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Poetic Inquiry Between Arts and Social Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Research and Pedagogical Tool

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ABSTRACT

With the increased need for multiple methods in social sciences that allow a deeper understanding of interdisciplinarity and cross-cultural interactions in research and pedagogic contexts, scholars have started using arts-based methodologies worldwide. Among these, poetic inquiry is one used within art-based research studies (ABR) and is also one of the most convenient and expressive forms. This study aims to offer an extensive introduction to the field of poetic inquiry so as to introduce the concept and its areas of application by drawing upon my own studies as examples for the application of poetic inquiry as a pedagogic research methodology. Within this framework, the study will underline the collaboration between poetic inquiry and anthropology and expand on how ethnographic poetry can be inspirational alongside the poetry of other poets such as ethnographic poets in order to gain insight and deeper meaning in their fields of research. This is the means through which an artistic way of knowing can be acknowledged and honored in the field of social studies. The use of ABR and poetic inquiry can radically change the pedagogy in multidisciplinary classrooms, and this is observable in the ethnic poetry of anthropologists and other social science researchers as well as the poetry of literary scholars.

Keywords: Poetic inquiry, art-based research, poetry, social sciences, pedagogy



Introduction

A new and unique methodological genre that has come up in recent years involves the means of developing different methodological approaches through art-based practices for using arts in educational research, including art-based research (ABR), a/r/tography, arts-informed research, research as practice (and vice versa), practice-led research, and arts-informed practices (Guler, 2017). With the increased need for multiple methods in research and pedagogic contexts allowing a deeper understanding of interdisciplinarity and cross-cultural interactions, scholars have started using art-based methodologies worldwide. Among these, poetic inquiry (PI) is one of the most convenient and expressive forms. PI as a research methodology has been widely used in many academic studies around the world and, as underlined by Sameshima et al. (2017), has become important in foreign academia and been accepted as a way through which one can gather, analyze, and assimilate data to then share research results inter-disciplinarily. However, it has unfortunately not been so extensively used in the Turkish academic literature, because it is a potential asset for many forms of research and teaching methodologies. As an academician, I have realized through my own experience as a poet and language instructor engaging in PI just how the enriching effects of art can be effective in language production and expression and how art can inspire creativity during classroom practices. This study aims to dwell on how such methodologies can be implemented to bring forth different teaching methods and pedagogies in education. As a researcher/teacher and poet who engages in PI, I aim in this study to discuss PI and expand on its different uses in many fields within the social sciences and language studies as well as its definition and possibilities, and offer a Turkish rendition of the term. Drawing from my own research for examples of how producing new art works and also developing new pedagogies in the ESL classroom are possible through the use of PI. Among my research studies into PI, the book translated into English, titled *A Journey with Music into the Depths of Infinity* (Guler, 2017), for which 36 poems engaging in PI were written can be given as an example. Some of these poems were then used in the PI research study delivered at Cambridge University (Kurtulan & Guler, 2019), and in 2020 an article with Emre Baysoy, a photography artist and academician in international studies, in which poems to Baysoy's photographs using PI and art-based research were written and used as our methodology was delivered (Baysoy & Kurtulan, 2020).

Art-Based Research and PI: How Do They Relate to Anthropology?

Introducing and dwelling on PI is important for the purposes of this study. Therefore, to say that art works are used in this context so as to holistically answer research questions would not be remiss. What is more, art-based practices make use of literary forms as well as performative forms such as poetry, music, painting, dance, sculpture, and many more (Leavy, 2017). As one of the tools used in ABR, PI is "a way of knowing through poetic language and devices; metaphor, lyric, rhythm, imagery, emotion, attention, wide-awakeness, opening to the world, self-revelation" (Prendergast, 2009). By definition, art-based research (ABR)

is a transdisciplinary approach researchers use to gather research data in an interdisciplinary context. As such, the pedagogy and research contexts can be said to be applicable to all social sciences, among which anthropology stands out as the one that tends to use this tool the most. Poetry and PI may be truly instrumental in providing insight to scholars of social sciences, and anthropology is the most versatile of these sciences due to its field of study, which namely involves the way people live.

As Prendergast (2009, p. xxi) also underlined, PI is an area of growing interest for art-based qualitative researchers and there are many examples of PI in many areas of the social sciences, such as pedagogy, sociology and anthropology. For instance, the renowned anthropologist Flores (1982) referred to “field poetry,” which he also explained as conducive in his own psychotherapy, describing how much attention was paid to the concrete reality of people’s existence, particular people, and the individual using metaphors, images, and details of a sensual nature to analyze the problems he had set out to investigate. At the end of his endeavors, he underlined how he had finally created a new and deeper perception of his own being.

Cahmann-Taylor and Zang (2020) explained that the turn toward poetry, which is generally referred to as ethnopoetics in anthropology and especially in educational anthropology, has revealed the cultural borders that exist between poetry and prose as well as between scholarship and art. The close relationship PI has with social sciences in general and with the field of anthropology in particular has been emphasized with regard to how anthropology yields many PI practitioners due to ethnographic practices being just as inspired by exceptional literature as they are by distinguished social science texts. In this respect, poetry functions as a tool that particularly helps anthropologists to write by tapping into their insight as to how people live. By means of delving into their own poems and being receptive to those of others, anthropologists can develop and enhance their ethnographic insight.

Anthropology has long used poetry as a method for writing ethnographically, and poetry is more visible now than ever in academic studies. To this end, anthropology can and does make use of poetry to convey insightful ethnographic data within a poetic form. The major problem that anthropology had been facing when representing ethnographic data within poetry was representation and legitimacy, as Maynard and Cahnmann-Taylor (2010, pp. 7-10) pointed out. They further explained that, because the 1980s anthropology was more open to literary theory and forms and ethnographic poetry has become a much more accepted form of representation, a shift occurred, which they underlined by saying that anthropologists have been using more innovative modes and engaging in “powerful and contentious dialogue about the relation of cultural reality to ethnographic expression.” Therefore, Maynard and Cahnmann-Taylor (2010, p. 7) described when an anthropologist uses poetry to express the intricate relationships embedded in human experience by saying, “ethnography meets poetry on the page, infusing anthropological scholarship with the spirit of creative connection.” They further explained that, in this context, anthropology can learn from poetry in order to expand

the many ways in which those with whom they work with are represented and also to create a greater awareness toward how both form and affect can express meaning. In fact, they also underlined how an active involvement in writing poetry and reading it allows ethnographic poets to involve sensual attention and discernment into what they are observing, which in turn enables them to make surprising analytic leaps. The versatility and use of poetic techniques in ethnographic poetic outputs is notable, and the functionality of research poetry in social sciences is more than evident. An ethnographic poet and poetic ethnographer must, according to Maynard and Cahnmann-Taylor, write what one already knows and what one does not yet know. In this respect, anthropologists who engage in ethnographic poetry are like the authors of historical fiction in that they must try to be faithful to the historical experience while at the same time reach beyond it to an equally true and artful reality that enhances literal facts.

After having briefly mentioned the use of poetry in Anthropology, one may rightfully question the relevancy between Anthropology, ethnographic poetry and PI. After all, poetry is already embedded in the discipline of anthropology in one form or another, so what can PI bring to the table and how can it be instrumental within the dynamics of anthropology and ethnic poems? As already mentioned, PI is a methodology that is used in ABR, which encompasses all forms of art-based research. From this perspective, the use of PI as a research tool within anthropological research studies will undoubtedly solidify the position that this discipline holds within social sciences, wherein science appears to be creating a controversial issue as a term, quoting from Carrithers' (1990) article titled "Is Anthropology Art or Science?", where he clarifies the position that anthropology holds within the social sciences by stating that anthropological knowledge has been wrongly thought to lack the absolute certainty which is attributed to natural-scientific knowledge. He then further explained how he relies on the view of modified sociological realism (see also Hacking, 1982, 1983; Harre, 1986; Ziman, 1978), where these writers state that science is a human activity, non-alienable from the world of human practice for it to be able to create an absolute truth, facts, or self-confidence. In the article "Is Anthropology Art or Science" (Carrithers, 1990), many controversial articles sprang up to address Carrithers by discussing the position anthropology holds within the social sciences. No matter what different scholars may claim, alienating anthropology from literature and its various forms is practically impossible due to the process of reading other cultures through their literature and discovering relations between cultures through comparison (Lebkowska, 2012) being what actually nourishes anthropology. In addition, anthropology is not a lesser social science because of its involvement with literary genres in general and poetry in particular. It is actually a very fruitful collaboration that benefits from both disciplines. Literature also flourishes from this collaboration, and this transdisciplinary interaction in fact paves the way for constituting a new research field. As such, the case can definitely be made for the use of PI as an art-based research tool, for as Zani et al. (2019, p. 185) also stated, "Ethnographic poems must not only reveal worlds from our research but also devote careful attention to the craft of poetry itself."

Social sciences have clearly wended their way towards poetry, and as Brady (2000) put it, poetry is what opens up ethnographic inquiry to the whole realm of aesthetics, in addition to ethnographic poetry also being expected to do that while preserving the essence of ethnographic accountability. One way of fortifying ethnographic inquiry within the research field is to link it to PI, because PI has already been acclaimed for being an art-based research methodology within the social sciences. Scientific writing clearly differs from poetry; it is more clinical and does not make use of metaphors or other literary devices when expressing its findings. As Brady also stated, the positivists make use of language that is transparent, while humanists, by which he mainly means poets, openly show their presence both as observers and authors as they express their findings and data in literary form. When one focuses on emotion in the analysis and description of cultural behavior, which is what most evocative anthropologists do, while also “not [being] afraid of privileging feelings as central to understanding cultural meanings” (Skoggard & Waterston, 2015, p. 9), then literature and poetic expression become indispensable tools in conveying the cultural findings that are a part of the ethnographic inquiry process. Within this framework, one would not be remiss to say that anthropology has long used PI as a research methodology; however, its anonymous partner these days has a presence that goes by the name of art-based research methodology, which will continue to aid ethnographic poets, evocative anthropologists, and literary anthropologists in conducting art-based qualitative research and creating new sparks and insights within the field of social sciences.

In order to reach a well-rounded and comprehensive understanding of what PI is and what potential it has, one needs to look into how the terminology and definition came into existence. To do this, my study largely takes inspiration and information from Vincent’s (2018) article, which offers a thorough literature review of PI. In the last decade, PI has emerged as an art-based methodology to be used in research in order to cope with representational difficulties, and as such, PI has also gained acceptance in the field of qualitative research. Although the use of poetry and poetic analysis has always been extensive, PI has emerged more recently as a term with a clear-cut definition of what it actually is. As Hanauer (2010, as cited in Vincent, 2018, p. 75) argued, poetry has been used for interpreting and reinterpreting existing data, as well as for collecting data and field notes. According to Prendergast (2006), however, poetry has its roots in oral art and as such is rooted in the sense of voice, with poetry that has been created for research being a performative act.

Because poetry is a performative artwork, using the concept of voice (*vox*) to place most studies within three categories was possible (Prendergast, 2009, 2015). Prendergast expanded this concept and developed it into five *vox* categories: *Vox theoria/vox poetica* involves poems about the self. *Vox justitia* categorizes poems about equality, freedom, and social justice. The third category is *vox identitatis*, in which the poetry explores gender, self, race, and sexuality. The fourth category is *vox custodia*, which involves poetry about caring, nursing, caregiving, and patients’ experiences. The fifth *vox* is *vox procreator*, in which poems take on themes involving parenting, family, and religion (Prendergast, 2009). In her most recent

study, Prendergast (2020, p. 31) further identified two more *vozes*, which emerged from the work of Carl Leggo: *Vox Veritas* and *Vox Cupio*. With such a potential PI has offered enabling researchers to use poems as data within qualitative research, PI speedily began to be used in a multitude of studies, because it allows different perspectives to be considered using poetry and critical analysis (Vincent, 2018). Other noteworthy scholars are also found who touched upon poetry as a method for analyzing data. Expanding on each of these scholars' valuable contributions is not possible here; however, they can be briefly listed for their contributions in the use and production of poetic transcription, cluster poems, found poems, and research poems (see Butler-Kisbe, 2002; Carroll et al., 2011; Faulkner, 2010; Glesne, 1997; Leggo, 2005, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2018a, 2018b; MacKenzie-Dawson, 2018; Owton, 2017; Prendergast, 2004, 2006, 2015; Rajabali, 2017; Richardson, 1992; Vincent 2018).

PI can be seen in a variety of fields such as sociology, psychology, organizational research, music therapy and education as a very versatile qualitative research methodology (Vincent, 2018). All these studies are reflective of how versatile poetry can be as a tool used in qualitative research. Moreover, as Vincent also underlined in his study, many of the theories, studies, and explorations that use poetry have parallels to the work done by art-based researchers in education. The work of Butler-Kisber, Leggo, and Prendergast can be said to have played a significant role in PI being identified with education. Leggo's work has made significant contributions to the literature around PI and has been cited in a variety of studies that employ poetry (Lahman et al., 2011; Prendergast, 2009). Another one of the most valuable contributions exemplifying the use of PI in education is given by Furman (2014) in relation to the use of poetry in his freshman course at the University of Washington Tacoma. Using experimental methods, he let his students learn about the ways in which poetry could be used non-literarily; in this way, students also learned how to develop new ways of communication and analytical skills. With all of these invaluable contributors actively producing a sustainable theoretical framework upon which to base the uses of PI in the field of education, the impact of PI can be seen to have not limited itself to research carried out in regard to practices but to have also extended itself to exploring how to develop curriculum with it (Vincent, 2018). With the same perspective, Leggo (2008) also stated his devotion to the exploration of the intersections that exist between creative practices and critical pedagogy. He expressed his desire to dwell on the spaces of binary oppositions so that metaphors from one vertex to another may be built like bridges.

This section has elaborated on the uses of PI in different fields and how the terminology emerged. Despite the multitude of references that can be given, PI is still a field lacking a uniform definition due to it having a multitude of different names in use, such as poetic transcription, poetic rendering, and poetic representation. However, no matter how many different names it takes, it is a very important asset for art-based researchers and a very valuable methodology that will be used in multiple fields much more extensively in the near future.

Poetic Inquiry in Research and Pedagogic Contexts

As a researcher, poet and English instructor, I have been using PI and art-based research in my own academic studies since 2017. I have used PI to create more engaging learning environments for my students by embedding poetry and PI into my writing tasks and lexis teaching material. The results shown great promise, with students learning with genuine enjoyment and also embracing the artistic quality within themselves when writing poetry as a way to inquire into the texts or other material to which they are exposed.

My first experience with PI began when I was translating *A Journey with Music into the Depths of Infinity* by Guler (2017a), a Turkish academician engaging in a/r/tography, and I started writing poetry to the concepts and paintings in the book. Guler had painted sixty-three pieces to the musical composition “Symbolic Gestures” by Valerie Ross, a Malaysian composer and academician. Guler had analyzed the metaphors and her painting process as well as the concepts that she had derived from her paintings in the book. After the translation was completed, I decided to use my poems as research data, and I prepared my research using PI. The article titled “Transformative Roles of Music, Painting and Text in Inspiring Poetry” was delivered at the International Conference on Musical Intersections in Practice at Cambridge University (Kurtulan & Guler, 2019). In the article, I dwelled at length on the creative process of the poems and how these poems had revealed and verbalized the embedded meaning of the concepts that were used in Guler’s paintings and book through the use of PI. This article delivery was followed by the premiere performance presenting Guler’s paintings Ross’ music, and my reading of the poems their works had inspired in me, with the violin performance being given by Ting Lan Chen, a renowned academician and performer.

As another instance of how PI can be very rewarding and fruitful in research studies, I would like to finally and briefly mention the art-based research study that Emre Baysoy and I carried out and developed into a poster presentation that we delivered at Oxford University at the International Conference on Poetry Studies: “Poetry Between Creation and Interpretation.” Our presentation was titled “Poetic Voice of Photographs in Art-Based Research Practices: Grasping Life via Photography and Poetry” and involved research carried out using PI where I as the poet responded to Baysoy’s photographs through PI. This study touched upon how fruitful such interdisciplinary studies could be by using poetry as research data through PI (Baysoy & Kurtulan, 2020). This was followed by a very informative and inspiring workshop on creative writing, after which we had the honor to read our poems on the same platform with distinguished poets from all over the globe.

Seeing how fruitful this methodology is and how it can promote interdisciplinarity, my foremost concern in engaging in this study was how this methodology has not been widely applied in social sciences among Turkish scholars. Although ABR has been rendered into Turkish as *sanat temelli araştırma*, PI as a term seems to have no precise Turkish counterpart yet. In the absence of a widely accepted Turkish expression, I prefer to use *şiiysel sorgulama*

and would rather use *sorgulama* over *soruşturma*, although these two words sound similar and may be used interchangeably. As much as it may sound like a personal choice, I have an underlying rationale behind this particular rendition: *sorgulama* implies the infinity of possible interpretations behind questioning, whereas *soruşturma* seems to call for closure.

Apart from being a significant methodological tool in ABR, PI lends itself to pedagogical experiences across various disciplines. To expand on how PI may be applied in teaching/learning environments and the potential it bears pedagogically, I will rely on my first-person experiences as an English as a Second Language (ESL) instructor.

Though no need exists to defend the importance of poetry or how essential it is as a component in forming an ESL curriculum, why poetry has been left in such a peripheral position in this process is hard to comprehend, especially after having experienced the use of poetry in my own studies and seen for myself how students respond vivaciously to it. In some instances where I've tentatively introduced some poems in the classroom and worked on them with the students, they brought forth their own creative sparks and started responding to the poems, interpreting them, and producing their own poetry as an analysis of what they'd felt from the poems. The students' use of Butler-Kisber's (2010) conceptualizations of found poetry and generated poetry to gain insights into and represent their work brought forth brilliant results. The only glitch here is how ESL teachers approach poetry in class. Typical approaches have not and will not work; introducing a poem to students, giving information about the poet, and touching upon some formal properties of the poem leave little to the imagination and nothing to interpretation. This is not to say that students shouldn't be given some basic information about things such as difficult words or some references as needed. PI is what allows students to form a dialogue with the poem they are reading because they respond to it with the poetry they produce as a response to what that poem has evoked in them. This is how they grasp the poem they've read and how the metaphors, imagery, rhyme, and rhythm of the poem comes alive in the students. Basically, one can expect poetry and PI to ignite the creative spark in both the ESL teacher and students, evoke poetry or interpretation as a response, and enhance students' enjoyment and learning capacity in ESL classes. Another way in which students can create PI is through self-narratives, where students go into a self-revelatory inquiry with their poem, and classmates and the teacher getting to know each other in depth also enhances the learning process in the classroom. Because teachers will also be learning from the poetry of their students in this way, new pedagogical identities will form in which students become the teachers and the teacher becomes the student. PI as a methodology can also be seen as a bridge that connects teachers' love of poetry with their teaching methodology.

At this point, just because PI is used as a methodology should importantly be noted to not actually eradicate students' freedom of mind and expression but to instead encourage these. Granting students this time and space for free expression without concern for grammatical rules is what renders this process so fruitful and rewarding. As Hirshfield (2010) also stated,

students can remember that the purpose of language, be it written or spoken, is to express and comprehend and then be understood in return. Rules exist that do need to be learned, but free writing time also allows students to comprehend that these rules exist to serve them, and not the other way around.

Hirshfield (2010) listed three keys to teaching and using poetry in the classroom, which can be summarized as 1) the instructor's own passion toward poetry, which is pivotal for paving the way to imagination; 2) freedom of mind for both parties (i.e., teachers and students), which allows students to explore multi-directionally without being pressured about grades, conventions, or preset rules; and 3) the invitation to write, which can be explained as the creative and innovative ways in which students can be invited to write poems by offering them guidelines through which their creativity may bloom.

This article illustrates how PI can contribute to teaching and learning, so to say that I find these guidelines very inspiring and useful as facilitators in designing and planning curriculum and pedagogical identities stands to reason. Self-study and PI are very powerful in the revitalization and reformulation of ESL classroom dynamics and learning experiences, both as teacher-students and as student-teachers. So, when looking at PI as a classroom pedagogy, Wiebe (2010) also stated poetic engagement in every aspect is like a translation of the experience, and usually the translation is of the inner and unseen experience. He further claimed linking PI with *a/r/tography* (another art-based research methodology) to be possible because “when engaged poetically in the classroom, students find links, make connections, and develop ideas through ‘multiple artful means’” (Wiebe et al., 2007, p. 6).

Since 2017, my views on how to teach language and creative writing have changed dramatically, and I am looking forward to implementing a more liberal, inspirational, and evocative pedagogy in my ESL classes in the future. This shift is based on going from a largely structural understanding of language that is taught using mostly standardized texts and bound by the constraints of a curriculum that can only give the grammatical structure of the language to a curriculum where art-based forms of expressions are welcomed as learning opportunities and where PI plays a very important role in the pedagogy of the ESL classroom. In fact, according to Hong Chen (2009) poetry is instrumental in promoting the diversity of cultural and linguistic experiences and, through this poetry, provides the opportunity to experience language on an emotional and spiritual level. This deepens the linguistic and cultural understanding of learners, as well as their literacy. In this respect, a reader who reads foreign poetic texts will interact with the culture of the target language through their personal experiences with the texts. Overall, this experience allows foreign language learners to inhabit different identities and invest themselves in other kinds of being.

My intention is not to say that the structural component of the language is not to be considered or taught but that it is to be taught with a fresh perspective using more art-based methods. As Hanauer (2011) also stated, the aim is to place the living, thinking, and feeling

person to the center of the language learning process in addition to offering a solid and accessible methodology for use in the classroom, thus attaining the purpose of learning languages, which is to facilitate making personally meaningful expressions. Hanauer also has theoretical aims, as he wishes to shift the focus of SFL pedagogy from a decontextualized and managerial learning experience to one where attaining an understanding of a historically placed human being is centrally situated within the language learning process.

Hanauer (2003) proposed four principles for ESL writing instruction: autobiographical writing, emotional writing, personal insight, and authentic public access. He also underlined how ESL or EFL instruction that is based on these principles brings forth a distinct human experience. According to him these principles have the aim of repositioning and recontextualizing language teaching. As an example of his approach, he gives a poem written by a female student in his ESL introductory college writing class. He stated how he views poetry writing as one way of manifesting meaningful literary instruction in the language classroom (Hanauer, 2012), and as a follow up shares the student's poem, which he then analyzes. He states how this poem presents a deeply personal, sincere, and emotional rendering of a very meaningful moment in the student's life. This is not just a poem written as classwork or to get a grade but is actually a meaningful literary work wherein the student uses the ESL poem as a resource through which she constructs and explores her deepest thoughts and experiences.

I chose to share Hanauer's (2012) example to expand on the pedagogy of poetry writing in ESL classes because it is a perfect instance of how PI operates in the ESL classroom and by way of example I believe that English language instructors shall benefit largely from this in their own language classes because, as Hanauer (p. 110) pointed out, "The core language learning principle in my pedagogical work is that extending language use will result from the true desire for personal expression." Language use and personal expression are the key elements that ignite PI through which students and teachers alike can experience this self-revelatory process, which is important in the desire to extend and use a language in order to express what they see inside. Hanauer (2012) stated how he directs students using an explorative process wherein they delve into their own memories, after which they then express them. The pedagogy at work here is actually very simple and brings forth a poetry writing process as well as a process of self-reflection. According to Hanauer, this makes poetry extremely accessible to all writers. He then expands on what essentially the poems written for class are like, explaining that the type of poetry written in his classes are a visual description of the experiences that had been memorized, with the techniques used in this poetry involving lining and imagery. The aim here is to use the language to show what one experienced in that particular instance. Hanauer referred to poetry as being about demonstrating the experience rather than relating what has happened and that the form of the poem delineates what the reading experience will be like.

As can be seen, Hanauer's observations and the experiences he relates are very important

as guidelines for ESL instructors who wish to use poetry as a language teaching tool in their language classes. Based on these observations and on how he used PI as a methodology in his classes, this study presents the following suggestions:

- I contend that art-based practices in general and PI among these in particular to be invaluable assets in interdisciplinary studies and research. As such, they are very versatile as teaching and learning tools in education as well. Therefore, they should be extensively used to create new pedagogies in class, expand students' creative outputs, and enhance their learning processes by contributing to the enjoyment of ESL classes with their creative and interdisciplinary nature.
- As an instructor of English who also engages in writing poetry, using PI and interpreting poems as a way of understanding herself, her students, and the world, I find it extremely unfortunate that ESL teachers only able to give students the skeleton of the language, its bones, and flesh, its inner organs if you will. Certain things can be done to enhance students' understanding of the language in multiple layers and to also engage them in more creative and therefore more enjoyable forms of learning; thus, I would suggest the use of poetry and PI as active components of language instruction and the integration of poems into ESL classes.

Conclusion

Drawing from the extensive theoretical and demonstrative studies done in the field of PI and ABR, which this research has briefly touched upon, as well as the exemplary studies that have been provided regarding how art-based research and PI can be applied in qualitative research (Baysoy & Kurtulan, 2020; Kurtulan & Baysoy, 2021; Kurtulan & Güler, 2019), this study has aimed to expand on how PI is able to affect and change the pedagogy of language and social science education and how this methodology can constitute a medium for qualitative research within different disciplines such as sociology and anthropology, as well as create new identities based on the pedagogy. Anthropological scholars may be inspired by their ethnographic poetry and that of other poets as a means for gaining insight and deeper meaning in their field of research. This is the how the artistic way of knowing can be acknowledged and honored in the fields of social studies. In this respect the collaboration between anthropology and PI brings forth new ways of knowing in social sciences. The discipline in which this has been used is anthropology, and PI is the new methodology that pushes the boundaries of this social science further.

PI is an invaluable method that can also be used as a type of research methodology and paves the way for self-revelatory experiences and the production of art works in multidisciplinary interactions. Poetry as a genre is also ideal for classroom use because it offers students the means to produce by interpreting poems, not just analytical writings but also their own poems. This is an invaluable asset for language classrooms where student production and contribution can sometimes be scarce, where imagination may be difficult to

elicit, and where enjoyment may seem far from possible when covering the more mechanical parts of a language such as its grammatical structures. However, if one were to encourage the use of the newly acquired items of knowledge in creative writing formats, foremost among these being poetry derived through PI, then students might find the element of enjoyment to be present in their learning and production experience. Therefore, the use of ABR and PI can radically change the pedagogy in multidisciplinary classrooms, among which social sciences stand out alongside ESL classrooms by bringing creativity and more effective learning as their rewards. I strongly believe the poet inside always emerges if given enough time and opportunity for expression, hence one can observe this in the ethnic poetry of anthropologists and other social science researchers in addition to the poetry of literary scholars. This is because by its very nature, poetry and PI gets to the very heart and essence of qualitative methodology more than any other discipline or methodology (McCulliss, 2013). As a final note, I would like to restate the importance of underlining PI's versatility and areas of use as a methodology and to suggest the extensive use thereof in academic art-based studies as well as social sciences.

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The Ethnophotography of Dividedness

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ABSTRACT

The island of Cyprus has been divided for nearly fifty years and islanders build their lives around the concept of division. This research examines how the Green Line, which divides the island into two, affects the lives of the islanders socially and culturally. Especially after the opening of the checkpoints in 2003, particularly the capital Nicosia and the Old Walled City are being reshaped in a multicultural and multi-communal way. In the context, of this study, an ethnographic method was adopted and an analysis formed by ethnographic text and ethnographic photographs was presented to understand and analyze the island's cultural life.

Keywords: Cyprus, Ethnophotography, Dividedness, Nicosia, Peacebuilding



Introduction

*My father says,
Love your homeland
My homeland
Is divided into two.
Which part should I love?
Neşe Yaşın*

This poem by Yaşın (1979) is the beginning of the questioning process for many Cypriots. Cyprus's dividedness is an idea that seeps into every aspect of life on the island. "Which part should I love?" What does look like to live in a country that is divided into two? How does this affect social and cultural life? This research analyses the characteristics of dividedness in social and cultural life in Nicosia, Cyprus.

Walking in the Old Walled City of Nicosia (*Surlarıçi*), one eventually bumps into barbed wires, barrels, and walls. If you want to continue walking, you need to pass the checkpoint, which has evoked different meanings and emotions for the islanders over time, so I ask, how has the line impacted islanders' social and cultural lives? To answer this question, I conducted *ethnophotographic* research in Nicosia (on both sides) (and mostly in the old Walled City) from October 2021 to September 2022.

Ethnophotography refers to the use of photography and ethnography together. More specifically, it indicates the processes of producing and interpreting photography within a cultural context that emerges during ethnographic fieldwork (Kutlu, 2018). Ethnographic photography can be distinguished from ordinary photographic practice in the sense that it is shaped by a set of research questions to provide data for the ethnographic process (Yıldırım, 2014). In this study, I organize the photographs I took during my fieldwork to produce an ethnographic account of dividedness and the peacebuilding process. These photographs of Nicosia depict islanders who live within dividedness. The reader sees the ruins and derelict buildings of the old Walled City, which have become part of the cityscape, and is invited to consider these within the cultural context of divided Nicosia.

Seeking answers to anthropological questions, ethnography -due to the nature of cultural life- cannot be carried out solely through the collection and analysis of verbal data. In this fieldwork, I explore the dividedness of Nicosia by paying equal attention to visual and verbal narratives. By doing so, I intend to fill a gap in the literature on Cyprus, as only a few studies use visual representations to describe the socio-cultural implications of the division and peacebuilding process. During my fieldwork, I participated in multi-communal events, mostly in the Buffer Zone. These events were organized to bring the two communities on

either side of the island together and were social, cultural, political, or academic activities built around peacebuilding.

While choosing my interviewees, I focused on people's distance to the checkpoints or their perspectives on them. I searched for people who regularly crossed the checkpoints or worked in the Buffer Zone. I talked to peace activists who think and act upon the idea of "division," shopkeepers (whose shops are near the checkpoints), and soldiers who served along the "border." I met with people who created small (not only bi-communal but) multi-communal groups/social bubbles in the Walled City (or in the Buffer Zone) and that regularly come together. I was curious about the effects of dividedness on social and cultural life in Nicosia. What are the meanings attached to the state of dividedness for islanders? How do they experience division? What do people do to "cross the lines" in both literal and metaphoric ways?

In this research, I want to not only answer these meanings behind the behaviours of crossing the line but also focus the reader's attention on the importance of the term peace (building) in Cyprus. Peace is key a concept, not only for this research but also for "the Cyprus Problem." For some people, peace came to the island on the 20th of July 1974 with the Turkish army's intervention, which is referred to as the "Cyprus Peace Operation" (in Turkish *Mutlu Barış Harekati*). For others, peace is a political and humanistic necessity that needs to be constituted in Cyprus. According to Novosseloff, "the presence of UNFICYP (United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus) and its prevention role has made people forget that no cease-fire agreement exists between the parties or the belligerents on the island" (Novosseloff, 2021, p. 16) and this situation might be seen as some kind of peace in daily life. Therefore, there are different political attitudes around the concept of peace. These attitudes are directly related to numerous concepts like identity, politics, ethnicity, nationalism, borders, collective traumas, nostalgia, performativity, and more.

Ethnographic Intentions with Photographic Expressions

During my fieldwork, I collected my ethnographic data by walking and taking pictures around the streets of Nicosia with my camera around my neck. The research process has been instructive for me both in taking ethnographic photographs of the division and peacebuilding processes in Cyprus and as well as conveying them with an ethnographic concern. The image of an ethnographer with a camera around their neck is a common sight in anthropology. Anthropology and photography appeared at nearly the same time, so these two have developed in parallel to one another since "using photography during ethnographic fieldwork is not new. As a result of the rapid developments in imaging technology following the discovery of photography, since the 19th century, ethnographers have worked in ethnographic research to record images of cultures" (Kutlu, 2018, p. 252). With the invention of the camera, photography has become an indispensable part of producing visual documents for researchers working on the "Other" far away from home. Visual anthropology, the field

relating to this research method and theory, is defined as “the anthropology of visual systems, or more broadly, visible cultural forms” (Morphy & Banks, 1997, p. 5). When we look at the pioneering works of visual anthropology, we come across some studies in which photography was used extensively.

