GEZI PARK PROTESTS FROM A BADIOUAN PERSPECTIVE AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE POLITICAL SUBJECTIVIZATION OF LGBTIQ+ PEOPLE

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ABSTRACT

GEZI PARK PROTESTS FROM A BADIOUAN PERSPECTIVE AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE POLITICAL SUBJECTIVIZATION OF LGBTIQ+ PEOPLE

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This thesis investigates the possibility of interpreting the Gezi Park protests, which took place in 2013 and was one of the most important resistances in Turkish political history, through the lens of contemporary French philosopher Alain Badiou and his theory of event to evaluate its effects on the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people. This thesis provides demonstrations of the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement alongside the history of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey. To interpret the Gezi Park protests within the scope of the theory of event, the theory and its political interpretation are introduced as well as the trajectory and features of the protests. The thesis presents the findings of the interviews with LGBTIQ+ activists to evaluate the effects of the Gezi Park protests on the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people. By utilizing the theory of event and the concept of political subjectivization, this study aims to provide an explanation of what happened in Gezi Park and what did it change for the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey through theory testing with a field study. The thesis also reveals the potentials and limitations of the theory of event in terms of providing an interpretation of the political instances.

Keywords: Gezi Park protests, Gezi resistance, the history of LGBTIQ+ movement, the theory of event, political subjectivization

ÖZ

BADIOUCU PERSPEKTIFTEN GEZİ PARKI PROTESTOLARI VE LGBTİQ+ BİREYLERİN SİYASAL ÖZNELEŞMESİNE ETKİSİ

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Bu çalışma, 2013 yılında meydana gelen ve Türk siyasi tarihinin en önemli direnişlerinden biri olan Gezi Parkı protestolarının LGBTİQ+ bireylerin siyasal özneleşmesine etkisini değerlendirmek amacıyla çağdaş Fransız düşünür Alain Badiou'nun bakış açısıyla ve onun 'olay teorisi'yle incelenme imkanını araştırmaktadır. Tez ulusaşırı LGBTİQ+ hareketinin tarihiyle birlikte Türkiye LGBTİQ+ hareketinin tarihini tanıtmaktadır. Gezi Parkı protestolarını olay teorisi kapsamında yorumlamak adına olay teorisi, ve teorinin siyasal yorumu ile protestoların gidişatı ve özellikleri ortaya konmaktadır. Bu tez, Gezi Parkı protestoları'nın LGBTİQ+ bireylerin siyasal özneleşmesine etkisini incelemek amacıyla LGBTİQ+ aktivistleriyle gerçekleştirilen mülakatların bulgularını sunmaktadır. Bu çalışma, olay teorisini ve siyasal özneleşme kavramını kullanarak Gezi Parkı'nda ne olduğunu ve bunun Türkiye'deki LGBTİQ+ hareketi için neyi değiştirdiğini açıklamak adına saha çalışması ile teoriyi test etmektedir. Bu tez ayrıca, siyasal olaylara yorum sunabilmesi açısından olay teorisinin imkan ve sınırlılıklarını ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gezi Parkı Protestoları, Gezi Direnişi, LGBTİQ+ hareketi tarihi, olay teorisi, siyasal özneleşme

To my beloved ones…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Gezi resistance, or the Gezi Park protests, took place in 2013 and has been the most significant resistance in recent Turkish political history, thus, it has inspired extensive literature in Turkey on its causes, content, form, and outcomes. A better part of the studies examine the Gezi resistance with the social movements' theories which deal with the definition of the concept of social (the characterization of society, the perception of the social, the evaluation of the part of the social, etc.); the emergence of social movements (organizational aspects, the moment of formation, whether there is a leadership movement, etc.); mobilization processes of social movements; and demands and social conflicts that form the basis of the movement. The frequently used social movement theory for the interpretation of the Gezi resistance is the New Social Movements theory which mainly focuses on the explanation of the movements that emerged with cultural, gender-based, racial, ethnical, and rights-based demands and concerns.[1] Besides, this theory presupposes certain features of the movements such as the participant profile, the themes, and the modes of action. According to this theory, the actors, or the participants of the movements in question are organized around their identities rather than the classes or socio-economic situations of them, thus, their demands shape around the cultural change or the changes of the values of everyday life rather than the changes of economic structure or political power. Moreover, the themes of these movements are mostly shaped around identity politics, life choices and the struggle for gaining acceptance. Finally, the new social movements are generally organized independent from the political parties or formations, thus they

[1]Buechler, S M. (2013). New Social Movements and New Social Movement Theory. In *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, eds. D. A. Snow, D. Della Porta, B. Klandermans, and D. McAdam. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley. https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470674871.wbespm143.

occur as decentralized, leaderless, and self-controlled movements.[2] Considering these features of the New Social Movements theory, the general tendency of explaining the Gezi resistance with this theory is understandable. The studies explaining the Gezi resistance with this theory are focused on revealing the aspects of the resistance which coincide with the theory such as the wide range of participant profiles including white-collar workers, women, environmentalists, seculars, anti-capitalist Muslims, Kemalists, Kurdish people etc.; the theme of the resistance, which was distant from the party politics or ideologies, mainly shaped around the criticism of the neo-liberal politics of the government and the environmental and socio-economic implications of these politics; or the resistance's modes of action including the occupation of the city squares, emphasis on non-violent resistance, artistic performances and setting up camps. [3] Therefore, even though certain aspects of the Gezi resistance coincide with the features of the new social movements and the New Social Movements theory provides an explanation for why and how the resistance occurred, its results and effects on people remained unrevealed. Besides, there are also studies focusing on the interpretation of the resistance with the means of Urban Movements and Ecological/Environmentalist Movements. Moreover, a different set of studies bring forward the organizational aspects of the Gezi resistance with the emphasis on the power and usage of the new media tools such as Twitter. In addition, there are studies that analyze the events with a focus on the people who participated in the protests including their political background, economic status and/or class, employment status, the level of education, the generation and/or the age and so on. Moreover, there is also a study that focuses on the political subjectivity that emerged in the aftermath of the Gezi in Turkey through recomposition[4]. However, the resistance has not been analyzed so far by specifically employing the theoretical framework of a philosopher/thinker, or characteristics of a particular group while interpreting the Gezi

[2] Bozkurt, Y. & Bayansar, R. (2016). Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler Çerçevesinde Çevreci Hareket ve Gezi Parkı Olayları. *Yönetim ve Ekonomi Araştırmaları Dergisi, 14*(2), 276-293. DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.11611/JMER178655

[3] Yetkin, M. & Şimşek, A. (2017). A Theoretical Analysis of the Gezi Resistance: Implications for Political Communication of New Social Movements. *Online Journal of Communication and Media Technologies, 7*(2), 1-32.

[4] Karakayali, Serhat & Yaka, Özge. (2014). The Spirit of Gezi: The Recomposition of Political Subjectivities in Turkey. *New Formations, 83.* DOI: 10.3898/NeWf.83.07.2014

resistance. Similarly, even though there is extensive literature on Alain Badiou's philosophical approach, the event theory, and its political interpretations; there are not any studies through which Badiou's ideas on a particular social movement are tested. Thus, it is no surprise to see that none of the researches on Gezi resistance evaluates it as a whole as an event, and what were its effects on the political subjectivization of a particular group of people in Turkey. Besides, the secondary sources on the topic are mostly focused on the political interpretation of the Badiouan philosophy, and on the evaluation of it within the New Social Movements theory.

Considering that there are not any studies focused on the interpretation of the Gezi resistance with the theory of event or with Badiouan philosophy, and also on the political subjectivity of a particular group that emerged under the effects of the Gezi resistance, this thesis investigates the possibility of interpretation of the Gezi resistance and its effects on the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, intersex, queer) people in Turkey with the theory of event. More specifically, the thesis attempts to evaluate whether the Gezi resistance has created a break in the status quo of Turkish politics, thus, whether it is an event or not. In addition, the thesis intends to put forward if the Gezi resistance can be interpreted as an event, what would be Badiou's possible understanding of it. Moreover, this study investigates whether the political subjectivization process of LGBTIQ+ people, thus, the subject has emerged under the effects of the Gezi resistance. With this study, I aimed to develop a further discovery and understanding of Badiouan philosophy and the theory of event through conducting a field study to comprehend and demonstrate the changes that occurred with the resistance and to shed light on the several aspects of the resistance including its effects on the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey which would enable me to test the theory of event.

As mentioned above, throughout this thesis I will attempt to test the theory of event that was introduced by the contemporary French philosopher Alain Badiou in his book *L'Être et l'Événement* which was published in 1988. In his book, Badiou formed his philosophical understanding and ontological approach using mathematics, specifically, the set theory of Cantor (Osborne, 2007). Even though the theory of event is not directly introduced as a political theory, it enables the interpretations of political

instances. Moreover, by the means of the theory of event, Badiou transformed the modern philosophical doctrine of the subject as well as presented a new definition of truth which can only be produced by the generic procedures which are love, art, science, and politics. According to Badiou, politics as one of the generic procedures is in the control of producing the truth which can only be opened by an event. Therefore, although the theory of event was created in a philosophical context, it can directly be applied to politics as well. Hence, I will apply the theory for the interpretation of the Gezi resistance as well as will attempt to show its potential and limitations for the evaluation of a political interpretation.

Furthermore, even though Badiou did not directly provide his ideas on the social movements together with the event theory, he states that his philosophy is the inheritor of the movements that took place in the 1960s and it is emerged out of them. Thus, it seeks for a real alternative of the dominant politics through refusing the consensus on the unity of global capitalism and representative and democratic state. Moreover, Badiou underlines that in terms of representing a political opening other than the dominant politics, his philosophy is chasing the possibility of a politics of emancipation, radical, or revolutionary politics. Therefore, this thesis seeks to reveal the possible parallelisms of the conditions of the occurrence of the event with the rise of the Gezi resistance, whether the multiples made the Gezi resistance possible were at the edge of the void as Badiou presupposes, and the probability of emergence of the political subjectivization. To further analyze these parallelisms, I will present Badiou's understanding of the political instances that took place in the 20th and 21st centuries through demonstrating three types of riots that Badiou conceptualizes to illustrate the different types of movements according to their occurrence, participants, forms of action and consequences. Then, I will attempt to evaluate the Gezi resistance through these types of riots and try to show what it corresponds to in Badiouan understanding.

Moreover, it should be underlined that evaluating the Gezi Park protests with the concept of event will demonstrate the compatibility of the resistance with the theory. However, another evaluation will be needed to comprehend its effects on the political subjectivization processes, thus, I will present the findings of the field study conducted with the elements of the LGBTIQ+ movement. The field study enabled me to

understand the real effects of the Gezi resistance on both individuals and the LGBTIQ+ movement. Furthermore, the field study revealed the changes that occurred under the effect of the resistance within the LGBTIQ+ movement in terms of visibility of the movement, collaboration opportunities with other movements, and the current situation of the LGBTIQ+ movement.

In my opinion, the Gezi resistance definitely ruptured the status quo of the current politics of Turkey. Moreover, thanks to the resistance, a major part of the society mobilized and created common demands. The resistance enabled the uncounted, unpresented, and unheard parts of the society to show their existence. Moreover, Gezi made it possible to think of an alternative way of governance, thus, politics, which would be based on democratic values and equality. Moreover, as the thesis will show through the experiences of the interviewees, the resistance created new political subjectivities. The event theory presupposes a very strict definition of the event in terms of its conditions, elements, and consequences, therefore, as Badiou also points out while conceptualizing the three types of riots, it is not quite easy to define even the most significant resistances and riots as an event. However, this does not diminish the importance of the Gezi resistance in the political history of the country. Consequently, my effort will be to provide the relevant aspects of the Gezi resistance that can be compatible with the event theory to prove that an alternative interpretation of the Gezi resistance outside of the social movements' literature is possible. In addition, I will put forward the undeniable importance of the resistance in terms of transforming the lives of LGBTIQ+ people.

First of all, in Chapter II the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movements and the history of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey will be presented to further investigate the development of the LGBTIQ+ movement both in different parts of the world and in Turkey. The history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement will be presented by demonstrating the most significant individuals, organizations and events that have articulated demands for political and legal inclusion of LGBTIQ+ people and those that have affected the trajectory of the transnational LGBTIQ+ social movements. The history of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey will be presented by introducing the

historical background, the organizations formed, and the legal and political statuses of LGBTIQ+ people.

Chapter III presents the theory of event, the political interpretation of it, and the background and features of the Gezi resistance. After presenting the theory of event and its concepts, I will argue its political interpretation through demonstrating Badiou's understanding of the political instances that took place in the 20th and 21st centuries. Moreover, I will argue whether the Gezi resistance was an event through interpreting its occurrence, trajectory, and effects, and what would be the Badiouan understanding of the resistance.

In Chapter IV, I will present and analyze the findings of the in-depth interviews which I conducted with the individuals who have been actively engaged with the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey before, during and after the Gezi resistance to reveal the effects of the resistance on the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey as well as the changes occurred under the effects of the resistance.

Through this study, I hope to illustrate an alternative interpretation of the Gezi resistance outside of the social movements literature by bringing the event theory into play as well as to show the changes that emerged under the effects of the resistance on the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people who were uncounted, unpresented, and unheard throughout the history.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORY OF LGBTIQ+ MOVEMENTS

Every research project regardless of its field of expertise unfolds its findings despite the inherent limitations that they carry. Perhaps it might be a good idea, to begin with, the very first limitation of this study. Although the title of this chapter addresses a very general coverage of the history of LGBTIQ+ movements, the primary objective of this thesis is to form an estimate of the possible changes of the trajectory of the movement in Turkey arising from the Gezi resistance; thus, a demonstration of the evolution of the movement both in the world and in Turkey will be presented in this chapter through putting forward the fundamental reference points. However, this thesis makes no pretensions to introduce a comprehensive history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement.

Furthermore, although LGBTIQ+ individuals have been a part of societies throughout history, their rights, needs and even their very existence were ignored, oppressed, and criminalized by states and societies until the identity struggle began and the need for social change emerged. Yet even though the need for social change has been valid for almost every society, the identity struggle has not been emerged simultaneously and has not fallen in line in every country where LGBTIQ+ people have been subjected to discrimination and oppression. Because of the differences in the social and historical contexts of the countries, the course of the history of the struggle of LGBTIQ+ people for fundamental rights, visibility, and non-discrimination vary from country to country. Moreover, even though the struggle has a long history, it attracted the attention of the world, especially the U.S. and European countries mostly with the Stonewall events -which will be introduced under the “Stonewall Era: Gay Liberation Movement” subtitle of this chapter- that has become a turning point for the modern LGBTIQ+ social movements. Thus, the better half of the body of work documenting

the LGBTIQ+ social movements focuses on the outcomes of the Stonewall events and the acquirements generated in the period following these events. On the other hand, there is also the body of work documenting the issues related the LGBTIQ+ rights and movements, as well as the sexual sciences increasing day by day thanks to the efforts of researchers, intellectuals, and scholars from the different academic disciplines. However, as stated above, this thesis does not intend a comprehensive presentation of the history of transnational LGBTIQ+ movements, and the disclosure of every aspect of the topic such as the legal dimension, linguistics, or sexual sciences in detail, it rather will be focused on forming a frame for the evolution of the history of the movement. Therefore, even if many studies are covering the history and status of LGBTIQ+ rights or movement in particular regions or periods, this chapter will especially focus on introducing the individuals, organizations, and events that have articulated demands for political and legal inclusion of LGBTIQ+ people and those have affected the trajectory of the transnational LGBTIQ+ social movements. Furthermore, the limited number of resources referenced in this chapter are the ones that present the most comprehensive analysis of the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ social movements including the most important milestones of the movement without focusing on a certain period, country, or an aspect distinctively. The demonstration of the evolution of these movements throughout history will be conveyed through four periods that signify the differences in conjuncture and include important events which resulted in the shifts of the political and legal statuses of the LGBTIQ+ people. These periods are titled as follows: The Early Homosexual Movement, The Homophile Movement, The Stonewall Era i.e., Gay Liberation Movement, and Post-Stonewall Era i.e., LGBT Rights Movement. In addition, today, the movement, which is commonly defined by its initials, is stated in different ways with various letter additions and deletions to express the different levels of inclusiveness of the movement. Throughout this thesis, the term "LGBTIQ+ movement" will be used to describe the entire movement. However, while examining historical periods, the term used to define the movement will differ by considering the context and concepts of each period.

Finally, to present the history of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey, which has emerged in the not-too-distant past, the historical background of the movement, the

LGBTIQ+ organizations formed, and the political and legal statuses of the LGBTIQ+ people will be introduced in the last part of this chapter. Unfortunately, the history of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey has not been broadly examined and presented yet. The main body of the work related to the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey consists of the studies either based on the oral history, conference papers, website contents produced by LGBTIQ+ organizations or magazines; or focused on the different topics rather than the history of the movement, for instance, the representation of LGBTIQ+ people in media, social psychology, health, discourse etc., thus, the resources referenced in this part will also be limited.

2.1. The Early Homosexual Movement: Emergence of LGBTIQ+ Movement

This part of the chapter will demonstrate a quick overview of the period in which the sodomy laws first arose. Thus, it will present the origins and the evolution of LGBTIQ+ advocacy for the legal and political inclusion of LGBTIQ+ people. It should be noted that for most of this period there were not any organizations formed for advocacy, thus, a distinct transnational LGBTIQ+ movement did not arise. However, as stated above, this period consists of the struggles for both legal and political inclusion of LGBTIQ+ people. These struggles will be demonstrated through several examples of reactions to the sodomy laws that took place in a limited number of countries which constitutes the basis of the trajectory of the history for this period, as such the studies in the literature do. Besides, the efforts on scientific aspects of the issue will be presented alongside the first example of transnational organization within the movement.

The Early Homosexual Movement has emerged during the middle of the 19th century with struggles against laws and acts prohibiting same-sex relationships. These laws are called *sodomy laws* with varying legal definitions of the term sodomy. In some acts, sodomy referred to anal penetration, in some it included oral sex, however, in each case, it corresponds the same-sex sexual activity, and the laws prohibiting the activity enacted the punishment of death or castration.[5] Although laws prohibiting relations

[5] Belmonte, L.A. (2021). *The International LGBT Rights Movement: a history.* Bloomsbury Academic.

between same-sex people were enacted much earlier in different countries, it was not until the middle of the 19th century that the reactions to them revealed a part of the social, political, and rights-based struggle. As stated above, the legal, political, and scientific efforts that emerged during this period laid the foundations of the LGBTIQ+ movement. These efforts did not emerge simultaneously as emphasized above, however, some of them had the power of marking the trajectory of the movements' history and of affecting the successors. Therefore, in this part, these exemplary efforts will be demonstrated after introducing the situation until then.

The sodomy laws prohibiting same-sex sexual activity had a long history starting from the early 16th century in England, Portugal, China, Prussia, France and in the regions colonized by the imperialist states where the perception of homosexuality was not adverse. Besides, the legal oppression on the same-sex activities was justified through the commandments of monotheistic religions, thus, the laws prohibiting these activities built on with the emphasis on being sinful alongside the emergence of a medical model of homosexuality which argued same-sex attractions were anti-natural, and the homosexual behavior stemmed from mental and physical abnormalities. As a result, people who are attracted to the same sex are viewed as sinful and criminal. (Belmonte, 2021)

However, the Enlightenment sparked a major shift in attitudes toward private sexual behavior during the late 18th century. Although this shift did not result in the abolishment of the anti-sodomy laws, the idea of freedom opened a road for a change in the perception of homosexuality. The philosophers of this era, especially French and British ones, framed their objections on the homosexuality for the sake of social order which includes the necessity of growth of population in an age of frequent wars, however, since the framing of objection was not based on moral terms, the philosophers became more critical of the brutal treatment of homosexuals by the state. Moreover, with the Enlightenment, individual freedom and rights gained importance more than ever, thus, it caused immediate changes. The changes took place in the U.S. following the American Revolution, as well as in France in the aftermath of the French Revolution. As a result, several states in the U.S. adopted reforms on sodomy laws, whilst France "became the first nation in modern Europe to decriminalize consensual

homosexual acts between adults in private". (Belmonte, 2021, p.15) The French reforms, together with the idea of freedom which was sparked by the Enlightenment, triggered fundamental changes in the codes and acts in Spain, Belgium, Portugal, and Scandinavia. At that time, there was a duality of perception on homosexual acts and laws prohibiting them, since some of the countries in Europe were influenced by France model which was based on more individual freedom, and some others were influenced by the British model which kept prohibitions. Furthermore, the industrial revolution caused changes in the existing social patterns, and in the way of living in terms of separation of work and family life which made the way for more privacy alongside the political, legal, and economic changes. Hence, the privacy generated, and the new modes of life, which were mostly emerged in urban areas, flourished intimate friendships among men and women. Despite the reforms in laws and changes in the modes of life, the attitudes towards homosexuality did not change in terms of medical perception and criminalization.[6] Consequently, the struggle for political and legal inclusion was inevitable.

One of the most important examples of the efforts of changing the attitudes towards homosexuality which marked the trajectory of the history of struggle took place in Prussia. "In the late 1860s, a new penal code was proposed for Prussia that added homosexual acts (among males) to the category of crimes." (Lauritsen & Thorstad, 1974). The penal code's Paragraph 175 -which entered into force in 1871, strengthened by the Nazis in 1933, and not removed until 1989 from the German criminal law- legalized the oppression of homosexuals. During the enactment process of Paragraph 175, a Hungarian doctor Karl-Maria Benkert, pseudonymous Karl Maria Kertbeny, wrote an open letter to the Ministry of Justice. His main argument, which was framed as a classical liberal argument about individual rights (Belmonte, 2021), was to develop a rational approach of homosexuality and object to the state's involvement in the private sphere i.e., bedrooms. In his letter, he defended homosexual acts and called for the rejection of the proposed paragraph.[7] Benkert also introduced the term

[6] Ibid.

[7] Lauritsen, J., & Thorstad, D. (1974). *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)* (First Edition). Times Change Press.

homosexuality in 1869 to use it instead of the pejorative term 'sodomy' to define the sexual acts among same-sex persons.[8] Benkert, while mentioning in his letter that this paragraph would lead to the loss of the gains from the French Revolution that equated heterosexuality and homosexuality in the eyes of the state, tried to show that it is wrong to base the suppression of homosexuality by law on morality. Moreover, as Benkert argued, homosexuality is inborn and thus cannot be seen as a punishable behavior. Besides, with the emphasis that many important figures throughout history were gay, he argued that Western culture and civilization could not develop without these figures. Based on this, he pointed out that the suppression of homosexuality would harm the history of civilization and culture.[9] The efforts of Benkert were not only standing against the illegalization of homosexual acts but also working on homosexuality (sexuality in general) as a scientific matter which paved the way for "rational understanding of homosexuality" (Lauritsen, 1974). Along with Benkert, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, who was another important contributor to the movement in the same period, and influenced Benkert with his ideas and advocacy, produced literature on homosexuality in the 1860s as a matter of political urgency rather than an intellectual exercise.[10] He coined the term "Uranian" to refer to homosexuals as "third sex", which was used in European countries for decades.[11] Besides, Ulrichs argued that because the sexual inclinations were set at birth, same- sex relations were natural, thus, as long as they were consensual they deserved legal protection. Moreover, before Paragraph 175 was enacted, Ulrichs gave a public speech defending the rights of same sex attracted men and women which marked the beginning of the gay liberation movement in Germany. (Belmonte, 2021) These efforts made their marks on the trajectory of the history of the gay liberation movement by advocating the rights of homosexuals, and by contributing the literature and scientific work focused on enhancing the understanding of homosexuality, the relationship between same-sex

[8] Takács, J. (2004). The Double Life of Kertbeny In: G. Hekma (ed.) *Past and Present of Radical Sexual Politics* (pp.26-40). Mosse Foundation.

[9] Lauritsen, J., & Thorstad, D. (1974). *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)* (First Edition). Times Change Press.

[10] Belmonte, L.A. (2021). *The International LGBT Rights Movement: a history.* Bloomsbury Academic.

[11] Lauritsen, J., & Thorstad, D. (1974). *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)* (First Edition). Times Change Press.

persons. While the efforts of Benkert and Ulrichs in Germany created a sparkle of hope in terms of the liberalization of laws against homosexuality, British authorities were pushing measures to guard the traditional morality by enacting acts of prohibition which expanded the current laws and that triggered the increase of police interventions alongside the arrests and trials targeting homosexuals, especially gay men. (Belmonte, 2021)

In 1886, *Psychopathia Sexualis*, a compendium on sexual deviance, was published by Richard von Krafft-Ebing, the Austro- German psychiatrist, with the intention of providing "a scientific reference tool for legal and medical professionals". (Belmonte, 2021, p. 24) Krafft-Ebing used the term homosexuality, which was invented by Benkert with the aim of constating same-sex relationships as a natural and innate notion and reversed the term by the emphasis that homosexuality was pathological and deviant, thus, homosexuality was a sickness that should be treated and cured. By providing this medical model of homosexuality and perceiving it as a sickness, thus, it should be outlawed, he challenged the laws criminalizing and prohibiting homosexuality both in the German and Austro-Hungarian Empire. (Belmonte, 2021, p.25) In addition, the book of Krafft-Ebing was sought after, it was translated into several foreign languages, therefore, affected many, however, it did not change the course of proceeding of the legal liberalization of homosexuals. On the contrary, in the following years, same-sex relationships continued to be criminalized or prohibited, even in countries that had not had any criminal laws about homosexuality such as Finland. In this period, other states such as Italy and Brazil did not change the laws which decriminalized sodomy under the effect of the French Revolution, however, interpreted the existing laws by broadening the public indecency to restrict homosexuality. (Belmonte, 2021)

As stated above, in the same period, the police interventions and investigations targeting homosexuals had raised their effectiveness in Great Britain, however, people who were homosexuals or defending the rights and necessity of inclusion of homosexuals were putting effort into intellectual productions such as poems, writings, as well as case studies and medical studies of homosexuality. (Belmonte, 2021) Moreover, while British intellectuals; namely, John Addington Symonds, Havelock

Ellis, Edith Lees, Edward Carpenter; were putting effort into the mentioned productions "to promote more positive images of homosexuality" (Belmonte, 2021, p. 30), the sex scandal and trial of Oscar Wilde; Irish poet, editor, journalist, novelist, who was one of the most famous people in the world then overshadowed the efforts of them. However, as a world-famous artist, Oscar Wilde's 'scandal' drew the attention of the newspapers throughout Europe, North America, and British Empire and as Belmonte states (2021, p.34), "shaped the popular attitudes towards homosexuality for decades afterwards" and his imprisonment inspired the acts of resistance.

