

MINOR POLITICS AND ITS PROMISES
THE CASE OF TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

MINOR POLITICS AND ITS PROMISES THE CASE OF TURKEY

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The thesis aims to identify and theorize the “minor politics” as a new field of politics. It is different from dominant understanding and practice of politics. The main features and characteristics of minor politics are discussed with reference to the thoughts of Spinoza, Nietzsche and Deleuze and Guattari. Therefore, the attempt, of this study, is to distinguish minor politics by developing a conceptual framework. On this basis, it includes a field research on a sample from Turkey. In the context of this field research, certain alternative formations and activisms appearing in daily life experiences are considered and evaluated from minor political viewpoint. Accordingly, they are assessed to what degree they are non-representative, horizontal, decentralized, not producing relations of subjugation, immanent, based on multitude and prefigurative. According to the conceptual framework and the findings of the field research, the thesis attests the existence of minor politics as a new field of politics and discusses its limitations and shortcomings. Moreover, its promises for friendly human togetherness are reflected.

Keywords: Minor politics, prefiguration, immanence, multitude, friendship

ÖZ

MİNÖR SİYASET VE VADETTİKLERİ TÜRKİYE ÖRNEĞİ

Kara, Onur

Doktora, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi

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Bu tez, hâkim siyaset anlayışı ve pratiğinden farklı, yeni bir siyaset alanı olarak “minör siyaset”i tanımlamayı ve kuramsallaştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Minör siyasetin temel özellikleri ve nitelikleri, Spinoza, Nietzsche ve Deleuze ve Guattari’nin düşüncelerine referansla tartışılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışmanın amacı, kavramsal bir çerçeve geliştirerek, minör siyasetin farkını gösterebilmektir. Bu kavramsal çerçeveden hareketle, Türkiye’den seçilen bir örneklem üzerinde alan araştırması içermektedir. Bu araştırma kapsamında, gündelik yaşam deneyimlerinde kendini gösteren bazı alternatif oluşum ve eylemlilikler, minör siyaset bakış açısıyla ele alınıp incelenmektedir. Buna göre söz konusu oluşum ve eylemlilikler, ne derece temsil dışı, yatay işleyen, merkezî olmayan, tahakküm ilişkileri üretmeyen, içkin, çokluk temelli ve prefigüratif olduklarına göre değerlendirilmektedir. Kavramsal çerçeveye ve alan araştırmasının sonuçlarına göre bu tez, yeni bir siyaset alanı olarak minör siyasetin varlığını kanıtlamakta ve bu tür bir siyasetin sınırlılıklarını ve yetersizliklerini tartışmaktadır. Ayrıca bu tür bir siyasetin, dostça bir arada yaşam için vadettikleri üzerine düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Minör siyaset, prefigüratiflik, içkinlik, çokluk, dostluk

To Melike

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People from thirty one minor formations participated in the survey I conducted with the purpose of studying minor politics in the context of Turkey. A significant portion of the intellectual baggage of this thesis stem from the knowledge and experience accumulated by the works of these minor formations and their people acting in different fields of life. I am greatly thankful to the participants who contributed with their practical knowledge and unending enthusiasm. I would like them to recognize themselves as one of the creators of this thesis.

*“Dostluk” ve “ortaklık”,
aynen Devrim gibi, tarih ve
gerçeklik-aşırı ideal
düzlemlere gönderirler.
Siyasal eylemde de büyük
olan, idealler düzlemindeki
hedefleri sonsuzca büyütme,
gerçeklik düzlemindeki
hedefleri küçültmektir.*

Ulus Baker

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There are certain personal stories behind academic studies that we could acknowledge as inspiring sources or founding elements. I also can tell about my intellectual and practical stories as different sources for this thesis as middle-range conceptualization and theorization of *minor politics*. The first one of these sources is based on general observations and insights derived from my academic or theoretical readings and considerations on the political or the social in general. In today's overall picture of politics, I found certain characteristics problematical.

First of all, in this general picture, I see the political science and philosophy, once directed to understand the world of politics, identify the political relations within the relations of power and subjugation. Actually, this is common and dominant in classical and modern political thought. The contemporary thinkers such as Foucault and Deleuze tried to break down this thought by deconstructing the understanding of *power* in politics by introducing new “minor” viewpoints that emphasize the role of discipline and control in the society. However, it is so strong representation that politics is still considered in the domain of power relations; politics is the name of the fight between the major powers or powerful figures and structures in order to regulate life, govern the resources, have control over the territory etc., that is, to code and territorialize the flows in Deleuzian terms and to deactivate the *potentia* in Spinozian understanding of politics, which I will focus much more in the next chapter.

Related to this first characteristic, it seems to me that politics is generally experienced in *transcendental level*. There are always transcendental determinants that suspend the current time, instrumentalize human and humane collectivities for the sake of divine or supreme beings or ideals. In more general term, politics is taken into consideration by major facts, concepts, and tenets, molar structures and agents,

big events and names. People have telescopes and their eyes are directed to see the majorities only or mostly. It is possible to claim that especially in last few decades, politics in global and local scale is experienced with a very restricted sense and in a field that is defined and determined by party politics, major ideologies, representative bodies, leadership, diplomatic or military interventions, economic dynamics, macro social movements and similar major parameters. In such a field of politics with such a sense, there are also dominant moralities, norms, practices and affects or ideas specifically belonging to here and characterizing it. For example, it is already dominated by representations and representative norms, practices, agents and bodies; there is mostly a culture of *conflict* and *reaction* between these representative powers; and the relations of subjugation in hierarchical order and centralized organizations cloud any other potential relations and affects.

The politics in transcendental level are accompanied with or followed by the principle of *identity*. There are strong and major identities that bring people together by eliminating or negating their singularities. As Nietzsche underlines, “As a community grows in power, it ceases to take the offense of the individual quite so seriously” (2006: 47). The human collectivities under the principle of identity rather than *difference* turn into molar structures that are so powerful that they can ignore the individuals. Politics in the transcendental level that is strengthened with strong representative identities appear in various forms of totalitarian machines and it produces and reproduces the culture of reaction and *reactive existence* in the Nietzschean term. Political agents and bodies produce the relations of power and subjugations again within reactive actions rather than producing their own *active existence*. As a result, politics is generally experienced as *reaction*.

Politics in transcendental level with strong identities and in reactive existence give ways to the emergence of *conflict* as political culture and also the most powerful representation dominating over the political thinking and practice. I mean *the conflict* in common meaning of the word. If politics is experienced and considered in the relations of subjugation, if it is lived in transcendental level with the principle of identity, then it is inevitable that conflict accompanies all political processes. In that sense, I can say that representational cosmos appears in its clearest form, in

conflicting politics. In other words, politics has been represented within an absolute *conflict*, a condition of war and the affects of *conflict*. Politics and being political are understood, felt, theorized and practiced as the matter of life or death and always characterized with symbolic or reel, biological or psychological, hot or cold “war” that is in the forms of conflict, contradiction, opposition, antagonism, disagreement, etc. between various powers or powerful agents or structures. The feeling of enmity or hostility, the sense of “otherness” and “contradiction” accompany politics, even with its practices it is seen as the leitmotif of politics. These representations are so common that the political thinkers or actors believe if there are no such representative elements of power and *conflict* as the determinant of politics, this means that there is no politics or something political. If it is not *conflicting* for *power*, any action or activism is not appreciated or dignified as something valuable to think in the sense and scope of politics or to analyze or to support in terms of politics. One can argue that this is somehow a metaphysics that imagines or represents politics within *the conflict*. Actually one can consider that this is very old metaphysics in the history of politics; that is, *the conflict* is so common that it appears like an *arche* in this history. In that sense, it is helpful to remember that such a metaphysics of *conflict* is present there in the history of political theory, starting from Platonic dialectics between the forms as aspatial and atemporal ideas and the world of appearances (Plato, 1993), continuing with Machiavelli who was the first to comprehend politics with affects like fear and hope and to establish politics in the state of war (Machiavelli, 2008), then with Hobbesian tension between freedom and security (Hobbes, 1996), and including the contradiction between the individual and the society as in liberalism, Hegelian dialectics (Hegel, 1956, 2003), Marxist class conflict (Marx, 1994, 1996), politics as the friend and enemy relationship (Schmitt, 2007), then post-Marxist cultural theories of antagonism, till to the idea of *disagreement* in the political theory of Rancière as very recent contemporary political thinker (Rancière, 1998, 2004, 2007, 2007a).

It is possible to claim that this metaphysics of *conflict* is not peculiar to the theory of politics; it is also common and dominant in the practical field of politics. Actually, there is a mutual relationship, the theory and practice always feed each other. The actors in the field never raise any activism to the level of “political” unless it is not

characterized by a conflict, an opposition or a reaction. Rather the affects and practices that include conflict and reaction and take the power of being political from this metaphysics are blessed as the “representations” of political. The “reality” of the conflict between masses, classes, identities, ideas, ideologies, structures, generations, colors or sexes forces the human mind –the philosophy and science- to understand, sense and sanctify politics one way or another in the axis of *conflict* in different levels.

In consideration of these general determinations that I made in reference to the works of Spinoza, Nietzsche and Deleuze and Guattari, I inevitably think that today’s politics is based on *representative thinking and practices*, it is considered and experienced in *transcendental level* and with the *principle of identity* and it is generally *conflicting politics*. My essential concern is that this picture with such general determinations is the expression of “major politics” that comes from above, imposes the morality rather than cultivating the practices of ethics, aims to govern or rule over people, consumes their immanent *potentia*, and as a result, that restricts life, pressures human potentials and closes any other possibilities for “the political”. Moreover, this representative, restricted meaning and field of politics are not practical and inclusive enough to understand and explain other important dynamics, relations or affects of politics living in minor scales.

While I did these observations on the general conditions of today’s major politics, I had one more observation that sounded to me that the major politics is not absolute and does not dominate absolutely over other possibilities of politics. I mean, I also saw that there are *minor formations, activisms and practices* in various fields of life, they are not only *related to* politics but also *political* themselves. I recognized that these minor political activisms and practices cannot find their place neither in political science and philosophy nor in the eyes of people or communities who are “political”. They are different from those of the major politics; they are based on *potentia* in Spinozian term (2007), that is, the activation of real potentials and capacities of people to construct collectively and friendly other lives and subjectivities. In that sense, I see that it is a politics lived in *immanent level* with the *multitude of singularities*; and it observes the ethics of *public friendship*. Then it

appears to me highly important to obtain a microscopic viewpoint, to attempt to define this new and different field of politics both in order to contribute to the literature of politics and also to show the possibilities to support and affirm the life by enlarging the scope and meaning of the political, to make sense that politics is not restricted to the relations of subjugations among the major powers such as parties, ideologies, representative mechanisms, etc.

Actually, my personal activism on minor field was also effective to make me think on the minor politics as an alternative way of doing politics or experiencing autonomous existence. This is why I can say that my own minor activism in minor fields of life is another source to have such a theoretical attempt to introduce minor politics at political theory.

I have been working voluntarily for years for children in different collectivities and associations in Ankara. In 2015, I initiated a collective and voluntary activism, namely *Şimdilik* (For Now), with my friends in my own neighborhood for children living there. We prefigured a place for various workshops for science, art and philosophy and in these workshops children can express themselves, discover their potentials and their tendencies and gain their individualities in self-transformative processes. In this voluntary activism, both volunteers acting as facilitators in the workshops and children come together just because they want, but not for any material benefit or by any kind of obligation coming from responsibility or doctrine. Volunteers organize workshops in the subjects in which they have knowledge and capability. So, the collectivity is a kind of combination of their potentials. Besides these, it is totally autonomous activism; it does not exist under the shadow of any major body or structure; it is an initiative and activism of some friends, without any relations of power, subjugation or hierarchy.

In the processes of this activism, many people and especially families questioned our political positions or opinions. However, from the very beginning, we have been outside of such discussions; we have acted carefully not to be considered under any ideology, political party or any major identity. This was necessary to show our neutrality, objectivity or impartiality in terms of major politics. It was only by virtue

of this impartiality that we could climb over the walls of people and reach them without any discrimination, that we could find place in their intimate world and that we could be affective in terms of creating a substantially different way and form of activism. In these processes, we always emphasized that we are not “political”. We meant by this that we don’t have any relation with political parties, ideologies, doctrines, etc. However, we knew that our activism is political in fact since it aims to enable children to gain their own singularity and *potentia*. In that sense, our activism includes a kind of objection to the dominant educational system because it imposes children the ideologies, discourses or world views in power, to make them be uniformed individuals in accordance with dominant or major norms and codes. In fact, the expectations of the parents are in line with the established moral-political normative order as well. So our activism is quite political but politics in our activism is not composed of dominant norms and practices of politics. Then I recognized in time that everything in our activism is political but our politics is quite different from “politics” as well. In that sense, I feel the necessity to differ our “politics” from the other “politics.” What we are doing was “minor politics.”

With these intellectual concerns and in such personal background, I tried to generate and develop *the theory of minor politics*. On the bases of these two sources, I recognized that it is necessary and also possible to define and demarcate a new field of politics in the name of *minor politics*. I knew that it was a concept that could be found in the studies of Deleuze and Guattari, especially in their works of *Capitalism and Schizophrenia* and *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*. Minor politics is introduced by these thinkers as the example of their understanding of politics in the extension of *minor literature*. As might be expected in regards of general indifference to the philosophies of these thinkers in the political science, the concept of *minor politics* too has not been noticed enough to take place and functionalize in political theories and studies directed to explicate the contemporary politics. However, I think that the concept of *minor politics* together with other social theories and conceptual tools of these philosophers and their scholars are crucially practical to understand and interpret today’s politics in *flow* and the political in *becoming*. In that sense, it seemed to me possible that “minor politics” in the works of these thinkers can be my starting point to conceptualize and deepen *the minor politics* in political

theory; I can pick up where they left off, with the aims of defining a concept of minor politics totally or mostly belonging to the literature of political theory. By this orientation, it would be possible to identify and bring into focus a new field of practice and meaning in politics. This study combines this theoretical attempt with a field study in Turkey. Then the limitations and promises of minor politics are evaluated in this context.

In this dissertation, I attempted to do this; I tried to generate the theory of minor politics. I departed from the thoughts of Deleuze and Guattari on the minor politics to make clear the theoretical background but I aimed to go beyond their conceptualization. I tried to develop the concept of minor politics which would distinguish and register the factuality of certain set of practices and activism with certain characteristics which remained outside the focus of contemporary political theory. On the one hand, this study develops an understanding and conception of minor politics by deriving from Spinoza, Nietzsche and Deleuze and Guattari. Such a perspective enables us to attest and interpret “minor” dynamics in social and political life which mostly remain unaccounted under the dominance of representative thinking of politics based on “major powers”. On the other hand, this study also produces new knowledge on minor political formations¹ and activism on the basis of the field study on Turkish case.

Therefore, I can say that this study is devoted to the theorization of minor politics as a new field of politics. It is organized on the basis of four main chapters. I will introduce the theoretical framework for the general features of the minor politics; examine these features of minor politics in practical conditions of Turkey and investigate both the limitations and promises of the minor politics within reference to the findings of the field research.

¹ “Formation” connotes different meanings in English but I use this word in order to mean the formations of human activities and open ended forms of human togetherness rather than structural, institutional and firm systems, establishments or organizations. I use the word “formation” in the meaning of “oluşum” in Turkish.

What is minor politics not?

Before proceeding to the summary of the chapters, I would like to point out what the minor politics is *not*. Firstly, and as I have shown above in reference to the general determinant of today's politics and as I will give more place in the next chapter, minor politics is not major politics. As I will emphasize later on, it is not reaction or protest to major politics but it is totally different from this politics of representation, conflict and *potestas*. Actually minor politics is established on its difference from the major politics. Still, this does not mean that any kind of politics or political activism which do not look like major politics are in the field of minor politics.

In that sense, secondly, I should also underline that minor politics is not in the scope of social movements. I can understand that some may have questions about whether the minor politics can be considered in the scope of social movements. But I should say that minor politics is quite different from the social movements too either in conventional, new or contemporary terms since the social movements are "protesting", "demanding" or "reacting"; they have a repertoire of protests and they mostly continue to act in accordance with the codes and norms of major politics when they preserve their "conflicting" and "representative" nature. I think today's social movements carry the traces of such natures of conventional social movements, especially when they cannot go beyond just "making demands", being "reactive" or aiming to produce "conflicts" and when they become disruptive and violent forms. Even Tilly and Tarrow, in their book *Contentious Politics* (2015) as one of the main sources trying to understand and explain the political characteristics of social movements, conceive the social movements as protest activities among the ordinary ruled people and the rulers. In short, according to them, the social movements are other forms of "contentious" politics; they bring into existence in a politics of conflict. They may lose their effect and disappear in a time, they may be articulated to other movements or they may become a part of major politics. Accordingly, it is clear that minor politics cannot be evaluated in the fields of social movements; I don't consider the minor politics or minor political activism and practices in the fields of social movements. Minor political activism are not protesting movements, they do not apply to a certain repertoire of protests, neither are they public marches, demonstrations, riots, strike waves, rebellions, revolutions, civil wars, ethnic strife,

etc. They are substantially different and very original activisms and practices that bring into existence, mostly in daily life practices that are creative, affirmative, prefigurative and transformative. This is why I refrain from a detailed examination and discussion concerning social movement literature and I don't enter into this literature. However, this study still has a relationship with this literature of social movement theories. The theory of minor politics is in collaboration with this literature since this literature is important to follow the contemporary dynamics of the political. For example, there are such concepts as *prefiguration* and *multitude* in order to understand the new wave social movements in all around the world. In this study, I applied to use these concepts since they are also practical to sense and identify the field and dynamics of minor politics (Castells, 2012; Dixon, 2014; Sitrin and Azzelini, 2014).

Thirdly, minor politics should not be confused with the field of civil society. It is because of one basic and simple reason. Especially in Turkey, civil society refers to the official and public area and it is positioned outside the sphere of the state authority or bureaucracy. However, we know that the sphere as called *civil society* can be in the determination of the major politics. Even if the concept and sphere of civil society are discussed throughout the history regarding its relationship with politics, today it is defined as the organized society under the control of the state and major politics. The common understanding is that either the civil society organizations are directly in politics or they prefer to define themselves totally outside politics. We should point out that politics that the civil society organizations are integrated is the major politics. The civil society organizations mostly refer to non-governmental organizations or non-profit organizations aiming to function in the social life. However, such a duality of *civil* and *political* society is the product of the understanding of major politics. I can say that, regardless of their definition of being political or not, it is a fact, from the viewpoint of minor politics, that nothing in the social life is outside politics. Therefore this makes such duality nonsense. Such duality is only sensible from the world of norms and discourses of the major politics. Yet, as I will concentrate on the second chapter, the minor politics accepts that all civil social sphere is political as well, one way or another. Still, it does not mean that all the organizations included in the field of civil society are the formations that

could never be included in the minor politics. I will conceptualize minor politics and define its main features in the second chapter. In accordance with these main features of minor politics, I will say that these main features are the conditions or requirements of being minor political. In that sense, a civil social organization can be defined as minor political formation only if it provides the conditions to be a minor political formation. Still, regarding the general characteristics of the civil society organizations like sharing the norms, minds and language of the major politics, it is not easy to find civil society organizations where minor politics shows itself as vibrant and dynamic power. Within the field research which I did for this study, I made interviews with the formations in the sphere of civil society which are non-governmental organizations at the same time. For instance, Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı – KADAV (*Women's Solidarity Foundation*) or Halkların Köprüsü Derneği – HKD (*Association of Bridging People*) are civil social organizations. However, here in these organizations the minor politics is alive and dynamic, especially once regarding their way of acting and perception of politics; they provide the conditions of being *minor* political. This brings us to say that their being an official or legal foundations or associations is not an obstacle to be *minor political*.

Fourthly, I would like to clear one more important point. The subjects fields do not automatically make the activisms *minor political*. As I will show in the next chapters, minor political formations act in various fields of life such as women or homosexual movements, urban and ecology movements, labor, education, migration, sport, media, prison studies, etc. These are minor fields of politics but they are not what make the formations or activisms *minor political*. For example, there may be an organization that tries to do something in one of these fields but it may quite continue to exist in accordance with the bases or principles of major politics such as being representative, hierarchical or ideological, etc. Minor political existence is based on *how to act* rather than *what to do*. In other words, it is only *the way of acting*, rather than the activities, that make the formations and activisms *minor political*.

Lastly, minor politics should not be confused with micropolitics. As we know from the studies of Foucault or Deleuze, micropolitics is functioning as small-scale interventions to govern populations or as a type of regulation to shape the

preferences and attitudes of people, to form their desires, beliefs, judgments, etc. In short, it is employed as a form of governance by techniques for discipline, surveillance and examination of political subjects (Foucault, 1980, 2007). In that sense, micropolitical power appears as extensive forms of the power of major politics in everyday techniques. Therefore, I can say that minor politics is totally different from micropolitics. Minor politics is not related to size or scale. While micropolitics as a power of techniques may be micro instruments to serve for the power of a totalitarian or a fascist regime, minor politics is not an instrument to constitute or support any ideology or any power of major or macro politics. Minor politics itself presents substantially different form and field of politics. And in the next chapters, I will define its main features, or conditions, which determine the *minor political* way of acting. I mean, minor politics has certain special characteristics that I will try to frame in the next chapter and this framework will define the conditions of being *minor* and *political* at the same time.

1.1 Summary of the Chapters

In the second chapter, I will try to conceptualize the minor politics and assert my hypothesis within certain theoretical references. It will be accompanied by the attempt to show the existence of minor politics with its certain features. As I said earlier, the concept of minor politics has surely been derived by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, who emphasized “minor politics” as the *line of flight* in politics. However, I think that there is not yet a comprehensive conceptualization of *minor politics* either in or outside the borders of the contemporary political theory. This is why my dissertation appeals to the political theory of Deleuze and Guattari but not remain limited to it. It is rather based on my comparative study and also activism in certain minor fields of life.

The attempt to conceptualize *minor politics* in this second chapter includes the determination of its certain main features. 1) In that sense, I will put forward that the minor politics observes continuity between *politics and life* in its very micro details reaching to daily life, individual concerns and private issues as well. 2) The minor politics is characterized by its non-representational nature; it is a politics experienced outside the representations and representational thinking and acting. 3) The major

politics finds its representations in the plane of transcendence; it is highly dominated by transcendent references like God, religion, morality in the forms of laws, ideology, cult leaders, grant narratives or major ideals. However, the minor politics is imminent: That is to say, a) From the viewpoint of minor politics, we as people are both the subjects and objects of politics; politics starts with our *agendi potentia*, that is *the power of acting* rather than with *reacting* to the others. b) People of minor politics are acting and acting but it is only because they want to do this, not for the sake of representations –the ideas, figures, aims, etc. and c) In the minor politics, nothing is seen as a means or an instrument or a step or an intermediate phase to achieve something else or another condition. It is based on the ethics and politics of *process*. 4) The minor politics is not reactionary; as ends-in-themselves the minor political formations are based on the encounters that mostly empower people in various ways. This refers to again immanent and ethical substance of the minor politics. The minor politics is comprised of “productive” and “affective”, rather than “reactional”, forms of togetherness. This is why the minor political formations are the minor examples of the *multitudes* and this makes them open to and even attractive for *others*. 5) So minor politics is also based on *multiplicity of singularities*. In minor politics, the principle of *difference* is in operation; this means that people are different but equal in the sense of their importance or value; they have *singularities*. 6) While one of the phenomena common in the major politics is the organization of molar structures and centralization as a natural result of representative power relations, the minor politics is *decentralized* with its minor formations and actions that are non-authoritarian, non-representational, non-hierarchical. 7) Minor politics is *prefigurative* and *affective*. The affective power of the minor politics comes from its *prefigurative* substance, that is, its reality of praxis in life processes. The prefigurative politics as the praxis to establish the demanded life to some extent and in the very micro scale *here and now* is one of the most distinguishing features of the minor politics. In other words, one of the main dynamics of the minor politics that makes it *affective* or increases the power of being affective is its connection and association with prefiguration. 8) In relation with its affectivity and having multiplicity of singularities, minor politics is the politics of *becoming*, in the sense of becoming minor, minoritarian, an animal, a tree, a woman, a homosexual or any other similar minorities. Such an experience of *becoming minor*

appears as the base of experiencing *the difference* immanently, creating the multitude of *singularities* and deterritorializing the majorities of the grand politics of representation. 9) In conjunction with all features above, the minor politics is politics of flight from *potestas* as the relations of subjugation. The motivation of peoples of minor politics are not the same with that of the major politics. They do not desire to bag a place or a position in relations of subjugation in major politics; they do not desire to exist in representational major politics for they have negative feelings towards such representational bodies that are different forms and partly apparatuses of the power and hierarchically organized practices, full of reactions, feelings of conflict and language of discrimination, etc. Rather, people of minor politics rely on their *potentia* to act and pursuit of *public friendship* and human togetherness that are based on the multitude, the principle of difference and equality in immanent level.

I believe that each one of these features is distinguishing for the minor politics but all of them together can make politics *minor*. So, in order to define and develop a conception of minor politics, it is necessary to determine how many of them and how intense they are included, experienced and sustained in the practice.

This conceptualization is my hypothesis. In the third chapter, I will attempt to verify it. For this aim, I have completed a field study on the practice of the minor politics. It would be both necessary and helpful to observe the minor politics in practice in order to consolidate and assure the hypothesis that there is a new field of politics and the dynamic of *the political* continues to live in these minor capillaries. This is a new field of politics and there is limited scientific and academic literature dealing with *minor politics* as conceptualized in my hypothesis. There has not been a thorough field study completed to assess the main features of minor politics, whether there is *minor political* reality in the practice of minor formations and activisms, and the sense or practice of politics in this field. This is why I tried to investigate it by collecting some data from the field where I supposed the examples of minor politics live. I did research on the minor political fields in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir to obtain knowledge of minor politics by completing semi-structured in depth interviews with people from 31 minor formations and activisms on the questions such as what are these minor formations, what do people do in and by them, in what

fields of life do they act, in which mechanisms are they functioning, how do they sense and experience politics, what are their relations with major politics, who are these people engaged in minor politics, what kind of affects do they produce in their activisms, what are the gains in these activisms, how about the limitations of the minor politics?

An important point is that this field study is not an attempt to encompass all minor political fields in Turkey. It is rather a qualitative study. It cuts a view of minor politics; it is an attempt to define this new field of politics and identify the ethics of the minor politics in Turkey. In that sense, in the third chapter, I will present and interpret the findings of this field research. I will show the fact that there is a new field of politics, that is *minor politics*. I will combine the main characteristics of the minor formations and activisms in three main titles, namely *prefiguration*, *multitude* and *immanence* that are in coherence with theoretical features of the minor politics.

In that sense, I will try to analyze and interpret the minor politics with reference to the findings of my research. Results of my study help me discover that there are many alternative political practices, many minor formations and activisms which can be seen as the cases of minor politics in Turkey. These minor formations are simply collectivities but they can also be official foundations, associations or solidarity networks, neighborhood initiatives, community centers and even unofficial collectivities and organizations. Regarding the fields of life, I can say that the range of minor politics in practice is so wide that it is possible to cover all the life. For this particular study, I focused on the formations and activisms as the samples of the minor politics that are acting in the fields of movements from ecology to urban, woman to LGBTI, media or video activism to solidarities with minor groups like refugees and prisoners, autonomous sports activities to alternative education. Accordingly, it can easily be said that there are very different fields of life where the minor politics does live and act. This field research on wide range of fields supports the claim that there is a new field of politics; it is minor politics based on prefiguration, multitude and immanence, rather than a reaction to major politics.

In the fourth chapter, I will try to discuss the limitations of minor politics. In my field research, I directly asked interviewees about the limitations, shortcomings and problems of their activism; what kinds of problems they live and experience? In what kind of points their form of activism falls short or remains incapable? What are the sources and results of the problems? etc. Besides these direct questions, there are also some certain remarks in the interviews that indicate the limitations and shortcomings of the minor politics in practice. In this chapter, I will try to explain and evaluate some basic limitations of minor formations in terms of their activism, also the reasons and potential or actual results of these limitations. According to the findings from my field research, it is possible to say that the limitations and shortcomings of the minor political activism and formations in very different forms, practices and affects can be organized in two main categories. Firstly, the major politics create certain limitations or pressures over the minor political activism. That is to say, the major politics, with its different conventional and hegemonic norms and practices, produce different pressures over the minor politics, try to pull the minor political activism and their people towards itself. It generally underestimates and undervalues the power and potentiality of the minor politics as well. Secondly, the minor political activism has its own shortcomings and limitations in itself. The minor political formations have certain problems, incapability and deficiencies that can be seen as common or general beyond the sample of this study.

In the fifth chapter, I will try to present the positive aspects and potential promises lying in the minor political formations and activism either actually or virtually. As a matter of course, these promises are generally based on main characteristics of politics, that is, prefiguration, multitude, immanence and their minor dynamics. It is also the fact that the findings of field research show that the limitations are overshadowed by the concrete gains and promises and it seems that minor political formations developed certain mechanisms to overcome the limitations and solve the problems. In that sense, the promises, positive aspects and gains of the minor political formations can be considered as answers to the limitations, shortcomings or problems that are specific to certain minor political formations only, rather than the whole field of minor politics. Moreover, these promises do not refer only to the possibilities or potentials of the minor politics to open new dynamics in *politics as*

life, but also actualities that work in certain minor formations and activities as already important gains for the sake of *life as politics*.

Before passing to the methodology, I should emphasize one of the very important points regarding the general concern of this thesis. Throughout this study, it will appear that there is *major politics* and it is highly characterized by certain general determinations that are in contradiction with those of the minor politics. However, I would not like to establish my theory of minor politics on any kind of opposition such as *minor politics vs. major politics*. Such an oppositional thinking would be contradictory to the theory of minor politics itself since it is a politics existing far away from reacting or opposing relationships and such forms of existence. I underlined certain characteristics of major politics just because I would like to make visible and embody the difference and originality of the minor politics but not to bring it into existence in opposition to major politics. Minor politics, with its theory or practice, does never exist in such contradictory relations and this is what makes it “minor political”. Still, one can feel such opposition between minor and major politics because the minor politics is the politics of line of flight from the hegemony of the major politics and there are strong limitations and pressures of the major politics over the existence and actions of the minor politics.

1.2 Methodology

The methodology in this thesis is based on *the grounded theory* as a qualitative and inductive method in general. Among the social research methods, the grounded theory is the most suitable one for the aims of this dissertation since it is the method that allows generating a systematic theory. It provides the emergence of concepts, knowledge and theories from the data. It does not enforce the researcher to stay on the boundaries of texts and textual interpretations only, but rather it allows to concentrate on his/her ideas and arguments derived from intellectual studies and life experiences at the same time. In that sense, it is based on research procedures that lead to such an emergence of the conceptual categories on the minor politics that are related to each other since this method supports the researcher to produce a theoretical explanation of the actions, events, etc. as the main concern of the research as well (Christina, 2002).

Grounded theory was developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss as an alternative method in social sciences to allow researchers to move from data to theory in specific concerns and to open up space for the development of new and contextualized theories. These two sociologists developed and presented the grounded theory in their book named *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* in 1967. Even if this method produced different versions and the writers themselves proposed different ways in practice, I adopt the initial book and basic principles of the theory as the main resource for the methodology of this thesis.

The very basic principle of the grounded theory is that it involves the progressive identification of categories of meaning from data. In other words, it provides guidelines on how to identify categories and how to make links and relationships between these categories. Actually, the theory is a kind of end-product of this process and it produces an explanatory framework to understand the actions, the events or the phenomena under investigation. The researchers identify, refine and integrate their categories and develop their theories by using such strategies as constant comparative analysis, theoretical sampling and coding. I think it is meaningful to explain these processes of this methodology of grounded theory while introducing the practice of how I did apply the method to my research to produce, refine and intensify my theory of minor politics.

From the viewpoint of grounded theory, it is very important to determine *the categories* so to group the instances such as events, processes, occurrences that have common features or characteristics since these categories are kinds of descriptive labels as the basic level of abstraction. In progress, this initial step will enable the researcher to identify the categories and analytically interpret the instances of phenomena. In accordance with this method, I initially tried to determine some categories; they are the features of the minor politics such that the minor politics is based on the principle of a multitude, intimacy, friendship, prefiguration, horizontality, sustainability, self-transformation or production of new subjectivities, affectivity, autonomy, etc. These are the categories that I define in order to distinguish the minor politics and try to find and analyze in my field research.

Moreover, these are the common features of the formations, activisms and solidarity networks, which help me to distinguish the minor political activism in general.

In the field research, it is also true that new categories emerged in the process; they are low level categories such as that the minor political formations and activisms are the results of a form of necessity. This is to say, the people of the minor political formations feel the need and necessity of what they are doing. Their activities and productions are the needs of the people in this society and so they somehow meet these needs. Actually, such a category emerged in the process of the field research in the statements of the interviewees and I did care about it because it was a kind of low-level category that could be integrated into a higher-level category such as the immanence of the minor politics. It is obvious that the minor politics as a context-specific theory was not an existing theoretical formulation and I did not derive the category labels from such a formulation or I did not import any existing theory into the analysis of the thesis. Rather, I tried to develop a new theorization of minor politics by certain attempts to determine and identify the basic, common and distinguishing categories and features of some formations, activisms and networks that I estimate are based on these categories and features.

One of the most important processes of the grounded theory is a kind of constant comparative analysis to maintain the consistency among sub-categories and between the main categories as well. I mean that the researcher has to refocus on the differences and similarities within a category, not merely to build up categories but also to break them down into smaller units of meaning. Here the main aim is to relate and integrate existing categories in a way that any other instances and cases are involved by the emerging theory as much as possible. In accordance with this comparative analysis, I moved back and forth between the features of the minor politics in order to provide a consistent base for the emerging theory of minor politics. For example, the principle of multitude should be coherent with the practice of friendship, non-violence or public openness. Similarly, the fact that the minor politics is based on non-representation should be consistent with its being horizontally organized or autonomous. In that sense, these features become kinds of criteria to find, determine and distinguish the minor political characteristics in the

formations and any other collectivities under investigation in the context of this thesis.

Another important process in the methodology of grounded theory is negative case analysis. It is necessary for the researcher to look for the negative cases and instances that do not fit and then to qualify the emerging theory. The ultimate aim of this process is to enable to capture the full complexity of the data on which the theory is based. After elaboration of these negative cases, it is possible to move from descriptive to analytical level. Actually, these all are necessary to provide a theoretical sensitivity when the researcher interacts with the data by asking questions, emerging categories, ideas, concepts or linkages, making comparisons and looking for opposites. In this process, the researcher also makes a theoretical sampling to check the theory against the reality by sampling incidents that may challenge the claims. As different from the earlier stages, theoretical sampling is concerned with the refinement and saturation of existing analytic categories. Such saturation is achieved after the processes of sampling and coding the data and it refers to the fact that the bulk of the data is available now.

However, this theoretical saturation does not mean that modification of categories or changes in perspective is not possible at this stage. Rather, according to the inventors of the grounded theory, it is always provisional, this is to say, even the published word is no the final one. At this point, regarding the theory of minor politics that I tried to develop in this thesis, I can say that the negative case analysis was very functional in my research processes. For example, I had proposed that the minor political formations are perfectly non-representational or there was somehow absolute autonomy in practice. However, when I collected the data from the interviewees from minor political formations and activisms, I recognized that there were negative cases, that is, the instances that do not fit to my hypothesis. Actually, such a recognition is critical for theoretical sensitivity and to review, examine and refocus on the categories and finally to reach a form of theoretical saturation. Moreover, such recognition enabled me to accept that I do not have to find the minor politics in practice in its perfect and ideal form. In other words, I distinguished that there is no single formation or activism that I can say it is purely and perfectly *minor*

political. Rather there are formations or activisms whose intensity of being minor political is different. This is also coherent with the research process of the grounded theory since it merges the processes of data collection and analysis. In that sense, I can say that the methodology encouraged me to continuously review the earlier stages of my research and to change the direction when and if necessary.

Regarding the research process, the grounded theory says that the researcher needs questions to focus on particular phenomena that she/he wants to investigate. Here the important point is that these questions should not be based on and involve *de facto* assumptions in the level of indisputable postulates derived from existing theories. Rather, the researcher should attempt to remain at a descriptive level and with an intention to identify the phenomena under investigation. The questions should not be yes-no questions that simply aim the opinions of the interviewees and that are mostly used in quantitative inquiries. On the contrary, they should be open-ended questions serving to the analysis of the phenomena. Having prepared the questions, the researcher can start to data collection in a wide range of techniques such as semi-structured interviewing, participant observation, focus groups, diaries or even existing texts and documents. The next stage is analysis and elaboration of the data by certain steps such as coding either in line-by-line level which is important to ensure that the analysis is truly grounded or section-by-section that is carried out when the abbreviated version of the methodology is used. Regarding the writing up and presentation of the results, it should contain the details about the rationale of the study, about how it was carried out and about the findings and their meanings. The grounded theory serves openness for the researchers to write up the research and it does not matter how it is presented. Still, it offers the guidelines for writing the emerging theory using the subheadings of introduction, method, results, discussion and references and appendices.

After this general introduction of this dissertation, a summary of the chapters and the methodology applied for the field research, I will proceed with the second chapter. It focuses on the theoretical background of the minor politics, tries to conceptualize it by defining its main features and attempts to form the hypothesis that it is possible to generate the theory of minor politics identifying a new field of politics.

CHAPTER 2

MINOR POLITICS

In general, human understanding works by and searches for the oppositions since the belief that everything exists with its opposition in nature is accepted as a self-evident truth. Such a law of nature has already some reflections on the social laws and therefore there is another strong belief that the social life can only be understood by analyzing its dialectical bases and structures: There are opposite groups, conflicting classes, clashing identities, battling religions, etc. Similarly, politics gets its share from this belief on dialectic and its *arché* as *disagreement* mentioned in the recent works of Rancière, one of the contemporary political theorists, is claimed to be founded on different forms of the dialectic such as conflict, contradiction or opposition (1998, 2007). These beliefs are so strong that any claim like “no, there is not a categorical opposition in life, but it is just a difference of intensity” immediately falls on deaf ears. However, there is a philosopher who expresses such a claim, even at the expense of facing opposition from the representatives of the philosophers before him and others in the following eras. He was Spinoza. Especially in his *Ethics*, he emphasized the fact that the difference, rather than dialectic, comes from the difference of intensities; the difference is the difference of measure. This can be conceived as a very detailed explanation but I think one should start to comprehend politics from this ontological perspective. For instance, we can derive from such detail that politics cannot be understood on the basis of the opposition of the forces or powers and political science dealing with *the social* cannot be reduced to certain representations of dialectic. Politics is life as itself. Actually the contemporary political philosophy has seen this necessity to identify politics with life and it was inevitable to understand politics in its minor scale reaching to the daily life, to the individual, to so-called private realm, or similar minor dynamics. This was referring to *the difference of measure* as well. For example, politics of daily life is different from politics of representations only in so far as it is considered from the

viewpoint of intensity. There is a domination of *the major politics* with its classics of political life, the meaning of being political, the structures and subject of politics, etc. but we can also discuss the potentialities of *the minor politics* which is cutting across much of today's political theories and also practices.

This is why in this chapter I try to develop a conception of *minor politics* by interpreting and adopting concepts from the social theories of Spinoza, Nietzsche and Deleuze and Guattari. To bring their theories and concepts together by connecting them to a new conception has been possible because they have common Spinozist origins or an immanent connection with the political philosophy of Spinoza. In that sense, I will appeal to some of their concepts like *intensity, multiplicity or multitude, singularity, non-representational politics, becoming, a line of flight, potentia, friendship, active existence*, etc. They together will help me to conceptualize, explicate and introduce the minor politics from different perspectives. By this means, I will consider "minor politics" in the context of its uncertain history, philosophical bases and many extensions or reflections as examples in contemporary politics. Then later on, this conceptualization will provide a base to strengthen my theory of minor politics within reference to the field research in the third chapter.

It is certain that "minor politics" was mentioned by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, who are two main figures in the 20th century French philosophy following the Spinozist line and also creating a new understanding of *the social* and *the political* as well. In the context of minor politics, their primary instance and insistence were on *literature* since they specifically worked on "minor literature" as a *line of flight* from the major/grant literature. Still it can be said that *becoming* minor or minoritarian and its conditions in the form of "becoming" (becoming animal, woman, negro, etc.) have also political meanings and reflections and I think it is true that their concern is not restricted with only literature. Moreover, according to them, there is nothing outside politics. Deleuze and Guattari succeeded to open the doors of "minor" to politics and I argue that if the minor literature is a line of flight from the major literature, then minor politics is the sum total of the *lines of flight* from "the major politics" which reveals itself as transcendental, representative, reactionary, conflicting, homogenizing, centralizing, etc. and in that sense it includes many

classical and contemporary forms of politics. Nonetheless, “minor politics” needs to be conceptualized deeply and properly as long as “minor” is understood as a concept that exceeds its meaning in the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari. It is because there is a huge history concerning the minor in the sense of individual, less, atomic, micro, monadic, slow, small, autonomous, childish, minimal, ordinary, etc. In other words, the concept of *minor* includes many other meanings, all of which can be discussed in “minor politics” and political philosophy in general. In that sense, as far as minor politics or minor in politics is concerned, one should keep in mind, for instance, the historical discussions on atoms and individuals starting from ancient philosophy, the monads in the philosophy of Leibniz (2005), the childish attitude as something *in need of tutelage* in critical philosophy of Kant (1991), the monadology of Tarde (2012), the micro-sociology of Foucault (1982), the “slow” movements in environmental politics or minimalism in architecture, daily life politics (Lefebvre, 1984, 2008), any kind of autonomous and *prefigurative* minor formations, collectivities and actions, etc. (Yates, 2015). It can be seen that the context of the *minor* is extremely huge and its meanings are wide-ranging. This is why I will refer to “minor politics” in the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari, however, I will properly try to conceptualize minor politics without restricting myself to them and this will be at the expense of covering many other minor meanings and senses of the “minor politics” or “minor” in politics showing itself as minor formations of human and their practical activisms in non-representational, non-transcendental, non-authoritarian, non-hierarchical, non-conflicting political existences, rather *prefigurative politics* or any collective or individual actions. For one of the main arguments of this thesis is that the dynamics of *the political* lie in *the minor*, the minor political formations, thoughts and practices. This study can properly be seen as an attempt to give *the minor* credit for keeping the political alive by its various affects.

Actually, one of the main reasons behind this appeal to the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari in such a thesis for political science is not only its originality in the discussion of *the minor*. There is also the fact that the power of their approach to *the social* can go beyond the various old theories which define *society* in terms of its fixed and completed functions, as a body with its organs and so as an organism.

However, from the viewpoint of their philosophy, the society cannot be reduced to its organs and representations; it is not made up of molar structures, rigid boundaries, closed cycles or stratifications. *The social* just covers the society as *body without organs* which include not only its origin but also the *margins*. “The body without organs and its intensities are not metaphors, but matter itself” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983: 283), it is the residue of the social and has two virtual poles; on the one hand there is *paranoia* in the forms of molar stratification or organizations like states, armies or parties and on the other hand there is *schizophrenia* as molecular deterritorialization. For example, Deleuze and Guattari reject Durkheim’s theories of *the social* that generally analyze at society as major collective representations, the similarities, identifications or binary oppositions like the individual and the social. Rather, they mainly follow the micro-sociology of Gabriel Tarde which prefers to deal with the minor details like mimics or imitations, repetitions and differences (Tarde, 1974). In that sense, Deleuze and Guattari propose the molecular science of *nomadology* to understand the *flows*, the lines of flights in the micro and unconscious level of *the social*. To understand the substance of the minor political formations and activisms, I think their theories of becoming minor in these *lines of flight* are very instrumental since they refer to flights, the escapes from the relations of subjugation in / of the major politics.

Actually, they see three kinds of line in the social and political life. The “molar line” is the line of binary segments that are socially determined and overcoded by the state, while “molecular line” is more fluid but is still segmentary and may turn into more rigid lines. That is to say, in all societies there are power fields like states and they define the molar flows of the social and there are also molecular fabrics of the rhizomes where the masses or huge social movements constitute the zones of indistinction. However, “there is no social system that does not leak from all directions, even if it makes its segments increasingly rigid in order to seal the lines of flight” (2005: 204). In Spinozian terminology, it is true that there is a fact of *potestas*, let say political power, sovereignty, a kind of major control such as forces of the states and any other major, representative and transcendental structures but this *potestas* can never be considered as something transcendental like *Power* that has its own substance and is isolated from *agendi potentia*, the power of activity, the

potential and capacity of human beings to exist, to act and to think. It is always this *agendi potentia* inherent to human beings, then to Nature or God, that creates any forms and mechanisms of *potestas* (Spinoza, 2007). In that sense, I can say that if it is *potentia* on the base and behind any human togetherness, it is also capable to flight from subjugating relations or *potestas*; this means that there are lines of flights, where some new weapons and war machines are invented and produced. In that sense, it is this *agendi potentia* that create and make possible the minor politics.² In other words, what I call the minor political formations, activisms and practices simply locate in and form these lines of flight; they are never hierarchical, they are growing horizontally; they have no central body like a tree and only diversify itself in minor level again. Rather, they are prefigurative appearances of *agendi potentia* that not only show the lines of flight from *potestas* but also experience these flights.

² It can be claimed that in Latin *potestas* and *potentia* have similar meanings such as power, force, efficacy, tyranny, control, authority, ability, etc. However, I see that in Spinoza's writings, there is a kind of tension between *potestas* as the political power and *potentia* as the source of any kind of power. We have to consider that they are not binary and categorical oppositions since the general philosophy of Spinoza does not allow such an opposition, once remembering Spinoza's warning "*non opposita sed diversa*" (not opposed but different). In this study, I don't ground the theory of minor politics in a discussion about the paradox between *potestas* and *potentia* neither I deal with the definition and explanation of *potestas* in Spinozian philosophy. I just focus on how Spinoza value *potentia* as the substance of human beings for his projection of ethics and politics. Still, it is possible to see in *Ethics*, *Theological Political Treatise* and *Political Treatise* that *potestas* is the representative power that is organized, structured, centralized, transcendental and in that sense, it is the power derived from *potentia* of human beings but restricted in representations of the politics in certain major mechanisms and agencies such as state or religion. This is why I take the viewpoint that *potestas* addresses to metaphysical, transcendental and representative existence of *potentia*. So, it is only *potentia*, the collective and constitutive power of multitude to act, that allows the ethics of associative relations in social and political life.

If it is necessary to say more about the paradox of *potestas* and *potentia*, one can also see the discussion made by Antonio Negri. He made studies to discuss the relation, paradox or polemic between *potestas* and *potentia* so that he could open a new discussion in Spinozian politics. He claims that Spinoza attributed different meanings to these two words. We see that, especially in *The Savage Anomaly*, Negri does not discuss the factuality of this distinction in Spinoza's thought and terminology, rather he takes this philological distinction for granted in order to afford a new perspective on Spinoza's understanding of politics. According to him, this distinction appears in several phases. For example, while *potestas* or Power in Hardt's translation refers to metaphysics while *potentia* to history. In other words, he interprets that in Spinoza's *Ethics*, God's Power (*potestas*) is not the *possibility* of producing all that is conceivable but the *actuality* of producing all that exists. That is to say, *potestas* cannot be other than *potentia*, even if *potestas* is the sum total of attempts and mechanisms to subordinate the *potentia*. From political perspective, *potestas* in Spinoza's writings has a real, material existence, such as monarchical governments or religious hierarchies; it denotes a kind of centralized, mediating and transcendental force of command and Negri uses *potestas* to imply subjugation, power of the state, absolute political power or specialized techniques of domination, subordination of the multiplicity, its mind and freedom, etc. On the other hand, *potentia* is substantial power. In political context, it is local, immediate, actual form of constitution and a kind of productive force in human life, the dynamic and constitutive inherence of multiplicity. For him, Spinozist logic foresees that democracy is to be unlimited form of government since in this form, *potestas* is fully constituted by *potentia*, the power of multitude; democracy is a return to the plane of immanence, that is ethics.

According to Deleuze and Guattari, the social molecular formations and relations which are always in the process or intention of becoming, flows, mutations and deterritorializations refer to these minor political formations and activism while there are also major and molar organizations, accumulations, over coded and string structures from the view of classical social theories and the major politics. Any creative *potentia* as either actualities and virtualities and any deep movements in the society springs from these lines of flight, but not from the contradictions or conflicts between strong divisions (2005: 220). For example, although the minor political formations and activism are “represented” as the result of the conflict between the molar, organized and centralized sections, there are lines of flight leaking from these sections, organizations and centralizations. This is why such an analysis has potential to go beyond the traditional social theories that are highly based on the idea of conflict, dialectic or contradiction, like the Marxist theory of class conflict or Schmittian theory of friend and enemy conflict (Albertsen and Diken, 2014: 161). In that sense, Deleuze and Guattari emphasize that the difference between “molar” and “molecular” is not the difference of the size, scale of dimension, rather they are distinguished “by the nature of the system of reference envisioned” (2005: 217). Similarly, the difference is not between the society as “macro” and the individual as “micro”; it lies in the molar and the molecular for they both cover the spheres of the social and the individual at the same time (Deleuze and Guattari, 2005: 219). However, Deleuze and Guattari define two different sciences; one is the molar one; the statistic as the science of the state, while the other is the molecular one, the *nomadology* as the science of the nomadic sociality. While the former is the science of the identities as fixed and stable entities, the latter is that of becoming(s) and heterogeneities and approaches to the flows or mobilizations as real. From the viewpoint of *nomadology*, and as opposed to classical sociology or the other major sciences of the state, *the social* is the place of quantum *flows* or waves as well as the static forces of representative molar structures and for Deleuze and Guattari “A mutant flow always implies something tending to elude or escape the codes; quanta are precisely signs or degrees of deterritorialization in the decoded flow.” (2005: 219) I understand that the minor political formations and activism correspond to such flows both *in* and *from* major politics and such a point of view as *nomadology*, as a minor science among all the major social theories, intends to see

agendi potentia and the power of affect of the minor facts, figures, deeds and encounters. These all give to me adequate reasons to adopt the nomadology as a perspective to understand and explicate the minor politics. In other words, the minor politics needs such an alternative conceptual tools to put forward the validity of the microsociology which is discovered by Gabriel Tarde and developed by such contemporary thinkers as Deleuze and Guattari because “history is always written from the sedentary point of view and in the name of a unitary State apparatus, at least a possible one, even when the topic is nomads. What is lacking is a Nomadology...” (2005: 23). The mainstream social theories and the statistic as a science of the state deal with solid things and accept the flows as exceptions while the nomadology and microsociology see the flows and fluid things as realities. In short, contrary to mainstream social theory and Durkheim’s perception of *the social* (Durkheim, 1997), Tarde and his successor Deleuze think that *the social* or *the individual* is not self-evident or self-appointed; they are not composed of purely solid things and the events in the social or the individual cannot be explained by pure social and individual reasons. For Deleuze and Guattari, *the social* is the hybrid formation of human and non-human components, it is the plane of becoming(s) and heterogeneities. It is somehow composed of differentiated strata, networks, flows and bodies without organs. So Deleuzian perspective is hydraulic, it has a dynamism coming from the potentialities and virtualities, “the real(s) without being actual” (2005: 94). The virtualities are simply possibilities by which the social appears blatantly obvious. In other words, the sociality is a huge world full of movements, transpositions and the possibilities with or without being actual, the capabilities to form infinitesimal dynamisms, etc. We can surely say that the social world is virtual at the same time. It means that the virtualities are collaborated with the lines of flight. Nomadology problematizes and searches for the possibilities of preventing the formation of state apparatuses and saving free thought from the state as the apparatus of capture (Aytaç, 2014: 222).

If the major politics can be defined as politics where the social classes and groups, their representative parties, ideologies and other representative mechanisms and forms are dominant, we can say that it has been outfaced after the second half of the 20th century by new social movements varying from feminism, anti-racial, minority

and environmental movements, etc. However, these movements may still turn into major and maintain on the plane of transcendence regarding their representational, centralized, reactionary understanding of politics and political actions. However, I can see the tendency of politics of Deleuze and Guattari in terms of politicizing the daily life, language, organizations and structures of subjectivities; it tends to open the very new field requiring new theoretical and intellectual expansions; I prefer to call it as *minor politics*. This is why in this thesis I will try to conceptualize and distinguish the minor politics by defining its main features, dynamics and affects regarding the minor political formations and activisms in today's politics. This will require referring not only to theoretical sources but also to practical examples in different fields of life; that is to say, minor politics is not only a political imagination, it also derives from, or expresses itself through, praxis or prefiguration. I will examine the practices of minor politics through several cases from Turkey. They are going to be under the focus as the lines of flight, which are immanent and affective. But for now, I will try to put forward my hypothesis that the minor politics can be defined as a new field of politics; I will attempt to conceptualize it by defining its certain features and main characteristics.

2.1 Minor Politics Accepts That Everything is Political

I think Spinoza, especially in his *Political Treatise*, understands politics in the context of an interaction among affects, freedom and *potentia* of human beings. He considers human freedom in the context of the *potentia* of human beings, that is, the capacity of people to affect and to be affected.³ In reference to philosophy of Spinoza, I propose to define politics in affective term. *Politics is the sum of affects and affectiones*. According to this definition, in every place and time where and when there are affects and affectiones, there is politics in micro or macro scales. In the same

³ I think the first sentences of the "political" treatise are the expressions of the relation between politics and affects that, Spinoza thinks, has been ignored. "Philosophers conceive the affects by which we're torn as vices, which men fall into by their own fault. That's why they usually laugh at them, weep over them, censure them, or (if they want to seem particularly holy) curse them. They believe they perform a godly act and reach the pinnacle of wisdom when they've learned how to praise in many ways a human nature which doesn't exist anywhere, and how to bewail the way men really are. They conceive men not as they are, but as they want them to be. That's why for the most part they've written Satire instead of Ethics, and why they've never conceived a Politics which could be put to any practical application, but only one which would be thought a Fantasy, possible only in Utopia, or in the golden age of the Poets, where there'd be absolutely no need for it." (2016: 503)

line of definition, being political is related to affects. The gratitude of being political depends on the gratitude of the affects and affections. Then our political existence is related with our *potentia*, that is, our potential to affect and also to be affected. In reference to his *Ethics*, I can also say that human beings are political either in micro or macro level since human is substantially his/her potential.⁴

In reference to this definition, the first thing that distinguishes and characterizes the minor politics is that it accepts that everything is political; in other words, every single deed and action in social or individual life is either virtually or actually political because each single deed, statement, motion and effort, etc. in human or inhuman life has more or less affects. From the view of minor politics, politics is the combination, the interaction, the differential or conflict of these affects; they are always creating minor or major connections to both the minor and the major politics. This means *the political* or politics is not only comprised of certain major actions such as election campaigns, a speech in the squares or street demonstrations, opponent protests, organized or spontaneous social movements or any major practices, events, discourses, etc. Minor politics does not underestimate or undervalue the minor; quite the contrary it notices *the minor* and places equal importance on it.

As the history shown to us, this attitude could not find its place and be common in political thought and practice; so far in the history of political theory from ancient times to the classical or contemporary era, politics has been understood in its major forms; that is to say, it is related to the major structures such as state affairs, lawmaking in the parliament, the administration, the relations between the state and the society, the international relations, etc. (Foucault, 2007a, 2007b) Similarly the theories based on the distinction between public and private sphere also contributed to the diffuse assumption that politics is only related with certain public issues and the individual or so called private concerns can never be political (Arendt, 1958).

⁴ In the fourth part of *Ethics*, Spinoza underlines the identification of human power to his/her nature, that supports the immanent characteristics of his definition of politics or political existence as well. He says, in 8th definition in this part, “By virtue and power I understand the same thing, i.e. (by IIP7), virtue, insofar as it is related to man, is the very essence, *or* nature, of man, insofar as he has the power of bringing about certain things, which can be understood through the laws of his nature alone.” (1985: 547)

However, in the level of affects, that is, in the level of psycho-somatic and intellectual interactions and connections, every single thing has more or less affects on the *potentia* of the individuals, groups and communities and it is this *potentia* that *being political* is based on. For Spinoza, life is the sum of the relations of affects either in intellectual or physical level; he thinks that “Nothing exists from whose nature some effect does not follow” (1985: 439). Similarly with this, for minor politics the individual is not the part of the community or the society; it is the community or the society itself with its indefinite power to act, to think, that is to affect. So the minor politics is an invitation to see the affective *potentia* of the minor. It is not a praise to individualism or a satire to communitarianism, rather it is an effort to show that even an individual has always political existence as long as he/she has a will and potential or capacity to live, to act and to think, that is, *conatus* in Spinozist terminology. In that sense, minor politics is humanitarian regarding the *potentia* of people in front of *potestas* as the conjunction of the attempts of subjugating relations lying in certain representative major structures aimed at utilizing or using this *potentia* to be in power, to practice it or to strengthen it to the level of transcendence. From the view of affective theory, *potentia* of the minor politics may be seen as in *different level* from that of the major politics, but this does not mean that the affects derived from the minor politics are less important than those of major politics, especially when we are aware of the minor political principle that everything is political.

I have to acknowledge that I take my support from Deleuze and Guattari to claim such a continuity between politics and life. For them, one of the main characteristics of *minor literature* is that everything is political and the other is that everything takes on a collective value in it. In major literature (also in major politics), the individual and the social or the political are strongly different realms but “minor literature is completely different; its cramped space forces each individual intrigue to connect immediately to politics. The individual concern thus becomes all the more necessary, indispensable, magnified, because a whole other story is vibrating within it. In this way, the family triangle connects to other triangles -commercial, economic, bureaucratic, juridical- that determine its values” (1986: 17). These are their conclusions from Kafka’s minor literature and politics. Here we see that even the

individuals or individual concerns are always connecting to the social and political; everything is collective. From the viewpoint of minor literature (and also the minor politics) and with the own words of Kafka, “what (in great literature) is there a matter of passing interest for a few, here absorbs everyone no less than as a matter of life and death” (1988: 106). This is not an issue of the boundary between the individual and the political, rather an attempt to define politics free from its imbrication in the representational world. Here, one can see that the emphasis of Deleuze and Guattari on *the minor* is also valid for politics and that politics is not made up of the representations, rather it starts with the rejection of and escape from the representational politics and continues with collective production, creation and affirmation of life, even within its all minor scales. This kind of politics is relatively radical for it comprehends the life as minor becoming processes which include all possibilities other than politics within representations, axioms, molar and major conjunctions.

2.2 Nonrepresentational Nature of Minor Politics

To the question about the most important feature of *the major politics*, that is, politics which dominates over today’s world, we can easily answer that the major politics is highly characterized by representations, representational thinking and practices. Representations are so common and majestic in politics that nobody, neither actors nor thinkers in political life, can imagine politics without representations; they always need representations to sense and execute politics. Moreover, the history of political thought is full of legitimizing efforts about the necessity of the representational thinking and representations with various reasons from the vast population of the cities or countries –that makes impossible the participation of all people into politics- to the efficiency of representational ways – for the sake of stability, for example. Throughout this study and when appropriate, I will try to show the relation between the domination of representation in politics and the closure of the possibilities existed in being political, in very micro, minor or molecular level. But at that moment, it seems more important to present the other history, the minor one, the history of non-representational thinking. Yes, there is also the history of non-representational thinking; it is minor but vital to show and establish the infinite openness of *the political*. Such a minor history tries to show

how the representational thinking and practices absorb the vitality of politics, how it converts and constrains the *potentia* -as the abilities and capacities of the people to act, to exist and to think- into the *potestas* -as the subjugating relations and force of discipline and control in today's societies (Foucault, 1997).

The very recent and influential figures in this minor non-representational thinking are Deleuze and Guattari; their opposition to such metaphysical positions, the philosophies of transcendence, and representational thinking from Plato and reaching to Freud make it possible to take them as political thinkers. There is no doubt that their non-representational project constitutes their outstanding idea of *minor literature* for they criticize the view that art is a way of representing the experiences of life and the unconscious; the art shows us what the world is. On the contrary, they believe in art as a way of challenging the *interpretive* tendency of representation for “the unconscious does not mean anything” (1983: 180), for *the representation* works with signs and always says that there is something to be interpreted. To them, art is concerned with “experience”, the experience of other possible worlds, and more importantly with “sensation”, the sensation of processes of *becoming*. In that sense, as far as the non-representational thinking and acting are concerned, there should be *affects* and *percepts* as artistic forces and as zones of intensities and fields of potentials, which all are against the representations. I think, from such a discussion on representation specified in the minor literature, it is possible to deduce that there is an openness to think the art having political potential as well. This potential is not restricted with the potential of art to express or to represent, for example the representation as being a voice for silent masses. This potential is neither related with a mission attributed to the art to carry consciousness to ignorant people. It is rather the base to conceptualize an non-representational politics and it is the most important feature of *the minor politics* as it gives us a substantially different way of perceiving the individuals as *singularities*, that is, those which cannot be represented and reduced to representations. In their conception of minor literature, Deleuze and Guattari move from the literature of Kafka because it escapes from meanings, implications, chain of signs and representations; and it includes the examples of *becoming*. They say that “we believe only in a Kafka that is neither imaginary nor symbolic. We believe only in one or more Kafka machines that are neither structure

nor phantasm. We believe only in a Kafka experimentation that is without interpretation or significance and rests only on tests of experience” (1986: 8). His literature machine is absolutely minor as practice and experience because it is not symbolical, structural, nor related to phantasms or interpretations. Even these features of the minor literature are enough to make the connection with the minor politics possible, especially with its non-representational nature.

So *the minor politics* tries to go beyond the *representation* and representational thinking, practices and codes. It is an attempt to deterritorialize the representational major politics. I think that the exclusion of *the minor* from politics is the result of that politics and also political thought are restricted to certain representations in various forms. This brings us to the fact that minor politics is the sum of actions realized by individuals or collectivities that are highly *participatory* in atomic level and so outside the *representations*. But as far as minor politics is concerned, living or being outside the representations do not only refer to the issue of *participation*. Actually, the critique of and an endeavor to go beyond or flight from representative politics and representational thinking or acting is the main feature of the minor politics for several reasons.

Even if the critique of representation in politics started earlier than Deleuze and Guattari, they succeeded to embody it by showing the relation between the representational level and the power, either in authoritarian and totalitarian forms, or control and discipline societies, or simply negation of life. Starting from their well-known critique of Freudian psychoanalysis -they claim that “representation was substituted for the units of production of the unconscious” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1983: 24)-, their main critique to the major politics is that the representation –as an idea or fact- is against the decoded *flows* in *the social* and the revolutionary *collective production* in / of the political. In their philosophy, representations refer to primary sources of the alienation in human life and they ultimately refer to long political history of parliamentary democracy, structural major apparatuses of states, “global persons”, conviction of the desire and unconsciousness in the familial triangulation, the political parties, ideologies, grand narratives or discourses,

essential structures of the societies, even certain practices like demonstrations, social movements, street politics and even certain spaces, spheres or fields, etc.

Deleuze and Guattari argue that capitalism, like psychoanalysis, utilizes the remains of the representational politics as well. Capitalism is a regime of flows of capital that reduced the labor into certain representations such as property. But in fact, Ricardo (1911) had discovered it as the sources of all wealth of life. This is the most basic form of the representation in capitalism. Actually capitalism works rather with axioms, not only technical or economic, but also social and political axioms. For example, capitalism is a regime of interests and only the interests can be represented. Such a regime that is based on interests and representations has to centralize its representational machines, leave the production of life to the organizations, structures or parties, intent to be close with the state as the operator of the axioms and make the people or the groups be subjugated to conserve the order against any *flight*. To put the relation of the issue with minor politics, it is important to note that the social axioms can be developed even for only one individual, for example, for an individual labeled as a schizo, a madman, a demon or a deviant, as well as for a whole population. This says to us that the individual is so crowded at the molecular level that their flight is a collective flight and their revolution is a collective revolution. Moreover, this says to us that the *monadology* of Leibniz (2005) claiming the crowdedness of individual and the understanding of Tarde (1903) of *monad* as open to another monad and their interaction continues to be true and operating. Therefore, I think this critique of representation reaches to politics, especially when we see the relation between non-representational politics with the affirmation of life.

As I mentioned above, major politics is dominated by these and similar representations. In major politics, representative political bodies, subjects and deeds serve for the opinion that the political has *certain* means or agencies; if someone wants to participate into politics or to be political, she has to include in these *certain* bodies or adopt these *certain* ways of acting and thinking. However, in minor politics, the subjects or groups in minor formations or activisms do not represent or are not representational of someone else. This is not an opportunity coming from the small size of the minor formations, rather it is a normal, maybe expected, result of

the issue of the approach to politics, to oneself and to the others. For the people of minor politics are acting or existing for themselves: If it can be said that minor politics is the process of a search in *politics or life*, people of minor politics search for themselves at first. It can be claimed that they do not act in politics for someone or something else; they are acting just because they will. This is one of the strong bases of non-representational level in politics and more importantly it is also the base of other important characteristics of the minor politics such as *prefiguration* and *immanence*, which I will examine later on. Acting and existing for oneself is pretty rare and exceptional in politics, this is why it must have surprised those who think politics within classical representational way such as that politics is only the public, the collective issue or as the name of the relations between the state and its people, etc. However, as I introduced earlier, politics is life itself. The individual as minor is both virtually and actually political in minor politics although its political power is not necessarily in equal level to the collective one and although sometimes the political power of the individual is bigger than the collective in the context of the affects.

We have to note that the fact that the major politics is the politics of representation means much more than that it is based on parliamentary, representative, centralized, discursive, party politics; the representation is not made up of them at all. It means that it is full of certain delimitations and closures regarding the political existence and that it is accompanied by coding processes. For example, if the major politics understand politics to be the election of some representatives once in every four years or if it limits the scope of politics with certain spaces, subjects and objects or if it accepts certain ways of acting as the only way of making politics, this means that the representational thinking operates in the way of closing the political mind and body step by step, of restricting the political space or of constraining it to certain codes. Such a politics dominated by representations and representational codes is another aspect of the power, authority or totality, to which the figures, entities or structures of the major politics achieve by way of, maybe by force of, representation again. I simply mean that one representative in the parliament has the power coming from the representational politics itself and he / she does not want to lose such power; then from his / her point of view, it is not beneficial to open new ways to

make politics, etc. In that sense, once I said that the minor politics is not representational, it means that it is free from such kind of representations, then limitations, then codes or closures, and so the relations of power and subjugation. This is the relation between the idea of freedom and the non-representational nature of the minor politics and this is why I emphasized on the fact that the minor politics accepts everything as virtually political and it considers politics as the universal set which stores anything human or inhuman.

Regarding these all, it seems crucial to underline that the minor politics is an affirmative attempt to show that every single thing, every deed of human beings, any little part of life is connected with politics. Such kind of openness refers to the *freedom* in politics, at least the freedom in the ways of making politics, and it should remind us that the minor politics unlocks all the doors to politics; life is politics and politics is life. On the grounds of this identification of politics with life, I can put forward that, for example, minor politics dispossesses the major politics of its power coming from its representations and representational organizations, codes, practices, etc. Since the discussion on the private and the public space is highly political, I will give an example related with this representational distinction. According to the codes of the major politics, there are certain public and political spaces and they are usually defined by their power of representation. The squares, for example, are public and political spheres where a macro social movement or a demonstration can exist. However, this representation of space can create such a perception that the political action can only exist in these specified spaces. In that sense, it is vital for the minor politics to turn ordinary spaces into political by *prefigurative* actions, by coming together, organizing adequate encounters, producing positive affects to increase the power to act, to exist, to establish the long-awaited lives. These spaces can even be a little house in a little quarter where people as friends come together with the intentions to imagine a different world and to actualize their dreams. So, I can surely say that minor politics is the name of practices to serve to create alternative “political” spaces, but more importantly, it is the politics which shows that everywhere is virtually public or political.

Therefore, we can conclude that political importance of philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari lies in its being essential critique to the domination of representation in the tradition of Western thinking from Plato to Freud for such a tradition extends to the *transcendent plane* of politics, the subjugating relations, *potestas*, the hierarchical thinking and organization, etc. which all result in the closure of life with its immanent sources of human *potentia*. The plane of transcendence is the representation of the reason, the essence, the absolute and universal one; it appears itself in reason, consciousness, theories, ideologies as the hegemony of the ideals, truth and truth claims and it underestimates and undervalues the practical and empirical life that is experienced subjectively in particular, molecular and minor levels of bodies or their affections. One can say that the “idea” of Plato as a meter, a measure, a norm and more importantly the representation of the laws and the universals carried politics to this transcendent level. One can say that Descartes’s cogito, Kant’s criticism and the reason of modernity established upon their “ego” against the multitude appointed *the subject* as the representative sovereignty of the reason functioning on the duality of subject and object; in other words the ego can be the subject as far as it can make objectification (Descartes, 1960, 1961; Kant, 1991, 2001, 2002). One can say that the subject of modernity referred to the *geist* of Hegel while the representation referred to *the state*. One can say that such a politics of modernity created the hierarchy of representation and reflected itself on the formation of nation-states and vanguard parties, forces and also cult leaders. One can also say that the “psychoanalysis” of the Freud (1959, 1969, 2008) reduced the subconsciousness to the “libido” and the sources of the life to the sexuality, cultivated the illness of interpretation and carried the logic of representation to the top step by claiming that the psyche is an ocean of signs, each of which represents something else and thus should be interpreted from the view of sexuality. However, for Deleuze and Guattari, life is full of a multitude of affects and the unconscious cannot be reduced to the representation of the sexuality; it is the ocean of the virtualities to become, rather than signs to be interpreted. The unconscious is the plane of a molecular production and all production is a collective production. In this molecular level, nothing is given, certain and determined; it is the plane of all possible conjunctions, disjunctions, consumptions and consummations, here everything is possible. Even if the representation serves to the closure of this world of possibilities,

the unconscious as a machine producing life in molecular level can never be totally closed; each partial object of it connects the outside world. This is one of the most important points for the minor politics because this means that even *delirium* is primarily an investment in the social and political field, it is not a complete withdrawal from the outside world, and it has political and social content. Besides these, it also means that there are always *lines of flights* and there are always connections, more than communications, between singularities. It can be true that people are forced to be assembled within molar identities under certain codes or axioms; but this cannot guarantee that there will never be molecular disjunctions. *The political* partly rises on the revolutionary substance of the molecular powers and the processes of becoming(s), which can never be completely oppressed. The major politics can create a simulacrum that all social and technical machines are working perfectly, there are no failures, no breakdowns. However, the fact is that any social formation has faults either in macro or micro levels. The unconscious is important to comprehend the social machines with its leaks, flights, breaks, connections with deterritorializations. The unconscious is nomadic, it is the plane of *intensity* where I can say “I am a migrant” or “I am a dog”. This is why the minor politics is based on such unconsciousness as the power to produce becoming(s) and to become “others” in front of identities and representations, to follow the molecular lines of flights, to construct some networks between the singularities –minor figures as partial subjects and becoming(s).

So the unconscious is lived immanently and it serves a plane of consistency where everything is different; “experimentation replaces interpretation” and “the unconscious as such is given in microperceptions” (2005: 284). It is the plane of difference and becoming(s) -rather than identifications- that give the virtual and actual base of the minor politics. Moreover, virtuality includes independence from the representation, it is subject-less, infinite, practical motion of the production. In the bases of *politics or life*, there is production; production of life and production of production. Therefore, we can say that Deleuze and Guattari succeeded to show that for a very long while politics and the political, in the West at least, reside in this plane of transcendence. According to them, the transcendent ideals of “one”, “identity” and “representation” are long-time dominations and oppressions over

“singularity”, “difference” and “multiplicity” that are realities and virtualities immanent to *the social*. If all these transcendent level of politics refer to major politics, the unconscious and *immanent* virtualities far from representation and closing to becoming(s) and the multitude are the source field of the minor politics.

2.3 Immanence in Minor Politics

Politics of representation is directly related with *the plane of transcendence* since the representations ultimately produce, and at least open the ways of, transcendent references which are needed in the major politics to establish the pillars of the subjugating relations. For instance, it is quite difficult to contradict with the fact that the major politics is highly characterized by its having transcendent references like God, religion, morality in the forms of laws, ideology, cult leaders, grand narratives or major ideals or aims such as to rule the world, to be the power in one territory, to govern the state, etc. These references to transcendent signs seem necessary for the major politics. Moreover, they are the natural results of it as far as politics is experienced outside *the immanence* but lived as *relations of transcendence* that require a lower and a higher realm, which again feeds the sources of power relations in the major politics. For example, in major politics democracy is representational. This is not a trivial detail. This means democracy is not immanent to political life; it is just a representation itself. Then, if it is accepted that politics in general means the experience and the expression of people, *minor politics* with its non-representational precision serves people an *immanence* or generates immanence in *politics or life*. The immanence is one of the most distinguishing features of the minor politics for several reasons.

Firstly, and very importantly, people of minor politics are here and now as themselves. Nobody staying in the codes and classics of the major politics can imagine the *potentia* of such a way of *immanent participation* into politics. The minor politics says that we as people are both the subjects and objects of politics; that is to say, politics –either in the form of simple minor actions or macro movements aiming big sudden changes- starts with ourselves rather than with reacting to the

others. Accordingly one can say that politics appears in the relationship with ourselves, in the approach to ourselves and in the attitudes assumed to ourselves, which all already connect to outside world in regards of *politics or life*. I can simplify this point with the example of *self-criticism*, that is, to make ourselves the object of our consciousness. But here we don't have to understand *the immanence* as infinite processes of criticism of *the self* -which is experienced only inside of us to the extent that and as if everything else outside us is off-topic. "The field of immanence is not internal to the self, but neither does it come from an external self or a non-self. Rather, it is like the absolute Outside that knows no Selves because interior and exterior are equally a part of the immanence in which they have fused" (2005: 156). Therefore we should understand that the immanence is the virtue of knowing that there is no strong border between me and the others. Here the political virtue lies in being honest to myself; the consistency between my wills and my deeds. Actually, Deleuze and Guattari indirectly but implicitly emphasize on the relation between the immanence and the minor politics by highlighting the concept of *consistency*. For them, the issue of reaching the immanent politics is the issue of "how to reach the plane of consistency" and how to produce "a continuum of all intensive continuities" (2005: 158). For example, you fence *the ideal* of equality but you disdain and humiliate your doorman. Or you dream of the world peace, you celebrate the ideas and opinions supporting the peace in the world but you are pursuing to escape from the refugees in your hometown, you secretly hate them. There is a strong contradiction by which nobody in major politics is uncomfortable or has a trouble but still it is a big contradiction and a trouble in regards to minor politics; it emerges from the fact that *the ideal* cannot find its correspondence into the life; the transcendent level does not come down to the earth. In other words, the transcendent machines of politics and so representations are working very well –*everyone is equal*-, but there is not an immanence –*expect the doorman*. Actually, although immanence seems too simple here, it is so rare in today's politics, it is minor since the major politics dominates with its transcendent level on politics. This is why *immanence* is essential to think and act outside the major politics. Our discussion is not about the priority of the idealism, for even people of minor politics have their ideals but the immanence of the minor politics refers to that they somehow internalize their ideals, they try to practice, experience, that is, *prefigure* them in their

minor life. Norms of major politics underestimate the *potentia* of this minority, but it is the production of life in micro level and “production as process overtakes all idealistic categories and constitutes a cycle whose relationship to desire is that of an imminent principle” (1983: 4). People of minor politics know the immanent relationship of their minor / individual effort to social machines and they mostly value their sense of coherence. It is true that they imagine changing the minor but this does not mean that they ignore the change of the world or the society they live in; they believe the change should start on a very minor scale like one individual, that is, themselves. This is one main dynamic that makes the minor politics be *immanent*.

“The field of immanence or plane of consistency must be constructed. This can take place in very different social formations through very different assemblages (perverse, artistic, scientific, mystical, political) with different types of bodies without organs. It is constructed piece by piece, and the places, conditions, and techniques are irreducible to one another. The question, rather, is whether the pieces can fit together, and at what price. Inevitably, there will be monstrous crossbreeds. The plane of consistency would be the totality of all BwO’s, a pure multiplicity of immanence, one piece of which may be Chinese, another American, another medieval, another petty perverse, but all in a movement of generalized deterritorialization in which each person takes and makes what she or he can, according to tastes she or he will have succeeded in abstracting from a Self [*Moi*], according to a politics or strategy successfully abstracted from a given formation, according to a given procedure abstracted from its origin” (2005: 157).

Secondly, the plane of immanence is also related to *how* you make and experience politics. I can positively say that people of minor politics act for themselves and by themselves. It is true that they spread out politics to their whole life and this can be seen as a heavy burden on their shoulders. However, they are happy in their minor ways, they have sympathy for or even they love to be there in minor political existences. In that sense, there is a continuity between their affects and their way of life. Still, this does not mean that they do wish to sacrifice themselves for someone or something else. Who does need transcendent signs, to identify themselves with the supreme beings, major ideals or unhistorical ideologies, to sacrifice their lives for the sake of eternizing something or someone else other than themselves? I think the

answer is people who could not realize the *potentia*, not find their immanent potential to act, to live, to exist themselves with their natural or gained capabilities in various ways of life. Then the minor politics, with its being non-representational and based on the plane of immanence, refers to the sum total of the efforts to find and encounter with the *potentia*. In accordance with the philosophy of Nietzsche, while the former must be the negation of life, the latter is the affirmation. For people of minor politics are not subjects, agencies, soldiers of any major aim who are ready to sacrifice themselves and even to die, as did in the major politics. They are acting and acting but it is only because they want to do this. If we continue with the previous example, they do not feel themselves responsible for pretending to be equal with the doorman since their ideal of equality orders to do this. Or they do not force themselves to establish an equal relationship with the doorman since their laws and rules of ideology command this. So they do not order themselves according to a transcendent level of ideals or discourses. Their guides are their affects. For that reason I think this affirmative dimension also refers to *immanence*; that is, derivation of *power to act* from myself; the affects as the source of motivation. If you ask them “Why do you act?”, their answer will not be “Since I feel responsible to do something” or “Since God says it to me” or “Since my ideology forces me to do this” etc. No, this must be referring to transcendental sign or a representation. With reference to Nietzsche again, I can say that, “Wherever responsibilities are assigned, an instinct to punish and judge is generally at work” (2005: 181) Rather in minor politics, there are affects and affections, that is, pure human responses. I can say that people of minor politics think that politics does not have to be the sphere of responsibilities or imperatives regardless of their sources, meanings or aims; when it is full of such transcendental or representational foundations or complements, politics becomes more and more alienated sphere to human beings as a living creature with its affects and affections.

