



## FUTURE PROSPECTS ON POLITICS, CULTURE AND GOVERNANCE

The 2<sup>nd</sup> Annual Meeting and International Conference of the Consortium for Research in Political Theory (CRIPT) Hacettepe University, Ankara, Turkey, July 16-20, 2018

CRIPT2018 - Abstract Book, Ankara, Turkey

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# POLITEIA - Political Theory and Innovation Network

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<b>FUTURE I</b> The 2 <sup>nd</sup> Annua	PROSPECTS I Meeting and Int	ernational Confer	ence of the Conso	ortium for Research	OVERNANCE in Political Theory Y, JULY 16-20, 2018

## **Acknowledgments**

Consortium for Research in Political Theory (CRIPT), established by the Political Theory and Innovation Network (POLITEIA) at Hacettepe University within the framework of the KA107 Erasmus+ World, Mobility with Partner Countries Program, is an international network of joint research and education in humanities and social sciences with a specific interest in innovation in political theory and practice. CRIPT promotes the value of innovative research and teaching and aims to accelerate the intercultural and interdisciplinary exchange of ideas and practices through the advancement of inter-institutional collaboration.

The Second Annual Meeting and International Conference of the CRIPT was held at Hacettepe University in Ankara, Turkey from July 16th to 20th, 2018. The Annual Meeting and International Conference brought together scholars from partner institutions to discuss research from a rich spectrum of issues in humanities and social sciences. The Second Annual Meeting and International Conference of the Consortium for research in Political Theory (CRIPT) hosted a total number of 235 scholars, researchers, artists, students and administrators from 15 countries and 39 universities from around the world. The program housed 42 thematic panels, two roundtable discussions, four interactive panels and two joint executive workshops which include 173 thematic papers, ten micro-panel papers, ten interactive art performances, three exhibitions, one video installation, and two administrative discussion sessions.

The Second Annual Meeting and International Conference of the CRIPT was jointly organized and hosted by the Political Theory and Innovation Network (POLITEIA), the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, the Faculty of Communication, the Society for Political Theory (PTT), and Local Government Research Center in association with Mohammed VI Polytechnic University, Faculty of Governance, Economics and Social Sciences (EGE Rabat), and the University of Atlántico. Scholars from Turkey, Morocco, Jordan, Colombia, Chile, Taiwan, Republic of Korea, United States of America, United Arab Emirates, Germany, Hungary, Finland, India, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Canada and Czech Republic participated in the 2nd Annual Meeting and the International Conference of the Consortium for Research in Political Theory (CRIPT).

2018 Annual Meeting and International Conference of the CRIPT was sponsored by the Scientific Research Projects Coordination Unit, European Union Office, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Graduate School of Social Sciences, and Teknokent at Hacettepe University. The Program Committee would like to thank Prof. Burçin Şener (Vice-Rector of Hacettepe University), Prof. İsmail Hakkı Erten (Erasmus Institutional Coordinator of Hacettepe University), Prof. Sunay İl (Dean of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences at Hacettepe University), Prof. Mehmet Devrim Aydın, (Chair of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Hacettepe University), Prof. Musa Yaşar Sağlam (Director of the Graduate School of Social Sciences at Hacettepe University) and Prof. Burçin Yereli (Vice-Chair of the Executive Board of Hacettepe University Teknokent) for their support to the 2nd Annual Meeting and International Conference. The Program Committee is also grateful for the contribution of International Office Coordinators Ceren Yılmaz (Hacettepe University), Tuba Yıldırım (Hacettepe University), Selin Kul (Hacettepe University), Enrique Moreno (Finis Terrae University), Diana Rocío Restrepo Arévalo (The University of Atlantico), Mounia Benbrahim (Mohammed VI Polytechnic University, EGE Rabat), Rami Ali (The University of Jordan), Doris Tsai (Tunghai University) and Ji-Yoon Hong (KDI School of Public Policy and Management).

#### **Conference Theme**

Etymologically drawn upon the Greek *krinein* (judgment or decision), the extended semantic scope of the concept crisis implies a double meaning. On the one hand, the concept crisis indicates the problematic impossibility of stimulating judgment, decision or differentiation. On the other hand, it also denotes an opportunity, a potentiality for actualization or an open horizon of further possibilities. Regarding the political phenomenon, the crisis today signifies the problematic loss of truth (*aletheia*), along with the liquidation of meaning, affection, and participation, or the reversal of the debates on democracy, sovereignty and power in times of hyper-technological and hyper-industrial transformation of life and living. As regard to the question of culture, today's crisis entails the conversion of psychic and collective forms of individuation which reflects significant transpositions of identity, memory, society, arts, literature, and technics vis-à-vis global digital reticulation. In the realm of governance, the crisis implies the rise of algorithmic forms of governmentality and the emergence of new cognitive modalities of functionality, efficiency, and administration, and the rise of new local and environmental issues. Combining diverse realms of crisis today, The Second Annual Meeting included thematic and interactive panels, micro-paper roundtable discussions and workshops focusing on the future directions on politics, culture, and governance with a rich spectrum of debates in humanities and social sciences.

#### **Conference Sessions**

The Second Annual Meeting and International Conference of the CRIPT consisted of various sessions which contain general areas of interest in humanities and social sciences.

S01: Political Theory

S02: History of Political Thought

S03: Gender and Sexuality

S04: Environmental Studies

S05: Critical Theory

S06: Area Studies

S07: Comparative Politics and Governance

S08: Public Policy

S09: Urban Studies and Local Government

S10: Identity and Alterity Studies

S11: Ethnicity, Citizenship and Nationalism Studies

S12: Cultural Studies

S13: Social Theory

S14: Refugee and Migration Studies

S15: International Studies

S16: Political Economy

S17: Literature and Critique

S18: Film Studies

5 TO. TITTI Studies

S19: Arts and Politics

S20: Historical Perspectives

S21: Memory Studies

S22: Media Studies

S23: Theories of Administration

S24: Legal Studies

## **Program Chairs**

Ruhtan Yalçıner, PhD, Hacettepe University Najib Bounahai, PhD, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University Kadir Dede, PhD, Hacettepe University Metin Yüksel, PhD, Hacettepe University

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## **Local Organizing Committee (POLITEIA/PTT)**

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#### **Artistic Sessions & Performers**

#### **Exhibitions**

The Crisis – Evren Sertalp (Hacettepe University), Ahmet Çağrı Çakın (Hacettepe University) & Emrah Pek (Van Yüzüncü Yıl University)

#### **Interactive Panels**

Creativity and Dialogue in Crisis [Curator: Gözde Doğan (Independent)] - Cem Sonel (Independent), Selçuk Göldere (Hacettepe University), Megan Bascom (University of Michigan), Claudia Müller (Finis Terrae University), Emre Dörter (Independent), Deniz Atlı (Bilkent University), María Carolina Araya Bravo (Finis Terrae University), Bilge Taş (Independent), Sebastián Mahaluf (Finis Terrae University)

#### **Dancers**

Begüm Başekim, Deniz Uzuner, Şeyma Akbay, Ebubekir Bora, Melissa Timurhan, Melike Çınar, Çağan Çetinel, Kübrasu Türkeri, Beste Erdem, Furkan Şahin, Ayşenur Şimşek, Ayça Narlı Berkman, Dilruba Ağırbaşli, Mert Bozkurt, Yasemin Ertorun, Mine Söyler, Mehmet Konu, Erden Tunatekin, Alper Çankaya, Cem Yiğit Üzümoğlu (Hacettepe University, Ankara State Conservatory Ballet Department)

## **JULY 16 2018, MONDAY**

CRIPT2018

### **MEHMET AKİF HALL**

#### 09:00-09:30

#### **Opening Ceremony**

#### **Welcoming Address**

Prof. Özcan Y. Gülsoy, Vice-Rector

Prof. İsmail Hakkı Erten, Hacettepe University EU Office, Institutional Coordinator

Assoc. Prof. RuhtanYalçıner, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Political Theory and Innovation Network (POLITEIA)

Exhibition Launch: "The Crisis"

Evren Sertalp, Hacettepe University, Ahmet Çağrı Çakın, Hacettepe University & Emrah Pek, Van Yüzüncü Yıl University

	WEINVELANII HALL	KIIALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
09:30-11:00	Meaning, Critique and Future	Space and Crisis: Local, Economic and Cultural Perspectives	Conflict, Security and Crisis
	Session   S05-Critical Theory	Session   S09-Urban Studies and Local Government	Session   S15-International Studies
	Chair: Najib Bounahai, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University	Chair: Uğur Ömürgönülşen, Hacettepe University	Chair: Alberto Rojas, Finis Terrae University
	Ruhtan Yalçıner, Hacettepe University, "Krinein and Demoi: Towards a Hermeneutical Revolution?"	José Chiu-Cheng Chen, Tunghai University, "The Roles of Community-Based Nonprofits in the Context of Collaborative Governance in Hong Kong and Taiwan"	Hünkar Özgü Alıcı, Hacettepe University, "A Normative Way to End a Crisis: The European Union's Involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict"
	Kurt C. M. Mertel, Czech Academy of Sciences/American University of Sharjah, "Self-Alienation in the Contemporary Service Economy: Some Social Philosophical	Eser Ergönül & Bayram Koca, Hacettepe University, "Neoliberal Coups, Urban Space and the Subject: Reading Gabriel Marquez's	Bader Almadi, The University of Jordan, "The Role of European Countries in the Palestinian Israeli Conflict After 1993"
	Reflections"  Ali Rıza Taşkale, Near East University,	Clandestine in Chile and Orhan Pamuk's Strangeness in My Mind'	Mazen Ahmed Sudgi Alougili, The University of Jordan, "The Impact of Syrian Refugee on Jordanian National Security"
	"Future(s) in Crisis: The Case of Blade Runner 2049"	Luis Lira Camposano, Finis Terrae University, "Cultural Heritage Management: The Case of Valparaíso"	Jordanian National Security
	Mahmoud Zidan, The University of Jordan, "Sonorous Reading"	Irem Dilbaz, Hacettepe University, "An Evaluation of the Crisis through Urban Conflict: Revisiting the "Circuits of Capital" in Lefebvre and Harvey"	

### 11:00-11:20

### COFFEE BREAK

## MEHMET AKIF HALL

#### 11:20-12:30

#### Interactive Panel: Creativity and Dialogue within Crisis I

Session | S19-Arts and Politics

Chair: Gözde Doğan

Gözde Doğan, Independent, "Creative Dialogue in Crises"

Cem Sonel, Independent, "Street Arts and Crisis"

Selçuk Göldere, Hacettepe University, "Sacred Dance and Dancer's Crises"

Megan Bascom, University of Michigan, "Contemporary Conversations of Dance, Empathy & Kinesthesia" by Hacettepe University, Ankara State Conservatory Ballet Department Dancers

#### 12:30-13:30

#### **LUNCH BREAK**

	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
13:30-15:00	Contested Identities	Perspectives on Environmental Change	Policy and Administration Reconsidered
	Session   S03-Gender and Sexuality	Session   S04-Environmental Studies	Session   S08-Public Policy
	Chair: Jacqueline Dussaillant, Finis Terrae University	Chair: Uğur Sadioğlu, Hacettepe University	Chair: Tsu-Ching Hu, Tunghai University
	Berrin Koyuncu-Lorasdağı & Ahu Sumbas, Hacettepe University, "Transformative Resources for a Response to the Crises of	Radwan Al-Weshah, The University of Jordan, "Environmental Ethics Towards Sustainable Water Resources Management in the Arab Region"	Huda Al Hajjaj, The University of Jordan, "The Need of School Social Workers in Jordan Community"
	Violence Against Women at the Local Level"  Mohammed Al-Abbas, The University of Jordan, "Middle Eastern Women-Art in Istanbul Biennale 15: New Representations of Social and Gender Issues"	Jose Francisco Marquez Guerra, The University of Atlántico, "Mining-environmental Policies and Colombian Constitutional Jurisprudence: New Mechanisms of Environmental Citizen Participation in the Post-conflict"	Ghazi Al-Assaf & Alaaeddin Al-Tarawneh, The University of Jordan, "Remittances and Household Consumption in Jordan: An Empirical Investigation"  Remberto De La Hoz Reyes, The University of Atlántico, "The Collective Reparation Process
	Pelin Dinçer, Hacettepe University, "Understanding the Nature of Women's Solidarity in The Women's Movement in Turkey: The Crisis of Identity Politics vs Universalism Duality"	Ismaiel Abuamoud, The University of Jordan, "Perceptions of Climate Change in Jordan: A Case Study of the Southern Badia and Amman"	at the Universidad Del Atlántico (Colombia): Negotiation Scenarios"
	Bilge Durutürk, Adana Science and Technology University, "Others of The Others: Muslim Migrant Homosexuals as a Case of Intersectionality in France"	Ehab AlShanaileh, The University of Jordan, "Is Pumping the Disi Water a Solution for the Water Shortage in Jordan?"	

15:00-15:20	COFFEE BREAK		
	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
15:20-16:50	Conflict or Cooperation: Narratives and Policies	Policy, Education and Society	Ethical and Critical Perspectives on Crisis
	Session   S15-International Studies	Session   S08-Public Policy	Session   S01-Political Theory
	Chair: Mazen Ahmed Sudgi Alougili, The University of Jordan	Chair: Vikas K. Jambhulkar, Rashtrasant Tukadoji Maharaj Nagpur University	Chair: Oscar Jaramillo, Finis Terrae University  Luz Maria Lozano Suarez, University of
	Zeynep Elif Koç, Atılım University, "Making of Hysteria? History of Anti-Communism in the United States from 1917 to 1991"	Chih-Hung Liu, Tunghai University, "Policy Innovation and Organizational Performance: The Mediating Effect of Organizational Commitment"	Atlantico, "'Analectic Method': From Ethics to the Politics of the Liberation of Enrique Dussel"
	Alberto Rojas, Finis Terrae University, "The Complex Scenario of Naval Power in Asia-Pacific: A Perspective from Chile"	Roberto Donado, The University of Atlántico, "Ser Pilo Paga' when Bureaucracy in Education is Disquised as New Opportunities"	Cem Oto, Hacettepe University, "Epokhe and Nomos: Crisis of/and Trans-individuation in Anthropocene"
	Yılmaz Keskin, Tunghai University, "Turkey's Difficult Choice: European Union or Shanghai Cooperation Organization"	Azer Sumbas, Hacettepe University,  "Analysing the Deportation of the Immigrant  Eamily Members as a Family Separation	Mert Özsezer, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Existence: Weak Potentialities and Hope 'to Come'"
	Rabia Taş, Anadolu University & Ali Onur Özçelik, Eskişehir Osmangazi University, "Examination of Technology Policy in Turkey in Terms of International Policy Diffusion: The Case of Technology Transfer Offices"	Family Members as a Family Separation Issue"  Eduardo Bermudez Barrera & David L. Dahmen, The University of Atlántico,  "Inequality in Colombia: Transition from Rhetorical Elite to the Elite of the Mafia"	Yakup Atamer Aykaç, Hacettepe University, "Making the Future Incomputable: A Critique of the Book Future Computed"

# **JULY 17 2018, TUESDAY**

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#### MEHMET AKİF HALL

#### Comparative Perspectives on Gender, Modernity and Power

Session | S07-Comparative Politics and Governance

Chair: Berrin Koyuncu-Lorasdağı, Hacettepe University

Amal El Kharouf, The University of Jordan, "The Evolution of Women's Political Participation in Various Public Offices in Jordan"

Jacqueline Dussaillant, Finis Terrae University, "The Transition to a Modern Society: Neoliberalism, Consumption and Advertising in Chile in the 1970s and 1980s"

Aslı Değirmenci, Hacettepe University, "A Magical Fix to Refugee Crisis: Mohsin Hamid's Exit West"

Rodrigo Barcia Lehman, Finis Terrae University, "The Reasons for the Chilean Parliamentary System Which Failed"

#### K HALL

#### Revisiting the Crisis Through Arts and Aesthetics

Session | S01-Political Theory

Chair: Ali Rıza Taşkale, Near East University

Rodolfo Wenger, University of Atlantico, "Aesthetics and Politics as 'Distribution of Sensible' in Philosophical Thought of Jacques Rancière"

Meltem Değerli, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Creativity and the Possibility of Art in the Post-Human Era"

Seçkin Göksoy, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, "Rancière's Aesthetics and Politics on Contemporary as an Actor of Crisis"

Duygu Karabulut, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Representation: Arts in Times of Crisis"

#### EXHIBITION ROOM

# Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions of the Refugee Crisis

Session | S14-Refugee and Migration Studies

Chair: Merve Özman Kaya, Hacettepe University

Sanaa Bardaweel, The University of Jordan, "Impediments to Use of Oral Contraceptives Among Refugee Women in Camps, Jordan"

Ayman Harb, The University of Jordan, "Government Policy and Environmental Green Practices in Tourism and Hospitality Industry: A Literature Analysis Using Text Mining Approach"

Ikhlas Ahmad, The University of Jordan, "Palestinian Refugee Youth in Jordan: Post-War Parental Practices and Adolescent Wellbeing"

### 11:00-11:20

09:30-11:00

### COFFEE BREAK

### MEHMET AKIF HALL

#### 11:20-12:30

#### Interactive Panel: Creativity and Dialogue within Crisis II

Session | S19-Arts and Politics

Chair: Gözde Doğan

Claudia Müller, Finis Terrae University, "The Crisis in Water Resources"

Emre Dörter, Independent, "Bridge: The Video Installation"

#### 12:30-13:30

**LUNCH BREAK** 

**EXHIBITION ROOM** 

MEHMET AKIF HALL

13:30-15:00	Ethics, Law, and Justice	Comparative Perspectives on the Political	Identity, Politics and Populism
	Session   S24-Legal Studies	Session   S06-Area Studies	Session   S07-Comparative Politics and Governance
	Chair: Aylin Özman, TED University	Chair: İlker Aytürk, Bilkent University	Chair: Sebnem Yardımcı, Hacettepe University
	Oscar Jaramillo, Finis Terrae University, "Update of the Code of Ethics of the Chilean Journalists Association due to the Dilemmas Raised by	Kadir Dede, Hacettepe University, "Esoteric Kemalism in Post-Secular Turkey: From Hagiography to a New Age Icon"	Hasan Akıntuğ, University of Helsinki, "Who are the (True) Finns? Ethno-nationalism in Finnish Populism"
	Social Networks and the Digital Ecosystem"  Gülçe Tarhan Çelebi, Hacettepe University, "Discursive Struggles on Democracy and the Origins of Constitutional Adjudication in Turkey: The Establishment of the	Andrea Botto, Finis Terrae University, "Religion, Democracy and Civil Society: Understanding the Relationship Between Catholic Church and Chilean Politics in Contemporary History"	Mehmet Celil Çelebi, Independent, "Questioning the Usefulness of the Term "Populism" for Analyzing Contemporary Nationalist Reaction"
	Constitutional Court during the 1960 Military Regime"	Barry Stocker, Istanbul Technical University & Özlem Duva Kaya, Dokuz Eylül University, "Law, Judgement, Republicanism"	Aylin Demir, Middle East Technical University, "Contested Representations of the Past: The Turkish State, Academics and People of
	Patricia Vivanco, Finis Terrae University, "Legal Clinic of the Finis Terrae University"	Ihsan Mejdi, Central European University, "Secularist/Islamist 'Tentative Friendship' and	Dersim on 'Dersim 1938'"  Ali Erdem Başçoban, Hacettepe University,
	Maria Andrea Bocanegrajimenez, The University of Atlántico, "Food Security in Colombia Treatment from the Constitutional Court and the Development of Public Policy"	the Possibility of Agonistic Democratic Transition in Post-revolutionary Tunisia"	"Rethinking the Refugee Crisis via Bernard Stiegler: Notes on the Transformation of Industrial Capitalism"
	COFFEE BREAK		
15:00-15:20	COFFEE BREAK		
15:00-15:20	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
15:20-16:50		K HALL Crisis via Literature: Comparative Perspectives	EXHIBITION ROOM  From Panopticon to the Crisis
	MEHMET AKİF HALL Political Economy and the Crisis: Future	Crisis via Literature: Comparative	
	MEHMET AKİF HALL Political Economy and the Crisis: Future Prospects	Crisis via Literature: Comparative Perspectives	From Panopticon to the Crisis
	MEHMET AKİF HALL  Political Economy and the Crisis: Future Prospects  Session   S16-Political Economy  Chair: Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management  Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management, "A Critical Reflection on the	Crisis via Literature: Comparative Perspectives Session   S17-Literature and Critique	From Panopticon to the Crisis Session   S01-Political Theory
	MEHMET AKİF HALL  Political Economy and the Crisis: Future Prospects  Session   S16-Political Economy  Chair: Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management  Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management, "A Critical Reflection on the Korean Political Economy and Its Capacity to Create a Preferred Future"  Taleb Warrad, The University of Jordan,	Crisis via Literature: Comparative Perspectives Session   S17-Literature and Critique Chair: Metin Yüksel, Hacettepe University Golrang Khadivi, Hamburg University, "Crisis of Patriarchy in Modern Iran: From Tahereh	From Panopticon to the Crisis  Session   S01-Political Theory  Chair: Rodolfo Wenger, University of Atlantico  Elifsu Tanyeri, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Demos: An Investigation on the
	MEHMET AKİF HALL  Political Economy and the Crisis: Future Prospects  Session   S16-Political Economy  Chair: Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management  Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management, "A Critical Reflection on the Korean Political Economy and Its Capacity to Create a Preferred Future"	Crisis via Literature: Comparative Perspectives  Session   S17-Literature and Critique  Chair: Metin Yüksel, Hacettepe University  Golrang Khadivi, Hamburg University, "Crisis of Patriarchy in Modern Iran: From Tahereh Ghorratol-Ayn to the "White Wednesdays"  Maryam Najafi, Middle East Technical University, "Narratives of Crisis in Modern Iran	From Panopticon to the Crisis  Session   S01-Political Theory  Chair: Rodolfo Wenger, University of Atlantico  Elifsu Tanyeri, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Demos: An Investigation on the Foundations of Democracy"  Gülçe Başkaya, Middle East Technical University, "Europe and Deliberative
	MEHMET AKİF HALL  Political Economy and the Crisis: Future Prospects  Session   S16-Political Economy  Chair: Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management  Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management, "A Critical Reflection on the Korean Political Economy and Its Capacity to Create a Preferred Future"  Taleb Warrad, The University of Jordan, "Jordan's Strategy of Trade Liberalization"  Ahmet Kaan Ketboğa, University of Cologne, "Precarity and Crisis: (Im)possibility of	Crisis via Literature: Comparative Perspectives  Session   S17-Literature and Critique  Chair: Metin Yüksel, Hacettepe University  Golrang Khadivi, Hamburg University, "Crisis of Patriarchy in Modern Iran: From Tahereh Ghorratol-Ayn to the "White Wednesdays"  Maryam Najafi, Middle East Technical University, "Narratives of Crisis in Modern Iran the Crisis of Authority in <i>The Blind Owl</i> "  Hind Shahin Hindi, The University of Jordan, "The Storytellers of Gaza: Bloggers Under	From Panopticon to the Crisis  Session   S01-Political Theory  Chair: Rodolfo Wenger, University of Atlantico  Elifsu Tanyeri, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Demos: An Investigation on the Foundations of Democracy"  Gülçe Başkaya, Middle East Technical University, "Europe and Deliberative Democracy: A Crisis of Religious Pluralism?"  Zeynep Gül Parla, Hacettepe University, "Revisiting Foucault's Panopticon:

	JULY 18 2018, WEDNESDAY		CRIPT2018
	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
09:30-11:00	Comparative Perspectives on Stateand Power	Radio, Television and Digital Reticulation	Refugee Crisis: Legal and Social Dimensions
	Session   S06-Area Studies	Session   S22-Media Studies	Session   S14-Refugee and Migration Studies
	Chair: Andrea Botto, Finis Terrae University	Chair: Burcu Şimşek, Hacettepe University	Chair: Aslı Değirmenci, Hacettepe University
	Metin Yüksel, Hacettepe University, "Foes or Allies? Russians and the Kurds in World War I"  Murat Önsoy, Hacettepe University, "New	Rommel Piña, Finis Terrae University, "Television and Trending Topics: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish TV Series in Chile"	Cecilia Giovannetti, The University of Atlántico, "Migration Crisis in Colombia: The Need to Create a Public Policy Focused on the Protection of Basic Human Rights"
	World's Early Encounters with the Middle East: A Brief History of the Ottoman-American Relations in the 19. Century"	Doğanay Altıparmak, Hacettepe University, "Representation of Competition as the Reproduction of Short-termism: The Case of 'Yemekteyiz [We are at Dinner]"	Muath Al-Zoubi, The University of Jordan, "Refugee Crisis and the Legal Response"
	Patricio Arrigada, Finis Terrae University, "Existential Southern Cone: The Reception of French Existentialism in Chile and Argentina (1945-1956)"	Marcela Soto Ortega, Finis Terrae University, "Validity and Impact of Radio in Countries with Difficult Connectivity and Natural	Nazeeh Almanasyeh, The University of Jordan, "Internal Migration in Jordan"  Hamza Alduraidi, The University of Jordan,
	Merve Özman Kaya, Hacettepe University, "The American Immigration Debate: An Evaluation of Trump Administration's "Zero Tolerance" Policy"	Catastrophes: The Case of Chile"  Rene Campis, The University of Atlántico, "Mass Media, Digital Social Networks & Political Intervention: Connections Between the Last Presidential Elections in Colombia and the USA"	"Social Determinants of Health among Syrian Refugees Residing Inside and Outside Camps in Jordan"
11:00-11:20	COFFEE BREAK		
		MEHMET AKİF HALL	
11:20-12:30	Interactive Panel: Creativity and Dialogue with	hin Crisis III	
	Session   S19-Arts and Politics		

María Carolina Araya Bravo, Finis Terrae University, "Latin American International Dubbing: A Space to Embody Another"

Chair: Gözde Doğan

LUNCH BREAK

12:30-13:30

Deniz Atlı, Bilkent University, "Heads Up on Myths"

Bilge Taş, Independent, "Crisis as a Hopeful Effort"

	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
13:30-15:00	Comparative Perspectives on Gender and Democracy	History, Culture, and Politics	Crisis Through Films and Narratives
	Session   S07-Comparative Politics and Governance	Session   S06-Area Studies	Session   S18-Film Studies
	Chair: Amal El Kharouf, The University of Jordan	Chair: Luis Lira Camposano, Finis Terrae University	Chair: Mohammed Al-Abbas, The University of Jordan
	Berrin Koyuncu-Lorasdağı, Hacettepe University & Aylin Özman, TED University, "Vernacularization of Women's Rights in Turkey: Policies, Strategies, Allignments"  Vikas K. Jambhulkar, Rashtrasant Tukadoji Maharaj Nagpur University, "Post Truth Politics and Democratic Crisis: An Indian Case"  Tsu-Ching Hu, Tunghai University, "Party Alliance in Taiwan and Its Impact on Cross- Strait Relations"  Şebnem Yardımcı, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Representation in Southern Europe: Turkey and Spain in Comparative Perspective"	Najib Bounahai, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University, "Turkish and Moorish Representations in Water Pageantry of the English Renaissance"  Mustapha Qadery, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University, "Moorish Ambassador to Turkey in the Late 16th Century"  Basma A. S. Dajani, The University of Jordan & Moneef R. Zou'bi, Islamic World Academy of Sciences, "A Crises-Ridden Middle East's Take on Development: A Snapshot of the Science and Academe Perspectives"  Zeynep Merve Şıvgın, Hacı Bayram Veli University, "Image of a Nation in Two Extremes: An Analysis of the Different Perceptions of the US in Turkey"	Areej Alouzi & Akram Odeh, The University of Jordan, "Paradise or Hell of Suicide Attacks"  Oğuzhan Mutluer, Eskişehir Osmangazi University, "A Critical Review of Geopolitics in Post-Soviet Russian WWII Blockbusters"  Ayşe Bozkurt, Hacettepe University, "Genocide and Survival: Viewing the Pol Pot Regime in Cambodia Through Survivors' Narratives"  Zeynep Süküt, Hacettepe University, "Examining Haneke's 'Der Siebte Kontinent' in the Context of Anxiety and Authoritarianism"
15:00-15:20	COFFEE BREAK		
15:20-16:30	Interactive Panel: Creativity and Dialogue within Crisis		
	Session   S19-Arts and Politics		
	Chair: Gözde Doğan  Sebastian Mahaluf, Finis Terrae University, "Measure of Balance"  Open-Space Session – Garden		

JULY 19 2018, THURSDAY (All sessions will be held in Turkish, no simultaneous translation possible)

CRIPT2018

#### 09:30-11:00

### Identity Crisis in Public Administration: Reflections from Turkey

MEHMET AKİF HALL

Session | S23-Theories of Administration

Chair: Muhittin Acar, Hacettepe University

Muhittin Acar, Hacettepe University, "Dichotomies and Dilemmas in Public Administration"

Uğur Ömürgönülşen, Hacettepe University, "Coupling or Decoupling of Turkish Public Administration in the Face of Universal Identity Crisis of Discipline of Public Administration"

Ozan Zengin, Ankara University, "Impasses of Public Administration Discipline"

Uğur Sadioğlu, Hacettepe University, "The Question of Identity Crisis in Turkish Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective"

# K HALL

#### Perspectives on Political Ontology: Phenomenology, Rights, and Critique

Session | S01-Political Theory

Chair: Gülçe Tarhan Çelebi, Hacettepe University

Onur Kartal, Adnan Menderes University, "Maurice Merleau-Ponty: Body, Phenomenology and Politics"

Efe Baştürk, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University, "Nancy and the Possibility of the Common Existence: Responsibility For the World as a Phenomenological-Ontological Experience"

Görkem Birinci, Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University, "The Question of the Philosophical Foundations of Human Rights and Richard Rorty"

Emre Özcan, Başkent University, "Marxist Crisis Theory in Autonomist Marxism"

# Memory, Identity, and Literature

**EXHIBITION ROOM** 

Session | S17-Literature and Critique

Chair: Bayram Koca, Hacettepe University

Eda Bulanık, Hacettepe University, "Post-Colonial Theory and an Examination of Minority Memories in Turkey"

Esra Karabak, "Hacettepe University, "Mediocrity/Sameness as Identity Crisis in Mehmet Eroglu's Novel 'Yüz 1981'"

Gözde Dilay Altun, Hacettepe University, "The Alevi and Left-Wing Crisis in Contemporary Turkish Literature"

Yasemin Telli, Hacettepe University, "Crisis of Islamism in Turkey in the 1980s: Reading Mehmet Efe's Novel Mızraksız İlmihal"

#### 11:00-11:15

11:15-12:30

#### **COFFEE BREAK**

# MEHMET AKİF HALL

# Reflections on Turkey: Europeanization, Secularization and Democratization

Session | S06-Area Studies

Chair: Elif Erişen, Hacettepe University

Ali Onur Özçelik, Eskişehir Osmangazi University, "The Impact of Europeanization on Territorial Relations in Turkey in the Post-Helsinki Era"

Mustafa Şeref Kuram, Erzincan Binali Yıldırım University, "Transformation of the Public Sphere Between the Secular and the Religious in Turkey"

Batıkan Aksoy, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Democratic Representation: The Case of Turkey"

# In Search of the 'Civil': Liability, Society,

K HALL

Session | S08-Public Policy

Chair: Ozan Zengin, Ankara University

Ayça Zorluoğlu Yılmaz, Hacettepe University, "Civil Liability Arising From Environmental Pollution"

Muhittin Acar & Eser Ergönül & Alper Ekmekçioğlu, Hacettepe University, "Teaching Civil Society to Undergraduate Students in Turkey: An Initial Assessment"

Mustafa Uluçakar, Avrasya University, "Civilian Protests, and Civil-Military Relation"

# **EXHIBITION ROOM**

Session | S16-Political Economy

**Dimensions of Neo-Liberalism** 

Chair: Göze Orhon, Hacettepe University

Özgür Bayraktar, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of the Social State: The Rise of Neoliberalism"

Mehmet Akif Kumtepe, Hacettepe University, "An Analysis of Leisure Activities Today: From Alienated Praxis to the New Locus of Systemic Stupidity"

Janberk Kozok, Hacettepe University, "From The 'Red Captitalist' to the 'Abusive Contractor': On The Shifting Patterns of the Mediatic Businessman Figure in Turkey From The 1980s Onwards"

#### 12:30-13:30

**LUNCH BREAK** 

	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
13:30-15:00	Crisis and Governance	Crisis and Everyday Life: Seclusion, Fear and Nostalgia	'Event' and the Political
	Session   S23-Theories of Administration	Session   S22-Media Studies	Session   S01-Political Theory
	Chair: Doğan Nadi Leblebici, Hacettepe University  Doğan Nadi Leblebici, Hacettepe University, "Possible Consequences of Changed Constitutional System in Turkey: Prospects, Opportunities and Threats"  Murat Yaman & Erkan Çakır, Dumlupınar University, "Inter-enterprise Cooperation and Crisis Management in Disaster and Emergency Cases"  Özgür Önder, Dumlupınar University, "Adoption of Turkish Public Administration to the Crisis Management in the Age of Catastrophes: The Critique of Administrative Reform Policy Resorted to Manage Crisis"  Çiğdem Sofuoğlu, Ankara University, "Causation of Crisis in Governance: Alienation in Public Administration	Chair: Suavi Aydın, Hacettepe University  Göze Orhon, Hacettepe University, "Crisis as Escape from Modernity: Renunciation, Seclusion, Nostalgia"  Gökçe Zeybek Kabakçı, Hacettepe University, "More Security: Get Stuck in the Middle of the Health-obsession and Self-protection"  Gülay Acar, Hacettepe University, "The Collector as a Modern Social Type"  Nagehan Tokdoğan, Hacettepe University, "Neo-ottomanist Nostalgia in Turkish Politics: Prospects on the "Reconquest" of İstanbul"	Chair: Onur Kartal, Adnan Menderes University  Geran Özdeş Çelik, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Justice: On Ethical Realms of Actualization from Aristotle to Rawls"  Emre Tekin, Hacettepe University, "The State of Exception: A Non-Democratic and Violent Response to Crisis"  Gizem Taş, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Representative Democracy and New Social Movements Gezi as a Movement of Generation Y"  Buğrahan Akgeyik, Hacettepe University, "European Politics in Turmoil: Rethinking Populism through the Brexit Process"
15:00-15:20	COFFEE BREAK		
	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
15:20-16:35	Reflections on Migration	Democracy and Crisis	City, Technology and Administration: Disciplinary Intersections
	Session   S14-Refugee and Migration Studies	Session   S01-Political Theory	Session   S09-Urban Studies and Local Government
	Chair: Ahu Sumbas, Hacettepe University University	Chair: Efe Baştürk, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University	Chair: Ayşegül Saylam, Hacettepe University
	Seda Attepe Özden, Başkent University & Melike Tekindal, İzmir Katip Çelebi University, "The Role of Professionals in Prevention of Abuse in Syrian Refugee Children: A Model for Turkey"  Hatice Şule Gelibolu & Uğur Çetin, Hacettepe University, "The Questioning Crisis of Turkish Academia: Critical Analysis of University Migration Research Centres"  Muhsin Bingöl, Hacettepe University, "Perception and Hate Speech Towards Immigrants: Globalization and Syrian Refugee	Emel Uzun, Hacettepe University, "Crisis of Democracy: Rhetoric in the President Speeches"  Volkan Gül, Dumlupınar University, "Deliberative Democracy and Its Practices"  F. Gökçe Karaaslan, Hacettepe University, "A Critique of Deliberative Democracy: On the Crisis of Political Representation"	Arda Yüceyılmaz, Adnan Menderes University, "Building The Civilization with Crisis: Examples from the Ancient Ionian Cities"  Kamil Demirhan, Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University & M. Kemal Öktem, Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of E-Governance as The Failure of Sustainability: Temporal Comparison of The Success of Municipalities in Ankara"  Ismail Cem Karadut, Dumlupınar University, "The Crisis of Identity Crisis: A Contested History of Public Administration"