One of the most significant activists in the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movements, Magnus Hirschfeld, a Jewish-German physician, was also inspired by Wilde's imprisonment. Hirschfeld had formed The Scientific Humanitarian Committee in 1897 in Germany to fight against legislative oppression on homosexual acts by focusing on abolishing Paragraph 175, "enlightening public opinion on homosexuality" (Lauritsen, 1974), and attracting homosexuals' attention on fighting for their rights. The most important tool of the Committee to reach its aims was its quarterly publication *Yearbook* as well as public forums, international tours, publications on legal acts against homosexuality, and finally the Petition campaign for the abolishment of Paragraph 175. The Petition campaign started in 1897, gathered over 900 signatures, and was presented to the Reichstag in 1898. Even though the Petition was rejected and failed to repeal Paragraph 175, it succeeded in terms of catapulting gay rights into German political discourse. Moreover, in the following years the German politicians "weaponized allegations of homosexuality in the hopes of tarnishing rivals and advancing their arms" like their counterparts in England and Ireland, as a result, in 1902, a Social Democratic newspaper revealed that German magnate Alfred Krupp was expelled because of his homosexual activities by the authorities on the Isle of Capri (Italy), who was also a friend of Kaiser Wilhelm II. (Belmonte, 2021) This affair also drew the attention of the European countries, even new epithets arose that associated homosexuality with Germany such as "*la Berlinese*" in Italian and "*le vice allemande*" in French. (Belmonte, 2021, p.36) This affair nourished the growth and expansion of the Scientific Humanitarian Committee internationally, and so the chapters of the committee formed throughout Germany as well as people from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, England,

Belgium, and Italy engaged with the committee as members. By growing through its chapters and gaining power with the engagement of its members, the committee continued the Petition campaign, and by 1907, the Petition gathered more than 6000 signatures. (Belmonte, 2021) Moreover, the committee continued to publish the Yearbook and sent its publications to governments across Europe to provide legal and scientific objections to existing acts prohibiting same-sex relationships.

Despite the committee and Hirschfeld were earning a reputation, many pressures on the gay movement continued to be made by the state in Germany such as antigay witch hunts, extending the illegalization of homosexual acts to include sexual acts among women to the penal code. The latter linked the women struggle with the gay struggle which conduced to a joint struggle and activism of the gay liberation movement and women's organizations. The proposed extension of the penal code criminalizing lesbian acts, which dropped later, broadened the inequality in the society according to the Committee. Even though women were not subjected the oppression by the penal code on homosexuality unlike men, the Scientific Humanitarian Committee put efforts into providing space to women's organizations through its forums and publications to enhance the knowledge on the relationship between liberation movements. Despite these efforts, the Early Homosexual Movement circled around the struggle on antigay laws with the activism of gay men, since the women's organizations of that time were focused on not only lesbian liberation but on women's liberation in general.

The committee's efforts were hampered by the fact that many of its members and supporters had to go to the front during the First World War, and the general situation of society did not allow to focus on gay rights. Despite this, activists continued to come together and produce publications to prevent the disruption of the movement and solidarity with the inclusion of the activists from the countries which they were enemies for the time like England. After the war, the establishment of the Weimar Republic was seen as a hope for the gay liberation movement in Germany in terms of legal changes and freedom. The establishment of the Republic was not a disappointment in this respect because of the foundation of The Institute for Sexual Science which is formed in Berlin with efforts of Hirschfeld and the Committee as the first example in the world with a focus on all aspects of the sexological data including

biology, anthropology, statistics, and ethnology. The Institute was independent of the Committee, however, was in the same building, creating a space as an international center for both sexual science and gay liberation. The Institute and the Committee was the pioneer of the transnational gay liberation movement by their efforts on scientific publications, gatherings as well as the re-establishment of links with other gay groups in other countries. To this aim, the Committee put efforts on setting up a gay united front to fight against criminalizing gay acts, in addition to that, published an article in 1920 with the title -and the motto- of "Uranians of the World Unite!". These efforts created the opportunity for Hirschfeld's international speaking tours around Europe and branching of the Committee throughout Germany.

Although laws prohibited homosexual acts in many countries during this period, a struggle that led to a transnational gay liberation movement did not develop everywhere like in Germany. Since the main motivation of the movement in Germany was the fight for repealing Paragraph 175, through which the Scientific Humanitarian Committee was acknowledged internationally, thus, the gay liberation movement arising from Germany gained the feature of transnationality. As stated above, the struggle did not develop in countries following the French model since the decriminalization of homosexual acts was already gained and the main objective of the period was gaining a legal achievement. Moreover, the struggle did not develop in Great Britain and the countries following its model, since there were not any legal fights against the prohibition of homosexuality. What took place in England during this period was the development of underground and semi-underground gay literature and a body of work on homosexuality with the contributions of several intellectuals. Apart from that, branches of The Scientific Humanitarian Committee were formed in some other countries such as the Netherlands and Austria, and their main aim was to end heterosexual and homosexual discrimination and demand equal rights. Finally, contrary to popular belief, there was not an embodied gay liberation movement in the U.S. during this period as well, rather, there were various publications and writings that spoke of the gay movement, such as the overt support of Emma Goldman.

Despite the introduction of new laws regulating sexual acts in many countries in the following years of World War I, no results were achieved which would carry the

transnational gay liberation movement forward through fighting against the criminalization and prohibition of homosexual acts. Moreover, following World War II, the rising of totalitarian regimes increased the oppression of homosexuality, therefore, the Early Homosexual Movement, which formed the basis of the transnational gay liberation movement as the first wave, had faded, and those who were part of the liberation movement had to continue to meet in small groups covertly, out of sight.[12]

2.2.The Homophile Movement

Following the Second World War, many countries "advocated a return to strict heterosexual norms" (Belmonte, 2021, p.71), in addition, with the degeneration of the U.S. and Soviet relations, anticommunism arose in many Western countries which caused one of the main problems of the gay population of the time. During this period, with the effects of anticommunism, homosexuality began to be seen not only as moral depravity but also as a potential occasion of corruption based on the fears of communist subversion, which paved the way for the expelling hundreds of gays and lesbians from state jobs and army forces in the U.S. The policy that took place in the U.S. also affected Great Britain, France, Canada, and Australia which were unwilling to lose the U.S. economic and military aid and their powerful ally. Moreover, the West German government did not stop the implementation of Paragraph 175, thus, continued prosecutions of homosexuals. (Belmonte, 2021)

However, the emergence of the discourses and legal frameworks protecting human rights in this era, alongside the repression of homosexuality in the U.S. and Europe, inspired gay liberation activists to organize and build transnational relationships. New organizations and publications of the homophile movement started to emerge after the war in the U.S., West Germany, Netherlands, France, and Belgium as well as Denmark and Sweden. (Belmonte, 2021)

Despite the efforts of the activists to build transnational relationships, the increasingly negative views of homosexuality of medical authorities interfered with the efforts.

[12] Lauritsen, J., & Thorstad, D. (1974). *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)* (First Edition). Times Change Press.

Moreover, laws defining homosexuality as sexual perversion and the classification of homosexuality as a personality disorder by the American Psychiatric Association in 1952[13] have also led many people with homosexual identity to be viewed as threats and mentally unbalanced. Defining homosexuality as a crime, anomaly, and illness, in addition to advocating moral degeneracy, has made the lives of homosexuals more difficult. Menaces such as blackmailing with the threat of revealing the sexual orientation of homosexuals, unemployment, and inability to stay in the country started to emerge.

The struggle for the equal rights of an identity that has been so denigrated emerged in this period with a name that would change the society's perspective on homosexuals and homosexuality, rather than being defined primarily as a gay liberation movement or a homosexual rights movement. The term homophile, coined by Karl-Günther Heimsoth in 1924 (Whisnant, 2012), means 'loving the same' had come into use by the gay liberation movement starting from the 1940s. This term, which started to be used in response to the smutting definitions and labelling of homosexuality, was a consequence of the effort to shift the focus from gender identity and orientation to the emphasis on love. [14]

During the second period of the gay liberation movement, the homophile organizations COC in the Netherlands and Forbundet in Denmark which started to show activity in the 1940s were other examples of the early homophile movement. Moreover, the pressure on homosexuals continued to show its effects both in Germany and Great Britain which revealed the necessity of establishing new organizations and reconnecting with the transnational allies. To this end, COC organized the first International Congress for Sexual Equality in 1951 to gather the activists and homosexual rights advocates from Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, West Germany, France, Italy, and Switzerland in Amsterdam. The most important aspect of this congress was the telegram sent to the UN requesting "steps towards granting the status of human, social, and legal equality to homosexual minorities throughout the

[13] Belmonte, L.A. (2021). *The International LGBT Rights Movement: a history.* Bloomsbury Academic.

[14] Blasius, M. & Phelan, S. (Eds.). (1997). *We Are Everywhere: A Historical Sourcebook of Gay and Lesbian Politics.* Routledge.

world" (Belmonte, 2021, p. 90). Moreover, they formed the International Committee for Sexual Equality to continue the efforts of connecting homophile organizations which successfully linked the homophile organizations in the U.S. and Europe through the international congresses and publications in the following years. [15]

Although some researchers suggest that the beginning of the Homophile Movement coincided with the early homosexual movement period (the 1920s)[16], the general opinion in the literature is that the Homophile Movement in the U.S., which also marked the trajectory of the history of transnational LGBTIQ+ movement together with the other international organizations, started with the formation of the Mattachine Foundation by gay men in Los Angeles in 1950-51. The Mattachine Foundation was founded by Harry Hay, Chuck Rowland, and Robert Hull with their organizational experience from membership of the U.S. Communist Party. The founders adopted Marxist theory and argued that the oppression and injustice the homosexuals had been facing were deeply embedded in American society's structure, and the definition of the status of homosexuals was a 'cultural oppressed minority' according to them. Therefore, the main motivation of the Foundation was shaped as raising group consciousness as a social minority, chasing the liberation possibilities, and taking pride in homosexuality. To this end, Mattachine formulated a statement of purpose defining the targets of the Foundation as unifying, educating, and leading homosexuals, and a membership pledge which assures respect to the rights of all kinds of minorities, the anonymity of Foundation's members, speaking up and working on homosexuality.[17] By both, the efforts to create an 'ethical homosexual culture' had supported. Although its ideological positioning in the establishment and its organizational chart were based on Marxist theory, most of the members had started to be anti-communist and see the Foundation's motives as 'radical' as its members began to multiply, including the leading members who steered the community. As a result, in 1953 the Mattachine Foundation was restructured with the election of the new cadre of leaders, with the shifted focus from a militant-political reformist agenda to an assimilationist program

[15] Belmonte, L.A. (2021). *The International LGBT Rights Movement: a history.* Bloomsbury Academic.

[16] Pettis, R.M. (2008). *Homophile Movement, U.S.* glbtq Archives. http://www.glbtqarchive.com/

[17] Blasius, M. & Phelan, S. (Eds.). (1997). *We Are Everywhere: A Historical Sourcebook of Gay and Lesbian Politics.* Routledge.

that targeted collaboration with professionals from the different scientific fields. Besides the changes in the structure and the agenda, the name of the foundation changed to the Mattachine Society as well. The Society has also changed the organization's understanding of homosexual minority, homosexual culture, and ethics and started to put forward the idea of sameness of homosexuals and heterosexuals except for private sphere love and acts.

With all these changes that took place in the Mattachine, the society began to have branches in different parts of the U.S. with an open membership system. In addition to the fact that discussion groups could come together in many parts of the country, the other aspect that makes the community important in the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement is the two different periodicals they publish, namely the *ONE Magazine* and the *Mattachine Review*. The *ONE Magazine* began to be published in 1953 by the Los Angeles discussion group of the Society, but not as a formal part of the Society, and then became a separate organization with the name ONE, Inc. The *ONE Magazine,* with a political attitude, focused on debating topics of the time such as police harassment, cross-dressing etc. to reach the gay audience. On the other hand, *The Review*, which was first published in 1955 by the Society, had a more 'scholarly' tendency in its publications and focused on building relationships with ministers, lawyers, doctors, psychologists who were interested in defining the homosexual civil rights.[18] With the help of these periodicals, which reached many individuals in America, the Society gained national recognition.

Another important element of the Homophile Movement was Daughters of Bilitis (DOB), founded in 1955 in San Francisco as the first lesbian organization in the U.S. Although women participated in the Mattachine Society and ONE, DOB, the first organization established as a social and discussion group entirely for lesbians, held monthly meetings and parties to discuss the problems experienced especially by lesbians and address the special needs of lesbians.[19] In 1956, DOB's monthly magazine

[18] "*Homophile Movement*." Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History in America, 1st Edition. Encyclopedia.com. https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/homophile-movement

[19] Blasius, M. & Phelan, S. (Eds.). (1997). *We Are Everywhere: A Historical Sourcebook of Gay and Lesbian Politics.* Routledge.

The Ladder began publication with a special emphasis of assuring the women who were isolated were not alone. *The Ladder*, which started to face fears about anonymity after it started to be published, tried to guarantee its readers and subscribers in this regard and revealed the main goals of DOB as education, research, and legal struggle. Over time, DOB began to shape its publications around the critique of the Homophile Movement, emphasizing that social and political activism should be put forward more clearly and sharply. Besides, it has focused on lesbians who and whose problems and rights remain invisible in the eyes of society, including male gay organizations. In 1971, with the second wave of feminism gaining strength, the magazine redefined itself as the magazine for "all- women's rights" without losing its lesbian focus. (Blasius, 1997).

During the period of the Homophile Movement, in addition to these important organizations, two coalition groups were also founded, namely the East Coast Homophile Organizations (ECHO) in 1963 and the North American Conference on Homophile Organizations (NACHO) in 1966. When these two organizations emerged, demands for the Homophile Movement to turn into a regional or national movement arose by homophile activists in the U.S. However, problems such as the police harassment of gays in the 1960s, bar raids, discrimination on employment and housing, and vilification by the local press prevented the creation of a national agenda.[20]

Finally, as demonstrated above, in this period, the transnational organizations arose with the efforts of the activists in Europe and the U.S., and networks were created where the activists from different countries shared publications, news, and correspondence. Moreover, the organizations established gave voice to the emerging discourses and laws on human rights which also challenged the persecution of homosexuals. Moreover, with the increasing visibility of LGBTIQ+ people in popular culture more positive portrayals began to appear. (Belmonte, 2021, p. 107)

[20] "*Homophile Movement*." Encyclopedia of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender History in America, 1st Edition. Encyclopedia.com. https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/homophile-movement

2.3.The Stonewall Era: Gay Liberation Movement

As known, in the late 1960s and early 1970s civil rights movements began to rise in Europe and the U.S. During this period the struggle for racial justice, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the student movement, the feminist movement, and the New Left emerged which also inspired the gay and lesbian activism. With the social agenda of the period and the participation of many LGBTIQ+ people in other movements, there was an atmosphere in which the gay liberation movement would also have arisen since heterosexism and homophobia were persistent. The movements of this era paved the way for enhanced lesbian and gay rights in several countries including Great Britain, Canada, West Germany, and East Germany where political leaders put effort into decriminalizing consensual homosexual activities which also inspired the activists in other countries for demanding and forcing for similar changes to achieve the equal rights of LGBTIQ+ people.[21] However, the most concrete case of this period was the Stonewall uprising, where the most vulnerable members of the LGBTIQ+ community resisted, thus, which turned into "rallying cry for the activists across the world who were ready to launch new transnational forms of advocacy." (Belmonte, 2021, p. 109) Therefore, this part of the chapter will focus on the Stonewall uprising which sparked the global gay liberation movement and uplifted LGBTIQ+ people around the world.

Firstly, it should be underlined that in this period there were not any organized and planned actions of the national homophile movement in the U.S., thus, LGBTIQ+ people were advancing the movement in local areas with smaller groups. Besides, the movement could not reach a consensus on determining the direction of the struggle. On the one hand, there were the actors who wanted to follow the perspective adopted by the Homophile Movement which equated homosexuality with heterosexuality by the emphasize of sameness, on the other hand, there were those who thought that difference should be emphasized and taken as 'worthy of pride'.[22] In addition, although the oppression of the police increased during this period, through bar raids and often provoked reactions, there were no concrete uprising or resistance against the

[21] Belmonte, L.A. (2021). *The International LGBT Rights Movement: a history.* Bloomsbury Academic.

[22] Stulberg, L. M. (2018). *LGBTQ Social Movements* (1st Edition). Polity Press.

oppression of the police. Before the Stonewall riot, there were only small-scale actions, and protests of the bar raids, identification controls, police harassment and pressure in places where LGBTIQ+, Black and Latino people spend time frequently. On 28 June 1969, an unexpected reaction occurred during an early morning police raid on the Stonewall Inn, a private gay club that opened in 1967 on the Christopher Street building in Greenwich Village which was "a typical New York City Mafia-run bar" (American Experience, n.d.). However, the Stonewall was unique since it was frequented by queer patrons and transgenders who had unstable housing and were unemployed because they were openly queer. Moreover, it was one of the few bars in New York City where same-sex partners freely dance, thus it became home to gay men, drag queens, hustlers, and homeless youth.[23] as a result of the raid, some people at the bar were arrested, and the others started to fight back. The events in the bar spread to the street and those who resisted the police started to get the support of the people around and many people who had learnt of what had happened also joined the resistance that night. About 1000 protestors resisted the police by shouting "Gay Power" (Stulberg, 2018). Events that lasted about two hours that night were resumed the next night and lasted until the next morning when protesters regrouped outside the Stonewall. On the third day of the uprising, the New York branch of the Mattachine Society made a statement calling the demonstrators from protest to peace. In addition, the increasing presence of the police led to the weakening of the protests in the following days.[24] What distinguishes the Stonewall Riot from the previous small-scale actions and protests which took place against the bar raids and police harassment where the LGBTIQ+ community frequented was not only that the riot caused a large-scale resistance, but also that it led to an organizational understanding and political perspective that ended the Homophile Movement which had existed until 1969.

One of the most important outcomes of this uprising was the foundation of the Gay Liberation Front (GLF) in July 1969. From the name choice to its political agenda, GLF was influenced by the new leftist organizations and anti-racist struggles especially in the Third World countries and elsewhere at the time. Furthermore,

[23] NYCdata. (n.d.). *Disasters: New York City (NYC) Stonewall Inn Riot – 1969.* Retrieved January 28, 2022, from https://www.baruch.cuny.edu/nycdata/disasters/riots-stonewall.html

[24] Stulberg, L. M. (2018). *LGBTQ Social Movements* (1st Edition). Polity Press.

abandoning the criticized assimilationist approach of the Homophile Movement and moving to a liberationist approach, adopting a leftist policy and becoming more 'queer inclusive' had been possible by the formation of the GLF. The critique of capitalism from a Marxist perspective, the attack on the nuclear family and gender roles, and the development of a revolutionary perspective have been the main motivation and aims of the GLF. While grounding its revolutionary approach, GLF asserted that capitalism oppressed homosexuals just as it had done with the Third World countries, Black people, etc. Also, the capitalist society oppressed homosexuals and put them in the closet; therefore, coming out was not an individual choice, but a political act. In addition to that, GLF also focused on creating community and culture, to this aim it started to distribute its publication named *Come Out*; organizing events to build community. [25] Also, chapters of GLF were established in different states of the U.S., and other European countries, namely England, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium, and France as well as in Canada, New Zealand and Australia through which the Gay Liberation movement acquired the qualification of transnationalism.[26] Although the new approach of the GLF in the struggle for gay rights was of undeniable importance for the history of transnational LGBTIQ+ movements, the GLF started to have conflicts within itself due to its political agenda and closeness with leftist groups. In addition, the GLF's sceptic approach towards the state and its institutions was also an important topic of discussion. Some of the members had the opinion that a struggle from within the state, not against the state, could contribute to the movement. As a result of these disagreements, a group cut loose from the GLF and formed the Gay Activists Alliance (GAA) in 1970. GAA's main motivation and overall approach were to focus only on the homosexual civil rights movement and not to mingle with other movements which are not directly connected to homosexuals. By this, GAA has adopted a more assimilationist approach than the GLF, however, unlike the Homophile Movement, GAA focused on direct actions (Stulberg, 2018) and fighting for policy changes.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Belmonte, L.A. (2021). *The International LGBT Rights Movement: a history.* Bloomsbury Academic.

Although two important gay organizations were established and strengthened in this period, lesbians felt marginalized and exposed to sexist approaches within these organizations. On the other hand, although they were part of the second- wave feminist movement, they were also exposed to homophobia within feminist groups. Lesbians, who were marginalized by being exposed to sexism and homophobia in areas where they met with homosexuals and feminists, began to develop their organizations, gather around lesbian feminism, and organize a parallel revolution by 1970 and 1971 (Stulberg, 2018). Lesbian feminists fought against patriarchy and mainstream feminist groups that marginalized them, thus spawning the feminist movement that later came to be known as lesbianism.

In addition to these three important movements that emerged, another important outcome of the Stonewall Riot is the pride parades, which are still held all over the world today, which began in 1970 to commemorate the Riot. The first pride parades were organized in New York and Los Angeles, on June 28, 1970. The parades began with the atmosphere of 'celebration of pride' rather than political demonstration. In the following years, the pride parades and marches have expanded among the U.S. and Western European countries.

Finally, it should be emphasized the organizations that emerged in this period had not reached broad comprehensiveness with regards to the inclusion of LGBTIQ+ people other than homosexuals. Besides the discrimination that lesbians faced, bisexual and transgender visibility remained weak within these movements.

2.4.Post- Stonewall Era: LGBT Rights Movement

By the 1970s, the transnational Gay Liberation movement focused on political, social, legal, and cultural legitimation rather than the struggle for social change. Although the emergence of the rising Religious Right at the end of the 1970s motivated LGBTIQ+ people to act on their struggle, the liberationist atmosphere created by Stonewall left its place to a more assimilationist movement focused on civil rights. Moreover, American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from the list of mental disorders in December 1973, the ban on the employment of homosexuals by the government was lifted in 1974, non-discrimination protections entered regulations of

the several states' laws in the U.S., and many countries started to decriminalizing homosexuality.[27]

However, the emergence of AIDS in the early 1980s and the discrimination faced by LGBTIQ+ people along with AIDS, the late initiation of treatment by the state, resulted in many losses in the homosexual community and other poor minority groups. In addition, the labelling of AIDS as a homosexual disease had been reinforced by the political discourse of the Religious Right. On the other hand, the long-term neglect of the state enabled the establishment of a mechanism that would force the state to fulfil its responsibilities in the fight against the AIDS crisis, and the emergence of AIDS activism. In 1987, AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) was formed to focus on direct AIDS activism. The most important thing that was revealed during the AIDS epidemic in terms of the trajectory of the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement, was the fact that other gay organizations that existed until this period could not bring the gay liberation and justice struggle to the point where it should be. Problems such as social justice and equality continued to complicate the life of the gay community. Besides, although they did not claim to be inclusive, the fact that organizations that were important for the gay liberation movement until then focused only on gay and lesbian liberation began to be seen as a problem. As a result of these circumstances, in the following years, Queer Nation (1990) and the Lesbian Avengers (1992) were also established, and both were focused on the enhancement of visibility by political actions. Especially Queer Nation, as an explicit queer movement, extended the gender and sexuality politics to non-normative sexuality and gender identity struggle and contributed to the evolution of the mainstream movement.

Since the 1990s, academic studies on queer theory have started to increase in the U.S. and Western Europe, and the main struggle of the LGBTIQ+ movement has progressed to have civil rights. The most important struggles in this regard are to have the right to marriage alongside the raising visibility and enhancing inclusion of LGBTIQ+ people for Western Europe and the U.S. while LGBTIQ+ people in a bigger part of the world are still struggling for fundamental human rights. Although the political aspect of

[27] Ibid.

demanding the right to marriage has been discussed, the movement has not witnessed a transnational political and social struggle as before.

To sum up, the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement emerged with the struggle against the sodomy laws that were rooted in moral terms, and which caused the oppression, persecution, imprisonment, and death of many people. With the emergence of the homophile movement, the transnationality and the growth of the movement were enhanced. With the occurrence of ground-breaking Stonewall riots, the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement expanded to many countries and the trajectory of the movement radically changed. Despite all the agonizing aspects of it, the movement took lessons from the AIDS crises which determined the trajectory of the LGBTIQ+ movement in terms of revealing the inadequacies of the movement and the aspects of the struggle which demanded further efforts. Thanks to the efforts of the pioneers of the movement, political, legal, and social achievements have been reached in most Western countries. Finally, to be able to mention an LGBTIQ+ movement that pretends to be transnational, there is a long way to go through which the fundamental and civil rights should be entitled, the equality and non-discrimination should be sustained.

In the following part, the history of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey will be demonstrated where only a few of the above-mentioned acquirements are barely gained.

2.5.History of LGBTIQ+ Movement in Turkey

When examining the history of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey, it can be said the first organizations emerged in the second half of the 1980s. Although some LGBTIQ+ individuals came together and had discussions throughout the 1970s, the fact that Turkish politics was the scene of a right-left conflict that did not allow identity struggles in those years has been one of the obstacles to the formation of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey. Since Turkish leftists see the socialist revolution as a change that will pave the way for solving all other inequalities has caused it to subordinate other struggles such as feminist and environmental movements for a long time in Turkey. This perspective has been valid for the LGBTIQ+ struggle. In addition, the social structure of the country has been a factor that prevented many LGBTIQ+ people

who are aware of their sexual orientation and gender identity from coming out, thus organizing.

