

Abstracts (İngilizce özetler)

The analysis of upper middle class secular and conservative identities through fatherhood experiences in Turkey: Similarities, differences, prejudices and distances

FATMA UMUT BEŞPINAR – L. ZEYNEP BEŞPINAR

In this study, we examine the fatherhood experiences of upper middle class Turkish men considering themselves as laic/secular or conservative. The study is based on fieldwork and is focused on these two groups of professional men to understand the relationship they have with their fathers, the importance they place on paternity, and their fatherhood practices. The data is collected in Ankara and İstanbul through in-depth interviews and is then evaluated within the scope of literature on fatherhood as well as research on secular/laic and conservative values, identities and lifestyles. The similarities and differences of accepted values in fatherhood practices and perceptions of these experiences are discussed for secular and conservative men. In this study, it is concentrated on the forming interactions of gender roles, parenting practices, and lifestyles of the fatherhood experiences of both groups. Furthermore, it is shown that prejudices distance both groups from each other, in spite of some similarities.

Keywords: Fatherhood, secular/conservative identity, upper middle class, Turkey.



Abortion and subalternity: Stories of four women

YASEMİN ANTİK

In this study, women's experiences, who doesn't have access to abortion even though it is legal, are reflected, using subalternity and feminist theory as conceptual tools, and in depth interview as methodology. The aim of this study is writing the subaltern as subjects and contributing to the related literature. This study comprises of three sections. In the introduction, why using in depth interview and storytelling is explained with the resources provided by subaltern studies through a lens of feminism. Additionally the facts that subalternity being constructed socially with reference to factors as gender, income, and socio-economic conditions and being women does not directly means being subaltern is remarked. The first chapter presents a general perspective of the issue of abortion and the legal regulations through history of Turkish Republic. The main argument of this chapter is that, the population policy and the abortion issue are argued and regulated not though women's autonomy or rights, but through the interest of the state while seeing the citizenship of women as reproductive. The pro-natalist policies before 1965, anti-natalist after 1965, and again pro-natalist during AKP period has been shaped within this perspective. The second chapter handles the discourse created by Justice and Development Party (AKP) with Islamic references and the goal of population growth, and the abortion debates which resurfaced after Erdoğan's statement in 2012 drawing a parallel between Uludere airstrike and abortion. A practice has been created as a consequence of the discourse: the service of abortion is not being delivered despite being legal. In the third chapter of the work, the experiences of the subaltern women is told and analyzed. Four women are interviewed, two being sisters. In order to understand the stories of these women as they experienced them, interviews are constructed semi-structured and in depth. For grasping the gender roles, it is tried to be recognized, not just their period of having or not having an abortion, but also their general life, socio-economic conditions, and familial environment. Stories are told of four women: a Romani woman who has serious financial difficulties but was constrained to give birth to her fifth child, a big sister who gave birth to her baby in spite of two attempts of abortion, first because of her financial problems and second because she had bleeding and learned that the baby was disabled, a small sister who borrowed money to end her pregnancy in a private clinic after learning that she had ectopic pregnancy and that it is very dangerous for her health but will not be treated with an abortion in a public hospital, and a women who was forced to give birth to an eight months old baby which was dead in her womb after denied an abortion. The subaltern women who can not proclaim their voices has developed resistance methods which can not enter to the social movements repertoire in order to survive. In the field research of this study, the four women who could not get an abortion in the public hospitals told that they tried traditional voluntary abortion methods. It

is learned that they have used the methods of putting aspirin into uterus, boiling onion and drinking the boiled onion water, drinking mixed cola and aspirin, lifting heavy, jumping from couches. Women have internalizing their motherhood roles, contrary to abortions being legal they have believing that it is forbidden, their fears during and after their pregnancies because of their poverty, their longing to their deprivations, household survival strategies, and their feeling of responsibility and guilty conscience for their children and family because of their experiences, are among what has learned.

Keywords: subalternity, abortion, gender, resistance, poverty, discourse, story telling, population policies.



Clear thought versus dirty images: As “We still have our look”...

GÜLSÜM DEPELİ

Documentary film-maker Claude Lanzmann produces *Shoah* (1985), his film on *Holocaust*, by rejecting making references to archives. Morally and politically, he places his film opposite to archives. His negation of image triggers a fierce debate among several directors. Opposed to Lanzmann, Jean Luc Godard and Georges Didi-Huberman take sides with images and archive.