The fact that people of minor politics are never instrumentalized brings us to the third reason of the *immanence* of the minor politics. In minor politics, nothing is seen as a mean or an instrument or a step or an intermediate phase to achieve something else or another condition. In the minor politics, for example, the actions in its all

forms are no longer means to achieve some major ends now or later on; on the contrary the action of people is an end in itself. We can take into consideration as example one local group in a small city; they are trying to create an eco-village in a minor or small scale and wish to experience an alternative life, to develop an organic and slow production of goods and maybe to live as free from competitive nature of the urban working conditions. They associate their singular powers, capabilities, financial and non-material sources and they initiate such a life. From the view of major politics, this effort is quite individual and maybe staying in the boundaries of “the private”. However, there is no obstacle to define these kinds of activisms as political in the respect of the minor politics because in fact, these people come together and try to realize their dreams now and here as far as their conditions, sources and powers permit. They do not underestimate *potentia* inherent to their body and mind and the potentials of their collectivity to *prefigure* their ideals or dreams; they do not suspend the “now”, they do not wait the “right time” or the event like “revolution” after which everything will inevitably be ideal, unproblematic or perfect. In that sense, they do not instrumentalize their actions as something that brings to that time or that event. What they do is *prefiguration*, that is, to act in a minor scale to realize themselves. This is the politics of what Spinoza calls as *potentia* at the same time. Moreover, because their actions are not a means, it is highly possible to say that they are affirming their actions as end-in-itself.

2.4 Minor Politics is not Reactional

Deleuze and Guattari succeeded to show the relation between the *ethics* of Spinoza and the *philosophy of value* of Nietzsche. They both affirm *the life as it is*. The minor politics is dealing with the possibilities to base politics on the values for life affirmation with the *potentia* of people. For Spinoza, the definition of the body and mind lies in their *potentia*, the powers to exist, to act, to think in the form of affecting and be affected. The relation between these powers and capacities creates *the common* in different levels of intensity. An increase in *potentia* is defined as happiness and the decrease is defined as sadness. Spinoza calls the power in and /or of the major politics as *potestas* in Latin, as I emphasized earlier, which means an already established, representative and centralized capacity mostly referring to the power or authority of a structural grant apparatus like a state. On the contrary, there

are the powers as capacities of individuals, it is incalculable and it gives the definition of one individual; Spinoza calls it *potentia*. For Deleuze and Guattari, this is the bridge that connects Nietzsche to Spinoza. For Nietzsche, the forces of life can be categorized as active and reactive. The *active forces* are the sources of *affirmation* while the reactive ones result in negations. Active forces create positive affects to increase the *potentia* of the multitude while the reactive ones produce reactions and *resentments* in the form of *bad conscience* (Nietzsche, 2006: 48-58). This is why I appreciate the active forces for the sake of minor politics; otherwise the negation is the main condition in the major politics in the form of reactions, endless criticism, perpetual conflict and dialectic.

In that sense, another important feature of the minor politics as ends-in-themselves becomes that the minor politics is based on the *encounters* that mostly make the people empower in various ways. This refers to the ethical substance of the minor politics. The minor politics is comprised of “productive”, “active” and “affective”, rather than “reactive” forms of togetherness. When people of minor politics come together, by the way this togetherness can be made up of just two people, they empower themselves; very simple and basically Spinozist term, they themselves become good by producing good and positive feelings. In his own words, “if he (man) lives along such individuals as agree with his nature, his power of acting will thereby be aided and encouraged” (1985: 589). Therefore, we can remember the Nietzschean and much earlier Spinozist concept of affirmation which appears here as a positive political attitude towards life. People of minor politics are not in a *reaction*; even if they are critical to the world around them and even if they have an objection to, let me say authoritarian power, their political existence is not characterized by “reaction” or they do not exist with negative feelings towards “those others”; they know that their reactional attitude in the form of negative feelings produces same or similar negative feelings in others and they turn into negative practices as well. They know such a negative affect dominating over their being will produce the same negativity and it will make their togetherness difficult gradually.

Therefore, one of the most important features of the minor politics is that people of it stand aloof from major politics and its representations of *reactive existence* and

affects. It is difficult to object the fact that people of major politics are characterized by their conflicting and even polarizing attitude towards the others, for example the other party members, the others from different ethnic minority, even those from the other fraction in the same leftist ideology, etc. It can be seen that two different parties in major politics cannot come together easily and this is almost their reason for being. I mean, their existence is already based on their dialectical, oppositional, exclusive relationship with each other; they differ by putting themselves in contradictory or dialectical attitude towards the others. This nature of major politics shows its reactionary essence. This is why, here I should introduce a very important feature of the minor politics and essential precision of people of minor politics: They are not “reactional”; they are here and now to involve in practical, indirect and affective political life without their major political identities, codes, ideals, languages, etc. Similarly, they do not evaluate or identify the others with their major political identities. They give chances to the possibility of a proper encounter with the others. More precisely, the minor politics consists of the actions and formations which do not treat people according to their main identity or major political identity, which do not remind them whether they are Kemalist or Islamist and which people do not need to utilize their ideologies, etc. This is what makes minor politics be fortunately distanced from conflicts, endless disputes and even violent battles that are producing negative affective reflections and reproducing the major politics in enhanced forms. It can be said that any political formation can become “minor” if it can succeed to escape from these minds and practices of the major politics; in other words, minor politics is possible to the extent that major politics can be avoided and overcome.

With reference to the last paragraph above, and maybe as a natural consequence of the distance of minor politics from the major one, it can immediately be concluded that minor politics is the politics of friendship. I will discuss the friendship and its political value in the next chapters however here I should state that people of the minor politics are in friendly attitude and properly welcome towards “the others” for one main reason. The minor political formations and activisms are the minor examples of *multitudes* and this makes them open to and even attractive to others. “The others” intuitively know that they will not lose their original beings, they will

not be faced with any kind of assimilative execution or constraint to show their “belongingness” or they will not have to protect themselves against the others when they come into the mentality and affect of the minor politics. Such an ease and facility comes from the self-evidence and immanence of people of the minor politics. It should have been fantastic to say that there is not even an idea of *the other* in the minds, nor the reality of it in lives of the people of minor politics; but it is certain that they try to peace with the idea of *other* and all the others inside and outside of their being. This is what I call “friendly attitude” towards those who are not like us, from other culture, race, sex, identity, ethnicity, etc. I have to note that, in Spinozian ethics, friendly attitude is the remark of freedom, as “a free man strives to join other men to him in friendship” (1985: 585).

2.5 Multitude in Minor Politics

In major politics, the principle or logic of *identity* dominates over the principle of *difference*. In general, the major political structures or the parties and even movements with grand ideologies force people to identify themselves with their major representations in the form of ideals, major aims or even cult figures. This identification in time makes people become similar to each other and in the next phase, there exists a somewhat *mass*, totalized into a “one”. So the principle of identity seems to be one of the sources of formation of the masses but at the same time it produces the opposition, the clash of the masses. For the logic of identity can sociologically be summarized with polarization or division of people as “we” and “them” by definition. If there are one “we” and one “them”, it is not surprising to witness conflict, clash, battle, war, etc. between them. Actually, from the view of major politics, such a polarization and later on such a conflict is always needed for the existence of politics or “the political”. The logic of identity shows itself on the perceptions and actions of people of the major politics as “parts” of the mass. Here their perception operates over the dualities or dichotomies such as enemy or friend, my way or the highway, love it or leave it. They can say “you are one of us or you are the other”. Besides these all, it should not be forgotten that the masses eventually become the indefinable subjects of micro-fascism. However as far as the representatives are there, those who are represented are seen in a secondary position

in the political; they are trivialized as “masses” into the hierarchy, they are passivated and the people in this perception is defined as innocent.

Any political formation can be accepted as *major* with its thoughts and actions if it is intolerant and against *the multitude*, the multiplicity of the singularities, the difference and those who are different or think differently. This is why the major politics tries to assimilate people and then, their *togetherness* turns into a *mass*. Being in a mass means, for instance, that people are just one *part* of this *whole* and because there is a concrete hierarchy between these parts in the sense of their importance, influence, value, etc., every part is likely to be a simple tool to serve for the sake of the whole. This also refers to the fact that people in a *mass* cannot stay as themselves; they have to join into the major identity such as ideology, religion, nationalism or citizenship, race, ethnicity and even sex. This is one of the results of the nature of the major politics with authoritarian, disciplinary or controlling power and this is a little indicator showing that equality is considered as sameness or identity as well, rather than as an ontological value.

However, in minor politics, the principle of *difference* is in operation; this means that people are different but equal in the sense of their importance or value; they have singularities. In the philosophies of Spinoza, Deleuze and their successors Negri and Hardt (2001, 2004, 2009), one of the critically political concepts is “singularity”. It is different from particularity or individuality; it is characterized by that it cannot be represented, identified and reduced. Minor politics is based on the *multiplicity* of these singularities, rather than particularities, of people. This means to escape from reducing the multiplicities and their numbers of dimension to two only. As we see in the political value of immanence, the minor politics in the plane of consistency cuts across all the dimensions of the multiplicity; it provides the intersection of all concrete forms. For multiplicity “is defined by the number of dimensions it has; it is not divisible, it cannot lose or gain a dimension without changing its nature. Since its variations and dimensions are immanent to it, *it amounts to the same thing to say that each multiplicity is already composed of heterogeneous terms in symbiosis, and that a multiplicity is continually transforming itself into a string of other multiplicities, according to its thresholds and doors*” (2005: 249) *Multitude* is the

political level where the singularities affirm their power –let’s say their capabilities, their tendencies, their wills- as difference and thereby they produce *the common* which is one of the bases of peaceful, productive and affirmative togetherness. This means they politically exist as different human beings and they can preserve their individuality or *selfness* even in the collectivity; they do not force each other to be identified as something or someone else. On the contrary, as mentioned above, their intention to come together is to empower each other by supporting to discover their unique selfness or to develop and strengthen it. From the view of politics, once people serve their togetherness to discovering their selfness, especially once it happens collectively, it means they liberate and transform themselves. These all refer to adequate and good encounters in Spinozist politics and also to another basis of the fact that the minor politics –as a sphere of encounters- is highly ethical in Spinozist term.

In minor politics, people know, or believe, or at least try to recognize that each one of them –and to a certain extent everyone- is singular, no one is more important or valuable than the other; everyone is and has or should be or should have a different world. Such a respect, such an insight or an understanding is saying that people are unique as long as they are permitted and graced to discover their *selfness*. In the last instance, such a collectivity is creating a kind multitude of the singularities where everyone is different and equal. We should foresee the possibility that minor politics create for human togetherness from different social, cultural or economic conditions. For in a community living by the virtue of minor politics, it is not easy to find, for instance, thinking and acting through dualities, the dialectic or conflict of these oppositions, and so discrimination, wicked feelings such as hate towards the others, etc. So minor politics does not carry the potential to homogenize or to assimilate their people and to make them be parts of one unique identity. Minor politics is the politics of *multiplicity*.

2.6 Decentralization

“The plane of organization is constantly working away at the plane of consistency, always trying to plug the lines of flight, stop or interrupt the movements of deterritorialization, weigh

them down, re-stratify them, reconstitute forms and subjects in a dimension of depth. Conversely, the plane of consistency is constantly extricating itself from the plane of organization, causing particles to spin off the strata, scrambling forms by dint of speed or slowness, breaking down functions by means of assemblages or microassemblages” (2005: 270).

One of the phenomena common in the major politics is the organization of molar structures and centralization as a natural result, which is essential either in intellectual or practical order. Actually the plane of organization can only be possible in the plane of transcendence and in that sense organization or centralization is not surprising once considering the representational, transcendental, reactionary, hierarchical, mass and power-oriented nature of the major politics since these all naturally result in or require any type of molarities. Even if it is a natural result, an indirect consequence or a by-product, organization and centralization need to be questioned in terms of their effects on re-cultivating the closed power cycles of the major politics. It is not difficult to estimate that the major figures of the major politics desire to hold the existing power in their own hands and they try to monopolize it. But the point is that the representation with its various functions and hierarchy as well facilitate such monopolization. Moreover, the emphasis on the control of this power is the main discourse legitimating such centralization. We can simply say that the transcendent level in major politics refers to its vertical construction; it means that the thoughts and actions orient a vertical level of relation and stratification. There are always hidden or declared leaders, directing commanders, creator Gods or the representatives of ideals, beliefs or even interests. The immanence of the minor politics, however, implies its horizontality; the thoughts and actions go towards the open horizons. Related with its non-authoritarian, non-representational, non-hierarchical, decentralized and heterogeneous nature in the sense of being based on a multitude of singularities, the minor politics and its minor formations are free from a leader or leadership. There are, and can be much more, theoretical efforts to justify the necessity of leadership regarding the cultural level or intellectual conditions of the people. These justifications can be seen even in democratic, contemporary, progressive political movements and ideologies.

However, the leadership is required in the major politics as far as it is identified and defined with certain features that I listed from the beginning of this chapter.

As opposed to those mentioned above, since the minor politics is not power-oriented and hierarchical and since it tries to avoid from the power-based formations, actions and perceptions, it is enough for minor politics to live and continue its dynamism in minor formations; so it does not tend to organize in molar formations and so to centralize something as well. In fact, the centralization is irrelevant from the viewpoint of minor politics because here the political formations are minor, that is to say, they are not eager to grow and grow to the extent that there exist their branches, subscale organizations or subunits. Establishing a hierarchy in the molar organizations and centralization is only possible in the major politics for it is based on the plane of transcendence, organization, identity and politics of creating a “one” in various forms. However, as we mentioned earlier, the minor politics rises with the principle of *difference* and exists by the virtue of multiplicity of the singularities. In minor politics, we can experience only the composition, but not an organization. Being minor in scale is not a compulsory feature for the minor political formations; it is rather an extension of being on the plane of immanence and so consistency.

Here we also reach to the principle of *autonomy* immanent to the minor politics. It is evident that the commonly accepted model of existence is this autonomy of minor formations and activisms. Actually, any formations will be close to becoming *minor* if they wish to be autonomous, that is, to be independent of the power relations in the major politics. So being minor is in correlation with being autonomous.

2.7 Minor Politics is Prefigurative and Affective

Not directly in the philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari but mostly in the subsequent works of some minor scholars, there is a tendency to contrast the major and the minor politics in the sense of their relationship with the reason, so to understand the major politics as the natural result of rationalism in the form of its superiority over all other “irrational” political dynamics and to understand the minor politics as anything which not rational. Such an understanding may come from the emphasis of Deleuze and Guattari on the productive nature of the unconscious(ness). However, I do not

understand by minor politics such a contrast or opposition to the major politics in terms of reason; on the contrary, it is necessary for minor politics to consider the demands of the reason; as far as we understand the reason in Spinozist sense. For he states that “Since reason demands nothing contrary to nature, it demands that everyone love himself, seek his own advantage, what is really useful to him, want what will really lead man to a greater perfection, and absolutely, that everyone should strive to preserve his own being as far as he can. This, indeed, is as necessarily true as that the whole is greater than its part” (1985: 555). As it can be seen, the reason is not alien to the nature of politics and it does not result in a contradiction between minor and major politics. They both are comprised of thoughts, imaginations, feelings, deeds and actions that are human and the reason or the rationality is one piece of the main spine that holds these together. There is always an interaction between major and minor politics and even they can nourish themselves both qualitatively and quantitatively. If we remember the understanding of *difference* inherent to the ethics of Spinoza, we can say that the minor and major politics are not categorically opposite. In that sense, it is advantageous to leave aside this dialectical and conflicting thinking. However, it must be said that they are still different in terms of *intensity* of their *affectivity*. I think that the minor politics is ignored by the people of the major politics, that is majority, and from the point of affectivity, I favor the minor politics by trying to show that the minor politics is more affective in terms of the *potentia* to exist, to think, to feel, to act, to relate politics with the reason, in short to affect and to be affected. The affective power of the minor politics refers to its being based on the plane of immanence, as I tried to explicate above. This study should be read and considered as an attempt to show the relation between the power of being on the plane of immanence and the intensity of the affectivity of the minor politics.

The affective power of the minor politics comes from its *prefigurative* substance, that is, its reality of praxis in life processes (Yates, 2015). I mean, as long as the minor politics avoids from existence on an abstract level of representations, discourses, norms, ideologies, etc. and as long as it comes into being with its *prefiguration* here and now practices of daily life, it will have more powerful affects. For the praxis always produces authenticity and sincerity; it shows the will of the people to

themselves and to the others and it calls people to join, participate, at least support even with little contributions material or immaterial. In short, the praxis of the minor politics serves to create an interaction between people through their affects. Therefore, the prefigurative politics as the praxis to establish the demanded life to some extent and in the very micro scale is the distinguishing feature of the minor politics; in other words, the prefiguration is the leitmotif of the minor politics. I mean, one of the main dynamics of the minor politics that makes it *affective* or increases the power of being affective is its connection and association with prefigurative politics. For example, if people of the minor politics desire some changes or novelties –let’s say they want shelters for the helpless women or children- in the street, the neighborhood or the city where they live in, they do not make a petition to the representatives of the local or regional authority to realize these changes or novelties. They, as those who wish these changes and novelties, come together under any kind of initiation, official or unofficial, and associate their potentials, knowledge and capabilities in order to design and then realize them. They initiate a minor activism; the mobility of powers, knowledge and capabilities, but more importantly it is the mobility of the wills. They show how to act with solidarity and this solidarity is not a supposed or a nominal solidarity that remains unfulfilled, rather this is realized by their voluntary material and immaterial labors. From the view of minor politics, this is prefigurative politics and it is one of the best ways of action that produces affects.

People of the classical left and socialist thinking and practices, which can of course be considered as another form of the major politics, live the past and the future but hardly the present. They suspend the “today” and the *potentia* inherent to all which they can do today. They either miss the old beautiful days of the socialist era or they wait the new hopeful tomorrows that will come after *the revolution*. They are either the inheritor of the splendid memories of the past or the warriors fighting for glorious revolution in the future. In such a nostalgia and an eschatology, their ideals or aims such as democracy, equality, justice, freedom, etc. also become the ideals for tomorrow or the ideals that are respected for old’s sake. This means that the ideals stay as the part of the discourse to past or to come. However the minor politics is politics of the present, neither in the past nor in the future. All such ideals as freedom

or equality are not utopic heavens from the view of minor politics, rather they are continuous becoming(s) in ethico-political level of prefiguration and immanence. This does not mean that the minor politics is over history and it is disconnected with the past or the future. On the contrary, this refers to the fact that the minor politics is the sum of the adequate togetherness of accumulated knowledge of the past, the realities of the present and the dreams of the future. For example, once the people of the minor politics value such ideals and once they imagine doing something proper for themselves and for the others, they initiate to do, to actualize, to live it here and now. This is the *prefigurative* base of the minor politics, referring to its ethical and political virtue. In that sense, minor politics transforms such ideals from something to come in the future or something monuments of the past to the ideals of today that are prefigured, that is experienced, dignified and internalized by some total of labor material or immaterial. The common point of their dream of action is to live themselves in accordance with their wills, their potentials, their tendencies and their values. This is another aspect of the fact that the minor politics is not thinking and acting instrumentally; it is composed of such minor formations that are far from such alienation towards the present, that is, the life itself. I call such a virtue as the *prudence* of the minor politics. Moreover, this is an affirmative view of life and the ethics of the people in minor politics assert the positivity of *potentia* itself.

Initiation is a very important political virtue in the sense of initiating a public discussion, a new political movement, founding a new organization such as a party to participate in politics, etc. Initiation has already been marked and considered in the political thought as well. For example, one can constantly meet the political value of initiation in the works of Hannah Arendt, with certain references to Saint Augustine and ancient Latin philosophy (1998), which are highly related with the freedom hidden in *the action* because the initiation refers to somehow a vacuum in the material history or a victory of overcoming any kind of determinations; a victory of starting something new (1958, 2006). I can agree that the sense of initiation can seduce the people to be part of it for they will feel the taste of being subjects or actors of starting something new, let's say a new political movement. Actually what we can often witness in the grand representational and confrontational politics is the plenty of initiations as well. However, I think that *initiation* gains its meaning when

it gains continuity. I mean, not all actions claiming to create or to start can be initiation in terms of politics; the beginning is necessary but not enough to accept that it is an *initiation*. It has to create its history, its reality, its political response by turning into being affective in lives of people. Therefore, I can say that the political meaning of *initiation* lies in its continuity. This brings us to one of the main distinguishing features of the minor politics which are continuity, its uninterrupted existence as the life itself. Since the people of minor politics believe that being political is not restricted to being in certain codes and doing some representational practices, it is such a politics that, as its concentrated form, covers the entire life from language, gestures, affects, ethical manners towards even little daily cases to major choices, thoughts and actions. They know that politics does not start, for example, when they go out to the street for demonstration and does not end when they come back to home. In that sense, minor politics is not made up of social movements that show itself as expressions of the anger, rage, hate, and so on. These affects can make people political but they are never long standing because such negative feelings make people reactionary in an easy way and the reactionary existence can never be lasting so as to be foundational, essential and immanent. This is also very important to understand how the social movements stay within the borders of the major politics.

2.8 Minor Politics is the Politics of Becoming

Becoming is very ancient theme in political philosophy and it gained very radical meaning in the post-modern era, especially in opposition to the Hegelian concept of “being” and with its affirmative forms in the philosophy of Nietzsche and then Gilles Deleuze. In their philosophy, becoming, or the process of becoming in molecular existences, appears as political experience. Nietzsche was saying “I am all the names in history” by virtue of becoming (letter to Burkhardt, 6 January 1889, cited by Woodward, 2011: 2). With reference to this, Deleuze and Guattari were giving special importance to becoming minor or minoritarian; they considered such an experience as minor *lines of flight*, that is, the ways of escaping from identities, representations, codes, axioms hidden or explicit in today’s political life. Identities somehow represent the closures of the self which is actually a threshold, a door ready to open towards the multiplicity of becomings and

“each multiplicity is defined by a borderline functioning as Anomalous, but there is a string of borderlines, a continuous line of borderlines (fiber) following which the multiplicity changes. And at each threshold or door, a new pact? A fiber stretches from a human to an animal, from a human or an animal to molecules, from molecules to particles, and so on to the imperceptible. Every fiber is a Universe fiber. A fiber strung across borderlines constitutes a line of flight or of deterritorialization. It is evident that the Anomalous, the Outsider, has several functions: not only does it border each multiplicity, of which it determines the temporary or local stability (with the highest number of dimensions possible under the circumstances), not only is it the precondition for the alliance necessary to becoming, but it also carries the transformations of becoming or crossings of multiplicities always farther down the line of flight” (2005: 249).

As it can be seen from this passage, Deleuze and Guattari strongly emphasized the correlation between becoming and multiplicity, which is essential to connect the self to the universe. Here we see the political value of affective politics in the sense of becoming minor, a negro, an animal, a women, a child, a Jewish or similar minorities. Becoming is neither a fantasy nor a subjective dream; it is not a game or a fiction and more importantly it is not an identification. It is an affective experience of becoming minoritarian as a potential, creative and created, becoming. Becoming is only related with the minor, that is to say, all becoming is minoritarian, “there is no becoming-majoritarian” (2005: 106) for the major politics lose its affective power and existences as far as it becomes an ocean of representations in the plane of transcendence, a homogeneous system.

So Deleuze and Guattari just tried to show the affective political power of becoming. According to them, such an experience of becoming minor is the base of experiencing *the difference* immanently, creating the multitude of *singularities* and deterritorializing the majorities of the grand politics of representation. So the processes of becoming appear as the key experience for making politics *minor* and the lines of flight open towards multiplicities; “becoming and multiplicity are the same thing” (2005: 249). Moreover, neither becoming nor immanence is strictly

private moments and conditions in human life; immanence is everywhere and “lines of flight are immanent to social field” (2005: 205).

From the view of minor politics, becoming is immanent by virtue of its being affective. If necessary to define them, people of the minor politics are characterized with their affects or they are highly affective. The fact that the minor politics is affective means that it is alive, its dynamics does not lie in abstract transcendent levels such as ideals or discourses but the *potentia* of people, the power to act, to feel and to become someone or something else. In that sense, becoming is possible only with the affective capability of the people; becoming is a human condition related to the capacity to sense the world full of others. In minor politics, it is the capability of becoming that gives people the possibility to have multiple existences, names, identities or sexes. So it is a condition staying in between becoming everything and becoming nothing; it is a zero level of intensity. They can become in actual sense someone or something else since they are affected by others. In that sense, I can surely say that people of the minor politics are political to the extent that they can be affected, that is, they can live the processes of becoming. Becoming in that sense is a revolutionary process; as a flight it refers to passage from “becoming” to “becoming” as well and it is not simply an identification or similarity, it is an affection itself (Deleuze and Guattari, 1994: 173). The boundaries of their political existence are in correlation with the boundaries of their power to become and to be affected. So the process of becoming is the door from which the minor politics is opening to the universe and it is the link by which the people of the world can connect. Moreover, it is the power of becoming that asserts the *potentia* of the minor politics to affect the whole world.

As far as becoming minor and its political meaning are concerned, I think we should relate the issue with deterritorialization as a special concept in Deleuzian approach. The deterritorialization here appears as the effort to conjunct with something else and this means *becoming* as well. If being is the part of three main strata such as organism, language and identification: The deterritoriazation against organism means becoming a body without organs; the deterritoriazation against the language refers to becoming a foreigner in the language, which is one of the main arguments of the

minor literature in the sense that “language stops being representative in order to now move toward its extremities or its limits” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986: 23), and the deterritorialization against identification (being human, male, white and so) means becoming animal, woman, black or any kind of molecular. For example, the becomings that we find in *the minor literature* appear as the lines of flight from the world of representation and meanings. So these forms or ways of becoming minor are essential to understanding the critical power of the minor politics. We should understand that the issue of becoming, for example, is not the issue of empathy, not a compassion for the conditions of the others or not an identification with someone else. Becoming is the issue of affects, it is the issue of discovering the field of intensification. From the view of minor politics, becoming as a capability or a line of flight is virtually the base of living together with “the others”, of adopting a friendly attitudes, so of experiencing the political openness to affirm the life. The importance of processes of becoming lies also in the fact that becoming as deterritorialization of identities or grand representations breaks any kind of hierarchical organization; it functions as *war machine* fighting against the molar and major assemblages. The war machines are working as decoding the flows, turning them into multiplicities and fighting against the over-coded social organizations (Albetsen and Diken, 2014: 161). But the object of the war machine is not the war of course. Its object and objection are to open a creative and productive line of flight, a smooth and open-ended space for nomadic and so minor politics, in other words, to enable politics lived in immanent level. The minor political formations and activisms as war machines have also multiple connections with the social field and in the next chapter I will examine the *potentia* inherent to minor politics over certain examples from various fields of life.

2.9 Minor Politics is the Politics of Flight From *Potestas*

One of the main and required features of the minor politics is its being non-representational for main reason: *potestas*, the subjugating relations and a politics as domination or rulership. Regarding this approach of the minor politics to the issue of *representation*, one can logically see or deduce that people of the minor politics *do not restrict* the ways, the subjects, the spaces, the issues, the aims, the codes and practices of *the political* to certain representations. In representational level these all

are the tools and spaces to produce and reproduce subjugating relations or discipline and control over the *potentia*. And if it is true that representational politics produces subjugation, domination, rulership or control by various ways such as parties, centralization, hierarchical and authoritarian organizations, thoughts and practices, it must also be true that avoiding from representational politics is the way of avoiding from these relations of subjugation. The motivation of people of minor politics are not the same as that of the major politics; they do not desire to exist in representational major politics for they have negative feelings towards such representational bodies that are different forms and partly apparatuses of *potestas*, the political authoritarianism and hierarchically organized practices, full of reactions, feelings of conflict and language of discrimination, etc. In that sense, minor politics as a *line of flight* goes beyond the relations of *potestas*; minor political activism do not orient towards *potestas*; they are affirmative and experimental practices seeking other political existences.

If I am allowed to continue with the example of the social movements, they usually struggle against the grand representations of *potestas*, but not *potentia* in molecular, micro and dispositional level. In the streets, they are faced with police, let's say, as guardians of the order. Like the other structures of authoritarian political formations, these are the major, grand indicators representing *potestas* and it is for the very reason that it becomes somehow easy to see, to understand and then to fight against them. However, at least starting from Foucault's micro-sociological studies, the power is not made up of the police or the exploitation in the means of production. The power is sum total of daily practices and it is exercising with each little deeds of the people in their so called non-political life (1997, 2007a, 2007b).

Actually, if it is necessary to summarize the minor politics in one sentence, it should be that the minor politics is the politics which does not produce the relations of subjugation. There is a long history to define politics with power, that is to say, politics is always accepted as the power domain, so the struggles to hold the power are approved as the only political practices. This is the affirmation of the *conflict* as the essence of the political. In the history of political thought as well, the idea of *conflict* appeared in various forms such as a war between the states or the peoples,

the *contradiction* between the classes, the antagonism of the political groups, the clash of the cultures, the dialectic of me and the other, etc. In short, this appears as the very essential dimension or even the substance of the major politics. I cannot discuss the point of *conflicting politics* in detail; but at the moment I want to introduce the fact that the minor politics is not such a politics since it does not include and tries not to be included in *potestas*, peculiar to major politics.

Actually in considering its previous features, the minor politics cannot be expected to produce the relations of subjugation since it is politics existing and rising on the bases of immanence of love and will. People of the minor politics do not aim the subjugation *within* their minor formations and also in the relationship with *the others* in general. If the subjugating relations are defined, just like in the major politics, as the relations of governing and to be governed, I can surely say that the minor politics is far from the idea and practice of that kind of power. Since it does not understand politics as made of the relations of governing, sovereignty or subjugation, the power in the minor politics lacks such a meaning. Two features of the minor politics are strongly related. The minor politics has the knowledge that the power-oriented politics feeds and reproduces the enemy-like affects and behaviors among the people. It is not surprising that when someone desires to hold and uphold the power, that is, if the power is the ultimate end for him/her, they dig a pit for themselves, they mostly think instrumentally because their motivation is their interest for the power and so there can hardly bring into exist friendship among them or friendly affects. These are all the reasons behind the fact that the minor politics is not power-oriented. I can say that it is certain that people of the minor politics do not choose to be outside of these relations, they do not prefer to “not to orient the power”. It is a natural result, it is the immanent consequence of the minor political existence. The power orientation is not possible in minor politics where people come together with the intentions to produce good feelings and friendships first and foremost. In these happy and proper encounters, the forces of bodies and minds do not dispose of the possibility of acting of the other bodies and minds. It is special to the reactive forces in the major politics; they aim to make the others deprived of their own powers; the conflict is in operation again. Rather in the minor politics, it is the cultivation of proper encounters that mutually increase the *potentia* of the people, not the *potestas*

of the all representative levels of the major politics. This is the immanence of the minor politics, the ontology of *difference*, the affirmation of *politics or life*.

Regarding today's subjugating relations and the efforts inherent to minor politics in order to flight from these relations, we should mention about the conception of *flow* in the political theory of Deleuze and Guattari. They claim that any kind of social formation can be understood in the framework of a general theory of *flow*. For them, the flows in general cover the flows of goods, money, services, humans, etc. but specifically it refers to the social interaction, the interaction between people, the societies and the nature as well. This is why, in regards to their theory of flow, one of the central questions is about the interruptions of these flows. We can say that the social dynamic does not lie in the flows only, but in the relation and continuous process of flow and interruption or interruption and flow. For example, the production of the meanings, the senses in social life, refers to making sense of these flows and interruptions. In that sense, the things that cannot be coded in this dynamic of flow and interruption are the things that cannot be understood; this is why the flows that cannot be coded are the origins of the biggest threats for the order in social life. Ultimately there exists the necessity for representation of the flows in order to oppress these flows and so to exercise the social order (Aytaç, 2014: 215). The representations create different strata as sections, groups, classes, identities in the social; they are all machines in the social theory of Deleuze and Guattari. This is why they ask "how do these machines work", rather than "what is the machine?" or "why are they machines?" The very functions of the state machines and other solid and strict sections in the social are to capture and code the flows. The state organizes the society in accordance with a hierarchical and stratifying center in a *striated* space and its sovereignty constitutes the balances. On the contrary, the war machine destabilizes this center and refers to the social configuration in *smooth* spaces (Aytaç, 2014: 221). From the viewpoint of Deleuze and Guattari, the minorities intent to bring out a *war machine* that aims not a destruction or a terror, but a revolutionary, creative and constructive movement (Aytaç, 2014: 226). Regarding its positioning beyond the reactional existence, this is the most appropriate feature of the minor politics; it is the dynamic comes from the *potentia* inherent to mind and body of human beings, the potential to exist, act and think.

I also have to note that according to Deleuze, and in somehow contrary to Foucault, in today's world the power appears itself as *control* but not *discipline*; today's societies are control societies. This means that the power is not characterized by its panoptical forces that force the people to adopt certain positions of subjectivities. Rather in control societies, the companies take the place of factories, there are continuing education rather than schools and the systems of treatment instead of examinations. The symptom of the control societies is the collapse of institutional walls; however, this does not mean that the institutions of discipline gave up the deterritorialization. A laborer continuous to be laborer outside the factory, a student be student outside the school, and so on (Albertsen and Diken, 2014: 173-174). Therefore the control continues outside the institutions and it is still strong over the people to the utmost level that it becomes minor and inherent in daily life.

I think these all are enough to show that the power is hand to hand with the control. Even if the theory of controlling power is valid in today's politics, the major politics continue to understand the power as in a classical way. In the major politics, the power is generally considered as highly concentrated in the state and its various apparatuses, mechanisms, structures, etc. This is why the power is conceived to be based on dialectical social relations as well. From this viewpoint of power, politics is understood nothing but a *conflict*, a kind of war to occupy the state, to hold the power, to capture, protect and maintain the statuses and the tools where and whereby the power came into being. The question arises; how does this power, including the power of control, work? In his *Negotiations*, Deleuze starts with the chapter titled as "Politics" with mentioning about "Control and Becoming". The first sentence is that "What I've been interested in are collective creations rather than representations" (1995: 169). I understand that the lines of flight from the controlling power are accompanied by the lines of becoming since they are the virtualities that make *potentia* free from the representations and orient them towards the collective creations. I call such a way of politics as *minor politics*. This is why the minor politics starts with existing, thinking and acting, that is, with enjoying *potentia*, the capabilities of human beings, and without falling into the subjugating relations that appear in lots of representations of the *conflicting politics*.

After these main features of the minor politics, and before finishing this chapter, I think that it is essential to note that the minor politics are the sum total of the actions, thoughts and formations which carry inside all these features mentioned and discussed above. This means, one of these features does not make any politics *minor*; on the contrary, all these features together can make politics *minor*. I mean, for example, we cannot imagine a minor political formation which prefers not to be non-hierarchical while it carries all other features like non-representational, decentralized or non-power oriented. This is surely related to the plane of immanence and with the inherent consistency of the minor politics.

Additionally, I cannot claim that there are perfect examples of minor politics in practice, which carry all the features of the minor politics. On the contrary, the formations and activisms gain their characteristic of “minor” and the rank of how much “minor” they are according to their factuality of how many features of minor politics they include and also what is the intensity of their practice. In that sense, it is possible to see that some formations and activisms are more “minor” political than the others.

2.10 Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to conceptualize the minor politics by defining its main features and characteristics. I derived these features and characteristics of minor politics, firstly in comparison to general determinations of the major politics which are rooted in very long history of politics and political science, secondly in reference and proper coherence to certain thoughts of Spinoza, Nietzsche and Deleuze and Guattari and lastly within a personal insight to think on and act in a politics that is not “major politics” but rather prefigurative, immanent, affective, creative, productive and transformative, etc. In regards of these three main sources of the minor politics, it is certain that these features are not all the features of the minor politics, on the contrary there can be one or more to be added to the list. This dissertation, actually in concert with the minor politics itself, is open for any researcher and thinker to criticize, develop, enlarge and deepen this conceptualization.

As it can be seen, such a conceptualization of minor politics is the hypothesis of this dissertation; in other words, it is the base or the initial step for generating the theory of minor politics. After this, and on principle of the grounded theory as well, it is both necessary and favorable to make a research on minor politics in practice, not only in order to strengthen our hands to theorize the minor politics, but also to get much more knowledge than I have and imagine. Undoubtedly, this will enable us to understand and then explicate the minor politics in accordance and reference with the data collected from the research.

CHAPTER 3

MINOR POLITICS IN TURKEY

In the previous chapter, I have tried to conceptualize minor politics and defined its certain characteristics. They are the features that distinguish minor politics and they are somehow the conditions, the criteria for the individual or collective actions, deeds and also formations to be identified as *minor political*. It is true that I did such conceptualization not only by reading and interpreting the theories that I think consider and approach the minor politics, but also I benefited from my experiences, participations and observations in the field of minor politics. Still, such a conceptualization can be seen as my hypothesis on what minor politics means and how it works, how people sense its different dimensions in their own minor political practices. In this hypothesis I have put forward several important features of the minor politics such as minor politics are not representational, it is politics of becoming, the minor political formations are organized horizontally, they are autonomous and decentralized or they do not produce relations of subjugation, but rather they are friendly, creative, self-transformative, prefigurative, affective, etc. However, some questions were waiting to be answered: What are these minor political formations; where are they; what do people do in and by them, in what fields of life do they act, in which mechanisms are they functioning, how do they experience politics, what do they understand by politics, what are their relations with major politics, who are these people of minor politics, what kind of affects do they produce in their activisms, what are the gains of their struggle or their actions, how about the limitations of the minor politics? The objective and descriptive answers to these questions are very important to discuss and verify my hypothesis and also to see the promises of the minor politics. It would be both necessary and helpful to observe the minor politics in the practice in order to consolidate and assure the hypothesis that there is a new field of politics, it is minor politics, and the dynamic of

the political continues to live in these capillaries. This is a new field of politics and there is no sufficient scientific and academic literature dealing with minor politics as conceptualized in my hypothesis in the previous chapter. As a matter of fact, there is no entire field research inquiring the minor political formations and politics in this field. This is why it is somehow necessary to go to the field in order to discover this new field of politics and investigate it by collecting some data from the field where I suppose the examples of minor politics live. So I started to research the minor political formations in Turkey. In this chapter, I will analyze and interpret the results of this research.

3.1 The Field of Minor Politics

When I take a peek to detect them, I discovered that there were lots of formations which can be seen as the examples of minor politics, one way or another. These minor political formations are simply collectivities but they can also be official foundations, associations or solidarity networks, neighborhood initiatives, community centers and even unofficial collectivities. Regarding the fields of life, I can say that the range is so wide that it is possible for minor politics to cover all the life. In this research, the formations that I chose as the samples of the minor formations are acting in the fields of movements from ecology to urban, woman to LGBTI, media or video activism to solidarities with minor groups like refugees and prisoners, autonomous sports activities to alternative education. Accordingly, it can easily be said that there are very different fields of life where the minor politics does live and act. This wide range of fields and diversity of formations forwarded me to form a sample for research. The main aim was to identify the field of minor politics by virtue of analyzing “how” these formations and activisms can be “minor” and “political”. I mean that my field research is not quantitative in the sense that it does not aim to determine all the minor formations in Turkey; it does not cover all the fields of life. Rather, it is qualitative research aiming to identify the minor politics in practice and show that there is the reality of *minor*, it is a political dynamic in Turkey. In this chapter, I will introduce my field research for the identification of the minor politics in Turkey and try to analyze the data collected from this new field of politics.

Between November 2016 and April 2017, I conducted my field research on some alternative minor activisms and formations in Turkey. Among them, there are legal or formal associations (*dernekler*), foundations (*vakıflar*), unofficial formations, collectivities, neighborhood initiatives and quite autonomous activisms. They are acting in various fields of politics. I did my sampling in order to create a heterogeneity. The research is based on the semi-structured in-depth interviews with the people from these formations and activisms. I have to say that they were not there as taken for granted as already “minor political formations”. It is the thesis of this study to describe or characterize these alternative activisms and formations as “minor political”. Regarding the fact that they are not included in the scope of major politics, civil society and also social movements and also in consideration of their *way* of acting rather than their subject fields, I chose them with my intention that they are alternative formations and activisms that could have minor political dynamics. It would be the main contribution of this dissertation to identify whether and how much they are *minor political*.

At the beginning of November 2016, I prepared a list of questions to ask people of the minor formations; these people are not necessarily the head or chairpersons of these formations because, as I thought and know, in general there is no such titles or positions in practice since there is not a hierarchy dominating the formation as in the major politics. It is enough that the people for the interview be in the practice and to know the past and the today of their formation or activism. As I said before, the interview is aiming to understand what and how they do, how do they define themselves and their acts and deeds, how they sense politics, what kind of affects their actions produce, etc. In this research, I would verify my hypothesis and more importantly I aimed to feel and understand them in detail.⁵ Immediately I started to send e-mails to the people and arrange meetings with them either face to face or online by video talk. In the first half of April 2017, I completed the interviews with 31 minor political formations in total and also transcriptions of them. I must objectively say that I had some little difficulties to reach the people from some formations, but all the formations that I invited to interview for this academic

⁵ The list of questions that I asked to people from minor political formations and activisms can be found in the Appendix.

research are interested in the issue and do their best to contribute to my study. Some of them stated that they get bored for such demands for interviews but they also said that they accepted to interview with me since they found my research subject new, different and interesting in terms of understanding them in the context of minor politics. On the other hand, there are some who think that such demand of interview with them in the context of politics is very new, that is, my invitation of an interview is the first or second demand that they experienced. I had known that the concept of minor politics is not common in the literature of social sciences and I had regenerated it but the reflections of the people regarding their different reasons for acceptance of the interviews also showed to me that people found such a conception of the minor politics original, newly and young. It is indeed difficult to say that there was already a literature of theory or an academic research on the minor politics. Accordingly, I cannot abstain from saying with peace of mind that such research on minor politics and its agencies as well are original and new. Still, it must be noted that this research does neither aim to cover all the minor fields in all around the Turkey nor does it include all the fields of life where the minor political exercise can also be seen. For instance, the research involves the activism of the collective in the name of Tarlataban as one of the formations which could be accepted as the part of the ecology or urban movement in Turkey, but this is not because Tarlataban is the unique minor political formation in the fields of ecology or urban politics. On the contrary, many minor formations and activisms could be found in the field of ecology or urban movements. Similarly, the research includes different fields of politics such as ecology, urban, gender, sexual identities, media and video activism, migration, education, etc. but this is not because they are the only fields where the minor politics is experienced. On the contrary, some other fields can be found that this research could not include. For example, animal rights activism or disability right movements can be two of them. Last thing that I have to say about the size of sample is about the scope of the research regarding the cities. In this research, I decided to look at the formations functioning in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir since the main aim of the field research was to investigate the practical dimension of the minor politics and it was a fact that the minor politics is much crystalized in these three biggest cities of Turkey as there is a more diverse and coherent formations and activisms there. Still, it does not mean that one cannot find the examples of the minor

politics in other cities of Turkey. Actually there is no place where the minor politics cannot be found, if there is a collectivity acting in accordance with the features of the minor politics and if there is even one person caring oneself, the life and this world and trying to live in coherence with wishes and dreams for politics of friendship.

As I said earlier, this study is not trying to map to show and count all minor political fields and all minor political formations acting in these fields all around Turkey. It is not a statistical study. Rather it is cutting a view of minor politics; it is an attempt to identify the ethics of the minor politics in Turkey. Besides these, I have to note that the questions are not intended to know *opinions* of the people on their life and political existence; I did not ask them such questions like “what do you think?”. That is, this research is not a public survey. Rather, the questions are aiming to learn about their practices, that is, what they are doing, how they are doing and how they experience and sense what they do as politics.

In consideration with all these about my field research, I could say that it implies this new field of politics and concentrates on the ethics of the minor politics. Regarding the things remaining outside of the research, it is obvious that this ethics of the minor politics is waiting for more researchers, scholars or thinkers of politics. Consequently, the data and knowledge that I produce according to research in this thesis on the minor politics are open to being discussed, criticized, detailed or perfected.

Actually I have already put forward in the previous chapter that minor politics has certain main features and characteristics which distinguish it from major politics. I hypothesized that minor politics can become effective or affective in various fields of life by prefigurative and immanent activisms of different formations of *agendi potentia*. With this field research, I attempt to question this hypothesis and regarding the results of field research I can say that the hypothesis is substantially true. That is to say, the formations with which I interviewed are in general included in the minor politics even if their intensity of being “minor” politics changes. In other words, there is coherence between my hypothesis on the minor politics and practices of the minor political formations in the field. In the following sub-sections, there will be

analysis and interpretation of data which I collected from these minor formations and activisms so that it is possible to ground, generate and develop the theory of minor politics.

3.2 Minor Political Formations and Activisms

Before passing to the analysis of the findings of the research, I think it will be proper to introduce the formations, activisms and networks that I included in my research. I believe that such a brief description of them will be helpful to specify the minor politics as well.

350Ankara

350Ankara – 350A is an activist group struggling for ecology and against climate change. 350 Movement is a kind of global movement and 350Ankara tries to sustain it in Ankara and Turkey. 350 is the figure of the safe carbon dioxide concentration as particles per million in the atmosphere. Today this figure is 392 million particles and the group supports the global movement to reduce the level to 350. The group tries to produce and organize knowledge about any issue related with the climate and the city life. They organize activities such as Sustainable Life Film Festival in Ankara in order to create and raise the awareness for the possibility of ecological life, alternative energies for sustainable development and more livable world for healthy and peaceful life for creatures. For example, they try to show the relation between concretion in cities and the warming on a global scale. They can organize performances with 200-500 bicycles in the campus of the Assembly and made one call from the dais of the assembly to all deputies. (For more information, also see the website <https://350ankara.org/>)

100. Yıl Mahalle İnisiyatifi

100. Yıl is a neighborhood near to Middle East Technical University and this is why it is a place where the university students live and a culture of solidarity is dominant for years. 100. Yıl Mahalle İnisiyatifi – İF (100. Yıl Neighborhood Initiative) has

been formed during the Gezi Movement and continues today. It also has given birth two minor formations: One is the food community and the other is the neighborhood workshop. These minor formations are composed of people living in this neighborhood. These people organize various activities for themselves to enjoy human togetherness, to sustain the culture of solidarity in this place, to empower themselves for the protection of their living places, green areas and nature near to their home and to strengthen the struggle for more livable cities and societies. (For more information, also see the facebook account of 100. Yıl İnisyatifi)

Anadolu Jam

Anadolu Jam – AJ (Anatolian Jam) is a group of people acting for creation new collectivities and various networks among people from different backgrounds, professions, identities and also worldviews. It is a kind of independent extension of the global formation of *jam*. The people in jams in different regions of Anatolian come together in various activities to build effective communities to search for the possibilities of another life or a different world from the existing one. Their main question is “what kind of a life do I want to live” and in that sense they build communities in the forms of networks in different socio-economic and educational fields to reach their ideal lives. The jams happen in one or two times in Anatolia. People as applicant to individual and social transformation and disposed to generate the possibility for another life or formation for themselves come together in these jams. The solidarity, non-violent communication and the experience of the *circle*, that all appeared during and after the jams, provide means and ways to overcome the issue of feeling alone and lack of community to invite people for help in different fields of knowledge and practice. In short, it is a minor community that produces new minor communities that have potential to create and share a new world or different formations. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.anadolujam.com/>)

Ankara Yaşam Çemberi

Ankara Yaşam Çemberi – AYÇ (Ankara Life Circle) is a collective that has been initiated by people who met in an organization of Anadolu Jam. They come together in Ankara after the jam and they attempt to sustain the practices and activities of Anadolu Jam in their locality. In that sense, their main concerns are similar and common. Besides these, the voluntary people of AYÇ support people in Ankara to organize an activity to experience self-empowerment, self-transformation and realization. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Ankara Yaşam Çemberi)

Başka Bir Okul Mümkün Derneği

Başka Bir Okul Mümkün Derneği – BBOM (Association of Another School is Possible) is an association acting in the field of education with the motto of Another School is Possible. The initiators and voluntary people coming around this association aim to open new schools and introduce alternative education systems both in theory and practice into these schools. For the sake of this aim, they organize training academy as open to participation of all teachers in Turkey who are willing to such kind of alternative education. This academy is called now as The Village of Teachers and its motto is “Another teacher is possible.” In this training academy, there are workshops and various activities to empower the teachers or any volunteers working with children. These workshops and activities are about how to create, improve and sustain the alternative education that is based on the child rights, child participation, positive discipline, conflict resolution mechanisms, nonviolent communication, etc. The association also aims to open schools based on such an alternative education and it supports the formation of the cooperatives that want to open a new school. Therefore, it shows the route map to those applicant people of cooperative and makes a protocol as a kind of guarantee that the new school is based on the principles, values and aims of BBOM. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.baskabirokulmumkun.net/>)

Ceza İnfaz Sisteminde Sivil Toplum Derneği

Ceza İnfaz Sisteminde Sivil Toplum Derneği – CİSST (Association of Civil Society in Penal System) is an association acting in the fields of the penal system for solidarity with the prisoners, and their rights and conditions inside. In the prisons, they organize art workshops with prisoners, conversations, film screenings, concerts, theaters, etc. They meet the popular names, especially who have experienced being prisoner, with the prisoners. They also organized training seminars. Even a well-known director Derviş Zaim organized the gala of his film “Waiting for Paradise” in the prison of Bandırma. Among their main aims, it is also important to get the knowledge of the inside; to tell the inside to the outside and to be a bridge between inside and outside. They try to develop a culture of restorative justice that is helpful for both the prisoners and the victims to reform and restore their lives. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.tcps.org.tr/>)

Çerçöp Çorbacılar

Çerçöp Çorbacılar – ÇÇ (Leftover Soupers) is an autonomous and quite original collective action in the field of the ecology movement. The voluntary people of ÇÇ come together on Saturday and collectively pick up the goods and vegetables that are wasted in bazaars and markets because some part of them is rotten or battered. They bring together all the foods in a café in the city center of Ankara and they prepare them for safe consumption. The next day, by using these vegetables, they cook soups and meals for almost 100 people. The soups and meals are offered to anyone who passes through the street and likes to eat. This is the summary of what the volunteers of ÇÇ do primarily and generally. (For more information, also see the facebook account of ÇerÇöp Çorbacılar)

Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı Ankara

Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı Ankara – GDAA (Migrant Solidarity Network Ankara) is a collectivity acting for solidarity with migrants living in Turkey. The volunteers of this collective try to develop friendly relationships with the migrants in order to support the migrants to become political subjects for their own lives. They go to the neighborhoods where migrants live and develop friendly relationships with them.

They also try to inform them about the processes of asylum and their rights in Turkey such as right to labor or health. They can prepare brochures in different languages such as Arabic and Persian with the help of voluntary advocates. They try to provide very simple pieces of knowledge for them to facilitate their lives to some extent. The Afghan and Syrian migrants have their own organizations in Ankara. They try to create an available support network in the lives of the migrants so that they can link up in it; for example, when they need something, they can know where and how they reach and obtain it. Besides these, they also try to provide continuance of this issue in the agenda. They can organize meetings to discuss the issue of migration. Their main concerns are to pave the way for a field of politics that is anti-racist and help the migrants together with the migrants themselves and they want to ground all their activism on the right-based politics as well. (For more information, also see the website <http://gocmendayanisma.org/gda-ankara/>)

Hafıza Kaydı

Hafıza Kaydı – HK (Collective Chronicles) is a collective action in the field of collective or public memory. Their activism is based on creating a digital archive of social events. They organize various activities such as panels and seminars to keep alive the social memory but they mainly produce digital documents and contents of social memory in various forms for any kind of readers. The voluntary people of the collective have three main aims. They try to enlarge the field of memory beyond the graves or courts towards any field of life. Their activism is directed to enrich the subject fields of the social memory; that is, to go beyond the unidentified crimes or mass murders. They also try to show that the events are connected in terms of their reasons and affects, rather than discrete, separate or individual. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.hafizakaydi.org/>)

Halkların Köprüsü Derneği

Halkların Köprüsü Derneği – HKD (Association of Bridging Peoples) is an association mostly acting in the field of solidarity with migrants living in and passing through from Turkey. The voluntary people of the HKD are from various professions

and backgrounds; they try to support the migrants to reach their basic needs, security and health. They organize many activities, campaigns and services directed towards the migrants. Besides these practical activities, the association also tries to collect, regulate and archive data and knowledge about demography and other realities of the migrants in order to develop more practical and affective policies for the rights of migrants and any people in needs of support and solidarity. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.halklarinkoprusu.org/en/>)

Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı

Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı – KADAV (Women’s Solidarity Foundation) is legal foundation acting in the field of gender equality and the rights of women in Turkey. They as women try to empower themselves and organize substantial activities in order to support the solidarity among women in the fields of employment, income-generating activities, professional training and also struggling with violence against women and psycho-social support. Their activism is partly right based; they try to raise awareness and manage a mechanism to give practical support to women as victims of violence because women, especially Syrian migrants, do not know the legal ways to protect themselves and they are not aware that this is related to a struggle against the gender inequality too, etc. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.kadav.org.tr/>)

Kuzguncuklular Derneği

Kuzguncuklular Derneği – KD (Association of People of Kuzguncuk) is an association composed of people who live in the neighborhood of Kuzguncuk and who are the subjects of same problems, needs and concerns. Similar with the case of Validebağ, the people of Kuzguncuk come together with the aim of protecting the Garden in the middle of the neighborhood. They organize various activities to sustain the livable, natural and original conditions of Kuzguncuk against the attempts of state or corporations to construct any kind building on the Garden. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Kuzguncuklular Derneği)

Lambdaistanbul LGBTİ Dayanışma Derneği

Lambdaistanbul LGBTİ Dayanışma Derneği – LAMBDA (Lambdaistanbul Association for LGBTI Solidarity) is an association acting in the field of gender equality, sexual freedom, the rights of LGBTI individuals and struggle against homophobia, heterosexism and the dual sex system which are dominant in Turkish society. The voluntary people of Lambda try to question the homophobic and heterosexist norms and practices that are internalized and accepted. Their right based activism is a part of global homosexual movement and it includes various dimensions. The association is established in Istanbul but their activities are directed for all LGBTI individuals living in Turkey and also in Middle East countries. The voluntary people of this association have a cultural center where people come together, consult something about their experiences and also they collectively organize cultural and art activities. These all support them to realize themselves as LGBTI individuals. Besides these, they organize conversation meetings for people to open themselves, to live without hiding their LBGTI identities. They organize film screenings, parties and similar activities to create some possibilities for people to know themselves and socialize. They organize workshops, panels and seminars about different issues regarding being an LGBTI individual. They manage a telephone line for advice service and people can ask about anything related with their problems such as about the processes of opening themselves to their families, the problems related with military service, discriminations in working places, sexual health, etc. Besides these, they organize the Pride March together with other LBGTI formations in order to appear in the public space, assert their existence to the public and also to come together all LGBTI individuals from any part of Turkey. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.lambdaistanbul.org/>)

LGBTİ Bireylerin Aileleri ve Yakınları Grubu

LGBTİ Bireylerin Aileleri ve Yakınları Grubu – LİSTAG (Families and Friends of LGBTI Individuals in Turkey) is a group, acting in the field of gender equality and struggle against heterosexism and homophobia. It could also be considered as a part of homosexual movement. The voluntary people in this collective are mostly the

parents of LGBTI individuals. They try to empower themselves; for example, a mother of LGBTI individuals can talk to another mother and they can share their experiences, encourage and empower themselves to support the existence and equal freedom of LGBTI individuals. In other words, they support their children in their activism but in a different dimension and by different ways. However, they ultimately contribute to the solidarity among LGBTI individuals, their friends and families acting for transformation of society towards being a non-racist, non-homophobic and non-sexist society. They support and try to show that another family is possible. They value organizing on a micro scale on the one hand and they try to found neighborhood cooperatives in different regions of Istanbul on the other hand so that they may sustain their solidarity with other formations acting in other fields of right based activisms. They imagine a world where no one cares about the identity, career, etc. of other people, everyone sees people just as people. (For more information, also see the website <https://listag.org/>)

Mutfak

Mutfak – MK (Kitchen) is the name of a collective or a group of people coming together, making meals and eating collectively in the place that they call it Kitchen. Their initial and primary aim is to create a place and practice to meet as friends, cook and eat, as different from coming together in a café, that is, being in a relation of consumption and very limited communication. In time, their togetherness brings new activities directed towards various aims such as self-empowerment, solidarity with migrants, theoretical and practical support to ecology movement or friendly human togetherness in urban life, etc. In that sense, it is possible to say that Mutfak has a function to keep together the networks in the social, to greet them and to generate the new ones; actually politics springs from here. Therefore they come together to make some workshops and similar activities as well. Likewise in the neighborhood workshop of Initiative, the aim is to create a condition in that people can offer and realize an activity, people can take initiative and organize themselves. That is to say, here is not a place where people just cook or execute some works that have to be executed. Here is a field of solidarity. Here is a field where they realize themselves in various dimensions. Mutfak is not a public place, that is, it is closed to the public;

however, it has an effect to open the ways towards the public and the multitude through the network of friendship, that is friends and friends of their friends, etc. (For more information, send an email to the address kolektifmutfak@googlegroups.com)

Müştereklerimiz

Müştereklerimiz – MZ (Our Commons) is a collective action in the field of urban movement with the aim of creating and supporting the network of different movements and struggles and protecting the common, natural and public living spaces in the cities. It is a formation consisting of people who try to communize some initiations like Ecological Collective, Public Art Laboratory, Migrant Solidarity Kitchen, etc. acting in Istanbul. In these different initiations there are people who do not reduce politics to the macro space, rather organize from the ground, consider politics as daily action itself and think that it is also political to organize solidarity spaces. These all are the starting points for the voluntary people of the collective. They also organize various activities in the cities in order to emphasize the relationship between macro and micro politics, that is, the relation between macro facts and realities like a calamity in Yırca or mine disaster in Soma, neo-liberalism or proliferation of subcontracting, etc. (For more information, also see the website <http://mustereklerimiz.org/>)

Öteki Bisiklet

Öteki Bisiklet – ÖB (Other Bicycle) is a group of cyclists who had detached from the Perşembe Akşamı Bisikletçileri – PAB (Thursday Evening Cyclists) because they decided that PAB is actually in the right and preservative side of politics even if the people of it thought they are not political. As PAB does, the people of ÖB organize bike tours but they generally do it in some special days such as memorials and anniversaries of social events, rather than regular bike tours in each Thursday of the week. Their concerns are similar with those of PAB but they separate in approach and working. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Öteki Bisiklet)

Özgür Dönüşüm Ankara

Özgür Dönüşüm Ankara – ÖDA (Free Cycle Ankara) is the name of a Facebook page where people share their goods as present to each other. The admins of this page initiate such an activism of cycling in order to create a culture of share and solidarity among people, with the aim of reducing the massive consumption that is disadvantageous both for people and nature. Therefore, if it is possible to claim that the ecology movement continues and appear into consumption practices of people, it is also easy and proper to connect the aims of the ÖDA with the ecology movement as well. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Özgür Dönüşüm Ankara)

Özgür Kazova

Özgür Kazova – ÖK (Free Kazova) is one of the most original formations included in this field research. There are only four people now in this collective; they act in the field of self-empowerment, self-organization or alternative production or economy. They produce textiles in an atelier which belongs to them; they share the money equally among themselves. They call their production as “jersey without patron”. With such an alternative production, they try to earn their life without adapting to exploitative, hierarchical and alienated modes of production and also try to show that another production or economy is possible. Their story is highly long and complicated, especially in regards of their struggle against the people who pretend to stand by them in their processes. Besides the alternative production, the working place of ÖK is open to any kind of activities such as concerts, meetings or other workshops, which are all directed towards other solidarities. In this atelier some professors from university have given their lectures and introduce ÖK as an alternative economic model; and the workers can join to the lecture to tell their own stories as well. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Özgür Kazova)

Özgür Lig

Özgür Lig – ÖL (Free League) is an autonomous initiative in the field of sports activism. It is an alternative football league with 20 teams and 200 people in total. These voluntary players of this league are those who are critical to industrial football and who just want to play ball. They are those who become happy when this is a collective. They really come together in certain field carpets near to city center and play football matches each weekend. Among the players, there are male, female, homosexual individuals; even there is a dog as one player of a team. They think that the norms of industrial football such as win the game or over-tower on the match, etc. and the football culture in this industry are identified with a corruption with any kind of immoralities, illegalities, hooliganism, etc. and this is why the voluntary players of ÖL are critical to industrial football and they initiate and sustain totally alternative culture and practice of football. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Özgür Lig)

Plaza Eylem Platformu

Plaza Eylem Platformu – PEP (Plaza Action Platform) is a platform acting in the field of self-empowerment among the workers, and especially the white-colors. The voluntary people of the platform initiate such an activism since they recognize that the concerns of the white-color workers are supposed to be outside of the labor analysis or politics; however, they live general problems in working processes. In that sense, they thought that there should be a line of struggle, organization and politics regarding the actual and virtual problems. Therefore, they organize various activities to create and sustain a kind of solidarity among workers against arbitrary treatments, mobbing, right abuse or violations, etc. in the working processes. Basically they try to form a community to empower themselves against the wearisome and latent oppression of the working life in different sectors. They try to give legal support to those who are discharged individually or after collective redundancy. They also try to raise the awareness of the white-collars on some issues commonly subjected in this sector. Besides this, it is important to state that this Platform is an original and quite new in labor field and this is why it produces concepts and forms its own terminology by grounding on the vital problems because the struggle of the white-collars is new in the labor industry side and it tries to make

a room in the field. So, they try to raise the consciousness of the fact that the working places are social fields; the workers have emotions and they have a right to cease working for affective reasons. (For more information, also see the website <https://plazaeylem.org/>)

Perşembe Akşamı Bisikletçileri

Perşembe Akşamı Bisikletçileri – PAP (Thursday Evening Cyclists) is a group of people who come together on Thursday evenings and bike collectively, generally in the cities. The primary aim of their activism is to demonstrate that it is possible to use the bicycle as a means of daily transportation. They organize their bike tours collectively since it is much more affective in that people start to question why they do this. In that sense, it can be said that their activism is both in the field of ecology and urban movement. While their main concern is related with the sustainable use of resources, it is also related with the requirement of the regulation of the traffic in the cities and reformation and arrangement of the streets and ways so that the bicycle can be an alternative means of transportation, etc. In order to sustain the solidarity for the sake of ecology and livable cities, the voluntary cyclists can also join other activities organized by other minor political formations in similar concerns. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Perşembe Akşamı Bisikletçileri)

Seyr-i Sokak

Seyr-i Sokak – SS (Flow of the Street) is a group of people acting in the field of new media and citizen journalism. They organize and record (via video or photo) certain social events and mostly protests and demonstrations such as hunger strikes in the prisons and certain demonstrations in Ankara. They contribute to the protestors to make their events current issue in public opinion. The basic aim of their activism is to record the social events and demonstration in order to archive the images of the history of social struggles. So they try to record “the images of the actions”. But another important aim of their activism is that they also have a pursuit of “the action of the images”, they search for the fields of activity of the images since the images have multiple potentials. Besides these, they also try to show “we are the media” in a

period of that the voice of the media has been silenced and censored. Politics of the people of SS is based on that they try to show in practice that everyone can be video activist without acting under the name of any movement or any specific ideology. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Seyri Sokak)

Sportif Lezbon

Sportif Lezbon – SL (Sportive Lezbon) is one of the teams included in Özgür Lig in Ankara. The team is mostly composed of lesbian individuals but there are also heterosexuals. Its combination of concerns are original in terms of that it is a kind of activism where the football as cultural field, gender equality or homosexual movement intersect. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Sportif Lezbon)

Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi

Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi – TTM (Tarlabaşı Community Center) is a community center organizing various activities to contribute the solidarity with people living in Tarlabaşı. This is a cosmopolitan section of Istanbul where lots of migrants and people from very different ethnicities, religious, geographies live in poor living conditions and it is famous for illegalities and crimes. The voluntary people of the center see the fact that there is scarcely any institution or an NGO to work with those people but they seriously need lots of things so that they can solve their life troubles. In that sense, they organize activities, workshops, courses and similar events for the people of the region, such as Syrians, Kurds, Africans, etc. For example, they support the women of the region in the fields of literacy, basic life skills, sexual and reproductive health, etc. They even go to the houses in order to reach to the people. They also support children to continue to go to the school and organize certain activities and workshops to empower them bodily, intellectually and psychologically. In that sense, they organize workshops of creative drama, choir, rhythm, etc. They treat the subjects of gender equality and child rights with the children in creative writing workshops. More importantly, they sustain an assembly of children with those living in the Tarlabaşı. Besides these, they also support the teenagers of the

region academically; they organize certain etudes to study with those as preparation for the university exam. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.tarlabasi.org/>)

Tarlataban

Tarlataban – TT is the name of a group of university students, personnel and professors who are engaged in farming, a kind of agriculture in the campus of Bosphorus University in Istanbul. Their idea is “we can produce the food that we need.” They initiated such an activism at the beginning of 2012. It is possible to include their activism into ecology and urban movement at the same time since they concern both the nature, natural life and ecological balance and also the common places or human togetherness in public urban life. The voluntary people of Tarlataban come together, initiated such a formation since they are discontented with being only a consumer in the city, they wanted to change this. They believed that they could produce some part of the food that they need. Today, they try to make ecological agriculture and form a seed bank within a network to share the seeds. They are in contact with agricultural producers around the country and they functionalize the mechanisms to contribute their organic, ecological production. Besides these, they also organize symposiums and seminars to produce the theoretical knowledge of ecological urban life and also to create awareness and discussion about these issues. (For more information, also see the facebook account of Tarlataban)

teyit.org

teyit.org – TO is a collective, acting in the field of media activism, specifically fact-checking. The voluntary people of this collective try to verify whether the widespread claims, urgent or vital assertions and viral contents circulating in media, social media and internet are true or not and define the extent of their trueness or wrongness. In regards to their specific subject field, they are highly original and their activism is based on certain skills and knowledge. However, what they do becomes increasingly more effective in the post-truth era to check and verify some news that

is potential to be indignant in the society. In that sense, they give priority to these notices according to its urgency and vitality, its importance and generality. If it is proper for these three criteria, they start to analyze the notice for fact-checking. After they complete their investigation, they grade its trueness, wrongness, leeriness or uncertainness. In this internet based and mostly social media indexed activism, they recognized that people generally adopt the social media contents that are wrong but suitable for their opinion even if they know the truths. In that sense, they investigate the sources of how the media forms *echo-chambers* that contribute to sustaining the post-truth hegemony and politics of polarization and conflict and the ways for to break these and similar chambers to reach the fact that the truth is multiple. (For more information, also see the website <https://teyit.org/>)

Toplumsal Dayanışma İçin Psikologlar Derneği

Toplumsal Dayanışma İçin Psikologlar Derneği – TODAP (Association of Psychologists for Social Solidarity) is an association acting in the field of the labor movement. It is an occupational organization but it is not simply a labor union. It is composed of psychologists but they are not there for their own benefits only. They are voluntary to make studies and organize activities for the aim of self-empowerment in solidarity with other labor movements and also other social global movements such as ecology, urban, women and homosexual movements. Apart from being a formation for self-empowerment among the professionals, the main concern of TODAP is to develop a critical perspective in psychology and serve the psychology as either science or profession for the benefits of the people, especially those who are deprived of it and oppressed in the society. (For more information, also see the website <http://todap.org/>)

Validebağ Gönüllüleri Derneği

Validebağ Gönüllüleri Derneği – VGD (Association for Volunteers of Validebağ) is an association acting for the protection of natural and public common places in Validebağ in Istanbul. There is a grove in Validebağ, it is the second biggest greenery in the city center on the Anatolian side of Istanbul. This is why the grove

has been the battlefield of rentiers since 1990s. However, inhabitants and volunteers of Validebağ have been there from that time to protect the grove. Their main reason for being is to sustain their togetherness for the sake of this aim but they also value general ecology movement and they organize various activities and actions to contribute the ecology movement. In that sense, they are in solidarity with other local minor formations acting in the field of ecology and urban movement. (For more information, also see the website Validebağ Gönüllüleri)

Yeni Çözümler Derneği

Yeni Çözümler Derneği – YÇD (New Ways Association) is an association acting in the field of women movement. They as women try to develop a kind of self-empowerment organization with campaigns and advocacies, also together with other woman organizations. Their main aim is to enhance the human rights of women and to support them to be equal individuals in the society and to make politics from the viewpoint of gender equality. Besides their practical activities, they try to publish booklets, journals, documentary movies, reports, books, etc. which are related with the rights of women because they are aware of that the written history in Turkey is quite weak and so the memory of the society is also weak. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.kadinininsanhaklari.org/>)

Yeryüzü Derneği

Yeryüzü Derneği – YD (Earth Association) is an association acting in the field of the ecology movement. The voluntary people of this association organize and lead important activities so that many people from all around Turkey and also other countries come together, learn the principles of ecology and also they experience the practices of ecological life, ecological architecture, ecological agriculture, permaculture, etc. in an ecovillage in Adapazarı that belongs to the association. The association has also a “food community” with over 2000 people. It is composed of consumers who connect directly with the producer in different places of Anatolian and eliminates the middlemen, dealer companies or supplier chains between producers and consumers. As I mentioned earlier, such kind of “food community” is

not unique with YD or Istanbul, there are similar examples in other cities; one of them is organized by İnisiyatif in Ankara. Their primary aim is to support the minor producers. However, in the day of distribution people come together and share their experience and knowledge about healthy foods. It is clear that these are other minor political activities by virtue of which people change their consumer practices and also come together with “others”. There are 15 projects concurrently carried out by a different group of volunteers in YD. One of them is “city gardens”. In Istanbul, in any kind of land –even terrace and balcony at home- there constituted 1200 city gardens by the initiation of YD. (For more information, also see the website <http://www.yeryuzudernegi.org/>)

I think it is also helpful to present all of these formations and activisms in a table to see some information about them in one picture.

Table 1. Minor political formations and activisms included in the field research

| Name of the formation | Abbreviation | Field of activism | Location |
|--|---------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 100. Yıl Mahalle İnisiyatifi | İF | Urban Movement | Ankara |
| 350Ankara | 350A | Ecology Movement | Ankara |
| Anadolu Jam | AJ | Autonomous Activism | Ankara |
| Ankara Yaşam Çemberi | AYÇ | Autonomous Activism | Ankara |
| Başka Bir Okul Mümkün Derneği | BBOM | Education | Istanbul |
| Ceza İnfaz Sisteminde Sivil Toplum Derneği | CİSST | Prisons and Closed Areas | Ankara |
| Çerçöp Çorbacılar | ÇÇ | Autonomous Activism | Ankara |
| Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı Ankara | GDAA | Migration | Ankara |
| Hafıza Kaydı | HK | Social Memory | Ankara |
| Halkların Köprüsü Derneği | HKD | Migration | Izmir |
| Kadınlara Dayanışma Vakfı | KADAV | Women Movement | Istanbul |
| Kuzguncuklular Derneği | KD | Urban Movement | Istanbul |

Table 1. Continued

| | | | | |
|--|-------------|--------|------------------------|----------|
| Lambdaistanbul Dayanışma Derneği | LGBTİ | LAMBDA | Homosexual Movement | Istanbul |
| LGBTİ Bireylerin ve Yakınları Grubu | Aileleri | LİSTAG | Homosexual Movement | Istanbul |
| Mutfak | | MK | Autonomous Activism | Ankara |
| Müştereklerimiz | | MZ | Urban Movement | Istanbul |
| Öteki Bisiklet | | ÖB | Ecology Movement | Ankara |
| Özgür Dönüşüm Ankara | | ÖDA | Autonomous Activism | Ankara |
| Özgür Kazova | | ÖK | Autonomous Activism | Istanbul |
| Özgür Lig | | ÖL | Autonomous Activism | Ankara |
| Perşembe Bisikletçileri | Akşamı | PAB | Ecology Movement | Ankara |
| Plaza Eylem Platformu | | PEP | Labor Movement | Istanbul |
| Seyr-i Sokak | | SS | Video Activism | Ankara |
| Sportif Lezbon | | SL | Autonomous Activism | Ankara |
| Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi | | TTM | Social Service | Istanbul |
| Tarlataban | | TT | Ecology Movement | Istanbul |
| teyit.org | | TO | Media Activism | Ankara |
| Toplumsal Dayanışma İçin Psikologlar Derneği | | TODAP | Labor Movement | Istanbul |
| Validebağ Derneği | Gönüllüleri | VGD | Urban Movement | Istanbul |
| Kadının İnsan Hakları – Yeni Çözümler Derneği | | YÇD | Women Movement | Istanbul |
| Yeryüzü Derneği | | YD | Ecology Movement | Istanbul |

[The first column of the table is the name of the formation or activism in Turkish. In the second one, there are abbreviations for the names. The third column shows in which fields of life they are acting. I should pay attention to that these fields are in general more than one for almost all minor political formations and activisms. However, I preferred to note just the basic and dominant field. We will see that it is

already possible to see all the fields in related with any minor political formation or activism. The last column shows in which city the minor political formations and activisms are acting. Still this does not mean that the cities define the scope of the area where these minor political formations and activisms are active.]

After having summarized and introduced the formations and activisms that are included in my research, I think I can start to analyze the findings that are based on the statements of the people who are active in these formations and activisms. As I explained earlier, I hypothesized that there are minor politics and we can distinguish it with its basic features. By virtue of this field research, I tried to ground my hypothesis on the data derived from various formations and activisms in Turkey. In that sense, I evaluated the statements and defined and categorized them in accordance with the basic features of the minor politics that I have conceptualized in the second chapter. In other words, I put in order the statements that verify the features of the minor politics defined as my hypothesis. For example, I created some categories like the sense of politics, prefiguration, the emphasis on the multitude, the importance of praxis, solidarity, immanence, horizontality, affectivity, self-transformation, friendship, sustainability, etc. Then I evaluated the statements in accordance with these categories. In the next pages, I will explicate these findings according to their qualitative prevalence. It should be noted in advance that the findings do confirm my hypothesis; there is a quite consistent overlapping between what I have conceptualized as minor politics and what I did find in the field. In other words, I saw that the features of minor politics that I identified in the second chapter are present one way or another in these formations acting in different fields of life. However, very interestingly and with reference to the findings of the field research, I saw that the people of the minor politics have a sense of politics and almost all of them know that their deeds and actions are political in the sense of minor politics. I can even claim that they are conscious of the difference between major politics and minor politics. Of course they don't have such conceptualizations or theories in their mind and language, but they are aware that their activism and politics is different, new and alternative to that dominant, hegemonic existing politics. Among all categories of minor politics, the findings demonstrate that the category covering the

sense of politics of people in these formations and activism is the most common and also most intensive category in this field research.

3.2.1 Sense of Politics

This is why I would like to start my analysis of the minor political formations with their sense of politics. This will also be helpful to deepen the sense, meaning and difference of the minor politics as well. In the next pages, what I will propose on the minor politics is all based on the statements of the interviewees of the minor formations. All of these statements, I think, are important to show how the people of minor political formations sense politics, their self-consciousness on the difference between minor and major politics, their criticism for the major politics, their insistence on the *potentia* of minor politics, etc. As I indicated earlier, almost all interviewees stated about these issues but I will show and evaluate best of them in order not to repeat myself.

3.2.1.1 Everything is Political

At the very beginning, in coherence with the first feature of the minor politics conceptualized in the second chapter, I should say that people of the minor politics think that everything is political. Politics cannot be restricted or reduced to any certain representative space, action, deeds, discourses, thinking, etc. They are aware of the fact that everything is connected with each other in molecular level. Actually, such an awareness and wisdom are common among the people of the minor political formations and activism that I included in my field research. I will try to show such an insight immanent to minor politics with references to the statements of some interviewees.

Let me start with the statement of the interviewee from Müştereklerimiz (MZ) in Istanbul, for it is very substantial. She says “The problem is that people think that we do politics here, we do not politics there. However, this is not true; life cannot be divided like this. Whatever we do everywhere is political. People understand by politics going out to the street with a banner and protesting to change some policies.” As we can see and accept, this is exactly the viewpoint of the minor politics since it

is a strong attempt to emancipate the sense of politics from the representative politics actually. In the same context, the interviewee from Halkların Köprüsü Derneği (HKD) clearly says “I think politics is the life itself. If you breathe, there is politics. The universes of politics and life are the same. But we forget this because politics has been reduced to a form of governing the people and regulating the social life. However, each little moment and second of life generates the place where we can exist ourselves as political beings. I myself cannot separate politics from life and I think the association also does so, purposely or not.” The people of the minor politics do not separate politics from life since their field of activism is the life itself; they believe in the minor political activism realizing in all fields and seconds of life.

We can continue with the interviewee of 350Ankara (350A). He also says “Politics is not composed of complicated mechanisms. Everything is political; our viewing, sitting, passing through the street, etc.” We can add lots of thing to such a list, I think the matter is to have an insight that politics is not something or some event that is far from us, our daily lives and deeds, etc. Then we can say that such an insight of the people in the minor political formations includes an attempt to down politics to the earth, to ground it into our ordinary lives; in Deleuzian terms, from transcendental level to the praxis of the immanence, that I will discuss later on in this chapter. As another example regarding the fact that everything is political from the perspective of minor politics, the interviewee from Başka Bir Okul Mümkün Derneği (BBOM) says that “It is also political what kind of furniture I buy to my house. Directly, it is political that I am in BBOM. This place provides me with the opportunity to enlarge what I do in my own life.” What is your attitude about your furniture at your home? Do you buy each piece of the furniture as new from the market or is it okay for you to obtain it from your friends’ extra furniture or to transform some other things to use as furniture you need? You should know that your attitude between consumption of new one and an attempt to obtain it is political. Minor political formations are mostly on the side of production, transformation, recovery, recycling and sustainability of the things material or immaterial, rather than consumption. I will concentrate much more on this topic later on.

Another good example is from Hafıza Kaydı (HK). The interviewee says “I am graduated from the department of political science and so my mind was disciplined by a certain school. Still, I am sure of that politics is not made up of the deeds of the state or its institutions, the government, the civil society, the parties or something over nations. I certainly consider politics as a daily life practice. This is why the scope of the political and politics is so large. I think everything is in connection and in that sense, everything is public and concerns everyone.” In this statement, I think it is clear that she recognizes that everything is political. Actually, in accordance with this viewpoint, I can say that, people of the minor politics, with their prefigurative activism, try to enlarge the meaning and universe of the testimony beyond the sufferers and their relatives. For example, regarding the murder of Berkin Elvan, they ask whether an event does just belong to the family after it becomes social and gains a public dimension. I think this is also related to their insight to expand the scope of the political, in accordance with the minor politics. The people of HK think that everything in social life is connected with each other. Actually, it could be very interesting to link up among the events in different categories of labor murders or massacres, etc. but from the viewpoint of minor politics, the political existence and understanding require such a gaze and practice in politics. They aim to make the lots of events that are unknown, invisible and hushed up in the social history visible and affable. They aim to create a conscience together with the memory. The subjects of these events are not only one specific group and this is why they try to stand aloof from those agencies of the major politics. They know very well the traps of the major politics to assimilate the novelties produced in the perspective and practice of the minor politics. I can say that such a perspective is highly central to the minor political approach to the social memory because the minor politics is politics of the minor, the connections among these minorities and also their affects.