Nonetheless, after the coup d'état in 1980, an opportunity arose for organizations in different fields due to the pressure on the left and right organizations. Although this opportunity arose, the emergence of the LGBTIQ+ movement was not in question. The most important factor that paved the way for the rise of the LGBTIQ+ movement was the empowerment of the feminist movement in the same period. Although they supported each other in the following periods, the LGBTIQ+ movement did not arise directly from the feminist movement. Since the feminist movement revealed the necessity and possibility of other fields of struggle in Turkey besides the right and the left, it also opened a space for the LGBTIQ+ movement. (Kurbanoğlu, 2011)

In the 1970s, many transgenders who had employment problems took to sex work and started to live and work in certain streets in Taksim, İstanbul, the ghettoized district at the time. With the military coup taking place in 1980, sex workers living in this district were expelled from their working areas, forced to work on the street, and exposed to systematic police pressure, violence, and sexual abuse. In addition, many transgender people were forced to move away from the city and leave their living spaces by taking trains with the aim of 'cleaning' the district. This systematic violence and intimidation policy, which continued in the first half of the 1980s, began to fade with Turkey's signing agreements with the United Nations and other international organizations, and its application for full membership to the European Union in 1986. Parallel to this, with the development and encouragement of the social liberalization policies of the government of the period, more opportunities began to emerge for the establishment of LGBTIQ+ organizations. (Kurbanoğlu, 2011)

Although the reduction of visible pressure on LGBTIQ+ people did not directly lead to the emergence of an LGBTIQ+ movement and organization, individuals came together in small groups to discuss problems and solutions, and opportunities for organization and action. The first political organization in Turkey that LGBTIQ+ people got involved, was Radical Democratic Green Party, founded by İbrahim Eren, which brought together environmentalists, feminists, and anti-militarists in 1985 and 1986. As Kurbanoğlu states (2011), the most important aspect of this political

organization was that they carried out street protests in Istanbul and brought the issue to the public sphere. Thus, violence against LGBTIQ+ people became visible and social awareness has started to emerge for the first time in Turkey. After this short-lived organization, LGBTIQ+ people continued to gather at homes and parks and discuss their problems. The most important event that took place in this period was the hunger strike, which was the first action of LGBTIQ+ people in the public space, initiated by 37 gay, transvestite, and transgender people who came together to protest harassment in 1987. The following year, the pink identity application, which gave legal status to transgender individuals, was implemented. However, since the necessary legal regulations have not been carried out comprehensively, transgender people have been exposed to many rights violations in practice since then.

By the 1990s, LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey began to seek opportunities for organization, action and forming associations. Nevertheless, the direction, organization, and naming of the movement were subject to debate. While the discussions going on, in 1993, Turkey's first LGBTIQ+ organization *LambdaIstanbu*l formed as a member of the International Gay and Lesbian Associations (ILGA) with the support of European LGBTIQ+ people to organize Pride Week events under the name of *Sexual Freedom Events* but was stonewalled by governorship and encountered police restraint. In the same year, *LambdaIstanbul* held meetings in Istanbul for three months to develop a common discourse but had to end it due to police pressure. (Kurbanoğlu, 2011) A similar event, which was intended to be organized under the name of *Gay and Lesbian Culture Events* in 1995, faced obstacles again, therefore Pride Week events were held close to the press from 1996 to 2000.

Another important organization of the time was *Kaos GL* magazine, which started to be published in September 1994 by the LGBTIQ+ group united around 'home chats' in Ankara since the early 1990s. *Kaos GL* is the first gay and lesbian magazine of Turkey that has started its publication with the aim of raising the visibility of homosexuals in the struggle for rights, to be an alternative to the mainstream media which reproduces the prejudices and denigrates homosexuality. *Kaos GL* adopted an anti-sexist, anti-homophobic and anti-capitalist attitude, especially in its early years. Although the anarchist approach of the first circle in which it was formed was also

reflected in the discourse of the magazine, the magazine came to a more liberal line over time.

These two organizations that emerged in Turkey became aware of each other in 1996 due to the conditions of the time. In the same year, *LambdaIstanbul*'s bulletin named *100de 100 GL* has started to be distributed unofficially within the *Kaos GL* magazine. (Kurbanoğlu, 2011)

In the first years of the movement's emergence in Turkey, just like in the U.S. and European countries, there were organizations in which gay men participated more. Nonetheless, transgenders and women also began to develop their organizing practices in the mid of 1990s. In 1995, a group of women, who left *LambdaIstanbul*, formed The Sisters of Venus (*Venüs Kızkardeşleri*) as the first lesbian organization in Turkey, which joined *Kaos* GL in the following years. Also, in 1998 the lesbian feminist groups were formed Sappho's Girls (*Sappho'nun Kızları*) organization. In 1997, a group of sex-workers consisting of transgenders has organized within the group named Sister (*Gacı*) under the roof of Human Rights Development Foundation (*İnsan Hakları Geliştirme Vakfı*, *İHGV*). In addition, in the mid-1990s, the Bear group (*Ayı Grubu*) was also formed alike the international 'masculine' gay movement. In the same period, LGBTIQ+ university students have formed unofficial students' groups in their universities for exchanging experiences and discussion. By the formation of the Freedom and Solidarity Party (*Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi*) in 1996, LGBTIQ+ politics was included in the political agenda for the first time.

The last important event that emerged in the 1990s was the first national LGBTIQ+ meeting organized by foregoing LGBTIQ+ formations in 1998. The first meeting was held in İstanbul, named '*Güztanbul*', with the participation of *Kaos GL* activists. In the following year, another meeting was held in Ankara, named '*BaharAnkara*' with the participation of *LambdaIstanbul* activists. These meetings were organized regularly in both cities twice a year until the mid-2000s and paved the way for an institutionalized LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey. (Kurbanoğlu, 2011)

During the 2000s, LGBTIQ+'s, who came together to talk about their problems and solutions and sought ways of organization and action in the previous years, tried to

make the movement public in the light of prior organizations and steps taken. In 2000, *Kaos GL* Culture Center was established and in the following year, *Kaos GL* activists participated in International Workers' Day demonstrations. While this was not the first demonstration that Kaos GL participated in, it had a different meaning from the previous ones in which they had gathered with feminists and anti-globalists in previous years. The presence of homosexuals in such a mass demonstration for the first-time aroused resonance among homosexuals. After this act, *LambdaIstanbul* also participated in the International Workers' Day demonstrations in 2002. Also, many LGBTIQ+ organizations participated in the demonstrations organized to protest the American invasion of Iraq in the same year. The presence of LGBTIQ+ people in mass protests was very important both in terms of increasing their visibility by showing their presence to different groups on the street protests and increasing their recognition as a part of the struggle for rights. LGBTIQ+ organizations organized various demonstrations and protests during the 2000s to draw attention to hate crimes against LGBTIQ+ people, also, they held meetings, conferences, panels, discussions, and seminars in many parts of Turkey to talk about the problems of LGBTIQ+ people, create solutions, bring them together and to develop policies to combat phobia. Besides these actions, in 2005, *LambdaIstanbul* organized the first Pride Week events in Turkey; and in 2006 *Kaos GL* organized the first International Meeting Against Homophobia on the 17th of May. Thanks to these meetings, LGBTIQ+ people gained visibility in a part of society.

The mid-2000s is important for the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey with regards to the formation of the legal establishment of LGBTIQ+ organizations. In 2005 *Kaos GL* group has formed Kaos Gay and Lesbian Cultural Studies and Solidarity Association (Kaos GL); in 2006, Pink Life LGBTT Solidarity Association was formed with a special focus on transgender issues and rights as a reaction to "Eryaman Events"[28]. In 2007, the *Voltrans* male transgender group was formed, in the same year, Istanbul LGBTT Civil Society Initiative was also formed with the organization of transgender people mainly.

[28] For more information, please see: Pembe Hayat (2021, February 10). *Eryaman ve Esat Olayları I Ne Oldu?* [Video]. Youtube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DLQXjWHvXuo

As an identity struggle, the ongoing debates of the mid-2000s within the LGBTIQ+ movement since the 1990s were shaped around issues such as organizational forms, different demands of LGBTIQ+ people from different social, cultural, economic, and political backgrounds, and discrimination that transgender people are exposed to within the movement. Despite the debates within the movement and the situation of adopting different approaches, the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey consists of organizations that have managed to act together without being divided. The LGBTT Human Rights Platform was established in 2006 with the joint call of the Civil Society Development Center and *Kaos GL* and with the participation of six LGBTIQ+ organizations to further unite the movement, find solutions to problems together, and support the networking activities of LGBTIQ+ organizations. (Kurbanoğlu, 2011) This platform has set the main aims of reporting human rights violations and ensuring inter-organizational coordination and has also conducted various campaigns on legal reforms concerning LGBTIQ+ people.

The most important achievements of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey in the 2000s were gaining legal status, reaching more people, and having the chance to act together thanks to developing technology and communication networks, finding a place for itself in the political agenda of many political parties and gaining legitimacy before certain segments of the society. However, the "Combating Discrimination and Equality Board" (*Ayrımcılıkla Mücadele ve Eşitlik Kurulu*), which the government expressed to establish in the process of "democratic opening" in 2010, but still has not been established, was seen as the most important step to be taken by the state regarding LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey. Although political parties and the government have brought up issues such as LGBTIQ+ rights, equality, and the fight against discrimination, it can still be said that no concrete gain has been achieved in this regard in Turkey today.

At this point, other social movements in which the LGBTIQ+ movement's path crossed in Turkey should also be mentioned. Although themes such as the inclusion of transgender people are still seen and discussed as a problem, the LGBTIQ+ movement is in close relationship with the feminist movement. Also, with the individual efforts

Kurdish, socialist, environmentalist, anarchist and antimilitarist movements are others that the LGBTIQ+ movement's path crossed.

Considering the background of the struggle of LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey together with the accumulative achievements of the movement in terms of organization, laying in the political discourse, gaining the support of some parts of the society as well as collaborating with other social movements, the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey started to consolidate especially in the 2010s. The increasing number of participants who were present at the pride marches shows that the movement succeed to form public opinion on the movement. However, even though the movement gained strength and over ten thousand people were present at the 9th Pride March took place in 2011[29], the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey was not reached its peak in terms of creating a sphere for political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people.

Finally, with the Gezi Park protests that took place in June 2013 across Turkey, the LGBTIQ+ movement was noticed by large segments of the social opposition. This moment of encounter, which will be focused on in the following parts of the thesis, marks an important point for the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey in terms of enhancing visibility and transforming LGBTIQ+ people into political subjects. It has been possible for LGBTIQ+ people to come together with many organizations and groups that they have not encountered before. In addition, the people who met LGBTIQ+ movement for the first- time during the Gezi Park protests participated in the Pride Parade organized in 2013, and the march reached a record number of participants. Due to the declaration of the state of emergency in 2015, the meetings and demonstrations were restricted. The pressure of the police increased; thus, the pride parades held this year and in the following years have been spent resisting the police.

[29] ntvmsnbc(n.d.). *İstiklal Caddesi 10 bin renk!*. Retrieved February 13, 2022 from https://web.archive.org/web/20141006095803/http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25227029/

CHAPTER 3

THEORY OF EVENT AND THE GEZI PARK RESISTANCE

This chapter aims at introducing the theory of event, which was introduced by contemporary French philosopher Alain Badiou in his book *L'Être et l'Événement*. Although the publication of this book was in 1988, and philosophers such as Peter Hallward and Slavoj Žižek began to interpret Badiou's philosophy in the late 1990s and early 2000s, it was not until the publication of his book's English translation as *Being and Event* in 2005 that his philosophy gained a wider audience outside of France.[30] (Bosteels, 2011). Even though this book does not directly and principally reveal a political theory, the philosophy presented in the book has made an important contribution to contemporary political thought through the further recognition and interpretations of it, alongside the publication of Badiou's other texts. The main purpose of introducing event theory within the scope of this thesis is clearly related to the new perspective that it brought to politics and political situations. To investigate this perspective, a descriptive explanation of the event theory and Badiouan philosophy will be presented. It is difficult to compensate his philosophy and its concepts into the political directly, hence I attempt to translate his language into the political as the context allows me to do it. Therefore, this chapter will focus on the analysis of the main concepts; being, truth, and subject on which the event theory is built through Badiou's main texts and a limited review of some commentary on Badiou's political philosophy. After presenting this analysis, Badiou's perspective on the political incidents that took place in the 20th and 21st centuries will be presented, what happened in Gezi Park will be conveyed, and whether Gezi is an event in the

[30] It should be noted that although his works were published and interpreted in Portuguese, Italian and Spanish before it was published in English, Badiou's major works became known in the Anglo-American world after the English translations are published. (Bosteels, 2005)

Badiouan sense will be evaluated to discover what the Gezi Park protests correspond in his philosophy. First and foremost, to comprehend the event theory and its elements in Badiouan philosophy, his philosophical approach should be understood. To present his approach, *Being and Event* (2005) will be used as the primary source, with references to other sources when required.

3.1.What is Being?

Badiouan philosophy's starting point is his critique of the current state of philosophy in the late 1980s when the book was first published in its original language. According to Badiou, what was at stake then, was the "intellectual regression", and philosophy's reduction to a tool to justify the universal character of democratic values and the right to cultural difference. Based on this fundamental criticism, he puts forward four affirmations "against the flow of ordinary philosophy" (Badiou, 2005, p.xii). Briefly stated, these affirmations are as follows: situations are pure indifferent multiplicities; the structure of situations does not deliver any truths -truths are the effect of ruptured situations, and they are opened by 'the event'-; a subject is an active fidelity- or militant- to the event of truth, and the being of truth is to be called generic. These affirmations ground in his critique of the current scope of the philosophy together with his perception of the concepts -which he reshaped throughout the book- being, situation, structure, truth, subject, fidelity. To further argue and relate his thesis revealed through these affirmations, he brings mathematics into force by claiming that ontology, the science of being qua being, is mathematics.

To further understand why Badiou claims that ontology is mathematics and why he aims to reveal his philosophy as ontology, it is necessary to briefly mention the three assumptions that he puts forward in his book's introduction. These assumptions are as following: Heidegger is the last recognizable philosopher; the thought programmes which have followed the developments in the mathematics conserved the figure of scientific rationality as a paradigm for thought; and finally, modern doctrine of the subject is unfolding: "its origin can be traced to non-philosophical practices and its regime of interpretation … is complicated by clinical or militant operations which go beyond transmissible discourse." (Badiou, 2005, p.1) According to Badiou, these assumptions indicate the closure of an entire epoch of thought and its concerns. He

also states that his intervention on the trajectory of thought passes through three points designed with these assumptions. Accordingly, philosophy can only be re-assigned based on ontological question, Frege and Cantor's mathematicological revolution sets new orientations for thought, and "no conceptual apparatus is adequate unless it is homogeneous with the theoretico-practical orientations of the modern doctrine of the subject, itself internal to practical processes". (Badiou, 2005, p.2) In addition, Badiou points up the following two statements as basis of his thesis that the science of being qua being has existed since Greek philosophers alongside with the sense and status of mathematics which came known only today, and the philosophy circulates between the ontology (thus mathematics), the modern theories of subject and its own history. (Badiou, 2005) Based on all these assumptions, statements, and affirmations, Badiou's aim is, as Osborne states, to restore the grounding of the rationalist philosophical tradition, i.e., the contemporary philosophical thought, through thinking of mathematics based on Cantor's set theory. (Osborne, 2007) Badiou's philosophical thought of being as pure multiplicity grounds his approach viably with his perception as that ontology is mathematics since mathematics is the science of multiplicity thus the science of being.

Badiou emphasizes that his thesis of 'mathematics is ontology' is not the goal of his book, it rather delimits the proper space of the philosophy. By employing this thesis Badiou aims to introduce the problem of what-is-not-being-qua-being which is organized around the concepts of truth and subject. He claims to reactivate these terms via the foundation of a doctrine for thought which breaks the "Heideggerian connection between the being and truth and institutes the subject … as a *fragment* of the process of a truth" (Badiou, 2005, p.15) Also, he states that the emblem of his thought is the category of *generic* which he borrowed from Paul Cohen and "resolves the problem of indiscernibles, … and open thought to the subtractive seizure of truth and the subject". (Badiou, 2005, p.16) To further present his approach, Badiou states:

> Both the ideal recollection of a truth and the *finite* instance of such a recollection that is a subject in my terms, are therefore attached to what I will term *generic procedures* (there are four of them: love, art, science, and politics). The thought of the generic supposes the complete traversal of the categories of being (multiple, void, nature, infinity,…)

> and of the event (ultra-one, undecidable, intervention, fidelity,…) (Badiou, 2005, p.16)

Badiou indicates that four generic procedures reveal the indiscernibility of the times and what happens in these procedures is that which retains in its multiple-being all the mutual features of the collective in question, in this regard, it is the truth of the collective's being. To overcome the enigma of these procedures which is generally referred to as their representable conditions or to the exceeding of their One, he proposes contemporary thinking of them which points out that these procedures are indeterminate and complete at the same time. Therefore, because of this thinking, a subject is a finite moment of the manifestation of a common-being which is supported by a generic procedure. Then, to understand the generic procedures, the subject, and the truth, which's existence depends on the occurrence of an event, it should be revealed "how being can be supplemented." (Badiou, 2005, p.17) To this end, to supplement the being, Badiou embarks upon shaping his ontological understanding with the alteration of Platon's assertation -that is the essential principle of ontology since Parmenides- "if the one is not, *nothing* is" with "if the one is not, nothing *is*", consequently, there is no consistency to being -that is the necessary precondition for non-theological ontology- therefore, being qua being is inconsistent multiplicity. Accordingly, ontology is the science of the pure multiple, hence mathematics.[31]

According to Badiou, the one, which is not, solely exists as an operation which is count-as-one, never as a presentation, and the multiple is the regime of the presentation. The one is an operational result concerning presentation and being is what presents itself. Consequently, being is neither one nor multiple because the presentation is related to the count-as-one, and the multiple is merely the regime of the presentation. Badiou designates the term *situation* to define any presented multiplicity, which is the sphere of taking place. The count-as-one operation is admitted by the situation and that is the definition of a *structure* that establishes the regime of the count-as-one for a presented multiple. Therefore, the thing counted as one in a situation belongs to the situation in the mode specific to its structure's effects. It should also be

[31] Bartlett, A., & Celemens, J. (Eds.). (2010). *Alain Badiou Key Concepts.* Acumen Publishing Limited.

marked that every situation is structured, in other words, every situation is under the effect of the count, therefore with regards to number, a presentation as such is multiple. Accordingly, the multiple is the inertia that can be deduced retroactively from the fact that the count-as-one operation must be effective for Oneness to exist. Therefore, the status of the presentation is the order of the multiple. Hence, there are two different multiplicities, the first one is the multiplicity of inertia, that of presentation, and the second one is the multiplicity of composition, that of number and the effect of the structure. Badiou terms the multiplicity of inertia as *inconsistent multiplicity* and the multiplicity of composition as *consistent multiplicity*. A structured presentation, a situation, is related to both inconsistent and consistent multiplicity. The duality of the multiplicities is contingent upon the distribution of count-as one, as before inconsistent and consistent later. In terms of the structure, one is obliged to consider that presentation is a multiple which is inconsistent, and one is authorized to compose the terms of the presentation as units of a multiple which is consistent. Badiou states that the distribution of obligation and authorization makes the one into law, in other words, the one, which it is not, is a law of multiple what constrains the multiple to manifest itself as such and rules its structured composition in the double sense of being.

Badiou indicates that since the being has no structure and it occurs in every presentation, there cannot be a presentation of being. Thus, the ontological situation is the presentation of presentation, therefore except for the presentations, there is no access to being. If such an ontology is possible, it is the situation of the pure multiple and the theory of inconsistent multiplicities. For any possible ontology, that should be admitted that the situation of the ontology is composed merely of multiplicities, thus, every multiple is a multiple of multiples, and through the count-as-one, the multiple can be recognized as multiple. Seeing that ontology is the theory of inconsistent multiplicities, it should also be exposed that since Cantor's "set theory provides a theory of the multiple as the general form of the presentation of being", in consequence, Badiou establishes his approach employing the set theory. He states that a theory of the multiple as the general form of the presentation of being is provided by the set theory. Starting from this point of view, Badiou puts the set theory under his ontological approach's order.

As stated above, the structure of the multiple, the regime of the count-as-one, splits the multiple into inconsistency and consistency. Keep in mind that inconsistency, which is prior to count-as-one operation, is not presented, since all presentation is subject to the law of the count. Accordingly, nothing is presented in a situation that is not counted. Once the count-as-one operation takes place under the effect of structure and in the form of the one and its composition in consistent multiplicities, there will be no a-structured inconsistencies remaining that are not ordered by the law of count-as-one. Thus, an undetermined situation inevitably identifies being with what is presentable hence with the possibility of the one. Therefore, inside the situation, the inconsistent or pure multiple is excluded from everything, thus from the presentation, and included "in the name of what 'would be' the presentation itself, the presentation 'in-itself'" (Badiou, 2005, p.53) Finally, the one is not, the being of consistency is inconsistency.

Furthermore, as stated above, since everything is counted, there is nothing prior to the count, and Badiou delivers that "this being-nothing -wherein resides the illegal inconsistency of being- is the base of there being the 'whole' of the compositions of ones in which presentation takes place." (Badiou, 2005, p.54) Accordingly, being of nothing there stands as a form of the unpresentable, yet it had been counted as one, therefore, the nothing is the name of unpresentation in presentation and it's the pure multiple upon which count-as-one operates. Badiou terms this nothing as *void* which is the failure of the one. According to Badiou, the void is the proper name of being, the name of inconsistency according to a situation. Also, it should be emphasized that within a situation no term designates the void. For the void to be localizable in the presentation what is required is a disfunction of count which results from an excess-of-one. In addition, as Badiou states "the event will be this ultra-one (excess-of-one) of a hazard, on the basis of which the void of a situation is retroactively discernible." (Badiou, 2005, p.56) Moreover, the normal regime of the structured situations is unconscious of the void, therefore, the void is unpresentable of presentation.

In the light of what has been conveyed so far, considering in the political sphere, what Badiou defines as void, the failure of the One, refers to the groups that are not presented by the state. The illegal inconsistency of being corresponds to the parts of the society that the state does not define and include in its classifications. By this

means, all parts outside the classification and definitions of the state are formed by their unpresentability and inconsistency. Everyone identified and defined by the state by an identification number or with particularities such as nationality, religion, etc., is included in the One, hence, the groups whose existence is approved by the state are counted-as-one and thus become consistent. Moreover, since there is no access to the being except the presentation and the unpresented ones are excluded from everything, the fact that the groups of the society corresponding to void are not recognized, i.e. counted-as-one, by the state will also mean that they will not be at the disposal of the state apparatuses which are dedicated to the ones whose existence is approved by counting-as-one operation, i.e. who has an identity number, and whose rights specified by the legal order established by the state, i.e. who are not illegal immigrants or belong to minority groups in some instances.

After revealing Badiou's ontological approach, which forms the basis of his philosophy, his method of explaining this approach, and the definition of the concept of being, it is necessary to present other concepts related to being as a multiple.

In consideration of what is presented here, Badiouan philosophy is circled around the ontology hence the definition of being-qua-being. As stated above, it should be emphasized that, as the proper name of being, the void is the pure multiple. Considering that the ontology, the theory of pure multiple and inconsistent multiplicities, is mathematics and only be understood through the set theory, consequently, its internal dualities such as the relationship between one and multiple could also be explained within the conceptualization of the set theory. Badiou points out that there are two possible relations between the multiples determined by the set theory. The first relation is defined as *belonging* and it designates that a multiple is counted as an element in the presentation of another multiple. The second relation is defined as *inclusion,* and it designates that a multiple is a sub-multiple of another multiple. These two relations refer to two different operators of counting. The first operator of counting, the structure, forms a one out of all multiples belonging to it. The second operator of counting, the metastructure, completes the first counting by gathering all the sub-compositions of internal multiples, all the inclusions. The existence of the second operator of counting, the metastructure, is compelled to the

existence of the first operator of counting, the presentative structure. Nonetheless, as it is understood, there will always be a gap between belonging and inclusion, between structure and metastructure, how Badiou defines “intellectual provocation of being”. (Badiou, 2005, p. 84) To explain this gap that coincides with at least one multiple which does not belong to the initial set but held in the multiple of the subsets of a set Badiou defines the *theorem of the point of excess.* According to this theorem, in an existing multiple which forms the multiples into one, there are elements that have the property of not being an element of themselves but have the property of belonging to the existing multiple. Therefore, there are two different multiplicities. The first one is *ordinary* multiplicities that possess the property of not belonging to themselves, and the *evental* multiplicities that belong to themselves. To put it in a different way, the ordinary elements of an existing multiple will form an ordinary subset. This subset is included in the existing multiple and belongs to the subsets of the existing multiple, however, the subset does not belong to the existing multiple itself. Nevertheless, if the subset did belong to the existing multiple as an element, the following would happen: if the subset as an element is ordinary, it would belong to the ordinary subset of the existing multiple as an ordinary subset, as itself. As a result, the subset as an element will belong to itself, consequently, will be evental. However, if it is evental, as belonging to itself, it would also be ordinary as being an element of the ordinary subset of itself. Therefore, since the element cannot be ordinary and evental at the same time, the initial hypothesis should be rejected, thus, the element does not belong to the existing multiple. Consequently, there is always at least one element of the subsets of an existing multiple which is not an element of the existing multiple. Thus, by the means of this theorem, Badiou's alteration of the fundamental assumption that establishes Parmenidean ontology by claiming that one-is-not and being is inconsistent multiplicity is therefore proved with set theory through revealing that the One cannot be formed as such since there always be an element that escapes from counting-as-one both in structure and metastructure.

Considering the theorem of the point of excess, and the relation between belonging and inclusion, a review of the void, the proper name of being, should be carried out. On the one hand, the void, the empty set in the set theory, is a subset of any set, thus is universally included. On the other hand, the void possesses a subset which is the

void itself. In so far as nothing belongs to the void, not even the void itself, to have an element would be excessive for the void. Moreover, since the void does not have any element, it is unpresentable. Therefore, the void, as unpresentable, is the name of inconsistency in the situation under the law of count-as one. As an unpresentable and unfixed inconsistency, the void always escapes the count, therefore, the structure which is formed by counting as one extracted from the situation should be structured to generate the *Oneness.* To secure the fixation of the void, all structures should be doubled by a metastructure. The metastructure, a count of the count, the second operation of count-as-one closes the inconsistent multiplicity, the void, immediately and constantly. Therefore, since all situations are required the second count, in other words, are structured twice, there is always both presentation and representation. The structure of the count attests itself and its effects through reduplication, and by this means, the nullity of the gap between the consistent multiple -composition of ones- and the inconsistent multiple which is the presupposition of void and does not present anything- is guaranteed. In the danger of the void, the structure of structure is responsible for the establishment of the one is to deploy its own veracity through the operation of count. Thus, since any ordinary situation contains a structure as stated above, by means of the count-as-one structures that the situation as in turn counted-as-one. Badiou terms this "*state of the situation* by means of which the structure of a situation is counted-as-one." (Badiou, 2005, p.95) Therefore, "what is included in a situation belongs to its state." (Badiou, 2005, p.97) The state of a situation presents as consistent multiplicities, composing what the situation presents since what is included in a situation is composed of one-multiples which belong, therefore the state of situation, as a structured presentation is the universal security of the one.