Crisis"

	JULY 20 2018, FRIDAY (All sessions w	ill be held in Turkish, no simultaneous translation possib	ole) CRIPT20
	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
09:30-11:00	Crisis and Critique Today	Reassessing Arts and Crisis	Identity within/beyond Crisis
	Session   S05-Critical Theory	Session   S19-Arts and Politics	Session   S13-Social Theory
	Chair: Kurt C. M. Mertel, Czech Academy of Sciences/American University of Sharjah	Chair: Kadir Dede, Hacettepe University	Chair: Eser Ergönül, Hacettepe University
	H. Furkan Livan, Hacettepe University, "Rereading Nietzsche: The Crisis and Postmodernism"	Müge Tepeyurt, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, "The New 'Sensorium': Reassessing Politics and Aesthetics through Crisis"	Yelda Yenel, Hacettepe University, "Is Evil a Crisis of Humanity or Condition of Humanity: Miligram Experiment, Auschwitz and Beyond
	Burcu Güler, Hacettepe University, "Deleuze as Reader of Simondon: Revisiting Identity and Alterity Studies Today"	Sofiya Akdağ, Hacettepe University, "Digitalizing the Theater: On The Crisis of Theater in the Hyper-Technological Era"	Gökçe Gülay, Hacettepe University, "East or West, Asya or Dilek? Self-Orientalism in Yesilçam Film Industry"
	Doruk Çamlıbel Hacettepe University, "The Crisis of Externality in the Radical Social Theory: Althusserian Immanence against	Kimya Oskay Sümbül, Bilkent University, "Photography and Politics in Iran in the Naseri Period (1848-1896)"	Yusuf Alper Oyar, Hacettepe University, "Transfer of the Nationalism to the Future over the Theories of Nationalism"
	Castoriadis's Imaginary"  Bora Atak, Hacettepe University, "Pharmacology of Literature: Minor Literature"	Fevzi Can Gürüz , Hacettepe University, "Nationalism as A Crisis in History of Art: Ignoring the Multi-ethnical Structure of the Artistic Progress in Early Republican Turkey"	Ali Özaydın, Hacettepe University, "Conditioning the State in Hobbes and Schmitt: A Comparison in the History of Political Thought"
11:00-11:20	COFFEE BREAK		
	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
11:20-12:50	Feminism, Gender and Homophobia	Precarity I	Micro-Paper Roundtable Discussion: Perspectives on Crisis I
	Session   S03-Gender and Sexuality	Session   S01-Political Theory	Session   S01-Political Theory
	Chair: Pelin Dinçer, Hacettepe University	Chair: Süreyya Murad Su, Sakarya University	Discussant: H. Furkan Livan, Hacettepe University
	Merve Deniz Pak, Başkent University, "Gender and Identity Crisis in The Color Purple"	Tuğba Ayas Önol, Sakarya University, "Philosophical Analysis of Self-precarization in the New Turkey"	Burak Özsoy, Hacettepe University, "Announcement of Mankind's Death: Change
	Elifcan Çoruk, Hacettepe University, "From Homophobia to Homonationalism: A Critical Analysis of Sexuality and Power in Nationalism Studies"	Senem Doyduk, Sakarya University, "Overcoming the Silent Obedience and	of Man's Episteme"  Malak Nasibli, Hacettepe University, "Discourse of Technics in Meshworld"

Reinvigorating Hope in Academia"

Emre Demirtaş & İrem Uslu, Sakarya

Powers Towards Stable Mechanisms"

University, "From Precarious to Precaria: A

Trial of Deciphering From Transformative

12:50-14:00

LUNCH BREAK

Studies"

Elif Berfin Yağbasan, Hacettepe University,

İmge Tuğçe Bağır, Hacettepe University,

"Pathfinding Through Crisis: An Assessment of

"Masculinity Registration Document"

Open Access Feminist Journals"

"Discourse of Technics in Westworld"

Rabia Nur Meşe, Hacettepe University, "Modernity vs Real Human :Example of Notes

in the Light of "Sapiens""

From Underground"

Enes Özdemir, Hacettepe University, "An Effort

to Order Chaos: Root and Role of the Politics

Mehmet Can Korkmaz, Hacettepe University, "Power Struggle and the Crisis of the Masculinity in Turkey: An Overview on the Relationship between JDP and LGBTI"

	MEHMET AKİF HALL	K HALL	EXHIBITION ROOM
14:00-15:50	Sovereignty, Biopolitics, Control Society	Precarity II	Micro-Paper Roundtable Discussion: Perspectives on Crisis II
	Session   S01-Political Theory	Session   S01-Political Theory	Session   S06-Area Studies
	Chair: Emre Özcan, Başkent University	Chair: Senem Doyduk, Sakarya University	Discussant: Mete Kaan Kaynar, Hacettepe University
	Inan Yıldırımlıdal, Hacettepe University, "Behavioral Insight As A Current Means Of Control Society"	Süreyya Murad Su, Sakarya University, "A Trial of Problematization on Political Theology of Precarity"	Veysel Akyıldız, Hacettepe University, "On Intergovernmentalism: The Case of Turkey's Integration Into the EU"
	Tuba Özbilen, Hacettepe University, "Knowledge and Power from Foucault to the Present: The Case of Electronic Voting	Burak Delier, Sakarya University, "Exhibiting the Truth: Parrhesia, Precarity, Art"	Kerem Hocaoğlu, Hacettepe University, "Turkey's 1970 Year of the Political Crisis An
	Systems"  Hikmet Çağrı Yardımcı, Ankara University,	Serkan Taşkent, Sakarya University, "Footballers' (Un)Employment as an Unsecured Labor Case: A Participant	Example; Republican People's Party in Elections in 1973"
	"Reading the Crisis qua 'the Multitude': Immanence, Power, and Biopolitics"	Observation Study of Football Clubs' Youth Steps and Amateur Leagues"	Ozan Koç, Hacettepe University, "The Modernization of Kurdish Language, Literature and Importance of Hawar Journal"
	Haktan Kalır, Hacettepe University, "Anti-Crisis and the Sovereign Reflections of Power in the Handmaid's Tale"		Muhammed Fatih Çetin, Hacettepe University, "Fathers, Sons and Their Background"
	Ali D. Öcal, National University of Colombia, "Social Analysis of the Effect of Anthropological Thinking on Colombian Archeology"		Ayşenur Kurt, Hacettepe University, "Modernization and Bourgeoisie: Emma Bovary"

Panel : Meaning, Critique and Future

Session: S05-Critical Theory

Chair : Najib Bounahai, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

**(**) 09:30 -11:00

## Krinein and Demoi: Towards a Hermeneutical Revolution?

Ruhtan Yalçıner, Hacettepe University

The figure of the absolute implies a foundational marker of effectuating metaphysics of presence via diverse modes of subjectivity. The Demos primarily entails the critical symptom of an ecology of the absolute interpenetrated by the inauguration of the modalities of Kratos. Democracy in this sense implies a model of intersecting the absolute figure of 'the people' with the onto-technics of power and governance. The figure of the 'people,' herein, is a reflector of an eidetic narrative which does not only stipulate visions of access to the truth about democracy but also legitimizes a cohesive apparatus to regenerate consensualism. The locus of representation as the apparatus of the principles or procedures of Kratos and the milieu of the absolute figure as the identity of the Demos inaugurate conditions of sameness. In this dialectical syntax, the figure of the absolute reflects an eidetic notion of intersecting identity and power as "the One."

Drawing upon a hermeneutical reading of the concept crisis and by focusing on the critical aspects of reading judgment and decision in a non-hylomorphic framework, this paper introduces the double phenomenology of the irreducibility of krinein and the multiplicity of demoi. By providing a hermeneutical critique of the link between 'the political' and democracy, the paper aims to deconstruct the axiomatic figure of the absolute (Demos) and its onto-technic apparatus of efficiency (Kratos). The paper introduces the context of hermeneutical revolution going beyond the dioramas of the perspectivism of the figure in times of the crisis of life and living. By focusing on the shift from biopolitics to noöpolitics, the paper defines hermeneutical revolution as part of general organology of the meaning of the silence both as the silence of the figure and as the responsibility for the silent.

KEYWORDS: Crisis; democracy; hermeneutics; figure; identity

# Self-Alienation in the Contemporary Service Economy: Some Social Philosophical Reflections

Kurt C. M. Mertel, Czech Academy of Sciences/American University of Sharjah

In his illuminating paper, 'On Alienated Emotions' (2011), Talbot Brewer offers a critique of the alienating effects of emotional labour in the contemporary service economy, which draws upon studies in sociology and social psychology on the working conditions of cruiseship staff. His main diagnostic claim is that the enduring appeal of cruiseship labour – in spite of evidence of its negative effects on workers – can be explained by the fact that it feeds and inflames the amour propre of the consumer. His normative claim is that emotional labour is bad because it undermines an individual's activity of self-elaboration – a life-long process of self-interpretation through which we articulate for ourselves what is (intrinsically) valuable. The notion of self-elaboration thus provides the normative criterion on the basis of which it is possible to identify and criticize alienated modes of self-relation.

In this paper, I argue that despite its many virtues, Brewer's moral-psychological approach does not possess sufficient resources to capture the irreducibly social character of self- alienation in the service economy. In particular, it is incapable of adequately articulating why – beyond their possible experience of 'unease' – consumers of emotional labour are also implicated in an ontologically deficient (reifying/alienating) relationship, one which undermines their own ability to achieve an individualized relation to self. As a result, Brewer's approach leaves the consumer side of the relationship untouched, thereby unwittingly perpetuating the ideology of the service economy. This important limitation, in turn, indicates that a fully adequate ontology of the self-relation is possible only as a social ontology. Thus, I claim that the notion of 'self-appropriation' is better candidate for characterizing the 'Ur-phenomenon' of the self-relation and for serving as the basis of social criticism.

**KEYWORDS:** Alienation; emotional labour; selfhood; appropriation; social philosophy

Panel : Meaning, Critique and Future

Session: S05-Critical Theory

Chair : Najib Bounahai, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

09:30 -11:00

## Future(s) in Crisis: The Case of Blade Runner 2049

Ali Rıza Taşkale, Near East University

The future has been of interest to philosophers, artists, activists, and social theorists for many years. While politicians always invoke the future as a better time, for some this will not be the case. Climate catastrophe, social conflict, mass shootings, Islamic terrorism, hyper-financial capitalism, systemic inequality and surveillance-military industrial complex are all the givens of the oppressive futures we may face. The planet is tearing itself apart: the future once imagined, now bleak. The future might look bleak and post-apocalyptic, but it remains a fascinating analytical object of inquiry rather than simply a neutral temporal concept for social theory. Especially during the past decades at least, it is also the case that an engagement with and interrogation of the future has become a timely undertaking for social scientists, as well as for social and political theorists. This is because debating and sketching out multiple futures that await us is a political act that activates and enriches the human imagination. In this way, threatful futures can become hopeful futures.

This crisis of the future also manifests itself in cinema. This paper discusses Blade Runner 2049 (thereafter 2049) as a good example of what I call 'future(s) in crisis.' The film successfully depicts fears about the catastrophe-to-come, fears of ecological and civilizational collapse. But does 2049 open new realms for experimental thought? Does it imagine new political possibilities outside neoliberal capitalism? The paper suggests that the film does not allow us to imagine potential future possibilities outside the existing order. Although the film expresses fear and dissatisfaction with contemporary realities, it fails to invest in different kinds of futures and different kinds of relationships that are able to challenge the currently reigning political imaginary of neoliberal capitalism.

KEYWORDS: Threatful future; hopeful future; crisis cinema; Blade Runner 2049; neoliberal capitalism; the radical imagination

# **Sonorous Reading**

Mahmoud Zidan, The University of Jordan

Most western theoretical formulations tend to take visuality or vision-oriented thinking as their point of departure. The key problem with this approach is that it oftentimes results in reinforcing and perpetuating current modes of governance that further marginalize the Other. In this paper, I would like to proffer another way of reading, a complementary or perhaps supplementary way of reading. That is, it is not my purpose to jettison other ways of reading. On the contrary, I amtryingto open reading up so that it is more welcoming as a practice. More specifically, I argue that developing a listening-based approach to reading, in lieu of a vision-based one, might help us counteract the problematic aspects of the latter method. In the first section of the paper, I plan to trace different ways of reading: more ambitiously a genealogy of hermeneutics. I then move on to think about the problematic aspects of such reading acts. In the final section of the paper, I explore what I call sonorous reading—again—as a complementary, supplementary approach to the already-existing and emerging reading regimes. I also apply these reflections to Toni Morrison's most recent novel God Help the Child.

KEYWORDS: Sonorous; literary theory; vision; listening

Session

Panel : Space and Crisis: Local, Economic and Cultural Perspectives

: S09-Urban Studies and Local Government © 09:30 -11:00

Chair : Uğur Ömürgönülşen, Hacettepe University

# The Roles of Community-Based Nonprofits in the Context of Collaborative Governance in Hong Kong and Taiwan

José Chiu-Cheng Chen, Tunghai University

Recent social policies have begun to involve community-based organizations (CBOs) to a greater degree in the provision of services, including long-term care policies. Two such examples are the Community Care Stations found in Taiwan, and the Lump Sum Grant Initiative in Hong Kong. This study investigates the role of CBOs in the context of public governance, applying Chaskin and Greenberg's (2015) framework identifying three key roles: delivering public services, representing local communities, and providing space for deliberation within local communities. Through in-depth interviews with 96 CBO directors, it was determined that the balance between the three roles varies. The balance depends upon the resources available to, and the community influence of each CBO as well as its relationships with the government. To gain the most benefit from CBOs, more effort is required than just contracting with them to deliver services: CBOs should be encouraged to work closely with their communities rather than just pursue their own interests, they should be responsive to their communities not to the demands of politicians, and diversification of CBOs should be encouraged to avoid concentration of power.

KEYWORDS: Community-based nonprofits; collaborative governance; New Public Management

# Neoliberal Coups, Urban Space and the Subject: Reading Gabriel Marquez's Clandestine in Chile and Orhan Pamuk's Strangeness in My Mind

Eser Ergönül & Bayram Koca, Hacettepe University

After the neoliberal coups in Chile and Turkey, in 1973 and 1980, respectively, radical changes have taken place in Chile and Turkey in both social and economic respects. These changes have also been reflected on urban space. The impact of neoliberal policies began to be observed on urban space clearly in Turkey and Chile, which are integrated into the world capitalist system through neoliberal coup. The process of creative destruction is an indispensable consequence of neoliberalism that constantly destroys the old in order to make the new space for itself. It should also be pointed out that every moment of everyday life indispensably includes urban space, hence urban space cannot be considered apart from cities. For this reason, it is impossible to think of the context of the subject separately from urban spaces.

Literature is a field in which cultural values and characteristics that are peculiar to collective life are revealed. Thus the novels that reflect a society can be useful in analyzing neoliberalism, which has recently created radical changes in social life in both Chile and Turkey. This study examines the influence of neoliberalism on urban space and the subject with a particular attention to Strangeness in My Mind and Clandestine in Chile, novels written by the Turkish and Chilean Nobel prizewinners in literature, namely Orhan Pamuk and Gabriel Garcia Marquez. The paper first provides a discussion on the theoretical framework on neoliberalism in its particular connection to its manifestation in Chile and Turkey. Then, it examines the relationship between neoliberalism, space and the subject. The final part of the paper is devoted to an analysis of the two novels with a specific attention to the impact of neoliberalism on space and memory. The paper concludes with a discovery of the subject's destruction, which originates from the transformation of space.

KEYWORDS: Neoliberalism; city; space; alienation; destruction

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

Session

Panel : Space and Crisis: Local, Economic and Cultural Perspectives

: S09-Urban Studies and Local Government © 09:30 -11:00

Chair : Uğur Ömürgönülşen, Hacettepe University

# **Cultural Heritage Management: The Case of Valparaíso**

Luis Lira Camposano, Finis Terrae University

Since 2003, the Historic Quarter of the Seaport City of Valparaíso is part of the UNESCO World Heritage List. In comparison with the other Chilean places that make up the aforementioned list, -Rapa Nui National Park, Churches of Chiloé, Salitreras de Humberstone and Santa Laura, the mining city of Sewell and the Andean road system Qhapaq Ñan- Valparaíso is the most difficult to administer due to its status as a living city. Although there is an established institutionality for its administration, many actors give their opinion and particular vision of the place.

With funding as one of the strongest weaknesses for conservation, it is important to look for examples of conservation and development. In 2011, the historic city of Vigan, in the Philippines, in the World Heritage List since 1999, was awarded for its good practices in management. Presented as a well-preserved testimony of a Spanish colonial town in Asia, the place brings together characteristics and ideas that can be imitated in Valparaíso. There are also cases of Latin American sites on the list, such as Cartagena de Indias and Cuzco, which can provide ideas.

UNESCO also provides important advice in specific cases that affect Valparaíso, such as the construction of a shopping center in the Muelle Barón sector. The decisions of UNESCO and that of the local actors have formed an interesting debate on the conservation of the Heritage.

KEYWORDS: Valparaíso; World heritage; UNESCO; conservation; cultural heritage

# An Evaluation of the Crisis through Urban Conflict: Revisiting the "Circuits of Capital" in Lefebvre and Harvey

Irem Dilbaz, Hacettepe University

The crises are parts of the capitalist system, they are not always meant to lead to the end of capitalism but a trigger for new formations and constructions within the system to avoid the collapse of capitalism. This paper argues that the capitalist system today cannot be comprehended only through the conflict between labor and the capital, or as merely a crisis of the economic system. Instead, it stands despite the disputes it contains within itself. Following Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey's interpretations of Marx's critique of political economy, the paper aims at focusing on the representations of urban conflict today by analyzing its reflections on the crises of capitalism, space, and temporality.

The exploration of the urban as a new source of the commodity brought significant transformations in public matters regarding agglomeration into city centers for job opportunities and deepening segregation of class conflict. Drawing upon Marx's critique of political economy, Lefebvre interprets the production of space in capitalist societies through various implications of the circuits of capital. Following the same roots of analysis, Harvey also explains diverse aspects of the relationship between urbanization and power as a complex outcome of the crisis of capitalism itself not only as a matter of spatial orientation but also as a reflection of temporal experience. With reference to Lefebvre and Harvey's interpretation of Marx's critique of political economy, this paper aims to discuss recent aspects of the question of urban conflict by reference to the crisis of capitalism and its impacts on social behavior.

KEYWORDS: Capitalism; crisis; urban; conflict; circuit of capital

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

#### **EXHIBITION ROOM**

Panel : Conflict, Security and Crisis

Session: S15-International Studies

Chair : Alberto Rojas, Finis Terrae University

**iii** July 16 2018, Monday

09:30 -11:00

# A Normative Way to End a Crisis: The European Union's Involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Hünkar Özgü Alıcı, Hacettepe University

The European Union's distinctive characteristics and its political identity in international politics have been widely discussed among International Relations (IR) scholars since the 1970s. In this respect, the concept of normative power was introduced to explain characteristics of the Union by its founding norms and principles. Particularly after the Cold War, the Union's efficiency towards international crises has also become questionable. Despite all efforts and regulations to improve its foreign and security policy, the Union's actions and policies towards one of the most extended crises of the century, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, showed its incapability to present a permanent solution to such an international disagreement. This study undertakes to offer a critical perspective on the Union's involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict resolution process as a "normative power". The paper draws upon the application of constructivism in this conflict to provide a better understanding of the Union's identity along with its international profile. Following the arguments of the constructivist school of thought, the study presents the main points of the concept of "normative power". After analysing the evolution of foreign and security policy of the Union and its neighborhood policy objectives, the study proceeds to an analysis of the Union's involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict resolution process. Throughout this analysis, the paper pursues the triple analysis method (principles, actions and outcomes) of Ian Manners who coined the term of "normative power". The paper, hence, effectuates Manners's methodology while examining the Union's principles and actions to present a critical perspective on the Union's normativeness. In accordance with this analysis, the central argument of this study is that despite all its attempts to strengthen its foreign and security policy and visibility in global matters, because of the lack of consistency in the policies of member states, the Union cannot portray

KEYWORDS: European Union; normative power; common foreign and security policy; constructivism; Israeli- Palestinian Conflict

# The Impact of Syrian Refugees on Jordanian National Security

Mazen Ahmed Sudgi Alougili, The University of Jordan

The protracted conflict in Syria and the deterioration in the security situation inside has brought about an unprecedented refugee crisis over the past six years, where it is estimated that over 5 million Syrian refugees have fled to neighboring countries by 2017. As one of the neighboring host communities for refugees, Jordan has entailed significant costs at the economic, social, political, and security levels.

This study aims at assessing the impact of Syrian refugees on Jordan's security, as well as the potential threats and challenges generated by the escalation of the Syrian crisis on the kingdom. Forced immigrant implications for host communities are diverse. Therefore, the host communities' economic, social, political, and infrastructure status should be taken into consideration when addressing those implications. The Syrian refugee crisis has placed financial, social, and institutional strains on Jordan as a host community. It is in the light of this observation that Syrian refugees might be considered as a threat to the political and socio-economic stability of the kingdom and, most importantly, internal and national security.

KEYWORDS: Jordan; refugees; national security; the political; the economic; crisis

Panel : Creativity and Dialogue within Crisis [Interactive Panel I]

Session: S19-Arts and Politics

Chair : Gözde Doğan, Independent

**iii** July 16 2018, Monday

11:20-12:30

# **Creative Dialogue in Crises**

Gözde Doğan, Independent

Questioning the dialectic relation between arts and crises enables us to focus on the fundamental feelings in any given dialogue such as empathy and sympathy. Dialogue is more than the accumulation of use of words or the talk we do every day, every moment, digitally or in real time, socially or virtually. Dialogue is not a sincere one once presented by a central power. Instead, it comes right from the heart of the subject, just in line with the artists. Art plays a crucial role in our daily lives: design of the buildings we are surrounded by, art in the public space, posters around us, graffiti on the walls, cinema we go to, what we watch on TV and other digital mediums, music we listen to, what we share and see on the social media, even the random sound on the street... They are all capturing and changing our feelings consciously or unconsciously. Creativity, on the other hand, is something we encounter in every breath we take. It is in every crisis we experience.

The process of creating an art piece itself is a crisis. Art is the realm of creation in different shapes and forms in and out of the crises. It is the ongoing dialogue inside the artist, with us and among us. Artists are using this sophisticated toolbox of expression to reveal not only what they think but how they think and feel at the same time. This paper draws upon the links between facets of artistic expression and components of intercultural communication. By focusing on the realm of engagement in dialogue the paper underlines the relationship between expression and understanding through which the crisis is created and at the same time resolved with the meanings recreated.

KEYWORDS: Intercultural communication, arts, dialogue, empathy, sympathy

### **Street Arts and Crises**

Cem Sonel, Independent

The presentation is about the crises that street arts address and the ones it is produced within. The production of graffiti and other street arts in the public space get motivated from the crises and create a set of symbols with a new meaning out from the crises. Then they are reproduced in every person's mind seeing it. It goes beyond what artist produces and never owned by anyone including the artist him/herself. It is the ongoing dialogue in crises, with a rebellious nature, inside the artist, between the artist and the society. The presentation also includes a flash mob demonstration of graffiti to help audience feel its actual production rhythm and adrenalin.

KEYWORDS: Graffiti; design; meaning; street arts; dialogue

Panel : Creativity and Dialogue within Crisis [Interactive Panel I]

Session : S19-Arts and Politics

Chair : Gözde Doğan, Independent

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

**(**) 11:20-12:30

## **Sacred Dance and Dancer's Crises**

Selçuk Göldere, Hacettepe University

As sacred dancers, we are intrigued by touch, sensation, memory, and shared experience. The sacred dance needs characteristics of individual nuances that are often at the heart of the conversations we want to explore in society today. So we can explore what makes our physical bodies respond to stimuli in similar and different ways and hence we can solve problems by using empathy and movement in the crises. Our bodies' languages are universal. How does the lived experience of an individual in society shape nuanced reactions to our daily life? Do cultural differences affect the amount of variance in these reactions like the crises? We are curious to explore how promoting the development of empathy and movement through dance can support a greater understanding of body language(s) and foster a more empathic global society. In this panel, we search how we can try it between the dancers as individuals and the audience as a society. If we can solve these problems in the panel for the moment, as a solution we can also go further in society later on.

Understanding how we react physically, as individuals, and allowing that knowledge to open up our minds to have curiosity for others' physical reactions and expressions. We argue that individuals with a strong kinesthetic awareness are more likely to have heightened empathic responses. In looking at this topic, we address the following questions: how do dance-making and the creative process of various performative arts play a role in sharing learned body-knowledge with an audience or community? How do choreographers and performance artists create spaces for empathic responses within their creations in the crises?

KEYWORDS: Interaction; body; weight; expression; awareness

# **Kinesthetic Empathy and the Corporeal Body in Conflict**

Megan Bascom, University of Michigan

Social bonding and communication, through the use of dance practices, are promoted by many cultures (Behrends 2012). Considering dance as a vehicle for heightened empathic awareness and reconciliation, this paper proposes that the development of one's kinesthetic awareness can increase one's ability to have a kinesthetically empathic response in relation to another and therefore, I argue, a larger community. Kinesthetic empathy is an experience of perception, of feeling physical sensations or emotions within one's own body while observing the actions of another human being (Chaiklin 2016, 36). I am questioning how physical expression can create an empathic sense of understanding and relatability. Noting Rosemary Martin's observation of how significant the performing body can be when used "as a means of realizing, expressing, and defining cultural and political directions and causes" (Martin 2016, 212). This paper aims to investigate how kinesthetic empathy is perceived from the perspectives of other cultures. "I am interested in the place of dance in human life" to better understand human expression, relationships and varying points-of-view (Kurath 1960, 250). This paper will discuss the relevance of physical expression, kinesthetic awareness, and empathic responsiveness within our globalizing world ladened with burgeoning conflicts. Recognizing that human experiences are historically specific and not universally linked (Järvinen 2007, 175), this paper acknowledges the importance of conversations and practices of witnessing where shared awareness of empathic response and responsibility is advanced. By considering the corporeal body in conflict, how can kinesthetic empathy play a greater role in fundamental elements of human relationships?

KEYWORDS: Graffiti; design; meaning; street arts; dialogue

Panel : Contested Identities

Session: S03-Gender and Sexuality

Chair : Jacqueline Dussaillant, Finis Terrae University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

13:30-15:00

# Transformative Resources for a Response to the Crises of Violence Against Women at the Local Level

Berrin Koyuncu-Lorasdağı & Ahu Sumbas, Hacettepe University

Violence Against Women (VAW) is one prominent gender equality problem that keeps women subordinate and leads to women's restricted access to resources. The existing masculine design and gender-blind approach in Turkish government mentality provide a ground to strengthen this inequality. This is particularly the case in local governments and services in Turkey. Therefore, local agencies, actors and policies become more vital to develop policy responses to VAW problem. In this regard, this paper aims to investigate the selected practices of gender sensitive collective labour implemented by municipalities between 2004-2014 in Turkey to combat against VAW by providing an in-depth analysis of these implementations as good practices of gender mainstreaming. The contention of this paper is that gender sensitive collective labour contracts can be regarded as good cases and transformative resources for gender mainstreaming in Turkey which can provide effective policy response to the crises of VAW at the local level.

KEYWORDS: Violence against women, gender sensitive collective labour contracts, gender mainstreaming, local governments, Turkey

# Middle Eastern Women-Art in Istanbul Biennale 15: New Representations of Social and Gender Issues

Mohammed Al-Abbas, The University of Jordan

In the international art exhibitions, curators select themes to represent gender concepts approaching social concerns of everyday people. To make the exhibition look more feminine or masculine, they manage the exhibition's spaces, commission site-specific artworks, and may try to control the numbers of female and male artists. In case they focus on feminisms, they bring feminine issues as well as diverse subjects that would give more space to represent women and their belongings. The visual representations of gender in art indicate social dimensions, and bring into consideration many elements to interpret and analyze the artwork. This study focuses on the social issues expressed by the female artists in their artwork. Also the study investigates the layers of such issues to reveal the relations between being a woman, being an artist, and being a Middle Eastern.

Women-made art is not supposed to be described as feminine all the time. However, the subjects, themes and cultures that represent women and their belongings may create the feminine aesthetics that might be attributed to the contemporary art practices exhibited in international art events (Millner and others, 2015). This study sheds light on a number of female artists in Istanbul Biennale 15 in 2017, and analyze how they combine feminine, social and Middle Eastern issues in their artworks. This study therefore reveals the significance of such a combination in international art events because understanding contemporary art from global perspectives would tackle cultural contexts. This study contributes to the Fine Arts literature through further understanding of the women's art according to social constructions that take place in Middle Eastern countries.

**KEYWORDS:** Contemporary Art; gender; Middle East; global art; social issues

Panel : Contested Identities

Session: S03-Gender and Sexuality

Chair : Jacqueline Dussaillant, Finis Terrae University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

13:30-15:00

# Understanding the Nature of Women's Solidarity in the Women's Movement in Turkey: The Crisis of Identity Politics vs Universalism Duality

Pelin Dincer, Hacettepe University

Women's solidarity has been widely appealed to and has often been romanticised by different women's movements around the world, which is also the case in Turkey. It is seen as a goal to achieve and an ideal that is urgently needed in the women's movement in Turkey, which is deeply fragmented, along with ideological, political and ethnic lines, in relation to the Turkish political history. In this paper, I aim to discuss women's activists' perceptions of the potential for solidarity among women who hold different political and identity locations in Turkey by analysing the empirical data gathered from in-depth interviews with women activists between 2014 and 2015. In particular, I ask the following questions: What does women's solidarity mean to women activists in Turkey, who hear and use this phrase in their everyday lives? Is merely sharing the same self-identified sex enough to be in solidarity, given women's subordination in general? Is it more achievable between women who share the same ideologies, beliefs, and identities, or is it possible to act in solidarity with women who are very different in some way? Are our different beliefs, ethnicities, ideologies and classes seen as barriers to solidarity, or is there any potential for solidarity despite our strongly fragmented identities? And finally, I discuss the necessity and the possibility of women's solidarity.

KEYWORDS: Women; solidarity; gender; difference; identity

# Others of the Others: Muslim Migrant Homosexuals as a Case of Intersectionality in France

Bilge Durutürk, Adana Science and Technology University

The relationship among the quiessential dimensions of intersectionality (race, class and gender) would differ from country to country. This relationship goes through religion in the case of France. It has seen that Islam is at the center of the intersectional contradiction due to the spiral among the Muslim migrant majority in France, the perception of French values in the content of laicité and integration.

The aim of this study is to analyse how the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) advocating rights of sexual orientation and relating to sexual discrimination would conceptualize the relationship between intersectional dimensions and religion. First of all, the CSOs advocating the Muslim minority's rights against sexual discrimination in France has been searched by assuming that homosexuality is intolerable in Islam as a tension point of race, class, gender and religion. As the universe of the research, CSOs getting into the act against sexual discrimination have been included the analysis. Secondly, in-depth interviews were conducted. And the questions which are related to the intersection of sexual orientation, class, gender, race and religion were asked. Consequently, an anomaly, which was in the content of Islam and homosexuality, was determined in the discourse of CSOs.

As an important initial point of this study, it was that anomaly representing a distance between the understanding of some CSOs inside of the study and the idea of being homosexual and Muslim. Even though the CSOs advocating the Muslim minority's rights against sexual discrimination affirms the sexual discrimination through their sexual orientation in Muslim society in France, the discrimination problems of those Muslim groups were ignored by the other group of CSOs. This research concludes that being Muslim and different sexual orientation exist and religious discrimination is a part of sexual discrimination and this discrimination also comes from CSOs getting into the act against sexual discrimination.

KEYWORDS: Intersectionality; CSOs in France; muslim migrants; sexual orientation

Panel : Perspectives on Environmental Change

Session: S04-Environmental Studies

Chair : Uğur Sadioğlu, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

13:30-15:00

# **Environmental Ethics Towards Sustainable Water Resource Management in the Arab Region**

Radwan Al-Weshah, The University of Jordan

This paper addresses environmental ethics as a tool for sustainable water resources management among various stakeholders in the Arab region. Environment ethics evolved in the first Earth Day in 1970, when environmentalists started urging philosophers to consider the philosophical aspects of environmental problems. Sustainability requires the balanced pursuit of three goods: ecological health, social equity, and economic welfare. The scientific and technical professions have a special responsibility in this regard because the knowledge and technologies they develop and employ have immense impacts on natural environments, economies, and the empowerment of citizens and societies.