This article first reflects on these three documentary film makers' views, and then sides with images. Later, it elaborates on the relationship between image and witness. In addition, the concept of “look” holds a crucial place in the discussion. It is observed that though look is one of the critical components enabling images, it has often been neglected in discussions on visibility. Pointing at such neglect, the article conceptualizes look with its potentialities, which can be researched further, rather than accepted as a given or assumed aspect. In this way, it acknowledges the fact that look is active rather than passive. Finally, the article shares preliminary questions and discussions on the possibility of discussing look formed as an ethico-political responsibility.

Keywords: Lanzmann, Godard, Didi-Huberman, image, genocide.



Politics of resistance: The right to resist and political resistance

ONUR BİLGİNER

This paper seeks to answer a number of questions having to do with political disobedience. On what grounds or principles would the authority of the state and the obedience owed to it be questioned or denied? Under what circumstances can

the right to resist, which is held to be natural or universal, be exercised? What are the differences between the right of resistance and political resistance? What does make resistance distinctively political? How can political resistance be discerned from everyday resistance? What are the methods of opposition included in the repertoire of political resistance? How does an act of resistance become politically and morally acceptable? Does every resistance having democratic demands have to be legal and peaceful?

This study aims to clarify and redraw the conceptual boundaries between political resistance, everyday resistance and the right to resist. It simply argues that political resistance, which embraces a variety of practices such as street protests, rallies, occupation of parks and public buildings, revolutionary social movements and civil disobedience, is innately related to everyday resistance and the right of resistance but in no way identical to them. Everyday resistance is erratically scattered over the social realm and found in various shapes. It is a simpler form of resistance that remains most of the time unnoticed by the powerful. Yet, it may overcome its impotence by incorporating itself an additional but political component. Whereas everyday forms of resistance need to cross a certain threshold as to become distinctively political, I argue, political forms of resistance are not to be used interchangeably with the right to resist. This is so because political resistance is rather to be regarded as a *genus*, and the right to resist as a *species*.

To give an outline of the study at hand, it begins with setting out the idiosyncratic characteristics of political resistance and then focuses on a recent dispute between Taha Akyol and Rıza Türmen. After laying out their contrasting approaches to the right of resistance, this study attempts to correct the deficiencies in each account by engaging in a close reading of John Locke's *Second Treatise*. This will reveal at least two things. First, the right to resist is not to be envisaged as a means of staging a coup or creating chaos and anarchy. Second, Locke's theory of resistance is not outmoded. To the contrary, his work continues to shed light on the politics of resistance for its strong emphasis on the significance of practical reasoning and what we may call the principle of majority. The next step will be to demonstrate that political resistance is an intrinsically flexible, transitive and transient phenomenon, and that the politics of resistance is needed as much as the professional politics. Finally, this article investigates whether or not morally and politically justifiable resistance may confine itself to legal and non-violent practices, paying extra attention on civil disobedience.

Keywords: Right to resist, political resistance, politics of resistance, majority, violence, practical reason, civil disobedience.



The marginality and minority in the construction of the otherization mechanism

ERHAN ÖZŞEKER

This article aims to draw attention to the role played by the emphasis on the marginality and minority in the construction of the otherization mechanism. For this reason, in the first part of the article, the theoretical opportunities, provided by the critical political and social theory in order to analyse the phenomenon that can be called "otherization" in general, have been investigated. In this context, the discussions around the issue of "identity/difference" have been particularly emphasized. In the second part, the tactics such as "dividing, drawing frontiers, stigmatization" that are used by the hegemonic identities to consolidate themselves have been investigated. In the third part, the otherization mechanism operated through marginalization and belittling in two recent cases from Turkey (proclaiming Dilan Alp –an injured May Day protestor– "marginal", and Gezi Park protesters "marauders") has been analyzed by means of the theoretical framework developed in the former parts.

Keywords: Otherization, marginal, identity/difference, dividing practices, stigmatization.