The Torres Straits expedition (1888-89) is a milestone that “marks the symbolic birth of modern anthropology” (Grimshaw, 2001, p. 15). Cambridge scientists (Haddon, Rivers, Myers, McDougall, Seligman, and Ray) spent almost eight months in various Torres Strait islands conducting tests, interviewing natives, and collecting information on local customs and practices. The research was later published in six volumes edited by Haddon. What is most “striking” to Grimshaw within these volumes is the “visual quality of the Torres Strait’s ethnography” through the abundance of “photographs, native drawings, and other visual materials as important counterparts to written text” (Grimshaw, 2001, p. 20). In the following years, the researchers’ process of producing visual documents continued. The publishing of Malinowski’s *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, Radcliffe-Brown’s *Andaman Islanders*, and Robert Flaherty’s *Nanook of the North* in 1922 “made this year a kind of turning point for ethnography” (Yıldırım, 2013, p. 118). Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson’s fieldwork in Bali (1936-1938) was another significant research for the relationship between photography and anthropology. They used photography systematically as a primary data recording tool (Brigard, 1995, p. 26; Yıldırım, 2013, p. 116; Yavuz, 2020, pp. 131-132). When we look at all this research, we see that photography is positioned more and more centrally in the fieldwork and in reshaping it. Of course, the importance and meaning of visuals in anthropology are not limited to these studies, because “the visual is such an important component of human cultural, cognitive and perceptual processes, that it can be relevant to all areas of anthropology” (Morphy & Banks, 1997, pp. 2-3). Cultures are produced and reproduced through all senses, and we can argue that seeing has a leading role in this process. In the context of visual anthropology, various stages of human life, rituals, material culture, rites of passage, and many more events were recorded visually.

Ethnophotography is a concept that arose from this theoretical and methodological relational background of visual anthropology. Muhtar Kutlu (2018) explains *ethnophotography* as the combination of the words photography and ethnography (*ethno-photo-graphy*), meaning “life knowledge written with light” of the ethnos, the other, the different, and a people. In this context, ethnographic photographs are visual documents that are created during fieldwork and constitute the cultural life of the people researched. Kutlu defines the ethnographic photograph as follows:

An ethnographic photograph is a photograph of a moment taken from the flow of time, with a background and context. Like any document photograph, it is a photograph of images recorded in a clear, authentic, undisturbed (or minimally

interfered with) natural appearance of the subject, paying attention to prioritizing ethnographic concerns over aesthetic and artistic concerns (Kutlu, 2018, p. 256).

Based on the definition above, ethnography is a form of analysis that the researcher presents by combining the intellectual structure and practices of ethnographic research with the expressive power of photography. In this research, I shot my photographs according to the definition above and organized them with complementary written text. The field I worked in was composed of divided spaces; there were militarily-protected places where photography was prohibited, which made me question my method. Then, I thought this very aspect of the field could constitute ethnographic data.

Nicosia, The Last Divided Capital

During my fieldwork, I tried hard to keep the balance between my roles as a researcher and resident. I was born and raised in Cyprus (mostly in Nicosia), and thus, I am very familiar with cultural and historical elements. I went back and forth between my perspectives as a “local” and a “researcher” eventually compromising on becoming a “local researcher.” As a local researcher, I had a lot of personal political opinions, beliefs, and prejudices. The hardest part of the research was to confront all of these. Nevertheless, it also remains a vital part of the research. which is the practice of self-reflexivity. As Nuhurat said, “there is a strong relationship between fieldwork at “home” and self-reflexivity, which might even be seen as an immanent condition. Our positionality directly impacts our research process during fieldwork” (Nuhurat, 2020, pp. 138-148). Sometimes, I had difficulties deciding what was “normal” or “not questionable” and what was “worthy of attention.” In this regard, I tried to be aware of the issues I regarded as “uninteresting.”

Walking in the Nicosia Walled City, Nicosia is a delightful experience in so many ways. However, you cannot escape the scars of war. Nicosia is the last divided capital in the world. The Green Line divides the island into two. The island’s future remains uncertain, and many people still await a solution. This situation can be seen in every aspect of the islander’s life. People live “half-lives” in incompleteness; pains are frozen, collective traumas have hardly healed, and buildings and objects left behind await their destiny since the time of war, just like the islanders themselves. The Green Line shapes life in Cyprus, and, arguably this shaping is felt the most in Nicosia. As Niyazi Kızılyürek say:

People feel that they are “Cypriot” most in Nicosia, but unfortunately not because of Nicosia’s multicultural structure and diversity, but because of its division, fences, and traces of ethnic conflicts. Because it is divided into two by wire fences, sandbags, barrels and barricades, the bad legacy of recent Cyprus history... Yes, Nicosia is what most reminds a “Cypriot” of their “Cypriotness”. In other words, being the child of ethnic conflict, enmity, resentment, war and division (Kızılyürek, 2020, p. 133).

Between 1878-1960, Cyprus was under the colonial rule of the British Empire. The Republic of Cyprus (RoC) was jointly established with two communities¹ in 1960 along with three guarantor countries: Greece, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. However, nationalist movements were increasing among the communities on the island. “Greek Cypriots strove for *enosis*, the union of Cyprus with Greece, while Turkish Cypriots initially expressed a preference for the continuation of British rule and later demanded *taksim*, the partition of the island” (I. P. N. W. G. Papadakis, 2006, p. 2). With increasing nationalist movements, both communities were armed and prepared to fight, which led to increasing tension on the island. This process continued with organized ethnic murders and attacks. Hatay and Bryant depict these times as follows:

Most independent reports and first-person accounts suggest that this fighting primarily took the form of Greek paramilitary attacks on Turkish-Cypriots, some of whom were targeted for their involvement with TMT. Certainly, as a minority, Turkish Cypriots felt threatened, and many led their homes and retreated into enclaves. These were usually Turkish-Cypriot villages to which Turkish-Cypriots from neighbouring mixed villages retreated, and some were Turkish-Cypriot neighbourhoods that could be easily guarded. But the largest enclaved space on the island was in the capital of Nicosia, whose division had already in some fashion been cemented since 1956. By early 1964, the Turkish-Cypriot areas of Nicosia were soon crowded with newcomers, many of whom had been displaced from surrounding villages or who had relatives in the capital (Hatay & Bryant, 2008, p. 427).

On July 15th, 1974, the Greek military junta instigated a *coup d'état* and attempted to murder Makarios, the Head of the State, who managed to escape this attack. Shortly after on the 20th of July 1974, the Turkish military intervened. During Turkey's intervention, there were significant losses and damage both emotionally and financially. Turkey's actions radically shifted the balance on the island by forcing Greek-speaking Cypriots to move to the southern half of the island and Turkish-speaking Cypriots to move to the northern half of

1 There is an idiom used by elderly people: before war time, Cypriots did not need to specify whether they are “Cypriot” because it was unnecessary. Mentioning “Greek” or “Turkish” were adequate. However, nowadays there are too many different expressions to define Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. These varying expressions indicate varying political points of view, which is important data for anthropological research. For Greek Cypriots, who define themselves as “Ελληνοκύπριος/Elinokiprios” the term means Elens of Cyprus (Papadakis, 2009). I have come across the following expressions in different sources: Greek-speaking-Cypriots, Cypriotgrees (*Kıbrıslırumlar*), Greek Cypriot Community, Cypriots who live southern part of the line, southerner... For Turkish Cypriots, Turkish-speaking Cypriots, Cypriotturkish (*Kıbrıslıtürkler*), Turkish of Cyprus (*Kıbrıs Türki*), Turkish Cypriot Community, Cypriots who live northern part of the line, and northerners. These can differ from verbal or written expression or context. In this article, I prefer the expressions Greek-speaking Cypriot and Turkish-Speaking Cypriot or people from the north/south. However, these groups are not made up solely of these ethnicities. For instance, Maronite Cypriots (whose native language is *Sanna*) are part of both communities as another local ethnicity. Moreover, for different reasons (like education, economics, migration, etc.) ethnic diversity is increasing.

Cyprus. This enforced displacement was painful for all communities, filled with chaos and uncertainty, and people had no idea about what the future held in store. Yael Navaro explains this process through these words:

Partition in 1974, then, was of the culmination or boiling point of earlier practices oriented toward the division of Cyprus along ethnically define lines and has assumed a crucial role in the popular memory and imagination. But every feature of the imagination also has a concrete material counterpart. The year 1974 is not only a memory, a dream, an ideology, a nightmare, or a vision. It is inscribed all over the materiality, physicality, texture, surface, and territory of Cyprus. It has transformed the land (not just the landscape). It exists as a tangibility, in the solid and material form of barrels and barbed wire cutting through the city of Nicosia to the present day; of mines beneath village fields; of bodies in mass graves, identified and not; in bullets found in rocky cliffs full of thistles and thorns; at shooting points with a view to the sea hidden behind over grown bushes; in bullet holes in buildings and rooftops; in the carved space that cuts through Nicosia. The make-believe is real (Navaro, 2012, p. 10).

In the years following 1974, Greek-speaking Cypriots began living in the south, and Turkish-speaking Cypriots began living in the north.² With the Green Line in the middle of the island, crossings were strictly forbidden. People could only come together in the Buffer Zone (which I discuss later) on the condition that they had been given permission beforehand. On the 15th of November 1983, Turkish-speaking Cypriots established the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in the north, which is recognized only by Turkey. Just over twenty years later, the Turkish Cypriot authorities decided to open the checkpoints, which came as a surprise and allowed people to cross to the “other side.” At first, crossings were allowed only on a day-long basis. People had to show their passports or identity cards at checkpoints. For some people, going to the “other side” was tough because it meant confronting old fears and traumas. For Greek-speaking Cypriots, crossing meant going to their “occupied” homelands and recognizing the “so-called state.” For Turkish-speaking Cypriots, the south was the place where people did not see them as “equals,” the place where people wanted to “get rid of” them. Many people from both communities resisted crossing out of fear and prejudice of “the other.” While some are still resisting, others have changed their minds over the years. Nonetheless many were willing to cross the line to visit their homes and memories.

During wartime in Cyprus, thousands of people were exposed to horrible atrocities. People died, disappeared, were displaced, lost loved ones, were raped, physically and emotionally damaged, and left their homes, investments, and memories behind (see Photographs 1 and 2). People’s access to their homes and lands was prohibited and they were forced to accommodate a “new” lifestyle in a different region of the island. After 29 years, the gates were opened and passage was allowed, and in the process, daily life changed.

2 Pyla and Karpasia are exceptions to this situation.



Photograph 1. Old belongings and furniture inside one of the demolished houses within the walls of Nicosia Walled City.



Photograph 2. An old door of a ruined house, Nicosia Walled City.

The Walled City of Nicosia is a place where one can see different religious places like churches, monasteries, mosques and masjids. Therefore, a visitor could hear the azan (*ezan*)³ and the Church bells simultaneously. While walking one can also see bullet and bomb marks on buildings, collapsed houses, broken windows, and objects that people left behind make-up the familiar sights of Nicosia.⁴ Moreover, the most obvious traces of wartime, the barrels and sandbags used as trenches are also visible (see Photographs 3 and 4).



Photograph 3. An abandoned house in Nicosia Walled City.



Photograph 4. The roof of an abandoned building covered with barrels from wartime.

3 The call to prayer for Muslims from the minaret of a mosque.

4 For further information about Nicosia Walled City's situation prior to opening the checkpoints see Navaro, 2012.

The city of Nicosia (*Lefkoşa/ Λευκωσία (Lefkosia)*) is the capital for both sides, located right in the centre of the island. This is the first place where climbing tensions preceding the war turned into hot conflict, where the line was first drawn, and the first checkpoint opened. Nicosia is the centre in terms of administration, NGOs, social and cultural facilities, arts, and more. According to one of my interviewees' Nicosia is also the centre of left-wing politics, meaning that peace-oriented, multi-communal events happen here more often than anywhere else. The Walled City is especially important, not only for commerce and tourist activities but also for the locals' daily activities. For all these reasons, Nicosia, generally, is a place where important protests or events happen. During the lockdown caused by the pandemic, people from both sides came together at the checkpoints and protested the government's policies against closing the checkpoints.

After the pandemic, the first bi-communal gathering happened in Nicosia Walled City, at the Lokmaci checkpoint. People from the south crossed the checkpoint and met with the northerners. Witnesses of this event define this moment as one filled with emotion. People came together after a long time, sang songs, danced, hugged, and embraced each other. They cried and laughed together, all at the same time; it was a moment of celebration (see Photographs 5 and 6). After welcoming people from the south, the group walked to Büyük Han (The Great Inn) accompanied by an orchestra⁵ and celebrations continued throughout the night. Simon, (56, male) a café owner in the Walled City said; "we ran out of beer at 10 pm, we were not prepared for such an event, but there was no way of being prepared for such thing... People forgot about the pandemic and caught up with each one other." The first multi-communal pride walks also happened in Nicosia. People came together and walked for LGBTI+ rights (Agapiou, 2022). This is a unique example of how two communities can come together.



Photograph 5. Opening of the checkpoints after the pandemic lockdown, Lokmaci Checkpoint.

5 Kıbrıs Havalanı Derneği / Σύνδεσμος Κυπριακού Τραγουδιού / Cyprus Songs is a bilingual folk song orchestra.



Photographs 6. Opening of the checkpoints after the pandemic lockdown, Lokmaci Checkpoint.

Nicosia, especially the Walled City, is often the scene of peacebuilding events. Yuka Blend festival, a multi-communal street festival that started in 2016 the festival was a highly visible peace event in Nicosia. Lots of artists gathered in the streets of the Walled City of Nicosia and painted graffiti and murals on the buildings. Some of these murals represent portraits of old craftsmen and locals of Walled City (see Photograph 7) and some of these murals were painted on buildings damaged by bullets and bombs from the war (see Photograph 8).



Photograph 7. One mural of a local craftsman of Walled City.



Photograph 8: This building was damaged during war times, bullet and bomb marks can be easily seen. However, the artist of this mural drew this image of a whirling dervish intentionally not wanting to cover the marks since, as explained in an interview, peace and war wanted to be emphasized together.

Crossing the Line

After all the *fasariya*⁶ (*nonsense/φασαρία*) and war, Nicosia is still divided. The first question is, what is this “line” going through the city and how long does it have to be there? What is the difference between calling it the “line” and the “border”? As Chatzipanagiotidou writes, the line takes different names depending on one’s ideological and political stance: the *green line*, the *ceasefire line*, the *dead zone*, the *demarcation line*, the *partitioning line*, the *Attila line*, the *no-man’s land* or the *border* (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2012, p. 168). In Papadakis’s (2005) inspiring work *Echoes from the Dead Zone: Across the Cyprus Divide*, one of his interviewees says the following about the Green Line (or *Dead Zone* in Papadakis’s words):

...the name Green Line was used from 1964 when Lefkoşa was divided with barbed wire. That’s when the name was first used and the UN first came to Cyprus. That’s why you’ll find a lot of people here called Savash [War]. They were born during the fighting and that’s why they were given this name (Papadakis, 2005, p. 83).

I was puzzled when I read these words because my father is one of those babies born in 1964. His first name is Ali and his middle name was *Savaş*. I remember our journey to the courthouse in the south of Nicosia because my father wanted to erase that name from his ID

6 *Fasariya* is a common word used by both communities for the conflicts.

card and his identity. It was a memory filled with nerves because we had to arrange a suitable date and time with my uncle, who was our designated driver to the court since he was the only one who knew the way. We used to travel with my entire family because such journeys were rare. The only joy in this journey for me was eating at McDonald's⁷ or going to Jumbo (a famous stationery and toy store) after the "boring" work had finished. We had to make several trips because the paperwork took some time. He swore on the Koran (which was extremely unusual for him⁸) and after some extensive paperwork, he was free of that name. After reading these words of Papadakis's interviewee, I was in shock. It made me realize that the first meaning of the line in the islanders' minds meant 'war' an essential part of our lives as well as my family's story.

The first opening of the checkpoints was sudden and dramatic. According to Kızılyürek, apocalyptic crowds began to flock to both sides of the island. Greek Cypriots, especially, formed a long queue to see the forbidden half of the island where they were born and raised. Turkish Cypriots, who have been mobilizing for peace in Cyprus for two years, whole-heartedly received Greek Cypriots and opened their doors to the hosts who came as "visitors" to their "old homes" with warmth (Kızılyürek, 2020, p. 322). As Demetriou (2007) writes, "the first opening of the checkpoints was defined as 'the closest Cyprus had got to anarchy since [the war of] 1974' by some Greek Cypriots." The author analyses this "state being absent" analytically with Turner's (1969) term *communitas*, a "kind of institutional capsule or pocket which contains the germ of future social developments, of societal change" (Turner, 1982, p. 45). Turner defines *communitas* as "the liberation of human capacities of cognition, affect, volition, creativity, etc., from the normative constraints" (Turner, 1982, p. 44). According to Demetriou, these expressions are not "far removed from accounts of Greek-Cypriots of their crossing on those first few days" (Demetriou, 2007, p. 995).

People crossed the line and visited their homes, an act that had many different meanings. As Chatzipanagiotidou (2012) said, informal crossings play a large part in this everyday practice of peace and the Green Line features here again as an important point of reference, however, with different meanings and symbolic value attached to it. The author emphasizes that the border is neither embodied proof of irreconcilable difference like in nationalist discourses nor the ultimate actual and symbolic obstacle to peace, like in traditional leftist rhetoric. Instead, the use of the border here is a means to peace (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2012, pp. 181-182). My research data also supports this idea, some of my interviewees think that even the act of crossing over to "the other side" will contribute to the resolution process on the island because crossing "the other side" allows people to experience the island as a whole as it should be.

7 For an wonderful analysis of the impact of Turkish-speaking Cypriots meeting international brands in the south after the checkpoints were opened see Hatay, 2009.

8 My father is not a believer however he had to give an affidavit. There were only two choices to swear on. Because he is a member of the Turkish Cypriot community he swore on the Koran.

Some have resisted crossing for a long time, while others were enthusiastic to cross. One such example of resistance was Nicoletta's (female, 23) grandmother: "...she did not want to go to her house in the north because when she thinks about it, she remembers the bombs falling..." Lisa Dikomitis (2005) wrote three different readings about crossing the line from the Greek Cypriots' point of view during the first checkpoint opening. For Dikomitis, some people did not want to cross because they did not want to show their identity cards or passport in their homeland, like a tourist or a foreigner as it was considered humiliating. For some, going to the north and communicating with people was proper. This was also a wise move because goods and services are cheaper in the north. For others of religious faith, going to the north is a critical occasion for religious reasons (Dikomitis, 2005).⁹ Referring to my fieldwork, I can say that some of these reasons are still valid. For both community members, showing passports or identity cards in their own country is nonsense. These moments at the checkpoints are mostly nerve-wracking, especially for frequent crossers:

"Are you aware that you are referring to a border? States have borders, and this is not..." said one of my Turkish-speaking Cypriot interviewees. In the northern part of the island, the Turkish Cypriot community lives within a "state"¹⁰ called the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), which is recognized only by Turkey. The TRNC's official discourse declares the northern part of the island as an independent state. Papadakis explains one of the best indicators of this perspective as "the Turkish Cypriot's walls are all concrete (*beton*) that is permanent, whereas; Greek Cypriots' Dead Zone was temporary, with the ("easily removable") barbed wires installed at the checkpoints (Papadakis, 2005, p. 137). While the permanence of this division is emphasized in the TRNC's official discourse because the north is an "independent country," the RoC describes this region in terms of "invasion and occupation."¹¹

What emotions do these transitions, (crossing the line) which are a daily activity, evoke? According to my interviewees, in contrast to the first opening of the gates, crossings have become unnecessary and troublesome. Mine (39, female), who worked at the Committee on Missing Persons in Cyprus (CMP) (*Καγίρ Σαήισλαρ Κομίτεςι/ Διερευνητικής Επιτροπής για τους Αγνοούμενους στην Κύπρο*)¹² explained this in these words:

9 For further information about the first opening of the Gates, see (Dikomitis, 2005) and also (Demetriou, 2007).

10 For an analysis of the statehood practices of Turkish-speaking Cypriots in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, see Bryant & Hatay, 2020.

11 Although these ideas are ideologies based on ethnic belonging and nations, it would be a mistake to think that they are shared only by those ethnic members. Because these are political perspectives beyond ethnic identities, one can find supporters from anywhere on the island.

12 *The Committee on Missing Persons (CMP)* is one of the unique organizations that serve human values in the landscape of uncertainty in Cyprus. CMP is a bi-communal body established in 1981 by the leaders of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities with the participation of the United Nations. Following the establishment of an agreed list of missing persons, the CMP's objective is to recover, identify, and return to their families, the remains of 2002 persons (492 Turkish Cypriots and 1510 Greek Cypriots) who went missing during the inter-communal fighting of 1963 to 1964 and the events of 1974.

For more information about CMP see <https://www.cmp-cyprus.org/>

Living on a divided island is a heavy burden. After I had children, I understood this better... As we cross from north to south with children, I have to explain to them what we do and why we do it. I tell them to ‘be quiet’ while the cops are checking. In the checkpoints we passed, they see the soldiers and the police. I inevitably create fear in the car by warning them... This is a heavy burden for children...

Most people think that division is felt in Nicosia the most. For some members of *HADE*¹³ like Ahmet (18, male), dividedness can be hardly felt in Nicosia because, in contrast to other parts of the island, in Nicosia the line is in the middle of the city while for Despina, (23, female) dividedness can be felt more intensely in Nicosia compared to other cities because Nicosia is “actually physically divided!”

Trust is another key point brought up by people. At the beginning of the opening of the checkpoints, people felt unsafe. There are too many horror stories and experiences told on both sides about the other. Many people need some time to digest what they have heard. Step by step, people get used to the idea of crossing. About crossing the north Despina (23, female) who lives in the south, said “I want to say that in the beginning, it felt weird, it takes practice to feel comfortable crossing it is one step at a time. Later I said, okay this is safe, this is Cyprus...”

After opening the checkpoints people started to go to the “other” side for shopping, travel, meeting with friends, *etcetera*. Some Turkish-speaking Cypriot families sent their kids to The English School in the south. People created small multi-communal groups/bubbles for leisure activities in Nicosia and other parts of the island. Tango and Latin dance clubs are typical examples, in which people from two communities regularly come together to dance and socialize. I met one of those multi-communal groups at Büyük Han (The Great Inn) where they get together every Saturday (see Photograph 9). Both groups are relatively non-political, and members of both groups insist on continuing their social gatherings and discussing their views, except on politics. There are also cafés and restaurants, like Hoi Polloi, serving as social clubs for the two communities.

13 HADE is a multi-communal youth organisation promoting peace, reconciliation and reunification in Cyprus. For more information about HADE see <https://www.instagram.com/hade.cyp/>



Photograph 9. A multi-communal group of friends from both communities of the island, Büyük Han, Nicosia.

However, there is a common feeling for islanders directly related to the dividedness: being stuck where you are. Being stuck in the unrecognized part of the island (i.e., TRNC) is a particularly serious problem for Turkish-speaking Cypriots. Especially before the opening of the checkpoints, most of the Turkish-speaking Cypriots felt like being in an “open-air prison” (which is a common phrase) and wedge between Greek-speaking Cypriots and Turkey. Some immigrants from Turkey cannot cross to the southern part of the island because of the policies of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC). One radical example of this is Berilsu Meral who was born in Ankara and received the highest grade in the world for her International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE). Berilsu wanted to cross the line to attend the award ceremony in Larnaca but was refused because of her origin (T-Vine, 2019). *The Mixed Marriage Problems Resolution Movement* which is a bi-communal NGO works towards rectifying such problems.¹⁴ The Greek-speaking Cypriots feel this stuck-ness because they are not allowed to take the estate in the northern part of Cyprus. Their previous houses and assets are controlled by the Turkish Cypriot state (and Turkish army), which is an obstacle to moving freely on the island. Cyprus is not a free place for most.

14 The Mixed Marriage Problems Resolution Movement explains their mission as such: “After 1974, children born from unrecognized unions in the northern half of the island, in an area not controlled by the government, between Turkish-speaking Cypriots who hold the citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus and Turkish or foreign settlers who have not obtained the citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus, have been illegally extorted for years, within the framework of international law, to obtain the right to citizenship of the Republic of Cyprus.” Taken from instagram account of Mixed Marriage Problem Resolution Movement. <https://www.instagram.com/karmaevlilik/>

In the context of north Cyprus, which is perceived as unregistered and unofficial, this stuckness becomes an unregulated area for committing crimes and continuing “undesirable” activities like gambling. Moreover, in terms of human trafficking, north Cyprus is becoming a dangerous and desirable place for traffickers. For example, Nigerian people who prefer to come here for education are being tricked into coming to the island but end up as victims of human trafficking (Essien, 2022). “Most international agencies cannot officially operate in or provide oversight for enterprises in north Cyprus” (Hatay, 2009, p. 163). Therefore, it is arduous to pursue criminals and provide security for people.

The Buffer Zone

The Buffer Zone is a unique place and has a relatively interesting landscape in the context of Cyprus. According to UNFICYP’s webpage, the Buffer Zone (also called “the Green Line”) extends approximately 180 km across the island. In some parts of old Nicosia, it is only a few meters wide, while in other areas it extends a few kilometres. Its northern and southern limits are the lines where belligerents stood following the ceasefire of 16th of August 1974 as recorded by UNFICYP. In the eastern part of the island, the buffer zone is interrupted by the British Sovereign Base Area of Dhekelia, where the UN does not operate. Another area the UN does not control is Varosha, the former resort town near Famagusta, now under the control of the Turkish military. Mustafa (32, male) who did his military service at Lokmaci said “this distance that is about ‘a few meters’ is one of the closest distances in the world between two enemy perimeters” to describe the Buffer Zone. The Buffer Zone refers to all places on the island controlled by the UN however, I emphasize the buffer zone at the Ledra Palace checkpoint in Nicosia (see Photograph 10).



Photograph 10. The Ledra Palace Checkpoint of north, Nicosia.

During my research, I felt different emotions because The Buffer Zone has properties that make it different from either side. While crossing from one side to another I often feel weird because of the feeling of the “unknown.” However, I feel a strong sense of peace and calm. Once, I was walking to the Home for Cooperation, and I crossed the checkpoint from north to south and stood nearly 100 meters away from it. I could easily see familiar places in the north (like Raw Pub or Zahra Street, see Photograph 17) from where I was standing at that moment (see Photograph 11) but I could not go directly to them.



Photograph 11. The Buffer Zone.

In the buffer zone also, one can easily hear someone speaking Turkish or Greek, but I can easily say that the “official” language of the Buffer Zone is English. At times, this can cause a language barrier. Before conducting my research, I used to think that the buffer zone was the area between two checkpoints. At one of the multi-communal events I attended, I was surprised to find out that this was not the case. We were standing as a multi-communal group of young people between Home for Cooperation and Ledra Palace Hotel (see photograph 12) and the guide was informing us about the area. I asked our guide about the municipal services of Home for Cooperation because I was curious as to how people accessed municipal services in the Buffer zone. For example, which side collected their garbage? The guide answered with a smile, “Yes yes, it’s not a coincidence that the trash cans are on the south side of the building.” The Buffer Zone is not the entire place between two checkpoints as I thought, but the place from the northern crossing point to the end of the Home for Cooperation. However, the southern checkpoint is located further from H4C. The Buffer Zone was a place that had not been given much thought outside of military or political perspectives because it stood there as the “Dead Zone.”



Photograph 12. The Buffer Zone, Home for Cooperation is on the left and the Ledra Palace Hotel is on the right.

What changes the meaning of the Buffer Zone is undoubtedly the *Home for Cooperation* (see Photograph 13) (*H4C/Dayanışma Evi/Το σπίτι της Συνεργασίας*): The H4C, is a unique community centre located in the middle of the dividing lines in Cyprus, in the Ledra Palace area, UN Buffer Zone. As an NGO, the Home has a unique and pioneering impact in terms of peacebuilding with its social, academic, educational, historical, artistic, and cultural events. Home for Cooperation is one of the rare examples that is bi-communally managed and operated. Not only bi-communal but also multi-communal activities of H4C creates a completely different atmosphere in the Buffer Zone. Many grassroots activities of peacebuilding are hosted or organized by the Home for Cooperation. For Mustafa (32, male):

The presence of such a thing in the buffer zone creates a dialogue space instead of creating a comfort zone.¹⁵ No one crosses south, no one crosses north but meets at some location. It seems that one of our main problems regarding the solution to the Cyprus problem is not meeting at the intermediate point. Home for Cooperation also takes a step towards meeting at that intermediate point, or in other words, neither one enters the field of the other...

15 I will discuss this concept of comfort zone/comfort conflict issue in the next section.



Photograph 13. Home for Cooperation, Buffer Zone, Nicosia.

Another important building on this road is the Ledra Palace Hotel which “is the quintessential building in the Cypriot UN-controlled Buffer Zone, signifying the division of the island” (Demetriou, 2015, p. 183).¹⁶ Lastly, along the streets one can see the symbols of peace like murals or the artwork of a donkey, which has a symbolic meaning for the island. Based on all the data above, in addition to the two regions (north and south) on the island, we can talk about the third region, whose motivation is peacebuilding, is mostly multi-communal, and is formed in the buffer zone.

“Comfortable Conflict”

After the opening of checkpoints, people reached a new area, especially at the Ledra Palace Buffer Zone where unique organizations such as Home for Cooperation, the Ledra Palace Hotel, CyprusInno, and The Goethe-Institut are located. This area became an important place to create connections between the two communities and turned into a hearth of peacebuilding events in Nicosia. However, some NGO members, including the event organizers themselves, are increasingly suspicious of whether these events are of any use to the peacebuilding process: Could it be that people’s sense of urgency about solving the Cyprus problem is disappearing as current conditions become more comfortable? What if people get used to these conditions and this way of life, and continue to live in this “comfortable conflict?” Or do all these peacebuilding activities in the Buffer Zone make the idea of division redundant and increase the desire for unification each time? As people from the two communities forge bonds, create empathy, and friendship, and continue to rethink and experience the Cyprus

16 For more information on Ledra Palace Hotel, see Demetriou, 2012, 2015.

problem on a different ground, will the problems get closer to being resolved? I would not say that any of these ideas are dominant. However, during my research I received comments reinforcing both views. Most of my interviewees cannot foresee what kind of atmosphere would be in Cyprus in the event of establishing “real peace.” Although they agree that peacebuilding activities serve their purpose, it is argued that these activities have the “side effect” of delaying the urgency of resolving the Cyprus problem. Alexandra Novosseloff questions similar issues in her work; “can a conflict be resolved without pressure or any sense of urgency?” To quote her,

...the two sides have not been able to agree on the meaning of “normal conditions” and UNFICYP’s prevention role has been efficient in that Cyprus has often been referred to as “a conflict without casualties” (since 1996), a “comfortable conflict”, and “difficult to solve but easy to manage.” It is so comfortable that the presence of UNFICYP has made “people forget that no cease-fire agreement exists between the parties or the belligerents.” (Novosseloff, 2021, pp. 13-16).

In this context, it is not surprising that the concept of “comfortable conflict” is associated with the buffer zone, especially in Ledra Palace. Unlike other Buffer zones of the island, Nicosia is the only place that forms a basis for such arguments because other checkpoints do have not such a context. For Mustafa (male, 37) “...when you cross the Deryneia checkpoint (which is in Famagusta) by car you fall into a field, and you need to drive for a while to reach somewhere. However, in Nicosia people can walk from one side to another. Nicosia has distinctive properties in this context.” Correspondingly, I often heard people mentioning “comfortable conflict,” an expression used to describe the current situation. As Adamides and Constantinou (2012: p. 242) have noted, “the Cypriot conflict is more symbolic and ‘civilized’ as a certain kind of peace is also in place: that is, the absence of violence combined with democracy, partial freedom of movement, and enviable levels of prosperity, on both sides of the island.” As they argue, the conflict on the island today is starkly different from what was experienced in the 1960s and early 1970s. Politicians keep repeating in vain the same rhetoric about peace. Moreover, the Cyprus conflict could be the most comfortable conflict zone for the international community. It feels like United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) currently operates in a holiday zone rather than in a conflict zone, and it engages in beach-keeping more than in peace-keeping (Adamides & Constantinou, 2012). According to the authors:

...what sets the environment for resistance to various international interventions in Cyprus is the lack of violence and the comfortable conflict or state of cold peace. This peace, though illiberal, is experienced as liberal by those who benefit from it or are not adversely affected by the legal exceptionalism established north or south of, or in, the UN Buffer Zone. Given the high degree of comfort in the status quo, there are reactions or resistance to any potential intervention (direct or indirect) that could jeopardize it. It is worth noting that comfort and security are measured

not only in economic terms but also in societal terms, as the current status quo safeguards the way of living as well as the continuation of the identities of the two communities. This sense of ontological security is perpetuated through highly internalized social and political routines (Adamides & Constantinou, 2012, p. 251).

The routines mentioned above build a sense of security by reducing anxiety. These routines make the “self” feel ontologically secure so that conflict (or peace settlement) with the “other” can be perpetuated as the conflict becomes virtually sustainable. Lay people as well as elites tend to resist any intervention that could consciously or unconsciously disrupt these routines (Adamides & Constantinou, 2012). The line has preserved its existence for years accordingly we can argue that it is taken for granted in daily activities. People get used to the presence of walls and checkpoints. This can be seen while walking in the Walled City. Nicosia carries scars of wartime on its face, however, when you walk the same way, every day, these scars become invisible. People normalize “the line” and reshape their lives according to its presence. Over time the concept of line and dividedness become ordinary (see Photographs 14 and 15).