The study approach combines cultural, ethical, and social marketing that is propagating social learning and have "bottom-up" education and communication functions, as well as "top-down" high level applied research aspects with the participation of industry and technology. Water resources availability has been a major constraint on social and sustainable development in the Arab region. The paper discusses the key factors in the Arab water crisis, and assesses the progress made in implementing initiatives, social marketing and programs of action. It explains how best environmental ethics could contribute to its realization to ensure sustainability through a social code of environmental conduct. It investigates new tools and techniques based on the participation of relevant stakeholders in decision-making, knowledge and experience transfer among water institutions and organization, and through reviving best practices among all stakeholders.

KEYWORDS: Environmental ethics; water use ethics; sustainability; Arab water crisis; knowledge transfer

# Mining-environmental Policies and Colombian Constitutional Jurisprudence: New Mechanisms of Environmental Citizen Participation in the Post-Conflict

Jose Francisco Marguez Guerra, The University of Atlántico

Colombia is the second most biodiverse country on the planet. Nevertheless, it is one of the countries with the greatest socio-environmental conflicts reported and monitored in the world. Constantly, neoliberal policies of development (that guide the forms of appropriation, control, access, distribution and use of natural resources) challenge the constitutional regime of environmental protection. This is due to the fact that the Constitution gives precedence to environmental sustainability over other uses of the territory. Within socio-environmental conflicts, those caused by large-scale mining projects, are the most sensitive for human populations concerned. Mining settlements (both legal and illegal ones) provoke profound changes into the bio-cultural landscape, transforming the productive structures and the modes of socio-cultural reproduction of local communities. According to the data provided by environmental authorities, the State has granted several concessions for exploration and mining exploitation in almost 70 per cent of the national territory. Indeed, concessions are overlapping multinational projects with rural areas, indigenous territories, Afro-descendant communities and protected areas for the conservation of biodiversity.

New forms of environmental citizenship movements are emerging. Recent expressions of citizen protests in several local territorialities highlight the contradictions between the policies of development and environmental sustainability. Academic activism, popular mobilizations, and ONG's international cooperation are fostering the use of global social networks, mechanisms of participation, prior consultations and strategic litigation in favor of local populations' interests. This paper describes how the recent pronouncements of the Constitutional Court, in response to citizen judicial activism, create a new possible institutional setting for the governance of natural resources. I analyze how that gives a leading role to local communities in land-use planning initiatives. Finally, I discuss why socio-environmental conflict is one of the dimensions of the Colombian armed conflict. I argue that environmental citizen participation could be a relevant social strategy to build peaceful coexistence in a possible post-conflict scenario.

**KEYWORDS:** Socio-environmental conflicts; environmental citizenship; governance; territory; post-conflict

Panel : Perspectives on Environmental Change

Session: S04-Environmental Studies

Chair : Uğur Sadioğlu, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

13:30-15:00

# Perceptions of Climate Change in Jordan: A Case Study of the Southern Badia and Amman

Radwan Ismaiel Abuamoud, The University of Jordan

This research investigates regional variations (particularly urban-rural variations) in the perceptions of climate change in Jordan through the theoretical lens of construal-level theory (CLT) of psychological distance. This study includes a review of literature that examines both the current impact of climate change on the world, in general and its impact on Jordan, in particular. Interviews and surveys provide insight into disparities that exist between urban Amman and the rural Southern Badia in understandings of climate change. Both the literature and the fieldwork help situate the argument that climate change initiatives in Jordan are fueled by the perceptions and understandings of its people, and ultimately impact Jordanian society's vulnerability to current and future environmental changes. Because people living in Amman represent 40 per cent of the Jordanian population, their understandings of climate change are crucial to adaptation efforts. Taking into consideration the psychological distance from climate change impacts, the researcher hypothesizes that people living in the Southern Badia region will perceive climate change as a greater threat and more urgent issue than people living in Amman. This research contributes to both qualitative and quantitative data on climate change perspectives of rural and urban Jordanians, as well as their opinions on current Jordanian environmental initiatives aimed at combating climate change. The study finds out that there are differences between rural and urban perceptions and understandings of climate change in Jordan.

**KEYWORDS:** Climate; environment studies; geography

# Is Pumping the Disi Water a Solution for the Water Shortage in Jordan?

Ehab AlShamaileh, The University of Jordan

According to the United Nations, the most water stressed region in the world is the Middle East. Jordan is one of the countries at risk of water shortage and is listed among the world's most arid countries. The country suffers from water scarcity, which poses a threat to the sustainability of activities for the development and prosperity of all water-dependent sectors. Water crisis in Jordan is a reality and needs a radical solution. What adds to the problem is the non-natural increasing population due to refugees from neighboring countries. The population of Jordan almost doubled in the past 20 years while water resources remain the same. One of the projects that attempted to solve the water need in Jordan is the Disi Water Conveyance Project which was inaugurated in 2013 to meet the increased demand on water by pumping about 100 million cubic meters per year through a 325 km long artificial pipelines from the south of Jordan. Geologically, the Disi Aquifer lies beneath the desert of southern Jordan and is a fossil water resource compromised of porous sandstone. The aquifer is not fully under Jordanian control as it is shared between Jordan and Saudi Arabia. The project involves pumping the Disi water via few collection stations before reaching the capital city, Amman, with around 4 million inhabitants. According to the Department of Water, Disi water is mixed with water from other sources in order to improve its quality and salt content. Finally, mixed water reaches consumers by pumping through the city's network of distribution system. The purpose of this study is to compare the quality of water reaching consumers in the city of Amman with that from the source of water (the Disi aquifer). This is done by studying the properties of water and the potential of scaling and corrosivity in the different stages of the pipeline and in some parts of the capital city. Moreover, the effect of mixing water from two different sources (Disi and Zai) is studied. The effect of pumping large quantities of water on the sustai

KEYWORDS: Jordan; water crisis; Disi water; Middle East; water quality

#### **EXHIBITION ROOM**

Panel : Policy and Administration Reconsidered

Session: S08-Public Policy

Chair : Tsu-Ching Hu, Tunghai University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

**(**) 13:30-15:00

## The Need of School Social Workers in Jordan Community

Huda Al-Hajjaj, The University of Jordan

Social work encompasses many different fields of practice. School social workers provide services to students encountering a wide spectrum of psychosocial and behavioral challenges at school, home, and society. While school social workers exist in many countries across the globe, many countries such as Jordan remain without school social workers. The primary aim of this qualitative study is to explore the need for school social workers in Jordan. A secondary purpose is to explore the social and behavioral challenges that students face as identified by social workers, students, and parents. Lastly, this study contributes to the existing literature on social work in the Jordan school system. Using an ecological perspective and systems theory, this study explores the factors and systems contributing to student challenges and the lack of school social workers in Jordan. This qualitative study utilizes a case study design to explore the need for school social workers in Jordan. Focus groups were conducted using a semi-structured discussion guide with a purposive sample of 31 in total of teachers, social workers, and parents in Jordan. Focus-group data was tape-recorded and transcribed. Open coding was utilized with NVivo software. Thematic analysis was conducted to derive four key themes: (1) role of the school social worker, (2) difference between counselors and social workers, (3) challenges and barriers for school social workers, and (4) student challenges. In addition, numerous subthemes were constructed within the four themes. Findings of this study indicate that there is a need for school social workers to address numerous challenges among students in Jordanian schools. Moreover, findings suggest several key socio-economic challenges in developing school social workers in Jordan. Based on the findings, some implications for practice are offered: (1) Social workers in Jordan need to do more research about their roles and how they could make positive changes; (2) teachers and parents should be educated so they u

KEYWORDS: Social work; student problems; school social worker; education

# Remittances and Household Consumption in Jordan: An Empirical Investigation

Ghazi Al-Assaf & Alaaeddin Al-Tarawneh, The University of Jordan

This study explores the long-run equilibrium relationships between the flows of workers' remittances and household consumption. Using Jordanian data over the period from 1976 to 2015, the empirical results provide strong evidence on the presence of a long-run stable consumption function. In the short-run, remittances have a positive but insignificant effect on the household consumption; a consistent finding with the literature. Therefore, the results confirm the significant impact of workers' remittances on the behaviour of household consumption in the previous literature using cointegration and other econometric techniques. Both Engle-Granger and Johansen cointegration tests show that household consumption and remittances are cointegrated and there is clear evidence on the presence of a long-run relationship among them in Jordan. The estimated ECT is -0.189 and statistically significant at all levels of significance with the anticipated negative sign, which indicates that the speed of adjustment to equilibrium in the long-run is relatively low. This coefficient implies that a deviation from the long-run growth of the consumption current period is corrected by about 20 per cent in the next period. It takes five periods for consumption to return to equilibrium state when remittances appear in the consumption function. This also implies that workers' remittances have no strong long-run impact on consumption. In addition, empirical results show that there is evidence of asymmetry in the relationship between remittances and consumption. These findings emphasize the importance of the flows of remittances to labour-exporting countries on affecting the consumption pattern of household the especially in the case of Jordan.

KEYWORDS: Workers' remittances; consumption; cointegration; asymmetric threshold; Jordan

#### **EXHIBITION ROOM**

Panel : Policy and Administration Reconsidered

Session: S08-Public Policy

Chair: Tsu-Ching Hu, Tunghai University

**iii** July 16 2018, Monday

13:30-15:00

# The Collective Reparation Process at the Universidad Del Atlántico (Colombia): Negotiation Scenarios

Remberto De La Hoz Reyes, The University of Atlántico

On July 25, 2015, the Unit for the Victims Assistance and Reparation (UVAR), issued the Resolution No. 2015-156962 that recognized on behalf of the Colombian State, the condition of collective victim to the Universidad del Atlántico, due to the violation of the constitutional right to university autonomy (p. 6) and the violent events that occurred between 1997 and 2009 (Corena et al, 2017) in which the right to life, free movement, free association and organizational autonomy of the members of the academic community were violated. This violation led to enforced disappearances, homicides, personal injuries, torture, arbitrary detentions, kidnappings, threats, forced displacement, discrimination and stigmatization. As a result, the Support Committee for Collective Reparation was created, through which the UVAR concerted and managed the reparation processes. Other actors involved in the process are relatives of the direct victims, representatives and student organizations, trade unions, teachers' organizations and the Vice-presidency of University Welfare.

Currently, promotion and prevention actions aimed at guaranteeing non-repetition have been carried out, such as the creation of the Human Rights Committee, posthumous commencements ceremonies, academic and commemorative events; the diagnosis of the damage and the elaboration of the Comprehensive Collective Reparation Plan (CCRP), which is under the process of construction. The present work consists of identifying negotiation scenarios regarding the construction of the CCRP, given the multiplicity and diversity of interests around the actions and beneficiaries of the material reparation processes. For this purpose, alongside the use of quantitative analysis tools, a participatory research and action methodology is followed.

KEYWORDS: Colombia; armed-conflict; victims; collective-reparation; human-rights

Panel : Conflict or Cooperation: Narratives and Policies

Session: S15-International Studies

Chair : Mazen Ahmed Sudgi Alougili, The University of Jordan

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

15:20-16:50

# Making of Hysteria? History of Anti-Communism in the United States from 1917 to 1991

Zeynep Elif Koç, Atılım University

Poststructuralist approach towards International Relations (IR) concerns with productions and reproductions of images and meanings upon certain notion. These productions in question reveal themselves within discursive practices in different genres such as mass media and academia. Moreover, these productions securitize specific issues, identities, political groups, and civil rights movements. On this basis, this study problematizes the American production of discourses against communism since it is the anti-thesis of the American ideology. Starting from the beginning of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution until the end of the Cold War in 1991, this study examines the history of anti-communist practices in the United States. Relatedly, this study's research interest becomes the historical evolution of anti-communism in the United States from the First Red Scare until the collapse of the Soviet Union in accordance with poststructuralist interpretations upon International Relations (IR). As a result of the examination of history of anti-communism in the United States, it is argued that from the emergence of large-scale communist movements in the beginning of the 20th century, the citizens of the United States have witnessed multidimensional anti-communist practices. Furthermore, these practices constructed a so-called secure domestic environment on grounds of patriotism and American values. Thus, this study concludes with a construction of an anti-communist environment in accordance with the security concerns of the United States in international scale that were based on a bipartite ideological distinction.

KEYWORDS: Poststructuralism; anti-communism; the United States; red scare; McCarthyism

# The Complex Scenario of Naval Power in Asia-Pacific: A Perspective from Chile

Alberto Rojas, Finis Terrae University

For at least 25 years, the Asia-Pacific region has been considered one of the most strategic geopolitical areas in the world. An area that brings together actors of great political, economic, military and technological importance, such as the People's Republic of China, Japan or South Korea as well as a non-Asian actor like the United States, along with others in a growing phase, such as Vietnam, Malaysia or Indonesia.

The Asia-Pacific region is not immune to conflicts, whether historical or product of short-term issues. And, in that context, the response of many countries in the area has been to strengthen their naval power. In the current scenario of search for balance of naval power in Asia Pacific, this article reviews the strategy that key players such as Beijing, Tokyo, Seoul and Washington have developed in the region in recent years, from their political decisions to the millionaire investments in new naval units, which have gained a special and indisputable role. In this way, today we witness the construction of new naval security architecture in Asia Pacific. That is defining the bases of an order that will delineate the complex relationship of these countries in the 21st century. Considering its economic projection towards this region and its links with key actors through free trade agreements, Chile does not remain alien of this subject.

KEYWORDS: Asia Pacific; naval power; technology; security; naval strategy

Panel : Conflict or Cooperation: Narratives and Policies

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Chair : Mazen Ahmed Sudgi Alougili, The University of Jordan

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

15:20-16:50

# Turkey's Difficult Choice: European Union or Shanghai Cooperation Organization?

Yılmaz Keskin, Tunghai University

Due to its cultural and historical background, Turkey has strong ties with many countries in Central Asia. While Turkey bridges Europe and Asia; both China and Turkey are well positioned at the eastern and western ends of Eurasia to catalyze a cooperative regionalism with global implications. Although the Turkish people were formerly eager to join the European Union (EU), prospects for joining the EU have faded, and after nearly 5 decades of waiting, Turks are impatient. Turkey has recently begun to look to its east. Over a short period of time, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has proved to be an effective organization, promising to exert great influence in Eurasia and Central Asia. Due to its importance and successful development, the SCO is one of Turkey's few options for further international engagement. SCO membership has complications, such as Turkey's NATO membership. Moreover, the SCO is not directly comparable to the EU. Currently an SCO "dialogue partner," Turkey now seeks full membership; natural in view of its linguistic, cultural, and religious ties with Central Asian states. This paper, employing a comparative analysis of the literature, investigates the development of the SCO, the effect of the SCO membership on Turkey's multidimensional foreign policy, and shifts in the global economy that have encouraged Turkey to improve its relations with the SCO member states. In this study, I focus on whether SCO membership would be a better alternative than EU membership for Turkey, and examine related economic, political, and cultural viewpoints.

KEYWORDS: European Union; Shanghai Cooperation Organization; North Atlantic Treaty Organization; China; Turkey

# Examination of Technology Policy in Turkey in Terms of International Policy Diffusion: The Case of Technology Transfer Offices

Rabia Taş, Anadolu University & Ali Onur Özçelik, Eskişehir Osmangazi University

Increased interdependence and cooperation in international society with globalization has been discussed in the discipline of International Relations. It is seen that policy transfer or diffusion is an indicator of interdependence and cooperation between countries. Countries have adopted or directly accepted policies, practices or norms of international society with coercive or voluntary mechanisms. Policy transfer or diffusion between countries is also seen in the fields of science and technology, and affected the development level of countries on a global scale. Therefore; today, science and technology are seen as international norms. Based on the assumption that development in these fields is an international norm, this paper aims at researching the impacts of international policy diffusion on Turkey's science and technology policies before and after 1980 in Turkey have been evaluated in historical process and the impact of the international society on Turkey's policy decisions have been addressed. While evaluating, new tools and structures adapted with policy diffusion were examined. Based on the evaluation, it was seen that technology transfer offices (TTO) were among those new structures in terms of international policy diffusion in science and technology policies. Since 2013, 25 TTOs have been established in Turkey with the TUBITAK 1513 TTO Support Program. This paper aims at answering the following questions: To what extent have policy diffusion mechanisms been effective on Turkey's technology policies in Turkey? This study finds out that science and technology policies have changed in Turkey and international society has affected these changes. Policy diffusion mechanisms have been used and TTOs are indicators of this change. It is possible to see the effects of international policy diffusion on the structures and services of TTOs. Although there has still been some administrative and socio-cultural resistance, efforts to overcome these have shown that policy diffusion regarding TTOs has been accepted

**KEYWORDS:** International society; policy transfer; policy diffusion; norm; technology policy

Panel: Policy, Education and Society

Session: S08-Public Policy

Chair: Vikas K. Jambhulkar, Rashtrasant Tukadoji Maharaj Nagpur University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

15:20-16:50

# Policy Innovation and Organizational Performance: The Mediating Effect of Organizational Commitment

Chih-Hung Liu, Tunghai University

The importance of policy innovation has been recognized worldwide in public sector in both advanced economies and developing countries. This research attempts to employ Bookstart program in Taiwan as the case study to examine how this policy innovation diffused among different jurisdictional libraries. Furthermore, we investigate the organizational performance for each library to discuss the potential influence brought about by this innovation. To fulfill the objective of this paper, we conduct two waves of survey to inquire library staff that is in charge of Bookstart program around the island. This paper is an original contribution in that it incorporates organization commitment as significant mediating effect on organization performance as a large amount of previous studies emphasized how organizational commitment put policy innovation to work. Afterwards, with the utilization of structural equation modeling (SEM), we integrate the essential elements of policy innovation, organization commitment, and organizational performance to analyze how these dimensions affected the Bookstart program. The ultimate goal of this research is to discern how policy innovation impact public organizations.

KEYWORDS: Innovation diffusion; organizational performance; organizational commitment; Bookstart; Taiwan

# Analysing the Deportation of the Immigrant Family Members as a Family Separation Issue

Azer Sumbas, Hacettepe University

While immigration is accepted as a significant and widespread issue, the increasing number of migrant families formed of the U.S.A born-citizen children with legal permanent resident families or undocumented parents became an ordinary situation. Accordingly, the related immigration cases and court decisions mainly emerged in addition to the attention of the media regarding immigrant families. The said attention is particularly caused by the impact of the globalism occasioned to grand amendments. In this sense, migrant families started to face unequal implementations concerning family issues like deportation. Considering that children are so much in need of protection and special care and the child is an inseparable part of the family, this research shall focus on the family separation and deportation.

First, the definitions of family and family separation shall be described in the terms of the UNCRC and various Human Rights Conventions. Since being in a family unity shows us the principle of the best interest of the child, the mere issue in international law regarding the rights of the child shall be considered as the protection of the child. However, one of the problems of the implementation of the said principle is how and on what grounds to figure out the best interests of the child in the application of family separation. Along with the prominence of the child's present interests, the opportunities provided for the child in the future are also vital due to the fact that it may influence education and health of the child. In this framework, court decisions and recent developments are examined in order to comprehend the approach of the courts in the U.S.A.. This study analyzes whether or not the authorities consider the best interest of children in the case of deportation.

KEYWORDS: Child; deportation; immigration; family separation

### **EXHIBITION ROOM**

Panel : Ethical and Critical Perspectives on Crisis

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Oscar Jaramillo, Finis Terrae University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

15:20-16:50

## "Analectic" Method: From Ethic to the Politic of the Liberation of Enrique Dussel

Luz Maria Lozano Suarez, The University of Atlántico

Enrique Dussel proposes the "analectic" method framed within a philosophy of otherness. Firstly, it must be borne in mind that the Latin American philosopher has the victims as the center of his concerns. Leaving at the side the history as progress, the victims are conceived as otherness. The historical analectic allows Dussel to present the other (the victim) as a free and unconditioned exteriority, a view taken from Levinas. In this way, the "analectic speech" is the word of the other that challenges the system that has excluded or oppressed him. The word of interpellation arises in an ethical moment. The victims make a critique of the story because they have become aware of their victimization and discontinuity occurs from their exteriority. While the word of that other cannot be interpreted because it is inaudible to the established system, an idea of "analectic history" will always allow the recognition of those who have been left outside. For Dussel, the dialectic method, on the contrary, is the dominating expansion of the totality that allows the affirmation of the "same", and it would be history as continuity. Following Benjamin's thought, Dussel believes that the defeated will make their appearance in history, because the defeated interpellate the system producing a rupture to the continuous time of history. The "analectic method" seeks to serve the other; in this sense, the philosophy of liberation is a philosophy of otherness that first proposes an ethic of liberation as consciousness of the victimization which tending, consequently, towards a politic that can respond to the needs of victims.

KEYWORDS: Analectic; victims; interpellation; ethics; politics

# **Epokhe and Nomos: Crisis of/and Trans-individuation in Anthropocene**

Cem Oto, Hacettepe University

The relation between "epokhe" and "nomos" can be discussed through the relation between individuation and the concept of the political. Starting from Aristotle's passage from sensation to sensational or from the ordinary to the extraordinary, and up to the digital tertiary retention and innovation; the concept of crisis inevitably invites the elaboration of the connection of spirit as transformative power and constitutive practices of care as circuited trans-individuation concerning the question of nomos. Technics qua the "and" between psychic and collective individuation takes a crucial role during those moments as the vector of change, (dis)orientation, adoption, and rupture. Thus, Anthropocene's three distinctive phases —namely the industrial revolution, post-World War II and the current period in which it is thematized— can also be examined regarding mechanical, analog and digital technics qua both poison and remedy. In this spectrum, nomos and crisis come to the fore together before the question of singularity/idiomaticity and discernment not only as a question of justice in the Ancient sense but also as the question of equality in the Modern sense and beyond. Revolving around the arguments of Carl Schmitt's favored partisan opposed to revolutionist who fights for the universal absolute and Heidegger's being-toward-death, the question of nomos then incorporates in the historiality of the epochality as being-with-others. Ranging in a similar vein from Marx's and Arendt's critique of idealism, then the relation between nomos and crisis as the question of in/dividuation implies the incompleteness of politics. As for the current hyper-industrial epoch in which humanity becomes astral, what is needed is the questioning of the very sense and meaning of the epoch which resists any attempt to render it perdurable.

KEYWORDS: Technics; antropocene; individuation; crisis; the political

#### **EXHIBITION ROOM**

Panel : Ethical and Critical Perspectives on Crisis

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Oscar Jaramillo, Finis Terrae University

🛗 July 16 2018, Monday

15:20-16:50

# The Crisis of Existence: Weak Potentialities and Hope "to Come"

Mert Özsezer, Hacettepe University

Questioning the human being is fundamentally associated with the idea of "becoming," which is the process of "actualization" of the subject. By focusing on Giorgio Agamben and Bernard Stiegler's thought and conceptual framework, on the one hand, this paper firstly aims at questioning whether the thesis of existence and anthropogenesis are in crisis today. The main idea of this point is to propose that "dehumanization" or "technologification/mechanization of existence" has been in the making by contemporary transformations in science. On the other hand, drawing upon the ideas from Martin Heidegger to Gianni Vattimo on the crisis of humanism in the reign of modern technē, the paper argues that the phenomenological configurations of the weakened concern for life (sorge) and questions potentialities for the future to come.

Secondly, this study tries to combine Ernst Bloch's definition of hope, as a "mistrust of the future," with the dimensions of imagination and 'the meaning of a new potentiality.' In this sense, the desire on hope reflects another crisis in itself, that is 'hope to come,' although that desire has always been on the alert for a new irruption, as underpinned by Gilles Deleuze.

KEYWORDS: Existence; technē-logy; (de)humanization; potentialities; hope

# Making the Future Incomputable: A Critique of the Book Future Computed

Yakup Atamer Aykaç, Hacettepe University

Today the relations between work and production are continually changing at an immense speed. Automation and AI technologies are the two dominant fields which determine the components of this changing speed. By taking the book Future Computed, published by Microsoft, as a point of articulation and an object of critique, this paper aims to draw a map which can present new lines, paths, and territories for the crisis to come. The study, therefore, views the concept crisis as of critical importance to revitalize the movement of the working class while attempting to de-mask one of the many new masks which capitalist production effectuates. With a detailed interpretation of the debates in contemporary critical theory, this study aims to show how the AI that is envisioned by big tech companies today is detached from 'the creation of the 'new' and serves the continuation of infinite capital accumulation. The paper finally discusses how new forms of exploitation today are continually reproducing the conditions based on the absence of 'truth.'

KEYWORDS: Artificial intelligence; capital accumulation; machinic assemblages; pharmakon; Elan Vital

Panel : Comparative Perspectives on Gender, Modernity and Power

Session : S07-Comparative Politics and Governance

Chair : Berrin Koyuncu-Lorasdağı, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

09:30-11:00

## The Evolution of Women's Political Participation in Various Public Offices in Jordan

Amal El Kharouf, The University of Jordan

This study aims at identifying the evolution of political participation of Jordanian women by monitoring their effective participation during the past decades in the State's legislative and executive authorities. Moreover, it aims at tracing milestones taken towards women's quota law and motives that urge women to run for elections and factors that affect their winning. The study concludes that Jordan worked to include women's issues within the priorities for action and development. Jordanian women made great strides towards their appropriate roles in political life. Women were appointed as Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Planning and International Cooperation, Minister of Culture, Minister of Social Development and others. Yet they were not entrusted with "sovereign" ministries. The percentage of women's representation in the House of Representatives developed rapidly, rising from 1.3 per cent in 1993 with one woman deputy to 12 per cent in 2013 after the amendment of the electoral law. The number of women Senators increased to 9 in the council formed in 2013 which is an indication of the political leadership desire to support women's political participation. Although progress has been made, women's representation in the Parliament is still under the world average (22%). Women got satisfactory results in the 2013 municipal elections by winning 29 per cent of the seats. The total number of women judges in 2012 was 250 judges. The study points to the factors that helped women gain seats in the House of Representatives. Among these factors are women's quota, tribal support, woman's strong personality and previous experiences.

KEYWORDS: Jordanian women; political participation; elections; Jordan

# The Transition to a Modern Society: Neoliberalism, Consumption and Advertising in Chile in the 1970s and 1980s

Jacqueline Dussaillant, Finis Terrae University

One of the main aspects of the transition from a traditional society to a modern one is the adoption of cultural practices associated with consumption. A society that considers consumption as a central activity of social life instead of just as an act comprising a basic exchange of product in order to satisfy certain needs is a society of consumption in a capitalist sense. The objective of this paper is to explore this process in a concrete historical situation, namely Chile in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This is a period marked not only by political tensions and economic crisis, but also by a particular feeling of wealth amongst the people and a boom of consumption. The establishment of a model based on free market implemented by a team of economists educated at the Chicago School during the military government of Augusto Pinochet has been sufficiently studied in historical scholarship. However, its social and cultural dimension has been poorly treated and certainly merits more attention. It is necessary to observe the signs that show the Chilean society as a consumer one, not only from quantitative data but also in the context of social and cultural history, identifying certain goods with social classes, gender roles and lifestyles. In this regard, we use advertising as a relevant source since it reflects essential elements closely related to a new culture associated with mass consumption, such as products to be offered, arguments and strategies to promote goods, use of commercial spaces of sociability, development of a dynamic financial system and a new payment means (credit cards) that massified consumption.

KEYWORDS: Consumption culture; Chilean society; cultural history; advertising; 20th century

Panel : Comparative Perspectives on Gender, Modernity and Power

Session: S07-Comparative Politics and Governance

Chair : Berrin Koyuncu-Lorasdağı, Hacettepe University

July 17 2018, Tuesday

09:30-11:00

## A Magical Fix to Refugee Crisis: Mohsin Hamid's Exit West

Aslı Değirmenci, Hacettepe University

Mohsin Hamid, a Pakistani novelist, takes up the urgent issue of refugee crisis in his fourth and latest novel Exit West (2017) which was shortlisted for the 2017 Man Booker prize. The novel tells the story of new lovers Saeed and Nadia as their unnamed city somewhere in the Middle East falls to the fundamentalist militants making them feeling trapped, and making the life as they knew it unliveable. As the protagonists feel the pressure to leave their city, the rumours of magical black doors randomly appearing throughout the city provides an unlikely solution to their major problem. These doors, mystical portholes (or wormholes) take people to different places around the world, making travelling, the most dangerous and often violent part of seeking asylum, redundant. With these doors appearing everywhere around the world, the refugee crisis gets bigger in most European and American cities. As Nadia and Saeed make their way first to Greece, and then to England and the US, they encounter many problems, which test their love. Mohsin Hamid imagines in this novel a world unhindered by borders, and what the results of such a world can be. The fact that Hamid does not portray a dystopic world in which the refugees are the main problem in the Western civilization underlines the hope that is associated with a new life in somewhere new. Despite its magical solution to the borders and passports, the novel also quite realistically makes a significant call for the refugee rights all around the world.

KEYWORDS: Refugee crisis; human rights; literature; magical realism

Panel : Revisiting the Crisis Through Arts and Aesthetics

Session : S01-Political Theory

Chair : Ali Rıza Taşkale, Near East University

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

09:30-11:00

## Aesthetics and Politics as "Distribution of Sensible" in Philosophical Thought of Jacques Rancière

Rodolfo Wenger, The University of Atlántico

For the French philosopher Jacques Rancière (Algiers, 1940), politics involves essentially the division or partition [partage] of the sensible, and more specifically, the reconfiguration of the «distribution of the sensible» as far as it introduces new subjects and new objects in the common public space, makes visible what that was not considered as such, listen as beings endowed with language whom that were simply considered like «noisy animals» and determines who has language and who simply has a voice.

In his philosophy, we can find a redefinition and problematization of the political dimension and its relationship with aesthetics and art which manages to intelligently face the feeling and attitude of the generalized impotence; which is evidenced by the lack of proposals that allow us to overcome the difficulties of our present, and that becomes manifest in the weakening and even in the disappearance, of a critical thought that generates philosophical alternatives with respect to the almost hegemonic functioning of the economic model of advanced capitalism worldwide and of the different variants of the neoliberal policies that accompany it. This implies both a reconceptualization of politics as a way to take a stand against inequality in our democratic societies, and allows us to assess in a different way the political implications of critical art as a form of «dissensus».

The questions that we will approach are the following: How does the political relates with aesthetics in philosophical thought of Jacques Rancière? In what sense we can talk of a reconceptualization of politics? How can one think politics in aesthetic terms?

KEYWORDS: Aesthetics of politics; Rancière's philosophy; distribution of sensible; critical and political art

# The Crisis of Creativity and the Possibility of Art in the Post-Human Era

Meltem Değerli, Hacettepe University

The primary purpose of this study is to emphasize that technological development causes the crisis of creativity and art due to automatization. Therefore, technological progress has the potential to reveal a new space for art. In this context, this work aims to question the transformation of the relation between art and affection in the post-human era.

The experience of "being-in-the-world" and being in connection with the environment is the primary condition of creativity. The transformation caused by the technological development destructs this experience. The initial drive of this dilemma is that automatization in the digital age, in Bernard Stiegler's terminology, causes the loss of know-how and the replacement of information with data. This replacement causes dissolution of affection and experience while deepening the crisis of creativity.

The post-human era, which expresses the dissolution of the idea of human nature, emphasizes that cyborgs and artificial intelligence technologies are capable of opening a new space for creativity and art. For instance, non-linear computer systems can produce unpredictable and harmonic artifacts. Through the pharmacological character of technology, this paper argues that a new perception of art undermines the classical foundations of art, while at the same time damaging the production of collective affection, which is the principal condition of art.

**KEYWORDS:** Creativity; art; post-human; artificial intelligence; affection

Session

Panel : Revisiting the Crisis Through Arts and Aesthetics

: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Ali Rıza Taşkale, Near East University

July 17 2018, Tuesday

09:30-11:00

## Rancière's Aesthetics and Politics on Contemporary as an Actor of Crisis

Seçkin Göksoy, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University

Through Rancière's conceptions of nonrelation and anachronism, this paper demonstrates that how his other distinctive conception of disagreement maintains an untimely attitude. To explain more, this paper considers Rancière's disagreement specifically referencing to nonrelation and anachronism as a way to show that the capacity of untimeliness is to produce undecidability, namely crisis, to bring new possibilities or create new scenes into the play, which marks contemporary with its political and aesthetic potential. Rancière criticizes the identitarian logic that dominates the present by configuring relationships between name and things. In this respect, Rancière appeals to a moment of nonrelation that breaks the identical relationship between name and things as an intervention to the present. However, nonrelation is solely inadequate to reconfigure the relationship between name and things. The moment of nonrelation must be maintained for the reconfiguration of the relationships between name and things, which constitutes an anachronic stage or an untimely process. Since Rancière depicts a picture of the relationships and positions in the sensible order by referring to the relationship between name and things, the anachronic staging is the untimely relations between name and things that express possible transformations of the sensible order. By giving a special place to names or words, Rancière puts forward the poetic capacity for an untimely experience. In this regard, poetic capacity that configures and reconfigures the sensible order constitutes a topological logic of Rancière's perspective, which implies anachronic staging of words at the present. Contemporary is an actor of this crisis with the poetic power that transforms the order of sensibles, namely the distribution of the sensible, which is a key conception to discuss aesthetic and politic potentiality through the history.

KEYWORDS: Aesthetics and politics; contemporary; nonrelation and untimeliness; history; distribution of the sensible

# The Crisis of Representation: Arts in Times of Crisis

Duygu Karabulut, Hacettepe University

The "crisis of representation" has become a major point of interest in arts and politics since the publication of Walter Benjamin's The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction. The reasons for the current indication of the crisis in arts primarily depends on "the loss of the aura" of uniqueness which is a central characteristic of the processes of artistic creation and a distinctive feature of the artwork. Technological reproduction did not only drastically change the general diagram of art but also caused its sheer commodification.

Following significant changes in technology and capitalism, this paper aims to analyze this process by referring to the changing patterns of the relation between market economy and the function-oriented instrumentalization of art which together reveal the illusion of creation. The paper firstly focuses on the question of representation with the central role of crisis in the philosophy of Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger. The paper secondly ties this background with the theoretical framework of the concept of "representation" in political theory. The paper finally goes into a discussion of the meta-conditions of the changing relationship between arts, technology, culture, and politics today.

