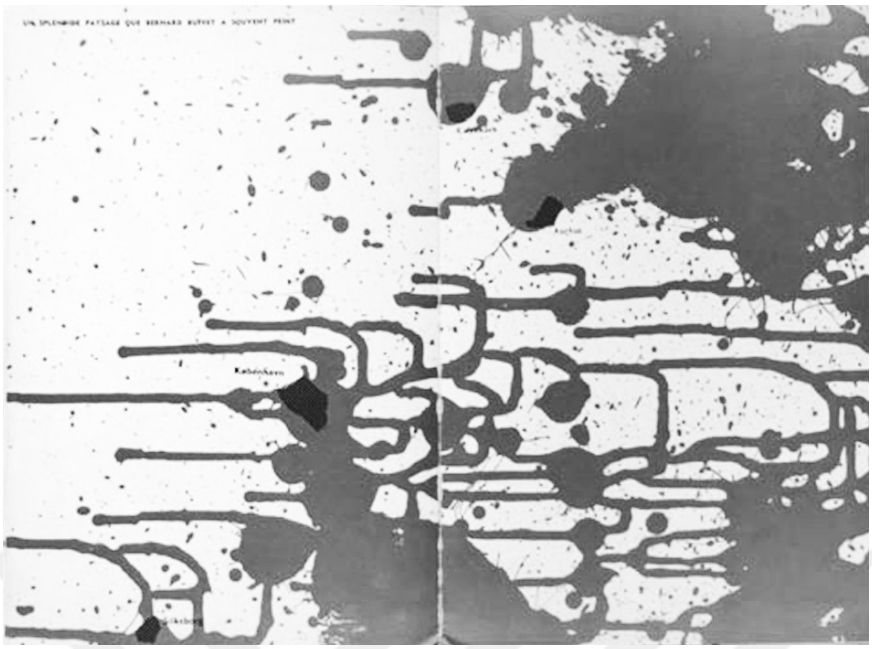


Figure 1.2: Spread from Asger Jorn and Guy Debord - 1, Fin de Copenhague, 1957.

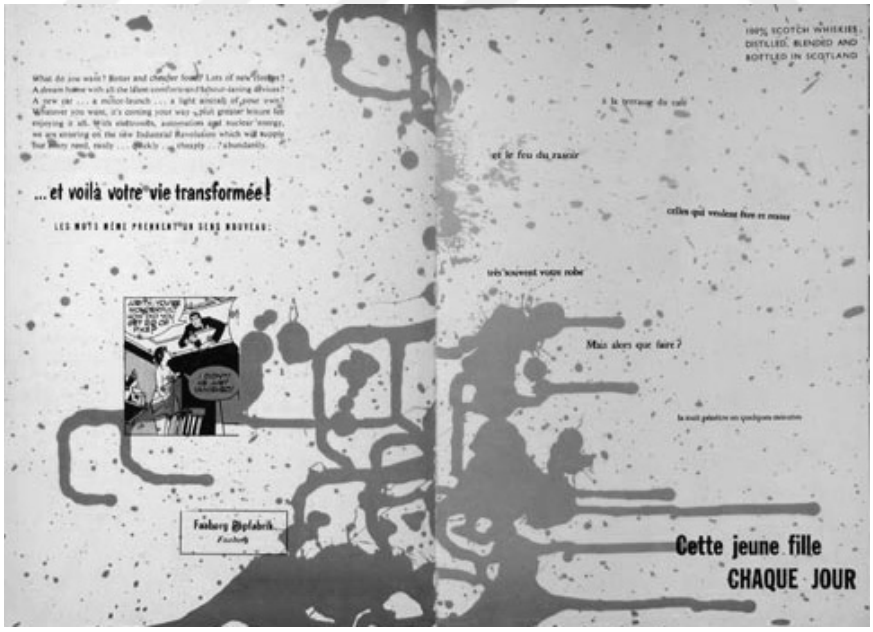


Figure 1.3: Spread from Asger Jorn and Guy Debord - 2, Fin de Copenhague, 1957.

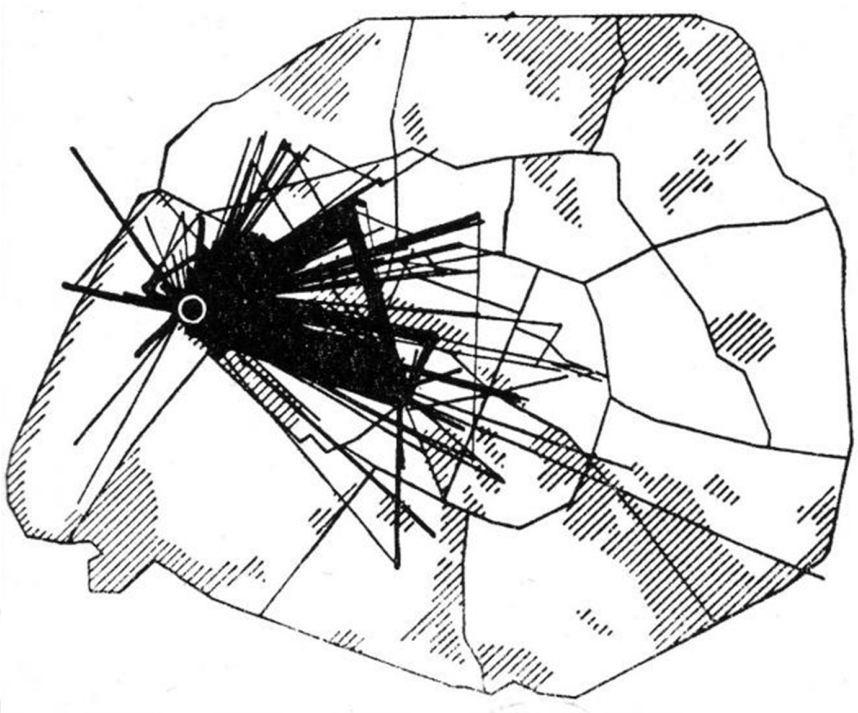


Figure 1.4: “Commutes during the course of a year by a girl in the 16th arrondissement. The central triangle has for vertices: home, piano lessons, and courses in Political Science.” Paris and the Parisian Region, 1952.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

In this study, criticisms on spaces of counter-formation are grounded upon the paradoxical return of this formation to legitimating of power and its apparatus. In other words, arguments of the thesis are built on questioning epistemo-ontological ground of oppositional being by benefiting from debates on the notion of power. Although the criticisms, which are related with the dialectical reversal of counter formations to power itself, in this study may seem speculative or manipulative approaches to the socio-spatial organization against the authority in the city, it is believed that they are essential to eliminate the dialectical reversals in the counter-spaces. This study attempts to structure its proposals with its critical understanding. Therefore, common arguments are used for both disclosing and dislocating of symptoms within the morphogenesis process of counter-spaces.

The thesis has three sections. The first is to quest whether a counter formation to power is possible by analyzing the production of counter-spaces in Ankara with

Lefebvre's space production theory. In this analysis, three moment (spatial practices, representation of space and space of representation) in the production relations of the counter-spaces of the city, and their spatial differentiation in the city are interpreted through both the mapping six subjective physcgeography and urban social memory depended on experiences.

The second is to respond this question by referring to post-structuralist and post-modernist thinkers. It is explored that there are spatial superimposition and interpenetration in these maps, which is defined as a habitat of public assembly by utilizing debate on "relatedness" between social structure and spatial differentiation. Socio-spatial formation of this habitat is problematized by claiming ghettoization of the counter-spaces owing to their spatial performativity, and reproduction of power relation in this performativity.

The third as the conclusion of this study is to expand epsitemo-ontologic ground of counter-formation by referring to post-Marxist Theory and Queer Theory. In this matter, several arguments are establishes in order to prevent dialectical reversal (ghettoization and reproduction of power relations) that causes the paradox or the illusion in the morphogenesis of the counter-spaces. This chapter develops as alternative of the notion of "counter-space" by re-conceptualizing the notion of "Queer Space" to deconstruct all assumptions and knowledge systems of power.

CHAPTER 2

ANALYZING THE MORPHOGENESIS OF COUNTER-SPACES

2.1 Production of the Counter-Spaces (LGBTI-Friendly Spaces, Political Spaces and Resistance Spaces in Ankara)

> The built environment reflects the identities, differences and struggles of gender, class, race, culture and age. It shows the interests of people in empowerment and freedom, the interests of the state in social order, and the private corporate interest in stimulating consumption. Because architecture and urban design involve transformations in the ways we frame life, because design is the imagination and production of the future, the field cannot claim autonomy from the politics of social change. Such a rejection of autonomy entails no suggestion of determinism. The relations of architecture to social behavior are complex and culturally embedded interactions. Like the frame of a painting or the binding of a book, architecture is often cast as necessary yet neutral to the life within.[20]

Kim Dovey argues that there is a strong relation between power and space, in which he defines power as a control 'over' others. The space with its abilities such as regulation, limitation and control of human life becomes the scene for practices of power relations to control social interaction. The practices of power are made invisible by being embedded in cultural and social values. Therefore power can be a difficult phenomenon to observe but one of the most visible ways of exercising power is to occupy or control space. Through this way, power keeps the society under control by justifying and rationalizing its own practice and discourse through the cultural value and

[20] Kim Dovey. Framing Places, London: Routledge Press, 1999, pg. 1.

its social habitat.[21] Dovey states that the more that the structures and representations of power can be embedded in the framework of everyday life, the less questionable they become and the more effectively they can work. This is what lends built form a prime role as ideology.[22] The values embedded in the cultural and social relations have become absolute truths which individuals confirm and adopt without question. Owing to the absolute and unquestionable property of the knowledge encoded to individual and society life, they are kept under control by power by breaking individual consciousness and awareness.

On the other hand, Lefebvre puts forward that identities formed in opposition to power such as "liberals", "radicals", "progressives", "advanced democrats" and "revolutionaries" produce "counter-space" against its spatial policies in order to regulate, control and supervise the society. It can be said that "counter-space" is the place where political identities and/or practices against the spatial strategy and politics of power are produced.

> The quest for a 'counter-space' overwhelms the supposedly ironclad distinction between 'reform' and 'revolution'. Any proposal along these lines, even the most seemingly insignificant, shakes existing space to its foundations, along with its strategies and aims – namely, the imposition of homogeneity and transparency everywhere within the purview of power and its established order.[23]

The public opposition against repressive policy creates "specialization of struggle" against each spatial practice that disciplines individual and social life. The space is reproduced with the social and political use on the one hand, space stimulates new strategies for political organization and activists, on the other. Urban social move-

[21] To understand control of individuals through space, Foucault utilizes the metaphor of Bantham's Panopticon Prison, in *"Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, as the spatial equivalent of the relation between power and individuals. The form of this prison is a circle whose center is a watchtower and whose walls consist of cells. The individuals in these cells are kept under control and supervision by being observed. The watchtower is a representation of a monitoring and control mechanism. The presence or absence of the watchman does not affect the existence of this representation means because all inmates must act as though they are watched at all times. This leads to controlling their own behavior constantly, in other words power relations' invisible control over the society."

[22] Ibid., pg. 2.

[23] Lefebvre. The Production of Space, pg. 383.

ments politicize spaces, which is the symbiotic relationship between representing thing and represented thing. Because of politicization, these spaces create boundaries separating them from other urban spaces. These boundaries occur not just as a result of material differences between inside and outside, but also as differences of ambiances and spatial experiences. These non-material boundaries produced with spatial uses and practices separate and determine the volume of spaces, like material ones. This identification through material and non-material boundaries entails the differentiation of spaces. This point accounts for the material and metaphorical production of counter-spaces of Ankara, which are created with their discrete users' identities (non-material setting of life) and practices (socializing, resisting and organizing).

In this study, social and spatial production of the counter-spaces have been analyzed by mapping close, semi close and open spaces in which subjects exercise their socio-spatial rights in the city. Mapping of these spaces which have potential to undermine the order of things with their ambiance and spatial experiences, as Lefebvre says on the notion of "counter-space", has been started with exploring location of close public spaces defined as LGBTI-friendly spaces. They are generally located in the central district of the city: Kızılay. Kızılay as relatively the most crowded and busy quarter in Ankara is the encounter and interaction domain for different identities owing to having various functions (business, entertainment, education, health) and being the area of intersection of transportation axes in the city. Although the main reason of localization of LGBTI-friendly spaces in Kızılay is that this quarter admits of public visibility and accessibility of the other with political representations and practices of its some open and close spaces, which are 'political space' and 'resistance spaces of the city. Therefore mapping includes not just analysis of the LGBTI-friendly spaces, but also analysis of political spaces and resistance spaces that organize their locations in Kızılay.

Why the 'LGBTI-friendly spaces', 'political spaces' and 'resistance spaces' are accepted as counter-spaces of Ankara, in this thesis, are places of political practices of political subjects, framing the discussion of the politics of public spaces or public visibility of the other. Such a publicity in "hidden public spaces" makes room for those whose identities are marginal or antagonistic to dominant values, or whose spa-

tial freedoms are limited. This is because state as power produces and organizes the public space to sustain and legitimize its existence by preventing accessibility of the other to public space by markedly drawing legal, social and even physical boundaries of public space.

The accessibility and visibility of identities marginalized by power relations are kept under control in public spaces which are produced and organized by the state since the public visibility and use of marginalized individuals creates a danger to the social order of power. The reason why they are the counter-spaces, thereby, is identities of their users whose public visibility and public accessibility are limited with gendered moral values, legal and social regulation. The patriarchal and transphobic/homophobic verbal rules which are dominant in the society do not consider the visibility of LGBTI individuals in public spaces as a normal and natural thing. As a result, this group can just use specific and limited areas of public space to live their identities freely and to protect themselves from homophobic discourse and violence. All this policy of repression and of intimidation against homosexual, bisexual, transgender individuals lead them to live in ghettos within exclusion from the rest of the society. This division in space as ghettos is closely aligned with the division of gendered roles and practices, the location and conduct of gendered bodies.

LGBTI-friendly spaces are "safe areas" where LGBTI individuals socialize with each other and other users without hiding their identities. What makes these spaces LGBTI-friendly is that lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex can use them without being exposed to restriction, discrimination, stigma, violence or harassment. Their spatial uses separate these spaces from space strategy of hegemonic power. Mapping of these spaces that have not physical, emotional and intellectual violation, oppression and violence for LGBTI firstly are prepared via Ankara guide of Kaos-GL[24]. This guide has been created with spatial experiences of LGBTI in Ankara by a group named as *"Heteroseksist/Homofobik/Transfobik Eğlenceye Hayır!"*, which is organized through social media[25] of Kaos-GL. These spaces identified as "safe area" for LGBTI through the exploration of positive or negative behavior patterns of society

[24] Kaos-GL is as association that has been organized actively since 1999 in Ankara for rights and freedoms of LGBTI.

[25] http:\\www.facebook.com\home.php?sk=group_132262493512802&ap=1

in public spaces have generated LGBTI group's cognitive map of safety in the city. LGBTI's cognitive maps of safety and danger are both traced around specific social geographies shaped by sociological and ideological environment of the city. These individuals can use limited public spaces in which they are not exposed to homophobic violence and harassment, which are located in Çankaya.

Apart from the spaces in the social media posted as LGBTI-friendly spaces, whether there are undefined "safe area" or not is analyzed based on the interviews conducted with LGBTI users of these spaces by inquiring into where else they often go to socialize in Çankaya. Through analysis, it is explored that these spaces are not used by just LGBTI and their service policies are not determined according to just these subjects' needs and expectations (except from two spaces; one of them is used by just women, the other is used by lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans subjects). Additionally, spatial uses of LGBTI is related with identities of other users of spaces who construct their practical, intellectual and imaginative being on the opposition to power.

Political identities of users in LGBTI-friendly spaces are also those of users of political spaces of the city as other counter-spaces in mapping, like spaces of non-governmental organizations, associations, professional chambers and political parties. It is possible to observe that the location of these spaces in which those who are exposed to oppression and pressure of power because of their identities (gender, class, ethnicity, religion) can use for organizing and socializing in the same part of the city, Çankaya, is not a coincidence. Since the relationships between politics and power are constructed as a set of spatial relations. Acts of opposition ensures their existence and continuity by making links across space, which creates "space of flows" of opposition. Thus, the physical proximity of counter-spaces makes this flow easy for socializing, organizing and resisting political subjects and practices.

The proximity of spatial production which is important for the construction of the counter-spaces of the city, which is comprehensively discussed in following sections, has a potential to create an alternative to dominant strategies and policies of space production. As "marginalized and excluded social groups" existence in public space is important to democratize politics, to expand the area of freedom and to create active subjects of human rights and democratic politics. In course of time, individuals who

are just allowed to live at the periphery of the city have begun to use public space to gain public visibility and to ensure the visibility of the resistance against the ruling and the opposition of the power as well.[26] The transition and move from the periphery to the center of the city produces the counter-spaces of the city. Immediately below, the morphogenesis of the counter-spaces (LGBTI-friendly spaces, political spaces and resistance spaces) are discoursed by analyzing their location, construction, re-construction, limitation, penetration, interpenetration and superimposition. (Figure 2.1)

2.2 Observation and Assessment of Subjective and Objective Behavioral Experiences in the Counter-Spaces

> I could tell you how many steps make up the streets rising like stairways, and the degree of the arcades' curves, and what kind of zinc scales cover the roof; but I already know this would be the same as telling you nothing. The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past: the height of a lamppost and the distance from the ground of a hanged usurper's swaying feet; the line strung from the lamppost to the railing opposite and the festoons that decorate the course of the queen's nuptial procession; the height of that railing and the leap of the adulterer who climbed over it at dawn; the tilt of a guttering and a cat's progress along it as he slips into the same window; the firing range of a gunboat which has suddenly appeared beyond the cape and the bomb that destroys the guttering; the rips in the fish net and the three old men seated on the dock mending nets and telling each other for the hundredth time the Story of the gunboat of the usurper, who some say was the queen's illegitimate son, abandoned in his swaddling clothes there on the dock.[27]

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[26] Unpublished paper written by author for Arch-709 "Housing and Discourse II" lectured by Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan, in METU, Fall semester, 2015.

[27] Italio Calvino. Invisible Cities, "Cities and Memory 3: Zaira", New York, 1974, pg. 10.

Italio Calvino tells us that a city constructs itself not only on its material values, but on spatial experiences with these values. According to Calvino, a city is more than the totality of the material it has. In this context, one could contemplate that the mapping or visualization of temporal being of a city or a space is not sufficient to understand and tell completely what it is. Since momentary and material existence is not enough to conceive a space and its production process, which is discussed in following parts on social production of space, and so its incomplete production process. By accepting that inscriptive or visual expression of a space is inconclusive to introduce its continuous production and non-material being, analyzing the counter-spaces of Ankara is attempted to be constructed with alternative space reading methods. Firstly, the visualization of spaces is formed via the panoramic shooting technique that records a larger area than single shooting. The aim of using this technique is to document more information about space, furthermore, to destroy all perceived lengths, distances, proportions and angles of/between spaces for the *détournement* of their fixed existence. Secondly, the technique of montage/collage is utilized to subvert all temporal and spatial boundaries and belonging of things with images taken from different times and perspectives. The third method is the Situationist urban mapping technique, which is "psychogeographic mapping". Since this study, which is based on the criticism of inefficient boundaries, rigid and binary existence, requires an analysis method for the reproduction of spaces and integral construction of environment with new mapping technique rather than a traditional one.

2.2.1 Mapping of the Counter-Spaces in Ankara

In this study, it is believed that free and creative experiences in the counter-spaces are ensured with variable and fluid ambiance, which provides deformity and uncertainty of fixed spatial boundaries. As matter of fact, practices without sense of belonging to the place creates dynamic representations within space production for diverse needs, uses and enjoyment. Dissolved boundaries between inside-outside, periphery-center, local-global etc. generate "plural", "polyscopic", "polyvalent" configuration of space. For variable and dynamic spatio-temporal experiences, Debord creates a psychogeographic mapping based on the subjective user experience to change the known cartography of the city. Through this mapping, "Unitary Urbanism", which

was a project for "here-and-now" or for "post-revolutionary" society,[28] is attempted to be constructed with subjective circulation network of aimless, but conscious, drift (*dérive*) through the city divided into different quarters according to physical, functional and economic differences. Various possible routes of entry and egress from one "ambiance" to another which is defined as urban drift is to signal the value of drawing up unique maps of the city for each individual. *Dérive* as a technique of urban exploration for "an encounter with otherness" plays a central role for "the realization of desire" in the city. A transformed cartography through the psychogeographic mapping of the city construct an unitary ambiance and "a play of events" based on an unstable mix of desire, which is to create the integral construction of an environment in dynamic connection with behavioral experiments. This spatial relations network that has a potential for construction and reconstruction through spatial pleasures and needs of the subjects, which are extremely personal, creates a *détournement* for urban life of power politics and hegemony on space.