Photograph 14. A street divided by the walls of the Green Line, the Walled City, Nicosia.



Photograph 15. A street divided by the Green Line, the Walled City, Nicosia.

This politically uncertain situation of the Cyprus Problem reflects different aspects of life on the island. In different works, researchers analyzed these circumstances with “liminality,” a concept developed by Van Gennep (1909) and popularized by Turner (1969). Van Gennep has shown that all rites of passage or “transition” are marked by three phases: separation, margin (or limen, signifying “threshold” in Latin), and aggregation. During the intervening “liminal” period, the characteristics of the ritual subject (the “passenger”) are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state (Turner, 1969, p. 94). Turner defines liminality as follows:

The attributes of liminality or liminal personae (“threshold people”) are necessarily ambiguous, since this condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions (Turner, 1969, p. 95).

In the context of Cyprus, we come across several analyses that refer to liminality. According to Dikomitis (2005), Greek Cypriots were forced to live in the south of the island, have created a kind of mythology around sites in the north, such as a story of being cast out of Eden. Since the opening of the border, many Greek Cypriot refugees make regular journeys to this “lost paradise.” Their return visits follow the same pattern, stopping at the same places time and again: the village fountain, their own house, their fields, and the local religious

sites. Dikomitis explains this as a *rite of passage* as all pilgrimages are the liminal stage of being outside of the normal time and space, and hence of having to make the inevitable and in this case painful journey back to “normality” (Dikomitis, 2005). Chatzipanagiotidou (2012) analyzes different stories of crossing lines and state that these “journeys” can be seen as liminal stages. Because the journey is a learning and self-transforming process and more, in this sense, the journey relates to the anthropological concept of liminality (Turner 1969), an in-between stage that opens up the space for self-reflection, interrogation of one’s moral universe and habitus changes. Also, these journeys of crossing the line are experiences outside the ordinary and every day, and these journeys create conditions that challenge habitual political ideologies (Chatzipanagiotidou, 2012). Lastly, Bryant (2014) uses the metaphor of waiting on a doorstep to point out de facto states (like North Cyprus) long-term liminality. The limen in “liminality” is a threshold, and in anthropology, to be at the limen is to be caught between one state of being and another. In politics, the transition would be from one regime to another, or from one ideology to another (Bryant, 2014). As Bryant says, “de facto states may be described as permanently liminal, stuck between the political form they once were and the recognized body politic they wish to become. [...] If liminality is a transition phase, Turkish Cypriots now do not know what stage will follow that transition. This makes their liminality appear indefinite, leaving them in a state of uncertainty” (Bryant, 2014, p. 126). As Bryant explains, the liminal state is defined as transitional and disorienting. However, Turkish Cypriots became fully aware of their liminality, of the limits of their enclave when a real door into the world opened. Until that moment, isolated and engrossed in their problems, it was possible to pretend that they had a state. It was the legal, economic, and political encroachment of global and transnational institutions that have made their sustained liminality clear while offering no concrete way out of their enclave (Bryant, 2014).

Experiencing “Place” and Establishing a Sense of Belonging

The division of the city prevents people’s accession from one place to another directly. People cannot reach a place on the other side of the wall without crossing the checkpoint. This circumstance instantly affects people’s spatial relationships and perception of the city. Kemal (46, male) from *Unite Cyprus Now (UCN)*¹⁷ explains this situation in these words:

When we consider the situation, a hundred-year process generally, some people never felt the feeling of division before the war. (...) Some others who were born after division, do not question the wall because this is their normal way of life... (...) However, what affects me the most is... Let’s say, I am at some point in the north and I want to go to a place in the south... I never imagine that place just at the opposite end of where I am initially standing. I always consider that place as

17 Unite Cyprus Now (UCN) is an independent self-funded grassroots initiative to connect Cypriots by seeking the truth, building empathy, respecting diversity, reinforcing solidarity and promoting a joint future in order to reach a united Cyprus for all Cypriots. For more information about UCN see <https://www.facebook.com/unitecyprusnow>

somewhere that requires me to cross the checkpoint, travel around, and reach that point...But I see the distance between these two points as 20 meters... But there is a wall between them. Therefore, I am never able to understand these places as one, I can't even imagine it... I know the Famagusta Gate (*Mağusa Kapısı*)...I also know Zahra (street)... but I cannot visualize these two points as being close to each other...



Photograph 16. Zahra Street, Arabahmet is a historical and tourist attraction (Bağışkan, 2018). The empty field on the right (also seen in photo 11) is UN-controlled area and contains the field of Taksim (in Turkish *Taksim Sahası*). In 1997, Burak Kut and Sakis Rouvas held a concert for peace here (Özbilgehan, 2021).¹⁸

The distance between Famagusta Gate and Zahra Street (see Photograph 16), which Kemal mentions, is 1.9 km. However, to walk from one point to the other, people need to cross the checkpoint first, which means going around and traveling a longer distance. The line directly affects people's understanding of the city. Elderly people who lived on the island before the war can imagine the city as a whole, but others cannot. One of my interviewees argued that “this creates the feeling of being stuck and this feeling can be seen in people's personalities. Some young people do not want to meet new people and spend all their lives with the same group of friends.” Because of the dividedness, people consider the city to be fragmented. Papadakis states:

Maps, like memories, only came in parts. The other side was always erased so it was difficult to find a map of the whole of Lefkosia/Lefkosha, except one which

18 While I was continuing this work, it came to the fore that this area in UN Buffer Zone, also known as Taksim Football Pitch/Çetinkaya Football Pitch, will be used again by Çetinkaya Football Club as a football pitch. This news resulted in some discussions (see Prakas, 2022).

was of no use anyway. Officially, Greek Cypriots lived in a divided city, in divided Lefkosia. Officially, Turkish Cypriots lived in a whole city, Lefkosha. What lay next to them was of no interest, it was the capital of another country (Papadakis, 2005, pp. 165-166).

And Papadakis continues:

There was only one whole and mutually accepted map of Lefkosia/Lefkosha: the map of the city's underground sewerage system. The Sewerage System of Nicosia was the best example of inter-ethnic cooperation in Cyprus. It was the largest, longest-running – and clearly, it was running well – and most successful bi-communal project (Papadakis, 2005, p. 167).

Conclusion

This research shows that the ongoing political problem and the division of Cyprus directly affect social and cultural life. People shape their lives based on the idea of division. Peacebuilding activities in everyday life were rarer before crossings were allowed. After crossing was allowed, grassroots activities for peace and multi-communal gatherings increased in the city and people started to consider the Cyprus Problem on different bases. The number of islanders learning each other's languages increased and daily life was reshaped by "the other." Peace activists and their activities became more visible. A new concept called "spending time in the Buffer Zone" emerged. Shopping and tourist activities between the two sides increased. Small groups/social bubbles appeared, and people started to join new multicultural activities to have more contact with each other through social activities.

Even if Nicosia is the only place that offers such an atmosphere for people, the city is also the most affected by the dividedness. Despite the collective traumas, politics, and obstacles of daily life, people are constantly recreating multi-communal social gatherings and activities. During my research, I discovered new NGOs or social groups dedicated to peace. Such activities are increasing, especially among youth. The power and influence of Home for Cooperation are strong; the Home gave people the opportunity to create social, academic, and political connections and communication. The Home is a unique example in Cyprus, which is a successful and leading example with its multi-communal practices and structure. This is not only an exemplary model but also an important symbol of meeting and bringing people together in "the Buffer Zone."

The main actor of the division, "the line" (line, border, checkpoint), crossing the line, and crossing the other side have different meanings in different political conjunctures at different times. This situation has both a political and an identity context. This relationship of islanders with the line is generally shaped by their political and ideological perspectives on the Cyprus problem. While the stuckness created by the line becomes a challenge for people at various stages of day-to-day life, at times, "crossing the line" can mean an act of rebellion, protest, and reunion.

In the context of Cyprus, the issue of “comfortable conflict” is worth paying attention to. Every day, crossing checkpoints and spending time in the Buffer Zone becomes easier and more routine. Buffer zone activities, in particular, are a field of inquiry for people who are the most reactive to the Cyprus problem and engage in peace activism. “Do these activities towards the rapprochement of the two communities and building peace, especially on the grassroots level, have any ‘side effects’ such as making the Cyprus conflict comfortable?” It is difficult to answer this question directly but this question should not be ignored in terms of the Cyprus conflict.

Living in a divided city directly impacts people’s experience of place, their sense of distance, their sense of accessibility, and more. In this respect, the line causes a division not only politically, but also spatial, philosophically, and culturally because all activities on the island continue to be reorganized around the idea of division.

“Visual understanding, what we see and how we interpret it, is an important part of the way we exist as humans in the world and the ultimate justification for the discipline of visual anthropology must lie in this direction: it is the study of the properties of visual systems: of how things are seen and how what is seen is understood” (Morphy & Banks, 1997, p. 21). The ethnophotographic approach gives the researcher a chance to create their language to understand and analyze the field. It also allows the reader to experience the field through the power of visualization. I aimed to present the cultural landscape to the reader through visuals and verbal images. There is something taught to ethnographers; note everything, what seems trivial in the process can become important. I didn’t frame the garbage bins when I took photos of the Home for Cooperation, but the process demonstrated that even the location of the garbage bins is data in the context of research. In this respect, I believe that the influence and importance of photography in fieldwork should be emphasized more.

This might be something I should have said at the very beginning but conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Cyprus means researching a “problem.” Nothing is as easy as it seems because it means working on unhealed wounds. Despite knowing that I may not be able to address all concerns, I also know that I can permit myself to react to what I see on a personal and academic level. Since the days of wartime until the present moment, too many crimes against humanity have been committed in Cyprus. All sides taking part in the war become both the murderer and the victim, the good and the bad, and the enemy and the hero, and definitions vary depending on different narratives. In this respect, the narratives formed in the context of the Cyprus problem raise different research questions... How can we examine the feelings and thoughts people have towards the homes they left behind in a nostalgic context? How can we discuss the “process of identification” among islanders? How can we trace the reflections of displacement and immigration on cultural life? How did the war occur in the two societies in terms of social memory and how does it find a response in daily life? How are all these structures reflected in the language? As can be seen, Cyprus, and especially Nicosia contains intriguing ethnographic research for social scientists.

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Digital Morphology: The Final Frontier

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ABSTRACT

Morphology is central to biological anthropology and its allied fields of anatomical sciences, forensics, and other related disciplines. Many biological anthropology students have their first real foray into the discipline after completing a course in osteology, craniometry, or vertebrate morphology. Unfortunately, the natural history collections that support this type of research and training have not grown. Many countries have strict rules about natural history specimen collections, and these collections seem to be concentrated in a few developed countries, regardless of where the specimens had been collected. Thus, access to comparative material can be problematic where such collections are not readily available. Even if collections are available, accessing them can be severely restricted due to external circumstances, as the prolonged pandemic has shown. Luckily, digital morphology has emerged over the last decade as a new field that stands to change the landscape of specimen-based research and training. Concerted 2D and 3D digitization efforts, the emergence of online aggregate specimen repositories, and availability of comprehensive open-source software tools (such as 3D Slicer) for utilizing these resources has conveniently transformed the field of quantitative and comparative morphology. In this brief review, I will focus explicitly on the 3D Slicer ecosystem and how it can be leveraged as part of a curriculum or research program on digital morphology. In a nutshell, the primary differentiator of the 3D Slicer is not that it is just free but that it is open-source and extensible, making access to digital data more equitable for everyone. I will particularly focus on the 3D Slicer's SlicerMorph extension, which facilitates 3D geometric morphometric data collection and analysis within the Slicer ecosystem, so all the steps in the digital morphology workflow from import, visualization, and data collection to visualizing the morpho-space can be achieved in a single, well-documented environment.

Keywords: Digital morphology, Quantitative morphology, Geometric morphometrics, 3D imaging, Segmentation, Visualization



Introduction

Morphology is the study of forms, with morphology in life sciences in particular being the study of the form of whole organisms and their components. As a fundamental topic within the life sciences, the goal of morphological studies can range from understanding the functional significance of a structure to quantitatively assessing natural variations in form when comparing species. This latter topic is called quantitative morphology, and its application in organismal biology (including that of humans and their extinct and extant relatives) is the focus of this review.

At the most basic level, quantitative morphology involves length, cross-sectional, surface area, volume, and mass measurements. These measurements can then be used as input for statistically analyzing variances for comparative purposes. Traditionally, these data came from measuring actual specimens of the same (or closely related) species that had been housed and curated in natural history museums. This task itself can be challenging in countries where such collections are limited or even absent, sometimes because a culture of collecting and housing specimens had never existed there. Even when collections are available, access to these specimens may not be possible, as demonstrated recently by the COVID-19 pandemic lockdowns. Even in the best of times, access might be restricted due to how many visiting researchers can be accommodated at the same time or to limits on shipping samples.

Since before the pandemic even, various natural history museums and universities in the USA and EU have been actively working on digitizing their biological collections. Typically, the goals of these projects are to (1) make the biological and paleontological specimen information readily available online and (2) preserve them for perpetuity in digital form through advanced imaging techniques, such as non-invasive 3D scanning techniques including computerized tomography (CT) or other techniques such as stereophotogrammetry (e.g., 3D model reconstruction from a series of 2D pictures taken from different poses or orientations). While the initial results of these digitization efforts have been distributed by the individual institutions, a number of digital specimen repositories have also emerged that aggregate the data from these different museums and collections. At the moment of writing, the largest of these repositories for biological specimens is MorphoSource (Boyer et al., 2016), but a number of other repositories with different specialties also exist. In medical and forensic sciences, similar data collection and aggregation efforts have also occurred, perhaps the most notable of these efforts for biological and forensic anthropologists being the New Mexico Decedent Image Database (USA) that provides whole-body CT scans of over 15,000 New Mexicans who died between 2010-2017 (Berry & Edgar, 2021). Table 1 lists some of these larger biological and medical 3D scan repositories as well as the types of datasets they offer. The Digital Morphology Museum of Kyoto is also noteworthy due to the large number of volumetric scans of non-human primates, mostly from the Kyoto Zoo.

Table 1. Various repositories containing 3D datasets of natural history specimens, including humans and primates

| Repository | URL | Available data and types |
|---|---|---|
| MorphoSource | https://www.morphosource.org/ | MorphoSource is a project-based data archive with over 50,000+ physical objects that allows researchers to store, organize, share, and distribute their own 3D data. |
| New Mexico Decedent Image Database | https://nmdid.unm.edu/ | Provides researchers with access to whole human body computed tomography (CT) scans of cadavers and a wide range of associated metadata. |
| DigiMorph | http://www.digimorph.org/ | High-resolution X-ray computed tomography of (mostly holotype) biological specimens. |
| FaceBase | https://www.facebase.org/ | Comprehensive craniofacial data from model organisms (mouse and zebrafish) and humans (3D facial scans). |
| Digital Morphology Museum of Kyoto University | http://dmm.ehub.kyoto-u.ac.jp/ | DMM provides a large collection of volumetric scans (CT and MRI) of various extant primates. |
| Phenome10K | http://phenome10k.org/ | A free online repository for 3D models of biological and paleontological specimens. |
| Genetics of craniofacial shape in <i>Mus</i> | https://osf.io/w4wvg/ | High-resolution 3D micro-CT head scans of a mouse panel between C57BL/6J and A/J mouse strains and associated genotype data. Contains micro-CT scans of ~500 mouse heads and associated cranial landmarks. |
| The Open Research Scan Archive | https://www.penn.museum/sites/orsa/ | Penn Cranial CT Database) contains high resolution (sub-millimeter) scans of human and non-human crania from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum) and other institutions. |
| MorphoMuseuM (M3) | http://morphomuseum.com/ | MMM is an online peer-reviewed journal that publishes 3D models of vertebrates, including models of type specimens, anatomy atlases, reconstructions of deformed/damaged specimens, and 3D datasets. |
| International Mouse Phenotyping Consortium | https://mousephenotype.org | Thousands of contrast-enhanced 3D micro-CT scans of mouse fetuses derived from knockout lines and wildtypes at different developmental stages (E15.5 and E18.5). |

Clearly the existence of these resources is extremely beneficial for researchers doing specimen-based research and they are particularly important for researchers who have limited access to comparative materials. But it is also equally important to be able to interact and process these datasets, otherwise their existence is of limited utility to the scientific community.

The Logistics of Using 3D Digital Specimens for Research and Education

Several commercial 3D biomedical visualization packages are available for biologists and anthropologists to use. While these packages are capable, they are often also very expensive. But perhaps more importantly, they all tend to use proprietary data formats that cannot be opened by other applications, or converting the data for use by other applications for analysis that are not available within that package is not easy because the format is poorly documented. This is a significant concern in situations where a group needs to collaborate, or in cases where an instructor is incorporating digital morphology as part of an academic curriculum where the cost of a large number of required software licenses would be prohibitive.

A number of free open-source 3D visualization and image processing software programs are found, including ImageJ (image processing), Drishti (3D rendering), and ITK-Snap (segmentation). A fourth program, 3D Slicer, is a comprehensive, open-source 3D-image processing and visualization software that has been in development for over 20 years and now offers the functionality of the other three aforementioned programs in addition to others, all within one single application (Fedorov et al., 2012; Kikinis et al., 2014). 3D Slicer will be focus of this review, but first a brief review of the steps involved in working with digital specimens is needed.

In broad terms, digital morphology workflow includes four steps: data import, visualization, segmentation, and quantification (including measurements). Importing raw data tends to involve sequences of 2D images in various file formats such as DICOM, TIFF, or others and correctly defining certain attributes of the dataset such as image resolution, data type, and coordinate system is critical for being able to quantitatively analyze the resultant data (Table 2). Visualization involves converting the discrete pixels stored in the images into continuous 3D surfaces using different visualization algorithms so that the user can interact with the virtual object in 3D. Segmentation involves defining distinct values for structures of interest (e.g., individual ribs, vertebrae, sternum, and other structures constituting the thorax) within the dataset so that these can be visually distinguished from one another, often by assigning different colors to different indices. Segmentation also allows distinct structures to be extracted as independent objects, from which either physical 3D models can be printed, or quantitative data such as physical volumes, surface areas, or cross-sectional properties can also be extracted. Additionally, this step can be supplemented by collecting measurements such as lengths, angles, and 3D coordinates of specific anatomical structures, sometimes referred to as landmarks. Importance is also had in noting that 3D Slicer is a comprehensive software program that allows all these steps to be completed within a single platform (Figure 1).

Table 2. Some common data formats and descriptions associated with 3D digital specimens

| Format | Description |
|---------------------------|---|
| DICOM | Digital Imaging and Communications in Medicine is the standard for the communication and management of medical imaging information and related data. It is the standard output from commercial medical scanners. As a metadata rich format, it provides all image spacing and coordinate system information necessary to correctly construct virtual anatomical representations. Some research scanners do not necessarily comply with the standard and may produce invalid DICOM sequences that may require further tweaking. |
| TIFF PNG JPG BMP | These 2D image formats are used to save to individual slices of a volumetric image sequence similar to DICOM sequences. While they can comprise the common output from some research micro-CT scanners and 3D microscopes, they lack the standard DICOM metadata tags for describing important aspects of the imaging data to correctly construct the virtual representation. Therefore, such image metadata should be retained external to the imaging data (e.g., text file), thus making data management more difficult. These formats should not be used to represent volumetric 3D imaging data or should be immediately exported as NRRD. |
| NRRD | Nearly Raw Raster Data is a library and file format for the representation and processing of n-dimensional raster (bitmap) data. It is a flexible and open data format that supports multiple data types and data encodings. It contains a human readable header that contains image metadata, with users able to add their own tags to the header. NRRD is the default format for 3D Slicer and can be read by many other open-source imaging software such as ImageJ, ITK-Snap, Drishti, and others. |
| NIFTI | The Neuroimaging Informatics Technology Initiative (NifTI) is an open file format commonly used to store brain imaging data obtained using magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) methods. NIFTI has limited applications beyond neuroimaging. |
| STL | Stereolithography is a file format commonly used for 3D printing and computer-aided design (CAD). While common for 3D printing, the format has certain deficiencies such as lack of explicit unit description, making it ill-suited or problematic for representing anatomy. PLY or OBJ are more suitable alternatives. |
| OBJ | OBJ is a geometry definition file format. The file format is open-sourced and has been adopted by other 3D graphics application vendors, including 3D Slicer. |
| PLY | Polygon File Format was principally designed to store three-dimensional data from 3D surface scanners. The data storage format supports a relatively simple description of a single object as a list of nominally flat polygons. A variety of properties such as surface normals and texture coordinates containing color and transparency values can be stored. |

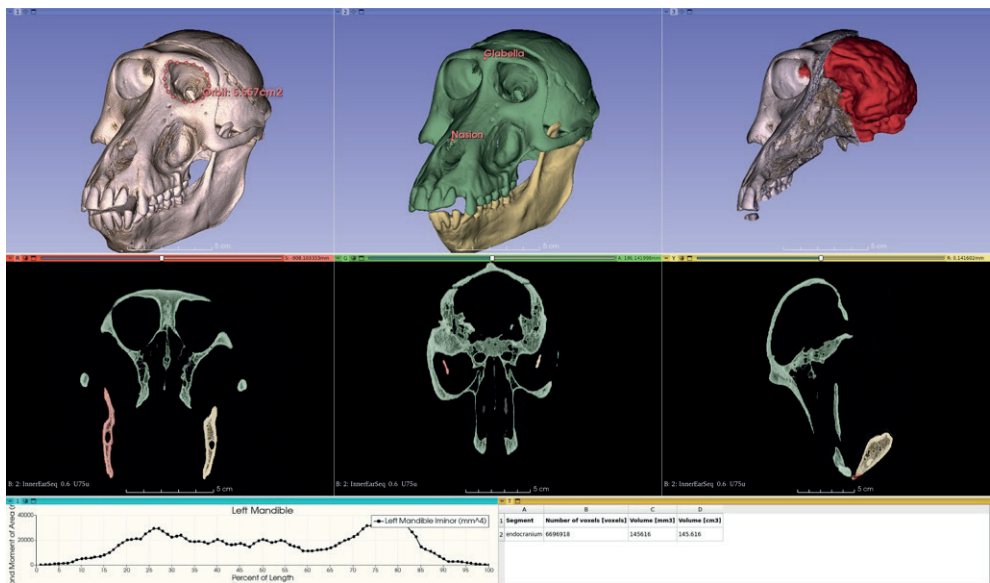


Figure 1. A Slicer scene showing the functionalities of the application. **(A)** Volume rendering (ray casting) of a baboon [*Papio anubis*] skull CT. The area of the orbital aperture is calculated by drawing a closed curve markup. **(B)** Result of the segmentation of the same dataset in a cranium and two hemi-mandibles (the right hemi-mandible is hidden). **(C)** Same volume rendering of the cranium as in **A**, only with a clipped volume rendering that shows the endocranial space and nasal passages. The endocast is automatically generated using the **Segment Endocranium** module of SlicerMorph. Cross sectional views of the baboon scan in **(D)** frontal, **(E)** transverse, and **(F)** sagittal planes, with the segments in **B** overlaid in color. Users can navigate through the slices of each plane using the slider above the slice views. **(G)** Second moment of area (moment of inertia) of the left hemi-mandible is plotted as a function of the mandible's length. Cross-sections are calculated in the **SegmentGeometry** extension using the orientation in **D**. **(H)** The volume of the endocast **C** is reported in terms of number of voxels as well as mm^3 or cm^3 units using the **Segment Statistics** module. The baboon dataset was obtained from the publicly available DICOM dataset found in the MorphoSource repository available from: <https://www.morphosource.org/concern/parent/000S11331/media/000045065>. This specimen is part of a larger collection of baboons housed at the Southwest National Primate Research Center (Texas, USA). The digital collection features 933 scans and is an excellent resource for studying the genetics of skull shape because the pedigrees of all specimens are known.

3D Slicer (hereafter referred to as Slicer) is an open-source biomedical visualization and image analysis software initially developed by members of neuroimaging and surgical planning communities with the goal of facilitating collaboration (Fedorov et al., 2012; Kikinis et al., 2014) and has been in continuous development for over 20 years. The initial goal was to offer a free, feature-rich, open, and expandable program for visualizing data across projects consisting of multiple investigator teams and a mix of operating systems. Throughout the years though, Slicer has grown into a mature ecosystem of tools, plugins, and custom software (e.g., SlicerSALT) that are able to handle all the tasks associated with 3D image analysis as well as support a large number of 3D data formats (Table 2). Slicer's core functionality

provides a complete solution for 3D visualization, linear and nonlinear spatial transforms (registration), manual and semi-automatic segmentation tools, 3D landmark (point lists) and other measurement digitization, multiple image processing and enhancement filters that are specifically 3D in nature, data-type conversion (e.g., from 3D models to segmentations), plotting, and tabular data representation (Figure 1). A built-in Python3 environment provides access to common analysis libraries used in scientific computing such as NumPy and SciPy. Functionality that is unavailable in the core application can be developed through an extension mechanism. Additionally, most Python3 libraries from the PyPi repository can be installed into the integrated Python environment using the standard pip utility. As of this writing, the combined downloads of the previous and current stable versions since November 2018 have exceeded 1,112,000 worldwide, and over 10,000 publications are indexed in Google scholar that cite 3D Slicer. Slicer has also been adapted to a wide range of use cases, such as the substantial SlicerAstro effort (Punzo et al., 2017). Thus, Slicer has a vibrant ecosystem, thanks in particular to its extensible code base and its reliance on proven open-source libraries such as Visualization Toolkit (VTK) and Insight Toolkit (ITK), an active global developer community. The Slicer community of users are supported through an active forum that includes over 4,500 subscribers averaging 275 posts a week. These community activities are further supplemented by semi-annual Project Weeks that have been running for over 15 years. Project weeks are hackathons aimed at bringing the Slicer community together to develop new functionalities that will benefit everyone (Kapur et al., 2016).

The Slicer community maintains an app store for Slicer extensions and currently has over 150. These extensions provide domain-specific functionality so that users can customize Slicer to their needs without introducing a special case code into the core of Slicer that would complicate it for other users. The integrated Extension Manager provides a convenient search tool for finding extensions with relevant functionality for new use cases. Our group recently introduced the SlicerMorph extension to Slicer, which allows the retrieval, visualization, measurement, and annotation of high-resolution 3D specimen images both from volumetric scans (CTs and MRIs) as well as from surface scanners to be more effective within 3D Slicer (S. Rolfe, et al., 2021).

The Impact of Geometric Morphometric Methods on Digital Morphology

The last several decades have witnessed the application of quantitative approaches to characterizing form and shape that have also been integrated with the methods from evolutionary biology, genetics, and developmental biology. This approach has led to a flexible set of analytical tools for addressing a broad range of questions, whether the data be from experiments in model organisms or from natural populations of major taxonomic groups (Adams et al., 2013; Bookstein, 1997; Goodall, 1991; Kent & Mardia, 1997; Klingenberg, 2010; Mitteroecker & Gunz, 2009; Richtsmeier et al., 2002; Rohlf, 2000b; Rohlf & Slice, 1990). These analytical tools have been broadly classified as geometric morphometric

methods (GMM) in which the shape of a structure is represented using the Euclidean coordinates of anatomical landmarks. To extract the shape information from the coordinates of these landmarks, the variations in size, position, and orientation are removed through a procedure called Procrustes superimposition (Figure 2). All the possible shapes for any given number of landmarks define the shape space: a multidimensional, nonlinear space in which each point represents a different shape, and from which the Procrustes-aligned shapes in a sample provide a local approximation (Kendall, 1984; Rohlf, 2000a).

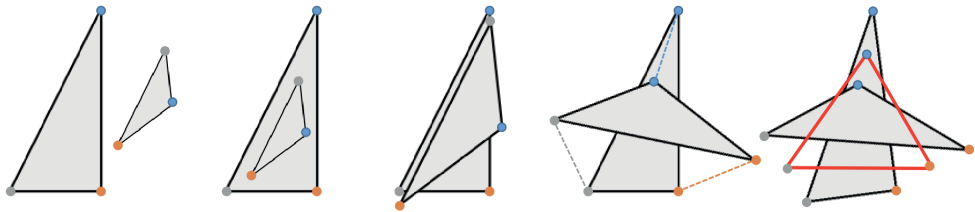


Figure 2. (A) Visualization of the steps in the Procrustes superimposition in 2D using two triangles. The color-coded vertices of the triangles represent corresponding structures. (B) Shape configurations are superimposed by aligning the centroid (average of coordinates). (C) Configurations are scaled to the same size (typically unit size). (D) One configuration is rotated to minimize the distance between the corresponding sets of landmarks. (E) A mean shape is estimated by averaging the rotated landmarks. Steps D and E are iterated until the final estimated mean shape does not appreciably change from the previous iteration.

Morphometric studies address specific biological questions by examining the variations in this shape space using the methods of multivariate statistical analysis, typically either through multivariate regression of the Procrustes coordinates onto explanatory variables (e.g., size, sex, age, and genotype) or by ordinating them in a multi-dimensional space using principal component analysis (PCA; Bookstein, 1989). These latent variables (e.g., principal component [PC] scores) provide convenient proxies for the underlying multi-dimensional morphological data and can be used to test questions regarding ecology (e.g., Do the trophic levels of the sample correspond to any axis of their morphological variation?), evolution (e.g., What are the patterns of variation in the cranial forms of the hominid lineage?), or developmental biology (e.g., Are there any correlations between the localized shape difference and the corresponding source of embryonic progenitor cells or morphogen gradients?). For readers who are new to the field of geometric morphometrics and would like to start learning, I would suggest *Geometric Morphometrics for Biologists: A Primer* by Zelditch (2012), an excellent introductory text with just enough mathematics to explain the concepts and theory behind statistical shape analysis that comes with a good workbook with examples of R computer code. A more mathematical treatment of the topic can be found in Dryden & Mardia's (2008) work. A number of reviews are also available on key concepts such as performing asymmetry analysis (Klingenberg, 2015), allometry (Klingenberg, 2016), modularity and integration using the GMM framework (Adams, 2016). Since being introduced in the 1980s, GMM has become widely adopted in morphology-driven studies, as shown by the consistent increase in

the number of publications, from a handful of studies in the early 1990s to more than 2,500 studies in 2022, all largely thanks to the availability of free high-quality analysis software such as MorphoJ or the various R packages regarding statistical shape analyses (Adams & Otarola-Castillo, 2013; Klingenberg, 2011), as well as to the ease of collecting data from 2D digital pictures.

3D data pose their own unique set of challenges in collecting morphometric data. Unlike digital pictures that can be displayed in many applications, 3D datasets need to be processed similar to the workflow presented above so that a virtual 3D reconstruction of the sample can be constituted on the computer screen, after which the coordinates of the landmarks (or any other measurement) can then be collected. Historically, each of these steps had been completed using different programs. Because it is open-source and extensible, we have developed the SlicerMorph extension to fill the gaps in the Slicer ecosystem in order to have a complete workflow for digital morphology, from importing data to analysis. SlicerMorph provides functionality for importing non-DICOM image sequences (ImageStacks) while allowing it to downsample, change its ordering, or import only a section of the sequence (Figure 3).

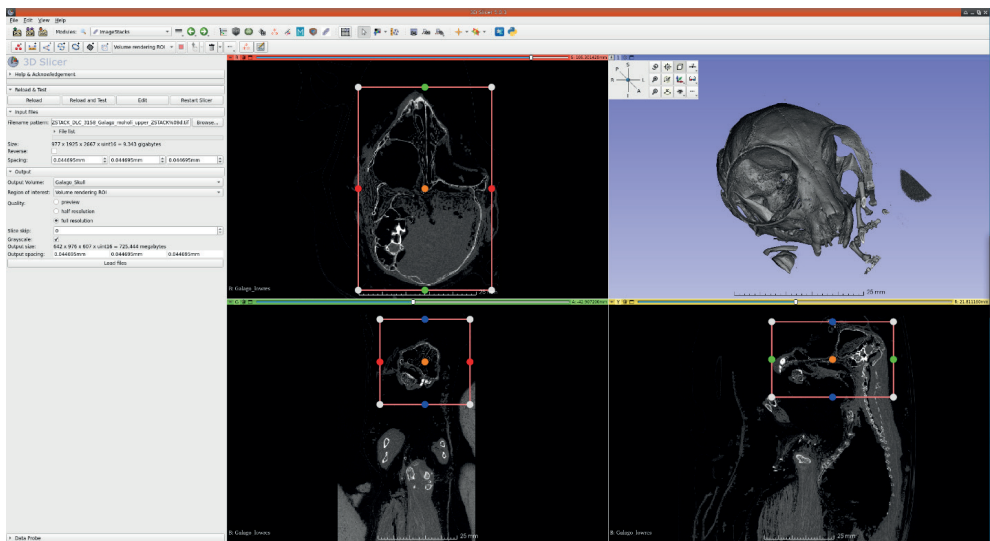


Figure 3. Screen capture of the SlicerMorph's ImageStacks module, which facilitates operations on non-DICOM image sequences. The sample data is a whole-body scan of the African strepsirrhini *Galago moholi* from the MorphoSource repository (https://www.morphosource.org/concern/biological_specimens/0000S4230). The **ImageStacks** module reports expected memory usage by the whole sequence at full resolution. Using this information, the user can decide whether to use the downsample (quality) setting or to import a section of the image (in this case, the cranium). In this case, the whole dataset at full resolution will be 9.34 GB in size. The screenshot shows a preview version of the dataset that was loaded into Slicer, which was only 150MB. A region of interest regarding the specimen's cranium is specified and then re-imported into Slicer at full resolution (only 725MB). Users are expected to save the imported data as a Nearly Raw Raster Data (NRRD) volume to avoid having to import the dataset multiple times.