The possibility of a peaceful resolution of conflicts: Post-metaphysical foundation of consensus

ÖZGÜR SOYSAL

In the text "Kant's Idea of Perpetual Peace, with the benefit of Two Hundred years Hindsight", Habermas argues that Kant's idea of cosmopolitan order which leads us to perpetual peace, needs to be subject to a conceptual revision and to be reformulated in order to maintain its relation to the present situation of the world which has undergone a fundamental ongoing change. But Habermas's conceptual revision or his alternative alternative framework proposal does not exist in this text. As a matter of fact, the aim of this study is to find out and critically display that what kind of democratic constitutional political structure that Habermas offered in his work as an assurance of peace ("peaceful nature of the republics") and his views on the relationship between a peaceful democracy and capitalism ("the power of world trade creating partnership bonds"), and his proposal of a publicity which can be a place of debate underpinning political criticism and political learning processes in spite of the structural transformation of the publicity ("The function of the political public sphere"). Certainly, on this path, our main focus will be about how Habermas offer solutions to the problems that Kant's transcendental conceptual framework was leading to (the dilemmas that forced Kant to appeal to concept of a metaphysical nature's) according to him. So basically in this paper

we will try to critically evaluate Habermas's claim to propose a suitable ground for the minimum defensibility or admissibility conditions of theorizing contemporary intellectual parameters, that is, a post-metaphysical thought, so that conflicts between people can be resolved peacefully.

Keywords: Perpetual Peace, Kant, Habermas, consensus, Critical Theory.



Linguistic strategies of conspiracy mentality: An analysis on the conspiracy discourse in Gezi Park news of the conservative press

YURDAGÜL BEZIRGAN ARAR

Conspiracy theories as a way of explaining the social or political crisis, are based on a belief that the crisis is part of a great game/plan. This belief is often lacking from deep analyzes and concrete abilities; nevertheless is functional to convince a certain mass and in a certain way. For this convince, it is important to be public common by the media and opinion leaders the conspiracy theories which are especially frequently applied in right-conservative thinking, It is possible to analyse the conspiracy discourse, which is circulated through news texts, focusing on linguistic convincing strategies of both conspiracy theories and news practices complement each other. The basic question of this paper, what kind of conspiracy discourse is placed in the conservative press's news practice about the Gezi Park as a unique form in terms of opposing social movements in Turkey; and which linguistic strategies were used to construct this discourse. For this aim, chosen 5 right-conservative daily press as sample (*Türkiye, Milli Gazete, Yeni Akit, Yeni Asya, Yeni Şafak*) in date 1-30 June 2013 and front pages agendas analysed in an analytically perspective.

Keywords: Gezi Park, conspiracy theory, conspiracy discourse, conservative press.



The commodification of nature

AYKUT ÇOBAN

This paper discusses the process and mechanisms of the commodification of nature, identifies social and ecological problems it creates, and examines its social and biophysical limits. The first section focuses on the three factors Marx convincingly argues in his conceptualisation of the commodity and on Polanyi's approach to nature as fictitious commodity. The second section explores the supplementary elements of the commodification of natural entities. Here the links between Marx's factors and these elements are established considering that they are operational in the commodification of nature but could or could not be in the pro-

duction of usual commodities. In addition, the commodification of nature encounters social barriers arising from cultural, ethical and ecological concerns, community values and legal restrictions, as well as physical, nature-temporal and biological barriers. The last section analyses the commodification of minerals and seed in Turkey under the rule of the AKP governments. In this analysis a special emphasis is given to the two political agents effective in commodification processes overlooked in the earlier parts of the paper, namely the capitalist state and the political struggles against commodification. It is suggested that it is these struggles that have the potential for the protection of nature and society in neoliberal capitalism.

Keywords: capital accumulation, limits to commodification, minerals, seed, formal and real subsumption of nature, ecological movements.

Yazarlara not

Toplum ve Bilim'e gönderilen yazıların başka bir yerde yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanması amacıyla başka bir yere iletilmemiş olması gereklidir. Yazarlar, yazıları ile birlikte bir sayfayı geçmeyen İngilizce-Türkçe birer özet, açıklayıcı nitelikte anahtar sözcükler/keywords iletmelidirler. Ayrıca yazarlar, isimlerinin başına bir asteriks koyarak makalenin ilk sayfasının altında kendilerini ünvanlarıyla tanıtmalıdır.

Yazıların toplumbilim@iletisim.com.tr adresine word.doc olarak gönderilmeleri gerekir. Dergiye ulaşan yazılar en geç iki ay içinde hakem okurların da katkısıyla değerlendirilecek ve sonuç yazarlara yazılı olarak iletilecektir.