By utilizing Debord's mapping technique, six different subjects, whose common feature is being users of the counter-spaces of Ankara, were interviewed to create mapping of their personal urban uses(see Appendix). Debord's technique consists of observation and mapping of a subject's swift passage through varied environments in a year, in Paris, which is interpreted as "a kind of dialectical wandering". In this study, psychogeographic mapping of six subjects have been created according not to observation of their urban space uses in particular time, but to their spatial memories produced with activity of socializing, organizing and resisting. This mapping is to explore spatial representations – as a result of relationships between memories and material existences, as Calvino mentioned – of the counter-spaces in both their subjective and collective memories.

In the interviews, marking spaces of experiences of these activities on the city map has been asked from interviewees. Indicated spaces and routes for transition or circulation, which are important within their cognitive and material world by often using, generate the spatial memory that is produced with experiences in different times. In this sense, interviewees have explained their reason of preferring to go to the marked

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[28] McDonough. The Situationists and the City, pg. 16.

spaces in this way:

> These spaces are where I connect and contact with my lover safely and freely. My lesbian and gay friends have informed existences of these places me, but mostly I have learnt where are LGBTI-friendly spaces through my experiences. In some cafes or pubs, for example, I have not been allowed to go inside because of my sexual identity, and I have been removed because of touching or kissing my darling although all hetero-sexist couples live their loves freely. Therefore I have no longer gone there. (Subject-2)

> I have used some marked spaces on the map to organize and socialize with chatting on political issues and meeting new people. Other marked ones have effects upon my life. Political experiences in these parks, streets and squares have changed my point of view. (Subject-3)

The subjects, therefore, have not marked buildings, parks, streets, squares on the map, but images in their urban spatial practices. As the maps created by subjects themselves as the result of remembering spatial experiences that belong to various spaces and times have subjectively produced an imaginary collage of the city. In the study, six collages of subjects' spatio-temporal memories are interpreted with Tonkiss's representation concepts[29] for other's urban space uses. (Figure 2.2, 2.3)

1. Cafes/pubs/bistros as "representing social exchange": spaces for socializing and even organizing. The reason why they prefer these spaces is explained on the basis that they are more "safe" and "free" because of other familiar users.

2. Squares/parks as "representing collective belonging": voids of urban social movements.

3. Streets as "representing informal encounter": transition or circulation ways between nodes for these subjects, and besides some paths serve as places of political spectacle.

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[29] Frann Tonkiss. Spaces, the City and Social Theory, Cambridge: Polity Press, pg. 67.

Subjects create cognitively their own subjective cartography of the city through experiences and memories. In these cartographies, specialized parts of urban region, as location of the counter-spaces, their environment and accesses among them generate subjective use and circulation pattern for each subject. In the psychic worlds of the interviewees, these fragmented and disjointed urban uses and circulations actually are more integrated and related with each other through similar spatial representations and representation of space. Circulation and/or transition among the counter-spaces, for example, are more straight and more orthogonal, in the cartography of the city while cognitive mapping of these spaces in the memory reveals multiple relationship networks. As these three representations of spatial practices (social exchange, collective belonging and informal encounter) are associated by users behavioral and sensual continuity they live in the counter-spaces. Interviewers prepare an more integral urban mapping by indicating where they feel "more conformable", "safe" and "free" for them, in the memories, because of mnemonic values of spaces "as configuration of social relations", "as material practices" and "as element in discourse"[30]. In this cognitive mapping, each counter-space corresponds nodes of psychogeographical drift of the other through the region. Each node, as locus of imaginaries, organizes pleasure and freedom the counter-being with surrounding ones. How effective relations of each node with another ones depend on its proximity to them, in other words, the longer distance between spaces is, the less tendency to counter-formations is. The reason of low or high density of location of the counter-spaces correlates symbiotically with existence of political identities or representations (Figure 2.4).

Through this psychogeograpic mapping, it is explored that spatial uses of six different subjects in the city are similar to each other. Subjective psychogeography as a result of socializing, organizing and resisting, which are important for their subjectification, shows that the city is divided into various quarters not just according to geographic and economic factors, but also according to "representation that its inhabitants and those of other quarters have of it"[31]. In this respect, interviews with six subjects have been conducted and open-ended questions asked to interviewees in order to con-

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[30] David Harvey. Social Justice, Nature and Geography of Difference, Blackwell Publishing, 1996, pgs. 293, 294.

[31] McDonough. The Situationists and the City, pg. 78.

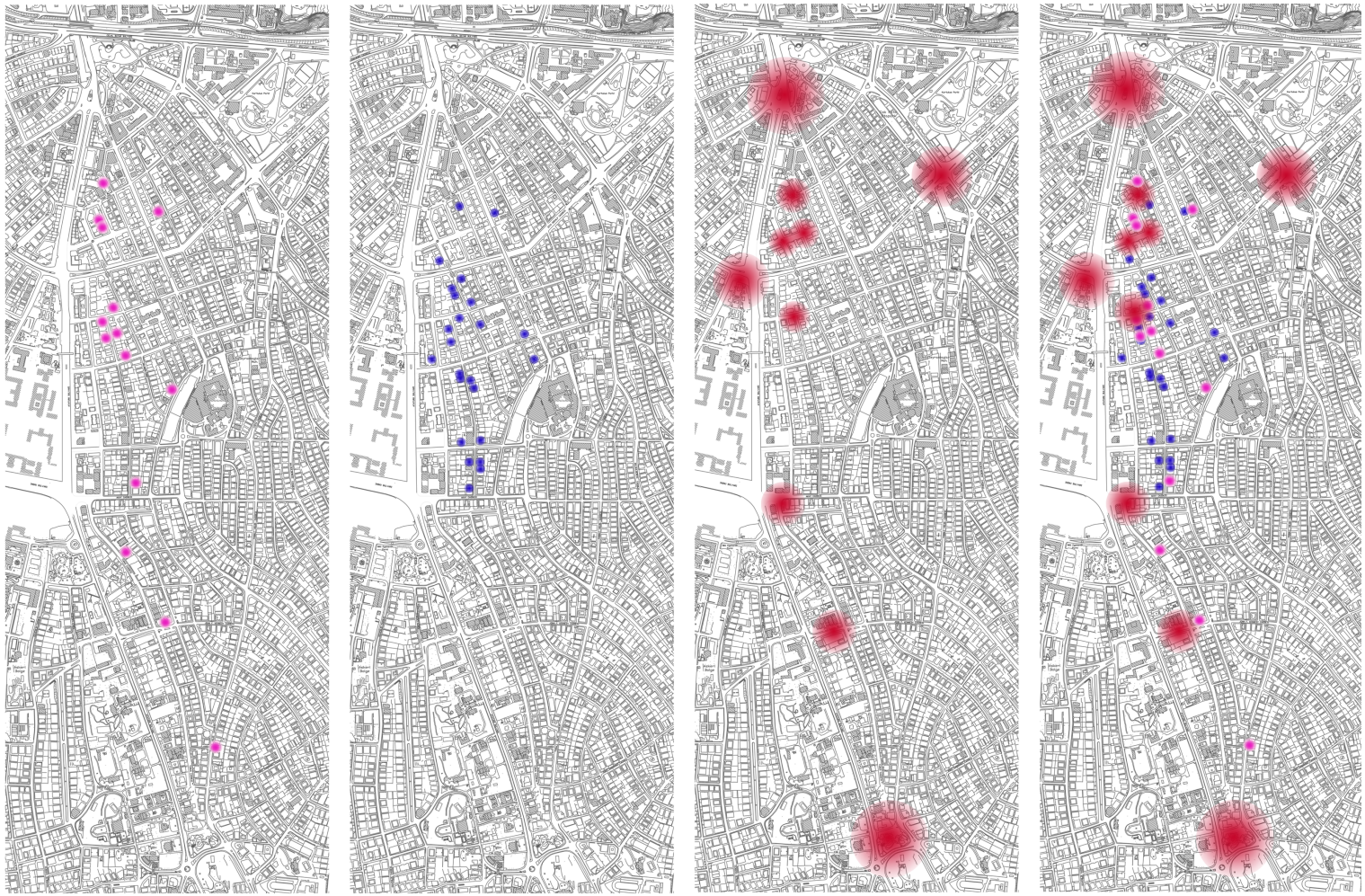


Figure 2.1: The counter-spaces of Ankara.

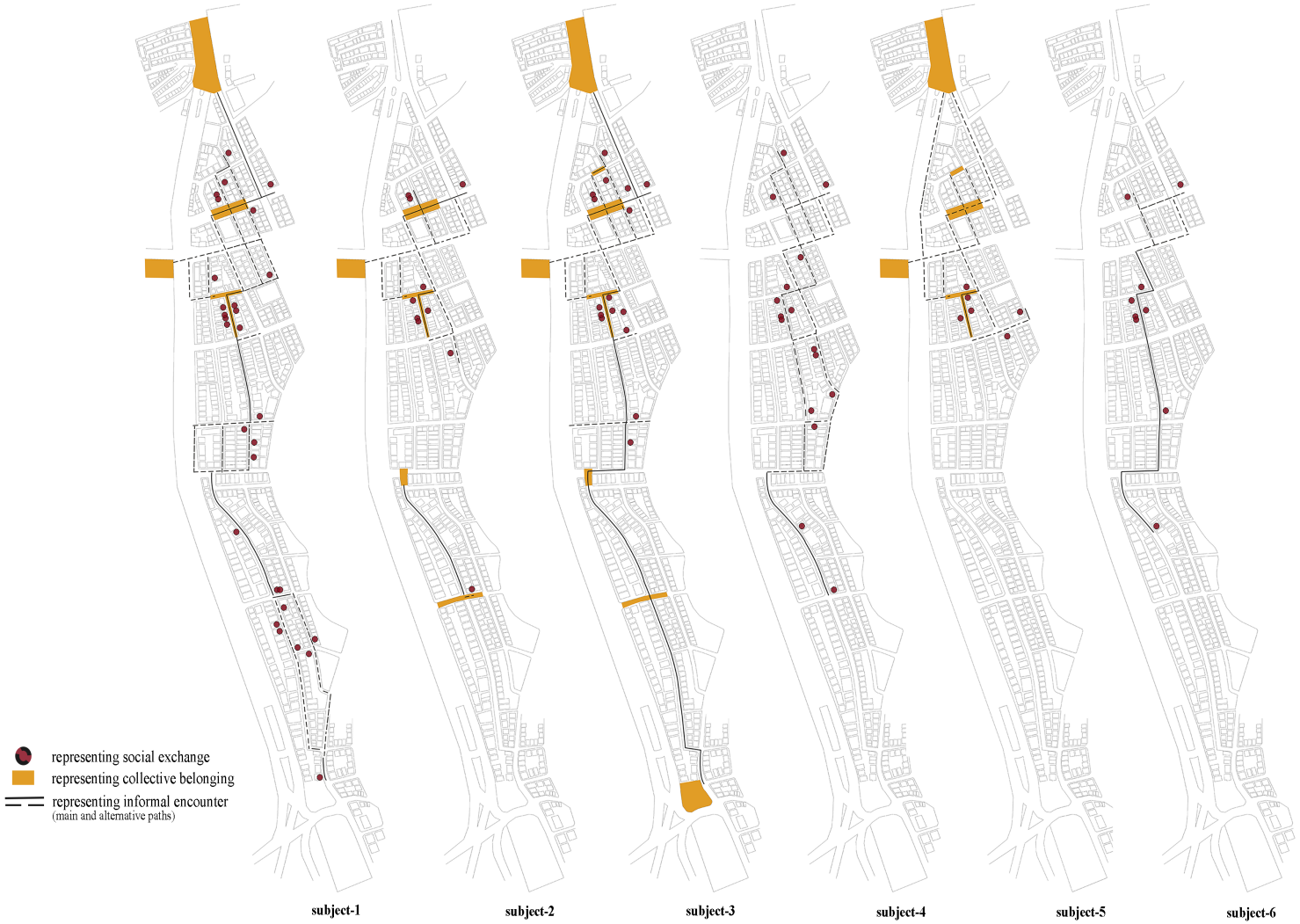


Figure 2.2: Psychogeographic mapping for six subjects.



Figure 2.3: Superposition of six psychogeographic maps.

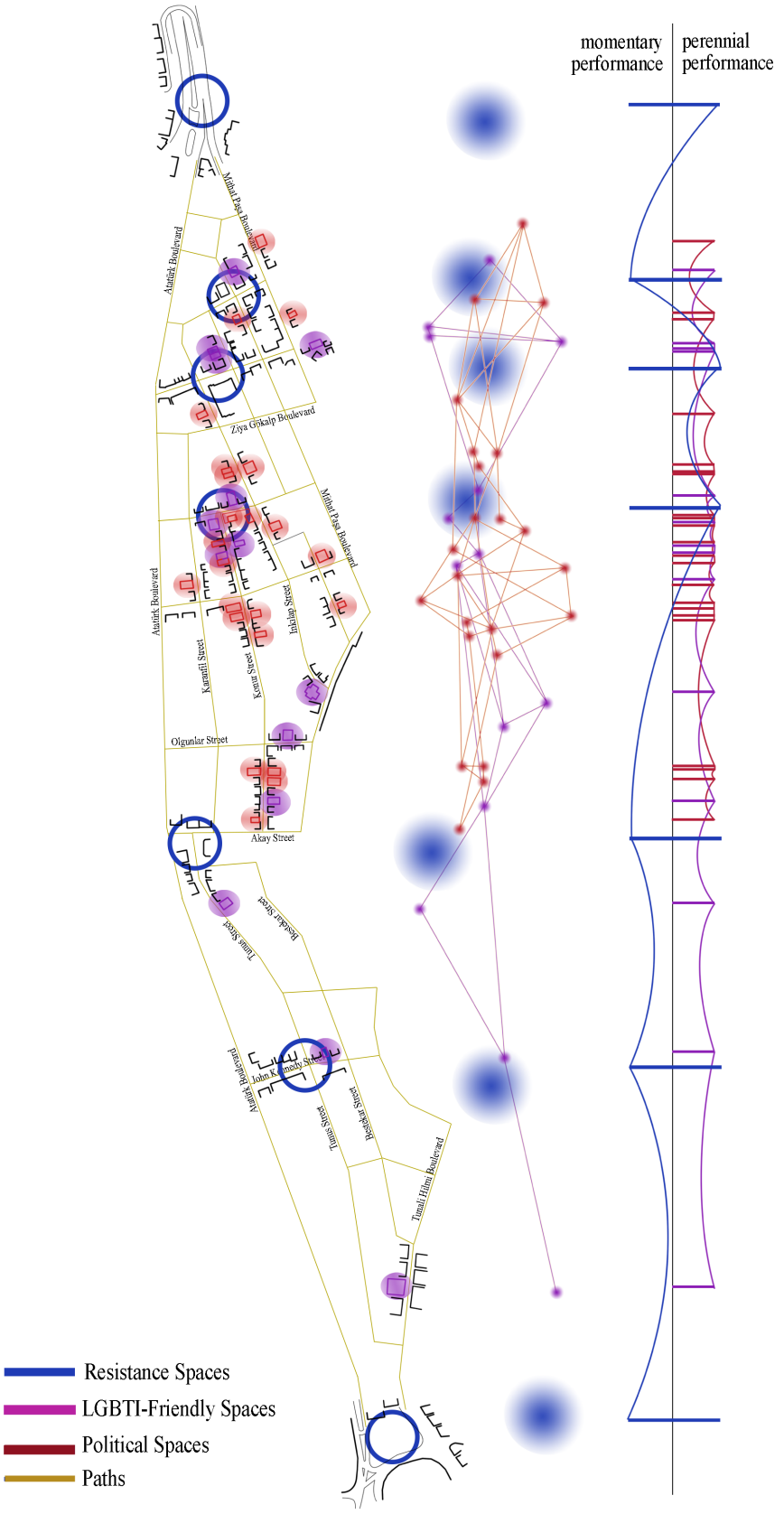


Figure 2.4: Cognitive mapping of the counter-spaces.

ceive counter-formation of the LGBTI-friendly spaces (cafes, pubs, bistros), the political spaces (buildings of non-govermental organizations, associations, professional champers, political parties) and the resistance spaces (squares, streets, parks). These questions are categorized in three parts (which are discussed in more detail in the section 2.3): the goal of the first part is to understand subject-formation of interviewers whose experiences and/or practices attribute "counter" identity to these spaces; that of the second is to question why they prefer to use these spaces; the third part is geared towards inspecting the subjective evaluation of policy or strategy within the spatial practices creating these counter-spaces.

"Bewildering affective results" of this case study is that marked spaces are important for unitary ambiance of the city in subjective experiences. It is explored that they are places of superposition of representations of subjects and their activities. Interviewers creates their own urban areas and networks by associating differentiation of their identity-formations and political ambiances. It is possible to notice in the interviews that criteria mentioned by subjects in the use of space is not determined essentially as a result of subjective evaluation and choice, but social needs and constraints. Since sensibilities and habits of those who see themselves different from social morphology produces their common spatial uses for resistance and being against what is majority or power. According to this mapping, various users of similar or even same domains and forms of urban uses by different subjects are glimpses of strong relations between common representation of subjects, which defines being minority or opponent, and "spatial representation" of the counter-spaces.

Subjects create their own spaces, streets and squares by specifying their spatial uses even though there are numerous alternatives for socializing, organizing, resisting areas in the city. Specialized and repeated uses provide psychological, and even physical, domination over the spaces. In these uses, what is the underlying cause of proximity or similarity of experienced spaces and transition areas of the other? Is it enough to explain that what makes spaces counter is spatial presences of the other or the dissident? How sufficient are abstract values like gender, religion, ethnicity, ideology in order to create special penetration and superimposition? Is there any physical variant for this proximity or similarity in urban space uses? There is actually no perceptible (volumetric or material) difference between the counter-spaces used by these six

subjects and other ones, but does this prove the absence of physical variant in this affinity?

To recognize tangible differentiation within morphogenesis of counter spaces, the scale of mapping and time of observation need to be reduced. Therefore physical change can be noticed in squares, streets or parks during urban social movements and political spectacle. Bodily movement, posture or human density in routine of these spaces shift during political activity. In other words, observable changes within human or vehicular traffic or togetherness of political bodies and tools (banners, barricades, tents, organization stands) happen within protest, meeting or press release. However, effects of urban social movement or political spectacle exceed its own spatio-temporal boundaries because each counter space in subjective spatial memory for urban use is produced around representation of these effects. In real the world, the other or the dissident socializes and organizes at environments of the political representation of spaces.

In this study, thereby, it is argued that what make spaces "counter" are counter practices and counter subject-formations. One of the arguments of this study is that spatial differentiation as being counter is effectuated with a *détournement* seen as need for reconstruction of the city by S.I., which is provided with changing of landscape momentarily through breaks within routine of spatial experiences and ambiances. Changes in urban tissue and their effects of a psychogeographic nature has a potential for reproduction of cartography of the city. Although these breaks are more legible and appreciable in open spaces (squares and streets) than in close spaces (LGBTI-friendly spaces or political spaces), which are illustrated in the following part as changing spatial perception and spatio-temporal experiences in mapping.

2.2.2 Illustration of Imaginary Variations of Temporal Ambiance and the Spatial Practice in the Counter-Spaces

This part concerns with spatio-temporal breaks organizing and reproducing the counter-spaces in Ankara. Routine and planned functions of public spaces defined as the resistance spaces in this thesis live a *détournement* through the political practices of social agents. This change in routine of uses effects not just its spaces, but also its

close environment. The resistance spaces in the city as places of liberatory practices of subjects apart from usual urban space uses create a possibility for the reconstruction of their environment. Spatial experiences generated through political practices create physchogeography of the other or the dissident subject by establishing a socio-spatial network where the usual ambiance or environment is broken. These practices produces their dynamism and internal energy on the spatial proximity of the counter-spaces and coexistence of their users in that. Influence and being of spatio-temporal break is provided with shortness of spatial range. Subjects whose experiences cause spatial *détournement* of the counter-spaces prefer to produce their organizing and socializing activities close to resistance spaces and each other. This proximity is important for the continuity and repetition of the abrupt spatial changes, which create the geography of public visibility and uses of the other. Constructing new patterns of socio-spatial experiences within close relations produces habitat of public assembly as an alternative against spatial strategies and policies of power. To disclose *détournement* of public use, some spatial reading is made in the counter-spaces of the city by analyzing sudden and temporal change within ambience and the spatial experiences.