In Slicer's most-recent stable version (5.0.3), the SlicerMorph team reworked the Markup functionality (Slicer's measurement tools) to allow for generating landmark templates (e.g., standard sets of craniometric landmarks for human skulls) to facilitate data collection with less room for error in the data collection process. In addition to standard landmarks (i.e., point lists), length, and angle measurements, SlicerMorph also allows for many other common morphometric digitization techniques such as generating curve-based semi-landmarks, patch-based surface landmarks, and dense pseudo-landmarks. Table 3 provides a summary of the current modules within the SlicerMorph extension.

Table 3. Description of some of the variables and procedures associated with shape analysis

| Variable | Procedure |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Procrustes superimposition | The procedure through which variations in size, position, and orientation in landmark configurations are removed (Figure 2). It is an iterative procedure in which the difference between configurations is minimized using the least-squares optimization technique. |
| Procrustes Coordinates | New sets of coordinates obtained after landmark configurations are then subjected to Procrustes superimposition. |
| Mean shape | The average of the individual landmarks in landmark configurations after superimposition |
| Procrustes Residuals | Description of how each individual landmark configuration is different from the mean shape. Calculated by subtracting the mean shape's coordinates from a landmark configuration's Procrustes coordinates. |
| Procrustes Distance | The squared sum of the Procrustes residuals (i.e., measure of how far an individual landmark configuration is from the mean shape). |
| Eigenvectors | The new linear combinations of Procrustes coordinates obtained after PCA decomposition. |
| Eigenvalues | The factor by which the corresponding eigenvector is scaled. When sorted by descending eigenvalues, the first eigenvector is the linear combination of variables that has the greatest variance. |

Whether anatomical landmarks generated using the Markup tools or semi/pseudo-landmarks generated by SlicerMorph's modules, the outputs of these digitization tools are all saved using the industry-standard JSON format. JSON is an open standard file format and data interchange format that uses human-readable text to store and transmit data objects consisting of attribute–value pairs and arrays. The generalized Procrustes analysis (GPA) module reads these JSON files (along with the older comma-separated .fcsv format) to initialize the analytical pipeline. Optionally, samples can be left out of the analysis during the file selection process, with landmarks also able to be dropped out of the analysis by entering their indices. In addition to the Procrustes superimposition, the GPA module also performs the principal component analysis (PCA) decomposition of the variance and reports the PC scores for each sample data, which then can in turn be plotted within Slicer. Finally, the constructed morphospace can be investigated either by using the mean shape landmarks or more completely by specifying a reference model, which on return warps to the mean shape (Figure 4). As of this writing, SlicerMorph does not offer inferential statistics on the coordinate but is instead aimed at data exploration. For hypothesis testing, users can utilize the SlicerMorphR

package to import the SlicerMorph's GPA output into the R statistical environment and benefit from the excellent statistical shape analysis packages such as Geomorph or Morpho. For more detailed instructions on the SlicerMorph module and its capabilities, readers can refer to the online tutorials at <https://github.com/SlicerMorph/Tutorials>), as well as the open-access publications that illustrate SlicerMorph's functionalities in more detail (Porto et al., 2021; Rolfe, Davis, & Maga, 2021; Rolfe, Pieper, et al., 2021; Zhang et al., 2022).

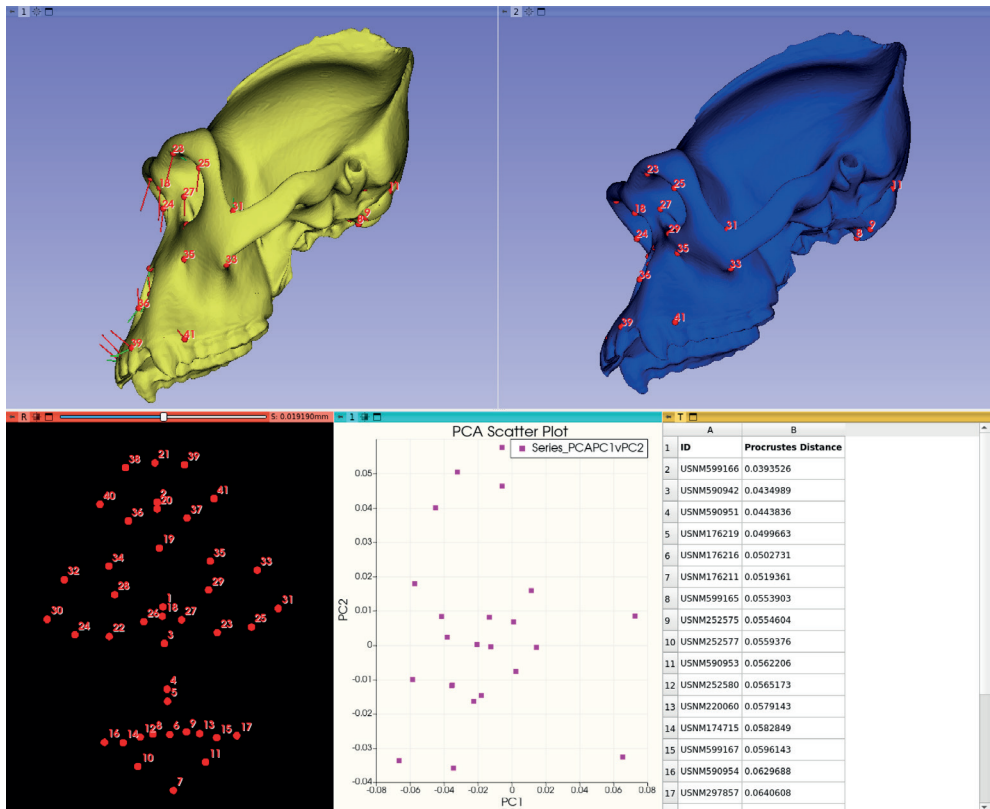


Figure 4. Visualization features of the generalized Procrustes analysis (GPA) module of the SlicerMorph extension. **(A)** The mean shape of the sample can be visualized as a 3D model (yellow gorilla [*Gorilla gorilla*] cranium). **(C)** The magnitude of the landmark deformations associated with principal components PC1 (red) and PC2 (green) can be visualized as vectors starting from the mean shape landmarks. **(B)** Alternatively, a new 3D model (blue cranium) is generated on the fly as the user explores the morphospace interactively by sliding the PC values in negative and positive directions in selected PCs. Note the increased facial angle in blue (the deformed skull) is due to the large deformation associated with landmarks around the orbital region and the maxilla. The mean landmark configuration can be projected in 2D slice views (lower row, left). **(D)** Bivariate plots display where each specimen is in the PCA space (lower row, middle). Each sample is sorted by increasing the Procrustes distance from the mean shape (lower row, right). **(E)** By convention, the sample that is closest to the mean shape is commonly used as the reference model for 3D visualizations.

Table 4. Description of some SlicerMorph modules and their functionality.

| Module | Functionality |
|----------------------------|--|
| ImageStacks | A general-purpose tool for importing non-DICOM image sequences into Slicer. Provides options for specifying voxel size, selecting image quality (preview, half, full), defining an ROI for import, loading of every n^{th} slice (skip slice), or reverse stack order (to deal with mirroring of the specimen) |
| SkyscanReconImport | Imports an image stack from the Bruker/Skyscan reconstruction software (Nrecon) with correct voxel spacing and orientation as a 3D volume. |
| ImportFromURL | A utility for downloading data from a provided URL into the current Slicer scene. Data format must be supported by Slicer. |
| CreateSemiLMPatches | Provides triangular patches of semi-landmarks that are constrained by three fixed anatomical landmarks. The input into the module is a 3D model and its accompanying set of fixed landmarks, with users generating and visualizing the patches by specifying triplets of fixed landmarks that form a triangle. |
| PseudoLMGenerator | This module uses the 3D model's geometry to create a dense template of pseudo-landmarks whose placement is constrained to the 3D model's external surface. |
| PlaceSemiLMPatches | A utility for applying the generated connectivity table from the CreateSemiLMPatches module to other 3D models with the same set of anatomical landmarks. Along with the connectivity table, the input into the module is a 3D model and its accompanying set of fixed landmarks. |
| ProjectSemiLM | A utility for transferring a template of semi-landmarks to new 3D models using the thin plate splines (TPS) warp. Requires a current set of corresponding anatomical landmarks in the template and target models. |
| MarkupEditor | A plugin that enables selecting and editing subsets of dense semi-landmarks by drawing an arbitrary closed curve in the 3D viewer using right-click context menus in the 3D viewer. Selected landmarks can be removed from the current node or copied into a new fiducial node. Grouping landmarks into anatomical regions is useful for downstream analyses. |
| ALPACA | ALPACA provides fast landmark transfer from a 3D model and its associated landmark set to target 3D model(s) through point cloud alignment and deformable registration. Unlike the PlaceSemiLMPatches or ProjectSemiLM modules, it does not require the presence of fixed landmarks to transfer the landmarks. |
| GPA | Performs generalized Procrustes analysis (GPA) with or without scaling shape configurations to unit size, conducts principle component analysis (PCA) of GPA-aligned shape coordinates, provides graphical output of GPA results and real-time 3D visualization of PC warps, either by using the landmarks of mean shape or a reference model that is transformed into the mean shape. |
| Animator | A basic keyframe-based animation of 3D volumes. Supports interpolation of regions of interests, rotations, and transfer functions for volume rendering. Output can be either as an image sequence of frames or compiled into mp4 format. |
| SegmentEndoCranium | Automatically segments the endocranial space in a 3D volume of a mammal skull. |

Conclusion

The future of morphology is digital and 3D. With the emergence of machine learning models that use deep learning, the usability of 3D digital datasets, whether from human or non-human organisms, is certain to increase. Even now, most routine segmentation tasks using clinical datasets are fully automated with pretrained AI models of things such as the brain, liver, lung, and many other organs (Diaz-Pinto et al., 2022). Each day, these models are

getting faster and better at accurately predicting the locations of these structures in clinical exams. The world is seeing the extensions of these AI applications being applied to model organisms; for example, the MEMOS extension by the SlicerMorph team estimates the segmentation of 50 anatomical structures from a developing mouse fetus (E15) in less than one minute when the pretrained model is run on a GPU (Rolfe & Maga, 2022). Developing similar models for biological anthropology is only a matter of time for (and interest from) the community, whether these are forensic or osteo-archaeological applications (e.g., identifying individuals from skeletal remains, accurately estimating body parts, 3D reconstructions).

Therefore, having the next generation of biological anthropologists be proficient in digital morphology as much as they are proficient in osteology, vertebrate morphology or human physiology is crucial, and this goal is best accomplished by incorporating digital morphology into the curriculum. Obviously, the choice of platform will have a tremendous impact on how the new generation of scientists will be trained. Using an open and extensible platform such as 3D Slicer has the potential to create a transformation in biological anthropology, not unlike the one caused by the emergence of the R statistical language 20 years ago, where within a single generation, R completely transformed how biostatistics courses are taught in the life sciences.

I encourage both instructors and students of biological anthropology to explore the opportunities afforded by the Slicer ecosystem. This starts with being able to work with all the available open-licensed digital specimens on the Internet and continues with being able to collaborate without borders and institutions free of cost. More importantly perhaps, tools such as SlicerMorph and the many other available extensions are not necessarily developed by computer scientists but by domain scientists who are solving a challenge and sharing the solution with their community.

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Varicolored Wool in Ancient Treatment Rituals

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ABSTRACT

The first use of wool occurred in ancient Mesopotamia as a result of the domestication and selective breeding of sheep. As civilization developed in southern Mesopotamia in the late 5th and 4th millennia BC, evidence from that time implies that pig and cattle farming began to give way to nomadic goat and sheep-herding. This development can be seen by looking at the economy of the region, where sheep became a status symbol. The trade network clearly demonstrates the status symbol and the significance of wool for that region. It was among the most significant goods exported to nearby civilizations. The literature of the Mesopotamians reveals the significance of wool in terms of the divine character. It was given to temple inhabitants for use in a variety of ways. For example, it was used as payment for goods and services and it was initially used to produce blankets, pillows, cushions, carpets, ropes, chariots, equestrian equipment, and textiles. This thing also had value as a ceremonial object for ancient Mesopotamians and, indirectly, Hittites in Anatolia. The use of multicolored wool, particularly in these ancient societies' healing rituals, is quite astounding. One of the most prevalent items in ancient Mesopotamian medicinal ritual practices was wool of various colors, which was mentioned in therapeutic ritual literature. Many of these customs were passed on to the Hittites through the substantial commercial network with Anatolia during the Assyrian trade colony period. Hittite religious rites utilized wool of various hues. Hittite society relied on wool to absorb and purify dangers and evils in religious life. The purpose of this study is to investigate the role that wool had in ancient Mesopotamian and Hittite healing rites.

Keywords: Disease in Antiquity, Ancient Mesopotamia, Treatment Rituals, Varicolored Wool



Introduction

Trade-related Mesopotamian literature, particularly those from the Old Babylonian period in the early half of the second millennium BC, put Mesopotamia forward as the land of wool (Breniquet & Michel, 2014, p. 1). The domestication and selective breeding of sheep led to the first instances of wool exploitation. Archaeozoological evidence suggests that the husbandry of pigs and cattle started to give way to nomadic goat and sheep-herding in southern Mesopotamia as urbanization began to spread there in the late 5th and 4th millennia BC. The economy of the Ubaidian chiefdoms, in which sheep evolved into an animal of prestige, should be considered proof of this development (Breniquet & Michel, 2014, p. 2).

The sign of prestige and the importance of wool for that region is clear in the trade network. It was one of the most important export items to neighboring civilizations. The Old Assyrian period's written record, which spans roughly 1970–1715 BC and corresponds to the early Middle Bronze Age in archaeological terms, provides a wealth of details about the economic and social conditions in the vast network of Assyrian trading settlements that were spread throughout modern-day Turkey. The site produced 23,000 inscribed artifacts, which is significant evidence of the Assyrians' long-distance international trade in precious fabrics and tin. Copper, locally manufactured textiles, and wool were the three principal goods traded in this transaction (Dercksen, 2004, pp. 181–190). The documentation mostly refers to wool as a trading commodity. Although there is little information available on production, processing, and consumption, certain adjectives used in the written record can provide some information (Lassen, 2014, p. 258).

The importance of wool in terms of divine aspects is revealed in Mesopotamian literary works. In Sumerian debate, the fundamental components of Sumerian civilization were occasionally the subject of incisive analysis, which tended to emphasize their use by the human race rather than their economic significance. Thus, a discussion of grain and sheep declares them to be the divinely appointed twin cornerstones of Sumerian society (Foster, 2014, p. 116).

Many different techniques and objectives were employed with wool. It was used to make blankets, pillows, cushions, carpets, ropes, chariot and equine equipment, fabrics and felts; it was distributed to temple dwellers for use in various ways; it served as payment for products and services (Biga, 2014, p. 142). Besides these usages for Ancient Mesopotamians and in a roundabout way Hittites in Anatolia, this item carried value as a ritual object. Especially in the treatment rituals of these ancient societies, the usage of varicolored wool is so impressive.

Disease and Treatment in Antiquity

Religion, magic, and medicine were inseparable concepts in antiquity. Acts that could be included in the field of medicine include ritual practices and spells that were central to

the belief system. Even if the method of treatment was aimed at physical healing, scientific reality permeated religious reality and was part of faith, which was the only absolute value for ancient people. In this context, there was a collective practice in ancient Mesopotamia and contemporaneous societies to eradicate an individual's illness, to restore them, and to end their suffering (Jastrow, 1914, p. 42; Biggs, 1995, p. 5; Benzel et al., 2010, p. 42).

Evidence of medicine and treatment methods in ancient Mesopotamia can be found primarily in medical texts as the main source. In addition, letters and other literary texts are among the sources that shed light on the medical knowledge of the period. The earliest medical prescription obtained so far is in Sumerian and belongs to the III Ur Dynasty. Medical texts were most abundant in the Neo-Assyrian period and most of them came from the library of Asurbanipal. In the second millennium BC, there were not many medical texts in Mesopotamia. However, numerous medical texts from the Neo-Babylonian period have been found elsewhere, such as in Hattusa, the capital of the Hittite Kingdom (Biggs, 1995, p. 1).

The texts consisted primarily of complaints, herbal concoctions, instructions, and ingredients, but also of prescriptions for various techniques involving supernatural forces, including magical instructions for warding off demons and warding off the diseases they caused. In this context, health texts contained instructions combining two types of treatment: medical (ařutu) and magical (ařiputu).

Ařipu used a combination of spells to support the herbal treatments practiced by Asû. Many gods came to Ařipu's aid in healing rituals. Ama, the sun god, represented justice by healing someone who did not deserve to be sick. Enki/Ea, the god of fresh water, was the greatest resource deity that ařipu could consult, especially in purification rituals. Ea was also the god who transmitted medical knowledge to humanity through his son Ařalluhi (later known as Marduk). The goddess Gula was the protector of Ařipu as the healing deity who understood illness and of Asû, the curative specialist, who was described as a kind of doctor. The goddess Gula was the patroness of Ařipu, the healing god who recognized illness, and Asû, the curative specialist, who was described as a kind of doctor. Gula was also the mother of the god Damu, another god of healing, who was known to drive away demons and bind broken bonds. From these gods, humanity was endowed with a piece of magic that helped in healing (Scurlock, 2005, p. 313).

Eliade, who examined the causes of disease within a historical framework, stated that in primitive societies, the disease was believed to be caused by an external element linked to demons or spells, such as touching a non-pure object that interfered with the organism, breaking the laws of ritual, or it was believed to be a destiny from the divine world. In this context, he emphasized that the first cause of the disease was located in the magical order (Eliade, 2002, p. 74). Since the main sources of diseases in Mesopotamian society were linked to supernatural forces, it is quite plausible that the solution was also in mystical

areas and ceremonial practices accompanied by the priest Ašipu. In the reality created by society, treatment practices turned into ritual practices in which a wide variety of objects were used.

The Use of Wool in Medical Applications

It is understood from ancient written texts that many different objects were used in the treatment rituals practiced in ancient Mesopotamia and the Hittites where the trade network developed with Assur. One of the most interesting features of these objects is the use of wool of different colors, the purpose of which is open to many interpretations. A great deal of detailed information can be gleaned from the clear instructions in Mesopotamian healing ritual texts dating to the middle of the second millennium. In addition to the instructions that have become a part of the ritual tradition, such as the organization of the ritual setting, the preparation of incense, the making of offerings to specific deities, and the practice of libation, other necessary directives are also clearly stated. The instructions also include a warning to dispose of ritual equipment after all practices.

In Mesopotamia, wool, a product primarily used to meet the need for clothing, also appears in many rituals, in different colors, and for different purposes. Goff mentions that knots were tied in red or blue wool and precious stones such as agate and lapis lazuli were placed on these knots to protect against danger, to maintain good fortune, or to prevent a pregnant woman from miscarrying (Goff, 1956, p. 18). In the example of a ritual applied to a pregnant woman who miscarries, wool was used along with precious metals. The treatment ritual text discovered in Uruk describes a ritual for the healing of a woman who suffered multiple miscarriages and eventually became pregnant but became ill due to the miscarriages. The ritual contains three different rituals within itself.

The first ritual of it involved the preparation of two amulets. At sunset, the woman was taken to a separate place. She was shaved and her hair was placed on a piece of skin, which was placed in a new leather pouch and tied around her neck. Copper beads, lapis lazuli stones, masculine stones, and magnetic bloodstones, were strung on a string and placed on red wool. These were wrapped in three balls of red wool and put in the woman's right hand (Scurlock, 2001, pp. 215-216).

Wool was most commonly used in rituals to cure illnesses caused by supernatural evil forces. To protect against certain diseases caused by demons, the patient was instructed to do the following: "Spin white and black wool into yarn. Tie the white wool in front and at the top of the bed. Give the spun black wool to his left hand." (Jastrow, 1898, p. 290; Pinches, 1906, p. 112). The Muššu (rubbing) treatment ritual also involved wool and binding. "Bind his hands and feet with the wool of a lamb and a child, and wrap red wool around the bed" (Böck, 2002, p. 7). To cure a patient haunted by a ghost, wool was tied in various colors around the patient's head to ward off the ghost (Goff, 1956, p. 19).

The motif of spinning and tying woolen yarn is also found in the burning rituals of “Šurpu”. In the Šurpu ritual, the sick person did not know exactly what he had done to the gods and how he had angered them, and it was believed that he was in this state because of his own mistakes. This meant that he had to take a more active role in the ritual performed for him (Reiner, 1958, p. 36).

UTTU took the groove in her hand. Ištar prepared UTTU’s groove and made the woman with the beard sitting in front of it; she spun a piece of white wool and black wool. It became a double thread, a perfect thread, a magnificent thread, a colored thread, the thread that cuts the curse, the thread that resists the evil omen. He tied the thread that cuts the curse to this man’s head, to his hands and feet, so that Marduk, the son of Eridu, could break it with his pure hands. May he take away the thread that represents the curse, may the evil spirit stay away, may this man be purified and cleansed (Reiner, 1958, p. 34).

In the Šurpu ritual series, the purifying effect of fire through destruction is striking. The god of fire was invoked to burn all objects that symbolized the evil forces haunting a person. In this ritual, various objects such as onions, dates, straw, and wool were burned after certain procedures, and prayers were offered to the fire god during the destruction: “The sick person peels the onion and throws it into the fire, peels the dates and throws them into the fire, unties the wicker weave and throws it into the fire, pulls out a ball of wool and does the same, pulls out goat hair and does the same, pulls out red wool and does the same, and the sick person wipes himself with a handful of and throws it into the fire” (Reiner, 1958, p. 1).

The sick person would speak of the burning away of the disease in his body, skin, and veins, in the same way, that objects are treated in ritual settings, and that Girru would bring light when he burned them all. This kind of lamentation and invocation of the god of fire is common in the series. It was believed that burning objects such as onions, dates, and wool would relieve suffering.

Another medical condition in which wool was used in ancient Mesopotamia was birth rituals. Rituals associated with childbirth in Mesopotamian societies include actions centered on the moment of birth, combinations of words, symbolic objects, and the repeated utterances and required performances of the mother or birth attendants. Hammons’ study reveals that there are approximately seventy-five ritual and literary texts associated with childbirth that have been uncovered in Mesopotamia. Mesopotamian birth rituals, broadly speaking, involved three distinct elements. One was a list of objects to be used in the ritual, such as stones, wool, animal bones, muscles, and the cremated ashes of animals, which were believed to have symbolic power (Hammons, 2008, p. 7).

As can be seen from the ritual examples mentioned above, wool of different colors was one of the most common objects in ancient Mesopotamian medical ritual practices. Thanks to the extensive trade network with Anatolia during the Assyrian trade colony period, many of these practices were transferred to the Hittites. In Hittite religious rituals, wool of various

colors was used in rituals. For Hittite society, wool had the properties of absorbing and cleansing impurities and evil in religious life.

In the Zarpiya ritual for epidemics, black, red, and yellow wool were wrapped together. In Tunnawi's ritual, men and women wrapped/plugged their ears with black wool. Blue and red wool were also used during the ritual (Turgut, 2018, p. 210). In Anniwiyanni's ritual, blue and red wool were wrapped around her feet, hands, throat, and the four legs of her bed: "and when it is dusk, first of all on the feet, hands, and throat of the ritual practitioner, and also on his bed, and the four feet are wrapped first of all with multicolored woolen cloth (standard blue wool)..." (Sturtevant, 1927, p. 7; Peled, 2010, p. 70).

In the ritual for a person who was depressed for religious reasons, white, blue, red, and black wool were cut into small pieces and thrown into the torch with straws. "... Then the man takes the white, blue, red and black(!?) balls of wool. And he removes small pieces from each of the balls. He throws them into [the torch] with straws..." (Beckman, 2007, p. 74). The throwing of pieces of wool into the torch was probably practiced for the purpose of the Mesopotamian Šurpu ritual.

Conclusion

As urbanism grew in southern Mesopotamia in the late 5th and 4th millennia BC, there were nomads there grazing goats and sheep. Wool became important in the area as a result, and the written record of the Old Assyrian Period, which roughly corresponded to the early Middle Bronze Age in archaeological terms and lasted from 1970 to 1715 BC, provides a wealth of information about the economic and social circumstances in the vast network of Assyrian trading settlements that were dispersed throughout modern-day Turkey. The 23,000 inscribed artifacts found at the site provide important proof of the Assyrians' extensive international trade in valuable textiles and tin. The three main commodities exchanged in this deal were copper, wool, and textiles made in the area. Ancient Mesopotamia was promoted as the land of wool, particularly in texts from the Old Babylonian period in the first half of the second millennium BC.

Although wool is largely mentioned in the record as a commercial commodity, its importance as a ritual object in daily life was striking. It was used for a variety of tasks, including the production of everyday items like clothing, blankets, and pillows. Along with serving these purposes, this object also had value as a ceremonial object. The use of wool in various colors, particularly in the healing rites of these ancient societies, is fascinating. One of the most prevalent items in ancient Mesopotamian medicinal ritual practices was wool of various colors, which was mentioned in therapeutic ritual literature. Religion, magic, and medicine were intertwined in ancient Mesopotamia.

Ritual activities and spells that were essential to the belief system can be considered acts in the realm of medicine. Varicolored wools were wrapped around the patient during some

rites, and in others, these wools were burned. Many of these customs were passed on to the Hittites because of the substantial commercial network with Anatolia that existed during the Assyrian trade colony period. Hittite religious rites utilized wool of various hues. Hittite society relied on wool to absorb and purify pollutants and evil in religious life.

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Sosyal Bilimlerin Araştırma Nesnesi Olarak Bilim

Science as the Research Object of Social Sciences

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ÖZ

Bu makale, bilimsel pratiklerin bir araştırma nesnesi olarak nasıl ele alındığını soruşturmaktadır. Makalenin odağı, antropoloji ve sosyoloji disiplinleri başta olmak üzere sosyal ve beşerî bilimlerin kendi disiplinler gelişimleri sürecinde bilime nasıl yaklaştıkları sorusudur. Klasik antropolojinin kültür merkezli analizleri erken dönem bilim çalışmaları olarak sayılabilir. İlerleyen dönemlerde, bilimi başlı başına bir düşünme etkinliği olarak ele alan araştırmalar ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu tür araştırmalara yöneliş, bilimi makro kültüre bağımlı bir alan olarak kabul eden anlayıştan kendi başına bir kültürel inşa süreci olarak gören bir anlayışa geçiş sağlandığını göstermektedir. Bu yaklaşım farklılaşmasında bilim etnografilerinin teşvik ettiği inşacı çözümler belirleyici olmuştur. Makale, bilim araştırmalarında gözlemlediğimiz kavrayış değişimini tartışırken, öncü çalışmalara odaklanarak, bilimin bir tür süreklilik arz eden entelektüel faaliyet içerdiğini ve bağlamsal nesnellik üretme kapasitesine olanak sağladığını ileri sürmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erken dönem bilim çalışması, bilim etnografisi ve antropolojisi, bilimsel nesne olarak bilim, kültürel nesne olarak bilim, bilim sosyolojisi

ABSTRACT

This article investigates how scientific practices are studied as objects of research. It asks how the social sciences and the humanities, particularly the disciplines of anthropology and sociology, have approached science in the process of their disciplinary development. Culture-oriented analyses of classical anthropology can be considered as early science studies. In the following periods, a growing body of research has emerged that focuses on science as a thinking activity per se. Orientation towards this kind of research indicates a transition from an understanding of science as a field dependent on macro-culture to a perspective that views it as a process of cultural construction in its own right. This shift in approach is marked by constructivist analyses offered by ethnographies of science. The article, discussing the shifting understandings of science, takes up leading research to examine how science involves continuous intellectual engagement and enables the capacity to produce contextual objectivity.

Keywords: Early science study, ethnography and anthropology of science, science as a scientific object, science as a cultural object, sociology of science



Extended Abstract

The study of science, or its contextualization and conceptualization, is a fairly typical activity in social sciences these days. A century and a half ago, however, when science and social science had yet to even be institutionalized at least in their present sense, turning science into an object of research might have been considered too innovative. In this respect, although viewing science as an object of research was difficult when the positivist dominance in social sciences had yet to be eliminated, Edward Burnett Tylor's conception of Primitive Culture ([1871] 2010) marks an important investigative moment. His name is the one that initiated the early study of science, both because of his methodological approach from an evolutionary cultural view as well as his treatment of science in the identity of primitive religion. Other names undoubtedly accompany his, such as the functionalists Bronisław Malinowski ([1948] 1990, [1944] 1992) and Émile Durkheim ([1895] 2004, [1912] 2005; Gieryn, 2010), who had made certain inferences about what science provides for the practical world. All three share a unifying point in their own way, namely that science is a part of the community's macro-culture in which it exists. In their time, science was not yet something researched on its own.

Meanwhile in the 20th century, as positivist philosophy was criticized, a new generation of science studies emerged with a more distinctive framework (Hollis & Lukes, 1982, p. 1). In this regard, Robert Merton's (1938) explanation of the cultural motivations that drove the science in 17th-century England is important for offering a parallel account to the Protestant Ethic. Likewise, Ludwik Fleck's ([1935] 1979) understanding of science as an intellectual thought process similarly enabled a framework derived from the sociocultural context. However, these frameworks still remain unable to deal with science in an autonomous manner.

The new epistemologies that developed during the 1970s offered innovative methodologies for filling this gap. In particular, the ethnography of science has treated scientific communities - laboratories and research institutes in particular- like "primitive tribes" (Serdar, 2001, p. 53, as cited in Ögütle & Balkız, 2010, pp. 16–17; Weiner, 1995, pp. 15–17). Latour and Woolgar ([1979] 1986), for example, have conceptualized the scientific site as a network structure and a communication organization. Sharon Traweek ([1988] 1992) is another researcher who has compared the established cultural patterns among different scientific communities, with a focus on how gender roles are embedded in the scientific field. Meanwhile, another ethnography led by Max Charlesworth et al. (1989) has demonstrated how eminent scientists provide a culture of inspiration for future generations of colleagues. This new initiative was important in two respects. First, a shift had occurred from ethnography as a science to the ethnography of science, so both methodological innovation and authentic conceptions of science had now become possible. Second, studying the autonomous and contextual functioning of science was more fruitful. Hence, science was no longer coded as a part of the macro-culture but was instead recognized as a field of culture in its own right and therefore possessing its own cultures (Franklin, 1995).

At a general level, these three ethnographies of science were certainly similar in the following aspect: Science is a communicative organization with its own contextual culture. Based on these considerations, this article argues that science involves a kind of continuous intellectual engagement and enables the capacity to produce contextual objectivity.

Giriş

Bilim, en kısa ifadeyle, titizlikle yürütülen bir araştırma ve bilme sürecidir. Doğada ve toplumsal yaşamda merak uyandıran her şey araştırma nesnesi olmaya adaydır. Bununla birlikte, bilimin kendisini benzer bir titizlikle soruşturmak da mümkündür. Bunun gerçekleştirilmesi de sosyal ve beşerî bilim metotlarını kullanmaktan geçer. Bu makalede, bilimin bir araştırma nesnesine dönüşümünü antropoloji ve sosyoloji disiplinleri özelinde tartışmayı planlıyorum. Bu çerçevede ilk olarak, pozitivist bilime yüklediği anlamları, konumları ve buna karşıt duruşları irdelleyeceğim. Ardından, erken dönem bilim çalışmaları olarak nitelendirilebilecek klasik ve kurucu antropolojik-sosyolojik yaklaşımlardan bilim etnografisine doğru gelişen çok disiplinli bir araştırma hattını ele alacağım.