KEYWORDS: Art; technology; instrumentalization; commodification; representation crisis

Panel : Economic, Social, and Environmental Dimensions of the Refugee Crisis

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

Session: S14-Refugee and Migration Studies

Moryo Özman Kaya Hacottono University

**(**) 09:30-11:00

Chair : Merve Özman Kaya, Hacettepe University

## Impediments to the Use of Oral Contraceptives Among Refugee Women in Camps in Jordan

Sanaa Bardaweel, The University of Jordan

This study aims to assess the factors related to the use of oral contraceptive (OC) among married refugee women in the age range of 18 to 50 years, and residing in refugee camps in Jordan. A face-to-face questionnaire was completed by 425 women, who had used OCs at least once in their lifetime as a contraceptive method. Data were collected between November 2016 and January 2017.

This study finds outs that about 45 per cent of women preferred OCs as a contraceptive method. Most (80 per cent) women thought OCs were effective, while 68.5 per cent were concerned about their safety. About 10.6 per cent of women became pregnant while using OCs, and 75 per cent reported side effects, specifically headache (54.6 per cent), irritability (46.4 per cent), mood swings (39.1 per cent) and weight gain (30.6 per cent). However, only 21.2 per cent of the participants reported that they knew how to use OCs. Alarmingly, 85.9 per cent of women reported that they skipped the OC pill when they missed using it. Knowledge about the correct use was directly correlated with education, number of pregnancies and children, and the duration of OC use. This study concludes that women residing in refugee camps in Jordan had relative unwillingness to use OCs. Although they tended to use them appropriately and had fair experience with their use, large gaps in their knowledge were apparent.

KEYWORDS: Refugee women; oral contraceptives; women's health; contraception

# Government Policy and Environmental Green Practices in Tourism and Hospitality Industry: A Literature Analysis Using Text Mining Approach

Ayman Harb, The University of Jordan

This paper reviews the literature dealing with the relationship between government policy and environmental green practices in tourism and hospitality industry. It sheds light on the current research and provides some new insights for future research revealed from government policy and environmental green practices in the field of tourism and hospitality industry. The study explores published research articles in government policy and environmental green practices in tourism and hospitality industry using the reported abstract and keywords for a set of journals. This paper is a first attempt to review literature in government policy and environmental green practices in tourism and hospitality industry using text mining approach. The findings contributes to the understanding of the connection between government policy and environmental green practices in tourism and hospitality industry and give important insights for practitioners and researchers in the field.

KEYWORDS: Government policy; environmental green practices; environmental green practices in tourism and hospitality industry; text mining

Panel : Creativity and Dialogue within Crisis [Interactive Panel II]

Session : S19-Arts and Politics

Chair : Gözde Doğan, Independent

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

11:20-12:30

### **The Crisis in Water Resources**

Claudia Müller, Finis Terrae University

The purpose of this "summary" is to present the main issues that will be discussed in the July conference in Turkey, where the main focus is the concept of crisis. In this particular case, we will talk about the crisis in the water resources that belong to our planet Earth. This, in association with the research I have developed since 2010 on Visual Arts, on water as a measure of time, showing with it the force of gravity, and how it presents itself as a motor of movement, not only on Earth but also in the universe. An example of this (among others to present) are asteroids leaving traces of steam, which they carry in their tails.

Undoubtedly, the great contingency problem is the amount of fresh water left on Earth. NASA has for several years focused on finding planets, satellites or stars that contain water as a possible future solution to the shortage in our planet. Enceladus, the moon of Saturn, has an ocean of fresh water frozen in its interior. It is also interesting to observe the underground reserves of fresh water, such as the Guaraní Aquifer, a large reservoir located on the borders of Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay, where border political conflicts already exist due to the dispute over resources. If the water runs out, this reserve could provide water for a hundred years for all humanity. Water is the element that unites our planet earth, which allows for the existence of life, and its cycle is vital for the sustainability of the ecosystem. This is why water has been the main protagonist of our world, and has been used culturally, scientifically and symbolically by humanity. The objective of this presentation is to bring the fresh water crisis to the public, but from a contemporary art perspective, and in a way in which it connects with the already developed artistic research (www.claudiamuller.net) based on physical phenomena such as force of gravity, time, the influence of the moon on the tides, the movement of rotation and translation, the scarcity of water resources, and groundwater, in order to compare, associate and understand the universe we inhabit and how fluids behave in their terrestrial and extraterrestrial manifestation.

KEYWORDS: Artwork; hydric; flow; gravity; time

# **Bridge: The Video Installation**

Emre Dörter, Independent

Bridge was first exhibited at MAS Museum, Antwerp, Belgium between September 2015- February 2016, during Europalia 2015. Ten-second video portraits portray people from Antwerp and Istanbul. Water forms the backdrop. The portraits from the two cities are projected face to face, opposite each other. In this way, an imaginary bridge is established between the two cities, creating connection and communication through their people's smiles and greetings. Original voices of cheerful words, recorded during video shooting, mixed to murmur as an ambient sound.

KEYWORDS: Bridge; feelings; faces; video arts; portraits

Panel: Ethics, Law, and Justice

Session: S24-Legal Studies

Chair : Aylin Özman, TED University

July 17 2018, Tuesday

13:30-15:00

# Update of the Code of Ethics of the Chilean Journalists Association due to the Dilemmas Raised by Social Networks and the Digital Ecosystem

Oscar Jaramillo, Finis Terrae University

This research explores the new ethical dilemmas that the Code of Ethics of the Chilean Journalists Association should incorporate after the emergence of a new digital ecosystem. From the methodological point of view, Grounded Theory was applied to style manuals and ethical letters from Chilean and international media. Among the main results, it was found that the relationship that arises between the Internet users and the media originates from various ethical dilemmas that need to be addressed. A breach of an ethical nature was also found, between what the conditions of use of the informative portals of the Chilean media and their ethical letters or style manuals suggest. For example, the conditions of use of the Chilean information sites indicate that they do not ensure the accuracy of any information and that if any user uploads a photograph or video to the platform, s/he donates the copyright in perpetuity to the media, even from the moral perspective.

KEYWORDS: Self-regulation ethics; codes of ethics; ethical dilemmas; cyber ethics; journalistic ethics

# Discursive Struggles on Democracy and the Origins of Constitutional Adjudication in Turkey: The Establishment of the Constitutional Court during the 1960 Military Regime

Gülce Tarhan Çelebi, Hacettepe University

Democratic constitutions tend to transfer power from legislative bodies to judiciary with the hope that independent justices would protect rights and liberties and enhance democracy. Turkey provides a unique case for the literature on comparative constitutionalism, since the Constitutional Court of Turkey was established in the aftermath of a military intervention and the constitutional adjudication, especially in the 1980s, was rarely used to protect liberties. Drawing upon Ran Hirschl's Hegemonic Preservation Theory, contemporary scholars tend to explain the origins of the Constitutional Court of Turkey by referring to the intention of state/military elites to protect their hegemony after transitioning to democracy.

This paper challenges this literature by showing that the emergence of constitutional adjudication and the empowerment of judiciary by the 1961 Constitution could not be explained by the strategic calculations of state elites to protect their hegemony, but by ongoing discursive struggles among different political actors within society on the definition of democracy. By relying on the analysis of political party programs, newspaper articles, minutes of Parliamentary debates and reports prepared by different organizations, it is shown that the discussions on constitutional adjudication were closely linked with the discursive struggles on the nature of democracy. Actors' perception of democracy shaped both their views on constitutional adjudication and their interaction with the Court.

KEYWORDS: Constitutionalism; Turkey; constitutional adjudication; democracy

Panel: Ethics, Law, and Justice

Session: S24-Legal Studies

Chair : Aylin Özman, TED University

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

**(**) 13:30-15:00

## **Legal Clinic of the Fins Terrae University (UFT)**

Patricia Vivanco, Finis Terrae University

Access to justice is a fundamental right and is one of the cornerstones of the rule of law. In the majority of countries, access to justice becomes unrealistic for those without resources. In Chile, the state provides legal aid through the Corporation's legal assistance, State organ that is not completely decentralized, as well as by The Public Prosecutor's Office and The National Ombudsman and covers only some materials. Therefore, it is exceeded by the amount and the nature of the benefits required by the population (which enhances an explicit distrust of the judiciary and punishes the perception of equity).

The Faculty of Law has implemented a "legal clinic" that unfolds three areas: (a) civil and family, (b) criminal and (c) advice to entrepreneurs in small and medium-sized entrepreneurs. Through agreements with ONG's, municipalities and State bodies, including the Ministry of Economy and Superintendencies, cases are referred to the Legal Clinic. Once received are attended by professors in charge of the respective area and final year law students (we have been made around 4,000 performances in 4 years).

Of the three areas, has had special significance the clinic's advice to entrepreneurs. In Chile, almost 80 per cent of the sources of employment are generated by small and medium-sized enterprises. There is a culture of entrepreneurship, that no dialogues with public policies. In this context, this Legal Clinic assists in the areas of trademarks (NICC), formalisations corporate, and tax regimes. Ultimately, the legal clinics are transformed into a perfect alliance between academia and civil society (university), between State Agency and the private sector. And above all, it supports innovation in historically neglected sectors.

**KEYWORDS:** Legal clinic; entrepreneur's assistant; social benefits; legal and social aids

# Food Security in Colombia Treatment from the Constitutional Court and the Development of Public Policy

Maria Andrea Bocanegrajimenez, The University of Atlántico

The state of food security in the world according to FAO shows that 815 million people are chronically undernourished. In Latin America, there are 42.5 million people who do not have enough food to cover their daily caloric needs. These facts are no less critical for the Colombian case, where 3.4 million people, equivalent to 7 per cent of the country's population, are undernourished. Within this group are the children of the Wayuu indigenous community. From 2015 to 2016, 206 Wayuu children died of malnutrition. The states must increase the effort to implement development policies to overcome chronic undernourishment and ensure food security. In the Colombian case, the vulnerable population such as the indigenous community like Wayuu people is in danger of extinction due to food and water crisis. This is mainly because they live in a desert area with adverse climatic factors. Moreover, the corruption chain does not allow them to reach resources. This situation especially puts children at a risk.

Despite government actions, it has not been enough to mitigate the situation. Therefore, the Colombian Constitutional Court, through judicial decision T - 302 of 2017 declared the existence of an unconstitutional state of affairs in relation to the effective enjoyment of the fundamental rights to food, health, clean water of the Wayuu children. Given this situation, the Colombian State must rethink its public policy to address the problem of food security. In this paper, I first analyze the state of food security police in Colombia. Second, I explain the social context of the Wayuu indigenous community and finally make a review of the constitutional court decisions to glimpse the necessary requirements for a new food security policy in Colombia.

KEYWORDS: Food security; chronic undernourishment; indigenous community; public policies; constitutional court

Panel : Comparative Perspectives on the Political

**iii** July 17 2018, Tuesday

Session: S06-Area Studies

Chair : İlker Aytürk, Bilkent University

**(**) 13:30-15:00

### **Esoteric Kemalism in Post-Secular Turkey: From Hagiography to a New Age Icon**

Kadir Dede, Hacettepe University

Although modernization theory defines a transition from religious identity to national one, which is relevant with secularism as well, Turkish case can be discussed as an exception due to the efficiency and styles of religious behavior. Authors such as Hayes and Llobera define nationalism as a kind of religion that also presents a "modern" identity. However, religiosity of Turkish nationalism affected a broader extent than identity debates, even the history-writing methodology. Especially early narratives on Atatürk as the "Hero" of the nation consist of several titles which were inspired by religion. Not only the Kemalist epigone's discourses situated Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as God, Prophet or God's blessing for Turks, but also foreign observers followed a similar way as in the examples of "Allah Dethroned" (Linke, 1937) or "Kemal Wins Allah Loses" (Brisbane, 1931). This style was paradoxical with a strong emphasis on secularism during the early Republican era, but the hagiographical narratives were also a way to provide the necessary charisma for Atatürk in order to reach modern and secular Turkey.

On the other hand, the last decades of the 20th century witnessed a strong criticism of modernity that was also related with secularism, and the discourse of "New Age" ironically became a symbol of surpassing "saeculum". Mysticism, spirituality and esoterism were the keystones of New Age's sacredness and they were the general aspects of post-secular age as well. Although the existence of a struggle between the new and the old, rationality and divinity, mind and soul could be claimed, this struggle's consequences were not a victory or loss for one; it was rather a kind of synthesis between different sides. And Turkey presents one of the most striking instances of this synthesis.

This study examines the changing feature of religion-centered narratives on Atatürk in post-secular age and compares with the instances from early Republican era. In addition, it embraces the esoteric debates related with Atatürk as a reflection of New Age in Turkey. And finally, Atatürk's iconic situation in a post-secular era is discussed as a response to the crisis of secularism and modernization vis-à-vis the rise of Islamism in Turkey.

KEYWORDS: Secularism; New Age; Kemalism; esoterism; sprituality

# Religion, Democracy and Civil Society: Understanding the Relationship Between Catholic Church and Chilean Politics in Contemporary History

Andrea Botto, Finis Terrae University

The Chilean Catholic Church is overcoming one of its most critical moments since Chile's Independence from Spain, in the beginning of the 19th century. The accusations of sexual abuse committed by some members of the clergy, and the voices that emerged from civil society to condemn not only the abuses, but also the structure of the Church and its relation with social matters —such as abortion, sexuality or feminism— have proven that Catholicism needs a substantial reform in order to restore, if possible, its influence in Chilean society. These facts have brought up the question about the relationship between religion and public sphere; and about the influence of religious thought, values and principles over public politics in modern secularized societies such as Chile. Considering the historically leading presence of Catholicism in the Chilean civil society, this paper proposes to study the influence of Catholic thought in the country's politics, throughout the memories and public interventions of some prominent Catholic leaders, intellectuals and politicians; in order to understand their interpretation of social doctrines, democracy, government and other civil issues over the past decades.

I believe that the different interpretations generated inside the Chilean Catholic intelligentsia caused a deep division not only among Chilean Catholics, but also in society in general, by undermining one of the pillars of democracy, which has been the religious consensus, at least in part of the social intellectual and political elite of Chile. A view of those positions is proposed here, to help us understand part of the process that national Catholicism lived during the past 60 years; and the reasons behind its estrangement of the leading scenarios of Chilean democracy. To think the relationship between religion and public sphere can help us understand better the internal process of traditional societies and their transition into modernity, and also enlighten the evolution of the history of Chilean political thinking in the past decades.

**KEYWORDS:** Secularism; laicism; Chilean church; Catholicism; Chilean politics

Panel : Comparative Perspectives on the Political

**(**) 13:30-15:00

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

Session: S06-Area Studies

Chair : İlker Aytürk, Bilkent University

## Law, Judgement, Republicanism

Barry Stocker, Istanbul Technical University & Özlem Duva Kaya, Dokuz Eylül University

Taking the Republic of Turkey as an example, this paper looks at legal philosophy in relation to political republicanism and theories of judgement. The transition from the Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic and the history of the Republic has not established a properly free judiciary. The judiciary has been limited by the state not by the public sphere. There cannot be a free judiciary without a public sphere of free judgement. The theoretical basis of the free judiciary, public space and free judgement is taken back to Kant, with reference to Arendt's reading of Kant on judgement. Kant provides an alternative to positivist theories of judgement in which the sovereignty of the state is the only source of law. Kant takes morality as the grounds of law, which includes the idea of the autonomy of the individual and the individual taken as an end. What Arendt emphasises in Kant is the significance of aesthetic judgement as a model for political judgement. Judgement of this kind in Kant can be taken as a basis for political judgement and free judicial acts, where there is freedom of judgement. Jurisprudence should take the concrete judicial act as its basis in relation to a political sphere of free judgement and can only understand the concrete judicial act through freedom of judgement. This view of judgement will be completed through Foucault, with regard to the relation of law to sovereignty, the relation of penality to power. Foucault explores the kind of limited autonomy created and disciplined by modern legality and punishment, while also providing suggestions of jurisprudence more concerned with communal peace and reparation of harms rather than imposition of sovereignty. These theoretical concerns provide the framework of discussing the limitations of the judicial function and the public sphere in Turkey.

KEYWORDS: Kant; Arendt; Foucault; public; Turkey

# Secularist/Islamist 'Tentative Friendship' and the Possibility of Agonistic Democratic Transition in Post-revolutionary Tunisia

Ihsan Mejdi, Central European University

Following the Arab spring, the trajectory of democratic transition in Tunisia since 2014 has been marked by neoliberal consensus between the two ruling parties, namely, secularist Nidaa Tounes and Islamist Ennahda. Consensual politics of Tunisia's historical foes resulted in a post-political democratic transition and set the ground for a consensual hegemony. The Ennahda-Nidaa cross-ideological friendship is currently faced with a lost faith in politics especially among the youth. Popular disaffection is translated in low rates of participation in electoral processes and social protests against the adopted IMF economic reform plan. The existing literature examines the current democratic transition largely from the viewpoint of political science thus offering insight only on Tunisia's transitory-politics and failing to engage with the 'political'. This paper draws upon the concepts of the political by Carl Schmitt, agonism, and radical democracy by Chantal Mouffe to critically analyze and understand consensual politics in Tunisia. It is argued that the current reemergence of political disagreement and tension between secularists and Islamists offers a possibility of establishing an agonistic democratic transition capable of both channeling conflict and polarization and re-defining the political beyond the current neoliberal consensual alternative.

**KEYWORDS:** Tunisia; democratic transition; the political; consensus; agonism

Panel: Identity, Politics and Populism

Session: S07-Comparative Politics and Governance

Chair : Şebnem Yardımcı, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

**(**) 13:30-15:00

## Who are the (True) Finns? Ethno-nationalism in Finnish Populism

Hasan Akıntuğ, University of Helsinki

The Finns Party, known in the Finnish language as the 'perussuomalaiset' (which roughly translates to 'basic' or 'ordinary' Finn in English) is largely accepted as the Finnish representative of the 'populist wave' in Europe. Although 'populism' as such may not imply ethno-nationalism by default, ethno-nationalism tends to be a common feature of many populist parties which are simultaneously categorised as belonging to the radical right. Many of these parties, including the Finns Party, previously translated to English as the True Finns Party, utilized the political identification modes of nationalism to challenge what they saw as the 'establishment'.

This paper intends to analyse the implication of the usage of the terminology found in the very name of this political party. The paper begins with a short definition of 'populism' as an ideology which holds politics as the never-ending antagonism between the 'pure people' and the 'corrupt elite'. In this framework, the construction of the dialectical opposition of the 'True Finns' against the 'False Finns' in the discourse of the Finns Party is analysed. The Finns Party began its political existence on the remainders of the background of the rural-populist Finnish Rural Party in 1995. It remained on the fringes of the Finnish political scene until the 2011 elections. Up until that point Finland was considered an exception to the 'populist wave' in Europe in which the consensual form of parliamentary democracy was unchallenged. This shift has largely been attributed to the ongoing 'Eurocrisis' at the time which the party somewhat successfully claimed 'ownership' of the debate around the bailout of the crisis countries and became the third largest party in 2011 and the second largest party in 2015. It seems that the 'crisis' has reached northern Europe, previously known as a beacon of stability.

KEYWORDS: Nationalism; populism; crisis; Finns Party; Democracy

# Questioning the Usefulness of the Term "Populism" for Analyzing Contemporary Nationalist Reaction

Mehmet Celil Çelebi, Independent

In the last decade, the concept "populism" has been widely used in the analysis of the crisis of democracy both for understanding the emergence of antisystem movements in the West and the tendency of elected governments to consolidate power in their own hands in ways that circumvent normal checks and balances in younger democracies. However, a consensus on its definition is elusive. Most cited scholars of populism such as Muller and Mudde argues that it is an ideology based on a rhetorical device that pits the people against the elites. Both recognize that the use of such a device is omnipresent in contemporary democracies. However, some movements should be counted as populist rather than simply actors that use this device. Yet the vagueness of this boundary makes the analytic usefulness of the term dubious. Indeed, Laclau insists that populism is always a discursive operation that is particularly suitable for formulating an emancipatory language that would transcend capitalism. Even though the first part of his analysis seems superior to the mainstream one, its analytic value is again questionable. On the left, the surge of populist narratives corresponded to a social democratic "back to the equalitarian roots" rather than the emergence of a neo-communism, and the device has been used more successfully by the right-wing Nationalist Reaction. Such movements rose on four pillars: use of the populist rhetorical device, an aggressive traditionalist and majoritarian attitude in the kulturkampf against progressives and minorities, personal charisma/authority of the leader and a willingness to work within the existing institutions instead of advocating a revolutionary overthrow. Simply calling these movements "populists" is misleading as they share little with the "populares" of the late Roman Republic, 19th-century agrarian movements, fascism, Latin American variations of Peronism and emerging left-wing movements. I argue that the best way of naming this is to allude to its earliest and geo-politically most importan

**KEYWORDS:** Populism; crisis of democracy; conceptual strategies; nationalism; Putinism

Panel: Identity, Politics and Populism

Session : S07-Comparative Politics and Governance

Chair : Şebnem Yardımcı, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

13:30-15:00

# Contested Representations of the Past: The Turkish State, Academics and People of Dersim on "Dersim 1938"

Aylin Demir, Middle East Technical University

Dersim is the native name of a region in present-day Eastern Anatolia. It is named Tunceli in official discourse. From the Ottoman Empire to Republican Turkey, the inhabitants of Dersim have been regularly exposed to physical and symbolic violence of various kinds. Perhaps the most traumatizing one took place in 1938, when thousands of people were massacred and deported to other parts of Turkey. This study aims to map out three conflicting representations of the events in "Dersim 1938": the Turkish state discourse, academics and intelligentsia, and local narratives from Dersim.

In the first part of the paper, I focus on how the state discourse excluded Dersim by defining it as a rebellious place and construe its ideal citizens through the marginalization and exclusion of the native inhabitants of Dersim. I demonstrate how Dersim as "a constitutive outside" was deployed to signify the boundaries between "us" as obedient citizens of the Republic and the rebellious "other" during the nation-state building. Then, I analyze how the scholarly work on Dersim represented these events. Even the studies beginning from the early 1990s on these events may explain the very nature of the "rebellion." I attempt to understand how and why the myth of rebellion continues to exist in the literature. As a response, one can see that Dersimli authors/intellectuals argue that there was no rebellion but resistance in Dersim. Lastly, I emphasize how Dersim '38 has been remembered and narrated by local peoples of the present-day Dersim. This paper hence aims to understand how the events are more complicated than their common representations seem to suggest.

KEYWORDS: Dersim 1938; Turkish state; academics; violance; representing the past

# Rethinking the Refugee Crisis via Bernard Stiegler: Notes on the Transformation of Industrial Capitalism

Ali Erdem Bascoban, Hacettepe University

According to Bernard Stiegler, due to the loss of the "libidinal energy" of capitalism, it is possible to discuss the acceleration of an entropic process of destruction which leads to a systemic crisis influencing all sectors of life. Under these conditions of crisis, another dilemma arises. The loss of the libidinal energy accompanied by the emergence of new crises of affection enables us to regard the current refugee problem as a part of systemic inconsistency in generating a general (economic, cultural, social, and political) organology of the political. By going through Bernard Stiegler's perspective on the relationship between power and subjectivity and the emergence of hyper-industrial capitalism, this paper aims to bring an alternative reading of today's refugee crisis. This paper intends to draw upon a comparative analysis of the theoretical and structural inconsistencies while approaching the refugee crisis through the eyes of neoliberalism today. The paper additionally regards the transformation of the relationship between hyper/industrial capitalism and governmentality today as a central marker of a systemic problem while addressing the long-discussed question of "the other."

**KEYWORDS:** Refugee crisis; Stiegler; capitalism; power; otherness

Panel : Political Economy and the Crisis: Future Prospects

Session: S16-Political Economy

Chair: Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

15:20-16:50

## A Critical Reflection on the Korean Political Economy and Its Capacity to Create a Preferred Future

Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management

Institutions and their role in the process of development have been at the center of various research traditions, ranging from historical institutionalists to neo-institutional economists. Neo-institutional economists tend to operationalize institutions as formal or informal "rules of the game," a strategic environment where rational, if calculating, actors make their preferred choices. However, human rationality does not consist of economic calculations alone, and actors' preferences cannot always be assumed away on the basis of utilitarian principles. In fact, the causality between institutions as structures and actors as agents of history flows in both ways. Hence, while institutions shape actors' preferences and behavior and thereby economic performance—both positively and negatively, they do not solely determine the outcome. In the case of Korea, for instance, the developmental state has more or less managed to engineer the developmental process, creating comparative advantages through market-conforming institutional interventions. However, the state's developmental functionality has become questionable over time, as manifested in its increasing inability to deal adequately with the political economy's structural, institutional and long-term problems. This paper critically reflects upon and investigates into the deeper-level reasons—at both structural and agent levels—underlying such limits to the developmental state and its capacity to create a preferred future.

**KEYWORDS:** Political economy; development; institutions; developmental state; structure and agent

# **Jordan's Strategy of Trade Liberalization**

Taleb Warrad, The University of Jordan

An intense political and economic debate has taken place over the expected effects of trade openness agreements on the Jordanian economy. The opponents voice a number of concerns focusing on the potential impact of the agreement on Jordania's small businesses, trade deficit and labor markets. They argue that the expected surge in Jordanian imports from such partner countries will negatively affect domestic small firms by exposing them to unfair fierce competition, forcing the shutdown of marginal businesses and further worsen the unemployment problem. Furthermore, the resulting cut in import tariffs will accelerate imports and hence contribute to the deterioration of both trade balance and fiscal deficits and contribute directly and indirectly to public debt. On the other hand, supporters of the free trade agreement argue that trade liberalization will enhance welfare by expanding trade based on comparative advantages and therefore will foster economic growth. They point out that cheaper imports from partner countries will benefit both consumers and producers; by enabling consumers to have more diversified basket of goods at lower competitive prices, and producers to have access to cheaper intermediate goods. In the long run, the domestic producers will gain from the expanding size of markets by accumulating higher economies of scale over time. Like many of the opponents, supporters of the FTA also used a mercantilist argument to support their view that the expansion of Jordanian exports to partner countries will help create domestic jobs. This study is an attempt to evaluate the net impact of such policy of trade liberalization. The main objective is to analyze the expected effects of the FTA on the Jordanian economy.

KEYWORDS: Jordan; trade; strategy; liberalization; FTA

Panel : Political Economy and the Crisis: Future Prospects

Session: S16-Political Economy

Chair : Park Hun Joo, KDI School of Public Policy and Management

July 17 2018, Tuesday

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## Precarity and Crisis: (Im)possibility of Continuous Career and Future Anxiety

Ahmet Kaan Ketboğa, University of Cologne

Due to an increase in labor market flexibility, job insecurity has become a prevalent phenomenon. Corresponding to this fact, the stark reality of the precariat has begun to be more visible in working life. In its most straightforward sense, the precariat consists of a growing number of people living and working in conditions of insecurity, without an occupational identity or career (Standing, 2011). In this context, precarity refers to two sorts of crises. Firstly, it implies a crisis of class identity, which arises from inefficiency that of Orthodox Marxist theory has in explaining this new phenomenon. Secondly, since job insecurity consists of permanent fragility and does not provide a continuous career, precarity refers to a future crisis for workers. Based on these points, this study firstly commits to bringing a comprehensive conceptual framework of precarity with reference to Pierre Bourdieu and Guy Standing. Secondly, it focuses on the theme of the crisis in regard with class identity and future anxiety. Finally, this study focuses on Turkish academia as an example of precarization concerning the transition from permanent employment to contracted employment.

KEYWORDS: Anxiety; crisis; identity; job insecurity; precariat

# **Accelerationism and the Crisis of Capitalism**

Sümeyra Soydaş, Hacettepe University

With reference to the accelerationist approach to diverse reflections of capitalism especially introduced by Williams and Srnicek, this study handles the crisis of capitalism. Along with a critical interpretation of accelerationism, this paper also draws upon the current considerations Deleuze and Guattari's reading of the relationship between schizophrenia and deterritorialization. Accelerationist capitalism, in general, implies that political attitudes are now subject to lose their ideas. In these conditions, accelerationism is introduced as an alternative means for generating modalities of "counter-power" relations. By analyzing the general characteristics of a universal silence on the increasing symbolic disaster that remains from capitalism, this paper intends to provide the framework of systemic crisis. Under the circumstances of this systemic crisis, the course of generating hope for the future is lost. Capitalism can survive only within the contradictions of this systemic crisis utilizing the reproduction and recollection of a "symbolic misery", in Stiegler's words. For Deleuze and Guattari, on the other hand, capitalism is a system that we cannot avoid, and there is no exit from such a systemic crisis that involves all parts of life. This paper introduces a reading of capitalism not only by focusing on the destruction of all existing codes of living but also by following the trace of various means for reproducing diverse forms of psychic and collective schizophrenia.

**KEYWORDS:** Accelerationism; schizophrenia; crisis; power; reproduction

Panel : Crisis via Literature: Comparative Perspectives

Session : S17-Literature and Critique

Chair : Metin Yüksel, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

15:20-16:50

### Narratives of Crisis in Modern Iran the Crisis of Authority in The Blind Owl

Maryam Najafi, Middle East Technical University

Agency and authority of the self are among the identity markers of the individuals in modern fiction. Incongruity between one's agency and one's possibilities leads into a crisis of identity and a state of non-belonging. The problem of authority over self and others is a conflict in Hedayat's The Blind Owl as the outstanding Persian novel. The protagonist of the novella is in a conflictual relationship with himself, with his family and his wife, as well as with social and political institutions such as religion. This paper aims at studying the reasons and reflections of the dominance of authority on the individual's sense of integrity and how such pressures could alienate the individuals and force them into a psychological breakdown.

The liminality of the protagonist's social, institutional, and psychological situation adds more to the idea of alienation and disintegration of the individual. The liminal here refers to the unstable and uncertain, to vagueness and two-sidedness. The individual's situation in a transitory social, political, and cultural state could in another way reflect the liminality of the whole case. As the first outstanding modern Persian novel, The Blind Owl is an appropriate case study to scrutinize the conflictual authority problem in a society where individuals would face the crisis of uncertainty and liminality.

KEYWORDS: Modern Persian novel; authority and patriarchy problem; liminality; crisis; alienation; identity

# The Storytellers of Gaza: Bloggers Under Siege

Hind Shahin Hindi, The University of Jordan

In keeping with the theme of the conference, crisis in Gaza indeed denotes a double meaning. On the one hand, it denotes the impossibility of decision particularly in the political sphere. Under fthe ull siege since 2007 and inflicted with successive Israeli aggressions, Gazans have experienced little autonomy, the liquidation of inclusive political participation, and the suppression of the collective voice. One the other hand, new forms of resilience have emerged, and in a world of hyper-technological transformations, the bloggers of Gaza have found possibilities of expression that challenge the blockade. The siege of Gaza has been an unwavering effort to disconnect 2 million people from the rest of humanity. An effort has been backed by a cutting-edge Israeli media apparatus to liquidate affection and undermine a common sense of humanity towards the besieged, the subalterns of Gaza. Yet, the subaltern has found a way to speak by providing online semi-literary content: Blogging.

This paper examines the work of Gazan bloggers, focusing on the abundant material posted on Aljazeera Blogs. It explores the rise of the blog as a genre in light of rapid technological advances in the field of communication that brought about transpositions in contemporary literary expression. The paper also accounts for the struggle to maintain the connection with the world by way of blogging which transforms a blog post into an act of resistance against a siege that attempts to silence the human voice of Gaza in an era of global digital reticulation. Furthermore, it explores the themes and traditions of this online genre, its semi-literary character, and the juxtaposition of the collective voice and various forms of individuation which gives blogging from Gaza a unique identity.

KEYWORDS: Gaza; blog; genre; siege; possibilities of expression

Panel : Crisis via Literature: Comparative Perspectives

Session: S17-Literature and Critique

Chair : Metin Yüksel, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

**(**) 15:20-16:50

### Crisis of Suicide as an Act of Liberation in the Works of Ibsen and Sartre

Samindokht Ronaghzadeh, Middle East Technical University

Suicide as a profoundly dramatic question has been staged from Sophocles onwards. It was one of Hamlet's questions and we encounter instances of it in dramatic works from ancient times. To analyze the decision to commit suicide from only moral and social standpoints would be to ignore the essential roles played by deep personal and philosophical choices. Literary suicide dramatizes the embodiment of different sorts of despair in our existence. However, this despair is accompanied by an internal sense of freedom. In this paper, I attempt to carry out a brief investigation of the phenomenon of modern dramatic suicide along with a view of Henrik Ibsen, often considered as the father of modern theatre and largely responsible for the rise of modern realistic drama, and Jean Paul Sartre as the 20th-century philosopher and playwright who put forth pioneering existentialist ideas and displayed them on stage. This study first surveys the modern situation in drama regarding the theme of suicide and deliberate death. The plays Hedda Gabler by Ibsen and The Condemned of Altona by Sartre are selected for this purpose to find out if the internal sense of freedom in a deliberate choice of death which can contain the freedom of its time, place and method being chosen, is the best possible satisfying relief or solution in life and how these two modern writers have dealt with this issue.

KEYWORDS: Suicide; modern drama; death; Ibsen; Sartre

Panel: From Panopticon to the Crisis

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Rodolfo Wenger, The University of Atlántico

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

15:20-16:50

## The Crisis of Demos: An Investigation on the Foundations of Democracy

Elifsu Tanyeri, Hacettepe University

Today, the global rise of extreme right, racist and anti-immigrant policies, populist discourse and terrorist actions indicate a crisis in democracy. This crisis reveals the necessity of rethinking the foundations of democracy. With the rise of the extreme right, the politics of polarization produced by populist rhetoric, necessitates the concept of modern democracy to be questioned in the context of representation and identity based on self and other. This polarization in the form of "us" and those that are "not from us", actually opens up the problem of modern democracy founded on commonness. Based on the definition of a 'demos' revealing various dispositions of commonness, modern democracy has always included a constitutive sense of otherness. This point implies the problematic contradiction between justice and majoritarianism. The crisis of democracy today refers to the loss of a desire for "living together," and the significant transformation of collective imagination. The primary point of crisis for today's democracy, hence, connotes the question of combining modes of democratic co-existence with a general desire for justice. The purpose of this paper is to question the symbolic and imaginative crisis of modern democracy and to interpret the current rise of the populist discourse in politics which implies the reappearance of the threat of totalitarianization. By going through Claude Lefort's reading of democracy, this study aims to combine the debates on the loss of affection with the normative necessity of thinking on alternative means of effectuating justice.