One of the resistance spaces is the junction of Konur and Yüksel Streets, as one of the places of this spatio-temporal break, is the place of heterogeneity of encounter for various identities because of intense human use in daily life. Being on the transition area entails coincidental association and coexistence of different subjects. Sudden change in the ambiance of this space, as terrain for political organization as well, occurs during political experiences around of Human Right Sculpture. The space lost its public uses for all by being criminalized through posture of the force of state and social agents. The tension created by this confrontation produces material and non-material barriers for transition in its everyday uses. This temporal and/or sudden change of ambiance constructs political representation for the space through political practices producing/produced (by) this counter-space.

During public assembly, the force as “the repressive apparatus” of the state locates at place in which it interferes and controls easily political practice, which is closer side of the junction to Atatürk Boulevard and Ziya Gökalp Boulevard. This location is determined according to access of the force groups coming by police vehicles, which have been placed at crossings recently because of increased ‘security’ concerns in the

country. Political subjects locate next the sculpture. Their faces are turned toward the force, like the sculpture. Human Rights Sculpture as object of political organization creates a reference for posture of both police and social agents, further, becomes a determinant point for volume of political practices. The subjects are allowed to organize in this volume more freely, but they are exposed to police interventions when they violate limits of this spaces, which is related with spatial and temporal practices as well[32].(Figure 2.5)

Another resistance space is the Sıhhıye Square as a counter-space of Ankara. The square, which has an important position within the history of urbanization of Ankara, has reproduced its representation generated in historical integrity owing to its identity of resistance.[33] Today, it has lost its feature as a square in daily life by being divided with roads of heavy vehicle traffic. In some symbolic days, however, it regains this identity temporarily by being closed to vehicle traffic during urban social movements. (Figure 2.6)

Temporary change of ambiance and experience is observed less in Sakarya Square as another counter-space in the city. As a pedestrian zone, tangible and/or intangible effects of political practices are not noticed there as much as the Sıhhıye Square. (Figure 2.8)

Another counter-space is in front of Türk-İş Building as place of the Tekel Resistance, which was started by workers in 15th December 2009. Workers have carried out a struggle that lasted 78 days, which was the largest mass walkout in Turkey after 1980 against unemployment, the precarious working conditions, the extortion of fees and threats to pension rights. The resistance proved to be of great importance throughout the country in terms of the development of the class movement. Workers who pitched tents in front of Türk-İş Building and stayed there during the resistance have attributed a new representation to there by changing its spatial practices – however the front of the building cannot be a place of political practices in urban life owing to fixed influence of this spatial representation in its own spatio-temporal experiences. The

[32] Press releases or meetings have to be carried out in reported times, and defined materials and strategies have to be complied. Otherwise they are prohibited, prevented and interfere by force.

[33] Kıvanç Kılınç. "*Öncü Halk Sağlığı Projelerinin Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Sıhhıye*", ed. G. A. Sargın, Başkent Üzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler: Ankara'nın Kamusal Yüzleri, İletişim Press, 2002, pp. 119-156.



Figure 2.5: Imaginary variations of temporal ambience at Yüksel Street.



Figure 2.6: Imaginary variations of temporal ambience at Sıhhiye Square.



Figure 2.7: Imaginary variations of temporal ambience at the surroundings of Türk-İş Building.

front of Türk-İş Building is imagined in social memory as the space of the biggest workers' resistance in Turkey after 1980. Because of this imagination, this space that breaks its spatial experiences and ambiance temporally is important for the study, even if it cannot sustain this influence. (Figure 2.7)

The interactive relation among the LGBTI-friendly spaces, the political spaces and the resistance spaces is not continuous in the mapping. The unifying structure of the counter-spaces in the city experiences a break at the section of the map above Akay Street. The socio-spatial pattern of counter-formation in the city disappears at this section framed with Akay Street and Kuğulu Park. The characteristics of the streets and buildings in this section or user profiles of them are uncertain and variable. This area is used generally by people who have higher economic income and more liberal worldview, compared to the northern part of the map extending from Akay Street to Sıhhıye Square. The reason why the mapping includes this part is that this area contains places in which one of the biggest resistances of country has been experienced intensely during Gezi Movement[34]. Tunus Street, John F. Kennedy Street and

[34] The movement has been started by a group of people protesting that the park was opened to construction unlawfully. By expanding the boundaries and increasing number of the insurgent who have contrary opinions in a short time, the movement has become the most influential protest of Turkey after 1980. Since domination

Kuğulu Park have an importance for the political history of Turkey and LGBTI struggle. Since LGBTI individuals resisted against the disproportionate force of the police shoulder to shoulder with other activists without exclusion.

Tunus Street, John F. Kennedy Street and Kuğulu Park were places the solidarity of LGBTI and political subjects during one of the biggest socio-spatial resistance of the country, Gezi Movement. This solidarity is the reason why these two streets and park are analyzed in the mapping in spite of a break within close relationships of the counter-spaces at the southern part of the map. These spatial practices pave the way of common struggles of LGBTI and political subjects in urban social movements. Gezi Movement that has created a break in history of both LGBTI struggle and leftist struggle has pushed the LGBTI movement closer to other urban social movements. Gezi, like the other anti-neoliberalist movements, has brought people together around common but limited theme, as Harvey says[35]. People have noticed that others are not different from them despite government policies and claims. Since Gezi Resistance has brought people of different ethnic origin, religion, ideology, class, age and gender together against policies and practices of power. This movement has meant a great achievement for the visibility of LGBTI in the urban social movements and in public spaces.[36] Furthermore Gezi Movement has created an alternative to conventional resistance forms, representations and practices as it was organized apart from identity politics. Owing to Gezi Movement as the resistances of LGBTI with political subjects without hiding their identities, Tunus Street, John F. Keneddy Street and Kuğulu Park have lived a break in their ambiances and spatial experiences on the one hand, they have created a change in approaches and attitudes towards LGBTI in the city on the other hand. Therefore, this movement and their temporal change in ambiance and

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over space is important to construct the hegemony and autonomy. Struggles for spatial dominance of subjects from various social backgrounds at the different parts of the country caused occupation or appropriation of public spaces, during Gezi Movement, in order to overthrow the power.

[35] http:\\www.bbc.com\turkce\haberler\2014\04\140409_harvey

[36] Yıldız Tar, who has been actively involved in the organized struggle for many years in Turkey, has written a book named as *Yoldaş Ben İbneyim*, after Gezi Movement. She states that Gezi does not just affect the visibility of LGBTI in public spaces, but also provides the involvement of their identities into other left struggles easily. Since, until very recently, transgender and sex workers were not allowed to walk in the cortege by the organizing committee in the Labour Day; or lesbian, bisexual or trans women could not attend the meetings of 8 March World Woman Workers for a long time, in Turkey. The collapse of power's gender roles and ethics in the left tendency and the common struggle against power, for Tar, is an achievement of Gezi Movement.

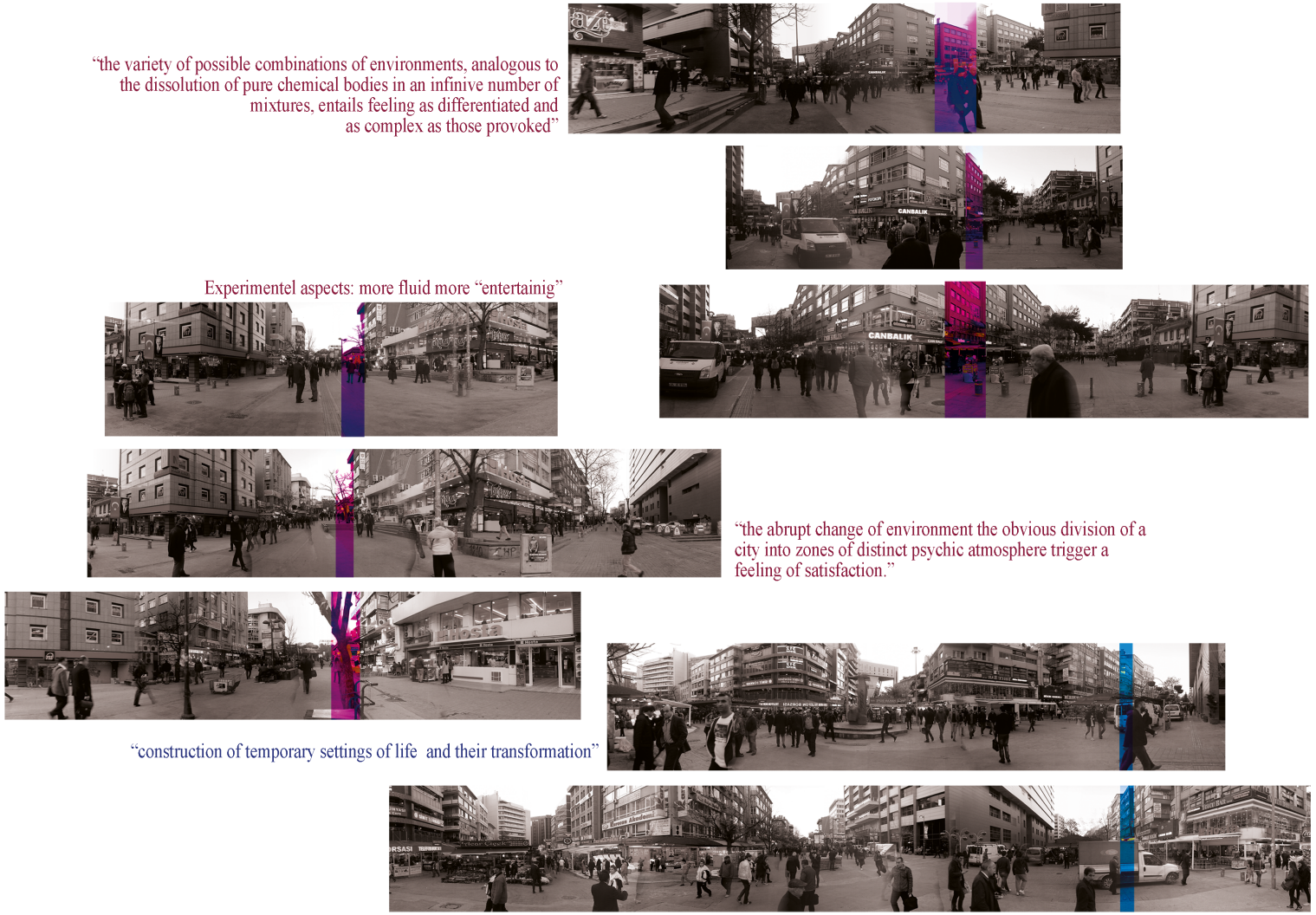


Figure 2.8: Imaginary variations of temporal ambience at Sakarya Square.

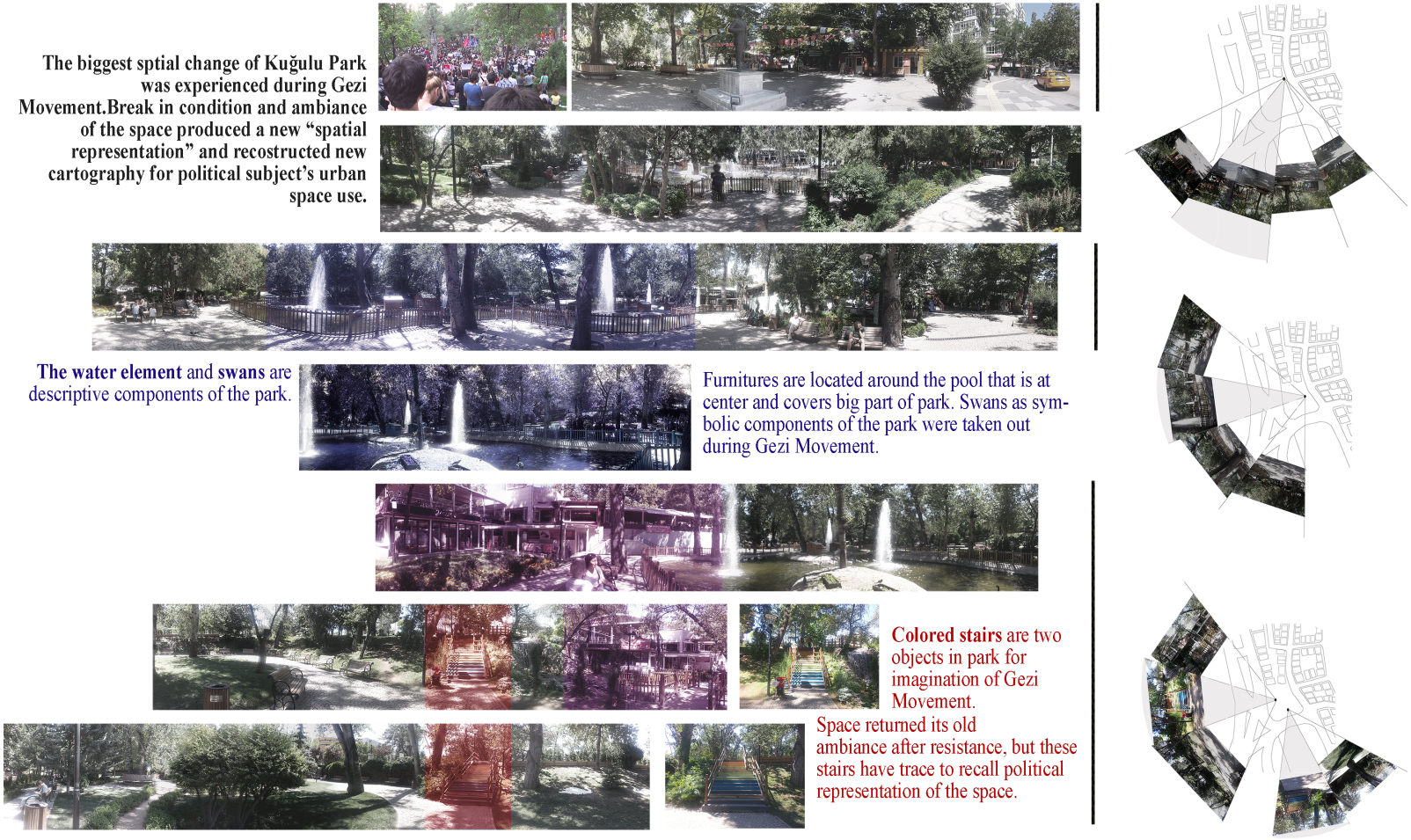


Figure 2.9: Imaginary variations of temporal ambience at Kuğulu Park.

spatial practices create a possibility to imagine and perform more liberal and creative methods for the production of counter-spaces.(Figure 2.9)

> Social movements target the uses and meanings of urban space as the point of contest, and also transform these uses and meanings through practice. Such modes of spatial practice dispute established uses and rights of ownership, and make embodied claims to the freedoms of the city. The politer kind of demonstration, of course, operates within very clear rules, occupying public streets and squares at times and in ways allowed by the municipal authorities and usually agreed with the police. Acts of spatial opposition can take place through staged encounters, explicit maneuvers and sometimes through pitched battles, but also via little incursions in official territory, small acts of resistance." [37]

The resistance spaces in Ankara which provide public visibility of the resistance movements include some streets and squares, as "representing informal encounter" and "representing collective belonging" for political subjects. They, as Tonkiss states, reproduce semantic and practice of the public space. These spaces are what are reproduced by social movements as well as what organize them. In other words, they become not only places of performances of resisting subjects, but also precondition of political activities by gaining a politic identity. Social movements and struggles that politicize these spaces and attribute a political identity to them, while the spaces tend to produce and diffuse socio-political movements. While each resistance or each repression produces its own space, each space also produces its own resistance or repression, which is a dialectical relation between "representation of space" and "space of representation". Social and spatial coexistence is discussed in the next section with mapping of proximity among LGBTI-friendly spaces, political spaces and resistance spaces.

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[37] Tonkiss. Spaces, the City and Social Theory, pg. 64.

2.3 Proximity Among the Counter-Spaces of Ankara

Lefebvre states that urban phenomena produces urban space while urban space constructs, identifies, delivers the essences of social relationships. This dialectic between urban space and urban phenomena arises from "centrality" and/or "polycentralization" of multilateral relations. The notion of polycentralization means dispersion and segregation of centrality; on the other hand the notion of centrality means center concept based on collecting and gathering habitats.[38] Lefebvre explains this centrality as concentration of matters distributing in cosmos by attributing a cosmic meaning to urban space. In this sense, this concentration obtaining infinity and continuity eliminates distance between the molecular and particular, which leads to superpose and absorb sense of urban space into one another.

> The urban is, therefore, pure form: a place of encounter, assembly, simultaneity. This form has no specific content, but is a center of attraction and life. It is an abstraction, but unlike a metaphysical entity, the urban is a concrete abstraction, associated with practice.[39]

In production of space, dynamic tectonics of space production in the condition of constant change is interpreted as the metabolism of organic breeding. The space created as biomorphic and anthropological thing is reproduced through its social uses. For Lefebvre, "architectonic" determinants in space do not disappear completely, but can undergo a radical change with spatial experiences of users, which generate historical, cultural and social "qualities of space". Each space with its social production produces its own extensions and the proliferation around it, which becomes clear to create new references in its reference. This means that users and the social uses of a space create their own habitat by spreading their ambiance to its environments. With this field of theory, this study attempts to explain the reasons why there is superimposition or interpenetration of the LGBTI-friendly spaces with the political spaces, and why they are close to the resistance spaces of the city.

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[38] Henri Lefebvre. Urban Revolution, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003, pp. 119-120.

[39] Ibid., pp. 118,119.

Phenomena within the space production creates spatial networks through interactive relationship with each other. Moments of space production in this network lead to spatial superposition. Political practices developed in a certain place create their own habitat by organizing places around them, which corresponds to the reason why LGBTI-friendly spaces and the political spaces are located around the resistance spaces as places of urban social movements of the city. Each space or social relation reproduced in habitat begins to organize its environment by being converted to new reference points as well. Since multiple configurations of morphogenesis of the counter-spaces influences spatial practices and user identities of its close environment.

The LGBTI-friendly spaces, the political spaces and the resistance spaces are produced with the spatio-temporal experiences of users who have various identities, in which subjects provide their own sense of belonging and locality and interactive relationships with other users easily. These spaces are places of political practices by organizing common struggles against what is opposed by others who are from different beliefs, gender, class and ethnicity. They are places of those who interrelate with each other easily without an exclusive attitude to marginalized identities. In this part of the study, firstly, the reasons of interactive relationship, physical proximity and location in a certain part of the city of the counter-spaces, which have possibilities of emancipation for the other in the city, are discussed on the grounds of similar subject formation. Secondly, what identifies counter-spaces and separates them from other urban spaces are dealt by benefiting from David Harvey's discussion on the essential intercourse between social structure and spatial differentiation. This discussion is based on the "relatedness" of subjects with their special practices and spaces, rather deterministic or reductionist understanding of space production. In this thesis, this "relatedness" is seen as a reason of physical proximity of the counter-spaces in the city, which is related with the social and spatial network of the counter-spaces, as both cause and effect of physical proximity, in order to provide continuity of spatial practices of other and their dominance on these spaces. This network is the habitat of political subjects for socializing, organizing and resisting.

2.3.1 Similar Subject-Formation in the Counter-Spaces

Butler writes that all identities are social constructions, even if they are formed on the opposition to power as the boundaries between inside-outside, similarity-difference, otherness-closeness, center-periphery are constructed with social relationships. Political subjects produce a collective identity based on opposition to hegemony of power which is seen as the biggest obstacle to justice, equality and freedom. In this respect, there are two processes of subjectification: 1- subject-formation related with social factors; 2- counter subject-formation related with being in opposition to hegemony of power. Pleasures, beliefs, gender, thoughts, discourses, practices established according to power relations leads to that those who are outside of standardized, categorized, normalized or idealized identities form their subjectification on the common oppositions.

Common identity-formation provides interpenetration and superimposition of where this collective identity and its practices or discourses is constructed. The antagonistic subject-formation collectivizes spaces of social production, which is interpreted as relatedness between social structure and spatial differentiation, in this study. Subordinated subjects as the result of being outside of dominant values produce their own publicness in the common spatial uses with another subordinated ones. This explains the underlying reason of common use of spaces of LGBTI and political subjects. In the interviews, the subjects from different backgrounds have expressed why they prefer these spaces for socializing, organizing or resisting as feeling more "comfortable" and "free". The proximity and juxtaposition of these subjects arise from similar identity-formation based on otherness of power, which is the dominant gender, class, ethnicity or religion. In this section, the otherness of LGBTI subjects and political subjects, as users of the counter-spaces, is discussed around subjectification based on power relations.