To further analyze the being or the typology of multiples in situation, the gap between the inclusion and belonging, the structure and metastructure should be questioned. Once a multiple is counted-as-one in the situation it is presented therein, and if it is also counted as one by the state of situation or the metastructure, it is represented. As a result, the multiple belongs to the situation (presentation) as well as it is included in the situation (representation). However, the theorem of the point of excess implies that there are multiples, the parts, which are included, thus represented, but does not belong to, thus are not presented. On the other hand, there are terms presented but not

presented since they do not constitute a part of the situation, only one of its terms. Accordingly, Badiou defines a term, which is both presented and represented as *normal;* a term which is represented but not presented as *excrescence,* and a term which is presented but not represented as *singular*. Since normality comprises the re-guaranteeing of the originary one by the state of situation -the one that is presented in the state of situation-, a normal term belongs, thus is found in presentation, and it is included, thus found in representation. Besides, the singular terms are comprised of elements that are not accepted by the count even though they are subject to the one-effect. Consequently, the singular terms belong to the situation, thus they are presented, but they cannot be included in it, thus they will not be re-secured or verified by the state. Lastly, the excrescence is not a one of the native structure, but the one of the state. As a result, in the state of a situation there are three types of one-terms which are the normal -presented and represented-, the singular- presented and not represented-, and the excrescent -represented but not presented-. These types are the most primary concepts of any experience, thus Badiou demonstrates them using the example of historico-social situations. Before these terms are demonstrated through the historico-social situations, finally, what is stated before should be summarized as follows: on the side of the situation there are presentation, structure, count as one, belonging and element; and on the side of the state of the situation, there are representation, metastructure, count of the count, inclusion, subset, and part.

According to Badiou, the necessary metastructure of every historico-social situation is *the State*. The State is the law that guarantees the Oneness amongst the set of its subsets. Based on the Marxist statement that the State is in the possession of the ruling class, the State always represents what has already been presented historically and socially in the Badiouan sense, thus the State is the structure of the historico-social situation, and it guarantees that the one results in everything. The State is historically connected to the society in every movement of presentation; however, the state is merely capable of representation, and it cannot generate a null-multiple or null-term whose elements would be absent from the situation. To this respect, it clarifies, the State, that is the state of the situation, holds an administrative function rather than a coercive one. Also, as an operator of the count and guarantee of the one resulting in everything universally, the State is inevitably a separate apparatus because the parts of

the society exceed its terms on every side and what is included in a historical situation cannot be reduced to what belongs to it. As a result, as every other state of a situation, "the State of a historico-social situation is subject to the theorem of the point of excess." (Badiou, 2005, p. 107) Recognizably, according to the Marxist analysis, the State is an excrescence thus it should be suppressed by the revolution as regards Marxist political programme, "thus, end the representation and the universality of simple presentation." (Badiou, 2005, p.108) However, because of the irreconcilable conflict between the classes of bourgeoisie and proletariat generates the consistency of historical presentation, there would be an endless civil war unless the monopoly of coercion instruments- such as arms and structured violence- are separated in the form of a State apparatus. Therefore, the separation of the State is more a consequence of the danger of inconsistency than of consistency of presentation. It is prevailing in the Badiouan sense in the following form: If the parts must be counted by a metastructure in a situation (historical or not), it is because their excess over the terms, escaping the initial count, identifies a potential place for the fixing of the void. In the light of the blended analysis of Marxist theory and Badiouan conceptualization, there types of the one-terms can be crystallized as follows; the bourgeoisie, that is presented socially and economically, and represented by the State, is a normal term; the proletariat, that is presented and not presented, is a singular term; and the State apparatus is an excrescence. In this sense, what Engels does with the Marxist theory according to Badiou, is to decrease the void to the non-presentation of the proletariat; and the operator of the count-as-one, the State, to an excrescence. As a result, politics can be defined as an attack against the State through the claim that excrescence is intolerable and by mobilizing the singular multiples, or terms, against the normal multiples. Nonetheless, Badiou emphasizes that the State cannot be so easily assaulted or attacked because even in the route of political change is bordered by the State, the State cannot change since it is non-political. Badiou, also points out that politics depends on its ability to build a relation to void and excess that is fundamentally different from that of the State; it is this difference that distinguishes politics from statist re-insurance. Finally, in accordance with the designation of politics, Badiou defines the political activist as follows:

> "Rather than a warrior beneath the walls of the State, a political activist is a patient watchman of the void instructed by the event for it is only when grappling with the event that the State blinds itself to its own mastery. There the activist constructs the means to sound thenceforth faithful to the proper name that, afterwards, he or she will have been able to give to this non-place of place, the void." (Badiou, 2005, p.111)

A detailed interpretation of the politics in Badiouan sense will be presented later in this chapter, nevertheless, as far as I understood from the above-illustrated example of Badiou on historico-social situations, it can be stated that politics is irreducible to the relation between society and the State or to the State's way of operating. Rather, politics is concerned with the potential efforts of the uncounted, unrepresented, unidentified, undefined groups of society -i.e., the void- to create a possibility of existence -with existence I mean to be represented, counted, recognized by the state- by changing the borders determined by the current State which excludes them. The possibility of existence if and only may occur when an event arises. Therefore, to comprehend the ontological conditions of this possibility in the Badiouan sense, the concept of event will be introduced next.

3.2.What is Event?

To explain the concept of the event, above all, Badiou gets into the question of 'what-is-not-being-qua-being'. According to Badiou, thought of that-which-is-not-being, or other-than-being is placed in the non-natural, it is presented other than normal multiplicities, thus its place is abnormal, antinatural, or unstable. Badiou terms what is determined as the opposite of nature as *historical*. The historicity is a point of subtraction from the state's re-securing of the count; thus, it lies within the instability of singular. The historical or the abnormal multiple, which's elements are not presented in the situation is termed as *evental site* by Badiou. The site itself is presented but none of its elements is counted-as-one, thus, presented in the situation, as such, the site is not a part of the situation. Thereby, the abnormal multiple is *on the edge of the void* or *fundamental*. (Badiou, 2005) It should also be noted that, unlike the natural or normal multiplicities, the concept of an evental site, the abnormal multiplicity is not inherent or essential. On the contrary of the natural multiplicity, a multiple can be singular in one situation and normal in another, because the historicity -or abnormal

multiple- is relative while the nature is absolute. As a result, singularities can always be normalized, therefore any evental site can be normalized by the state, if so, "history can be naturalized, but nature cannot be historicized". (Badiou, 2005, p.176) Moreover, the natural situation normalizes all its items which also always conserves its character, herewith, the natural situation is *global* whilst the evental site is *local*.

Badiou defines the situations as historical in which at least one evental site occurs. As a local criterion, historical reflects the opposition to the inherent stability of natural situations. Consequently, the historical situation is on the edge of the void. In its definition, the event is attached to the point, to the place in which the historicity of the situation is concentrated, accordingly, a site that can be singularized in historical situations is inherent to every event since it is the only *condition of being* for the event. Also, a site can only be defined as evental if it is qualified as such by the realization of an event. Consequently, from the standpoint of the situation, it is undecidable that the event is belonging to the site's situation. If the event does not belong to the situation, nothing will have taken place because the terms of its event-site are not presented; if the event belongs to the situation, then it will posit itself between the void and itself, so it will be defined as ultra-one. Though the event happening in a multiple on the edge of the void, in a site, is never secured as part by the state, consequently, the state of a situation does not guarantee any rule of this order. As a result, to conclude in the belonging of an event to a state of a situation, a supposed inclusion of the event cannot be referred to. Badiou terms *intervention* that any procedure which recognizes a multiple as an event and decides its belonging to the situation. Badiou defines the initial operation of the intervention as to "*make a name out of an unpresented element of the site to qualify the event whose site is the site*." (Badiou, 2005, p. 204) It should also be noted that the name of the event must emerge from the void, therefore, intervention is only possible through endangering the one.

Furthermore, even though intervention is both at the border of the void and the name, and it's the basis of the named event's circulation within the situation, as a decision regarding belonging a situation, the intervention itself remains undecidable. An intervention is only recognized by its consequences in the situation. The only presentable aspect of an intervention is the name of the event, consequently, the

existence of an event will always remain as doubt, except to those who intervene and decide the intervention's belonging to the situation. As Badiou emphasizes, the referent of the intervention, the void, is asserted by the site and its choice is illegal - with respect to the immediate law which can be crystallized as representative without representation- cannot be grasped by the structure under the one-effect. Besides, what is non-one is the event itself, which founds the possibility of an intervention, which must be attributed to the consequences of another event, because it does not other than presenting an event for the occurrence of another. Eventually, the entire effort is focused on the following of the event's consequences rather than glorifying its occurrence. If the consequences of the event are submitted to the structure, they cannot be discerned, as a result, the evental nature of the event's consequences should be conserved by special procedures. The fundamental special procedure is the discipline of time that controls the consequences of paradoxical multiple's entrance into circulation thoroughly and knows how to recognize its link to chance at any given moment. Badiou terms *fidelity* this organized control of time. (Badiou, 2005, p.211) As a result, the intervention means to act on the edge of the void while remaining faithful to its previous border.

The fidelity is described as the set of procedures that distinguishes the multiples whose existence rely on the introduction of an evental multiple into circulation within a situation consisting of presented multiples. The fidelity features the following remarks: Firstly, fidelity relies on an event; thus, it is particular but not a subjective virtue. It is a functional relation to the event and a situated operation. Secondly, a fidelity is evaluated through its results which is the count-as-one of an event's regulated effects. Thirdly, a fidelity counts the parts of a situation in so far as it distinguishes the presented multiples of the situation which includes the result of faithful procedures. As a result, fidelity functions in the state of situation's field. On the first remark, it should be emphasized that the particularity of a fidelity relies on its different definitions based on the different criteria for the same event, in the same situation, consequently, the results of the different fidelities make up unidentical parts. Therefore, the multiples gathered because of their connection to the event are not considered identical by the state of the situation. Badiou ensamples the first remark with the different fidelity of the Stalinists and Trotskyists to the event of October 1917.

It should be admitted that the definition of fidelity is co-determined by the situation in which according to the law of count the intervention's effects are linked together, by a multiple through which the event is named and enter circulation, and by a rule of connection through which the one evaluates the dependency of any existing multiple pursuant to the event. On the second remark, it should be noted that being of a fidelity is established from the multiple of multiples that have been distinguished by the fidelity in line with its operator of connection, as being contingent upon the event from which the fidelity proceeds. From the standpoint of the state, these multiples constitute a part of the situation which is connected to the event. On the third remark, it should be indicated that even though a fidelity distinguishes the connection of presented multiples to a particular multiple, the event, the operator of the connection -the criterion by which dependence of a presented multiple to and event is declared- does not have an absolute bond to belonging or inclusion. On the contrary, the state, the operator of the count which seeks belonging and inclusion. As result, a fidelity can be considered as counter-state since it is unassignable to the functions of the state. To the extent that fidelity is removed from the state as much as possible, on the one hand, it is laid out purely in the gap between the operator of connection and belonging (or inclusion), and in the separation ability on the other. A real fidelity, according to Badiou, constitutes dependencies, which are without a concept for the state, and splits the situation into two by distinguishing "a mass of multiples which are indifferent to event." (Badiou, 2005, p.237) From this point of view, fidelity organizes another legitimacy of inclusions within the situation as a counter-state. Fidelity builds an 'other' situation derived from the splitting of the initial situation into two. The other situation is the situation of the multiples marked by the event, and in its temporary figure, it has always been enticing for fidelity to consider the set of these multiples as its own body, as the true situation, as the acting effectiveness of the event, and a faithful community. The processes of the relation between the event, thus the intervention, and the procedure of fidelity, thus its operator of connection is called *subject* by Badiou. Moreover, the subject is defined by Badiou as any local configuration which supports truth through a generic procedure. Therefore, the concept of truth -the effect of ruptured situations which are opened by the event- should be revealed in line with the notion of generic procedure -the generic as the being of a truth- beforehand the

demonstration of the concept of the subject which is an active fidelity to the event of truth.

3.3.What is Truth and Subject?

First, to define the *truth*, the foundation of its being, the concept generic will be demonstrated. The term *generic* positively indicates "that what does not allow itself to be discerned is the general truth of a situation, the truth of its being, as considered as the foundation of all knowledge to come." (Badiou, 2005, p. 327) On the other side, the concept of indiscernible, which's meaning is almost the same as generic, is negatively indicates that what makes a hole in knowledge is always a truth. The truth and knowledge couple endanger everything in the thought which means that thinking about the relation between a post-evental fidelity and a fixed state of knowledge, is what Badiou calls the *encyclopedia of the situation*. The *knowledge* corresponds to the capacity of distinguishing the multiples within the situation, therefore, the role of it and the constitutive operations of its domains are *discernment* and *classification*. Discernment refers to the relation between language and presented multiples to designate the characteristics of these multiples. Classification refers to the relation between language and the parts of a situation i.e., multiples of multiple to determine the common nameable characteristics of these multiples. Therefore, in terms of its being, the knowledge can be thought of as assigning an encyclopedic determinant to any multiple through which the multiple finds itself belonging to a set of multiples, to a part of the situation. However, the event is unknown for the knowledge, the name of the event is foreclosed from the knowledge because it is supernumerary -excess- and is the signature of the ultra-one even though it is listed in the language of the situation. As a result, the task of identifying the multiples related to supernumerary name cannot be based on the knowledge, thus a fidelity is also not a matter of knowledge, it is a work of a *militant*. Militant denotes an ardent investigation of the implications of a new theorem. The operator of the faithful connection creates a different mode of discernment which explores relations to the name of the event within the effect of an interventional nomination outside of knowledge. When a multiple -which belongs to a situation, thus counted as one- connected to the name of the event is recognized, the minimal gesture of fidelity would be performed which is the observation of a connection. This minimal gesture provides the foundation of being for the entire

process constituted by a fidelity. Any finite set of minimal gestures which determines the connection to the name of an event is called *enquiry* by Badiou. Hence, enquiry means a finite state of the process of fidelity that has militated around an encountered series of multiples. Enquiry distinguishes and groups two different multiples: the first one is the presented multiples, terms of the situation, which are connected to the event. The second one is the multiples that are not connected to the event. As such, the enquiry is the veritable basic unit of the procedure of fidelity since it combines the one of discernment with a few of classification. Therefore, behind the resemblance of the procedure of fidelity to a knowledge this enquiry lies.

The definition and the operation of enquiry bring up a dialectic when considered with the concept of knowledge. The results of an enquiry coincide with an encyclopedic determinant because every finite part of the situation is classified by at least one knowledge. This is because every presented multiple is nameable in the language of the situation. However, to distinguish the difference between the procedures of enquiry and knowledge, Badiou introduces the following two terms. The first one is *veridical* which is controlled by a knowledge and indicates that a part of the situation is answerable to an encyclopedic determinant. The second one is *true* which is controlled by the procedure of fidelity and indicates that a part of a situation groups the multiples connected to the supernumerary name of the event. What makes possible the distinguishing of the true from the veridical for a part of the situation is the infinity of the true. Consequently, if exists, a truth must be an infinite part of the situation on the contrary of a finite part of the situation which is already been discerned and classified by knowledge.

As stated above, all finite parts of a situation are subjected to encyclopedic determination, and these parts include multiples classified by the knowledge, the encyclopedia of the situation, according to their common nameable characteristics in different classes. Thus, if a finite part consists of multiples that belong to different determinants, it avoids the encyclopedic determinant. As a result, the finite part which avoids a determinant is determined by a domain of knowledge, thus avoidance is the structure of finite knowledge. Consequently, as an infinite part of the situation, a characterization of truth should be found upon this structure of finite knowledge. To

proceed with this, the terms positively connected to the event should be taken into consideration because a connection that is realized negatively will repeat the pre-evental situation.[32] Therefore, it is necessary for an infinite truth that the part of a situation gathering the multiples does not coincide with an encyclopedic determinant. The only condition for ensuring this is to concern the enquiries that are the basis of the fidelity procedure and determinant of the positive connection to the event. By concerning the enquiry, a finite part that avoids a determinant of knowledge will be formed. Thus, a faithful procedure that this enquiry figures, the infinite terms connected positively to the event via faithful procedure will never coincide with the determinant. As a result, as Badiou states "a truth is the infinite positive total of a procedure of fidelity which, for each determinant of the encyclopedia, contains at least one enquiry which avoids it." (Badiou, 2005, p. 338) Such a procedure is called generic for the situation. Finally, it should also be mentioned that on the generic procedures that the philosophy itself does not constitute a generic procedure, its function is "arranging the multiples for a random encounter with such a procedure." (Badiou, 2005, p. 341) What philosophy does is to be at the service of generic procedures such as politics, art, and science.

Concerning the fidelity procedures, on the one hand, there is the name of the event which is the result of the intervention, and there is the operator of faithful connection which rules the procedure of fidelity and institutes the truth on the other. To determine to what measure does the operator depend on the name, Badiou defines the term *subjectivization* which is the emergence of the operator, consecutive to an interventional nomination and which takes place in the form of a Two. It is aimed at interfering with the borders of the evental site, but, at the same time, it is aimed at the situation through its coincidence with the rule of proximity and evaluation which constitutes the generic procedure. From the point of view of the situation, subjectivization is interventional nomination, in other words, it is the rule of the intra-situational effects of the entrance of the supernumerary's name into circulation. Thus, distinct from the count-as-one the subjectivization is a special count which counts as whatever is connected to the name of the event faithfully. Moreover, subjectivization,

[32] Positive means being connected to the supernumerary name of the event, and negative means the opposite. (Badiou, 2005, p. 330)

which is a rule's singular form, assumes that the Two is in the absence of signification of a proper name. The proper name indicates here the subject as a local situated form, as an occurrence of Two, rather than indicating the intervention or the operation of fidelity, is the inclusion of the event into a situation in the mode of a generic procedure. The insignificance of a proper name shows the absolute singularity that is subtracted from the sense of Two and it reminds us that the proper name of being, the void is summoned by the interventional nomination. Thus, the subjectivization is the general proper name in the situation, that is an occurrence of the void, through which a truth is possible.

As the emergence of an operator, subjectivization makes the truth possible. However, a truth is always indiscernible for the subject. To reveal the characteristics of this indiscernibility, the characteristics of both concepts should be unfolded. Firstly, since the subject is finite while the truth is infinite, the subject cannot be measurable with the truth even it realizes the latter. Secondly, the subject can only encounter the presented terms or multiples in the situation in which the subject is internal while the truth is an unpresented part of the situation. Lastly, the subject cannot create a language from anything except the language of the situation and the combinations of the supernumerary name of the event, and this language may not be adequate to be discerned by the truth. Therefore, the subject cannot know the truth or be adjusted to it. In any case, as the entire being of the subject stand upon the realization of truth, every truth is transcendent to the subject, thus the subject is neither aware nor unaware of the true. The subject could only believe that there is a truth, and in the form of a knowledge, this belief occurs. Badiou terms *confidence* this knowing belief. The confidence signifies that the operator of the fidelity, the subject, locally distinguishes "the connections and disconnections between the multiples of the situation and the name of the event." (Badiou, 2005, p.397) The confidence, the knowing belief results from the nominations generated by every subject. The nominations do not have a referent in the situation; however, they will have been presented in a new situation which will be resulted from the addition of a truth's situation to the existing one. The void of the existing situation will be filled if truth takes place as a new situation because the nominations displace the established significations available in the situation and leave the referent void. However, it should not be overlooked that these

nominations -or names created by the subject, shortly the subject language- are terms of the existing situation despite being empty. Therefore, the referential meaning of these nominations, which exists merely within the retroaction of the existence of an indiscernible part of the situation, surpass the situation.

In addition, because there is an existing term of the situation both belong to a truth and establish a special relationship with the names in the statement of a subject-language, it will have been veridical for a situation in which a truth has occurred. The encyclopedic determinants of the situation, i.e., the knowledge determine this relation. Badiou terms this law as *fundamental law of the subject*. The relation within this law is *forcing*.

The subject as the finitude of the generic procedure, the local effects of an evental fidelity can be grasped in its being. As an operator of the fidelity of the truth, the subject forces the authorization of partial descriptions of the 'new situation'. To crystalize its capacity and limits, Badiou puts forward three examples through which a subject measures the newness of the situation to come. Firstly, a supposed statement of the subject language that is undecidable in the situation cannot be rendered by any terms of the situation whether it is veridical or the opposite, erroneous for the encyclopedia in its current state. The only possibility of the decision on a veridical or erroneous statement is led by the operator of the fidelity can result in one of the following outcomes: if a term forces its affirmation to be positively investigated the statement will have been veridical in the new situation; if it forces its negation is positively investigated the statement will have been erroneous; and if the terms are both investigated negatively and positively as unconnected to the name of the event, nothing forces in the truth which results from such a procedure the statement will be undecidable. In the first two cases, the undecidable statement of the situation will have been decided for the new situation in which the indiscernible truth is presented thus these cases are productive. Hence, through this outcome, the subject can be defined as that which decides an undecidable from the point of the view of an indiscernible. Secondly, all multiples of the existing situation are presented in the new situation because the new situation is obtained via addition, what is added that is the truth which is represented but non-presented indiscernible excrescence occurs in presentation.

Therefore, the multiples of the existing situation will disappear according to it, while they cannot disappear based on the situation to-come being new. Consequently, the new situation will present everything that has already been presented in the existing situation, however it will also present countless new multiples with the addition of the truth to the situation. Lastly, the encyclopedia itself is not variable, what varies is the qualification or disqualification of the terms. Thus, if the qualification of a presentation is linked to an inexistence in the new situation, it means that this presentation has already been qualified by the existing situation, that is what Badiou terms *the principle of inexistence*. As a result of these three outcomes, a subject appears as that which qualifies the equality -in so far as it is ordained to equality (Badiou, 2005, p. 409)-, a finite formation of a truth, forces decision, and the discerned realization of an indiscernible. By these outcome's operations, which rarely happen, the event comes into being.

As explained while demonstrating the theory, politics is one of the four basic generic procedures of truth. Thus, the event, that creates the truth, which is occurred through a generic procedure, amount to something that creates a break in the status quo and redefines the society and the situation to realize the representation of the unrepresented. Therefore, the event, as the rupture of a situation corresponds to the mobilization of the most unpresentable, the most invisible people in terms of politics. Furthermore, as stated by Peter Hallward, "truth is nothing other than the local production of a freedom from all relation, a situated production of radical autonomy or self-determination." (Hallward, 2003, p. xxxi) Hence, in the absence of any objective support or social justification, the subjective freedom will devise itself from the void which is unpresentable of the presentation. Consequently, in the light of what has been presented, the political interpretation of Badiouan philosophy will be attempted, and through this interpretation, it will be evaluated whether the results of the gathering of the hypothetically unpresentable and invisible people who came together in Gezi Park in 2013 will enable us to define the Gezi protests as an event.

3.4.Political Interpretation of the Theory of Event

First of all, as stated at the beginning of this chapter, Badiou introduces a new ontological approach based on the possibilities and processes of revealing the truth. What he propounds with this invention is to set forth that the philosophy cannot constitute the truth since it can only be produced by generic procedures. Therefore, politics as one of the generic procedures is in the control of producing the truth, and as an effect of the ruptured situations, a truth can only be opened by an event. Then, what is an event in terms of politics? Is it a revolution, a rebellion, a mass movement, or labor movement? Does it end in subverting the status quo or in overthrowing the state?

To reveal the event in terms of politics, Badiou's own political perception will be introduced briefly, and his perception of the instances of the 20th and 21st centuries will be presented. As a long-standing political activist, Badiou has been part of different political movements, such as the Unified Socialist Party, French Maoist organization the Union of Communists of French Marxist-Leninist which is focused on the struggle of the urban working class as well as poor peasants, and finally, *L'Organisation Politique (OP)* which is shaped around autonomous action of workers and refugees.[33] The most important aspect of OP is that it aims at 'politics without a party' that is consistent with Badiou's understanding of politics in terms of that politics cannot be understood as an action of the State, politics, as a generic procedure, does not appear with a desire to conquest the means of State. Moreover, Badiou clearly states that "politics is not structured or polarized along the agenda and timelines fixed by the state" (Badiou, 2008). From this point of view, he puts a distance from the state, which means full independence from the state and what it reputes important, that should be reached while undertaking political processes and its decisions. As a result, he glorifies the instances which have a distance from the state - with all its apparatuses including military, media, economic decisions of the state, etc. -, because the truth can only be possible through such instances.