Bilimsel pratiğin özellikle 19. yüzyılda kazanmış olduğu ivme ile, var olanın bilinmesi isteğinin pozitivist epistemoloji ile çakıştığını söylemek mümkün. Pozitivistin temel gayesi, genel olarak gerçek ve var olan dünyanın bilgisini elde etmektir. Bunun tek yolu ise duyumsanabilir nesnelerin, sistematik gözlem ve ampirik metot ile çalışılmasından geçer (Acton, 1951, s. 291). Kuruluş sürecindeki modern bilim tarafına bu metodoloji, bilimsel bilme yolunun yegâne arketipini temsil eder ve herhangi bir başka bilme yolu noksan ve güvenilmez bulunur (Comte, 2000, s. 29). Bu dönemde pozitivist görüş, doğanın ve diğer tüm olguların modern anlamda bilimsel olarak çalışılması için en sistemli paradigma olmaya adaydır. Aynı görüş, fiziksel nesnelerin ve doğal olguların araştırılmasına yönelmiş doğa bilimlerinin dışında kalan diğer disiplinler için de temel metot ve epistemolojiyi tayin etmede hayli hevesli olmuştur (ibid. s. 50). Bu hususta bilhassa Auguste Comte'un *Pozitif Felsefe Dersleri*¹ ([1844] 2015) isimli eseri, kararlı bir yol haritası çizmektedir. Antropoloji özelinde pozitivist metot ve epistemoloji, biyolojik evrimin kültürel evrim olarak tercüme edilmesiyle uzunca bir süre disipline egemen olmuştur. Edward Burnett Tylor'ın "ilkel" ve "uygar" kültür analizlerinde bu perspektif, yoğun bir şekilde görülebilir. Keza sosyolojide de pozitivist metot, adeta kurucu unsur niteliğine bürünmüştür. Comte'tan aldığı ilhamla hareket eden Émile Durkheim, bu metodu benimsemiş en önde gelen isimdir.

İlerleyen yıllarda, disiplinler daha da kurumsallaştıkça her bir disiplinin kendi içinde öz soruşturmaları görünürleştiğinden bir tür epistemolojik ve metodolojik muhasebe yapıldığı görülür.² Nitekim bu yeni süreçte pozitivistin, sorgulanamaz nitelikteki meşruiyeti zayıflamış, karşıtlarından gelen yoğun eleştiri yağmurları sırasında belli revizyonlara tabi tutulmuştur. Bunun işaretlerini, bilimsel olguların mutlaklığına ve bunların a posteriori ifadelerine eğilen pozitivistin, sosyal-kültürel bağlamı hariç tutan katı metodolojisinde görebiliriz. Öyle ki bilim, pozitivism nezdinde tamamen nesnel ve katıksız bir niteliğe

1 Bu eserde Comte, bir bilimler hiyerarşisi kurgulayıp, bugünün sosyal bilimlerine mensup özerk disiplinleri, doğa bilimsel metodolojiye tabi olması gereken disiplinler olarak düşünmüştür. Bu ayırım ve diğer bir adıyla "bilim savaşları", yüz yılı aşan bir zaman dilimi boyunca ve hatta güncel durumda dahi bilim felsefesi ve çalışmaları ile sosyal bilimler içerisinde hararetle bir şekilde tartışılır. Pozitivism bağlamında bu tartışmayı antropoloji ile birlikte sergileyen bir çalışma için bkz. Roscoe, 1995.

2 Bu muhasebenin tarihsel koşulları ve ilişkilendirildiği politik süreçler için bkz. Reisch, 2016.

sahipken, ona karşı eleştiriler deneysel içerik taşımadığı gerekçesiyle bir kenara itilmiştir. Tam da bu noktada, mantık bilimci Hans Reichenbach, bilimsel bilginin nesnel ve katıksız oluşuna dair eleştirileri hafifletecek bir formülasyon önerir. Reichenbach, bilimin keşif ve gerekçelendirmeye endeksli iki tür bağlamı olduğunu ifade eder. Keşif bağlamı denilen nüfuz alanında bilimsel olgunun; toplumsal, siyasal ve kültürel unsurların olası etkilerine açık gelişimi düşünülebilir. Gerekçelendirme bağlamı ise bilimsel bilginin nasıl bir akıl yürütmenin ürünü olduğuna ve tutarlılığı konusunda mantıksal olarak incelemeye nasıl tabi tutulduğuna yöneliktir. Buna göre, keşif bağlamından herhangi bir çalışma, gerekçelendirme bağlamına etki edemezken keşif bağlamı bilimsel bilginin bilimselliğine hanel getiremez (Öğütte ve Balkız, 2010, s. 11-2). Keşif bağlamını çalışacak sosyal bilimler ve felsefe ile gerekçelendirme bağlamını tartışacak formal ve doğa bilimleri arasında ayrışma her zaman olduğu gibi burada da gün yüzüne çıkar. Bununla birlikte, Reichenbach'ın formülasyonunun bilimsel alanın özgün bir şekilde ele alınabilmesine ön ayak olduğunu söylemek mümkün. Benzer şekilde Hollis ve Lukes'in ifadesiyle bilim felsefesindeki bu kıpırdanma, sosyolog ve antropologları bilimin kendisini sorgulamaya cezbeden ana faktör olmuştur (Hollis ve Lukes, 1982, s. 1).

Tartışmanın ilerleyen kısımlarında, sosyal bilimler alanında bilimsel bilgi üretimini sorunsallaştıran kurucu metinlere odaklanacağım. Ancak, bu makalenin bilim sosyolojisi ve bilim antropolojisine giriş mahiyetinde bir literatür değerlendirmesi olduğunu, ele aldığım kurucu metinlerin eleştirel okumalarını bir başka çalışmada etraflıca ele alacağımı taahhüt ederek, not etmeliyim. Makalenin ilk kısmında, kültürü ilk kez kavramsallaştırmış olan ve kuramında evrimciliğin etkilerini apaçık gördüğümüz Edward Burnett Tylor ile işlevselci toplumsal kuramın sosyoloji ve antropolojideki temsilcilerinden Émile Durkheim ve Bronisław Malinowski'nin çalışmalarına yöneleceğim. Bir sonraki kısımda, sosyolojik düşüncede de benzer bir eğilimin ilk örneklerini gördüğümüz Robert K. Merton ile başlayan bilim sosyolojisi ve bu alana ilham kaynağı olmuş Ludwik Fleck'in düşüncelerini aktaracağım. Son olarak, bilimsel edimin etnografik bir çalışma sahasına evrilme sürecini üç öncül çalışma aracılığıyla tartışacağım.

Erken Antropolojik Düşüncede Bilimin Sosyal Ontolojisi

Antropolojinin 19. yüzyılda bir kültür bilimi olarak gelişiminde, Charles Darwin'in ufuk açıcı araştırmalarının payı büyüktür. Darwin'in etkisi büyük ölçüde, antropolojik bakışla incelenen kabileler ve topluluk sistemlerinin bilimsel olarak araştırılmasına eşlik eden evrimsel gelişim vurgusu olmuştur. Fakat bu doktrinsel ve metodolojik anlayışı kabul etmeyip antropolojik soruşturmada ırksal taksonomileri benimseyen James Hunt, insan ırklarının fizyolojik sürekliliğini ve poligenez³ görüşlerden hareketle Viktoryen Dönem antropolojisinin

3 Monogenez yani insan popülasyonlarının ortak kökenden geldiği görüşü ile poligenez yani farklı genetik kökenlerden türediği görüşünün, dönemin antropoloji disiplini nasıl bir yarı oluşturduğuna ve bu konunun her iki görüş nezdinde ırksal eşitsizlik hususunda nasıl bir tartışma meydana getirdiğine dair daha kapsamlı bir değerlendirme için bkz. Lorimer, 1988.

Darwin karşıtı formasyonunu savunur (Rainger, 1978, s. 52-3, 60). Hunt'ın, 1863'te kurucusu olduğu Londra Antropoloji Topluluğu'ndaki konumu vasıtasıyla gelecekte kültür bilimi olarak anılacak olan antropolojiyi evrimci görüşten ayrı tutacağı açıktır. Nitekim 1869'da Hunt'ın hayatını kaybetmesi ile bu ihtilaf çözülmeye başlamıştır. 1871'de Büyük Britanya ve İrlanda Kraliyet Antropoloji Enstitüsü'nün öncülleri olan, Londra Etnoloji Topluluğu ile Londra Antropoloji Topluluğu arasındaki birleşmenin, söz konusu doktrinsel ayrımı zayıflattığı söylenebilir.

Antropolojide evrimci yansımalar belki de en belirgin biçimde Edward Burnett Tylor'ın çalışmalarında görülür.⁴ Magnum opusu niteliğindeki *İlkel Kültür* ([1871] 2010), insan topluluklarının kültürel açıdan evrimsel bir zaman çizelgesinden geçtiğinin ifadesi olmuştur. Tylor'ın bu konudaki izahı oldukça açıktır:

“İnsanlığın çeşitli toplumları arasındaki kültürün durumu, genel ilkeler üzerinde incelenebildiği ölçüde, insan düşüncesi ve eyleminin yasalarının incelenmesine uygun bir konudur... öte yandan, uygarlığın çeşitli aşamaları, her biri önceki tarihin neticesi olan ve geleceğin tarihini şekillendirmede kendine düşeni yapmak üzere olan gelişme veya evrim aşamaları olarak kabul edilebilir” (Tylor, 2010, Cilt 1, s. 1).

Anlaşılabileceği üzere, Tylor uygarlık süreçlerini kültürün ardıl evreleri olarak anlamış, kabile-klan-grup tipi “ilkel” toplulukları, uygar toplumları dikkate alarak hem kronolojik hem de değer temelli bir sıralama ve karşılaştırmaya tabi tutmuştur. Bu açıdan, Tylor'ın ilerlemeci sosyal yapı düşüncesini ya da sosyal Darwinizmi kabul ederek antropolojik teoriyi evrimsel metodolojiyle sentezlediğini söylemek mümkün (Sera-Shriar, 2015, s. 147-50). Dolayısıyla, onun antropolojik teorideki konumu ile bu yazıda ele alındığı şekliyle araştırma nesnesi olarak bilime bakışını, bu açıdan değerlendirmek olasıdır. Nitekim, yukarıda bahsi geçen çalışmada, din ve mit sistemlerini, bir çeşit erken ya da ilkel bilim veyahut bilme metodu şeklinde tasavvur edecektir.

Tylor, öncelikle animizm olarak gördüğü “ilkel” dini, doğa ile bir çeşit ilişki kurma biçimi şeklinde düşünmüştür. Bu ilişki biçimi, doğanın ve doğa üstü olan her şeyin kişileştirilmesi⁵ yoluyla somutlaştırılması üzerine kuruludur. Kişileştirme (antropomorfizm), animistik dinsel tecrübenin bir parçasıdır. Animizmi de hem bir dinsel tecrübe hem de insan-doğa etkileşimi olarak ele almak mümkündür. Kavramı ilk geliştirenlerden biri de yine Tylor olmuştur. Böylece tanrıların dahi tıpkı bir biyolojik varlık gibi yaşamsal özellikleri olduğu çıkarılır. Bununla birlikte “ilkel” düşünmenin, tahayyül edileni gerçek kılacak bir imgeleme sahip olduğunu söyler ki uygar düşünme bu yetiden yoksundur: “Yanıltıcı sonuçları nedeniyle ...

4 Bu vurguyu anlayabileceğimiz en belirgin ima, Tylor'ın antropoloji disiplini “Kültürün Bilimi” olarak nitelendirmesidir. Keza Kültürün Bilimi de kültürü mutlak suretle insan düşüncesi ve eyleminin düzenli ve öngörülebilir bir evrimi şeklinde anlamıştır. Bkz. Tylor, 2021.

5 Animizm ve kişileştirme yoluyla modern dönemde fen bilimleri eğitiminin verilmesine yönelik bir çalışma için bkz. Kallery ve Psillos, 2004.

ciddi bilimin güvenilir bulduğu analogiler ... bizim için hayal ürünü olsa da geçmiş insanlar nezdinde gerçektiler” (Tylor, 2010, Cilt 1, s. 269). Söz konusu olan şey, duyuşsal olmayan ve doğa üstü ruhsal varlıkların ilkeller tarafından deneyimlenme arzusudur. Bu noktada Tylor, dini ve dolaylı olarak miti, bir nevi “ilkel” düşünme metodu olarak ele almıştır. Ancak, dinsel animizmin onun “ilkel” düşünme dediği yani mitsel imgelemi dolayımıladıđı unutulmamalıdır. Ona göre ilkellerin gündelik yapıp etmelerinde eylemlerinin gerekçeleri nihai olarak mitsel bir düşünme biçimine dönüşür ve şeylerin olası nedenleri, var olduđu düşünölen doğaı fenomenlerin canlılığına referansla anlaşılır (Tylor, 2010, Cilt 1, s. 258). Daha açık ve özet bir ifadeyle, insan için her nesne aslında bir çeşit bilgi kaynağıdır. Buna göre bir edimi gerçekleştirirler veya pozisyon alırlar. Örneğın, Tylor aynı çalışmada, bir Asya kabilesi olan Kukilerin kaplan öldürme eylemini açıklar. Kukiler, eğer bir kaplan başka bir kaplanı ya da kendilerinden birini öldürürse bunu bir çeşit anomali olarak görürler ve o kaplanın yaşamına son verirler (ibid. s. 259). Buradaki amaç metafizik olarak yaşamı saııaştırma gayretidir. Böylece doğadaki rutin bir hareket ilk önce bir çeşit kanaat oluşturma işlevini yerine getirir ve bundan sonra ilkeller tarafından bu süreç mitsel bir gerçekliğe bürünür. Buna somut bir örnek olarak “günah keçisi” kavramı verilebilir. Kavram, ritüelleşmiş bir çeşit arınma etkinliğine referans vererek antik Yunan’da veba salgınlarını dindirmek maksadıyla fani birinin kurban edilmesini ifade eder.⁶

Tylor’ın çalışmaları ve ondan esinlenen etnografi, mitsel imgelemi bir çeşit bilgi edinme yolu olarak açıklamıştı. Öyleyse, bunun bilim ya da bizlerin bilim dediği nosyon ile nasıl bir ilişkisi bulunur? Dahası, antropolojik bir bakışla bilim ne şekilde kavranmıştı? Öncelikle, Tylor’ın “ilkel” dini yani animizmi bilimin prototipi olarak kavradığı söylenebilir. Tylor’ın her iki akıl yürütme şeklini de (animizm ve bilim) fiziksel dünyayı açıklama girişimi olarak kavradığı ileri sürölmüşüür (Segal, 2021, s. 348; 2002, s. 19-20; 1996). Hatta Segal’e göre Tylor, animizmi, “vahşı biyoloji” olarak değerlendirir. Uygur sayılan mekanik astronominin yavaş yavaş “ilkel” topluluklara özgü animistik astronominin yerini aldıđını ve animistik patolojinin de yerini biyolojik patolojiye bıraktığını iddia eder. Tylor’daki bu imaların temelinde, entelektöel düşünmenin ilksel biçimi olarak görölen “ilkel” düşünmenin felsefi potansiyeli yatar. Ancak yine de felsefeyi “ilkel” ve modern olarak ikiye ayırmıştı. İlkel olanda din yani animizm –ki burada animizmin mitsel kişileştirmeyi sağladıđı unutulmamalıdır– ve bilim türdeştir. Oysa modern felsefede din ve bilim ayrışır çünkü bilim kişileştirmelerden ve kişisellikten uzak bir şekilde kendi başına nedenseldir. Modern din kavrayışı ise sadece etik açıdan işlevsel olabilir. Öte yandan Tylor, modern bilim ile onun “ilkel” hali denilebilecek olan mitsel imgelemi her halükârda uyumsuz görmektedir. Bunun nedeni ise mitin fiziksel olayları teleolojik yani ereksel bir şekilde açıklamaya çalışmasıdır. Örneğın güneşin doğması mitik düzeyde güneş tanrısının kararına bağılıdır ve eğer doğarsa bu, o tanrının güneşi doğdurması ile alakalı olacaktır. Kısaca, mit bu sürekliliği tanrısal bir buyruğa ve kuvvete atfederken modern bilim, kişisel olmayan ve kişisiz nedenler ile açıklamaya çalışır (Segal, 2002, s. 21-3). Bu noktadan bakıldığında Tylor’ın, miti “ilkel” bilim olarak görmesi iki açıdan

6 Bkz. Bremmer, 1983.

anlamlıdır. İlki, mit tıpkı bilim gibi fiziksel ve gerçek dünyadaki süreklilikleri açıklama gayretindedir. İkincisi ise, modern bilim Tylor'ın evrimci ve ilerlemeci uygarlık aşaması anlayışı çerçevesinde kendisine bir öncül bulmalıdır ki bu da ona göre evrensel olduğu bilinen mitin ta kendisidir. Nitekim “vahşi ve barbar aklın soruşturulması, mitolojinin incelenmesine ihtiyaç duyar” (Tylor, 2010, Cilt 2, s. 404).

Özetle, bilimin erken antropolojik teoride Tylor'ın çalışmalarındaki yeri, kısmen bağımlı bir değişken şekilde ele alınıp onun “ilkel” ve uygar ikilemi kurgusundan hareketle açıklanmıştır. Burada animistik düşünce bağımsız, bilim ise bağımlı değişken olarak alınabilir. Bağımlı olmasının sebebi, dinsel animizm teorisi ve onun imgesel kişileştirmeyi olanaklı kılan mit yorumudur. Şüphesiz bu bağımlılık modern anlamda bilim tarih yazımı geleneğinin henüz 19. yüzyılda yeterince gelişmemesinden kaynaklanır. Fakat Tylor'ın tüm çabasını, bilim tarihi perspektifiyle paralel olarak okumak da mümkündür. Bu açıdan özellikle “bilimsel gelişmenin olanaklar elverdiği kadar ayrıntısını içeren akıcı bir” tarihini yazmak 19. yüzyıl için fazlasıyla ana akım bir çabadır (Gavroğlu, 2006, s. 43, 48-52). Dolayısıyla Tylor da hem bilimsel gelişimi antropolojikleştirmiş hem de bilimsel aşamaları ayrıntılandırmıştır. Hatta George Sarton'un bilim tarihini kurumsal bir disiplin haline getiren çalışması ve çabaları⁷ göz önüne alınırsa, Tylor'ın da tıpkı Sarton gibi “bilginin bölünmezliğini ve de çeşitli uygarlıklardaki bilimsel gelişmeleri” ayrıntılandırması olağandır.

Öte yandan, klasik antropolojik yazında diğer bir kayda değer bilim kavrayışı, işlevselcilik içinden gelişmiştir. Burada özellikle bu hattın kurucu isimleri sayılan Émile Durkheim (kendisi aslında metodolojik açıdan kurucudur)⁸ ve Bronislaw Malinowski'den söz etmek gerekir. Durkheim da pozitivist bir epistemoloji ve metodolojiyi takip ederek toplumsal olguları fiziksel olgular olarak düşünmeyi ve onların da tıpkı doğada var olan şeyler gibi incelenebileceğini salık vermektedir (Durkheim, 2004, s. 71). Bu, sadece akademik bir tavsiye olarak kalmamış, onun sosyolojik çalışmalarında temel bir duruş halini almıştır. Fakat araştırma nesnesi bilim olunca Durkheim'a özgü bir bilim kavrayışı apaçık belirmez. Daha açık bir ifadeyle bilimsel bir bilim kavrayışı olmak yerine bilimi din vasıtasıyla düşünmek daha olasıdır. Durkheim'ın bir tür sosyolojizm yani toplumsal mutlakiyet kurguladığı ve bunu hem toplumsal olgulara hem de kurumlara mutlak suretle dayattığı açıktır (Moñivas, 2007, s. 20-1). Çalışmalarında ve özellikle *Dini Hayatın İlkel Biçimleri'nde*⁹ ortaya koyduğu toplum kökenli “ilkel” din ve mantıksal dolayım kavrayışları, söz konusu “ilkel” toplumsalın kendi bağlamından türeyen bilgi edinme pratiklerinin varlığına işaret eder. Dolayısıyla Durkheim'da din analizi için ve bundan hareketle bilim için geçerli olan bir analiz çerçevesi varsa bu, onların bilgi üretimine ve toplum aracılığıyla fertlerin dünya görüşüne sağladıkları katkıdır (ibid. s. 28). Durkheim, dini, sosyolojik bir açıdan açıklarken onun bir gerçeklik ürettiğini ve bu gerçekliğin de dünyayı pratik olarak

7 Bkz. Sarton, 1928.

8 Durkheim sosyolojisinin ve onun işlevsel ve yapısal analizinin sosyolojiden antropolojiye tercümesi ve özel olarak Malinowski'ye etkisi için bkz. Peacock, 1981, s. 998-99

9 Bkz. Durkheim, 2005.

tecrübe etmede yardımcı bir unsur olduğunu ifade etmiştir (Durkheim, 2005, s. 488, 503-4). “Eşyayı birbirleriyle ilişkilendirmeye, bunlar arasında içsel ilişkiler tespit etmeye, onları sınıflamaya ve sistematik hale getirmeye çalışırken” din ve bilim benzeşmektedir. Fakat ayrıldıkları noktalar, gerçekliğin dinde zorunluk ile sabit kalmasına karşın bilimde değişir nitelikte bir serbestiyet sunmasıdır. Spekülasyonlar vasıtasıyla gerçekliği kurgulayan din artık teoride yerini giderek bilime bırakır. Nitekim “her ikisi de aynı amaca ulaşmaya çalışsalar da; bilimsel düşünce *ve doğal olarak modern bilim*, dini düşüncenin yalnızca daha mükemmel bir şekilden ibarettir” (vurgu sonradan eklendi. ibid. s. 502). Bir Durkheim okuyucusu olarak Gieryn ise bu amaçsal benzeşmeyi, “gerçekliğin dini temsilleriyle modern bilimin kendi temsilleri arasındaki bağlantıya” yorar (2010, s. 488). Öyle ki bilim, kolektif bilinç yapısının –ki Durkheim için vazgeçilmez bir toplumsal unsurdur– bir başka dışavurumdur. Tıpkı din gibi bilimin temeli de topluma gömülüdür. Ancak yine Gieryn (ibid.), Durkheim’ın bilim ile dini bilgiyi ayırıştırmasına vurguda bulunarak bilimin gerçekliğini toplumsal kökenden bağımsızlaştırabildiğini, bunun aksine din ve mitolojinin ise bu bağı sürdürerek subjektif niteliklerini koruduklarını söyler.

Malinowski ise kendi çalışma prensibini, kısaca kültürün bilimsel olarak çalışılması şeklinde açıklar. Onun da “her kültürün çeşitli kurumlar halinde parçalanabileceği ve bütün kültürlerin bir dizi kurum tipine ortaklaşa sahip oldukları” gibi ön kabulleri vardır (Malinowski, 1992, s. 89). Malinowski, kültürü bir tümel kategori olarak alır ve tezahürlerden başlayarak genele ulaşır. Örneğin, insanların düşünce ve kabiliyetleri ile inanç yapıları ve yapıp etmelerinin tamamı kültürün ürünüdür (ibid. s. 66). Buna dolaylı olarak bilim ve büyü gibi belirli alt kategoriler de dahildir. Anlaşılacağı üzere Malinowski bilimi, kültürün bir parçası olarak değerlendirmiş ve onu yarı-özerk bir şekilde incelemiştir. Örneğin, *Büyü, Bilim ve Din* (1990) adlı eserinde belli başlı önermeler geliştirilerek bilimi hem bir kurum hem de bir pratik olarak sunmuştur. Çalışmanın başlangıcında, “Çevrenin İnsan Tarafından Ussal Bilinmesi” başlığı altında, her insan topluluğunun deneyimden temellenen bir mantıksal çerçevesi olduğunu ileri sürer (1990, s. 15-6). Ardından, söz konusu ussal deneyimin; uygar manada henüz sistematikleşmemiş bir bilim mi yoksa teorik derinliği olmayan, salt pratik ve ampirik zanaat ve sanattan türeyen teknik hünerler seti mi olduğunu sorgular. Bunu tartışırken kesin bir tavır sergilemekten ziyade, saha araştırması yürüttüğü Trobriand takım adalarında yaşayan yerlilerin yaşamsal pratiklerine başvurarak bir olasılıklar matrisi sunmaktadır. Örneğin, ada sakinlerinin sıradan bir avlanma etkinliğinde kıyı şeridinde ve sığ suda balıkları öldürmek için zehir kullanırken, açık denizde ve balık sürüsünün su yüzeyine çıkıp çıkmayacağı belirsizliği karşısında genellikle büyüye başvurduklarını tespit etmiştir (ibid. s. 20-1). Trobriand toplulukları, ussal bilgi ve yöntemlerinin işe yaradığı ve pratik olarak bu bilgilerin sonuç verdiği koşullarda, genellikle büyüye başvurmamışlardır.

Trobriand yerlileri örneğinden yola çıkarak, deneyim bilgisinin doğa ve doğa üstü karşısında yarar sağladığı ölçüde birincil olduğu ortadadır. Ussal bilginin yönlendirmiş olduğu çabaların işe yarar olduğunu deneyimlemişse ne zaman olursa olsun “ilkel” insan, bu bilgiyi görmezden gelmemiş ve yaşamsal ediminden esirgememiştir (ibid. s. 22). Bu faaliyetler

arasında bitki yetiştirme, tarımda verimli yöntemleri tercih etme, kanoların suda daha iyi yüzebilmesi için kullanışlı şekilde üretilmesi veya mücadelelerin beceriklilik ve soğukkanlılık olmaksızın kazanılamayacağı gibi hiç de büyüğü gerektirmeyen pratikler vardır. Malinowski belki bilimin modern anlam(lar)ına eğilmemiştir ama ele aldığı şekliyle bilimin doğa ve doğa üstü dünya için araçsal olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. En azından Trobriand yerlileri için durum böyle ifade edilebilir. İşlevselci teoriye uygun olan bu analiz, Malinowski'nin “ilkel” de olsa bilimin varlığını kabul etmesiyle örtüşür (ibid. s. 23-5). Bu klasik değerlendirme ile bilimin araçsallaşmasına dair yarım yüzyılı aşkındır süren eleştirel¹⁰ tartışmalar arasında ilişkiler kurmak, kuşkusuz mümkündür.

Klasik antropoloji açısından Tylor, Durkheim ve Malinowski özelinde, bilimin özerk bir şekilde incelendiği söylenemez. Zira Tylor için bilim mitten türemiştir ve analizlerinde ilerlemeci ve kültürel evrimci çizgiye bağımlı kalmıştır. Böyle bir bilim kavrayışı, en azından 21. yüzyıl bağlamında diyakronik yani öncül-ardıl ikilemiyle anlaşılabilir. Öte yandan, Durkheim için kolektif düşünce yapıları ve bağlamsal bilgi örüntüleri, kendisinin çalışmalarından örtük olarak türemektedir. Araştırma nesnesi kimliğinde bilime doğrudan eğilmemiş olsa da Durkheim'ın, bilimin sunduğu gerçeklik temsilinin toplumdan bağımsızlaştığına yaptığı vurgu oldukça önemlidir. Malinowski'de ise kültürel bir alt kategori olarak beliren bilim, pratik süreçlerin bir ürünüdür ve bulunduğu toplumda işlevsel olduğu sürece büyüünün karşısında öncelikli olmaktadır.

Özerk Bir Disiplin Olarak Bilim Sosyolojisinin Gelişimi

Bilim sosyolojisi, türevleri ve hatta karşı düşünceler, Robert King Merton'a çok şey borçludur. Merton çalışmalarının merkezine, daha sonra “Mertoncu Bilimsel Normlar” olarak bilinecek olan bilimin normatif yapısını ve kurumsallaşmasını koymuştur. Dolayısıyla aslında Merton bilimsel alanın sınırları içerisinden ama retorik bir bilim sosyolojisi tasarlar. Bir disiplin olarak bilim sosyolojisinin içsel (topluluk içi) ve dışsal (kurumlar/yapılar arası) olarak ikiye ayrılabilir teorik zeminini belirginleştirmiştir. Fakat Merton'un tasarımına geçmeden önce, bilim sosyolojisinin kurumsallaşmasını kolaylaştıran ve onu toplumsal tabandan besleyecek, ona alan açacak bazı ilham kaynaklarından söz edeceğim.

Bilime bir düşünme ve düşünce sarmalı olarak yaklaşan mikrobiyolog Ludwik Fleck'in, 1935'te yayımladığı *Bilimsel Bir Gerçeğin Kökeni ve Gelişimi*¹¹ adlı çalışması, kurucu bir

10 Bilimin araçsallaşması hakkında belki de Max Weber'e uzanan bir okuma yapılabilir fakat özellikle çalışmalarının büyük bir bölümünü bu konuya ayıran Frankfurt Okulu filozofları giriş için daha makuldür. Adı geçen tartışmaların belki de en derin örneği için bkz. Horkheimer ve Adorno, 2014, s. 11 vd.

11 Özgün adı *Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache. Einführung in die Lehre vom Denkstil und Denkkollektiv* olan kitabın İngilizceye çevrilmiş baskısında editör olarak Robert K. Merton'un katkısı ve önsözünde ise pozitivist kampa bilim tarihi ve felsefesi çalışmalarından geliştirdiği güçlü itiraz ve kritiklerle bilinen Thomas Kuhn'un değerlendirmesinin olması dikkate değerdir. Kuhn'un yazdığı önsözde, söz konusu eserin kendisinin entelektüel anlayışına kattığı zenginliği dile getirdiği pasajlar, hemen göze çarpar. Bkz. Fleck, 1979, s. vii vd. Diğer bir nokta ise bu metinde değinilmeyecek olan fakat yine de ileri okuma olarak bahsedilmesi gereken, bilim sosyolojisi alanına katkılarının azımsanamayacak kadar büyük olduğu bilinen

mihenik taşı niteliğindedir. Eserin önemi, bilimsel çalışma etkinliğinde araştırılacak olgunun kendi başına var olmasından ziyade onu bir “düşünce kolektifi” içinde ele almasından kaynaklanır (Ziman, 1987, s. 99-100). Fleck’in ana fikri niteliğindeki şu saptaması, bilimsel bir olgunun “sosyo-dinamik yaşam evrelerine” son derece açık bir kavrayış getirmektedir:

“Kabul görmüş pek çok bilimsel olgununun gelişimi biraz bilim öncesi durum, biraz müphemlik, biraz da ön fikirsel bağlantılarla –aralarındaki ilinti kanıtlanmasa bile– ilişkilidir” (Fleck, 1979, s. 23).

Anlaşılabacağı üzere Fleck, (bilimsel) olgunun keşfinden öncesini, tercihen gelişimini veyahut kökenini (genesis) odak noktasına almaktadır. Burada bahsettiği, ön fikirlerin ve bilim öncesi düşüncenin, potansiyel bilimsel olguya ilettiği talepler ve sağladığı koşullardır. Nitekim, kendi çalışmasında bu görüşünü gerekçelendirmek için sifiliz bakterisinin neden olduğu frengi hastalığına değinir. Bu hastalığın, 1905’te tıp çevrelerince tanımlanana kadar bir tür kötü şöhretli şehvet hastalığından medikal bir patolojiye evrilişini izlemiştir. Yüzyıllar boyu genel halk sağlığı için hem ölümcül hem de aşılayıcı olan ve cinsel yolla bulaşabilen bu hastalık, ona göre bilimsel çalışmaya doğru yol alan olgusal gelişim seyrinde sosyal yönden ivmelenmiştir (ibid. s. 15-23).

Fleck’in alana bir başka önemli katkısı ise düşünme tarzına olan vurgudur ki onun için düşünme, kolektif bir etkinliktir. Özellikle bu husus bilimsel olguların incelenmesi için inkâr edilemez bir sosyal biliş özümsemesidir, bilhassa onun epistemolojik özne olarak nitelendirilebilecek araştırmacısının gözünde durum böyledir (Siwecka, 2011, s. 39). Çünkü ona göre bu sosyal kökenli özümseme, kolektif düşünme tarzının “zihinsel ve nesnel özümsemesine karşılık gelen, yönlendirilmiş bir algıyı” sürdüren bir çeşit düşünce değış tokuşudur (Fleck, 1979, s. 44, 99). Düşünce değış tokuşu sayesinde düşünme, ister yüz yüze ister yazıyla olsun, işteş bir edimdir. Bu suretle düşünme etkinliğinin üyeleri, ele alınan olgu öncesi fikirleri ve bilim öncesi durumları hızlı bir şekilde birbirlerine öğretir. Böylece eli kulağında olan bir olgu adeta, onu bilen özneye kendisini dikte eder. Dahası bu olgu, söz konusu özne tarafından içselleştirilir. Nitekim Fleck özellikle “bilimsel oluşum anı” olarak adlandırdığı noktayı, araştırmacının hem biyolojik hem de entelektüel murislerinden ödünç aldığı olumlu ve olumsuz bilimsel gerçeklerin araştırmacının kendisinde zihinsel düzeyde pekiştiği an olarak açıklar. Bu sayede araştırmacı elinde bulunan ve bir nevi düşünce yumağı olan kolektif üründen kendi irade ve entelektüel pozisyonuna uyanı ayırt eder, tam tersi durumda ise hangi düşünce tekiline karşı duracağını anlar. Bunlardan en ötede ise Fleck’in de son söz olarak vurguladığı şekliyle “entelektüel çalışmanın kaçınılmaz bir şekilde minimum bir düşünce hevesiyle maksimum bir düşünce kısıtı” arasında gelişen akıbetidir (ibid. s. 94-5). Tüm bu fikri pozisyonlardan anlaşılan şey, Fleck’in bilimsel üretim için ve onun yegâne olmasa da –en azından sosyal bilimler alanında– üzerinde çalıştığı olgusal temelin sosyo-kültürel bir yüzünün göz ardı edilemeyeceğidir. Dolayısıyla Fleck’in önerileri Kuhn’un dile getirdiği gibi on yıllardır göz ardı edilse de tartışılır şekilde kurucu bir unsurdur.