Biçim: Makalede diğer kaynaklara yapılacak göndermeler, ana metin içinde uygun yerlere parantez içinde yazarın soyadı, yayın tarihi ve sayfa no belirtilerek yapılmalıdır. Metin içinde aynı kaynaklara tekrar gönderme yapıldığında da aynı yöntem izlenmeli ve "age.", "agm." gibi kısaltmalar kullanılmamalıdır. Eğer yazarın adı metnin içinde geçiyorsa, yalnızca yayın yılını parantez içinde vermek yeterlidir; örneğin, "... İnalçık'ın (1985) belirttiği gibi...". Eğer yazarın adı metin içinde geçmiyorsa, hem yazarın adı, hem de atıfta bulunulan kaynağın yayın tarihi parantez içinde verilmelidir; örneğin, (İnalçık, 1985). Eğer sayfa numarası vermek gerekiyorsa, yazar adı ve yayın tarihinden sonra iki nokta üstüste konulmalı ve sayfa numaraları yazılmalıdır; örneğin, (İnalçık, 1985: 23-27). Eğer atıfta bulunulan kaynak iki yazar tarafından kaleme alınmışsa, her ikisinin de soyadları kullanılmalıdır; örneğin, (Lash ve Urry, 1987; 125-128). Eğer yazarlar ikiden fazlaysa, ilk yazarın soyadından sonra "vd." ibaresi kullanılmalıdır; örneğin, (İnalçık vd. 1985: 23-27). Eğer gönderme yapılan kaynaklar birden fazlaysa, aynı parantez içinde yazarların soyadları ve yayın tarihleri, aralarında noktalı virgül olacak şekilde sıralanmalıdır; örneğin, (İnalçık, 1985; Mardin, 1989; Poulantzas, 1979). Buradaki sırlama yazarların soyad-

larına göre alfabetik olmalıdır. Metin içinde kaynak göstermek için dipnot kullanılmamalı, dipnotlar sadece ana metin içinde yer alması uygun görülmeyen notlar için kullanılmalıdır. Dipnotlarda yapılacak göndermelerde de yine ana metin içinde kullanılan yöntem izlenmelidir. Ana metinde ve dipnotlarda atıfta bulunulan tüm kaynaklar, yazının sonuna eklenecek "Kaynakça" içerisinde yer almalıdır.

Kaynakça: Kaynakçada sadece yazıda atıfta bulunulan eserler yer almalı ve bu eserler, yazarların soyadına göre alfabetik olarak sıralanmalıdır. Bir yazarın birden fazla eserinin kaynakçada yer alması halinde, her seferinde yazarın soyadı ve adının baş harfi tekrarlanacak ve sıralama, yazarın en son yayınlanmış çalışması en üstte gelecek şekilde yapılacaktır. Yazarın aynı yıl içinde yayınlanmış birden fazla çalışması kaynakçada yer alacaksa, yayın tarihinden sonra "a, b, c" gibi ibareler kullanılmalı ve metin içinde de bu şekilde atıfta bulunulmalıdır. Kaynakçada yer alabilecek örnekler aşağıda belirtilmektedir:

Kitaplar:

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Harvey, D. (1985a) *The Urbanization of Capital*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Harvey, D. (1985b) *Consciousness and Urban Experience*, Blackwell, Oxford.

Derleme kitaplar:

Gregory, D. ve Urry, J. der. (1985) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, Macmillan, Londra.

Dergilerdeki makaleler:

Johnson, L.C. (1994) "What future for feminist geography", *Gender, Place and Culture*, 1(1): 103-113.

Peet, R. (1985) "The social origins of environmental determinism", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 75(2): 309-333.

Derleme kitaplar içindeki makaleler:

Massey, D. (1993) "Politics and space/time" Keith, M. ve Pile, S. (der.) *Place and the Politics of Identity* içinde, Routledge, Londra, 141-161.

Urry, J. (1989) "Sociology and geography" Peet, R. ve Thrift, N. (der.) *New Models in Geography* içinde, Unwin, Londra, 795-317.

Tezler, yayınlanmamış çalışmalar:

Şen, M. (1992) *Development of the Big Bourgeoisie in Turkey*, Yayınlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi, ODTÜ Sosyoloji Bölümü, Ankara.

Ayrıca kaynakçada yer alan çalışmalar Türkçe yayınlanmış ise, parantez içinde mutlaka belirtilmelidir.