[33] Bosteels, B. (2005). Post- Maoism: Badiou and Politics. *positions: east asia cultures critique, 13,* 575-634. Retrieved from: https://muse.jhu.edu/view_citations?type=article&id=190196

Moreover, according to Badiou, as one of the generic procedures which reveals the truth, and as it should be the main concern of philosophy, politics is a condition of philosophy. Therefore, the relation between politics and philosophy would be retroactive in terms of the ontological situation and the occurrence of the event within it. In addition, Badiou states that his philosophy as an heir of the movements that took place in the 1960s and emerged out of them seeks for a real alternative of the dominant politics through refusing the consensus on the unity of global capitalism and representative and democratic state. He emphasizes that his philosophy is chasing the possibility of a politics of emancipation, radical, or revolutionary politics in terms of representing a political opening other than the dominant politics. [34]

Furthermore, Badiou also points out that the philosopher's concern in terms of politics is justice since Plato, and the concept of justice is a word from philosophy. However, justice is under the condition of political, and it is defined as "a philosophy designates the possible truth of a political orientation" by Badiou. (Badiou, 2004, p. 38) Moreover, philosophy can distinguish a common feature among the political orientations which touch truth, this feature is that the actions of people who engage these orientations take account of equality. Therefore, for a political orientation to be touched upon the truth should be founded upon the egalitarian principle. However, this egalitarian principle and the equality it brings are subjective according to Badiou because it does not imply an equality of status, income and is not related to social. Moreover, political equality is not declared through the event, and it is not the aim of the action, it is rather the axiom of the action. Therefore, justice, as the philosophical name for an egalitarian political orientation, does not indicate what must be, but what it is. If so, in political statements, the egalitarian axiom is present or not, thus, either people are within the justice or not. In addition, since the state is unconcerned to the existence of any political orientation that touches the truth, any programmatic and definitional approach to justice turns it into an aspect of the action of the State. However, the State that is indifferent to justice in its being, gets in trouble by any political orientation that touches upon the truth. As a result, political truth always

[34] Badiou, A., Del Lucchese, F., & Del Smith, J. (2008). "We Need a Popular Discipline": Contemporary Politics and the Crisis of the Negative. Critical Inquiry, 34(4), 645–659. https://doi.org/10.1086/592538

manifests itself in times of trouble, and the justice names the principles at work in rupture and disorder within the status quo, and it is the philosophical name of the inconsistency for the State or society.[35]

Therewithal, according to Badiou, as an egalitarian and emancipatory political orientation, the term communism designates the general idea of a world that is not structured by classical social relations such as division of labor, wealth, sexual difference etc., and of a world in which the principle of equality is dominant. In this sense, communism is the idea of a society with a principle of existence that is subtracted from the relations of wealth and power. On the other hand, Marxist practices of politics and organizations are successful in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and the Chinese Cultural Revolution in terms of mobilizing the masses that are divided into classes and taking the power on behalf of these masses through a party organization. However, the Marxist practices are not promising for the problems of the 21st century and of the global capitalism's disorganized masses which cannot be assumed that they are divided into classes. Moreover, the Marxist practices of organizations and politics are directly articulated with or by the question of the state and power, consequently, as Badiou emphasizes, since the political processes should be independent of the power of the state and politics should be at a distance from the state, new type of organizations should be generated to solve the problems of the 21st century. In order to be at a distance from the state, which is the metastructure of any historico-social situation, a new space of autonomy and independence from the dominant laws of the situation should be created.[36]

Furthermore, Badiou remarks the 21st century as a time in which History rebirths, a *time of riots*.[37] As can be understood through this remark, the instances of this century are distanced from the state by creating a possibility of existence outside of the borders that determined by the state. The instances occurring in this century, the riots that took

[35] Badiou, A., (2004). *Infinite Thought: Truth and the Return to Philosophy* (O. Feltham & J. Clements, Trans.). Continuum.

[36] Badiou, A., Del Lucchese, F., & Del Smith, J. (2008). "We Need a Popular Discipline": Contemporary Politics and the Crisis of the Negative. Critical Inquiry, 34(4), 645–659. https://doi.org/10.1086/592538

[37] Badiou, A., (2012). *The Rebirth of History* (G. Elliott, Trans.). Verso.

place, are mobilizing masses of people on the things that are unacceptable for them. Considering these riots, Badiou distinguishes three types of them: immediate, latent, and historical. An immediate riot -that Badiou exemplifies with the "Tunisian riot which triggered the series of 'Arab revolutions' in early 2011" (Badiou, 2012, p. 22)- is a disturbance among a group of the population after a violent incident of state coercion. Immediate riot, which is often the initial form of a historical riot, has some characteristics that hold general significance. These characteristics are as follows: First, youth take the lead an immediate riot, especially the inevitable conflicts with law and order's forces, because youth have the capacity of mobility, assembly, tactical invention and linguistic as well as persistence and moderation, when required, which are invariables of mass action. Second, as pointed out while demonstrating the evental site, the localization of riots is fundamental, and as the initial form of a historical riot, an immediate riot is restricted to the site, the territory, of its participants. An immediate riot turns into a historical riot if only it endures and is extended. Moreover, an immediate riot, languishing in its site is not a strong subjective trajectory, it destroys what it used to such as the symbols of wealthy existence or the state. By all these universal characteristics, an immediate riot is unable to displace itself and it only achieves a weak localization. What Badiou means by weak localization is not that an immediate riot stops at its initial site, on the contrary, it means that the riot spreads by imitation instead of by displacement. This imitation, as a limited extension of an immediate riot, occurs in similar or mostly identical sites to its initial site. Finally, the subjectivity created by an immediate riot is indistinct and does not make it possible to separate what is pertinent to partially universalizable intention and what is limited to destroying since it is consisted of rebellion and commanded by negation and destruction. Moreover, an immediate riot is always open to organized crime at some level depending on the circumstances. Therefore, the immediate riot cannot purify itself and its subject is always impure, thus, the immediate riots are neither political nor pre-political. The possible best result of an immediate riot is paving the way for a historical riot, and the worst is showing that the existing society as a state organization of capital does not have the means for preventing a historical sign of insurrection.

To describe the latent riots, Badiou refers to the fact that the Western countries have not experienced historical riots for around forty years -that corresponds to the 1960s-

whilst they have experienced immediate riots. Badiou interprets that as the opening of an era which implies a possibility of an evental rupture that creates the "possibility of the unforeseen historical unfolding of some immediate riot" (Badiou, 2012, p. 28), thus, a subjectivity of latent riot exists in these countries. To crystallize what he suggests, he gives the example of marches of trade unions in France to protest a pension reform of the Sarkozy government. These marches and protests with their own dynamics hinted some characteristics of the time of riot such as rising slogans -which calls for Sarkozy's resignation-, increasing dissidence, the invention of new forms of action, and so on. [38] Therefore, a significant aspect of the significant riots was generated by these protests which is a new type of popular unity created locally for immediate actions callously the stratifications of the state and from apparently different subjective trajectories. Consequently, even the Western countries which pretend to be stable in terms of development and democracy are always open to the possibility of insurrection and riot.

Based on the learnings from the riots in the Arab countries, Badiou defines the historical riot as "the result of the transformation of an immediate riot … into a political riot." (Badiou, 2012, p.33). For a historical riot's occurrence, the following characteristics are necessary: First, a construction of an enduring central site by the transition from limited localization must be realized where the rioters seek to receive satisfaction in a peaceful atmosphere instead of acting in a destructive way. The destructive acts and attacks of immediate riot prevent it from lasting longer, thus, immediate riots last between one and five days. However, on the other hand, a historical riot lasts for weeks or months with a constantly growing crowd even its monumental site is surrounded and harassed by the police. Second, a transition from extension by imitation to qualitative extension must happen through which "all the components of people are unified on the site thus constructed" (Badiou, 2021, p.34). These components of people consist of all segments of society including youth, women, workers, intellectuals, and people of different religious faiths, as it did in Arab countries. By this transition, people of conflicting origins engaging in the same riot would be in a peaceful discussion which also means a multiplicity of voices. Finally,

[38] Ibid.

“a transition from the nihilistic din of riotous attacks to the invention of a single slogan that envelops all the disparate voices” (Badiou, 2021, p.35) must be made. By this single slogan what is at stake in the riot would be decided, thus, the possibility of victory would be created. However, although the riot creates the possibility of victory and opens a sequence, its context remains undecided in the initial post-riot period. Therefore, preserving its evental dimension, all these riotous tendencies correspond to characteristic actions of *intervallic periods* that Badiou defines as what comes after a period in which the revolutionary conception of political action is demonstrated as an alternative to the dominant world. Nonetheless, in the intervallic period, there is no subjective sharing of Idea, therefore, the riot cannot find its political form and transition to organized politics. Therefore, the historical riots, the guardians of the history of emancipation in an intervallic period, indicate the necessity of a reformulated ideological proposal that will be the new form of politics.

If so, in terms of event theory, only the historical riots among the three types of riots can occur at the edge of the void of a situation, thus, opening up the event. Moreover, as Badiou emphasizes, referring to the expression of a general will -that is the fundamental presupposition of democracy- can only make sense during the historical riots, in this respect, the general will correspond to the emergence of political truth. Also, since the historical riot occurs at the edge of the void, the unpresentable of the situation, the inexistent of the society appears existent with the increase in equal-being. Thus, only the historical riot presents the possibility of a real alternative to the current world. These three types of riots occur in different parts of the world for particular reasons and with distinctive motivations, as Badiou exemplified. In the following part, I will put forward the chronology and main features of Gezi Park protests that took place in 2013, and after I will attempt to interpret the protests utilizing the classification of three types of riot which Badiou introduced based on his ontological approach, thus, the event theory and considering political instances of the 21st century.

3.5.Gezi as an Event

The Gezi Park is located in Taksim Square, at the heart of the Istanbul city and Taksim province which was established in line with the Prost Plan as a symbol of the modern life of the Turkish Republic. However, the area in the original plan had been dwindled over the years due to the privatization of the plots within the park and its opening to construction. Moreover, as one of the government's 'mega projects', the 'Pedestrianization of Taksim Square Project' was drafted in 2007 The plan also included reconstruction of the artillery barracks *(Topçu Kışlası)*, which was pulled down in 1940, as a shopping mall and housing complex in the place of the Gezi Park. The project was announced to the public on the 1st of June 2011 and got many negative reactions from the experts, academicians, unions, and chambers including the Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects *(TMMOB)* with the claims that the project was against the related laws as well as the right to the city. Starting from the announcement of the project in June 2011, the chambers, unions, and civil society organizations had been protesting the project and the government's attitude towards the objections. In addition to protests, the Taksim Solidarity Group *(Taksim Dayanışması),* composed of chambers, trade unions, civil society organizations, neighborhood initiatives and associations as well as political parties was also founded on the 15th of February 2012. The main goal of Solidarity's aim is to raise the awareness of public opinion on the mentioned project and to initiate a struggle against it. Nevertheless, the protests that began on the 27th of May 2013, did not acquire the qualification of a mass movement, and were only limited to passive resistance, signature campaigns, and legal fight of the mentioned organizations.[39] In addition, the transformation of the Taksim and Beyoğlu provinces was not limited to the Taksim Square and Gezi Park. As the heart of the city, Beyoğlu province had been the toast of the city since the Ottoman Empire, in terms of offering various cultural, political, artistic opportunities and facilities, as well as entertainment places such as pubs, bars, clubs, cafes and taverns *(meyhane)* where both resident population and tourists spend

[39] Bakkaloğlu, H. (2017). *Gezi Park as an Example of Urban Tension* [Master's thesis, Istanbul Technical University] https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/tezDetay.jsp?id=_48LraP3BOHcSujWJvVVvw&no=fTPjIfAsxCsaZFbqQqbukQ

time mostly. As a bien-pensant neo-liberal government, the transformation of these areas was vital for AKP, thereby, they attacked many symbolic facilities and places by their 'mega projects'. During years and months before the Gezi Park protests, the residents and habitues of Beyoğlu province had started to protest the policies of the Beyoğlu Municipality which were in line with the government projects. These protests took place on Mis Street which was attempted to "clear" by removing the chairs and tables of the facilities on this street in 2011[40], and for Emek Movie Theather which was attempted to pull down by the end of 2012 despite all objections and protests were going on.[41][42]

Although the protests took place against the applications of municipality and projects of the government, none of them gained widespread reflection. Those protests were limited to their own space and particular parts of the society, thus can be considered as immediate riots with a peaceful atmosphere. Therefore, the Gezi Park protests are distinguished from these previous protests in terms of making a tremendous impact on society and mobilizing millions of people. Thus, the chronology of the Gezi Park protests which is retrieved from several websites will be introduced next[43][44], and afterwards, the features of the protests will be presented.

As stated above, the first protests at the Park took place on the 27th of May 2013 with the calls of components of the Taksim Solidarity Group against the demolition of a wall of the park. The protesters' arrival prevented the continuation of the demolition and 50 people pitched tents and guarded the park. In the following four days, an increasing number of protesters have joined the resistance at the park, and accordingly, police harassment and intervention also ascended. On the 31st of May, in the small

[40] Karaca, E. & Söylemez, A. (2011, July 31). *Mis Sokak "Eylemcedeydi".* Bianet. https://bianet.org/bianet/print/131852-mis-sokak-eylemcedeydi

[41] Uysal, K. (2017, October 14). *Emek Sineması Hikayesi*. Lacivert Dergi. https://www.lacivertdergi.com/dosya/2017/10/14/emek-sinemasi-hikayesi

[42] Bia Haber Merkezi (2021, December 19). *Emek Sineması için Eylem Zamanı*. Biamag Cumartesi. https://m.bianet.org/biamag/toplum/142937-emek-sinemasi-icin-eylem-zamani

[43] Mimarlar Odası İstanbul. (2021, October 20). *Taksim Dayanışması Güncesi.* http://www.mimarist.org/taksim-dayanismasi-guncesi/

[44] The Gezi Archive. (n.d.) *Timeline-tr*. Retrieved January 24, 2022, from https://www.geziarchive.net/timelines/timeline-tr

hours of the day, the police emptied the park by attacking the people on guard with pepper sprays, intervened in the press statement issued by Taksim Solidarity in which the deputies were also present, and blocked the entrance to the park. In the same evening, people gathered at Kuğulu Park in Ankara to protest the police interventions at the Gezi Park and the demolition of the Park. On that evening, the police violence continued to ascend until the next day both in İstanbul and Ankara, many people were injured, however, the reaction of people also grew in different cities of the country, and thousands of people took the streets to protest the police violence. The following days witnessed the expansion of protests across Turkey. Thousands of people were injured and affected by the pepper gas, hundreds of them were arrested. In addition, the police used disproportionate force against the protesters almost in every city which also caused loss of lives. Furthermore, with the expansion of the protests across the country, the formations which organize the public opposition in Turkey such as trade unions, associations, and chambers showed their support to the protests by starting a strike. Alongside the protests on the streets, people also joined to protests with the *cacerolazo* (pots and pans actions) from their homes; an event organized at the Gezi Park for Miraj as an example of the protesters' solidarity which also shows that all the parts of the society were joined the protests in their ways. The protesters consist of the ethnic minorities, Kurdish people, Alevis alongside the Sunnis, white and blue collars, students, retirees, LGBTIQ+ people, women and so on. Some of these groups were supporting the resistance from the very beginning such as environmentalists, the elements of the LGBTIQ+ movement and the feminist movement. On the 15th of June, the police entered Gezi Park, the park totally emptied, and closed to the protesters. Starting from the 17th of June the protests kept going on in İstanbul and across Turkey, the police intervention had not stopped during the protests, people continued to *cacerolazo*, the forums went on in different districts of different cities, events organized for the commemoration of people who lost their lives during the protests, the police attacked these events, too. On the 30th of June, LGBTIQ+ Organizations walked out on Istiklal Street for the 11th pride march with the participation of hundreds of thousands of people who mostly supported the march based on their common experience with LGBTIQ+ people during the Gezi Park protests. Even though most of the protests started to fade out by the mid of July, and the number of protesters decreased, the events such as commemorations and forums continued until the mid of

September 2013. Finally, on the 26th of August, students of METU and several neighborhood forums started another resistance protest in Ankara against the road-building project which planned to pass through the METU Campus and the forest. The police also tried to prevent these protests by intervention, however, they did not succeed, in fact, several protests were held in different cities of Turkey to act with solidarity to the protests in Ankara.

As the chronology shows, the Gezi Park protests, and their aftereffects lasted almost for five months across the country inventing new modes and means of resistance and protest. During the protests, different kinds of facilities were established by the protesters such as libraries at the park, infirmaries at the different points of the areas where protests happened. Alongside these facilities which were open to everybody, different kinds of gatherings were organized with different purposes such as forums where the protesters and neighborhood initiatives discussed their demands, expectations etc., and "earth tables" *(Yeryüzü Sofraları/İftarı)* in Ramadan month, on 14th of July 2013 which welcomed everybody including people who do not fast and from different religions. These "earth tables" were organized by the groups named "Anticapitalist Muslims" and "Revolutionary Muslims" to protest the luxury iftars of rich which is capitalism according to them, and to show solidarity of and with the protesters.[45]

The Gezi Park protests, which is often mentioned as Gezi resistance, was the largest mass movement that took place in Turkey in terms of the number of participants and the number of cities where protests occurred. Moreover, it started the most comprehensive protest series in terms of the profiles of protesters. As KONDA Report[46] (Konda, 2014) shows, the average age of the protesters was 28, and out of every two people in the park was between the ages of 21-30; in addition, half of the Gezi protesters were college graduates, moreover, majority of the young people in the

[45] Taştekin, F. (2013, July 14). *Turkey's Gezi Park Protesters Regroup for Ramadan.* Al-Monitor. https://www.al-monitor.com/originals/2013/07/turkey-gezi-park-protesters-observe-ramadan-iftars.html

[46]Konda Research and Consultancy. (2014) *Gezi Report.* https://konda.com.tr/en/rapor/811/ The report is based on a field survey conducted in Gezi Park with 4411 respondents, six days after the occupation of the park by the civilians.

park were senior-year college students, recent college graduates or young professionals. It is also emphasized in the report that the educational attainment level and employment status of the protesters in the park had different characteristics than the population of Turkey. Also, the research shows that quite a number of protesters were not affiliated with a political party, non-governmental organization, or a political formation, and most of them stated that they were in the park as an ordinary citizen and not representing a certain group, and half of them did not participate in any protests or marches before Gezi Park protests. Also, 61.9% percent of the protesters stated that they see themselves as a member of a group subject to human rights violations and nine-tenths of them oppose the government's policies.[47] Also, the reasons of the participants for attending the protests were restrictions on freedom, the reaction against the statements of (then) the Prime Minister Erdoğan, and police brutality.[48] These results and responses are quite striking in terms of the resistance were mobilized a large section of a generation which considered as apolitical by the previous generations. Besides the half of the protesters in the park were not affiliated with any political party or formation, there were also protesters who were affiliated with different political parties, organizations, formations and had different religious and ethnic backgrounds, namely, workers or trade unions members, Alevis, Anticapitalist and Revolutionary Muslims, Kurdish activists, Kemalists, LGBTIQ+ activists, environmentalist activists, members of football fan group *Çarşı*, women's rights activists, anti-militarist activists, and members of various political parties including Communist Party of Turkey and Nationalist Movement Party which have opposite political orientations.[49] Therefore, the protesters across Turkey had different political ideologies, lifestyles and backgrounds, as well as different reasons and motivations for participating the protests. However, their common ground was that they were all dissatisfied with the AKP, and were demanding the same things: democracy, equality, freedom -in terms of lifestyles mostly-, and ending of police brutality. Furthermore, the research shows that the protesters had a feeling of unity despite their different

[47] Ibid.

[48] David, I., & Toktamış, K. F. (Eds.). (2015). *Everywhere Taksim: Sowing the Seeds for a New Turkey at Gezi*. Amsterdam University Press. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt18z4hfn

[49] Ibid.

profiles. Also, they used the same terminology which was invented during the protests including the terms Gezi spirit, *çapulcu* and *chapulling.* In addition, despite the police brutality subjected to the protesters most of the time, they mostly kept a peaceful attitude towards the police and show their intention by a reading book to the police officers, offering them food etc. despite the local differentiations on the attitudes. Because in some neighborhoods of different cities clashing between the protesters and the police was inevitable since the level of the police violence was higher in particular areas in which most of the population were members of minority groups such as Alevis and Kurdish people.

Nevertheless, the sense of unity and common demands raised through the Gezi Park protests did not lead to a change in the political orientation of the country. The reasons for this are as follows: First, in the forums held in the following period no political decisions were taken except the determination to persist the resistance, thus, what should be done next remained undecided; second, there were not any political party or formation which could offer a new political organization with an intent of the change in government which could also meet the demands and needs of the protesters whose problems differentiated; third, after the Gezi Park protests, the government turned up the pressure on the people and became more authoritarian than before, thus, broke the strength of the resistance through which a possibility of transformation has occurred.

As I attempt to present below, although it is difficult to evaluate the Gezi Park protests as an event to the core, it is equally impossible to suggest that it had not had any effects on the emergence of the subject. Even though the Gezi resistance did not correspond to an 'ideal' occurrence of the event, it opened a sphere for subjectivization in Turkey with its emergence, structure, form, and the objections it voiced. From this point of view, considering Badiouan philosophy and its political interpretation, Gezi Park protests affirms particular aspects of what Badiou suggests with the event theory. First of all, the protests took place in a context where the government imposed its ideology in an increasingly authoritarian manner, thus, excluding the demands and wills of a large part of the society, consequently, failing to successfully fulfil the political representation of this part. Although any government could never claim to represent the whole population in a parliamentary democracy, the situation in Turkey was

evolving to a point beyond being able to represent. What happened here was not only that political tendencies were not represented by the government, but also the implementation of practices that restricted people's habits and preferences -such as the ban on alcohol sales hours-, efforts to make the society more conservative, and systematic attacks on places, structures and elements that are of symbolic importance for a part of the society. However, the situation was different for some of the protesters, for example, LGBTIQ+ people, Alevis, environmentalists, and anti-militarists were ignored almost as if they did not exist in the society. They were also exposed to legal and political discrimination as well as their demands and rights were being denied. As a result, it could be said that the protesters in Gezi corresponded to the void of the structure. Moreover, the Gezi Park resistance ruptured the status quo by creating a possibility of transformation. However, these aspects are not sufficient to interpret the resistance as an event. Besides, as stated above, in the Badiouan sense, it cannot be indicated that the protests, riots or insurrections are the events, to mention the occurrence of an event, specific procedures should also take place. Anyhow, in the light of what is known about the resistance, classification, and definition of the resistance as a riot can be made.

Considering the background, occurrence and features of the Gezi Park protests it can be said that these protests have the features of both immediate and historical riots. On the one hand, the Gezi resistance can be interpreted as an immediate riot based on the following features of it: first, as KONDA Research shows, youth was the leader of the protests in general and they exhibited their capacity of mobility, the tactical invention as well as linguistic -and humor in Gezi case- [50]. Second, the subjectivity created by the Gezi resistance was indistinct since at some spheres it consisted of rebellion and destruction while at some consisting partially of universalizable intention that includes freedom and equality. Third, the Gezi resistance was opened to organized crime, despite the sources and intention of the provocations have never come to light, thus, it is not possible to assume that the organized crime was offended by the protesters. On the other hand, the Gezi resistance had features that coincide with the features of historical riots. First, the resistance did not remain limited to Gezi Park, its site, it

[50] *Yıldönümünde Hatırlayalım: Süper Yaratıcı Gezi Parkı Duvar Yazıları.* (2018). Aylak Karga http://www.aylakkarga.com/yaratici-gezi-parki-duvar-yazilari/

spread all over the country. Second, it lasted almost for more than a month, and its aftereffects lasted for five months since its beginning. Third, despite being led by the youth, the protesters consisted of all the components of people including workers, women, LGBTIQ+, minority groups, people from different religious faiths, students, people from conflicting origins and political orientations, and so on, and they united and unified. Moreover, thanks to the forums held during and afterwards the protests, a sphere of peaceful discussion was created, thus, the multiplicity of voices arose. Finally, although many creative slogans were invented during the protests, one slogan was immanent to the resistance: a slogan that calls for the Prime Minister's and government's resignation. Nevertheless, even the Gezi resistance has the features of the immediate riot -which is the pre-condition of the historical riot- and also the features of historical riot, and preserves its evental dimension, the period in which the revolutionary conception of political action is demonstrated as an alternative to the dominant world has never come after its intervallic period. Thus, no ideological proposals have been made as to the new form of politics. In addition, Badiou's interpretation of the Gezi resistance will be briefly presented. According to Badiou, the Gezi resistance is one of the moments which he calls the rebirth of history, however, he evaluates the resistance as the protests and objections of educated youth and petit-bourgeoise against the reactionist government. He also brought attention to the demands of the protests which were democracy, freedom, and equality, and emphasized that the protesters should not be mistaken to target a democracy and freedom that was present in Western countries which are serving the authority of capital. [51]

Consequently, from this point of view and as stated above, it is difficult to define the Gezi resistance as an 'ideal' event or as a historical riot, however, it can be defined as an immediate riot which definitely paved the way for a historical riot and subjectivization of particular groups of protesters. Nevertheless, I think that the distinctions between the types of riots are tenuous, also, a riot cannot be evaluated through its features solely. As it is a pre-condition of the occurrence of the truth of an event, the subjectivization that the riot created should also be reviewed to define the

[51] Badiou, A. (2013, June 21). *Alain Badiou on the Uprising in Turkey and Beyond.* Critical Legal Thinking. https://criticallegalthinking.com/2013/06/21/alain-badiou-on-the-upising-in-turkey/

type of the riot and prove whether it is an event or not. To review the effects of Gezi Park Protests in terms of creating a subject thus an active fidelity to the resistance, the experiences of LGBTIQ+ people who took an active part in the Gezi Park protests will be presented in the next chapter and the results will be interpreted.

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL SUBJECTIVIZATION OF LGBTIQ+ PEOPLE

As stated in the previous chapter, to refer to a break in the status quo, a rupture in the situation, and to mention the occurrence of an event, special procedures should take place through which the effects of the rupture -of the event- correspond a subjectivization of the people who were part of the action. Besides, as the fundamental special procedure, the discipline of time, the fidelity distinguishes the multiples whose existence rely on the introduction of an evental multiple into circulation within a situation consisting of presented multiples. Moreover, as the emergence of an operator, subjectivization makes the truth possible even though the truth is indiscernible for the subject. Therefore, the subject is neither aware nor unaware of the truth. The only thing that subject can do is to believe that there is a truth, this belief occurs in the form of knowledge. This knowing belief is the confidence that signifies the subject and results from the nominations generated by the subject. The nominations do not have a referent in the situation, they will be presented in a situation that will be resulted from the addition of a truth's situation to the existing one.

Therefore, to evaluate whether the Gezi Park protests was an event, along with the political interpretation of it, the subjectivization of one of the multiples which has been on the edge of the void and which's elements were present at the resistance will be examined.

4.1.Methodology

To evaluate whether the subjectivization took place in the aftermaths of the Gezi resistance, I designed semi-structured interviews which aim at presenting the

experiences and points of view of the people who were engaged with LGBTIQ+ organizations, formations, or groups before, during and after the Gezi resistance, and who took an active part in it. The participants were interviewed as individuals rather than as the representatives of particular organizations, formations, or groups. The interview questions were both open-end and closed end, and they were designed to enable the presentation of the experiences of interviewees in line with the concepts of event theory. The interview questions were formulated to present if the subject, the operator of the connection of procedure of the fidelity which should have been occurred in the post-evental period as stipulated by Badiou, has been appeared.