In the context of the sense of politics, we can also look at the activism of teyit.org (TO). It is clear that such an activism is based on the principle of the minor politics that everything is connected with each other and also political as well, since the interviewee states, “There is a continuity among the conflict of the state with Kurds, the extinguishment of Gündem Çocuk Derneği (*Agenda is Children*, an association acting for rights of children) and also the domestic violence against the women, etc.

These are three kinds of violence that feed constantly and reproduce each other.” Here “continuity” is the key word actually; the minor politics is politics searching and acting in the lines of these continuities between minor events, affects and activisms. Similarly, the people of Ceze İnfaz Sisteminde Sivil Toplum (CİSST) are also aware of the main principle of the minor politics that everything is political. This can be seen in their initial attitude that “the life continues inside the prison.” From the view of the minor politics, this means that politics continues inside the prison since life continues there. They know that their activism intended for the sake of the prisoners is also political. Actually the same interviewee can state that his position, his life itself is political since he defines politics as the activity to facilitate life. Regarding what politics is, the interviewee mentions about details of his daily life, animal rights, environmental problems, human rights issues, etc. and he ultimately says that “I see all of them included in politics and this is why I try to live very attentively” since he is aware of the continuity and relation between these issues.

Another best example can be derived from the statements of the interviewees of Çerçöp Çorbacılar (ÇÇ). One of them clearly says that “politics starts with an interaction of people. No need for the existence of state or institutions. Each point of human relations is involved in politics.” No need to say that people of the minor politics are generally agreed on that politics starts with the relation between two people. And later on, we will see that politics starts with the relationship with oneself since the minor politics is politics that is realized by questioning ourselves, our own deeds and actions first of all. This is also related to the fact that the people of the minor politics think that the social and public transformations should start with self-transformation as well. Again, I will concentrate on this topic in the next chapters but here in the same context, I think the statement of the interviewee of Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı Ankara (GDAA) is also important. She says “[Politics] is sum total of acts and deeds of the people who came together in order to organize and change something with the same motivation. In that sense, I understand by politics being organized. Still, everything is political. There are also politics without organizing that is politics of self and daily life.” Actually, in this statement as well, there is the consciousness of the minor politics in a summarized phrase of “politics of self”.

Regarding the fact that everything is political, the interviewee of Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı (KADAV) states that they try to show the political essence and character of the issues or events that seem outside politics. In that sense, she mentions about “political connection” and gives an example about the discrimination against the migrant women in Turkey. Turkish state does not give an identity to Syrian migrant women even if it gives to the men. Migrant women are registered but they don’t have identities and this results in that they cannot work officially, they cannot benefit from the social services; they don’t have legal statuses, etc. while migrant men have. The interviewee says “We did not know these facts, we learned them from the field, that is, from the practice and we try to connect this knowledge with the issue of gender equality and we advocate this. This is what I mean by the political connection. It refers to an effort to show that it is political. I think politics is not something that is known as politics today; politics is not the first thing that comes to minds when politics is called. Indeed, it is something produced in the daily lives. Some politicians can use those produced in the daily lives but politics is not this too. I mean if students or migrant women have problems, they should organize themselves and try to express their problems. It is possible that someone in the Assembly can mention about the discrimination that the migrant women were subjected to but the endeavor that is sustainable and will result in a transformation is not possible by depending on the others. This is why politics is local organization and the deeds that these local organizations do. However, the society does not think so today.” Actually, in this statement, there are the remarks of all important features of the minor politics both in theory and practice. She mentions that politics is equal to life; its power is based on self-organization rather than representation; it extends with our daily life deeds, etc. These are really minor principles and we will show and discuss the importance of them from the viewpoint of minor politics in next pages and chapters. For now, it is enough to see the importance of the consciousness and emphasis on the “political connection” on the minds and practices of the people of the minor political formations.

I think we should also look at the statements of the interviewee from Kuzguncuklular Derneği (KD) in İstanbul. According to her, politics is the epitome of life but the ordinary citizens in the street do not know this. In that sense, she claims, “politics is

far from the perception of the ordinary people.” This means that there are two kinds of definition for politics in her mind: One of them corresponds to the major politics because she says that “politics is an activity today that serves for the sake of aims that are very different from the initial and essential aims like regulating life.” And the other refers to the minor politics since according to her, “the scope of politics contains all minor issues, not only local administrations or schools” but also any little units of life. She also says “this is the right thing.” That is to say, she emphasizes on a normative side; politics should be understood and experienced in any little unit of life. The minority becomes minor and minor until it reaches to an individual. In that sense, the people of minor politics are aware of the fact that being political starts from the individual, her potential to hear her inner and small voices. As I introduced earlier, in their case, the politicians want the Garden to be open for construction but people of KD think that this is not proper for nature, for the life in this neighborhood and also for the people living there. The interviewee says that “you cannot want to protect the Garden unless you cannot feel that it is all political. For politics is part of our life. But in the non-developed countries like us, it is an unpleasant part. In fact, in developed countries, the relation between the minor and the major would be stronger and in that case it would be pleasant part. For politics, I believe, is a way of communication for people to manage their desires and build their own lives.” As we can see, their main aim is to protect the Garden in the Kuzguncuk. Such an endeavor can be seen as very minor and also a-political from outside of the minor politics; in fact the people of KD are aware of the political connection very well. Even if I will concentrate on it in more detail in the next pages, I should note that in these statements, there is also the remark that she has two different politics in her mind and practice. I think that such a difference refers to the difference between the minor and major politics.

Politics is generally related to the power in the minds of the people, that is to say, the scope of the power can determine the scope of politics as well. In that sense, I think we can approach the sense of politics or “everything is political” from the fact that the power is everywhere. In reference to my field research, I can say that the people of the minor politics know that the power is everywhere. For example, the interviewee from LAMBDA mentions about the power in social codes and norms of

heterosexism and gender that are started to be imposed at the very beginning of life. In that sense, he says, “Baby of my cousin had learned to be a lady when she was half yearly. She crossed her legs and folded her hands when she heard the command of ‘be a lady’. I mean the imposition of gender is something like this. We are faced with such kind of power in all fields of our lives, from the biggest to the smallest. So the power is not limited by the state, it is everywhere.” With reference to their analytics of the power, their sense of politics is in correlation with that of the minor politics. The interviewee also says that, “politics is sum total of what we are doing in our lives. It is not limited with something done in a certain place. It is not limited to the parties for example. On the contrary, I think our existence itself is political. We act upon the motto that the personal is the political. Thus, we as LGBTI individuals in society think that our existence itself is a transformative power. This political power depends on the level of our consciousness and expressions and this requires to be organized. This is why we think it is so important to come together. We try to do this.” With the same insight, they reject the hierarchy of needs according to their emergency. They don’t give priority to some issues while ignoring the others. He says that “For us, all of them are important since all of them are nested already. Thus, we think that we can succeed a result if we labor for all.” According to them, politics cannot be considered as something that is made up of struggles in the legal process or in the streets. He says that “If I think it is completed when I did something only, I cannot live what I believe. In that case, politics becomes a kind of hypocrisy. For example, we take so much care of our language even.” In these statements, there is also an emphasis on the political connection and the continuity; it is certain that he points on the importance of the minor political deeds when he mentions about their care of language and the criticism of hypocrite politics. I think these all are also related to the *immanent* characteristic of the minor politics that we will embrace later on in this chapter.

From the very beginning, I claim that everything is political. Actually, such a claim is based on the fact that everything is connected with each other in molecular level and the people of the minor politics are conscious about this molecular connectivity which prepares them to act in the minor politics. And my field research shows that there are lots of examples to prove this consciousness.

For example, the people of food communities know that industrial food is harmful to human health and food industry caused in environmental and ecological pollution. Moreover, they think that in all the processes of food industry there is a great exploitation. I can say that these are the concerns that lead the people to form food communities in different places. The aim of the food communities is not to place an order of food from somewhere and to sell them. Rather the people in these communities organize different activities about the realities of food and to keep in touch with the producers directly. Even they can labor together with the producers on the farm. They want to support the local producers that make clear, slow and relatively just production. In this context, we should look at the activism of ÇÇ for example. The interviewee from ÇÇ states that we should think on how a little lettuce comes to the aisle of the markets, what kind of processes are there behind, how many people and their labor are in these processes. I would like to stay here and to analyze such an attention to the background processes of the goods. Actually this is a kind of attention to see and then show the endless small realities of one reality that seems entire. I think, it is the political perception of the people in the minor politics to see this monadological or molecular connections between the processes. Then I can say again from the viewpoint of minor politics that everything is connected with each other, no isolation in social life and so everything is political. This is expressed in the ideas of the interviewee from ÇÇ: “When you buy something from markets, it is a contribution to continue the social system in which people are deprived of housing right.”

As another example, the people of HK are aware of the fact that the evil, its seeds and repercussions are carried and sustained in minor deeds and actions. Then the resources of the evil and affects are not totally the major structures like “the state” or the evils coming from “the others”. The interviewee says “They are the carriers of negative feelings, bad language and hate. However, when they noticed that they couldn’t think about these, they become self-conscious and when they are engaged in our processes, they start to transform themselves.” In that sense, they share the insight that the social memory should also include the bad events happened to the minor, ordinary people. For example, they are also affected from the story of the death of one minor person; he lost his life when he was trapped in the wreckage that

was there as a result of the collapse of subway construction. For the sake of this, they prepare a content aiming to show that this event isn't single or individual, it repeated throughout the social history of this country, actually it continues to repeat because it was ignored by supposing it as one single event. The interviewee clearly says that "It is our most important content" because they have insight that such a perspective will affect people much more.

I think the fact that everything is connected with each other requires some eyes capable to see the minor things and the connection between them since such a minor perception is needed for the minor politics as well. Meanwhile, the fact that everything is connected to each other sounds that all the human stories are common or at least they have common backgrounds or futures. The people of Plaza Eylem Platformu (PEP) are aware of this principle of *de te fabula narrator* (this is your story) and they try to show the whole picture by gathering the minor pictures together. They are aware of the basic foresight of the minor politics: Everything is connected with each other. The minor political principle of *de te fabula narrator* is also related to the communitarian insight of the minor politics. In other words, this principle says that politics includes all our stories and actually any kind of story in this world. In that sense, the interviewee of PEP says "I think politics is organization and a collective intervention to the life. This can even be individually but not only for yourself. It should be for the sake of everyone." Actually, any political attempt is collective even if it seems individual. They know that their activism is not involved in the field of major politics. The interviewee clearly says "What we are doing in essence is organization and this is political. It is political but not so much big. I mean that we do not have direct demands such as to increase our salaries. Of course we demand the improvement of the labor conditions or interception of overtime working. But we rather try to develop conceptual instruments to be practical in working life." Actually, they try to form a network of relationships and assert this network as a labor organization. They are thinking on themselves, labor relations and seeking the instruments to intervene in these relations. They do not restrict politics with the economy because they try to increase their power on the labor relations and they define this endeavor as political also.

Relatedly, I can say that the people of the PEP sense what the major politics involve. They may not define it conceptually, but they know it in the practice and moreover they try to remain distant to its norms and practices. One can claim that this is one of the reasons they band together, they come and stay together. For example, the interviewee says “The white-collars trust in us because we do not talk big. That is, we do not make politics, we do not talk with big political words.” They mean that they are not and don’t want to be an agent in the major politics. In the same context, the interviewee of the PEP emphasizes on a very interesting point that is strongly related to the minor politics. He criticizes the struggles that are combined via the common issues of different sectors or fields of labor, as in the example of the precariat. The attempts to define and combine the problems of a white-collar and textile worker can give rise to a kind of comparison and cause to hierarchy of needs. He says that “Regarding the Soma mine disaster, people accused us of discussing the overtime working while there are deaths. However, we think that if we cannot prevent the overtime working, we cannot prevent these deaths too.” This is a very important point from the perspective of minor politics because it proposes that the problems and the attempts to solve them may be seen very minor but its effects are not so minor.

They have also recognized that each sector, each company, even each worker has peculiar conditions and this is why any struggle has to conceive these peculiarities. The interviewee says that “the system does produce discrimination against each person separately, that is to say, it does not discriminate those who are Alevis. It can distinguish one person and manage him/her individually. Therefore, we have to presuppose a line of the struggle for even this individual, consider his/her all singularity. Our gain is that we learned this.” Actually, these all emphasize the importance of the minor politics again. Relatedly, another important feature of the minor political formations in practice is that they care about staying in their field of aims and activism. They do not become just discursive, they refrain from just producing discourse about all the main issues in the society. Actually this is the common practice of the major politics, that is, just existing in the level of discourses and norms. The interviewee of PEP says that “Of course we want to deal with bigger issues of Turkey such as Kurdish Question but its place is not PEP. It is not

necessary to be white-collar to support the Peace, you may also be shoe-dealer. We need politics that is related to being white-collar and we try to set forth this politics. Turkish politics is not familiar with such kind of activities. This is why we try to voice.”

People of Tarlataban (TT) also recognize in time that everything is political. When they notice that it is difficult to find seeds to be sowed, that the companies are dominant in all processes of agricultural production, that many laws of agriculture are designed and the state has been instrumentalized for the sake of neo-liberal hegemony, that there have been policies impoverishing the villagers since 1980s, that the supervisors and middlemen are parts of this hegemony and that these all have direct and indirect effects on the people living in the cities as well, they recognized that everything is connected with each other and all of them are political. Relatedly, I can say that there is an insight of the people of the minor politics; they can see the necessity of handling the issues outside the major politics and yet they bring together economic, political or sociological perspectives in their outlook. The interviewee of TT says that “I think that the ecology movement is attractive for much more people for it is outside the major politics. In other words, it seems to me that people consider the field of ecology as the apolitical field.” She means that it is of course and already political and it needs a multi-analysis. Actually, the people of the minor politics believe in that multi-analysis or multiple eyes are the basis of making politics and playing a part in transformation, individual or social. The interviewee of TT says that “What makes our practice political is our comprehension of the issue within its economic, political, sociological realities, but not individually. Otherwise it is difficult to be an actor of social transformation.”

The last example is from Yeryüzü Derneği (YD). The interviewee clearly says “What can be more political than food communities? We stick a knife in the heart of the system because this system is based on such suppliers, it wants to demolish the minor producers, the villagers; it desires that all kind of agricultural production be done by big companies. Moreover, it always manipulates our concept of need and it wants to employ our consumer culture or lifestyles or our ways of entertainment, anything of us, for the benefit of major people (*büyük insanlar*). However, we still have a power coming from consumption. We do not transfer our monies to the major people. What

can be more political than this? ... [About the ecovillage] We did our house there by ourselves. It was exactly collective and voluntary work. It was us who decided where we live and how we regulate. No professionalism. All kinds of differences can live there. Lots of people come to our village; we welcome them with open arms. What can be more political than these? In a world where people garrote each other, where the countries close their doors to the refugees, we try to develop the dialog between the cultures. What can be more political than these?" As I said before, the people of the minor politics see that everything is connected with each other in certain level. I can see it here in this minor example. The interviewee from YD says that "we do not understand the creepy crawly issue by ecological conscience or awareness. Rather we understand the entire sociality around the issue." In that sense, very interestingly they try to evaluate their ecological awareness in relation to Arendt's "banality of evil". In such a context, he states that they initiated a "repair café" in order to repair the broken objects. Around this initiation, they discuss our banalities of evil. For example, the interviewee says, "We give our pants to a refugee and clear our conscience. However, we buy new pants and make a contribution to the exploitation of people in secluded ateliers, in precarity and inhuman conditions for 30 Dollars per month –a Syrian, a Kurdish, an Iranian, a Cambodian, a Philippine, a Chinese. Then do we also live the situation of "banality of evil"? In that sense, it is possible to say that, the function of self-criticism is to prevent their formation from being a major, molar structure with subjugating relationships and hierarchy.

Before passing to the next topics in the context of a sense of politics among the people of the minor politics, it is also important to question, search and discuss the reasons behind underestimation of the minor. While it is a general tendency in major politics, interestingly people of minor politics seem to recognize the importance of the minor and they know that the political intellect is working with the macro event, molar indicators and major history. For example, the interviewee of YD remarks that we have macro-oriented eyes and minds. In such a society whose education, culture, politics are based on macro-oriented thinking, any kind of minor attempt is naturally underestimated; people do not value the minor politics. In that sense, the rational attempt will aim just to create communities, but not to change the whole society. The members of these communities change themselves and their way of life from what

they eat to wear, from what they use for transportation to how they do take holiday. These communities are minor, that is, not serving to major politics. This is the very reason behind that the minor political formations do not assert to be a model for all localities or societies. They are concerned with being autonomous. These are also important topics that I will deal with and discuss later on. I can say that the people of the minor politics do not think and consider politics in its representative, that is, very limited definition. They do not divide politics into two or more categories like left and right. On the contrary, this is a tradition belonging to the major politics. Regarding its tendency to define politics with conflict, the major politics usually deepens any kind of divisions so as to polarize the parts. However, I could easily say that they are aware of the existence of something like “major politics” and they differ their own political existence and activism from such a major politics. Now, let me show this consciousness and embrace the difference between major and minor politics with its different expressions and appearances in the minds and practices of the people of the minor political formations and activisms included in my field research.

3.2.1.2 Consciousness of the difference between major and minor politics

As I said earlier, the people of the minor politics have intuitions or feelings about what is the difference between minor and major politics. We may not claim that they *know* them exactly but it is obvious that they have some ideas about this difference. If people witness a new practice and if they cannot sense it, they tend to explain its meaning by referring to their previous codes and norms of sense. In the case of Özgür Dönüşüm Ankara (ÖDA), we see similar tendencies. The interviewee says that “while some people define ÖDA as a charity organization, some others consider it as a rise against capitalism.” It is possible to consider such tendencies as some attempts to absorb the newness inherent to minor politics and to aspirate the minor politics into the codes of major politics. But the interviewee says that “however, the important thing for us is to keep people in shared values. ... If there is no human value, this means it is only a charity organization.” So we see that the people of the minor politics distinguish their politics of activisms from other ways of politics. They know that they do something new.

There are many examples in my field research which confirm that people of the minor politics share a consciousness on convention of major politics and also the difference, originality, autonomy and newness of minor politics. For example, the interviewee from Mutfak (MK) mentions about “directly political”. This “directness” refers to “major” politics because she continues by saying that “We do not lean towards the activities if they are directly political. That is, a party engagement, something related with referendum or general election, etc. We decided not to organize activities related with such kind of things, that we may call as party politics or politics of election, etc. We do not talk about these explicitly. Of course each of us may have engagements with this kind of politics and we talk about politics but the identities do not explicitly engage with the institutional politics.” They are against the reduction of politics to these “directness” or “institutionalization” since they are also aware that politics can be defined larger than the major politics and that “politics is not made up of the institutional politics. Further, I can say that the dynamics in the social relations are sometimes much more constituent. These dynamics can be defined as culturally, sexually, economically, spatially, etc. But this dynamic can even be in the relation between two people. This is why, politics is also here among three of us.” In the same context, she states that there are two different understandings among the people of the formation. Some people consider here (in Mutfak) as somewhere that has transformative potential. In other words, they believe that if they can change their own life practices, they can also change the world. For example, here in Mutfak, there is an openness for everyone to do everything, the responsibilities change hands so that there does not exist a kind of alienation. On the other hand, some other people think that when they have to withdraw from “active politics”, they formed such a collectivity and a place. Here the phrase “the active politics” belongs to the interviewee. I think it refers to the major politics again because she continues by saying that “I mean, we have to withdraw from institutional politics and the streets and we start to conserve the existing networks. This looks like the structure of abeyance in the literature of the social movement, which means playing possum in order to survive. Being a “directly political actor” means to be an actor in the conventional, that is major, politics. And the interviewee clearly says that “Conventional politics is always based on a kind of reactiveness. There is nothing

active.” In fact there is an interesting, contradictory point; while she defines the conventional politics as “reactive”, she also describes it as “active politics”. In that sense, we should note that she means dominant, hegemonic, conventional, major politics by “active politics”; she does not mean that this kind of politics is based on “active existence.” Rather, she is aware of the reactivity of the major politics and regarding her own situation as one of Academics for Peace, she deepens such reactivity: “Okay, I accept that lots of people were dismissed and unemployed anymore. Well, what will we do, how to be good, how to build the process going to a better condition, how to produce alternative models? Nothing related with these. On the contrary, any attempt to think on these all are trivialized, they are found as liberal, in most minor matters. No, they are not liberal in fact, rather they are most effective ways to deal big blow to the liberalism. And MK is the part of such a blow. Yes, we are enlarging the relations among us by even making canvas together or having a talk about daily life, rather than always talking about the conventional politics.” That is to say, here in these activities people enlarge the ways and the forms of developing a conversation with others. The interviewee says that “I can contact with someone when we can produce our own cheese in this place. We do not have to talk about politics for this.” In fact, the interviewee of MK distinguishes the field of minor politics very clearly from that of major politics. She does such a distinction just in the left but it is by virtue of the affects. She states that on the one hand, there are some interlaced circles composed of people acquainted with MK and the other social field that MK has opened. On the other hand, there are some institutions like labor unions, confederations, parties or organizations. She considers them as opposite by looking her affects related with them and I think she is right to make such a distinction, especially from the perspective of minor politics. She clearly says that “The language, gestures, the ways of producing an argument and their approaches are so different in these two fields.” In the former field, that is, in the institutions of the major politics, she says “there are masculine and didactic language looking down on you. These are my impressions and affects. I can accept that we sometimes have to come together with those people from the former field. But I do not want to involve them into my intimate life and build anything together with them in intimate sphere. In other words, I cannot establish friendship and intimacy with the people from these conventional, major fields of politics. However,

I want to construct something over intimacy with those who are from the latter field even if we have different opinions from the perspective of major politics.” At this point, we can also see that the affects are also categories that help us to distinguish the minor politics from the major politics. For example, the interviewee from MK also mentions about the affects of making politics between the period 1960s and 1970s and she thinks that politics in these times were joyful, that is, there was a gay participation into politics. But she states that today the case is totally opposite. “Today there is a morose politics. It is both a field of conflict on the one hand and it is mournful and angry.” In terms of the expressions of the affects, I can conclude that the major politics dominate and functionalize negative affections and never permit people to live or express their affects outside those determined and institutionalized frameworks. For example, the interviewee from MK mentions about the impossibility, in the patterns of the major politics, to overcome such a masculine left affections. “We would like to write ‘we are in mourning’ to the banner but the institutions such as Türk Mühendis ve Mimar Odaları Birliği - TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects), Kamu Emekçileri Sendikaları Konfederasyonu – KESK (Confederation of Public Employees Trade Unions (CPETU), Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu – DİSK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) and Türk Tabipleri Birliği - TTB (Turkish Medical Association) opposed and discussed this expression because ‘being in mourning’ harms and injures their masculinity. No, rebellions can also be joyful, they do not have to be severe and rageful. It should be apparent in these statements that the affects and also the approach through the affects are also important indicatives to differ the minor from the major politics. I will give much more place to the affective dimension of the minor politics in the next pages, but I would like to state that the minor politics is politics where the people can live their affects without hesitation or alienation to themselves. I recognized that it is one of the most important and positive aspects in the context of affects and politics.

With reference to the statements above, one can say that the difference between the major and the minor politics is present, even if it is not absolutely clear. In fact, it can be said that one of the aims of this thesis is to make explicit, clear and apparent the field of minor politics, by differing it from the major politics. The interviewee of

Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi (TTM) lives the same obscurity in defining politics. She says that “It may be abstract but politics seems that the big shot people have the right to speak about our neighborhood, especially this era. I may confuse the concepts but I think politics is ideological.” It is not difficult to say that the interviewee is aware of the difference between the major and minor politics even if she cannot conceptualize it and what she means by “big shot people” is the agencies / representatives of the major politics and what she means by “ideological” is the feature of the major politics as well. However, they also know that their activism is something different from all of them. She says that “However, we can say we distinguish ourselves from politics because politics today means parties only. We take care of it because we try to explain that here is not just one certain politics or group. There is not a totality in terms of political viewpoints. Actually I do not know this because we do not talk about these topics so much.” As we can see in these statements, they think that politics cannot be reduced to “the parties”; it is rather “something that directly affects our lives.” She says that “Still, I can say that we have a kind of politics, that is, here is not a place where we do something arbitrarily and for no reasons. Besides these, our greeting with the people in the neighborhood is also political.” Besides these all, the awareness of the interviewee about the difference between minor and major politics and also the immanent characteristics of the minor politics can be found, I think, in these statements: “Many institutions are in pursuit of getting bigger to touch more children. But we believe in that the small places are also important. Moreover, we don’t like to use the phrase of “touch the children” because we believe in that there should be more deep relationships.” I think by these relationships she means the immanent practices that they make parts of their life and this life is not isolated from their political existence. In fact, what the people of the minor politics are aware of is such an immanence which I will concentrate on later on in this chapter as well.

Regarding the consciousness about the difference between minor and major politics, much more interesting example is from TT. The interviewee mentions about two kinds of politics and lexical meanings of them are the same: Politics. However, it is in Turkish that politics can be referred either “*siyaset*” or “*politika*”. In the mind of the interviewee, these have very different meanings. The important thing is that she

tries to pay attention that there are different ways or types of politics. She says that “Actually I distinguish *siyaset* from *politika*. I think *politika* is the sum of decision mechanisms and these mechanisms are totally controlled by a group while big masses, or rather the people (*halk*), are not involved into these mechanisms. However *siyaset* is the contrary. It refers to anything that I can involve physically or mentally. It is a big field covering from gender to seed issues. All of them are political.” According to this difference between *siyaset* and *politika*, I can say that the interviewee senses the difference between the major and the minor politics as well. Moreover, they know that their actions are political in the sense of minor politics. By looking today’s policies regulating the agricultural production, it can be said that there is a system of industrial agriculture, even collaborated by agricultural engineers or food engineers who are acting like pharmacists and this is a monopoly working for the benefit of companies only. This is the very simple reason to claim that it is political to have the seeds which are not hybrid or owing to the companies; it is political to show that this is not the unique way of agriculture, to express that minor production models can also feed even the world, more importantly to practice these with an ecological understanding. The interviewee of TT says that “these all are political in themselves, they are existential problems.”

For another example, the interviewee of 100. Yıl Mahalle İnisiyatifi (IF) mentions about two kinds of politics. “When I say politics, two things come to my mind. One of them is what we know, politics that is used generally in the society: The parties, party leaders, governments, parliament, laws and the conflicts among these all. Let’s say a kind of morality of administration. I guess it is called real politics. The other is politics beyond these all; politics regarding how to form and develop our lives. This is what should be in fact; politics that are hidden in the details and that define our lives. I don’t like the first one, I find it ugly. It causes in a polarization in the society; that is, it keeps people whetted against each other.” According to these statements, it is quite possible to say that the interviewee is aware of the major and minor politics and he does already know that their activities are political in terms of the second definition of politics. Moreover, according to the interviewee, the second definition of politics includes the fact that it is related to all the fields of the daily life. He clearly says that “What I call the second politics is that we try to change the society

by changing our daily lives at first.” Of course, emphasis on daily life practices is congruent with the minor politics as well and we will embrace it later on again.

For another example, we can look at the sense of politics among the people of Toplumsal Dayanışma İçin Psikologlar Derneği (TODAP). According to the statements, I can understand that they try to transform the general relations in this capitalist world but they do not fall into norms and practices of the major politics. The interviewee can clearly say “I do not find meaningful to construct [this kind of politics] with higher ideal discourses. Still, we consider our activism as political.” In another context, he also says that “I think that we have political characteristics, but we should not use a discourse belonging to mainstream politics.” As it can be seen, they know and feel the major politics, its norms, codes, representations, affects and practices; they know and try to remain distant from any field and form of the major politics. Still, they know that their activism is political in the sense of minor politics. I should note, the interviewee of TODAP says that “One of the postulates of critical psychology is that the psychology itself is not apolitical. We constitute ourselves on this postulate. We emphasize on that both the practice of psychology and solidarity is political. None of us here in TODAP does say that we are doing something apolitical or outside politics.”

Another example is in the statements of the interviewee of 350A. He mentions about two different politics as well: “There is higher politics or sovereign politics while there is also grassroots politics or politics of people; the means of the latter are different that of the former.” I think, and as you can see, the higher or sovereign politics refer to the major politics since it includes the sense of highness and sovereignty with its molar organizations, transcendental references, violent majesty, etc. According to the interviewee, the former politics is “sovereign politics, or we can say it the visible and the conventional one.” An interesting detail is that he says that “such a politics is the art of overstating the problem.” Actually, such a practice is not contradictory to the major politics because the people of it bring themselves into existence by overstating the problems so that they can legitimate the major mechanisms and representative requirements. Besides these, the interviewee claims that “the higher politics orients to visibility while the lower politics takes care of

being known. I think the second politics is grassroots politics, in the locality, politics that happens each day, the invisible one, the one that has no hero.” Actually, I can say that the interviewee tries to indicate the minor politics since “the lower politics” is really politics of everyday life, it is the life itself. The minor politics does not produce heroes as do in the major politics since heroism can only live in the level of transcendence and with the sings or norms of representations like superhuman existence. Everything in minor politics is humane; the objects and subjects of the minor politics are humane and in the humane scale. These all make sense of the difference between “being visible” and “becoming known”; actually it refers to the difference between discursive and normative nature of the major politics on the one hand and the productive and transformative activism in the minor political formations. I will concentrate on this transformative nature of the minor politics in the next chapters as the promises of the minor politics.

All the examples up to here show us that the people of the minor politics are conscious of the major politics as much as minor politics. When they define politics as something that they do not concern and cannot express or describe, it is *major politics* actually. People of minor politics do not see their activities as *political* since they focus on meeting the needs and solving the problems. For them, what they are doing is not about politics since they define politics as an understanding that determines the methods of the state to do things. In such cases, we can see that they know about the major politics and try to differ and protect their activism from the major politics. I have good examples in this context. The interviewee of Özgür Lig (ÖL) says “When I say ‘politics’, I mean the current politics, that is, there are Erdogan, Kılıcdaroglu, Bahceli, etc. However, what I understand by politics is not restricted to the administration of us by those who are at the top. We can include each moment of our lives into politics. I have no organization, but I have an understanding of politics.” As we can see, they differ “politics” belonging to the major, organized and representative men from the “politics” including each moment of our lives. They may not put into words this difference but they understand and sense it. Another example is from Ankara Yaşam Çemberi (AYÇ). The interviewee of AYÇ, as an answer to the question of “what is politics?”, propounds such a fact that “It is something I do not care and mingle with because it is too huge and I see

myself outside it. This is why I am interested in such small things that are proper to me.” As you can see, in her mind there are again two ways or kinds of politics, one is “too huge”, that is the major politics and the other is “small” one that is proper to her. According to this schema, we can say that she is aware of such difference between major and minor politics. She defines their own political existence like that “AYÇ has a reality that creates new subjectivities because it is based on needs; it is also transformative because it arose from the individual, that is, it sets out from the inner.” As we can see, two main features of the minor politics, that is, “creating new subjectivities” and “transformation” are presented in the language of minor formation of AYÇ. Similarly and not surprisingly the interviewee of BBOM says that “If we exclude the actual politics, I think politics involves each moment, each word, each action, that is everything that composes the culture of living together.” Here in this statement, we can see both the major and minor politics. “The actual politics” in fact refers to the major politics and it is different from “each moment or action”. In that sense, it is also evident that the interviewee is aware of the difference of the minor politics. She recognized that politics is not restricted with the representative codes, norms and practices of the major politics; there is a reality of the field of minor politics.

Again, the interviewee of MZ also mentions about two kinds of politics. One of them is “macro politics” in her language. For example, according to her, “what should be done in the next election” is a question belonging to the macro politics. The other is politics to associate different social struggles in different fields of life and this is what MZ tries to do. I think, the endeavors of MZ to communize the struggles cannot be related with their tendency to become a power in the major politics. It is rather because that they want to demonstrate the relationship amongst any form of social issues at the molecular level. She states that an organization of labor cooperative in one place and a struggle for environment in another are the parts of the same politics, they come together in a resistance against the closure of living places. In that sense, I can conclude that the people of minor politics are against the perception that, for example, as if a labor politics is different from ecology or urban movements. MZ is politics of searching for the possibilities to gather these movements and struggles. The aim is to communize the struggles in all fields of life. For example, they think

that it is possible to consider the struggle of white color workers together with the workers died in Soma. Relatedly, there is a common perception that micro politics cannot survive unless it has equivalence in the macro politics. The people of MZ are against such a perception too since they are searching the autonomous fields empowering the subjects against state and the market at the same time.

In the same context, another interesting example is from the ÇÇ. As I said before, there are generally two categories of politics in the minds of the people of minor politics and these two categories generally correspond to major and minor politics. Of course they do not use these concepts or terms but they try to explain and define these two categories in very different ways. For example, one of the interviewees of ÇÇ defines politics as “a thing formed by politicians in accordance with their own ideals in order to form and also administer the sociability. It is an important part to serve the system to continue. I think no single need is to be administered or expressed by someone else. Actually everyone can learn how to live in this ecological cycle if they observe the world enough. But politics block up the people into the cities and then execute them all.” I think here one can easily see that he tries to define the major politics with its mechanisms of representation and subjugation. However, he also knows what the minor politics is because he also emphasizes on the inexpediency of representation and as we saw in the previous chapter theoretically and as we will see in the next pages in practice, this is the most critical starting point for the minor politics.

Similarly, the interviewee of HKD mentions about “old ways of making politics” and I think it refers to major politics as well. He says that “in old ways of making politics, you define yourselves and then you say to the others ‘I am this or that; you have to read these books in order to be like me. After you read them, I will check whether you understood or not. I will value you up to the level you understand. Then I will assign you. You have to do this assignment because you are belonging to this group.’ However, today we never impose anything on anyone. We don’t know much more than someone else. For the same reason, an academician cannot determine what and how we will do even if she/he is a professor. For what we are doing is not related to knowledge.” Similarly, the interviewee of MK says that “Of course we talk about politics in MK but we engage with politics without a masculine approach to learning.

The small politics, that is politics we are part of it in our everyday lives, are not didactic and always modest.” According to these statements, I can say that they know what and how they do to distinguish themselves from the major politics. They think and act in accordance with minor politics since, as the interviewee from HKD says, “we don’t have a grand dream or a project. With the terminology of NGO, we don’t have the vision to grow to some level of institutionalization and then to solve some major problem at the end of one year or ten years. Our vision is from Monday to Monday; we come together each Monday for four years regularly and without delay. We are a handful of people, acting in solidarity and we recognized that this is a way of political existence. This makes us feel good and we continue.”

According to these examples, I can say that the people of the minor political formations have a consciousness about that there is major politics and minor politics, and what they do belongs to the field of minor politics in general. However, these all should not be considered as my examples to claim that the major politics is absolutely and categorically opposite of the minor politics. What I want to do is not to determine the major politics and then define the minor politics in opposition to major politics. Neither is this what I would like to claim. I just want to emphasize and make apparent the originality of the minor politics in theory and the minor political formations in practice. In that sense, the statements of the people showing the examples of the differences in the practice are crucial to substantiate this difference.

3.2.1.3 They don’t want to be close to the major politics

Actually, there is one more point or dimension to prove the difference between the major and the minor politics; it is that the people of minor politics are aware of the major politics since they don’t want to define their activism in the frame of major politics and they try to protect themselves from the evils of the major politics. In my field research, there are many examples to prove such a dimension.

In this context, we should recognize the feelings of the interviewee of ÖDA when he says that “Leftist discourses strangle me so much and I do not think they are realistic

or grounded. The people in these discourses write and talk by raising their left fist but there is nothing in practice. When I see this fact, I have no sympathy for them. I always supported the idea that we have to search for more judicious solutions behind just protesting in the streets and raising our left fist.” They are aware of the norms and practices of the major political organizations and agencies and they try to overcome its handicaps. In such a consciousness, they try to position themselves distant to the major politics. For instance, the interviewee of BBOM says that “Meanwhile we say there is no politics in BBOM or rather we do not have political views. There are just our lives and if we all can stay together with our lives and values here, this formation will be different.” From this statement, it is understood that they try to remain aloof to the major politics; she means major politics by “political views”. Similarly, they are not talking about the major politics, they do not involve its discriminative issues into their field of activism and they try to focus on their own issues. The interviewee says that “our existing labor is directed to the application.”

In the same context, I can say that the people of minor politics try to keep the distance to the major politics because they, in general, have difficulty of taking a position or developing an attitude once they are faced with the issues of major politics, especially when these issues are discriminative and polarizing easily according to the codes and norms of the major politics. For example, the people of the minor politics know BBOM they should abstain from having a discourse. In that sense, the interviewee mentions about their wrong attitude in regards to the murder of Hrant Dink. They, as BBOM, express their reaction by making a video with the photos of children and sharing it into their social media accounts. She says that “I think it was very wrong when I evaluate it from today. It is important to voice against the murder but it is confusing in which context of BBOM we will place it.”

Again, I can say that the people of the minor politics do not want to be pulled into the major politics since they know that they don’t need this and such integration will harm to the autonomy of their activism. The statements of the interviewee of BBOM are valuable to be noted then: “We are not powerful enough to be an actor in macro politics and we don’t orient our labor to be such an actor too. We do not have a chair

in this table, neither do we demand it. The macro politics turns into something outside our autonomy and this is why we reject or not to prefer it. In fact, we do something practical. We are in pursuit of a model of the application that is from the inside of and also for life and that could be a model for transformation as well.” These all are very strong statements against the normative world of the major politics and for our context the most important thing is their will of rejection of being part of the major politics.

Meanwhile, I have to note that if they think that their activism is not related to politics, the reason is that they define politics only as “major politics”. I mean, they understand “major politics” by “politics” even if their minor activism is also political. In that sense, it would not be true to conclude that some people of the minor politics do not think their activism as political. No, they just define politics as major politics and this detracts them from relating their minor political efforts to the “major” politics.

I think we should also evaluate the case of Validebağ Gönüllüleri Derneği (VGD) in this context. The interviewee says that “Unsurprisingly, the leftist viewpoint is dominant but there are right-winger people as well, who could vote for the ruling party and there is no obstacle for this. The truth is that we do not wonder about such kind of things because our aim is not politics, we did not start off with political aims. We do not care about supporting or to oppose this or that party. However, we cross with politics in the struggle for the environment.” In these statements, “politics” is clearly “the major politics.” The interviewee also says that “I think politics is the process of decision-making about how the taxes that are collected from the people are spent. It is my right and duty to check and control how these taxes are spent.” As it can be seen, he defines politics in very technical and concrete terms. He also says that “if it is manipulated towards a more abstract level, it would deviate from the aim.” Here “the abstract level” refers to an ideological understanding of politics. These two aspects are the aspects of the major politics in fact. For he continues by stating that “We do not pursue a political aim but what we are doing has political repercussions in some way. Especially the government and its partisans try to introduce us as political.” As we can see again, the interviewee mentions about

“political” in the sense of major politics. That is, their being “political” in discourses of the government is an attempt to describe them as member or supporter of this or that ideology or party in the level of major politics. In the same context, he relates the reasons of failure to sustain the Gezi Movement with “politics” above all. Here again, I understand that “politics” for the interviewee is the name of practices and norms of “the major politics.” For he thinks that the Gezi Movement started as an ecology movement and the concern is really 3 or 5 trees. However, as he mentions, some parties and groups employed the power of the Movement to realize their own political aims; they sabotaged Gezi Movement consciously or not. He says “Even if it was refused, they shouted political slogans and they equipped with political flags and pennants.” According to him, these were wrong and should not have done because “it had started as a civil society movement, an ecology movement and it must have continued as such.” In other words, the interviewee thinks that “Entrance of the political symbols caused the corruption of the soul of movement, that is, the naïve and pure soul of a struggle for ecology. They say politics and politics. But it is not really related to politics. We will continue to do the same things to protect here even if there is another party in government.” As you can see, here also lies a criticism of major politics when he mentions about “politics”.

Regarding the consciousness of the minor and major politics, I think we should also consider politics and activism of the women’s movement. According to the women of Yeni Çözümler Derneği (YÇD), the women’s movement has been in a close relationship with the leftist politics throughout the history rather than this macro bourgeois politics but the leftist politics has harmed the women’s movement because it tends to be hegemonic and uniformed. The subjects of the major politics thought that the feminist politics is a petty bourgeois politics, it is separationist and even a pervert ideology. Thus they underestimate, undervalue and do not recognize and appreciate their movement. They don’t accept that what women are doing is also political. However, the interviewee says, “we are political but according to them we are just a non-governmental organization and we are doing civil social activities. I don’t understand what they are talking about. Aren’t the activities in the civil society political? Everything is political. It is not in the monopoly of bourgeoisie nor leftist socialist fractions. Politics is everywhere and every time. I always think from my

childhood and understand when I become adult that human relations manage everything and they refer to politics. I think it is wrong to define politics with references to the parliament which is special to men.” Thus they thought that the things among women and done by women are also political even if what they are doing is underestimated and even if the leftists claim that women divide the left. According to the interviewee, the same things are also valid for LGTBI individuals or Kurdish people. They and their activities are also underestimated; they are accused of not doing politics, etc. The agencies of this hegemony value their politics only and they think their politics is the only thing that is able to change the reality. She says that “This is total guff. We cannot restrict politics to just one place.” In that sense, the interviewee reminds a sentence of Susan Sontag that fascism starts in a relation between two people and she continues “I mean, it is such an easy thing, it is everywhere, every time and so it is impossible for women to free themselves from what is going on.” According to them, their activism that is based on Human Rights Education Programs (HREPs) aims to contribute to such a projection and politics. The interviewee mentions about a kind of success in accordance with the evaluations after HREPs. For almost all women participated in HREPs state that their self-confidence increased after the workshops for 16 weeks or that they start to look politics positively, etc. For example, they start to take a role in the municipalities, they participate in city councils or they initiate an association or a foundation acting in any fields such as environment or disadvantaged people, etc. That is to say, they start to be more active in the localities. All these mean politics. These all refer to the fact that women participate in social and political life. For the interviewee says, “What I understand by politics is something like these all. However, these are underestimated, undervalued. If you are not a headman (*muhtar*), a mayor or a deputy, this means that you are not a politician and you don’t make politics. This is an unconscious viewpoint and specific to dominant minds.” I think these all are enough to claim that women are also conscious of the difference between the minor and major politics but I should note that such a difference is expressed in their own analysis of “dirty” and “clean” politics. The interviewee of YÇD says that “In many studies in the localities, women state that politics is a very dirty thing, it is ugly, there are violence and power relations and thus they don’t want to make politics. However, we tell them that there is also a positive politics, a clean politics; we can change and

develop our lives. This is why our last three modules in HREPs, namely politics, feminism and independent organizations of women are very important. After they raised their consciousness on rights and they learned about their freedom, sexuality, fertility, etc. there appears a question of what we will do with this consciousness and knowledge. This is why the last three modules are so valuable. The HREPs continue in municipalities and advice centers.” As we can see, women link dirtiness to the major politics, while the cleanness to the minor politics. Looking from their perspective, major politics is mostly based on the norms and practices of male dominated hegemony.

In the same context, I can say that people of the minor politics know that the base of the major politics is its representational, then hierarchical organization. The interviewee of YD clearly shares this point. He says “Before YD, I was acting in ecology movement for years in a political party, namely Yeşiller Partisi (Green Party). The biggest trouble we lived here was the hierarchical structure. Such a structure prevents people from expressing themselves and it creates a situation causing people to feel that they are secondary before the structure because your ideas are listened but never valued and actualized.” As we can see, the hierarchical structures of the major politics are really contradictory with human togetherness and expression. More importantly the people of the minor politics have such wisdom and they imagine and live their minor political formations outside these norms and practices of major politics. The interviewee clearly says that “We take care so much not to produce these troubles in YD.”

Similarly, the interviewee from Özgür Kazova (ÖK) makes a distinction between politics of those who are in the parliament and politics of the society. She says that “If you want to be a politician, you have to lie as those in the parliament do today. However, normally politics is to assert the rights. I don’t believe those in the parliament can do something for us. This is valid for all the parties. If I had the opportunities that they have, I would make this country the best of the world because we succeeded all of these even if we didn’t have anything.” As an interesting point, she also states that, at the beginning of their activism, there were some people who act and think in accordance with the norms and practices of the major politics and who try to pull the activism of the workers of ÖK into the major politics as well.

Even if it is late, the workers recognized such an effort and resist against it. At this point, it is important to note the complaining of the interviewee against these figures of the major politics. He says that “our activism is already political by itself. Why do you denominate? Times changed. Pickaxe and shovel are the tools of the past. If you don’t update yourself and you stay behind the times, you fail. We try to struggle according to today’s conditions. Our unique principal is labor. This is why we got so much attention. We did not categorize anyone, our doors are open to everyone supporting the labor and this is why people liked us.” As we can see, the interviewee tries to pay attention that the major politics is old style anymore, it is outdated. This means that they are aware of that their way of activism, that is autonomous production, is much more effective than the practical world of the major politics.

Another example is from the experiences of the people of HK. The interviewee says that “It is necessary to tell the truths to the people with a language that is purified from a certain political terminology, to evaluate objectively and not from the perspective of those who were suffered but also other perspectives.” Here I can see the prudence of the people of the HK in terms of their sensitivity to establish a language that is purified from the major political language and codes. As you can imagine, the people of the minor politics are aware of that the rage, discrimination, hate speeches in the society are accumulated over their belongingness, identities, classes and these evils keep living even in the words that are used in daily lives. In that sense, the interviewee of HKD states that, they always think about the possibilities to develop means and ways to understand and overcome these evils. This is why they keep themselves far from the norms of the major politics. For example, he says, “we don’t ask no one whether they are from this or that party. We don’t talk about these issues. It is meaningless to ask people whether they are from Justice and Development Party (JDP) or Republican People’s Party (RPP) or Peace and Democracy Party (PDP), etc. These are not our concerns.” They do not prefer the way of the major politics because it prevents human togetherness, “it is something that blocks in advance.” This does not mean that they are deaf and blind to the facts of the major politics; they do not pretend as if they live in another country or world. With reference to the statements of the interviewee of HKD, I should say that even if they talk about politics and share their “political views” as outside their main issue

and even if they recognized that their political viewpoints are very different, no one left the association, everyone sustains to come and act. But in such an activism no one has to change his/her own spirit or political position. People continue to stay in this collectivity in order to know other people, to develop a friendship or human relationship and to continue the activism.

Thus, we can also say that people of the minor political formations do not concern the *major* identities. I mean that in the minor politics it is a general tendency not to have an attitude against the people because of their major political identities. There are lots of remarks to support such a fact in the results of my research, I can mention about some of them. For example, the interviewee of ÇÇ says that “Among us, there are people from different political viewpoints. Even there are people who may be a supporter of JDP. But these concerns are never talked about.” Similarly, the interviewee of ÖL tells about that people from different political organizations and viewpoints came to join to ÖL but everyone keeps out such identities. He says that “Everyone may express their views but it is different from imposing them. Here may be a field where people can share their political views but it cannot become a kind of propaganda. When it turns into propaganda, it becomes ugly. This is why we didn’t allow it because we had experiences from the IF.” As you can see, the knowledge in the minor politics accumulates in time and clear up the future, which I will concentrate later on. The interviewee says “We know that an ideological attitude criticizing the existing system is not a proposal that will work in ÖL but instead, we can do something by virtue of our commons. This is valid for the life in general, not only for the ÖL. The lives of conservatives, liberals or even communists are most common.” An ideological attitude refers to one example of norms or practices of the major politics and the interviewee, together with the people of ÖL as well, is aware of its discriminative dynamic. This is very reasonable that they try to keep this and similar codes outside their activism.

As another proper example, the interviewee of HKD mentions about their success of being together and grown in a period when all parties, associations, etc. lose people and energy. He says that “in such a period, the number of our volunteers and energy increase. It is of course related with the crises of the migration but the most

important thing is the spirit that we have, with our ways of working, forms of togetherness, the multiplicity, the contact and conversation among us, our indifference to political or religious identities of the people. This spirit created a place to breathe.” This success is based on the features of the minor politics and the insight that they should be far away from the norms and practices of the major politics again.

Another point in this issue is that the people of the minor politics do not even want to talk about the major politics among themselves since the major politics harm the togetherness of the people in the minor political formations. For example, the interviewee of LĪSTAG says that “Politics is not talked among the families because there are families from all political views.” There is a multitude of the minor political formations and such a multitude is under the threat of the conflicting and discriminating attitudes of the major politics. This is why the people of the minor politics escape from its norms and codes. Such an effort is almost obvious when the interviewee of LĪSTAG says that “We and similar formations should not be an instrument to politics. We should be independent, against all parties.” They know very well about the major politics and want to be independent of it because, with the words of the interviewee, “Actually, our situation is a situation above politics because our position is related with human, rights and equality; we interpret politics over these even if we have personal views. The situation of our children is above everything else. If you enter into politics, people start to judge us in such a way that ‘they are from that or this party’. I was the member of RPP but these are not talked about.” As we can see, their effort is directed to not to include into the world of the major politics.

I think we can see the same effort of the people of the minor politics when we consider their attitude to the state of being institutionalized or structured on a major scale as well. For example, the interviewee of KADAV states that they try not to catch the classical illness of non-governmental organizations. According to her, the institution and its benefit or identity may preclude the works that the people of this institution do. Moreover, the people of this institution may surrender to this when they think that it is necessary to preserve and protect the institution only and primarily. Another classical illness in non-governmental organizations is that one

may not sustain her / his voluntariness; that is to say, one may be fascinated by professionalism. As we can see, such an effort to not to catch “the illnesses of NGO” in Turkey is collateral with the sensitivity to the norms and practices of major politics since these are the classical illnesses of the major political formations, including the non-governmental formations. In the same context, the interviewee from HKD, who is not the member but volunteer of the association, states, “I am not the member of the association, but just a citizen living here and spreading an effort for HKD. This gives me a level of freedom. Moreover, by virtue of this, I can see what I do as the part of my thought. If the action is institutionalized, the individuals become the defects and troubles of this institution. In fact, these institutions should be the instruments to facilitate some affairs. However, in Turkey, one of the biggest problems, that is the political crisis, is that our instruments become our fetters and prevent us from moving.”

Regarding the consciousness of the people of minor politics about the major politics and their substantial objection to live in its codes and practices, I think it is also possible to see this objection in their activism itself. For example, the people of ÖL are critical to major culture of the industrial football that becomes major and major, day after day in Turkey. They are critical to the state control on the fans and the audiences with the application of passo-league that aims to much more industrialize the football and discipline the fans in a certain rules and as a result restrict the various aims of the football. They know that today’s industrial football is a male-dominant football with its language and competition. Since women are not as familiar to football as men, they have difficulties of confidence. However, they gain such a confidence in time. In this process, we recognized that it is not a natural difference between the levels of inclination of women and men; it is not based on sexuality, but rather gender problem. As we can see, they reject to live in the dominant and subjugating norms and practices since they are the extensions of the major politics. The interviewee says that “We should not expect something from parliamentary politics or the assembly. Regardless of being RPP or JDP, it produces troubles always. These institutions are not related with the world that we want to create.” Rather he defines politics as the production or creation of living

fields to the level of his opposition. In that sense, it is clear that he understands major politics by conventional politics.

Another example showing the distance of the minor political formations to the norms and practices of the major politics is related with their participation in representative days of the major politics again. For example, Perşembe Akşamı Bisikletçileri (PAB) join to May Day or International Women Day or an activity organized by a labor union; however, in these activities they refrain from being identified within major politics. The interviewee says that “We are not totally unresponsive [for example, to the question of gender] but we do not want to politicize the PAB. We don’t want to be on the forefront as PAB.” Here we can see that the people of PAB try to remain distant to the major politics. By “politicization”, I think the interviewee refers to ‘coding the PAB in the field of major politics’. Otherwise, they know that they are also political in the sense of minor politics. As the interviewee says that “Of course what we are doing is political. It is like that we are doing politics without mentioning politics. We communize the concept of the bicycle. Before, there was such a perception that there is no bicycle in Ankara. Now we proliferate both the concept and the practice of bicycle gradually. So, biking is political, it is green politics, and it is leftist politics. But we rather cling the green politics because it is more innocent. In this country, everyone has a nightmare of left even if the left has not been in the power from 1960’s. There is such a prejudice that being leftist means being irreligious.” In these statements, we should see that “the left” is referred as an ideology in the field of major politics and the so called “green politics” is considered into the field of minor politics. This is why the people of PAB prefer to emphasize on the political importance of biking with reference to its importance for the nature, environment and also human health. For example, regarding politics inherent to biking, the interview states that biking serves a cheaper way of transportation, thus you can save some money and you can spend it for solidarity.

There is one more point in this issue. I saw that some interviewees avoided talking about politics or expressed their negative feelings about “politics.” For example, the interviewee of ÖDA said that “I am not able to talk about these topics and I do not like. I do not have enough knowledge and also experience to talk and interpret about

them [the political issues].” Similarly, the interviewee of ÇÇ said “I think it [politics] is very stupid thing in a word.” I think I can say that “politics” here in these statements also refer to the major politics since it is quite different from what and how they do.

I think we can also mention about the issue of truth in regards of its being manipulation within communication tools of the major politics. If people of media activism in minor politics deal with the truth, this is because they want to keep their objective position and not to be a “side” in the norms and codes of the major politics. In that sense, the interviewee of TO says, “We are dealing with the discourse of ‘post-truth’. In today’s world dominated by such figures as Trump, Erdogan and Yeltsin, politics is identified with lies, everything in politics is based on lies and it is accepted as normal by the people anymore. In such a world, what is political for us is to tell the truths. Thus, our politics can be seen as a movement to drill the post-truth world and politics.” According to the interviewee, the journalism like a partisanship is different from a journalism that tries to reveal and present the truths. They want to reveal the truths and they believe it is enough, no need to interpret, transfigure them and it is meaningless and partisanship to direct and dominate the masses. It is an attempt to claim something like that ‘you cannot understand them, then I will tell you, which means ‘making a fool of the people’. Instead, they just try to deal with the truths and stay outside the events to tell what they see and know. These efforts of being objective in the field of truth are related with their consciousness of the polarizations in the society; they try to keep themselves outside these polarizations and also show that they are not a side, rather they analyze all sides and say the truth. The interviewee of TO states that they are aware of the polarized politics and culture everywhere and they consider the polarization as the source of the echo-chambers in social media, in the neighborhood, in the school, even in the gold days of the mothers. He says that “The prevention of this would be saving the world.” In fact, the people of such a media activism tries to stay in an objective position to be able to enter into echo-chambers which are closed communities formed in the social media. They are aware of the fact that people in general are closed to the others, they find the truths that are proper for them; they believe in what is their own truth and do not accept any more truths from outside. In that sense, the attempts of the people of TO

succeed to enter and deconstruct these echo-chambers by dealing with the subject fields that are not directly the subjects and representations of the major politics. Such prudence helps them to be reliable and believable in the eyes of the people. All in all, they try to keep their position distant to the major politics and stay in objectivity against the major political events. This is because they obviously say that “politics is everywhere and our job is also political.”

In the context of the relation of objectivity and minor politics, the formation of TO is not the unique one that acts in this field. Actually I can say that most of the minor political formations, included in my field research, are sensitive to this relation and they recognize the power of the truth and objectivity in order to preserve their position in the minor political field and not to be pulled into that of major politics. For example, the interviewee of CİSST mentions about the same context when he says that “the aim is to reach the truth. Regarding the prisons, we asked about how can we learn the real problems as blindingly obvious and then how can we find remedies for them immediately.” I will not mention about all the examples from my field research but it is necessary to recognize the endeavor of the people of HK to create social memory based on minor history and truths. The interviewee says that “Our biggest aim is to deal with the lies and to present the truth to the public.” They try to tell the truths to the people as much as possible; they believe that these people will carry the consciousness of social memory, the ability and confidence to face up with the past, and the insight that some people in this country have inhumane memories. In their own website, they try different ways and means to present the truths to the people by taking care of the variety of interests and needs of the people. For example, there are short movies for general viewers and also long-form articles for academics, etc. In that sense, it is obvious that they target the multitude of people, rather than a specific group. Very importantly, they think that the events that repeat continue to take people’s lives and never paid off have to be included in the social memory. This is why they try to uncloak all the events that were disregarded and left aside but that continue to repeat and are connected to other similar events. In that sense, they preferred to study on the massacre in Çorum since it was underestimated and ignored in comparison to the massacres of Sivas and Maraş.

Before passing to next subsection of prefiguration, I should clarify and finalize that in general people of the minor politics have self-conscious political awareness, as long as politics is the minor politics. All the examples, statements and stories from the minor political formations in my field research up to now show such a general fact. It is not possible to mention about all of them but some of them were really interesting and helpful to understand the political essence of the minor activisms and actions in very minor scale. In addition to them, some of the statements of some interviewees are directly expressions of this consciousness of minor political existence I think. For example, the interviewee of ÇÇ can say that “Eating is political. Every deed is political in fact. It involves eating and serving the meals to the other people. Therefore, I mean all of our actions are of course political.” I should note that while we are talking about the background of their formation, the interviewee of ÇÇ herself said that “I think this could be minor politics. It was an occasion for socialization, everyone can join. There is no hierarchy. Moreover, it also aims to show to people that it is possible to practice an alternative culture of consumption.” Similarly, the interviewee of BBOM can clearly say “I am here for this reason. I think BBOM is a movement that responds with doing something to [the cry of] something should be done.” Another strong example is from SL. The interviewee says that “In such a state of emergency, we can come together with 200 people. In that sense, we may be the unique formation in Ankara. It is true that we are outside the field, that is, we are not in the city center but what we are doing is still political, very political. Moreover, most of the teams are political, that is, they have concerns.” Actually, the people of the minor politics know that even some little deeds and facts in human life have political meaning and importance. For example, the interview of SL states that she likes astonishing the people. She says that “When they learn that I am footballer, they are astonished by this. Actually, each moment of these astonishments is a kind of opening the political horizons of the people. The important thing for me is to be able to live these all without alienation. It is difficult to find them in macro politics.” She properly thinks that the major politics does now allow such kind of thing as “opening the political horizons of the people” since it is rather based on the closure of the mind of the people into the certain and subjugating representations. Rather, they know very well that their activism is quite unordinary and unusual, it is a kind of game changer. The interviewee of SL says meaningfully

that “I think that the Free League becomes the target of the state if it involves in the major politics. However, when the police come and look at our activities today, it pays no mind and disregards us since we are just playing football with kids and dogs and together as women and men. Moreover, it may not know how to interfere us.”

As a last issue of this self-consciousness, I think it is also important to note that people of the minor political formations are aware of the power of their politics. I can say that they know that they are doing very minor actions but they are also pretty aware of that these little actions have certain affects which can be evaluated from very different perspectives and which are also connected to major issues. For example, the interviewee of ÇÇ states that their aim is to show people the injustice in accession to food in the world. So there is a connection between the minor efforts of the people of minor politics and major issues in the world. Actually the people of the minor politics feel such a connection because they are affected by these major issues. For example, regarding the issue of social injustice, the interviewees of ÇÇ are highly sensitive to consumption. They know that behind the objects in the market, there are bloody stories of exploitation of the child labor. In that sense, I can surely say that the scale of the minor political formations is really minor but the scale of their affect is no way micro, it connects to the universe in molecular level. And this molecular extension of the affect of the actions of the minor political formations is going towards the minor as much as major, worldly issues. For example, the voluntaries of ÇÇ are in touch with sellers in the bazaar. They develop a kind of relation or a dialog which has transformative affect, that I will concentrate later on. I mean that at the beginning the young volunteers request the waste foods from the sellers, but later on with acquaintance the sellers do not cast away the foods, they reserve them for the volunteers of ÇÇ. This is the remark showing that this minor political formation produces new ways of perception and practices in the world of people who are somehow within the coverage zone of the affect of the minor politics.

The people of the minor politics are also aware of the originality and autonomy of their way of resistance. The interviewee of ÖK says “Our resistance as the workers of Kazova has brought a new dimension to such kind of struggles. The people supported to our resistance because they knew that we are doing something beautiful

and if we succeed, lots of things can change in the country.” They believe that ÖK is a working place where people come together, work together and share the earnings fairly. They insistently emphasize that if it can be a model for any kind of production, lots of things will change in this country. This is very reason that they strongly know that their endeavor is highly political. The interviewee says that “politics is here. What tells about politics very well is here. But we don’t show it up so much. Something in Turkey should change and there may be beautiful things. Those in the parliament should develop here if they use their minds because if here is developed, no patron can do wrong and be unfair to the workers. Our aim is to go all lengths because we believe in that if here is developed, no workers could be fired.”

3.2.2 Prefiguration

Actually, I can claim that the entire of this study covers the principle and practice of prefiguration since all the features and dynamics of the minor politics are related with prefiguration and they refer to the *potentia* of prefiguration. On the contrary, it is important to collect some other crucial features of minor politics in the category of prefiguration.

As I have noted in the second chapter, by prefiguration I mean the praxis of the people of the minor political formations. It is a state of continuous and decisive action in realization of the ideas and dreams. When the people of minor politics have ideas and dreams to live, sense and experience a state of life or an ideal condition in their world, they initiate to act either individually or collectively in order to realize their ideas or dreams. They do not wait for something or some time to reach the perfect and absolute state, rather they step into action in accordance with their conditions and potentialities *here and now*. I mean that they do what they can do and start to act to realize what they dream of. Prefiguration means lots of thing; actually it is very basic characteristic of the minor politics that connects many features of it. For example, the fact that minor politics is based on prefiguration means that the minor political formations are not just representative, not reactive, not conflicting, etc. Rather they do exist in the practical world; they do not content themselves with

criticisms only or producing discourses, norms and ideas. Instead, they believe in themselves that they can do even if it is in the minor scale.

In that sense, in order to show the essentiality of the prefiguration, I would like to prove, in reference to my field research, that minor political formations are critical to 1) domination of representative thinking and acting in politics, 2) politics based on reaction and conflict and 3) the culture of consumption. I mean, prefiguration does substantially include these three kinds of criticisms.

As mentioned in the second chapter, I hypothesized that the minor politics is not “representational”. That is to say, the people of the minor politics are out of the representational thinking and practices in politics because the people of the minor politics know and feel that representational thinking and practices absorb the vitality of politics, “representation” in politics converts and constrains the *potentia* -as the power of the people to act, to exist and to think- into the *potestas* -as the power of discipline and control. And after the field research, I followed that the minor political formations in Turkey carry this first and most important feature of the minor politics; they may not know but they feel that the representation is one of the main pillar of the major politics; so they remain very distant from representational politics, that is, representational thinking and practice in their activisms. I cannot say that all the minor political formations are totally “not” representational or that there is no even little symptom of representational politics. However, I can certainly say that in the minor political formations there is a tendency to break the structure of the representation; with a stronger belief, I can claim that the primary goal of the minor political formations is not to represent something or some people; on the contrary, they try to prefigure their “representations” as ideas in their mind or their wishes in their heart. Actually all the previous parts up to here are somehow evidence for non-representational characteristic of the minor political formations but I would also like to mention about the examples from my field research that show this fact directly and implicitly.

For example, the people of MZ, and so DÜRTÜK and DM, obviously think that politics cannot be reduced to the representative politics. The interviewee of MZ says

that “I can even say that we don’t see any probability in representational politics and think that there are no open ways for politics in institutionalized mechanisms. This is why we oriented to such formations like DÜRTÜK and DM, rather than certain party mechanisms.” This is also starting point for most of the people in minor politics since they recognize the failure of representational politics and they embark on a quest for new fields, ways and forms of acting in politics. As another example for inherent criticism of representative thinking and acting, we can look at the statements of the interviewee of PEP. He states that he faced with the attitudes of the classical leftists in their formation as well. Such an attitude offers that there should be a representative of this platform; he/she will manage here. Moreover, there should a commission and it will be responsible for the external affairs. In short, it tends to much more hierarchical, that is, too classical, banal thinking. But in time, the people of PEP recognized that such an attitude was not carried to here from leftism. It was coming from working life. It is the same reflex that people want to be a director in PEP because everyone desires this position in their working life and if everyone is equal in this platform then it is very easy to be a director.

As I said earlier, the base of the major politics is its representational, then hierarchical organization. We know that the interviewee of YD clearly shared this fact. He was acting in ecology movement for years in Green Party and the biggest trouble they lived there was the hierarchical structure. I can say that it is clear that in the very beginning they have affective motivations to develop the human creativity, to experience the probabilities of becoming a human, to produce new subjectivities within relation to ecological life, to live the freedom and openness in these minor networks where no hierarchy and representation. For, as I said earlier again, the people of the minor politics are aware of the relationship between the problem of representation and the subjugation. Let’s give one more striking example from YD. The interviewee says that “We did not have a building or office for years. It was so beautiful. But later on, some of us wanted that we have a specific place. I was against this idea because I think that YD with its all being lives in a more intangible level. ... That is, YD is everywhere, here or in Canada. It is everywhere we live. However, when you start to hedge around, someone stay outside and a kind of subjugation starts inside, for example one can ask ‘can I make a tea in the kitchen?’” As we can

see, he emphasizes on the problems arose from the representation and then hierarchy, and then subjugation actually, etc.

The interviewee of HK states that the practice of remembrance is induced and so restricted to the litigations and memorial days in gravesides. This is why one of their initial aims was to enlarge the scope of the meaning and also the practice of the issue of remembrance in order to remember collectively. This is exactly minor political attempt because it aims to break down the representations, that is, the restriction of the issue of remembrance into some representative actions. Moreover, they recognized that the social memory is also restricted in terms of its subject fields. At this point, they try to emphasize on the connections between the events regardless of their size, that is the events may micro or macro but they may connect to the social memory. In that sense, they try to find and show the ties and connections between, for example, the death of a child because a washbasin fell to his head and the massacre of Alevi people. The interviewee of HK states that with such an intuition they developed a new content in their website under a subtitle that “connected events” so that they can make public lots of events, rather than those which are representative and accepted as “political” because of this.

Another interesting example in the same context can be found in the statements of the interviewee of VGD. He tells about the background processes behind the Gezi Resistance just before the event. He states that at the evening of 27th May, when dozers entered into the Gezi Park, it was Mustafa Cevdet Aslan, from the Association of Protection and Beautification for Taksim Gezi Park, who came the dozers’ way. He was one of those who gathered signatures, who labored to protect the Gezi Park decisively and who showed the first reaction and so the resistance. Then the tents were pitched on the field. They were burnt at the night of 31st May and the events got bigger. The rest of the events are as we all know. But he says that “When a deputy, a representative of a political party came and stood in front of the dozers, the press quickly came and they thrust him to the forefront because he was a deputy. Afterwards, some people tried to advertise [by standing in front of the dozers], tried to take credit for the events. We do not deny that he was there, but it was our friend who firstly stood in front of the dozers.” In these statements, as you can see, he does not blame this representative of doing stealing the roles of the people acting to

defense the park from the very beginning; rather he tries to emphasize on the closing effect of the representation and so representatives on the power of the people of the minor politics. Still, it is possible to judge this attitude of the representative as the general attitude of the representative or major politics. Actually the people of the minor political formations are critical to such a general hegemony of the major politics in the form of representation.

The other main criticism inherent to the prefiguration in minor politics is the criticism of reactivity, reactive existence or politics based on reactivity and conflict. Such a criticism is normal and coherent with other main features of the minor politics since people of the minor political formations have to be active in the sense of production and prefiguration in order to create new values, new fields of life, new ways of existence, alternative forms of transformation, individual or collective actions. They intuitively know that none of them is possible as long as their way of existence and politics is based on reactivity and conflict.

The best example in this context can be found in the story of initiation of ÖL. The interviewee clearly tells about the events in the first day of the league to start up and he directly criticizes the reactive attempts of some people. Let me narrate the story with the words of the interviewee: “To start the league, we came together in Ahmed Arif Park and then we would walk together to the place where we would play the football. We were approximately 200 people, together with new people. It would take 10 minutes from the park to the football field. Then we started to walk. Half of the group, may be more than it, looked for the police. They wanted that the police blocked us and there took place a conflict. We said please don’t do it but they didn’t hear us. They hogged the road so that the police would come to here. Why, why do you do this? We are going to play football, we will do something perpetual. If there is the police blocking us and we cannot start today, this league will not realize. So we have to do this football game. It is not necessary to walk aloud, to conflict with the police, to hog the roads, to build a barricade. What to do is to go, to start the game and to realize the league. There will already some different effects. What we need to fly away are the police itself. The police are not our collocutor; on the contrary it is an obstacle in front of what we want to do. So we shouldn’t call it, we should keep it

off. In short, we had difficulties until we reach the football field; it was difficult to bring the group to the field without any events. I couldn't understand those people who wanted to hog the roads. We are going to play football, we are crowded, we try to create and build a new cultural field, but they leave these all and repeat the conventional ways. Don't do this please. We had such difficulties to start the league. Anyway, we started and we are still here even in this situation of the country, that is to say, we continue to play football in the state of emergency. If we stayed in this reactionary attitude, we could not have created such a field.”

As we can see, the interviewee is aware of the repetition of badness in this reactivity and seeking for conflict. However, they succeeded to prevent their activism from trapping into this reactive and conflicting politics since they were experienced from their previous activisms in different formations. We know this from his statements that “In many park forums and initiatives after the Gezi Movement, there was a chronic obsession: Being so much reactionary. This means a kind of dependence to the wrongs of the government. That is, the government will make a fault and then these formations will react, will say something reactionary. But if the government will not do any wrong, then they have no word to say. This means that we completely depend on the other side because we only dignified the reaction and being reactionary. It is a kind of dependence on the reaction. I think it is very irritating. Rather, why cannot we produce something? Being reactionary is far from being productive actually. If you are content with expressing your displeasure against what the government or the municipality has done, it is crippling and idle way of thinking because reaction does not open a field to you. Instead, we should put forward something and act with its affects. ÖL is a formation like this.”

Besides these all, I have to note the following statements in order to show the awareness of the failure of reactivity and conflicting politics. He says that “Nothing bad did ever happen. ÖL does not produce its opponent since it is not reactive or reactionary. Some can come and look daggers at ÖL since there is no suitable condition for this. We can define politics as something that enlarge our fields of action. If someone does not understand politics as something that is made up of conflict, for example conflict with the police, if he/she can accept his/her life as political itself, he/she will not place reactions into politics.”

He also mentions about that the same thing is valid for the actions in the neighborhood of 100. Yıl to stop the building of the highway passing through the neighborhood. Before this agenda, they were imagining lots of things such as swap market and neighborhood library. But the projects of the highway became the current issue; they left aside all their dreams and gave all energy to stop this highway. Everyone knew that this highway will be constructed, everyone is aware of it. He says that "It is misery actually." And he is also aware of the fact that they should have labored for their dreams to look ahead. He says "I don't mean that we should not react, but we should not give our all energy there if it causes the negligence of all other things we dream. I don't approve this. I think we prefer the easy things. There are lots of things to do; you have to labor for a library, to find books, to carry the bookcases, etc. People escape from these labors when they choose the reaction. We do the easy thing. We are not sincere." Moreover, the interviewee mentions about the fetishism of reaction because people continue to react even if they know that it will change nothing. He thinks that the difficulty to do something new leads people to reuse the conventional and old tools or methods. He says that "Being reactive is always easier because it lays an intellectual burden on people."

It is obvious that they are critical to reactivity and conflicting activism. Still this does not mean that they are not critical in their own concerns. They are highly critical but they do not content themselves with criticizing only; rather they think that they add something new to this criticism. As the interviewee of SL states, they are full of rage and irate towards the industrial football because there is an heterosexual, sexist and discriminative discourse, it became a kind of very common norm there and also there is no sanction against these all. However, she says that "we don't prefer to stay outside and criticize from there. We wanted to go beyond this criticism and intended to be one of the subjects of the job. Thus, it is not a critique from outside, but a struggle from inside. This is why we value here so much. This is why, I feel myself respectful for this field and this is why we take care of being in the ÖL, rather than being outside and struggling from there."

As another example, it is clear in the statements of the interviewee of the İF that they were highly dependent on the agenda of the country in the beginning. For he says "We were somehow dependent on the current events happening in the country. There

happens an event like mine disaster in Soma, let's do a reacting march; here happens an event, let's do a reacting march again. And we make forums about these events. In short, we are in the level of anti-government.” Here in fact the interviewee complains about the reactionary characteristics of the collectivity. “We used to march each evening to protest something. These were convicted to diminish because we do not add anything to them. This was so in many places. After a certain point, people started to march just to conflict. This made us to think a bit. We recognized that we should produce politics because the problem was not just the government; the people were discontented with not only the government but also the life itself. In order to reveal these common concerns, to think about them, to produce policies as some solutions for the problems, we collectively decided to start Park Forums in the neighborhood. There were other park forums also in Istanbul and we called our collectivity as IF. Actually it is a self-assembled group of people living here in this neighborhood.” We can see here that they are aware of their reactive political existence. However, they recognize in a short time and they initiated to produce their active political existence. For he says that “Just opposing is not enough. It should be added much more things. This is why we attempted to try some practices of production and these are like a school.”

In the same context, we should also look at the example of CİSST. Coherently, the people of this formation generally think that life continues in the enclosed spaces and so there is no formation expect for the state institutions to control and check the life in these places. In that sense, the interviewee of CİSST states that they have to work with the state. In that sense, they know that they could not be reactive like previous conventional organizations. He says that “If we cannot enter into there, we cannot know anything about there and the state would manipulate the realities easily. So we have to work with the state and we could not be like Tutuklu ve Hükümlü Aileleri ile Dayanışma Derneği – TAYAD (Association for Solidarity with Families of Arrested and Sentenced People). We have to produce activity, rather than reactivity. If we can do it, we can work in cell houses as well.” They studied on the possibilities of establishment of the restorative justice against the existing retributive justice in the penal system. The interviewee states that the retributive justice understanding still supposes that if someone is put through the wringer, this will cure him/her. However,

the people of CİSST think that it is neither instructive and scientific nor conscientious. It is exactly the opposite. In the countries where the restorative justice is applied the prisoners decrease and prisons are closed gradually. For such a kind of justice understanding tries to dispel the reasons of the crime. But in our country, when the murderer of Özgecan was murdered in the prison, it eases the conscience of the society. Thus, the interviewee says that, “We need to think about all these. For example, Turkey is a country of incest, it is certain. This is reason of the commonality of rape and harassment. Thus, if you cannot solve the problem of incest, the abuse inside the family, you cannot solve the problem of rape.” These statements show that the interviewee is aware of the fact that the reactive attitudes cultivate themselves mutually. Reactions are responded by reactions. If you produce a discourse over this 3 %, then the other side starts to produce its own discourse over something else. The interviewee says “the Ministry of Justice claims that it tries to rehabilitate the prisoners. However, I say that it is impossible with such places, such cadres of just 250 psychologists of 49.000 guardians to rehabilitate 200.000 prisoners. We try to show that rehabilitation is impossible unless the special needs and conditions of the prisoners are ignored.” They recognized that the existing retributive justice in the penal system produces the existing conditions of crime and punishment circle and this is why they insisted on the necessity of restorative justice in order to get outside this circle of retributive justice. This is why they think that they have to tell at length that the revenge is not curative or remedial, neither beneficial. When a thief steals money that you have been saving for 30 years and then she/he is imprisoned, the money and your 30 years of past do not come back. Then you need supporting mechanisms. This is why they insisted on the restorative justice to deal with and dispel the conditions for the crime. They think that this is the essential cure for the human beings; this is real rehabilitation to abolish the reasons rather than the results. He clearly says that “We have to make effort so that there will emerge no new problems, as much as so that the existing ones will be dispelled. Otherwise, our job is made up of solving the problems only. I mean we have to think about the resources of the problems and have to do lots of things for the solutions of them all.”

Another concrete example in this context can be seen in AYÇ. As you know, people come together here to share their needs related with living in a city. The interviewee says that “we are not sharing the badness of the world, that is, complaints and grievances. We are thinking on what we can do.” That is, it is a kind of support to the needs and desires, in that sense, it is encourage for people to produce together, to dare to be active in their life, rather than reactive with pure complaint. Another important example for the criticism of reactiveness and conflicting politics is from the case of TO. They state that they are sensible to not to create new “others” when they are doing their activism of fact checking. The interviewee of it says that “Our aim is never to play people for a fool; we don’t use the word *lie* for the contents; we do not aim to despise or humiliate those who made wrong. In other words, we do not produce new *others*. Instead we express that we are ready to dialog with others and open the ways of dialog. We think that the major politics impose a culture of that you have to use the guns of the evil even when you struggle against the evil. This is a culture living everywhere, even in our daily lives. In that sense, I think it is very difficult to be outside such a culture.”

In the same context, the interviewee of MZ mentions about that the experience of Occupied House is not just occupation of some abandoned houses; these houses constitute an urban common as well. Similarly, the Gezi Movement is not just a defense of somewhere; it is sequences of construction of commons at the same time. These expressions show the insight of the people of the minor politics in terms of why we should avoid from representational thinking in politics. For they know that going out to the streets, building a barricade and resisting by holding a flag produce different affects. As she states, “While you are in a reactional existence, this means you leave the chance of being constitutive to the opposite and attacking side. This attack becomes constitutive. This also means that your existence depends on its attacking.” Actually, the people of MZ are also aware of that there were people inclined to see the Gezi Movement no more than barricades, reactiveness, wars and conflicts. As if it was such kind of thinking that only the defense of barricades can make possible an alternative life. Young people in some party politics take a fancy to this understanding. Barricades are not sustainable because the state can devastate the barricades if it wants. “However,” she says, “We can create much more attraction by

sings and ballads if we can invest our energy to deepen the alternative productions and spread out them, that is, if we can organize our lives very differently.”

The will of active political existence can mostly be seen in the case of ÖK since what they do is totally and perfectly non-reactive, non-conflicting and non-representational practice of earning their life autonomously and showing its possibilities. They state that they gave a promise of “jersey without patron” and a cooperative; then they try to reach these aims for the duration. They just want to produce in order to keep their promises and this is why they don’t want to be in reactive and conflicting relations with the other group(s). The interviewee says that “We do not concern them. We deal with only our own issues. We try to keep our promises and progress in this way. We don’t want to talk so much. What to do is obvious.” They don’t want to exist in a reactive politics since they think that “These resistances are just like a flash in the pan; they flash and then deflate abruptly.” These statements are highly important in our context of sustainability as one of basic principles of minor politics as well.

As we can see, the minor politics includes somehow criticism of reactivity and conflict; it does not choose the way of politics that is based on the culture of reactivity and conflicting existence. Accordingly, the people of the minor political formations are aware of that such a culture can extent to very micro levels, even in our daily lives. This is why, they are sensitive to any practices of this culture and they try to establish non-reactive, non-conflicting and non-violent culture as the strong pillar of the minor politics. For example, it is important to note that the minor political formations are based on non-violent approach and attitude. This is their characteristic actually and it is possible to witness concrete efforts to live, to act and to think without violence. For example, it can be seen in the efforts of YD to organize a symposium about “nonviolence” in collaboration with the association that is acting specifically on non-violence. Similarly, the interviewee of YD reminds that nonviolence includes an effort to purify or avoid from prejudices. This is why they take care so much of their own prejudices.