Heteronormativity ignores and marginalizes those who are outside naturalized and idealized heterosexist orientation, practice or values culturally and historically. LGBTI subjects who do not abide by social roles and identity-formations based on a dichotomy between male and female, thus, can take part in the social order and public spaces as long as they hide their identities. These subjects who have 'dangerous'

forms of relationships and identity-formation within the gendered social roles, which is formed on biological differences of male and female bodies, is an important factor in the production of the counter-spaces. Since their limited public visibility and accessibility through physical/psychological violence, homophobic values or legal regulations are broken in LGBTI-friendly spaces with interactive relationship with other users and each others. Their spatial uses without any limitation makes these spaces counter-spaces in patriarchal social structure. Regarding this matter, an interview (subject-4) has stated that:

> The reason of uses these spaces is to feel more comfortable and free. I am myself there. I am far from people's glances. Because I am always exposed their peeping to understand the sex of my body which looks male, but has breasts in another places. This is so annoying for me.

Being LGBTI described as "other" within the gender categories in these spaces leads to differentiation of these spaces from others, which are formed an a Cartesian sense of sexual identity and sexual orientation. Butler says that, by referring to Simone de Beauvoir's statement: "sex is already gender", gender consolidates and reproduces dual structure within the morphology of sex.[40] According to this claim, sexual category of sex of male and female based on biological or anatomical differences constructs gender by questioning the formation of sex. In this argument, what normalizes and naturalizes the Cartesian formation of both sex and gender is repetitive bodily practices conceptualized as performativity and sexual identity and sexual orientation of the subject are formed in the course of time.

Therefore, the position of LGBTI subjects in this discussion plays an important role for Butler's criticism on sex and gender categories. Those who are born in "female" or "male" body, but do not have pleasure, feelings and roles of their gendered body lead to the *détournement* of heteronormativity. LGBTI subjects are seen as a threat to social order and its ethics owing to having out of the common sexual pleasure, practice and enjoyment. Heteronormativity is embedded in all social institutions and

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[40] Butler. Gender Trouble, pgs. 151, 152.

ideologies [41] and leads to intolerance and hatred to those who are out of the "gender norm". However enjoying same "sex" of gendered body through deepened differences between "male" and "female"; changing not just pleasure of gendered body, but also its appearance; belonging to both "sexes" or not are defined and identified according to the dichotomy within the gender-formation. Since one who is not a "woman" desiring a "man" or a "man" desiring a "woman" creates otherness of gendered body in the Cartesian formation of the subject. Being lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans or intersex is determined according to biological sex and gender roles in heteronormativity. Identity formation of LGBTI based on duality within categories of relationship is formulated with being outside of the patriarchal structure [42] – what determines being inside or outside is what determines the center: power. In this context, difference or otherness is established on the acceptance of binary gender and sexual identity categories.

Those who are other users of the LGBTI-friendly as well as both the political spaces and the resistance spaces have a similar the Cartesian identity formation with LGBTI. In this dichotomy, what is opposed and located at the center is not related to gender, but class, ethnicity, religion. Counter subject-formation creates its spatial uses around struggles against subordination created by dominant class, ethnicity or religion. What is taken as reference for the formation of both political practices and identities is being opposition to power. Subordinated subjects reproduce places of these formations as counter-spaces. Subjects reconstructed their own identity through political practices and approaches because of being exposed to pressure, violence and discrimination by the dominant class, ethnicity, religion or ideology. Antagonistic attitudes to power as the reason of subordination of subject establishes a new identity apart from social factors indentifying subjects. That political subjects produce their ontology on the opposition causes antagonistic identity-formation in process of their subjectification. This antagonism of subjects organizing and resisting against power creates a similar dialectic relationship with subjectification of LGBTI in the patriarchal system. This subject-formation based on subordination and otherness of power produces a new

[41] Micheal Warner. Fear of a Queer Planet: Queer Politics and Social Theory, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993.

[42] Catharine MacKinnon, Feminism Unmodified: Discourses on Life and Law, Harward University Press, 1987, pgs. 6,7.

identity category with counter practices and discourses. Furthermore, this subject-formation creates a collective identity of different subjects come from various social backgrounds. Since political practices for emancipation are based on subordinated identity politics. For collective identities, Unger states that:

> The practices of social life are inseparable from the conditions on which people are morally available to one another: the groups with an authoritative claim upon the individual's loyalties, the contexts in which heightened vulnerability becomes tolerable to him, and the terrain on which he can hope to be accepted by other people and to understand himself as a being with place. He cannot easily distinguish who he is and what his interests are from the groups to which he belongs. The multiple links between individual existence and group boundaries give rise to common identities.[43]

Otherness of dominant gender, class, belief, ethnicity is actually constructed on the common reference: power. This similar identity-formations lead to both spatial differentiation of the counter-spaces, and superimposition of their spatial uses, which is interpreted as a reason of proximity among the LGBTI-friendly spaces, the political spaces and the resistance spaces in Ankara. In the next part, other underlying reason of this spatial proximity, therefore, is discussed as common spatial uses of subordinated subjects, which are related with solidarity and construction a counter hegemony to dominate the spaces.

2.3.2 Common Spatial Uses of the Counter-Spaces

Harvey judges the explication of spatial differentiation theory just within preferring of "similar" ones' living together as a reductive sociological evaluation.[44] In terms of complexity of what "similar" refers, what is questioned is whether individuals are "similar" because of living together or they live together because of similarity. Essen-

[43] Roberto Mangabeira Unger. "The Instruments of Closure: The Identity Effect," Social Theory, New York: Verso Press, 2004, pg. 50.

[44] David Harvey. "*Sınıfsal Yapı ve Mekansal Farklılaşma Kuramı*", 20. Yüzyıl Kenti, Ankara: İmge Kitapevi, 2002, pp. 147-172.

tial relationship between social structure and spatial differentiation is found deficient by Harvey as to explain association and dissociation within settlements. In this matter, thinking spatial differentiation with deterministic or functionalist approaches ignores effects of complex social dynamics on the spatial differentiation.[45] Urban spaces are social interaction areas that influence significantly neighborhood, local communities, values of individuals, the market hardware and states of consciousness. The key point of argument of Harvey is that spatial differentiation reproduces social relationships according to hegemony of existing social structure – while this hegemonic domination is related mostly with analysis of the class structure by Harvey, in this study it is considered with other social phenomena like gender, religion, ethnicity or even ideological tendencies. By benefiting from the critic of Harvey on social structure and spatial differentiation, spatial practices and social interactions of users in the counter-spaces are seen as reason of their differentiation among the urban spaces. These practices and interactions of users do not originate from will of them actually, but social conditions creating this will.

In this context, "spatial differentiation" produces its own local community while each community produces its own spatial differentiation by creating its locality and belonging. In this part of the study, what is the reason of interpenetration and superimposition of differentiated spaces in the city (the counter-spaces) is concerned. As what specializes and separates these spaces from others, in other words identification of the counter-spaces, makes them close to each other. Used LGBTI-friendly spaces by both LGBTI and political subjects and proximity of the LGBTI-friendly spaces and the political spaces to the resistances spaces of the city are manifestation to interpenetration and superimposition of the differentiated spaces in the city. What provides association and dissociation within the morphogenesis of the counter-spaces is the similar subject-formulation of users and their common spatial practices.

Diversity of identities and their perpetration producing these-spaces and/or produced by them provides separation between the habitat and the rest of urban spaces. Since

[45] This criticism is based on "Marxist method of relations philosophy" in which associating "parts" with "all" or associating "whole" with "parts" is formed on social realities and relatedness. According to basic understanding of this dialectical, abstraction in analysis of "whole" through relatively simple parts fails to understand generalization for "whole" and parts that are contained allegedly. Thus it is not enough to think the relationship between social structure and spatial differentiation just with deterministic or functionalist assessments.

functional and physical conditions in these spaces are not different in reality from other streets, squares or cafes, pubs. What make them different from other spaces is what is similar in their morphogenesis: counter formation. Harvey explains his phenomenological approach to production of space as follows: "The material practices from which our concept of space and time flow are as varied as the range of individual and collective experiences"[46]. For this statement, plurality and diversity of practice enhance quality and quantity of space. The space that is important for organizing social life has a role which limits or varies forms of organization. It is claimed that each practice creates its own particular place. That each practice organizes its own territory, and attributes new representation to it gathers subjects having various genders and ideological tendencies around the same spaces. Spatial ambiance or experience occurring as the result of it repetitive bodily practices of these subjects produces the counter-spaces of the city.

Harvey says the proximity and accessibility are important for production and interaction of spatial practices. As short distances between spaces and easy access influence effective domain and success of practices.[47] LGBTI and political subjects occupy the spaces, and attribute new spatial representation to them through practices of socializing, organizing and resisting. The counter-spaces of the city have been produced with these repetitive practices, which is conceptualized as spatial performativity in this study. The subject cerates spatial performativity with similar and repetitive practices or experiences in same domain. Behavioral reiteration within the subject construction reproduces "space of representation" as well. Coexisting in the same pub or cafe for socializing; organizing resistance practices in the same squares or streets correspond to that performativity appropriates spaces by reproducing them with new "spatial representation".

Using the same spaces for the same activities creates physical and psychological domination of the subjects over these spaces. Moreover, carrying out repetitive practices

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[46] David Harvey. "Individual Spaces and Times in Social Life", The Condition of Postmodernity, Blackwell Publishers, 1990, pg. 211.

[47] Harvey defines it as "the friction of space". In spittle spatial practices is discussed generally on economic relations in this book, Harvey says that space cannot produced without social relations, which is based on four production: 1- accessibility and distanciation, 2- appropriation of space, 3- domination of space, 4- production of space.

in the same spaces leads to locality and belonging, which is seen by Harvey as the reason of essential relationships between social structure and spatial differentiation. This performativity provides the subject's own sense of belonging and social sovereignty, which is the reason why interviewers use same spaces for same activity. In this respect, the counter-spaces are places occupied by subjects, who are marginalized and criminalized by power, through repetitive counter practices for emancipation. Moreover, preferring the same routes for transition or circulation and same open or close spaces for socializing, organizing and resisting leads to the other's psychological and physical domination over the spaces by strengthening the ties between subject and space.

To sum up, spatial performativity creates spatial domination and belonging of the other. Locations of the LGBTI-friendly spaces and the political spaces around the resistance spaces, and repetitive practices of them are manifestation of struggle to occupy or to appropriate urban spaces and to sustain gained dominance over the spaces. Proximity and accessibility of counter-spaces, as Harvey argues, are important for political practices reproducing them. Their juxtaposition or imposition as both the cause and effect of socio-spatial relationships creates organization, socialization and resistance networks. Additionally, the reason of coexistence of LGBTI and political subjects in LGBTI-friendly spaces for socializing is similar form of spatial dominance. Those whose public visibility is limited need to be together to produce their publicness effectively in that. Ideological and political hegemony in every society are provided through spatial sovereignty. Thus, spatial interpenetration or superimposition of the counter-spaces ensures organization of resistance and social solidarity around a counter hegemony. (Figure 2.10)

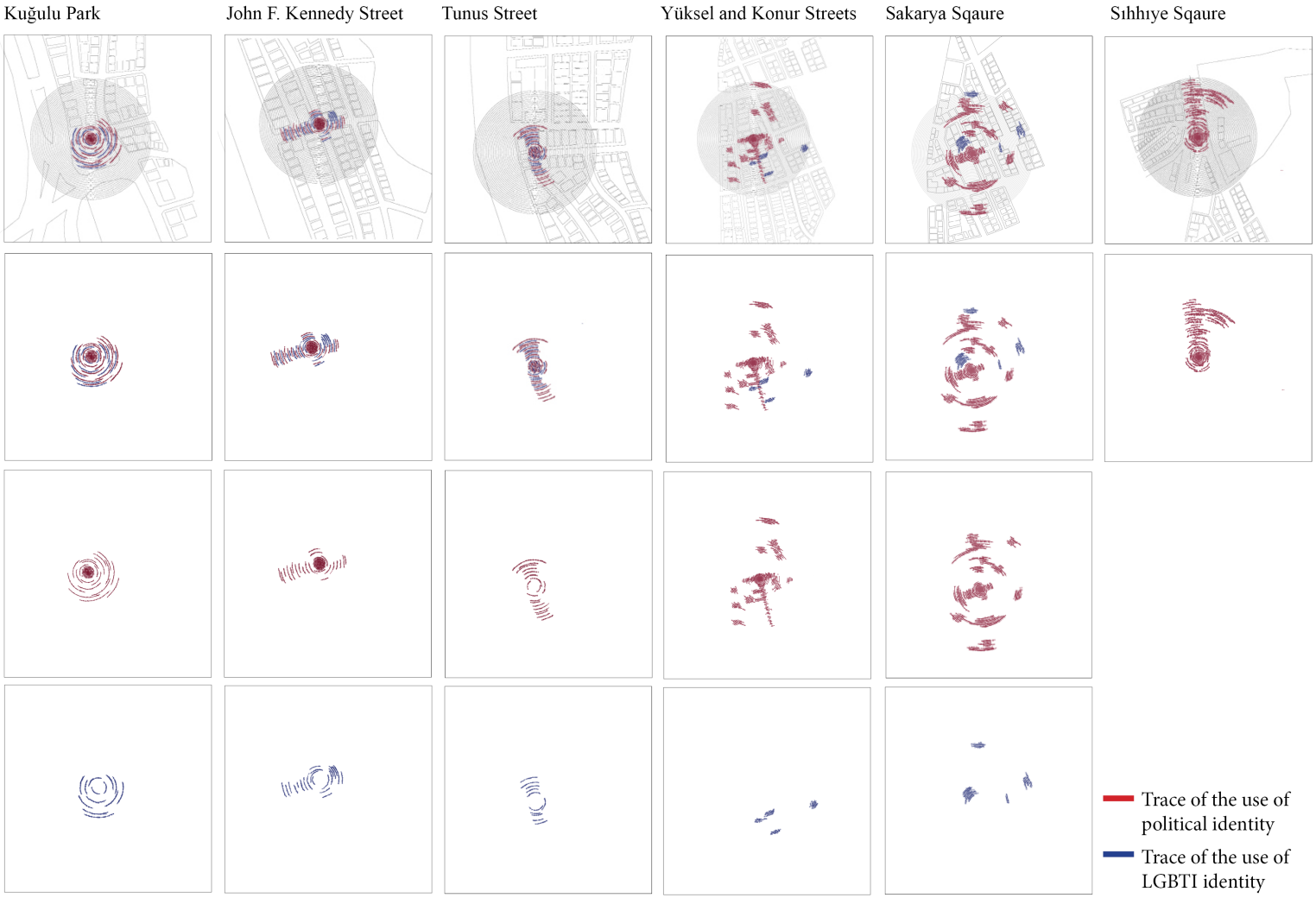


Figure 2.10: Patterns of socio-spatial experiences.

CHAPTER 3

EXPLORING ONTOLOGICAL AND EPISTEMOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES OF THE COUNTER-SPACES

The socio-spatial habitat of public assembly has been so far analyzed with Lefebvre's theory of space production. What produces proximity of the counter-spaces and the habitat have been discussed in this study around the concepts of "representation of space" and "spatial representation". However, Lefebvre's relationships of space production based on a dialectic of three moments, which are "perceived space", "conceived space" and "lived space", creates problematic results within the morphogenesis of the counter-spaces and the habitat. Since each space, in the habitat, with its social production cannot produce its own extensions and the proliferation around it. Any relation of the counter-spaces – as potential nodes of spatial and social networks for resisting, organizing and socializing – with each other and the rest of urban spaces should be multi-centred and a multi-layered. This means that users and the social uses of a space create its own habitat by spreading its ambiance to its environment, which gains multiple and plural relationships between "the space of representation" and "representational space", rather than a dialectical relationship. Because of that a dialectical production fails to construct rhizomatic relationship in the morphogenesis of the counter-spaces in Ankara.

Soja finds Lefebvre's production, which consists of the dialectic relationships between space and representation, problematic. Any ontological discussion based on dual structure, for Soja, leads to an inefficient argument to produce more flexible and free spaces. According to this claim, proposition of a "plural", "polyscopic" and/or "polyvalent" relation in the special production is to criticize the Cartesian understanding within binary opposition of the morphogenesis of the LGBTI-friendly spaces, the political spaces and the resistance spaces. Lefebvre actually is aware of his reduc-

tionist propositions and judgments relating to production of space, which is defined as "logical relationship"[48] of production. Nevertheless, Lefebvre does not develop a criticism and/or an alternative to this cartographical spatial reading based on binary oppositions such as "inclusion-exclusion", "conjunction-disjunction", "implication-explication" or "iteration-reiteration", "recurrence-repetition". Therefore, to crack binarized categories within the production of space (like subject-object, mental-material, natural-social, local-global, center-periphery, agency-structure) a third possibility conceptualized in the notion of "Thirding-as-Othering" by Soja is the first and most important step in transforming the cartographical and closed logic of the theory on space production. Soja's concept of "Thirdspace" defined as "potentially nurturing places of resistance, real-and-imagined, material-and-metaphorical meeting grounds for struggles over all forms of oppression"[49] provides spatial awareness of the strategic use of space. "Thirdspace" as the "real-and-imagined" place has strategic flexibility within dealing in multiple forms of oppression and inequality.

> Thirding-as-Othering is much more than a dialectical synthesis a la Hegel or Marx, which is too predicated on the completeness and temporal sequencing of thesis/antithesis/synthesis. Thirding introduces a critical "other-than" choice that speaks and critiques through its otherness. That is to say, it does not derive simply from an addictive combination of its binary antecedents but rather from a disordering, deconstruction and tentative deconstruction of their resumed totalization producing an open alternative that is both similar and strikingly different. Thirding recomposes the dialectic through and intrusive disruption that explicitly spatialized dialectical reasoning... Thirding produces what might best be called a cumulative trialectics that is radically open to additional othernesses, to a continuing expansion of spatial knowledge.[50]

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[48] Ibid., pg. 293.

[49] Edward W. Soja. Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles ant Other Real-and-Imagined Places, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, pg. 12.

[50] Ibid., pgs. 60, 61.

Soja states that Lefebvre's dialectic reading of spatial consciousness and geographical imagination is constructed on relationship between "center" and "periphery" – what is defined as "center" is side of the power, what is defined as "periphery" is side of the other. According to this criticism, Soja states that "Thirdspace" is meeting places for all peripheralized or marginalized "subjects" wherever they may be located. Even if Lefebvre maintains a deeply peripheral consciousness, framing spaces in according to dialectical formation, for Soja, tends to break possibility of constructing flexible and variable relations between "conceived space" and "lived space", which are retheorized by Lefebvre with notions of "representation of space" and "spaces of representation". According to Soja, conceptual dualism or binary opposition are closed to new and unanticipated possibilities within space production.[51]

Soja's "thirding process" – this is not similar with Lefebvre's concept of the "Social Space" merging the physical space ("perceived space") and the mental space ("conceived space") into social space – includes both the separation from first (physical) and second (mental) space and approximation to them. "Thirdspace" is a transcendent composite of all spaces to break binarism or antagonism within the spatial production. "Thirding-as-Othering" designed beyond the radical dichotomies creates the possibility of production of space that is independent from power relations and alternative spatial practices. Since any counter discourse or practice based on the power inevitably reproduces this notion in any other way.[52] Whatever constructs its ontology on the antagonism justifies unconsciously, may be consciously, the power relations, as its existence depends on what it is against. To reduce this "ambivalence" or "illusion", the dichotomous relationship has to be decreased and strategic agency has to be developed as well, rather than an idealized counter ideology or struggle, because stability and consistency begins to produce its own hegemony.

This chapter develops a criticism on production of the counter-spaces by analyzing Lefebvre's triple moments within the theory of space production through Soja's non-dialectical relationships. The dual foundation of the morphogenesis of the counter-

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[51] Ibid., pgs. 30, 31.