Moreover, to cover every aspect of the event theory, the interview consists of twenty-two questions -which will be presented in the appendices of this thesis- that outline the frame of the interview. The questions are designed to further investigate every detail of the fidelity and subjectivization processes of the Gezi resistance that could have been enabled. However, as I started to interview and analyze the answers of the participants, three topics have come forward as the most important aspects of the mentioned processes which I think are the key to revealing the subjectivization of the interviewees. These three aspects are: The interviewees' previous experiences and the changes they had observed and which occurred during the Gezi resistance within the LGBTIQ+ movement; the effects of Gezi resistance on the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey in terms of the new collaborations and the visibility of LGBTIQ+ community and the movement; the probable changes emerged with the newly occurred situation afterwards the resistance and the current situation of the LGBTIQ+ movement together with the effects of Gezi resistance.

Furthermore, during the interviews, one answer unfolded another, thus the interviews conveyed in their flow with possible minimum interruptions on the stream of thought of the participants. As a result, as presented below, instead of trying to get answers for every question, getting answers which point to the event and subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people were found sufficient.

In addition, the profiles of the participants will not be presented since the education, employment, and socioeconomic statuses or the age and gender segregation of the participants are irrelevant to the results.[52]

Finally, at the beginning of the interviews I briefly explained the thesis subject and how will the findings of the interviews contribute to the thesis. All the interviews were held online via Zoom and lasted between 60-90 minutes. The interviews were held in Turkish and I translated the answers myself. I took notes and recorded the interviews for transcription with the written consent of the participants.

4.2.Limitations

First of all, I would like to remark that because a long time has passed since the Gezi protests took place, I had difficulty in reaching individuals who have been engaged with the LGBTIQ+ organizations and formations before, during and after the Gezi resistance. Although I got in contact with all active LGBTIQ+ associations and organizations, I received mostly negative responses alongside the promises of disseminating my request. However, through the dissemination of my request by the associations and organizations that I have contacted, I got only a few responses from the people whose profiles were not sought-after. In addition, the main reason why associations and organizations refused to support this thesis was the large number of similar requests they received, thus the research fatigue[53]. Therefore, I reached a limited number of participants through my own social network. Thus, even though the original number of interviews targeted was between 10 and 12, it had to remain limited to 5. However, I think that this limitation did not affect the findings of this study because the section these participants represent were sufficient for the interpretation.

[52] It should be underlined that presenting the statuses or segregation would be significate and be consequential for other studies, but it was not required to be presented here as it would not make a difference from Badiouan point of view in terms of the findings of this study.

[53] I would like to thank Assist. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Barış Kuymulu, who was the head of the examining committee, for introducing the term research fatigue.

4.3.Findings and Their Interpretations

As stated above, even though I prepared twenty-two questions that were all chasing a particular detail of the Gezi resistance which would correspond to the different aspects of event theory and subjectivization process, the answers of the participants concentrated on three main aspects. Therefore, I will present the answers of the interviewees which remarks each aspect separately and analyze the findings according to these three aspects with references to the Badiouan ontology as well as the political interpretation of it.

4.3.1. The Situation of the LGBTIQ+ Movement Before and During the Gezi Resistance

The remarks of the interviewees on the first aspect which reveal their previous experiences, and the changes they had observed which occured during the Gezi resistance within the LGBTIQ+ movement are as follows:

The first participant, that will be mentioned as P. I and pronounced as 'they'[54] from now on, have been engaged with *LambdaIstanbul,* an LGBTIQ+ organization based in Istanbul[55], and the Pride Week Committee, an Istanbul-based formation, that undertakes the organization of pride week events including the awareness-raising activities, conferences, meetings, preparation of visibility materials alongside with the pride march. As a long-standing Istanbul-based LGBTIQ+ activist, P. I evaluated the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey before the Gezi Park protests as an escalating movement on the acquirements of the pioneers of the movement. They engaged with *LambdaIstanbul* in 2010 when the organization was targeting 'keeping the place (the office of *LambdaIstanbul*) open' with the aim of welcoming everybody who wants to be a part of the activities of the formation or seeking a place where they can involve without doubts. Moreover, 'keeping the place open' provided a safe space for LGBTIQ+ people where they could be a part of the ongoing discussions on the LGBTIQ+ struggle, and they could socialize without being exposed to judgement because of their sexual orientation and/or identity. P. I also emphasized that nobody

[54] To avoid misgendering the gender-neutral pronoun 'they' is used for each interviewee.

[55] For more information please see: Chapter I, Subtitle 5.

had to come out of the closet to be a part of the organization. They also stated that before the Gezi resistance, the 'Arabic capital *(Arap Sermayesi)*' had started to conquer the Beyoğlu province, which means that the province where the LGBTIQ+ people, leftist groups, and feminists were frequented started to transform.

Moreover, P. I indicated that they think before the Gezi resistance, the government released LGBTIQ+'s hold because they did not take LGBTIQ+ people seriously. According to P. I, the LGBTIQ+ movement during the Gezi resistance was not changed in terms of their own practices within the Park. They stated that "Gezi was already ours (LGBTIQ+'s)", therefore they easily formed "*LGBT Block*" during the resistance which was not established with the involvement of the organizations, it rather formed with individual participation. Moreover, they stated that the office of *LambdaIstanbul* was opened round the clock for the possible arrivals and needs of the protesters during the resistance.

Furthermore, when I questioned what differences they have observed within the LGBTIQ+ movement before and during the resistance, they responded that first of all, they were resisting side by side with the groups that they could not even imagine being together such as the Youth Union of Turkey (*Türkiye Gençlik Birliği, TGB*). Secondly, they stated that as LGBTIQ+ people, they were touring around the park to show their presence. Thirdly, they remarked that people found a ground for collaboration. Fourthly, they indicated that despite the strange glances, their encounter with people outside of the LGBTIQ+ community in the Park was offered an 'open sphere' (i.e., a sphere where they feel free) more than ever, which they also defined as a utopic sphere.

The second participant, who will be mentioned as P. II and pronounced as 'they' from now on, were engaged with several LGBTIQ+ organizations such as *Kaos GL;* Social Policy, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association (*SPoD);* and Red Umbrella Association from 2008 to 2019 while P. II were located in Ankara. P. II evaluated the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey before the Gezi Park protests as a clandestine organization that took place behind closed doors. Moreover, they thought that LGBTIQ+ people were criminalized and had been perceived as if their existence were made up of sexual activity, thus, the visibility of LGBTIQ+ people was low.

On the other hand, P. II stated that the LGBTIQ+ movement gained the support of the society with the Gezi resistance. During the resistance, people and groups that could not be imagined together with each other were side by side. P. II pointed out that, thanks to Gezi, everything became political, and 'we' realized it. According to P. II, this can be interpreted both positively and negatively. On the one hand, it could be interpreted positively, because the Gezi resistance has increased the visibility of LGBTIQ+ people and raised awareness regarding their rights; on the other hand, it could be interpreted negatively because, with this recognition, institutions such as the government in general, and the Directorate of Religious Affairs *(Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı)* in particular have started to show their hatred more openly.

The third participant, that will be mentioned as P. III and pronounced as 'they' from now on, were also engaged with *LambdaIstanbul* as well as the Pride Week Committee. As another long-standing activist P. III evaluated the situation of the LGBTIQ+ movement before the Gezi resistance by claiming that as LGBTIQ+ community, they were already living like in the days of the Gezi resistance. Furthermore, they stated that the LGBTIQ+ movement does not target to seize power, it only aims at achieving the liberation of queers (*lubunyalar*). Besides, the LGBTIQ+ movement was in solidarity with the Kurdish movement, the feminist movement, movements of class struggle, movements related to migration, and so on. Thus, as a movement without a leader and without targeting to seize power, the LGBTIQ+ movement is 'based on practicing how we live together, not how we live under the power of LGBTIQ+ people'.

Furthermore, P. III claimed that the Gezi resistance did not teach something new to the LGBTIQ+ community, they had already known how to be in the action (which means how to protest, and how to resist). In addition, P. III emphasized that the Gezi Park was a queer sphere to be for gays, lesbians, sex workers. According to P. III, Gezi was an abandoned spot in the middle of the Taksim and Beyoğlu.

The fourth participant, that will be mentioned as P. IV and pronounced as 'they' from now on, were also engaged with *LambdaIstanbul* since 2011. As another long-standing activist, P. IV stated that the beginning of the LGBTIQ+ movement was dating back to the 2000s. First, they stated that the transformation of *LambdaIstanbul* from an

unofficial formation to an official association in 2006 showed that the LGBTIQ+ movement had been transforming into a mass movement. Moreover, they stated that the hearing period of the closure case of *LambdaIstanbul* Association which took place from 2007 to 2008, was a turning point for the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey because it caused a facing outward reaction that transformed the LGBTIQ+ activism from being limited to give on to only LGBTIQ+ community, thus, it revealed the necessity of supporting the LGBTIQ+ struggle as an opponent movement by the opposition in Turkey. Also, they added that the murder case of Ahmet Yıldız, which have been mentioned as the 'first homosexual honor killing in Turkey'[56], who was murdered by his father because of his sexuality in 2008 at the age of 26, together with the case of Halil İbrahim Dinçdağ[57], who was a former football referee and was ostracized from his profession because of his sexuality in 2009, resonated with and drew the attention of the public to the problems that the LGBTIQ+ community in Turkey have been facing. They also indicated that they thought the LGBTIQ+ movement had been becoming stronger and massified gradually starting from 2010 alongside the close collaboration of the feminist movement in Turkey. Moreover, in the spring of 2013, the LGBTIQ+ visibility also appeared during the protests that took place against the destruction of the Emek Movie Theater. In addition, just before the Gezi Park protests had started, LambdaIstanbul organized a picnic at the Gezi Park named "Queer Youth and Sports Picnic" on the 19th of May 2013 with the visibility of LGBTIQ+ flags.

The evaluation of P. IV on the situation of the LGBTIQ+ movement during the Gezi resistance includes the remarks that the LGBTIQ+ community were already strong in terms of public action and the community readily joined the protests in the first two nights with environmental awareness. In the following days of the resistance, they indicated that the resistance was also reviewed as an action of the LGBTIQ+ movement.

[56] Amnesty International. (April 26, 2017). *Ahmet Yıldız Davası.* https://www.amnesty.org.tr/icerik/ahmet-yildiz-davasi

[57] İhlas News Agency. (February 22,2011). *"Eşcinselim Dedi Hayatı Kararı".* https://web.archive.org/web/20140601061531/http://www.sabah.com.tr/Spor/2011/02/22/escinselim_dedi_hayati_karardi

The fifth participant, that will be mentioned as P. V and pronounced as 'they' from now on, were engaged with both Social Policy, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association (*SPoD)* and Pink Life LGBTT Solidarity Association. P. V evaluated the LGBTIQ+ movement before the Gezi resistance as a rising movement that has started to be more visible and more institutionalized in terms of the establishment of LGBTIQ+ associations. Besides, P. V stated that before the Gezi resistance the increase of the visibility of the movement mostly took its source from the neo-liberal policies in implementation in the early 2000s. Moreover, they also thought that even though important steps had been taken within the LGBTIQ+ movement since the 1980s, and there have been thirty years of history of resistance of LGBTIQ+ people, these steps and achievements they brought had not been known and heard, and the movement was perceived as "imported from abroad". Moreover, they added that, in the early years of the movement, it was mostly focused on the right to life and housing rights, however, in the following years, especially in the 2000s, it has been transformed into a movement which both made its presence felt on the streets, and was institutionalized through establishment of the LGBTIQ+ associations, thus it was a cumulative movement.

Furthermore, regarding the changes that occurred during the Gezi resistance within the movement, P. V stated that the achievements that the LGBTIQ+ movement reached until then have been visible with the Gezi resistance, thus both LGBTIQ+ people and the outsiders could have learned the background of the movement. Moreover, the visibility of the movement reached its peak with the Gezi resistance, besides its encounters that occurred with the other mass movements. P. V indicated that they thought a variety of the opponent parts of the society including the feminist movement, white-collars, the leftist movements, Anticapitalist Muslims etc. were present at the Gezi Park, they had to maintain the practices of daily living there together, thus they found a common ground. In addition to the gathering of the poles apart, P. V indicated that the elements of the LGBTIQ+ movement encountered each other as well. They stated that the dominance of the white gays and lesbians within the movement fractured; discussions on the topics such as bisexuality and forced sex workers started through the communication realized among the different parts of the movement which

were distant to each other before the Gezi resistance, thus, the movement evolved into a more integrated structure.

P. I, P. III, and P. IV were engaged with the same LGBTIQ+ organization, *LambdaIstanbul*, and P. I and P. III also were engaged with the Pride Week Committee which is also located in Istanbul, and P. II were engaged with three different organizations - *KaosGL* and Red Umbrella Association are located in Ankara, and Social Policy, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association (*SPoD)* is located in İstanbul- when they were living in Ankara. P. V were engaged with Social Policy, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association (*SPoD)* is located in İstanbul and Pink Life LGBTT Solidarity Association which is located in Ankara. Therefore, their points of view reflected two different experiences in terms of the situation of the LGBTIQ+ movement before the Gezi resistance. The participants located in Istanbul stated that the LGBTIQ+ movement has already started to enhance its capacity in terms of visibility and building a community. However, P. II stated that the LGBTIQ+ movement was not very visible and strong in Ankara. As a result, it can be concluded that the LGBTIQ+ movement was wider, stronger and visible in Istanbul while it was weak and clandestine in Ankara, thus the movement was not able to enhance itself everywhere equally, and its organizational capacity was differentiating. Moreover, the participants commonly stated that they were in close collaboration with the feminist movement before the resistance. On the other hand, their points of view on the changes of the LGBTIQ+ movement which occurred immediately with the emergence of the Gezi resistance are as follows: first of all, all participants stated that the elements of the LGBTIQ+ movement encountered and acted side by side with the groups that they had never thought of the possibility of co-existence, for instance, Anticapitalist Muslims or Youth Union of Turkey (*Türkiye Gençlik Birliği, TGB*). Secondly, based on these encounters that occurred both at the Park and the forums following the days of the resistance, a common, inclusive and affirming sphere was created. Thirdly, as stated above, P. I, P. III, and P. IV indicated that the LGBTIQ+ movement was already strong, thus, the new modes of action and discourse invented or used during the Gezi Park protests were not new to the LGBTIQ+ movement, thus they did not teach anything new to the LGBTIQ+ community. Also, they emphasized that the Gezi Park was already a queer sphere, thus, their presence at the park was

something ordinary. However, as P. V stated, the effects of the resistance evolved the movement within itself through the encounters of the elements of it.

As a result, that can be concluded that before the Gezi resistance, even though the existence of the LGBTIQ+ movement cannot be denied, its form and practices had been differentiating from city to city and from organization to organization. Considering that although the history of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey has been witnessed the efforts of legal and political recognition of LGBTIQ+ people as presented in the first chapter of this thesis, it can still be said that no concrete gain has been achieved in this regard in Turkey today. There have not been any specific legal regulations that entitle the rights of LGBTIQ+ people besides the general regulations which equate all the citizens in the eye of law. However, equality remains in form of law and does not bring actual equality to LGBTIQ+ people. Moreover, formal equality does not prevent discrimination against LGBTIQ+ people, and they are being subject to injustice. Therefore, even though the state formally recognizes their presence, LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey have not been acknowledged, their rights have not been legitimatized, thus they have not been counted as equal members of the society by the state and the society. However, thanks to the Gezi resistance and the opportunities of encounter it created, LGBTIQ+ people had been seen by a larger part of the society. The alienation of their presence has been reversed, and it is admitted by even the groups which were denial to the problems of the LGBTIQ+ community, thus, the perception of the LGBTIQ+ community in the eyes of the multiples was present at the protests incontrovertibly changed with the Gezi resistance. Therefore, as can be derived from the answers of the participants, the connection between the LGBTIQ+ community and the Gezi Park resistance, thus the connection between the multiple of the situation and the name of the event is distinguished by the LGBTIQ+ people.

4.3.2. The Change Emerged: Enhanced Collaboration and Rising Visibility of the LGBTIQ+ Movement

The remarks of the participants on the second aspect which is focused on the effects of Gezi resistance on the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey in terms of the new collaborations and the visibility of the LGBTIQ+ community and the movement:

P. I stated that thanks to the Gezi resistance, as *LambdaIstanbul*, they had the opportunity of gathering and collaborating with the formations and organizations that they had never or barely done before. They collaborated with the elements of urban movement, the ecological movement, and feminist groups as they did before, and with Taksim Solidarity Group, Beyoğlu Urban Defense *(Beyoğlu Kent Savunması)*, Northern Forests Defense *(Kuzey Ormanları Savunması)*, Kurdish and Alevi groups as well as Anticapitalist Muslims, fan groups of football teams, and Turkish Medical Association for the first time. Moreover, in the favor of these encounters and collaborations, in the pride march that took place just after the Gezi resistance in 2013, a record-breaking number of people were present.

P. II indicated that every park in the city (in Istanbul, where P. II were located during the Gezi resistance) became the 'forum park', thus, the issues that had never been discussed before were started to be discussed in the middle of the city. Besides, P. II stated that they thought the Gezi resistance generated new political figures as an answer to the question of the changes of organization of social opposition. Also, according to P. II, the Gezi resistance elevated the rise of the People's Democratic Party *(Halkların Demokratik Partisi, HDP)* which emerged as a powerful political opposition. In addition, they added that the importance of social media has increased, and the necessity of accepting the youth which was the pioneer of the resistance has emerged.

In addition, P. II remarked that the groups encountered in the Gezi Park and at the forums for the first time were distinctively opposite of each other. They indicate that they witnessed the rainbow flag and flag of three crescents *(Üç Hilal Bayrağı)* of Nationalist Movement Party *(Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi, MHP)* were flapping side by side.

P. III also stated that at the pride parade that took place in 2013, in the following period of the Gezi resistance, a record-breaking number of people were present, and it strengthened the spirit of co-existence. Besides, P. III indicated that they attached importance to the support given to the LGBTIQ+ movement by outsiders in terms of forming the line of struggle together which run through the feminist, anti-capitalist, and anti-militarist movements. P. III pointed out that after the Gezi resistance, Sırrı

Süreyya Önder and Sebahat Tuncel visited the *LambdaIstanbul* when they were candidate deputies which can be regarded as the epitome of the alliances established in Gezi resistance and the change of the perception of the LGBTIQ+ movement. Moreover, P. III remarked that as discussed in the forums held after the Gezi resistance, the leftist organizations and political parties such as People's Houses or Community Centers *(Halkevleri)*, The Communist Party of Turkey *(Türkiye Komunist Partisi, TKP)*, Labour Party *(Emek Partisi, EMEP)*; The Republican People's Party *(Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP)* and Freedom and Solidarity Party *(Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi, ÖDP)* formed their LGBTIQ+ Commissions to enhance their knowledge on the sexuality policy, gender, and heterosexism which have been the main aspects of the LGBTIQ+ struggle in Turkey. In addition, P. III stated that as *LambdaIstanbul*, they also contacted the disability rights movement.

On this aspect, P. IV stated that the LGBTIQ+ community gathered together with different groups and movements besides the feminist movement. During the first fifteen days of the resistance, they were in a close encounter with different groups which was inclusive and affirming each other. They stated that they were encountered, contacted even with 'the Soldiers of Mustafa Kemal *(Mustafa Kemal'in Askerleri)*' - which corresponds to the groups mainly formed around the Youth Union of Turkey (*Türkiye Gençlik Birliği, TGB*)-.

When I asked about P. IV's observations on the differences that took place that affect the LGBTIQ+ movement resulting from encounters within the Gezi resistance, they responded that the support and alliance of the outsider groups had started to scale up considering the participation in the Pride March in 2013 and to the other demonstrations such as protests against the hate murders. Moreover, they stated that new spheres for collaboration with the other mass opposition movements were opened up. In addition, due to the changes in the organization and action modes of opposition, P. IV stated that people such as white-collar plaza workers who had never joined the protests or demonstrations were on the streets and started to be a part of the action. Also, citizen journalism emerged through the increasing use of digital media tools such as Twitter. However, the changes in the modes of the opposition did not create a radical

shift in the mobilization of the LGBTIQ+ movement since they were already using some of the 'new' modes.

Furthermore, P. IV stated that the elements of the LGBTIQ+ movement were invited to organizations and events of the formations and organizations outsider of the LGBTIQ+ movement -such as socialist organizations, People's Houses or Community Centers *(Halkevleri),* Anticapitalist Muslims- through their encounters at the forums took place after the resistance. The outsiders also demanded presentations or sessions from the LGBTIQ+ community to enhance their knowledge on the LGBTIQ+ discrimination, basic concepts of the movement etc. Thus, there was a motivation for solidarity and collaboration among these groups and movements. P. IV also mentioned that during the Gezi resistance two different LGBTIQ+ formations appeared with two Facebook groups, one of them was Nationalist LGBT *(Milliyetçi LGBT)* and the other one was *AKLGBT* (a group supporting the government party, *AKP*). These two examples show how the LGBTIQ+ visibility was increased during the Gezi resistance.

In addition, regarding my question which aims at understanding if the Gezi resistance was the enabler of the shift in the collaboration, they replied in the affirmative and put forward that especially in 2013 and 2014 the political atmosphere was centred upon the idea of 'solidarity for opposition' (*muhalefet için [muhalefet olarak] dayanışma*). LGBTIQ+ people were nominated for candidacy in the mayoral elections in 2014, the municipalities started to collaborate with LGBTIQ+ organizations for instance Social Policy, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association (*SPoD).* In addition, they also stated that some of the political parties, such as the People's Democratic Party *(Halkların Demokratik Partisi, HDP)* and The Republican People's Party *(Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP),* were taking LGBTIQ+ candidates in, however, they were using this for propaganda. In addition, the other leftists' organizations that prioritize the class struggle had a protectionist attitude towards the LGBTIQ+ community as if they are weak, which they have been doing to the feminist movement for years. Finally, they stated that the number of participants of the pride march in 2013 was more than the twofold of the previous years, and the alliance was revealed at the pride march held over in the following two years, too.

P. V stated that at the Gezi protests, LGBTIQ+ people, trans people, trans sex workers, white-collar workers, Anti-Capitalist Muslims, atheists, the leftist groups were together as well as the traditional families and groups criticizing the traditional family concept coexisted, thus, groups that seemed like two opposite poles in the intellectual sense were together. In organizational terms, the structures that advocated opposite things left these contradictions aside and came together on a common ground that criticized oppression and the government through as well as discussed the freedom of expression, thus a common ground was created. Moreover, with regards to the LGBTIQ+ movement, people who have never encountered it before were introduced to the reality and magnitude of this movement, thus, something that no one thought existed was there in its entirety. P. V also emphasized that thanks to these encounters, the participation in the pride march this year was at its peak.

Furthermore, P. V stated that, as the general tendency of the outsider organizations especially of the leftist organizations, if there is an LGBTIQ+ person in the organization, this person is considered as the representative of the LGBTIQ+ movement and that the contact between the movements is established through this person. However, the encounters during the Gezi resistance conjured up the necessity for communication and creating a common ground between the LGBTIQ+ movement and other movements at the organizational level.

All the participants emphasized that a new sphere was opened by the Gezi resistance in terms of new collaborations and LGBTIQ+ visibility. Besides the encounters at the Park and forums, the participants stated that concrete steps had been taken towards new collaborations and being in solidarity. It is revealed that, especially through the forums, the elements of the leftist organizations had started to establish their LGBTIQ+ Commissions, as well as the political parties, had tried to contact the LGBTIQ+ organizations, they even nominated LGBTIQ+ candidates for the local elections. Despite P. IV considered these moves were mainly for propaganda, P. I and P. III stated that these organizations and formations genuinely tried to enhance their knowledge on problems of the LGBTIQ+ community as well as the concepts of the LGBTIQ+ struggle. In addition, as the interviewees stated, the number of participants in the pride march in 2013 was the highest number ever. They all associated this

situation with the encounters that occurred at the Gezi Park, thus, the resistance enabled the alliance, solidarity, and support of the outsiders of the LGBTIQ+ community, and so the visibility of LGBTIQ+ people and movement in Turkey has been increased. P. III commented that they attached importance to this support in terms of running a line of struggle together with the other movements.

Considering the people who were present at the Gezi resistance, it could be indicated that, as a multiple whose demands, rights, and choices have been subordinated by the government, thus the state, they all wanted to be seen and heard. They all felt themselves at the edge of the void by the ignorance of the metastructure. Thus, they tried to create a new sphere of politics together with solidarity and collaboration in which everybody was equal and embarked on the common principles, thus, they attempted to rupture the status quo, intervene in the situation. Yet, even though hundreds of thousands of people were present at the resistance and they all tried the rupture the status quo because they were unseen by the state, most of these people were already recognized by the society and the state even though they were affiliated with the 'marginal groups. However, considering the situation of the LGBTIQ+ movement before the Gezi resistance, the case of the LGBTIQ+ community was unique in terms of transforming into a mass movement which's occurrence were noticed by the outsiders as well.

4.3.3. The Trajectory of the LGBTIQ+ Movement under the effects of the Gezi Resistance

The remarks of the participants on the third aspect which is focused on the probable changes that emerged with the newly occurred situation afterwards the resistance and the current situation of the LGBTIQ+ movement together with the effects of Gezi resistance are as follows:

P. I stated that although the individual support of the people organized with the groups which they collaborated during the resistance lasted a bit longer, the alliance of these groups as organization/formation started to diminish in the following years inevitably, despite the efforts of both LGBTIQ+ community and these groups. P. I indicated that this is because, after 2014, most of the political formations had to operate their work as underground activities since there was excessive pressure on these groups especially

on Kurdish formations which were providing safety assistance to LGBTIQ+ protests and actions from time to time. P. I also indicated that afterwards the Gezi resistance, the LGBTIQ+ community focused on developing the modes and the discourses of action as well as producing creative action styles alongside pondering on the civil disobedience to find ways to 'organize the street' *(sokağı örgütlemek)*. Moreover, P. I emphasized that with the decreasing alliance of the groups that they gathered in the aftermaths of the resistance, and with the increasing pressure of the police and the state on the LGBTIQ+ organizations alongside the other political formations, the instant reflections were also diminished. Considering the situation of the country in the following years of the Gezi protests, P. I underlined that today there is resistance in many different spheres, thus, the possibility of encounter is less likely. Moreover, the LGBTIQ+ movement has been facing congestion which causes conflicts within the movement and weakening it which is rooted in the differentiation of the ways of communication and seeking of justice, and in the concerns of some of the LGBTIQ+ associations about the institutionalization. Finally, P. I indicated that they thought due to the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, they could have not met face to face, thus, they could have not argued in a political atmosphere since the sphere of social interaction has not been available. To enhance the LGBTIQ+ movement, P. I suggested the effective use of social media and turning back to Taksim, where LGBTIQ+ people who are based in Istanbul gather together for protests, or for pleasure at the bars, cafes, etc.