In the case of women movement, and according to the interviewee of YÇD, the conflict in the major politics is the conflict among the men and the power relations

are the relations that are mostly peculiar to the worlds of the men. However, they know that the conflict inside the power relations has always effects on everyone. In that sense, their criticism of male-dominated politics includes such a perspective as well. We should see from the same non-conflicting perspective that the people of ÖL do not care of being champion for there is not competitive culture in their league expect for the sweet and slight competition in the matches. Similarly, when the interviewee of TO says that “We cannot sustain this job if we are in conflicting relations with everyone, rather we should complete each other and be in solidarity”, or when the interviewee of HKD says that “We never commanded each other to do something. We never laid a burden on anyone and then judged him/her whether she/he fulfilled the task. No responsibility. Everyone is free not to do by any reason. Actually, everyone does labor as much as she/he can. No one has to change herself/himself; no one has to transform her / him into something else”, the same non-violent and non-conflictive perspective is acting actually.

In this way, they try to develop some instruments and forms of communication to sustain their non-violent relationships. In my field research, I saw that one of these instruments is non-violent communication. It is basically the expression of your needs and then demands. It is a way of communication without generalization, without any kind of attacks and without judging. You just connect to your own feelings, express your needs and desires and then state your request, your demand. As we can see, this nonviolent communication is a practice or a culture that is very affective and the interviewee of AYÇ supports me in this context: “Such conversation practices, I mentioned, are very affective things. That is, emotions or sensations are more important. Let’s say the subject is money or meal, etc. It is not important. At that moment it is more important to tell the affects created by these all. When there is generalization and judging, the affects are more identical. The heart of AYÇ is exactly here in the affect that it creates, the affect of being in connection, affect of experiencing a time and space where you are not judged and you are not judging; catching the compassion. We feel that we are not alone, there are many people thinking like me. Here we also feel the safety and freedom of expression.”

Non-violent communication and similar skills and instruments for the communities are also supported by the practice of *circle*. In the activities of jam organized by

people of AJ, for example, the *circle* is an activity that everyone can see their eyes and talk one by one while the others listen heartily. As I mentioned earlier, in this practice the important thing is that they listen and witness the pain, mourning, anger or happiness of the others, they do not interrupt him/her, they do not criticize, not try to correct or fix, and they witness all the reality of what the other express. The zone of confidence exists with such deep and interactive practices. The gain of the *circle* is that they can exist there with their reality and they succeeded to witness personal stories of each other. As the interviewee states, people succeed to bridge to themselves by virtue of the means and instruments of non-violent communication, thus the *circle* opens fields for new stories.

In fact, despite of such an emphasis on non-violence and no conflict, no one can claim that the minor political formations and activisms are completely purified from violence, reactions or conflicts. On the contrary, the interviewee of AJ states that the *circles* may cause to conflicts because they are transparent processes and the themes may open the ways to talk about some taboos in the society. There may come into exist some conflicts among people in these processes of sharing. For example, one may define himself as Kurd and exist there with this identity while some others may reject this and wants to communicate with him without his identity of Kurd. However, as the interviewee of AJ states, even if they experience some conflicts about critical issues, they succeed to sustain, or rather to reform the community by virtue of the ability to solve the conflicts. In other words, there can exist some conflicts but it is more important that people do not close themselves to the solutions of conflicts; they do not put up a wall between themselves. Rather they try to bridge to themselves with heartily communication, that is, the ability to listen and when there arises heartily and deep ties, they succeed to overcome the conflicts.

Similarly, the interviewee of BBOM states that they labored to form a peaceful and participatory community with the help of some instruments like mediation in order to face with human problems and try to solve them without fighting. It should be said that at the very beginning, the initiators conflict with each other in certain issues; there exist deep disruptions. That is to say, the initial processes of foundation did not realize so easily. There exists such problems like that the scopes of the association

and the cooperatives sometimes overlap; they can get mixed in certain issues of management the processes.

At the beginning of their story, they notice that they cannot communicate with each other without fighting, debating or crossing. The interviewee of BBOM states that people generally divides into two parts in any vital discussion and some of them in one part certainly cross and leave the formation. This means that there is always a kind of violent communication among the people who want to do same thing and may be share same ideals but they do not agree on the means or instruments. In fact, they idealize participatory and peaceful processes of being community but they fight inside. Such a matter made the people of BBOM think on the communication itself and they noticed that they need another way of communication, another language and awareness. Then they start to study on the possibilities of nonviolent communication in order to form a participatory and peaceful community.

They also seek for the ways and instruments to sustain the activities. In that sense, they organize a kind of training academy for teachers regularly so that not only teachers of BBOM schools but also teachers from any region of Turkey can attend these training activities to create solidarity among them. In this training academy, there are workshops and various activities to empower the teachers or any volunteers working with children. These workshops and activities are about how to create, improve and sustain the alternative education that is based on the child rights, child participation, positive discipline, conflict resolution mechanisms, nonviolent communication, etc.

They experienced difficult processes in these times but at the end they succeeded to solve the problems of communication and then they start to feel the joy of this activism. The interviewee says that “We gained the joyfulness later on. When we generate the joy, the problems change their dimensions. They are still problems but they are not evil any more. Rather they are simple things that we can study on it, talk about and solve.”

The last main criticism inherent to prefigurative substance of minor politics is towards consumption. Actually I can say that for all minor political formations in my field research, the people of them are aware of and sensitive to this issue; they are

critical to certain ways and forms of consumption and they define and build their activism on the importance of praxis of recovery, recycling, repairing, etc. rather than consuming only. In addition, most of their practices provide people to be more than a consumer.

For example, and as I already mentioned, there is a collectivity acting very simply to prevent wastage and show an alternative consumption culture in city life as well. It is ÇÇ. The actions of the people in this formation can surely be involved in ecology movement since their activism is directly based on less consumption. Another similar activism is that of ÖDA. As you know, they try to continue a culture of sharing, recycling, recovering and repairing. The interviewee of it says that “one of aims in this culture of cycling is to prolong the life of the objects.” The future projection of the admins of the ÖDA is to pass the stage of production. They want to have a huge storehouse where there are workshops for technical repair, wooden, etc. to increase the possibilities of the production. When we remember that the ecology movement continues and appear itself into consumption practices of the people, it is easy and proper to connect this aim of the ÖDA with the ecology movement as well.

In the same context, it is not surprising that the people of the minor politics prefer to a slow life with its less consumption, less competition, etc. Actually the interviewee of TT says that “I prefer not to be a bank officer because there is an extreme competition among people like that of among companies.” She also states that “when you consume so much, you also consume yourself and those around you. This is a continuous process but also a vicious circle because in a life full of consumption people have to work much more than previous one.”

Actually different formations of the minor politics are in connection within one more minor level. In that sense, I should note about MK since it is not a commercial place like a café or restaurant, but rather a place, a kind of collectivity which aims to sustain the culture of togetherness without just being a consumer. In fact, the criticism of consumption is not only the consumption of the things or goods, but also the consumption of immaterial things such as values or affects. In that sense, when the people of the minor politics emphasize on the production, it is the production directed towards this immaterial life as well. For example, the interviewee of ÖL

says that “I have no leftist background, I was born in a rightist family, and that is, I have no ties with none of these two traditions. However, I am opposed to so many things in so many fields. This is why ÖL is so valuable for me. I believe in that we should create such kinds of cultural fields primarily, it should be a kind of ground to provide the conditions for people to start and cultivate the production. I think that it is very important to encourage people to produce regardless of their political views, right or left. The ÖL aims to cultural production. If you cannot produce something, it becomes meaningless to come together.”

I think these are enough to show that minor political formations and activisms are critical in these points of representation, reaction or conflict and consumption. I believe these three main criticisms are quite relevant and also consistent with other main features and dynamics of the minor political formations as well. However, they are inherent in prefigurative characteristics of the minor politics; in other words, prefiguration covers such criticisms inside.

Still, as I said at the very beginning of this subsection, the aim of the minor political formation is not just to be critical. The criticism is inherent to their processes, a kind of necessary station for prefigurative politics since their initial point is based on a kind of ideal and they took in action to realize what they dream of in different fields of daily life. They are critical but they go beyond this criticism and they experience the prefiguration. Now, I will mention best examples derived from my field research to show this prefigurative characteristic, which substantially distinguish the minor politics as a new field of politics in the level of immanence.

One of the best examples for the prefigurative characteristic of the minor politics is the story of ÖL in Ankara. The people of this minor activism want to play football, with its practice and culture but they do not want to include in existing major football culture because of its language, norms, competitive oppression, partisanship, industrial and marketing dimensions, sexism, etc. Then they thought that they can form a new, alternative, independent football league by themselves. The interviewee of ÖL says that “We thought that we can form a minor football league because all of us like playing ball. Then we announced our idea to our friends and then to the

people in Ankara.” Of course they are critical of the existing football practice and culture in Turkey; their motto was that “football is beautiful in the land, rather than stock market”. However, they do not prefer to be critical only or be just in an oppositional position with making protests or demonstrations, creating norms or discourses, etc. They have a desire, idea or dream and they come together, they initiate their action with the conditions and potentialities that they have here and now. The statements of the interviewee of ÖL are very important to see their consciousness of the importance of this prefiguration: “We are always complaining of everything, it is a kind of chronic state of opposition. However, if it is not you that will correct what you complain about, who will do it? We thought let’s leave aside complaining, just do it, let’s do something. If we feel the lack of social fields, then we can create it all together with those who like playing ball, we can create our own fields. This was the essence of our project. What I want to say is exactly that we can solve the problems ourselves, what to do is to open the fields for this.” Actually their unique aim was not to play football, they were aware that they were creating a cultural field and that the important thing is to do something together rather than playing ball. They noticed that they should do something; they have to create the fields where they can be happy and they live more easily their own lives. In that sense, such a prefiguration gives us the clues about their understanding of politics. They know that the aim of ÖL is not the revolution or something like this; rather it aims to live and experience what they want in a minor field of the life. In other words, it is possible that they did not succeed in macro level, however, the interviewee says, “if we can sustain this by staying together for years, this will imply lots of thing. Moreover, this is already meaningful in itself.” Besides these, since prefiguration is based on the praxis and since the praxis is highly affective than the norms, the interviewee of ÖL can say that “ultimately this is a kind of wave; a wave of ÖL in Ankara and we don’t know what these waves will result in.”

Actually, there is an interesting relationship between prefiguration and opposition. Prefiguration includes an opposition, but this opposition is not a *major political* form, rather it is minor political in the sense of being not reactive but productive. Here it is worth noting that statements of the interviewee of ÖL again: “This is the first time that we do such kind of thing and it becomes in a way what it should be. I

mean, this is not a formation that directly targets the government or the police. This is culture field. I like playing ball but not in its industrial form since it may be corrupt with various forms of immoralities, illegalities, hooliganism, etc. We just want to play ball and we are people who become happy when this is a collective.” As we can see, the people of the minor politics have special way of opposition, it is based on their activity rather than reactivity, and it is prefigurative rather than discursive. Again, this statement of the interviewee is also important to understand the relation between opposition and prefiguration in the minor politics: “If I live in this country and if I will have a child, I think I have to fight, that is to say, I have to create my own fields. From this point of view, I am highly opponent, but not in the sense of conventional opposition.” It should be noted, as we saw earlier, here that by “conventional opposition” the interviewee means the major political opposition.

Another best example I think can be found in the story of Association of BBOM. As I introduced earlier, the people of BBOM thought that the education system in Turkey is problematical; even if there are some important values in the national curriculum, they are not practiced in the schools. Thereupon, they start to work for the establishment of alternative schools by saying that “another school should be possible, we want schools where there will be a system of education different from existing one.” This is their initial step in this prefigurative process. They as the people who have children and want them take a good education come together and start to study for the establishment of “another school”. In the statements of the interviewee of BBOM, the sense of prefiguration can clearly be seen: “The first motive that brought us together around BBOM is the fact that if there is no something like what we want and what should be, then we will do it. We cannot wait because we do not believe in that there will be. Then let’s do it ourselves. So, it was a kind of remedy that is sprung from irremediableness.”

I would like to mention about their basic principles briefly so that I can show the importance of prefigurative dimension of the minor politics. They determined four basic principles for the alternative education, four main axes: Alternative education, ecological perspective, democratic governance and genuine financing. Firstly, they noticed that the existing system of education does not provide individual learning processes. However, the scientific learning processes are individual processes, that

is, everyone learns something in a special speed and ways. This is why they thought that the alternative education will provide the application of these individual learning ways and techniques. This means that the children will be in the center of the education. Secondly, it is ignored that the children are the most crowded constituents of the schools but they are not the part of the decision making processes and they cannot develop any responsibility to their basic living spaces. The decisions are taken by the adults and the children do only obey these decisions. This is why the initiators of BBOM think that the alternative education should be democratic from the administration of the school to the learning processes; that is to say, the children should be aware of this and should participate in the decision making processes in any issues related with them. In short, these should be the schools that think and transform democratically. Thirdly, in these schools there is a perspective of ecology. Since the mainstream education system raise the children as customer and consumer and also there is a common perception that the earth is a place where unlimited resources are serviced to the benefit of the human beings. In the schools that are based on such a perspective, the children adopt it easily. However, the nature is our common being that should be protected and favored. This is why in these alternative schools, there is a philosophy of ecology that is practiced and internalized in each details of daily life such as energy consumption, the materials of the education or the habits of eating and drinking. In that sense, in these alternative schools, the habits of production and reuse take the place of just consuming. Another important point is related with the financing. The people of BBOM recognize that there is an injustice in sharing of the resources between the public and private schools. Besides this, the public contribution of the state to the education is already low. On the other hand, they are against the privatization of the education, that is, the commodification. These are the reasons for which they decided a genuine financing model: The parents form their own cooperatives to establish and finance the schools in localities. So the parents who want to send their children to these schools become the member of the cooperative and also the contributing part of the resource for finance. Moreover, this model of financing provides an opportunity of scholarship for children to 25 % of the whole.

The processes of the establishment were not so easy and free from discussions and even conflicts about the ways and methods of organization and continuity of the formation with its all dynamics. The interviewee states that the conflict was most of the time between the ideal and the real. This means that such an alternative school system was their dream because they needed it. Today at this stage, it could certainly be said that they did prefigure their dream by initiating it in minor scale. All these details show that BBOM generates and keeps alive the idea of alternative education system. More importantly, it is prime example for prefiguration by initiating to realize and sustaining such a project. In that sense, it produces knowledge about all the processes of initiation and establishment. Within this context, it is important to notice that the aim of BBOM is not to open schools everywhere. Rather, with its prefigurative success, it encourages people in other places to initiate the same or different projects in time. Prefiguration shows that it is possible and then increases the power of possibility because some people do it now in somewhere. As the interviewee says, “I believe that another world is possible and the way going to it passes through the schools. I do not have a child and I do not benefit from this but I am ready to labor for this job because I get bored of just thinking and being pessimistic. It is real and very meaningful to join in BBOM and labor when I think I should do something. I believe that BBOM contributes to the way going to different world.” It would not be exaggeration if I say that this is prefiguration, that is, politics or activism including all these attempts and endeavor of them to realize this “different world”.

Another best example for the prefiguration is the activism of ÇÇ. Again, as I introduced earlier, the people of ÇÇ come together with the aim of preventing the waste. They collect and use the foods and vegetables that are wasted because they are a little rotten or damaged. These are provisions that cannot be sold but eaten very well. The volunteers of ÇÇ collect these foods and vegetables from the bazaars and come together as friends in a café in the city center of Ankara in weekend. They cook soups and different meals for almost 100 people and then they bring them to main streets of city center and they distribute them to everyone who would like to drink and eat. They do not select people to give the meals, that is, they do not distinguish people who need it from the others. In that sense, they say “we are doing something

beyond helpfulness, we just share the meals.” In my opinion, this is one of the best *minor* examples to show the prefigurative nature of the minor politics since the people of ÇÇ think that there is always something to do. In this regard, the interviewee of ÇÇ says that “If we live in the cities, then let’s do something here. It is not necessary to move to the rural. We can produce and consume together collectively. We can unite our powers. I do not hate the city life as much as before.”

As I said earlier, the prefiguration is one of the distinguishing features of the minor politics and it is possible to find the signs of prefiguration in other statements of the interviewees of other formations as well. For example, the interviewee of İF states that in the forums organized in the neighborhood, people discussed politics and talk about their ideals, that is to say, the life in their dream, the country, the neighborhood; what and how they should be. They felt that their existence is just reactionary in politics. However, soon after, the people of the İF started to question this reactionary pattern of their existence. At this point, they began to concentrate on their own wishes and dreams. That is to say, they asked what do they really want, as different from the happenings in the country and how can they succeed. The interviewee says that “We have dreams like a garden in our neighborhood or places where the children can play. At one point, we recognized that we have enough power and energy to realize the dream of the neighborhood garden, besides all these reactionary activisms.” I can say that this is gravitation towards a prefigurative politics in fact since they see what they can do when they act collectively. The interviewee can say that “it was my dream that there is a garden in the neighborhood, that we are watching movie outdoor with 500 people, that we form a collective workshop and can manage it for years, and also the other activities.” And today, these all are real; people experience prefigured lives in such different activities.

Similarly, the people of AJ come together in their different activities to build effective communities to search for the possibilities of another life, a world different from the existing one. Their main question is “what kind of life that I want to live” and in that sense they build communities in the forms of networks in different socio-economic and educational fields. From different backgrounds, the people who wish individual and social transformation and dream of generating a different world or a different formation for themselves come together in the AJ. The interviewee states

that everyone has dreams and desires to do something and also they can produce offer solutions to the problems. But they feel themselves alone or there may be a point where they do not know what and how to do. In that sense, the solidarity that appeared during and after the jams provides means and ways to overcome this issue of feeling alone and lack of community to invite its people for help in different fields of knowledge and practice. The interviewee says that “In short, you know that you are part of the community that has potential to create and share a new world or a different formation.”

Again, there is a prefigurative tendency in the logic of activism of MZ. For example, the people of it discussed on the possibilities to control and monitor the labor processes in the production places by larger social segments and within more participatory ways. The interviewee of MZ states that in order to achieve such an ideal, it is not compulsory to run after some major projects like making a party program or demanding it from the state or handling the political power. It may also be possible by forming a mine cooperative to monitor the production procedures and stages in order to make secure the labor processes. This is a meaningful argument from the viewpoint of minor politics because it expresses the criticism of the major politics and shows the ways of prefigurative politics in fact.

Another example can be found in the story of the people of ÖK. As I introduced, these people have initiated to work themselves, produce without employer, earn money and share it among themselves. Their attempt is an autonomous production in textile. When they decided to initiate such an autonomous production, there were broken machines in the factory and thousands of uncompleted sample jersey for 65 years in the store. These workers repaired the machines and completed the jerseys and the people of the park forums –as extensions of the Gezi Movement- help them to sell these all. This is the first time that they tasted the production without any employer, only as workers. Thus, this was the first attempt to production in a collective and autonomous way. This is very good example for prefiguration as well. The interviewee of ÖK says that “Everyone dreams and desires such kind of things for years but the dreams stayed as a fantasy.” That is to say, they are aware that their activity is an attempt to realize one of “such kind of dreams” and they try hard to realize the fantasy. These statements of the interviewee are very strong examples to

express the power of prefiguration in deed: “Let’s think that we say to people that you will work for just 6 hours in a day, you will have enough time to go out with your family, you can go to theatre. [This is a kind of dream.] Our endeavor is for nothing even if we tell this dream from morning to night. We experienced this in our processes of resistance. This is why our unique aim is to realize and execute what we are talking. If we can do it, no need to talk anymore.” Actually, it is obvious that the people of the minor politics know that the prefiguration is more effective than producing norms or discourses. The matter is the power of the practice and the practice is more affective than norms. The prefiguration is what inserts such an affective dimension into the minor politics.

Another example for prefiguration lies in what PAB do in Ankara. They started to bike as some friends in a Thursday evening in form of bike tours and then they repeat it each Thursday evening. Now, they are a kind of collective in Ankara and its different counties. The people of PAB really want to bike and they do this. But besides this, they want to pay attention to the excessive increase in the number of motor vehicles in the world and also in Turkey, to the lack of qualified and comfortable public transportation means and also to the fact that air pollution in the cities reach to dangerous level. They try to show that the bicycle is alternative means of transportation in inner city. The interviewee of PAB clearly says that “I am a volunteer in this issue because I saw and recognized that how such a practice in some foreign countries is economical and practical.” As we can understand, they try to raise the awareness of the people in that the bicycle can also be a means of transportation and they try to integrate the bicycle to the city traffic. It is not restricted only with biking. For example, they succeeded to start an application that people can put their bicycles to subway trains and there are parking areas for bicycles in some metro stations. All these deeds and actions are prefigurative because they would like to bike in the city and use it as a means of transportation and they realize it even if it is in minor scale. The statement of the interviewee is purely prefigurative: “We are not waiting for anything; we are just doing and showing.” The only thing they have to do is to do it. We will emphasize on the importance and the power of collectivity and solidarity in minor politics, but it should also be noted that the prefigurative politics is possible even within a personal action. For the interviewee of

PAB states that they have no institutional personality but this is not so much important to do something. He says that “There is such a perception that if you are not a legal association, no one will regard you. No, we can do these all as real persons if what we want is true.”

Lastly, I would like to mention about the prefigurative initiation of YÇD that is a minor political formation composed of women acting for and in solidarity with women. At the very beginning of their processes of activism, the people of YÇD come together and made a field research to learn and document the realities, the real conditions of women in Turkey. In this research, they discovered that the laws that are supposed to protect the rights of women are backward and very bad; that the women do not know the existing rights and women cannot organize themselves and thus their freedom of expression and association is very restricted. Then they, as women themselves, recognized that there is an urgent and vital need to support women. They define three main aims as remedies to these three main problems. They recognized that the rights of women in Turkey should be enhanced, that the existing and positive rights should be accessed to the women and that the freedom of expression and association should be empowered. In order to reach these aims, they initiated and developed the Human Rights Education Programs for women (HREP) in 1995 in some regions of Turkey. The interviewee states that with this program, they reached more than 14 thousands of women in more than 50 cities and it still continues today. In an equal importance from the view of prefiguration, they are acting in many fields such as women employment and employment participation, education, education in the fields of law, the production of materials, political participation, schooling of girls, early marriage, sexual abuse of the children, etc.

3.2.2.1 Minor politics is daily life politics

From the view point of minor politics, an important dimension of its prefigurative characteristics is that minor politics is daily life politics; it has its certain extensions or continuation in daily life practices. In other words, I find the sources of the prefiguration of the minor political formations in the fact that their sense of political activism continues in the daily, ordinary lives of the people of the minor politics. In that sense, I can say that their political existence has become their actuality, their life

itself. It is the proof of that they do not contend themselves with just dreaming, desiring or talking about their ideals, dreams and desires and that they do not restrict their political existence to some representations either in discursive and practical level, rather they do not differ politics from their life, they integrate their activism to their daily, habitual, usual practices. It is possible to hypothesize that they live politics as the ethics of their life. As the interviewee of Sportive Lezbon says, “We rub this struggle in our lives. This is not something that we do in order to reach an ultimate aim. We just live it now.” Or the interviewee of VGD states that the works of activism for the protection of Validebağ Grove are the very big part of his life. Now I will try to present the examples in different minor political formations to improve such hypothesis.

When I look at the deeds and activities of the IF, I see that what all they are doing is already the part of their daily lives. They can spend their times in their formation, such as in the neighborhood atelier; they can buy their daily foods from the food communities and they are together with their friends of the minor political formations. In the case of PAB, I can say that biking is an example of struggle and also it is an instrument to show the possibility of another world. However, it is not just an instrument for such kind of aims. It is also a part of daily life in the lives of the cyclists. The interviewee says that “Almost half of the core team of the PAB bikes everyday, that is, bicycle is the means of their daily transportation.” Thus biking is also meaningful in itself actually. Similarly, the interviewee of PEP states that they are aware that the working life spills over the whole daily life. Moreover, the affects, personalities, may be family life, that is the life outside the work can also be involved inside the working life. In the same context, the interviewee of TTM clearly says that “We try to apply all of our principles on working, acting and perception of life to everyone. These all stay into the middle of our daily life.”

Regarding the daily life dimension of the minor politics, I can also say that each minor political formation has certain attitudes and framework of values. These have effects on even the language and ways of relations of the people. For example, the interviewee of TODAP says that “The forms of relations that we produce here carry in fact to the outside as well. There are some values in the processes of decision

making such as waiting the turn to talk, being patient, ability to give up your own thinking, equal voting rights for everyone, ability to acknowledge to be restricted by someone else, etc. These all create a culture and help to sustain it.” As we can see, the people of the minor political formations are aware of the importance of the daily life politics, that is, the minor politics. It is also obvious in the statements of the interviewee of YÇD. She obviously states that “When the discourse of inequality is expressed by those who are at the top [she means the President, Prime Minister or someone who has representational power], everything becomes more difficult for us and it has repercussions in our daily practical lives. It reflects all fields such as which clothes you will wear, to which time you can stay outside at night, what kind of places you will go, what kind of relations you will have with your lover or husband, etc.” It is also possible to see the extension of daily life politics in different minor endeavors. For example, regarding the issue, the interviewee of KADAV states that they try to question the common belief that women cannot understand some public concepts or financial terms like inflation, etc. that are attributed to the world of the men. They made a movie with a name of “Don’t I Understand?” to question this common belief and the fact that politics is something unreachable, difficult and incomprehensible and also they tried to show that these all are concepts about the life. She says that “The same thing is also valid for the issue of organizing. It is something that each of us can do. It does not have to be in the form of labor union, a political party or a non-governmental organization. It may also be minor. The important thing is that it has an aim. To reach this aim together and to produce the practice collectively... It is also important to spread out this view. It is valuable to claim that the minor politics belongs to ordinary people.” In that sense there is no doubt that the daily life is included in politics and actually it is a proper dimension of the minor politics. In the next parts I will discuss a new topic about the transformative dynamic of the minor political formations and activisms but here I should note that the remarks or the proofs of the transformation can mostly found in daily life practices again. For example, it is clear in the statements of the interviewee of TT: “Our life style changes.” The common tendency of the people in ecology movement is to reduce the consumption and degrade it to basic needs. Similarly, they can organize swap markets. It is also important to buy the food directly from local producers. She says “For example, I prefer even where we will go, which café or

which place of entertainment, depending on their viewpoints in the context of ecology, depending on whether laborers are exploited there or not.”

Actually, in my field research, I recognized that almost all the minor political formations have prefigurative substance and initiation and this is why I can stand behind my beginning claim that the minor politics is based on prefiguration. But at least, as we can see from these examples in my field research, I can say that the prefiguration is distinguishing characteristic of the minor politics. Prefiguration is the name of the production, the production of goods, services, affects, knowledge, values, etc. It is the base of the minor political activism since it creates the value of action actually. Moreover, prefiguration connects and preserves many other important features and dynamics of the minor politics as well. This chapter of the thesis in fact tries to show that some minor political formations in Turkey share these features as value in practice; these features are their practical political actions; these are the ontological reasons for their being “minor” political.

3.2.3 Multitude and the importance of encounters

As I hypothesized in the second chapter, one of the most important features of the minor politics is its being based on multitude. Actually, it is a principal fact in accordance with the other important characteristics of the minor politics such as non-representative, horizontally organizing, non-conflicting togetherness, friendship politics, etc. More importantly, the principle of multitude is in hand in hand with the importance of creating encounters among people from different worldviews, cultures, sexes, classes, religions, etc. In that sense, I will evaluate both the fact of multitude and the importance of encounters in the same subtitle for the results of my field research show that the interviewees consider these two in the same context. Regarding the results of the field research, I can say that the emphasis on the virtue of multitude, that is, human togetherness regardless of major identities, is obviously there in the statements of the interviewees. In other words, I saw that the minor political formations and their activisms recognize the virtue of multitude and this is a kind of evidence to claim that the minor politics is based on the principle of the multitude, that is, togetherness of difference and equality in the same place and at the

same time. Now, in the next pages, I will try to show such evidence in the findings of the field research on the minor political formations acting in different fields of life. I can say in advance that there are strikingly many examples showing that the multitude is one of the most important pillars of human togetherness in the minor political formations in Turkey.

At the first hand, I can say that the multitude is not something that is projected, planned and programmed by the people of the minor political formations; I mean they do not strategically account that there will be a multitude in their formations or activism; for example, they do not “select” people so as to create a multitude. This means that the multitude is not an artificial state; it is rather immanent human togetherness that comes into existence as a matter of course among the people who are not obsessed in the norms and practices of the major politics and who want to do something for themselves and the others at the same time. Still, it can be said that people of the minor politics take care of preventing their togetherness from turning an hegemonic entity closed to “others”; they rather value to come together as or bring together different people so as to create a multitude in their own activism and formations for they know, sense and foresee that the uniformity, rather than multiplicity, is one of the main pillars of the major politics.

If we look at the findings in my field research, we can see that people in the minor political formations constitute different forms of multitude in their own activism; that is to say, there are different appearances of the multitude in the minor politics. One of them is the multitude among the people of the minor political formations. For example, the interviewee of AJ states that they take care of receiving applications from different regions of Turkey because they try to form a community of multitude. People from different backgrounds, professions, identities, sexes, ages, etc. come together in the activities and they stay together generally for one week to build a community by knowing each other, sharing their experiences and dreams. When they come together, they firstly learn and experience the ways and instruments of non-violent communication that is also called as “heartily communication” and by this means they can form the confidence zone of that community. Still, this does not mean that the processes of AJ as a minor political formation are not bed of roses. They are the processes of face-off, questioning oneself, listening oneself together

with others, witnessing the evils of the society and thus conflicts, fluctuations and affection, etc. However, the participators of the jam succeeded to stay together with those “others” with many reasons. Regarding these reasons, I can even say that the reason of being of minor politics is this multiplicity, the multitude of its people. On the one hand the multitude is one of main pillars of minor politics and on the other hand the minor political formations aim to create this multitude as well. An interesting example is from AYÇ which was born from AJ as another minor political formation. The interviewee of AYÇ states that their main aim is community building and this community comes together by paying regard to multiplicity.

In the same context, the interviewee of BBOM states that the multiplicity is already the main value that the people of BBOM tried to practice in the daily processes of the schools for the children. They consider the multiplicity as the guarantee of the common mind and so they searched for the alternative ways to make the process of decision making more participatory. Similarly, we should also consider the attitude of CİSST. As the interviewee states, when they as voluntary people started to act in field of penal system, they recognized there was a common perception or a popular belief that all prisoners are leftist. In accordance with such a perception, the studies on prison and penal system were developed as directed towards these leftist people. However, the interviewee of CİSST states that when they proceeded in the field, they recognized that the prisoners are not made up of leftists; there were also women, children, LGBTI individuals, patients, elders, foreigners, people with disabilities, those in aggravated life imprisonment, etc. who need special conditions and cares. The interviewee clearly says that “The most important thing that we learned from these processes is that there are not only leftists in the prisons. Everyone has special needs and we consider these all in the problem of human rights and bring these all to the discussions.” Such a recognition and activism regarding and taking care of the fact of multiplicity in the prisons are very important brackets that characterize the formations as minor political and differ from the major politics. In other words, I can say that people of CİSST reject to be in an ideological position when they prefer to direct their voluntary activities towards the multiplicity; they reject the norms and practices of the major politics. Their common point is human rights for they believe in that human rights are universal values on which people from any major identities

can reconcile. From such a perspective, they assert the employee personal rights and human rights of the guardians as well.

Actually, the same humanitarian perspective can also be found in the activism of HK. For example, in their activism, they bring together and connect the reasons and conditions of the murder of Uğur Mumcu and that of Ali İsmail Korkmaz. Their action is quite minor but they try to show the major picture. They say “Human life, regardless of whom it belongs to, is equally important for us. We don’t discuss it anymore.” I understand that people of the minor politics have certain values which are universal, more importantly connective rather than discriminative and for this very reason there can be seen a culture of multitude in politics of minor formations. They believe in the rightness of these values and come together among them regardless of major discriminative norms, identities, practices, etc. And not interestingly, people of the minor politics sense the existence and also importance of multitude in their activism. The interviewee of HK obviously says “One of the most explicit things that can be said about us is that there is really a multitude.” For her, the multitude shows itself in the togetherness of people regardless of their major identities: “For example, one of our friends in this formation is Kurdish and he lost many people from his family. However he has no problem with working on the folders of rightist people or those from Nationalist Movement Party. These are not related with political consciousness; we just believe that we do right things.” In the same context, she states that there are people who are supporters of “White Turks”⁶, those who are ultra nationalist and also those who are from Kurdish movement. They are the volunteers of the same activism because they have a common ground beyond the identities of the major politics. Such togetherness of these people itself shows that they prefigure the multitude. These all say to us another kind of virtue for the multitude actually. If the multitude also refers to the possibility of togetherness of different people in an equal level, then the minor politics is the place of it.

We can see the same belief in the multitude developed among some values like humanity, equality and solidarity in the case of ÖK. As I mentioned earlier, they try

⁶ *White Turks* is a concept used to define elite and bourgeois class. It includes military or civil bureaucrats and intellectuals who define themselves as progressive. White Turks in general are those who adopted western worldviews and life-styles, have higher income and humiliate or talk down the people from lower classes and their values.

to develop an autonomous means of production in the field of textile; they have a long time struggle to establish such autonomy. In the processes of struggle, one of their biggest problems was with those representative people from some major political formations. According to the interviewee, those agents of major political organizations always tried to pull this autonomous and prefigurative activism into their own classical ways of conflictive, discursive, reactive, discriminative politics. Regarding such attitudes of these major political organizations against other people and formations that contributed to the resistance of the workers of ÖK to a certain time, the interviewee says that “If you want to write the name of your organization, then write the others as well. However, from the very beginning we insisted that there will no politics, language, religion, race, etc. in the resistance. There will be only human. The only important thing is being. We support the solidarity of the labor but they try to categorize everything. At the very beginning, we supposed that the workers of Kazova are so unscrupulous that they don’t join their friends in this resistance. However, we learned for a while that these people [from the major political organizations] dismissed a female worker with headscarf because she votes for JDP.” From these statements, I conclude that the interviewee and their few friends are aware of the fact that the intervention of the major politics turns to be discriminative attitudes that harm this minor attempt for autonomous production. In fact, there was such a trouble that most of the workers abstain from the resistance because they see that the major political organizations carrying their conventional discourses and ideologies dominate the resistance. The interviewee says that “It is exactly for this reason. But we did not know these all at the very beginning. But we know now. Our unique aim was to get our rights. We did not care about who are those people in solidarity with us. Are they Alevi or Sunni, Muslim or Christian, black or Arab? We did not regard such kind of things. We took no notice of politics of no one. But those people [from the major political organizations] who try to dominate the resistance were a bit abnormal. We are not belonging to any political group and organization. We are here with our identity of laborer. Together with our artist and academician friends we all have different political views and we don’t talk about politics here, it is forbidden [laughing]. Our doors are open to everyone who is human, regardless of their politics, ideology, sect or religion because we don’t care about these. All of us can be different, but we support the same thing and we can stay

together.” These statements belong to one of the few workers of ÖK; he seems to have recognized that the major politics, its norms and practices will harm their prefigurative activism and that the multitude is one of the essentials for them to act in the level of the minor politics.

Let me continue with other examples. Actually, when the interviewee of LAMBDA states that there is the multitude in terms of politics regarding the profile of people who come to LAMBDA and says “LAMBDA has a multiplicity as much as the society has”, when the interviewee of KADAV emphasizes on that “It contributed to the idea of struggling collectively, that is, together with differences and preserving them all”, when the interviewee of LİSTAG is proud that “There is a multitude of families. There was even a family from Gülen Sect, those from JDP and PDP, etc.”; when the interviewee of ÖL says “The first season was like a festival because everyone was meeting and knowing each other newly, this was very enthusiastic and exciting” or “there are people from very different cultures, which is very exciting” or “there can be dark leftist and rightist people in the same formation”, when the interviewee of PAB says “The differences based on religion, sect or anything is never in our agenda and this is so beautiful. We always say that we are a mosaic and we together with young people will build up what the politicians and elders could not do”, I think all of them try to emphasize on the virtue of the multitude and we can mention about a multitude of people regarding their differences in their minor political activism and formations.

It seems to me that there is the principle of equality among the conditions that generate the state of multitude. If there is no equality among people despite of their differences, it is impossible to establish the culture of multitude actually. I see that people of the minor politics have such wisdom about the relation between equality and multitude. As a very good example, we can look at the case of ÖDA. One of the most important virtues of this formation is that the admins of their Facebook page are careful to conserve the culture of equality between those who get a present and who give it. The interviewee says “we have to generate a feeling of equality”, that is, people should not feel bad because they get something from someone; the feeling of “receiving aid” should not be insulting: “More importantly, there must be a balance in the scale of the rich and the poor.” This is why they do not perceive the cycling as

charity and do not use the words like “aid” or “donation.” They prefer to call the things in the cycle as “present”. The interviewee says “when we call the things as present, everything changed, because this cycling is immaterial and affective.” These all also show that the minor political practices, even they are for goodness, are not charity. This is another important thing that distinguishes the minor politics from the sphere of civil society or charity culture. This is not charity, this is solidarity. ÖDA organizes on the facebook group and the group has almost 200 thousand members by the beginning of 2017 and there is enormous number of exchange. For example, there are approximately 400 white appliances cycling among the members of the group in a month. This great solidarity put the dealers in the spot market into trouble. The interviewee says that these dealers threaten the admins of the ÖDA. Meanwhile, we have to see that this sensibility to generate and conserve the culture of equality and solidarity is also important for the generation and conservation of the culture of the multitude.

In the same context, we can also note that ÖDA is a platform where people can freely express themselves. According to the interviewee, the admins of the collectivity take care of mutual respect; the members, the users of the group, should be respectful to the others. He says that “For example, one cannot gossip about a women wearing head scarf.” These are also the remarks showing the care of the people to preserve the culture and also the affect of equality and the multitude at the same time. Another example is that someone shares bikini while some other shares Koran. That is, both of them can be cycled among the members. According to these all, I can say that people of the minor politics can express themselves in their formations, there is an openness for such expression in the culture of human togetherness in minor politics. The interviewee of ÖDA states that “here is a platform people can freely write, talk and share.” These can also be seen and evaluated as the virtues of the minor politics to create a culture of multitude and to sustain it within very different, minor deeds and attitudes.

Another example lies in the fact that the people of minor politics do not try to create a homogeneity based on a homogenous identities and they percept the differences as colors of the life, rather than a threat for any kind of homogeneity. Such a perspective can be found in the story of TTM. The interviewee states that since

Tarlabaşı is a region where migrants, Roman people, Kurds and some of “the others” of the Istanbul live, since it is a region that got a bad reputation with murders, robberies, drug trafficking, etc. and since there was never such kind of attempt before, she says, “Everyone tried to scare us.” All people around including the local authorities like *muhtar*, those from police office and even some people from other associations and foundations constantly discouraged them not to initiate such a project and activism there. However, they initiated such an activism to open the ways and possibilities for solidarity among these all minorities. According to the interviewee, their place is colorful and there is intensive and practical culture of neighborhood, vicinity and solidarity there. She clearly says that “We are here to support all people in the region. Here is a neighborhood where a German student, an African, a Somalian, a Syrian, a Roman, a Kurd, a trans-individual, etc. can live together in the same apartment building. All of them have to work in the city-center.” From all these, we can conclude that the multitude does also appear in the subjects or subject fields that you determine or define to direct your activism. Here in Tarlabaşı, there is a multitude among the inhabitants and this is not an obstacle for the people of the TTM to develop a culture of solidarity, on the contrary it was the reason of their minor political activism.

Similarly, I think the subject fields of TO and their attempt to transform these fields are in proper accordance with the principle of multitude. At this point, it will be interesting to remember the statements of the interviewee of TO. He mentions about the algorithms of Faceook and Google. These algorithms direct, classify and store people towards which they want to hear and see. In other words, these algorithms create “echo-chambers” and thus, for example, people become friends with those who are similar, let’s say they are in same or similar ages, from similar social status, share similar political views, etc. In that sense, an opinion or wrong information continues to circulate in these echo-chambers. For example, an opinion in the form of prejudice or the news that are not true continue to be shared in rightist or leftist echo-chambers only and more importantly, they become truth in time by sharing and sharing. In that sense, the aim of TO is to seep in these echo-chambers, to withdraw the wrong information and replace it with the truths, to seek the possibilities to direct people towards outside of their echo-chambers and thus to make people face with the

fact that there is something different from your opinion or truth. Here we see a worldview to stay outside the polarizations, to remain aloof being a side and to look the world from out of the sides. For they believe that it must be like this for the sake of their activity. I think it can be said that these echo-chambers look like closed communities that are based on ideological, cultural, political identities, etc. and in that sense, they are the opposite cases of the multitude actually. This is why, people of TO try to enrich their contents to reach any kind of people and they do fact-checking of very common stories related with football, nourishment, urban myths, etc. as much as politics. They try to verify the myths of “There are buried planes in Kayseri” or “Yogurt cures the wound”, etc. They aim to enter into and touch different echo-chambers. In short, they follow the possibilities of creating multitude or different practices of multiplicities in social media.

I cannot be certain to say that if someone values being and acts within minor politics, she/he does not value or act within the major politics; however, it is very likely that she/he does not since the values of the minor politics do not permit for any tendency towards major politics. Still, it is possible for some people to value both. However, the multitude in the minor politics refers to that, which lacks in the major politics, people with different major political identities can come together in minor political activism and formations. In this context, the interviewee of GDAA states that they have a mixed team where there are anarchist groups, people from civil social organizations, students and people making politics in different fields as well. Likewise, the interviewee of TTM says that “If we talk by the look of them, there are volunteers with headscarf, trans-individuals or those among LGBTI. Or, there are volunteers whose financial situation is very well, but there are also those from Tarlaşaşı.” Similarly, the interviewee of TT mentions that all “marginalized” groups are there in their activism and according to her, the “marginalized” groups involve LGBTI individuals, ecologists, anarchists, etc. that are marginalized by orthodox left even if they define themselves leftist actually. She emphasizes on the state of multitude for there are “people who are organized in leftist groups... woman with headscarf... people who cannot define themselves their political positions but they really want to be part of our activities... Kurdish people (Yurtseverler)... etc.” In the same context, according to the statements of interviewee of KD, I can say that this

formation too is made of a multitude. For there are people with different political viewpoints and in this context she gives the example of their endless discussions even in themselves. She says that “there are people from radical left but also there are people who have no apparent political identity. There is age difference and economic diversity as well.” In the same context, the interviewee of PEP says “There is a multitude of political views. This is necessary because we are constructing a new field, there is no so much similar formation. Therefore, it would be luxury to be separated by political reasons, that is, accusing people of being anarchist or liberal. And of course, there is no obstacle for those from a certain political view to participate us. There is no such kind of thing.” Here it is already obvious that “the political views” refer to the major political identities. In that sense, the PEP is in the same line with other minor political formations. Another example showing the importance of the multitude for the minor political formations can be found in the activism of ÇÇ. The interviewee of it clearly says that “Among us, there are people from different political viewpoints. Even there are people who may be supporter of JDP. For example, we have a friend with turban. There are academicians. Even foreign people are coming to the event. We had an Egyptian friend. There is also a difference in terms of ethnic origin. We are not separatist, we do not have conditions. Our common ground is to prevent the waste. This is the most basic common denominator.”

If there is multitude or an imminent attempt to constitute and continue the state of multitude, we can say that the people of the minor politics have no “others” in their minds. The interviewee of ÇÇ clearly says that “We do not have the idea of “other” in our minds.” They don’t divide people as “we” and “the others”; they do not have major identities that will cause in polarizations and become strong obstacles for developing the culture of multitude. This is the point which connects the virtue of multitude to understanding of “friendly attitude” in politics or public friendship. In the next parts, I will concentrate on the concept of friendship much more and its being on the base of the minor politics. However, it will also be proper to establish the relation between the friendly attitude, encounters, transformations in thought and affects and multitude. In my field research, I saw that the very common thing is this friendly attitude, that is, an attitude that has no conflictive, reactive or hostile affects

towards others. Especially it was considerably impressive that the interviewee of ABP mentions about “public friendship” directly and such a concept is also present in the official website of their association to introduce, define themselves to the public and make a call for people to join their activism. The interviewee states, in line of this affect of public friendship, they are ready to develop solidarity with all parts of the society that are discriminated and marginalized by the majority. In that sense, they can join the funeral rites of a trans-woman or an Alevi person. There is a mutual relation between the friendly attitude and the multitude, they feed each other.

It is generally true that the minor political formations and their activisms are mostly based on multiplicity. This is why I can call them as the places of new encounters. And I think this multiplicity has different fields or categories. I mean there is a multiplicity in terms of age, social class, ethnic or religious identity, sexual identity, etc. It is possible to grade the affect of the multiplicity of one minor political formation according to how much it deepens the multiplicity in how many fields or categories. Regarding the virtue of multitude in accordance with other basic features of the minor political formations, I think we should see the relation between horizontal organization and the multitude. I mean these two main features of minor political formations accompany in certain point. These two common dynamics strongly feed each other as well. For example the interviewee of TT says that “We tried to form a horizontal organization in practice. We tried to be a platform without any hierarchy of age, sex, knowledge, political viewpoints, etc.”

Therefore there are different forms and dimensions of the multitude in the minor political formations. Up to know, I tried to highlight the multiplicity from the view of major political identities of the people in the minor politics. I think we saw that major identities are not strong among the people in the minor political formations, or rather, they cannot be obstacle for the activisms realized by the people from very different political backgrounds. However, the multitude is not based on this only. In the same context, I want to mention about other forms and dimensions of the multitude, with reference to my field research again.

One of other sources of the multitude in the minor political formations lies in the profiles of the people who bring into existence the minor political formations and

activisms. In fact, there is a multiplicity in the political views, ages, sexes, religions, ethnicities, professions, etc. of the people. For example, in the activism of ÇÇ, there are not only young people or students, but also elder people joining all the processes. Similarly, in ÖL, there are people living in back alleys in Sincan or Cebeci, they have very different life experiences. There are fan groups of Fenerbahçe, Beşiktaş, Galatasaray, etc. and the teams are made of men, women, LGBTI individuals, children and even animals. In fact, they formed the league according to their values of equality, respect and collectivity with participation of all people who want to play ball. The interviewee says, “In one of the teams, there is a dog player. We are all together in ÖL. I cannot describe but this is very nice feeling.”

If someone asks about what the people of the minor politics do in order to create and also conserve the state of multitude, one of my answers to this question will be that the minor political formations try to keep the value of equality in differences alive. The people of minor politics are highly sensitive to create equality and conserve it. In other words, or this is why, they avoid any probability of emergence of subjugating relationships among its people. For example, the interviewee of YD states that “we highly take care of preventing any subjugating relationship. In Turkey, the most common one of these relationships is gerontocracy, we try to prevent this.” On the contrary, he states that, the most decisive feature of their formation is the togetherness of people of all ages. Actually this is also related with the preservation of the culture of multiplicity because, as the interviewee indicates, when such relationships are prevented, people can much easily find spaces for expression and existence in the formations. Moreover, this is one of the important factors to make the formations stronger because when people express themselves, they feel imminent contact between themselves and this minor political formation.

Another source of the creation and conservation of the culture of multitude is that the people of the minor political formations try to remove any kind of barriers in front of togetherness. For example, the interviewee of LİSTAG states that they included sign language into their website for disabled people; they translated the contents into Kurdish, Arabic, etc. so that it can reach to immigrant LGBTI individuals for they are also in solidarity and contact with the formations acting in the fields of migration. In the same context, she tells about their new project which aims to bring together

the families that are heterosexual or homosexual. She says “People can suppose that our group is made up of only heterosexual families, however we opened the doors to those they define themselves as a family. For example, two lesbian parents can adopt a child and may consider themselves as a family. In that sense, we try to show that another family is possible.” Similarly, the interviewee of ÖDA states that people feel the need of a place for encountering in order to overcome the lack of confidence, to break the distrust among the people. This is why they project if the people can encounter in a concrete place to cycle the things and maybe if they can drink a cup of tea, they can know each other and overcome the problem of trust.

Regarding the virtue of minor politics to set place for multiplicity in practice, the interviewee of PEP draws attentions to another important point. He emphasizes on the fact that there are various cases of discrimination on the bases of ethnicity, sex, class, etc. in some organizations of the minor politics. However, they try to repress and then overlap these cases because they consider these cases as discrete, that is, not a phenomenon of the minor politics and so they try to show their organizations as purified from such structural discriminations. In fact, according to the interviewee, there should be internal mechanisms and fields of conflict so that such discriminations have to be experienced freely in the form of conflict. He sees that this will be helpful to construct and sustain the culture of multiplicity. Thus I can say that the people of the minor politics are aware of the risks of such a closure and they try to overcome it by developing their own methods. As another example for this, the interviewee of PEP states that they are thinking on how to open fields for new people to join into them easily. He says that “We care about the metaphor of table by reference to Arendt. We try to leave one chair ready for new person and our monthly meetings serve for this aim. We are open to changes with participation of new people. In general, people are condemned to sustain the organization even after it lost its function. We try to not fall into this error.”

Another source of the creation and conservation of the culture of multitude is that the minor political formations try to create encounters among people from different backgrounds, with different worldviews and different identities. In my field research, I recognized that the interviewees mostly emphasized on the importance of creating new encounters and trying to keep human togetherness on the base of multitude.

They are aware of that their activities create new encounters and this serves for the sake of multitude as well. For example, the interviewee of MK clearly says, “Mutfak [as a minor political formation] provides an opportunity to contact with those who are not my friend or a fellow, to produce something collectively or just to be juxtaposed.” In fact, in the minor political formations and activisms, there are different activities and organizations that directly or indirectly serve for the encounters and so the multitude. For example, the interviewee of MZ states that they have another formation, namely D nyada Mek n – DM (Place in the World) where they come together with white color workers. The mission of the formation is to produce new encounters and collective self-empowerment. Freelance workers, translators, artists come together here and they use the place to overcome the issue of isolation, individualization and closure of the labor into the home.

Similarly, the interviewee of IF mentions about their different activities in the neighborhood and one of them is making a garden and minor agricultural production. It may sound as something irrelevant to our context; however the aim of such activities is not only growing some plants of course. It aims to show and remember the existence of the soil against the urbanization with full of the concretes, pavements, highways, etc. It aims to develop the practices of the ecology. However, more importantly it aims to form a common place to provide encounters of the people in the neighborhood. The interviewee says that “On the other hand, it aims to open a field for people who have different life styles and viewpoints to come together, to encounter with themselves and know each other.” Besides this, they organize festival for children in the days of 23rd April on the field of the garden and the children of the neighborhood come and play on the field. Actually the interviewee states that their starting point is that the children should not grow at sterile conditions because this makes them unhappy and individualist, which is, deprived of the affects of sharing and collectivity. Not surprisingly the interest of the adults for the festival is not lesser than those of the children; the fathers and mothers also enjoy playing the games. More importantly, these festivals also turn into being a field of encounter for the people from different poles. The interviewee says that “We can see that the women with headscarf and those from RPP can come together there and have a talk. That is, we can see a multiplicity and this gives hope because it

means going beyond the uniformity.” When people from different classes, beliefs or viewpoints come together by means of such minor political encounters, they can eliminate or break down their prejudices about themselves. For example, the interviewee of IF says that “Let’s say, a conservative person may in general consider and label me as a terrorist [because he has long hair and wears earring]. But when he saw that I can play with his children [in peace and voluntarily], he can see that I am not an ogre. Similarly, we can see that they are not ogre. These experiences are important.”

Such a context is also related with the transformative dimension of the activism in the minor political formations for we see that people within these encounters transform themselves and their activities produce new subjectivities. They can question their prejudices, they can become much more friendly people towards other people and they can decrease the determinative role of the major identities; etc. More importantly, they live all these transformative processes themselves, not as a compulsory part of an ideological project or as expected scientific stage of any other major program.

In the next chapter, I will open a new subtitle to show and discuss this transformative characteristic of the minor politics and it will include many other dimensions of self-transformations among the people of the minor political formations since such a experience of self-transformation and production of new subjectivities are one of the most important features of the minor politics. But still here regarding the multitude and encounters, I would like to present some examples that emphasize on the transformative effect of the encounters so as to create the conditions of the multitude, that is, more friendly affects on the people and more affirmative and active forms of human togetherness.

Immediately I can say that the AJ organizes encounters and always produce new subjectivities after these encounters. For example, and as the interviewee states, in these processes of jam, people succeed to talk about and face with common and important issues for their lives and mostly taboos in this society. It is clear that after these encounters both in physical and moral level, the people start to face their taboos and prejudices and slowly lose them and gain themselves. Moreover, the interviewee

says that “After we succeeded to talk about these issues, there exists a kind of empathy, compassion and consciousness between women and men. That is to say, for example, men start to understand that one man can harm women in certain conditions, or vice versa. Moreover, I can also see that the obstacles to communicate are eliminated with the elimination of the taboos.”

In the same context, I can give the example of encounters in the football games organized by ÖL to show the transformative effects. They play football together and for example, when men swear, women react this. The interviewee of ÖL says that “When we are together with women, we recognized that we are sexist when we swear. Women become mirror for men to see themselves. It is problematic with playing football together with very different people but this helps you to face with your problematic sides, that is, you can hear the bad language you used.”

Similarly, the interviewee of PAB states that in their activism there are people from any social groups, political views or occupations. Even he says that “I always say that we are a mosaic. In this country, we are the example of living together because our motto is ‘live and let live’. We consider differences as a color and richness, we take care of learning to live together. We can practice these all while biking.” The people of PAB can feel and see that people in Turkey are the subjects of discrimination, especially in last decades and the reason of this is the prejudices rather than ignorance. According to the example which the interviewee gave, there are two friends but when they learn that they are followers of different political parties or views, they end their relations. These are highly artificial things. However, they try to breakdown the prejudices for they think they can solve so many problems within a dialog. This is very reason that they apply to transformative affect of new encounters. He clearly says that “In PAB, we break down the prejudices and develop friendships always. There happen new encounters. Then after a while, very different people become friends.”

Lastly I would like to mention about the statements of interviewee of SL. It is such a team that tries to bring together all identities and where there is a kind of togetherness, a kind of harmony of the LGTBI individuals and heterosexuals and their enthusiasm for the same thing. Thus this is very valuable encounter. The

interviewee states that their team is formed by lesbians but there are also heterosexual men in their team and that they all care about this so much. She says that “I think it is very important that a lesbian woman and a heterosexual man are playing football in the same team. I value such an encounter.” For she sees that heterosexual men express their pleasure and feeling good when they play in this team with LGTBI individuals because they just play the game free from greed, hardness, competition, etc. And not surprisingly, she says that “I can define politics as an endeavor to solve a disagreement, to bring together those separate ones in one space. It is a kind of art, an art of bringing together. If there are two or more poles, politics is a kind of encounter of them. I can say the same thing for ÖL because it is the first time that in ÖL people from fan groups and LGBTI individuals come together. There was no possibility for this. Thus, I can say that politics means to create the possibility of such encounter. It is valuable itself that so many different people come together and play football each week.”

3.2.3.1 Concentration of the potentials: Collectivity and Solidarity

As we have seen, it is possible to claim that the affirmation of multitude is affirmation and recognition of the differences and the equality with these differences. Actually such an affirmation includes the life itself as long as we accept that the difference is the principle of the life. People are different and equal. This difference is based on their potentialities as well. I mean, every single individual has different and special potentials. The minor political formations have such wisdom and they organized their activism in reference to this wisdom. In that sense, I can claim that one of the sources of the multitude is the multiplicity of the potentials of people and solidarity is the solidarity of these different potentials. In my field research, I saw that in the minor political formations, people recognize that the potentials are different, that is to say, what everyone can do is different. There is a real solidarity but this solidarity is based on such recognition, that is, the proper collectivity and concentration of the potentials. In short, the *potentia* of minor political formations lies in solidarity of the people in accordance with their potentialities in any sense.

Immediately, I can mention about the activism of Anatolian Jam as very good example for the issue. Actually, the interviewee herself mentions about “the association of the potentials” regarding the function of the jams: “You can play music and I can tell tales, let’s do tale nights with music together. This is a kind of association of the powers. We do not have to be expert in all issues but we can bring together our gifts to each other and so transform them into production.” This is very micro solidarity but there appears the substance of the minor solidarity. According to the statements of the interviewee, I can conclude that people come together in jams and they can support and cultivate each other from different perspectives since they come from different backgrounds and professions and ultimately they can develop their own project about life. After the jam, people sustain their togetherness on a number of occasions but more importantly, since they are equipped with the non-violent communication instruments, they may work together in any kind of project or an action that is about to prefigure the situation that they want to live and experience. For example, the interviewee herself initiates a swap market in her own locality and she defines another effect of AJ as such that “We get power to do something together with people whom we meet in the jams.” She states that she could not start to these swap markets in the Kuğulu Park if she was alone. “It was enough to find a friend from AJ and share the idea, it encouraged me.” In that sense, they can form a kind of solidarity over their needs and potentialities. I can say that the aim of AJ is to provide an environment for people to realize all these processes into life and make people feel powerful to do this. The interviewee states that everyone has dreams, hopes and promises about the future but they cannot express themselves because they feel alone or unconfident. In that sense, the jams are occasions by which people come together and create new networks and communities to support the physic and affective mechanisms for expression. Thus, the individuals themselves transform. For example, they can feel powerful to leave the job if they are unhappy and so they can initiate a new process to rebuild their life anew. This is something related with the power that they gain and feel after have experienced the processes of the jam and this is another form of the solidarity. As we can see, the experience of solidarity makes the people more powerful as well.

As another impressive example, the interviewee of HKD states that their activism is based on the capacities and capabilities of the voluntary people, not the official programs of experts, professionals, etc. He says that “The power of their activism is based on the knowledge of a doctor or a translator, sometimes the last 100 liras in your pocket and sometimes your labor to take a migrant family to your home for one week until they find a place to stay. In short, these are the relations of solidarity that everyone can contribute. ... We believe in that we can change the life by solidarity. Such a belief makes us self-confident and it gives hope for the future. These are the affects that the political parties do not have. We say that even if we are 5 people or 30 people, when we come together, the togetherness of the capacities of each one of us create so powerful solidarity that it can act of life, change it, give us hope and revive us again and again. This is most powerful affect of us. It creates awesome confidence.”

Of course there are some other ways, subject fields and forms of solidarity, collectivity and human togetherness in the minor political formations and their activism. For example, the interviewee of İF states that they conceived that they want to produce something by themselves; let say some wood works or needlework. However, none of them individually has the conditions of this production. At this point, they join their forces. They furnish the Neighborhood Atelier hand in hand; one of them brought a sewing machine, one of them brought hand tools, one of them brought other equipment, etc. They have different potentials with the things that they have; however, the *potentia* to act and transform comes into being when potentials are brought together in a proper encounter.

In this context, I have to set forth once more that the solidarity is different from charity and this difference is one of the very basic features of the activism in the minor political formations. The people of minor politics are aware of such difference and they emphasized on it in very different contexts. Minor political formations are not charity organizations, they do not organize their sources to aid people, “to give” in any sense. Rather, they try to develop a culture of solidarity, collectivity and sharing.

A very good example for this context can be found in the case of activism of GDAA since the interviewee states that the most essential characteristics of GDAA is that they take care so much of not reducing the activism to an understanding and a practice of helping migrants. Rather they emphasized on the possibilities of a *politics of migration*. She clearly says that “We thought we show that the issue of migration and migrants has some other dimensions of solidarity rather than ‘help’”. They went to the neighborhoods where migrants live and they develop friendly relationships with the migrants. Actually, what they try to do is acting to rebuild the life together with the migrants. Moreover, they also try to keep the issue in the agenda; they organize meetings with people living in Ankara to discuss the issue of migration and their main concerns are to open a field of politics that is anti-racist and to develop the ways of acting *for the migrants together with the migrants themselves* and they want to ground all their activism on the right-based politics as well. In that sense, they tried to bring the migration and the conditions of the migrants into question and create the mechanisms of developing equal relations and solidarity with the migrants. From the same perspective, they have a principal not to get funds from anywhere because they want to see and show that they can do what they want within solidarity instead of getting fund.

In the same context, I should mention about the kind attitude of the people of HKD in Izmir. The interviewee states that their starting point was to come together in İzmir for solidarity to contribute to the peace process for the Kurdish Question in Turkey since they recognized that they value this peace process to end the state of war and conflict continuing for many years with its all horridness and pains. They thought that for the peoples in this country, it is a chance that can be grabbed very seldom in this country. According to the interviewee, what they are doing is beyond the culture of charity; rather it has historical and political background and perspective. He wisely says that “The oppressed people founded the solidarity as the oldest institution of the history of humanity. In that sense, politics of our activism is an activism for life and based on the principle of solidarity of oppressed people. However, we didn’t start to act by thinking; that is to say, this activism is not based on an applied rationality. We just do it and we see the results later.” Thus we have to see that the activism of the minor political formations is not related with charity; it is

rather related with solidarity and this solidarity starts with the virtue of *becoming*, in our issue, becoming a migrant actually. It may be assertive to mention about “becoming”, however, people in the minor political formations show and experience different forms of becoming.

I would also like to mention about the example of TTM since the wisdom of solidarity appears another form in this case. The voluntary people of TTM try to support the people, especially children, living in this cosmopolitan neighborhood and they certainly know and want what they do is solidarity, rather than aid or charity. The interviewee states that the violent events, blood and guts were happening in this neighborhood and everyone including the children witnessed, observed, experienced them all. Actually, people living here were already subjects of such kinds of events, the violent oppression of the police, etc. before in their previous lives in different regions of the earth. Still, the volunteers of the Center try to act together with the people of the region, to manage the process in solidarity. For example, they organize workshops, discussions, exhibitions for the children and adults about the Gezi Movement, urban rights, how a city should be designed from the perspective of children, why they are so much important, etc. The important thing is that they do not define their activism in the framework of charity since they see it another form of solidarity. Even regarding their activities directed towards children, the interviewee says that “Another important thing is that we are not doing something “for” the children, but “with” them.” This means that the aim is not to do them a favor, but rather to experience all the process together. To summarize these all, the interviewee says that “Our common affect is this, an affect of solidarity.”

Another interesting example for this difference between solidarity and charity can be found in the case of ÖK. As I said before, they try to prefigure a production without employer or patron. When they have difficult times before starting the production, some people from foreign forums in the Netherland offered the workers a kind of donation. However, the workers do not want “donation” or “aid”. Rather they prefer to earn their life by production. In that sense, the interviewee says that “We have machines, labor and materials. We can produce. Then we need to sell the products. We do not want a donation.” I think this is also an impressive example to the prudence of the people of the minor politics since they recognized that it is

production within solidarity which will provide them to succeed to produce autonomously and collectively. They value to earn their life without being employer and without employees. By the same reasons they reject the offers of the people of the major politics to donate money to cover the expenses but they didn't accept it because they think it is more important to earn their life by working rather than receiving a ready money. The interviewees state that "We know that the unearned money make people lazy. Besides this, if someone is based on the finance whose resource is someone else, then it means that the former is dependent on the latter. So it is evil actually." Actually, they know in such a case they would be in a reactive position only because the people of the major politics try to pull all the workers to conventional ways and representative deeds of resistance, that is, demonstrations, reactions, producing discourse only. On the contrary, they are aware the importance of the solidarity and production autonomously. Moreover, the workers of ÖK are highly sensitive to sustain the solidarity, for the interviewee says "If I have enough money, I would like to support some other people, but not by donating of course. There is a collective network in Istanbul. Everyone is 'without patron' in this network. We organize joint kermises, everyone presents their products and we share the earnings." The people of the minor politics are conscious about politics of the solidarity as against the practices close to the norm of charity. For them, the forms of solidarity can also be reduced to very human relationships for the interviewee says that "It is a moral support as well when people say hi and come to here for a cup of tea because we think that we have to sustain for there are people believing and trusting in us."

In the same context, I can increase these examples of the solidarity in the minor politics. For example, the people of MZ can organize forums of Solidarity Economies with the participation of different cooperatives and collective groups to discuss what and how they do. They want to communize the economies; actually they communize the struggles of these initiations and come together by forums, different workshops to empower the self-organization and autonomy, initiations, solidarity economies. They support the solidarity against the neo-liberalism and its advances to strip people off living spaces like parks, squares, forests, universities, etc. that are commons of the people. Similarly, the people of the MZ can initiate a

form of network for the migrants and refugees. As the interviewee states, there is a Migrant Solidarity Kitchen in Tarlabası as a network started with the case of Festus Okey. Their aim is to support migrant people especially living in Tarlabası to realize themselves in such places; people come together here, they cook collectively with migrants and also there were courses for Turkish and English. Another example is from the ÖL. They concern with the issue of migration and are in solidarity with other formations like GDAA acting in this field. They can organize football games with the participation of migrants in the neighborhood where the migrants live in isolation from Turkish people. He says that “We know that the people do not want the migrants as foreigners. In these activities, we want to express our welcome to them and make them feel that we don’t exclude them.” Another example is in the activism of cyclists. The people of PAB can regularly organize bike tours to visit the youth prison and they can bike with children staying there. Or they can collect dog food for hundreds of kilo and they bring them by bicycles to dogs in the shelters in Ankara. Or they can organize bike tours to contribute other activisms for nature and human, for the life as long as they share the same vision. In the same line, we can also remember that people in the Mutfak could develop the idea of solidarity with the sufferers of 10th of October Explosion.⁷

Actually, the solidarity is not only among the people of one minor political activism or formation, it is also between people acting in different fields of life and between different minor political formations. For example, in media activism, the fact checking organizations are in solidarity. There are similar fact-checking organizations acting in different fields. For example, the group in the name of Doğruluk Payı checks the statements of the politicians, which is, the deputies, ministers, etc. The interviewee of TO states that they are in solidarity with this group as well. He also emphasizes that “If we cannot develop solidarity with the minor political formations acting in the field of media, this would be a big limitation for us. This is why we believe that we should act together to complete each other.” Actually, there is also another form of solidarity in such kind of activism; it is between the TO and the users. The users themselves can send notice to TO for fact-checking. In that

⁷ The biggest terror attack in the history of Turkey. It was against people in the meeting organized for the demand of peace. Over an hundreds of people died and get injured in the event.

sense, there is an inter-active process which also shows that such an activity reaches its goal to activate the people to question the validity of the news circulating in any kind of media. In the same context, I can mention about the form of solidarity in TODAP. The interviewee broaches the matter of social solidarity in these statements: “We put forward this so as to act in solidarity with oppressed and marginalized segments. There is a kind of mutuality. While we support them in terms of making their voice heard, we also transform the knowledge of the psychology.” These are also the mechanisms to empower the role and function of the psychology for the public and also it aims to create new subjectivities as well. Moreover, the volunteers of TODAP can seek for the instruments of psychology to produce knowledge and act in troublesome issues like massacres and social confrontation with evils of the past. They organize experience sharing workshops with LGBTI individuals from such formations as LAMBDA. As another example, the interview of SL mentions herself about that the ÖL is a kind of solidarity, both the solidarity of the people in the formation and that of people of ÖL with other formations. She says that “We already define ÖL as a solidarity network” in terms of their openness for acting with other formations like ÇÇ or GDAA. She says that “We are all in connection.” Another example can be found in the case of ecology activism. Regarding the food communities organized and carried out by different minor formations, we can say that the number of them in Turkey gradually increases. One of them is Bosphorus University Cooperative, one of the first examples and also inspired and encouraged the formation of TT. Now, they act together. The important point is that the consumer or food communities care about contributing to the minor producers in the countryside of Turkey. This is another way of solidarity between minor formations and networks. It is not surprising that there is solidarity between the people of minor political formations; the interviewee of TT says that “all marginalized groups came to the activities of Tarlataban at least one time.”

In the same context, I can mention about very minor solidarity relations between the minor political formations and among their people. For example, according to the statements of the interviewee of AJ, one of the initiators of the BBOM can participate one of the regular jams of AJ, he can get and then carry the communication skills and instruments like nonviolent communication to his own

community BBOM. As another example, the interviewee of MSNA can labor voluntarily in Ankara for ÖK. Or, the people of HK can deal with the suicides of LGBTI individuals and murders or with the trauma resulted from the issue of headscarf or with ecological issues in terms of hydroelectric power plants or with the murders of bike riders at the same time. Similarly, the interviewee of KADAV states that today they are in solidarity with women, LGBTI individuals, migrant women and also female and homosexual prisoners since they were subjected to multi-discrimination. They try to organize some activities to empower those people in terms of education, profession, law or health. So they can act in solidarity with CSPS when they organize activities aiming the benefits of LGBTI individuals, women or migrants in the prisons. There are different formations, initiatives, platforms and studies for and related with women solidarity in big cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, etc. and they are in contact with them in different forms and ways as well. Besides these, they also work together with some formations acting in the field of rights of LGBTI individuals such as Lambda Istanbul, KAOS GL, etc. As she states, they have more or less, directly or indirectly role in any kinds of mobility and activism that are related with women and LGBTI individuals. These statements of the interviewee of KADAV are affirmed by that of Lambda and LİSTAG. According to them, there are similar foundations and groups acting in this field and they are in solidarity with for example Istanbul LGBT, Anatolian Bears and some student groups from different universities. The interviewee of LİSTAG also says that “We worked together with CİSST to organize some workshops and activities for the people in the prisons. We provided the possibility for thousands of prisoners to watch our documentary movie. This was incredible.” In the same context, not surprisingly MK as a team can involve in the ÖL. Similarly, the interviewee of PAB states that they provide consulting service to similar formations about how to apply right based social service in localities, how to work on gender equality, how to manage right based studies, etc.

Thus the internal connections between minor political formations can clearly be seen in Turkey and I can confirm this fact not only by referring to the deeds but also the statements of the interviewees. The interviewee of TT clearly says that “People who are active in one formation are also active in others. We know each other.”

According to statements of the interviewee of TT, there are other similar formations large and small but acting for the same concerns like ecology. Some of them are MZ in Istanbul, Labor Union of Farmers in Ankara, Craftsman's Cooperative in Diyarbakır, Refikler Farm in Muğla, Jade Farm in Sakarya, Vakıflı Village Cooperative in Hatay, any university and neighborhood gardens, etc. She says that "We are all in contact with each other, we together try to create a memory to produce and organize more effectively." In that sense, one can say that the solidarity is also by sharing the experiences and knowledge as much as labor or objects. For the experiences of minor politics are transferred from one formation to the other by virtue of collective memory of individuals or formations.

To a certain extent, the minor politics is politics of solidarity of those who are minorities in this society in comparison with the major politics. This is why, for example, you can face with a relation and connection in practice between the endeavor of the people of TODAP and that of LGBTI individuals, the women movement or labor movement, different urban movements or even Armenian and Kurdish people as well. Of course psychologists are the workers too and they also define their activism in the field of labor movement. However, the minor politics moves with such various processes of *becoming* of the people and their production of different subjectivities. In that sense, one active person in the TODAP can act in solidarity with Kurdish people when they were subjected to the cruelty of the warfare. Similarly, they can support people of Soma when they live the catastrophe of a mine disaster. For example, the interviewee states that they did some group studies with the sufferer in the Soma or they made similar psychological and social studies with children who stayed in the middle of clash in Kurdish regions.

Among the forms of solidarity, I think the culture of sharing is also important. If you remember the activism of ÖDA, it is obvious that they prefigure excellent example of sharing in Ankara. In this regard, it is vital to point on that the people of ÖDA uses the word "present"; they avoid from using the language of charity. The interviewee of ÖDA says that "here people experience the beauty and the pleasure of getting or giving a present, they like it." In regards of sense of sharing as another form of solidarity, I can say that there is a general tendency in this minor politics to share in general. For example, the interviewee of ÇÇ points on sharing not only

objects or foods and vegetables, but also our knowledge, abilities or experiences. They mentioned about their projection to create places where people can touch themselves without looking after benefit or interest. Not surprisingly the people of ÇÇ dream the similar one of Repair Café initiated by YD where people repair the broken objects of other people.

People of the minor politics explicitly state that they are acting for themselves first of all, but not for someone or something else. I will concentrate on this issue later in the context of immanence but here it is also related with the culture of solidarity as well. This can be called a kind of self-action [or action for itself]. As I emphasized in the second chapter, such individualism in the sense of acting and existing for oneself is one of the distinguishing features of the minor politics since it breaks with the culture of altruism or sacrifice which is essential in major politics. Still, it is important to emphasize that this self-action does not and should not mean a strong individuality. For in the minor politics, activities and actions are collective. The number of subjects of the actions [that is the actors, the agents] can even be one or two. However, the actions target the collectivity. The interviewee of TT says that “One can even make agriculture in her own garden but we are doing something different. We are doing this collectively and we know, that is, we are aware of why and what we are doing, that we are doing all these activities with political insight, that we have issues.” In the same context, I can also give the example of activism in VGD. In this neighborhood and among the inhabitants, there is a culture of coming together at regular intervals and discussing their problems. This culture continues today with the participation of people from the neighborhoods such as Koşuyolu, Barbaros and Acıbadem in the region. Such kinds of minor formations are acting for the sake of their locality but they never restrict their aims with these benefits. In fact, this could not be expected from the minor politics because the people of it do not restrict and comprehend the issues in certain frameworks. For example, the interviewee of VGD says that “we are not aiming only the protection of the Grove, but also the development of the city culture, solidarity among people and contribution to other struggles for ecology. ... We are in solidarity with all the formations and groups that defend their neighborhoods and struggle for the urban and ecology.”

Another example can be seen in the activities of AYÇ. They share their experiences of money in order to feel the gift economy and moreover they organize some activities to practice the gift economy. Let me summarize the gift economy. Actually it is an economy in which everyone gives a gift to other. For instance, there is a hiking event with the aim to inform people the features and characteristics of the trees and other plants. Let's say you are the guide of this hiking. You work here but you don't set a price. You just work as a gift to the people joining in this hiking. Let's say you are one of the participants of the hiking. You do not have to give money to take this service. However, if you want, you can give money or something else as a gift. The interviewee of AYÇ says that "We do this activity voluntarily, we don't expect something in return, that is, we do it with a motivation from the heart, but if you want to give something in return, this field is also open to you." What is political here if any? Actually, it is political that the doors are open for you to express your gratitude. It sounds very close to general understanding and practice of minor politics, that is, solidarity, but not charity or benevolence. Besides this, it sounds very kind, because we are usually violent or offending while we are doing goodness, while we are trying to help people, while we want to develop solidarity as well. In that sense, opening the doors to the gratitude or not preventing people from giving something in return is one of the ways of being kind and gentle. Here it is high time to remember once more the Spanish phrase that "solidarity is the kindness between peoples."

Before passing to another important pillar of the minor politics, I have to say that solidarity is the source of positively affective nature of the minor politics since it makes people affirm the life, increases their potential to exist and to act. Such contexts as multitude, the collectivity, the voluntariness, sense of sharing, culture of solidarity, positive affections and different forms of them are related with other general characteristics of minor politics such as criticism of representation and reactivity, implicit objection to consumption, immanent tendency to production, etc. These are all very important links to understand the originality of the minor politics in theory and practice. This is why I will concentrate on them in the next parts. Immanence is another main characteristic of minor politics which will be discussed in the next section. It is one of the pillars of the minor political formations,

compatible with their sense of politics, prefiguration, multitude and the culture of solidarity.

3.2.4 Immanence

As we can see up to here, the basic features, the pillars, the constituents of the concept of the minor politics continue to be compatible in the field: The sense of politics among the people of minor political formations are relevant to their understanding and also the practice of multitude; the prevalence of the affect of solidarity is meaningful in the sense of the importance of creating and organizing encounters and similarly, the prefigurative dimension of minor politics is parallel to the virtue of concentration of the potentials of the people in minor political actions and formations. Now I will examine another main characteristic of the minor political formations that is not surprisingly relevant with all other main features and dimensions of the minor politics. It is immanence, the immanent characteristic of the minor politics in practice.

3.2.4.1 Minor politics is based on practice

Actually, there are different indicators, forms, appearances and dimensions of the immanence in the minor political formations. One of the basic indicators is that almost all minor political formations are practical, actual; that is to say, the people of them act and produce actions rather than norms and discourses. I saw that the practice is the backbone of these formations. Not surprisingly, the people of the minor politics are aware of this. For example, the interviewee of IF emphasizes on the importance of the practice by criticizing the endless discussions. He says that “Some people always discuss to the end of the night in the cafés, they rescue the country. It is so easy and comfortable. But if it is needed to throw a piece of stone, it is found difficult.” Such an emphasis may be seen as naïve for a political discussion but it is quite vital to feel the immanence of the minor politics since it shows that the people believe in what they do, they are in the side of activity, rather than reactivity, they are in production of the actions, affects and encounters rather than discussion, consumption or destruction. In the same context, we can look at the statements of the interviewee of AJ. She says, “The things that we can talk about but we cannot put

into practice, the things that remain just in the words, move away from the state of becoming. This is why politics for me means to act, the state of action as a real thing into the life.” Actually, she states that politics is more acting than just talking. It is realizing the offers, alternatives and designs in action. I think acting is a kind of production while just talking is a form of consumption.” Obviously the interviewee states that the AJ is political because by virtue of jams people come together in forms of communities while the system outside tries to individualize them. In that sense, it provides a mechanism of support to act collectively.

Discussion is something that happens in conceptual or intellectual level and in general it causes in a kind of competition between the parties to win or lose and in that sense, it includes the reactivity. Not necessarily but generally it divides the people into the poles. In the minor political formations, I do not see such a culture of discussion but rather a culture of sharing the experiences in order to open the community towards the action and production. For example, in the activities of AJ again, people take care of coming together with other people to share their experience, rather than their theoretical knowledge. The interviewee says that “Our aim is to open fields for communities that are based on the human experience.” They listen to their own stories related with their identities; what does social, individual or sexual identity mean, what are the effects of identities that are given to us, etc. These are not theoretical or intellectual discussions, rather just sharing of real life experiences and the affects. They think that the process of community building is realized by such a sharing. In that sense, these processes are highly practical and actual, they are lived in immanent level actually. The interviewee clearly says that “if I live them as the processes of becoming, I can open fields for the thoughts and opinions of the people in my daily life, I can realize very good productions. I can see that we can live together when we can share our own stories even if they are different to each other. I can see that the life itself becomes a production when we can open fields to different stories.” At this point, I should mention about a very specific practice of *circle* that provides such a sharing of the experiences. In this practice, people sit as in *circle* with an equal distance to each other. According to the subject, one explains herself, especially her experiences of life. While she is speaking, all the others listen to her. No one interrupts her speaking and no question. In this practice,

she feels very comfortable because she feels that people see and listen to her. She experiences the trust in people. This practice of expressing oneself is totally clear from generalizations and prejudices, there are only subjective and empirical stories. This is very reason, the interviewee states, that people can easily feel an instant connection. Similarly, the interviewee of ÖL mentions a kind of oversaturation for theoretical discussions or indoctrinations that may become imposing attempts to homogenize the people in the formation. Rather they support the practice and the need to experience. In that sense, he states that people come and join the league because it is free and alternative atmosphere and because, he says, “it is our own league, that is, we created it collectively by the involvement of each team.” In other words, people feel themselves as one of the subjects of the formation.