[52] According to Soja, what space represents settles to the mind before the body, which is imagined and thought long before performed by the body. Therefore the hegemony of authoritarian oppression legitimizes its enforcements on body.

spaces in Ankara is criticized, firstly, because of dialectic reversal within dichotomy of their spatial practices of political subjects. In this argument, the counter-formations create their own spatial fixing and boundaries in the socio-spatial habitat. In spite of having "plural", "polyscopic", "polyvalent" relations, in other words, trialectics as a multi-layered and multi-centered structure in the production of space, location of the habitat in limited territory of the city leads to ghettoization of the counter-spaces (Figure 3.1). Secondly, the counter-spaces of the city is criticized because of inevitable re/production a new hegemony and power relations in their dichotomic formation. Therefore creating a third alternative within the production of space, rather than a dual, categorical approach producing its own opposition, is important. "Thirding-as-Othering" as the transcendental reading for space production pays the way for subversion of the dialectic between "representation of space" and "spatial representation".

3.1 Spatial Fixing of Ambiances and Experiences

What ensures a free urban life, as Situationist claimed, is a *détournement* of current spatial relations and experiences. In this thesis, the counter-spaces of Ankara, which have potential to subvert power politics and hegemony on space through public visibility, accessibility and occupation of space of the other, are conceived of as places of emancipation. The habitat that consists of the counter-spaces and pedestrian circulation among them creates contingency for freer urban life as an area for those who have no space in public life. However, spatial differentiation of this area of emancipation established by the subjective and social experiences in urban space threatens its own ontology. In fact, living together in this powerful boundary is important for others to be in solidarity against repression or violence and to live freely in their own identities, but these strong boundaries weaken the relations between these spaces and other spaces of the city. This spatial division leads to self-isolation of the others and their spatial practices from the rest of urban spaces. Therefore, the habitat tents to become urban ghettos where individuals can be kept under supervision and control in spite of their attempt to construct an alternative life for society. Since that effect of each spatio-temporal break experienced in habitat to reconstruct restrictive social relations and public spaces is limited and fixed in the habitat causes its ghettoization.

That subjects cannot have rights, equality, freedom or public visibility outside of the habitat converts the counter-spaces to partial and limited spaces for emancipation in the city.

In this regard, LGBTI ensure their public visibility in the LGBTI-friendly spaces, but this spatial justice disappears outside of those spaces because of homophobic/ transphobic attacks and attitudes toward them. They lose their presences in where they are exposed discrimination and emotional/physical abuse. This thesis makes the argument that restricting their domain of public freedom results from the bilateral and inefficient production relationship, which is interpreted as the dialectic relation of Lefebvre's triad of space production. LGBTI-friendly spaces with their three moments in space production: "spatial practice" (public use of LGBTI), "space of representation" (public visibility, public accessibly of LGBTI), "spatial representation" ("safe area" for LGBTI) generate their spatial differentiation and isolation. What determines these spaces as counter-spaces and separates them from other spaces is the existence of LGBTI who are insulated from public space and social life by being the "other" of dichotomist gender formation. Representation of these counter-spaces defined as LGBTI-friendly separates and abstracts them from other public spaces inevitably because of anti-patriarchal space production. The tension in the bipolar relation between "safe area" and the rest of urban spaces does not only construct spatial differentiation, but also reconstructs gendered spatial uses for both LGBTI and other users of the habitat: for instance, the manager of a bistro defined as LGBTI-friendly has declared that the managers of nearby spaces began to thank to him for keeping LGBTI away from their spaces owing to the LGBTI-friendly service policy of the bistro.

Moreover, production of LGBTI-friendly spaces is tied to not just performativity of subject's spatial use (socializing always in the same spaces or using the same paths for circulation or transition), but also discourse. Interpellation of these spaces as LGBTI-friendly works to separate them by verbally marginalizing. Through this discourse, the condition of being other is indirectly consolidated without confirming marginalization. Since the specification of spatial uses or privilege of LGBTI normalize and naturalize inevitably barriers and restrictions in front of their public visibility and accessibility. These ghettos, therefore, is perceived, conceived and lived as if they are

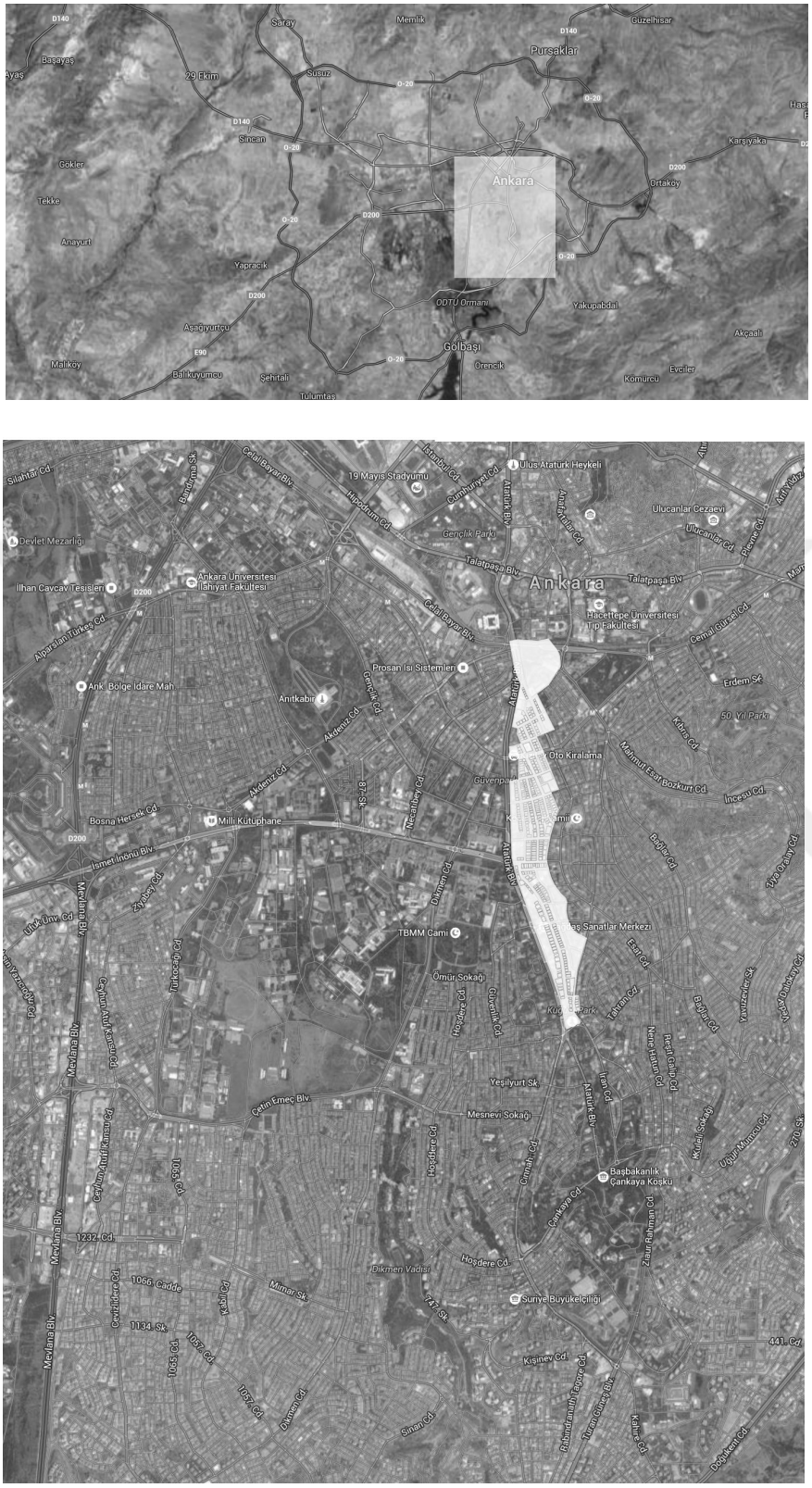


Figure 3.1: Location of the habitat and place of mapping this location in the city.

spaces of emancipation for LGBTI.

The same illusion applies to the political spaces and the resistance spaces in the city. Urban social movements or other political spectacle, like press releases or rallies, generates temporal change of ambiance where they are carried out whereas their repetition with same methods (always organizing press releases, shouting the same slogans, caring similar banners) and in the same spaces (the representation spaces) produces boundaries of resistance and emancipation. That reiterative practices belong to similar subject-formation produces performativity of resistance spaces or political spaces (which is discussed more comprehensively in part 3.2.1.). That the visibility of struggle or resistance is provided just inside these spaces is actually a paradox since socio-spatial organization or urban social movements are carried out in these counter-spaces, but not other parts of space produced and dominated by what is opposed. Political subjects cannot perform their practices of socializing, organizing or resisting outside of these spaces. This is related both with their political representation of collective belonging and encounter for social memory and prohibition or restriction urban social movement at outside of these spaces. However, the fixed political ambiances and experiences in the counter-spaces convert them to ghettos for the other and the dissident. In this context, a framed political spectacles was observed during the mapping of the resistance spaces in Ankara. Police officers did not let political groups protest the attack by security forces on the Cerattepe resistance, which is an organization against copper mine planned to be built in Artvin, in Güven Park. After negotiations, some protesters went to Yüksel Street to carry out their press release, because police promised them to not interfere them at this street.

Furthermore, solid and impermeable boundaries fixes and frames the other's struggles, public use and visibility in these counter-spaces. Spatialization of struggles through performativity (for example Labor day is celebrated firstly by marching from the historic Station Building to Sıhhıye Square and then is followed by speeches) causes a reduction in the affectivity of resistance against power. As political actions create a change in the experience and ambiance of spaces whereas they produce fixed spatial representations within the collective memory and the urban use – this representation as third moment of Lefebvre's notion of space production occurs as a result of non-material production of space with political experiences and practices, which

organizes these experiences and practices in dialectic relation, like press releases and political declarations are carried out usually in front of the Human Rights Sculpture because of its political representation. Indeed, the counter identification of political or resistance spaces eliminates penetration of effect of each positive break to another spaces by deepening their spatial differentiation with their surroundings. Therefore, reconstructive spatial practices and ambiance of the counter-spaces dissolve their potential to create an alternative urban space and social life in their boundaries. Practices of the other or the political subject creates a break in the spatial experience and ambiance in this habitat whereas repetitive monotonousness of these practices make this break usual and familiar. Thus repetitive bodily performances producing spatial representation of being "counter" transform to performativity, even if they are carried out momentarily like press release or political meeting. Moreover, routinized changes of ambiance and experiences in spaces during political perpetration, as result of these fixing and impermeability, provide that requests and claims of struggles cannot be recognized and paid attention by public opinion, even if they are declared in the counter-spaces located at center of the city. In this matter, one of intervieews (subject-6) states that:

> Always using Yüksel Street for political practices is an imposition of state, because force has threatened our security at another places. On the other hand, political groups get used to organize in there. In the past, press releases had an importance. More people attended to resistances and paid attention to they are about. Today, we have become accustomed to press releases and political meetings at Yüksel Street. There are too many political actions, and so I cannot notice them, most of the time, although the cafe where I am working is 50 meters away from there.

Therefore, in this part of the study, ghettoization of LGBTI-friendly spaces, political spaces and resistance spaces as place of emancipation is discussed through a dialectical reversal of Lefebvre's triad for production of space. The main argument in this discussion is that the dichotomy of relationship among (1) practices of socializing, organizing and resisting; (2) spaces produced by these practices; (3) practices produced by these spaces transforms the counter-spaces of the city to public ghettos. This section is based on the criticism of antagonist and permanent identity-formation, which

creates counter-hegemony in/over the counter-spaces, and the spatial production of this formation.

3.2 Dialectical Reversal within the Process of the Space Production

What converts the counter-spaces to public ghettos is not just fixed spatial experience, but also their material and non-material production and manifestation of this production into cognitive and real world of other or political subjects. It is apparent that occupation or appropriation of space is important for domination over social life, and legitimization and consolidation of power. In this respect, the counter spaces can be considered as territories dominated by opposition to power. Although power relations are reproduced with another ways as long as each spatial struggle is based on attempts in order to seize dominion over space. Since domination essentially contains intervention of all production processes and methods of space, which is provided with extraction of what is different and preservation of what is similar, in other words, homogenization of space. Such attempt to control over space leads to questioning what is "counter" in production of the counter-spaces, which means that each thesis produces its own antithesis in dialectic relation that is criticized as single-center, single-layered relationship by Soja in criticism on Lefebvre's space production theory. In this part of study, firstly, dichotomy that produces representation of the counter-spaces, and, secondly, identity politics and subject-formation that generate "spatial practices" are discussed. The reason of dialectical formulation in the production of the counter-spaces is based on the "counter" identity, practice and representation establishments by accepting that each existence creates an anti-existence with dialectical reversal.

To conceive the dialectic of the existing thing and anti-thing together, Saul Newman asks a question that disturbs radical political theory and radical identity-formation: "How can one be sure that in acting against a particular form of power one does not merely put another in its place?"[53]. This concern is to claim that there are relations of domination and antagonism behind all forms of political identity-formation. By referring to Max Stirner, Newman argues that what is opposed to must be the "ruling

[53] Saul Newman. From Bakunin to Lacan: Anti-Authoritarianism and the Dislocation of Power, New York: Lexington Books, 2001, pg. 55.

principle", and any kind of domination and power relations.[54] Revolutions establish a new form of authority, "change of masters"[55], and so revolutionary action has been trapped by paradigm of power. The reason of this is that revolutionary practice or theory is concerned with the control of authority, rather than the idea of power and its condition. Power and its apparatus are reproduced by replacing them with another through revolutionary action. For Newman, anti-authoritarian episteme and ontology must be developed instead of the dialectical formation of power; with a dialectical relation and/or antagonist approach to power (state, patriarchy, bourgeoisie), being opposition essentially internalizes and imitates power relations.[56]

Power is reproduced continuously in daily life. For Foucault, power is too polyvalent to be thought as just an institution, a class or an identity category. Decentralized power formulation, discussion or perception undermines solid epistemic-ontological ground of resistance as a resistance based on dichotomy reducing power to a single function, structure or organization reproduces it in another forms, which creates contradiction or inconsistency within "revolutionary" practices of political subject-formation. The argument of this chapter is that being "counter" that identifies and differentiates the spaces in the city which is analyzed is formed according to power relations by constructing a new hegemonic structure. In this structure, subjects, for example, ignore and pay no attention to subordinated conditions and identities of others who are outside of their struggles, which means "counter" formation comes from notion of power as what is opposed to.

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[54] Ibid., pg. 56.

[55] Max Stirner, The Ego and His Own, New York: Verso Press, 2014, pg. 229.

[56] This dialectical reversal is discussed by both Butler and Stirner on Hegelian dialectic concerned with that subordination of subject is constructed with internalization of power relations. According to this dialectic, quest for freedom of the subject is formed with political institutions, and so this quest does not bring freedom but slavery to subject. Butler declares that master limiting the freedom of slave means external power in Hegelian dialectical analysis. Slave struggles against the reason of her/his subordination with assumption of emancipation. However, according to this analogy used by Hegel, slave cannot get rid of behaving like a slave perfectly because of being unable to break power relationship in his/her psychic world despite defeat of master in realty. What is emphasized is that external power is converted to internal and immanent one for subjects by influencing and constructing their emotions, thoughts and behaviors. This dialectical analysis of Hegel, which is conceptualized as notion of "bad consciousness", is utilized to explain dialectic reversal of relationships between subject and power and between power and resistance by Butler and Stirner.

> Contemporary political analysis is increasingly centered on the complexities that the multifarious forms of the relation power/resistance show in present day societies. Gone are the times in which the locus of the power could be referred to in a simple and unequivocal way – as in the notion of 'dominant class'. Today, the proliferation of social agents and the increasingly complex fabric of relations of domination have led to approaches which tend to stress the plurality of networks through which power is constituted, as well as the difficulties in constructing more totalizing power effects.[57]

By referring the change mentioned by Laclau in contemporary political analysis, ghettoization of the counter-spaces is explored with subjects' experiences or practices and socio-spatial relations in the habitat. Through mapping, interviews and spatio-temporal panoramas of spaces, it is noticed that antagonistic subject-formation and its spatial belonging actually regenerate and consolidate existing power relations in other ways by creating their own otherness or hierarchy. This study, thereby, strives to disclose social and spatial boundaries, fixing and categories of the counter-spaces.

3.2.1 Production of Behavioral and Perceptual Identity Categories

Butler declares that the Cartesian structure of gendered body is constructed with an act of domination and compulsion, institutionalized discourse and perception. In this context, it can be said that reiterative political discourse or performance leads to a political subject-formation. Through politicization, subjects deepen their formations against power, like gender-formation based on deepened anatomical differences between male and female with performativity. Therefore subjects reproduce and redefine their social positions and identities with reiterative physical and discursive practices against power, in other words, through the performativity of the counter-spaces. Reiterative experiences and practices in routines of the habitat play an important role for public identity-formulation of subjects. By utilizing Butler's discussion on performativity of biological sex and gender formation, the counter spaces of Ankara, where

[57] Ernesto Laclau. "Foreword," From Bakunin to Lacan: Anti-Authoritarianism and the Dislocation of Power, pg. vii.

other's or dissident's collective identity is formed with regular political performances and discourses, are contemplated. Subjects produce their physical, imaginative domain of behavioral and perceptual identity categories with this formation. This subjectification, like the construction of gender, occurs through reiterative practices and discourses in order to be internalized and adopted by the body. Socializing, organizing or resisting in the same spaces is important for the construction of political identity. The thesis of that collective identity-formation is to organize common struggles against power is based on Butler's criticism on feminist theory. Butler problematizes strategies of resistance based on the requirement for an identity and identity politics organized with promises of rights and emancipation by questioning what determines the formation and boundaries of this identity. Indeed, what limits and constructs an identity is not more than what we perform and image.[58] What is normalized and naturalized or marginalized and excluded are not determined with absolute or transcendent relationships, but internal and immanent relationships produced in daily life.

In the counter-spaces of the city, co-existence of subjects from different genders, ethnicities, religions or classes creates common spatial performances by supporting common feature in their subjectification: being other of the authority. The reason why interviewers supply their public visibilities in the same spaces, in the similar approaches – to feel "more comfortable" and "free" – is glimpse of similar identity constructions. The subjects generate spatial co-existence to strengthen their similarity and to consolidate their being in the society. This togetherness causes a number of physical, mental, spiritual similarities among different subjects, like similar physical appearances, mindsets, rhetoric, desires or senses. This similarity damages heterogeneous union of resistance by limiting the body in other ways. Identity-formation within antagonistic subject-formation based on homogenization and assimilation of what and/or who are different and diverse cannot produce creative and subversive resistance against power. The co-existence of different subjects around being opposition to power lead to monotype representation and limitations and fixing of spaces by eliminating differences. In the case of Ankara, this homogenization occurs with those subjects who define themselves as "other" or "dissident" in the social order prefer spaces where they feel "more comfortable" and "free" because of other "similar"

[58] Adam Phillips. *"Keeping It Moving"* , The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection, pp. 151-159.

users to socialize. Socio-spatial network as a result of interpenetration and superposition of morphogenesis of the counter-spaces creates spatial differences in the city whereas it creates routines inside because of "similar" "spatial representation" and "similar" identity-formation of its users. These routines come from uses of same spaces, same routes and same users. Therefore break in spatial experiences and ambiances in this habitat loses its effects by being made usual in course of time.

Performativity of the counter-spaces, in other words, reiterative spatio-temporal experiences in the same times and of the same subjects reduces effects being "counter" determined with breaks within spatial experiences, boundaries and ambiances as the result of users' practices. Monolithic formation of identity, instead of multi-layered and multi-centered one, based on dichotomy produces itself solid and stable spaces. Fixing of breaks of the counter-spaces in the spatial politic of power in the habitat discloses that these spaces thought as space of emancipation are converted to ghettos. Since creating political practice and identity depended on the specific places produces spatial boundaries of emancipation.

3.2.2 Reproduction of Hegemony and Power-Relations

The basis of paradox that new identity categories of antagonist subject-formation and their performativity belonging to the counter-spaces causes public ghettoes of emancipation is from spatial differentiation of places of this subjectification. The subjects produce their own spaces by refusing the domain of public identity and public space. Each spatial and behavioral area of the other with this differentiation define not merely boundaries of its volume, but also what its outside is. In this production, the main component of the dialect between what is similar or inside and what is different or outside are power relations. Any identity politics is established with particular values and interests, which are always exclusive for other subjects. Particularism creates its own hegemony and its own authority. According to this argument, any organization or struggle against power is based on the desire to have what is non-possession.

Desire originates from longing to what is "similar" difference of subordinated identities in the society. This "similarity" is the construction of subconscious with consciousness, which explains why subjects from different backgrounds come together

for the same struggles. Common desire of subjects who resist against what subordinates them is the underlying cause of the production of the counter-spaces. Those who are ignored by power and are outside of its particular values and interests struggle to seize power establishing their equality, the rights to freedom. Through the construction of a "counter-hegemony", occupied and dominated space is organized with political practices and representations. In this respect, what creates "similar" difference is the reason of subjects' subordination, in other words power. What causes tension within relationships between resistance and oppression or repression is the desire to seize power or domination over spaces.