KEYWORDS: Demos; empty place; populism; commonness; majoritarianism

# **Europe and Deliberative Democracy: A Crisis of Religious Pluralism?**

Gülçe Başkaya, Middle East Technical University

Until the 1990s the relationship between religious pluralism and democracy has not been considered through critical perspectives. As an outcome of massive waves of migration and with the impact of globalization, along with the demands of minority groups on public recognition, arguments such as multiculturalism, politics of difference, radical democracy, or deliberative democracy arose in political theory. The major crisis of European democracies today might be defined through the aspects of the current refugee crisis, which triggers debates on not only xenophobia but also on the possible means of integration qua politics of recognition. In its Schmittean definition, the problem of substantive equality has always been disintegrated from abstract models. The question of fairness in European democracies today has become more connected with the canonization of the other, especially the "Muslim Europeans."

By following Seyla Benhabib's Habermasian reading of democracy and pluralism, this paper first questions the inconsistencies of the deliberative model of democracy in Europe today. Secondly, the paper argues that the current refugee crisis in Europe has severely affected the public opinion on politics of multiculturalism in Europe and has led to significant transformations in European politics as in the cases of Brexit and the rise of the far right.

KEYWORDS: Deliberative democracy; Benhabib; Europe; identity; recognition

Panel: From Panopticon to the Crisis

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Rodolfo Wenger, The University of Atlántico

🛗 July 17 2018, Tuesday

15:20-16:50

## **Revisiting Foucault's Panopticon: Suppression, Power, and Society**

Zeynep Gül Parla, Hacettepe University

Drawing upon Michel Foucoult's well-known conceptualization of the panopticon, this paper intends to analyze contemporary evaluation of power with reference to transforming modes of suppression. The paper first provides the details of Foucault's interpretation of the panopticon and investigates a correlation between the symbolic structure of power and social control. Secondly, following Deleuze and Guattari's proposition on "control society", the paper evaluates the shifting patterns of the disposition of power today by going through the sanctions of dissident ideas in the control society. By providing a comparative analysis of the perspectives of Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari on discipline and control, the paper aims to introduce several reflections of the relationship between suppression and power. Following the trace of a political culture which severely suffers from different authoritarian tenors, the paper accordingly seeks to discuss the possibility of extending Foucault's interpretation of the panopticon to the formations of control society in Turkey today.

**KEYWORDS:** Panopticon; control society; Turkish politics; Foucault; power

# The Decadence of Democracy in Times of Digitalization: On Cambridge Analytica

Olcay Emre Erdoğdu, Hacettepe University

One of the most certain characteristics of democratic participation has been the assumption that citizens will be voting with their unbiased and unmanipulated opinions. Since the underlying competency of incident involvement in public affairs through democratic elections entails freedom of choice, recent developments in technology and their applications to electoral processes have raised concerns about the means for effectuating democratic institutions and practices. The case of Cambridge Analytica has become the most known and widespread scandal that raised the question of intervention in and manipulation of decision-making processes.

By focussing on some of the critical debates in theories of democracy and contemporary political philosophy, this paper discusses the effects of global digitalization on democratic processes. Following a line of discussions from Snowden and Assange cases to the recent Cambridge Analytica affair, this study discusses the transforming context of the relation between power and decision today. The paper accordingly examines Bernard Stiegler's reading of the "decadence of industrial democracies" as an outcome of the current technological transformation of the institutional framework of democracies and their shifting practical experiences.

KEYWORDS: Democracy; power; digitalization; Cambridge Analytica

Panel : Comparative Perspectives on State and Power

Session : S06-Area Studies

Chair : Andrea Botto, Finis Terrae University

July 18 2018, Wednesday

09:30 -11:00

### Foes or Allies?: Russians and the Kurds in World War I

Metin Yüksel, Hacettepe University

This paper sheds light on two interesting Kurdish-language records on the Russian expansion in the Ottoman Empire during World War I. A Kurdish mullah known as Mullah Said, who was one of the native informants of the renowned Russian Orientalist Basil Nikitine, penned a declaration during the Russian incursion in the region. Entitled "A Friendly Advice for the Whole Kurdish Nation", this address recommends the Kurds to ally with the Russians against the Ottoman Empire. The second fascinating source is an orally transmitted poem performed by the famous oral poet called Dengbêj Şakıro (1936-1996). The piece known as the "War of Bulanık" is presumably a piece lamenting the martyrdom of a tribal chief by the name of Said against the Russians in present-day district of Bulanık in eastern Turkey. Through his impressive performance, Şakıro narrates Said's epic battle with the "infidels from Moscow" (kafirê Moskof).

By bringing together these two opposing interpretations by an oral poet and a mullah, this study mainly highlights two points. First and foremost, these two oral and written historical records convincingly reflect the political and cultural agency as well as authority of both oral poets and madrasa-educated mullahs in their own society. Secondly, these two primary sources strikingly demonstrate the ways in which the very same Islamic set of references can be used for two entirely contrasting perspectives on a past (as in the case of Şakıro's later oral account) and present (as in the case of Mullah Said's address) political conflict.

KEYWORDS: Russia; Ottoman Empire; Kurds; World War I; Dengbêj Şakıro; Mullah Said

# New World's Early Encounters with the Middle East: A Brief History of the Ottoman-American Relations in the 19th Century

Murat Önsoy, Hacettepe University

This presentation is a brief summary of political, economic, military and social relations between the Ottoman Empire and the USA from the beginning of the relations in the early 19th century until the demise of the former. Trade was the key to the development of early relations between the USA and the Ottoman Empire. From the colonial days onward, the US economy was heavily dependent on international free trade. After the independence from the British Empire, it was left deprived of all the overseas trade networks and the British king provided protection. Facing with the threat of sinking into an economic depression, Americans started a rapid overseas expansion. Merchant ships set sail for the ports in the Mediterranean sea. They soon reached the eastern Mediterranean ports, which hosted very lucrative trade opportunities. At the time it was home to the Ottoman Empire, which was, despite its declining power, one of the most influential maritime actor in the region. Despite the lucrative trade relations between the US merchants and the Ottomans, diplomatic relations between the two states could not start before 1831 (almost 40 years after the first encounters of the American merchants and the Ottomans). The reasons behind the belated start of the relations is also discussed in this presentation.

American missionary activities in the Ottoman domain was also another important aspect of the relations between the Ottomans and the Americans in the 19th century. There had been an uneasy relationship between the Sublime Porte and the American missionaries who arrived in the Empire as early as the 1820s. Establishing several institutions including churches, schools, hospitals and orphanages, American missionaries met with strong opposition from both the government and society. Starting with the late 19th century, more serious problems arose between the Ottoman authorities and the missionaries as the latter positioned themselves on the side of the Armenians who were in a constant state of insurrection against the State authority.

KEYWORDS: USA; Ottoman Empire; 19th century; diplomacy; missionaries

Panel : Comparative Perspectives on State and Power

Session: S06-Area Studies

Chair : Andrea Botto, Finis Terrae University

July 18 2018, Wednesday

**(**) 09:30 -11:00

# Existential Southern Cone: The Reception of French Existentialism in Chile and Argentina (1945-1956)

Patricio Arrigada, Finis Terrae University

French Existentialism (the Sartrian guise) was one of the most important intellectual movements of the early years of post-war culture in the Western world. One of the keys of this success was how existentialism managed to disseminate its ideas simultaneously at the levels of both popular and elite cultures, articulating in an acute form the philosophical mood and fashion of those years, reflecting ideas, authors and linguistic habits that we would not normally assemble. This historical atmosphere could be perceived in almost all cultural capitals of the Western world, transcending regional and local cultural boundaries and generating a fully connected and even symbiotic existentialist ethos.

This presentation exposes and explains the channels, actors and intellectual fields that animated a particular form of existentialist reception in Chile and Argentina that conformed a truly "cultural capital" in this region. By putting emphasis on the comprehension of the circumstances and means that made possible that kind of reception, the object of the study is not French Existentialism itself, nor its temporal or physical extension, but the intellectual structure of the "existentialist" regional field. This is why this study is not just another case in the intellectual history or in the history of ideas of each of these countries. In fact, it is an opportunity to learn about the relation between these intellectual and cultural fields and their counterparts in Europe or the United States; the way existentialist ideas traveled and moved from one place to another; how they were resisted and fought back in many cases; and how each intellectual field assimilated the existentialist ideas forging their own type of existentialism. To achieve these objectives, we have chosen to work following what is known in intellectual history as "the problem of reception", while considering as primary sources the cultural magazines of the time.

KEYWORDS: French Existentialism; reception theory; Latin-American cultural magazines; intellectual history; Peronism

# The American Immigration Debate: An Evaluation of Trump Administration's "Zero Tolerance" Policy

Merve Özman Kaya, Hacettepe University

One of the most controversial campaign issues of Donald Trump was border security and illegal immigration to the U.S. His hallmark promise was to build a wall on the U.S. Mexico border, on which there is still an ongoing political debate. As a result of his notorious travel ban on seven largely-Muslim countries, Trump received immense criticism and was challenged by the Supreme Court. His attempt to terminate the DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) program, which has allowed nearly 800.000 immigrants to work and go to school in the U.S., was also blocked by court ruling in January 2018, yet still has not completely been given up on by the administration. None of these decisions and attempts, however, has caused as much reaction as the forced separation of migrant children and parents at the U.S.-Mexico border, which was based on Trump administration's recently announced "zero tolerance" policy that attempt to stop illegal immigration. As a result of the executive order dated May 7th 2018, more than 2000 children of illegal immigrants, some less than four years old, are to be held in shelters managed by the Department of Health and Human services as their parents would be jailed awaiting their hearing. The forced separation has led to a humanitarian and political crisis in the U.S. Reactions from America and the world came soon. Marches have taken place; people have been using the social media to express their criticism. With his latest executive order issued on June 20th 2018, Trump retreats on separating families, still sticking to the promise of very strong borders. For many Americans the correction does not fix the crisis, since the order does not address those children who have already been separated from their families. This paper evaluates the recent immigration crisis, taking into consideration the importance of family in American culture as well as politics and the idea of the U.S. as a "nation of immigrants."

KEYWORDS: Immigration; illegal immigration; American family; zero tolerance policiy; Trump Administration

Panel : Radio, Television and Digital Reticulation

Session: S22-Media Studies

Chair : Burcu Şimşek, Hacettepe University

July 18 2018, Wednesday

**(**) 09:30 -11:00

## Television and Trending Topics: The Rise and Fall of the Turkish TV Series in Chile

Rommel Piña, Finis Terrae University

The first Turkish soap opera was broadcast in Chile in 2014. "One and thousand nights" —a classic story for anyone who had a basic bibliography in their home—had an outstanding reception by the viewers on TV and digital level. If the earthquake in Chile in 2010 created an explosion of social networks as media, the adventures of Onur and Sherezade generated that Sila or Fatmagül were transformed into a full success until today, crossing national borders, installing hashtags, Twitter accounts and daily trending topics, which consolidated Turkish series as a big success. On January 5, 2015, #Lasmilyunanoches (the Spanish translation for "One and thousand nights") was during 19 hours a national trending topic on Twitter. Three years later, #SeñoraFazilet (the Spanish translation for "Mrs. Fazilet") continued to stay in digital conversations for seven hours a day and that TV series continued as a strong national trending topic.

This presentation explains why the Turkish soap opera category is functional for Chilean people and why they have a good reception and understanding from the Chilean public. Even now the TVN (the National Public Television in Chile) decided to adapt "Babam ve Ailesi" to the Chilean approach, with the name "Father of a Family". According to television executives, the reason is that Turkish stories are similar to the Chilean reality. However, actually, these series contain the same narrative and cultural representation that the melodramatic threads of the Chilean's television series of the 1980s and 1990s had. Maybe the stories and stereotypes have not changed, just the formats. Perhaps there is no longer the initial fervor and the viewer does not have "Kozen" as a first choice to follow. Yet many people still believe that the story of a mother who used her daughter to escape poverty is a cultural product worthy of attention and a fiction that generates empathy with their reality. Why? Maybe, finally, the realities of Turkey and Chile are not as far as we thought.

KEYWORDS: Turkish soap opera; Chilean television; digital media; Twitter; trending topic

# Representation of Competition as the Reproduction of Short-termism: The Case of "Yemekteyiz" [We are at Dinner]

Doğanay Altıparmak, Hacettepe University

One of the most discussed functions of the concept of "culture industry" introduced by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno has entailed the corpus of boosting consumption via technical means of marketing. Horkheimer and Adorno's classical reading is still timely in many respects. However, it is also possible to argue that by imposing almost chronic mass consumption, the gist of capitalism today depends on steering libidinal energy towards objects of desire through new tele-technical medians.

Marketing can be identified not only as an act of exchange in a market but also as a technic that sustains this very process to the exclusion of equilibrium between technical system and social system. It is in this sense that new operational ways have emerged to adjust the level of demand to the ever-growing concentration of supply.

This paper focuses on the changes in the social system by considering viral and mediatic aspects of popular culture today. By focusing on some of the critical characteristics of reality TV shows in Turkey which reflect the most direct signs and motivations of popular culture, this study aims to meet a theoretical account drawn upon Bernard Stiegler's reading of hyper-industrial capitalism with its practical implications. By explicitly analysing one of the most popular reality TV shows in Turkey, "Yemekteyiz [We are at Dinner]," this paper aims to interpret the crisis of libidinal economy through current aspects of short-termism and systemic disaffection in Turkish society.

**KEYWORDS:** Libidinal energy; mass consumption; short-termism; technical milieu; Yemekteyiz

Panel: Radio, Television and Digital Reticulation

Session: S22-Media Studies

Chair : Burcu Şimşek, Hacettepe University

July 18 2018, Wednesday

**(**) 09:30 -11:00

# Validity and Impact of Radio in Countries with Difficult Connectivity and Natural Catastrophes: The Case of Chile

Marcela Soto Ortega, Finis Terrae University

The first official radio broadcast in Chile occurred on August 19, 1922. For almost 100 years, radio keeps an unusual force of broadcasting in a country whose geographical characteristics required a strong system of communication to connect the entire territory. Since then, after surviving the technology updates, Radio has a unique place in Chilean homes.

The earthquake and tsunami of February 2010 recalled its infallible role as an effective media in situations of catastrophes and the Internet has managed to strengthen its coverage through online transmission, podcasts and electronic newspapers that day by day maintain informative itineraries for citizens.

The 21st century places Chile as one of the countries with the greatest radio coverage. In relation to its geographical size and number of inhabitants, a total of 2,103 radio concessions are delivered by the telecommunications undersecretary. And along with its coverage, the confidence that audiences have in it, places radio as the most credible and reliable media among Chileans with 45.8 percent of preferences, above other public and private institutions and other means of communication.

These attributes, added to its stability in terms of audiences, advertising investment and citizen valuation, made the obligation on main economic groups and Chilean and foreign newspaper conglomerates to "enter to the dial", generating concern for issues such as the concentration of media and the polarization of those.

**KEYWORDS:** Radio; media; natural; catastrophes; credibility; economic groups

# Mass Media, Digital Social Networks & Political Intervention: Connections Between the Last Presidential Elections in Colombia and the USA

Rene Campis, The University of Atlántico

The development of digital networks and the concentration of media conglomerates in the hands of a handful of owners have been accentuated ever since the 1990s. More recently, the world has witnessed new forms of influencing public opinion within the domain of elections all over the world: the election of Donald Trump, Brexit, the comeback of Berlusconi in Italy and the plebiscite on the peace treaty between the FARC and the Colombian government are just a few examples of an emerging pattern. To express that there seems to be a pattern of deliberate promotion of radical conservative views and regimes by management of news and information that borders criminality –and sometimes blatantly reaches that stage– would have been considered as mere conspiracy theories if it were not for the filtered information on scandals such as Cambridge Analytica's role in the presidential election of the USA and similar cases.

The aim of this paper is to explore different sources that connect the outcomes of the last presidential elections in the USA and Colombia in an attempt to establish a connection between the two cases. Given that former Cambridge Analytica's director Brittany Kaiser admitted contact with at least three presidential campaigns in Colombia (though not having admitted an effective work) and the previous relationship of former Colombian president Alvaro Uribe with Rupert Murdoch and News Corp, it might be reasonable to posit the existence of a hidden agenda to promote the interests of big media owners that also attempts to undermine the credibility in news companies regarded as balanced. A reference to the commercial confrontation between Mark Zuckerberg and Murdoch is also considered.

KEYWORDS: Political intervention; Colombia; USA; Cambridge Analytica; Rupert Murdoch

Panel : Refugee Crisis: Legal and Social Dimensions

Session : S14-Refugee and Migration Studies

Chair : Aslı Değirmenci, Hacettepe University

July 18 2018, Wednesday

**(**) 09:30 -11:00

# Migration Crisis in Colombia: The Need to Create a Public Policy Focused on the Protection of Basic Human Rights

Cecilia Giovannetti, The University of Atlántico

Migration flaws have been constant in Latin America, especially between countries with common frontiers. However, Colombia has had a particular situation. Due to its internal armed conflict, which lasted more than 58 years, Colombian people used to cross the borders looking for a better quality of life. According to the United Nations High Committee on Refugees (UNHCR), in 2017, there were 340.000 Colombian refugees around the world, 7.861 of them officially recognized in Venezuela and 173.673 people in similar circumstances but not recognized. For its part, Ecuador welcomed approximately 60.524 Colombian citizens in the same condition.

In 2015, this situation started to change when Venezuela experienced the beginning of the hardest economic and political crisis in its history. Consequently, this crisis affected the entire country, especially the frontier zones. As never experienced before, Venezuelans started to migrate to Colombia with the objective to improve their quality of life. The migration wave has grown progressively reaching the point that "Migración Colombia" (Migration Colombia), which is the state unit handling migration issues, reported more than 203.000 people registered as Venezuelan immigrants in 2018. In this group, there are different categories such as irregular migrants, labour migrants, refugees, asylum-seekers, among others. As result, this situation demands the creation of programs, laws, and institutions to attend this dilemma.

This paper aims to analyse the lack of public policies in Colombia related to migration issues. It attempts to show in which way this deficiency affects the migrants' basic human rights such as education, health, food security and the right to work. This crisis is enforcing the challenging conditions in this country that is immersed in a transitional process to peace, after more than 5 decades of civil war.

**KEYWORDS:** Public policy; irregular migration; Colombia; Venezuela; refugee rights

## **Refugee Crisis and the Legal Response**

Muath Al-Zoubi, The University of Jordan

My article examines the question of to what extent legal instruments could play a significant role in addressing the refugee crisis by shedding light on how the law is and how the law should be in order to deal with the refugee crisis effectively. It is important to note that the legal aspect of the refugee crisis should be emphasized as one of main aspects regarding the refugee crisis. Therefore, solutions could be found and suggestion could be made. It is noteworthy that it is essential to identify refugees as victims rather than criminals. A point to note, however, is that focusing on the obstacles more than solutions might result in hindering tackling the refugee crisis. Indeed, the true scale of the refugee crisis should be highlighted without maximization or minimization of such a scale.

Interestingly, refugees under their vulnerable status might be in a situation which is considered illegal. Therefore, a number of questions could arise. Firstly, to what extent does such a vulnerable status refrain them from being subjected to criminal responsibility? Secondly, do refugees get any special treatment regarding the legal procedures and the punishments that could be imposed as a result of their vulnerable status. Thirdly, should mitigating circumstances be applied to refugees when they commit crimes because of their vulnerable status or should aggravating circumstances be applied to refugees when they commit crimes as they betray the trust given to them and because they breach the state's sovereignty? Fourthly, what criminal jurisdiction type is applicable when a refugee commits a crime: would it be the ratione loci, therefore, the laws in the hosting country of refugees will be applied or would it be the ratione personae therefore, the laws in the origin country of refugees will be applied?

KEYWORDS: Refugees; refugee crisis; the legal response; the applicable law; criminal responsibility

Panel : Refugee Crisis: Legal and Social Dimensions

Session : S14-Refugee and Migration Studies

Chair : Aslı Değirmenci, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 18 2018, Wednesday

**(**) 09:30 -11:00

## **Internal Migration in Jordan**

Nazeeh Almanasyeh, The University of Jordan

The aim of this study is to reveal and analyze the size and trends of internal migration in Jordan. The methods of analysis rely on available data on the place of birth and the place of current residence as well as data on place of current and previous residence, and data available from censuses and surveys conducted by the Department of Statistics (1994 Census, 2004 Census, 2003 Multi-purpose Household Survey). The 2004 census tract results are used in this study. In this study, 'internal migration' refers to the migration of people who change their place of birth, and relocate and reside in different areas. A form of the gravity model was applied to show the expected numbers of migrants compared to the real numbers of migrants. The findings of the study show that there is significant internal migration in Jordan among governorates, with the proportions of migration to total numbers of population in governorates and regions, varying across these different areas. The central region in Jordan continued to receive migrants from different areas, while the southern region in Jordan continued to move migrants to different areas.

KEYWORDS: Internal migration; size and trends; Jordan

# Social Determinants of Health among Syrian Refugees Residing Inside and Outside Camps in Jordan

Hamza Alduraidi, The University of Jordan

Social Determinants of Health (SDHs), such as age, gender, income, and educational level, are considered important indicators of health characteristics and outcomes of individuals, families and communities, regardless of the ethnic, racial or socio-economic backgrounds. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan has received waves of refugees and asylum seekers throughout its relatively-short history. The latest wave of refugees and displaced persons who fled to Jordan is that of several hundreds of thousands of Syrians who fled the devastating and life-threatening consequences of the Syrian crisis since 2011. These Syrian refugees currently reside either inside designated refugee camps, or outside camps among the host Jordanian urban communities.

This research project aims to investigate the association between adult Syrian refugees' health characteristics and health outcomes, and the socio-demographic characteristics of these refugees. It also aims to assess for correlation between living in a camp and the consequent health outcomes. Ultimately, this research project aims to explore SDHs of Syrian refugees inside and outside camps in Jordan. This is a descriptive, comparative cross-sectional research study, where data is collected from two samples of adult Syrian refugees in Jordan; one inside camps, and the other within Jordan's urban communities outside camps. Health characteristics and outcomes will then be found for each sample and compared between the two samples in order to find statistically significant SDHs inside and outside camps.

KEYWORDS: Syrian refugees; health; Jordan; social determinants

Panel : Creativity and Dialogue within Crisis [Interactive Panel III]

July 18 2018, Wednesday

Session: S19-Arts and Politics

Chair : Gözde Doğan, Independent

11:20-12:30

## **Heads Up On Myths**

Deniz Atlı, Bilkent University

A performance that questions what it means to belong to a culture, an ethnicity or a nationality; which are defined within specific borders. How many generations of your family members can you define? Have you ever been curious about your inexplicit relatives? How many civilizations have crossed from the lands of your country until now?

This performance also experiments an approach that combines movement and architectural languages in order to connect with the audience. The main topic of the performance initiated from the wisdom words of Rumi/Mevlana: "First, I learned to think. Then, I learned to think the way they told me. And then, I learned that the healthy thinking is to think out of borders."

KEYWORDS: Mevlana; borders; culture; movement; language

# Latin American International Dubbing: A Space to Embody Another

María Carolina Araya Bravo, Finis Terrae University

The importance of installing Voice Studies within the Chilean academy and the contemporary theatrical discipline is fundamental. Therefore the presentation installs Latin American international dubbing as an active strategy to establish voice knowledge.

As a dubbing or voice over actress, the work and vocal experimentation refers to the figure of the practicioner who develops the job understood as embodied practice and embodied research.

The interactive invitation is to embody another, from a detailed observation and activating the playful ability to enable vocal freedom.

KEYWORDS: Dubbing; voice studies; practicioner; embodied practice; embodied research

# **Crisis as a Hopeful Effort**

Bilge Taş, Independent

There is a consistent feeling of lack of something when the system is put forward compared to life or is incompetent to describe it, when the descriptions and recipes are not enough, when the experience of the past times do not cross over with these times. People, as a living organism that needs the most nurture, are still in crisis, not knowing what to do with the achievement of all the constantly aging information, while being able to reach all kinds of visual, oral, and written materials. Artists, whose materials and platform are changing every day, are also in crisis due to their efforts of "understanding" and "being understood". Crisis is a hopeful effort to not believe in dead ends.

KEYWORDS: Hope; James Baldwin; arts; storytelling; change

Panel : Comparative Perspectives on Gender and Democracy

Session : S07-Comparative Politics and Governance

Chair : Amal El Kharouf, The University of Jordan

July 18 2018, Wednesday

13:30-15:00

## Vernacularization of Women's Rights in Turkey: Policies, Strategies, Alignments

Berrin Koyuncu-Lorasdağı, Hacettepe University & Aylin Özman, TED University

The literature on state-civil society organizations (CSO) relationship in authoritarian contexts reveal a much complex understanding of state-CSO interface as compared to the Toquevillian understanding which has for long been one of the major references for reading such relationship in democratic settings. Rather than emphasizing the autonomous position of the civil society as a resistance sphere towards hegemonic politics/discourses, they highlight a much complex understanding of state-CSO relationship. The ideological and strategic tools employed by the states are decisive in highlighting the complex/multi-layered dynamics of interface. In this paper, we aim to explicate the shift in the the relationship between the state and women's rights organizations (WRO) in Turkey within the conservative-authoritarian political context of the post-2011 period with a view to the process of vernacularization —local adaptation of global norms— of women's rights. We contend that though the state/AKP government formally supported the women's rights packages articulated by international conventions and organizations and enforced their implementation, there appears to be a gap between the government's gender policy preferences and the codes/opportunities based on universal norms of gender equality. This perplexing situation led us to ask: How is the vernacularization of transnational gender policy norms reflected on the state-WRO relations in a conservative-authoritarian context?

KEYWORDS: Women's rights; vernacularization; Turkey; women's rights organizations

#### **Post Truth Politics and Democratic Crisis: An Indian Case**

Vikas Jambhulkar, Rashtrasant Tukadoji Maharaj Nagpur University

Since the US election in which Trump was elected and the election for Brexit, the term post truth had come into usage to the extent that the Oxford Dictionary had termed it as the word of the year in 2016. It denotes the circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotions and personal beliefs. Reactions to both these elections were to the extent that the political process was termed characteristically as ugly populism, nativism, threat to rationality, liberal autocracy, suspicion of science; there are only interpretations arguments, construction of legitimate myths, grievance analogy, etc. The phenomena pose a challenge to political theory in terms of its explanatory categories. The definitive change in the material circumstances with the proliferation of information technology, the social media, market globalization and the use and misuse of big data for commerce has collapsed the spatial spaces of political discourse and is influencing the electorate with enormous speed and impact. Expressed as the age of full-blown digitally powered global relativism —a post knowledge era. While a large chunk of the focus has come upon the US and the Brexit elections, there was a certain miss on the Indian general elections and the political process during 2014 in which the right-wing party came to power riding upon the digital campaign and subsequently indulging into populist politics, of nationalisms-both political and economic as well as military, indulging into right-wing populist Hindutva politics and exploiting possibly all the fissures that are existing in the Indian society for their political advantage at the cost of individual freedoms and public welfare. The instruments of fake news, half-truths, unverified statements, and mass propaganda has been used effectively to the political ends.

The paper thus explores the phenomena that have shaped Indian Electoral Politics since 2014 and tries to explain the post truth politics, which have taken centre stage in India and its implications for political theory and democracy. The study argues that post truth politics in India and elsewhere is a threat to democracy and therefore the understanding of this phenomenon is an emergent project both for theory and knowledge politics.

KEYWORDS: Post truth; democracy; electoral politics; Brexit

Panel : Comparative Perspectives on Gender and Democracy

Session : S07-Comparative Politics and Governance

Chair : Amal El Kharouf, The University of Jordan

July 18 2018, Wednesday

**(**) 13:30-15:00

## Party Alliance in Taiwan and Its Impact on Cross-Strait Relations

Tsu-Ching Hu, Tunghai University

During the past two decades, the cross-strait relations had its ups and downs. One variable behind the improvement and downgrading was the shifting party alliance within Taiwan. Like France, Taiwan has a polarized party system. The blue camp is inclined to respect the so-called "ninety-two consensus", a modus vivendi reached between Taiwan and China in 1992. On the contrary, the green camp is more assertive of its Taiwanese identity. In the past, some believe that the cross-strait relations would be most likely improved when the blue camp is in power.

This study challenges this hypothesis from the following perspective. Once the major party of each camp takes power from the opposite side, it would move closer to the center. On the one hand, it would like to broaden its electoral basis to maintain the lead within its own camp. On the other hand, it would like to get and hold its majority party status, sometimes by collaboration with the junior partner of the opposite camp. This is what happened to the cross-relations during the first and the third party alternation in Taiwan. In 2005, the PFP party from the blue camp induced the ruling DPP party to improve the cross-strait relations on the basis of ten-point consensus. In 2016 and 2017, President Tsai asked the PFP party's Chairman to participate in the APEC summit meeting, and to demonstrate her good will toward China. If the hypothesis of this paper could be verified, there is no reason to be overly pessimistic about the future of the cross-strait relations.

**KEYWORDS:** Cross-strait relations; polarized party system; party alliance; major party; party alternation

# The Crisis of Representation in Southern Europe: Turkey and Spain in Comparative Perspective

Şebnem Yardımcı, Hacettepe University

The contemporary wave of protests and occupy-style mobilisations has been very influential in many parts of the world. Long before the occupation of public spaces in Madrid, Athens and Istanbul, several studies had already demonstrated that a certain level of distrust in relation to the principles of representative democracy had been a prevalent undercurrent among citizens and political elites alike. However, only a small number of these studies have predicted that popular disaffection with parties and elections would lead to anti-system, popular mobilisations in several parts of the world. Essentially, as the major slogan of the protests, "They don't represent us", ably demonstrates, this research contends that one of the central factors behind these mass protests has been the crisis of representation resulting not only from the lack of voter-party congruence, but also from the failure of political parties to meet the demands of responsiveness and responsibility – the core requisite of the party government model.

Using comparative method of "most different systems" design, this paper analyses two different cases of popular movements in Turkey (the Gezi Park protests) and Spain (the 15M movement) that received extensive support from different segments of society in both countries. Although the outcome has been the same, different types of crisis of representation have brought about these movements. The argument is that a crisis of representation occurs when (1) certain segments of society feel unrepresented and lose their trust in political parties' ability to represent their interests and when (2) they do not believe that their representatives are acting responsively and responsibly at the same time. The contention herein is that this is what happened in both cases under examination, albeit with different manifestations.

KEYWORDS: Representation; party politics; protest movements

Panel: History, Culture, and Politics

Session: S06-Area Studies

Chair : Luis Lira Camposano, Finis Terrae University

July 18 2018, Wednesday

13:30-15:00

## Turkish and Moorish Representations in Water Pageantry of the English Renaissance

Najib Bounahai, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University

In the English Renaissance, spectacle proved to be a viable medium to endorse, contest, or negotiate England's diplomatic, trade and military relations with foreign identities; namely Turks and Moors. This paper explores the ways in which the resort to the artifice of water jousts or mock naval battles was symptomatic of England's impotence and frantic maneuvering in the face of piracy and its direct impact on foreign trade and diplomacy relations. Such mass spectacles, which pitted Muslims against Christians, constituted a self-conscious attempt from institutionalized bargains to appeals to the mass public. As mass spectacles, water jousts were meant to re-enact the material reality of piracy and subject it to the laws of simulacrum and performance.

**KEYWORDS:** Moors; Turks; Christians; pracy; simulacrum; performance; trade

### **Moorish Ambassador to Turkey in the Late 16th Century**

Mustapha Qadery, Mohammed VI Polytechnic University

After the battle of wad almkhazin (or the tree kings battles) on 1578, the Moroccan and Turkish relations had known a new step in the cooperation. That is what we can understand from the number of the embassies exchanged between the two rulers of the Empires. One of the Moroccan Ambassadors, Tamgrouti, wrote a diary of his journey from Fes to Istanbul in 1890, and of course, as a diplomat he did not give us what was the mission to Turkey, but his description is an excellent "ethnography" of the harbors he visited and his stay in Istanbul for more than 8 months. This communication will try to deal with this mysterious mission, regarding the context of that time: the arrival of the Europeans to the West African coasts and the question of Saharan commerce with the Mediterranean Sea.

KEYWORDS: Moraccon and Turkish relations; Moraccon Ambassadors; İstanbul; embassies; history

# Image of a Nation in Two Extremes: An Analysis of the Different Perceptions of the US in Turkey

Zeynep Merve Şıvgın, Hacı Bayram Veli University

The perceptions of the world about the United States of America are generally in two polar opposites. For some, it is the sole superpower of the world, the land of freedom and opportunities offering the most envied way of life in the planet fascinating with the iconic images of White House, Oval Office, Times Square, Statue of Liberty and the Hollywood sign. For others, it is an imperialist monster with an uncontrollable appetite for war and occupation, the exporter of vulgar consumption culture and the land of extreme income inequalities with startling images of the torture in the Abu Gharib prison and homeless people on the streets of the US cities. The picture is not different in Turkey. There are the two sides of the coin: admirers as well as haters both of which have similar images with rest of the world. The dual images of much-admired country of dreams and the land of the devil go hand in hand. These two different perceptions of the Americans are engraved in the minds of the Turkish people over many decades. The projection of a strong American image in the Cold War years is beyond doubt the most important reason for a favorable Turkish public opinion toward the US. The end of World War II is the year zero of the Turkish-American alliance; therefore the actual image building years begins with the Cold War. Since then the image of the US in the minds of the Turkish people has gone through several transfromations depending on the status of the interstate relations between Turkey and the US. The image of a friendly Cold War ally has left its place to an unreliable actor in the post-Cold War years. The major aim of this study is to develop a comprehensive historical perspective on the American image in the Turkish public opinion based on an analysis of the Turkish media.