Another example is from TT as minor political formation acting in ecology movement. According to the interviewee, the people of TT try not to intellectualize their politics. They are in connection with the people in the villages and she says that “we learn so many things from the reality, from villagers who farm for years.” I think, this aspect of the minor political formations also show implicitly the immanence of their attitude as well. They do not idealize their intellectual knowledge; they do not try to apply what they learn from the books. She says that “What we do is practical and all our practical experiences taught us so many things. Besides this, it is the experience of creating a beauty all together.” However, they do not romanticize their political activity as well. According to them, the ecology movement is not a romantic political movement. For example, she states that they do not romanticize the nature and they are against such an attempt. They are aware of the impossibility of purity in terms of interference-free relationship with the nature as well.

There is another example for the importance of practice and its relations with the immanence in the minor politics. The interviewee of CİSST states that in their activities and studies on penal system, they tried to be alternative in the sense of taking care of telling the true stories in an ordinary way, rather than academically or professionally. For they think that it is so important to tell the prisons and other enclosed places. They tell about the life stories, their own experiences and this is one of the sources for their activism to be affective. Actually, this is also related with the

endeavor to be together and in the same ontological level with those who are disadvantaged positions. In that sense, we can remember the statements of the interviewee of GDAA. She clearly says that “We theoretically talk about lots of things such as a borderless world and we have some set of words and dreams that seem like a utopia. However, we recognize that these all have correspondences in the field only when we observe the migrant struggles themselves. I mean that the subjects of the issue themselves share these theories or dreams; they just express them in a different way. We don’t try to organize the migrants, rather we organize ourselves in accordance with what they do and act. In that sense, we learn from them. Actually this network has been created after we saw the resistances of the migrants which they organized themselves in Istanbul and Ankara. We just follow up them.”

In that sense, the story of the interviewee of LISTAG is really impressive; it is totally based on the experience and its immanent and affective dimension. She tells about her own story of joining into the LGBTI movement: “My child was activist in LAMBDA and I started to go to there to see who these children are, what they do, what they deal with, etc. In time, I realized that there is a struggle for right; these children claim their rights but they are quite alone, there are no parents, no deputies, no one else. Then I decided to join them in their activism. I started to go regularly to there.” In this story, I think, it is important to see that she did not join into the movement because of any ideology or doctrine. She was affected by the practice, the endeavor of her child and other people. Her motivation is based on immanent causes rather than transcendental ones. She had involved in this movement because she wanted to be in solidarity with her boy and his friends. Actually her boy died in a traffic accident at his early younger ages. After this tragic event, she continued to labor in this activism because the other young LGBTI individuals told her that she is the mother of all of them. In that sense, the interview says that “I recognized that I have no luxury to stop if I can help people by sharing our stories and if my existence in this movement gives hope to someone. On the other hand, this is also good for me. In the same context, she thinks that the success of this movement is based on the immanence of the practice of resistance for the people of this movement. According to her, the LGBTI movement is more successful than many other groups because the LGBTI individuals and groups have enormous experience about the resistance.

Actually they had to learn how to resist from the very beginning of their life, primarily to resist against themselves, then their families, then the school and education system, then the order of the society, etc. They always have to resist. This is why they know resistance very well.”

In the context of immanence, experience and practice, I would also like to show that the practice itself has practical function. In this context, there are lots of examples in my field research; the interviewees emphasized on different functions of the practice. One of them is from Initiative. The interviewee says that “We read the theories about the self-government but we can see only in practice where there are practical correspondences of these theories. ... Actually the activities in the garden have been very important to sustain our togetherness. ... If you do not have projections or future aims, which means there is no more way to go, the fading starts; people escape one by one.” Similarly, the interviewee from BBOM talked about their story of opening a school in Bodrum. Their second attempt to open the school was realized there and this time they succeeded it. At this point she notes the importance of the practice in this success. According to her, “There were lots of physical work in Bodrum, this was the connecting factor. While there was just a desk job in Istanbul, there is a collectivity that produces together, carry the stones, calcimine the walls of the building, etc. When we get into action, our dreams found their correspondences.”

I think similar emphasis on the practice can be found in another story of BBOM. According to the statements of the interviewee, they in time recognized that the curriculum of the national education includes the universal values, but the problem is that they stay in the paper, they are not practiced, not fulfilled in the application. Then the people of BBOM adopt the curriculum except for some ideological indoctrination but they try to fulfill the values and transform them into practical gains in children’s lives. Within different activities, workshops and more importantly within daily life practices, they try to establish these values in the schools. The children internalize the universal values in these schools because they learn them by experience, by making them important part of their lives both in and outside the school. The teachers do not teach what these values are in paper, rather all the constituents of the formation, that is, the parents, teachers, personnel of the association form a community that share and live these values as a culture in all

processes of this alternative education. The people of BBOM believe that if such a culture can become the base of the schools, children will be raised in this culture of values. They believe that the learning processes are not isolated from the life itself. In that sense, when they develop content for alternative education, they try to utilize different disciplines and expertise, they also take care different needs and potentialities as well. Moreover in the same context, they properly think that if they dream of alternative schools, then the ways by which they form them should also be alternative. She says that “If we fight here with each other, then the children will also fight in the schools. We all effect each other.”

Regarding the immanence of the minor politics, it is also possible to say that the people of the minor politics find a sense of meaning in their politically active lives. It is the meaning of their lives to be political in minor sense. For example, the interviewee of KD states that doing something for and together with the others is a struggle for existence. She thinks that the lack of such a struggle is one of the main problems today. I think such an affect of meaning, a question of existence, is related with being political again. The interviewee tries to emphasize on the virtue of ability and culture of living for not only ourselves. This is also prudence that we are living together in this world, together with other people and living creatures. Thus I can say that the condition of being political spread to all little fields of lives of the people of the minor politics.

As I said at the very beginning of this part, the immanence of the minor politics is highly related with the practical – actual dimension of it. The people of minor political formations have minor but real experiences in their activisms; they experience politics in an immanent level rather than something as in ideological or transcendental level. Regarding the importance of practice and its being source for the immanent politics, I can emphasize the story of MZ. At the very beginning of their urban activism, they take care of being together and discussing the common issues in theoretical level. However, in time these intellectual and theoretical discussions on what and how to do, where the energy should be canalized to, etc. tire out the people. In that moment, the interviewee of MZ says, “we decided to do something instead of discussing on what the common places are. This will revive us.” This is the insightful belief in remedial dimension of the practice. In the same

context, I can propound, according to the statements of the interviewee of MZ, the forums before Gezi Movement took shape with much more theoretical discussion on the ways of resistance and struggle while forums after the Movement oriented to concrete steps and progressed with the aim of acting together, forming solidarity and producing networks. She says “what matured us was this”, that is, the practice again. She clearly says “We recognized that it is the practice and acting in concrete fields that will hold us together and enlarge.” For them, of course it was important, before Gezi, to come together within forums and to intellectually discuss on the labor for instance. However, they feel that they need more practical - actual levels for collective productions. Then she says, “we feel that our togetherness in Direnen Üretici Tüketici Kolektifi – DÜRTÜK (Collective of Resistant Producer and Consumer) and Dünyada Mekân – DM (Place in the World) strengthen this togetherness much more. 10 years ago, it was important to discuss the urban transformation in the forums and bring together neighborhoods to inform and to democratize the knowledge. However, today it is more important to construct new and different political subjectivities and places as grounds where these subjects keep their feet. I am sure of that, it is necessary to ‘do’ something, to sustain the actions by which new subjectivities are produced. It is necessary to organize the field of knowledge in order to transform the knowledge into political capacity. This is why I care much more of acting together as a more effective organization.” As we can see, there is a consciousness on the importance of the practice and its relation with the immanence in the context of the creation of new subjectivities, new lives and transformation in the social and individual levels. I will concentrate on all of them in the next pages in detail; for now it is enough to state that minor politics is politics of practice, production, creation and transformation in different levels and scales. These all are the sources of its immanent characteristic. If one minor political activism or formation loses its immanence, it will lose itself very soon.

Before passing to other dimension of immanence of the minor politics, I would like to note that it shows itself even in the expressions of the interviewees. For example, the interviewee of ÖDA states that he is political in terms of concerning with the inequality and doing their best to deal with that. He says that “we feel such a responsibility inside and this is why we live and behave in accordance with it. I do

not care what is called; this can be called politics, this can be called freedom, I do not care.” They feel somehow responsibility to their formation however this is a responsibility to themselves, not to the others or something else. This is another remark showing the imminence of the minor politics. The interviewee of ÖDA says that “we are just responsible to ourselves. We just want to do. The source of our activism is the fact that we like it. The togetherness of the people is not compulsory; it is totally preferred by people. People choose to be here themselves.” This is also related with the affective dimension of the immanence of the minor politics and such a dimension shows itself in the activisms that make the people of minor political formations more powerful. This is also one of the points that I will concentrate on in the next pages.

3.2.4.2 Minor politics is affective

I think the immanence, as much as prefiguration, of the minor politics can be seen in its affective dimension as well. Among the minor formations in my field research, PEP was the main one whose activism is highly related with and subjected to the affects. They experience a different type of organization by trying to involve different issues among the subjects of the fact of organization itself. Of these different issues, the affects are among the primary ones. The interviewee says that “Another type of organization must be tried and other issues must be subjects of the organization. This is the most important thing that we noticed in the PEP. For example, today you cannot realize labor organization via salaries. Regarding the white-collars, it must be in the field which opens towards the affects. Maybe you have to form a labor union in relation with the affects.” For they experience such kind of things as that the employers can give permission to the workers if they lose their relatives, but it is not possible when they lose their close friend. So, the white-collars notice that the organization and the line of struggle must be grounded on and started from the affective politics. The interviewee clearly says, “I believe that our endeavor is right and meaningful because there are affects and thoughts that feed themselves mutually.”

The interviewee also mentions about the affective dynamic in these labor processes. He cites from a speech done by Murat Özveri, who is studying in these issues, and says that “The white-collars are not discharged, they are betrayed.” The interviewee states that this feeling of being betrayed should be taken seriously. And it is not peculiar to the white-collar, but also the fact of blue-collars. The interviewee associates the stories of suicide of one white-collar and one blue-collar worker because they felt being betrayed. Thus the white-collars believe that there is an affective, somehow moral ties or an intimacy between them and the employers. They can suppose that there is an equal relationship between them. Maybe such an illusion of intimacy is consciously created so that the white-collars can work more effectively. According to people of PEP, the affects cannot be isolated from brain labor or hand labor. It may be possible to evaluate the functionality or the productivity of these labor, and in that sense, they can be transformed into some politics. However, it is not so easy to involve the affects into this mathematics. He says that “The personality, the meaning of life and anything that can be accepted as in the field of affects can become immediately the functional particulars of the labor exploitation.”

As we can understand, today the management of the labor is intertwined by affects. The interviewee states that the exploitation of labor is well known but there is also an emotional labor and the existing conceptual tools are not enough to understand and make clear the exploitation of affects. He says that “the issue of affects is always involved in the working life, but it was never so much engaged as today.” In that sense, the white-collars scream out “Now, they want our emotions.” According to them, any kind of relations in the working place, even those among the workers alone, have to be mediated from the employers, that is, managers or directors. This is a kind of governance, a technique in the hands of employers to control and supervise the affective dynamics among the workers. In that sense, the people of PEP try to develop some intimate relationships among the workers, the relations that are not mediated from the employers. The interviewee says that “All kind of relations must be mediated by the firm, that is, they have to be constructed with the inspection of the management.” This is why they try to form new relations of intimacy. This is an attempt for immanence as well because they try to constitute horizontal and intensive

relations that are among themselves and not derived from the bosses, not informed to the management. This means that the people of this minor political formation try to form a space where the relations of power and subjugation do not dominate and shade. In this field of intimacy, they believe the people can express their affects; for example, one can show his/her pain or weakness to the others, which means the friendship as well. These all refer to being organized in immanence.

PEP is not the unique example in this issue. The interviewee of TODAP also states that the dominant affects are certainly not rage or hate. People with these affects cannot stay in such minor political formations because they try to separate themselves from these negative affects. Rather they put forward the joy. He says that “I mean we enjoy the life and being together to eat and drink. May be they cannot be evaluated as political but they are very meaningful. I think it is very vital for this formation be based on love, joy and solidarity.” As another relation with affective dimension, I can mention about the case of TO. According to the interviewee, they know that in time of crisis people need so much the mechanism for verification of the news contents in the social media. They experienced that their verifications were read and shared much more in times of crisis. The fact that people release the wrong information into circulation especially in time of crisis can be explained in terms of the affects. And in that sense the success of TO is based on its being affective as well.

In this context, we can also look at the affects of people of HKD. The interviewee of HKD states that they are faced with very tragic events of humanity in recent years and their capacity is not enough to overcome these all. Still, they preferred to do something as much as they can do because they cannot live as if nothing happened and they cannot accept that these tragedies did not exist. They accept to be volunteers to live the pains of acting in this field but they share the pains of the people and call the remedies at the same time together with other volunteers. The interviewee of HKD mentions about the affective bases of the knowledge and states that they experience the virtue of knowing and being affected at the same time. He says that “We cannot underestimate the contribution of the affects to the knowledge. We cannot understand without being affected, without feeling. I mean, if you don’t feel what the migrants live, you cannot understand the problem at all.”

Depending on the findings from my field research, I can easily say that minor politics is affective politics. The immanence is just one of them. In the last chapter, I will concentrate on the promises of the minor politics and in this context I will bring into focus the transformative dimension of the minor political prefiguration and the potentialities of minor political activism to produce positive affects in general and to create gay minor worlds in the earth. For now, let me deal with another important dimension of the immanent and also affective characteristic of the minor politics: Voluntariness.

3.2.4.3 Minor politics is based on voluntariness

Actually, the immanent characteristics of the minor political formations can also be found in the voluntary labor of the people as well. Voluntariness is one of the common features of the minor political formations; this labor is almost everything of them. In order to understand the importance of the voluntary labor and its relation with the immanence and affects, we can pay attention to the statements of the interviewee of TTM. She tells about their story of beginning this activism. Since they needed to be known in the region, she says, “We walked each neighborhood and told each person what we will do; we talked to everyone including local authorities like *muhtar*, people working in the health center, church staff, the imams of the mosques, the teachers, shopkeepers, anyone notables of the region. Thus they initiated and succeeded to contact with all people living there. People of the Tarlabası like those voluntary people of the TTM since then. Today, the interviewee says, “We entrust the Center to those who are called thieves or drug dealers living in the next building.” Actually, there are very different people and it is difficult to redress the balance among them when they come together in the studies and activities of the Center. In this point as well, we have to mention about the graceful attitudes of the voluntaries of the Center to all people indiscriminatingly in that they overcome the suspicions of the people of the region. The interviewee says that “We were so careful to redress the balance. All of us talked to and treated everyone consistently and this affected people so much.” Today, the people of the region support the Center to sustain its activities. This story of the TTM, I think, refers to the power of the willingness and also the immanent characteristic of the actions. Today they

experience here as a “rebel zone”. That is to say, they as children, teenagers, volunteers and personnel team created a field of expression and existence which is belonging to them and is based on their own values or principles. They maintain their activities on such a base and ground. Today, for example, “one of our teachers was one of the children coming to here. Similarly some of the kids grow up here, they went to university and now they come here as volunteers to study with the children. Again, some of our girls try to establish a football team of girls in their own high school. This means that they try to apply what they gained from here in their existing locality, to renew and transfer to the others. These all show that the Center is certainly useful. I see that we share the principle of social justice with all workmates and transfer it to all the fields of our lives. I mean that it does not remain just a word, that is unfulfilled but rather it becomes something that we experience in our life, in working life or in the relations among us. I think this is what we call as ethic or morality. We cannot do mobbing in working place if we work on right base. We do not look down on the volunteers, we establish parallel relationships with them. Similarly, we take care of children participation, that is, we do everything by getting their opinions. When we prepare a project, we get their opinions in the decision making processes. When we determine the trainee, we involve the people of Tarlabası into the processes.” In short, they take care of internalizing their ideals or principles into their own practical life. These statements are strong examples to show the immanent characteristic of TTM as a minor political formation. Regarding this immanence, the important point, I think, is the consistency that distinguishes the minor politics from the major politics. Actually, the people of the minor politics are aware of this distinguishing characteristic. The interviewee of TTM says that “Therefore we noticed that it is very different here from other institutions and NGO’s. This is why I called this place a rebel zone. We know and see lots of formations where there is a gap and contradiction between their discourse and their practices.” I can say that it is voluntariness that fill this gap, in the minor political formations, and remove the contradiction by creating affective and immanent level of existence.

In that sense, when I say that one of the common features of the minor political practice in Turkey is its being based on voluntary labor, I also mean that it is based

will and immanent potentials of the people. For people of the minor politics do not *have to* act, I mean there is no obligation. Likewise, they don't earn something material at the end of their activities or actions; that is, they do not pursue material interest. They act just because they want to do this; they are voluntary activists. On one hand, this means that they are not selfish people, rather they have strong sense of communality or human togetherness. This is their tendency towards an existence together with others and they see a direct relation between such an existence and a better world and life. For example, in the HKD, there are lots of people who don't have money but they have willing; they are volunteers who showed that many great works can be realized with very little material contributions. In this association, thirty sanitarian volunteers can work for hours to examine the health conditions of the 700 Afghan migrants in a forest in the middle of the night. These cannot be realized with projects or a command. This is only possible with voluntariness. The interviewee says that "Only those people who are faced with a real problem and willing to solve it with the power coming from their spirit. In that sense, we have shown that the voluntary labor has no material equivalent and also that such kind of solidarity in a society can protect us from various forms of capitalistic relations." Actually voluntariness is an ethical and political position in the context of minor politics since it defines who you are in the last instance. The interviewee of HKD says that "When you are faced with a tragedy [like a war and migration], there are two moods of being paralyzed: The first of them is that this is so horrible that I should not deal with it to preserve my own integrity. The second is that this is so grievous pain that I cannot do anything, so let other people do it. But there is another way to break these moods; being voluntary to suffer this pain. We are people who cry and deliver provisions at the same time." I think there is no need to indicate the relation between the voluntariness on the base and affective existence or power behind the minor political activism; voluntariness is one form and practice of affective existence itself.

Thus according to my field research, it is open that voluntariness is common in the minor political formations in Turkey or that the activism of minor politics is based on voluntary labor. Besides these, there is another common fact that in these formations like associations, people who are not member of the associations can come and

attend in any kind of meetings. That is to say, no one has to be official member of the association in order to have a voice in, let's say, deliberation of the general or specific issues. This means that these kinds of associations are the foundations for the people as inhabitants of that local place as they come together, act and produce collectively and struggle against the attempts of the major politics. They are again voluntary people. The interviewee of CİSST clearly says that "One of the main features of CİSST is that it has lots of volunteers from the very beginning. Our volunteers can realize themselves here; they can express their interest and energy. You should open the ways of the volunteers" to be part of the formation or the activism according to their own rhythm. Similarly in VGD, there are almost 60 people member to the association but there are lots of volunteers around the VGD who are not official members of the association. Again, in the statements of the interviewee of VGD, "We are just the people of the neighborhood; we are not professionals but volunteers. We discovered lots of things in time by ourselves." This last statement is important to see both qualitative and quantitative importance of the voluntariness but it also gives us the link between the immanence, voluntariness and the experience actually. In the next part, I will try to concentrate on this link actually.

3.2.4.4 Minor politics is based on experience and learning

At this point, it should be noted that the people of the minor political formations are generally ordinary people in simple meaning of the word; they are not professionals or experts in their activism, they do not carry out somehow professional directives or they do not implement an ideological doctrine, any given book of rules. They are voluntary people and acting according to their own values and knowledge. More importantly, they grope, they try out and they learn how and what to do in the processes of their activisms. In general there is no guide in their way. On the contrary, it seems that the way itself is their guide. In other words, the theory does not precede the practice here; but rather the experience comes first and they got and accumulate the knowledge derived from it. I think these all are among the sources of immanence of the minor politics as well. There are enough examples in my field research to support this idea and fact.

For example, the interviewee of İF clearly says that “We are all learning; none of us is professional.” Similarly, the interviewee of LİSTAG “We are self-taught people; we don’t have educations in this field. We gained experience in the practice.” Their stories are so important, I think, to understand the immanent characteristic of this fact of groping. The interviewee of LİSTAG also states that one day, she wrote an article to the newspaper of Radikal and made a call to the parents. The title of the article was “My boy is my teacher.” It made tremendous impact and then she also gave interviews to other newspapers like Sabah and the journals like Elele and Tempo, which are comparatively popular magazines in Turkey. Some of these interviews were together with her boy. In this story, we have to see the frankness here that is capable of making all the activism immanent actually.

In the same context, we can look at other cases as well. For example, the interviewee of BBOM says that “We grope and try out. We try to do something that is untried and there are few local resources to guide for us. When we attempt to refer to the foreign experiences, there are some cultural and historical differences.” Similarly, the interviewee of HKD emphasizes on that “We groped the ways that will not harm anyone, not instrumentalize people and the job, not sink into the fetishism of charity or not be a non-governmental organization which took the position of the state, etc. We groped these ways, by teaching each other.” In that sense, he states that all of the knowledge they have were derived from the life experiences. They did not rush to define the job but took care so much not to make a wrong. He says “We never clothed over anything, rather we discussed on the mistakes if any.” In that sense, I would also like to remind the story of the workers of Kazova. At the very beginning of their resistance, they do not know much about how to resist. They just want to get their due but they don’t know how to do this expect for protesting or bringing a charge, etc. In these periods, they joined the demonstrations organized by the workers of Home Textile in Taksim so that they wanted to experience such a way of action. After this, they thought that they can do the same thing to unmask the employers. When they started to demonstrate, their number decreased from 18 to 3. They started to make demonstration three days in a week in Taksim Square, Şişli Square and in front of the house of the boss. However, in time, they recognized that these types of practices will not result in anything positive for them and their

struggle. Thereupon, they learned that they have to hold the machines and the processes of production, that is to say, they have to produce in order to survive and continue their autonomous production. In short, they too grope the ways; they too live all these processes as experiences and today their wisdom is based on such groping. Today, they believe that the meaning will appear at the end of the processes. Thus, it is possible to say that in the minor political actions, people generally learn how to do things in time, by themselves, by experience. On this ground I see that the professionalism is not dominant in the minor political practices. The people of them are finding their ways by almost trial and error. For example, the interviewee of ÖDA can say that “there exists a problem and then we solve it”. That is to say, everything works with spontaneity, within natural flow, there is no coercion.

Still, this does not mean that they do not accumulate knowledge for minor politics or they do not have enough knowledge to act. It is certain that each minor political formation both act and produce and then accumulate the knowledge of activism in their own field; they try to archive this knowledge and experience to share it with others in different localities as far as possible. I can conveniently say that almost all minor political formations take care of this point in their activism. Let me say that ÖL produces and accumulates how to prefigure a football league without representative mechanisms, in horizontality, within solidarity and immanence. The same fact is also valid when the people of TODAP try to produce knowledge of a critical psychology. The interviewee says that “We prepare a guidebook for the psychologists working in the field so that they can abstain from being discriminatory in the fields of sexuality and sexual orientation.” Or when the people of CİSST tried to produce the knowledge of the prisons, they are in the same line. For example, they can reveal that there are no libraries in the prisons even if the state claims that there is. They can demonstrate that the libraries are used as stores in the prisons. In that sense, the interviewee claims that they are stronger and more effective than other organizations working for the prisoners. At the same time, they try to learn about the realities of the prisons such as who are the prisoners, what are the conditions inside, etc. They try to get the knowledge of the penal system in Turkey, to form the literature on the prisons regarding its problems, limitations, etc. in order that they can develop projects with a view to meet the requirements and solve the problems of the

prisoners. With this accumulated knowledge, they also try to activate the civil society and the universities to deal with these issues as well. Similarly, the interviewee of HKD can clearly say that “We gained lots of experience in the question of migration. It is a macro question but when you start to know the story of just one person, you could encounter very different faces of the question. We recognized and understood these all.”

3.2.4.5 Minor politics is individual as much as communal

I am sure of that the voluntariness is one of the main sources for the immanent dynamism of the minor political formations. However, I doubt that the voluntariness in the minor politics can be understood as a situation in which people act for the others and so it is a kind of altruism or a kind of self-sacrifice. No, voluntariness in the minor politics does not mean such kind of selflessness. Quite the contrary, another main source for the immanence of the minor politics lies in the fact that people act for themselves firstly, rather than someone or something else. Actually I had hypothesized this difference between voluntarism and altruism in the previous chapters and with reference to my field research I can say that there are lots of evidences to prove this hypothesis. Now I will try to show them as examples of that the individuality and its substantive aspects do not disappear in the minor politics; that people can start to act with their private, intimate, personal concerns, that people act for themselves as much as for the community and other people and that they believe in that self-transformation and change in individual level precede macro or public transformation or change in social scale. I suggest you not to forget that the principle of immanence is functioning there in all of these. For example, when the interviewee of AYÇ clearly says that “We are acting here for ourselves at first”, I think this is so important from the view of minor politics that we cannot ignore. For this is the key factor for the sustainability, the continuation of the minor political formations as well. Let’s think in this way: The people in minor political actions and practices can start to hear and see what their own needs, their own desires, their own selves actually. Such a connection with themselves makes them feel better. If you feel yourself better in an agency, this means that there is not alienation, not coldness or a little distance between you and your way of making politics. This refers to that

your power to live and act increases in this agency. This is why these all remark on the immanence of the minor politics. Let me turn to the issue of individuality of the minor politics.

One of the best examples for this issue is that of ÖL. The interviewee obviously says that “We did not intend to save the whole world but we could do something for ourselves. It is something for us but everyone can join it. No dedication or sacrifice. The good thing must be based on this. Maybe one of those that need to be discussed is the culture of sacrifice.” They are aware of that the culture of sacrifice is not appropriate to the minor politics since it is contradictory with the principle of living, existing and acting for themselves. It is not difficult to say that they do not support to activism in the form of doing something for others; this may be conscientious but it does not correspond to the minor politics. On the contrary, they try the ways of empowering and constituting themselves as the subject of their life in the field of production. The people of the minor politics feel that the life of their activism is good for themselves at the first hand. As the interviewee of ÖDA says, “we created a condition where we can breathe.” As we can suppose, the minor political formations are the political spaces where people can express themselves, they can live their uniqueness, their self-confidence and also their belief in life and human being increase. This means lots of things if we accept that the expression is the more basic need of human soul. In that sense, the interviewee of YD reminds from Hannah Arendt that totalitarianism prepares massacre by reducing people just to numbers. That is, it erases the singularities and individualities of people. He says “then we start to hear the news from TV like that ‘42 people died martyr.’ However, each one of these 42 people had uniqueness and subjectivities.”

In the same context, another issue is related with the sources of the motivation of the people to act in minor politics. I can say that the concerns are their own concerns and they are the sources of their motivation. For example, the interviewee of SL says that “I am here because of my personal concerns. I started to play football ten years ago. But Turkish Football Federation (TFF) cancelled out the women football league because of the claim that there were lots of lesbians in the teams. The newspaper of Sabah mentioned about the case in such a language that TFF would cancel out the women football league for a while for a healthier league. Moreover, being lesbian

was a reason to be disqualified from the team because it was accepted as something immoral. When I was fifteen, I could not support myself and my identity even if I am lesbian.” In the same context, the statements of the interviewee of HKD are also noteworthy. He says that “Our association is an endeavor to cure the wounds. However, the wounds do not have to be the wounds of the others; it is also cure to our own wounds, the wounds of people who come together here. Some of our friends say that they come here for themselves, rather than for migrants, etc. because they feel good here. Thus, what we are doing is also a cure for our wounds.”

People of the minor politics take care of their individual concerns, they value their individual power and they think that the change should start with individual level. I think, these are in coherence with the view about the immanence of the minor politics. In this context, as the people of ÇÇ certainly state, they believe in that the change should start with very individual level, that is, with the self-change. Similarly, the interviewee of BBOM mentions about their training academy in the same concern. The modules in this training academy are composed of some programs that are helpful for people to look themselves, to question their own practices. As she herself states, this point is highly related with the imminent characteristics of the minor politics because it is an experience based on the idea that I can be part of the change only if I change myself. She says that “This is not an investment to me, rather it is something by which my existence finds its meaning.” In the same context, the interviewee of TT says that “With the effects of our activism on myself, I prefer a career that is less dirty. For example, I prefer an employment in an NGO which is sharing similar concerns rather than being a bank officer. For we do not want a totally monotonous life, wake up in the early mornings, go to work, a whole day sitting at the computer, then come back to home and sleep, go to shopping centers at the weekends, etc.”

Another interesting detail to understand the motivation of the people of the minor politics to sustain their activities is that there is a strong relationship between the private interest and the public interest. I mean the people of the minor politics combine the benefits of private and public in their political existences. For example, the interview of HKD states that the struggle for the protection of the Garden is meaningful for her since she wishes to transmit the culture and the nature of the

Garden to her daughter. However, at the same time, she thinks that such a struggle is highly political too since it serves benefits for the sake of public. She says that “There is just one world, and we should preserve it as much as we can.” In that sense, the minor politics is behind the distinction between the private and the public in terms of politics. Actually, the minor political practice in Turkey already shows us such a fact that the private does not directly mean nonpublic.

3.2.4.6 Minor politics is a necessity

Another main source of the immanence in the minor politics is based on the fact that the minor political formations, their activities and actions, their endeavor in general are resulted from necessity. I mean, the people of the minor politics need what and how they do and what they aim to produce as well. Products, conditions, services or activities which come into being with intellectual and physical efforts of voluntary people of minor political formations are what they need, what they recognize the need of people and what they will as well. In my field research, there are lots of examples again to show the fact that the minor politics, or its practical existence, is a necessity for the people.

For example, the interviewee of 350A clearly says that “our job is to meet the needs, seek for solutions.” Similarly, the interviewee of İFstates that people in general are sitting at their home and watching TVs. They listen and strengthen their opinions. There exists only polarizations because they are not respectful to each other, there is no real communication among them; they just express their own opinions; they just insult themselves. He says that “We could witness these all in our neighborhood as well. So we used to feel the need of coming together with different people to overcome these all and create a new and different condition for togetherness of the people of the neighborhood.”

In the same context I can mention about the activism in the case of AJ. According to the statements of the interviewee, the initiation of AJ had attended to this Middle East Jam. After a while, they thought that actually the same activities are needed in Turkey and they intent to initiate Anatolian Jam in Turkey as well. In each region, the themes of the Jam are determined according to the needs of the people in that

region. For example, in Middle East Jam the intention was that the people of the region can together and they can talk about their identities because in this region there are lots of pain and trauma related with ethnic or social identities that are lived as the effects of the wars in the region. But still, I cannot say that the aim is not to attempt to rehabilitate and recover the people even if such activities have remedial effects. Rather, the people of the community think about what they can do practically all together to go beyond these existing traumas.

Another good example in this issue is BBOM. The interviewee tells the story of initiation in the way that the initiators of the formation have children who are in age to start school but they are discontented and unsatisfied with the education system in Turkey. They start to seek for an alternative school system in Turkey for their own children. The interviewee says that “Therefore it is in fact a story that starts from an individual level and needs.” So they are parents who want to establish a school, another perspective in education. I understand that the people who initiate the minor political formations and actions are not dreamers, rather decisive to meet their needs. In that sense, the fact that they feel the needs of democratic schools for example refers to that they sincerely and honestly want democratic schools. In the same formation, regarding the activity of training academy, it is important to see and understand whether such idea and practice of alternative education has its correspondence in Turkey. The people of BBOM has seen that yes, there are lots of teachers who feel it as vital. Numbers can show this vitality. When the BBOM announced the first meeting in the Village of Teachers with a quota for 24 people, almost 900 teachers applied to participate the training activities. It shows that these teachers were voluntary for an alternative education. The interviewee states that the common point in letters of intent was that they know what not to do, but they don't know what to do for alternative education and this is why they wanted to participate into these training activities. If the teachers come to this training academy with their own finance and by giving up their holidays, it means that they really want to be part and subject of such an alternative education.

Another good example can be found in the story of CİSST. Before they start these prison studies, they usually organized some seminars and conferences on certain vital

issues of the society. In this period, they invite Ahmed Othmani⁸ to Diyarbakır to talk about international penal reform. When Othmani came to Turkey, he wanted to visit the prisons but it was not permitted by the state. The interviewee of CİSST states that thereupon they start to ask about the prisons and penal system in Turkey; how many prisoners are there, how are their living conditions, how many formations are there doing anything directed towards the prisoners, etc. They recognized that they do not know anything about the prisons and there are scarcely any formation dealing with this issue. The interviewee of CİSST says that “For years we know the prisons from the poems of Nazım Hikmet or Ahmed Arif. There is no corpus of prison, neither academic study on penal system, etc. Thereupon we recognized that this was a need.” Similarly, I can mention about the story of HK. The interviewee of it states that in the park forums after the Gezi Movement, initiator people of HK recognized that most people do not know about the social history, there is no such memory of social and political events. This means that the violence of the police state is not in this social memory. However, when they learned the truths, especially from the first-hand witnesses, they recognized their ignorance and indifference. Thus the initiator people of the HK noticed the importance of the social memory and its transformative power on the people.

Another important example can be found in the foundation story of KADAV as one minor political formation for the women movement in Turkey. As I said before, the women of KADAV came together in the process of after big earthquake disaster of 1999 in order to develop solidarity with women as the victims of both disaster and male-dominant society. According to the interviewee, the first observations of them as voluntary women in the field of disaster showed that female victims of the disaster were subjected to multi-discrimination; they were much more effected and they need much more special support. In that sense, they decided to organize a support that is based on gender equality and they formed a tent for women only and they started some activities aiming for rehabilitation, earning money, psychological support, etc. These all are for the sake of solidarity with women. The interviewee of KADAV

⁸ Ahmed Othmani is Tunisian progressive thinker, especially studying on the penal systems. He is well-known by his friendship with Michel Foucault. He lead to the foundation of Penal Reform International in 1989. His book “Sortir de la prison: Un combat pour réformer les systèmes carcéraux dans le monde” (Hapishaneden Çıkış: Dünyadaki Cezaevi Sistemlerinde Reform Mücadelesi) is published in Turkish in 2003.

states that this solidarity needed to be legalized in time because they were collecting financial support and they had to deliver officially this financial support to the victims officially. This is the summary of their foundation story actually and as it can be seen, it is based on the vital, critical necessities of women. Today, they continue their solidarity with women in different fields of life and according to the interviewee, they do not have any difficulty to reach the women for their activities because they recognize the need and they develop their activism to meet these needs. She says that “If your study is something that can touch the lives enough, respond to the problems and meet the needs, women come themselves. This is why we did not have any difficulty to reach the women.”

There is similar story in the case of HKD. The interviewee of it states that there are 17 decares green fields in the middle of Kuzguncuk, it is called as “the Garden” by inhabitants. It is belonging to the state, that is, General Directorate for Foundations. In practical custom, it is a common; it is open to common usage for everyone and it is meaningful in the memory of the habitant. The interviewee clearly says that “HKD was in fact founded in order to protect the Garden.” She tells about the long history of the struggle to protect this green field. In this history, there were lots of attempt of the state, starting from 1980s, to open the Garden for construction. However, until today the people of Kuzguncuk succeeded to defend and protect this field of memory. Very basically, we learn that there is history of protecting and defending a green field as living space.”

I think the case of LAMBDA and the activism of LGBTI individuals can also be included in the category that the minor political formations are generally built upon the needs of the people. As in the example of Lambda, the activities are intended to meet the needs of the people and solve their problems as much as possible. Still they know that this is not a remedy for them only, it has a public meaning and dimension. For example, the interviewee of LAMBDA says that “We know that the system oppressing us [LGBTI individuals] does also oppress the others. In that sense, the liberation of the homosexuals means the liberation of heterosexuals at the same time. Thus, we don’t try to be free from our own problems, rather we imagine a society.” Similarly, the interviewee of LİSTAG states that they as the parents of the LGBTI individuals felt the need to come together and deal with the troubles that their

children live in this society. She says that “At the first time when we learned that our boy is gay, we tried to hide this fact but we felt the need to share this with someone at the same time. We worry about our children because the society considers our children as evildoer, pervert, wannabe, muzzy or the children of parents with troubles. In the beginning, we also did it. But later on we recognized the homophobia and hate speech towards these people in the society and that our children have no right to live in this society. Moreover, we noticed that there is no guilt when we comprehended the reality of the society because the society does not know, there is no consciousness about these issues. If so, we as the parents of the LGBTI individuals decided to tell the realities to the people in this society.” The interviewee of LİSTAG also states that when she was giving interviews to the newspapers and journals, she was highly aware of the fact that lots of people need what they wanted to initiate. She says that “I said to the people whom I gave interview that ‘I opened my heart to you, please publish this interview by respecting this heart because lots of people need this. Actually I already recognized this fact when I was going to LAMBDA. The children were looking at me and my boy, the relation of us, as if they were watching something in a museum. They started to say to me “mom”, they were hugging me, telling their own families. In short, they needed so much to come in sight but they were not able to do it alone. They want to open themselves to their families. This is why we have developed certain ways to talk to families.” They also try to be active in Şişli region of Istanbul because lots of LGBTI individuals live there and so the events of trans-phobic and homophobic crimes are common. In that sense, they as LGBTI activists try to empower this neighborhood in order to minimize the oppression and the violence.

When we look at the labor field, we will also see that the minor politics in this field is also based on the need to come together and form a self-empowerment collectivity or an autonomously productive solidarity. For example, the interviewee of PEP tells about their own story of recognizing that such a formation was a need of the white-collars: “In time, we recognized that the essential need is to talk with each other. And then our meetings become for just affective talks.” This is a need to show and express the affects because the white-collars always have to hidden or manage their affects in the working place so to increase the functionality and the power of

competition; no one can show his/her meagerness to other workers or to the employers. “However, this is impossible for the people. This means that you need an affective place where you can express or share your affects.” Therefore it is obvious that the PEP was formed and developed by white-collars to come together and discuss, make visible, conceptualize and seek solutions for the needs and the problems of those who are white side of the labor. The interviewee from PEP states that people in this platform talk about their nuisances arising from working life. The basic problems of the white-collars related with transportation, occupational diseases, discriminations in the working place, job health and security, mobbing, the troubles in the process of performance meetings, recruitment and confidentiality, etc. They organize experience sharing meetings and they report them collectively in order to form a collective memory. He says that “The basic thing that the Platform does is to produce concepts and form its own terminology by grounding on the vital problems because the struggle of the white-collars is new in the labor side and it tries to make a room in the field.”

The TTM is another minor political formation that functions to meet the needs of that locality, the needs of a multitude living in these neighborhoods. For example, the interviewee says that “Here the streets were narrow, no park or playfield, so it was not suitable for the kids. That is why the first thing to do was to do something for children of the region.” When they initiated an art and theater workshops, children started to run here in crowds. In time, they brought their families and their friends as well. This means that the people of the region desired to do something for themselves in a safety place and it is their need. They join into the workshops of language, art and some academic courses. The interviewee clearly says that “We make all our plans by taking into consideration the needs of the region.” They voice the needs of the people living there. It is also common in the minor politics that most of the activisms are a kind of mobilizations oriented to address and satisfy the needs of people, even if they are in minority, few, a group or a handful of people. Therefore, one of the main affects of people acting in the minor politics can be the affect of social injustice. For example, the interviewee of TTM says that “I personally cannot stand social injustice. I have experienced to struggle against it as something existing and should exist. The feeling of justice, more than equality is important for me.”

It can be said that the TO also emerged as a response to such kind of need. In today's world, people do not trust in the media so much anymore. I think that such a lack of trust is also effective in the emergence and success of the TO. It responds the need of trust of the people, especially in times of crisis. The interviewee states that it is very important to interfere with the event especially when there is a kind of crisis in the society because "This turned into a kind of need recently when there are lots of explosion, attack, etc." In fact it is very common that the possibility of the effects of misinformation to human lives increases in a crisis. In times of crisis people need so much the mechanism for verification of the news contents in the social media. For example, he says that "We experienced that our verifications were read and shared in time of detention and arrest of the deputies of PDP. We do our best to prevent such an effect in the moment of social crisis."

There is an important and interesting point regarding the relation between the immanence, the needs and the minor politics. The fact that the minor political formations are based on the needs does provide a kind of framework or a set of principles that remind the people of the minor political formations that they do minor politics or that they should stay in this framework or set of principles. For example, the interviewee of KD states that "We, as a formation, in fact do politics in every aspect. However, we did not turn into being the parts of a huge structure that does politics. That is, we are in politics as individuals. We never forget our needs, issues and aims. So we did not lose our personhood. We succeeded to keep our position."

It could be said that the minor political formations are built on the necessities. I mean that what people do in the minor political formations and in their activism are kind of remedies for the necessities of those who prefigure the formation. I can say that the minor political formations correspond to the realities of these people in the minority. This means that they are not the products of phantasms; they are the needs of the people. This fact shows us that the minor politics is the production of practical formations and this is another proof that the minor politics lie in the level of immanence. For example, the interviewee of ÖDA says that "Everything develops by itself, accumulates and then forms. I did not think 10 minutes before forming this group of cycling. I already believed that this would be good. The only thing to do is to form the group of cycling."

Thus, when I say that one of the common features of minor political formations and their actions is that they arise from necessity, I do not mean that they exist necessarily, but that one of their reasons for being is their being based on the necessities, the needs of the people. This is important to support the immanent characteristic of the minor politics because if the actions arise from necessity, it refers to its genuine aspect, its reality and authenticity. It is possible to see such kinds of facts in the minor political formations in Turkey. When the interviewee of YD says that “We do any kind of activity if we need it; we do not want superfluity of anything”, he touches the core principle of the minor politics as well.

In the context of that the minor politics is necessity, I should also note and pay attention to another fact that the social or cultural crisis, big events, macro social movements, etc. are effective in the emergence of the minor political formations or activisms or the idea of them. In other words, any kind of crisis is effective in intellectual or practical activation in human life. It is also valid for social life. In my research, I have found that the events, which can be defined as crises according to their magnitude and caused by nature or culture, are effective in the emergence of the minor political activism and then formations, both in the form of idea and practice. One of these events is the earthquake lived in 1999. The interviewee of KADAV clearly says that “We are an organization that was born from a disaster.” She states that there were some women laboring voluntarily in the Civil Coordination after the earthquake and they had feminist viewpoints. With reference to their world view, those women recognized in the field that the female victims of earthquake had some special needs as different from that of men even in the processes of search and rescue and rehabilitation after disaster. Men could come together in the coffeehouses but women had to wait in a queue at the back of a truck for provisions because men didn't do this. Women could be subjected to violence of her husband since she went out of the tent and men saw her there. In short, the roles of women became heavy when they had to go out of the house to the public space.

Similarly, the interviewee of CİSST states that in this event, he labored voluntarily in the region of the disaster in the name of Civil Coordination as well and he noticed

that in such kind of crises some people who cannot express themselves, especially poor people, children and women, devoid of their rights. In these processes he recognized that this was a natural disaster but there is also a cultural disaster created by human beings, that is, artifactual events, especially in the east of the Turkey because there are also people whose houses were devastated and who have to live and get education in the tents. This is a kind of milestone for the interviewee to start to look at the lives which are experienced as disasters but which continue as a committed reality. Thereupon he took part in the initiatives to organize and execute some activities in the east of Turkey including panels and conferences. The idea and practice of studies on prisons in Turkey developed in these intellectual and practical activities.

Another example for the issue of relation between the necessities, crises and the emergence of minor political formations can be found in the period of the protests of Afghan refugees in front of the building of United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Ankara in order to be recognized as refugees. This event is also critical to make people think on “what to do” and to constitute the ideas of the minor political formations. In this protest, approximately 150 refugee people were staying there in tents for days. According to the interviewee of ÇÇ, it was a real resistance critical in the history of Ankara. The young people of ÇÇ state that they made their first action there; they made soup and distribute it to the refugees. Of course they had the idea of this activism in their mind and heart, but it was big and impressive protest of the refugees to stimulate them to take the action. So, I think this is a good example to show the interaction between such critical events and the emergence of minor political activisms.

Similarly, the interviewee of GDAA states that their starting point was an intention to come together and support these Afghan refugees when they were realizing their demonstration in the summer of 2014. She states that these refugee people had organized by themselves and they had been there for weeks, they live in tents and they couldn't take a shower, it was raining everyday and the police devastated their tents, etc. After having recognized these poor conditions, the interviewee of GDAA states that, they came together with an intention to organize solidarity with the

refugees. They call people in Ankara to a meeting to discuss the issue in Atopya, which is an occupied house after the Gezi Movement. While they started to organize, the Afghan migrants ended their demonstration but the people of GDAA continued their endeavors to create a network for solidarity with migrants. The interviewee states that there was already a network for solidarity with migrants acting in Istanbul for years and they initiated a similar network and activism in Ankara. Their future projection is to proliferate such networks to different places of the country.

3.2.4.7 Minor political formations are horizontally organized

Voluntariness is the basis of the minor politics which provides a suitable affective and functional ground for equality; everyone is there acting voluntarily and no one feels the need of vertical or hierarchical relations, on the contrary such a hierarchy is something undesirable. Voluntariness and such equality prepare people to organize horizontally. As the interviewee of PAB states, their formation is based on voluntariness and this is why everyone has a say in the organizations of the activities.

In fact, voluntariness creates or prepares a level of equality among the people and in the minor political formations. I can say that there is no such concept and practice of leadership, hierarchy of professionals, positions or status. Rather there is strong collectivity, solidarity and so equality. In YD, for example, the interviewee says “there are different projects and each project has its own volunteers. Everyone organizes themselves. No one can call the others to account, everyone is independent in this umbrella. A group of volunteers can disperse in time as well, no problem.” Similarly in HKD, there are different groups of volunteers which are acting autonomously but in connection and solidarity with other groups. For example, there are the groups of sanitarians, pharmacists and translators or a group for social and cultural activities, another group for women and children. The interviewee says that “These groups are autonomous to come together and do activities and develop their own organizations.” In these examples too, we can see that there is no one unique person or committee at the top, making decisions or organizing some others. People are already voluntary there in their activisms and formations to act for the sake of themselves; there is already a certain level of equality in which people act immanently, in coherence with general immanence principle of the minor politics.

Meanwhile, this principle of horizontality will also connect us to the locality, decentralization, self-organization and self-empowerment as the other sources and appearances of the immanence of the minor politics.

With reference to my field research, I can say that there are different indicators of equality and horizontality in different forms and appearances. The first one of them is the fact that there is no hierarchy in the minor political formations, neither inside among the people nor between their different bodies. Related with this horizontal characteristic of the minor politics, I can start with the example of the case of IF. In this formation, there is no certain body or decision making mechanism that determines the processes and the running. The Neighborhood Atelier is open for the usage of everyone to make workshops or seminars, may be on curative plants, may be on 3D printers, etc. So there is a mechanism which is encouraging people to “do it yourself” again. Similarly, the interviewee of GDAA obviously says that “We don’t have legal personality and we don’t want. It is not an association or an organization but a state of organizing. None of us wanted to involve in an institutionalized structure. Thus, we consciously and purposely chose to be a network; we are not a network because of a failure to be nothing else. For we came from organizations that are horizontally organized and we also valued being horizontally organized in this network.” In such form and way of organizing, that is, in networking, people can involve into activism in accordance with their times, energies and willing; they can contribute from outside to the activism again in accordance with their capabilities and capacities. The interviewee of GDAA states that there is a core team with 10 people laboring so much but there are also people who can give a back to these 10 people in a specific issue. As a network and horizontally organized formation, they don’t have strict rules; they have just the minimal common political denominators and responsibilities such as being not sexist or racist. She says that “We are people who have concerns, who don’t reduce the issue of migration to the issue of charity and who consider the migrants as political subjects as well. We are here because we recognized that there are lots of people who don’t like hierarchical organizations and thus we noticed that we need a collective power and solidarity to change this.” Actually the logic of networking is already based on bringing the powers, potentialities of the people together; being able to do something without money.

According to them, they show that they can do something by organizing in the model of networking.

The second indicator and expression of the horizontality is that there is no hierarchy between the members of the formations and the volunteers who just want to contribute to the activism continued there collectively. There is such a common fact that in these legal formations like associations, people who are not members of the association can come and attend in any kind of meetings. That is to say, no one has to be an official member of the association in order to have a voice in, let's say, deliberation of the general or specific issues. This means that these kinds of associations are the foundations for the people as inhabitants of that local place to come together, act and produce collectively and struggle against the attempts of the major politics. For example, the interviewee of HKD obviously says that "We are under the umbrella of a legal association but most of the active people are not members of this association. As a matter of fact, this is not important for anyone." I can give another example from HKD in this context. The interviewee clearly says "There is no difference between being a member of the board and being someone participating for the first time. Thus, it has no meaning whether you are a member of the board or not. Anyone can chair the meeting." Not surprisingly, the interviewee states that they noticed an increase in the number of people when people recognized that there is no hierarchy among the people of this formation. They also recognized that there are lots of people who came for the first time for any reason and never left since they were affected by nonhierarchical and egalitarian organization and the friendly language. I think we can also say that in the minor political formations the ways of meeting and discussing certain issues are also significant to understand how they can organize horizontally and sustain the immanence of their activism. For example, the interviewee of TODAP states that they come together each week for 8 years in the meetings that are like an assembly and open to participation of everyone. There is a board because they are legal associations but the board functions just to fulfill the legal procedures. In that sense, there is no hierarchy in general practice. The interviewee of TODAP states that they envision this legally necessary hierarchy and try to flatten it. Similarly, the interviewee of TO states that their organization is horizontal as much as possible and the works are based on offers rather than

directives. They do not impose their views to the others, rather they sustain the persuading processes and they also wait for the consensus among themselves.

The third example and appearance of the horizontality is that there is no hierarchy between the formation, association or the group itself and the individuals who constitute them. I mean that the people as individuals are not surpassed over the identity, doctrine, ideology, etc. of the formations. In this context, again the sensitivity of the people of HKD is very good example since the interviewee says that “We never introduced ourselves as an association, we never wore the clothes of HKD, we never tried to leave brochures to present the association. People do not know us as association. In short, we didn’t put the association over the labor of the volunteers. We think that any institution can never put its name or identity over the acting for life. Even we don’t have rules or principles that cannot be changed. The newcomer people can change them if they have the better ones.” Similarly, an interviewee of KD, who is not the member of the association but just a volunteer of the activism in there, states that “I am not the member of the association, but just a citizen living here and spreading an effort for Kuzguncuk. This gives me a level of freedom. Moreover, by virtue of this, I can see what I do as the part of my thought. If the action is institutionalized, the individuals become the defects and troubles of this institution. In fact, these institutions should be the instruments to facilitate some affairs. However, in Turkey, one of the biggest problem, that is the political crisis, is that our instruments become our fetters and prevents us from moving.”

As we can see in these examples, some of the minor political formations are legal organizations like foundations or associations. This is why they have a board and a head for this legality. However this is only on paper. So, it does not mean that there are hierarchical forms of organization even if they are legally foundations or associations. Well, why do they prefer this legality and this necessary hierarchy even on the paper? Actually there are different reasons to explain this and I believe this is an important point to bring into focus the discussions regarding the civil society and the minor politics. If I talk with reference to my field research, the first reason of preferring legality is that the people of the minor politics think it will be good to create a sheltered area and a functional tool to act within the field. This means that people of the minor politics do not feel themselves secure or comfortable because

when they want to act as just an autonomous collectivity, they can face with so many obstacles from the institutions or the people around them. For example, the interviewee of YD states about being an association that “This is an umbrella organization where we can do what we want to do. I wish Turkey was a more democratic country and we did not need such an umbrella and we could act as a collectivity. But this legality liberates us from some problems in many areas.”

In that sense, we can say that the people of the minor politics accept the legality as a tool to facilitate some affairs in certain cases. The common and similar reasons are there in the background of the decisions to be a “legal” formation. To note one of these reasons, I can firstly say that being a legal association provides being legal entity if it is required for, for instance, some official correspondences. The legal association is just functional to reach the aims. The interviewee of VGD says that “We have never wished to organize within association because the essential is the volunteers, their will and action. Still this does not mean that we violated any law. Quite the contrary, we force the authorities to observe and obey the rules and laws. We do not execute the works and activities with the identity of association.” For they are aware of the troubles that may potentially exist in the process of institutionalization, that is, becoming a legal formation registered and notarized by the state. For example, the people of the VGD, before they become an association, discuss the idea of founding a legal association. As the interviewee stated, some people claimed that this meant integration to the system or relations of subjugation among people. Actually, the people of the minor politics know and believe that such institutionalization and integration to the system of major politics will create the conditions of subjugation and this will be the end of being “minor political”. This is why the remarks of being horizontally organized can also be seen in the fact that there are in general no groups or bodies of decision makers. The interviewee of YD reminds from Ivan Illich that the institutions kill the hearts and when heart dies, the creativity also dies. This is the reason behind the aging, corruption and dissolution of them. So, it is necessary to produce dynamism and any kind of dynamism requires self-criticism. But more importantly, he says, “we need joy and joyful activism and togetherness.”

Thus I can definitely say that creating networks in horizontal level is very important for the sake of minor political formations. Very interestingly, the interviewee of YD mentions about the Guattari and his “Three Ecologies” while he is telling the importance of networking without creating any secretariat, but rather a network where the minor formations are connected with each other principally, not administratively and methodologically. Actually this is the key understanding for minor political formations to be collective or in collaboration with others and also be independent, minor and autonomous at the same time. The interviewee of YD says that “we have connections with minor collectivities, foundations, associations which adopt such an approach.”

An important remark to say that the minor political formations are not based on hierarchy is that the people of the minor politics do not tend to dominate the formation or any relation of subjugation. Even if they are the founders of the formation and they act as leaders as a while, they tend to transfer their authority to the others. This means that they wish the formation be impersonal, all the formation be not locked in one or more specific people; they wish that the formation and the activism will continue even if they leave there. In this regard, the interviewee of ÖL states that they recognize the importance to create the fields that will not depend on certain people. It is relevant for the ÖL as well. He states that none of the people who initiated the formation is there anymore, but the formation continues. It is not so difficult. Thus, no need to appropriate. On the contrary, it is more important to make this field something that no one can appropriate. This cultural field should go on by itself and the people who come and join to it can do when they want to do something new. Similarly, the interviewee of PAB says that “People regard me as the leader but I do not want such kind of thing. On the contrary, I prefer that this activity is adopted and becomes a self-managing formation. That is, it can be sustained even if I am not here.” Actually, this appears as a common problem lived in most of the minor political formations. However, they are aware of this fact and they question the reasons and try to prevent such a personalization. For example, the interviewee of PAB says that “In general, people desire that someone organize something and they just attend or support to it. In other words, they desire there is one leader and he saves all of them. I am against such an understanding. I think that the good things

exist only when everyone does something. This is why we encourage different people to be the leader of the bike tour of the week.”

Another important remark showing the sensitivity of the people of the minor political formations to the equality, horizontality and autonomy is that they do not want to get bigger and bigger with other branches or bodies, then institutionalization and then centralization as well. On the contrary, their emphasis is on decentralization, self-organization and self-empowerment in localities as independent, local, autonomous formations and activisms. In this respect, for example, the interviewee of VGD links up the voluntariness, horizontality and locality as well. He states that they define themselves as inhabitants of the neighborhood (*mahalleli*). I think he emphasized on this fact in order to distinguish the immanent characteristic of their activism because being inhabitants of this neighborhood means that they are not, in his own words, “people coming from outside and working professionally for the sake of here.” He underlines that they are acting in solidarity of the people of some neighborhoods since they define their formation as a local initiative. Again, the interviewee of YÇD states that each program of HREP is realized in localities by a facilitator and it takes for 4 months with participation of the women of that locality. The program aims to increase the level of legal right consciousness of women and inform them about their legal constitutional, civil rights, the rights in the Turkish Criminal Law, etc., to empower and enhance their ability to communicate and found relations with their lovers, husbands, neighbor, etc., to inform them about sexuality, fertility rights and also politics. She says that “We try to empower the women by raising their awareness of rights so that they can act as political subjects in the local and they can participate in politics in national or international level.” As another example, the interviewee of MZ states that they were dreaming self-organization places where people can empower, organize and politicize themselves. In these times, according to her, Gezi Movement existed as the crystalized form of that kind of political construction, where people organize themselves concerning anything including eating, health, etc. She says that “the aim should be to organize ourselves autonomously and collectively with solidarity networks as did the Kurdish political movement succeed. An organized society does not mean directly membership to labor unions. It rather means a society that has ability to organize itself; a kind of

self-organization, self-government in gardens, in the school, in the neighborhood, in any kind of locality.” One practical example is from ÖDA. This formation is not the unique formation related with free cycling in Turkey; there are other similar formations in Eskisehir, Izmir or Istanbul. Very importantly, he mentions about that these other formations could not be successful as much as ÖDA and he relates the failure with their indifference to the needs and conditions of their own localities. He clearly says that “the reason of this failure is the persons at the coalface. ... If they cannot manage the group, if they cannot understand the common sense of their own cities and adapt it to there and if they cannot find right solutions to the problems and update them, they cannot be successful.” I think these statements show how much he value the issue of locality for the success of the minor political activism as well.

Similarly, the interviewee of PAB states that in more than forty provinces and counties there is the same practice of PAB. In the same context, we can also note that the cases of minor political formations in one field can affect other people in other places and they may initiate similar actions in their own localities. The culture of the locality is also effective in emergence and then maintenance of the minor political activisms and formations. The people of the minor politics are aware of such a fact. The interviewee of PAB mentions about the culture of Izmir as suitable to the meaning and practice of biking. He says that “The people of Izmir are more civilized than that of Ankara and it is also more conscious city in terms of politics.”

Regarding decentralization, we can look at the case of PEP. The interviewee from it emphasizes on the importance of being organized particularly in each sector and working place, rather than a major and central labor union. He says that “It is important to organize in working places. We are not labor union and neither alternative to it. We are not a bridge between workers and the union to carry them to there. The PEP has a special place and function: To develop the peculiar politics of the white-collars in both theory and practice.” In that sense, they think that it is vital for the white-collars to organize in their own corporations so that this politics can correspond in practice. As another example, the interviewee of İF says that “One of our aims is to set a good example. In that sense, we want to show what and how we did so that different people in different places can come together and do these things themselves.” That is to say, they want to open the way of self-organizing and self-

doing in fact. Similarly, the interviewee of AJ says that “Those who try to facilitate the process of jam are not leaders or lecturers; rather they are volunteers to open fields to the stories. If there are such initiatives of these people, it would be good to generate Izmir Jam, Ankara Jam, East Jam, Cappadocia Jam, etc. In short, it would be nice that with the increase of the facilitators there will be much more minor organizations in different regions in localities.” Another specific example of being nonhierarchical or horizontal organization is that the people in minor political formations are organizing an activity or a project in their specific context by coming together with those of the same mind and they start initiation. For example, the interviewee of AYÇ says that “here everyone organizes something by themselves.” Such openness is really important from the view of political, living an active existence and also preparing the base of creative and transformative existence as well. This is politics by virtue of internal motivation, which sounds again an instant connection with the immanent characteristics of the minor politics. Almost none of the minor political formation is institutional or corporal; they are just organizations. As the interviewee of AYÇ says, “We are not an institutional structure, we are just an organization.” Of course, the people of the minor politics discuss the types of organizations in terms of its ways, methods and aims. Some of the interviewees stated that they wonder about the results of my study because they think that the knowledge produced in this study by collecting data from various minor political formations will be useful and practical for them into their activism.

In the same context, the interviewee of BBOM states that they prefer to organize with cooperatives rather than another form because they want horizontally organized formation instead of any hierarchical relations. According to her, they insisted on being organized as cooperatives because it was certain that they never want to have a centralized structure as well. More importantly and not surprisingly, they take care that the local formations should be organized according to their own conditions so that they can preserve their color and thus the children can find their own color as well. The model of BBOM in the form of cooperation is just a framework and it also defines how this model will be spread out through the people of different localities. There are three main components of BBOM; the association as an umbrella organization, the cooperatives as local initiatives that are legally attached to the

association by a protocol and the schools as main subject of this educational or academic system. They all decided together in certain issues such as that the schools are independent in academic terms to preserve the fields of the children and the teachers; that the cooperatives are responsible for the administrative and financial issues; that the association provides support to the schools, checks the application of the model and contributes to the proliferation of the system in the local. More importantly, the people of BBOM are decisive in that they will not be the real subjects of founding new schools in the local; rather they guide and contribute to the people who come together to initiate such a new project. The interviewee says that “I think this is very important. We preferred such a way very consciously because we know very well that otherwise a kind of centralized structure will detract us from all our constructed values.” In this context of horizontality and democracy, there is another important point to be mentioned in the case of BBOM. In their schools, the children start the day with the *circle* of morning, they talk about and design their own processes. They choose the workshops to support their learning. For example, there may be workshop on repairing a bicycle with a bicycle repairer or there may be workshop on carpentry and the children can build a coop for the chickens of the school. Similarly, the teachers can also initiate their own workshops according to the needs and potentials of the children. The children clean their classes. The day finishes with a *circle* of evening to evaluate the whole day collectively. Lastly there happens assembly of school once in a week to talk about anything related with the life in the school. Regarding the affects experienced and produced in all the processes and activities of BBOM, the interviewee mentions about autonomy and I think such a relation is not empty because with her own words, “Autonomy means that we are doing something despite of the bad course of events of the country. We seed even if we will not see the results. We think that we contribute to the life and this is what keeps us up. This is something very positive. After each of carnages I sink to the bottom but then recover by grasping that the thing to do is to continue to labor for the best in BBOM. In that sense, it has remedial effect.”

As I said, the minor political formations are generally organized horizontally. In my field research, there is no even one exception for this. On the contrary, the people of the minor formations are somehow proud of this characteristic of their form of

organization. For example, in our interview, the first sentence of the interviewee from YD was that “the primary feature of YD is its being horizontal organization. No head, no board.”

I think it is also important to search and discuss the reasons behind underestimation of the minor. Interestingly the people of the minor politics know that the political intellect is working with the macro event, molar indicators and major history. For example, the interviewee from YD remarks that we have macro-oriented eyes and minds. In such a society whose education, culture and politics is based on macro-oriented thinking, any kind of minor attempt is naturally underestimated; people do not value the minor politics. In that sense, the rational attempt will aim just to create communities, but not to change the whole society. The members of these communities change themselves and their way of life from what they eat to wear, from what they use to transport to how they do take holiday. These communities are minor, that is, not serving to major politics. It is also important that the minor political formations do not assert to be a model for all localities or societies. This means that they concern to be autonomous. The similar case can also be seen in the stories of PAB. They also start to get bigger and bigger not in centralized patterns but autonomously. The interviewee states that some people wanted to organize the same activity in their locality after a while, thus there existed Eryaman PAB, Çayyolu PAB, Keçiören PAB etc. He says that “This was beautiful because it was beautiful to get bigger in different places rather than in one point only. Even there emerged similar bicycle collectivities with different name in different places and this was also good.” Before finishing this topic, I would like to note that the minor politics has a dimension that is not territorialized. I cannot say this for all the minor political formations but some of them are against being located in a certain place. In other words, some of them have no specific place.

In this regard, I think it is also important to see the link between self-organization and self-empowerment. It seems to me obvious that the minor political formations can at the same time be considered as places for people to empower themselves. This self-empowerment does have to be against someone or something; there are lots of examples in my field research. However, in the case of women movement, we have

to see that such empowerment is against male-dominant power. According to the interviewee of KADAV, the women in this formation and activists organize workshops to raise the level of consciousness on the discrimination and violence, rights, reproductive health and professional trainings on machine and design so that women can gain self-confidence to learn, work and develop their own lives on the basis of their own capabilities and capacities. They also try to manage a mechanism to give different supports to those women as victims of violence because women, especially Syrian migrants, do not know the legal ways to protect themselves and they are not aware of that this is related with struggle against the gender inequality too. Similarly, the interviewee of another formation acting in women movement, YÇD, states that with all campaigns and advocacies together with other woman organizations, their main aim is to enhance the human rights of women and to support them to be equal individuals in the society and to make politics. Another example can be found in the labor movement I think. Basically, PEP is not a classical occupational association, it is an organization for self-empowerment and it aims social solidarity. The people of this formation try to form a community to empower themselves against the wearisome and latent oppression of the working life in different sectors. For example, they try to give legal support to those who are discharged individually or after collective redundancy.

Another important issue in the context of the relation between horizontality, decentralization, locality and autonomy is that the minor political formations reproduce their similar formations even if they are minor themselves or they inspire or effect some other people in other places to initiate similar minor formations and activisms. This looks like infinite smallness. At first hand, I can say that there are lots of examples for this issue in my field research, but I will mention some of the important one. One of them is AJ. As I mentioned earlier, it is a country-wide formation, that is, it is not specific to one locality, and it aims to generate a nationwide network by way of community building. But some of the volunteers of AJ come together in Ankara and they initiated a new, local and maybe more minor political formation, which is AYÇ. Their aim is to try to continue the practices of sustainable life, to experience the nature in the city, to internalize nonviolent communication or the activities, the mind and ways of communication of AJ in their daily life. Thus I

can say that AYÇ rose from the AJ. Similarly, the interviewee from AJ points the issue from a different perspective; she states that one of their friends applies the communication instruments of AJ in a school in Diyarbakır, while another one initiated a cooperative in Şirince, İzmir to preserve both the historical and modern values of the Şirince and to support local production. As another example I should note, the interviewee from OC states that as a consequence of a forum on food sovereignty, they formed DÜRTÜK in order to link the producers directly with consumers. Similarly, we learn from the interviewee from PAB that this activism of biking was originally started in İzmir. He states that some friends started to come together to bike in front of ferry port of Göztepe at 8.00 pm in Thursdays of the week. They repeated it each week for quite a while. In time, some people saw them and were affected, then they started to join these friends. Thus the PAB started in İzmir in 2007 and its idea and practice came to Ankara in 2012. At this point, we should also remember that there existed Eryaman PAB, Çayyolu PAB, Keçiören PAB etc. in Ankara as well. As another example, there emerged a food community and neighborhood atelier from the Initiation; they are prefigurative minor formations acting in different fields of life and serving for different needs and wishes of the people. As last example, the interviewee from VGD states that some people who voluntarily labored for the signature campaign for the protection of Gezi Park come together and found Taksim Gezi Parkı Koruma ve Güzelleştirme Derneği (Association of Protection and Beatification of Taksim Gezi Park).

To emphasize on the commonality and effectiveness of the culture of equality in the minor politics I tried to underlie the culture and practices of horizontality, decentralization, self-organization, self-empowerment and locality. All these points are related with the “minor” characteristics of the formations and activisms in field research. Nonetheless, I can see that there is the risk that one can also think, in regards of these points, that the minor politics are self-enclosed or introverted in the sense of their locality, decentralization, production of similar formations, etc. or that the minor political formations are particular and cannot be universal or general.

The characteristics of horizontality, decentralization and self-organization enable the minor political formations to be outward oriented. Hence, the minor politics is

extraverted and the minor political formations and activism have some certain relations and links to the universal world in a certain way. In regard to the interviews, one may say that not all of the ideas and practices of the minor political formations in Turkey are native or local, that is, peculiar to them. On the contrary, it can be claimed that there is an interaction with the minor politics and minor political formations in other countries and in Turkey. Maybe it is also possible to mention about the effect of the previous minor political practices and experiences in the world on the consciousness of the minor politics in Turkey. For example, the interviewee from ÖDA states that the practice of free-cycling is a worldwide organization. They are already aware that there are some similar practices in other countries. There are many examples in my field research again and depending on them I can say that the minor politics is and can be universal, even if it has no such imperative.

For example, 350A is a part of global 350 Movement calling attention to the global warming and environmental problems. They take care of the proliferation of bicycle as a means of transport. They prepare objections to Environmental Impact Assessment Reports related with thermal power plants. They watch public policies and prepare fact sheets about them. They try to raise awareness of global warming and environmental issues. They try to find and show the molecular relations between all kinds of environmental problems from macro to micro level.

Similarly, regarding the initiation of their formation, the interviewee from AJ mentions about an international organization, namely “Yes World”. The people in this organization support to adopt a language of “yes”, rather than “no”, such as no to consumption, no to drug, no to smoke, etc. They argue that people need those they can say “yes”. In that sense, the initiator people think about who are those people who can say “yes” in the society, in other words, what kind of society should there be in which they can say “yes”. At this point, they recognized that everyone needs communities and they design the processes and instruments of community building and communication and they start to apply in different fields and different regions of the world with the name of Northern America Jam, Middle East or Education Jam or Art Jam, etc.

Another example is that one of the founders of ÇÇ in Ankara saw and experienced the same practices in Germany. When she came back to Turkey, she mentioned about the action to her friends and they share the goodness of the idea, then they initiate the similar formation in Ankara. It could be said that the minor political formations are based on a kind of imitation. But of course, the effect of the previous minor political experiences in other countries is not the unique reason of the development of the minor politics in Turkey. In the case of ÇÇ, the interviewee states also that they as friends used to organize “Beefless Mondays” in their university under the umbrella of Environment and Ecology Club.

The interviewee from PAB expressed his personal affection from the culture of biking in western countries. He states that the western countries are so progressed in terms of awareness of the importance of supporting the culture of biking instead of motor vehicles to ease transportation and also provide more healthy life. In regard to this progressiveness, he thinks about the realities of Turkey in comparison to the western countries. He argues that the proliferation of culture of biking will gain favor for the total budget of the country since such a culture will make people much healthy and it will decrease the budget spent for health.”

TTM was started as a European Union project at the very beginning. The project finished, but the mission of the activism did not. This is why the people of the Center wanted to continue to act and at this point, they preferred to be a legal association to sustain the Center formally.

The initiator of TO gains inspiration from his internship in BBC in London to start up such kind of journalism in Turkey. He says that “I experienced a different dimension of the journalism, that is, new media and its technological tools. I came back to Turkey with very different viewpoint and with a mind of BBC journalism. I want to make journalism, rather than something else.” Meanwhile, they are also member of the International Fact-Checking Organization and they work together within the verification activities organized by some global fact-checking organizations. The interviewee from TO also states that 20 fact-checking organizations can send a letter to Zuckerberg to assert that the closed algorithms of Facebook constrain people into echo-chambers and to ask that they should open the

algorithms so that people can encounter with different people and hear the voice of the others.

The interviewee from GDAA states that the activists from all over Europe came together in Greece within lots of activities and under the name of *No Border* and some activist groups from Turkey acting in horizontally organized formations also went there. People come together here to produce networks and empower the existing ones. Moreover, they define a route in the Balkans for migration; they voluntarily open their houses to the migrants who were passing through this route. The interviewee says that “They function just like inns on the route of migration.”

Regarding the women’s movement, the interviewee from KADAV states that they are in contact with international platforms and formations like UN Delegation. They can participate in the meetings, discussion groups, round tables in order to develop themselves in the field and also to contribute to this international activism. In the same context, YÇD, another formation acting in the field of women movement, is another example. The interviewee from this formation mentions about the international developments in the women movement of different geographies and their effects and concurrent developments in Turkey, especially in 1990s. She states that in 1993 there was a conference in Vienna with a name of World Conference on Human Rights and the name of their association, that is, Women for Women’s Human Rights – New Ways was inspired by the affirmation of women’s rights as human rights. In that conference, the basic claim of the women around the globe was that the women are human and they have rights. She also mentions about the effective politics of CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) to guarantee the human rights of women. She also states that the initiators of their association share these international claims and they took the action to support and empower the positions of the women in the society. They work in this field in collaboration with international institutions and agencies like United Nations or CEDAW; they have great role to enhance the human rights of women and integrate them to global struggle.

Similarly, LAMBDA is member of international foundations as global forms of activism or they are in contact with global networks in official or unofficial means

and ways. For example, the interviewee from Lambda states that they are in contact with International LBGTI Association which brings together the local LGBTI formations from different countries. Moreover, the interviewee from LAMBDA tells the foundation processes of the LAMBDA in reference to the Pride Parade in 1993 in Istanbul. He states that the Pride Parade was initiated in 1969 in New York and the LGBTI individuals in Turkey tried to realize it in Istanbul in 1993 but the Governorship did not allow the march and lots of people including the parliamentarians coming from Europe were arrested and the foreigners were deported. The interviewee states that the LGBTI individuals come together and initiated their foundation upon these events. They develop the solidarity to bring together the LGBTI individuals under the foundations of LAMBDA in Istanbul and KAOS GL in Ankara. They define the mission as to come together, help people to gain their identity consciousness, know each other and empower themselves in their activism.

Lastly, the interviewee from HK states that their way of activism is called “information activism” and it is a field of action that develops recently. In this regard, she says that “The experience of human mind is so universal and it makes me so happy to know that there are other people in the world who think the same things with me at the same time. It is a kind of sign showing us that we do right things.”

3.3 Conclusion

Up to here in this chapter I tried to draw a general picture of the minor politics in practice, especially in Turkey. I believe I showed the main pillars and dynamics of the minor political formations and activisms. I collected data and derived important knowledge on main practical features of the minor politics in four main subtitles.

Firstly, we saw that people of minor political formations and activisms are aware that there is the hegemony of the major politics, that their way of making politics is quite new, original and different, it is a kind of *line of flight* from this hegemony; that they have a well-established consciousness on the difference between minor and major politics. Secondly, the minor political formations and activisms are highly based on prefiguration. In fact, the prefigurative characteristic of minor politics inherently includes and starts with some important criticisms. For example, people of minor

politics are critical to representative thinking and acting in politics and they don't want to be included in a politics that is founded in lines of reaction and conflict. We see that, in coherence with theoretical assumptions in the second chapter, they are critical to the hegemony of the major politics. However, they don't appear and express themselves in just being in critical, oppositional and reactive existence; they don't define themselves in a position against the major politics. Rather, they prefer to go beyond and prefigure their ideals and dreams in the given conditions and by virtue of their current potentials here and now. They construct their life or politics in every deeds and fields of their life, in individual or collective manner.

Thirdly, we see that minor political formations are acting in accordance with the principle of the difference and equality. People in these formations and activisms can exist and act without losing their singularities. On the contrary, their singularities are valued as their potentialities for their collective activisms and solidarity. In that sense, it is clear that the minor politics is based on multitude. The appearances and forms of this multitude vary according to its very important and distinguishing functionality to be minor and political in Turkish politics in micro sense. Lastly, I tried to show that one of the most basic characteristic of minor politics, that is immanence, is not only theoretical but also practical in case of almost all minor political formations and activisms. As we saw, there are various dynamics that supports the principle of immanence. Minor political formations take care of practice, rather than norms, discourses or ideologies. People of them are generally in active existence, they act to produce certain practices, possibilities for proper encounters among people and affects to increase the *potentia*. The people of the minor political formations are volunteers for their activisms in various fields of life; this means that they are independent and free from any motivation or obligation coming from any doctrine, moral system, ideology, etc. This also prevents the possibilities of subjugating, representational and hierarchical relations since the voluntariness provides a level of equality in any sense. Similarly, there is no given knowledge or systematic and entire book of instructions and directives that tell them what and how to do; rather, their activisms are based on their own experience, they learn in time and get knowledge in immanent level as well. Very importantly, they neither instrumentalize their activisms nor themselves; they construct, live and

experience them as “end” themselves. So they block the possibility of any alienation. Besides these, minor political formations and activisms are there to address certain necessities of the social and political life. These all gave the reality and functionality of the immanence in minor politics in practice.

As you can see, in this chapter I did not deal with all the features of the minor politics that are hypothesized in the previous chapter but rather I tried to construct the practice of the minor politics in four main subtitles, namely sense of politics, prefiguration, multitude and immanence. However, we should see that these four main categories include all the main features of the minor politics.

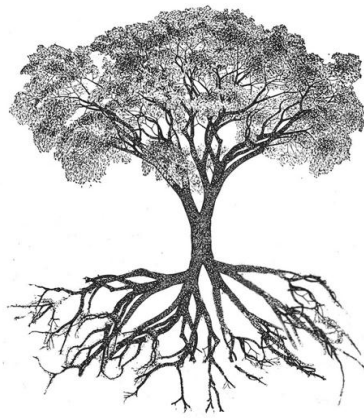
Besides these, I would like to underline that all the main characteristics, features and dynamics of minor political formations and activisms are strongly connected with each other in practice as much as in theory. For example, the fact that everything is political is the starting point to conceive that the political is also possible in prefigurative ways and forms. If minor politics is not representational, then it will lead to and open ways for the politics of becoming. When minor politics is based on multitude, it is possible to form a human togetherness that is based on horizontal organization, concentration of potentials in an affect of solidarity. In short, we can start from any point, it is certain that we can cover all other points. Therefore, it is also possible to form other categories such as becoming or autonomy instead of prefiguration or multitude. That is to say, it is possible to evaluate all the features and dynamics of the minor politics in any main categories.

Before passing to the next chapter, I would like to pay attention to an interesting fact that the relations among the minor political formations and activisms, their growth, their enlargement or solidarity form a rhizome. The concept of *rhizome* belongs to Deleuze and Guattari; they emphasize it especially in their book *A Thousand Plateaus*. Actually, as I said at the beginning of the second chapter, I utilized the theories of Deleuze and Guattari in order to conceptualize and define the main features of the minor politics. However, there is one more feature that I could not prescribe or propose. Now, in reference to the findings of the field research, I can say that such minor political formations and activisms live and experience politics in a rhizomatic form, in an alliance of the multiplicities. As we know from the botanic

science, a rhizome refers to a vast, non-linear, decentralized and underground mass of continuously growing horizontal stems by extending shoots and establishing new connections with other shoots; it describes a non-hierarchical structure to the growth. Deleuze and Guattari says that “A rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle between things, inter being, inter mezzo. The tree is filiation, but the rhizome is alliance, uniquely alliance.” (2005: 25). As contrary to the genealogy of a tree, which I can say, refer to the organizational form specific to major politics, each and any point of the rhizome can be connected to any other; nothing is grounded in unshakable roots. They say, “... any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be. This is very different from the tree or root, which plots a point, fixes an order. ... There are no points or positions in a rhizome, such as those found in a structure, tree, or root. There are only lines.” (2005: 7-8) Very importantly, according to Deleuze and Guattari, once a rhizomatic plant is separated into multiple pieces, each singular piece can give rise to a new plant. They say, “A rhizome as subterranean stem is absolutely different from roots and radicles. Bulbs and tubers are rhizomes. Plants with roots or radicles may be rhizomorphic in other respects altogether” (2005: 6). This means that rhizomes are multiplicities connecting to other multiplicities; collections of fibers connecting to other collections of fibers. Besides these, Deleuze and Guattari underline that if one part of the rhizome root is broken off from the other, it will carry on growing since it will continue to expand from an *acentred* singular point through which it can multiply and form new connections. According to them, “A rhizome may be broken, shattered at a given spot, but it will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines. You can never get rid of ants because they form an animal rhizome that can rebound time and again after most of it has been destroyed.” (2005: 9) These generally refer to the fact that the rhizome is growing, adapting, forming new connections with a variety of different multiplicities. It exists precisely as a result of multiple entrances, multiple contributors, and an innumerable number of contributions.