Moreover, power as the reason of both subjectification and subordination influences organization of resistance against itself. Desire of political subject or other to power is seen as an essential part of the relationship between power and resistance. Political subject-formation and its practices, which is based on being opposition to power, are established with claims and promises of freedom, equality and rights of subordinated people in order to construct a counter-hegemony and their sovereignty. Domination over the counter-spaces is the success of this attempt.

> The question of the exercise of power tents to be conceptualized today in terms of love (of the master) or desire (of the masses for fascism). Is it possible to establish the genealogy of this form of subjectivation? And is it possible to establish the forms of consent, the 'reasons for obedience' whose functioning it serves to ineluctability of the master is established; for others, it is the source of the most radical of all subversions. Power is thus represented as interdict, with law as its form and sex as its content.[59]

"Love of the master" and "desire of the masses for fascism" defined as two conditions pose as "subjectivation" of power relations. This schematization formed on the notions of desire and love for the exercise of power affirms that power is in everything and everywhere, not outside of us. Foucault's hypothesis is that "power is coexistence with the social body", which is interwoven with each kind social relations like production, kinship, family, sexuality and even struggle.

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[59] Michel Foucault. "Power and Strategies", Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings , New York: Pantheon Books, 1972-1977, pgs. 138,139.

There are no relations of power without resistances; the latter are all the more real and effective because they are formed rights at the point where relations of power are exercised; resistance to power does not have to come from elsewhere to be real, nor is it inexorably frustrated through being the compatriot of power. [60]

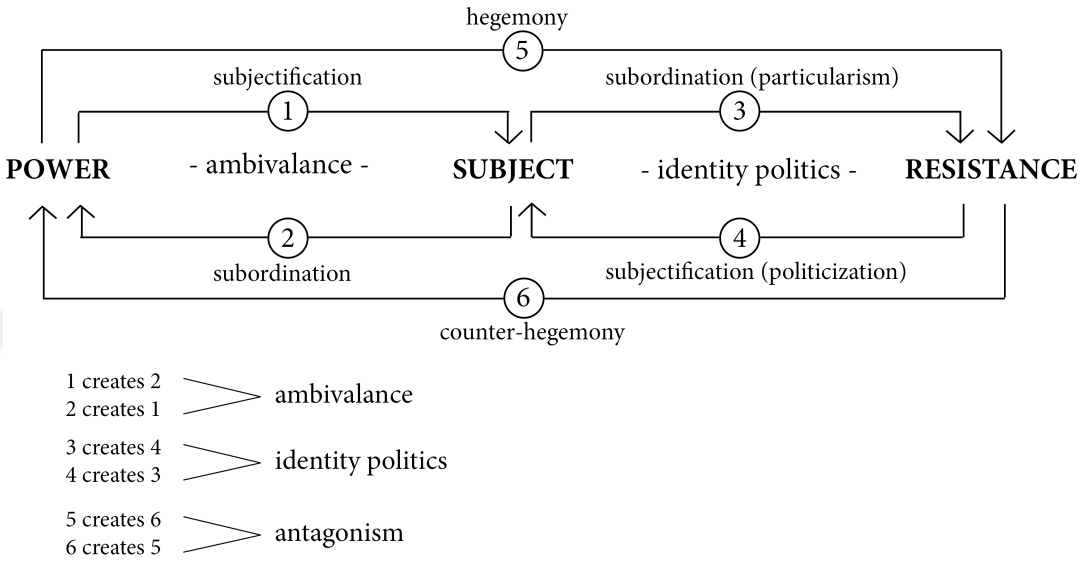


Figure 3.2: Diagram of dialectical reversal.

In this study, temporary occupation of the counter-spaces is affirmed for the other's public visibility, accessibility and emancipation. Additionally, that spatial representation of the counter-spaces reproduced by the other with unusual experiences gives hope to reconstruct possibilities and limits of the urban spaces. However, fixing this potential in boundaries of the counter-spaces eliminates to recompose the city from another perspectives. This anomaly manifests itself through the locations of the counter-spaces in small parts of the city, which lead to their ghettoization. The other anomaly within epistemic-ontological ground of the counter-spaces is that reproduction of power relations and hegemony in resistance.

Material and non-material boundaries of the counter spaces have to be eliminated in order to disseminate dynamism and effects of spatial breaks of momentary experi-

[60] Ibid., pg. 142.

ences. To reconstruct urban space with these experiences subverting spatial policies and strategies of power, a third alternative within the production of space for socializing, organizing and resisting of others, instead of dialectical relations, is required, as Soja claims. What prevents the transformation of spaces of emancipation into ghettos by/for their users is to create new alternatives for known and experienced ambiences and to spread these alternatives on the city. Instances of resistance that are independent from power relations and relations of space production are necessary for reproduction of urban spaces according to momentary conditions, pleasures and needs. This thesis, unlike Foucault, believes that such resistance or production is possible by referring to Butler's notion of "anonymous body" that has momentary and variable identities for subversion all Cartesian formations by escaping permanent and solid subject-formulation that consolidates power relations. For that, this study proposes *détournement* of epistemic-ontological grounds of all current spatial, physical, ideological formations of the counter-spaces by utilizing the discussion of Queer Theory in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The main argument of the study is that the counter-spaces of the city are converted to public ghettos for/by their users owing to fixing practices and ambiances in their spatial boundaries. Through Lefebvre's and Soja's statements on the space production, it is also put forward that these spaces reproduced by practices of political subjects determine the representation and boundaries of their counter practices or identities. This argument is the glimpse for requirement of reviewing what practices and identities exist within representing/represented the counter-spaces. The criticism of the ghettoization of emancipation depends on the interpretation of the problematic relationship between power and the subject, and between power and the resistance in Queer Theory, which reformulates relations between the body and power by questioning gendered subject-formation. In this sense, any identity produced through performativity, which is repetitive bodily practices that identify the body within historical and cultural processes, accomplishes its formation according to its position within power relations. Therefore, a critical understanding should be developed to the Cartesian identity-formation and antagonist practices to attain a "certain" emancipation. The proposition of this criticism is to produce repetitive practices subverting power through the "anonymous body". Thus, the body strategically could have fluid and temporal identities rather than a permanent and constant identity to dislocate power and not to tend to produce new power relations. The basic argument here is that each fixed "counter" construction has a potential to create its own hierarchy and limits even if it produces its own being on opposition to power.

The first part of this chapter is based on a critical reading of identity politics, and the theory and practice of resistance as components within the production of the counter-spaces of the city. In analyzing the paradox of dialectic relationship of oppositions, identity politics, ontology and epistemology of emancipation, Queer Theory is uti-

lized to assess the spatial practices and policies of the counter-spaces of Ankara in order to deconstruct the re-manifestation of thing on its anti-thing. In the second part, the focus is on the dichotomy in the counter subject-formation, conceptual oppositions or hierarchical ways of thinking which generates its own other with a dialectical reversal that is used to identify fixed ambiances and spatial experiences of the counter-spaces. Because of this identification, it is argues that the counter-spaces of the city should be reproduced as Queer Spaces against the ghettoization of emancipation. In this part, the theory of production of space is deconstructed through Butler's critique and notions of Queer Theory, which is conceptualized in this study as the production of Queer Space.

4.1 Subversion of All Dialectical Structures and Binarized Categories Against Ghettoization

4.1.1 Deconstruction of All Identity Politics Based on Subjectification

Subjection is defined as a form of power relations by Butler who believes that subjectification of body or subject-formation is the result of this relation. Butler formulates the relationship between power and the subject as follows: the subject weakened by the pressure of power (subordination) begins to internalize and indirectly accept power conditions. This indirect relationship is that subjection is not a choice of the subject, but what is adopted by the subject through performativity[61] without awareness. In this respect, subjection contains both subordination and subjectification.

Subjection forms self-identity by transforming transcendental and external condition or power to internal and immanent ones for the subject, which is defined as subjectification in theory of the psyche. Butler interprets this ambivalence as the psychic form

[61] Foucault and Althusser assert that subject-formation consists with the linguistic regime of power, which is conceptualized as discourse and interpellation while Butler interprets it with repetitive bodily behaviors, which is conceptualized as performativity. Subjectification as the result of both the linguistic and the bodily production of power means that what is external and transcendental is internalized by the subject. The identity is a construction of attributed features to the subject within the historical and cultural values. Therefore any identity does not belong to subject substantially, but is related with subjectification of the body.

of power within subject-formation.[62] The ambivalence of ontology of the subject who is not only founded, but also subordinated by power causes subjection by conditioning its political formations and arrangements. Therefore any struggle against subordination actually provides continuity of its conditions and power by accepting them from its start. Power, the condition of subject's practices, is produced by them, which is evaluated by Butler as the reiteration of power. This reiteration is the result of reproduction of power relations through performativity, in other words, through subjectification of the body.

Subject-formation as the production of power through performativity contains the identity of subject who resist against power as well in that. Those who form their identities on the antagonism produce their ontology and politics on being oppositional to power. In this respect, Newman asserts that paradoxical causes within that each identity politics against power reproduces it should be read as the glimpse of antagonist politics.[63] "Politicization" through identity politics generates power relations and mechanisms by returning to its existing institutions and ideologies.[64] Therefore, the subject should not produce its political practices on identity politics based on antagonist subject-formation. As this antagonism subjects its ontology to power on the one hand, it has the danger related with producing new power relations because of this dependent opposition to power on the other. This means that firstly: in identity politics, that the subject sees its political exclusion or marginalization as a precondition of social movements and resistances consolidates and legitimizes power and power relations, which are the reason of its own subordination. Secondly, the production of identity with the antagonist discourses or practices fixes and paradoxically subordinates the subject's politics to power. What Butler suggests to break this paradoxical relationships between power and the subject is the deconstruction of subject-formation based on a dichotomous structure. On account of any identity-formation, which is seen as limitation of the body as well, subjects the subject to power, pro-

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[62] Butler. *"Stubborn Attachment, Bodily Subjection*," The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection, pp. 31-62.

[63] Newman. From Bakunin to Lacan: Anti-Authoritarianism and the Dislocation of Power, pg. 246.

[64] Foucault.*"The History of Sexuality"*,Power and Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, pg. 190.

duction of the "anonymous body" is necessary for subversion of the dialectic reversal within the formation of the subject and power.

4.1.2 Reconstruction All Discourses and Practices Related with Emancipation

Butler, Laclau and Žižek discuss subjectification with the notion of hegemony in the book *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left*. They establish a "logical" or a "structural" analysis of political formations on the criticisms of power and resistance practices against it. Identity-formation created through exclusion policies forms the basis of the analysis of resistance against power. According to this thesis, antagonist subject-formation plays an important role for the project of hegemony. Essential boundaries of the political subject is determined with inclusiveness of justice and equality norms of hegemony. By discussing exclusion of hegemony on the episteme of the "universality", Butler questions the reality of political arrangements and practices for equality and justice covering all people. The consensus of three authors on this questioning is that praxis of notions discussed within the universal values is made impossible through an over-determination of their "logical" and "structural" boundaries.

> Although universality at first denoted that which is self-identical to all human beings, it loses that self-identity as a consequence of its refusal to accommodate all human within its purview. It becomes not only split between an official and a spectral universality, but it becomes dismembered into an estate system which reflects the divided character of the will and discontinues inherent in this version of universality. Those who are dispossessed or remain radically unrepresented by the general will or the universal do not rise to the level of recognizably human within its terms.[65]

Žižek asserts that values discussed within "aporetic" and "metaleptic" structure, which shows external circumstance as internal and immanent ones, are transformed to what

[65] Judith Butler,Ernesto Laclau, Slavoj Žižek, Contingency, Hegemony, Universality: Contemporary Dialogues on the Left, Verso Press, 2011, pg. 23.

is opposed to with a dialectic reversal. According to this view, promised freedom, equality and justice values by particular interests which all society adopts by consent can be turned into a tool of sovereignty. A particular identity occurs with differentiated relations that consist of exclusion and antagonism. Laclau says that unless universalized interests and rights by a particular identity are in "identical structural condition" with others, meaning and place of advocated and adopted values should be questioned. As in the notion of universality based on particular understanding, political practices or language as representation of oppressed classes or identities have contingency to reproduce and consulate power through performativity. In this respect, Butler writes the following on the role of universal freedom: "the emancipated slave may be liberated into a new mode of subjection that the doctrine of citizenship has in store, and that doctrine may find itself rendered conceptually riven precisely by the emancipatory claims it has made possible."[66]

The exclusive nature of values discussed with the notion of universality is seen as the glimpse of the particular interests and hegemonic politics. If any particular identity does not associate its ontology with others, its struggles for universalization in the domain of the emancipation perpetuates the hegemony politics. Since the particular identity's partial and pragmatic understanding of the universal freedom is not inclusive for the entire society on the one hand, this understanding belongs to an open-ended hegemonic struggle on the other hand, as Butler puts. The main discussion on the left is conducted on the understanding of hegemonic politics based on that a faction represents the general will by showing itself as universal. That those who are excluded from the field of representation of hegemony cannot benefit from the universal values or norms means a particularist understanding of justice, equality or freedom, as seen in the ideals within production of the counter-spaces of Ankara. The semiotic of the spatial practice and discourse for the emancipation in the counter-spaces of Ankara, therefore, needs to be revised and reconsidered. As any "counter" formation against the power produces new forms of domination and hierarchical relationships because of its ontology based on interests of whom it promises the emancipation. The freedom of a group can be a threat for freedom of others – in the interviews gay subjects, for example, have mentioned the exclusion of the counter

[66] Ibid., pg. 40.

hegemony of the left as a discriminative policy toward LGBTI. According to them, the gender struggles in Ankara based on the dichotomy of sexual identity and sexual orientation promises a group's (heterosexual women's) freedom and equality can lead to hostile and exclusionary approaches to some groups (bisexual, trans women and lesbians); class struggles in the patriarchal system ignore labor and job security rights of LGBTI individuals and/or heterosexual women; those who are oppressed for their ethnicity exhibit hostility to those who are excludedfigure captiofifigure for their religion. In other words, a partial understanding of emancipation by one group can cause subordination of another social group.

Therefore, the episteme of any notion for the emancipation, which is thought as universal a value, has to be reconstructed. In this respect, contradictions and inconsistencies within the ontology of each idea or practice has to be questioned, on the acceptance of that theory and practice of revolution, rebellion and resistance based on attempts to overthrow power to legitimize and consolidate it. The transformation of practices for emancipation into relations of domination or oppression has the similar dialectic reversal with the conversion of the counter-spaces as places of socializing, organizing and resisting into public ghettos. Both of them have lost their own validity and consistency due to the limitation of practices and theories within the stable and a particular understanding or spatial boundaries.

4.1.3 Construction A Performance for Provocative Dissemination of Emancipation

Micro-power relations, for Foucault, are reproduced continuously by different subjects within their daily relationships. Power provides its own continuity and availability by being multi-layers and multi-centrals through micro-power relations which contains both subjectification and subordination. Thus power exists everywhere by being not only what is opposed, but also what is produced and subjected through the discourse or performativity in daily life.

> Distinct from a view that casts the operation of power in the political field exclusively in terms of discrete blocks which vie with one another for control of policy questions, hegemony emphasize the ways in which

> power operates to form our everyday understanding of social relations, and to orchestrate the ways in which we consent to (and reproduce) those tactic and convert relations of power. Power is not stable and static, but is remade at various junctures within everyday life; it constitutes our tenuous sense of common sense and is ensconced as the prevailing epistemes of a culture. Moreover, a social transformation occurs not merely by rallying mass numbers in favour of a cause, but precisely through the ways in which daily social relations are rearticulated, and new conceptual horizons opened up by anomalous or subversive practices.[67]

Regarding power relations imbedded into each institutional and ideological fields through micro-power relations, Foucault claims that there is no revolutionary stance which is independent of the hegemony against power, which is related with an inevitable strong bond between power and resistance.[68] Resistance forms and formulates its ontology on the symmetrical reflection of ontology of power owing to its reactive essence against power. Foucault claims that resistance based on the antagonism produce new boundaries, because each struggle creates its own hegemony even if it achieves a victory to subvert the oppression or repression of power. For, the formation of the opposition as sovereignty of the other, or construct of a policy on the exchange of power unable to go beyond production new power relations and hegemony. As long as political discourse or practice of an identity establishes its own ontology on the antagonism, it has a risk to produce a new power.

Is there any independent political practice or discourse from antagonism without having possibility to create a hegemony? This question is another version of Foucault's problematization of whether a resistance model can be developed apart from power relations. To answer the question, one can refer to what Butler says on the notion of body: An independent formation from power can be possible if the body has a more ancient history than power relations subjecting it. On the development of an independent form of resistance from power relations, Butler says that, unlike Foucault, the body has existed long before the hegemony processing it through culture, whereas

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[67] Ibid., pgs. 13, 14.

[68] Foucault. *"Power and Strategies,"* Power and Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings., pg. 141.

independent performances from power relations can be produced against regulatory practices within the culture imposed by power to the body, which is discussed with the notion of the "anonymous body".[69] Butler argues that new conceptual scopes derived from subversive and destructive practices of the "anonymous body" within the everyday social relations creates an alternative for Foucault's problematization. The main argument of this proposition is the dislocation of identity produced through performativity.

Subject-formation, which is what limits the body for Butler, reproduces power through performativity even if it is based on opposition to power. The body is converted to a tool for both the subordination and the production of power-relations by being formed with identity. For this reason, Butler argues for a practice without the subject, which is both the cause and effect of power relations. The object of this practice is not to provide a handover of power, but to develop a practice undermining the notion of power or subverting its politics of oppression and repression without illusion to the fantasy of the promise of the universal freedom. Because of that objected or promised freedom is formed on the particular values, which lead to the possibility of the domination of another group even if the freedom is achieved.

In the discussion on the reproduction of space with the subject experience, the political practices producing the counter-spaces of Ankara inevitably maintain the existence of what they are organized against. The counter-spaces are representation of the subject practices based on the exclusion and the antagonism on the one hand; they create the spatial boundaries of these practices on the other hand. The political practices should not be based on the attempts to seize power and the dichotomic structure of the power relations, but reconstructive strategies against the multi-centered, multi-layered, multi-variable power-formations.[70] In this respect, the objective of the sub-

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[69] Butler. "Bodily Inscriptions, Performativite Subversions," Gender Trouble, pp. 174-194.

[70] In this respect, Harvey forms his thesis for the anti-capitalist organization of social life, on not the imagination of a limited and covered alternative possibility, but a universal perpetration. As each spatial fixing has danger of producing its own power structures and hierarchies, even if it comes from the anti-capitalist ideology or practice. By improving an analysis of relationship between particular thing and universal thing, Harvey claims that, in *Spaces of Hope*, any radical alternative should take example from capitalism to be successful and sustainable. Any "alternative" generated against revolutionary motive of capitalism is made possible with rooted and permanent changes like in capitalism. The construction of the alternative, for Harvey, comes from the establishment of the dialectical relationship between secured stability and innovative flexibility in the socio-spatial domain and perspective of "permanent revolution". Actors of "permanent revolution" are those who convert personal and

versive practices of Butler's "anonymous body" is to dislocate the dialectic reversal between the power and the resistance, and between the power and the subject. For this, independent performances from the subject-formation is required, rather than identity politics seen as necessary for the political interests and struggles within the hegemony. Since it is believed that any identity politics creates its own power relations. The "anonymous body" constantly changes its positionality and situatedness to subvert the power through the bodily practices dislocating the power. This dislocation comes from unstable and variable identity-formations and resistance methods, rather fixed and static ones that generate the spatial boundaries of emancipation. These mobility and variability create the spatial praxis of Queer Theory that creates unstable and dynamic spatial boundaries or ambiences and the flexible identity categories. Thus, this bodily performance paves the way of breakdown of "vertical space"[71] by eliminating a fixed vertical formation of spatial experience or ambience. This means that counter-spaces of the city that are converted to ghettos of emancipation through fixing spatial practices and identity politics might have a modifiable environment or ambiance and its provocative dissemination in the city.