According to P. II, the miraculous encounter realized with the Gezi resistance had not lasted for a long time. The groups who see themselves outside of the LGBTIQ+ struggle, have not embraced the LGBTIQ+ movement as their own struggle. Moreover, P. II claimed that the focus of the sensitivity of people shifted on mainstream issues that people easily can internalize. P. II stated that they thought the alliance of the groups outside of the LGBTIQ+ community and LGBTIQ+ people had decreased over time. The Gezi resistance was the peak point of the acceptance of LGBTIQ+ people, however, it is at its lowest ebb nowadays. Furthermore, they claimed that the government and the conservatives are afraid that people will support the LGBTIQ+ struggle and the existence of LGBTIQ+ people within the society will be normalized, thus they attack directly to the bodies of LGBTIQ+ people -which can

be dominated- by police interventions when LGBTIQ+ people face off with the police alongside the discursive attacks. Despite the attacks aim at weakening the struggle, P. II thought that these pressures will make the movement stronger. They emphasized that the LGBTIQ+ movement has been more politicized through the Gezi resistance; hence, the opponents have been 'cursing' it, thus, it has been much more politicized. They interpreted the tension between the LGBTIQ+ community and the state as a positive instance. Finally, P. II stated that for the LGBTIQ+ struggle regain the support of the groups outside of their community, the actors of the LGBTIQ+ movement should posit themselves in the middle of the issues that the majority of the population reacts to for increasing the visibility of the community and the movement.

P. III remarked that despite their effects having kept their importance, the connections established with other organizations, movements and political parties with Gezi resistance had not lasted long. Yet, even it was not as much as in 2013, a large number of allies were present at the pride march in 2014 which was the last march that the police did not intervene. In 2015, with the eleventh-hour decision of the governorship of İstanbul, the pride march was banned, the police were present at the İstiklal Street where the march takes place every year and did not allow the demonstrators to walk and intervened to them with tear gas and water cannon. Also, in the second half of 2015, several bombing attacks were realized in different cities of Turkey, the first two attacks directly targeted meetings organized by leftist organizations. The following ones targeted the crowded places of the cities.[58] The attacks spread fear among the organizations and citizens. Therefore, referring to these incidents, P. III stated that many people and organizations abstained to organize any events or meetings, thus, many movements withdrew.

Furthermore, P. III indicated that with the negative impacts of the developments in the country which includes the declaration of the state of emergency[59] and the global

[58] Sol Haber Merkezi. (June 29, 2016). *Suruçtan bu yana canlı bomba katliamları: 250'den fazla ölüm, 1000'den fazla yaralı!* https://haber.sol.org.tr/toplum/suructan-bu-yana-canli-bomba-katliamlari-250den-fazla-olum-1000den-fazla-yarali-160627

[59] İnsan Hakları Derneği. (October 26, 2017). *OHAL'de Türkiye Raporu.* https://haber.sol.org.tr/toplum/suructan-bu-yana-canli-bomba-katliamlari-250den-fazla-olum-1000den-fazla-yarali-160627

Covid-19 pandemic, the visibility of the LGBTIQ+ movements has started to fade away withal on the telecast which signals the hate the sight of LGBTIQ+ people. Moreover, P. III claimed that LGBTIQ+ people have been subjected to criminalization and terror accusations by both the government and Directorate of Religious Affairs *(Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı).* Finally, P. III implied that many LGBTIQ+ people and sex workers have difficulties in employment and housing in Turkey.

On the third aspect, P. IV stated that after the bombing attacks took place, it has begun to be dangerous to organize any kind of meetings, demonstrations, or protests. Moreover, the offices of *KaosGL* and Social Policy, Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation Studies Association (*SPoD)* closed down in 2016 due to the threats they were subjected to. In the same year, the office of *LambdaIstanbul* was closed as well, and the number of participants in the events had started to decrease. Moreover, P. IV indicated they thought the situation of the LGBTIQ+ movement will never be the same as it was in the following one and a half year of the Gezi resistance. Because the LGBTIQ+ movement had lost its visibility due to the current situation of the country as well as the prohibitions on the demonstrations, prevention of the pride marches, thus, people who gathered together at the Gezi Park and made an effort for collaboration should have been aware of each other again, and they should invent solidaristic discourses. Also, P. IV emphasized that to ensure the increase of LGBTIQ+ visibility, and the strength of the movement, above all, the pride parades should have taken place again since the 'street visibility *(sokak görünürlüğü)*' is very important. Even though the small-scale actions have been taking place such as public statements or protests against the hate murders, they have remained limited to local actions. In addition, the presence of the police teams and water cannon vehicles *(TOMA)* at the demonstration spheres also have been a deterrent. Thus, the LGBTIQ+ movement has been becoming less visible and it has been withdrawn.

Furthermore, P. IV responded to the questions on the government's or the state's approach to the LGBTIQ+ movement the after years of Gezi resistance which also affected the current situation of the movement, they stated that the pressure on the LGBTIQ+ movement before the Gezi resistance was mainly based on 'individual pressure *(bireysel baskı)*', as the movement had not been considered as a mass

movement. However, starting from the Gezi resistance, the movement has been started to be perceived as a political mass movement, thus the pressure on it has increased through the inspection of the LGBTIQ+ associations, the statements of the representatives of government against the LGBTIQ+ community, and so on, which correspond that the pressure has been done by the usage of the apparatuses of the state. P. IV also indicated that, although the state has made feel its pressure, they organized 'Queer Olympix'[60] from 2017 to 2019 at different parks in Istanbul and in 2020 they held the event online. Finally, P. IV stated that despite the withdrawing and decreasing visibility of the elements of the LGBTIQ+ movement, it is a fact that the number of people affiliating with LGBTIQ+ organizations and associations has been far more than the numbers of 2015 which mean that the LGBTIQ+ movement has been enhancing its grassroots organizations.

P. V emphasized that although the LGBTIQ+ movement seemed to be supported by the outsiders, thanks to the encounters in the Gezi protests, in fact, their support was still not fully provided. They stated that despite everybody coming to the Park with their own perception including normative approaches, the encounters at the Park was like contracting for a safe space for everyone. However, everybody stretched their own norms but to a certain point, thus, the outsiders continued to approach the LGBTIQ+ movement with hesitations and with a moralist point of view. These normative approaches were stretched in terms of the recognition and visibility of LGBTIQ+ people, however, there was a fear of backlash against all of the protesters during the protests because of any act of LGBTIQ+ people. In addition, P. V claimed that in the following years, the support of outsiders could not have been sustained at the same level, because the quantitative visibility was achieved at the peak of the massified protests organically, so it has not been possible to realize it again. Moreover, P. V indicated that people who do not identify themselves as LGBTIQ+ keep their distance from making an effort on the LGBTIQ+ movement. Moreover, according to P. V, these people are unaware of their privileges, they have the misconception that if they have a privilege, this privilege is given to everyone. Therefore, they do not realize or do not want to be aware of LGBTIQ+ people who experience minority stress and human

[60] Bantmag. (March 25,2019). *Her bedenin olimpiyatları "Queer Olympix", bu yıl 3. kez İstanbul'da.* https://bantmag.com/her-bedenin-olimpiyatlari-queer-olympix-bu-yil-3-kez-istanbulda/

rights violations, or the inequality or discrimination they experience. Because becoming aware means compromising their privileges along with the practice of equalization, and their voices being heard less. However, it would take time for the LGBTIQ+ movement to regain support in the Gezi resistance, because, there is the fear of being equalized and it takes time to come to the point of questioning its privileges. However, P. V thought that it is possible for everyone to come together as it was during Gezi, to question their privileges, to try out equality practices through encountering, to meet again, and to realize the Gezi spirit at the macro level throughout the country. This is possible with the construction of a society that is committed to human rights and based on the law for which both organized and unorganized efforts are required.

Moreover, P. V stated that the LGBTIQ+ movement had been gaining momentum before the Gezi resistance in terms of organized visibility, political organization and institutionalization, and during the resistance, the movement reached its peak in terms of visibility. However, then the movement entered a process that was rapidly losing momentum which was directly connected to the state violence, especially during the state of emergency, restrictions caused pressure on the society. In recent years the government representatives have been constantly producing hate speech and targeting LGBTIQ+ people. However, P. V thought that these targeting and hate speech made the LGBTIQ+ movement more visible. LGBTIQ+ people, who used to be called perverts and naughty people, have started to be referred to as LGBTs, thus, a transformation has been achieved in the discourse as well. Furthermore, they stated that despite all the pressure, and the lack of action on the streets, the LGBTIQ+ movement did not fade away, on the contrary, it got stronger because, in the last few years, the LGBTIQ+ movement has come to a more intersectional point, and contacts and discussions with the feminist movement and the student movement have been continuing, also the increasing use of social media and the internet have been catalysts and functional for the movement to enhance itself.

All participants indicated that with the increasing visibility of the LGBTIQ+ movement, more people started to be interested in the LGBTIQ+ struggle in the aftermaths of the resistance, however, the degree of collaborations and support of the

outsiders that Gezi resistance enabled have started to decrease over time due to several reasons. The common causes of this came forward as follows: First of all, the state's or government's pressure on the organizations which generally perform protests and demonstrations has radically intensified, thus, the police interventions became more violent. Secondly, due to the fear generated after the bombing attacks in the country people had not wanted to be on the streets, especially for the protests which could be considered as "radical demonstrations". Thirdly, especially after the declaration of the state of emergency in 2016, it had been almost impossible to gathered on the streets. Considering all these negative instances that affected the organization of the opposition in Turkey, all movements, organizations, and formations withdrew. The interviewees emphasized that most of the organizations have been gather together in small groups which are limited to their existing elements. Finally, with the emergence of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020, to be organized on the street for a demonstration, and even within the movement for discussing or planning have become impossible. These circumstances caused the absence of social and political interaction. In addition, P. II and P. III stated that LGBTIQ+ people have been subjected to criminalization and terror accusations which also has a harmful effect on the LGBTIQ+ community and the movement.

Furthermore, to elude the above-mentioned circumstances and change the current situation of the movement, P. I suggested that to be more on the streets alongside the effective use of social media to increase the visibility of the LGBTIQ+ movement. P. II suggested that for regaining the support of the outsiders, the actors of the LGBTIQ+ movement should be interested in the concerns of the majority of the population. P. V indicated that the outsiders of the LGBTIQ+ movement and community should be questioning their privileges and making a move towards trying the equality practices which would support the LGBTIQ+ movement in terms of enhancing and reaching a higher level of visibility and recognition.

Considering the increased visibility of the LGBTIQ+ movement during and following the Gezi resistance, it could be remarked that not only LGBTIQ+ people can consider their connection with the event, but every protester who encounters them can. However, by considering the changing political atmosphere of the country, the

increasing pressure of the state and violence of the police, and the bombing attacks, it has not been possible to track the results of the resistance. Every sphere opened by the resistance were closed by the mentioned instances; the movements, organizations and formations withdraw; thus, the effects of the Gezi resistance cannot run their course on the political sphere of the country. However, despite all these, the elements of LGBTIQ+ people confirmed that the effects of the Gezi resistance on the LGBTIQ+ movement are undeniable especially in terms of the change of perception of the movement, LGBTIQ+ people and their demands.

Consequently, the following remarks could be made specific to the subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey in line with the event theory: First, the LGBTIQ+ community corresponded to the void of the existing situation in which they were not counted, represented, or acknowledged. Second, even though their previous efforts within the LGBTIQ+ movement, only happens to occur through the Gezi resistance that they can be equated to the rest of the society both in the eyes of the community and the outsiders. Third, through the encounters and collaborations that emerged thanks to the Gezi resistance, the necessity for a new form of politics and a common ground for the political sphere arose. Finally, the multiples were present at the protests acknowledged that the Gezi resistance was an extraordinary moment, and their intervention ruptured the status quo, thus, they could establish a connection between themselves and the Gezi resistance which corresponds to distinguishing the connection between the multiple at the edge of the void and the event. In the light of what is presented here, it can be said that in terms of subjectivization, the Gezi resistance was an event nominated by its subject as such. The LGBTIQ+ community showed their presence as a multiple who escaped several counting-as-ones, and through the next counting operation, this multiple will be added to the new situation inevitably, thus will be presented.

Finally, the Gezi resistance was a dazzling movement in the sphere it opened with its own spirit and the strength of the opposition it created. However, as stated above, in the aftermath of the resistance, the state pressure started to increase again. Considering with the concepts of the theory of event, the void of the former situation became visible and heard through the resistance, thus the state, the metastructure of the historico-

social situations, had to operate a new counting-as-one through which the emergent multiple, LGBTIQ+ people, identified by the metastructure as deviant and abnormal. As a result of the redefinition by the state, as emergent political subjects, LGBTIQ+ people and organizations started to be targeted by the reactionary discourses and organizations such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria[61]. As an example of the results of the threats targeting LGBTIQ+ people and associations, Kaos GL has had to hide the address information of its office which shows that the threats had to be taken seriously.[62] Therefore, besides all the glorious aspects and effects of the resistance, the state's reaction to them should be had in contemplation as well.

[61] Kaos GL. (2016, April 5). *IŞİD istihbarat belgesi Meclis'e taşındı*. https://kaosgl.org/haber/isid-istihbarat-belgesi-meclisrsquoe-tasindi

[62] I would like to thank Assist. Prof. Dr. Haktan Ural, who was a member of the examining committee, for underlining and reminding this grim reality.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this study, I attempted to interpret the Gezi Park protests/ the Gezi resistance that took place in 2013 and became the most significant protest in Turkish political history, alongside the evaluation of its effects on the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey. I interpreted the Gezi resistance and its effects on the political subjectivization by means of the theory of event which is introduced by Alain Badiou. The theory is based on ontology, thus, purport to be a powerful tool for universally standing interpretation of any ruptures that took place in love, science, art, and politics. Therefore, it provides an opening to alternative interpretations of the resistances, riots and social movements. Moreover, the theory of event enables a new definition of the subject through alternating the modern philosophical approaches of the subject by defining it with special procedures which can only occur through an event. Moreover, to reveal the effects of the Gezi resistance on the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people, I conducted in-depth interviews with individuals who were engaged with the LGBTIQ+ organizations before, during and after the resistance and were present at the Gezi Park protests. The interviews put forward the experiences and perceptions of the interviewees on both the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey including its evolution and the current situation and effects of the Gezi resistance on the trajectory of the movement. Through the concepts of the event theory, this thesis claims that even it is difficult to define the Gezi resistance as an event to the core, its effects on the emergence of the subject are undeniable. The termination and all the outcomes of the Gezi resistance do not correspond to the stipulated patterns of the 'ideal' event, however, it definitely opened a sphere for subjectivization in Turkey with its emergence, structure, form and the objections it voiced.

The first chapter of this study attempted to demonstrate the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement as well as the history of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey to present the stages of development, dynamics and bottlenecks in the trajectory of the movements. While demonstrating the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement, I focused on introducing the individuals, organizations and events that have articulated demands for legal and political inclusion of LGBTIQ+ people, and those have affected the trajectory of the history of the movement. Therefore, I evaluate the stages of development of the transnational movement through four periods that signifies the differences in conjuncture and include important events which resulted in the shifts of the political and legal statuses of LGBTIQ+ people. The first period, entitled The Early Homosexual Movement: Emergence of the LGBTIQ+ Movement covers the period from the 19th century to the early 1950s. In this section, I exposed the first reactions against the sodomy laws sparkled through the political and legal struggle of homosexuals in this period as well as a short trajectory of scientific works which introduced new terms for homosexuality and changed the perception of homosexuals. However, since the main objective of this chapter is to reveal the political aspect of the movement, I gave wider coverage to the political aspects of history. I presented the first organized political efforts put by The Scientific Humanitarian Committee which was formed by Magnus Hirschfeld in Germany with the aims of fighting against legislative oppression on homosexual acts, attracting homosexuals' attention on fighting for their rights, and "enlightening public opinion on homosexuality" (Lauritsen, 1974). The Committee started a petition campaign in 1897 against Paragraph 175, which prohibits homosexual acts, through which the committee succeeded in catapulting gay rights into German discourse, as well as into many other European countries' discourse because the Committee expanded internationally through its members and chapters. Thus, from this point of view, the Committee was the first political organization that started the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement. The second period, entitled The Homophile Movement, covers the period from the early 1950s to 1969. Even though homosexuals were perceived as a security threat and potential occasion of corruption in the Cold War atmosphere, and they were dismissed from government jobs and labelled as mentally unbalanced by the American Psychiatric Association, many organizations and events took place in this period. Alongside the newly formed or reactivated

formations and organizations, the emergence of the discourses and legal frameworks protecting human rights also shaped and strengthened the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement. I presented these organizations and formations together with their efforts on expanding the movement in this section. In the following section entitled The Stonewall Era: Gay Liberation Movement, I mainly focused on the groundbreaking Stonewall events which radically changed the trajectory of transnational LGBTIQ+ history. Besides its historical significance for LGBTIQ+ history, it also showed the power of the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s which rose in Europe and the U.S because these movements enabled the occurrence of the Stonewall events where many people resisted the police interventions. The Stonewall events were also one of the most important moments in the history of the transnational movement in terms of the visibility of LGBTIQ+ people which dramatically increased. In the fourth section of the second chapter, entitled Post Stonewall Era: LGBT Rights Movement, I presented the change of the trajectory of the movement due to the AIDS Crises, and briefly mentioned the situation of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement afterwards the crises.

Following the demonstration of the history of the transnational LGBTIQ+ movement, I put forward the history of the LGBTIQ+ Movement in Turkey. Even though the movement has almost 40 years of history in Turkey, it still has not been achieved queer liberation. Despite it has not fully succeeded yet, the struggle in Turkey has a strong background and a powerful resistance culture. The elements of the movement have been trying to institutionalize their formations and organizations alongside the efforts on making the movement and LGBTIQ+ people more visible, eliminating the discrimination that LGBTIQ+ people were exposed to, standing against hate speech and hate murders, and being heard by the political actors. In this section, I showed the trajectory of the struggle in Turkey by presenting the formations, organizations and associations formed, the internal dynamics of the movement, the collaborations made with other elements of opposition in Turkey, and the political and legal struggle of the LGBTIQ+ movement. In my view, these aspects are crucial to comprehend the changes in the movement as well as the transformation of the LGBTIQ+ community through political subjectivization which happened to be possible through the Gezi resistance.

The following chapter of this study presents the theory of event and the Gezi Park resistance. I chose to interpret the Gezi Park protests and their effects on the political subjectivization with the theory of event because I think what happened at the Gezi resistance cannot be fully explained and comprehended with other theories in the literature such as the New Social Movements. In my view, even though the theory of event is fully shaped in ontology, it creates the opportunity for an alternative interpretation of political instances by offering a universal and timeless explanation for the mobilization of the people. Besides, Badiou transforms the modern doctrine of the subject, thus, the political subjectivization processes are enabled through the events that took place in the political sphere.

Before demonstrating the main concepts of the theory of event which are being, truth and subject, I briefly explained why Badiou introduced this theory. I excluded the mathematical groundings of his ontology and focused on the philosophical aspects of the theory. To demonstrate the theory and provide the necessary information for the interpretation of the Gezi resistance together with its effect on the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people, I divided this chapter into five sections. In the first three sections, I explained the philosophical aspects and groundings of the concepts of being, event, and truth and subject respectively. In the fourth section, I interpreted the Badiouan ontology and the theory of event with the political terms and instances. In this section, I also demonstrated Badiou's perception of the events that took place in the 20th and 21st centuries. In the fifth section of the third chapter, I presented the background, chronology, and features of the Gezi resistance as well as its interpretation within the scope of the theory of event.

In the first section of the third chapter, I demonstrated the concept of being in Badiouan ontology and argued it considering the political sphere. It should be underlined that the Badiouan ontology presupposes that the One is not and aims to introduce the problem of what-is-not-being-qua-being which is organized around the concepts of truth and subject. Moreover, Badiou indicates that there is no consistency to being since the one is not thus the nothing is, consequently, being qua being is inconsistent multiplicity. In addition, according to Badiou the One solely exists as the counting as one operation which is admitted by the situation. However, by the set theory, Badiou

shows that there will always be a multiple which escapes from the counting as one operation, therefore the second counting as one operation will be necessary to establish the One. The second counting one operation constitutes the structure, however, there will also be another multiple escape from the second counting operation which causes the failure of the One. The escaping multiple is named as the void in Badiouan philosophy, and it corresponds to the uncounted, thus unpresented, and unrepresented multiplicities. From this point of view, the void, the illegal inconsistency of being, corresponds to the parts of the society which are not presented by the state. Their illegality comes from not being defined by the state or included in its classifications. As a result, I concluded that these parts of the society are not recognized by the state and excluded from everything, thus, they will not be at the disposal of the state apparatuses until they are presented and represented. These parts may correspond to the illegal immigrants as well as the minorities in the society like the case of LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey. As I showed with the example on the historico-social situations, and as the truth of the event can only occur in four spheres including politics, the politics is concerned with the efforts of the void, the uncounted, unidentified parts of the society. Thus, the possibility of existence, presentation, and representation of these parts within the state may occur only when an event arises.

To further explain my point and to demonstrate the concepts of the theory of event, in the next sections, I presented what event, truth and subject correspond to in Badiouan ontology. The essence of the event is its creation of the truth, which occurs through a generic procedure, and its correspondence to the creation of a break in the status quo and redefining the society. Through the rupture of the situation, the event is capable to force the representation of the unpresented. Moreover, truth happens to be possible via subjectivization which also corresponds to the occurrence of the void. In addition, subjectivization is a special count which counts as one whatever is connected to the event faithfully, and the subject is the operator of the fidelity of the truth, and it forces the decision for the new situation and qualifies the equality. Considering these connections of the concepts of the theory, I concluded that the Gezi Park resistance purports to be an event. Moreover, the subjectivization of the multiples, which used to be the void of the situation, appears to have emerged.

To further support these assumptions, I demonstrated the political interpretation of the event theory by providing Badiou's perception of the instances that occurred in the last two centuries as well as my interpretation of the Gezi resistance. Through considering the theory of event, Badiou's interpretations on the instances and the trajectory and the features of the Gezi resistance, I reach the conclusion that the Gezi resistance affirms particular aspects of the event, however, not to the core. To further investigate which aspects corresponded to the event I compare the two types of riots which have different features which coincide with the features of the Gezi resistance. The first type of riot is defined as an immediate riot by the Badiou, and it paves the way for a historical riot, which is the second type of riot that I compared to the Gezi resistance. As a result of the investigation of the aspects of the resistance considering two types of riots, as I stated above, I concluded that the Gezi resistance was a rupture in the status quo of the Turkish politics, moreover, it united the many distant parts of the society on common demands such as freedom of expression, the resignation of the Prime Minister and the government, and end of the police violence. Finally, the resistance delivered the potential of creating a new political understanding. Thus, even though the resistance itself was not a historical riot entirely, or the perfect match up to an ideal event, it is not possible to deny its effects which generated the processes of political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people.

In the fourth chapter of this thesis, I presented the findings of the interviews that I conducted with five people to prove my conclusion in terms of the emergence of the subject through the Gezi resistance. In this chapter, I presented the methodology and the limitations of the field study first, then I presented the answers of the interviewees by assessing them according to three main aspects which are occurred when analyzing the answers. These three aspects are derived from the twenty-two questions that I designed to investigate what the assumptions of the event theory corresponded to in the interviewees' perceptions of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey, the effects of the Gezi resistance on the movement, and the changes that occurred through the resistance. The findings show that the Gezi resistance was an event in terms of resulting in the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people. I understand that the Gezi resistance was the peak point of the LGBTIQ+ movement with regard to visibility and recognition. Moreover, the resistance equated LGBTIQ+ people with the rest of the

protesters which was impossible if the resistance did not occur. The resistance opened a common ground, a sphere where discrimination was eliminated. Besides being recognized and visible for a large part of the society, the LGBTIQ+ movement gained the support of a record-breaking number of people which we can understand through the number of participants who were present at the pride march in 2013. Consequently, within the scope of the event theory, the void of the previous situation, LGBTIQ+ people called the Gezi resistance as the groundbreaking point for both the LGBTIQ+ movement and the community, thus, they thought that the rupture took place with the resistance opened up the possibility of equality. Moreover, as the inconsistent multiples, LGBTIQ+ people could imagine a connection between themselves and the intervention they realized with the other protesters. Furthermore, the rupture in the status quo, the sphere opened through the resistance is still a point that everybody wants to return to since the subjects whose political subjectivization was enabled by the effects of the Gezi resistance are still on the verge of the event. In short, in this study, through analyzing the evolution of the LGBTIQ+ movement in Turkey, the trajectory and features of the Gezi resistance alongside the theory of event and its political interpretation, and evaluating different aspects of the resistance by the findings of the interviews, I concluded that the Gezi resistance was a historical riot even though the truth of it cannot be discerned due to the situation of the country afterwards the resistance, it definitely paved the way for the emergence of the political subjectivization of LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey, and it contributed to the enhancement of the movement.