According to this general description of a rhizome and in reference to all findings about the minor political practice, we can claim that minor political formations and activisms are born, grow, organize or get into various forms as if they were rhizomes. I think when we remember briefly the various forms of interactions among and inside

the minor political formations and activism, when we consider their connections in the form of solidarity in an autonomous and horizontal lines and when we pay regard the importance of multitude of their singularities, such a claim finds its meaning in practice. One minor political formation, by virtue of the friendship developed here, can bring into existence another minor political formations as in the case of AYÇ and AJ or LİSTAG and LAMBDA. Two or more minor political formations or activisms can develop the practice of solidarity in certain issues as in many cases that I presented above. The dynamism in one minor political formations, its *potentia* to prefigure a dream life, can inspire and encourage the existence of another similar or different minor political activisms, as in the case of interaction between SL and ÖL or ÖB and PAB. Some people of one minor political formation can also act in and for another minor political formation. Moreover, the subject area of minor political formation can include more than one or two fields, as do in many cases in our field research. These and other forms of interactions are based on almost all other characteristics of the minor politics such as horizontality, autonomy, non-representation, decentralization, etc. When we consider all of them together, there appears a picture that presents “the interaction” inherent to the world of minor politics in rhizome. I would like to end this chapter by presenting the rhizomatic characteristic of the minor politics in a figure, together with an illustrated picture of a tree and also a simplified representation of a rhizomatic web.



Tree



Rhizome

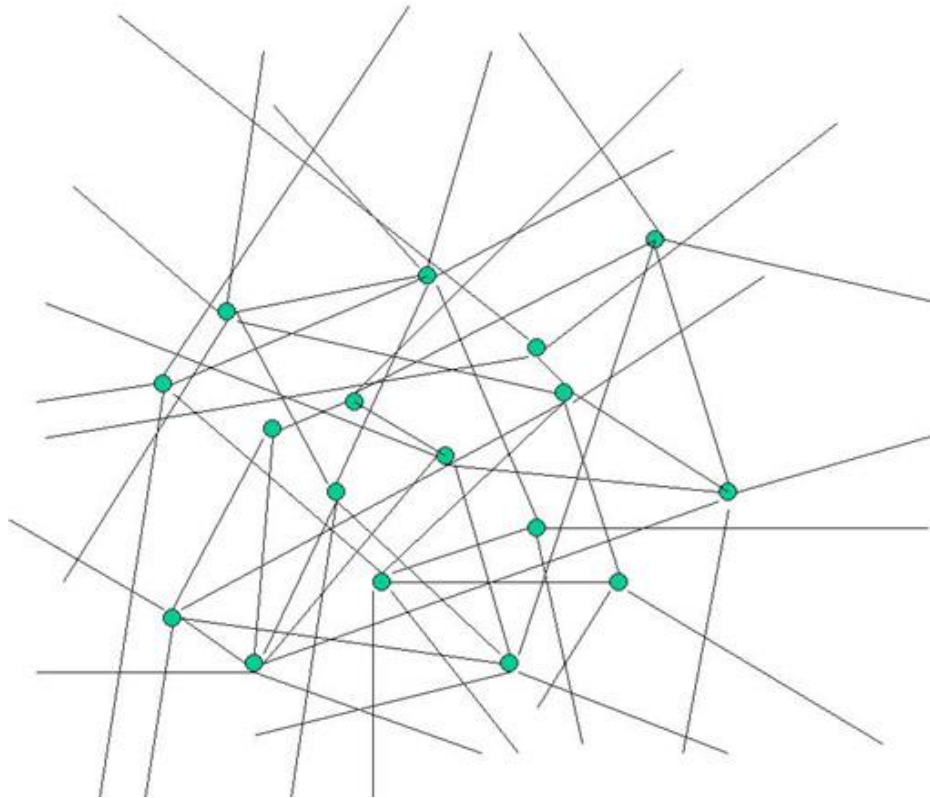


Figure 1. Representation of a tree and rhizomes

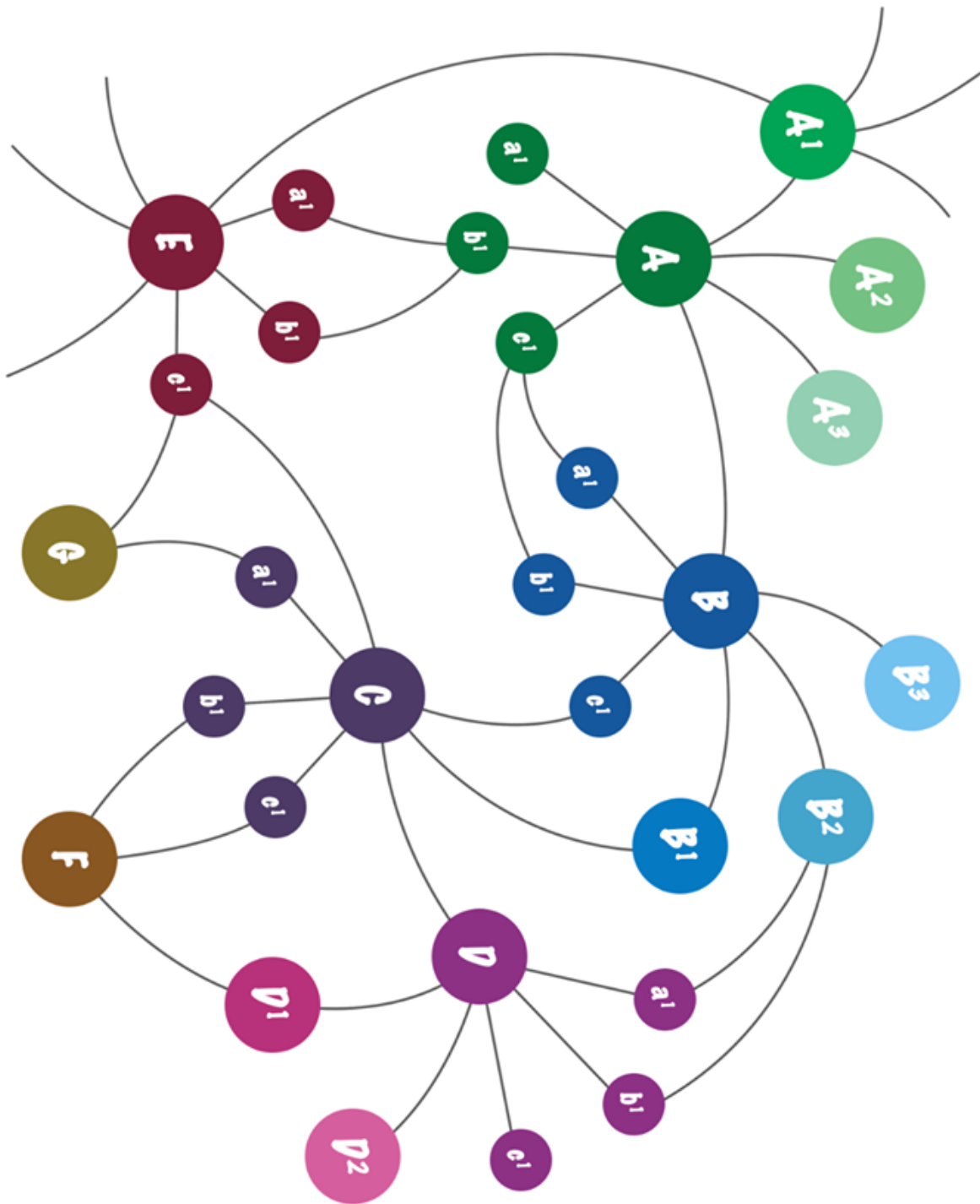


Figure 2. The rhizome of minor politics

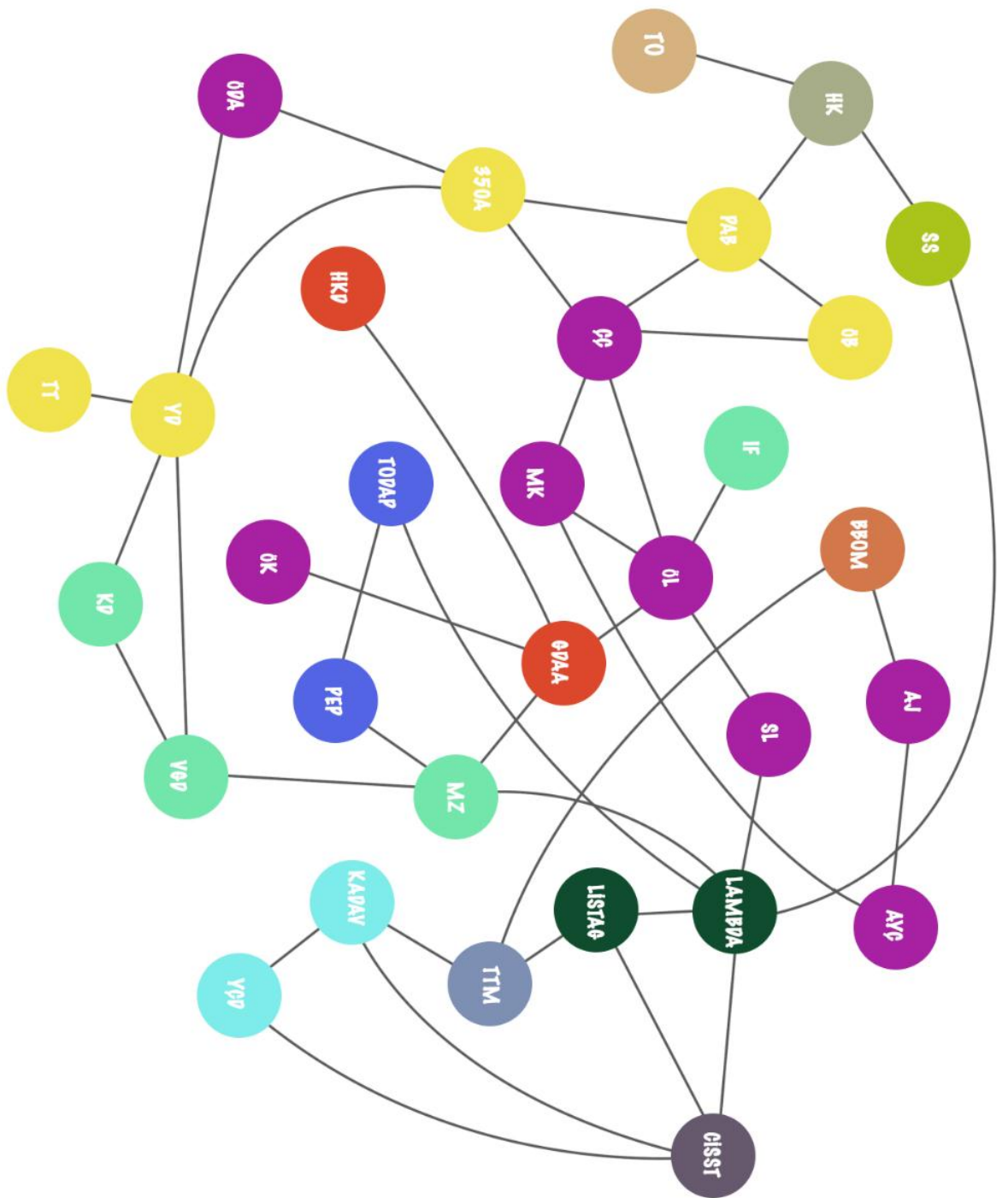


Figure 3. The rhizome of the minor political formations and activists included in the field research

CHAPTER 4

LIMITATIONS OF MINOR POLITICS

In the previous chapter, I introduced and explained the main features of the minor political formations and activisms included in my field research. In this chapter, I will concentrate on the limitations and the shortcomings of the minor politics in practice.

Up to here, and especially in the previous chapter, I tried to show that the minor political activism is prefigurative and in that sense people come together and realize their ideals and dreams in accordance with their conditions, potentialities and wills. That is, they try to put into practice their aspirations in a minor scale, without waiting for the “right time”. However, there are certain limitations and shortcomings in their activisms. In my field research, I directly asked interviewees about the limitations of their activisms; what kinds of problems they live and experience? In what kind of points their form of activism falls short or remains incapable? What are the sources and results of the problems? etc. Besides these direct questions, there are also some certain remarks in the interviews that indicate the limitations and shortcomings of the minor politics in practice. In this chapter, according to the findings of the field research, I will try to explain and evaluate some basic limitations, their reasons and potential or actual results.

According to the findings from my field research, I can say that the limitations and shortcomings of the minor political activisms and formations show themselves in very different forms, practices and affects. They can be organized in two main categories. The first main category can be that the major politics create certain limitations or pressures over the minor political activism. The major politics, with its different conventional and hegemonic norms and practices, produces different

pressures over the minor politics, tries to pull the minor political activisms and their people towards itself. It generally underestimates and undervalues the *potentia* of the minor politics as well. Besides these, there are some tendencies among people of the minor politics towards the mind, norms and practices of the major politics. They may intend to apply the instruments of the major politics, give way to the forms and ways of action specific to the major politics, etc. No one can say that this tendency is general for all minor political formations in my field research, on the contrary it is specific to two or three formations but still it is there and important to be taken into consideration and discussed. In short, I can say that the first limitation of minor politics comes from the outside somehow, from the hegemony of the major politics. Secondly, the minor political activism has its own shortcomings and limitations in itself. The minor political formations have certain problems, incapability and deficiencies that can be seen as common or general in contrast to the sample of this study.

4.1 Major politics as the source of limitations

According to the findings in my field research, maybe needless to depend on them, I can say that the major politics is hegemonic; it dominates over the political culture. As I explained in the second chapter and as I say recurrently, the major politics reduces all politics, its potentials, its different perceptions and practices to some certain representations and representative thinking and acting; it searches for the conflict in general and it appears within major identities constructed in transcendental levels and within metaphysics of uniformity, hierarchy, reactivity, etc. The minor politics, on the other hand, is an attempt of flight from this hegemony of the major politics. More importantly, it does realize such an attempt without existing itself in reaction or opposition to the major politics. However, the major politics with its molar and macro existence may lead to some limitations and pressures over the minor political formations, their activisms and wills to act. There are different forms and appearances of this limitation as will be discussed in the following subsections.

4.1.1 General conditions of the social

Let's start with taking the major politics in its broad sense since its effects generally imply the majority of politics and social life. Meanwhile, I have to note that the period when I did my field research was the period of bomb attacks, military operations, coup attempt, state of emergency, etc. in Turkey. It was a period that the major politics made its presence and pressure felt very dramatically in this country and also over the minor political formations and activism in general. Many associations or formations were closed down; some initiations, activism and practices of social opposition were banned, etc. It is obvious that in the memories and presences of the people of the minor politics, the effect, the power and the hegemony of the major politics or the major state of politics were certainly at the center. These are registers of the effects of major politics in thoughts and affects over minor political activism.

In other words, people in this society are already subjected to various sanctions of the major politics; they are both addressees and victims of the major events happening in the society. Social conflicts, attacks, slaughters, etc. make the people feel bad, weak and desperate. This is also valid for the people of the minor politics since they are also the part of this society. They live inside the major politics, and regarding the molarity of the evil of the major politics, they may feel the affects of fear, despair and vulnerability. However, in the same society, they experience different life practices and activism in their minor political processes, they think that they are doing good things, and this is why they feel good, powerful and happy. In that sense, they live a kind of tide between despair and happiness. Therefore, regarding the limitations, I think we should start with the negative affects that the major politics and its molar badness create over the people including those of the minor politics and many negative effects of these affects on the activism of minor political formations.

There is no doubt that the people of the minor political formations are aware of these effects of the major politics. For example, the interviewee of HK says that "We are in

a too deep despair because of the political atmosphere of today.” Similarly, the interviewee of 350A says, “We feel depression in this society and depression trivializes you.” He also states that people in the park forums in Istanbul are very desperate in this era of the state of emergency and they have difficulties to do something good. The interviewee of LAMBDA states that in recent years their motivation decreased, they live a kind of decline and there are very few volunteers. According to him, such a fall is related with the general conditions of the country. He says that “I think the general state of oppression, the abolition of the associations, statutory decrees, etc. did crush all of us.” In recent months, they feel tiredness and depression because of the agenda of the country; they think that they are spitting into the wind and have the feeling that nothing will change. He also says that “We look at each statutory decree to see our formation in the list. In that sense, it is possible to mention about a kind of anxiety dominating us.” Similarly, the interviewee of GDAA mentions that there are few people in their meetings in this period in comparison to the past; people in this activism have been demoralized and working with a lower energy since last summer as people lived very hard times since then, even to sustain living, to believe in goodness and happiness. Especially after 15th July and a fascist attack to the neighborhood of the migrants, they couldn’t go regularly there. She also says that “Sometimes we can get the feeling that we have no effects in macro politics. It seems that we cannot do anything against a new regulation by the state.” The interviewee of TTM notes another effect of the country’s agenda on their activism. She states that the children coming to the Center are mostly from war zone, that is, they personally or their member of family or relatives were subjected to the evil of combat in their past. So they have traumas. This is why, she says, “we observe the effects of the daily politics on the kids or parents, it also reflects in our studies.” In the same context, the interviewee of LİSTAG talks about the increased oppression of the police over the LGTBI individuals especially after 15th July in the era of state of emergency. She states that the law enforcements become more peevish; they increased their oppression over the LGTBI individuals by asking for identification unnecessarily and by slapdash attitudes, etc. The interviewee of MZ, too, mentions about the limitations of macro events. She says that “In fact social conditions in the last two years, the general elections, wars, internal conflicts and the

fact that some people acting in the minor fields become unemployed have affected adversely the minor political actions.”

It is true that the minor political formations and their activisms are to a certain extent autonomous. I mean, as we have seen before, they do not come into existence by opposing or agreeable relationships with the major politics. Still this does not mean that there is no interaction between them, for the major politics is ubiquitous. This is why there are many other examples in terms of negative affects caused by these general, “major” conditions of the society and politics in the hegemony of the major politics. Actually, when the interviewee of MZ says that “we pass through abnormal times, everyone is depressed now; there is a political depression.”; when the interviewee of ÖL states that the conditions of the country begin to determine everything in our lives and the difficulty doubles when they try to sustain our own lives within these conditions of the country; when the interviewee of BBOM states that they feel being overwhelmed by heaviness of the country’s agenda and at this point they have difficulty to be silent because some people can consider this silence itself political; when the interviewee of TTM says that “The agenda of the county and politics have too much effect on minor institutions like us”, when the interviewee of KADAV says “We get jammed into daily limitations. Especially in the recent times, we have so many difficulties because of cases of abolishment, political threats, etc.”, when the interviewee of TT says that “there are few people coming to TT because of the troubles of today. The entrance to the university became difficult because of today’s order; no one can enter to the university.” and when the interviewee of YÇD says that “in such a country like Turkey, the social and political conditions have very negative effects on us; they are not supportive or motivating, rather they are frustrating and prohibiting. The current agenda obscure everything. We, as association, cannot see our future, even three months later. In short, we get jammed and have so many difficulties when there are no proper social and political conditions such as the war, bombs, the conditions of the state of emergency, economic crisis, etc.”, they all call attention to the same point, the limitations of the major politics in the forms of negativities, pressures, etc. over the minor politics.

These general major conditions caused by the conflict in the major politics damage the conditions for minor politics to continue their activism. One of the most

important conditions is the peace and friendship in public terms. As the interviewee of BBOM mentions, the increasingly polarizing political level of the country results in the increase of the hostility. “Our experiences show that one of our members or voluntary people can find the BBOM as highly political in the country’s agenda and then leave the cooperative. Or one does not attend to a meeting in the cooperative by the reason of that she/he finds the peace discourse of some other wrong according to her/his political views.” This and previous examples say to us that the major politics, its major events, conflicting culture of politics and just enemy relations based on subjugation and hegemony produce some negative effects and pressures over the minor political formations and activism; the people of the minor politics feel these all as the limitations and obstacles for their activism. Even I can say that regarding the possibilities that the minor political formations can provide, one of the important limitations is dominant pessimism in the society. One can accept this pessimism as realism but it does not encourage people to initiate new activism and collective formations. Such pessimism leads people to passivism and despair; its political correspondence is not heartwarming at all.

4.1.2 Pressures of major politics

Actually it can be claimed that these are very general effects of the major politics and this is why these cannot be seen at first glance. However, the major politics have also direct pressures and limitations over the minor politics in very different forms and appearances. Let me summarize them in accordance with the findings of my field research.

In the cases of ecology and urban movements, it is certain that some minor political formations acting in localities are there to resist the attacks of the major politics towards the nature or other commons in the cities like parks or squares. In that sense, we should consider these actual attacks in the past and the potential threats similar to these attacks as the pressures of the major politics again. In the case of KD, the interviewee states that the Garden in Kuzguncuk was faced with construction projects within three attempts in 1990’s, 2000’s and 2010’s. However, each time, the people of Kuzguncuk and the association, by mobilizing other groups and in solidarity with other institutions, managed to prevent the construction on the Garden.

This protection of the Garden is the essential issue of the Kuzguncuk. On the other hand, she also mentions their failure to prevent the gentrification and commercialization of the Kuzguncuk even if they tried so many ways for this cause. Of the reasons behind this failure, she emphasizes on the difficulty of being subjected to the major dynamics regulating the major politics. She says that “There is a ship going towards the north. You are in this ship and walking towards the south. However, in fact you are all towards the north, regardless of how much and fast you walk towards the south.” As we can see, the people of the minor politics feel the attempts of the major politics towards the Garden and their existence as big pressures over themselves and this fact results in very big pessimism on them. Meanwhile, the interviewee of YD thinks similar things. He states that the effect of the minor politics is based on the zeitgeist, a cultural soul of the universe. Up to this zeitgeist, the magnitude of the effect of the minor political actions and practices change. That is to say, it is possible for these minor formations to produce effects bigger than their own scale of activity. However, the contrary case is also possible.

As another example in the same context, I should mention about the case of VGD. Depending on the previous and this example, I can say that it is always the institutions as the extensions of the major politics that want to transform the nature either in or outside the city center. The interviewee of VGD tells about their similar story of resistance. There were many attempts to open the Grove for construction. However the people of the region resisted against these attempts and succeeded to protect the Grove. Before 2000, they gathered more than 6000 signatures and they applied to Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board to certify the Validebağ Grove as “grade 1 natural site area”. Ultimately the Board approved this in 1999. The interviewee says that “The process of the protection of Validebağ Grove starts with this legal announcement.” However, the interviewee also considers these attempts to open the green living spaces for construction as the attempts of the major politics. “They do these attempts to enrich their relatives and partisans.” This is why the resistance of the people of minor politics is in fact always resistance against the major politics. They know that such attempts of the major politics will continue.

In the same context, we can also emphasize the urban transformation projects. The

interviewee of MZ states that they had initiated a form of network for the migrants and refugees, namely the Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı (Migrant Solidarity Kitchen) in Tarlabası. It was a network which started with the case of Festus Okey⁹. Their aim with this initiation was to develop solidarity with migrant people, especially living in Tarlabası to realize themselves in such places. People could come together in this place, they could cook collectively with migrants and also there were courses for Turkish and English. However, this place was faced with urban transformation. I think this and similar cases are also important limitations that can be claimed coming from the major politics. In that sense the interviewee of MZ says that “the micro politics does not progress in a linear line, the daily conditions determine to some extent what we do.”

4.1.3 Hegemony of major politics

As I said earlier, the major politics include various major and hegemonic forms of power in the society; actually they are the conditions that feed and reproduce the major politics and its powers in return. In that sense, I think the general and indirect oppression and limitation of the major politics over the minor politics can also be seen in these hegemonic forms in the society. The subjects of this oppression are mainly the minorities. For example, the people of LİSTAG, that is the friends and families of the LGBTI individuals, complain that they cannot appear comfortably and in safe in the society. The interviewee of LİSTAG says that “We as association couldn’t grow because we couldn’t appear ourselves so much. Families are from different regions and they have such problems as material, moral and political. They are afraid of being apparent in this field, they consider it as risky. Some mothers accept and comprehend the realities of their children but they are afraid of peer oppression. When I recognized this fact, I also noticed that the issue is highly related with the society; its taboos crush and shatter us.” As the interviewee herself sees, the reason of the fear is the hegemony of the general norms that feed and cultivate the norms of the major politics as well.

⁹ Festus Okey was a Nigerian, living in İstanbul. He was murdered in 2007 by a police officer in police station in Beyoğlu. The realities of the event were came to light later on and the case of Festus Okey was adopted by human rights activists and people of Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı İstanbul.

She also states that they abolished their association officially and they continue to act as a collectivity or an initiative because they could not find enough people to form a legal board for formality. She relates this issue with the general conditions of the country. She says that “I accept it is difficult to take responsibility, especially in this era. We want to acquire a legal status but we couldn’t sustain it because there are few people who are brave enough to be seen in the public and because coming out in this field means that you will open yourself to your family, your wife or husband, etc. These are not easy processes. The families feel obliged to hide themselves, they fear. In short, I can say that we couldn’t grow. People come here, they gain something, but they don’t stay to labor to sustain this activism. Of course, you can walk fast in this way but you have to tell to your husband and relatives; that is to say, you have to push and drag them at the same time.”

In the same context, the interviewee of LAMBDA states that there are still very important problems related with the issue of LGBTI in Turkey. They think that the LGBTI individuals are not under legal protection, neither the statement of “sexual orientation and gender equality” has been added to the equality article of the Constitution. Relatedly, the crimes of discrimination for sexual orientation and gender equality are not recognized by the state. This means that the LGBTI individuals feel themselves unsafe in existing legal regulations. Moreover, the heterosexist and sexist language and mind are still dominant in the mainstream media; LGBTI individuals are continued to be murdered by homophobic and transphobic society; they are still fired from the job, etc. They are subjected to the violence of the society and also the police. He says that “Especially trans-women are subjected to the violence of the police, there are always oppression and torture.”

Regarding the fact that women are also minority in this society, it is not difficult to see and recognize the pressures of the major politics in generally male dominated forms. In that sense, it is important to consider the statements of the interviewees from two woman organizations, YÇD and KADAV, which are acting for and in solidarity with women. For example, the interviewee of YÇD states that most of the society believes that men and women cannot be equal and today such a belief rose from the grave because the power too does believe in that men and women cannot be equal. This belief increases and finds so much places for itself because the President

himself has such a belief, then it goes towards the ordinary people. In the past, it was a shame to express such a belief at least but now, it is found as reasonable and even necessary. Similarly, the interviewee of KADAV as the other woman organization states that almost 60 % of the women in Turkey support human rights of women and the struggle with violence against women but despite this, the feminists are claimed to be terrorists, immoral, marginal and creatures that are outside the society.

In the context of general conditions of the social and the pressures of the major politics, women state that they cannot do their activities anymore because of the effects of the current agenda of the country on the minor political formations. The interviewee of YÇD, for example, states that “We were managing our programs in Kurdish regions, it was going very well. But after the end of peace process, we could not work there anymore. There is a war in the country. In this region, we worry about life safety of our volunteers let alone the organizing the programs. Lots of people were took into custody, arrested or relegated, etc. The women organizations are abolished today and most of them are Kurdish organizations. The issue is also related with being Kurdish, as much as being woman. If you are woman, Kurdish and also feminist, you are evil, you are dead. Let alone working together with the state, it abolishes the organizations. We are where the words fail. In short, we were working with the state but all the doors have been closed. This is also valid for other formations, especially after Gezi Movement everything ended because the government went through a trauma in this period.” In that sense, we can say that the people of the minor politics consider the government as the most powerful agency of the major politics and they conceived that it is the source of powerful pressures over the minor politics when the government closes the doors to those who do not belong and share its ideology or discourse.

In the same context, the interviewee of YÇD mentions about some structural changes like the abolishment of the Ministry of Woman and Turkish Social Service Institution and their negative effects on their programs in the localities because they were working with these legal institutions. She says that “Of course the government doesn’t like us. We had a legal protocol with the state. But after these structural changes, it was cancelled. The government didn’t want to work with us, just like other political formations and non-governmental organizations. It developed its own

programs like ‘family and social education support programs’ which do not consider women as individuals, which is profoundly conservative and which results in the closure of women into house. These programs still continue to be applied and this is why we cannot work with the state from 2011.” Even if there are lots of personals of Sosyal Hizmetler Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu – SHÇEK (Social Services Child Protection Institution) who can manage these programs, they are not allowed by the state. Even if their project was very cost-effective and sustainable and everything was going like clockwork; that is, they did not have any problems with place, personal, money, etc. and they could easily reach women, now they lost all of their facilitators and trainers when the ministry was abolished.

According to women, the hegemonic pressure of the major politics does not come from the state only. There are other sources of the hegemony of major politics. In that sense, the interviewee of YÇD mentions another example of limitation caused by the ideological politics. She says that “There is a leftist hegemony, a leftist mind, leftist socialist understanding. It poisoned the understanding of politics so much and also oppositional politics in Turkey. It became monopoly. I read so much about socialism and Marxism but never became a socialist nor liked it because I found odd that arrogance, the state of making a macro, a major politics. It makes the major politics hegemonic and forces people to be standardized. Besides these, it restricts us to the parliament as if politics was something that exists in parliament only. No, it is just one of the places for politics. But it is polished, while the activities and endeavors of the women throughout the history were oppressed, ignored and underestimated.” As it can be seen in this statement, the interviewee states that women in this country lived the leftist hegemony as great obstacles for their own activism; they recognized that it is the form of major politics with its mechanisms of standardization of the people and underestimation of the alternative politics, that is, the minor politics for example.

In that sense, I think the story of the workers ÖK must be explained in detail and discussed as very good and impressive example in the same context. In order to do this, I should tell about some episodes from the story of activism of the workers of ÖK and mention about the problems or pressures that they experienced and were subjected to as the limitations and pressures coming from the norms, codes and

practices of major politics, specifically leftist ideologies, their ways of thinking and acting.

As I mentioned earlier, the workers of ÖK want to get a fair share after the factory was closed and they were fired without receiving their salaries for months. Sometime later, they decided to enter into the factory to start production with the present conditions of material and machines, etc. However, when they entered into the factory, the police came to interfere in their actions. The police attempted to force them go out. This is their first encounter with the police, so with the pressures of the major politics since it was the previous owner of the factory who lodged complaint against them and then he sent these law enforcers to inhibit the workers. However, at this point, the new owner of the place prevented the police by saying that “I am the new owner of this factory, these workers are our guests, and they can stay there.” Thereupon, the workers were grateful to this new owner since he provided them to enter into the factory. However, after the workers entered into the factory, the previous owner called the workers and promised to pay their all salaries but the workers did not believe him and decided to take the existing jerseys and the machines to carry them somewhere else to restart the production. Meanwhile, the police came again to stop them. They persuaded the police but then undercover police officers and then anti-terror police interfered into their action. Then the workers made contact with the attorney and he said that they were not right in law because the jerseys and machines do not belong to them legally, even if they are right in fact. Thereupon, they gave up this action and decided to start the production inside the factory.

Now, let us go a bit back of their story. When the workers start their activism for the sake of justice, some major political formations and ideological groups participated in this activism of the workers of ÖK. Some of them were voluntary advocates who attempted to accompany with the workers in their legal struggles for justice. However, as the workers learned later on, they were the representatives of major, ideological political organizations and they highly manipulated the activisms of the workers and attempted to do this. The workers of ÖK supposed that these lawyers are the member of Çağdaş Hukukçular Derneği – ÇHD (Contemporary Lawyers’ Association) but after a while they learned that they are from the political

organization, namely Devrimci İşçi Hareketi – DİH (Revolutionary Labor Movement). According to the statements of interviewee I can say that after a while these lawyers pulled some workers to their own field of major politics. The interviewee says that “We were already a few, then the lawyers divide us by this one more time. They pulled the workers of ÖK to their own politics. One day they send the workers to sell the journals, one they send them to other staff.” As another example in the same context, the workers of ÖK rejected the donations from the forums in the Netherland but these lawyers took these donations without knowledge and approval of the workers. The lawyers created a bank account for the name of the workers and keep the donation in this account. However, when the workers attempted to establish the cooperative legally, this time the lawyers stopped them for the reason that “it is not the time, etc.” By the way, one of the workers goes to various forums in different cities to sell jerseys for the sake of the collective. But the collective cannot hear from him for months, neither he sent any money to the collective. At this point, the collective started to question about this person but the lawyers again did not support the workers, on the contrary they defended that person. They think that they resisted but the others spent the ready money, they labored but the others exploited the name of the Kazova. The interviewee says that “There are many examples like these, if I tell all of them, you cannot believe.” Similarly, the workers wanted to levy an execution for all the machines of the factory but the lawyers stated that this is not possible. However, 8 months later, Metin Yeğin, who stood by the workers from the very beginning of the process, reminded them to levy an execution for the machines again. At this point, when the workers were persistent on the issue, the lawyers started to legal processes for the impressment. Meanwhile, the new owner of the factory invited the workers for a tea. The lawyers told the workers not to go because “he is fascist and capitalist”. However the workers went to talk with the new owner because interviewee says that “Well, but this man permit us stay here for 8 months; he protected us and prevented the police intervention, isn’t it his right to drink a cup of tea?” So indeed, the new owner asked the workers about the conditions of them and permitted them to stay there until they get better conditions. Besides these, the new owner help financially the workers to rent a new place for production, transport the machines to there and also to rent a shop to sell the products. The interviewee tells these stories to express his thankfulness to this

new owner because, he says ironically that, “he was fascist and capitalist.” The interviewee says that “We recognized very well that they [the lawyers and other people from the major political organizations] did not want that there would be two different Kazova. In fact they did not want us because they do not care of labor but we are here with our labors only and all people who supported us take care of labor and resistance primarily. That is to say, we are one step ahead in all aspects.” The workers are grateful to people who contributed to the resistance in the very beginning because it was a kind of solidarity. However, as we can see, some people from major political organizations start to determine the course of the resistance. The interviewee states that while there are 94 workers of ÖK, almost 5 of them are in the resistance. They spend all their times in resistance, and only 5 people try to defend the tents. He means that these processes of resistance are very tiresome for just 5 people. He says that “By the way, it becomes very monotonous and the employers take no notice of whatever we do.”

Actually, all these statements above are enough to see and claim that the major politics made itself evident in different forms and appearances in the minor political activism of the workers of ÖK. They just insist on autonomous production, without exploitation and fair distribution of their earnings. They were faced with so many obstacles and pressures from different powers of the major politics, either the state, the people of the capital or the people of leftist ideologies. They had to struggle with many problems and overcome many obstacles in order to succeed such kind of production after 4 years; they had to deal with serious problems caused by the norms, codes, language and practices of the major politics. Probably they did not know all of these at the very beginning, but today they are aware of the limitations of these forms of major politics. Not interestingly, the interviewees say that “We struggle for 4 years but we have just reached to this level. Why? I have to tell all the troubles that we live in these 4 years. We had to deal with robberies, the attitudes of the lawyers, impressments, rents, sidestepping of the people, carrying the machines, repairing of them, etc. If there were none of them, we could have established the cooperatives and we could have a big factory working with 100 friends.”

Again in the context of indirect limitations caused by the hegemony of the major politics, I can mention about the reflections of the conflicting events in the field of

major politics on the minor political activism. Actually, there is such a fact that people of the minor politics are not totally independent from the major politics, or rather they may act in the major and macro politics at the same time. But the field of the major politics is the field of subjugation and hegemony. When some oppression happens over the people of the minor politics because of their connections with the mechanisms of the major politics, this oppression can be felt in their minor political activism. For example, the interviewee of MZ states that those people coming to the activities of DÜRTÜK may also be those who are from Academics for Peace. When they are fired from job, they become powerless to come and contribute to the activities in their minor political activism as well. In that sense, a restriction, a reduction in the capacity of the major field causes those in the minor field as well. Therefore, it may be difficult to say that the major politics directly and totally determine the course of the minor politics, but it is sure that it has effects on the minor politics.

As another example, I can mention about the case of TTM. Interviewee talks about implicit limiting effects of the major politics on their own activism. She states that they are advocacy of child rights and the struggle against the violence against women, etc. They may normally and generally receive a grant from international institutions on human rights. However, the official reports of the state can manipulate the realities about these issues. In that case, international foundations suppose that “Then, this country does not have problem in these issues, so it is not necessary to support it.” This is why these international foundations do not give a grant to such kind of minor formations in their activism to defend the human rights or develop the democratic welfare. The same limitation can also be resulted from the major power of the local governments. In the context of the same indirect limitations, we can also mention about the fact that the local government agencies, local units like municipalities, that is, the local institutions of the major politics; they do not contribute to the activities of the minor politics. Even if the state has emphasized on the collaborations with non-governmental organizations, it is just on the paper. The interviewee from TTM states that: “When we apply to municipality or the Ministry of Social Policies, they do not collaborate with us. We are right based formations and the public institutions should be neutral to or independent from politics or parties.

No, this is not so. For example, when we want to organize a tour for children, Şişli Municipality provides a bus while Beyoğlu Municipality does not.” Therefore, one can say that the major politics attempts to limit and block, then weaken such kinds of formations by doing nothing, by not providing instruments or resources.

Finally in this context, I think there is no need to say that the traditional mainstream media, let me say major media, generally serves to the sake of major politics. At least I can say that the mainstream media with its mechanisms of producing and reproducing the norms and representations of the major politics, gets close to major politics and it is the part, an active player in producing or reproducing the subjugating relations in the major politics as far as it produces “the truths” or “the opinions” of the public. For example, and very simply, we can mention about the partisan attitudes of the mainstream media in the case of Free Kazova. The interviewee states that “the mainstream media came to here and recorded video for hours but they don’t broadcast anything even one minute in TV channels, etc.” It is not difficult to understand the blocking and limiting effects of the major media in terms of minor political activisms. However, the limitations of the major politics are not limited with the traditional mainstream media. In today’s worlds, the social media or new media tools and platforms are also highly effective and transformative, and hence they can also bring in strong limitations for the minor politics, the world that the minor politics dreams of. In that sense, we should remember the activism of TO in the field of social media, truth and memory studies. As far as we learned from the activism of TO, in social media there are strong echo-chambers which look like the closed communities based on ideological, cultural, political identities, etc. and this is another appearance of the major politics in social media or social life. For example, during the crisis in social life, people generally take a side in their social media accounts and polarize in opposite views. There apparent poles ultimately refer to major political identities. In times of crisis, the most common thing that people do in Facebook is to unfriend their friends and relatives because they cannot stand thoughts and discourses of each other; and so they cannot stay together even in a virtual platform. The interviewee of TO says, “this is a very good example for formation of echo-chambers.” Actually, these are the capillary vessels by which the major political codes and practices feed the state of conflict and polarization.

According to the interviewee, echo-chambers are also related with the fact that the algorithms show us much more what is similar to us. In that sense, it can be claimed that the Facebook has a dimension contributing to the domination of the major politics because it creates an identity and its representations, communities, norms and practices. The interviewee from TO emphasizes the concept of “similar lover” to define and summarize these echo-chambers. Therefore, it is clear that the social media contributes to the existing polarization and what the people of TO tries to do is a kind of caution that you should be aware of: You should go out your echo-chambers to encounter with people who are different from you.

4.1.4 State violence

Another source of the pressures and limitations of the major politics over the minor politics is based on the state violence and its probability. Minor politics is generally non-violent politics; it adopted the peaceful, democratic, friendly and indirect actions that are not reactive, not conflicting or they do not target the non-existence of the “others”. There are no guns in the hands of the people of the minor politics. This is the very reason that when the state and police forces become increasingly violent and oppressive; the minor politics is severely limited. For example, the interviewee from MZ mentions about the state violence as the pressure on their activism. She says that “There was affective potentiality before the Gezi Movement. We were planning micro actions to defend our living places, to organize some forums collectively, etc. We wanted to produce alternative affects and ideas in the ground. However the state violence came upon us.” The interviewee from MZ mentions about the possibility of the pressures coming from the major politics, that is crystalized in the form of state in this example. She states that there is no guarantee that their activisms will not be faced with state oppression. For example, the state can prevent even the barter bazaar by saying that “where is your tax, how can you organize such thing without my knowledge.” It can close, abolish the DÜRTÜK or DM. There is no guarantee that the state will not tolerate and abolish the formations if it considers them as a threat to its own ways of organizing the economy and the social, its reason, regime, will and action. There is an example lived in Greece; the state banned and closed the ways of such autonomous food production and economy.

Similarly, the interviewee from HKD states that their formation and activities may be target of the state because they want democracy and they are proponents of equality, justice and peace in the Kurdish problem; they want permeable boundaries in the migration problem and they consider millions of Syrian migrants as richness rather than a threat to unitary nation; their language is outside the hegemonic discourse and what they are doing is producing values. In that sense, he says “Thus, the state may say ‘what the hell is this now? Just close it.’ This is very simple deed now, it takes just one second.”

The interviewee of HKD also mentions about the limitations in terms of major social dynamics. He states that they produce some values and try to preserve and share them with other people. In normal conditions, the social dynamics should understand and promote you so that these values become stronger and better. However, the opposite situation is there in the case of the HKD. The interviewee states that the legal authorities or institutions always give trouble, rather than promoting them when they go to field to realize their activities. He says that “The state officials approach to us as if we were doing dangerous things and threatening the survival of the state. We as people who share the same fate cannot do anything collectively without fearing from each other.”

The interviewee of TTM too mentions about the possibility of being closed up by the state. Actually they think there is no reasonable cause for this; however, they still fear of being closed because, she says, “There was also no cause for other formations to be closed.” In that sense, she emphasized on the arbitrary attitudes of the government in this matter. Actually, this arbitrariness may also refer to the unlawful politics of the government and ultimately the evil of the major politics. The interviewee of TO emphasizes on the same probability; he clearly says that “I think that there may exist a kind of oppression over us. If it comes from the government, it would be the heaviest strike to us but it can also come from other power domains. For example, there may exist a kind of lynch over us.”

Similarly, the interviewee of BBOM draws attention to the same point: “Before I used to think that we are not so big and so they will not deal with us. However today I can see that everything can happen if someone becomes peeved to us. That is to

say, [the dynamics and attitudes] in the macro politics are never rational anymore. If there is rationality, you may take a position according to it, you may analyze, etc. However, it is very chaotic, there is an unpredictable situation.” Here in this statement, the interviewee means “major politics” by macro politics and the limitation comes from the fact that the agents and structures of the major politics may do anything for the sake of subjugation and power since the mind set of the major politics perceives politics mainly within these two categories.

As another example, even just one person from the minor politics can be blacklisted by the institutions of the major politics. For example, the interviewee of CİSST mentions how the Ministry of Justice oppresses over him; he says “the Ministry of Justice rejects any project directed for the prisoners if I take part in it.” On the other hand, just one person from the major politics, of course with his representational powers in this politics, can block the activisms of the minor political formations. In other words, when the issues of the minor politics can touch some sore points of the major politics and in this case, the major politics become determinant in the subject fields by activating its own mechanisms, norms and discourses. The story of the interviewee from CİSST again is a good example to understand such kind of effects of the major politics: “The President of the Republic said that those who claim there is maltreatment in the prisons are traitor.” That is to say, the President accused the people of this minor political formation of being traitor. The interviewee of CİSST says that “Thus, if I say there is no water in the prisons, I will be accused of being traitor. So can I say much more? So difficult.” Similarly, when the President implies that those who attempted a coup and are responsible for the death of 250 people in the event have to be punished in the heaviest way in prisons, it becomes a kind of flare or permission for the prison officers to make torture or maltreatment towards these people. In that sense, the major figures of the major politics, actually the major politics itself, have such effects on the minor politics because at this point the people of the minor politics cannot act on the other way around and they face great difficulties to act in such fields.

The interviewee of HK too mentions about the fear as one of the limitations. The people of HK are afraid of the state, that is, the pressures of the major politics. But more importantly, they are afraid of being target of those who they dealt with and

discussed in their folders. For example, they abstained from making a folder of Konca Kuriş who was an Islamist feminist writer murdered by Hezbollah because they were afraid of being target of the Hezbollah. They also have difficulty to use a language that is purified and filtered from the indicators of the major political language that have potentials to cause in discussions and also conflicts in their minor political activities. For example, when they tell about the events related with Kurdish Movement, they discuss themselves whether they will use the word *Serhildan*, meaning revolt in Kurdish, or revolt, the word Amed or Diyarbakır and also how to pronounce the *PKK* meaning Kurdistan Workers' Party in Kurdish. In that sense, they have difficulty to prove that they are objective in this agency.

4.1.5 Major politics undervalues and marginalizes minor politics

In general, depending on the statements of the interviewees, I can say that the major political formations do not pay regard to the actions, productions and also the methods of the minor political formations. They consider the people of the minor political formations as potential voters only; they try to manipulate the originality and authenticity of the activism emerged and developed in the minor political formations; they want to exploit the purity of what and how is done. For example, the interviewee of CİSST states that they cannot contact with opposition party in more institutional way to share the knowledge and experience that they produced in their studies and activities in the prisons. Actually the minor political formations produce important knowledge on the fields where they are active. In that sense, the interviewee of CİSST says that “We have the knowledge of enclosed places. Gündem Çocuk Derneği has the knowledge of the conditions of the children in Turkey. KAOS GL has the knowledge about LGBTI individuals, etc. However, the main opposition party is not interested in this knowledge, it does not demand it. This is why it cannot become powerful.”

Therefore, another form of the pressures and limitations of the major politics over the minor politics is that it undervalues and underestimates the activisms of the people of the minor political formations, their immanent voluntary efforts to do something for a better life. For another example, the interviewee of LİSTAG states that they as families of the LGBTI individuals went to the Assembly to appear there and express

their concerns. However, they could not get enough attention from the deputies. They wanted their documentary movie be screened in the Assembly and delivered its copies to the deputies. They met with a deputy of JDP but she said to them ‘Your movie is too long, shorten it to 10 minutes.’ Very naturally this saddened them so much because they had labored so much and overcome many difficulties to prepare it, to open their stories and themselves. When they screened the documentary, only five deputies came to watch the movie and one of them was a deputy of JDP, after the movie, she left the saloon without making any comment. The interviewee states that thereupon, they thought that they didn’t understand us and “we felt that there would be nothing.” Actually, in regards of the interest of the major politics in the liveliness and mobility of the minor political formation, the interviewee of LİSTAG clearly says that “They do not care.”

Another example can be found in the relations of the minor politics and the local governments that they are subjected to. The interviewee of PAB states that they had some attempts to present their issues related with biking in the city to the mayor but they cannot reach to him for he claims that Ankara is not a city of bicycle because it is not a level area, not a plain and the people in Ankara has no culture of biking. This means that the authorities of the major politics are closed to the dialog so as much. The interviewee states that these are irrelevant reasons. The main reason is that the agencies of the major politics do not really want this because there is an industry of motor vehicles and a rent to be shared among major people. Besides these, in the case of PAB, we can also note that the people of major politics consider the fields of minor politics according to their own codes of representation. According to the statements of the interviewee of PAB, when they made a meeting with a deputy from the government party to express their main issues and requests, he only regarded how many votes he can gain from this community of cyclists.

According to the interviewee of İF, some people, especially from leftist and organized spheres, criticized the peoples of the İFby such accusations that “There are lots of events and deaths in the country, you are dealing with tomato.” The interviewees of HK and YD, too, underline that they and their actions are generally underestimated and despised by people of major politics. In Turkey, it is evident that

the actions and events of the minor political formations are considered worthless. The interviewee of ÖL mentions about the indifference of the people who are from the major political organizations to the minor political activities such as swap market, neighborhood library or garden. He says that “They say to us you cannot revolutionize with these, so they are not necessary.” The interviewee of CİSST states that in their activism directed towards the people in the prisons they were criticized by some people in the way that “We want to dispel the cell type prisons, you are doing workshops there.” However, he states that, they too want to dispel the prisons but they think that the life is going on there and when the people are in urgent need of something, it should be required. The interviewee says that “For example, we have to struggle to provide the right to get fresh air for prisoners. This is not something that will prevent your major project.”

The major politics, its people and institutions, does not only undervalue the activism of the people of the minor political, it can also make them “other” in terms of marginalization. Apart from the case of LGBTI individuals, another example for direct pressure coming from this marginalization can be found in the case of women movement. The interviewee of YÇD states that they cannot collaborate with the state anymore because it considers them “marginal” for they are feminist. Even if they worked in the field together with the state, today the state closed the doors for collaboration. This is why, the interviewee of YÇD states that they have difficulties today to reach women. Even if they have great and very effective programs and lots of trainers, they are not allowed to apply them. It is obvious that this social structure and politics is male dominated so much and they cannot digest the gender equality. When the discourse of inequality is expressed by those who are at the top, everything becomes more difficult for the women and it has repercussions in their daily practical lives. It reflects in all fields such as the clothes you will wear, the time limit you can stay outside at night, what kind of places you will go, what kind of relations you will have with your lover or husband, etc.

It is common and obvious that the people of major political organizations can easily curse, insult or accuse those from minor political formations of being marginal, terrorist, liberal, anarchist, etc. In that sense, we understand that the major politics try to denigrate the minor politics if it could not succeed to assimilate. For example, the

interviewee of HK mentions that they get so many swearing and invectives, that they are faced with being marginalized and also accused of being “pretty liberals” by “deep and very serious leftists who are unique to know the leftism.”

4.1.6 Major politics tries to assimilate minor politics

We have seen that there are certain attempts of the major politics to undervalue, underestimate and also marginalize the potentialities of the minor political activisms. Even if there is such a fact, it is also true that the major politics has a great tendency to assimilate the potentiality of minor politics, that is, to pull the minor politics towards itself by various ways and forms. To the extent that minor politics is seen as a threat for major politics, its power and potential is under the threat of absorption and assimilation by the dynamics of major politics.

For example, sometimes there may be demands from the minor political formations to take up a position and have a discourse in the form of public statement about some major issues like Kurdish Question. The interviewee of PEP complains about such an expectation of the major politics. However, the minor political formations resist against such an attempt because they are aware that these kinds of involvements into discursive level will result in treats of deforming their togetherness in the level of their own minor political activism. The interviewee of PEP says that “When we want to take up a position about the issues that exceeds the PEP, we preferred to form another organization or to deal with these issues in the context of our own issues.” In other words, they know that such kind of expectations should be taken into consideration together with very common attempt of the major politics to assimilate the minor politics and its potentials.

For example, the interviewee of BBOM can clearly say that “Meanwhile we feel the oppression of the macro politics so much over us.” Exclusively in special days and weeks, there appears the expectations of the people -the interviewee says “like peer pressure”- from BBOM to express its opinion, to show its color, that is, to choose its side. She says that “For example, we feel obliged to express a statement in social

media accounts in November 10th.¹⁰ According to these stories, firstly we can see again that a mind or intellect in the limits of the major politics is always restricting politics to certain representations. In this case, November 10th is very strong representation. I think it is obvious that the people of the major politics, which means the majority of the people, definitely want to understand and code everything according to such reference frameworks of the major politics. In that sense, they evaluate the minor political world and try to understand, for example, in which side of politics they are; are they conservative and rightist or progressive and leftist, are they Kemalist or partisans of JDP, who are they or rather, for whom are they?, etc.

The interviewee of BBOM also mentions about their being represented, in the very beginning of the process, in a newspaper from mainstream media. They gave an interview to present the BBOM to the public and they expressed their backgrounds, main issues, the aims, the methods, instruments, etc. However, the title of the interview was “This is a Rebellion” even if the main theme was to state that “we are people willing to do something by stepping beyond the criticism of everything.” The interviewee says that “Of course this can be defined as a rebellion but we are not just a movement that is opponent to the government or someone else. We see the application problems in the existing curriculum and try to study on some models to solve these problems. I mean it is not just reactivity.”

As another example in the same context, the interviewee of GDAA has something to say. “Once some leftist older brothers, from labor unions, joined our meeting and they talked big and big about how to conduct a study in the neighborhood; they gave a lecture to us. We were thunderstruck. It was a meeting lived as a state of tension. We also see that some people came to our meetings as if they were invading on behalf of their party.” Of course the people of the minor politics cannot permit such interpretation of the major politics into their activism since they are conscious about the shortcomings of the major politics. I give place to these statements just to show the attempt of the major politics and its threatening potential for the minor politics as far as it tries to assimilate and pull towards itself, then absorb all differences peculiar to the minor politics.

¹⁰ It is the day when Mustafa Kemal Atatürk died. There are official memorial ceremonies in this day all around the country.

It is clear that people of the major politics, that is the vast majority of the whole population, try to absorb the people of the minor politics into the field of the major politics. In that sense, they can label the people of the minor politics with the major identities of the major politics; they may attempt to categorize and identify them in the representative boundaries of the major politics. For example, the interviewee of BBOM says that “When I post something political, some parents leave by saying that ‘they are not Ataturkist.’” Here in this statement, “political” refers to “major political” and it is another example to show that the major politics has disturbing effect on the minor politics. According to the interviewee, in regards of this oppression, “people can have expectations” or some people can wonder about the major political views and identities of the staff and volunteers of the BBOM. Meanwhile, I have to note that people of the minor politics are aware of these all and they try to preserve their position in the field of minor politics. As the interviewee of BBOM states, “From the very beginning of foundation, we have emphasized that we have no business with macro politics. Each of us has political views but what holds us together is our issue, aims and dreams; that is the principles and values of BBOM. ... There is no dividing political discussion among us because there is no ground to make such political discussions.”

Despite this sensitivity among the people of the minor politics against the general tendency of the major politics, there is another similar story lived in the history of Initiative. The interviewee states that lots of labelling was directed to the IF. People could easily say that “They are nationalist, they are proponent of Kurdish Movements, they are from the political organization of Halk Evleri (People’s Houses) or they are anarchists. Even we became nationalist and proponent of Kurdish Movement etc.” Similarly the interviewee of PAB notes that the field of collective biking is a field of power because there are other bicycle groups as extensions of the major politics. In that sense, they have been subjected to such kind of thing that “There is propaganda that PAB is a leftist group.” Actually, this issue is also related with the attempt of the major politics to pull the minor politics into its own codes and discourses.

Very similar example is from the case of VGD. There are lots of attempts of the government that can be conceived as attempts to absorb the VGD as minor political formation acting in very locality into the field of major politics. From the statements of the interviewee of VGD, we learn that the government attempt to build a mosque near to Validebağ Grove and the people of the region resisted against this project with concerns of protection of the natural environment again. They are not against “the mosque” but rather the fact that its building will harm the natural environment. In that sense, they would also oppose if it is school as well. In this period of resistance, Mayor of Üsküdar Municipality, Prime Minister and even the President made statements against the VGD, they accused them of opposing “the building of mosque”, that is, they declared them as the enemy of religion. The interviewee of VGD clearly says that “I mean, what we are doing is related with politics. This is beyond our power. They [the people of the major politics] pull us to their field.”

As can be remembered from the previous chapter, the interviewee of VGD stated that “Especially the government and its partisans try to introduce us as political.” As we can see, the interviewee mentions about “political” in the sense of major politics. That is, their being “political” in discourses of the government is an attempt to describe them as member or supporter of this or that ideology or party in the level of major politics. “That is to say, we try to keep ourselves away from politics but some people absolutely force us to involve in politics. We resist against this.” I had mentioned about these statements in the previous chapter in order to show the sense of politics among the people of minor political formations. Here I repeat these statements since they are also very good examples to show that the major politics try to pull the people of the minor politics into the codes of the major politics; but they are strongly conscious about how to resist these attempts, without diverging from their minor political ways. In the same context, we should remember that the interviewee of VGD had also mentioned about the reasons of failure to sustain the Gezi Movement. According to him, some parties and groups employed the power of the Movement to realize their own political aims; they sabotaged there consciously or not; “Even if it was refused, they shouted political slogans and they equipped with political flags and pennants.” He means that entrance of the major political symbols caused the corruption of the soul of movement.

As we can see, the people of minor politics are conscious about the tendency and desire of the major politics to absorb the minor politics. At this point, the potentiality of the Gezi Movement becomes clear in the minds of the people and also the fact that the representatives of the major politics attempted to abuse the soul of this movement. In that sense, we should give more places to this issue, the perception of the people of the minor politics in regards of the Gezi Movement. For example, the interviewee of YD says that “During and after Gezi Movement, the leftist parties try hard to interpellate the masses who never joined into active politics before. I saw this for myself.” This is very simple and concrete expression of the issue. In more details, I should mention about the story of the Initiative. Similarly, the interviewee of CİSST states that he feared and worried when he saw the banner of “Here is red square” in the Gezi Movement because it implied that the agencies of the major politics were there in charge. He says that “Later on, there came lots of ideological formations, they tried to transform the movement for the interests of their own organizations and this could not be prevented. In short, they started to make petty politics [*ucuz siyaset*] rather than conceiving politics as identified with life; they said here is red square instead of trying to transform the life itself.”

In that sense, I should also give place to the statements of the interviewee of 350A. According his experiences, I can say that the conventional reflexes of the major politics continued during the Gezi Movement. I mean some leftist organizations tried to gather people from the masses of the Movement coming together in the parks and squares. In the forums or during the protest marches, they fought for the microphones or megaphones so that they could impose, more than express, their political ideals and that they can announce their slogans to so called “apolitical” masses of the Movement. Besides these, members of leftist organizations tried to raise conflict with the police and then to pull “apolitical” people of the Movement to these conflicts. It is also notable that their aim in all these reflexive practices is to “politicize” the people: They do not consider the actions of the people as political and they accept political only what they think and practice. As I said earlier, these are the practices and norms of the conventional major politics. Still I can say that 350A contains within itself some features and tendencies of the minor politics. They are not

hierarchical and not end-oriented. They take care of non-violent opposition because they believe that violence prevents the dialogue. They take care of forums which provided a space for active participation.

As we know, there existed an organization under the name of June Movement and it deemed itself as somehow the residual of the Gezi Movement. In fact it is an extension of the major politics in the appearance of minor politics. As we learn from the statements of the interview of Initiative, the June Movement was founded under the yoke of Freedom and Solidarity Party and Communist Party of Turkey. It seems that the leftist parties positioning in the other side of the major politics tried to *gain* the masses of the Gezi Movement who are virtually the people of the minor politics. For the sake of this, the June Movement has founded assemblies, as belonging to the June Movement, in the neighborhoods that are active and dynamic since the Gezi Movement, and one of them was founded in the 100. Yıl Neighborhood. According to interviewee of IF, Haziran Hareketi – HH (June Movement) announced in the foundation phase that the forums and initiatives existed after the Gezi Movement are their continuations. This mostly looks like a one-sided contract, kind of *fait accompli*. The interviewee says that “Do we see ourselves as the continuation of you; it is us that should determine this.” But they do not see or feel themselves close to the HH or they do not think that they are in the same level of politics. The interviewee clearly says that “The İF is not a movement that is equal or equivalent to the HH; they have totally different concepts.” The interviewee says that “HH is a movement but this does not change the fact that it is under the yoke of a few parties and it is in politics. We, as an initiative, are trying to treat equally all the inhabitants of the neighborhood, do not need to involve into such kind of politics. We are not political organization.” As we can see and estimate, here in these statements, the interviewee means “major, party politics” by “politics” and he differs their own minor activism from the major politics. In fact, I have shown this in the second chapter.

So far, it can be seen very easily that the people of the minor politics are aware of how a tendency of the major politics to assimilate and absorb the potentiality of the minor politics can be realized in different forms. In this context I think there is one more impressive example, in the case of activism of ÖK, in their troubles that the workers experienced in the processes of their resistance to succeed an autonomous

and collective production. The interviewee talks on the event that the lawyers representing their own major political organization attempt to write the name of their organization on the signboard of ÖK. At this point, I will give place a long statement of the interviewee. He says that “After a certain point, they [the lawyers and other people from the major political organizations] tried to take the wheel. They did not take care of our demands to get our due, to establish the cooperative or to produce autonomously. They tried to use the resistance for the sake of their own political views. We did not want this. Everyone including the academicians, artists and people from the forums supported us in this resistance. However, no one demanded such things as ‘to write the name of their organization into our signboard’. We did not want this because it was a collective resistance, there is great labor of so many people and formations in this resistance (such as Tatavla, PEP, Karşı Sanat Collective, Central Forum, Şişli Forum, etc.) and none of them attempted such kind of thing. By the way, they also tried to rectify all these other people and formation so that they adopt the resistance in their own hand. However, they were calling them in the very beginning. In short, they called for help from them in order to take the resistance to a certain level, but after this point, they claim that they succeeded everything by themselves.”

I think it is clear that the major politics, with its different norms and practices, try to pull the minor politics towards itself. People of the minor political formations know that this is one of the main limitations over the minor politics since they are aware of the evils that will bring together with the major politics; actually this is the reason that they act in the field of minor politics. According to the findings of my field research, I can also say that the people of the minor politics are worried about even the probability of infusion of the major politics, its codes, norms and practices into their formations and activisms. It is possible to think that the major politics creates a kind of crisis in the minor politics when it enters into this field.

For example, as far as I understand from the statements of the interviewees of BBOM, some parents may bring or not their children to the schools of BBOM for the fact that the BBOM itself is political. As a matter of fact the BBOM has political meaning, not necessarily in the sense of major politics, rather minor politics.

However, the parents are just sensitive to the major political identity, that is, major political side of the BBOM and they will decide, in accordance with the preferences of BBOM in this issue. This is one of the sources for a kind of crisis resulted from the major politics in the minor politics in fact. Similarly, the interviewee of PEP can state that when there is a discussion about whether PEP should say something or not as a reflex to any major issue in the major politics, it was experienced as a kind of big crisis. He says that “It was a polemic among us.” As another good example in this regard, the interviewee of PAB mentions about their experiences of the relations with the major politics, its strong representations, norms and practices. He states that when the content of the activities is a bit political, for example when they intend to join the activities organized by leftists, the Chamber of City Planners or Anit Park Forum, etc., the number of participants from the collectivity decreases because, he says, “people abstain from it, rather than they are against.” In other words, when the major politics or its representations become involved in the issue, the people of the minor politics, that is those people who are affected and moved by the principals of the minor politics, feel uncomfortable about the situation since they have sense and experience of the evils of the major politics.

Despite of all these above, I can say that the people of the minor politics are aware of the fact that the major politics intends to assimilate and absorb the potentials of the minor politics in practice. In this context, it is very important for minor political formations to try to behave and work according to their capacities; it is a kind of self-consciousness. This is crucial for them to sustain their effective existence. For example, the interviewee of TO states that the state of war in the country can pull TO towards itself. He says that “We found ourselves in the middle of the state of war when we try to find the truths about who are the actors of the explosion. At this point we recognized that we should stop because we have no capacity to struggle for such a state of war and propaganda, it requires much more. We noticed that we should work without giving permission that the state of war pulls us inside itself.” In the same context, the people of the VGD seem to be aware of high consciousness coming from experience actually. The interviewee says that “Any connection with politics limits us.” As has been discussed in the previous chapter, “the politics” in this statement refers to the major politics. For he continues, “When new people join

to us, if they cannot internalize our position, they try to draw us to their own political formations. This creates a big trouble, this restricts us. Sometimes we can clash with these friends and they suppose that we do not want them. This is definitely wrong. We are ready to come together and work with anyone who has will to protect the greenery of Validebağ. It makes no difference whoever he is and whatever his political view is. But if he tries to attach [our activism] to his own view, we demarcate. This is the very big, may be the biggest, limitation for us.”

Therefore, it should be always kept in mind that the conditions of the country are determinant to some extent in how much effective the minor formations are in their prefigurative politics. In other words, we should always remember that the people of the minor politics labor to do something in the real social, economic, cultural, political and also intellectual conditions of the country, even the universe.

Besides these all, I should note that there are more general, macro problems as limitations and pressures on minor political activisms. The people of minor politics are clearly aware of them. For example, the interviewee of GDAA states that the migrants in Ankara live in certain towns and neighborhoods in very poor conditions, they just try to survive by working 12 or more hours in a day. In such case, it is highly difficult to change the loop and tell about GDAA or to talk about the political importance of any issue. Such a fact force people of the minor politics to think that their activism is not enough and not primary in comparison to these more general and vital problems.

Before passing to next subsection, I would like say that despite of the pessimism or all these negative affects coming from different limitations, shortcomings and pressures of the major politics, the people of the minor politics are persistent to act in their minor political practices to produce good affects, to increase their power to exist, think and act in these conditions of badness and to continue their activism in solidarity. The interviewees mention about the negative effects of the major politics but they generally continue and end their sentences with emphasis on their endeavor to find a way out and go beyond the limitations.

For example, the interviewee of SL states that the real conditions of the country make the people of the minor politics worry about their activisms. That is to say, they can think that they do wrong. For example, they thought to stop playing football during the events of explosions, etc. because they felt that they went there for just an entertainment. However, they decided to continue their activism in any condition because it is their correct way of acting. She also states that, especially in the gloomy days of Turkey between 2015-2017, where nobody feels safe and comfortable outside and this is why everyone needs to stay in closure at their home, the existing of such a formation like ÖL is the gain itself. She says that “we can come together and have a hearth-to-hearth talk even in these days. This is really important and valuable itself.” Similarly, the interviewee of 350A says, “We feel depression in this society and depression trivializes you; however we do important things. This is why we try to share good feelings for the sake of hope.” The interviewee of BBOM states that their will to generate a peaceful community is related with the conjuncture of the era. In a society and time of violence surrounding everyone so much, the demand and will of people of the minor political formations for peace can increase and get strong. The interviewee says that “I think this is highly related with the political level. Otherwise we could not have taken care of peace so much and fulfilled the meaning of the concept of peace. I can say with inner peace that we try to participate into such collectivities so that we can construct the social peace in minor scale.” Regarding the effects of the current events lived in the country, the interviewee of TO says that “I have anxiety disorder. I think we are about to bog down. Still, we try to suppress and override all of this as much as possible and to live without fear and rage.”

4.1.7 Major political tendencies in minor politics

Besides these all limitations, I also recognized that there are some certain tendencies in the minor political formations towards the norms, codes and practices of the major politics. I think we evaluate such tendencies as the effects caused by the hegemony of the major politics. To certain extent, minor political formations and activisms may contain some major political norms and practices. In other words, I cannot say that all minor political formations included in my field research are totally and absolutely purified from the major politics. In accordance with the findings of my field research,

it seems that there are different appearances and forms of these major political states and tendencies in the minor political formations and activisms.

I would like to start with discussing the attitudes of two minor political formations that I included in my field research. One of them is PAB and the other is OB. As I mentioned earlier in the beginning of the third chapter, OB is the group that is formatted by some cyclists after they leave the PAB because of some disputes and conflicts lived between them. I would like to explain and discuss some important points of dispute in order to show the major political tendencies in the minor political formations. For example, the people of OB, when they were acting in PAB and before they leave, some conflicts and disagreements arose. One of three interviewees of OB says that “when we assert that bicycle is political, they scream to be against us, then warn us sternly by saying that ‘Don’t play politics with bicycle’ and threaten us seriously. However, someone in this group said to us that ‘You have to respect the man in the Anıtkabir (Mausoleum), otherwise you cannot ride bicycle in Ankara.’” So, according to the interviewees of OB, PAB has already political and ideological identity and if someone makes a different voice in PAB, the majority excludes and advises him/her to go to the group of OB. For example, according to the interviewees of OB, the people of PAB can call the cyclists of OB as anarchist, partisans of PKK, homosexuals, etc.

At this point, I should note that this dispute is an example for that the codes, norms and representations of the major politics cause in some crisis and it harms the togetherness when they come into prefigurative field of the minor politics. The major identities produce and reproduce themselves. The people of OB claim that the bicycle is political. The interviewee of OB clearly says that “Everything is political. The life itself is political. The word that you say is political. Your diet, your style of walking, even your shoes are political as well. In that sense, how is it possible to say the bicycle is not political.” From the viewpoint of the minor politics, it is acceptable that the bicycle is political. However, in the minds of the people of OB, the expression of “the bicycle is political” refers to that it has “political” importance, in terms of major politics. They think that bicycle and bike tours can be used in the “political demonstrations” or “protests”. For example, they remind an epigram of Kadir Cangızbay, anarcho-socialist thinker who is also famous with his being a

cyclist, “Bicycle goes as long as you labor, thus it is a socialist means of transportation. Similarly, he reminds the saying of anarchists: “You cannot bike tomorrow with the labor of today, thus the bicycle does not produce surplus values. And ultimately he says that “In short we wrote seriously and so much in order to tell people that the bicycle is political.” As you can remember, at the beginning of the third chapter, I tried to show that everything is political from the viewpoint of the minor politics. In that sense, biking is also political in terms of its potentiality to support prefiguration of biking in the city as a way of transportation. However, when someone claims that “bicycle is politics since it is socialist or anarchist means of transportation”, this attempt falls into the field of major politics since it closes the bicycle and biking to the field of ideological politics; it reduces the minor political potentiality of the biking to the limited, representative and ideological field of the major politics.

Let’s continue with another important issue, the reactivity. I think the reactionary and conflictive politics is dominant in the activism of OB. Actually, and fortunately for the sake of my study, one of the interviewees of OB can criticize themselves ingenuously and she can state that no one in this group can get along with the others in terms of politics, that is, everyone is in conflict. Interestingly enough, she says that “The only common ground is reaction: Reaction to government, reaction to what is going on, reaction to everyone.” I think this is enough and important statement to show why the OB remains mostly in the spheres of major politics. She also recognizes that the success of PAB, instead of OB, to sustain for many years is based on that here people without any political views can come together and bike. According to her, this does not happen in OB because of political discussions, disputes and conflicts; here the political refers to major political in fact. Similarly, she says that “OB organizes its bike tours only for special days, I mean the days that have political meaning. [The special days of memorial like Hrant Dink, Sivas Memorial, International Day of Peace, Newroz, International Women’s Day, Human Rights Day, etc.] But this may make difficult the participation of some other people to these tours. I mean, it is possible that some people who are not in the same political views may not come to these tours even if they want to bike. The people of OB are coming from various range of the left but there is no common ground. It is

very common to anger and then leave the group. However, there is no one that could be defined as rightest. Why? Because one of the topics of discussion in Facebook page is whether Kurdish struggle should continue with or without arms.” The interviewee also clearly says that “I don’t think that there is a multitude in OB. On the contrary, there are many discriminative things; the bike tours for memorial of Hrant Dink, this or that etc. People do not participate to such kind of activities. There are already very few people who bike. When these activities are politicized as such, they do not participate. In that sense, a choice is necessary between politics or bicycle. Or it is an important question of how we can sustain both of them at the same time.” Another interviewee of OB clearly says that “We could never come together and bike just to bike.” Moreover, sometimes the people of OB can think that OB does not work and it is of no use anymore because it loses the practice. Regarding the reasons of this, the interviewee says that “I think this is because of the group that brings into existence the OB. We could not succeed the participation of people who are potentially cyclist because there are conflicts and disagreements by political reasons.” There is no tolerance among the people in OB.

Even if these all show that there are highly major political tendencies and states in this formation, they know at least that when they go outside the norms and practices of major politics, they succeed to organize very nice and effective encounters for different people. One of the interviewees says that “we organized a workshop on the repair of bicycles. People bring their bicycles and we worked on how to repair them collectively. This is one of the most crowded activities.” Therefore, it seems to me that the people of OB played politics with bicycle indeed. They have certain political views that are one way or another in the fields of major politics. They use the bicycle to express their major political views. However, the intent of the people in PAB is not directly this. The people of OB, as they say themselves, “politicized” the PAB but this politicization is in the field of major politics. PAB is already political from the view of minor politics.

After this impressive case of specifically belonging to one formation in my field research, I think we can pass to other more general cases in order to show the major political states and tendencies in the minor political formations and activisms. First of all, the people of the minor political formations can apply to the ways of action

that are generally identified with the major politics. For example, they may praise the protests and demonstrations. We can see such praise in the statements of the interviewee of 350A. He states that they did demonstration with 500 bicycles and for him, “An action with 500 bicycles create an image of an action of 10.000 people.” I think that these kinds of actions may be alternative to the actions of the major politics, but they cannot be alternative to the major politics itself. I mean that these actions are still in the scope or field of the major politics since they are not prefigurative, productive, affective and immanent. They are representative, reactive and seeking for transcendental changes. As we know from the previous chapters, for example, the people of PAB prefigure the practice of biking; but their practices are totally different from that of 350A. Their aim is not a reaction, not a protest in the sense of conventional politics. Even I can say that they do not abuse the images of the bicycle, they do not play politics with bicycle. What 350A did is using the bicycle as an instrument for their demonstration. The interviewee of 350A clearly says that “The political actions should like a fashion parade.” In that sense, it is important to emphasis on the fact that some of the minor political formations have tendency to continue the practices of the major politics. They can walk away from being minor and political at the same time.

Another example of his tendency to think within the conventional codes of major politics lies in his statements related with an action of women upon a proposed law. He says that “That day 2 thousand women entered into the Assembly. The deputy Levent Gök issued a press statement. You cannot enter into the Assembly without showing your identity cards even in normal times, but these women did it during the state of emergency. Such an action in such a time is incredible.” Similarly he emphasizes on “the success” of women in a different protest. She says that “in the last protest, it was 200 women that protested the government but they gave the sense of that hundreds of thousands would come after. Then the problem was solved.” He supports the idea that “When the social politics grow to maturity in certain level, the players of high politics turn into being the players of it.” In common with his tacit concern with major politics, the interviewee of 350A also supposes that the indefinite hunger strike of Nuriye Gülmen and Semih Özakça is a practice of minor politics and place a premium on it. He criticizes the labor union of making conventional politics.

And he says that “if there are 400 actions like that of Nuriye Gülmen, the government will be overthrown.” However, in his mind, politics is a game of conflict, a kind of contest; the best wins and the worst loses. He supposes that it is a success to force the major politics into the issue that the minor politics concern; “If you do something good in minor politics, you can success to involve the major politics into the issue.” The interviewee of 350A clearly says that “We stand up for direct action.” Actually, I think that these all are the examples showing that 350A, just like the group of OB, is far away from being “minor political” since it is highly based on the norms, codes and practices of the major, conventional, representational, reactive, conflictive politics. The only point that differs the people of 350A from the major politics is that they have recognized the existence of the major politics, they have will to distinguish themselves from the major politics and also they have potentiality to increase their characteristics of being minor political.

Secondly, and in relation with the first tendency, I recognized that some minor political formations regard the means and instruments of major politics significant in order to activate the mechanisms of representations. I can say that they darken the doors of the major politics in order to gain something for their minor political activism. It seems that they consider the representatives and representative bodies and agencies as the keys to solve their problems, meet their demands or reach their goals. In the case of activism of VGD, there is little but interesting detail that the interview mentions “the contribution of the professional chambers” in passing. He states that they succeeded to have some gains in this activism, “especially when we received the supports of the professional chambers.” This is also an example of the people of major politics to darken the doors of the major politics. For another example, the bicyclers of PAB can request for the main opposition party to arrange a meeting with the chairperson of the parliament and the deputies can do this. Similarly, some deputies can help to make the petitions applicable, etc.

Actually, for some people of the minor political formations, it is sometimes necessary to do this, to darken the doors of the major politics. And I think that your tendency to use the mechanisms of and collaborate with the bodies of major politics increases if the size of the affect you expected from your politics increases. For

example, some people of the minor formations can prefer to develop collaborations with state bodies and institutions. The interviewee of 350A can state that they lobbied in the Assembly for the constitution of an alternative climate policy, they meet with four parties. In their website, the people of 350A say “We will not wait for the politicians anymore; we will show how to do, instead of waiting.” However, in practice, one can claim that they are waiting for the politicians and their representative, hierarchical power in the mechanisms of major politics. They apply to the norms and practices of major politics, that is, they darken the doors of the major figures or structures, deputies, the Assembly, the ministries etc. The interviewee can clearly state that “Addressing the ones in the top always is different from addressing them if it serves the purpose of you.” I am not sure that such an art of craftiness could be accepted as one of the virtues of the minor politics. As another example, the people of LİSTAG went to the Assembly to give a very clear message that “These children have families as well, we are with them and we are proud of their being and existence.” Of course I can understand that the people of the minor politics are aware of the power of the representative politics, representative institutions. For example, the people of LİSTAG think that if the deputies and other people in the power of representation adopt and express their respect for the existence of LGBTI individuals, this may change many things and contribute to the movement. However, it seems to me that they are contradictory with the principle of prefiguration of the minor politics since these attempts are the basis of reproduction of the norms and practices of representational, conventional major politics.

In the same context, we can also mention about the fact that the people of the minor politics can value the general or local elections even if they are strong extent of the representative, major politics. For example, the interviewee of MZ mentions about that after the Gezi Movement, in the park forums, they would like to discuss that an organized society does not mean directly to membership to labor unions, but rather means a society that has ability to organize itself. Therefore, they try to revive the issue of self-organization, self-government in gardens, in the school, in the neighborhood, in any kind of locality. They would like to discuss this concern in the forums both before and after the Gezi Movement. However, after the Movement, in the park forums, the topic shifted towards to the general elections; what will we do in

the next election? She says that “That is to say, we cease everything and started to election campaign for Halkların Demokratik Partisi (People’s Democratic Party). This is why, we labored less for the organization of alternative productions. We had supposed that there would open a new field.” I think that this is a shift towards the scope of the major politics.

Thirdly, I recognized that the representations or representative thinking and acting of the major politics continue to be powerful in the mind and practices of the people of the minor politics. One of these strong representations is the May Day. Some of the formations join to the May Day and more importantly, they value or rather praise to participate to it. I think the interest of the minor political formations to join the May Day and to become apparent seems a tendency to be an actor in the major politics. For example, the interviewee of LAMBDA states that they went out to public space in the May Day of 2001 for the first time. This means that they announced and declared themselves by joining in the May Day. In other words, it is as if that joining to May Day was the strongest remark of being political or not. As another example, we should analyze the dispute between OB and PAB. One of the interviewees of OB clearly says that “Everything (he mentions about the division between them) started when we say we will join in May Day.” So we understand that the first dispute arose in the context of May Day. The people of OB wanted to join in May Day and they think that their decision forced the main group, that is PAB, to join too. There exists another discussion between them about the banner for May Day. The people of OB wanted to make the banner with the hard symbols like chain and punch while the people of PAB wanted to join with balloons. After these all, they join in May Day separately. In the same context, one of the interviewee of OB thought that they forced the people of PAB join in May Day and this is a kind of gain from their viewpoint because they say that “Rightest and conservative people come to the space of May Day where there were red flags or poster of Abdullah Öcalan, etc.” He continues like that “The greatest thing that OB has even done up to today is that we forced the PAB to join the May Day. That is to say, we show them that they are political and also we politicized them.” As it can be seen, from the viewpoint of the interviewee of OB, “politicization” refers to perform or exercise the representatives

or symbols of the major politics. This is another reason for the fact that it is almost impossible to describe OB in the field of minor politics.