4.2 Production of Queer Space

From new socio-spatial perspectives, the space is discussed as not only place of the activity, but also what organizes it. According to this argument, while people produce space according to their needs, space becomes a tool that determines practices in daily life with social relations. For Mark Gottdiener, social factors (class, gender, age, race, ethnicity, religion) affect spatial quality and spatial form, which is interpreted as the representation of the interactive relationships between urban space and social factors. Human life in a society is the result of coexistence of different social factors, fur-

political things into a wider and universal domain, on the contrary "militant particularisms", which are defined as "collective identities" by Harvey or as "anonymous bodies" by Butler. The practice of this revolution is fulfilled apart from the identity politics which create their own subjectification and subordination. Each revolution creates its own space, as each power creates its own space. Therefore the imagination and construction of an "alternative" is not produced on the dichotomic structures in space production.

[71] The notion of power is not judged as what is the transcendent and single-center, like Althusser, Foucault, Butler, but what creates its own hegemony, hierarchy or other. Therefore "vertical space" of power is not discussed as a place of oppression and repression like hospital, parliament or police station, but ghetto of fixed emancipation or resistance, like LGBTI- friendly spaces or politic spaces of the city.

thermore, space has an active role in daily life about how it would be. Individuals reproduce themselves according to the values of urban space that they are parts of. Urban space forms social behaviors, for example the gender of the woman is constructed through both spatial constraints and patriarchy. Accordingly, socio-spatial relations mean social and political relations that limit and identify economic or cultural differences, which are related with how people are organized in the space and how the space affects the human behaviors. In this interpretation, space is considered as both a product and a producer producing the behaviors within society.[72]

The interactive relationships between urban space and social factors has been deciphered in this study with the analysis of the morphogenesis of the counter-spaces in Ankara. It has been put forward that these spaces used for socializing, organizing and resisting are converted to ghettos for/by their users. In this study, this ghettoization is discussed as the result of hegemony of ontological and epistemological boundaries the spaces of any kind of political practice, which is based on identity politics. Therefore, the morphogenesis of the counter-spaces contain results of both negative and positive effects of determination within the space production conceptualized by Lefebvre and Soja according to the new socio-spatial perspectives. This positive effect is that the practices of socializing, organizing and resisting against the authority provide emancipation of the other and/or the dissident in the counter-spaces. The negative effect is that contradictions and paradoxes within epistemic-ontological grounds of practices cause ghettoization of the counter-spaces. In this respect, the study argues that the dialectical reversals within these spatial practices is the reason of this ghettoization.

What Butler proposes for the emancipation of the limited body, one which contains bodily practices[73] of subversion of the identity and/or power, has clues for emancipation of the counter-spaces. This study defends that what prevents the ghettoization of the counter-spaces which creates their own boundaries by fixing their ambiances and spatial practices in the limited areas is subversive spatial production. With this

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[72] Mark Gottdiener. The New Urban Sociology, Mcgraw-Hill Press, 1994.

[73] Through this performance, what is objected is the deconstruction of the subject-formation that subjects the body to the power. The body becomes the place of subversive perpetration by refusing attributed fixed and solid identity to itself with this performativity related with the continuous change and flow of the identities. As what dislocates the multilayer and multicentre power has to have as multiplicity as the power.

(re)production, the counter-spaces converted to public ghettos can diffuse their political ambiances and experiences to the rest of the urban space by making their solid spatial boundaries uncertain and mobile. These spaces are conceptualized, in this thesis, as Queer Space as an alternative for counter-spaces. Contrary to the literature[74], the notion of Queer Space is defined as the place of this subversive practice, rather than as the space used by just LGBTI individuals. In the literature, the notion of Queer Space is used or defined as the space where LGBTI individuals can socialize without any discrimination and/or stigma, which is the identity-formation of both space and the body in it. Queer theory, however, develops a critical understanding to subjectification, even if it is based on the opposition to power, which is formed inevitably according to power discourses and/or practices. This means the indirect subjection of the other to power. In this respect, it can be said that, by referring to Butler's criticism on feminism, what is accepted as the center within the condition of being other that is formed on the identity of LGBTI is binary identity-formation based on the sexes of female and male. Any antagonist subject-formation, according to Butler's discussion on identity, creates new dichotomies, similar to architectural ones such as inside-outside, center-periphery, ideal-real, particular-general or simplistic-amorphous, syntax-meaning, material-metaphorical, solid-void etc. Moreover, the word of 'queer' does not mean being LGBTI.[75] Queer is not an identity and so it is transcendental and external to the identity or sexual orientation of LGBTI. Queer is related with bodily practices to subvert the hegemony and power relations by strategically refusing any solid and permanent identity-formation. In other words, this notion entails an action without a subject. As Butler puts it:

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[74] Because of the review of the literature that includes more than 200 books and articles studied during the thesis research, it is realized that Queer Space is discussed just as the usable and accessible space for LGBTI individuals without hiding their identities. However the context in the Queer Manifesto which was distributed by members of Queer Nation and ACT UP in the New York Gay Pride Day parade, in 1990, has a deeper and broader sense than it is discussed in the literature. A portion of the manifesto is the following: "Being queer is not about a right to privacy; it is about the freedom to be public, to just be who we are. It means everyday fighting oppression; homophobia, racism, misogyny, the bigotry of religious hypocrites and our own self-hatred. (We have been carefully taught to hate ourselves.)... Being queer means leading a different sort of life. It's not about the mainstream, profit-margins, patriotism, patriarchy or being assimilated. It's not about executive directors, privilege and elitism. It's about being on the margins, defining ourselves; it's about gender-f−−− and secrets, what's beneath the belt and deep inside the heart; it's about the night. Being queer is "grass roots" because we know that everyone of us, every body, every c−−−, every heart and a−−− and d−−− is a world of pleasure waiting to be explored. Everyone of us is a world of infinite possibility."

[75] Tuna Erdem. *"Hizadan Çıkmaya, Yoldan Sapmaya ve Çıkıntı Olmaya Dair: Kimlik Değil, Cinsellik! Tektip Cinsellik Değil, Cinsel Çeşitlilik!,"* Cinsellik Muaması: Türkiye'de Queer Kültür ve Muhalefet, Metis Yayınları, 2012, pp. 37-72.

> The foundationalist reasoning of identity politics tends to assume that an identity must first be in place in order for political interests to elaborated and, subsequently, political action to be taken. My argument is that there need to be a "doer behind the deed," but that the "doer" is variably constructed in and through the deed. This is not a return to an existential theory maintains a prediscursive structure for both the self and its acts. It is precisely and discursively variable construction of each in and through the other that has interested me here.[76]

Therefore, a discussion on/of Queer space would help develop a critical approach to the ontology of the counter-spaces on the one hand, and bypass the epistemology of the used notion of Queer space in the literature with attempts to reformulate the concept of it on the other.

In this study, Queer Space reconstructs its own production on variable and fluid boundaries instead of fixed and static ones. This is the manifestation of identity-formation subverted by Queer performance within the production of space. The space is architecturally "to determine boundaries,"[77] whereas Queer space is where these boundaries are dislocated. In such a discussion of what the space is, it is asked that weather the outside of boundaries are defined as another space by questioning the boundary on the argument of that space is a material thing.[78] It can be said that, by referring to Soja's and Lefebvre's discussion on the space production, the existence of a boundary is not just a result of a material production, but also specialized and categorized ambiances or practices in a space. In this matter, the boundaries of the counter-spaces are created on the non-material production of the spaces. Specialized and categorized subject practices and identities identify both themselves by producing the spatial boundaries. The critical approach of the thesis begins at this point: the production of these spatial boundaries. For, any practice produced in the counter-spaces dissolves and disappears outside of these boundaries. However, what needs to be dissolved is the spatial boundaries themselves. The other's spatial eman-

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[76] Butler. Gender Trouble, pg. 142.

[77] Bernard Tschumi. Architecture and Disjunction, The MIT Press, 1994, pg. 30.

[78] Ibid., pg. 53.

cipation, thereby, can penetrate all urban spaces by dissolving solid and permanent spatial boundaries through the queer production of space, which corresponds to the precondition seen for bodily emancipation. In this thesis, this subversive production is seen as a method to prevent the fixing of political identities and practices in the counter-spaces, and to disseminate emancipation to the whole city. Such a production contains practices of space production that is underlying argument of the technique of psychogeographic mapping to create an integral construction of environment which is divided into different urban quarters. This is integrating production rather than dividing, separating or categorizing spatial experiences or ambiances. In other words, this is the production of Queer Space for the *détournement* of all spatial boundaries and representations of the counter-spaces in Ankara.

According to this argument, Queer Space reconstructs its own ontology and epistemology on variable and fluid boundaries instead of fixed and static ones. The notion of Queer Space includes Soja's concept of "Thirdspace" and Lefebvre's concept of "Social Space" through the spatial practices of social actors and groups whereas the Queer Space is not re/produced as a result of the perpetration of its users in the queer domain, but for the object of subversive performance and its process. In this context, the (re)production of space is converted into the strategic perpetration against power relations. These performances are metaphorical and material production to subvert the ghettos of emancipation with the variety of possible combination of environments and the dissolution antagonist subject-formulations and fixed spatial practices. Thus, the phenomenology and ontology of the space are reconstructed repeatedly by being subverted continuously by strategic and political practice of the "anonymous body". This subversive repetition paves the way for emancipation of ghettoized counter-spaces. Therefore, Queer Space instead of the counter-space is the place of subversion of all present "positionality" and "situatedness" of both physical and mental spaces through unstable and variable spatial ambiances, practices, experiences or boundaries for provocative dissemination of emancipation.

Multi-layered, parametric and temporal spatial relations engender continuous change and dynamism into representations and practices of the counter-spaces, which provoke dissemination of *détournement* of monotype or restricted being that potentially reformulates power relations. It is believed that a dynamism or change in a space pro-

duction relates not just to the contention with what are transcendental and excluding, but also conflict with the tendency to transformation to being what is opposed. Both imaginary and tangible variations in ambiance and environment are requirements for revolutionary practices against permanence within fluidity of power relations just as strategy of permanent revolution within Marxist Theory. This study has put forward its argument in order to disclose the anomaly of the counter-spaces of Ankara as the other's public ghettos, because of their impermeable spatial boundaries for a dynamic connection with the rest of the city. A real freedom, thereby, would come with the production of Queer Spaces, rather than a counter formation including dichotomy and dialectical reversal. In this respect, Queer Space is not a volume defined with material and/or non-material things, but an incomplete product of continuous production to systematically and provocatively disseminate emancipation.(Figure 4.2).

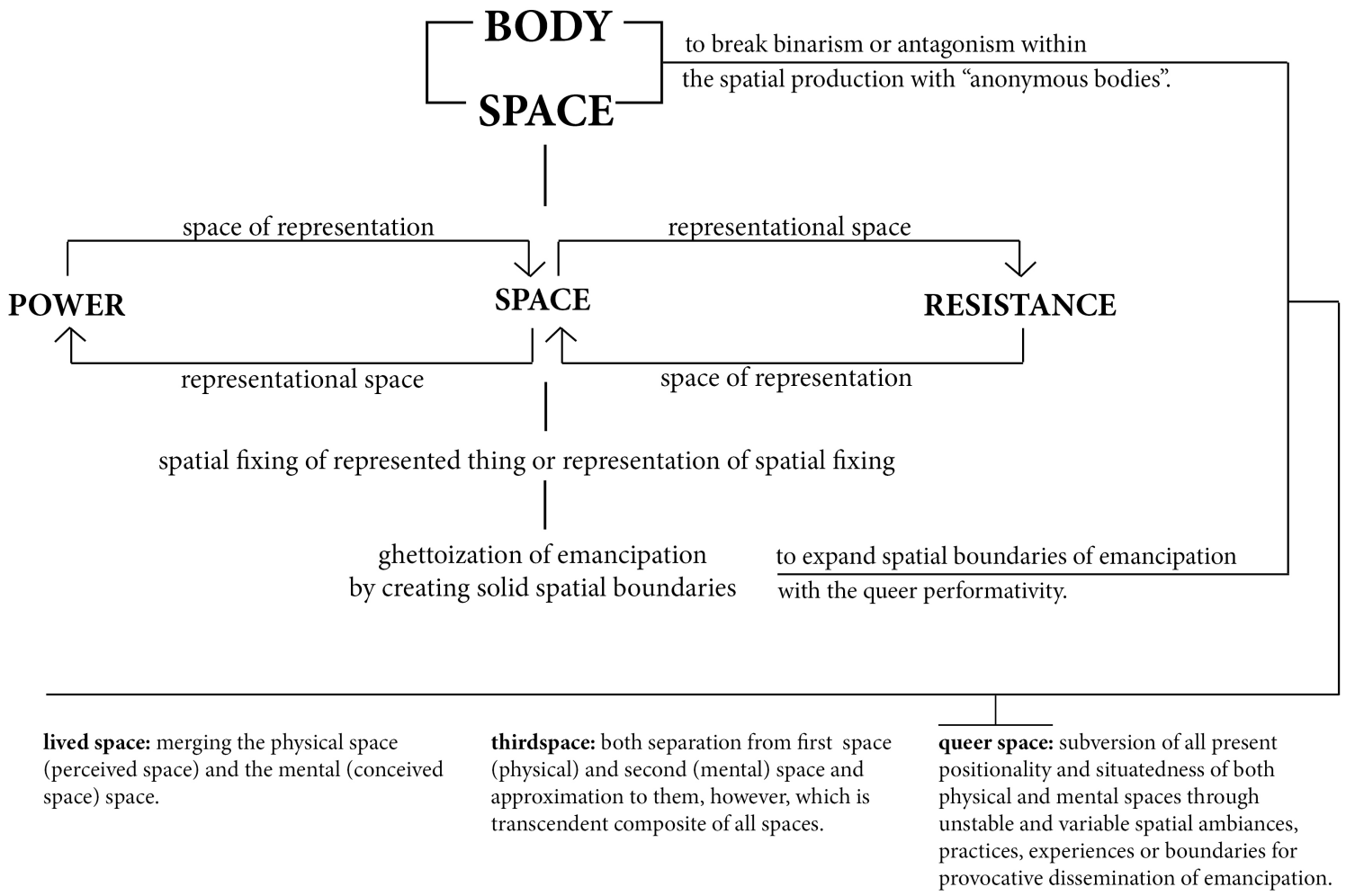


Figure 4.1: Dislocation of dichotomic structure within space production.

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APPENDIX

These interviews are to analyze spatial practices and desires within the production process of psychogeographic mapping of users of the counter-spaces in Ankara. After the subjects indicated their spaces for socializing, organizing and resisting and routes for circulation/transition on the city map, some open-ended questions were asked in order to understand the underlying reasons of these spatial uses in Ankara. In the interviews, the first question is to introduce themselves by mentioning their identities (ethnicity, belief, class, gender) which cause being users of the counter-spaces. The second question is to understand spatial differentiation, as the reason why they prefer to use these open and close spaces, of indicated places on the maps within their cognitive and material worlds. The third is to quest what they think about the practices and representations within the spatial production of counter-formation. Lesbian and gay subjects answered this question on the criticisms of the policies and strategies of the leftist organizations while political subjects, which relate with their, belief and class, answered it on the comments of LGBTI's public visibility. The third question also is to analyze the counter-spaces where they resisted and where were possible encounter places with each others during Gezi Movement that has a great importance for spatial coexistence of LGBTI and political subjects in Ankara.

Özne-1:

Alevi bir Kürt kadınım, vejetaryenim, sosyalist görüşü benimsiyorum ve bütün muhalif ve öteki kimliklerimle kendimi toplumda var etmeye çalışıyorum.

Mekan sahiplerinin mekanların karakterlerini belirlediğine inanıyorum. Haritada işaretlediğim mekanların işletmecilerinin politik duruşlarını (çoğunu birebir tanımasam dahi) bana yakın buluyorum. Bu yüzden katkı sunmak, destek olmak için bu mekanlara gitmeyi tercih ediyorum. Ayrıca bu mekanlarda bulunmak iyi hissettiriyor beni çünkü büyük işletmelerin ve markaların hizmet verdiği mekanların başka bir ideolojinin, kapitalist sistemin, ürünü olduğunu düşünüyorum. Haritada işaretlediğim

mekanlar kendimi ait hissettiğim ve kullanıcısı olarak destek sunmayı tercih ettiğim yerler. Genellikle buralara politik olarak yakın görüşte olduğum arkadaşlarımla gidiyoruz. Bu mekanların varlığını ve politik duruşlarını aynı örgüt içinde yer alan arkadaşlarımın aktarımları ve kendi deneyimlerim sonucu haberdar oldum. Zaten bir çevreye girdiğinizde etrafınızda sizinle benzer fikirlerde olan insanların sayısı ister istemez artıyor. Benim için de öyle oldu. Bağlı olduğum örgüt ve onun mekansal konumu sayesinde yani örgütümün bulunduğu yer sayesinde gündelik hayat içerisinde birçok farklı örgütten insanla istemli ya da istemsiz temas etme olanağım oldu. Böylece çevrem gelişti ve onların sık sık gittiği, sevdiği mekanlar da benim gitmekten zevk aldığım mekanlar haline geldi.

Bu mekanlarda LGBTİ bireyleri ile karşılaştığımda genel tavrım olumlu olmakla birlikte ilişki biçimlerini merak da ediyorum. Bu yüzden arada nasıl davrandıklarına ve göründüklerini anlamak için bakıyorum. Fakat kimliğimden kaynaklı Türkiye'de ötekileştirilmiş her bireye ya da topluluğa nasıl bakıyorsam LGBTİ'de benim için öyle. Kamusal mekanlarda kendilerini var etmeleri gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Hatta LGBTI örgütlerinin eylemlerine destek olmak için katılıyorum da... Bunun dışında kentteki politik eylemlere ve gösterilere çoğunlukla katılıyorum. Gezi direnişini hem Ankara'da hem de İstanbul'da deneyimledim. Ankara'da direniş için genelde Kennedy Caddesi ve Güven Park'taydım.

Türkiye'de sol örgütlerin LGBTİ dayanışmasına karşı sekter bir tutum içinde olduğuna tanık oldum. Solun bu konuda aşamadığı, saplanıp kaldığı kapalı bir bakış açısı var. İçinde bulunduğum örgüt ile bir kadın komisyonu oluşturulması için çaba harcıyoruz. Orada solun değil LGBTİ bireylere, kadına dair bakış açısının bile hala sıkıntılı olduğunu gözlemliyorum. Sol görüş bu bu noktada bütüncül bir yapıda olmalı, emek-sermaye çatışması üzerinden kurulan ve her daim emeğin, ezilenin ve barışın yanında konumlanması gereken bir ideolojinin gerek kadın haklarını gerekse LGBTİ haklarını yok sayması kabul edilemez.

Özne-2:

Eskiden kendimi yurtsever ve gay olarak ifade ederdim. Artık birçok şeyi aştım ve kendi kimliğime dair farklı diyebileceğim bir şey kalmadı. Yani eşcinsel olmak, Kürt olmak ya da yurtsever olmak kimliğimi belirleyen özellikler değil. Eskiden siyasi bir parti de örgütlüydüm fakat şuan hiç bir örgütsel bağım yok. Yani eşcinselliği, kimliğimi belirlerken dile getirilecek bir fark olarak görmüyorum. Bu benim... Bu çok doğal bir şey! Adımın söylenmesinden sonra cinsel yönelimimin ifade edilmesi, diğerlerinden farklıymışım gibi bunun altının çizilmesi beni rahatsız ediyor. Tabii bu durum toplumda öteki olduğumuz gerçeğini değiştirmiyor. Tepkim de bu nedenledir zaten. Toplumun dönüşmesi için, yönelimimin altının çizilmesi gereken bir durum olmadığının kabul edilmesi şart. Böylece toplumda daha çok ve çabuk kabul görürüm. Ben de herkes gibi görülürsem ancak ve ancak herkes olabilirim...