Finally, even though the Gezi resistance was not able to change the political sphere of Turkey entirely, it changed many things for many people. The rupture of the resistance gave hope to countless multiples which were at the edge of the void, it pointed at equality and solidarity among people, and it is etched in our memories and hearts. Therefore, I believe the multiples that were present at the Gezi resistance will remain faithful to it, by their minds and hearts.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
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Sayı:

06 AĞUSTOS 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Reşide Ömür Birler

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız Kıvılcım Kardelen Yok'un "Badiou'cu Perspektiften Gezi Parkı Protestoları ve LGBTİ+ Bireylerinin Siyasal Özneleşmesine Etkisi" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. LGBTİ+ hareketini Gezi hareketi öncesinde nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
2. LGBTİ+ hareketini Gezi hareketi sürecinde nasıl değerlendirirsiniz?
3. LGBTİ+ hareketinde Gezi hareketi öncesi ve Gezi hareketi süreci arasında nasıl farklar gözlemlediniz?
4. Sizce Gezi hareketiyle beraber toplumsal muhalefetin örgütlenme ve eylemliliğinde bir değişiklik oldu mu?
5. Eğer değişiklik olduğunu düşünüyorsanız, sizce bu değişim LGBTİ+ hareketine yansıdı mı?
6. Eğer yansıdığını düşünüyorsanız bu nasıl gerçekleşti?
7. Gezi hareketi sürecinde ve sonrasında birlikte çalıştığınız Sivil Toplum Örgütlerinde bir değişiklik oldu mu?
8. Gezi Hareketiyle beraber, LGBTİ+ hareketinin Gezi hareketi öncesinde angaje olduğu toplumsal muhalefetin dışında kalan aktör ve gruplar tarafından duyulması ve/veya LGBTİ+ hareketinin görünürlüğünün artması söz konusu mu?
9. Eğer söz konusu olduysa, LGBTİ+ mücadelesinin farklı aktör ve gruplarca desteklenmesinin Gezi hareketiyle mümkün olduğu söylenebilir mi?
10. Eğer söylenebilirse, bu destekte boşluklar mevcut muydu? (Aktörler/gruplar, örgütlenme biçimleri vb. anlamında)
11. Gezi hareketi sonrası düzenlenen ilk Onur Yürüyüşü'ne katılımın önceki yıllara göre daha fazla olduğu söylenebilir mi?
12. Onur Yürüyüşü'nün gerçekleştirilebildiği izleyen yıllarda, LGBTİ+ hareketiyle Gezi sürecinde angaje olmuş aktör ve gruplar tarafından yürüyüşe katılım ve LGBTİ+ mücadelesine destek devam etti mi?
13. Eğer bu kesimlerce destek devam ettiyse sizce neden etti?
14. Desteğin devam etmediğini düşünüyorsanız, bunun nedeni ne olabilir? LGBTİ+ hareketinin unsurları bu anlamda kendini sorguluyor mu?

15. Desteğin devam etmediğini düşünüyorsanız, LGBTİ+ hareketinin Gezi süreci ve sonrasındaki gibi toplumsal muhalefet desteğini yeniden sağlaması mümkün olabilir mi?
16. Mümkün olabileceğini düşünüyorsanız, sizce bunun için neler yapılabilir?
17. Türkiye'de LGBTİ+ hareketinin Gezi hareketi öncesi, Gezi hareketi süreci ve Gezi hareketi sonrasında karşılaştığı müdahaleleri nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
18. Gezi Hareketi'yle birlikte, LGBTİ+ muhalefetinin devletin disiplin aygıtlarıyla (polis, jandarma, asker, bekçi) karşılaştığı baskının oranı sizce değişti mi?
19. Bu oran değiştiyse, baskı oranı ile eylemliliğinizin yoğunluğu arasında bir ilgi kuruyor musunuz?
20. Sizin açınızdan Gezi olayları sonrasında, azaldığı söylenebilirse, eylemliliğinizin azalmasında devlet aygıtlarının rolü neydi?
21. Tüm baskılar ve ayrışmalar düşünüldüğünde Gezi hareketinden sonra LGBTİ+ hareketinin zayıfladığı/ sönümlendiği söylenebilir mi?
22. Eğer söylenebilirse sizce bu nasıl gerçekleşti?

C. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez, 2013 yılında meydana gelen ve Türk siyasi tarihinin en önemli direnişlerinden biri olan Gezi Parkı protestolarını çağdaş Fransız düşünür Alain Badiou tarafından ortaya konulan olay teorisi kapsamında inceleyerek Gezi protestolarının Türkiye'deki LGBTİQ+ bireylerin siyasal özneleşmesine etkisini ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir. Bu amaçla, Gezi protestolarından önce, protestolar sırasında ve protestolardan sonra LGBTİQ+ dernek ve örgütlenmeleriyle angaje olmuş, bunun yanı sıra protestolarda yer almış LGBTİQ+ bireylerle mülakatlar gerçekleştirilmiştir. Mülakatların bulguları olay teorisi kapsamında incelenmiş ve protestoların siyasal özneleşmeye etkileri yorumlanmıştır. Bununla beraber, bu tez, bir sosyal hareket olan Gezi direnişinin Badioucu perspektiften incelenmesi ile olay teorisinin siyasal olayları yorumlama imkanına da katkı sunmayı hedeflemiştir. Bu tez, Badiou tarafından olay teorisi kapsamında öne sürülen tüm kavram ve süreçlere birebir uyum göstermemekle beraber, Gezi direnişinin pek çok yönüyle olay olarak yorumlanabileceği ve direnişin LGBTİQ+ bireylerin siyasal özneleşmesi üzerinde yadsınamaz etkileri olduğunu iddia etmektedir.

Alain Badiou'nun 1988 yılında yayınlanan *L'Être et l'Événement* (Varlık ve Olay) kitabında ortaya konulmuş olan olay teorisi[63], bu tezde incelenen direniş ve direnişin siyasal özneleşme üzerindeki etkilerini yorumlamak için uygun bir teorik çerçeve sunmaktadır, çünkü bu teori sosyal hareketler literatüründe yer almamasına karşın literatürde Gezi direnişini yorumlamak için araçsallaştırılan teorilerin (Yeni Sosyal Hareketler, Kent Hareketleri, Ekolojik Hareketler vb.) imkanlarını aşarak neredeyse evrensel ve zamansız olarak nitelendirilebilecek bir açıklama ortaya koyabilme potansiyeline sahiptir.

Bu çalışmanın ilk bölümü LGBTİQ+ bireylerin politik özneleşme süreçlerinin tarihsel bir incelemesini ortaya koymak üzere ulus aşırı LGBTİQ+ tarihini ve Türkiye'deki

[63] Badiou, A. (2005). *Being and Event.* Continuum.

LGBTİQ+ tarihini tanıtmaktadır. Ulus aşırı LGBTİQ+ tarihi incelenirken bireylerin politik ve yasal talepleri, görünürlük mücadeleleri ve ulus aşırı örgütlenme süreçlerini kapsayan bir inceleme ortaya konmakta ve bireylerin toplumsal düzende siyasal ve yasal içerilme süreçlerinin gelişimine yer verilmektedir. Ulus aşırı LGBTİQ+ hareketi, tarihsel dinamikleri ile, LGBTİQ+ bireylerin politik ve yasal kazanımlar elde etmesine katkı sunan kişiler, organizasyonlar ve olaylar göz önünde bulundurularak dört dönemde ve alt başlıkta incelenmiştir. *Erken Eşcinsel Hareketi: LGBTIQ+ Hareketinin Doğuşu* başlıklı dönem, 19. Yüzyıl'dan başlayarak 1950'lerin başına kadar olan süreci ele almaktadır. Bu dönem, pejoratif olarak homoseksüel kavramına karşılık gelen ve sodomi (*sodomy*) kanunları veya sodomi karşıtı kanunlar olarak tanımlanan ve aynı cins arasındaki ilişki ve cinsel aktiviteleri yasaklayan[64] yasal düzenlemelere karşı ortaya çıkan tepkileri ve bu tepkilerin doğurduğu siyasal ve yasal mücadeleleri ele almaktadır. Bu dönem aynı zamanda eşcinselliğe olan olumsuz bakış açısını değiştirmek adına eşcinselliği tanımlamak için yeni kavramların üretildiği bilimsel çalışmaların da ortaya çıktığı bir dönemdir. Bununla beraber, bu dönemde ilk ulus aşırı siyasal örgütlenmeyi sağlayan Bilimsel-İnsani Yardım Komitesi, Magnus Hirschfield tarafından, eşcinsel eylemlerin üzerindeki hukuki baskıya karşı mücadele etmek, eşcinselleri hakları için mücadeleye davet etmek ve kamuoyunu eşcinsellik hakkında bilgilendirmek amacıyla 1897'de Almanya'da kurulmuştur.[65] Komite, kurulduğu yıl Prusya yasalarında yer alan ve eşcinsel eylemleri yasaklayan 175. Paragraf'a karşı bir imza kampanyası başlatarak Almanya'da eşcinsel haklarının söylem haline gelmesine katkı sunmuştur. Bununla beraber, zaman içinde farklı ülkelerden üyeleri olan ve pek çok Avrupa ülkesinde şubeler açmaya başlayan Komite, yukarıda belirtilen amaçları ve Almanya dışında da yürüttüğü imza kampanyası sayesinde pek çok ülkede eşcinsel hakları konusunu görünür kılan ilk ulus aşırı politik LGBTİQ+ örgütlenmesi olmuştur. *Homofil Hareketi* başlığıyla incelenen ikinci dönem 1950'lerin başı ile 1969 yılına kadar olan süreci ele almaktadır. Bu dönemde, Soğuk Savaş atmosferinin etkisiyle ve komünizm 'tehlikesi' nedeniyle, bu zamana

[64] Belmonte, L.A. (2021). *The International LGBT Rights Movement: a history.* Bloomsbury Academic.

[65] Lauritsen, J., & Thorstad, D. (1974). *The Early Homosexual Rights Movement (1864-1935)* (First Edition). Times Change Press.

kadar sapkın ve ahlaksız olarak tanımlanan eşcinseller ulusal güvenlik tehdidi olarak da görülmeye başlamıştır. Bu nedenle, çok sayıda eşcinsel kamu görevlerinden ihraç edilmiştir. Buna ek olarak, 1952[66] yılında Amerikan Psikiyatri Derneği tarafından eşcinselliğin bir kişilik bozukluğu olarak tanımlanması eşcinsellerin akli dengesi bozuk olarak da yaftalanmasına yol açmıştır. Her ne kadar bu gelişmeler eşcinsel görünürlüğü açısından olumsuz sonuçlar doğursa da bu dönemde insan haklarıyla ilgili söylemlerin ve insan haklarını koruyacak yasal çerçevelerin ortaya çıkması ile yeni eşcinsel örgütlerin kurulması ve var olan organizasyonların savaş sonrası tekrar faaliyetlerine başlamasıyla ulus aşırı LGBTİQ+ hareketi yeniden şekillenmiş ve güç kazanmaya başlamıştır. Takip eden dönem, *Stonewall Dönemi: Eşcinsel Özgürlük Hareketi* olarak adlandırılmış ve ulus aşırı LGBTİQ+ hareketinin gidişatında bir dönüm noktası yaratan Stonewall Ayaklanması incelenmiştir. Stonewall ayaklanması, özellikle Vietnam Savaşı'nın da etkisiyle çoğunlukla Avrupa ve Amerika'da ortaya çıkmaya başlayan ve çok fazla insanın parçası olduğu çeşitli sosyal hareketlerin ve hak mücadelelerinin sonucunda oluşan atmosferde meydana gelmiş ve bu ayaklanma sayesinde LGBTİQ+ bireylerin görünürlüğü hiç olmadığı kadar artmıştır. Stonewall ayaklanmasını takip eden dönem *Stonewall Sonrası Dönem: LGBT Hakları Hareketi* olarak adlandırılmış ve bu kısımda 1969'dan günümüze kadar olan sürecin kısa bir özeti sunulmuştur. Bu dönemin en önemli yönü, 1980'lerde dünyanın pek çok ülkesinde etkisini gösteren AIDS salgını sürecinde devletlerin LGBTİQ+ bireylere yaklaşımı, AIDS'in eşcinsel hastalığı olarak tanımlanması nedeniyle bu krizin görmezden gelinmesi, ve geç tedavi uygulanması gibi sebeplerle Stonewall ile görünürlük ve güç açısından zirveye ulaşan LGBTİQ+ hareketinin aslında LGBTİQ+ bireylerin en başta sağlık hakkı olmak üzere hala pek çok yasal hakkı elde etme ve ayrımcılığı ortadan kaldırma noktalarında yetersiz kaldığını ortaya koymasıdır. Bu dönemin ardından, LGBTİQ+ hareketi var olma ve görünürlük mücadelesinin yanı sıra medeni hakların elde edilmesi için de önemli bir mücadeleye girmiştir. Ulus aşırı LGBTİQ+ hareketi özellikle Avrupa ülkelerinde ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde oldukça önemli kazanımların ve hakların elde edilmesini sağlamıştır, hala mücadeleye açık alanlar söz konusu olmakla beraber, hareketin ortaya çıktığı ve şekillendiği bu

[66] Belmonte, L.A. (2021). *The International LGBT Rights Movement: a history.* Bloomsbury Academic.

coğrafyalar dünyanın geri kalanına göre LGBTİQ+ hakları açısından oldukça fazla yol kat etmiştir.

Ulus aşırı LGBTİQ+ hareketi tarihi ortaya konduktan sonra, aynı bölümde, Türkiye'deki LGBTİQ+ hareketinin tarihi incelenmiştir. Türkiye'de 1980'lerde ilk nüveleri ortaya çıkan ve zaman içinde oldukça güçlü bir direniş kültürüne sahip olan LGBTİQ+ hareketine yön veren oluşumlar, organizasyonlar ve olaylar aktarılarak hareketin gelişimi incelenmiştir. Bu dönemde LGBTİQ+ hareketinin diğer toplumsal muhalefet örgütlenmeleri ile gerçekleştirmeye çalıştığı iş birlikleri, yasal ve politik mücadeleler önemli kazanımlar sağlamıştır. Bununla beraber, özellikle 2000li yıllarda uygulanan neoliberal politikalar, LGBTİQ+ hareketinin dernekleşme aracılığıyla yasal statü ve görünürlük kazanmasında önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Ancak, kırk yıllık mücadele tarihi ve kazanımlara karşın giderek muhafazakarlaşan ve otoriterleşen Türkiye'de, LGBTİQ+ hareketi tarihi lubunya özgürleşmesine ve yasal olarak tüm hakların elde edilmesine henüz şahit olamamıştır.

Bu çalışmanın üçüncü bölümü, olay teorisinin ve teorinin kavram setinin tanıtılmasına, Badiou'nun 20. Ve 21. Yüzyıllarda meydana gelen politik ve sosyal hareketlere bakış açısının da ortaya konulması ile olay teorisinin siyaset bilimi açısından yorumlanmasına ve Gezi direnişinin tarihi ile olay teorisi kapsamında incelenmesine ayrılmıştır. Yukarıda sözü edilen Varlık ve Olay kitabında Badiou olay teorisini kendi ontolojik yaklaşımını ortaya koymak için kavramsallaştırmıştır. Her ne kadar olay teorisi Badiou tarafından siyasal bir kavramsallaştırma olarak öne sürülmese de teori, siyasal olayları yorumlamak için önemli bir alan açmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, Badiou ontolojik yaklaşımını Cantor'un Küme Teorisi aracılığıyla ortaya koymuştur, ancak bu tez kapsamında olay teorisi incelenirken teorinin matematiksel temelleri dışarıda bırakılmış ve teori felsefi yönüyle ortaya konmuştur. (Osborne, 2007) Son olarak, Badiou bu teori ile özne kavramını siyasal alanda meydana gelen olaylar sonucunda ve siyasal özneleşme süreciyle ortaya çıkan bir unsur olarak tanımlamış ve böylece özne kavramının modern felsefi doktrinini de dönüştürmüştür.

Bu bölüm, Gezi direnişinin tüm yönleriyle incelenmesi ve yorumlanmasına imkan sağlayacak şekilde beş alt başlığa ayrılmıştır. İlk üç alt başlık, olay teorisinin ana unsurları olan varlık, olay, hakikat ve özne kavramlarının felsefi yönleri ve

temellendirmelerini ortaya koymaktadır. Dördüncü alt başlık altında, Badiou'nun ontolojik yaklaşımı ve olay teorisi, siyasal kavramlar ve olaylar aracılığıyla değerlendirilmiştir. Bu kısımda, Badiou'nun 20. Ve 21. Yüzyıllarda meydana gelen siyasal olaylara bakış açısı da sunularak olay teorisinin çerçevesini çizdiği kavramsallaştırmanın siyasal olandaki karşılığı ayrıca incelenmiştir. Son alt başlıkta ise Gezi direnişinin arka planı, kronolojisi ve özellikleri ortaya konulmuş ve direniş olay teorisi ve onun siyasal olana tahvili üzerinden yorumlanmıştır.

Üçüncü bölümün ilk kısmında, Badiou'nun ontolojik yaklaşımında varlık kavramının neye karşılık geldiği ve bu kavramın siyasal olana tahvili ile değerlendirilmesi ortaya konuştur. Badiou'nun ontolojik yaklaşımının ayırıcı yönü Platoncu düşüncenin ortaya çıkışından bu yana *bir* olarak tanımlanan varlığı *bir- olmayan* [çokluk] olarak tanımlamasıdır. Dolayısıyla Badiou varlık olarak varlığın ne olmadığı problemiyle ilgilenir. Bu bakış açısıyla, bir-olmayan varlık olarak varlık tutarsız çokluğu ifade etmektedir. Ayrıca, Badiou'ya göre, Bir olarak varlığın ortaya çıkabilmesi için varlığın durum *(situation)* tarafından bir-olarak-sayılma *(count-as-one)* işlemine tabii tutulması gerekmektedir. Ancak, Badiou küme teorisi aracılığıyla, her bir-olarak-sayma işleminden kaçan bir varlık yani çokluk olacağını ortaya koymuştur. Dolayısıyla, tutarsız çokluk olan varlığın ikinci bir bir-olarak-sayma işlemine tabii tutularak tutarlı hale gelmesi gerekmektedir. Bu ikinci bir-olarak-sayma işlemi yapıyı *(structure)* oluşturmaktadır. Ancak yapı tarafından gerçekleştirilen sayma işleminden de kaçan bir varlık mutlaka olacağı için Bir'e ulaşma çabası başarısızlıkla sonuçlanacaktır. Badiou, bir-olarak-sayma işleminden kaçan bu varlığı, yani tutarsız çokluğu, boşluk *(void)* olarak adlandırmaktadır. Bir'e dahil olmadığı, durum ve yapı tarafından içerilmediği ve onlara ait olmadığı için boşluk her zaman sayılmayan, sunulmayan ve temsil edilemeyen çokluklar olarak karşımıza çıkar. Bu bakış açısıyla, boşluk yani varlığın illegal tutarsızlığı, siyasal olanda toplumun devlet tarafından sunulmayan kısımlarına karşılık gelmektedir. Bu illegallik, yasa dışılık, toplumun sayılmayan kısımlarının devlet tarafından kimlik tanınmaması ve sınıflandırılmamasıyla söz konusu olmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bu kesimler devlet tarafından sayılmadığı için devletin tüm imkan ve araçlarından da dışlanmaktadır. Bu kesimler, toplumdaki kaçak göçmenlere, hakları tanınmayan azınlıklara veya bu tezde öne sürüldüğü gibi Türkiye'de LGBTİQ+ bireylere karşılık gelmektedir. Bununla

beraber olay ve yalnızca olayla yaratılma ihtimali olan hakikat; aşk, sanat, bilim ve siyaset ile ortaya çıkabilmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, siyaset, boşluğun, yani toplumun sayılmayan kısımlarının çabalarının ürünü olarak belirmektedir. Bu kısımların varlığının ispatı, sayılması ve temsil edilmesi ise ancak bir olayın gerçekleşmesi ile mümkün olabilecektir.

Bu nedenle, bölümün ilerleyen kısmında olay, hakikat ve özne kavramları tanıtılarak olay teorisinin çerçevesi ortaya konulmaya devam etmiştir. Olay kavramının özü hakikati yaratabilmesinde yatar. Hakikat ise ancak Badiou'nun jenerik prosedür *(generic procedure)* olarak ifade ettiği süreçler ile yaratılabilir ve bu süreçler ise statükoda kırılma yaratan ve toplumu yeniden tanımlayan bir olayın varlığını zorunlu kılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, olay, statükoda, düzende, siyasal alanda bir kırılma yaratarak sayılmayanların sayılmasını ve temsil edilmesini sağlayabilecek yegane şeydir. Bununla beraber, meydana gelen olayın hakikati yaratabilmesi ancak boşluğun ortaya çıkışını da imleyen özneleşme ile mümkün olacaktır. Özneleşme, olaya sadakat gösteren çoklukların ya da kitlelerin özel bir bir-olarak-sayma işlemine tabi tutulması işlemiyle yeni bir durumun, düzenin ya da siyasetin yaratılması kararını belirleyen ve eşitliği sağlayan öznelerin ortaya çıkmasıdır. Tüm bunlar ışığında düşünüldüğünde, Gezi direnişinin bir olay olarak adlandırılması ve siyasal alanın olaydan önceki halinde sayılmayan kitlelerin özneleşme süreçlerinin ortaya çıktığının söylenmesi mümkün görünmektedir.

Bu yorumu desteklemek ve bölümün ilerleyen kısımlarında olay teorisinin siyasal olana tahvilini değerlendirmek adına, Badiou'nun son iki yüzyılda meydana gelen hareket, direniş ve isyanlara bakış açısı ortaya konulmuş ve Gezi direnişi yorumlanmıştır. Buna ek olarak Badiou'nun bakış açısını ortaya koyarken öne sürdüğü doğrudan ayaklanma *(immediate riot)* ve tarihsel ayaklanma *(historical riot)*[67] kavramlarına yer verilmiştir. Badiou'ya göre, doğrudan ayaklanma en sonunda olayın gerçekleşmesine imkan sunabilecek yegane ayaklanma olan tarihsel ayaklanma önceleyen formudur. Olay teorisinin kavramları ve bu iki ayaklanma türünün tezin bu kısmında öne sürülen özellikleri Gezi direnişinin özellikleriyle karşılaştırıldığında, Gezi direnişinin Türkiye siyasetinin statükosunda kesinlikle bir kırılma yarattığı ve

[67] Badiou, A. (2012). *The Rebirth of History.* (G. Elliot, Trans.) Verso.

toplumun birbirine mesafeli kesimlerini ortak bir paydada buluşturarak ifade özgürlüğü, polis şiddetinin sona ermesi, hükümeti istifaya davet etmek gibi ortak talepleri oluşturmasını sağladığı ve eşitliğe işaret eden yeni bir siyaset anlayışı ve talebi söylenebilir. Badiou'nun siyasal olaylara bakış açısı, bu ayaklanma türleri ve Gezi direnişinin gidişatı ile özellikleri birlikte düşünüldüğünde, Gezi direnişinin, olay teorisinde öne sürülen kavram ve süreçlerle her yönü ve şekliyle tamamen uyumlu olmamakla beraber, teorinin omurgasını oluşturan ve aslında siyasal alanda olayın gerçekleşmesini mümkün kılabilecek tüm yönleriyle olay olarak tanımlanabileceği gözler önüne serilmiştir.

Bununla beraber, Gezi direnişiyle ortaya çıkan LGBTİQ+ bireylerin siyasal özneleşme süreçleri de Gezi direnişinin siyasal sonuçlarının olayın hakikatine ulaşma yolunda yadsınamayacak etkileri olduğu ortaya koymaktadır. Bu iddiayı daha da desteklemek için tezin son bölümü Gezi direnişinde aktif olarak yer alan ve LGBTİQ+ hareketinin parçası olan bireylerle gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine görüşmelerin bulgularının sunulmasına ve değerlendirilmesine ayrılmıştır. Bu bölümde öncelikle, gerçekleştirilen saha çalışmasının metodolojisi ve sınırlılıkları belirtilmiştir. Ardından, toplamda yirmi iki sorudan oluşan görüşmelerin bulguları, görüşmeci cevaplarıyla şekillenmiş olan üç başlık altında toplanarak olay teorisinin siyasal olana tahvili ile Gezi parkı direnişinin LGBTİQ+ bireylerinin siyasal özneleşme süreçlerine etkisi değerlendirilmiştir. Bu üç başlığı oluşturan üç alan sırasıyla LGBTİQ+ hareketinin Gezi direnişi öncesinde ve sürecindeki durumu, Gezi direnişinin hareketin iş birliği kapasitesi ve görünürlüğü konusunda yarattığı değişiklikler ve son olarak hareketin gidişatında Gezi direnişinin etkileriyle meydana gelen değişiklikler ile hareketin bugünkü durumunun değerlendirilmesi olarak öne çıkmıştır. Bulgular, Gezi hareketinin LGBTİQ+ bireylerin siyasal özneleşmesi üzerindeki etkisi açısından bir olay olduğunu göstermektedir. Çünkü, Gezi direnişi sayesinde LGBTİQ+ hareketi ve bireyler hiç olmadıkları kadar görünür ve tanınır hale gelmişlerdir. Bununla beraber, direniş sayesinde LGBTİQ+ bireyler protestocuların tamamıyla eşitlenme imkanı bulmuştur. Ayrıca, Gezi direnişiyle ortaya çıkan ortak payda LGBTİQ+ bireylerin ayrımcılığa maruz kalmadığı bir alan yaratmıştır. Son olarak, toplumun oldukça büyük bir kısmı tarafından tanınmak ve görülmenin yanı sıra, Gezi direnişinden hemen sonra

2013 yılında gerçekleştirilen Onur Yürüyüşü'ne gösterilen rekor sayıda katılımla LGBTİQ+ hareketinin gerçek bir destek kazandığı da ortaya konmuştur.

Bütün bunların ışığında, yukarıda aktarılan yönleri ve olay teorisinin siyasal olana tahviliyle gerçekleştirilen değerlendirmeler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, her ne kadar ülkenin siyasi gündemi Gezi direnişinin sonucunda hakikatin ortaya çıkışının mümkün olup olmayacağını görmemize fırsat vermese de LGBTİQ+ bireylerin siyasal özneleşmesine etkisiyle birlikte değerlendirildiğinde, Gezi direnişinin olayın taşlarını döşeyen ve ona imkan açan tarihi bir ayaklanma olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Gezi direnişi Türkiye siyasetinde radikal bir değişim ortaya çıkarmasa da Türkiye siyasal tarihinde eşi benzeri olmayan, milyonlarca insana başka bir siyasetin mümkün olduğu umudunu veren, eşitliğin ve dayanışmanın sembolü bir olay haline gelmiştir.

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