Kuhn’un vizyonu için bkz. Hoyningen-Huene, 1992.

Bir bilim sosyolojisinden bahsetmek için sosyolojik terminolojide başat olan birkaç kavram ya da kuramsal bakışa önden sahip olmak gerekir. Bu prosedür, sosyolojik olması planlanan diğer çalışma alanları için de geçerlidir. Örneğin; tabakalaşma, iletişim, kamusal alan sosyolojisi vs. Söz konusu birkaç kavram ve kuramsal çerçeve, bir araştırma nesnesi olan bilime, sosyolojinin öngördüğü şekliyle –en açık ifadeyle– bakmayı elverişli kılar. Kısaca bilim-toplum-kültür sarmalında gelişen analiz çerçevesi, bu sayede olanaklı olur. İşte 1938’de Robert K. Merton yazdığı doktora tezinde bu çerçeveden hareketle çalışmasını ele almıştır. Tezinden türettiği çalışmasında Merton, bilimin kurumsallaşmasını mümkün kılan kültürel ve değer yönlü gelişimini merkezine alır (1938, s. 360). Bu çalışması, sonraki kuşaklar için ilk bilim sosyolojisi eseri adayı olma niteliğini taşır (Calhoun, 2003, s. 12). Merton bu çalışmada, 17. yüzyıl İngiltere’sinin seçkin Protestan ve Püritenleri arasında yayılan bilimsel faaliyetleri şekillendiren güdülere odaklanmıştı. Bu açıdan kuşku yok ki Merton, kapitalizmin gelişimi ile Protestanlık arasındaki ilişkiyi ortaya koyan Max Weber’den oldukça etkilenmiştir. Tıpkı Weber gibi o da Protestanlığın, toplum yapısında yeni bir zihniyet reformu sağladığını ve bilimsel faaliyetlerin de bundan güç aldığını iddia eder (Bucchi, 2004, s. 13). Merton, zamanın İngiltere’sinde kurumsallaşan bir bilim cemiyeti olan Kraliyet Cemiyeti¹² üyelerinin faaliyetleri gibi çeşitli tarihsel verileri kullanarak onların kendi aralarında gelişen ve giderek artan şekilde bilime gösterilen kıymet ve riayetden bahseder. Nitekim bunun yalnızca salt pratik amaçlar uğruna yapılmadığını, fakat “Protestan Etiğin” uygun gördüğü ölçüde “Tanrının Yüceltilmesi” için doğanın en açık biçimde anlaşılması gerekliliğinden doğduğunu öne sürer (Merton, 1938, s. 415-22). Bu noktada bilim ve onun etkinliği; rasyonalist düşünce, birey merkezli metodoloji ile türetilen deneysel çalışma, tümevarımsal akıl yürütmenin olanaklı kıldığı doğal tekillerden tümel yasalara ulaşma gibi yeni yönelimlerden fazlasıyla güç alır. En önemlisi ise “Protestan Etiğin” içselleştirdiği “kurtuluş miti” ile filizlenen sıkı çalışma disiplini gibi teşvikler, bilimin kurumsallaşmasına yardımcı olmuştur. Tam da Merton’un çalışmasının başlangıcında söylediği gibi bilimsel etkinlik, kültürel ve değer temelli motivasyonlar doğrultusunda yoğunlaşır. Modern bilimin İngiltere’deki Mertoncu seyri bu şekildeyken Fransa’da Aydınlanma filozoflarının doğa üzerindeki materyalist ve tanrı kavramının zorunluluğunu yadsıyan görüşleri, kuşku yok ki Fransız modern bilim kavrayışı ile İngiliz modern bilim kavrayışı arasında farklar olduğunu gösterir. Dahası Mertoncu açıklama çerçevesinin sadece din temelli ve kültürel motivasyon ekseninde gelişmesi elbette tek başına yeterli değildir. Bu karşılaştırmalı soruşturma, çok yönlü bir soru setine muhtaçtır.

Merton’un alan için kurucu niteliği olan bu çalışması, ardılları ile beraber düşünülmelidir. Öyle ki artık bilim insanlarının gözünden ve onların uyması gereken bir dizi bilimsel ethos veyahut sosyal kuralı detaylandıran yeni bir çerçeve sunar. “Bilimin Normatif Yapısı” olarak adlandırdığı bu yaklaşımla erken çalışmasıyla taban tabana zıt

12 Özgün adı, *The Royal Society of London for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge* olan Cemiyet 1660’a kadar uzanan kurumsal bir kimliğe sahiptir ve modern anlamda bilimsel kurum olma özelliğiyle bir ilktir. Bkz. McKie, 1960.

bir teori öne sürmüştür. Çünkü önceki incelemesinde bilimi toplumsal ve kültürel bir bağlamdan araştırırken (Merton, 1973, s. 173), bu çalışmada, bilimi, bağımsız bir topluluk olarak ve de genel toplum yapısından billurlaşan ve soyutlanan bir normatif alan olarak kavrar (Bucchi, 2004, s. 14).

Buradan hareketle, Merton, bilimsel alanın ve bilim insanlarının uyması gereken, bilimin de kendi içsel bütünlüğü lehine çalışacağı dört boyutlu normatif bir yapı önerir. Bu yapı, adeta, dışarıdan gelebilecek “saldırıya, dizginlemeye ve baskılara” karşı bilimsel alanın bağımsızlık kazanması için formüle edilmiştir (1973, s. 267-8). Merton, bu ilkesel normları veya onun tabiriyle “bilimsel ethosu” şöyle sıralar:

1. Evrenselcilik: Gayri şahsileştirilmiş bilimsel bulgular, gözlemlenmiş ve belgelenmiş doğru bilginin verdiği meşrulukla ama hiçbir kişisel niteliğin –ki burada Merton örnek olarak ırk, milliyet, din ve sınıf gibi unsurları sıralar– tesiri altında kalmayan bir nesnellik arz eder.
2. Komünizm: Bilimsel bulgularla birlikte çalışmanın materyali, bilim camiasının her üyesine açık şekilde olabildiğince bilimsel mülkiyetin asgarileştirilmesine dayalı olarak toplumsal iş birliğinin kullanımına açıktır.
3. Yansızlık: Bilimsel etkinlik, kurumsal denetimin ve kamusal hesap verilebilirliğin işletilmesi için yansız ve tarafsız olmayı gerektirir. Bunun temel nedeni, bilimsel alanın dışındaki şahıs ve kurumlarla alakalı bir güdülenime girilmemesi gerektiğidir.
4. Örgütlü Şüphecilik: Herhangi bir ortak yargının ya da inanç temelli kanaatin ister dinsel ister ekonomik isterse de politik olsun, bilimsel ethosa vuracağı ket kuşku yok ki bilime çekilecek sınırın zeminini oluşturur. Bunu olabildiğince aşmak için bilim insanları gayri şahsi kimlikleri hiçbir zaman elden bırakmamalıdır (Merton, 1973, s. 270-78).

Bilimin içsel düzen ve denge mekanizması olarak kavranabilecek olan bu normlar, kendi aralarında bir tür bağa da sahiptir. Bunu korumak için de yine iş, büyük oranda normlardan öte bilim insanının psiko-sosyal istikrarına kalır. Mertoncu bilim sosyolojisi, getirdiği normativiteyle birlikte bilimin kendi adına işlevsel olabilmesinin yazısız yasalarını vurgular. Buradaki temel amacı, “belgelenmiş ve meşru bilginin elde edilmesini” sürdürülebilir kılmayı teşvik etmektir (Sismondo, 2010, s. 8). Genel anlamda Merton, bilimsel gelişmeyi 17. yüzyıl İngiltere’inde Protestan zihniyeti ile birlikte ele alırken sonraki çalışmalarında bilimsel topluluğu dışarıdaki toplumsal dünyadan arındırmaya çalışmıştır. Böyle bir tasarım, Merton’un düşünsel gelişiminde zamansal olarak iki farklı yaklaşımı gösterir. İlkinde bilimi din ile birlikte düşünmüştür fakat ikincisinde onu tamamen arınık tutmaya yönelmiştir. Böylece bilim sosyolojisinin de daha başlangıcında bu yarı (özerk ve özerk olmayan bilim) kendini belli eder.

Bilim Etnografisi

Hem klasik antropolojinin bilim kavrayışı hem de Merton'ın kurucusu olduğu bilim sosyolojisi, 1960'lara değin akademide yerini koruyabilmiştir. Ancak, zamanla post-kolonyal, post-yapısalcı ve post-modern kuramların giderek güç kazanması, tüm disiplinlerde deyim yerindeyse bir kırılmanın yaşanmasına neden olmuştur. 20. yüzyılın ikinci yarısı, bağlam açısından kendine dönük, özdeşünümsel ve eleştirel perspektiflerin sosyal bilimlerle sınırlı kalmayan yeni girişimlerine tanıklık eder. Buna elbette bilimin kendisini araştırma nesnesi edinmiş çalışmalar da dahildir. Öncelikle, erken dönem bilim çalışmalarından uzaklaşan kuramsal/kavramsal eğilimlerin özellikle “bilim çalışmalarında”¹³ nasıl yankılandığı tartışmak istiyorum.

Bilimin ve teknolojinin gözünden Alvin Weinberg'in kaleme aldığı “Teknoloji Toplum Mühendisliğinin Yerini Alabilir mi?” (1967) makalesi dikkate değerdir. Her türlü toplumsal sorunun özellikle teknolojikleştirilerek çözülebile potansiyelini tartışan bu makale, bilim çalışmalarında problematik alanların gelişimi için emsal olmuştur (Layne, 2000, s. 353). Toplumsal olanı edilgenleştirmek veya bilimin mutlak reçetelerine uymak gibi “hakikat söylemleri”, özellikle Michel Foucault'nun “bilimsel söylem” olarak kodladığı iktidarın modern hallerine göndermede bulunur (2002, s. 23-6). Foucault'nun izleğiyle birlikte toplum içinde bilimin ve bilimsel bilginin varlığına dair soruşturmanın yaygınlaşması, yaşamın rutin akışında insanların tekno-bilimsel formasyon karşısında aldığı pozisyonlar, bilginin özneyi ve nesneyi dönüştürme potansiyeli, bilimsel uygulamaların kabul ve reddedilme gerekçelerine dair sorgulamalar, alanda giderek belirmeye başlar (Layne, 2000, s. 369). Dolayısıyla bilim çalışmalarının sosyal ve beşerî bilimlerden ve de bilhassa antropolojik teorilerden ve onun ampirik incelemelerinden yararlanmaya başlaması, bilimsel alanın da kendi başına bir tür toplumsal ve kültürel alan olarak kavranmasına aracılık eder. Artık bilimin makro kültürün bir parçası değil, aksine kendi başına bir kültür alanı olarak kodlandığı ve de ona ait alt-kültürlerin de var olduğu daha belirgin olarak gün yüzüne çıkar (Franklin, 1995). “Kültür kimliğinde bilimin” en önemli araştırmacısı belki de Ian Hacking'dir. “Tarihsel epistemoloji” önermesi, bu minvalde oldukça kullanışlıdır. Hacking, bir bilim filozofu olarak bilimi daha doğrusu bilim çalışmalarını tarihselleştirmiş, akıl yürütme ve bilme biçimlerinin nasıl mutasyona uğradığını açıklığa kavuşturmak için özgün şemalar kurgulamıştır (Hacking, 2002, s. 589; 2012).

1970'lere gelindiğinde ise bilim-kültür ikiliği hem klasik bilim sosyolojisinde hem de kültürel antropolojide giderek etkisini kaybeder. Önceki kavramsallaştırmalardan en bilindik olanı, bilimin makro kültür yapısının bir alt-kültürü olarak öne sürülmesidir. Bu yaklaşım, daha önce de değindiğim gibi hem Tylor'da hem de Malinowski'de görülmüştü. Fakat antropolojik odak, “ilkel” ve tarihsel toplumlardan modern toplumlara kaydıkça yeni bir

13 Kendinden geçerli (self-validity) olma iddialarına karşı bilimin ve bilimsel üretimin her türlü farklı bağlam, etkileşim ve toplumsal veçhesine uzanma amacı güden bilim çalışmaları, pek çok farklı isimle anılsa da ancak son yarım asırdır ivme kazanmıştır. Çalışma alanının tanıtımı, disiplinler arası genişliği ve kapsamı konusunda Türkçe'de çok faydalı olan bir kaynak için bkz. Ansal, Ekinci ve Kaşdoğan, 2018.

çerçevenin filizlenmesi kaçınılmaz olmuştur. David Bloor gibi yeni nesil bilim sosyolojisi araştırmacılarında bu dönüşüm açıkça görülebilir.¹⁴ Dahası antropolojinin ilgilendiği bilim çalışmasının sosyolojiye kıyasla sunduğu farklılık, modern öncesi ön-bilimsel pratiklere yöneliktir denilebilir. Bunun dışında, özellikle modern bilimin yeni dünya için arz ettiği anlam ve disiplinler arası ilişkiler ağı, var olan çalışmaların yeniden değerlendirilmesinde motivasyon kaynağı olacaktır.

1991-93 yılları arasında Amerikan Antropoloji Derneği'nin başkanlığını yapmış olan Annete Weiner bir dernek konuşmasında, bilimsel pratikle elde edilmiş olan bilgiyi ve bunun zeminindeki toplumsal koşulları, insani deneyimlerle somutlaştırmak gerektiğine vurgu yapar (1995, s. 15-7). Bunun temel gerekçesi, her şeyden önce özeleştirel olarak bilimin eleştirel pratiklere tercüme edilmesidir. Özeleştirici pratiği, araştırmacıların beslendikleri mevcut kuramsal açılar ile hesaplaşmalarını gerektirecektir. Hatta bilginin yerleşmesi ile bu noktada önemli bir somutluk kriteri yakalanmış olur. En azından bunu ummak, bir araştırmacı için yeni kapıları aralamayı mümkün kılma potansiyelini taşır. Ayrıca Weiner'a göre doğal dünyanın anlaşılmasına yönelmiş bir araştırma, yalnızca bilimsel pratiğin dışında kalan alanda değil bizzat bilimsel alanda da geçerlidir. Dolayısıyla Weiner'ın hedeflediği bilim çalışmaları ya da "bilim antropolojisi", kendisine yeni bir söylem alanı ve doğrudan olarak yeni bir metodoloji geliştirmelidir. İşte bu noktada, tıpkı "ilkel" toplulukların incelenmesi gibi bilimsel bilginin üretim alanlarının etnografik incelenişini önerir. Nitekim bu yeni etnografik alan, "bilim topluluklarının sanki kendi kuralları ve ritüelleri olan egzotik kabilelermişçesine" antropolojik bakışın nesnesine dönüşmüştür (Serdar, 2001, s. 53 akt. Öğütler ve Balkız, 2010, s. 16-7). Bu yaklaşımı benimseyen araştırmacı, modern bilim çalışmalarında eleştirel olmakla birlikte rölativist perspektiflerin de yaygınlaşmasına katkıda bulunur. Rölativizm vurgusu özellikle her etnografik sahanın tikel olmasından ötürü kaçınılmaz görülebilir. Bunun nedeni farklı bağlamlarda gözlenen ve yazılan etnografilerin, zorunlu olarak bağlama bağımlı kriterler türetmesidir. Bu nedenle Hacking (2002, s. 597) rölativizmin doğrudan rasyonaliteye engel olmayacağını, hatta bilimin tarihsel gelişiminin, kaçınılmaz bir şekilde farklı bağlamlara çevrilemez epistemolojiler türettiğini savunmuştur.

Şüphesiz ki Weiner'ın önerdiği bilimsel alan etnografisi Bruno Latour ve Steve Woolgar'a epeyce borçludur. Makalenin son kısımlarında bu yeni açılımların ilk örneklerini veren Latour ve Woolgar'ın inşacı yaklaşımını (1986), Sharon Traweek'in (1992) ve Max Charlesworth ile arkadaşlarının çalışmalarını (1989) ele alacağım. Söz konusu çalışmalar bilimsel pratiği etnografik veriye dönüştürdükleri kadar, antropolojik ve sosyolojik yönelimleri birleştirmeleri açısından da özgündürler.

14 David Bloor ve onun önderlik ettiği Edinburgh Okulu geleneği, Mertoncu bilim sosyolojisine bir itiraz ve onu genişletme projesi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Artık bilindiği şekliyle bilim sosyolojisi değil "bilimsel bilgi sosyolojisi" adı altında yeni bir önermeler seti gündeme gelmeye başlar. Dolayısıyla yeni nesil olarak bilinen bilim sosyolojisi daha ziyade bilimsel bilginin bizzat üretilmesine odaklanır. Yeni açılımlar ile ilgili detaylı bilgi için bkz. Bloor, 1991.

Laboratuvarda Bilimsel Olgunun İnşası: Bruno Latour ve Steve Woolgar'ın İnşacı Bilim Kavrayışı

Çok disiplinli çalışma alanına uzanan bir araştırmacı olarak Latour, tecrübe ettiği yoğun politik ve entelektüel duraklar açısından tipik bir 20. yüzyıl Fransız filozofudur. Her ne kadar post-modern düşünce sarmalına doğrudan katılmasa da en az çağdaşları kadar modern olanın eleştirisine katkıda bulunmuştur.¹⁵ Doktora tezini felsefi teoloji üzerine yazan Latour, deyim yerindeyse, antropoloji ile sosyoloji arasında mekik dokur (krş. Harman, 2016). Akademik ilgisini büyük oranda bilimsel alanlara ve bilimin toplumsal incelenmesine yönelterek Woolgar ile birlikte çalışmıştır. Öte yandan Steve Woolgar ise mühendislik kökenli bir sosyolog olarak özellikle bilgi sosyolojisindeki çalışmalarıyla tanınır.¹⁶ Her ikisi de bilimsel bilginin toplumsal inşasıyla ilgilidir. Dolayısıyla, çalışmaları literatürde etnografik metottan doğan tavizsiz bir inşacı perspektif ile anılmaktadır (Ziman, 1987, s. 7, 12).

Latour ve Woolgar, 1965 yılında Kaliforniya'da kurulan Salk Biyolojik Araştırmalar Enstitüsü'nde 1975 Ekim'i ile 1977 Ağustos'u arasında gerçekleşen bir saha çalışması yürütmüştür (Latour ve Woolgar, 1986, s. 39-40). Bu süre zarfında enstitüdeki tüm teknisyen, laborant, ofis çalışanlarından oluşan bilim insanlarının gün içindeki bilimsel ve rutin faaliyetlerini yerinde izleyerek, saha günlüğü tutarlar. Nitekim bu deneyimi, "vahşilerin" yaşamına müdahil olarak gerçekleştirmiş gibi yazmışlardır (ibid. s. 15-6, 28, 53). Latour ve Woolgar, etnografik çalışmalarının "ilkel" kabilelerden ziyade modern bir kurumda gerçekleştirilmesinin sebebini de "ilkel" kabile etnografisinin tersine "modern kabilelerin" dünyaları hakkında derin bir bilgisizlik haline ve "bilimin esrarına" dayandırır (ibid. s. 17). Kısacası, bilimsel etkinliği anlaşılır kılmaya ve bilimin bizzat üretim sürecini sosyal boyutta açıklamaya çalışmışlardır.

Çalışmaları iki ana soru etrafında gelişir. İlki, bir laboratuvarda olgusal gerçekliklerin nasıl inşa edildiği; ikincisi ise bir sosyolog olarak gözlemcinin söz konusu inşayı nasıl açıklayabileceği hakkındadır (ibid. s. 40). Yazarlar, 21 ay boyunca gözlem yaptıkları nöro-endokrinoloji laboratuvarında bilim üreten personelin bilimsel faaliyetlerine süreç içerisinde gelişen bir "mikro-işlemler" bütünü olarak bakmayı yeğler (ibid. s. 151-52). Bu mikro-işleme süreci, bilim insanlarının fikir aşamasındaki alışverişlerinden doğan araştırma öncesi odak edinmeleriyle başlar. Fakat bu yönelimler, çeşitli ilgilerle gelişmektedir. Nitekim fikir alışverişleri araştırmacıların birbirlerini teşvik etmeleriyle ve de karşılıklı önerilerle gerçekleşir. Latour ve Woolgar, laboratuvarda kullanılan gözlem cihazları, işleme sokulan kimyasal maddeler ve fare bedenleri gibi canlı/cansız nesnelerin, araştırılan bilimsel olgular üzerinde eşit düzeyde katkısı olmayan birer aktör¹⁷ olduklarını belirtir. Ayrıca, yazılı

15 Latour modernite konusunda önde gelen bir yorumcudur. Özellikle doğa-kültür ikilemi üzerinden okunan modern imgelemleri eleştirel bir üslupla reddettiği eseri için bkz. Latour, 2012.

16 Bkz. Woolgar, 1988.

17 Özellikle Bruno Latour'un mimarı olduğu aktör-ağ teorisi henüz ismi konmadan önce, burada temellendirilmiştir. Latour'a göre ağlar, her türlü maddi unsuru barındıran bir çeşit nüfuz-etkileşim coğrafyaları meydana getirir. Bkz. Latour, 2005.

kayıt (*literary inscription*) nesnelere olarak gördükleri dokümanlar, bildiriler ve makaleler bilimsel olgunun inşasında ikame edilemez unsurlardır. Bunun temel gerekçesi ise bilimsel olguların yazınsal ifadelerle dönüşümüdür. Yazarlar, söz konusu maddi aktörlerin bulgularını, yazınsal metne dönüştüren dokümanların nasıl bilimsel bir ifadeye evrildiği sorusuna öncelik vermişlerdir (ibid. s. 76-81). Bunun için, “beş evreli bilimsel olgunun ifadelendirilmesini” tanımlarlar (ibid. s. 82-6):

1. tip ifadeler: Araştırma öncesi tartışmalardan doğan alelade varsayımlar.
2. tip ifadeler: Taslaklar halinde hazırlanan öneriler.
3. tip ifadeler: Olgusal önermelerin somut durumlara göndermeli olarak etken kipte ifade edilmesi. Örneğin, “x deneyinde y sonucuna *ulaştım*.” (vurgu sonradan eklendi.)
4. tip ifadeler: Olgusal önermelerin somut durumlara göndermeli olarak edilgen bir şekilde ve referans gösterilerek ifade edilmesi. Örneğin, “x deneyinde y sonucu *bildirilmiştir*.” (vurgu sonradan eklendi.)
5. tip ifadeler: Salt ve kendi başına bir olgusal gerçeklik hali belirten ifadeler, örneğin “tiotropin salgılatıcı faktör-hormon (TRF-H).”

Yazarlar beşinci tip ifadelerin tamamen bilimsel gerçekliğe kavuştuğunu savunurlar. “Beşinci tip ifadelerin, olgusal düzeye en fazla benzeyen oluşumları, birinci tipin ise en spekülatif iddiaları temsil ettiğini” yazmışlardır. Özellikle referans verilmiş şekilde kurulan bir ifadenin, “tartışılmaz” ve “hafife alınma olasılığı az” olma niteliğine eriştiğini vurgularlar. Çünkü etken insan failliğinin bilimsel ifadede olması, onlara göre olgusal ve nesnel doğal durumu beyan etmede kısıtlayıcıdır. Bunun için edilgen bir referans olgusal gerçekliği inşa eder (ibid. s. 83). Bir başka husus ise birinci tip ifadelerin insan eseri (*artefact*) olma niteliği aşıkarken, ifade beşinci tipe dönüştükçe olgusal gerçeğe (*fact*) bürünmektedir.

Latour ve Woolgar aynı çalışmada, olgu inşasını somutlaştırmak adına bilimsel gerçeklik olarak beliren tiotropin salgılatıcı faktör-hormonunun (TRF-H) literatüre nasıl dahil olduğunu ve kendi başına zamansız ve mekânsız bir nesneye dönüştüğünü de açıklar. 1969’da keşfedilen bu hormon, kaşiflerinin (Andrew Schally ile Roger Guillemin) gözünde endokrinolojik bir olgudur fakat onu bilmeyen için “beyaz bir toz” zerresi gibi bir maddeden ibarettir. Oysa yazarlar bu keşfin bilimsel olarak alana sunulduğundan sonra kendi başına zamandan ve mekândan bağımsız şekilde bir olgu olmasını, 1971 ve 1972 yılında söz konusu kaşiflerin makalelerine yapılan atıfların azalan sayısıyla açıklar. Bunun sebebi ise, keşfin nesnesi olan hormonun artık kendi başına bir gerçeklik kazanıp bulunduğu ağ itibarıyla –ki bu ağa her türlü maddi araç-gereç ve alan içi ve dışı bilim insanları dahildir– deyim yerindeyse nev-i şahsına münhasır (bilimsel) bir tanım almasıdır. Ayrıca onlara göre TRF-H üzerine gerçekleştirilen ilk çalışmaların hormonun olası yapısına dair olmasına karşın, sonraki süreçte bu hormonun biyolojik etkilerinin yeni bir ağ yapılıması içerisinde çalışılmaya başlanması,

bilimin ilgiler doğrultusunda ilerlediğine işaretler. Nitekim saha araştırmalarını yürüttükleri Salk Entitüsü de THF-H nesnesinin yoğun olarak çalışıldığı ve personelin de hem kariyer hem de bilimsel güvenilirlik (*credibility*) kriterlerini bu hormon çalışmaları üzerinden elde ettiği bir mekân olarak açıklanmaktadır (ibid. s. 105-114).

Netice itibarıyla Latour ve Woolgar her şeyden önce bilimsel bir olgunun, bir inşa olduğunda kararlıdır. Bunun nedeni bilimsel üretimin, üretim koşullarından doğup ardından da bu koşullardan bağımsızlaşarak bilimselleşmesidir. Ayrıca bilimsel gerçeklik, gerçeklik statüsüne ulaştıktan sonra etkili olmaktadır. Latour ve Woolgar, hem bu durumu hem de kendi pozisyonlarını “agnostik alan” olarak kodlar. Açık bir ifadeyle bu, düzensizlikten bir düzen inşa etmenin bir yoludur (ibid. s. 257). Dahası, bilim insanlarının bilimsel olgu üzerindeki kurucu etkisinin, kendileri arasında bir tür ikna etme organizasyonuna dayanan ağ iletişimi olduğunu savunurlar (ibid. s. 31). İkna süreçlerini pekiştiren de laboratuvarın kendisidir. Bu açıklama girişimleriyle bilimsel pratiğin sosyo-kültürel çözümlenmesini amaçlamışlardır (Kusch, 2020, s. 256).

Fizik ve Kültürün Kesişimi: Sharon Traweek ve Fizikçilerin Dünyası

Sharon Traweek’in bilim çalışmalarına katkısı büyük oranda feminist epistemolojinin bilimsel alana dahil edilmesi şeklinde anlaşılabilir. Fakat tamamen bu çerçeveye eğilmiş bir araştırma programına da bağlanmamıştır. *Demet Zamanı ve Yaşamlar* (1992) başlıklı doktora çalışması ile Amerikalı ve Japon parçacık fizikçiler topluluğunun bilimsel faaliyetlerinin etnografisini gerçekleştirerek özgün araştırma programını sunar. Traweek, çok alanlı bir etnografi kurgulamış ve parçacık fizikçilerinin kültürel yapılardan ne ölçüde etkilenip etkilenmediğini ve bu minvalde farkı alanlarda bulunan fizikçilerin nasıl bir benzerlik-ayrışma gösterdiklerine eğilmiştir. Dahası, yüksek enerji fizikçilerinin bilimsel topluluk oluşturma ve çalışma sahalarını tecrübe ediş süreçlerini anlamaya çalışır (1992, s. 1). Traweek’in fizikçiler arasında bir saha araştırması yapmasının nedenini ise fiziğin politize olarak, 2. Dünya Savaşı ertesindeki 40 yılda adeta ulusal çıkarların savunma cephesine evrilmesi, fizik laboratuvarlarının da bir tür seçkinler sınıfına bürünmesine duyduğu tepkidir (ibid. s. 2-3).

Traweek, fizikçiler topluluğunda “teorisyenler” ve “deneyciler” olarak ayrılan iki farklı grup olduğunu gözlemler. İlki, karatahta önünde karmaşık problemlerle uğraşırken ikinci grup, milyon dolarların harcadığı devasa hızlandırıcılar ve dedektörler gibi büyük ölçekli makinelerin dahil olduğu laboratuvar çalışmalarıyla meşguldür. Araştırmasını gerçekleştirdiği Amerika’daki Stanford Lineer Hızlandırıcı Merkezi (Stanford Linear Accelerator Center – SLAC) ile Japonya Tsukuba’daki Ulusal Yüksek Enerji Fiziği Laboratuvarı’ndaki (National Laboratory for High-Energy Physics – KEK) fizikçileri, 1976’dan itibaren beş yıl boyunca gözlemlemiştir. Traweek, fizikçilerden oluşan çalışma grupları içerisinde de bir çeşit hiyerarşik statü yapılanmasının olduğunu tespit eder. En alt düzeyde sayılabilecek lisansüstü öğrencilerin, mevcut laboratuvar ve deney çalışmalarına adapte olabilmesi için benzer ilgilere sahip olması beklenir (ibid. s. 33). Ayrıca, deneyciler ve teorisyenler arasında bir bağımlılık ilişkisi olmasına rağmen ayrışmanın olduğunu da söyler. Yüksek enerji fiziğinin ön ayak

olduğu yüksek maliyetli ve şaşalı deneysel çalışmaların bu ayrışmadaki payı büyüktür. Yüksek bütçeli proje yürütücüsü deneyci fizikçiler, bürokratik pozisyonlara dahi erişebilmekte ve de alanları için çıkar grupları oluşturabilmektedir (ibid. s. 16).

Traweek ana odağı olan SLAC'ta deneysel çalışan yüksek enerji fizikçilerinin 20 ila 40 arasında değişen üye sayılarından oluşan gruplarda etkinlikte bulunduğunu söyler. Bilhassa bu etkinliklerin seyri, yeni nesil dedektörleri işleme sokmak ve bunun için de yeterli finansal desteği elde etmekten geçer. Yine hiyerarşik olarak en tepede bulunan grup lideri fizikçi –ki ayrıca finansal ve bürokratik desteklerin de dolaylı yoldan sağlayıcısı olarak “devletli bilim adamı” (science statesman) sıfatıyla anılır (ibid. s. 101) –, çalışmayı etkileyebilecek bilimsel önerileri arkadaşlarına sunar ve onların ikna olmasını sağlar. Bu sayede karar alıcı olmuştur. Dolayısıyla SLAC'ın ve doğrudan olarak Amerikalı fizikçilerin, çalışma koşullarında daha otoriter tutumlarla organize olduğuna kanaat getirilir (ibid. s. 128-30).

Diğer taraftan, KEK yani Japon Fizikçiler Topluluğunda ise Amerikalıların aksine kapsayıcı ve daha demokratik bir organizasyon vardır. Grup lideri tamamen yetki sahibi olmayıp her bir üyenin karar mekanizmasında etkinleşebilmesi mümkündür. Ayrıca grup biçimi ve sayısı fazla değişken değildir. Bunun sebebini ise Traweek, Japon fizikçilerin iç grup dinamiklerinin sabit kalmasına ve içeriden personel yetiştirmenin başvurulan temel metot olmasına dayandırır. Dahası, Japon topluluk bireysel çalışma ve tecrübe edinme gibi Amerikan değerlerine başvurmaz. Oysa Amerikalı fizikçiler bir doktora sonrası araştırmacısının enstitüler arası ziyaretlerini hem teşvik eder hem de bunu alan formasyonu için neredeyse zorunlu kılar. Traweek bu incelemede, Amerikalı fizikçilerin bireyci ve oldukça rekabetçi olmalarına karşın Japon toplulukta uzlaşa ve karşılıklı bağımlılık niteliklerinin baskın olduğunu tespit etmiştir (ibid. s. 140-7).