Still, there are other examples to show the power of the representations and symbols of the major politics. We can also look at again different disputes between OB and PAB. The interviewees of OB state that they made a bike tour for solidarity with LGBTI individuals while they did not participate to the bike tour organized in 19 Mayıs Atatürk'ü Anma, Gençlik ve Spor Bayramı (19th May Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sport Day). Thereupon, people of the PAB criticized the OB for not joining to the tour for May 19th while biking for LGBTIs. Similarly, the interviewees of OB states that the same discussions were lived after a martyrization event in the east of Turkey. Regarding the symbolic politics, another example is that today PAB comes together in Güvenpark, while the people of OB do in front of Humanity Monument in Yüksel Street. This is because the places have some meaning overall but not in terms of minor politics, rather in major politics.

Similarly, there is one more formation or a kind of collective acting in the field of media; it is Seyr-i Sokak – SS. We will see that its characteristic of being major politics is greater than being minor political if we analyze its practices from the viewpoint of minor political activism. According to my field research, I can say that they prefer recording the struggles, the demonstrations and strikes happening in the streets. They seem to be sensitive only to the events that are organized and realized in accordance with conventional understanding of politics, that is the conflicting politics. For example, the interviewee of SS states that they followed all the processes of the demonstrations about hunger strikes, homosexual movement specific to the association of KAOS GL, the antiwar movement and the hunger strike of Nuriye Gülmen and Semih Özakça in recent past. In recent years, they preferred to record the processes of the struggle against the construction of highway near to Middle East Technical University, the construction of cami-cemevi (mosque-djemevi) in Tuzluçayır in Ankara, etc. The interviewee of SS clearly says that “We follow the course of political agenda in the street.” In this statement, the political agenda in the street may be individual, collective or massive strikes, protests or demonstrations, hunger strikes, but all of them is in the field of major politics as far as they are reactive, representative and just discursive. For example, when he says

that “We have to use the time properly and this is why we have to be selective”, he means that they prefer the events that are political in terms of their power to be representative in the field of major politics. When he says “We try to record any events in the street that are related with political agenda. We have organic ties with all social struggles”, in their mind, as far as I understood, the political agenda and also political action is limited to the such kind of strikes, demonstrations, etc. and the political place is the street. When he states that they prefer to record the whole processes of the people “who resist, who act to claim rights”, etc. I think he reduces politics to practice of resistance and action to claim rights. He also states that the video activism reproduces the action and its affect by the video and it is an action itself that tries to transfer this affect of resistance to the audiences. In that sense, they define themselves as “activist” (*eylemci*) in its conventional sense like protestor or demonstrator; they reject staying in an objective position like the journalist, pressman or video activist. He says that “We are activist. We do not stand in the safeguarded side of the state or the police and try to record objectively. We are a party, a side; we are activist with our cameras.” Regarding the political meaning of their activism, the interviewee of SS says that “We do political struggle. If politics means conflict, resistance and struggle, then the SS is in the very center of this conflict. The only difference is in its instruments. Its instrument is camera and its language is image. With the power of the image, it stands by the oppressed.” The interviewee of SS clearly says that “For me, politics means only political struggle and the political struggle exists in any place where there is relation of oppressed and oppressor. We do political struggle in the side of the oppressed. In brief, there is resistance where the power is. The political struggle is this for me.” He also says that “The June Movement lost, it was defeated, it failed to realize its political target. For me, this target is to overthrow the Erdogan and the government of JDP. The political target was this. The translation of the rebellion of the masses is the discharge of this government. It couldn’t do it. This is why we lost and it feel it today as ideologically and psychologically. We lost the psychological position when the state counterattacked.”

I think these all are in accordance with major political residuals, rather than minor political promises. If the interviewee can clearly say “the resistance of Nuriye

Gülmen and Semih Özakça is not something individual, it became a symbol; they are in the hunger strike in the street to represent 100 thousand people while the labor unions are mute in this issue”, this should show us that they perceive and make sense of politics within the representative world of the major politics, which tries to consolidate all politics into certain deeds or actions whose symbolic power is appointed by the major politics itself. Similarly, their deeds and actions serve for the sake of the reproduction of the hegemony of the major politics. The interviewee thinks that if there is a camera in an action, this is effective over the police, that is, it results in the decrease of the state violence. He clearly says that “Moreover, if the activists know that there is a camera in the action, they feel themselves safe and it cheers them up. I mean if they are killed there, there is a camera to announce it to the world at worst. This is a guarantee. It is important for the activists to know that they are known by the world with the power of the images. For example, the hunger strike of Nuriye Gülmen was broadcasted in most of the presses in the world including BBC. Such an international public opinion is a kind of power that encourages her to continue her action and get results from her struggle. Otherwise, the state does not withdraw easily.” In these statements, we can easily recognize that their sense of politics is strongly based on conflict. In that sense, they perceive politics in two opposite poles, there is state on the one hand and the others on the other. Moreover, they position themselves against one pole and their activism is mainly reactionary. Besides these, I think their activism of recording and so their existence themselves support the people who think and act in the norms and practices of the major politics. This is another way of reproducing the major politics in fact.

The interviewee of SS can clearly state that they feel intimate themselves to the formations “that put themselves into jeopardy both in physical and corporal senses.” They position themselves and their political existence into conflict or resistance to the state. In other words, they position their activism in a conflict with the state. For example, they think that such a consciousness of the people is a kind of counterattack against the state since the state has also many eyes everywhere. The counterattack is to show the state that everyone monitors it, its cruelty and violence. According to them, the images are more powerful than the words and the states are afraid of what will be broadcasted and proliferated in the world. He says that “For example, there

was an image of Nuriye Gülmen; the police sprayed tear gas at point blank range and she could see, her eyes are closed. That photo was spread to the world press. The power of that image is very much. It is the image of the state.” Their activism is also related with the recording of the truths and also revealing of them. It is also the point that makes the state afraid. He says that “The camera is an instrument to prevent ourselves from the state, its cruelty and violence. The state has to search blind spots anymore. For example, human smuggling was common in the past but today the state has to find blind spots. The political struggle is the field where we feel that we exist. This is why it is something we cannot break off.”

I think these are strong examples to show that SS has strong tendencies to understand and perform politics with its limited and representative meaning of conflict, that is, in the field of major politics rather than minor politics. Still, it seems to be important to analyze the affects dominant in this activism of SS. The interviewee states that what keeps them alive is rage. She says that “I will say rage primarily. It is true especially after the June Movement. The thing that pushes me to the street is the rage. Our aim is to break down the atmosphere of fear and it reflects on our videos. We try to show that even one person can resist and rise against the state. Our aim is to proliferate the courage rather than the fear or the police violence. We don’t try to show how much the police beat or torture someone, rather how the people resist against this. The aim is to show the motivation and potentialities of the resistances; we want to transfer the courage of resistance to the people.”

4.2 Minor politics as the source of limitations

As has been argued, the people of minor political formations and activisms have some difficulties resulting from different conditions, pressures and limitations of the major politics. In other words, these are the effects and reflections of the major conditions of the major politics. However, there are also some important limitations and shortcomings that are not caused by something, someone or some agencies outside the minor politics; on the contrary they seem to be internal causes. Even if it is difficult to call them “inherent shortcomings of the minor politics”, they exist and develop inside the practical world of the minor political formations and activisms.

4.2.1 The problem of people and voluntariness

As I said earlier, minor political activism is mostly based on existence of voluntary people with their physical and intellectual labors, their collectivity and solidarity as well. This is one of the sources of the *potentia* of the minor politics in different forms. However, this is also one of the sources of basic problems of the minor political formations. I mean that if there are no voluntary people to act, we cannot mention about the existence of the minor political formations and activisms. The people of the minor politics are aware of this very well. For example, the interviewee of IF complains about this issue. He states that there are not enough people to sustain the activities. People like what is going on in these minor formations and may express their support like “they are beautiful”, but they do not labor anyhow. At the stage of idea, people may promise to give support, but at the stage of practice, that is, when it becomes concrete and labor of people is needed, not so much people are around. He also states that there is fear and uneasiness behind human togetherness in minor political formations and activisms because, he says, “in general, people come together in such ways and need themselves when they fear and feel uneasy.” Still, in addition to the fear, there should be hope because it is hope, as much as fear, that mobilizes the people to act, even if it is minor. As he says, “Those who have no hope do nothing; they either go away or retire into their shells.”

In that sense, we can acknowledge that some advantages of the minor political formations over the major politics may also be the limitations of the minor politics. Minor politics is highly performative, that is to say, it exists if people act and it does not exist if people do not act. In that sense, the example from AYÇ will be explanatory. As we remember, everyone in this agency organizes something by themselves, and we see the political meaning of this openness. However, the interviewee continues, “But if there is no one to do this, nothing exists.” It is another discussion that whether all the actions should be maintained forever or not. However, it is true that the minor politics is based on the performativity. Similar experience can also be found in the case of the GDAA. The interviewee states that their activism is based on very individual initiations and when one individual gets tired and acting ceases, there may exist a kind of pause, a layover. The interviewee of HK too

mentions about a limitation stemming from their being based on voluntariness. She states that they are a bit slow because they are working on a voluntary basis. The interviewee of KD also emphasized the issue by stating that there are very few people in the execution of the affairs of the activism and their energy is not enough to flare up the fire. She also points that “We should cultivate ourselves to maintain our existence.” Similarly, the interviewee of MZ states that there are few voluntary people because the works needs a lot of labor. She says “This means that you have to change your life style. No one has time.” The same issue is in the current agenda of TODAP as well. The interviewee states that if so much work and responsibility is loaded on the shoulders of just one or few people, there exists a kind of limitation. There appears the problem of labor commitment which results in getting everything locked up in just one or few people. He clearly says that “In today’s world, it is always difficult for many people to spare time and labor for such activism. However this may result in conglomeration of the works into few people.”

There is one more important problem related with the fact that the minor political activisms are based on voluntariness. As the interviewee of BBOM pays attention, the people in the minor political formations work voluntarily with different motivations such as to be employed later in the same formation or to write it on the CV and this may overshadow their voluntariness because this brings in private sector mentality, commodification of the voluntary values and a concern for being marketable. Regarding these all, the interviewee of BBOM foresees that “if we lose the soul, the story will really change.” And these are the signs that any minor political formation and collectivity would lose the soul because it is the whole of voluntariness, that is, the immanent love and friendship.

As we can see, the voluntariness is a question from the view of minor politics. At the first sight, one can decide that when the size or the magnitudes of activism increase, the voluntariness becomes insufficient to deal with the works to sustain this activism. At this point, they leave being volunteer and seek other ways. Actually, the statements of some interviewees support such an argument. For example, the interviewee of BBOM says that “We were working with voluntary labor but this is up to a certain extent. Everyone has to sustain their lives in financial terms. Then we

decided to develop a system of semi-professional working.” That is, they receive a salary but they work much more than the worth of this amount of salary.

When there are not enough people to act collectively and in solidarity, the loads of the works of the activism have to be shared among few people and this can cause heavy burdens on the shoulders of these few people, and this can result in a kind of alienation or secession. Again, the interviewee of BBOM mentions about the same limitation in a different context. According to her, their formation is not and also should not be a “property of someone; rather it is a horizontal movement, that is to say, we may succeed to stay outside. But in fact, it is not so. I am the black box of this association. This is very clear. And meanwhile, there exist new black boxes.” This brings another and maybe more important problem in minor political activism. It is the problem of leadership, therefore the representation and hierarchy question. The leaders, in terms of initiators and organizers of the minor political formations are key figures. That is to say, they carry so much responsibility for the formation and activism. If they withdraw or leave the formation, it may harm the formation. For example, the interviewee of ÖDA says that “any false step that I did can follow through this formation.” Accordingly, we can say that the leadership is still important in the minor political formations. Again the interviewee and also the founder of ÖDA states that people take into account who is the leader of the group. That is to say, the social and political profiles of the admins are decisive for people to join the group or not.

In the same context of voluntariness, another important issue is that the voluntariness may be perceived as frivolity or levity. Since you do not have to do what you do and you do not earn something material, it may result in such kind of levity. However, this may be source of some important problems for the sake of continuity and sustainability of minor political activism. In that sense, the interview of SL states, voluntariness may be understood as a kind of levity. However, she says, “We don’t have to be unserious since we are all volunteers and there is no hierarchical organization.”

There is one more point regarding the issue of people and their voluntariness to be in solidarity within the minor political activism. The people of the minor political

formations do also need the solidarity of the people who do not necessarily act in minor politics but who are in solidarity with these minor political formations. However, it is not only the people of major politics who underestimate or ignore the autonomous and original endeavors appeared in minor political activism; it is also the reluctance of the people outside the agency sets of major politics, that is ordinary people which limits the minor political activism. This case can be found in ÖK experience. They state that it is very difficult to reach people to support this autonomous production. They clearly say that “We have to sell 800 jerseys in a month to include one more friend to the work. Each extra 100 jerseys mean one more machine and one more friend to work here. The practice is this, no other way. But we cannot sell 50 jerseys in a month, let alone 800, even if we have 16.000 followers in our Facebook page. The money that we can earn is just to pay the rent, sometimes we sell some part of the machines for this.”

4.2.2 The problem of closure

According to the findings in my field research, another important problem in the minor political formations and activism is that there is a tendency to be a closed community, a kind of sect that is closed to “the others” and cannot include or produce multitude. These can be seen in very different forms and practices such as simply becoming introverted, using a specific, technic, professional or conceptual language among themselves, incapability to include those who are different, etc. These are very important problems that cause limitations for the characteristics of the multitude, equality, immanence, etc. of the minor politics. Let’s look at the examples and cases showing this problem of closure.

For example, the interviewee of İF can state that they cannot involve the people even if it is what they want to do from the very beginning. He says that “Initiative could not be a body that involves all the people.” Similarly, the interviewee of AJ also emphasizes this issue in a different context. “I do not think that we could reach the multiplicity to the extent that we want. For example, we cannot reach to the women in the houses like my mother or the workers, those who live in the villages and those who have just television as a means of communication. In short, what we are doing is limited with a certain environment.” The interviewee of OB too says that “It is seen

from outside that we are so crowded, but it is not so, there are same people, like the leftists of the Ankara. We are 300 leftist people in Ankara and turn around 500 organizations; we cannot go beyond the Sıhhiye Bridge.”

The same issue is in the agenda of the people of GDAA. According to the interviewee, they are mixed, that is there is a multitude to a certain extent in their formation but all of them is graduated from university at worst; some of them have master and doctoral degrees. The words that they use even while talking to each other are concepts. They don't make sense for those who are not familiar to them. On the other hand, it results in a kind of hierarchy. Even if you say something wrong, people think that they could not understand or you are right just because you are talking with concepts and a certain terminology. Thus, she says that “I think that we cannot express very well what we are doing. What you talk about may be politically true, but it does not correspond to reality.” The concepts and political language that they use is not a language that some people can understand and / or internalize. She gives the example, “when we talk about horizontal organization of network or anti-hierarchy, it does not make any sense for the Syrian migrants or the grocer in our neighborhood; it does not correspond to any reality in their lives. It is also valid for our friends who become politicized somewhere else.” Another example to discuss the factuality of multiplicity in the minor political formations can be found in the case of PEP. The interviewee states that the formation does not provide a place for those from subcultures. The general profile has much more cultural capital. Especially when they develop friendships based on this capital, it becomes more difficult for the others to join into this friendship. Similarly, the interviewee of TT states that they cannot found a common language. Even in the same community, language can be limited with the concepts. That is, there can exist a kind of closure. It becomes difficult to reach the villagers or other people of agriculture. This creates an obstacle for the development of the issues in social or macro scale. She says that “When we always come together with the same people sharing same ideals, there exist a closed circle and it becomes difficult to go out of it. Even if you can easily communicate with those who are in the circle, it is difficult with those outside the circle. This means that you cannot reach to the real subjects of the issue. Such a fact confutes the thesis that our concern is social and politics. Our approach to the

concern becomes more abstract. This is one of the limitations.” The language of the circle can be adjusted so that it can facilitate the communication between the inside and the outside of the circle. In the same context, the case of TTM is also impressive. The interviewee states that they have financial problems and she links this problem to their being minor, local and also introverted. According to her, they could not succeed to build bridges to the others while aiming to be a rebel zone. She says that “I mean we cannot express and transfer the knowledge of how these works should be to those who are not like us, who knows nothing. This is why there may exist disconnections with those who do not think like us and therefore they cannot contribute to here.”

I recognized that one important source of this closure is the tendency of people to search for similarity or identity, which may be considered as very basic principle of the major politics; for major politics praise togetherness of those who are similar to each other in the level of major identities. I think it can be seen in the case of YÇD. Regarding the membership of the people to their association, the interviewee of YÇD says that “We have only one criterion; we have to know that person to some extent, so we have to work with her before, like a kind of testing period. References are very important.”

Not interestingly, the people of the minor politics are aware of this tendency even if their search is not in the level of major identities. The interviewees of MK state that even friendship may turn into a restricting relationship between two or more people. Being a closed community is certainly a limitation from the viewpoint of minor politics since a closed community is a kind of congregation of the similar ones having similar capital in roughly comparable amount, which means that it has or will have certain “others”, it will not sustain the culture of multitude in their activism, etc. In the same context, another example can be found in the case of PEP. The interviewee says that “Our politics is based on our togetherness but this has a risk of becoming introverted, that is retiring into its shell. We sometimes experience such a risk. Our friendship become very strong but this may be a closure to the outside, that is, the others.” Similarly, the interviewee of MZ states that regarding the friendship in the formations, some people outside the formations can think that here everyone

knows each other and this can cause some barriers for them to step for joining to the formations.

The interviewee of MZ says that “I cannot see that DM produces affections and attract different people. There are always same 7 or 8 people acting and laboring voluntarily. As a result people have no extra energy to contact with other groups in order to raise the political voice. There may be many solidarity networks and political formations but we need to them bring together. This was the ideal of MZ; to connect for instance DÜRTÜK with ÖK. However, we could not do it so much.”

Therefore, there is such a problem that if friendships are lived and constructed as closed to the others and exclusive, there exists a kind of congregation. This is an important danger for the minor political formations because such kind of closures will make the norms and practices of the major politics possible in the cells of the minor politics. The interviewee of MZ states that such a problem of retiring into its shell is also seen in many other formations. However, she also reminds that it is not unavoidable principle of the minor politics. That is to say, if people can take care keeping the doors open to the others, or rather, if they are certain of that the doors are open, so that the others can venture to knock and enter into the formation.

4.2.3 The problem of growing

Very importantly and not surprisingly, one of the important limitations of the minor political formations is the (risk of) growth or enlargement. Here the growth does not refer to the increase in the power of effect, rather in the size or magnitude of minor political activism or formation itself with its work load density, the number of people laboring or getting served, etc. For example, the interviewee of YD clearly says that “we do not want to get bigger so much.” For another example, the interviewee of BBOM states that one of the risks of coming together with the growth is the necessity to be institutionalized because it also brings the difficulty of determining which methods and instruments will be established and utilized to institutionalize. She says that “If the existing tools will be used, it will be same shit different toilet.”

In this issue, one of the most important points is the self-organization since the people of the minor politics recognize that self-organization, self-empowerment and

organizing in the localities as decentralized collectivities or networks are the sources of the growth without falling into major political traps like being molar, hierarchical, representational, centralized, etc. For example, the initiative of TODAP in the Istanbul is conceived as a center by those who are in other cities. The interviewee of TODAP states that such a perception may result in a kind of conflict between them and Istanbul. But they have ethics committee, moderators and reporters so that any conflict will not transform into a bigger issue. In that sense, growing or remaining minor is related with the possibility of self-organization in the localities. The people of the minor political formations are aware of this. The interviewee of MZ mentions the same issue as the source of limitation. According to her, in Turkey, there is no ground of locality and people have no so much desire and capacity for the locality, self-organization and determination of their own lives. “Therefore”, she says, “there is not a power against the state if it wants to mess up all of these.” She gives the example of Kurdistan, that is, the Kurdish people have long time endeavor for self-government and autonomous economy. However in Istanbul today, minor politics is limited with the spaces that the state and the market allow. That is to say, she emphasized, people in the west of the country are not autonomous as much as those in the east.

Regarding the issue of growing and maintaining itself as minor at the same time, I think there is one more point that the interviewees emphasized. It is the issue of union of the minor political formations and activisms, their alliance or simply coming together in certain points. According to some interviewees, minor politics have to be transformative in terms of uniting, bringing together or integrating different minor political formations acting in different fields, in different places and also in different motivations. For example, the interviewee of MZ states that there are prefigurative formations producing politically positive affections but they will stay little cracks in the system unless they raise the political voice; “As long as the state does not totally oppress, you are freer to produce and raise the political voice.” According to her, there should be some steps for transformative politics. As she emphasized herself, “The concern of MZ is not to save ourselves in a collective field. We have to relate it to the macro politics.”

The interviewee of YÇD states that there are many women organizations acting in different fields and also having different political viewpoints and positions. She finds it as very important and a kind of richness. She states that these different organizations should come together in certain issues in solidarity but they cannot. She mentions about this difficulty as a kind of limitation. She says that “We failed to be able to act collectively despite our differences and by accepting all of them.” She also states that after 2005, with the power of JDP and the support of the state, there emerged lots of religious women organizations and they became so powerful in the field. Moreover, the Kurdish women separated themselves as different organizations from the movement of the feminists. And there are also Kemalist, nationalist woman organizations, which are everywhere and so powerful. In accordance with this picture, she says “I think such diversity is not unhealthy. However, we have difficulties to come together when it is necessary because the differences are not recognized.”

4.2.4 The problem of persistence on legislation

I also discovered that some people of the minor politics take care of so much the legislation of their ideals. I mean they try to ground their activisms into legal activism. It is common in the field of minor politics that the people intend to form their activism as right-based or that they want to legislate their dreams or ideals since they thought that if they are legalized, that is, if they are constitutionalized, it means their activism have reached its goals or mission is completed.

According to the interviewee from TT, one of the basic limitations is that they cannot carry these concerns to the constitution. She says that “This is why we cannot avoid from falling into despair. That is to say, we talk about the issues so much here but they easily pass ‘that’ law. This makes us feel that we beat the air. I think our biggest obstacle is this.” Similarly, the people of PAB try to include the cycle routes to the 2015 Main Plan of Transportation in Ankara. As another example, the people of SS support that it is the right of everyone to record the images of abuse of rights and to produce the witness of the events. He states that this is their starting point to proliferate their practice for the attention of the people. To continue in the same context, I can mention about the case of TTM. In all of their activities, the volunteers

of the Center aim to make visible that the people of the region have human rights but they have difficulty to reach these rights and they are subjected to discrimination in different forms such as identity, culture and also urban transformation. In that sense, the volunteers of the Center support and empower them in these mechanisms of legal remedies; where and how they apply and express themselves. Besides these, they support the people to empower their lives in the city. In the same context, the interviewee of KADAV emphasizes their preference to be in solidarity with any formations in the field of right based activism to labor against discriminations. She also states that they also participated in the activities for the education of the human rights of women in some localities including the disaster region. She states that the women movement had an important role in legislation of important laws that regulate, for example, that the honor killing is among the major crimes or that the statement of ‘the head of the family is the man’ was withdrawn from the constitution, etc. According to her, these were important gains of the women movement and KADAV is one of the subjects of this movement.

Accordingly, it can be said that the endeavors to legislate or constitutionalize the aims, values or ideals of the minor political activism are equally important to prefigure certain activisms. In that sense, we can say that the people of minor political formations continue their endeavor not only in prefigurative politics, but also in the processes of law making that is generally in the field of major politics. However, I think it is a tendency in the minor politics to think with the codes or the norms of the major politics. I think it is a residue from the major politics. For example, the people of the minor politics sometimes associate politics with making of laws. I think such a persistence on legislation and the endeavor to ground political activism on laws open the way going towards morality and then the practices or affects of responsibilities, crimes and punishments. As we can easily see, such a framework sounds the conditions of the major politics. In that sense, it is possible to consider that when minor politics persist on legislation, it cuts its own throat.

4.2.5 Other minor problems

There are some other minor problems that are not general but important from the view of minor politics. Some of them are disputable but some of them are acceptable

regarding their potential to result in much more serious and vital limitations for the minor political activisms.

One of these minor problems as potential limitations over the minor politics is related with whether there should be specific space belonging to the minor political formations or not. In other words, it is also possible to discuss whether it is necessary for the minor politics to territorialize itself or not. I mean, we can question whether there should be a specific place, a space, a room, etc. so that people of the minor political formations can come together and organize or prefigure their activisms. It seems to me that this is an issue related with territorialization, not necessarily in terms of the theories of Deleuze and Guattari. This is why I think it can be discussed. For example, the interviewee from YD stressed that there should be no specific place for their formation because such a territorialization will limit their existence and activism both in mind and practice. On the contrary, the interviewee of KD complains that there is no specific place, even a room, belonging to their formation. She says that “If we had a place, we would be more powerful because it would be a ground for people to come together and cultivate each other.”

Another minor problem is the possibility of relieving the values that the minor political activisms try to produce and publicize for the sake of increasing their affective power. For example, the interviewee of BBOM mentions a risk related with the values that they produce. They publicize and share their gains, methods and instruments to perform an alternative education in Turkey. However, these all can become a part of the education in private schools, that is, they can be commercialized in the schools. Similar risk is mentioned in a different context of SS. The interviewee states that if the video determines the power of the action, there exists a threat, a possibility of transformation of the action into a show, a kind of spectacle and then it loses its meaning and quality. It is a kind of playing to the audiences, the camera. He clearly says that “The activists can start to think like an advertiser; they search the ways of drawing attention.”

Another minor but important problem is related with sustainability. The people of the minor political formations are afraid of being unable to sustain their activisms in planned or programmed ways. This results in a kind of concern for the future. One

can see such a concern in the statements of the TODAP. He clearly says that “I think TODAP is weak to develop an issue and program in the form of a projection towards the future. In other words, we cannot derive a projection from the experience. Solidarity is good enough but if we cannot transform the life as a whole, it means we could not touch on their lives, dreams, experiences or pains as well.”

Relatedly, the last issue in the context of minor problems is about material source for the continuity of the minor political formations and activisms. The people of the minor political formations may have certain difficulties to find material support to prefigure their activisms. In general, the minor political formations do not receive great funds to sustain their activities. Rather they are based on donation campaigns and solidarity nights. For example, the interviewee of TTM states that the issue of financial resource is the most difficult issue for them, especially for 3-4 years. If you remember from the previous parts related with closure of the minor political formations, she could say that “We could not solve the problem of resource. Maybe the reasons of this is being minor and in the local or being introverted and failing to build bridges to the others while aiming to be a rebel zone.” It can be seen that the interviewee pays attention to the troublesome aspect of being introverted but she emphasizes on its link to the problem of material resource. In the same context, the interviewee of YÇD states that women organizations in Turkey are very limited and weak economically. She says that “Most of them are cancelled in a short time and they are inactive even if they exist.”

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to describe and discuss the actual and potential limitations of the minor politics, some of which seems to come from outside while some from inside. Regarding these different limitations, shortcomings and tendencies, I would like say that they do not refer to absolute obstacles, perpetual problems or structural disorders inherent to minor politics; they are not unconditioned and fixed issues that the minor politics cannot overcome. Rather they have different reasons and they may become temporary, depending on the will or volition of the people of the minor politics.

Besides these, I would like to underline that the tendencies in the minor political formations and activisms towards the norms and practices of the major politics cannot be generalized for all the field of minor politics. They are peculiar tendencies. In regards of the findings of the field research, I can even say that these tendencies are rather peculiar to three minor formations, namely Seyr-i Sokak, 350Ankara and Öteki Bisiklet. In that sense, it is also acceptable that their *potentia* to become *minor political* formation or activism is highly low. They seem to be minor political formations in regards to their size, their endeavor to try out alternative ways for doing politics and their consciousness and also critique of the hegemony of the major politics; however, the findings say to us that they could not get out of some certain characteristics, norms, practices and affects dominant in major politics. Even if their consciousness of minor politics, criticism for major politics and desire to follow the *lines of flight* give them the possibility of becoming minor political formation or activism, they cannot experience the main dynamics of the minor politics such as prefiguration, multitude and immanence.

Having seen these facts after my field research, I preferred to include these minor formations into my study since I believe that their cases are functional to show the negative results, the cracks and troubles of the study as well. On the other hand, these cases also enabled me to discuss the potential and actual limitations, shortcomings and problems of the minor politics. I mean, I have explained and demonstrated in practice that the minor politics have certain limitations and shortcomings but they cannot be considered without regarding the hegemony of the major politics and particular cases of certain minor formations or activisms.

As another important point regarding the this chapter, I would like to re-emphasize that the minor politics does not get its meaning and find its *potentia* in an oppositional, reactionary or conflicting position against the major politics and its norms, practices and affects. Especially in dealing with the limitations of coming from major politics over minor politics, there appears a kind of dialectical opposition in the form of major politics vs minor politics and the major politics is totally and essentially bad, hampering, limiting, etc. It is true that minor politics carries an inherent criticism and objection to the hegemony of major politics; however, minor political formations and activisms are characterized by actuality of its *potentia* to go

beyond this criticism and opposition. On the other hand, they are capable of overcoming any kind of limitations and shortcomings, even in their relations with the major politics. We see this potentia in entire of the study. Still, in the next chapter, I will concentrate on the promises and concrete gains of the minor politics coming from its transformative, prefigurative and then affective *potentia*.

CHAPTER 5

GAINS AND PROMISES OF MINOR POLITICS

In the previous chapter, I explained the possible and actual limitations and shortcomings of minor political formations and activisms. I tried to show that some of them are resulted from the pressures of the major politics in various forms while some others are the problems specific to the inner dynamics of the minor politics. Identification of these limitations, shortcomings and problems are very important for the main aim of this study, that is, to identify the minor politics as a field of prefigurative politics. However, it should be noted that most of these limitations and problems are specific to certain minor formations, that is to say, it is not possible to generalize them for the whole field of minor politics but they are there as tendencies and as a kind of threat to disrupt the actuality of the minor politics.

However, contrary to this, there is another dimension that we should embrace for the sake of the main aim of the study as well. There are certain concrete gains that the minor politics seem to achieve in practice and certain promises that remark the possibilities for a *life or politics* that is identified with prefiguration, multitude, immanence and their minor dynamics. The field research reveals that the minor political formations and activisms have important gains and developed certain mechanisms to overcome the limitations and solve the problems which we have discussed in the previous chapter.

The promises and gains of the minor political formations can also be considered as kind of answers to the limitations, shortcomings or problems that are specific to certain minor political formations, rather than the whole field of minor politics. The promises do not refer only to the possibilities or potentials of the minor politics to open new dynamics in politics as life, but also actualities that work in certain minor formations and activities as already important gains for the sake of life as politics.

Therefore in this chapter, I will explain these promises in reference to the findings of the field research.

5.1 New subjectivities and transformation

In relation to the previous chapters, I should say that there is a common understanding among the people of the minor politics that gaining new subjectivities and ongoing processes of individual or collective transformations are considered as the most important gain and promise of the minor politics. This is why, it seems primarily important to consider the issues of gaining new subjectivity and processes of transformation together in the context of gains and promises of the minor politics.

In general, the minor political formations and activisms, in accordance with their prefigurative and immanent characteristics, produce new subjectivities in terms of the experiences of self-change and self-transformation in individual or social level. From the viewpoint of minor politics, everything is political either potentially or actually and politics is identified with life. Such comprehension and practice naturally bring the facts that the people get new subjectivities in their minor activisms, they change in time, transform their mind and daily life practices. The field research includes cases showing the experiences in various forms. In this part I argue that the minor politics have enough promises to overcome its limitations and problems.

One of the best examples in my field research can be found in the activism of AJ. The interviewee states that after the activities of jam for a week, people think about the means and ways to carry and apply all their experiences, patterns and instruments of communication and support mechanisms into their daily lives. As we know from previous chapters, it is a kind of listening and talking whole-heartedly, transparent sharing, telling about the needs and affects that are very basic instruments of communication. The interviewee says that “When people open field to listen someone and his/her stories, they see that there can appear these really strong ties and then they start to recognize that there are many stories in daily life which they do not open field, they don’t allocate time and they try to fix according to their own truths.” In that sense, I think one can say that the production or gaining new

subjectivities starts with opening fields for us and the others to listen and be listened in immanent level, within the daily life stories belonging to ourselves. These are the processes which people of AJ experience in their activities for a week, but people desire to adopt them and more specifically non-violent communication into their daily lives. Actually one of the sources of self-transformation lies here. Of course they have difficulty in re-adapting to the violent communication as the common way in the society and they may judge the people. However, as the interviewee says, “After this turned to be a manner of becoming in their own life, they start to share with other people these instruments of communication. Some makes a *circle* with his/her family, with their students in his/her class or within teachers’ lounge, etc.” The interviewee also points out the importance of producing new subjectivities in terms of changing the habits of consumption and substituting the new practices of swap, reuse and recycle. This is why they initiated a swap market during the Gezi Movement.

Another good example is from BBOM. According to interviewee, the activities in the school produce new subjectivities in children. They gain new subjectivities especially in nourishment, production and reuse instead of consumption by virtue of the fact that their creativity is very vibrant. The effect of these subjectivities is not restricted with these only. The interviewee states that the activities and values produced in the daily practices of the schools are transferred from children to the houses, that is, to parents. For example, some families prefigure the practice of *circle* to make decisions all together and try to experience the skills of non-violent communication, etc.

For another example, the interviewee of ÇÇ tells about the gains of their activism in the context of gaining people, new subjectivities and transformations: “We gain people. The more people there are, the more things we gain because these people will harm to the world less than before, they will change their habit of consuming, they will live the feelings of sharing and friendship that the system makes us forget.” As another example, the interviewee of HK clearly says that “Above all, we learned how to listen. By virtue of this, we weed out from our lives the prejudices, categorizations and intolerances against the others. We become highly sensitive and capable to see and feel the pains of the people.” In the same context, that is, regarding their

processes of self-transformation in their activities, the interviewee also mentions that they consume less anymore. When I ask the relation of this with their activities directed towards social memory and conscience, she says that “Everything is related with each other”; that is, when you gain being sensitive to the minor cases of collective memory, you also become sensitive to other subjects of the politics since you begin to live the politics in an immanent level. Much relatedly, the people of MK can invite those of HK and come together in the same place of MK and they share their experiences of minor politics in different fields of life.

The people of minor politics know that today we live in speeded up times and that the necessity to be fast is one of the sources of today’s subjugating relations. In that sense, they are sensitive to the fastness, the time economy of the modern life. For example, the interviewee of ÇÇ says that “people immediately go waste the vegetables with little damage because they have no enough time to regain or recover them. The system directs people to fast consumption. Actually we try to slow down the system a little bit.” When they collect the foods and vegetables from bazaar, when they cook with them and then serve the meals to the people in the street, they are always in transformative practices. They initially transform the foods and vegetables, this is very important. But at the same time, they change the perception of both of themselves and the other people to be served. For example, they cook and then serve the meals to the people passing through the street. People ask to the volunteers of ÇÇ “why do you do this, even unpaid?” People can have difficulties in understanding these kinds of actions, which shows that the transformation starts in the mind since prefiguration is powerful enough not only to show the possibilities of politics but also to produce affects towards transformation and change of the minds and practices. The interviewees of ÇÇ state that people are not familiar with such kinds as voluntary and disinterested activities because they are habituated to “buy” and “sell” everything in life. In that sense, the action is not only related with being helpful to people who are in a difficult situation. If you say “I do not need these meals, I can buy it, let poor people eat them”, this means you miss the point of ÇÇ and the minor politics as well. For another example, they do not want to buy bowls to serve soups, instead they call people to bring their bowls idle in their home. This is also a kind of continuity of their main problem actually and this is good example for

what I define as “immanence”. But more importantly in our context, it is a good example of the transformative effect of the minor politics. They change not only perception but also practice of foods and goods, waste, human and many other things.

Similar examples can be found in other minor political formations. As you know, the basic practice in the activism of ÖDA is to cycle the things, to revive the culture of sharing, re-cycling, reuse, even production instead of consumption and to develop a kind of solidarity. It is possible to claim that people in this practice of cycling do not start with the consciousness or conscience of cycling and its politically transformative affects, but they recognize in time that such a prefiguration has transformative power. For simple examples, I can say that with the practice of cycling, people change their consumer culture, shopping mall routines and perception of goods, necessities, different ways of solidarity and activism as well. The interviewee of ÖDA clearly says that “it is difficult for people to think about goodness until they experience it. As long as people experience the cycling, their viewpoint changes.”

We can also see similar activities in other minor political formations where new habitus and new subjectivities develop. For example, YD organizes barter festivals each month. In this activity, people interchange their objects or any kind of things, even the products that one did oneself. The interviewee says that “Approximately 1000 objects are bartered at a time.” Besides these, YD also provides seeds or sprouts to people, and it also provides the training, then people make their own gardening. Actually, this is important for people to initiate a new life practice, that is, to gain new subjectivities in accordance with this minor political activism.

Regarding the gaining new subjectivities and self-transformation processes, I can also give example from ÖL. The interviewee from it points out that their unique criterion is that no one will have hate speech and discriminative attitude in this activism. He knows that “Actually these are the parts of our habitus. We are not aware but we can insult the women when we are swearing.” However, he also knows that in the processes of ÖL, they start to purify themselves from these all as well. He clearly says that “We were people who were wafted by the wind and we were also

aware of the wind. However, with the ÖL, we have affects to change this, that is to say, to change our own lives.”

Regarding the affects of transformation, the interviewee of YÇD mentions the feelings when they succeed to change their lives. She says that “What I feel is based on the endeavor to change our own lives together with that of the others, us and women like us. Still, our motivation is not to emancipate women, rather it is based on doing something together.” Besides these, women also recognized that what they are doing in their houses is a kind of job, they have labor that is not paid. In that sense, they also notice their right to work and they can gain a self-confidence to work outside the home as well. The interviewee clearly says that “This refers to being a subject”, to gaining a subjectivity actually.

Then it is obvious that the minor political formations have affects on the people in individual level. I mean we can observe the remarks of transformation within very individual stories as well. For example, the interviewee of TT says that “Tarlataban is the turning point in my life. It dramatically changed my viewpoint. I was studying International Trade; our subjects were always macro subjects. However, my father was stallholder, that is, he was working in bazaar. In Tarlataban, I learned that even the conditions of my father in marketplace were political.” Similarly, the interviewee of TODAP states that they try to organize their activities and meetings on the base of the values of solidarity and multitude as well. More importantly, according to him, “these values produce new subjectivities and determine our ways of relation to the life. Moreover, we transfer these all into other forms of relations. I think this is important.”

Besides these all, when the interviewee from LİSTAG underlined that they transformed even their language in the processes of their activism, when the interviewee of SS claims that they try to make people recognize that they can be media themselves and they can record the events or the actions of their own, when the interviewee of TO points out that they try to encourage people to question their truth claims and to show what they accept as true can be wrong and there are different perspectives to view the events, etc., people of the minor political

formations points out the transformative potentiality and reality of their activism in fact.

As has been argued in the third chapter, one of the most important gains realized as the results of various encounters and multitude in the minor political formations and activism is the production of the new subjectivities and self-transformation. I have touched on this topic very briefly, but I think I should bring it into focus here in this part. The encounters in the minor political formations are transformative in the sense that the relations, especially immanent and voluntary relations, the non-violent communications and friendly togetherness are functional for people to shake their fixed ideas, stereotypes, biases and uniformed opinions or clichés coming from major political backgrounds and major identities or thoughts. This brings into existence the possibilities to take the first step to produce new subjectivities and transformations towards friendly togetherness, which is very substantial political action to establish the minor political sense and practice of life. In my field research, there are good examples to show the promises that lie in this potentiality of the minor politics.

For example, the interviewee of GDAA talks about the individual or political benefit of encounters, multitude and its relations with transformation. She clearly says that “The relations among us are political and this is also valid for our reality in this network. Actually it is highly transformative. We are people coming from different backgrounds, there are engineers, psychiatrists, theater players, workers, civil servants, academics, those who make politics over civil society, feminists, anarchists and those who just started to be political as well. This is why there are different encounters; everyone brings their concerns and capacities. It becomes a kind of concentration of the powers. Feminists prevent us from being sexist and animal rights activists prevent us from being speciesist, etc.” As we can see very easily, they meld each other, with their values, their sensibilities as much as their capabilities. They get new subjectivities from their friendly togetherness. Such a transformation reflects itself into their existence, which is very minor political. In this context, the interviewee can say that “I value the issue of language and attitude, the language in the relations with the people around me. I feel that I reconstruct myself in each encounter when I tried to tell about what I do to the people who don’t have any idea about it. I always search for another language. How can I tell them by simpler and

more practical ways? This issue may exhaust me but it becomes something transforming me and my attitude in each encounter.” As another clear statement, I should also note that “These processes of activism in GDAA helped me to internalize the issue in daily life since it provided me to see how much I reproduce it.”

In the same context, I can mention about the case of activism of HK directed for social memory and conscience. The interviewee from this formation states that one of the park forums was about the social memory and there were some people whose parents were murdered, some representatives for Armenian population and some witnesses of the massacres of Alevi people in Sivas and Kahramanmaraş. More importantly, there was also one partisan of Nationalist Movement Party; he was already regular participant of the forums. In this forum on social memory, people told about the evil events, unidentified murders, massacres, etc. and this partisan expressed that he heard these all for the first time and he was deeply affected. The interviewee states that this was very important moment in the story of transformation of this friend. Thereupon, such an expression of this partisan friend helped the people to recognize that they are so closed to the others. She expresses that those who introduced with a perspective gained from such a minor political activism by undergoing a process of self-transformation and they even start to internalize a transformative role in their social environment. For she clearly says that “We learned in our processes that the encounter and touch of people, especially when they come face to face conversation, the affects come into play and a kind of transformation begins. Those who are in our group and around of us experienced self-transformation very much together with an increase in their sensitivity. Even our families started to join into our film screening.”

Similarly, one of the interviewees from MK points that one of the initial aims was to pattern some practices that have capacity to transform the lives of the people in this initiation since they thought that “this formation or activism is political as long as it provides a potentiality for people to change their life.” In that sense, she gives an example from her own life: “Mutfak strengthened the ties between me and the city or the place.” She feels herself much more belonging to the place where she lives and this is the very positive affect of their activism in / of MK. Another interviewee also tells about her story of self-transformation in this practice of minor politics. She

states that she used to underestimate the endeavor of the ecologist people not to increase the individual carbon footprint because she used to think that the essential accountable in this concern was those macro structures and patterns that pollute the environment corporately and systematically. This viewpoint, she used to suppose, moves the responsibility from the structural to the individual. However, in the processes of MK, after she met with people who produced their own detergent for example, she started to accept the importance of this individual endeavor in minor scale but in collective and prefigurative form. She says that “I accepted it as political after I spent times with those people here.” Another interviewee from MK also talks about similar story of herself and these minor political activisms. She mentions that the formation and all the activities happened there have very positive effects on her as well. She defined the pattern of her own past as cynicism, an affect of failure to be the subject of nothing, a kind of weakness. However, she experienced that MK is very important in her personal history because, she says, “the cynicism was fall down in Mutfak”, she has socialized and developed better contacts and solidarities with lots of people in different formations like Solidarity of 10th October and Hafiza Kaydı, etc.

Another interesting and impressive example lies in the stories of PAB. When they bike collectively in the streets and avenues in city centers, the police in the beginning weeks used to attempt to prevent their activities of collective biking because the police supposed that these cyclists were demonstrating. But after they understood that these people were doing something else rather than protesting or demonstration, they also recognized that they do not have to interfere with such collective bike tours anymore. The interviewee says that “Actually this is also political but it is not considered as political, rather as something innocent. Even the police understand that the traffic continuously gets worse in this country and that the motor vehicles cannot be solution. Now, they approach to us much friendly.” As we can see, minor political activisms have transformative power and this power is affective even for the police who is generally considered to be those who are resistant to transformation much more than someone else. In reference to this statement, I can also conclude that the transformative power of minor political activism comes from its prefiguration and immanence, rather than being reactionary or conflictive.

In the context of producing new subjectivities and transformation, I also recognized that these facts and affects include the processes of becoming as well. I mean, gaining a new subjectivity or transformation in immanent level does also refer to becoming, that is, becoming a minority, a refugee, an homosexual, a women, a tree, an animal, a murderer or victim, etc. I consider it is possible to evaluate all these transformative and affective processes experienced in the minor political activisms in the context of becoming from the view of its political potentialities. In the previous chapters I tried to point out the difference between solidarity and charity in order to distinguish the minor political activism. One of the sources of this difference is that the people of the minor politics do not act with the feelings like mercy or pity and the ideals like responsibility or any doctrines or ideologies, etc. They just act within the affections of love, for example, which bring into processes of becoming in either low or high densities. In that sense, for instance, the people of 100. Yıl İnisiyatifi can try to do something for earthquake victims, war wearies and immigrants or book campaign for the children in the villages. Regardless of its content, such an endeavor itself is valuable to show the capabilities of people to be affected, or the capacity of becoming. As another example, the people of HKD can individually or collectively go to the war territories to participate in the solidarity with the victims and migrants of the war. In these times of crises, they can report the urgencies, basic needs and medical conditions of the people and can organize aid campaigns in İzmir to send them to the war territories. The interviewee says that “The basic characteristic of us is that there is very intense labor, sensitivity and reason of the women both in qualitative and quantitative terms.” The source of this voluntary intense labor and sensitivity is mostly based on the *potentiality of becoming* as well. Again in the same context, we should consider that the people of minor politics can take care of being vegetarian in terms of human rights. The interviewee of CİSST can say that “I believe that there should be activism for the animal rights in the solution of human rights issues.” This is the point where becoming animal comes close to becoming human. Similarly, the people of ÇÇ are also sensitive to make the meals vegan; this is the continuity of their sensitivity to the nature, to life and to the people as well. They state that the animals are exploited and animal waste is harmful to the nature.

Besides these, they also say, “we believe that if someone can harm to the animals, he also can harm to the people.”

In my field research, there are different examples permitting us to talk about both virtual and actual dimension of becoming. For instance, the interviewee of AJ mentions about “the ability of people to transform these processes [of their activism] into becoming” and she states that she means to find the correspondence of the ideas into real life. She states that each one of 30 people in the jam has many theoretical concepts or ideas in their mind but they witness how these concepts are real stories in lives of each other. She says that “These real stories may be something beyond the theories, something the theories cannot cover.” In that sense, she means that the attempt to reduce them into the theories refer to a kind of closure of the fields of new stories and their expressions. Thus, she says “The processes of becoming means to open rooms for all these differences, to be able to share your own story and feel the confidence that you can stay in this community as being heartily and transparent and so you can find the power to do something that you dream. This is why the becoming means that the effect of the jams is not restricted with one week.” As it can be seen, the becoming is the name of gaining new subjectivity and self-transformation as far as these new subjectivities become immanent into the lives of the people. In fact, this certainly refers to what the minor politics defines as one of its promises.

Before passing to new part, let me note an important point in this context. It is obvious that the people of the minor politics labor so much and one of the reasons behind this is that these minor practices are highly important in terms of being creative and transformative. For example, the interviewee of ÖDA can say, “I labor for this group for 3 years, I keep my shoulder to the wheel.” Actually the minor politics and all the activisms require a certain level of endeavor since you want something different from those which are served to you. In that sense, minor politics is also an invitation for people to live outside the conformist life, that is, their comfortable zones and practices. But at the same time, and as I said earlier in the previous chapters, the people of the minor politics believe in the creative and transformative power of the practical, prefigurative, productive, immanent and affective politics of activism of the minor politics. This does not mean that they devalue the political meaning of ideas or thoughts and practice of thinking or

discussing. However, they emphasize on the necessity of practical, prefigurative aspect not in terms of major, but minor politics. This also indicates the emphasis on the importance of *the minor*. For if you have an idea and you want to actualize it, you should start in small scale. Let's look at what the interviewee of YD reminds from Kazım Koyuncu, who was famous musician and also an activist: "You may believe in revolution, you may have beautiful systems for revolution in your mind, but what matters is your conservation and relation with greengrocer in the street or with the people in a bus. If you value and appreciate the importance of this contact, they also value this difference of you and it spreads. Here is the micro space, the field of individual experiences." In fact, I think here is the source of the transformative power of the minor politics at the same time.

5.2 Concrete gains

Up to here, I tried to summarize the issue of new subjectivity and transformation among the gains and promises of the minor politics. We saw that people with experience of different minor political activisms consider "transformation and transformative perspective" as the most important gains. Then, the minor politics is the politics of gaining new subjectivities and transformation. This is almost common ground of all minor political formations. So it is possible and maybe necessary to claim that gaining new-subjectivities and transformation do also refer to concrete gains and hence it is included in this part.

As I said in the previous chapter, it was a difficult period when I made my interviews. It was difficult to think positively and concentrate on the gains or positive effects of the minor politics because there were major and shocking events in the country that unavoidably made people of the minor politics feel helpless in the face of the majority of the evil of these events. For example, the interviewee of MZ says "Please don't ask me about the gains, I cannot think on the gains in these days." I think this statement tells more about the gloom of the period. But still, I can say, people of the minor politics succeeded to think positively and consider the gains of their activisms from the very beginning. And I could have enough evidences to concentrate on the gains, achievements and the positive effects of the minor political formations and activisms in Turkey from the viewpoint of the interviewees from

them. In reference to the findings of my field research, I can say that there are various examples that express large or small, but minor in any case, gains and positive effects in different fields and forms of the minor political activisms. These can be called as the gains of the minor politics or the gains according to the people of the minor political formations and activisms.

As I mentioned at the very beginning of this chapter, minor politics as an attempt for prefigurative politics and the existence of minor political experiences are the gains themselves. I saw that this is recognized as an important and primary gain by the people of the minor political formations and activisms included in my field research. In that sense, they are aware of what they succeed and they emphasized on their will, persistence and resolution to sustain their endeavor despite of various difficulties to do minor politics in this country. For example, according to the interviewee of SL, especially in these gloomy days of Turkey where nobody feels safe and comfortable outside and this is why everyone needs to stay in closure at their home, the existence of such a formation as ÖL is the gain itself. She says that “we can come together and have a hearth-to-hearth talk even in these days. This is really important and valuable itself.” This is what I mean in fact.

Then let me start with the issue of sustainability in / of the minor political formations and activisms. In this context, and maybe not surprisingly depending on their stories, the most exciting and glowing statement belongs to the people of ÖK. They know that the way of resistance is so long and they never think the mission is completed. They value all the experiences lived in this process. They are aware of the importance of the process of the practices and they celebrate what they lived as a kind of training. For them, “What is lived in the resistances is different from what is talked in the table.” They define themselves as very stubborn people and this is the source of their success. The interviewee says, “By virtue of our persistence, we can continue even today and we believe that something can change. I cannot understand the people. Why don’t they sustain, why do they give up? We also had difficult times but we didn’t leave because there are lots of things to do, nothing is finished.”

In Turkey, it is very common to come together and then disrupt, splinter and fly to pieces in a very short time. This is why the interviewee of BBOM clearly says that

“Our biggest gain is that we are still together. We lose some of us in the way, that is, some people leave but BBOM has not disrupted. In this regard, BBOM gives hope to lots of people.” Similarly, the interviewee of KD states that they as people of KD did many discussions and blood-and-guts-arguments among themselves but no one is cross with others and next time everyone is there again to work for the protection of the Garden. In that sense, she says that “It was the Garden itself that holds this multiplicity together, that is, the struggle to protect our own living spaces.” As another example, the interviewee of ÖDA states that of course there are various problems in the processes of their activism and they are showing maximum effort to deal with the problems. For him, one of the most important points in their success of existence and enlargement is that “We never left after we have founded the formation.” I think these are the expressions and appearances of the will of the people of the minor politics. In that sense, I can say that the minor politics is not politics of desire, but politics of *will* in terms of immanent care and volunteering. In this regard, the interviewee of ÖDA makes the point that they do not act with “youthful excitement.” I think he tries to express how they care and take their action serious. For he says, “the group reaches to 130 thousand members because we are continuously dealing with it.” The people of ÖL agree with those of ÖDA in this issue. The interviewee of ÖL states that there are many politically organized people who want to do something and desire to realize themselves. However, when they have only desire, they could not do it and this causes a kind of exhaustion for them and then they do not want to do anything. He clearly says that “You have to be patient to succeed and get something; may be you will have to wait for ten years for transformation of something. It looks like feeding a tree.” In this context, I can also mention about the endeavor of people of PAB to keep alive the sprouts in a forest in Ankara. They organize extra bike tours in Sundays to gather water from the rivers around the forest and irrigate the sprouts. They are aware of the willing and persistency in this activism. The interviewee says that “Ultimately it seems to throwing a shingle into the ocean; we may not see the last wave coming to the coast but we will always know that its energy will be there and continuing.” Therefore, we can say that initiation of an activism is very important from the view of minor politics, but sustainability is equally, maybe more, important. In this topic, I should also note the statements of the interviewee of TTM. I think she emphasizes on the

relation between immanence of voluntariness and will or persistence when she says “The volunteers do not come to here just to hang out with kids. Our volunteers are those who know that something can change only when they labor regularly and collectively, rather than once in a blue moon.” As another example, the interviewee of CİSST states that they did not give up even if they had difficulties. They continued to work even by carrying their studies to home. For him, one of the reasons for this persistence is that they know that the prisoners need all these activities and their outcomes. Regarding the sustainability of and regularity in the activities, the interviewee of CİSST also talks about that their success in this issue affected certain level of positivity on the Ministry of Justice as well. He says that “They may be fascist or bad people but once the departmental chief said, by referring to us, that they do their job very well even if they are leftists. I mean he too changes his view point in time.” As we can see, they earn respect in time in the presence and sustainability of Ministry of Justice and this is very important gain as a result of their persistence and will to sustain their activism. I think we should evaluate the following statement of the interviewee of GDA in the same context: “We initiated some acts if we think that we can sustain it.” That is to say, the sustainability is one of the most important points for the people of the minor politics. They are proud of such a collective endeavor. Similarly, the interviewee of HKD tells about the expression of their own will and persistence. He states that they meet regularly each Monday for four years; their meetings are open to everyone and each time approximately 50 people come together. In these weekly meetings, everyone mentions about the problems, the things to do and they make a weekly plan and try to overcome all the issues until the next meeting.

Another important gain is related with enlargement. I recognized that people of the minor political formations included in my field research value a kind of enlargement, a spread of minor politics with its practice, idea and affects. In that sense, according to them, an important gain is that their activisms spread to different localities by virtue of people. In this issue, an essential detail is that this enlargement or spread is not in the way of centralization or with the enlargement of the representative bodies, but rather in decentralized ways and autonomously. Thus the gains of the minor politics can also be seen in the fact that the prefigurative characteristics of the minor

political formations affect people; so in different localities people are excited and they can begin to generate the same or similar formations or activisms. There are many examples for this, some of which were already considered under the topic of solidarity, locality, autonomy, etc. Still I can mention about some others showing this excitement and imitation. For example, there is ÇÇ acting in Ankara but the similar activism can be seen in other cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Mersin and even Çorum. Similarly, in Ankara there is HK acting in the field of social memory, but there are also similar formations acting in the field of social memory. Some of them are Memory Center, Common Memory Platform, Lice Seeks of Justice, Black Box Youth Association, etc. As different example in the same context, the interviewee of AJ states that one of their friends applies the communication instruments in a school in Diyarbakır. Another friend of them, as I mentioned in third chapter in the context of virtue of decentralization and autonomy, initiated a cooperative in Şirince, Izmir to preserve both the historical and modern values of this locality and to support local production. In the same context, the interviewee from TODAP clearly says that “This formation is effective in the generation of new minor formations.” And the interviewee of YÇD states that “Lots of women organizations were founded in Turkey in the last three or four decades and they have been more active than any other oppositional movement.”

According to the interviewees, another important gain is related with the accumulation of the knowledge and experience of minor political activisms in different fields of life. As you remember, I talked about the accumulation of knowledge in minor political formations but here in the context of gains, the important thing is that the people of minor politics value and protect this accumulation of knowledge and experience as the gain of their activism. This is because, I think, they think that such an accumulation has and may have transformative power in various contexts and fields of life.

For example, the interviewee of CİSST states that their main aim was to reach the knowledge of the *inside*. Until today, the knowledge on the prisons was based on the poems, the letters of the prisoners sent to their relatives and also the reports that mention about maltreatment only. This means that no one could reach to the subjects of the issue, that is, the prisoners and others such as officers living or working inside.

However in time, people of CİSST gained much knowledge having potential to change the perception of the life inside, its realities and conditions. For example, according to the interviewee, their most important gain was to show that there are not only leftists in the prisons and only 3 % are political prisoners. They have developed in time the knowledge that they should go towards all those in the prisons equally so that they can earn respect in the presence of people at the same time. In practice, they started to work in the prisons with the babies and women primarily since they had already recognized that if you define your target group as the leftists only, the state and also the citizens start to put up the walls. This is why they could succeed to act in this field for years. Undoubtedly, these all are important gains. For example, they prevented the establishment of a different prison that is special to LGBTI individuals because it is a kind of discrimination. For another example, they recognized that the prison officers are also in bad conditions inside because they turned into being just an instrument, which is exactly what the state wants. The interviewee points out that they consider this as another issue of human right in the prisons. Today, in the subject fields of CİSST there are even the victims, their rights and unjust treatments that they are faced with. The interviewee says that “We truly care about the victims and their rights. We have important role in the establishment of the Department of Victim Rights in Turkey.” With the accumulation of the knowledge, the interviewee evaluates their success as initial attempts for a kind of transformation in civil society because with their success to make visible that there are also other people who require special needs, the associations for women, LGBTI individuals or children include the prisoned women, LGBTI individuals and children into their activities. Therefore, the interviewee is aware that they have achieved to bring the issue of prison and penal system into the agenda of the civil society. In other words, they succeeded to include all those who require special needs in closed places like prison into the agenda of civil society. He clearly says that “We succeed to make these issues apparent. I think this is also very important gain. We brought into discussion the existing imprisonment models both among the bureaucrats and also in the public.” Moreover, they also know that they have managed to be a good model showing how things should be in certain issues like what the monitoring means, what the value of human being is, what the rehabilitation means, etc. They think that they are doing good to show some truths to the institutions of state like Ministry of Justice

and also to the public. For example, there is a kind of superstructure consisted of almost 30 formations working for the abolishment of the youth prison. They have the explanation of why the children should not be prisoned and also the ways or methods about how to succeed this end. In short, the interviewee says that “Thus, I believe that we gained and showed many things to the public. And I think this is also political.”

In the context of gains of the minor political activisms, the people of formations also mention about their practical, concrete gains that are also the aims of their activisms. For example, the activism of people of KD aims to protect the Garden in this locality and they have succeeded this for years. In that sense, the interviewee clearly says that “Garden is still a green field and closed to the construction; we accept this as gain.” Moreover, the people of KD are not only the users but also the residents of the Garden. According to them, “It is already the responsibility of the local administrations; it has to sere to us. Ultimately, we achieved our objectives and now the Garden is used very well. It is our association that defined and determined the rules of how to use the Garden in order to protect its nature. Even I can say that the Garden has not been used before as much as it is used today as both a field of agriculture, a field of playing and sport. ” A similar vase expressing the concrete gains can also be found in the activism of VGD. The interviewee says that “Actually we prevented the transformation of the Grove at sweet will of those who are at the top. If it was up to them, the Grove is already full of highways, buildings and shopping centers. In other words, we saved the Validebağ Grove. It is still grade 1 natural site area, it is still protected and it is not open to construction.”

The interviewee of KD also mentions about another important point of minor political formations to be recognized by the institutions of the major politics. According to her, today everyone in Bosphorus Delevelopment Directorate knows KD and also abstains. They do not want to interfere with these people because they know that these voluntary people of KD never stop following the staffs. Similarly the people of KD are active in Üsküdar Municipality and they succeeded to create a sphere of influence there. They thought that they just showed they recognize the authority of municipality. But they also expressed in very temperate and peaceful

language that they are asking to be recognized by the municipality as well. Then they succeeded to gather around the same table with the authorities of the municipality. The interviewee says that “These all are very important because I suppose they never gather around the same table with those who are not of the same mind with them.”

In the same context, I also recognized that for the people of the minor politics, it is an important gain to activate and run the institutions of the major politics to serve for the needs and wishes of the minor politics and also to collaborate with the major politics to some extent and as long as it contributes to the aims of the minor politics. For example, the interviewee of 350A can say that “The relation and conversation between state institutions are very slow; so if you don’t run and accelerate these relations and conversations, you cannot do minor politics.” Similarly the interviewee of CİSST states that they succeeded to activate some state institutions responsible for the issues related with the penal system and the conditions of the prisoners, etc. He says that “We made the inactive mechanisms active; for example, we showed that the Committee for Monitoring the Prisons does not work. The way of this is not to deny or ignore the existence of these mechanisms or institutions, rather to invite them to work together and to do it. By virtue of this we succeeded to activate five different institutions.” According to the interviewee of LİSTAG, they have also gains in relations with the institutions of the major politics as well. For example, in the general elections after the Gezi Movement, they in solidarity with other formations like Sosyal Politikalar Cinsiyet Kimliği ve Cinsel Yönelim Çalışmaları Derneği - SPOD (Social Policies, Sexual Identity and Orientation Studies Association) organized a company for LGBTI friendly municipalities and some candidates for mayor signed their declarations easily; they did not have difficulties to contact with the people of LİSTAG and some municipalities like Kadıköy, Beşiktaş and Şişli try to apply these declarations.

As another example, the interviewee of KD states that for the local elections after Gezi Movement, the issue of how to use the Garden gained currency in the Üsküdar Municipality. There existed a chance of conducting a meeting with the mayor, *muhtar* and other authorized people to deliberate the issue. In this meeting, the people of KD attended with many young people of the Gezi Movement. And they succeeded to make the Municipality accept their proposals regarding how to use the

Garden: It will stay as a green field where the older can take a walk, kids can play and some part of the field will be a recreation field and some of it will be used for collective agriculture, etc. That is, it will never be constructed and corrupted. Regarding all these gains, the interviewee of KD says that “we succeeded very well to take the wind of the Gezi Movement as a power.” This may be considered as one of the very clear examples showing the effect of the Gezi Movement. But it is also a gain coming from recognizing and then working together with the institutions of the major politics, rather than just closing the doors to them and reacting. The interviewee states that there were some people who accused KD of collaborating with the municipality. Such an accusation of collaboration, according to the interviewee, is common among the normative world of the leftist ideologies as one big world of the major politics. Actually, we cannot say that the relation of the minor political formations with the institutions of the major politics will automatically shoot these formations outside the field of minor politics. However, it is still open to debate whether this kind of collaboration is necessary or not to protect the living spaces.

The local governments such as municipalities are also effective in emergence and then maintenance of the minor political activisms and formations. The people of the minor politics are aware of such a fact. For example, the interviewee of PAB mentions about the Izmir Municipality as the chance of the people of Izmir. He says that “The municipality considers the bicycle as a clean means of transportation and supports such a practice by adding cycle routes for kilometers. Even the mayor rides a bicycle together with people in certain days.” In that sense, we can claim that the local state institutions like municipalities can serve for the benefits or the aims of the minor political activism. In that case, the gain lies again in developing correct, peaceful, constructive relationships with these institutions in fact. It is possible to go around the issue in reverse, in order to verify this fact. For example, the interviewee states that it is incredible to work on a feminist program with and within the state; however they cannot collaborate with the state anymore because it considers them “marginal” for they are feminist. Even if they worked in the field together with the state, today the states closed the doors for collaboration. This is why, the interviewee of YÇD states that they have difficulties today to reach women. Even if they have

great and very effective programs and lots of trainers, they are not allowed to apply them.

As another practical, concrete example for gains of the minor politics, the interviewee of LAMBDA states that they succeeded to make the issue of LGBTI apparent in this society; people learned this issue and also the existence of the LGBTI individuals. Besides, he mentions that LGBTI individuals start to come together, empower and express themselves in social life. Moreover, the movement of homosexuals provided an accumulation of knowledge and experience in terms of the politics of LGBTI individuals. According to them, twenty years ago some LGBTI individuals had to hide themselves in certain leftist structures. However, there is a gradual opening today. This is related with the development of the LGBTI movement since there exists a raise in the level of consciousness. In the same concern of the minor political activisms of LGBTI individuals in Turkey, the interviewee of LİSTAG says that “Thanks to us, three family groups in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir and they continue to work. She thinks that they succeed a transformation in the society. The interviewee of TT also mentions about their practical gains that are consistent with their aims as well. They think that they carried the realities of ecology to the academia or to the agenda of intellectuals of the cities. They contributed to take these issues into theoretical and public debate. Similarly, the interviewee of BBOM states that they have brought an initiative in the sector of private school. For they practice the model of genuine financing, they prefigure an education model in which the children are really at the center of the education and they can learn how to learn from inside of the life itself in accordance with their needs and potentialities. The interviewee of TODAP mentions about the gains of their activism in the sense of self-empowerment. He states that the people can feel themselves insufficient after psychology education in regards to the outside conditions. But after the processes of such a togetherness and activism, they start to feel a kind of sufficiency to voice and to be part of psychology in practice.

In the example of PEP, these practical and concrete gains are more than one. Firstly, they believe that they opened and introduced a new field of politics; there are the white-collars, their struggle and politics. They can come together in an organization

that is quite different from those in the major politics. They showed that their working field and labor relations are the subjects of the politics. They publicized that they are workers, not well-situated and higher social strata. Secondly, they recognized that the personalities and affects are the parts of the labor processes. Thirdly, they noticed that the horizontal relations are necessary and effective in all fields of life. Fourthly, any kinds of gains accumulate in the memory of the activism and they are open to the public. For example, the interviewee thinks that they are ready to take a position if there is a working place organization. In his own words, “if we did not experience the Gezi Movement, we would not take a position in Soma. This is a kind of accumulation at in all.” Besides these all, I recognized that the minor political formations lead people towards practical involvement when they become part of the formations and activisms. I mean that their involvement is already political in itself. For example, the interviewee of PEP says that “Almost all of those who participated in PEP start to make politics. They start to distribute leaflets collectively in the exits of the subway in the morning. This may be the first time in their life. I do not reduce being political to the activity of distributing leaflets but it is also an expression of being political and it is very difficult once regarding their conditions. However, it is already political for them to participate in PEP.”

More generally, the interviewee of ÖDA says that “We broaden our horizons; we see that the things which we think impossible can be possible.” Actually, it is certainly possible to generalize such a gain for all the minor political formations and activisms since their endeavor is to show that another way of politics, a new field of politics, an immanent and prefigurative politics is possible. In that sense, a success of prefiguration of minor politics may be more important than anything else and it is consistent with the first aim of the minor politics. The interviewee from TT contributes to such a concern by stating that “The existence of a collectivity like Tarlataban showed of course that something outside the mainstream politics or mainstream leftist politics can also be political. I saw that such a perception created an effect, in my periods at least.” Similarly, the interviewee from TODAP thinks that they contributed to strengthening the relation between the psychology and the politics. They contributed to the inclusion of psychology in the social and political.

5.3 Affective Dimension

In my hypothesis in the second chapter I had claimed that the minor politics is highly affective, regarding the capability of people to affect and to be affected in Spinozist term. As I will explore in the next pages, the practical examples from minor political formations and activism demonstrate this hypothesis: Minor politics has affective dimension; minor political activism and mobility are mostly based on the mobility of / in affects and affections. In that sense, the very impressive example encouraging me to this claim is the case of PEP, that is, white colors workers acting in labor field. I would like to give them a special place in this context since their minor realities in strong relation with emotional labor and affective politics demonstrate the affective dimension of the minor politics very well. We know that within this minor political formation, they experience a different type of organization by trying to involve different issues into their subjects as one part of their activism itself. Of these different issues, the affects are among the primary ones. The interviewee says that “Another type of organization must be tried and other issues must be the subjects of the organization. This is the most important thing that we noticed in the PEP. For example, today you cannot realize labor organization via the agenda of salaries only. Regarding the white-collars, it must be in the field that opens towards the affects. Maybe you have to form a labor union in relation with the affects.”

According to the interviewee, the affective dynamic in the labor processes shows itself in various forms. For example, the white-collars believe that there is an affective, somehow moral ties or an intimacy between them and the employers. They can suppose that there is an equal relationship. Maybe such an illusion of intimacy is consciously created so that the white-collars can work more effectively. In this context, the interviewee cites from a speech done by Murat Özveri, who is studying in these issues, and says that “The white-collars are not discharged, they are betrayed.” He points out that this feeling of being betrayed should be taken seriously since it is not peculiar to the white-collar, but also the fact of blue-collars. He also associates the stories of suicide of one white-collar and one blue-collar worker because they felt being betrayed as well.

In the same context, the interviewee states that today the management of the labor is intertwined by affects. The exploitation of labor is well known but there is also an emotional labor and the existing conceptual tools are not enough to understand and make clear the exploitation of affects. He says that “the issue of affects is always involved in the working life, but it was never so much engaged as today.” In that sense, the white-collars scream out “Now, they want our emotions.” In that sense, one of their main arguments is that the affects cannot be isolated from brain labor or hand labor. It may be possible to evaluate the functionality or the productivity of these labor, and in that sense, they can be transformed into politics. However, it is not so easy to involve the affects into this mathematics. This is why, he says that “The personality, the meaning of life and anything that can be accepted as in the field of affects can become immediately the functional particulars of the labor exploitation.”

After this compact and impressive example for the affective dynamic in the minor politics, I think we can generalize the statements of the interviewee of HK for the minor politics since she clearly pointed out that “For what mobilized us are our emotions, the very short text presenting our activities and formation is highly emotional and affective as well. We consciously preferred this because we know that people are not only rational but also emotional. In fact, these two are just different forms of the same thing.” As another example for this affective dimension, I think I can mention about very simple and basic reasoning.

The interviewee of ÖDA states that sharing by cycling is highly affective since people are happy to see that their objects remaining idle will be used now by someone else who needs it or wishes to use, etc. People share their objects; they give them as presents. These presents may be objects but if people fill the objects with emotions, then they also share their emotions. Then the present is the present of the affects, according to the interviewee as well. Another example is about the relation between the importance of affectivity and immanence in the minor politics. To insist on the importance of the affects in their activism, the interviewee of HKD states that there is the same affectivity in all reports prepared by them about the conditions of health, employment, etc. of the migrants, in the language and content of these reports, even in the percentages and footnotes. Regarding the reasons of this

affectivity, he says that “Because we are faced so heavy tragedy that it is not possible to mobilize yourself without mobilizing your affects and emotions.” Another impressive example to show how the minor political activism is affective or how the affective dimension is practical in minor politics is from the stories of LİSTAG. I quote the anecdote of the interviewee: “In 2011, in a panel in Bosphorus University, a professor came to us and stated that he was affected so much with our stories and he cried. Then he offered to make a documentary movie by which we could raise our voice. With this movie, we opened the issue to Turkey and the world as well. After this video was released, many families joined to LİSTAG.” Therefore, from the viewpoint of minor politics, it is not absurd, rather genuine and veritable to consider the politics of affect in various terms. In this section, I will concentrate on such a dimension of the minor politics and try to point out how its main dynamics produce positiveness or a kind of affirmation in terms of affective existence.

As I mentioned in the second chapter, and in specific reference to *Ethics* of Spinoza, it is functional to categorize the affects into two simple and basic categories like positive or affirmative affects and the negative or negating affects. While the former is based on the affects that increase the potentiality of people to exist, to act and to think, the latter is made up of those affects that decrease these potentialities. In that sense, it is obvious that the minor politics is almost identical with positive affects and affections. This identity is relevant in both terms that the positive affects produce the minor political formations and activisms and also that the minor politics in practice produces and gives ways to positive affects and affections. I think, it is one of the most important promises one can find in the minor politics since the positiveness and affirmation in affective dimension is the source of being political if it also refers to the potentiality to exist, act and think.

The findings of my field research include enough cases to prove this hypothesis. Actually, we saw that almost all sections up to here and features of the minor politics include indirect sources for positive affects and affirmation. Such features as prefiguration, collectivity and solidarity, encounters and experiencing the multitude, the state of realizing the dreams or ideals together with friends, etc. do undoubtedly produce or give ways to the positive affects and affirmation of life and such a way of politics. But still, I investigated in detail this affective dimension of minor politics in

my field research. I can say I found that the people of the minor political formations generally points out this positiveness and state that their minor political activisms, the way and style of their acting, the collective practices in the formations, the prefigurative activities and immanent level of existence make them feel better, increase their power and potential to act and transform them towards being an individual and to experience a life that they will. Now, let me present these examples collected from various cases of minor political formations acting in various fields of life.

For example, the people of the minor politics agree that their activism, way of acting and form of their togetherness produce positive affects, that is, make them feel good both in physical and moral terms. In this context, the interviewee of AJ states that the individuals feel powerful and transform themselves in their activisms. For instance, they can feel powerful to leave the job if they are unhappy and they can initiate a new process to rebuild their life anew. This is something related with the power that they gain and feel after having experienced the processes of the jam. Each one of them is doing something in individual level but more important thing is that the power to act and invite oneself to do it increases. She clearly says that “We feel powerful. ... It is like you know you are not alone.”

Another example is from AYÇ regarding their practice of nonviolent communication. According to the interviewee, this way of communication is a kind of culture that is very affective. She clearly says that “Such conversation practices, as I mentioned, are very affective things. That is, emotions or sensations are more important. Let’s say the subject is money or meal, etc. It is not important.” But more importantly, these affects are positive and affirmative in terms of increasing the power of the people of the formation. In this context, she says that “It is more important to tell the affects created by these all. When there is generalization and judging, the affects are more identical. The heart of AYÇ is exactly here in the affect that it creates, the affect of being in connection, affect of experiencing a time and space where you are not judged and you are not judging; catching the compassion. We feel that we are not alone, there are many people thinking like me. Here we also feel the safety and freedom of expression.” Similarly, the interviewee from SL can openly state that “the matches are going on like a festival; I joined to almost all

matches for one and half years. For example, I get injured but still I continue to be there, to watch the matches because I feel good there. We see that we are not alone. It is a feeling of solidarity.” I think I should also note that in this activism, heterosexual men express their pleasure and feeling good when they play in this team with LGTBI individuals because they just play the game free from greed, hardness, competition, etc.

According to the people of TTM, all the processes in their activism create positive affects. Everyone in this center does something and the feeling of serving a useful purpose makes them satisfied so much. Even the interviewee states that sometimes, when volunteers feel themselves bad and in depression, they can come to the center to recover themselves and cheer up since, according to the interviewee, “Everyone knows that when they come here, they can breathe a sigh of relief, they will be listened by all, they will never be judged, they will do something whatever it is. Such possibility holds all of us in equal level and makes us peaceful. This is why I said here is a rebel zone. Here relieves me so much since what I need is such a world. It is also good for me when people talk frankly each other without suspecting any more. We try to establish such sincerity here.”

In the same context we should also look at the case in MZ. Its interviewee mentions about the sociality produced in Migrant Solidarity Kitchen or in DÜRTÜK. They can stay there all day long with practical matters and it is like a therapy. She points that the practice itself produces the affect of “politics of the common”, that is, it is an affect deriving from the collective production. She clearly says that “We are aware of the fact that here we feel good and experience a life very different from the life with full of, for instance, competition. While we experience a social and political closure in this country, we feel good for we do something collective and organize over the labor. While there is a serious oppression both from the right and cynical left, it is very important to sustain DÜRTÜK, barters, or ÖK as well because all what we are doing makes us feel very good as much all of these are political.” According to the statements of MZ, I can conclude again that politics in these minor activisms are highly affective; first of all, politics is the life itself for these people. She says that “this is a life style of us; a kind of self-realization together with socialization. We live our process of being a subject; such a process actualizes here in these actions.”

Actually, when the interviewee of ÖL states that it provides the possibility to take a breath, it is for their entertainment and this is why it is so popular in Ankara; when the interviewee of PAB mentions about happiness, confidence or trust, the feeling of getting powerful or refreshment and the affect of knowing that you are not alone and say clearly that “It is certain that a gay affect is dominant here.”; when the interviewee of CİSST states when they see they succeed something in practice, they feel better and when he says that “I feel myself better, more honest or less liar and less contaminated to the extent that I can object.”; or when the interviewee of BBOM points out the importance of non-violent communication in order to live, produce and reproduce positive affects and she says that “we can talk about the issues rather than being angry when we have a problem. This is really reassuring. For here is a place where we can live and express our affects, regardless of what kind of affects they are. I think it is valuable.”, they all try to emphasize on substantially positiveness and affirmative immanence of the minor politics.

Regarding these facts, it also seems to me possible to claim that this positiveness or joyfulness reproduce and cultivate itself. In that sense, the statements of the interviewee of CİSST are very good example. He says “The positivity looks like a brick, it will be easier to put one more brick on it. This is why, if we as volunteers can do something good, it becomes easier to do one better thing because our energy and joy increase.” Similarly, the interviewee of GDAA points out such reproduction of positivity. She says that “When we gained something in our activism, we feel very good. It is related with seeing correspondences and results of what we are doing. For example, when we help someone to know about their rights, when we prevent a migrant from being cheated for 100 liras, when we can facilitate their lives even just one click and when we as citizens can share our potentials with someone else, we experience very good feelings. I think the motivation for doing the next thing is coming from this.” As another example, we should look at the perception and practice in HK. The people acting in this formation know that the results of their endeavor will appear later on. This is related with their insight of indirect actions and their will and prudence. In that sense, the hope in the minor political formations is more than the despair which the course of major politics tries to place in the hearts of the people of minor politics. The interviewee of HK says that “Despite of all these,

we do not lose hope, we will continue to do our actions. We know that our products will meet with the people in a long term. For we get motivated again and notice the value of our actions when we receive positive responses and meet with the people who thank us for our doings. At this point, we continue to act.”

Of course it is certain by nature of human togetherness that almost all affects are experienced in the minor politics for it is the life itself, and I can mention about them at length. However, it seems to me more important to define and interpret which conditions create which affects and how the people of the minor politics approach to their affects, that is, how they are affected. It should be accepted that people in the minor politics may experience anger and rage at the very beginning. I mean, the affects that mobilize or ignite them are these relatively negative feelings. For example, the interviewee of VGD says that “When I read the news related with the attempts to open the Grove for construction, the first affects I live were anger and rage, and I saw that everyone was in the same affections.” However, these negative affects do not become the principles of the minor activisms, they do not go along with all the processes. The essential companion of the minor politics is the will of the people. The interviewee of VGD says that “Some people leave the struggle when we succeeded to establish the Grove as protected site area. This was very wrong because the laws cannot protect there. It should be the will of the people living there that will protect the Grove.” In that sense, the will of the people, that is their resolution and tenacity, become much more important from the viewpoint of the minor politics.