KEYWORDS: American image; Turkish public opinion; foreign policy; media; popular culture

Panel : Crisis Through Films and Narratives

Session: S18-Film Studies

Chair : Mohammed Al-Abbas, The University of Jordan

July 18 2018, Wednesday

**(**) 13:30-15:00

### **Paradise or Hell of Suicide Attacks?**

Areej Alouzi & Akram Odeh, The University of Jordan

Since the production of the first Palestinian documentary in 1935, Palestinian cinema has evolved considerably. It is no longer a modest art proper to a national entity. It has become a rich international industry dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict. Filmmakers such as the Egyptian T. Saleh, the American S. Spielberg, and the Israeli E. Riklis have led actors of different nationalities to make films about the Palestinian cause.

The choice to examine Paradise Now could be justified by its political messages, the exceptional conditions of its shooting, and the polemical criticism of its reception. Nevertheless, this would not be relevant because any work concerning the Palestinian question is in essence a politicizing work and its reception is by necessity problematic since it involves an irreconcilable conflicting opinion. Moreover, the choice of the film would be justified because, first, it is a story about death, a theme appealing to the seventh art since its inception. Second, it is not about any death but about voluntary death leading to the annihilation of oneself and other targeted people: the suicide attack. Then, this film presents with realism the difficulties and anxieties of Palestinian society under occupation and the way it lives and carries out martyrdom operations.

The launching of Paradise Now is rewarded with broad appreciation and applauds as it breaks the long cinematographic silence regarding the presentation of suicide attacks in cinema. The director pointed out that the message behind the film is understanding "human bombs" without justifying the action itself. However, the film persists as a problematic production and continues to generate controversial feedback. On the one hand, for some Israelis Paradise Now forefronts and humanizes the kamikazes while neglecting the victims. On the other hand, some frustrated Palestinian voices.

KEYWORDS: Paradise Now; suicide attacks; political fiction; Palestine; Israel

# A Critical Review of Geopolitics in Post-Soviet Russian WWII Blockbusters

Oğuzhan Mutluer, Eskişehir Osmangazi University

The main aim of critical geopolitics is understanding and exposing the construction of geopolitical spatial representations. These representations are usually constructed by security elites and intellectuals who create particular scripts about places, people and issues which determine the basis of the politics that would be conducted in the international system. At this point, one can assume that geopolitical discourse becomes the primary field where the meaning is constructed. However, generating constructions is not limited to oral or written discourse, as the visual media became a prominent field of political analysis recently. In this respect, a group of contemporary Russian blockbusters that focus on the World War II will be evaluated to understand the Russian geopolitical imagination concerning the Post-Soviet geography. These films are the products of patriotic film policy that has been initiated in the late 1990s and it is assumed that they can represent the spatial construction of political authority upon the contested post-Soviet space.

KEYWORDS: Critical geopolitics; Russian cinema; patriotism; World War II; Russian politics

Panel : Crisis Through Films and Narratives

Session: S18-Film Studies

Chair : Mohammed Al-Abbas, The University of Jordan

July 18 2018, Wednesday

13:30-15:00

# Genocide and Survival: Viewing the Pol Pot Regime in Cambodia Through Survivors' Narratives

Ayşe Bozkurt, Hacettepe University

The name "Khmer Rouge" is a French phrase that means "Red Khmers" in English. Khmers are the largest ethnic group in Cambodia and Khmer Rouge was used to describe the Communist Party in Cambodia. It was mobilized and led by the French-educated Pol Pot (1925?-1998). In 1975, the Khmers took the complete control of Cambodia with a huge support of people. Yet harsh times began from this point on. Until 1979, Khmer Rouge killed one quarter of the population, i.e. approximately 2 million people. Pol Pot's primary goal was to create an ethnically pure, agrarian and peasant society. Thus, Khmer Rouge forcibly emptied the cities to relocate urban people into rural areas. Pol Pot abolished money, education, religion, foreign language and property.

During his rule, Pol Pot pointed to "internal" and "external enemies". External enemies were foreign enemies like Vietnam and identifying them was rather easy. Whereas "identifying internal enemies was hard," he said. In order to suppress internal enemies, security centres were established to imprison, interrogate, torture and execute these enemies as well as their families. Central Level Security Centre or S-21 was the highest and the most brutal security center of the regime. Those brought to S-21 were accused of crimes against the Pol Pot regime. Interrogators forced prisoners to confess and admit to being the agents of the KGB and CIA, despite the fact that they had never heard of the KGB or CIA in their lives. A total of 14 thousand people had been jailed in S-21 and only 7 of them survived. Chum Mey and Bou Meng are two of those survivors whose memoirs shed light on the periods before and after the regime, as well as the genocide in Cambodia. In this paper, I focus on genocide and survival in Cambodia under the Pol Pot regime with a particular focus on the memoirs of Chum Mey and Bou Meng.

KEYWORDS: Cambodia; the Pol Pot regime; genocide; survivors; memoirs

# Examining Haneke's 'Der Siebte Kontinent' in the Context of Anxiety and Authoritarianism

Zeynep Süküt, Hacettepe University

The movie from Austrian director Michael Haneke's "Der Siebte Kontinent" [The Seventh Continent], mainly stresses the issue of experiencing authority, governmentality, and the anguish of the postmodern mechanical void through which the individual suffers drastically. By providing a general analysis of Haneke's works, this paper goes into a discussion of the effects of the permeative neo-liberal capitalist relations in the daily routines.

The paper accordingly traces the characteristics of creating a sort of banality which lead to the isolated and estranged feeling of the alienated individual today. It designates the core of such disposition as a triggered orientation which is revealed by the system in the context of authoritarianism and symbiotic relatedness. Subsequently, the paper argues that how such an experience of the void turns into a radical wish of ending one's own life by committing suicide. The expressed idea is the atomized and mechanical individual's confrontation with the end like a celebration, a feast and the continuity of the consistency about the decision of suicide. The paper analyzes the aspects of anxiety which indicates the disappointing formation of the impossibility of altering from the contemporary regimes of order. Following Erich Fromm's conceptualizations of the notions of futility, automation conformity, anonymous authority, and anxiety, this paper interprets the crisis of modern individual through automatization and routinization of life.

KEYWORDS: Haneke; modernity; individual; banality; authority

#### **OPEN-SPACE SESSION - GARDEN**

Panel : Creativity and Dialogue within Crisis [Interactive Panel IV]

Session : S19-Arts and Politics

Chair : Gözde Doğan, Independent

### **Measure of Balance**

Sebastián Mahaluf, Finis Terrae University

Geometry is the main object of research in my artistic production. This research is divided into two lines of work: the first one refers to the analysis of shapes in order to highlight specific features of the exhibition space. The second one is the study of the body, understood as a performance tool. In both I am looking to focus my work on simple —or pure—geometry, to demonstrate the ephemeral objectivity of artistic production in the experience.

Through the creation of illusions, I transform the place into the body of the work. The project Measure of Balance is an event that involves the construction of a structure, from the positioning of 150 individuals in a concentric pattern. In it, I will trace with elastics threads a plot that will join the individuals one by one, creating a geometric volumetry across the tension and balance.

The construction of a system through balance, it is established as a machine that necessarily needs each other to exist. It is also placing the bodies as joints for the possible organic movement between component parts. It is an apparent harmony between the reality and the Utopia, between the earthly thing and the pure geometry.

Measure of Balance suggests that: tension is balance and vice versa. It is interesting to carry out this work in this context due to the fact that different cultures and societies are constantly, consciously or unconsciously, facing life in community. All the approached topics are related –in some way– to the interaction between people, from the need to share with the other, until the need to depend on the other.

KEYWORDS: Performance; elastic; construction; balance; collective

July 18 2018, Wednesday

Panel: Identity Crisis in Public Administration: Reflections from Turkey

🛗 July 19 2018, Thursday

Session: S23-Theories of Administration

Chair : Muhittin Acar, Hacettepe University

09:30-11:00

#### **Dichotomies and Dilemmas in Public Administration**

Muhittin Acar, Hacettepe University

The perennial debate about 'identity crisis in public administration' could be described as prolific yet prevaricating in that while it has helped producing many scholarly presentations and publications, it has also sidestepped or digressed from some key issues and questions. The discussions surrounding scientific status of the discipline has been evolved mainly around two questions: the 'what' question (i.e., what to study in and of PA; the focus, or main object(s) or big question(s) of scholarly inquiries in the discipline) and the 'how' question (i.e., how to study PA; dominant methods and measures of knowledge production in the field). Other equally important questions have been either vaguely/veiledly treated or completely avoided. Chief among them are the why question (i.e., why to study PA; the purpose of research), the where question (i.e., the locus of PA), the who question (i.e., who do/should lead the way in the field; the main subjects of the field), and the for whom question (i.e., major recipients or beneficiaries of PA research). The current paper thus aims to discuss dilemmas that such a sin of omission could create for PA community, which in turn contribute to sustaining, if not expanding, of identity crisis in PA.

Secondly and relatedly, the proposed paper argues that the dichotomous thinking so prevalent in the discipline has indeed worsened the identity crisis of PA. It purports to develop an argument along this line by identifying and discussing the following dichotomies, albeit with a varying degree of depth and detail: public-private; politics-administration (or elected-appointed); universal-national (or global-local); fact-value; masculine-feminine; theory-practice; science-profession; leader-manager; generalist-expert; knowing-doing (or knowledge-skill); change-continuity, and competition-collaboration. The paper ends with a brief concluding section, featuring reflections from and implications for PA in Turkey.

KEYWORDS: Public administration; identity crisis; disciplinary dichotomies and dilemmas; Scientific Status of Public Administration; Turkey

# Coupling or Decoupling of Turkish Public Administration in the Face of Universal Identity Crisis of Discipline of Public Administration

Uğur Ömürgönülşen, Hacettepe University

There has been a long and lively debate about the "identity crisis of public administration" in the circles of political science and public administration. Although there is a close link between ideological/economic transformation experienced recently in the public sector and the repudiation of the traditional public administration approach, this repudiation is also an inevitable result of the disarray (i.e. the assumed "identity crisis" or "intellectual crisis") of the discipline of public administration in terms of its scope, subject matter, and research methodology. In other words, diversities and inadequacies in theoretical approaches, research topics and methodologies, research quality, education curricula; and the defensive attitudes of public administration scholars have also facilitated the repudiation of traditional public administration approach and the rise of managerialism as an alternative approach or a new paradigm. Although this is a global debate and transformation, countries, which have different administrative cultures and traditions, have reacted to this global trend somewhat differently. Turkey, which historically followed the Continental Europe's administrative tradition based on state-centered administrative knowledge formed around enlightenment, modernization, capitalism and nation-state, has also been influenced since the end of World War II by American-type public administration, which is a discipline and practice mainly assigned with the issue of technical implementation of political decisions with instrumental rationality of capitalism. Therefore, the Turkish public administration as a discipline and practice could be coupled or decoupled with universal identity crisis of discipline of public administration in different periods of time. However, the coupling of Turkish public administration with their Western counterparts (either Continental European or North American) is getting more obvious with the serious transformation of the field since the early 1980s.

**KEYWORDS:** Public administration; identity crisis; Continental European public administration; American public administration; coupling-decoupling, Turkish public administration

Panel: Identity Crisis in Public Administration: Reflections from Turkey

Session: S23-Theories of Administration

Chair : Muhittin Acar, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 19 2018, Thursday

**(**) 09:30-11:00

## **Impasses of Public Administration Discipline**

Ozan Zengin, Ankara University

The discipline of public administration was established in the USA in the last guarter of the 19th century, being aware of the Continental Europe's administrative tradition but degrading the historical, social and philosophical basis upon which this tradition was based for meeting the needs of North America in a pragmatist way. Continental Europe had produced state-centered administrative knowledge in order to make the state work more efficiently in the context of changing historical conditions through profound transformations such as capitalism, Enlightenment, modernization and nation-state. The basic character of this knowledge produced in a systematic way was its functionality. On the other hand, North America, which is the driving force of the 2nd Industrial Revolution, has created a production organization called by its own name, and has gravitated towards producing factual, universal, technical managerial information outside the "value" field by combining administrative knowledge accumulation with empiricism within the context of positivist science. Thus, a discipline which has been assigned with the implementation of the decisions taken under the field of politics; which has chosen cases of singular organizations/institutions as its research ground instead of a larger social basis; and which has looked for ways to make the staff work more through the labor process has emerged. This discipline is trapped in an instrumental rationality within the framework of micro-scale objectives, and is far from an idea of an "aim" based on struggle for power or class struggle, conflicts of interests, or compromises on the ground of social structure. It tries to validate itself through concepts such as "public", "publicness", "public interest" and "public service" which are not discussed in depth and are ambiguous. This is why the discipline of public administration is doomed to become a secondary field of social sciences as it fails to get rid of managerialism due to a lack of efforts to actualize these concepts. Public policy studies, which have been dominant over the last few decades, have also failed to bring Public Administration discipline to the level of political science, sociology, political economy, and so on. Instead of taking into consideration political debates embracing the social formation, these studies focus on micro-scale issues such as decision-making, strategic planning and programming, identifying relevant segments, implementing decisions, and measuring short-term effects of puzzle pieces of the big picture. Therefore, the symbolic concepts of the public administration discipline need to be considered and discussed within the framework of "publicness".

KEYWORDS: Public administration discipline; USA; Continental Europe; publicness; methodology

# The Question of Identity Crisis in Turkish Public Administration: A Comparative Perspective

Uğur Sadioğlu, Hacettepe University

Significance of public administration (PA) varies depending on the interpretation of state understanding, tradition of law, role of the state within the economy in general, scope of the public services, perception and expectation of the society, civil society, cultural heritage and political preferences. These variables imply politics, sociology, philosophy, economy, law and administration, which are disciplinary sources of PA. Therefore, definition of PA in a country, its functions, scope and extent as well as its roles within the social system may vary. The development and dominance of Anglo-American PA discipline in the 20th century ignored the political aspect, which varies based on the states. Since this perception, which shift between administrative sciences to management axis and placed on the principles of economy is excluded from political, social, cultural and legal sources; "identity crisis" has turned into a black hole in PA.

Having developed after the Second World War and undertaken the mission to modernize administrative system of the developing states centering on the American PA, comparative public administration (CPA) played a supplementary role. Paradigm shifts in the PA discipline are associated with political, administrative and social results, which usually emerge after economic crisis. This linear relationship has indicated new results, which seem to be contradictory in each state, after the financial crisis of 2008. Focusing on the case of Turkey, this study discusses the following questions: How will the results of the structural reforms adopted particularly in recent years shape PA discipline by using CPA concept? How will the content of PA discipline fed by administrative science and management-centric reforms will change? In which direction will "identity crisis" contained in the current PA be evolved? What will be the weight of PA discipline and program on politics, law, economy, management and sociology in the Turkish case? Thus in this study, a speculative discussion is aimed on whether PA will become more nationalized or the dominance of global Anglo-American perspective will continue.

**KEYWORDS:** Public administration; identity crisis; Comparative public administration; Turkey

Panel : Perspectives on Political Ontology: Phenomenology, Rights, and Critique

July 19 2018, Thursday

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Gülce Tarhan Çelebi, Hacettepe University

**(**) 09:30-11:00

## **Maurice Merleau-Ponty: Body, Phenomenology and Politics**

Onur Kartal, Adnan Menderes University

In this paper, I attempt to locate Maurice Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological understanding, which centers around body to a political discussion basis residing on biopolitics. The philosophy of Merleau-Ponty plays a key role for intersecting phenomenology and politics in the 20th century thinking. Merleau-Ponty's significance emanates from his reversal of Husserlian phenomenological intentionality and putting the body and perception as central proponents rather than consciousness. When Merleau-Ponty retained the world not as the subject of thinking but as the subject of living, he put forth the possibility of handling the relationship between life, which has been politicized by biopolitics, and the world in terms of politics.

According to Merleau-Ponty, body is not only the center and base of the world; the I is the body indeed. This argument leads to the conclusion that we come to know the world by the help of our bodies. Thus, what I aim to do in this presentation is to ask how we come to know the political world through our bodies and how politics mediates this consciousness. Depending on the question, I attempt to answer to what extent we perceive the political experience by our bodies, how these perceptions organize the world around us and what sorts of alternatives can this biopolitical reading of phenomenology brings to this organization.

KEYWORDS: Body; perception; World; phenomenology; biopolitics

# Nancy and the Possibility of the Common Existence: Responsibility for the World as a Phenomenological-Ontological Experience

Efe Baştürk, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University

The crisis of our age arises from irresponsibility of singular existence against the world. The techno-dominance that is attached to singular desire has reduced the world to a pure consumption object by removing it from a commonplace. Based on Jean-Luc Nancy's philosophy, this presentation focuses on how the idea of the world can be re-thought as a "common existence". Nancy has reached a new idea about responsibility by claiming that the world is not an inert space brought as the object of the subjectivity. For Nancy, the world is a Mondial space in which the singular form of the existence can be experienced. So, Nancy refers to a phenomenological-ontological existence by mentioning that the world is not an externality for the existence since it is experienced within the being. This is the immanence process in which the being exists with-and-in the world. Nancy therefore argues that the world is a place in which the singular subjects can share the common existence. Immanence existentiality of the world demonstrates that the world cannot be objectified by any metaphysical claim. For Nancy, existentiality of the humanity is related with the notion of Mondial by which the being-a-human can be experienced. Nancy offers a philosophy that handles the relationship between existence and the world in an ethical-political dimension. Understanding the world as an immanence process forms the basis of the philosophy of responsibility. However, the design of the world as an externality invalidates the idea of responsibility against the world. According to Nancy, we, as the living-beings, should not comprehend the crisis by prioritizing our singular beings, but we must approach the crisis with the sense of responsibility because we carry the world inside our being. Responsibility to the world is only possible through phenomenological-ontological experience that prioritizes the being carrying the world.

KEYWORDS: Jun-Luc Nancy; phenomenological-ontology; community; responsibility; World-Mondial

Session

Panel : Perspectives on Political Ontology: Phenomenology, Rights, and Critique

July 19 2018, Thursday

**(**) 09:30-11:00

Chair : Gülce Tarhan Çelebi, Hacettepe University

: S01-Political Theory

## **Marxist Crisis Theory in Autonomist Marxism**

Emre Özcan, Başkent University

Having emerged out of a critical attitude within Italian communism, the autonomist Marxist tradition is based on the fact that the development of the productive forces is determined by the struggles of the working class who are independent of the union and the political parties, which have become the subjects of the classifying of the history of labor under the wage form of labor. Indeed, contrary to Modernist Marxism, Autonomist Marxism solves the dynamics of capitalism by focusing on the antagonistic potentia of labor, the political history of self-affirmation, not on capital and its negation. The politics of labor is intrinsic to the antagonism of classlessness against classifying. Labor's potentia is not to manage by making another power efficient, but is to socialize directly managing its own power and its social autonomy over its own labor brings it out as a destructive force for the builder in the face of the capital. In this whole approach, the working class and the crisis cannot be considered as two separate phenomena. The crisis is not handled independent of the development of class antagonism, and therefore becomes evident in the rhythms of antagonism. The autonomist tradition states that the crises of the capital originate not from the "internal barriers" of capitalist accumulation, but from the "external barriers", thus from the political pressure of the working class; neither there is "inner contradiction" nor "internal contradiction" to capital. It should not be thought that the crisis of the indefatigable point is trapped in a reduction to the point that it is produced only by the working class our focus is on the "political composition of the class" that shapes the class struggles. Without a doubt, it cannot be thought separately from Marxist crisis analysis in the form of decrease tendency of profit rates, overproduction, underconsumption, disproportion related to labor and over-accumulation tendency.

In terms of crisis theories, the fundamental issue is to break away from the approach that capital relations relate to class relations (where capital relation predates class relations), and to lay out the plane in which this relationship exists in and through class relations.

KEYWORDS: Autonomist Marxism; crisis theory; political affirmation of labor

Panel: Memory, Identity, and Literature

Session: S17-Literature and Critique

Chair : Bayram Koca, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

09:30-11:00

## Post-Colonial Theory and an Examination of Minority Memories in Turkey

Eda Bulanık, Hacettepe University

With the process of decolonization from the early 1950s onwards, the dominance of the West over the colonized countries officially came to an end. However, the process proved to be a symbolic one. The West has continued to approach the East in a marginalizing manner and tried to maintain its predominant position. Postcolonial theory critically engages with these ongoing attitudes and their effects. Moreover, the theory is related not only to the countries which gained their independence during the process of decolonization and the people living in these countries, but also to the minority and/or immigrant groups that exist in almost all countries.

One of the most critical perspectives that emerged in postcolonial theory has been autobiography. This situation can be attributed to the postmodern theory as it is related to the increase in the importance of the multitudinous narrative. As Jean-François Lyotard suggests, the importance given to the multitudinous discourse has increased considerably in the post-modern era. Accordingly, there are fundamental changes in many fields from science to literature. The primary aim of this study is to bring a different perspective to the minority memories in the postmodern era. In this context, the study examines distinct memories of the members of ethnic minorities in Turkey. The study finally goes into a discussion of the narrative framework of the book entitled "Azınlık Gençleri Anlatıyor" [Minority Youth are Telling] written by Yahya Koçoğlu to exemplify diverse minority stories and subaltern discourses in Turkey.

KEYWORDS: Postcolonial theory; cultural studies; memory; minority; narrative

# Mediocrity/Sameness as Identity Crisis in Mehmet Eroğlu's Novel Yüz 1981

Esra Karabak, Hacettepe University

Taking Adorno and Horkheimer's concept of "culture industry" as its point of departure, this paper aims to bring a new perspective to the definition of the "individual" that acquired importance as a result of neo-liberalism. Neoliberal capitalism and modernization have pushed the individual to the forefront and thus have created a market in which consumption itself is an object for consumers. The need of the individual to consume is not solely a result of rational decision. Therefore, no longer a subject, the individual has turned to a neo-liberal capitalist object. In this context, this study points out that as a result of the virus-like expansion of capitalism in every domain of life, we need to re-examine the definitions of identity found in political and economic realities.

Mehmet Eroğlu's novel entitled Yüz 1981 is about political, cultural and economic change in Turkey with a focus on the individual. While describing the daily life of the anti-protagonist, Eroğlu throws light on life in Turkey in the wake of the 1980 military coup. The anti-protagonist in the novel is totally indifferent to his surroundings. He views love merely as an object of consumption. He is also scared of getting attached to other people. His short-term relationships with women occupy the center stage of his life. The novel depicts a crowd that is both far from social interactions and subjects to only individual desires. While the 1970s was a period of increased of social movements shaped by violence, the 1980s was characterized by the coming to the fore of the individual. Through an analysis of the novel Yüz 1981, this study investigates the impacts of the newly designed society on the individual in the aftermath of the 1980 military intervention in Turkey.

KEYWORDS: Neoliberalism; capitalism; the 1980 Military Coup in Turkey; identity; Yüz 1981; mediocrity

Panel: Memory, Identity, and Literature

Session: S17-Literature and Critique

Chair : Bayram Koca, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

**(**) 09:30-11:00

## The Alevi and Left-Wing Crisis in Contemporary Turkish Literature

Gözde Dilay Altun, Hacettepe University

Due to the suppression and assimilation policies targeted at the Alevi communities from the Ottoman Empire until the present-day Turkey, they have generally been a dissident community. In this process, the Cemevis have become centers of opposition to the state. The Alevi beliefs are essentially based on the love of God. Because of repression and persecution, they have been obligated to practise their beliefs in secret.

This paper aims to analyze the crisis of the Alevis in Turkey with a particular focus on Ahmet Ümit's novel entitled *Bir Ses Böler Geceyi* [A Voice Splits the Night]. The novel throws light on the Alevi struggle to exist and the conflict they experience both among themselves and in society at large. In this novel, İsmayil is a character grown up with Alevi traditions. He is in search of wisdom. Upon realizing that the people he chooses as guides favor money rather than wisdom in their lives, İsmayil undergoes a crisis, which originates from a conflict between his beliefs on the one hand, and the changing society around him, on the other. The other protagonist who is active in the Turkish left-wing political movement, namely Süha on the other hand, loses his commitment to his political aims as time went by. His crisis is also a result of his comrades' shift from their political ideals towards a belief in the capitalist order. Through the stories of these two protagonists, Ahmet Ümit paints a picture of the ways in which individuals in contemporary Turkey suffer crisis in terms of their identity and ideological attachments.

KEYWORDS: Alevis; left-wing movement; Turkey; Ahmet Ümit; Bir Ses Böler Geceyi

# Crisis of Islamism in Turkey in the 1980s: Reading Mehmet Efe's Novel Mızraksız İlmihal

Yasemin Telli, Hacettepe University

Having been built on a conservative, nationalist and Islamic framework, the National View Movement (Milli Görüş Hareketi), targeted conservatives as its audience and enabled their demands to be voiced in political arena. The military coup in 1980 shaped the way of National View Movement. Being affected by other Islamist movements around the world, plenty of people embraced Islamic struggle after the military coup. The achievements of Islamist movements in the Middle East raised the popularity of political Islam among young generations in Turkey. The ban on wearing headscarf in universities after the 1980 military coup caused strong controversy among young generations and it preoccupied political Islamic movements for a long time.

This study focuses on the evolution of political Islam in Turkey and aims to investigate the crisis it generated through an analysis of the novel titled Mizraksiz İlmihal. A novel penned by the Islamist writer Mehmet Efe, Mizraksiz İlmihal concentrates on the way in which young generations in Turkey related to Islamist movements in the 1980s with a particular attention to the headscarf controversy. The theme centres on a young man and a girl called İrfan and Nurhan. A person, who –in his own words— seeks the truth, İrfan starts to question the stance of political Islam vis-à-vis the masses after meeting Nurhan. Nurhan, on the other hand, starts to feel like being objectivized in the movement and rejects to become a background item for the preaching of Islamist men. The novel seems to convey the following message: the institutions formed by the first-generation of Islamists became the very reason of the corruption, which was previously viewed, to be emanating from modernization and westernization.

KEYWORDS: Islamism; Mızraksız İlmihal; Turkey; 1980s; Muslim youth

Panel: Reflections on Turkey: Europeanization, Secularization and Democratization

July 19 2018, Thursday

Session: S06-Area Studies

Chair : Elif Erişen, Hacettepe University

11:15-12:30

## Transformation of the Public Sphere Between the Secular and the Religious in Turkey

Mustafa Şeref Kuram, Erzincan Binali Yıldırım University

At the present time, democracy encounters several crises, the leading ones being social integration and legitimacy. On the one hand the disintegration of the political system with society; on the other hand, social integration among a society, which diverges and is uncovered by democratic process deepen the crisis. The public sphere becomes prominent as the denouement owing to its potential of a space in which citizens could be organized politically and they adhere to the political sphere not only as the lawmaker but also as the addressee. In this context, the public sphere set the scene for democratic legitimacy by creating a common language and common space. Nevertheless being merely secular of the common language and of justifications used within the public sphere makes the accession of religious citizens to the public sphere difficult. The debate nowadays continue intensely on how and to what extent religion and the public sphere which stem from different epistemic basis could develop the collaboration in order to contribute to the resolution of the question of legitimacy and social integration.

In this study, the exclusion of religious citizens from the public sphere in a secular state due to the religious discourse used by them and the very possibility of overlapping the structure covered by the religious language of the public sphere by a translation in between the secular and religious language will be questioned and discussed in the light of the principle of legitimacy. Within this scope, possibilities and limitations of a translation process between secular and religious discourses to resolve the legitimacy crisis during the integration of religious groups and religion articulated to the public sphere recently which had been excluded from the public sphere for years in the context of the legitimacy crisis of the democracy especially in Turkey will be negotiated. In this context, the focus is on the interaction between the secular and religious discourse by the contribution of the MUSIAD to public issues.

KEYWORDS: Public sphere; religion; translation; MÜSİAD; legitimacy crisis

# The Crisis of Democratic Representation: The Case of Turkey

Batikan Aksoy, Hacettepe University

One of the most questioned issues while enhancing parliamentary democracy has been the designation of the scope of participation. Following Carl Schmitt's critique of parliamentary democracy, it is also possible to argue the existence of a more problematic question on the very idea of the political phenomenon going beyond the limits of participation. In Schmitt's sense, one of the fundamental notions to be referred to at this point is the relation between sovereignty and the concept of "the political."

Due to the practical implications of the necessity of imposing institutional forms of representation to overcome the difficulty of the functioning of a direct model of participation, it is possible to discuss the conceptual and practical acceptance or equation of democracy and political representation without critique. Beyond the reduction of sovereignty to the existence of institutional representation, however, it is also possible to draw upon a more designative realm of crisis regarding the definition of the demos. Does the demos of parliamentary democracy imply an instrumental effectuation of an entirely hypothetical construction? Do political parties reflect this speculative basis? How is the framework of institutional practices and particular cleavages of voting behavior useful in understanding the crisis of representative politics? Following these questions, this paper provides a current analysis of the ongoing transformation of representative politics in Turkish politics.

**KEYWORDS:** Parliamentary democracy; demos; representation; sovereignty; voting behavior

Panel : In Search of the 'Civil': Liability, Society, Power

Session: S08-Public Policy

Chair : Ozan Zengin, Ankara University

🛗 July 19 2018, Thursday

11:15-12:30

## **Civil Liability Arising From Environmental Pollution**

Ayça Zorluoğlu Yılmaz, Hacettepe University

Protection of the environment is an internationally important issue. The pollution of the environment may impair large geographical areas and this impact may prolong for ages. Consequently, especially in the EU, governments try to adopt uniform clauses. The main international document against environmental pollution is the "Convention on Civil Liability or Damage Resulting from Activities Dangerous to Environment". In 2004, the Directive 2004/35/CE of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21 April 2004 on Environmental Liability with Regard to the Prevention and Remedy of Environmental Damage" has been regulated. The main principle of this directive is "POLLUTER PAYS". This directive has been amended three times afterwards. As a result of these amendments, the borders of civil liability have been expanded. In Turkish legal system, civil liability arising from pollution has been regulated by the Environmental Law of 1983. According to this provision, those who damage the environment will be held liable even if they have no "culpa". The civil liability arising from the Environment Law in Turkish legal system is a "liability without fault". However, in doctrine, there are several opinions on the type of this no-fault based liability. In 2012, the Turkish Code of Obligations was renewed. Article 71 of the Turkish Code of Obligations is a new provision. It regulates strict liability, which is a type of no-fault based liability. After codifying strict liability as a general rule, the interpretation of civil liability in environmental law has been changed. In this paper, the international environment law regulations and the civil liability as a result of pollution in Turkish Law will be explained from a comparative point of view. I attempt to point to the required amendments in Turkish legal system to adjust internationally accepted standards.

KEYWORDS: Civil liability; environment; pollution; law

## Teaching Civil Society to Undergraduate Students in Turkey: An Initial Assessment

Muhittin Acar, Eser Ergönül & Alper Ekmekçioğlu, Hacettepe University

In the last thirty years or so, there has been a significant growth in the number of studies focusing on different dimensions of civil society across the globe. In the meantime, the debate about what to teach (i.e., the focus or content of the curricula) and how to teach (i.e., tools and methods of instruction) in public administration and political science departments has greatly evolved and expanded worldwide. By juxtaposing these two trends, the proposed paper aims to examine the extent to which concepts and topics related to civil society have made their ways into public administration and political science education. More specifically, the paper offers an initial assessment about the current status of teaching civil society-related topics in public administration and political science undergraduate programs in Turkey.

After succinctly summarizing major trends and issues regarding civil society as well as public administration and political science education, the paper proceeds to describe the methodology employed in the study. Briefly told, an online research was conducted to identify and analyze the existence and extent of civil society-related courses in all public (state) and private (foundation) universities (a total of 172 universities) in Turkey. 139 relevant programs were identified and included in the process. Online search through relevant curricula has revealed that 41 out of 139 programs, at least one course is related to civil society. Then, syllabi of 27 civil society-related courses available online were filtered out. Eventually, 18 of them were subjected to a more thorough analysis in terms of their coverage of civil society-related concepts and issues as well as on basis of their reading lists, the language of instruction and so on. After presenting key findings and limitations of the research conducted, the paper ends with a discussion related to implications and suggestions drawn from study.

KEYWORDS: Public administration; public administration and political science education; teaching civil society; Turkey

Panel : In Search of the 'Civil': Liability, Society, Power

Session: S08-Public Policy

Chair : Ozan Zengin, Ankara University

July 19 2018, Thursday

**(**) 11:15-12:30

## **Civilian Protests, and Civil-Military Relations**

Mustafa Uluçakar, Avrasya University

Contrary to general principles of democratic governance, some militaries reject the orders of political authority to repress massive civilian protests and instead prefer to stay garrisoned. This phenomenon was witnessed during the Color Revolutions in the former Soviet Republics, during constitutional crises in Latin America, and in the Arab Spring. Militaries' behaviors in these occasions are significant, especially, in cases while the police forces are not capable of soothing the persistence of the demonstrators. And if the military refuses to obey the political orders by staying garrisoned, governments and/ or presidents have invariably fallen from power. Nevertheless if the military may prefer to stay in garrison instead of repressing the mass movements, it can definitely be lifesaving. We have to remember what happened in Tiananmen Square Protest of 1989. If the Chinese Army had stayed in garrison instead of violently cracking down on the protesters, there is no doubt that hundreds of lives would have been spared. Paradoxically, it is the most passive form of military influence that has had the most decisive consequence for the fate of political leaders and the people who oppose them. Although this kind of dissent is passive in nature, it can have disruptive effects not only for political leaders, but also transformational effects for social movements seeking to alter the political order as well as for the classical paradigm of civil-military relations. Why then do these militaries reject political orders to repress and remain garrisoned? And what impact do these actions have on the civil-military relations? The aim of this study is to analyze the reasons why these militaries reject political orders to repress massive protests and how these actions effect the civil-military relations.

KEYWORDS: Civil-military relations; democratic governance; massive civilian protests; military quartering; shirking

Panel : Dimensions of Neo-Liberalism

Session: S16-Political Economy

Chair : Göze Orhon, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

11:15-12:30

# An Analysis of Leisure Activities Today: From Alienated Praxis to the New Locus of Systemic Stupidity

Mehmet Akif Kumtepe, Hacettepe University

The transformation of capitalism from its industrial framework to hyper-industrial context today has also had enormous impacts on the daily life patterns of individuals. Unlike its classical connotations to an alienated praxis in capitalist societies in Karl Marx's theory of alienation and critique of political economy, leisure time today is becoming subject to the new modes of consumption beyond capitalist production. As a critical aspect of Jean Baudrillard's reading of the postmodern condition in its spatial and temporal transmutations, leisure activities also imply an emerging locus of virtuality among daily life routines today.