Traweek'in başvurduğu diğer bir açıklama çerçevesi ise feminist eğilime sahip, alan içindeki “erkek masallarına” yönelmiş çözümlerdir (ibid. s. 74). Bu değerlendirme temelde iki farklı ama bağdaşık ilişkiyle serimlenir. İlki, fizik bilginlerinin doğa hakkında keşfe çıktıklarında bu etkinliği bir çeşit bilgi elde etme arzusu gibi sunmalarına dairdir. Daha açık bir deyişle doğa, onlar için bilinirken romantize edilen ve de romantize edildiği için de bilmeye değer olan bir nesnelere bütünüdür (ibid. s. 102). Traweek, bilinen doğanın, tıpkı bir kadını sevmek ve onu arzulamak gibi bir erek güdülere çalışıldığını iddia eder. Söz konusu bilen-bilinen ilişkisini, “pikaresk romanlardaki” serseri kahramanın etrafında gelişen bir analogiyle açıklar. Traweek, kadın-doğa özdeşliğinin izini, alan içinde son derece idealize edilen büyük ve saygıdeğer fizikçilerin verdiği fizik üzerine demeçlerden takip etmiştir. Örneğin Richard Feynman'ın fizik teorisine ve kanunlarına dair beslediği ve “bir kadına âşık olmaya” benzeyen duyguları ile Burton Richter'ın “elektronlarla ilişkisini bir aşk ilişkisine” benzetmesinden hareketle söz konusu romantik erkek masalları, SLAC'taki fizikçi topluluğunun –en çaylağından en kıdemlisine kadar– kendi aşına oldukları anlamlandırma tarzlarına referans verir (ibid. s. 103-5).

Sharon Traweek'in çalışmaları, bilim yapma usulü olarak etnografiden (ethnography as science) bilim etnografisine (ethnography of science) yönelmede yol gösterici olmuştur (Franklin, 1995, s. 174, 13. dipnot). "Bilimin, kendisini kültürsüz bir kültür" olarak kurması (Traweek, 1992, s. 162), deyim yerindeyse bilimin antropolojik incelemeye tabi tutulmasına yol açmıştır.

Antropolojik Saha Olarak Bilimsel Topluluk

Bilim İnsanları Arasında Yaşam (Charlesworth ve ark., 1989) bilim etnografisi alanında örnek verilebilecek bir diğer çalışmadır. Çalışmanın gelişmesinde, Max Charlesworth'un katkısı belirleyici olmuştur. Özellikle etiğin ve liberal toplum tezlerinin çağdaş kurumlara uyarlanmasında eserler verip biyo-etik¹⁸ çalışmalarını ve kamuya yönelik üslubunu kitlelere yaymayı amaçlamaktadır. Dahası, çoğulcu etik değerlere olan bağlılığı, çalışmalarının niteliğini belirler.¹⁹ Hem antropolojiye olan ilgisini somutlaştıran çalışmaları hem de söz konusu çoğulcu pozisyonunu uyarlayabileceği bir inceleme olan Avustralyalı Aborjinlerin manevi inançlarına dair olan incelemesi, bu eğilime işaret eder (Kirsner, 2012, s. 564). Nitekim yaşayan en köklü dinsel geleneklerden sayılan Aborjin dini üzerine yazılmış felsefi çalışmalar ve katı teorilere yaslanmaktansa antropolojik imkânları yeğlemiştir. Bu sayede, modern olmayan dinsel olguları indirgemeci ve evrimci yanılgılara düşmeksizin değerlendirme imkânı bulmuştur.²⁰

Diğer yazarlar olan Lyndsay Farrall, Terry Stokes ve David Turnbull ise bilim çalışmalarına Charlesworth'un 17. yüzyıl bilim incelemeleri hakkında verdiği seminerler vasıtasıyla dahil oldular (ibid. s. 568). *Bilim İnsanları Arasında Yaşam*, beş senelik bir ön değerlendirme aşamasından sonra dört araştırmacının, immünoloji alanında faaliyet gösteren Walter ve Eliza Hall Tıbbi Araştırma Enstitüsü'nde (WEHI) 310 kişiyle –80 bilim insanı, 50 öğrenci ve 180 destek personeli olmak üzere– görüşmeler ve gözlemlerle yürütülmüştür (Charlesworth ve ark., 1989, s. 52). Batı kültürünün maddi ve düşünsel faktörlerinden geliştiğini iddia ettikleri "bilime" karşın WEHI'de icra edildiği şekliyle bilimin, kendine has ve özerk bir kimliğe sahip olduğunu (ibid. s. 3), bunun da bir tür alt kültür şeklinde incelenmesi gerektiğini salık verirler. Nitekim Charlesworth kendisini bu türden bir araştırmaya iten şeyin, Bruno Latour ve Steve Woolgar'ın yukarıda ele alınan çalışması olduğunu söyler (ibid. s. 20). Bu etkiyle beraber Charlesworth ve arkadaşları, bilim topluluğuna, Latour ve Woolgar'ın yaptığı gibi "egzotik kabile" gözüyle bakarlar (ibid. s. 1). Charlesworth bu hususu, bilim insanlarının ve bulunduğu kurumların, sıradan insanlar için bilinmez olduğunu, bilimin medeniyet üzerinde böylesine devasa bir etkisi olmasına karşın bu kurumların meslekten olmayanlar nezdinde açıkça anlaşılmaktan uzak olduğunu ifade ederek açıklar. Bu ayrıca çalışmanın ana gerekçesi olarak düşünülebilir.

18 Bkz. Charlesworth, 1993.

19 Bkz. Kirsner, 2014, 13 Haziran tarihli gazete yazısı.

20 Bkz. Charlesworth, Dussart ve Morphy, 2017, s. 1 vd.

Çalışmanın odak noktalarından biri ise “Atalara Tazim ve Kültür Kahramanları (Ancestor Worship and Culture Heroes)” olarak nitelenen husustur. Enstitünün işleyiş faaliyetini, personelini ve de bilimsel yönünü dolaylı yoldan tayin eden unsurları kapsar. Özellikle bilim kökenli olan bu “atasal” direktörlerden biri olarak Nobel Ödüllü immünolog Macfarlane Burnet, direktörlüğünü icra ettiği 1944 ile 1965 yılları arasında ve sonrasında WEHI’de, bilimsel anlamda bağışıklık araştırmalarının merkeze alınmasına ve sıtma aşısı çalışmalarına doğrudan nüfuz etmiştir (ibid. s. 192). Sonraki direktör Gustav Nossal –ki kendisi Burnet’in antikor oluşumu üzerine olan incelemelerini devam ettirmiştir– “bilimsel ağ veya mübadele” ilişkileri vasıtasıyla kendisinden sonraki direktör olacak olan Suzanne Corry ile Jerry Addams gibi moleküler biyologların enstitüye taşınmasında belirleyici bir roldedir. Bu aktarımlar, enstitünün kimliğinde aşırı sahiplenilmiş olan çalışma sahalarının (ibid. s. 79) nesilden nesile aktarılacak atasal hikayelerin yeniden üretilmesine yorular. Çalışmanın yürütüldüğü dönem itibarıyla direktör olan Nossal, immünolojik çalışmalarda prestij kazanmış olmaları sebebiyle personele bir rol model olmanın dışında idari ve finansal gereksinimleri enstitü prestijiyile karşılayan, enstitünün hem alanda prestijini sürdüren hem de personelin rekabet içinde ve bireysel olarak çalışmasını düzenleyen yönetici pozisyonunda gözükmektedir (ibid. s. 124).

Yazarlar aynı zamanda bilim tarihi üzerinden DNA’nın keşfini değerlendirirler. “Yeni Biyolojinin Ortaya Çıkışı” başlığı altında, *Nature* dergisinde yayımlanan²¹, Francis Crick ile James Watson’un Nobel Ödüllü keşifleri olan nükleik asitin çift sarmallı yapısı hakkında tarihsel bir okuma sunulmuştur. Kitabın yazarlarının DNA’nın keşfini “yeni biyoloji” olarak lanse etmeleri, bu keşfin Robert Olby ve Horace Freeland Judson gibi bilim tarihçilerinin çalışmalarında övgülere mazhar olmasına dayanılarak aktarılır. Daha açık bir ifadeyle Judson’un kitabı²² ve Olby’nin de kitabında²³ DNA keşfi, onlara göre olgusal keşfi yapan Crick ve Watson kadar önemlidir. Tabii bu noktada yazarların bilimsel keşfin kendisiyle değil sosyo-kültürel bağlamıyla ilgilendiği belirtilmelidir (ibid. s. 16). Judson ve Olby, bilimin Whig²⁴ tarihini yazarak DNA’nın kültürel dünyadaki prestijini inşa etmişlerdir (ibid. s. 44-5) ve bu girişimin WEHI’ye bilimsel bir kimlik tayin etmesi olasıdır. Yazarlar, açıkça yazmasa da örtük olarak böylesi bir yorumu tartışmaya açmak muhtemeldir.

WEHI üzerine olan antropolojik mesailerinden hareketle Charlesworth ve arkadaşları, moleküler biyoloji çalışmalarını, kurucu ve asli otoritesi olmayan bir bina inşaatına benzetirler ve bunun da son derece pragmatik ve de anarşik bir çevre oluşturduğunu ifade etmişlerdir (ibid. s. 121). Bilimsel keşiflerin ve alan içi formasyonun bir anda ve öngörülemez bir şekilde değişime açık olması, bu tespiti doğrular niteliktedir. Nihayetinde ise WEHI’deki

21 Bkz. Watson ve Crick, 1953.

22 Bkz. Judson, 1979.

23 Bkz. Olby, 1994.

24 Whig terimi 17. yüzyılda İngiltere Parlamentosunda siyasi iki kanattan birinin ismidir. Kraliyet yanlısı Torylerin karşısında Whigler liberal ve parlamenter tutumların destekçisi olarak tarihi de giderek özgürleşen, ilerleyen ve mükemmelleşen bir şekilde yorumlarlar. Kısacası Whig Tarihciliği baktığı her olguya bugünün gözüyle bakarak anakronik bir çerçeveye çizer. Bu da söz konusu dönemin eksik, başarısız, uygar olmayan bir yorumunu beraberinde getirir. Bkz. Durgun, 2014.

310 bilim insanının çeşitli faaliyetlerinden ve bilim üzerine olan açıklamalarından şu çıkarılır: “Yarışmacı bireysel ruh” ile bilimsel bilginin kamusalığını ve çıkardan bağımsızlığını, bilimsel alanda uzlaştırmak onlara göre ön plandadır (ibid. s. 272).

Tartışma ve Sonuç

Bir kültür bilimi şeklinde tezahür eden Tylor antropolojisinin, “ilkel” dinin dolaylı olarak da mitin yanı başında doğan bilimi, “ilkel” bir bilgi edinme metodu olarak açıkladığı ifade edilebilir. Tabii bu durumda mitsel imgelem ve doğa ile kurulan metafizik ilişkiler, bilgi edinme kaygılarının belirleyicisi olarak düşünülebilir. Durkheim ve Malinowski gibi işlevselci sosyal bilimciler ise bilimi daha ziyade genel kültürel sistem içinde bir oluşum veya pratik olarak ifade etmişlerdi. Sözün özü, erken antropolojik teoride bilim tek başına ele alınmaktansa kültürün ve toplumsal formasyonun özerk olmayan bir parçasıdır ve tek başına araştırılacak bir olguya henüz dönüşmemiştir. Buradan hareketle bu yaklaşımı, “erken dönem bilim çalışması” olarak adlandırmaktaydım. Öte yandan, bilim sosyolojisinin özerk bir disiplin kimliğinde gelişimi ise büyük ölçüde Robert K. Merton’un çabalarıyla başlamaktadır. Merton’un şematik yaklaşımı, bilimin merkeze konduğu önemli bir dönüm noktasını teşkil eder. Nitekim bilimin, Reichenbach’ın keşif bağlamı olarak açıkladığı her türlü sosyal itkiyi barındıran nüfuz alanı üzerine olan çalışmalar, özellikle 1970’lerden sonra hızla gelişen bilim çalışmaları ile ivme kazanmıştır. Bu gelişim çizgisinin belki de en çok borçlu olduğu kişiler, Merton ve onun ilham kaynağı olan Ludwik Fleck’tir. Nitekim eleştirel olarak özellikle Merton’a karşı alınan tavırlar da bu hattı beslemiştir (Cetina, 1991, s. 522-3). Hatta bilimsel alanı normatif bir yapılanma kimliğinde kodladığı çalışması, çok açıktır ki 70’lerde gelişen bilim etnografileri ile aşındırılarak ters yüz edilmiştir. Bunun nedeni, bilim etnografisi çalışmalarının -en azından bu metinde ele alınanlar bağlamında- bilime kendiliğinden bir geçerlilik olarak yaklaşmamış olmalarıdır. Tam da bu noktada hem erken dönem antropolojik bilim çalışmalarında hem de yeni nesil bilim çalışmalarında bilimin ve hatta bilim kavrayışının, kültürel unsurlardan bağımsık bir yapısı olmadığı görülür. Daha açık bir ifadeyle bilim ve bilimsel pratik ister “ilkel” ister modern olsun farklı sosyal, kültürel ve dinsel zeminlerden ayrı düşünülmemiştir.

Öte yandan bilim etnografileri kimi açılardan dikkate değer saptamalara ışık tutar. Özellikle Latour ve Woolgar’da, Traweek’te ve son olarak Charlesworth ve arkadaşlarının gözlemlerinde belli bir kimliğe bürünen bilim insanları, kendi kendilerini ikna edecek kolektifler şeklinde düşünülür. Bu açıkça bilimin bir sosyal iletişim sahasını barındırdığına işaret eder. Örneğin Salk Enstitüsündeki moleküler biyoloji çalışanları, endokrinolojik alanda TRF-H hormonu ya da faktörünü kolektif olarak çalışmışlardır. Ve bu bilimsel uğraş onların, öncül çalışmalara eğilen paralel ilgileri ile gelişmiştir. Salk Enstitüsü, TRF-H nesnesine odaklanmış öncül ne kadar enformasyon varsa olağan olarak bunların üzerinden çalışmasını yürütmüştür. Hatta bu bilimsel zincir ile Enstitü, yazarlara göre bilimsel meşruluk elde eder. Traweek’te ise bu sosyal iletişim sahası hem SLAC hem de KEK gibi araştırmacı fizik topluluklarında kendini gösterir. Keza bu grupların liderlerinin yeni deneyler için diğer grup

üyelerini önden hazırlama süreci belirtilmektedir. Bu sayede grup tek bir amaç için birleşir ve bilimsel etkinlik kolektif eylemler bütünü ile icra edilir. Charlesworth ve arkadaşlarının gösterdiği şekliyle WEHI Enstitüsünün organizasyon ağı yine Salk’a yakındır. WEHI DNA organizması ile prestij kazanan ve bağışıklık arařtırmaları vasıtasıyla genişleyen bir kurumdur. Nitekim yazarlar da bu durumu “atasal kahraman” olarak ifade ettikleri bilim insanlarının manevi nüfuzuna yorar.

Bu noktada bilimsel bilginin süreklilięi sorunsalı, bilim çalışmalarının temelinde yer almaktadır. Sorunsal kelimesinin seçilmesi, konunun yani bilimsel bilginin ve etkinlięin bir taraftan doğruluk iddiası ile ilgiliyken dięer taraftan genelde beşerî bilimlerde, özelde ise sosyoloji ve sosyal antropolojide özdüşünümSELLİK olarak kavranan, bilginin kaçınılmaz sorgulanışına referans vermektedir. ÖzdüşünümSELLİęe referans verir çünkü hem bilimi ilk elden deneyimleyen bilim insanları hem de Charlesworth’un umduęu gibi kamusal ilgi, bilim etnografileri vasıtasıyla bilimsel alan ve üretime koşulsuz bir bakış fırsatı yakalar. ÖzdüşünümSELLİęİN her ne konuda olursa olsun bir tür kendine dönük “akıl muhasebesi” olduęu düşünülürse bilimsel üretim ve alan için bu muhasebenin işletilmesi yerinde ve gereklidir. Böylesi bir muhasebeyle birlikte bilimsel etkinlikten doğan çıkarsamalar ya da teoriler, dogmatik ya da statik olmaktan uzak olarak kelimenin tam anlamıyla yaşayan ve dinamik bir sürece kavuşabilir (Popoveniuc, 2014, s. 205, 208). Ama aynı şeklide özdüşünümSELLİęe alan açan bilimin etnografisi de özdüşünümSELLİK yaklaşımdan muaf tutulmamalıdır.

Bilimsel etkinlik ve onun ürünü olan bilimsel bilgi, ele alınan üç bilim etnografisinde de görüleceęi üzere belli bir devamlılık ya da bir keşif ve ardından ilerleyen süreklilik ile ilgilidir. Bu durum mutlak olmasa da böyle bir devamlılıktan bahsetmek tutarsız olmaz. Doğrudan bu temaya değinmeseler de Freese ve Peterson sosyal bilimlerde replikasyon meselesine eğilmişlerdir (2017, s. 148-9). Burada söz konusu olan şey, özellikle 20. yüzyılda bilim felsefesi tartışmalarında ele alındığı şekliyle bilimin, bir tür süreklilięe sahip olduęu ya da olması gerektięidir. Daha açık bir ifadeyle Karl Popper, kendisinin tezlerine kadar hâkim olan doğrulanabilirlik kriterinin karşısında yanlışlanabilirlik kriterini ileri sürmüştür. Buna göre bilimsel bir teori ancak ve ancak tekrarlanabilir bir bilimsel bilginin tekrar edebildięi ölçüde bilimsel olacaktır. Tersinden bakacak olursak teori ya da bilimsel önerme, içinde potansiyel olarak kendisini yanlışlanabilir kılacak bir önermeyi de içermelidir ki bilimsel olabilsin. Bu doğrultuda yanlışlanabilen olgu sadece potansiyel olarak bu statüde kalmamakta ayrıca yanlışlanamazlığa karşı sürekli bir konum kazanmaktadır. Öyle ki bu konum kazanma, şu açılardan değerlidir: Yanlışlanabilir olma kriterini barındıran bilimsel teori veya önerme, olgusal nitelikte yanlışlandığı ana kadar tekrar edilme ya da bir anlamda replikasyon lüksünü kazanır. Bu lüks de bilim topluluęunda her zaman için ayrıcalıklı olacaktır, çünkü açık bir deyişle bilimseldir.

Bir bilim insanının herhangi bir alanda çalışma yapabilmesi için önce veya önsel olarak bir takım bilimsel bilgileri özümsemesi gerekir. İster onu yanlışlayacak bir girişimde bulunsun isterse de onu sürdüreceğ bir deneyde, her hâlükârda mevcut bilimsel bilgi kendisini

sürdürecektir. Bu açıdan bakılınca tıpkı Fleck’in öne sürdüğü gibi düşünce tarzlarının zaman aşımı ve mekân aşımı aktarımı, verili bilginin devam ettirildiğini anlatır. O bunu “entelektüel atanın” mirasıyla açıklarken aslında bu durum Popper’in katkılarıyla son derece prosedürel bir bilimsel ifade kazanmıştır. Ayrıca bütün bu aktarım kendi nesnellik statüsünü de oluşturup bunu adeta mikro-sosyal mübadele yollarıyla gerçekleştirmektedir (Kusch, 2010, s. 161). Kısacası bu aktarımlar ve sosyal iletişim organizasyonu, epistemik süreklilikler şeklinde kodlanabilir. Dahası bu nitelik, Ben-David ve Sullivan’ın temel olarak dillendirdiği “modern bilimin bu eşsiz geleneği nasıl kurumsallaştı?” sorusuna bir açıdan da yanıt verir (1975, s. 203).

Düşünülmesi gereken sorunsaldan ikincil olanı ise nesnellik üretimi hakkındadır. Bilhassa ele alınan bilim etnografilerinin üçü de Hacking’in (1992) ifadesiyle “laboratuvar bilimi”ne eğilmiştir. Bu türden bir bilim, organizasyonu açısından hem bilimsel hem de teknolojik anlamda kalıcı bir bilgi, aygıt ve metot üretmesi sebebiyle, kendi başına üretim yapabilmekte dolayısıyla da doğruluk ve geçerlilik kriterlerini kendisi üretmektedir (ibid. s. 29-34). Tabii bu husus nesnellüğün tümel değil tikel bir kategori olmasını beraberinde getirir. İşte Hacking buna, en azından nesnellüğün üretilme aşamasında “kendi kendini haklı çıkarma” gözüyle bakar. Çünkü bilimsel bir alan olan laboratuvar her şeyden önce deneysel çalışmanın ve diğer etkenlerin kontrol altında tutulduğu yapay bir “doğal” ortamdır, ya da doğal süreçlerin kasten yalıtıldığı bir yerdir. Diğer bir mesele ise laboratuvardaki olgu öncesi ve sonrası nesnelere laboratuvar dışında hiçbir bilinirliğinin olamayışdır ki, bu durumu Latour da sıradan bir insan için beyaz bir toz zerresi olmaktan öteye geçemeyen TRF-H faktörü için dile getirmiştir. Nihayetinde “bilim insanlarının uygulamalarının dışarıdakilerden daha rasyonel olduğunu varsaymak için ona göre a priori hiçbir neden yoktur” (Latour ve Woolgar, 1986, s. 29-30). Fakat bilim şüphesiz sosyal bir boyutu taşır, ne var ki bu yapılanma ya da ağ iletişimi, onun -ele alınan bilim etnografilerinde görüldüğü şekliyle- olgusal gerçekleri tamamen inşa ettiği anlamına gelmez.

Buraya kadar açıklanan görüşlerden bir yorum ortaya konulabilmesi için öncelikle bilimsel üretimin bağlamsallaştırılması zorunludur ve bu yazıda aktarılan üç etnografik çalışma bunu değişik düzeylerde yerine getirmiştir. Fakat asıl mesele, bilimin özdeşünümsele bir soruşturmaya nasıl sokulacağıdır ya da bilim etnografisi bunun için yeterli midir? Bu soruşturma yoluyla bilimin sosyal ve kültürel analizini sunabilecek bir çerçevenin türemesi işten bile değildir. Bu minvaldeki denemeler (Snow, 2012; Wilson, 1999), özellikle “bilim savaşları” olarak lanse edilen doğa bilimleri ile sosyal bilimler arasındaki amansız epistemolojik ve metodolojik çekişme göz önüne alındığında, daha da derin içgörülere elverişli gözükmektedir.

Sözün özü, bilimsel alan ne insani yönlerden arınıktır ne de sosyal analize kapalıdır. Her ne kadar kimi bilim insanları, bilim üzerine sosyal soruşturmaları bir çeşit laf kalabalığı ve irrasyonel tutum olarak görse de²⁵ Gould’un ifadesiyle araştırma, metot ve tekniklere verilen

25 Özellikle Latour ve Woolgar’ın çalışmasına önsöz yazar Salk Enstitüsü direktörü Jonas Salk’ın tutumu için bkz. Latour ve Woolgar, 1986, s. 11-2.

aşırı ehemmiyete bağlı gelişen entelektüel körlük ve dar görüşlülük bilim(ler) sahasında mübadelelerin talep edildiğinin işaretidir (Gould, 2011, s. 101). Latour'un David Bloor'dan yaptığı alıntıyı yeniden okumak hem bilim etnografisini hem de bilim çalışmalarını anlamak için bize bu konuda içgörü sağlıyor: “Eğer sosyoloji bilimsel bilgiye derinlemesine bir şekilde uygulanmasaydı bu, bilimin kendisini bilimsel olarak bilemeyeceği anlamına gelirdi” (Latour ve Woolgar, 1986, s. 8).

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Kimlik Çalışmalarında ve Politikalarında Kesişimsel Eleştirinin Olanakları

The Possibilities of Intersectional Critique in Identity Studies and Politics

Aziz Ardic¹ 



ÖZ

Sosyal bilimlerde kullanımının sıklaştığı kesişimsellik kavramı kimlik çalışmalarında ve politikalarında kullanışlı bir araç olarak karşımıza çıkıyor. Kimliğin tarihsel, toplumsal ve politik alanlardaki inşasını çözümlenmeyi amaçlayan çalışmalar, farklı eksenlerdeki kimlikleri birlikte ele alarak ciddi bir paradigma dönüşümünden geçmektedir. Bu sürecin kaçınılmaz bir sonucu olarak, yapısalcılığın ikili karşıtlıkları ile eleştirel teori ve postmodernizmin tanınma ve farklılık anlayışları yeniden gözden geçirilmiştir. Bu makale, kesişimsel bakış açısının ikili karşıtlıklar, tanınma ve farklılık kavramlarına olası etkilerini tartışmaktadır. İlk olarak, kesişimselliğe zemin hazırlayan Siyah Feminizm Hareketinin öncülerinden Combahee River Collective'in manifestosundan hareketle ikililiklerin anlamı sorgulanmıştır. Bununla ilgili olarak, ikilik temelli anlatıların kesişimsel perspektif tarafından nasıl reddedildiği, gerekçeleriyle birlikte ele alınmıştır. İkinci olarak, çok eksenli kimlikleri/farklılıkları göz ardı etmekle eleştirilen tanınma politikalarına bir alternatif olarak ortaya çıkan kesişimsel perspektifin kimlik meselesinin karmaşıklığını kavramak üzere benimsemiş olduğu temkinli tutum dayandığı argümanlar tartışılmıştır. Buradan hareketle, Yuval-Davis'in önerdiği politik metodun teorik zemini anlaşılmalı çalışılmıştır. Son olarak, farklılıklarla yüzleşmek ve onları sorunsallaştırmakta tanınma politikalarından daha etkili sayılan koalisyon politikaları ile kesişimsellik arasındaki (olası) ortaklıklar ele alınmıştır. Bu bağlamda özellikle kesişimsellik üzerine çalışmalarıyla bilinen Anne-Marie Hancock, Kimberlé Crenshaw ve Anna Carastathis'in koalisyon eleştirilerinin ortak noktaları vurgulanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kimlik, kesişimsellik, ikili karşıtlıklar, tanınma, koalisyon

ABSTRACT

The concept of intersectionality, which is gaining prominence in social sciences, appears as a versatile tool in identity studies and politics. Studies that aim to analyze identity construction across the historical, social, and political fields are undergoing a paradigm shift as they focus on identities that exist on different axes. Hence, the binary oppositions of structuralism and the concepts of recognition and difference widely discussed in critical theory and postmodernism have been reconsidered in recent scholarship. This article first discusses the possible effects of the intersectional perspective on these concepts. It examines the implications of binary oppositions based on the manifesto of Combahee River Collective, one of the pioneers of the Black Feminism Movement, which paved the way for the current debate on intersectionality. In this regard, it asks why and how dualistic narratives are disowned by the intersectional perspective. Secondly, the article discusses how the intersectional perspective emerged as an alternative to the politics of recognition, which is criticized for ignoring multi-axial identities/differences and takes up the

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arguments underlying the cautious attitude this perspective maintains to grasp the complexity of the identity question. From this point of view, it seeks to understand the theoretical basis of the political method proposed by Yuval-Davis. The article, finally, deals with (possible) associations between intersectionality and coalition politics, considered more efficient than the politics of recognition in confronting and problematizing differences. In this context, it accentuates the common points of the coalition criticisms of Anne-Marie Hancock, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and Anna Carastathis, who are known for their works on intersectionality.

Keywords: Identity, intersectionality, binary oppositions, recognition, coalition

Extended Abstract

Nowadays, intersectionality critique plays a prominent role in the problematization of uniaxial social category analyses based on which identities are accepted as universal, indivisible and consistent. This critique aims to make visible the multidimensional, complex, and relational positions of oppressed groups and to transform identity-based politics, and in doing so, it often refers to research findings in anthropology, law, political science, and sociology. Criticisms that emerge in the context of intersectionality indicate a struggle for liberation and salvation, or a fight for defining the ideological ground of social conflicts, as pointed out by the New Left. On the other hand, the unitary organization of a particular group that resists any form of social inequality and oppression in these conflicts is a generally accepted and widespread strategy. One of the examples that succinctly reflects the conventional thinking is hidden in the following statement, while referring to the destructiveness of the separatist ideas of socialism in the liberation struggle: All roads lead to Rome, but there is only one Rome. However, how to continue the struggle and how to build consensus and unity among such groups remains a subject of contention. As a result, Marxism asked workers of the world to *unite!* and did not receive a response in the past. The main focus of this study is not to determine which form of struggle is more inclusive and which power relationship is more dominant over others, but to determine the potential impact of intersectionality critiques in transforming uniaxial/mono identity thought.¹

Idea of intersectionality maintains that subjects on different intersection axes may have different subjective experiences in practice, such as discrimination and privilege operating in the social and political areas. However, Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) and other researchers inspired by her work on intersectionality have not proposed a simple principle of hierarchy or opposition between different intersection axes. They have instead argued that subjective experience is accessible only by bringing out the different intersections where the subject is positioned. For example, from the perspective of intersectionality, female experience and male experience can express neither a field of subjectivity equivalent to a gender category, such as being a woman or being a man, nor simply the identical experiences within each of the two opposing groups. Especially when focusing on intersubjective power relations, the

1 This article is based on my Master's thesis, titled "Rethinking Identity Politics Through the Concept of Intersectionality". The thesis under the supervision of professor Nedim Yıldız was accepted by Istanbul University in 2020.

aim is to *reject* the narratives based on the universal oppressor-oppressed binary oppositions that manifest themselves in various forms (male-female, white-colored, heterosexual-homosexual).

Attaining prestige at the end of a recognition process can remedy the social problems targeted by the group demanding recognition. Access to resources and services, equitable distribution, trust in social justice, fearless and equal participation in social life, or visibility in the public sphere can be given as examples. The critical point that brings intersectionality and recognition politics against each other is that the latter fails to grasp the complexity of the identity question while essentializing and totalizing differences.

When discussed in the context of identity theory/politics, intersectionality is juxtaposed with the concept of coalition. This affinity comes from both of them emphasizing that if liberatory identity-based politics is to be continued, the groups that carry out this politics must first face the differences within themselves. However, confronting and problematizing differences does not spontaneously reveal a particular political strategy. Advocates of coalition politics still debate about whether coalition unity will be formed despite the differences, to protect the differences, or to denature the differences. On the other hand, intersectionality does not enter into such a discussion, approaching the issue of coalition politics from a different angle, as intersectionality theorists agree that current identities should be understood as examples of coalitions rather than building a new identity-based coalition all over again.

Giriş

Bu çalışma, kesişimsellik kavramıyla birlikte kimlik çalışmalarına ve politikalarına yönelik eleştiri olanaklarını sunmaya çalışmaktadır. Diğer bir deyişle ikilik, tanınma ve koalisyon politikalarını, kesişimsellik kavramı ve onunla ilintili kavramsal araç gereçlerle yeniden düşünmektedir. Böylelikle özellikle tek eksenli kimlik tabanlı ikilik politikaları ve onunla mücadele içinde olan tanınma ve koalisyon politikalarının düşünsel temelleri ve stratejileri yeniden tartışmaya açılmıştır. İkilik politikalarının merkezindeki ikili karşıtlıklar ilkesine karşı getirilen kesişimsel eleştiriler kimlik politikalarının dönüşümünde önemli bir etkiye sahiptir. İkilik politikalarının kısıtlayıcı ve tahakküm edici etkilerine karşı tanınma ve koalisyon politikalarının kendine özgü stratejileri de kesişimsellik ile yeniden sorguya açılmıştır. Kesişimsellik, tanınma ve koalisyon politikalarının her biri en temelde ikili karşıtlıklarla kurulu kimlik politikalarına karşı mücadele etseler de aralarındaki farklılıklar konuya eğilen düşünürlerin artışıyla birlikte her geçen gün daha görünür olmuştur.

Bu çalışmadaki amaç, hangi mücadele biçiminin daha kapsayıcı olduğu ve hangi iktidar ilişkisinin diğerleri karşısında daha baskın olduğunun saptanması değil, kesişimsellik eleştirilerinin tek eksenli kimlik politikalarını dönüştürmedeki potansiyel etkisidir.² Toplumda farklı konumlandırma ve ilişkilendirmeler inşa eden farklılık kategorilerinin kesişimsel analizi, yalnızca aynı konumda bir araya getirilmeye çalışılan öznelerin özdeşliklerinin ya da evrenselliğinin sorgulamasıyla değil, aynı zamanda bu analizlerle birlikte özneler arası karmaşık iktidar ilişkilerin de gün yüzüne çıkarılmasıyla ilişkilidir. Diğer yandan, belirli bir kimliği odağına alan tek eksenli politik hareketler, asimetrik iktidar ilişkilerinin temelini oluşturan konumlandırmaların ve ilişkilendirmelerin yeniden düzenlenmesi için bu ilişkilerin sürdürülmesinde ısrarcı olan antagonist ideolojilerin (cinsiyetçilik, ırkçılık, heteronormative veya türçülük gibi) karşısında kendi direniş noktalarını oluşturma çabası içindedir. Kimlik temelli mücadelelerin ya da politikaların birbirinden bağımsız biyolojik cinsiyet, toplumsal cinsiyet, cinsel yönelim, etnisite, renk, engellilik, sınıf, vatandaşlık, din, kültür, eğitim, yaş ve eklenebilecek diğer kategoriler üzerinden anlaşılmasına getirilen kesişimsellik eleştirisi; bu farklılık kategorilerinin tarihsel, kültürel, politik ve ekonomik bir matris içinde etkileşimli olarak inşa edilmesinin kabulüyle birlikte tek eksenli kimlik politikalarına şüpheyile yaklaşır. Bununla birlikte kesişimsellik, her biri birer bağımsız değişken olarak toplumsal kategorilere tabi kılınan kimliklerin birbirleriyle sınırlı bir dizge içinde eklemelenmesi değil, bu kategorilerin eşzamanlılıklarının ve etkileşimlerinin ifşa edilmesidir. Ancak ve ancak bu bağlamda kesişimsellik kavramıyla birlikte ırksallaştırılmış cinsiyetler, cinsiyetleştirilmiş türler, türleştirilmiş ırklar, ırksallaştırılmış sınıflar, sınıflaştırılmış cinsellikler, cinselleştirilmiş ırklar gibi her bir kategorinin onu dönüştüren ve kendisinin dönüştürdüğü çoklu, karmaşık ve eşzamanlı etkileşimlerden söz edilebilmektedir.