Therefore, no one can claim that the minor politics is totally purified and isolated from negative affects and the findings of the field research confine this. It is true that people of the minor political formations and activisms can have certain negative affects and feeling upon various negative events that they are subjected to; they can fall into despair, they can be angry and rageful. For example, the interviewee of GDAA can state they sometimes feel despair, especially when they witness that the house of one migrant family burned and the police is so indifferent to the event. She says that “this can make us think and feel that nothing will change and we could transform very few things.” As another example, the interviewee of HK states that they are rageful in deed against the realities of this society. Actually, I had already

noted many examples for this fact of the minor politics in the section dedicated to the limitations of the minor politics. As we can see in these and previous examples, the minor politics of course includes negative affects for it is based on human activity and togetherness. However, it is clear that the minor politics is not based on any form or content that produce negativity or negation. On the contrary, it is identical with the success of going beyond the negativeness, reactive and negating existence but rather concentrating and cultivating the positiveness, active and affirmative affects and dynamics of the human togetherness. As the interviewee of HK points out, they are rageful but they know that the rage does not help them in their minor political activism. She says that “We could not do these all if we carry directly the rage.” In the same context, I should note the statement of the interviewee of HKD; he says that “We have no language or spirit of rebellion; we can talk joyfully about the most evil and tristful issues as well.” Similarly, the interviewee of TODAP states that the dominant affects are certainly not rage or hate. People with these affects cannot stay in such minor political formations because they try to separate themselves from these negative affects. Rather they put forward the joy. He says that “I mean we enjoy the life and being together to eat and drink. They may not be evaluated as political but they are very meaningful. I think it is very vital for this formation be based on love, joy and solidarity.” Therefore, people of the minor politics know that their prefigurative politics regenerates happiness and belief in goodness, conscience, solidarity and human togetherness. This is the very reason why the virtues of the minor politics are effective especially in hard times. The interviewee of ÖDA emphasizes on this fact by saying that “especially in the difficult days when everyone is pessimist, free-cycling becomes something which makes people feel good.”

5.4 Joyfulness

In the same context of positive affects, I can undoubtedly say that the minor politics is cheerful and smiling politics. The joyfulness and merry are dominant and common among the people of the minor political formations; they realize their activisms vivaciously even when their subject fields like migration, penal system, the social reality of women and LGTBI individuals, etc. are gloomy and darksome. One can even say that this is the very reason that they try to preserve their goodwill and humor in their way of acting and existing.

As for the examples showing the joyfulness of the minor politics, let me start with very brief and substantial statement of the interviewee of YD since he says “Our ideal is a joyful society.” It is a statement that no other interviewee seems to reject since the people of the minor politics try to experience their prefigurative activisms in joy and bliss. For example, the interviewee of AYÇ states that they can play games when they come together, just to transfer positive energy from one to other. Similarly, the interviewee of KD states that they celebrate the coming of spring, *Hidrellez* and they sometimes come together and cook, and they congratulate feast days, etc.

Joyfulness is one of the positive affect concerning the life; it is about the life in fact. In that sense, we can see the remarks of such joyfulness in deeds and perceptions of people to defend and support life, peace, friendship, etc. against death, war, conflict, enmity, etc. In reference to the findings in the field research, one can easily say that the people of the minor politics support the life. For example, the interviewee of CİSST can clearly mention about his defense for the life as against the hunger strikes in previous years. He tells about her attitude towards the hunger strike of one person to protest f-type jail orders in the prisons. He says that “I said to him you are so valuable and there are lots of things to do, I wish you tried to live. In short, I defended the life.” In this statement, there is the consciousness that there are many things to do for politics or life, other than death.

I think one of the important points in this context would be an attempt to question the sources of this positiveness and joy. Not surprisingly the first and foremost answer to this question would be that the people of the minor politics act immanently; that is to say, they are there and acting just because they want to be there and act, they are voluntary. At this point, we can look at sincere statement of the interviewee of KADAV; she clearly points out that “My essential motivation is the happiness coming from collective production. You cannot do this in a company because working there becomes something that you are alienated and that you do for the money ultimately. It was when I recognized this that I decided to use my creative energy somewhere else rather than in the companies. I want a little more individuality and to see that what I do will reach somewhere without being money indexed.” As another example, the interviewee of SS states that their video activism

is the field of action where they can produce themselves in terms of artistic creation or intellectual production as well. He says that “Here I reproduce myself in terms of politics. It is a field that overlaps with my existence. Thus I am happy.” I think this is the simplicity of the minor politics actually; the actions or events in the minor politics are not instruments for people and therefore there is no alienation between them and their activism. It is also relevant for the issue of joy. I mean, the positivity or joyfulness is so important that some people of the minor political formations think that the joy is essential and almost indispensable part of their existence and activism. For example, the interviewee of CİSST says that “Otherwise I cannot live. I have to do these all, I have to share what I see and know. This is my pleasure. I have to enjoy living. If you don’t enjoy, you cannot breathe, then you start to consume yourself.” Such a relation between the immanence and joy in the minor politics is very important to understand the issue of sustainability as well.

The interviewee of YÇD says that “It is an affect coming from doing something for myself and also for others. Our concern in all similar formations sustained by women is always that we are acting for ourselves as much as for all women.” This statement implies that people of the minor politics act for themselves as much as for the others or the public. I think we can consider such a point as another source of the positiveness and joy in the minor politics. As I introduced this characteristic in previous chapter, there is individuality in minor politics as well in terms of acting and existing for themselves and living without sacrificing themselves for any transcendental idea. The statements of the interviewee of MZ are quite good and proper to point on the relation between the individuality, joy and immanence actually since she says that “People may approach to our activities willy nilly at the beginning. However, after they taste them, it becomes easier for them to continue. For all of us, these activities are joyful, we enjoy being in this endeavor. There is no responsibility to any doctrine saying that ‘political movement is this and we will do it now’. We try to go beyond the discourse that there are people to be emancipated; you are not one of them but you do something to help them. Rather we try to organize ourselves, our lives and living spaces. For example, it is also political to consider the field of food as the field of resistance because our activities, for instance, to meet directly the producers with the consumers are good for both parties. Therefore, we

act not only for the others but also for ourselves. This is why our activism produces different and good affections, showing alternative ways to sustain our lives. These are quite different from bawling in the streets.”

Among the sources of joy, I think there is the positivity coming from the practices and culture of the minor politics as well. For example, the people of PAP are happy because they are doing something collectively. The common affect in this formation, according to the interviewee, can be defined as the affect of solidarity, its being meaningful and sharing different affections. Similarly, the interviewee of ÇÇ says that “the sense of sharing and friendship is the dominant affect” and they become happy when they share the outcomes of their will, labor and time and when they feel and experience the friendship. In the case of ÇÇ, the response of the people in the street to this voluntary action is another important point to understand the success of this minor political formation in producing positive affects and joy. In their activities of serving meals or soups, the interviewee states that, people are always positive to them and this voluntary activity, there is no little attempt to demolish or sabotage what they are doing. As another example, we can look at the statements of the interviewee of HK. She clearly expresses that “We have high assurance for ourselves and we feel very satisfied and happy because we do our best. Besides these, we have cheer and joy coming from the fact that we produce collectively.” The same state of affect is valid for the people of LİSTAG. Their togetherness makes them know that they are never alone and they do the good for themselves and such a fact does also give hope to them and other people, especially in these bad and tragic days of the country. Similarly, the interviewee of TT mentions about her personal happiness and satisfaction in their activism. She says that “I feel being stuck or clamped, I am not proper to my department and its mentality, I did not want to be auditor, bank employer or accountant. When I joined into TT, I lived so much enthusiasm because it is very satisfactory to farm, to produce and cultivate actually. That is to say, what you believe becomes practical, this is very exciting, it is hell of a thing. Nothing will remain unfulfilled, we will practice.”

In reference to the findings of the field research, it is also noteworthy that one of the sources of the positiveness and joy is that people of the minor politics struggle for and want goodness or blessing for human beings, rather than badness of anyone. I

can even say that the negative conditions create the contrary positive affects for people of the minor politics to resist these negativities. For example, the interviewee of LAMBDA mentions about such feelings when they recognized that they were forced to hide themselves and oppressed for years, that this oppression is a kind of injustice and that this injustice is oriented towards lots of people, it is systematical ideology of heterosexism and dual sexuality regime. In this context he says that “Such a feeling of rebellion was resulted from this injustice and this feeling continues to push us. We try to struggle against it. This is why we have affect of struggle. We don’t want to suffer ourselves and also we do not want other people to suffer.” In the same context, the interviewee of LISTAG points out that “Our emotions become more comprehensive and receptive. Our motivations are based on the beauty and goodness of touching people, acting disinterestedly and seeing that something changes in people’s lives. These motivate and orient us to do the better and more.” Another example is from TO. The interviewee clearly says that “What we do helps us to overcome the negative affects as well. Staying outside of the events and still doing something is more remedial and beneficial than getting angry because of the events. It is a kind of affect that we are useful. It is beyond a material benefit and always satisfactory, especially when we experienced that we succeeded to help people to change their viewpoints.”

5.5 Friendship

In reference to the findings from the field research, I can say that among the positive affects as gains of the minor politics, very essential one is the affect of friendship. Actually, I had already hypothesized that the minor politics is the politics of friendly attitude or public friendship since it could only be friendship that can prepare an immanent ground to and characteristics of minor politics. It provides a consistency among the main features and dynamics of it. There are many examples showing and proving this hypothesis. For example, I should say that in general the minor political formations start as very minor practices, and the founding people experience this practice among themselves as friends. In regards to this, one can claim that this is an important reason behind recognizing that the friendship is the base of the minor politics.

It is not difficult to estimate, in reference to the stories of the minor political formations, that the minor political activisms produce and open ways for different forms and levels of friendships. As in the case of GDAA, they did not know each other at the beginning, but today they are together in this activism as friends. However, the reverse case is also a fact in the minor politics. I mean, the friendship can produce minor political formations and activisms as well. As in the case of ÖDA, at the very beginning they were 4 or 5 friends initiating the activism, e.g. cycling among themselves. As another example, the people of MK state that they are made up of friends and friends of friends. So it is a kind of network of friends. They prefer to enlarge this network by references of the friends, rather than by creating a facebook page and calling for everyone. This is not because they are closed to the people who they don't know, rather because the dynamism in the social media mostly does not correspond into the real life. Finally, the friendship in the case ÇÇ, the perception and practice of friendship among people in this formation, is example for both kind of relation between friendship and minor politics. On the one hand, one of the interviewees says that “the sense of sharing and friendship is the dominant affect. We really create beautiful friendships with people with whom we met in our activities.” On the other hand, another interviewee from the same foundation says that “ÇÇ is a formation emerged from friendship.”

Another important point in the context of friendship is that there is also a mutual relationship between friendship and encounters. While friendships can be the results of encounters in the minor political formations and activisms, it is also possible that friendships produce and give ways to new encounters and new occasions or synthesis of different potentials of people. In any case, friendship among people of minor politics is experienced in a relation of creative production. Actually one of the political meanings of encountering must be something like this. In the previous parts dealing with encounters, multiplicity, solidarity, transformation and concentration of the potentials, I had referred to many cases. As a reminder, the statement of the interviewee from ÇÇ can be recited. She says that “for instance, among us, there are people working voluntarily with children. I meet with them in the activities of ÇÇ and then I start to work with them. That is to say, many people meet here and do other good things in other platforms.”

Undoubtedly, the friendship is also one of the sources of sustainability as much as initiation of the minor political formations. Regarding the importance of affect of friendship and its value in continuation of the endeavor to sustain the minor politics, we can look at the words of the interviewee of ÇÇ: “Some years ago, we were almost 300 people to initiate this activism. But today we are at most 5 people from these 300 people. When we analyze this failure, we recognized that we did things with people without creating the setting and ties of friendship. This is why we value friendship today much more, we give priority to friendship in our all processes of collecting waste, cooking the meals and serving them to people. Without friendship, it is also difficult to connect ecological awareness with other things.”

Last but not least point regarding the friendship in the minor politics is that friendship does not, and should not, refer to any kind of closures in the formation or activism. Such a closure refers to being a kind of sect or closed organization made up of identities and this is highly contradictory with other general features of the minor politics, as did we deal with previously. In that sense, for example, the interviewees of MK think that they do not have to develop a friendship with all those who came to MK; the view that the social life is made up of only friendships is also repressive in fact. They argue that people can come to the MK as a private but collective sphere, they can share some times with others in the workshops or routine activities like cooking and this relation can stay in such form, not more. In that sense, they state that the form of relations among the people in the MK is also an attempt to go beyond the relation of friendship and its repressive potentiality. This is very important to prevent the tendency of friendship to generate a closed form of being community, that is, a kind of sect or a dismissive body. The interviewee says that “What we live are not special forms characterized by only friendship. It is true that the community gets bigger over the networks of friends but it does not create an identity for *us*. MK provides a chance to come together with *the others* who are not you and without being *us*.”

Like the interviewees of most of the formations and activisms, the people of ÇÇ have concerns about any tendency to be a closed community. In that sense, they try to emphasize their sensitivity towards the major politics by embracing the case of

another food sharing formation acting in Istanbul. Technically they do almost the same thing with ÇÇ. But they are subjected to a kind of pressure from police. Regarding the reasons of this, one interviewee from ÇÇ says that “they have discourses much more against the state.” Similarly the other interviewee says that “I think it is because they politicized the issue.” Here we should remember that the interviewee understands “major” politics by politics and his criticism is against the major politics because he tries to distinguish their own formation from them in the sense that: “I think we do very different thing. We open our heart to everyone and at that time it becomes unimportant whether someone near to me is from Nationalist Movement Party or not.” And again the issue connects to the friendship because he continues like that: “May be there was friendship at first, or similar affective ties before the politics was discovered. What we try to regain is this tie of friendship. If we make other things problem, we cannot establish the friendship on true ground. We open our heart to any kinds of people. If you want this, you should not enter into any certain discourse because the discourse separates us. However, if I feel the same things with someone else and if we want to do the similar things, we do not need to enter into any discourse.”

In short, minor political formations and activisms produce friendships and open fields and ways to sustain and empower the affects of friendships. This is a promise for increasing the number of people who don't seek for conflict or clash in politics or life but approach to others friendly and with a motivation for friendship; this is a promise for human togetherness and multitude with its principle that everyone is different and equal in ontological level.

5.6 Conclusion

As we have seen, there are certain promises of the minor politics coming from its *potentia* and appearing in potential and actual gains in the reality of the people of the minor political formations and activisms. In fact, I should say at this point that any attempt to consider the gains and promises of the minor politics should not overshadow the fact that the minor politics is the politics of *process*, rather than the ends or results. In other words, we should not forget, while investigating on the gains and the promises, that the minor politics is a trying, an attempt itself, an attempt to

open new fields of politics or more generally to show and prefigure that everything is political or politics is life. When the minor politics succeed to show and prefigure the fact that politics is life, then no one could foresee and figure out the gains and the promises inherent as potential in this fact. This also means that the gain or promise is this attempt itself, the existence and sustainability of minor political experiences, their being a substantial denial or challenge to existing major politics and more importantly their being a line of flight from the hegemony of the major politics.

As I explained in the third chapter, minor politics as actual in *prefigurative* minor political experiences that are based on *multitude* and *immanence* is the gain itself and it is the promise of potentialities which lie in the will, love and *potentia* of human beings and human togetherness. And not, after having summarized the gains and positive effects as the promises of the minor politics in practice, it obviously appears that all these gains are related with, even based on, the main features, characteristics and dynamics of the minor political formations and activisms. For example, as we know from the previous chapters, the power of major politics is based on the practice of fixing the potentials of human beings into major identities. Similarly, these major identities produce conflicting poles or cultivates the culture of enmity. In these major conditions of politics, however, we see the attempt of minor politics to exit from or get off these major identities and rather to open new fields of politics for people to gain new subjectivities in practice, to support transformative processes, to encourage positive and friendly attitudes towards “others” and to affirm life within joyful affects. This attempt, however it is micro or macro, refers to the fact that the *minor political* formations and activisms prefigure another politics or life that is based on the *potentia* for perpetual openness for new transformations and variations in human life.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I tried to generate and develop a theory of minor politics with reference to its factuality in the case of daily life in Turkey. I had some general specifications about politics, especially for recent times and the politics in Turkey. Accordingly, I thought that politics in general is highly characterized by representative thinking and practices; it is dominated by *potestas*, the relations of power and subjugation among major representations, structures and bodies; it is politics considered and lived in the *plane of transcendence* and based on the *principle of identity*, the metaphysics of *conflict* and *reactive existence*. I preferred to call today's dominant form of politics as "major politics", with specific references to the political and social theories of Spinoza, Nietzsche and Deleuze and Guattari.

After this general determination and characterization, I started to work to identify a new form, an autonomous way and field of politics. I tried to show that minor politics exists as different from the major politics, its main characteristics are totally different and autonomous. This thesis does not aim to present the minor politics in opposition to major politics since in fact the minor politics in theory and practice does not position itself in oppositional relation with the major politics; and the minor political formations and activisms do not prefer to be in reactive or conflicting politics in any case. Minor politics just differs from major politics.

Having specified these characteristics of major politics and despite their powerful positions in contemporary politics, I thought that major politics should not have been the unique way and form of politics since it is not possible for any *potestas* to absorb and exhaust the *potentia* inherent to life and human beings. Maybe this has been already clear and open for many scholars. However, the question remains; what could be the alternative ways of making politics to revive the *potentia*? What are the

practices, the mechanisms, affects, conditions, ideas and thoughts to generate a new field of politics in order to open the possibilities of *politics or life*? In consideration of these questions in the processes of my recent academic studies, I developed the idea that it could be politics with certain features such as being minor, that is, being outside the representational and reactional existence in any sense, then being affective as based on prefiguration, immanence and multitude since they seem to be substantial for an original and autonomous *line of flight*. As I learned later on, it could be *the minor politics*. As I said in introduction chapter, my practical activism in minor field was also effective to think that I can study on minor politics as an alternative way of making politics and autonomous, non-representational, non-authoritarian, non-conflictive, non-hierarchical and non-centralized politics or way of existence.

Then I started to search for minor politics in theory. It is in the line of Spinoza, Nietzsche and Deleuze and Guattari that I formed a theoretical background of the minor politics. The political and social thoughts of these philosophers are in favor of thinking about the politics outside representations, identity, reaction and conflict, rather within the principle of difference or multitude of singularities, prefiguration in the form of affirmation of active life and *potentia* inherent to human togetherness and also the friendship in public terms. More specifically, the political theories of Deleuze and Guattari in reference to *minor literature* provided me with a thread to conceptualize and deepen the theory of minor politics. In that sense, as the starting point or a fire to define “minor politics” as the framework of this study, I should mention about their book, namely *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature* since in this book, I found the possibility that I can define a new field of politics that is almost totally different from major politics and that is original with its practical cases in various fields of life. For the minor literature shows the possibility of literature that is outside representation and that is highly based on affects of *becoming* and in such a literature everything is political. So the minor literature became a kind of inspiring framework for me to think on the essentials of minor politics in such a conceptualization and theorization.

At this point, a new horizon opened in my mind; I found the theoretical sources but I still needed to show the practical existence of minor politics in the field of politics.

Then I thought that I could make a study to search for minor politics. I started to search for minor formations and activisms that can be considered as “minor political”. It was not difficult to find them in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. So, I completed the field research on these minor political formations acting in different fields of life such as ecology, education, human rights and other fields. The aims of the field research that is based on qualitative investigation with in-depth interviews is to identify the field of minor politics rather than to map all the field, to verify my hypothesis that there is a new field of politics, to learn more about their organizations, prefigurative mechanisms, to sense the culture of multitude and to analyze various sources of immanent activisms. Besides these attempts to identify minor politics with its main principles, features and dynamics, I also tried to detect the limitations of minor politics in practice. Some of the limitations are peculiar to certain formations and activisms and this support the claim that they cannot be generalized for all the field of minor politics while some of them are general since they come from the pressures of the major politics in certain issues. At the end, I also tried to show the concrete gains and the promises of minor politics lying in each vessels of these minor political dynamisms.

As you can see, in this study, I focused on the identification and determination of minor politics as a new and original field of politics with its practical examples from Turkey. It can be supposed that I not only introduce the minor politics to the political theory, but also showed much more effort to indicate and demonstrate the promises of the minor politics for an alternative way of living and doing politics. Therefore, it is also valuable to reconsider the concept, the scope and the meaning of *the political*. Actually, this was necessary to put forward and highlight the originality and autonomy in the promises of minor politics in comparison to other conventional forms of politics such as major politics, social movements, civil society, micro politics, etc.

Still, it cannot be claimed that this thesis is the idealization of minor politics as opposed to other forms of politics since I refrained from such a kind of idealization and I tried to assess minor politics in the last two chapters of my study. More specifically, I analyzed the limitations, shortcomings and problems of minor politics.

In addition to them, I would like to underline the fact that minor politics does not imply a field of politics that combines all the practices that perpetuate themselves. It is not a field of politics that is totally and perfectly isolated or insulated from any other social and political practices or forms and ways of politics that can be considered under the title of major politics. No one can ignore that the minor politics, with its theory and practice, is lived and thought in relations and sometimes in interactions with these forms of politics. I tried to show this interaction between minor politics and other forms through practical examples in the context of limitations and shortcomings of minor politics in Turkey.

However, I had to conclude with the promises of the minor politics since these promises are stronger than the limitations of the minor politics. I mean, even if the minor politics has certain limitations and shortcomings, and even if it is not totally isolated from other conventional forms of politics, there are enough living sources to claim that that minor politics springs from and depends on practices towards and care for autonomy. That is to say, the minor politics is sum total of the prefigurative activisms and other efforts to experience autonomous existence. The minor political formations and activisms exist in the major fields of major politics but they try to succeed to live and exist autonomously. They refrain from the codes, norms and practices of conventional major politics and they try to prefigure their own way of living and doing politics. I think, even this attempt or effort is enough to consider them as promising and hope-rising for another life or political existence. For the minor political formations and activisms are not the cases of realizing a certain identity or subjectivity, not the cases of enclosing people into certain identities or subjectivities. On the contrary, almost all of them are different examples of prefiguration for opening and more importantly keeping open the ways of experiencing new subjectivities, which ultimately refers to the processes of becoming.

As for the contributions of this dissertation to the literature of political theory, I can say that it is a middle-range theorization since it integrates theory and empirical research. As you see, this thesis makes some derivations from grand theories of Spinoza and Nietzsche and Deleuze and Guattari but the theory of minor politics is

not a grand theory itself. It is an attempt to formulate a middle-range conceptualization and theorization since there is no political theory that defines such a field and practice as minor politics. It investigates what minor politics is and is not.

At the end of my study, I could say that yes, the minor formations and activisms that I chose to analyze have the features and characteristics of minor politics that I specified in theoretical framework. Then it is true that there is a new and original field of politics that allows people to act differently, but not reactively to major politics. It is true that none of the formations and activisms are perfectly or ideally minor and political, they have certain limitations and shortcomings. But their way of understanding politics or life and their way of acting allow me to claim that there is the reality, the actuality of minor politics in Turkey.

I believe that the minor politics is not peculiar to Turkish politics and I invoked its validity in global scale in third chapter. However, it is a dynamism which is more important for Turkish politics. Regarding the nature of the minor politics, it can be claimed that there has always been a minor political tendency in politics in very micro scales even if it has not been conceptualized, but it is not incidence that minor politics begin to appear as such an important dynamism in politics especially in today's world. In reference to my initial attestation, today's politics is highly based on representative thinking and practice; it is characterized by restricting domination of representations; it is the politics of identity, reaction and conflict. These all refer to the fact that the field of politics and the meaning of being political become restricted day by day. Especially the culture of conflict produces and reproduces polarizations in life and politics and it consolidates people in opposite poles, which empower the major powers, figures and representative bodies while narrowing the meaning of politics by eliminating the *potentia* inherent to human togetherness and closing any other possibilities for making politics and being political.

In that sense, I think such attempts to identify new fields of politics refer to the attempts to open the possibilities for life at the same time; this is also coherent with minor politics since its starting point is that life is identical with politics. In the case of minor politics, this attempt means to endeavor, on the one hand, to break down the

domination of representative politics that is based on life negating norms, codes and practices and to show, on the other hand, the promises of politics such as gaining new subjectivities, joyfulness and friendship that are based on affective potentials of prefiguration, multitude and immanence, especially in Turkish politics today. In that sense, I think it would not be wrong to claim that the reasons behind the emergence of such a new field of politics in Turkey are related with unfavorable conditions for people to exist and express themselves, to do politics, to act with the aim of living their ideals even in minor scales within given social and individual resources. It is certain that the political conditions of the country require such alternative and new ways of thinking and acting based on the *potentia* inherent to human togetherness.

Finally, I think I have shown that minor politics includes and it is based on politically immanent view point that such macro and major questions such as inequality, injustice, subjugation and lovelessness lived in global as much as local level continue to exist even in little deeds and relations between two people including daily life practices; they take strength and then reproduce themselves in this continuity. In this regard, the issues in the scope of minor politics and the concerns involved in the agenda of minor political formations and activisms can never be seen as minor. The principle of immanence and prefigurative characteristics of minor politics says to us that people of the minor political formations and activisms concern these macro and global questions, they go beyond criticism or opposition in a reactive way and prefer to do their best to change this reality even in very minor scales by their *potentia* and prefigurative endeavors. The people of minor politics are those who do more than desire to be the subjects of their own lives; they really take care of and do not want to lose their singularities, they have individual concerns and similarly they regard the issues of the public and the world; in regards of dealing with these concerns and issues, they can say “we can do it” in a ground of *potentia* emanating from multitude and public friendship.

Fortunately it seems that the number of these people increase in Turkey for we see that such a new way of politics increasingly appears and becomes widespread in almost all fields of *life and politics*. I think an entire immanent political existence of people of this new minor politics promise to have *potentia* to show and prefigure the *lines of flight* to increasingly affect the tomorrow for a substantial transformation in

the social. This study is one of the first attempts dedicated to understand and explicate such an *potentia* by referring to certain thoughts of Spinoza, Nietzsche and Deleuze and Guattari but more importantly getting knowledge from the field. It is sure that other relevant theories can be found in various thinkers to analyze and reevaluate this theory of minor politics. Moreover, it is also certain that this study does not cover all possible dimensions of minor politics and it does not claim that it closed the file. On the contrary, for this study is a step in the opening of the file, it waits for new scholars to improve the theory of minor politics, that is, to question and examine its validity, functionality, affectivity and consistency in reference to new field researches or in comparison with other social and political theories.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

THE QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW

The questions of the semi-structured in-depth interview

1. Could you briefly introduce yourself?
2. Could you tell about your activism and its history?
3. Could you mention about the numbers and profiles of people acting here?
4. What kinds of activities do you do in concrete sense?
5. What is politics for you? Is your activism political?
6. Could you mention about affects dominant in this activism? What kind of changes in the affects did you experience within this activism? What kinds of affects does your activism produce?
7. Could you tell about the effects and relations of your activism to the daily life?
8. What are the other formations or activisms to which you feel close or intimate?
9. What kind of limitations, shortcomings or problems do you experience?
10. How about the gains of your activism?

Yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşme soruları

1. Kendinizi kısaca tanıtır mısınız?
2. Aktivizminizi ve onun tarihini anlatır mısınız?
3. Bu aktivizm içindeki insanların sayısından ve profillerinden bahsedermisiniz?
4. Somut olarak ne tür faaliyetler yapıyorsunuz?
5. Sizce siyaset nedir? Aktivizminiz siyasal mı?

6. Bu aktivizm içindeki hâkim duygulardan bahsedebilir misiniz? Aktivizm içinde duygularınızda ne gibi değişiklikler yaşadınız? Aktivizminiz ne tür duygular üretiyor?
7. Aktivizminizin gündelik hayata olan etkilerinden ve onunla ilişkisinden bahsedebilir misiniz?
8. Kendinizi yakın hissettiğiniz diğer oluşum ve aktivizmler nelerdir?
9. Ne gibi sınırlılıklar, yetersizlikler yahut sorunlar yaşıyorsunuz?
10. Peki, aktivizminizin kazanımları nelerdir?

Appendix B

TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

Akademik alıřmaların arkasında bazen kiřisel hikâyeler vardır ki bunları, kuramsal alıřmaların ilham verici kaynakları yahut kurucu unsurları olarak kabul edebiliriz. Minör siyasetin tanımlanmasına ve siyaset teorisine takdim edilmesine dair yarı ölçekli bir kavramsallařtırmaya ve kuramsallařtırmaya girişen bu tezin farklı kaynakları olarak ben de kendi entelektüel ve pratik hikâyemi anlatmak isterim.

Bu kaynaklardan ilki, genel olarak bugünün siyasetine ve toplumsal yaşamına dair akademik ve kuramsal okumalarımın ve mülahazalarımın ıkardığım genel gözlemlerime ve öngörülerime dayanıyor. Bugünün siyasetine dair tarif ettiğim bir büyük resim ve bunun içinde bazı saptamalarım var.

Öncelikle, bu genel çerçevenin içinde ben şöyle bir şey görüyorum: Siyaset bilimi ya da felsefesi, bugün siyaset dünyasını anlamaya yöneldiği vakit, siyasal ilişkileri iktidar ve tahakküm ilişkileri içinde tanımlıyor, anlıyor. Esasında bu algının, klasik ve modern dönem siyaset düşüncesinde de yaygın ve hakim olduğu doğrudur. Foucault ve Deleuze gibi çağdař düşünürler de, disiplin ve kontrol gibi olguların toplum içindeki rolüne dikkat çeken yeni “minör” bakış açılarını geliştirerek ve siyaseti yalnızca “iktidar” bağlamına yerleřtiren anlayışı yapısöküme uğratarak bu düşünceyi sarstılar. Ama bu düşüncenin öylesine güçlü bir temsili var ki, siyaset hâlâ ve yalnızca güç ve tahakküm ilişkileri alanında düşünülüyor; majör güçler yahut güçlü figürler ve yapılar arasında, yaşamı düzenlemek, kaynakları yönetmek yahut belli bir toprak parçasına hükmetmek için verilen kavganın adı kabul ediliyor, ki bunu, Deleuze’ün düşüncesinde akışların kodlanması ve yerliyurtlu hale getirilmesi ve Spinoza’nın siyaset anlayışında da *potentia*’nın soğurulması olarak düşünebiliriz.

Bu ilk özellikle bağlantılı olarak, bugünün siyasetine dair yapılabilecek bir diğeri genel saptama şudur: Siyaset çoğunlukla *aşknlık düzleminde* yaşanıyor. Kutsallaştırılmış yahut yüceleştirilmiş varlıklar ve idealler uğruna şimdiyi, bugünü askıya alan, onu kurban eden, insanı ve insan topluluklarını araçsallaştıran aşkın güçler ve belirleyenler var daima. Daha genel bir ifadeyle siyaset majör olgular, kavramlar ve inançlar, kütleli yapılar ve aktörler, büyük olaylar ve isimler üzerinden ve onlarla birlikte düşünülüyor. İnsanların teleskopları var ve gözleri, yalnızca ve çoğu zaman büyük şeyleri görmeye yönelmiş duruyor. Şunu ortaya atmak bile olası görünüyor: Son birkaç on yılda küresel ya da yerel ölçekte siyaset, çok sınırlı bir manada ve alanda deneyimleniyor ve bu sınırlı alan parti siyaseti, majör ideolojiler, temsilî yapılar, liderlikler, diplomatik ya da askerî müdahaleler, ekonomik dinamikler, büyük toplumsal hareketlenmeler ve benzeri majör parametrelerle tanımlanıp çerçeveleniyor. Böyle bir algıyla tarif edilen bu siyaset alanında, özellikle buraya has ve burayı karakterize eden hâkim ahlak anlayışları, normlar, pratikler ve duygular oluyor. Örneğin siyaset çoğu zaman temsiller yahut temsilî normlar, pratikler, aktörler ve yapılarla belirleniyor; bu temsilci güçler arasında bir çatışma ve karşılıklı tepki kültürü hâkim ve hiyerarşik düzen ve merkezî örgütlenme içinde bu tahakküm ilişkileri, diğeri olası ilişkileri ve duyguları bastırıyor, gölgeliyor.

Aşknlık düzlemindeki siyasete, *özdeşlik ilkesi* eşlik ediyor. İnsanları, tekilliklerini ortadan kaldırarak ve olumsuzlayarak bir araya getiren güçlü majör kimlikler var. Nietzsche'nin vurguladığı üzere, "Bir topluluk iktidar olma yolunda yürürken, bireyi savunmak ciddi bir şey olmaktan çıkar" (2006, 47). *Fark ilkesi* değil de *özdeşlik ilkesi* altında olan insan toplulukları, bireylikleri ve onların tekilliklerini göz ardı edebilecek denli güçlü kütleli yapılara dönüşürler. Güçlü temsilî kimliklerle perçinlenen ve aşkınlik düzleminde yaşanan siyaset, totaliter makinelerin çeşitli biçimlerinde görünür olur ve Nietzscheci anlamda tepki ve tepkisel varoluşu doğurur ya da yeniden üretir. Siyasal aktör ve bünyeler de, kendi etkisel varoluşlarını üretmekten çok tepkisel eylemler için yine iktidar ve tahakküm ilişkilerini üretir ve yeniden üretirler. Sonuçta siyaset, geneli itibariyle yine bir tepki olarak deneyimlenir.

Güçlü kimlikler üzerinden aşkınlık düzleminde ve tepkisel bir varoluş içinde yaşanan siyaset, bir siyaset kültürü olarak *çatışmanın* ortaya çıkmasına sebep olur ve *çatışma* da siyasal düşünce ve pratiğe hükmeden en güçlü temsil haline gelir. Burada *çatışma* sözcüğünü, özel bir kavram olarak değil, yaygın anlamıyla kullanıyorum. Zaten eğer siyaset, tahakküm ilişkileri içinde deneyimlenir ve anlaşılırsa; eğer aşkınlık düzleminde ve özdeşlik ilkesiyle birlikte yaşanırsa, bütün siyasi süreçlere *çatışmanın* eşlik etmesi kaçınılmazdır diye düşünüyorum. Bu bağlamda, temsili kozmos en temiz biçimiyle kendini *çatışmacı siyasette* gösterir. Bir diğer deyişle siyaset, kendi temsilini, mutlak bir *çatışmada*, bir savaş halinde ve ona has duygularda bulur. Siyaset yahut siyasal olma hali, gerçek anlamda hep bir ölüm kalım meselesi olarak algılanıyor, hissediliyor, kuramsallaştırılıyor ve uygulanıyor; sembolik ya da gerçek, biyolojik ya da psikolojik, sıcak ya da soğuk bir “savaş” hali, kendini çeşitli güçler ve güçlü büyük aktör ve yapılar arasındaki *çatışma*, çelişki, zıtlama, uyumsuzluk, vs. olarak gösteriyor. Düşmanlık ya da haset, “öteki” duygusu ve “çelişki” siyasete eşlik ediyor; hatta bunların pratikleri, siyasetin ana teması yahut nakaratı olarak kabul ediliyor. Bu temsiller öylesine yaygın ki, siyaset düşünürleri ve siyasi aktörler de şuna inanıyorlar: Eğer siyasetin belirleyicisi olarak temsili güç ve *çatışma* unsurları yoksa, siyasetten bahsedemeyiz, yani ortada siyaset ya da siyasal olan herhangi bir şey yok demektir. Eğer bir *iktidar* için *çatışma* formunda değilse herhangi bir eylem yahut eylemlilik, siyasetin alanı ve anlamı içinde düşünölmeye yahut siyasi bağlamda analiz edilmeye değer bir şey olarak kabul edilmez, desteklenmez, onurlandırılmaz. Bu durumda şunu söyleyebiliriz: Sanki ortada, siyaseti *çatışma* içinde tahayyül ve temsil eden bir metafizik var. Esasında bunun, siyasi tarih içinde çok eski bir metafizik olduğu bile söylenebilir, yani *çatışma* temsili, öylesine yaygındır ki, bu tarih içinde bir çeşit *arche* olarak görünür. Söz konusu *çatışma* metafiziğinin siyaset kuramı tarihindeki yerini soruşturmak istesek, şunları incelemek yeterli olurdu: Zaman ve mekândan azade ideler olarak formlar ile görüntüler dünyası arasındaki Platonik diyalektik, ki siyasetteki belirleyiciliğine devam ettiği iddia edilebilir; siyaseti korku ve umut gibi duygularla kavramaya ve siyaseti savaş haline yerleştirmeye girişen ilk kişilerden biri olan Machiavelli'nin siyaset felsefesi; özgürlük ve güvenlik arasındaki Hobbescu siyasal gerilim; liberalizmde olduğu gibi birey ve toplum arasında kabul edilen *çatışma*; uzunca bir döneme damgasını vuran Hegelci diyalektik; bir kısmıyla Marksist sınıf çelişkisi;

Schmitt’le anılan ama realist bakıştan hemen herkesi sarıveren bir dost-düşman ilişkisi yahut paradoksu olarak siyaset anlayışı; buraya kadarki bu çatışma metafiziğinden kurtulmaya çalışan ama örtülü bir şekilde ondan beslenen post-Marksist antagonizma kuramları; ta ki çağdaş siyaset düşünürlerinden biri olan Rancière’in siyaset kuramındaki *uyuşmazlık* düşüncesine kadar.

Elbette bu çatışma metafiziğinin, siyaset kuramına has olduğunu iddia edemeyiz, zira çatışma, siyasetin pratik alanında da yaygın ve burada da hâkim durumda. Esasında ortada karşılıklı bir ilişki var; teori ve pratik birbirlerini besliyor. Alandaki aktörler, eğer bir çatışma, bir zıtlama yahut bir tepki değilse hiçbir eylemliliği “siyasal” vasfına layık görmüyorlar, siyasal olarak kabul etmiyorlar. Bunun yerine, çatışma ve tepkisellik içeren ve siyasal olma gücünü tam da bu metafizikten alan duygulanım ve pratikleri, siyasal oluşun “temsilleri” olarak yüceliyorlar. Kitleler, sınıflar, kimlikler, fikirler, ideolojiler, yapılar, kuşaklar, renkler yahut cinsiyetler arasındaki çatışma “gerçeği”, insan aklını –felsefe ve bilimi- o ya da bu şekilde ve farklı düzeylerde de olsa siyaseti de çatışma ekseninde anlamaya, duyumsamaya ve kutsamaya itiyor, yönlendiriyor, zorluyor.

Bugünün siyasetine dair Spinoza, Nietzsche ve Deleuze ve Guattari’nin çalışmalarına referansla yapmış olduğum bu genel çıkarım ve tespitleri değerlendirdiğimizde, şunları kolaylıkla söyleyebiliyoruz: Bugün siyaset, temsilî düşünce ve pratiklere temelleniyor; *aşkınlık düzleminde* ve *özdeşlik ilkesi* etrafında düşünülüyor ve deneyimleniyor ve genel olarak *çatışmacı* özelliğiyle öne çıkıyor. Bence böylesi tespitlerle bu büyük resim, yukardan gelen, etik pratikleri canlandırmaktan ziyade bir ahlak dayatan, insanları yönetmeyi ya da onlara hükmetmeyi amaçlayan, insana içkin olan *potentia*’yı tüketen ve nihayetinde insani potansiyelleri baskılayıp “siyasal”ın başka olanaklarını kapatan bir siyaset biçiminin ifadesidir. Bu siyaset biçimine ben, Deleuze ve Guattari’nin işaret ettiği üzere, “majör siyaset” demeyi öneriyorum. Dahası, anlamı ve alanı daraltılmış bu temsilî majör siyasetin, artık kullanışlı olmadığını, minör ölçeklerde yaşanan siyasi ilişkilerin, duyguların ve diğer önemli dinamiklerin anlaşılması, incelenmesi ve açıklanmasında yetersiz olduğunu düşünüyorum.

Bugünün majör siyasetinin genel koşullarına dair böylesi gözlemlerin yanında, bana majör siyasetin mutlak bir siyaset biçimi olmadığını / olamayacağını, siyasetin diğer olanakları üzerinde mutlak bir hâkimiyet kurmadığını / kuramayacağını söyleyen bir gözlemim daha var: Yaşamın farklı alanlarında minör oluşumlar, eylemlilikler ve pratikler var ve ben bunların yalnızca siyasetle “ilgili” değil, aynı zamanda ve bizzat *siyasal* olduklarını düşünüyorum. Bu minör siyasal eylemlilik ve pratiklerin, siyaset biliminde ve felsefesinde ya da “siyasal” olan insanların ve toplulukların gözünde hak ettikleri yeri bulamadıklarını fark ediyorum. Bunlar, majör siyasetten farklılar; Spinozacı anlamda *potentia*'ya temelleniyorlar; yani insanın, başka hayat ve öznellikleri dostça ve kolektif olarak inşa edebilme kudret ve kapasitesinin etkin oluşuna. İşte bu tez, böylesi bir “minör siyaseti” tanımlamaya, anlamaya ve pratikteki halini görmeye, göstermeye yönelik bir çalışma olma niteliği taşıyor. Bu bağlamda ben minör siyasetin, majör siyasetten farklı olarak ama ona bir tepki olmadan, içkinlik düzleminde yaşandığını, tekilliklerin çokluğuna temellendiğini ve kamusal dostluk yahut dostça siyaset diyebileceğim bir etiği gözettiğini görüyorum. Bu yüzden, hem siyaset bilimi literatürüne katkı sunabilmek hem de siyasal olanın anlam ve alanını genişleterek yaşamı savunmanın ve olumlamanın imkânlarını gösterebilmek için mikroskobik bir bakış açısı edinebilmek ve siyasetin partiler, ideolojiler, temsilî mekanizmalar arasındaki tahakküm ilişkilerinden ibaret olmadığını hissedebilmek bana çok değerli geliyor.

Bu kuramsal çalışmanın arkasında ikinci hikâye, şahsen minör bir alandaki eylemlilik süreçlerime ve bu pratik süreçlerde kazandığım öngörü ve deneyimlere dayanıyor. Yani minör alanda kendi şahsi eylemliliğim de, minör siyaseti alternatif bir siyaset yolu ve otonom bir varoluş biçimi olarak düşünmemde etkiliydi. Dolayısıyla, minör siyaseti siyaset teorisine takdim ve dâhil etmeye yönelik bu kuramsal çalışmanın arkasındaki ikinci ve pratik kaynağın kendi minör eylemliliğim, pratikten yükselen bir düşünce yahut Spinozacı anlamda pratik düşünce olduğunu söyleyebilirim.

Uzun yıllardır Ankara'da farklı kolektif ve derneklerde, çocuklar için gönüllü çalışmalar yapmıştım. Bu çalışmalarımın edindiğim deneyime dayanarak, 2015'te, arkadaşlarımla birlikte mahallemizde yaşayan çocuklar için çeşitli atölye ve

faaliyetlerin kolektif ve gönüllü olarak yapıldığı *Şimdilik* isminde bir derneği kurduk. Burayı bilim, sanat ve felsefe alanında çeşitli atölyelerin yapıldığı ve bu atölyelerde çocukların kendilerini ifade ettikleri, potansiyellerini ve eğilimlerini keşfettikleri, öz-dönüşümsel süreçlerinde kendi bireyliklerini kazanabildikleri bir yer olarak hayata geçirdik. Bu gönüllü eylemliliğe, atölyelerin kolaylaştırıcıları olarak çalışan gönüllüler de çocuklar da, herhangi maddi bir çıkar arayışıyla ya da herhangi bir sorumluluk yahut öğretiden gelen bir zorunlulukla değil, yalnızca istedikleri için dâhil oluyorlar. Gönüllüler, kendilerinin bilgili, yetenekli ve deneyimli oldukları konularda atölyeler düzenliyorlar. Dolayısıyla bu kolektif çaba, potansiyellerin bir kombinasyonu olarak işliyor. Bütünüyle otonom bir eylemlilik; herhangi majör bir yapının gölgesi yahut himayesi altında çalışmıyor. İktidar, tahakküm ve hiyerarşik ilişkiler olmadan, yalnızca arkadaşlar olarak bir araya gelen insanların inisiyatifi ve eylemliliği. Zaman içindeki süreçlerde, birçok insan ve özellikle de aileler, bizim siyasi konumumuzu ve fikirlerimizi sorgulamaya başladılar. Fakat biz en başından beri böyle bir tartışmanın dışındaydık; herhangi bir siyasal parti, bir ideoloji ya da majör bir kimliğin altında anılmamaya, düşünülmemeye dikkat ettik. Bu, majör siyaset bağlamında bizim tarafsızlığımızı, nesnellığımızı, yani majör siyasetle bir ilişkimizin olmadığını göstermek için gerekliydi. Zira insanların duvarlarını aşip herhangi bir ayırım yapmaksızın onlara ulaşabilmek, onların dünyalarında bir yer bulabilmek ve bu farklı eylemlilik formunu sürdürebilmek tam da bu tarafsızlık sayesinde oldu. Bu süreçlerde biz daima “siyasal” olmadığımızı vurguluyorduk. Bununla kast ettiğimiz, herhangi bir siyasal parti, ideoloji ya da öğretiyile bir ilgimizin ve ilişkimizin olmadığıydı. Fakat zaman içinde fark ettik ki aslında bizim eylemliliğimiz de siyasaldı çünkü çocukların kendi tekilliklerini ve *potentia*’larını kazabilmeleri için alan açmayı hedefliyorduk. Eylemliliğimiz, genel ve hâkim eğitim sistemine de bir çeşit itiraz barındırıyordu çünkü bu sistem çocuklara, iktidardaki ideolojileri, söylemleri ve dünya görüşlerini benimsemeyi, ona göre şekillenmelerini dayatıyordu; çocukları hâkim majör norm ve kodlara uygun olarak tek tip insanlar haline getirmeyi hedefliyordu. Esasında ailelerin beklentileri de, bu ahlaki ve siyasal sistemin merkezî majör temsillerine eşlik ediyor. Dolayısıyla bizim eylemliliğimiz de pekâlâ siyasaldı ama bu siyasallık, siyasetin hâkim norm ve pratiklerinden oluşmuyordu, bütünüyle farklıydı. Öyleyse şunu kabul etmem gerekiyordu; bizim eylemliliğimiz içindeki her şey siyasal özellik taşıyor ama bizim siyasetimiz,

“siyaset”ten oldukça farklı bir şey. İşte bu noktada bizim “siyasetimizi” diğer genel “siyasetten” ayırma zorunluluğu hissettim. Bizim yaptığımız, “minör siyaset”ti. Majör siyasetin büyük bir aygıtı olarak eğitim sistemine bir itiraz taşıyordu ama ona bir tepki yahut onunla bir çatışma ilişkisine girmiyordu; özgün, özsel olarak farklı yeni bir siyasetti.

Bu tezde ortaya koymaya ve geliştirmeye çalıştığım minör siyaset teorisini, işte bu entelektüel yolculuktan, pratikte düşünme süreçlerinden ve etik dertlerden oluşan bir arka planda üretmeye ve yükseltmeye çalıştım. Bu iki kaynak temelinde fark ettim ki “minör siyaset” ismiyle yeni bir siyaset alanı tarif edip çerçevelemek hem gerekli hem de mümkündür. “Minör siyaset” kavramının, Deleuze ve Guattari’nin çalışmalarında, özellikle de *Kapitalizm ve Şizofreni* ve *Kafka: Minör Bir Edebiyat İçin* adlı eserlerinde yer aldığını biliyordum. Bu düşünürler minör siyaseti, minör edebiyatın uzamı içinde kendi siyaset anlayışlarının bir örneği olarak takdim ediyorlar ve majör siyasetin karşısına değil, ondan kaçışın imkânları, yeni yaşam ve varoluş olanaklarının başlangıç adımları olarak görüyorlar. Ne var ki bu düşünürlerin felsefelerine olan genel kayıtsızlıkla paralel olarak, minör siyaset kavramları da yeterince ilgi görmemiş, günümüz siyasetini anlamaya yönelik siyasal teori ve çalışmalar içinde yer verilip işlevsel hale getirilmemiş durumdadır. Fakat ben bu kavramın, düşünürlerin ve onların takipçilerinin diğer sosyal teorileri ve kavramsal araçlarıyla birlikte, bugünün *akış* içindeki siyasetinin ve *oluş* halindeki siyasallığın anlaşılması ve yorumlanması için son derece kullanışlı olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bu bağlamda söz konusu düşünürlerin çalışmalarında bahsi edilen minör siyaset kavramının, minör siyaseti siyasal kuram içinde kavramsallaştırmam ve de derinleştirmem için bir başlangıç noktası olabileceğini düşünüyorum; bütünüyle ya da büyük çoğunluğuyla siyasal kurama ait bir “minör siyaset” kavramı tanımlayabilmek için, düşünürlerin bıraktığı yerden devam edebilirim. Böyle bir yönelimle, siyasette yeni bir pratik alanı ve yeni bir anlam tarif etmek ve onu gündeme taşımak mümkün görünüyor. Dolayısıyla bu çalışma, böyle bir kuramsal çaba ile Türkiye özelinde bir alan çalışmasını birleştirebilir. Aynı bağlamda, minör siyasetin sınırlılıklarını ve vadettiklerini değerlendirebilir.

Bu tezde ben, bunu yapmaya giriştim; bir minör siyaset kuramı geliştirmeyi denedim. Kuramsal arka planı netleştirmek için Deleuze ve Guattari'nin minör siyaset düşüncelerinden yola çıktım ama onların kavramsallaştırmalarının ötesine geçmeyi hedefledim. Mevcut siyasal kuramın odağının dışında kalan, belli özellikleriyle bazı pratik ve eylemliliklerin gerçekliğini ortaya koymaya ve kaydetmeye yönelik olarak minör siyaseti kavramsallaştırmaya çalıştım. Dolayısıyla bir yanıyla bu çalışma, Spinoza, Nietzsche ve Deleuze ve Guattari'den türettiğim minör siyaset anlayışı ve kavramını geliştiriyor. Böyle bir bakış açısı bize, “majör güçlere” temellenen temsili siyaset düşüncesinin hükmü altında, çoğunlukla hesaba katılmamış olarak kalan sosyal ve siyasal yaşamdaki “minör” dinamikleri görme, gösterme ve yorumlama imkânı veriyor. Diğer yandan da, Türkiye örneğinde bir alan çalışması temelinde minör siyasal oluşumlar ve eylemliliklerin sürdürdüğü pratikler üzerine yeni bilgiler üretiyor.

Dolayısıyla bu çalışmanın, her iki anlamda yeni bir siyaset alanı olarak minör siyasetin kuramsallaştırılmasına adanmış olduğunu söyleyebilirim. Çalışmamı dört ana bölüm olarak organize ettim. Öncelikle minör siyasetin genel özellikleri için kuramsal çerçeveyi sunuyorum, sonra minör siyasetin bu özelliklerini, yaptığım alan çalışmasına referansla Türkiye'nin pratik koşullarında inceleyip sorguluyorum, sonra minör siyasetin sınırlılıklarını ve yaşanan sorunları değerlendiriyorum ve en sonda da minör siyasetin birçok açıdan vadettiklerini, kazanımlarını ve yaşamdan ya da siyasetten yana olumlu boyutlarını açıklamaya çalışıyorum.

Minör siyasetin ne olduğunu anlamaya geçmeden önce, minör siyasetin ne olmadığına dair bazı önemli notlar düşmek isterim. Öncelikle minör siyaset, majör siyaset değildir ki bunu yukarda sözü ettiğim genel tespitlere binaen söylüyorum ve zaten tezin bütünü de bunu gösteriyor. Yine de şunu vurgulamam gerekir ki minör siyaset, bir *temsil*, *çatışma* ve *potestas* siyaseti olan majör siyasete bir tepki ya da bir protesto değildir; onun içinde, ona bulaşıktır, özsel olarak ona karşıdır da, ama bunu, çok dolaylı bir şekilde, içkinlik düzeyinde sürdürür; dolayısıyla onun bir benzeri olarak değil, ondan farklı ve otonom olarak var olur. Esasında minör siyaset, tam da majör siyasetten farklılığı üzerine kuruludur. Yine de bu, majör siyasete benzemeyen her şeyin minör siyasete dâhil edilebileceği anlamına gelmez.

Bu bağlamda örneğin minör siyasetin, toplumsal hareketlere yaklaştırılabileceğini ama aslında minör siyasetin bu alanla bütünüyle örtüşmediğini söylemek gerekiyor. Minör siyasetin bu alanda düşünülebileceğini iddia edenler olabilir, bunu anlayabilirim ama minör siyasetin özellikleri, onu farklı bir yerde tanımlamamız gerektiğini gösteriyor. Diğer yandan geleneksel, yeni ya da çağdaş toplumsal hareketler de “protesto eder”, “talep eder” ve “tepki gösterir” bir siyasete dâhildirler; bir protesto repertuarları vardır ve hatta “çatışmacı” ve “temsili” doğasını muhafaza ettiğinde çoğu zaman majör siyasetin kodlarına ve normlarına uyumlu bir şekilde var oldukları söylenebilir. Bence bugünün toplumsal hareketleri, geleneksel toplumsal hareketlerin bu gibi özelliklerinden izler taşımaya devam ediyorlar, özellikle de yalnızca “talep etme”, “tepki” gösterme ve “çatışma” üretmeyi hedeflemenin ötesine geçemediklerinde ve yıkıcı ya da şiddetli biçimler aldıklarında. Tilly ve Tarrow bile, toplumsal hareketlerin siyasal özelliklerini anlamaya ve açıklamaya yönelik en temel kaynaklardan biri olan *Contentious Politics* (2015) isimli kitaplarında, toplumsal hareketleri, yönetilen sıradan insanlar ile onları yönetenler arasındaki çatışma ve protesto etkinlikleri olarak değerlendirirler. Kısacası onlara göre toplumsal hareketler “çatışmacı” siyasetin başka biçimleridir; bir çatışma siyaseti içinde meydana gelirler. Zaman içinde etkilerini yitirebilir yahut yok olabilirler; diğer hareketlere eklenilebilir ya da majör siyasetin bir parçası haline gelebilirler. Buna göre, minör siyasetin toplumsal hareketler alanı içinde değerlendirilemeyeceği açıktır ve ben de bu açıklıkla, minör siyaseti yahut minör siyasal eylemlilikleri toplumsal hareketler alanı içinde düşünmüyorum. Minör siyasal eylemlilikler, protesto hareketleri değil; herhangi bir protesto repertuarından yararlanmıyorlar; yürüyüş, gösteri, isyan, grev dalgaları, ayaklanma, devrim, iç savaş, etnik çatışma, vs. gibi şeylerden özsel olarak farklılık gösterirler. Bu özsel farklılık, onların yaratıcı, olumlayıcı, prefigüratif ve dönüştürücü olmalarından, gündelik yaşama yayılabilmelerinden, içkin bir şekilde yaşanıyor olmalarından geliyor. Bu yüzden toplumsal hareketler literatürünü ele alan ayrıntılı bir inceleme ve tartışmadan geri duruyorum. Yine de şunu söylemem gerekiyor ki bu çalışmanın, toplumsal hareket kuramları ve literatürüyle ilişkisi var. Minör siyaset kuramı, bu literatürden yer yer yararlanıyor çünkü bu literatür, çağdaş siyasal dinamikleri takip etmek için önem arz ediyor. Örneğin prefigüratiflik ve çokluk gibi kavramlar, tüm dünyada yeni toplumsal

hareket dalgalarını anlamak ve açıklamak için önem arz ederler. Bu çalışmada, söz konusu kavramlara başvurduğum çünkü bunlar, minör siyaset alanını ve dinamiklerini hissedebilmek ve tanımlayabilmek için de kullanışlı kavramlardır.

Üçüncü olarak minör siyasetin, sivil toplum alanıyla karıştırılmaması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. Bunun çok temel ve basit bir sebebi var. Özellikle Türkiye’de sivil toplum, bir yanıyla resmî ama kamusal ilişkiler alanına gönderirken, bir taraftan da devlet otoritesi ya da bürokrasi alanı dışında konumlanıyor. Oysa biliyoruz ki sivil toplum olarak adlandırılan bu alan, majör siyasetin belirlenimi altında kalabiliyor. Sivil toplum kavramı ve sivil toplum olarak tanımlanan alanın siyasetle ilişkisinin ne olduğu tarih boyunca tartışılmış olsa da, bugün devletin ve majör siyasetin kontrolü altında düzenlenmiş bir toplumsal alan olarak tarif edilmektedir. Yaygın anlayış, ya sivil toplum kuruluşlarının doğrudan siyasetin içinde oldukları ya da kendilerini bütünüyle siyasetin dışında tutmayı tercih ettikleridir. Oysa bu noktada şunu vurgulamak gerekir ki bugün sivil toplum kuruluşlarının entegre olduğu siyaset, esasında majör siyasettir. Sivil toplum kuruluşları derken kast edilen de çoğu zaman toplumsal alanda faaliyet göstermeyi hedefleyen, devlet-dışı yahut kâr amacı gütmeyen örgütlerdir. Gelgelelim *sivil* ve *siyasal* toplum gibi bir ikilik, majör siyaset anlayışının bir ürünüdür. Minör siyaset bakış açısından şunu söylemek gerekir ki toplumsal yaşamın içinde hiçbir şey siyasetin dışında değildir. Yaşam ve siyaset, birbirinden ayrılamaz şeylerdir. Dolayısıyla bu, söz konusu ikiliği anlamsız kılar. Söz konusu ikilik, yalnızca majör siyasetin normları ve söylemleri dünyasında anlamlıdır. Fakat bu tezde göstermeye çalıştığım üzere minör siyaset kuramı, bütün bir sivil toplum alanının, öyle ya da böyle, siyasal olduğunu düşünür. Yine de bu, sivil toplum alanındaki hiçbir kuruluşun minör siyasete asla dahil olamayacağı anlamına da gelmez. Bu tezde ortaya koyduğum üzere, minör siyasetin tanımlayıcı, belirleyici ve ayırıcı dokuz özelliği vardır ve bu özellikler, minör siyaseti minör siyaset yapan koşullar yahut gereklilikler gibi de düşünülebilir. Bu bağlamda, herhangi bir sivil toplum kuruluşu da, söz konusu koşulları taşıdığı anda bir minör siyasal oluşum yahut eylemlilik olarak görülebilir. Ama genel olarak, sivil toplum kuruluşlarının karakteristik özelliklerine baktığımızda (majör siyasetin normlarını, zihniyetini ve dilini paylaşmak gibi), minör siyasetin kendini canlı ve dinamik bir güç olarak gösterdiği yerlerde sivil toplum kuruluşlarını görmek pek kolay değildir. Bu tez için

yapmış olduğum alan araştırmasında, görüştüğüm bazı minör oluşumlar aynı zamanda sivil toplum kuruluşu niteliği taşıyorlardı. Örnek vermem gerekirse, Kadınlarla Dayanışma Vakfı (KADAV) ya da Halkların Köprüsü Derneği birer sivil toplum kuruluşudur. Ama bu örgütlerde minör siyaset canlı ve dinamik haldedir, özellikle de onların siyaset algılarına ve siyaseti nasıl yaptıklarına baktığımızda görürüz ki minör ve siyasal olmanın koşullarını yerine getirirler. Dolayısıyla kendilerini sivil toplum kuruluşu olarak tanımlamaları yahut sivil toplum alanında resmî yahut yasal vakıf ya da dernek olmaları, *minör siyasal* olmalarının önünde bir engel teşkil etmez.

Netleştirmek istediğim bir diğer nokta, minör siyasetin alanları yahut konularıyla ilgilidir. Yalnız başına bir konu ya da bir alan, herhangi bir eylemliliği doğrudan minör siyasal yapmaz. Bu tezde gösterdiğim üzere minör siyasetin eylemlilik gösterdiği alanlar çok çeşitlidir; kadın ve eşcinsel hareketlerinden kent ve ekoloji hareketlerine kadar, emek, eğitim, göç, spor, medya, hapishane, vs. alanları sayabilirim. Bunlar farklı siyaset alanlarıdır ama oluşum ve eylemlilikleri *minör siyasal* yapan şey sırf bu alanlarda ve konularda faaliyet gösteriyor olmaları değildir. Örneğin bu alanların birinde faaliyet gösteren ama temsili, hiyerarşik, ideolojik, vs. gibi majör siyaset özelliklerine ve ilkelerine denk düşecek şekilde varlık gösteren, haliyle minör siyasetten uzak oluşumlar, kurumlar, kuruluşlar olabilir. Dolayısıyla şunu söyleyebiliriz; minör siyasal var oluş, hangi alanda *ne yaptığımızı* değil, *neyi nasıl yaptığımızı* bağlıdır. Yani oluşum ve eylemlilikleri minör siyasal yapan şey, etkinliğin ya da eylemin kendisinden ziyade eyleme yolu, yönetimi ve tarzıdır.

Son olarak minör siyasetin mikro-siyaset ile karıştırılmaması da önemli bir konudur. Minör olmak, her zaman ve yalnızca küçük ya da mikro olmak zorunluluğu taşımaz. Foucault ve Deleuze'ün çalışmalarından bildiğimiz üzere mikro-siyaset, nüfusu yönetmek için küçük-ölçekli müdahalelerin işletilmesi yahut insanların tercihlerini ve tavırlarını şekillendirmek ya da arzu, inanç ve yargılarını biçimlendirmek için bir tür düzenleme anlamına geliyor. Kısacası mikro-siyaset, bir yönetim formu olarak siyasal öznelerin disiplini, gözetimi ve denetimi gibi tekniklerin kullanılması anlamına geliyor. Bu anlamda, mikro-siyasal güç, majör siyasetin gündelik yaşam teknikleri içindeki uzanımı olarak görünür. Dolayısıyla minör siyasetin mikro-

siyasetten bütünüyle farklı olduğu ortadadır. Bir teknik güç olarak mikro-siyaset, totaliter yahut faşist bir rejimin hizmetinde çalışan mikro araçları ve enstrümanları bünyesinde toplayabilir ama minör siyasetin, herhangi bir majör iktidar yahut ideolojinin hizmetine girip araçsallaşması söz konusu olamaz. Daha önce söylediğim ve bu tezde ortaya koyduğum üzere minör siyasetin belli karakteristik özellikleri vardır ve bunlar, herhangi bir oluşum, eylemlilik yahut kolektif pratiğin aynı anda hem minör hem de siyasal olmalarının koşulları / kriterleri niteliği taşırlar.

Şimdi de tezin bölümlerini özetlemek istiyorum.

Beni böyle bir çalışma yapmaya ve minör siyaset teorisini tarif edip geliştirmeye yönelten sebeplerin ardından bu çalışmayı yapmak için kullandığım bilimsel yöntemi ortaya koyduğum giriş bölümünden sonra, ikinci bölümde “minör siyaset”i kavramsallaştırmaya ve belli kuramsal kaynaklara dayanarak hipotezimi ortaya koymaya çalışıyorum. Bu çabaya, belli özellikleriyle minör siyasetin var olduğunu gösterme gayretim de eşlik ediyor. Daha önce söylediğim gibi, minör siyaset kavramı, onu siyasette bir çeşit *kaçış hattı* olarak önemseyen Deleuze ve Guattari’den türetilir. Ama ben, çağdaş siyaset teorisi sınırlarının ne içinde ne de dışında kapsamlı bir minör siyaset kavramsallaştırması göremiyorum. Bu yüzden tezim, Deleuze ve Guattari’nin siyaset kuramına başvuruyor ama onunla sınırlı kalmıyor. Daha ziyade, karşılaştırmalı bir çalışmaya ve yaşamın belli başlı minör alanlarındaki eylemliliklerin incelenmesine dayanıyor.

Minör siyaseti kavramsallaştırma denemesi, onun belli başlı özelliklerini belirlemeyi içeriyor. 1) Bu bağlamda ben, ilk olarak şunu ortaya koyuyorum: Minör siyaset, hayat ve siyaset arasında bir süreklilik gözetir; gündelik hayata, bireysel konulara ve özel meselelere varıncaya dek çok küçük detayları siyaset açısından dikkate alır. Yaşamın herhangi bir alanının, hayata dair herhangi bir şeyin siyasetten yalıtık düşünülemediğini savunur. 2) Bu yüzden minör siyasetin temsili olmayan bir doğası vardır; temsili düşünüş ve eyleyin ve de belli temsillerin dışında deneyimlenen bir siyasettir. 3) Majör siyaset dediğimiz bugünün genel ve hâkim siyaseti, kendi temsillerini aşkınlık düzleminde bulur; Tanrı, din, yasalar formunda ahlak, ideoloji, kült liderler, büyük anlatılar ya da majör idealler gibi aşkın

temsillerle belirlenir. Ama minör siyaset içkin bir siyasettir. Burada içkinlik demek, şu alt özellikleri taşımak anlamına gelir: a) Minör siyaset bakış açısından insanlar, siyasetin hem öznesi hem de nesnesidirler; siyaset, *ötekilere* tepki göstermekten ziyade *potentia agendi*'yle, yani eyleme kudretiyle başlar. b) Minör siyaset içindeki insanlar, yalnızca sevdikleri ve istedikleri için o eylemliliğin içindedirler, yoksa fikirler, figürler, hedefler gibi herhangi bir temsil uğruna değil. c) Minör siyasette hiçbir şey başka bir şeyi elde etmek yahut bir koşula ulaşmak için bir araç, bir enstrüman yahut ara bir evre olarak görülmez. Minör siyaset, süreç siyasetine ve etiğine temellenir. 4) Minör siyaset tepkisel değildir; kendinde amaçlar olarak minör siyasal oluşumlar ve eylemlilikler, çeşitli şekillerde insanların karşılıklı olarak güçlerini artırdıkları karşılaşmalara alan açarlar. Bu da aynı şekilde, minör siyasetin içkin ve etik özüne gönderir. Minör siyaset, “tepkisel” değil, “üretici” ve “etki yaratıcı” bir-aradalık formlarından oluşur. Bu yüzden de minör siyasal oluşumlar, *çoklukların* minör örnekleridirler ve bu özelliği onları, *ötekilere* açık ve *ötekiler* için cazip hale getirir. 5) Dolayısıyla minör siyaset, *tekilliklerin çokluğuna* temellenir. *Fark ilkesi* devrededir. Yani insanlar, kendi önemleri ve değerleri, yani tekillikleri bağlamında farklı ama eşittirler. 6) Majör siyasetin yaygın fenomenlerinden biri, temsilî güç ilişkilerinin doğal bir sonucu olarak kütleli yapılar halinde teşkilatlanması ve merkezileşmedir. Ama minör siyaset, otoriter, temsilî ve hiyerarşik olmayan oluşum ve eylemlilikleriyle bu merkezileşmenin dışındadır. 7) Minör siyaset prefigüratif ve duygusal anlamda etki yaratıcıdır. Minör siyasetin duygusal anlamda etkili olma gücü, onun prefigüratif özünden gelir. Prefigüratif olmaktan kastım, minör siyasetin ömürlük süreçlerde pratik ve somut gerçekliğinin, sahiciliğinin olmasıdır. Hayalini kurduğun yahut arzu ettiğin bir yaşamı, elindeki olanaklar dâhilinde ve minör ölçekte de olsa şimdi ve burada hayata geçirip başlatabilmek, prefigüratif siyaseti tarif eder ve bu, minör siyasetin ayırt edici en önemli özelliklerinden biridir. Bir diğer deyişle minör siyaseti duygusal anlamda etkili yapan yahut onun etkili olma gücünü artıran temel dinamiklerden biri, prefigüratiflik haliyle olan sıkı bağı ve ilişkisidir. 8) Minör siyaset, duygusal anlamda etkili olma ve tekilliklerin çokluğu için karşılaşmalar hazırlama özellikleriyle birlikte düşünüldüğü vakit, aslında bir *oluş* siyasetidir; minör siyasette azınlık oluş, hayvan oluş, ağaç oluş, kadın oluş, eşcinsel oluş gibi farklı oluş süreçleri yaşanır. Bence bu türden bir azınlık oluş deneyimi, farkın içkin bir şekilde yaşanmasının da temeli

olarak belirir, ya da tekilliklerden mürekkep bir *çokluğun* yaratılmasının ve temsiller üzerinden işleyen büyük siyasetin majörlüklerinin yersizyurtsuzlaştırılmasının imkân olarak. 9) Buraya kadar saydığım özelliklerle tutarlılık içinde minör siyaset, tahakküm ilişkileri bütünü olan *potestas*'tan bir kaçış olarak *kaçış hattı* siyasetidir. Minör siyaset içindeki insanların motivasyonu, majör siyaset içindekiler gibi değildir; majör siyasetin tahakküm ilişkileri dünyasında kendilerine bir yer bulma yahut bir konum edinme amaçları yoktur çünkü o dünyanın içinde hiyerarşik örgütlenme pratiklerinin, tepkiselliklerin, çatışma duygu ve pratiklerinin, ayrımcı bir dilin, vs. majör siyaset norm ve pratiklerin ağır bastığı bir gerçektir. Bunun yerine minör siyasetin insanları, eylemek için kendi *potentia*'larına güvenir ve çokluğa temellenen, fark ve eşitlik ilkesini içkinlik düzleminde yaşayan kamusal dostluk ve insani biraradalık formlarının peşine düşerler.

Öyle inanıyorum ki bu özelliklerin her biri, minör siyaseti diğer siyaset biçimlerinden ayırt etmektedir ama bunların bir arada olması, o siyaseti *minör* yapan asıl şeydir. Dolayısıyla, minör siyaset gibi bir kavramı tanımlamak ve geliştirmek için, pratikte minör siyasal oluşum ve eylemliliklerin bu özelliklerden ne kadarını ne yoğunlukta içerdiğini, deneyimlediğini ve sürdürebildiğini belirlemek gerekir.

Sonuç olarak ikinci bölümde yapmış olduğum şey, bir hipotez geliştirmektir. Üçüncü bölümde bu hipotezi sağlamaya, doğrulamaya giriştim. Bu doğrultuda, minör siyasetin pratiğini araştırmak üzere bir alan çalışması yaptım. Yeni bir siyaset alanı olduğu ve siyasalın dinamiğinin bu minör hücrelerde sürdüğü yönündeki hipotezimi sağlamlaştırmak ve ispatlamak için minör siyaseti pratikte gözlemlemek hem gerekli hem de faydalı olacaktı. Yeni bir siyaset alanı söz konusuysa ama benim hipotezimde kavramsallaştırdığım türde bir minör siyaseti ele alan bilimsel ve akademik çalışmalar oldukça sınırlıydı. Minör siyasetin söz konusu temel özelliklerini, minör siyasal oluşum ve eylemliliklerin pratiğinde minör siyasal bir gerçekliğin olup olmadığını ve bu alandaki siyaset algısı ve pratiğini inceleyen bütünlüklü bir çalışma bildiğim kadarıyla yoktu. Bu yüzden ben de, minör siyasetin yaşadığını düşündüğüm alanlardan bazı veriler toplayarak minör siyaseti pratikte soruşturmayı ve açığı kapatmayı denedim. İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir'deki minör siyasal alanlarda var olan 31 oluşum ve eylemlilikten insanlarla yarı-yapılandırılmış

derinlemesine görüşmeler yaparak, minör siyasetin pratikteki bilgisini elde etmeye çalıştım. Görüşmeleri aşağıdaki ve benzeri sorularla tamamladım: Bu minör oluşumlar nelerdir? İnsanlar burada neler yapıyorlar? Hangi alanlarda eylemlilik gösteriyorlar? Hangi mekanizmaları işletiyorlar? Siyasetten ne anlıyorlar ve siyaseti nasıl deneyimliyorlar? Minör siyasetin insanları kimler? Majör siyasetle ilişkileri nasıldır, ne düzeydedir? Bu eylemliliklerinde ne gibi duygular üretiyor ve yaşıyorlar? Ne gibi etkiler yaratıyor, ne gibi kazanımlar elde ediyorlar? Ne gibi sorunlar yaşıyorlar? Minör siyasetin sınırlılıkları, yetersiz kaldığı noktalar nelerdir?

Elbette bu alan araştırması, Türkiye'deki bütün minör siyaset alanlarını kapsamaya yönelik değildi. Daha ziyade niteliksel bir çalışmaydı. Minör siyasetten bir kesit olarak, onun yeni bir alan olarak Türkiye'deki etliğini göstermeyi hedefliyor. Bu bağlamda üçüncü bölümde, alan araştırmasını sonuçlarını sunuyorum ve yorumluyorum. Yeni bir siyaset alanı olarak minör siyasetin pratikte de var olduğunu gösteriyorum. Üç ana başlık olarak prefigüratiflik, çokluk ve içkinlik başlıkları altında, minör siyasal oluşumların ve eylemliliklerin pratikteki hallerinin, kuramsal olarak ortaya koyduğum temel özelliklerle ne derece uyum içinde olduklarını ortaya koyuyorum.

Dolayısıyla bu bölümde minör siyaseti, yaptığım alan çalışmasının sonuçlarına bakarak inceliyor ve yorumluyorum. Çalışmamın sonuçları, Türkiye'de minör siyaset örnekleri olarak görülebilecek birçok alternatif siyaset pratiğinin, yani minör oluşum ve gayretlerin olduğunu keşfetmemde yardımcı oldu. Bu minör oluşumlar, basit insan toplulukları da olabiliyorlar, resmî vakıf ya da dernek, dayanışma ağları, mahalle inisiyatifleri, toplum merkezleri ya da gayri-resmî topluluk ve örgütler de olabiliyorlar. Aslında minör siyasetin, yaşamın her alanında olduğunu söyleyebilirim. Ama bu çalışma için ben, yalnızca belli alanlardaki oluşum ve eylemliliklerden bir örneklem oluşturdum. Bunlar, kadın hareketi, eşcinsel hareketi, kent ve çevre hareketi, medya ve video aktivizmi, göçmenler ve mahpuslar gibi gruplarla dayanışma, otonom spor etkinlikleri ve alternatif eğitim alanlarını içeriyor. Şunu kolaylıkla söyleyebilirim ki minör siyasetin yaşadığı ve eylediği çok farklı alanlar mevcut. Ve bu dar kapsamlı niteliksel çalışma bile, minör siyasetin var olduğu, majör

siyasete bir tepki olmaktan ziyade prefigüratifliğe, çokluğa ve içkinliğe temellenen yeni bir siyaset alanı olarak karşımıza çıktığı iddiasını destekliyor.

Dördüncü bölümde, minör siyasetin sınırlılıklarını gösteriyorum, tartışıyorum. Minör siyasetin pratikte yaşadığı sorunları anlamak için, araştırmamı şu sorularla ilerlettim: Minör siyasette insanlar ne gibi sorunlar yaşıyorlar? Eylemliliklerinin yetersiz kaldığını düşündükleri noktalar nelerdir? Bu sınırlılıkların, sorunların ve yetersizliklerin kaynakları ve sonuçları nelerdir? Bunlar haricinde, görüşmelerde belli başlı işaretler de minör siyasetin pratikteki sınırlılığınadır. Kısacası bu bölümde, minör siyasal oluşum ve eylemliliklerin bazı temel sınırlılıklarını anlamaya, açıklamaya ve değerlendirmeye çalıştım ve bu sınırlılıkların kaynaklarını ve olası ya da mevcut sonuçlarını tartıştım. Alan çalışmasının sonuçlarına göre, minör siyasetin pratikte yaşadığı ama çok farklı biçimlerde ve duygularda ortaya çıkan sınırlılıklarını ve sorunlarını iki temel kategoride ele almak mümkün. İlk olarak, majör siyaset minör siyasal eylemlilik üzerinde belli sınırlılıklar yaratıyor ve baskılar oluşturuyor. Yani majör siyaset, geleneksel ve hegemonik norm ve pratikleriyle minör siyaseti baskılıyor; çoğu zaman onu ve minör siyasal insanları kendi içine çekmeye çalışıyor; minör siyasetin gücünü ve kuvvesini genel olarak küçümsüyor ve değersiz görüyor. İkincisi, minör siyasal eylemliliğin kendi içinde yetersizliklerinin ve sorunların olması, bir sınır yaratıyor. Minör siyasal oluşum ve eylemliliklerin belli başlı sorunları, güçsüz kaldığı noktalar, yetemediği alanlar var ve bunlar, bu çalışmanın örnekleminin ötesinde genel ve yaygın sorunlar olarak kabul edilebilirler.

Son olarak beşinci bölümde, minör siyasal oluşum ve eylemliliklerde aktüel ya da virtüel olarak mevcut olan pozitif boyutları ve olanakları sunuyorum. Minör siyasetin sınırlılıklarından daha çok, vadettiği şeyler var ve bunlar, yine minör siyasetin prefigüratif, çokluk temelli ve içkinlik düzleminde yaşanıyor olması gibi temel özellikleri üzerine yükseliyorlar. Buna istinaden, minör siyasal oluşumların, sınırlılıklarını aşmaya ve sorunlarını çözmeye dair kazanımları var ve bunlar birer mekanizma şeklide minör siyaset alanının bilgi dağarcığına ekleniyor. Dolayısıyla minör siyasal eylemliliklerin olumlu boyutlarının, vadettiklerinin ve kazanımlarının, özelde yaşanan sorunlara ve sınırlılıklara birer cevap olarak düşünülmesi de mümkün

duruyor. Dahası, minör siyasetin vadettikleri, siyasette yeni dinamiklerin açılması için basit ihtimaller olmanın ötesinde, mevcut durumda bazı minör oluşum ve eylemliliklerin somut kazanımları olarak aktüel nitelik taşıyorlar.

Appendix C

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Kara, Onur
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 22 March 1985, Zonguldak
Marital Status: Married
Phone: +90 543 257 76 46
email: oneylka@gmail.com

EDUCATION

| Degree | Institution | Year of Graduation |
|-------------|---|--------------------|
| MS | METU Political Science and Public Administration | 2011 |
| BS | METU Political Science and Public Administration | 2008 |
| High School | Fener High School, Zonguldak | 2003 |

WORK EXPERIENCE

| Year | Place | Enrollment |
|------------------|--|------------|
| 2011- Present | TMMOB-Harita ve Kadastro Mühendisleri Odası | Consultant |

FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Advanced English

PUBLICATIONS

Kara, O., “Arendt and the Eclipse of the Politics: The (In)Properness of the Truth in Turkish Politics” (Arendt ve Politika Tutulması: Türk Siyasetinde Hakikat’in Yeri / Yersizliği), *Toplum ve Bilim Dergisi*, Vol 199, 2010

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Kara, O., “Left Minor” (Sol Minör), *Dışarıdan Düşünmek*, Ed. Ömer Faruk, Chiviyazıları Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2016

Kara, O., “A Love Issue” (Bir Gönül Meselesi), *Birikim Dergisi*, Vol 321, 2016

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Kara, O., “Inter-Psychology: From Sociology to Monadology” (*Sosyolojiden Monadolojiye İnter-Psikoloji*), *Siyasal Psikoloji*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2018

Kara, O., “Preface”, *Social Laws (Toplumsal Yasalar)*, Gabriel Tarde, Norgunk Yayınları, in progress

Appendix D

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |
| Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Enformatik Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü | <input type="checkbox"/> |

YAZARIN

Soyadı : ONUR
Adı : KARA
Bölümü : Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi

TEZİN ADI : Minor Politics and Its Promises: The Case of Turkey

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
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