In its perceptual and contemplative reflections, the alteration of meaning in leisure activities means the emergence of the new forms of objectification in simulative and hyperreal prospects. Leisure activities, hence, do not merely reflect a source of capitalist production anymore. Instead, by borrowing from Bernard Stiegler's terminology, it seems possible to argue that leisure activities today are becoming the psychic medium of "systemic stupidity," "short-termism" and "consumerism" that are indispensable for hyper-industrial capitalism.

Drawing upon a comprehensive framework from Marx to Baudrillard and Stiegler, this paper first discusses the theoretical transformation of the relationship between capitalism, power and leisure activities. Secondly, the paper introduces the practical case of a social experiment made by British freelance writer Oobah Butler to fake TripAdvisor to verify a non-existent restaurant called "The Shed at Dulwich," which remained as one of the top eateries in London for about six months.

KEYWORDS: Consumption; crisis; leisure; consumerism; short-termism

# From The "Red Capitalist" to the "Abusive Contractor": On The Shifting Patterns of the Mediatic Businessman Figure in Turkey From the 1980s Onwards

Janberk Kozok, Hacettepe University

This study aims to provide the discursive and symbolic transformation of the businessman figure in Turkey from the 1980s. This paper begins with general preliminary information on the changing patterns of power relations and shifting dynamics of mediatic canonization that affect cultural, economic and political life in Turkey. The study will accordingly compare two different exemplars of public iconization of two different businessman figures: (i) public disclosure of "social responsibility" in the 1980s and 1990s and (ii) the general tendency to use "abusive language" after the 2000s. This study examines the changing image concerns of business people in Turkey from the 1980s to present. It hence intends to determine the discursive positions of some of the business people in the process from a comparative perspective focusing on the changing political and economic conjuncture in Turkey. In this context, the study will bring a comparative conceptual analysis of communication with the community, workers and other business people, along with the concerns of visibility, legitimacy, power, lifestyle, or intellectual orientation. The paper will finally resemble changing aspects of power relations in Turkey by providing details of two different regimes of state of emergency, and by going through a comparative analysis of post-coup conditions in the 1980s, and the rise of Justice and Development Party as the ruling party in Turkey.

KEYWORDS: Image; power; discourse; capital; crisis

Panel : Crisis and Governance

Session: S23-Theories of Administration

Chair : Doğan Nadi Leblebici, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

13:30-15:00

# Possible Consequences of Changed Constitutional System in Turkey: Prospects, Opportunities and Threats

Doğan Nadi Leblebici, Hacettepe University

Turkey has changed its constitutional system with the referendum held on April 16, 2017. The change can be said to be radical both in the sense of political system and public administration. The change has been put into full effect by the election held on June 24, 2018. There are many questions about the impacts of new constitutional system on Turkish politics and public administration. Besides questions about the new constitutional system, there are a lot of expectations from the new system. This study aims at discussing the effects of the new constitutional system on Turkish politics and public administration with its prospects, opportunities and possible threats. First, the new constitutional system is described and then its political reflections on Turkish politics is debated. Then, the effects of new political system on Turkish public administration structure will be elaborated.

KEYWORDS: Turkish politics; Turkish public administration; constitutional change; constitutional regime; elections

# Inter-enterprise Cooperation and Crisis Management in Disaster and Emergency Cases

Murat Yaman & Erkan Cakır, Dumlupınar University

Despite the fact that natural events have been in existence since the earth's existence, the initiation of these events to become a disaster is from the history of humanity. Because, all kinds of natural, technological or human-driven events that cause moral and material damages economically, physically, socially etc, that comes along suddenly and unpredictable, that stops or interrupts daily life and impossible to cope with using local means briefly are defined as a disaster. Today, the frequency of disasters has increased considerably. There is no doubt this situation is related to people –driven damages for the world's ecological order. In this process going on as a cycle, the first human harms the natural balance, and then nature gives more harm to human life. International institutions and organizations, governments and non-governmental organizations are taking various measures to remove this negative cycle. Within the framework of the aim, they collaborated in order to prevent or minimize disasters.

The disaster and emergency management-related transformation in Turkey, and legal regulations arising from this transformation will be discussed in this study. Especially, the transformations in the disaster and emergency management before and after the Marmara earthquake in 1999, the innovations brought by Law No. 5902 and the effects of legal arrangements on the inter-enterprise cooperation constitute the main focus of this study.

KEYWORDS: Disaster and emergency management; Law No. 5902; transformation; crisis management

Panel : Crisis and Governance

Session: S23-Theories of Administration

Chair : Doğan Nadi Leblebici, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

13:30-15:00

# Adoption of Turkish Public Administration to the Crisis Management in the Age of Catastrophes: The Critique of Administrative Reform Policy Resorted to Manage Crisis

Özgür Önder, Dumlupınar University

In the global system that has been continuously transforming, it is a significant issue to prepare and solidify the public management for possible crisis. While relations among networks might change rapidly, futurology manifests that social, political and economic crisis triggered by food, water and energy scarcity as a result of climate change, require a preparation and as an utmost important element of this preparation, public administration is the main area to be able to manage these crisis successfully. While neoliberal instructions are presented as administrative reforms that contain political, economic and fiscal elements; the systems of national public administrations are tasked with implementation of paradigm shifts. Organizations with Weberian overtones, the system of personnel that interprets civil service as orders and restrictions in superior-subordinate relationship, complicated regulations and technological arrangements tried to be integrated to these without proper infrastructure and finally proposed and repeatedly implemented postmodern or neoliberal solution offers to these aforementioned negative aspects have further increased the state of indecision among public administrations in times of crisis.

Administrative reforms have been implemented with an approach that is nominally quantitative but not qualitative, formalist and mostly lack coherence. Additionally, it was considered that crisis management could be handled by revising regulations and organizational structure alone. Whereas, the fundamental need to describe the question correctly and incisively is the implementation of a public administrations system that is comprehensive, realistic, compatible with simulations, approached in a multidisciplinary way, fixed the problems of technological infrastructure and most importantly is able to analyze and manage relations among networks that put the human factor at the center. The main purpose of this paper is to discuss administrative reform policy that is implemented to adopt Turkish public administration, which face a decrease in terms of resistance in crisis times, to the crisis management by criticizing current understanding of public administration.

KEYWORDS: Turkish politics; Turkish public administration; constitutional change; constitutional regime; elections

## **Causation of Crisis in Governance: Alienation in Public Administration**

Çiğdem Sofuoğlu, Ankara University

In public administration, crisis may differ in terms of its meaning since the term can have both a negative and a positive content depending who the agent in question is. This study aims to elaborate on both aspects through looking into what lies at the root of crisis and how politicians use crisis in favor of their political agendas. The underlying cause of crisis, which is argued in the paper as alienation in public administration, is passifization of the people by transforming them from active actors to solely spectators who have scarce means to have a say in policies concerning themselves as public. By examining the individual, society and governance techniques while putting emphasis on the elements which provides assistance to an environment of crisis such as media and discourse –in the Foucauldian terms– alienation in public administration can be defined. Passifized people or the spectators may provide politicians or stakeholders with a window that only opens by the means of a crisis; a window of opportunity. In an environment of crisis where anxiety and despair can and will affect rational decision-making, people tend to lean towards a quick judgement in order to put an end to the tense situation which they are in and also inclined to pick the lesser of two evils. The objective of this paper is to provide a newly established aspect to the search for causation and motivation of crisis in governance via elucidating the issues mentioned above.

KEYWORDS: Governance; crisis; alienation; power; passifization

Panel : Crisis and Everyday Life: Seclusion, Fear and Nostalgia

Session : S22-Media Studies

Chair : Suavi Aydın, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

13:30-15:00

## Crisis as Escape from Modernity: Renunciation, Seclusion, Nostalgia

Göze Orhon, Hacettepe University

First coined by Johannes Hofer as a medical condition in the 17th century, nostalgia has become one of the most fertile yet controversial concepts of cultural analysis. In the last few decades, there has emerged a huge literature on the concept, but two early contributions by Jameson (1992) and Turner (1987, 1988) still trace the debate over the concept of nostalgia. Despite the difference between the frames around which they built their discussions, their conclusions are similar in that they reveal the interconnected feature of modernity and nostalgia. While Jameson conceives nostalgia as a yearning for modernity in this late-modern era, Turner proposes to read nostalgia as a symptom of resistance against modernity, or at least an attempt to retreat from it.

Though not confining itself with the conception by Jameson and Turner, this paper is mostly inspired by the above-mentioned idea that there is an apparent connection between nostalgia and modernity. Re-appearing or even ever-present in late-modern era, taking this idea further, can nostalgia itself be considered as an appearance of crisis within diverse outlooks of modernity? In fact, seminal works on nostalgia (Rosaldo, 1989) and on its didymous concept of melancholia (Gilroy, 2004) point to such nodes, which imply the intrinsic tensions within modernity.

Guided by these interests, this paper attempts to analyse diverse appearances of contemporary life trends within Turkish middle-class and asks whether these trends can be interpreted as components of an emergent nostalgia wave within the context of social transformation of the last decade. Recent trends of retreating from the city life and the consumption economy, and attempting to build secluded lives in rural areas instead, home-producing/home-growing, re-promotion (or re-invention) of socially homogenous and secure neighbourhoods in large cities or promoting exclusive, again homogenous social circles around cultures of living constitute the empirical focus of such an inquiry.

**KEYWORDS:** Nostalgica; crisis; renunciation; modernity; seclusion

# More Security: Get Stuck in the Middle of the Health-obsession and Self-protection

Gökçe Zeybek Kabakçı, Hacettepe University

Terrorism, one of the most fundamental crisis in the late capitalist era we live in, opened the way for a change in the security paradigm, especially after "9/11". The virtuality of the borders and the enemy, and thus the uncertainty of where the danger comes from lead to the aggravation of the phenomenon of terror and culture of fear. As Brian Massumi points out, "the imm(a)(i)nence of the accident" causes the fear to gain continuity and spread. In other words, since the enemy or the threat or risk is in anywhere at anytime, fear becomes an "environment" like an atmosphere (Virilio, 2012). In such an environment, safety, protection, defense and security become indispensable words of the discourse of global fear. One of the results of this discourse is a change in the security paradigm towards the principle of precaution. In relation to this, the other consequence is a claim of more security. At a macro-level, it legitimizes war in order to strengthen national boundaries. At a personal level, it engenders a kind of introversion and also promotes the consumption because feeling secured is possible with consumption in the neoliberal discourse. Therefore, it is a change that finds itself not only in political or legal terms but also in a cultural realm and everyday life. Since all routine and ordinary activities and all kinds of human experience are transformed into a security issue, as Frank Furedi states, individuals tend towards self-protection while being health-obsessed. Thus, the reflection of this "securocratic language" (Linke & Smith, 2010) in everyday life, which reinforces the military and police state, is a form of subjectivity, so called the enterprising self who tries to predict and manage risks. By analyzing advertisements on food, this paper aims to discuss how and why enterprising self of neoliberal era, is so much health and security-driven.

**KEYWORDS:** Risk; fear; security; enterprising self; advertisements

Panel : Crisis and Everyday Life: Seclusion, Fear and Nostalgia

Session : S22-Media Studies

Chair : Suavi Aydın, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

13:30-15:00

## The Collector as a Modern Social Type

Gülay Acar, Hacettepe University

This paper focuses on the initial premises of a work in progress. The study is based on the inference that there is a current and increasing interest in old objects that can be observed through real and virtual markets, diverse cultural products (cinema, literature, installation, photography, etc.) and the various social networks based on object collection. Besides, we also encounter with the "collector", the essential habitue of collection markets, and sometimes the main character of various cultural products that relates to the objects of the past.

This paper focuses on the following question: "Can the collector be considered as a 'social type' in the modern world?" The conceptual framework is derived from modernization and everyday life discussions by Marshall Berman, Henri Lefebvre, Michel De Certeau, and Walter Benjamin. The collector who Benjamin describes as the main owner of interior space in the modern world is associated with Berman's modern subject who produces nostalgic myths in exchange for the imperilment of history and tradition.

Through observations, data derived from self-reflection, and interviews, I aim at describing the collector and determine patterns within the collector's relation with her object. The collector who imagines preserving history through the object of the past is pretty much like the embodied state of nostalgia which Svetlana Boym calls "a rebelion against modern time idea, the time of history and progress". In the face of severe innovations and contradictions produced by modernity, human being who – in Berman's words – "finds itself in the middle of a vortex", holds on to the feeling of nostalgia as a way of resistance against the crisis of modernity. Can this modern social type, which comes into play through the features of the relationship the collector builds with her object, be called "nostalgic?"

**KEYWORDS:** Modernization; everyday life; social type; collector; nostalgia

# Neo-ottomanist Nostalgia in Turkish Politics: Prospects on the "Reconquest" of İstanbul

Nagehan Tokdoğan, Hacettepe University

This paper focuses on the actual political appearances of nostalgia in Turkey. For almost ten years now, neo-Ottomanist political discourse and policies has dominated Turkish political sphere. Ottoman legacy of Turkey's distant past has been remembered and revived against the foundational narrative of the Turkish Republic. Moreover, this political narrative appealed to the ordinary Turkish citizens and has eagerly been embraced by some of them, too. It can be argued that, the conquest of İstanbul in 1453 has become the most powerful and gratifying memory of neo-Ottomanist political narrative. By leaning on this historical glory, ruling political elites have taken various symbolic and political actions in İstanbul resting on the desire and phantasy of a "reconquest".

Drawing on Svetlana Boym's conception of restorative nostalgia, this paper aims to elaborate on the Turkish neo-Ottomanist political discourse and its consequences specifically in Istanbul as a symbolic space. For the purpose, I will initially refer to the symbolic political significance of Istanbul for the current political elites. Then, guided by the motivation to restore the glorious past and to revive the "golden age", the current political power's symbolic and actual actions to "reconquer" Istanbul will be analysed with a recourse to leading features of the concept of restorative nostalgia.

KEYWORDS: Turkish politics; neo-Ottomanism; İstanbul; reconquest; nostalgia

Panel: 'Event' and the Political

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Onur Kartal, Adnan Menderes University

July 19 2018, Thursday

13:30-15:00

## The Crisis of Justice: On Ethical Realms of Actualization from Aristotle to Rawls

Geran Özdeş Çelik, Hacettepe University

The meaning of the concept of crisis includes both conditions of the impossibility and the possibility of generating judgment. First, it is related to stimulating judgment, decision or differentiation and secondly, it is associated with an opportunity, a potentiality for actualization or an open horizon of further possibilities. The point where an impossibility turns into a chance, the difficulty is the cause of the opportunity, and the potential is the effect of the problem. In that case, the notion of crisis contains both negative and positive meanings. On the other hand, this double meaning of crisis also signifies the transformation of potentiality into the realms of actualization.

By raising some central questions in critical and normative political theory today, this paper intends to deal with some of the critical reflections of the relationship between potentiality and actuality of power and decision. What is the basis of the relationship between the universality of "rights" and the particularity of "the good"? How does this relationship diversify while defining the central role of the framework of the decision on the political phenomenon? How are these two questions oriented to the long history of the relationship between happiness and virtue in political thought? By combining these questions with a more comprehensive focus on the question of "what is justice," this paper intends to focus on the evolution of the relationship between the categories of "rights" and "the good" by focusing on the central discussions concerning justice in the political philosophy of Aristotle, Kant, Sandel and Rawls. Accordingly, the paper aims to refer to the aspects of the crisis of truth (about justice) today by following a conceptual framework in ethics and political philosophy varying from the telos of rights and responsibilities to the normative reflections of "the idea of impartiality."

KEYWORDS: Justice; ethics; telos; rights; responsibility

# The State of Exception: A Non-Democratic and Violent Response to Crisis

Emre Tekin, Hacettepe University

The president of the United States George W. Bush issued a military order on 13 November 2001, shortly after the 9/11 attacks, the deadliest terrorist attack in the USA. The decree was named Detention, Treatment, and Trial of Certain Non-Citizens in the War Against Terrorism. This military order gave the US government extensive powers on legal matters such as the indefinite detention of suspects without trial. This decree also raised questions among political scientists and jurists concerning the status of democracy and laws during crisis.

Modern states base their legitimacy on the rule of law. Constitutions and laws regulate certain aspects of state matters and daily life, however, in case of crisis, laws may remain inadequate. In times like this, states might require taking swift reactions to minimize the dangers that crisis can inflict. However, these reactions are likely to surpass the bounds of the law. State of exception, theorized mainly by Carl Schmitt and later by Giorgio Agamben, gives governments the power they require in times of crisis while suspending specific laws or the whole legal system. This research investigates the problematic relationship between the state of exception and democracy as well as the thin border between the rule of law and the unchecked executive powers under the jurisdiction of the state of exception.

KEYWORDS: State of exception; the rule of law; crisis; regulation by decree; democracy

Panel: 'Event' and the Political

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Onur Kartal, Adnan Menderes University

July 19 2018, Thursday

13:30-15:00

# The Crisis of Representative Democracy and New Social Movements: Gezi as a Movement of Generation Y

Gizem Taş, Hacettepe University

Although the features and criticism of representative democracy is popular in academic studies and usually the crisis it undergoes is underlined, the early instances usually did not deal with the generation gap and Generation Y as an underrepresented group. However, Generation Y's own reply to this crisis of representation could be found in new social movements all around the world, including Turkey.

There are many examples of new social movements viewed to be a result of the economic crisis caused by global neoliberalism. Turkey is no exception to this progress and the Gezi Park Movement could be accepted as the first new social movement in Turkey with its general features. Though new social movements have many commonalities in many ways, each movement has its own unique dynamics. The situation and role of Generation Y could be accepted as a connection between the crisis of representative democracy and the new social movements with a special emphasis on the Gezi Movement.

The aim of this research is to explore the relationship between generation Y and representative democracy by accepting the Gezi Movement as a rare example of new social movements under the light of a different variety of protests. These protests originate from the reaction of generation Y to the crisis of representative democracy or the lack of representativeness. The government of that time was the focus of protests because of neglecting the demands and desires of generation Y. On the other hand, reactions were seen in many different types of protests in unusual ways. This unusualness is the distinctive character of the movement which provides a space to discuss the possibility of a more representative democracy or to think to go beyond it.

KEYWORDS: Representative democracy; crisis; generation Y; new social movement; protest

# **European Politics in Turmoil: Rethinking Populism through the Brexit Process**

Buğrahan Akgeyik, Hacettepe University

European Union has been a structure to bring European countries into a political and economic body continent-wide. However, it is possible to argue that Britain has always been a distant member of the Union. Britain's integration with the EU has always stood on a thin layer of economy and power relations. In Britain, the EU membership has often been severely criticized with a limited discursive framework solely imposed on the relationship between independence and sovereignty. The Brexit process, on the other hand, provided a general reaction by the public opinion to continental realms of turmoil such as immigration, political and economic turbulence, or geographical and cultural conflicts.

This paper firstly argues that even Britain's pre-existing inclusion in the EU has never eased political and cultural debates on the central question of sovereignty which was discursively reformulated again within the framework of a more anti-immigration discourse and comparatively in a more economy-oriented core during the Brexit process. Secondly, this study analyzes the effects of the rise of populism in global politics on the discursive character of the public debates during the Brexit referendum.

KEYWORDS: Brexit; European Union; immigration; populism; crisis

Panel : Reflections on Migration

Session : S14-Refugee and Migration Studies

Chair : Ahu Sumbas, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

15:20-16:35

## The Role of Professionals in Prevention of Abuse in Syrian Refugee Children: A Model for Turkey

Seda Attepe Özden, Başkent University & Melike Tekindal, İzmir Katip Çelebi University

Turkey is a country that is home to many refugees. After the humanitarian crisis in Syria in 2011, it is presumed that about 5 million refugees and asylum seekers living in Turkey. About 40 per cent of this population is children and young people. Thus, it is crucial to solve the problems that children and young people can face. Syrian asylum seekers are at serious risk of child neglect and abuse in pre-migration, migration and post-migration periods. Problems such as exposure to pre-migration trauma and war, loss and age-related risks; psychological and health problems in the immigration process, new cultural adaptation after migration, language barriers, access to services and future concerns affect children and young people. These multidimensional problems increase the risk of neglect and abuse of children. Both the problems of the immigrant's nature and the fact that the parents cannot cope with individual problems and have to deal with adjustment problems cause children to get involved early in their work life, to assume adult roles, to stay away from education, and to have problems such as inadequacy of peer and family support. The role that professionals in this area will have when working in this area is to prevent children from being neglected and exploited, and to rehabilitate children if neglect and exploitation are under way. With a focus on the role and tasks of social workers in this field, this study aims to create a proposal for a model for Turkey. In doing so, search suggestions and institutions capable of responding to needs in Turkey, will be described what can be done to overcome the language barrier.

KEYWORDS: Refugee children; refugee crisis; child abuse

## The Questioning Crisis of Turkish Academia: Critical Analysis of University Migration Research Centres

Hatice Şule Gelibolu & Uğur Çetin, Hacettepe University

When we look at the recent academic production in Turkey, the main determinant of such production seems to be the repressive authority of the state. Migration studies are one of the most crystalized examples of this situation. As is well known, any attempt to conduct field research on immigrants has become subjected to the direct permission from the Ministry of Interior through an official letter from the Education Board of Turkey. In this study, regarding the existing conditions, we question how academia relates itself with knowledge and power. We try to understand the way in which academia sees the forced mass migration from Syria, which has been experienced as a social crisis since 2011. In this context, the migration research centres of Hacettepe, İstanbul Bilqi, Bahçeşehir, and Koç University will be our research samples.

The reason why we chose migration centres as the samples is their potential that they have to formulate a theory and come up with policy suggestions. Such a potential can only be realized when they develop an understanding which includes an interdisciplinary interest in this social phenomenon and perspectives of all different actors. However, the works produced by the centres, which we examine, seems to lack multiple theoretical perspectives and, in fact, they mostly seem to consist of texts that remain at the level of reports. Such circumstances are the result of the problematic relationship between universities and the Turkish state on the one hand, and also because people who conduct research in these institutions cannot pose critical questions due to their state-led intellectual, ideological, and institutional affiliations, on the other. In other words, they are deprived of a critical perspective. The emerging result is the perspective and production of knowledge embedded within the nation-state ideology. In this study, we follow content and discourse analysis in order to understand how these centres in our research represent migration and immigrants within their production of knowledge, what research methodologies they use to gather data so as to produce such knowledge and who they talk to and on whose behalf they talk in relation the phenomenon of immigration.

**KEYWORDS:** Academy; criticism; forced migration; representation; politics

Panel : Reflections on Migration

Session : S14-Refugee and Migration Studies

Chair : Ahu Sumbas, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

**(**) 15:20-16:35

## Perception and Hate Speech Towards Immigrants: Globalization and Syrian Refugee Crisis

Muhsin Bingöl, Hacettepe University

An event that takes place somewhere has the ability to impact other parts of the world as well as a consequence of globalization. Syrian Civil War that erupted in 2011 is one of the most explicit examples of this tendency and accommodates itself in a position of a striking humanitarian tragedy on earth. While millions of people are being forced to abandon their houses, thousands of people are in a desperate attempt to survive off what's left from the war. Those, who were fortunate enough to get away from the wrecks of the war, stormed into the borderlands, the European countries and Turkey, in particular.

This paper attempts to examine hate speeches that refugees encounter wherever they fled, perception management forwarded by the media, how the current ideologies have instrumentalized the crisis for their own sake and purposes and the humanitarian perspective of Syrian migrant crisis as well. However, the focus of the study is limited to Syrian refugees that seek asylum in Turkey since the scope and audience of hate speech is relatively vast. Therefore, as Habermas stated before, this study attempts to explore how media neglect the self-comprehension by highlighting the fact that those provoked with migration are actually aware of political self-comprehension of the nation that opens up the border for the migrants. For this purpose, the paper attempts to analyze some social media tools such as Twitter and Facebook, popular newspapers and news channels on a regular basis so that it may stimulate how hate speeches and perception management are directed to the migrants.

KEYWORDS: Syrian refugees; migration; media; xenophobia; hate speech

Panel : Democracy and Crisis

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Efe Baştürk, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University

July 19 2018, Thursday

15:20-16:35

## **Crisis of Democracy: Rhetoric in the President Speeches**

Emel Uzun, Hacettepe University

After the Second World War, by the rise of media technologies, politial area has started to be determined by the rules, logic and language of the media. Within this media-mediated, over-personalized, leader-centred political form, "presidental speech" became one of the crucial means of politics. Contemporary critical rhetorical theory comprehends the rhetoric as central to the production of knowledge and building the phenomena rather than an art of persuasion or elocution. However, although there are several scholarly works on "Nutuk", the first and the most well-known presidental speech in the history of the Turkish Republic, there is not any research on the speeches of the following presidents.

In the era of neoliberal politics, the concept of democracy is defined by the terms of human rights, plurality, superiority of law, transparency, and accountability. Within this framework, democracy is possible if it colloborates with free market economy. Since Turgut Özal's ruling term, this kind of rhetoric of democracy became one of the crucial themes stated in the speeches of the following presidents from different ideological perspectives. However, this rhetoric of democracy may be read as crisis of democracy because of its restrictions, scant understanding of plurality and political participation. In other words, by examining the speeches of presidents, it may be possible to see the crisis of understanding of democracy in Turkey. Since the theme of democracy is emphasized in the speeches that are given in inaguaration ceremonies of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, this study throws light on the speeches of Turgut Özal, Süleyman Demirel, Ahmet Necdet Sezer, Abdullah Gül and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The aim of this paper is hence answering the following questions: what kind of democracy rhetoric is produced? Which rhetorical strategies are employed? How it is possible to define crisis of democracy as it is reflected on these presidental speeches?

KEYWORDS: Rhetoric; democracy; president speech; crisis of democracy

# **Deliberative Democracy and Its Practices**

Volkan Gül, Dumlupınar University

We can argue that the crisis of modern democracy is basically a crisis of political participation that is mostly limited to elections. The distance between formal decision-making processes and citizens has put citizens out of political decision-making except election times. This has created dissatisfied citizens who demanded more say in the decisions made. This disillusionment has created spaces for new theories. One such theory is deliberative democracy, which has become the main research theme in the field of democratic theory in the last two decades. In addition to its theoretical popularity, there has been a great interest from practitioners. As a result, we have seen many practices inspired by the ideals of deliberative democracy that are commonly called as minipublics. The aim of this paper is to discuss them.

The paper begins with a brief introduction to the theory of deliberative democracy. Although Habermas is the first thinker that comes to mind in the discussions on deliberative democracy, the contemporary debates have gone beyond him. Today, we have a more flexible understanding of deliberative democracy that can respond to the early critiques related to the idea of consensus and rationality. Then, the main characteristics of minipublics are introduced. This discussion enablse us to differentiate minipublics from participatory practices and other democratic innovations. The two main differences are the emphasis on representation and the provision of information in the context of minipublics. After this comparison, two kinds of minipublics are introduced: deliberative polls and deliberative citizens' assemblies. Finally, it is argued that minipublics can be used as complementary mechanisms in formal decision-making.

**KEYWORDS:** Deliberative democracy; minipublics; political participation

Panel : Democracy and Crisis

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Efe Baştürk, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University

July 19 2018, Thursday

15:20-16:35

### A Critique of Deliberative Democracy: On the Crisis of Political Representation

F. Gökçe Karaaslan, Hacettepe University

Normative implications on the consolidation of liberal democracy have generally been associated with an implicit assumption suggesting that liberal democracy will succeed at a universal level. This universalist dimension has also been a critical motive for the Habermasian interpretation of deliberative democracy. With the rise of the debates on politics of difference, however, these universality claims have become extremely vulnerable. Politics of difference emerged as a reaction to the transformation of representative democracy in normative political theory. This model intended to generate a critical response to diverse modes of consensualism crystallized in liberal institutions and practices. By providing the argument that liberal and deliberative models together ignore the very idea of "the political" and unique centrality of the nexus of antagonism, Chantal Mouffe conceptualizes radical democracy as a cure for universalist consensualism. By extending Mouffe's reading of the "democratic paradox" to liberal and deliberative models of democracy, this paper deals with the ontological and ethical borders of the crisis of politics of representation today.

KEYWORDS: Deliberative democracy; politics of representation; democratic paradox; Chantal Mouffe; radical democracy

Panel : City, Technology and Administration: Disciplinary Intersections

Session: S09-Urban Studies and Local Government

Chair : Ayşegül Saylam, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

15:20-16:35

# **Building the Civilization with Crisis: Examples from the Ancient Ionian Cities**

Ali Arda Yüceyılmaz, Adnan Menderes University

lonia, which roughly covers the central part of western Anatolian coasts, is often remembered with its historical contributions to scientific observation, philosophy, democracy and the city phenomenon. The strong intellectual, artistic and scientific effects extending to the present day of this considerably compact geography probably can only be considered with the effects of northern Italian cities of the Renaissance. Nevertheless, as a common key factor, the phenomenon of crisis attracts attention in the historical progress of the concepts, which widely shaped the social universe of "the modern man" such as scientific observation, philosophical thought, democracy and the city. In this context, this study aims to explore the role of urban crisis in the social development processes in the case of ancient Ionia.

KEYWORDS: Crisis; Ionia; ancient Ionian cities

# The Crisis of E-Governance as the Failure of Sustainability: Temporal Comparison of the Success of Municipalities in Ankara

Kamil Demirhan, Zonguldak Bülent Ecevit University & M. Kemal Öktem, Hacettepe University

This study evaluates the crisis of e-governance released when municipalities failed to sustain in providing e-governance implications. The concepts of e-governance and sustainable development include the same following principles in public sector: inclusiveness, effectiveness, accountability, transparency, interaction and participation. These two approaches encourage the use of innovations (in social, economic, political and technological areas) to reach better social, political and economic systems. The sustainability of e-governance is a matter for evaluating the e-governance success of institutions. This study provides a temporal evaluation and compares municipalities' success in 2011 and 2016. It focuses particularly on change in the success of local municipalities in Ankara providing implementations related to e-participation. E-participation is a critical part of e-governance because e-governance considers decision-making process as a period requiring the participation of all actors affected by decisions. Moreover, e-participation has a key position in e-governance to provide inclusiveness, effectiveness, accountability, transparency, and interaction. This study uses the method of website analysis and indicators used by Demirhan and Öktem (2011) to measure the level of e-participation success of municipalities in 2016. As a way of comparison, this study uses the findings of Demirhan and Öktem's (2011) study which gives the level of e-participation success of municipalities in Ankara, in 2011. A temporal comparison demonstrates that the successful municipalities in 2011 lost their place in the ranking in 2016. It can be said that the real success of municipalities in e-governance is related to the sustainability of carrying out of governance perspective using opportunities of information and communication technologies in practice for long term.

KEYWORDS: Crisis of e-governance; sustainability; local governance; measuring e-participation; muincipalities in Ankara

Panel : City, Technology and Administration: Disciplinary Intersections

Session: S09-Urban Studies and Local Government

Chair : Ayşegül Saylam, Hacettepe University

July 19 2018, Thursday

15:20-16:35

## The Crisis of Identity Crisis: A Contested History of Public Administration

İsmail Cem Karadut, Dumlupınar University

The boundaries of public administration, both as a field of study and a branch of executive power, have always been contested from the outset. As far as the former is concerned, the argument is based upon the fact that public administration's position is in the intersection of political science, the science of administration/management and constitutional law/administration law. As far as the latter is concerned, public administration is again divided into three parts/powers: the legislative, executive and judiciary powers. In theory as well as in practice, it could be assumed that public administration is bound up with political science as it is related to the legislation, public administration is at the same time the study of administration and 'management' as it is inseparable from the executive power of the state, and finally public administration is inconceivable without the legal aspects both in theory and practice. In other words, the study of public administration seems to be embedded and overlapped mainly in three fields of study and three powers of the state. The 'complicated' situation in question is named and conceptualised famously as the "Identity Crisis" by D. Waldo. This paper intends to probe and write the contested history of the crisis of the identity crisis in public administration after 1980s, as the field of study has started to be dominated by the managerial approaches that ignore the roles of public sector in administration and economy and as the separation of powers have deteriorated to the advantage/favour of the executive power after the rise of neoliberalism with the notion of minimal state.

KEYWORDS: Public administration; identity crisis; crisis of identity crisis; neoliberalism; minimal state

Panel : Crisis and Critique Today

Session: S05-Critical Theory

Chair : Emre Koyuncu, Independent

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## **Rereading Nietzsche: The Crisis and Postmodernism**

H. Furkan Livan, Hacettepe University

Nietzsche, with his well-known phrase "God is dead!", assesses the end times of the metaphysical tradition by presenting a non-historical reading of the concept of crisis. According to Nietzsche, the crisis of Western philosophy implies an ongoing turmoil of thought, value, and life since Plato. Nietzsche's reading of crisis toward life is not pessimistic. Instead, it means an effort to overcome metaphysics itself. The crucial point here is the affirmation of the argument which implies that being is composed of pluralities of perspectives and is heading towards an "Overman."

According to Nietzsche, no ethics can be universal, and the "free spirit" must strive to create its ethical values. Therefore, it is essential to act according to the values that are not universalized, idealized on both the ethical and political levels. This notion effectuates one of the most common critiques of Western metaphysics raised by postmodernism. The critique of the binary oppositions of Western metaphysical tradition, moralism, and modernity also reflects the effects of Nietzsche's thought among postmodern literature either in its Deleuzian (becoming, difference and Eternal Recurrence) or Derridean (deconstruction) interpretations. Conceptually based on the central discussions in Nietzsche's thought such as perspectivism, nihilism, affirmation of life, becoming, "Eternal Recurrence" and "the Overman", this study aims to interpret the problematic relation between truth and crisis in contemporary political philosophy.