Haritadaki işaretli mekanları kullanma sebebim sevgilimle daha rahat iletişim kurabileceğim yerler olduğundan. Aynı zamanda kendimi var edebildiğim yegane yerler... Düşünsenize; ailede gizlisiniz,toplumda gizli, okulda gizli, işte gizli.... Bu mekanlara gittiğimde benim de herkes gibi sevgilimle el ele tutuşabilmem hem hayatım boyunca içimde kalan heveslerimi yaşamamı sağlıyor hem de ben de varım dememi... Duygularımın, heyecanlarımın, kızgınlıklarımın olduğu gibi yaşanması benim için bir mutluluk. Bu nedenle bu mekanlara kaçıyorum... Evet kaçıyorum çünkü maalesef bu gettolarda ve izole edilmiş ortamlarda sıkışmış durumdayız. Ama hiç yoktan iyidir... Mekanlardan lezbiyen, *gay* arkadaş çevresi aracılığıyla haberdar oldum. Ayrıca yaşadığım iyi ya da kötü tecrübelerle kendi sosyalleşme mekanlarımı oluşturdum. Mesela bazı mekanlarda *gay* olduğum için ve sevgilimle temas kurduğum için (ele ele tutuşmak, öpüşmek, bakışmak gibi) dışarıya atıldım. Bu yüzden bu mekanlara bir daha asla hiçbir sebeple gitmiyorum. Bir diğer yol da kulaktan kulağa yayılan o mekan sahiplerinin *gay-friendly* olması... Zaten politik bir yanım hala var; kendimi var edebildiğim alanlarda bana saygı duyan insanların para kazanması diğer homofobik insanların para kazanmasından daha mühim! Ayrıca şöyle de bir şey ifade edeyim; *gay-friendly* insanlar Türkiye'de genelde sol görüşe yatkın insanlar. Dolayısıyla çaldıkları müzikler, duyurularını yaptıkları filmler, konserler de benim ilgimi çeken başka bir nokta. Sadece bana saygı duymaları değil yani tek neden.... Benim gibi yasayan insanlar onlar da... Benim gibi eğlenen, okuyan, yazan,

çizen insanlar... Dolayısıyla o mekanlar kendi çevrem dışında bir sosyalleşme aracı benim için. Gittiğim bir mekanda garsonundan işletmecisine benim gibi düşünmesi ve bu doğrultuda bana bir şeyler katması sevindirici. Mesela sevgilimle gittiğim bir mekanda garson arkadaşın 1 ay sonraki bir konser hakkında bizi bilgilendirmesi bizi mutlu ediyor; ya da ayaküstü ülke gündemini konuşmak ufkumu açıyor. Sadece bir kahve içmeye gittiğimiz mekan olmaktan çıkıyor böylelikle oralar...

Örgütlü olduğum zamanlarda genelde Konur Sokağı kullanıyordum. Orası solcuların ve yurtseverlerin nerdeyse örgütlendiği tek kamusal yerdi. Fakat Gezi ile birlikte yeni örgütlenme alanları oluştu. Bunların başında Kuğulu Park ve Tunus Caddesi gelir. Bu mekanlar Gezi direnişinin önemli kalelerini oluşturuyordu. Yani gittiğim mekanlarda bana uzak ya da yakin siyasi, muhalif bir tavır görmek beni mutlu ediyor. Hem yaşadığımız çağımız dünyada hem de ülkede insanlarda bir aynılaşma var. Bu yüzden herhangi farklı bir ses işlenmemiş bir mücevher oluyor benim için. Kızılay hala sol kimliğin kalesi olmayı sürdürüyor. Onun dışındaki mekanlar kapitalist kimliğin sembollerinden başka bir şey değil aslında... Tunus, Tunalı, Filistin bazen benim de acaba oralara doğru mu gitsem dediğim yerler; lakin oralarda da ne yazık ki gördüğüm tek şey: orta sınıf, kompleksli gençlerin kendilerini var etme çabalarının hayat bulduğu mekanlarla dolu. Daha zengin görünmek, daha şık olmak, daha daha... Ama hepsi aynı! Hepsi birbirine benziyor. Böyle bir ortamda ülkenin haline acıyamıyorsun bile... Bundan ötürü gittiğim mekanlarda politik bir tavır görmek " hala umut var" dedirtiyor...

Genel olarak Türk solunun LGBTİ'ye bakış açısını ve LGBTİ'ye yönelik politikalarını samimiyetsiz buluyorum. Benim de bir zamanlar üyesi olduğum Kürt solunu, daha doğru ve samimi bir LGBTİ politikasına sahip olmasına rağmen bunu tabanına yayamadığı için de eleştiriyorum. Türk solunu samimi olmak gerekirse; bir çok noktada olduğu gibi samimiyetsiz ve tepeden inme buluyorum. Bunu Kürt milliyetçiliği olarak algılamayın; Kemalist kadrodan türeyen bir nebze daha marjinal olan akımla beraber "Aman bana dokunmasınlar" diyen insanlardan tutun da, herkese kucak açtığını iddia eden solculara kadar hemen hemen hepsinde kendine benzeştirme ya da acıma duygusu var. Yani; "A o Kürt mü? Türkçesi de iyi ama..." "Benim de Kürt arkadaşlarım var ve çok iyiler", "Ben de bir sürü eşcinsel tanıyorum ve hiç biri sapık değil" tarzında duyunca sanki olumlu sözlermiş gibi görünen ama aslında derin

faşizm içeren ve tepeden bakan bir eda var çoğunda... “Eşcinsel misin? Peki hiç kız arkadaşın oldu mu?” gibi bir sorular da aynı şekilde... Bunları duyunca onlara şunu sormak istiyorum: “Heteroseksüel misin? Hiç hemcinsinle yatmayı denedin mi? Bir dene istersen, hiç fena olmuyor!” İşte bu kadar mantıksız! Bu yüzden “sol”un hakkını veremeyen çoğu örgüt ve parti benim için samimiyetsiz. "Solcuyum", "aydınım", ya da "entelektüelim" diyen birinin LGBTİ’ye düşmanca yaklaşımını anlayamıyorum. Biz her yerdeyiz..! Bu yüzden ben gittiğim her mekanda sevgilim istemese de elinden tutuyorum. Savunduğum şey şu: Görecekler; gördükçe alışacaklar; alıştıkça kabul edecekler!

Özne-3:

Ekoloji mücadelesi yürütüyorum ve ideolojik olarak sosyalist bir örgütten besleniyorum.

Haritada işaretlediğinim mekanların bir kısmını örgütlenmek amacıyla kullanıyorum. Yeni insanlarla tanıştığım ve onlarla politik sohbetler ettiğim mekanlar. Bir kısmı da sadece sosyalleşmek amacıyla kullandığım mekanlar... Bazıları da politik hayatımda etki etmiş, beni değiştiren mekanlar. İşaretli olan meydanlar ve parklar ise politik anılarla benim kişiliğime etki etmiş yerler. Bunun dışında benzer politik düşünceye sahip insanlar, kent içerisinde ortak noktalarda buluşabiliyorlar. Arkadaşlarım aracılığı ile bu mekanları ilk kez deneyimledikten sonraki süreçte bu mekanlar hayatımda yer ettiler ve bunları tercih etmemde bu süreç rol oynadı. Çünkü mekanları kullanan insanların profili çok önemli benim için. Yaptığım sohbetin yan masadaki insanları olumsuz etkilediği ve bundan dolayı tepki görebileceğim mekanlar değiller. Buralar daha özgür ve rahat politik muhabbetler edebileceğim yerler. İşaretlediğim sosyalleşme mekanları genellikle politik kimliklere sahip, benim gibi düşünen insanların kullandığı mekanlar. Bu yüzden sosyalleşmek ve örgütlenmek için bu mekanları gitmeyi tercih ediyorum.

Kentte kitlesel hareketlere, kendimi ideolojik olarak yakın hissettiğim, desteklediğim her siyasi gösteriye ve mücadeleye aktif olarak katılıyorum. Gezi Direnişi de bunlardan biridir. Genellikle direniş için Kuğulu Park, Konur Sokak ve Kızılay Meydanı’nda bulundum. Sol mücadele içerisinde Gezi Direnişi çok yenilikçi bir hareketti. Daha radikal ve statükocu örgütlenme biçimlerinin kendini geliştirmesine olanak sağ-

ladı. Örgütlerin ekoloji, kadın, LGBTİ gibi meselelere bakış açılarının değiştiğini gördüm. Bu da LGBTİ örgütleri politik alanda görünürlük kazanmasında etkili oldu. Bunu önemsiyorum çünkü toplumda farklı olan her kesimin kendi örgütlenme biçimini geliştirmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Bu yüzden LGBTİ örgütlenmesini olumlu görüyorum. Kullandığım mekanlarda da LGBTİ bireyi gördüğümde mutlu oluyorum. Çünkü kendilerini ifade edebildikleri mekanlar politik insanların da kendini daha rahat ifade edebilecek mekanlar aslında. Bu yüzden bu mekanları daha fazla kullanmayı tercih ediyorum.

Özne-4:

Eşcinselim. Aslında bu bir fark değil; farklı olan bizim bir şeyleri elde etmek için hetoroseksüel birine kıyasla daha fazla uğraşmamız. Hetero bir bireyden tek farkımız aslında bu... Ben cinsel kimliğimi bir fark olarak görmüyorum. Bir kadını seven bir kadınım sadece... İnsanlara bununla ilgili açıklama yapmak aslında beni çok rahatsız ediyor... Heteroseksüel hiçbir birey kimseye 'ben heteroseksüelim diye' açıklama yapmak zorunda değilken insanlar, neden bilinmez, bizden eşcinsel olduğumuzu söylememiz gerektiğini düşünüyor! Eşcinsel olduğumu öğrendikten sonra uzunca bir süre kafasında beni oturtamayan arkadaşlarım oldu mesela; bu gerçekten kırıcı bir süreçti..! Ben de o dönemde kendimi bu davranışlardan dolayı çok yargıladım. Hissettiğim duygunun doğru olamayacağına kadar ileri gidebilecek düşüncelerdi bunlar... Ama bunun yanında beni destekleyen ve beni 'ben' olduğum için seven, eşcinsel olmamın hiçbir şeyi değiştirmeyeceğini söyleyen arkadaşlarım sayesinde, toplum hatta toplumdan ziyade ilk başta arkadaş baskısının benim için hiçbir anlam ifade etmemesi gerektiğinin bilincine vardım. Ben buyum... Eşcinselim ve mutluyum... Ailem dahil hiç kimse istiyor diye hayatımı asla değiştiremem. Hayatımda kalmak isteyen kalabilir her zaman ama eşcinselim diye benle arasına mesafe koyanlara dönüp bakmadım bile... Kimse için değil, kendim için yaşıyorum bu hayatı! O kadar çok gizli eşcinsel kimlik var ki..! Fakat hayatlar saklanarak yaşanmıyor; hem niye saklayarak yaşayalım ki! Eşcinsellik ne bir ayıp ne de bir hastalık! Umarım bir gün herkes bunu anlar ve her birey istediği mutlu hayatta, ait olduğu insanlara 'işte ailem' diyebilir!

Haritada belirttiğim mekanları kullanma sebebim oralarda daha özgür daha rahat hissetmem. Ankara'ya geleli 3 yıl oldu. Bu mekanları deneyimleyerek LGBTI-

dostu mekan oldukları keşfettim. Zaten kulaktan kulağa çok fazla mekan dolanıyor. Ankara'da eşcinsel dostu mekanlar da bellidir genelde. Samimi yerlerdir buralar... Sadece mekan için gitmeyiz oraya; çalışanları bile arkadaşımız olmuştur. Yeni açılan mekanlardan yine arkadaş haberleriyle ya da sosyal medya yoluyla haberdar oluyor insanlar. Bir çok LGBTİ dostu mekanlarda ufak da olsa bayraklarımız bir yerde mutlaka asılı oluyor ve bu beni çok mutlu hissettiriyor. Bizim de bu topluma ait olduğumuzu anlatıyor herkese. Bu güzel bir şey! Ben genelde de buralara gitmeyi tercih ediyorum. Bu yerlerde daha çok benim, insanların bakışlarında daha uzağım. Diğer mekanlarda insanları, göğüsleri olan erkek görünümlü bedenimi birbirlerine gösterirken, bakarken, kimliğimi anlamaya çalışırken yakalıyorum. Bu çok rahatsız edici bir şey. Kendimi ait hissettiğimiz yerlerde özgürüz, rahatız. Kimse kız arkadaşımın elini tutuyorum, ona sarılıyorum, ona aşkla bakıyorum diye başka bir dünyaya aitmişim gibi bakmıyor bana. LGBTİ dostu mekanlar ya da tamamen LGBTİ mekanlarda kimsenin bizi yargılamadığı, yaftalamadığı (en azından cinsel kimliğimizle ilgili) güzel zamanlar geçiriyoruz.

Ben örgütlü değilim. Kentteki siyasi gösterilere ya da eylemlere katılmıyorum. Bu ülke de konusu ne olursa olsun politik eylemlere katılmak riskli geliyor bana. Fakat Gezi Direnişi sırasında da Antalya'daydım ve ona katıldım. Direnişte yaklaşık 30 kişilik bir grup olarak LGBTİ çadırı kurduk ve çadırın etrafına "Homofobi öldürür", "LGBTİ'ler vardır", "Biz de direnişteyiz" yazılı pankartlar ve gökkuşağı bayraklarımızı astık. Çadırımız, renkli giysilerimiz, imajımız insanların dikkatini çekiyordu.

Gittiğim mekanlarda LGBTİ ve siyaset üstüne konuşmalar yapıldığında konuşmanın yapıldığı mekan ve kişilere göre tavrım değişiyor. Eğer yanlış bir düşünce ve söylem varsa düzeltmeye çalışıyorum; ancak sağ muhafazakar düşünce ve siyasi ideolojilerin LGBTİ düşmanı olmasından ötürü ve ciddi nefret söylemlerin olmasından dolayı dinlemeyecek,tepki gösterecek mekan veya kişiler varsa konuşmalara dahil bile olmuyorum. Maalesef ki nefreti, öfkeyi ve şiddeti göstermekten, özellikle de LGBTİ bireylere göstermekten çekinmeyen insanlarla dolu bir ülkede yasıyoruz! Bu suçların cezai yaptırımı da neredeyse yok! Her gün bir yerlerde öfke cinayetleri haberleri alıyoruz. LGBTİ bireyleri dövülüyor, işkence görüyor, öldürülüyor. Aslında LGBTİ azımsanmayacak bir topluluğa ve örgütlülüğe sahip. Bu yüzden siyasal örgütler bizi çok sevmemelerine rağmen bize karşı cephe de alamıyorlar. Sol örgütlerle genel

olarak farklı platformlarda bir araya gelindiğinde homofobik ve transfobik söylemleri konuşulabiliyor. Örgüt içine yavaş yavaş eşcinsel bireyler alınmaya başlanıyor. Özellikle Gezi olaylarından sonra sol örgütler LGBTİ üyelerinin azınlık olmadığının farkına vardı.

Özne-5:

Sosyalist bir Kürt kadınım. Aynı zamanda vejetaryenim. Mümkün olduğunca her türlü tahakküm ilişkisine karşı mücadele vermeye çalışıyorum ve kimliğimi de bunun üzerinden şekillendiriyorum. Tutuklu Öğrenciler Dayanışma Ağı'nda tutsak öğrenciler adına çalışmalar yürütüyorum.

İşaretlediğim mekanlar görece kendime yakın insanların işlettiği ve kullandığı mekanlar. Rahat hissettiğim ve arkadaşlarımla, etraftaki insanlardan tepki duymadan rahat iletişim kurduğum yerler. Buraları bireysel deneyimlerim sonucu keşfettiğim. Ankara zaten bu anlamda sihirli bir şehir ve kısa bir sürede, kısa sürecek bir keşifle kendi mekanlarınızı belirleyebiliyorsunuz.

Bu mekanlarda LGBTI bireyleri ile karşılaştığımda genel tavrım diğer bireylere neyse öyle oluyor. Onları farklı olarak görmüyorum. Ankara'da Dikmen'de yürütülen barınma hakkı mücadelesine aktif bir şekilde destekliyorum. Kentte yürütülen direnişlerin hepsine katılamasam da süreçlerini takip ediyorum. Kent mücadelelerinden biri olan Gezi Direnişi'nde Kızılay'daydım. Onun dışında Yüksel Caddesi, Konur Sokak, Sıhhıye Meydanı ya da Sakarya Meydanı'nda yapılan kitlesel eylemlere katılmaya çalışıyorum. Ama LGBTİ özelinde yapılan eylemlere katılım oranım oldukça düşük. Sanırım bu da mücadele anlamında öncelik olarak belirlediklerimizin farklılaşıyor olması. Bir yandan garip geliyor tabi, sonuçta yaptığımız eylemlerin tümünün altında yatan temel tahakküm karşıtlığı... Fakat hak mücadelesi yürüten sol-sosyalist örgütlerin bu meselelerde tavırları çok sert olabiliyor. En iyi ihtimalle LGBTI bireylerine karşı tavırları eşitlikçi söylemlerden öteye geçemiyor. Tanıdığım bir çok sosyalist arkadaş homofobik mesela... İçlerinde ataerkil yapıyı hala barındırıyorlar. Ötekinin özgürlük mücadelesine karşı tavırlarının hala yeterli olmadığını düşünüyorum. Benim fobi olarak tanımlayabileceğim bir bakışım olmamasına karşın ben bile direnişlerine yeterince katilim sağlayamıyorum.

Özne-6:

Kendimi ifade edebileceğim bariz bir özelliğim yok. Kendimi öteki olarak görmüyorum. Fakat bu toplumsal sınırlar içinde kendi sosyal çevresini özenle seçmek zorunda kalan biriyim. Ben öğretmenim ve dışarıda öğrencilerimle karşılaşma riskim var. Bu yüzden sevgilimle gittiğim mekanları özenle seçmek zorundayım. Haritada işaretlediğim yerler kendimi bir nebze olsun daha rahat hissettiğim mekanlar. Bu mekanların kentin politik ve direniş mekanlarına olan yakınlığını önemsiyorum. Çünkü muhalif öznelerin var olduğu yerlerde cinsel kimliğimi yaşamak konusunda daha özgür hissediyorum kendimi. Bu mekanlarda da öğrencilerimle veya velileriyle karşılaşma riskim olmasına rağmen yaşanabilecek krizlerin daha az olabileceğini düşünüyorum. Bu yerlerden öncelikle sosyal çevrem aracılığıyla haberdar oldum. Arkadaşlarım bana kendimi daha güvende ve rahat hissedebileceğim mekanlar olarak buraları söylediler. Genelde sevgilimle birlikte buralara gidiyoruz. Öncesinde hayatımın merkezinde cinsel kimliğim yer almıyordu ve böyle bir mekan araştırmasına ihtiyaç duymuyordum. Kendi cinsel kimliğimi fark ettiğim ve yaşamaya başladığım zamanlarda bu mekanlarla tanıştım.

Toplumsal yapının çok büyük bir kısmı ufak bir azınlık tarafından kendi istekleri doğrultusunda şekillendirilmekte... Bu yüzden çok büyük bir kitle çeşitli özelliklerinden dolayı ciddi kontrol mekanizmalarıyla abluka altında: Emekçiler, Kürtler, Aleviler, eşcinseller... Bütün ezilen öznelerin birliği ve ortak mücadelesi toplumda ki değişimin garantisidir. Ben örgütlü değilim ama muhalif olmanın önemli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Cinsel yönelimimden dolayı da muhalif kesimin var olduğu yerlerde kendime daha rahat hissedecek alanlar oluşturuyorum. Son yıllarda -yaklaşık beş yıldır- kentte yürütülen politik eylemlere, gösterilere çoğunlukla katılmıyorum. Bunun sebebi iş hayatında yaşanabilecek sıkıntılar. Önceki yıllarda destek sağladığım politik eylemlerden dolayı 10 yılı aşkın bir süreyle yargılandım. Bir yargılama süreci daha geçirmek iş hayatım açısından büyük problemlere yol açacak. Bu yüzden Gezi Direnişi'nde evimin bulunduğu yerde (Eryaman) örgütlenmiştim. Fakat direnişe işyerimde gelen baskılardan dolayı (direnişe katıldığım için soruşturma açıldı) çok destek sağlayamadım.

Muhalif olmak, mücadele etmek önemli fakat Türkiye'deki siyasal örgütlenmelerin kendi programlarında LGBTI hak ve özgürlüklerine daha fazla yer vermeleri gerektiğine inanıyorum. Çünkü toplumdaki meseleler sadece sınıf mücadelesi ya da feminist örgütlenmelerle çözülemez. Solun derdi yeni bir toplum yaratmaksa eğer kendi mücadelelerine LGBTİ bireylerini dahil etmeleri gerektiğine inanıyorum. Bizler feminist ya da toplumsal cinsiyet mücadelesi yürüten örgütlenmelerin içine sıkışıp kalmamalıyız! Ayrıca bu örgütlenme biçimlerinin çok akademik kaldığını ve pratiklerinin de zayıf olduğunu düşünüyorum. Mesela 8 Mart Dünya Emekçi Kadınlar Günü'nde feminist veya sol örgütler eşcinselleri kortejlerine almıyorlar. Kafalarında bir takım kategoriler oluşturmuşlar. Bence böyle yaparak kendi politikalarının önüne set çekiyorlar. Hedefimiz yeni toplumu, yeni insanı yaratmaksa LGBTİ özneler sürece dahil edilmek zorundadır.