**KEYWORDS:** Nietzsche; crisis; the Overman (Übermensch); Eternal Recurrence; postmodernism

# **Deleuze as Reader of Simondon: Revisiting Identity and Alterity Studies Today**

Burcu Güler, Hacettepe University

Gilles Deleuze has long been seen praised with his contribution on the question of difference. Deleuze's prospects on identity imply the centrality of the defining difference as recurrence. In his Difference and Repetition, Deleuze rejects the heritage of Hegelian form of recognition and representation. By deconstructing representation, Deleuze regards the question of difference beyond being a concept. In Deleuze's interpretation, difference becomes a new form of creation for the unrepresented singularity. Within this context, every identity based on individuation is being deconstructed by itself with diverse processes of actualization. In its Deleuzean conceptualization, transcendentality of identity is replaced by the immanence of difference. The entity difference, in this sense, is first bound by the actual process of differing which implies a non-Hegelian mutuality of "the virtual" and "the actual" in Deleuze's thought. By paraphrasing Deleuze, the politics of difference is a new path to the rhizome, for new forms of identity which freed from their origins either in individual or collective dimensions. Politics of difference becomes a political activity and resistance implies a model of "different/ciation" as a result of the crisis of identity today. This study aims to present an alternative perspective to Deleuze's reading of Gilbert Simondon by following the trace of its implications on identity and alterity studies today.

KEYWORDS: Deleuze; difference; rhizome; identity; different/ciation

Panel : Crisis and Critique Today

Session: S05-Critical Theory

Chair : Emre Koyuncu, Independent

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

(-) 09:30 -11:00

# The Crisis of Externality in the Radical Social Theory: Althusserian Immanence against Castoriadis's Imaginary

Doruk Çamlıbel, Hacettepe University

During the post-World War era, the mainstream question of sociology about the "duality of structure", was moved to the radical social theory with substantial effect of Stalinism, the Cold War and also with the help of the so called crisis of subjectivitity in Marxism. For Althusser (as in Marx), the unique foundation that conditioned everything else is the relations of production, which is determined, essential and independent from the will of the people. The steady structuralist law of Althusserian imagination leads us to an ontological position where, the so-called structure immanently produces the paradox within itself, which also means that the pyhsical conditions that create the paradox are atemporally structural. Although the structure refers to a unitary entity, it designates this entity as an immanent unity of relations, which is closed to external influences.

On the other hand, for Castoriadis, new ontological region simultaneously means new modes of the existence of the subject, which is impossible to exist before the given level of the reality. Imaginary as the unidentical one, is the only immanence, which is also the only founding condition of the social reality. Following the theoretical discussion between Althusser and Castoriadis, this paper thus aims to explore the ontological relation between political organisation and the externality of social relations, with an attribution to the Althusserian structure and Castoriadis' concept of imaginary.

KEYWORDS: Althusser; Castoriadis; externality; structure; imaginary

# Pharmacology of Literature: Minor Literature

Bora Atak, Hacettepe University

Jacques Derrida develops his pharmakon concept in his book Dissemination's Plato's pharmacy section by deconstructing the dialogue about 'writing' in Plato's Phaidros. Contrary to Plato, his treatment of writing as pharmakon includes both poison and remedy without preferring or deciding one of them. Derrida similarly treats literature as "the area where everything is possible to write". This approach points to the existence of a great opportunity of literature in addition to its deep relationship with modernization, nationalism and nation-building. This opportunity, which Gilles Deleuze treats as 'minor literature' (littérature mineure) or 'minority literature', tends to destroy private and public sphere transitions and the "awareness-raising" function of the 'major (national) literature' that provides it, and to directly equalize the private space to the political-public sphere in the last instance. Thus, the smallest private matter becomes the greatest problem of society by being publicized. Deleuzian minor literature accomplishes this transformation by deterritorializing the major language and yet surprisingly fronting the collective values.

In this study, firstly pharmakon was traced in major language by associating the Deleuzian minor or minority literature with the concept of pharmacology of Derrida and Stiegler. Later, in order to make this relation visible, a short 'minor' search was made in Turkish literature. The minor character of Yusuf Atılgan's novel Aylak Adam and the Latife Tekin's novel Sevgili Arsız Ölüm is examined on the basis of Franz Kafka's works, which give the most important examples of minor literature. Contrary to the common view that associates literature with nationalism and nation-building in one way, it is aimed to bring out the pharmacological character of literature and gain visibility to minor opportunities within homogeneous national literatures which cover every minority with all its problems.

**KEYWORDS:** Pharmakon; pharmacology; minor literature; Derrida; Deleuze

Panel : Reassessing Arts and Crisis

Session: S19-Arts and Politics

Chair : Kadir Dede, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

(-) 09:30 -11:00

## The New "Sensorium": Reassessing Politics and Aesthetics through Crisis

Müge Tepeyurt, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University

In the 1700s, Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten dealt with art as a way of doing mimesis norms, that is, fine arts until it included philosophical systems as a particular discipline. Aesthetics refers to the comprehension and conceptualization of the breaking of the regime of definition which art products are perceived and thought of, the break from the conformity model provided by mimesis norms. In this respect, things belonging to the arts are no longer regarded as "ways of doing" but as "ways of being sensible." With the separation of the aesthetic from the representative art regime, this time aesthetic is being repositioned over the relevance or irrelevance of politics. The relation to politics in the case of aesthetics represents two distinct radical autonomies in modern and avant-garde arts. The autonomous attitude of modern arts expresses an anti-political approach to the idea that art is independent of other areas of human life. Avant-garde art, on the other hand, reveals a politicized aesthetic field in general terms. In this context, Jacques Rancière does not regard aesthetics and politics as two reflections of fixed and separate reality. Politics is the aesthetic meeting point when a body, which is not previously identifiable in the field of a given experience, and whose identity is only part of the reshaping of that field of experience. The process of production which might be contemplatively assumed, in this regard, implies the existence of a series of actions. Aesthetics has its political possibilities without being engaged in politics. In this way, the aesthetic-policy-related crisis necessitates preserving the specificities of the two fields. This study follows the views of Rancière on aesthetics and politics and will touch upon how these two fields are interrelated. By revealing alternative ways of being sensible, the relationship between aesthetics and politics reminds the promise of freedom —as non-dominance— to prosper through the new sensible areas (sensorium).

**KEYWORDS:** Aesthetics; politics; crisis; sensorium; Ranciére

# Digitalizing the Theater: On The Crisis of Theater in the Hyper-Technological Era

Sofiya Akdağ, Hacettepe University

We are accustomed to describing the theater as one of the oldest branches of arts. Similar to all branches of arts, with the theater, too, the developing technology was taken advantage of. Projections, recorded images, sound effects, or the recently used 3D mapping technology were applied to the stage to attract the audience of the epic theater. This development has expectedly yielded a basis for the massive use of technology in the theater.

When we first look at these technological developments, it first seems like a very successful contribution to the spread of the message, to put the actors in more roles, and to attract sensual expectations of the audience. Techniques such as blacklight, mapping, lighting shows, prologue and projection of videos prepared in parallel with monologues, brought a new atmosphere to the theater. However, as a consequence of such technological interventions, a critical question arose: "Has the difference between the theater and the cinema gone away?"

By critically emphasizing this question, the paper first discusses the effects of "digital reticulation" and the impacts of "new recording technologies" on theater today. The paper secondly exemplifies the positive side of such technological developments on the large-scale distribution and accessibility of the message such as the possibility of reaching audio or visual records of 'Ostrich cabaret' games, or the ability to find almost any play performed by Ferhan Şensoy on YouTube. This paper finally discusses whether these hyper-technological contributions and the prospects for large-scale digitalization reduces theater into the new routines of commodification by dismantling its critical cause.

**KEYWORDS:** Theater; digitalization; technology; popular culture; critique

Panel : Reassessing Arts and Crisis

Session: S19-Arts and Politics

Chair : Kadir Dede, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

**(**) 09:30 -11:00

## Photography and Politics in Iran in the Naseri Period (1848-1896)

Kimya Oskay Sümbül, Bilkent University

The reign of Naser al-Din Shah Qajar (1848-1896) was, fundamentally, breaking new ground in the social and political realms of Iran. Photography was a useful adjunct to these realms since Iran was introduced to the diversified use of photography during this period. The one and only assassinated Shah of Iran perceived photography as a tool for his political maneuvers for solidification of mass loyalty when Iran was confronting economic difficulties, weakened central power, non-regularized bureaucracy, irregular army, poverty, and famine. In the meantime, the merchants, modern-educated intelligentsia, Babis and some of the clergy were criticizing and protesting the policies in the form of social upheavals, secret societies, and journalism. Consequently, the rise of a politicized society commenced achieving a consensus to condemn the Shah as the unjust ruler that gradually decreased the traditional power of the monarchical apparatus. The answer of the Shah to consolidate his traditional power included a concurrent preservation of tradition with the adaptation of modernity. Photography is amongst the best examples representing the amalgam of the traditional and the modern during this period in such a way that, with the avail of a modern camera, Naser al-Din Shah Qajar aimed to empower the dynastic power and establish his reputation as the absolute authority.

Addressing the history of photography in Iran alongside the socio-political dynamics of the era, this study presents the political use of photographs employed by the Shah. The mutual effect between the political realm and the photographs of the era is the main discussion. Therefore, an interpretive strategy of reading outward from the photographic images is realized, while considering the socio-political parameters of the era. This study introduces how the politics of a past country can reverberate through the past photographs.

**KEYWORDS:** Iran, Naser al-Din Shah; photography; 19th century; politics

# Nationalism as a Crisis in History of Art: Ignoring the Multi-ethnical Structure of the Artistic Progress in Early Republican Turkey

Fevzi Can Gürüz, Hacettepe University

As Benedict Anderson notes, the creation of a culture and history takes place through a process of forgetting and remembering. Due to fact that culture and history are the basic elements of nations, nation-states reinterpret and reconstruct these from a nationalist point of view. Furthermore, this interpretation covers alternative spheres and art is one of the most distinctive one because of its universal and transcendental spirit. Certainly, history of art is a field in which this conflict can be seen and it is also the focus of this study, which aims to discuss the relationship between nationalism and the nation-state creation process and examines the effects of this relationship on art history and writing history. Shaped by nationalist ideology, nation-state's perception certainly has negative impacts on arts and artists. In this understanding, the other is suppressed and excluded. As a result of the end of the multi-ethnic structure, a new regime emerged, based on nationalism and shaped by a nationalist understanding of nation-state.

Concentrating on early Republican Turkey, i.e. from 1923 to 1945, this paper examines the new regime's approach to arts and artists. This paper focuses on early Republican theatre in Turkey with an emphasis on the continuities and changes between the late Ottoman Empire and early Republican Turkey. According to this particular view regarding arts and artists, the Turkish people had to be educated in line with the expectations of the new regime. In this context, feelings of pride and confidence in Turkishness were highlighted alongside the feeling of superiority other (non-Turkish people). In this sense, while the Republican nationalist ideology aimed to reshape cultural and artistic activities in order to build its citizens, the history (writing) of theatre in Turkey involved forgetting which is in harmony with nation-building process.

**KEYWORDS:** Theatre; nationalism; nation-building; early Republican Turkey; crisis

Panel : Identity within/beyond Crisis

Session: S13-Social Theory

Chair : Eser Ergönül, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

**(**) 09:30 -11:00

# Is Evil a Crisis of Humanity or Condition of Humanity: Miligram Experiment, Auschwitz and Beyond

Yelda Yenel, Hacettepe University

The theroy of evil is one of the most important but unidentifiable topics in the social sciences. There are a lot of different comments about this term and Hannah Arendt is one of the most influential thinkers on this topic. According to Arendt, moral evil does not have any deep, metaphysical origins. Arendt's account of evil is partially inspired by the personality of the "desk murderer". She focuses on Auschwitz and Eichmann's behavior in Jeruselam. It is thought that the subject of this definition is the camp, as well as the different contributions of social psychology to detail the camp discussions. Based on these observations, this study aims to reveal that the content of the Miligram experiment is far from a trace of the Auschwitz example, that the banality of evil is not a crisis but part of the human condition. To this end, the notion of evil in Arendt is discussed through the realities of Auschwitz. Then, the Miligram Experiment will be examined through the example of privileged Jews. Finally, the concepts of obedience and responsibility to authority will be discussed.

KEYWORDS: Banality of evil; Auschwitz; privileged Jews; Nazis; Holocaust

# East or West, Asya or Dilek? Self-Orientalism in Yesilçam Film Industry

Gökçe Gülay, Hacettepe University

Yeşilçam film industry of the 1960s and 1970s is one of the building blocks in the history of Turkish cinema. Yeşilçam reflects social, cultural and political life in Turkey. Narrating Turkish society in the latter's own language; Yeşilçam symbolizes both Turkish social structure and its transformation. It seems tenable to argue that Turkish social structure as reflected in Yeşilçam is symbolized in women's bodies. More specifically, gender inequality is reflected in Yeşilçam movies. While the modern woman is represented as a "European" woman; the "ignorant" and "backward" woman, on the other hand, is represented as loyal and self-sacrificing "Anatolian" woman.

It seems possible to interpret this common division in Yeşilçam with reference to the critique of Orientalism as raised by Edward Said, who points out that Orientalism is by no means merely the Occident's perception of the Orient; it is a weapon that the Orient aims at its own self. This is a case that is aptly called self-Orientalism, which seems best to be represented through women's bodies. One can find hundreds of examples of this kind in Yeşilçam. Nevertheless perhaps one of the best examples is the 1978 film called Selvi Boylum Al Yazmalım, based on the novel of the renowned Kyrgyz novelist Cengiz Aytmatov's novel carrying the same title. The heroines Asya and Dilek embody the split between the Orient and the Occident. One can argue that the inferiority complex found in Asya can be interpreted as the director's self-Orientalism. This paper hence investigates the questions of gender inequality and self-Orientalism with a specific attention to the film called Selvi Boylum Al Yazmalım.

KEYWORDS: Yeşilçam; self-orientalism; gender inequality; Selvi Boylum Al Yazmalım

Panel : Identity within/beyond Crisis

Session: S13-Social Theory

Chair : Eser Ergönül, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

**(**) 09:30 -11:00

## Transfer of Nationalism to the Future over the Theories of Nationalism

Yusuf Alper Oyar, Yıldırım Beyazıt University

Definition of nationalism is controversial as well as the date of its emergence is. As Umut Özkırımlı argues, nationalism is a variable phenomenon. Considering the modernization process, it can be said that nationalism has become a dominant ideology in Western Europe in the nineteenth century. This historical reality can be clearly seen in the emergence of three main theories of nationalism: primordialism, modernism and ethno-symbolism. Political and social breakdowns from the nineteenth century to the present have led to the emergence of new nationalist interpretations. Published by Michael Bilig in 1995, and dealing with nationalism in everyday life, 'Banal Nationalism' is one of these interpretations. With the rapid development of communication technologies that have taken place together with the globalization process, the international physical borders have been lost. This led to expectations that nationalist movements would lose their power and influence in society. Nevertheless it seems that these expectations have come to nothing when nationalism is concerned, and that nationalism is regarded as a superior value in all societies. In this study, ways of transferring nationalism to the future are explained through three main theories of nationalism and Michael Billig's banal nationalism.

KEYWORDS: Banal nationalism; ethno-symbolism; future prospect; modernism; primordialism

# Conditioning the State in Hobbes and Schmitt: A Comparison in the History of Political Thought

Ali Özaydın, Hacettepe University

This study provides a comparative reading of Thomas Hobbes and Carl Schmitt's analyses of state and sovereignty. While considering the perspective of the history of political thought as the main point of departure, the paper discusses similarities and differences between two realistic definitions of the political phenomenon. The paper analyses the historical context of the British Civil War as the essential marker of the success of Hobbesian interpretation of the state of nature, fear, consent, chaos, and power. The paper firstly interprets the basis of Hobbes's analysis of power both in Leviathan and in De Cive, as the central point of departure for contractarian models of statehood. Secondly, the paper compares Schmitt's definition of the political and reading of sovereignty as forms of an antagonistic political ontology. By following the "enemy vs. friend" antagonism in Schmitt, the paper compares the Weimar period with the conditions of the British Civil War.

KEYWORDS: Schmitt; Hobbes; state; sovereignty; the political

Panel : Feminism, Gender and Homophobia

Session: S03-Gender and Sexuality

Chair : Pelin Dincer, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

11:20-12:50

## **Gender and Identity Crisis in the Color Purple**

Merve Deniz Pak, Başkent University

Identity relates to the self-esteem of the individual, the community, the class, the race, or an existence and gender roles. When it comes to gender identity, there is a pursuit of honor for development. Female identity is a dignified identity generally associated with the social and cultural norms of the patriarchal family structure and is generally defined within the parameters of the social relations of women with men. For this reason, mostly female identity is the basis on which gender inequality is established and legitimized. So, gender roles and identity confusion built within a patriarchal structure lead to crisis for women. Over the centuries, patriarchy has laid the ground for women's silence, traumatic experiences, negative self-perception, stigmatization and exclusion. It can be said that in this area African-American women in this crisis that they are fighting patriarchal worlds in order to gain a sense of identity.

Alice Walker's work The Color Purple, which is the focal point of this study, brings the pressure of Afro-American women to the agenda. The "purple" used as a metaphor means metaphysical, social, and personal rebirth reflected in different tones by the inner self. The pressure in search of freedom for black women is the main theme in this work. Moreover, the forms of resistance of African-American women against rape, patriarchal dominance and white supremacy are analyzed from their own point of view. Feminist perspectives used by women characters in their journeys of self-discovery and development to get rid of domination, which allows them to move away from the patriarchal ideology, are being put forward. It presents an example of how confident women have become self-contained and free from a repressed female sexuality and identity. From this perspective, this study aims to examine the crises women experience in terms of gender roles and identity.

**KEYWORDS:** Crisis of gender; identity; the color purple; feminist theory

# From Homophobia to Homonationalism: A Critical Analysis of Sexuality and Power in Nationalism Studies

Elifcan Çoruk, Hacettepe University

This study aims to focus on the problematic and mostly underestimated relationship between power and sexuality in nationalism studies. The connection between homophobia and nationalism remains to be accepted without question regardless of spatial or temporal connotations. In most occasions, the rise in the visibility of homosexuality is responded by a homophobic reaction that vitalizes a threat for marginalized groups. Nationalism symbolically effectuates means of marginalization that triggers a crisis of identity by spreading the fear of homosexuality and militarism while enforcing symbolic forms of exclusion which also decisively affects state policies.

Violent marginalization of LGBT individuals and groups along with various forms of discrimination against women reveals the necessity of revising theories of nationalism through alternative means of understanding the relationship between sexuality and power. Beyond psychological explanations of homophobia, racism, and sexism, nationalism studies lack in connecting to the debates on biopolitics and queer theory in contemporary political philosophy. Following the critique of heteronormativity raised by queer nationalism and Jasbir Puar's recent analysis of homonationalism as a matter of biopolitics and exceptionalism, this paper aims to question diverse reflections of the relationship between power and sexuality today.

**KEYWORDS:** Homonationalism; queer nationalism; power; sexuality; nationalism studies

Panel: Feminism, Gender and Homophobia

Session: S03-Gender and Sexuality

Chair : Pelin Dincer, Hacettepe University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

11:20-12:50

## **Masculinity Registration Document**

Elif Berfin Yağbasan, Hacettepe University

Masculinity is a structure that sustains power relations based on gender. This myth must be constantly proven by being reproduced through specialized fields, homosocial environments and taboos. As Raewyn Connell reveals, the domain of hegemonic masculinity, the ideal identity in the gender order, is quite wide. The masculinity, which is constructed with patriarchal norms, has been discussed with the concept of crisis especially since the 1990s. The masculinity crisis is mostly related to factors such as the social, political or economic transformations that have taken place since the 19th century, the disintegration patriarchy based on lineage, changes in the labor, technological developments and migration. It is clear that masculinity is influenced and strengthened by other transformations or crises. But the main point is, in a much more comprehensive field but in a more invisible form, the hegemonic, fictionalised, normative masculinity arising from patriarchy is the cause of the crisis. Explaining the crisis connected with other transformations is to mask the crisis of masculinity and heteronormativity. The main purpose of this paper is to discuss the masculinity crisis with its own crisis and with a sexist structure. It is insufficient to say that masculinity is in crisis. The crisis can only be understood by arguing with a different and alternative masculinity description.

**KEYWORDS:** Gender; patriarchy; macsulinity; heteronormativity; crisis

# Pathfinding Through Crisis: An Assessment of Open Access Feminist Journals

İmge Tuğçe Bağır, Hacettepe University

Borrowing the term pathfinding from Patricia J. Gumport, I contemplate on feminist epistemology through open-access feminist journals as a relatively new path for feminist scholarship. This suggestion comes from my personal writing struggles as a feminist scholar. More often than not, I find myself striving to write in the best fashion possible without dismissing my inner voice. When it comes to scholarly writing, in challenging times, the interdisciplinary nature of feminist epistemology makes possible to break certain boundaries. And I believe, open-access feminist journals help us to find new ways to express ourselves, and to share our takes with everyone who has facilities to access to the internet, be they scholar or not. With this train of thoughts, I propose to consider feminist epistemology and open-access feminist journals as pathfinders in crisis, and also to deduce their limitations.

KEYWORDS: Feminist epistemology; open-access; feminist journals

Panel: Precarity I

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Süreyya Murad Su, Sakarya University

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## A Philosophical Analysis of Self-precarization in the New Turkey

Tuğba Ayas Önol, Sakarya University

The phenomenon of precarity is one of the drastic results of the post-Fordist economy in neoliberal societies. It is introduced to express the precarious living and working conditions created by the flexible paid employment of temporary or seasonal workers. The concept is translated as prekar, preker, prekarya or kırılganlık in Turkish and the notion has been at the center of the discussions on the influence of precarious working conditions of paid employment on individuals especially in the arts and entertainment industry in Turkey as well.

This paper claims that in the special case of Turkey, the insecurity and precarious state that precarity indicates can be a useful tool for assessing the reorganization of discipline in local disciplinary level in society through the seventh-time extended state of emergency. The new Turkey's social and juridical conditions cause an ontological vulnerability/precariousness and as a result the individual turns into a self-discipline mechanism driven by fear. Focusing on the conditions of self-government, the present study regards this alteration as a crisis of the faculty of judgment. In order to perform such a reading, the paper follows Isabel Lorey's conception of distinct modes of precarity and it focuses on the influence of what Lorey calls, with reference to Foucault, governmental precarity on the individual's faculty of judgment. By this way, the present study aims to search for the answers to the questions such as: How do subjects become agents of self-precarization in neoliberal societies? What happens to the faculty of judgment in the cases of self-government of precarity? How can we serve ourselves as governable precarious subjects?

**KEYWORDS:** Self-discipline; self-precarization; governmental precarity; judgment

# Overcoming the Silent Obedience and Reinvigorating Hope in Academia

Senem Doyduk, Sakarya University

The concept of the ruling authority, which appears in the focus of the problems arising in society and power relationship, is discussed in many communities, including the academia. However, the academia, which produces theoretical knowledge for the society about its relation with the ruling authority and deepens the discussions, appears to have refrained from questioning the power relations within itself or revealing out the relationship between the academia and the ruling authority. One of the most important concepts in this relationship is, undoubtedly, obedience. This paper aims to open a discussion about the unfair attitudes faced by individuals and groups who fail to fulfill the expectation of obedience in the academic environment and about the ways to deal with these. This study also seeks for the factors to lighten the current gloomy context and makes reasoning to find out the source of hope.

KEYWORDS: Academy; obedience; justice; hope; vulnerability

Panel : Precarity I

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Süreyya Murad Su, Sakarya University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

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# From Precarious to Precaria: A Trial of Deciphering from Transformative Powers Towards Stable Mechanisms

Emre Demirtaş & İrem Uslu, Sakarya University

This study, as a matter of vulnerability, firstly regards the notion of precarity affirmative in terms of being a fundamental force of life engendering activations such as dispersion, decomposition or resolution; however, then it tries to generate a discussion on positive and negative properties of the notion after dislocation to the political plane and becoming a tool of management and control of precarized communities subjectified-commodified by the mechanisms of power. With reference to the second law of thermodynamics as entropy, it can be claimed since all things are in motion and incline for dispersion, objects' stabilities are only a virtual phase of inertia. Furthermore, not only objects but also all identities, and all descriptions/classifications of identities can be regarded to be in motion and change. However, precarity deviates the ratios of mobility-immobility by means of power apparatuses. In other words, mechanisms of (modern) power constitute a system of exploitation through description and classification over inherited mobility-immobility oscillations in each body by imprisoning them to the verges of either constant change or constant stability. Consequently, the establishment of social norms and identity construction processes evolve into configurations of indefinite-insecure 'precarious subject' of consumer society instead of 'worker' of the productive society as the instrument of production. The very basic characteristic of precarization is normalization of subjectifications which were actually potential for both mobilizing and immobilizing, and to convert everybody threatening these norms (such as social status, health, education, property, race, gender, profession, etc.) into manageable and controllable individuals through increasing fragility. Hence, the motivation underlying this study is to trace modern power mechanisms that systematize vulnerability by subjectification devices and to decipher the psychological effects of these mechanisms on society.

KEYWORDS: Precarity; power mechanisms; vitality; subjectification; social psychology

Panel : Sovereignty, Biopolitics, Control Society

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Emre Özcan, Başkent University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

**(**) 14:00-15:50

## **Behavioral Insight as a Current Means of Control Society**

İnan Yıldırımlıdal, Hacettepe University

In the modern world, individuals are included in the social structure which is already given. At work, at school, at hospital, and even on the street, people are involved in an order that was established before them and will continue after them. The concept of disciplinary society of Foucault is based on this foundation. Today, the disciplinary society left its place to the control society of Deleuze. This new control society is internally reproducing the common and everyday practices of people. This enables recording and storing every moment of the individual. Deleuze emphasizes that the control power obtained by monitoring has spread throughout the social area.

However, one of the major crises of capitalism is that people do not prefer rational choice. While making economic decisions, people are under some influences which sometimes lead them to a different option other than the rational one. Today, nudge theory came into prominence as a solution to this crisis. In this field, there are studies about observing these individuals, analysing their behaviour, determining in which point they behave in a way the system does not prefer and trying to make them behave in a manner with a "nudge". It is the digital control society of today that makes it possible to provide every aspect of the daily life of individuals.

This study argues that the behavioural insight is polished as a resolution of the crisis described above and it was a result of the need of providing sustainability of the system. First of all, the transition from the disciplinary society of Foucault to the control society of Deleuze is explained, then the crisis of non-rational behaviour will be discussed and finally behavioural insight will be introduced within this perspective.

KEYWORDS: Crisis; control society; Deleuze; behavioral insight; nudge

## Knowledge and Power from Foucault to the Present: The Case of Electronic Voting Systems

Tuba Özbilen, Hacettepe University

Drawing upon Michel Foucault's description of the relationship between biopower and governmentality, this paper discusses the new contexts of the connection between knowledge and power in conjunction with recent technological developments. This paper first provides the general details of Foucault's concept of governmentality as a critical debate on the aspects of the disposition of biopolitics via the structural and discursive relation between power and knowledge. Second, the paper introduces the transformation of governmentality today and draws upon the emerging context of "algorithmic governmentality" which connotes a new and alternative framework of interpreting the relationship between knowledge and power in contemporary political philosophy. The paper finally explains this theoretical transformation through the case of the implementation of electronic voting systems in the United States. The analyzed case study shows that regarding the implementation of electronic voting systems, the debate on security and confidentiality of the application, the anonymity of voting, or the production of non-fabricated data remain to be critical points of crisis to address.

KEYWORDS: Foucault; biopower; knowledge; electronic voting system; "algorithmic governmentality"

Panel : Sovereignty, Biopolitics, Control Society

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Emre Özcan, Başkent University

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## Reading the Crisis qua 'the Multitude': Immanence, Power, and Biopolitics

Hikmet Çağrı Yardımcı, Ankara University

The concept of the 'people,' in its classical orientation, has generally been defined through positive dialectics and historicism. People, according to this tendency, should be governed by a sovereign or should live in the form of 'neat' unions. However, after substantial changes in social, political and economic conditions of life with the rise of modernity, structural dynamics of the approach mentioned above transformed into different dimensions —especially into alternative 'labor' relations. Moreover, technological developments in the industry and the consolidation of capitalism caused the rise of a 'biopolitical' life.

The concept of the people was transformed under capitalism into a central principle of subjectivation, which is indispensable for biopolitics. This study intends to interpret the crisis of the transformation of life through the modern context of subjectivation and by reference to the diverse modes living together. By combining Foucault's analysis on biopolitical life, which differs from discipline society regarding 'dispositives' used by power, with Negri and Hardt's definition of 'life of multitude,' this study aims at revisiting the central relationship between immanence and power by focusing on its philosophical connotations in Spinoza and Machiavelli.

KEYWORDS: Crisis; the multitude; subjectivation; biopolitics; capitalism

# Anti-Crisis and the Sovereign Reflections of Power in the Handmaid's Tale

Haktan Kalır, Hacettepe University

The crisis can be defined as the inauguration of the relationship between power and negativity. The relationship between crisis and sovereignty also reflects the problematic nature of disposition of power. Boundaries, power and history of the sovereign are determined by the context of the crisis. In this regard, the ontological precondition of the sovereign could be stressed as being in the context-limits of the concept crisis. In its Kantian or Hegelian sense, as the (human) entity is shaped by necessary antagonisms, the sovereign itself comes into existence in the form of a crisis that seems to reflect its own antagonism. On the one hand, this antagonism exists as a complete excursion. On the other hand, it is also possible to discuss a paradoxical process of overcoming antagonism. This paper discusses this double meaning by drawing upon the concept of "anti-crisis". After providing a theoretical reading of the constant recreation of the mutual relation between the sovereign and the crisis, the paper interprets the universe of the TV serial *Handmaid's Tale*, with reference to some of the key debates in contemporary political philosophy and by introducing the concept of anti-crisis as a framework for understanding diverse dispositions of power.

**KEYWORDS:** Power; anti-crisis; the sovereign; Handmaid's Tale; patriarchy

Panel : Precarity II

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Senem Doyduk, Sakarya University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

**(**) 14:00-15:50

## A Trial of Problematization on Political Theology of Precarity

Süreyya Murad Su, Sakarya University

Precarity is a much-debated social phenomenon seen in late capitalist era as an outcome of neoliberal policies and post-fordist mode of production. The concept of precarity refers to a sociological condition in which insecurity, contract labor and contract marriage, state of emergency, sustainable debt, and liquidness replace social security, regular work and regular family life, superiority of law, economic stabilization, and everlasting relations, respectively. This has led to some changes in the psychological and spiritual life of people, and as a consequence, religious beliefs and worldviews have been transformed.

In this study, I argue that recent changes and transformations are connected with the precarity in socio-economic area, insecurity in area of law, uncertainty in political discourse and suspicion in faith. Even though political realm seems autonomous, I claim that it is inevitable that these processes are affecting this realm. Indeed, precarity was a characteristic of pre-capitalist society. Because agriculture was totally dependent on nature in feudal societies, economic production was precarious. In feudal society, this sort of precarity and insecurity were tried to be eliminated by a political and theological stability, which were provided respectively with absolute obedience to master and god. As for capitalism, it was in need of building free market conditions in order to improve. For this, it has to establish a stable and secure environment. Then, a new order was established upon rationalist principles. Yet in the late stage of capitalism, these principles have been questioned with the crisis of modernity. It is thought that reason has no much benefit for humanity, except for its benefit for economy. Distrust towards reason and the precarity of life has brought us two main choices: nihilism or return to god.

**KEYWORDS:** Precarity; capitalism; post-Fordist; religion; deism

# **Exhibiting the Truth: Parrhesia, Precarity, Art**

Burak Delier, Sakarya University

In this paper, the relationship between precarity and truth will be elaborated through the notion of parrhesia. As Michel Foucault explores it in his final courses, parrhesia is a practice of free speech and truth telling, performed by the weak by taking a risk against the powerful. The practice of parrhesia discloses the relation between self-precarisation/vulnerability and truth telling. Foucault, in his Courage of Truth lectures goes from the practice of parrhesia as an act of truth telling to the notion of "aesthetics of existence" that considers the form of life as a scene where the truth is revealed. In ancient Greece, the life form that is considered a scene of truth finds its most articulate expression in the Cynicism movement. Foucault suggests that through the history of western philosophy such a relation between the subject and truth is neglected and its remnants could be found in Christian sects of beggars, 19th-century political militants and in modern art. Besides that, modern art relates to the problem of truth 1) by revealing the truth of its material by stripping itself from narrative and representation and 2) by descending to the haptic level exposes the vulnerability of the body. Nevertheless these art forms are done neither with representation nor with traditional art forms and materials. Today, various conceptions of art such as "relational aesthetics" or "social practice" are directly targeting forms of life. These art forms will be explored within the context of neo-liberalism, precarization and truth telling. Especially two art works that are realized collectively in İstanbul, namely This is not a lecture (2014) and Bardergi (2018) are discussed both as acts of truth telling and as a search for autonomy that is not referring to the law but through constructing immediate and small-scale intersubjective relations.

KEYWORDS: Parrhesia; precarity; turth; art; autonomy; 'social practice'

Panel : Precarity II

Session: S01-Political Theory

Chair : Senem Doyduk, Sakarya University

🛗 July 20 2018, Friday

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# Footballers' (Un)Employment as an Unsecured Labor Case: A Participant Observation Study of Football Clubs' Youth Steps and Amateur Leagues

Serkan Taşkent, Sakarya University

In this study an evaluation will be made in the light of the data collected from participant observations in youth step and amateur league footballers' career field. The perception of amateurs about being a professional footballer, their long service labor in football and future expectations in the "sector" will be discussed on the basis of precarity.

Starting from the middle of the 19th century, football has moved from being just a sports activity and became a full time profession. As football is industrialized globally in the late 20th century, the perception of being a football player has transformed into something that is accompanied with wealth and reputation. On the other hand, being a successful professional footballer requires exceeding time and effort that prevent youth step and amateur league footballers to complete their education. Therefore, beginning from the 1990s, a massive unsecured footballer labor has come into existence in youth steps and amateur football clubs as the demand to become a footballer has increased in Turkey. Moreover, deunionization of footballers, Turkish Football Federation and professional clubs' attitude against youth step and amateur footballers have also enormously contributed to this state of precarity. Ultimately, there arises a hegemonic relation between amateur footballers and football club directors as these future potential professional footballers' labor are exploited constantly.

KEYWORDS: Amateur football; football labor; precarity; Turkish football