2 Bu makale, 2020 yılında Prof. Dr. Nedim Yıldız danışmanlığında yürütülen ve İstanbul Üniversitesi tarafından kabul edilen “Kimlik Politikalarını Kesişimsellik Kavramı Üzerinden Yeniden Düşünmek” adlı yüksek lisans tez çalışmasından türetilmiştir.

Kimberlé Crenshaw'ın (1989) literatüre kazandırdığı kesişimsellik kavramı ile birlikte farklı kesişim eksenleri üzerinde bulunan öznel toplumsal boyutta işleyen ayrımcılık ve imtiyaz gibi pratiklerde farklı öznel deneyimlere sahip olabileceği tartışmaya açılmıştır. Fakat Crenshaw farklı kesişim noktaları arasında basit bir hiyerarşi veya karşıtlık ilkesi öne sürmemiştir.³ Kesişimsellikle birlikte özneyi ve onun öznel deneyimlerini anlamının yolunun, ikili karşıtlıktaki öteki öğeye referans vermekle değil, öznenin konumlandırıldığı farklı kesişim noktalarının açığa çıkartılmasıyla mümkün olacağı düşünülebilir. Örneğin, kesişimsellik açısından kadınlık deneyimi veya erkeklik deneyimi, kadın olmak veya erkek olmak gibi yalnızca toplumsal cinsiyet kategorisine eşdeğer bir öznellik alanını ya da basitçe birbirlerine karşıt iki grubun her birinin kendi aralarındaki özdeş deneyimleri ifade etmez. Özellikle öznel arası iktidar ilişkilerine odaklanılırken varılmak istenen nokta, belirli kategoriler üzerinden farklı görünümlemlerle (erkek-kadın, beyaz-renkli, heteroseksüel-eşcinsel gibi) açığa çıkartılan sözde mutlak ve evrensel ezen-ezilen ikili karşıtlıklarına dayalı anlatıları reddederek onun yerine geçebilecek daha karmaşık fakat daha sağlam bir teorik zemin inşa edilmektedir. Örneğin Collins (2002), kesişimselliğin yalnızca siyah-beyaz ikiliği üzerinden değil, siyahların da diğer kategorilerle kendi arasındaki iktidar ilişkilerini ve tahakküm biçimlerini açığa çıkartmak için kullanılabileceğini düşünerek kavramı genişletir. Dahası, işçi beyaz eşcinsel bir kadının kimi durumlarda orta sınıf siyah heteroseksüel bir erkekten daha alt konumda ve dezavantajlı olabileceği rahatlıkla söylenebilir. Collins , tek ya da birkaç kategoriye merkeze alarak her koşulda, sürekli ve değişmez bir tahakküm kesişimselliğinden

3 Bu kavramın tanımı üzerinde birtakım tartışmalar yürütülse dahi, Kimberlé Crenshaw'ın (1989) ortaya koyduğu bir çalışmada bu kavram üzerinde çizdiği ilk sınırlara değeri vardır. Crenshaw bir hukuk profesörüdür ve Emma Degraffenreid ile General Motors, Tommie Y. Moore ile Hughes Helicopter ve Willie Mae Payne ile Travenol Laboratories arasında işlenen davaları bu çalışmada örneklem olarak kullanır. Crenshaw'ın bu üç farklı davada tespit ettiği ve araştırmaya değer gördüğü ortak nokta, mahkemenin bu davacıların hikâyelerini ifade ediş ve yorumlayış biçimidir. Örneğin ilk davada General Motors, 1964'ten önce siyah kadınları işe almamış ve 1970'ten sonra gelen ekonomik durgunlukta işe alınan tüm siyah kadınları işten çıkararak ayrımcılığyapmayı sürdürmüştür. Mahkeme ise davacıların yalnızca *siyahlar* ya da *kadınlar* olarak değil, *siyah kadınlar* olarak dava açma girişimini reddetmiş ve ayrıca 1964 yılından önce General Motors'ın beyaz kadınları işe aldığını belirterek bu tarihten önceki cinsiyet ayrımcılığı suçlamasını kabul etmemiştir. Bu durumda Crenshaw'a göre mahkeme, ya siyah kadınların *siyah kadınlar* olarak ayrımcılığa uğrayabileceğini reddetmiş ya da böyle bir ayrımcılıkta onları koruyamayacağını açıkça ifade etmiştir. Moore ve Payne davalarında da yine benzer şekilde siyah kadınların istatiksels kanıtlar sunularak çalışma koşulları ve terfi gibi konularda ayrımcılığa maruz kaldığı belirtilmiştir. Fakat mahkeme ilk davadakine benzer şekilde siyah kadınların ne siyah grubu ne de kadın grubunu tam anlamıyla temsil edemeyeceği sonucuna varmıştır. Sonuç olarak, söz konusu davalar mahkeme tarafından ırkçılık ve cinsiyetçilik ayrımcılığı ekseninde iki ayrı koldan yürütüldüğünden ve davalı tarafından cinsiyetçilik suçlamasına karşı beyaz kadınlar ve ırkçılık suçlamasına karşı siyah erkekler örnek gösterildiğinden dolayı, mahkeme tarafından siyah kadınlara yönelik ırk veya cinsiyet ayrımcılığı yapılmadığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Bunun bir sonucu olarak ayrımcılığın giderilmesi için başvuruda bulunulan yasa ya bu durumu duymazdan ve görmezden gelmektedir ya da kurbanın dilinden anlamamakta ve madunu tanımadığını açıkça göstermektedir. Crenshaw (1991), diğer bir çalışmada kesişimselliği genişleterek üç farklı bağlamda, şiddet ve tecavüz gibi olgularla örneklendirerek tanımlar. Bunlar ana hatlarıyla toplumsal kurumlara odaklanan *yapısal*, toplumsal hareketlere odaklanan *politik* ve kültürel inşalara odaklanan *temsili* kesişimselliklerdir. Yapısal kesişimsellik, farklı kimlik kategorilerinin toplumdaki kişiler arası ilişkileri ve genel işleyişini nasıl kurumsallaştırdığına odaklanır. Böyle bir işleyişin tahribatlarına karşı ortaya çıkan toplumsal hareketlerin neden tam olarak başarısız olduğuna veya kapsayıcı olamadığına politik kesişimsellik ile cevap arar. Temsili kesişimsellik ise belirli bir kültürdeki kesişimsel grupların temsiliyetleri/anlatıları ile ilgilenir.

söz etmez. Collins için bir hiyerarşi düzeninde farklı iktidar sistemlerinin (yapısal, disiplinler, hegemonik ve kişiler arası) organizasyonu, ya da Collins'in kendi deyişiyle *tahakküm matrisi* (*matrix of domination*) eşzamanlı olarak farklı koşullarda birey üzerinde etkin olabilir.

Günümüzde tek eksenli toplumsal kategori çözümlenmeleri ve onlar aracılığı ile evrensel, parçalanamaz ve tutarlı kabul edilen kimliklerin problemleştirilmesinde kesişimsellik eleştirisi gözle görülür şekilde öncü bir rol üstlenmektedir. Kesişimselliğin sunduğu güncel eleştirel bakış açısının amacı, baskı altında olan veya baskılayan grupların çok boyutlu, karmaşık ve ilişkisel konumlarının görünürlüğünü mümkün kılmak ve buradan hareketle kimlik temelli politikaları dönüştürebilmektir. Bu açıdan, kesişimsellik bağlamında açığa çıkan eleştiriler bir özgürleştirme ve kurtuluş mücadelesi⁴ olarak okunabileceği gibi, Yeni Sol akımının işaret ettiği üzere, toplumsal çatışmaların ideolojik zeminindeki anlamlandırma mücadelesinin bir örneği olarak da düşünülebilir. Diğer yandan, bu çatışmalarda toplumsal eşitsizliğin herhangi bir biçimine karşı mücadele içerisine girecek olan belirli bir grubun üyelerinin üniter şekilde örgütlenmesi genel kabul gören ve yaygın bir stratejidir. Fakat, mücadelenin nasıl sürdürüleceği ve daha öncesinde mücadeleyi verecek olanların birlikteliğinin nasıl sağlanacağı her zaman tartışma konusu olacaktır. Ortak deneyimleri paylaştıkları düşünülen ve belirli bir kimlik etrafında bir araya getirilen üyeler, kendilerine uygulanan eşitsizliğin kaynağı olarak gördükleri otoritelerin pratiklerine karşı ayrı noktalardan direniş mücadeleleri verirler. Bu duruma kadın, LGBTİQA+, siyah, işçi, çeşitli etnik gruplar ve daha birçok kimlik tabanlı örgütlenmenin geçmişte verdiği mücadeleler ve bunun sonucunda elde ettiği birtakım kazanımlar örnek gösterilebilir.

Tanınma veya karşılıklı tanınma ilişkisi yoluyla kişilerin kamusal alandaki onaylanma ve kabul görmesine dayalı özgürleşme ve eşitlik doktrini, özneler arasında gerilimli fakat özgürleştirici müzakere ile gerçekleşir.⁵ Müzakerecilerin önceden varsaydıkları farklılıklar

4 Bu kurtuluş mücadelelerinin ortak noktası, farklı konumlardaki öznelerin iktidar ilişkilerinin yeniden düzenlenmesi ve bilgi rejimlerinin sorgulanması olsa dahi kendilerini bu mücadeleye adanmış ve direniş noktası oluşturabilmiş özne gruplarının kendi aralarındaki ayrışmalar da çok geçmeden gün yüzüne çıkar. Bu ayrılıklara karşı ses yükseltenler, kurtuluş mücadeleleriyle birlikte elde edileceği düşünülen kazanımları öne sürerler ve hemen ardından işaret edilen belirli bir otoriteye karşı örgütlü direnişin sonucunda tahayyül edilen yeni, özgür ve eşitlikçi dünyaya referans verirler. Bu düşünüş biçimini öz şekilde yansıtan örneklerden biri, sosyalizmin kurtuluş mücadelesindeki ayrılıkçı fikirlerinin yıkıcılığına gönderme yaparken sunduğu şu ifadede saklıdır: Roma'ya yüzlerce yol gider, fakat sadece bir Roma vardır. Sonuç olarak en güçlü olduğu dönemde dahi Marksizm, işçilere yönelik *birleşin!* çağrısının karşılığını alamamıştı, tıpkı feminizmin kız kardeşlerinden alamadığı gibi.

5 Eleştirel düşüncenin başaktörlerinden Hegel'in (2011) çağdaş politik düşünceye en kalıcı katkılarında biri, onun köle-efendi diyalektiğinin mantığından söz ederken başvurduğu *tanınma* (*recognition*) kavramıdır. Hegel'in ana önermesi, "Özbilincin (*Selbstbewußtsein*) ancak tanınan bir şey olarak var olduğu"dur (s. 122-126). Hegel, bu tanınma deviniminde öznenin başka bir özbilinçli özneye ihtiyaç duyduğunu, karşılıklı olarak birbirlerini tanıyarak kendilerini tanıdıklarını belirtir. Fakat bu tanınma süreci aynı zamanda bir ölüm-kalım kavgası, tehlikeli bir mücadele sürecidir ve tanınma her iki tarafın da eşit şekilde birbirlerini tanıması ile sonuçlanmaz. Birinin özü kendi için var olan bağımsız bilinçken ötekinin özübür başkası için yaşayan/varolan bağımlı bilinçtir. Günümüzde çeşitli bağlamlarda ve farklı tanımlarla karşımıza çıkan tanınma kavramı, çoğunlukla kimlik oluşumunu diyalojik ekseninde ve kimlik politikalarını eleştirel biçimde ele alırken başvurulan temel araçlardan birine dönüşmüştür.

üzerine bir diyalog içine girmeleri yalnızca tanınmayan ya da yanlış tanınan grubun bu müzakerenin sonunda hedeflediği olumlu sonuçlar ile ilgili değil, bizzat diyalogu başlatmadaki amacının ve sürecin kendisindeymiş gibi görünmektedir. Çünkü bu müzakerenin başlaması, her şeyden önce tanınma ihtiyacı duyan müzakerecilerin, kendilerini tanınmasını bekleyen karşı grupta mücadeleyle girmeyi kabul etmesi ve bu yönde somut adımlar atabilmesi ile mümkündür. Örneğin Honneth'a (1996) göre, tanınmayan grubun öz-saygısının artması bu mücadeleyle birlikte gelişen bir süreçtir. Genel kanıya göre tanınma sürecinin sonunda bu saygınlığı karşı tarafta da elde etmek, tanınma talebindeki grup tarafından hedeflenen toplumsal problemlerin çözümünü de beraberinde getirecektir. Kaynaklara erişim imkânı, dengeli yeniden dağıtım, toplumsal adaletle güven, toplumsal yaşama korkusuz ve eşit katılım veya kamusal alandaki görünürlük, verilebilecek örnekler arasındadır. Kesişimsellik ile tanınma politikaları arasındaki gerilimli hat özellikle taraf grupların kendi içindeki karmaşık iktidar ilişkileri bağlamında karşımıza çıkar. Kadınların patriyarka karşısında erkeklere karşı, siyahların da ırkçılık ideolojisi etkisindeki beyazlara karşı mücadelelerinde neredeyse bir kural olarak kadının kadınla, siyahın siyahla, erkeğin erkekle ve beyazın da beyazla olan karmaşık iktidar ilişkisinin tek düzeye indirildiğini görürüz. Tanınma politikaları, tanınma mücadelesindeki taraflar arasındaki mücadelelere odaklanırken her bir tarafın kendi içindeki iktidar ilişkilerini görmezden gelir ve tarafların her birini homojenleştirir.

Kesişimsellik ve kimliğin bir araya getirildiği çalışmalarda ön plana çıkan tartışmaların bir kısmı koalisyon kavramı üzerine yürütülür.⁶ Kesişimsellik kuramı ile koalisyon argümanları arasındaki yakınlık, her ikisinin de özgürleştirici kimlik politikalarından vazgeçmeyen hareketlerin grup içi farklılıklarla yüzleşmeleri gerektiğini vurgulamalarında yatar. Ancak, farklılıklarla yüzleşmek ve onları problemleştirebilmek belirli bir politik stratejiyi kendiliğinden ortaya çıkarmayabilir. Koalisyon fikrini savunan cemahta, koalisyon birliğinin farklılıklara rağmen mi, onları korumak için mi, ya da yapısını bozarak mı oluşturacağı henüz sistematik olarak tartışılmamıştır. Kesişimsellik fikrini popüler politikaya uygulama derdinde olanlar ise, böyle bir tartışmayı baştan yok sayarak, koalisyon politikaları konusuna farklı

6 Farklılık kategorileri içerisinde farklı kutuplarda konumlandırılan ve aynı zamanda aralarında asimetric bir ilişkilendirme inşa edilen özneler üzerindeki tahribatların giderilmesine yönelik bir diğer çözüm önerisi koalisyon politikalarını destekleyen düşünürler tarafından öne sürülmüştür. Bu düşünürlerden Reagon (1998), koalisyonu, güvende hissedilen, desteklenen, beslenen ve ait olunan evlerin aksine, zorlu ve tehlikeli bir dışarı olarak tanımlar. Koalisyon, çalışmalarını büyütme ya da beslemek için değil, hayatta kalmaya olanak vermek için sokaklarda yapılır. Reagon, kadınların adaletsizlikle mücadele etmek için erkek egemenliğinin baskılarına karşı ortak bir kadınlık paydasında bir araya gelinmesi gerektiği fikrini eleştirir. Reagon'a göre tüm farklılıklara rağmen hayatta kalmak için bir araya gelinmeli ve koalisyon kurulmalıdır. Kadınlar arasındaki farklılık, feminizme göre sözde mücadele edilmesi ve zorlukları üzerinde durulması gereken bir problemdir. Reagon, feminizmin tehdit edici toplumun dışında güvenli ve sağlam bir *ev* olduğu fikrine karşı çıkar. Genel olarak koalisyon aracılığıyla tehlikeli ve tehdit edici hissettiren *farklı* olanla bir araya gelmek yerine hoşnut kılan, güvenli ve iyi hissettiren *aynı* ile bir arada olmak tercih edilir. Reagon, kısacası şu soru üzerinde meşgul olunmasını istemektedir: Gerçekten de *farklılık*, aşılması gereken bir *problem*, bir *kriz* ya da bir araya gelmek için engel teşkil eden bir *tehlike* midir? Ya da belki de daha öncesinde sorulacak soru şudur: Koalisyon, farklı olanla yüzleşmenin ötesinde onunla bir politik angajman içerisine girmek ve uğruna mücadele edilecek *ben* ile *öteki* sınırının, tehlike olasılığının farkında olarak kaldırılması mıdır?

bir açıdan yaklaşır. Örneğin, Crenshaw (1991), Hancock (2007) ve Carastathis (2013) gibi düşünürler, sil baştan yeni bir koalisyon inşası yerine halihazırdaki kimliklerin birer koalisyon örneği olarak kavranması gerektiği konusunda hemfikirler. Bu üç düşünürün görüşlerindeki en belirgin diğer ortak nokta, eleştirilerini ve önerilerini sunmadan önce çağdaş ya da süregelen kimlik politikalarına dair genel bir hat çizmeleri ve ardından kesişimselliğin bu politikalar arasında nasıl bir konum alması gerektiğine yönelik argümanlar üretmeleridir.

İkilikler ve Kesişimsellik

İkili karşıtlıklara dayanan anlatılara karşı başkaldırının veya onları reddetmenin gerekçesine ve pratiğine kesişimsellik kavramının zeminini hazırlayan Siyah feminizm eleştirilerinde rastlıyoruz. Bu eleştirilerin ilk örneklerinden Combahee River Collective'in (1977) bildirisinde, batılı beyaz kadının öteki kadınların deneyimleri ve sorunlarını görmezden gelip yalnızca kendi kültüründeki deneyimlere dayanan bir kadınlık anlatısı oluşturarak, kadınlık kategorisini tek tipleştirdiği tespit edilir; buna başkaldırmak, ancak renkli kadınların kendi hikayelerini kaleme almak üzere (öz-yazarlık için) bir araya gelerek kolektif eyleme geçmeleri ile mümkün olacaktır. Bu başkaldırı, beyaz kadınların öncülük ettiği aktüel feminizmin amacına değil, feminizm anlatısındaki kadın özneye karşı bir mücadeleyi ifade eder. Çünkü iddiaya göre batılı ve beyaz hatta heteroseksüel ve orta sınıf kategorileriyle daraltılmış veya homojenleştirilmiş olduğu iddia edilen kadın özne, bu sınıflamaların dışında kalan öteki kadınları madun ederek anlatıya yabancılaştırmıştı.

Yalnızca kadın ve kadınlık değil kesişimsellik kavramı üzerinden feminizme sözde karşıt kategori olan erkek ve erkeklik kavramlarına yönelik de benzer eleştiriler gelmiştir. Örneğin Jeff Hearn, feminizmin patriyarka anlatısında erkek ve erkekliğe dair söylemlerine kapsamlı bir eleştiri sunmakta ve bu kategorileri kesişimsellik üzerinden yapısöküme uğratmaktadır. Jeff Hearn, Helle Rystrom ile yaptığı röportajda (2017) biyolojik cinsiyet ve toplumsal cinsiyet kategorileri arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiselliği ya da kesişimi olarak *gex* kavramını önerir. *Gex*, İngilizce *gender* (toplumsal cinsiyet) ve *sex* (biyolojik cinsiyet) kelimelerinin birleştirilmesiyle türetilmiş teknik bir terimdir. Dahası bu kavram (*gex*), birbirlerinin eşdeğeri olmadığını kabul etmekle birlikte biyolojik cinsiyet, toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik (*sexuality*) arasındaki (bu üç kategorinin kesişimselliği için *gexual* ifadesi kullanılır) tarihsel, karmaşık ve hiyerarşik olmayan kesişimselliği ifade etmek için bir şemsiye kategori görevi görmektedir. Böylelikle, toplumsal-biyolojik cinsiyet gibi ifadelerle bu ikilikler yeniden üretilmeyecek ve bu şemsiye altında belirli varyasyonlardan söz edilebilecektir. Buradaki amaç, farklı kategorileri birleştirmek ya da birbirlerine entegre etmek değil, bu kategoriler arasındaki bölünmeyi reddetmektir. Hearn'e göre erkeklik (*masculinity*), erkekler (*men*), erillik (*masculine*) ve erler (*males*) arasında toplumsal anlamda olumsal bir ilişki bulunsa da mutlak bir eşdeğerlilik yoktur. Bundan dolayı Hearn'e göre, homojenleştirilmiş kadın-erkek gibi ikili karşıtlıklar yerine farklı biyolojik cinsiyetler, toplumsal cinsiyetler ve ayrıca cinsellikler arasında farklı ilişkilerin kurulabileceğini ifade eden *gex* gibi bir kavrama ihtiyaç vardır.

Sosyal psikolog Bowleg (2008), ise bir tanınma sürecinin ayrıştırılmış ve sıralanmış antitetik kategorilerin basitçe birbirleriyle toplanması yoluyla değil kesişen, birbirlerine bağlı ve birbirlerini karşılıklı olarak oluşturan deneyimlerin açığa çıkartılmasıyla mümkün olacağını savunur. Örneğin, araştırmacıların dikkat etmesi gereken kilit noktalardan biri, yalnızca demografik sorulara bel bağlamak yerine stres, önyargı, ayrımcılık gibi manidar yapılanmalara odaklanmalarıdır. Bowleg'in bu önerisi oldukça önemli ve yerindedir. Çünkü en çok baskıya ve ayrımcılığa uğradığı düşünülen kimlikleri seçerek ve eklemleyerek standartlaştıran kesişimsel analizler, imtiyazlara daha fazla sahip olduğu varsayılan öznelere, örneğin beyaz heteroseksüel erkeklerin, hiçbir toplumsal stres, baskı ve ayrımcılığa maruz kalmadığı varsayımını doğurabilir. Bu tür bir varsayım ise, tüm bunlara maruz kalsalar dahi kesişimsellik açısından analiz etmeye değer boyutta olmadığı gibi temeli olmayan yaygın bir önsezinin oluşmasına neden olabilir.

Kesişimsellik eleştirilerinin başlangıç noktası sayabileceğimiz Siyah feminizm, bir grubun kendilerine uygulanan baskının ve ayrımcılığın diğer ezilen kesişimsel gruplarla özdeşliğini sorgulayan ve bu grubun maduniyetlerini ortadan kaldırmak için kendi bakış açılarından hareketle politik bir tavır almaya yönelen bir süreçtir.⁷ Siyah kadınları politik olarak harekete geçiren ya da madunun özne olma sürecini tetikleyen şeyin *anlatılan benim hikayem değildir* şiarındaki özdüşünümsel irade olduğu söylenebilir. Kesişimselliği, Siyah feminizmin eleştirilerinden doğan böyle bir reddedişin, karşı çıkışın veya başkaldırının zemininde inşa edilen bir teorik zemin olarak düşünmek gerekir. Elbette sadece cinsiyete dayalı tarihsel anlatılar anlatılarda değil, sınıf, ırk, cinsellik ve akla gelecek tüm farklılık kategorilerine dayalı tarihsel anlatılarda kendini bu anlatıya yabancılaştırılmış hisseden bir kendiliğin, anlatıdaki özne ile arasında kurulduğu varsayılan temsili ilişkiyi koparması veya reddi, bir kendilik bilinci kaybına yol açacağı ya da bundan sonraki süreçte *kimse* olarak varlığını sürdüreceği anlamına gelmeyecektir. Bundan sonraki süreçte madun, dışarıdan ya da miras aldığı tarihsel anlatıdan bağımsız şekilde kendi anlatılarını oluştururken, artık kendi deneyimlerine özdüşünümsel bir çabayla referans veren bir öz-yazardır.

Anlatı ve kimlik problemini birlikte ele alan Alasdair McIntyre (2001), yaşamın anlamlı olabilmesinin onu bir bütün ve birlik olarak kavrayıp değerlendirmekle mümkün olduğunu ileri sürer. Böyle bir bütünlük, giriş-gelişme-sonuca benzer şekilde doğumu yaşama ve yaşamı da ölüme bağlayan bir öykünün bütünlüğünde yatan kişilik kavramına gönderme yapılarak ve kişiyi öyküsel tarzda düşünerek anlaşılır. McIntyre'in anlatı savının can alıcı noktası ise kişilerin kendi hayat hikayelerinin yazarı olduğuna yönelik getirdiği eleştiridir. "Bizler", der McIntyre, "kendimiz tarafından düzenlenmemiş bir sahneye adım atarız ve bir anda kendimizi kendimizin başlatmadığı bir eylemin bir parçası olmuş buluruz." (s. 301). Fakat McIntyre'a göre tarihin parçası ve geleneğin taşıyıcısı insanlar için asıl sorun, hikâyedeki

7 *Standpoint*, öznel deneyimlerin özneyi ve onun dünyasını anlamada etkili bir başlangıç noktası ve doğrudan bilgi kaynağı olarak kabul eden epistemolojik kavrayış olarak düşünülebilir. Bu kavrayış dünyayı algılamada, yorumlamada ve onunla girdiği etkileşimde görüş noktalarının etkisini ve öznelere belirli noktalarda konumlandırılışına etki eden süreçleri problemleştirir.

“kendi yazarlığı” değil, “ne yapması gerektiği” hatta ondan da önce, kendisini “hangi hikâye ya da hikâyelerin” parçası olarak gördüğüdür.” (s. 319). Kısacası, McIntyre kişinin hayat hikâyesinin her zaman “kimliğini kendilerinde bulmuş olduğu toplulukların hikâyesinde saklı olduğu”nu vurgular (s. 319). Bu bağlamda, tarihsel kimlik ile toplumsal kimliğe sahip oluş iç içedir: Kim olduğumuz şu anki bende bir dereceye kadar mevcut olan özel geçmişe, büyük ve belirleyici ölçüde ise “miras aldığım” şeye bağlıdır. McIntyre, geçmişle bağın koparılmasının (bir anlamda anlatının reddedilişinin) kişinin şimdiki ilişkilerini “sakatlayacağı” (özneler arası süregelen ilişkilerin bozulması olarak da düşünülebilir) anlamına geldiğini ifade eder (s.326). Kişilerin kendi yazarlıkları değil, kendilerini hangi hikâyelerin bir parçası olarak gördüğüne yönelik öncelikli problemi, *ben kimim* ya da *ben neyim* (aralarında fark bulunsada dahi iki soru biçimi de açığa çıktığı andan itibaren bir tanımlama sürecinin başlangıcına işaret eder) sorgulamasında başvurulan merkezi stratejiye gönderme yapmaktadır. Böylelikle kişinin kendini tanımlama süreci, hangi öncelikli yollardan olursa olsun aynı ya da benzer soruyla başlamaktadır: Şu anki ben tam olarak neyim ya da kimim? Sadece kişilerin değil, Michel Foucault’nun da işaret ettiği üzere, felsefi sorunların belki de en keskini, “bizim tam şu anda ne olduğumuz” problemidir. Ancak, yine Foucault (2005, s. 68), bugünün temel probleminin belki de ne olduğumuzu keşfetmek değil, olduğumuz şeyi reddetmek olduğunu ekler. Bununla birlikte, McIntyre ve Foucault’ya yönelilecek ortak eleştiri, böyle bir reddedişin veya bağın koparılışının bir çeken akıntı gibi bizi sürükleyen anlatıların ve onlar aracılığı ile pratik edilen iktidar ilişkilerinin kısıkcındayken kişilerin özgür istenciyle ya da yönelimiyle ilişkili bir eylemiş gibi ifade edilmiştir.⁸

Romalı edebiyatçı Quintus Horatius Flaccus, insanların kusur ve kabahatlerini hicvettiği Satirae (veya Sermones) adlı eserinin Tantalos üzerinden açgözlülüğü ele aldığı ilk bölümünde okurla diyaloga girer. Okura neden güldüğünü sorar ve ardından okurun kendisini Tantalos’un yerine koyabileceğini söyleyerek yergilerine şaşırarak okuru alaycı bir şekilde uyarır (Aktaran Gowers, 2012, s. 69-70). Asırlar sonra Marx, *Das Kapital*’in önsözünde, kapitalist üretim tarzına karşılık gelen üretim ve değişim koşullarını incelerken İngiltere’yi bu üretim tarzının klasik bir örneği olarak göstermesinin ardından Alman işçilere seslenerek İngiliz işçilerin durumuna omuz silmelerini yine Horatius’un aynı ifadesiyle önlemeye çalışmıştı: “Anlatılan senin hikâyendir” (2003, s. 15). Elbette bu uyarı sadece Horatius’un doğasında açgözlülük bulunan insanlara ya da Marx’ın işçi sınıfına özel, tarihin belirli bir anında ele alınan belirli bir metne özgü değildir. Öyleyse okuyucu olarak bir anlatının öznesi konumuna gelmenin ya da getirilmenin anlamı nedir? Diğer bir değişle, özneye, *sen* olarak seslenilene hitap eden bir kendilik anlatısının kurgu anlatılardan farkı nedir ve okuyucuyla sözde özde olan anlatıdaki bu özneyi herhangi bir kurgusal karakterden ayıran nitelik nedir? Yoksa, Horatius

8 Bu eleştiride özellikle Foucault’ya özel bir parantez açılması gerekiyor. Foucault (2014), *Özne ve İktidar* adlı eserinde sıkça bireyin kendiliğini oluşturmasının direniş ve özgürlük imkânı ile gerçekleştiğini vurgular. Çünkü Foucault’a göre direniş, kaçış veya olası bir geri dönüş olmaksızın iktidar ilişkisi de kurulamaz. Dolayısıyla iktidar ilişkileri en azından potansiyel olarak aynı zamanda öznenin özgürlüğü ile ilintili bir mücadele stratejisi olarak karşımıza çıkar.

ve Marx'ın benzer bir telkinle seslendiği özne olarak *sen*, ancak bu telkin sayesinde mi anlatıdaki öznenin kendisi olduğunun farkına varır? Siyah feminizmin önemi, cinsiyete ve ırka dayalı tarihsel anlatıda sözde anlatının öznesi olan siyah kadının, böyle bir uyarı karşısında ret cevabını verme olanağını vurgulamış olmasındadır. Diğer bir deyişle, *evet, bu anlatılan benim hikâyemdir* ile bir tür kabulleniş yerine, *hayır, bu anlatılan benim hikâyem değildir* ile mücadeleyi başlatışındadır.

Anlatıyı oluşturan, anlatıda sözü edilen ve onun okuyucuyla arasında kurulan karmaşık ilişkiye odaklanıldığında ilk yapılması gereken, bu ilişkilerin ne tür bir ilişki olduğu ve bu ilişkinin nasıl inşa edildiğini problemleştirmektir. Anlatıyı oluşturan anlatıcı, doğrudan okurun kendisinin yaşam öyküsünü ele almadığından böyle bir ilişkilendirme ancak anlatılanın okuyucunun eyleminin taklit ya da temsili yoluyla aktarılması ve aynı zamanda okuyucuda bu anlatıyı okurken açığa çıkan Aristoteles'in (1998) *mimesis* etkinliğini akla getirir. Böylelikle *mimesis*, hem anlatıcının okurun bir temsili olarak ortaya çıkardığı anlatılan öznenin yaratımında hem de okuma edimini gerçekleştirenin kendisi ile anlatıdaki özne arasında kurduğu temsili ilişkide iki taraflı işleyen etkin bir süreçtir. Bir kendilik bilincine sahip olduğu düşünülen okuyucunun kendini ne tür bir süreçte tanımladığı anlatıcı-anlatılan-okuyucu ekseninde sorgulanabilir. Buradan hareketle, *anlatıcı* iktidar ilişkilerinin biçimlendirildiği hakikat oyunlarının aktörleri; *anlatılar* eylemde bulunan öznenin temsilinin bulunduğu tüm söz edimlerini, *okuyucu* ise okuma edimleri aracılığı ile konumlandırılan ve ilişkilendirilen özneler olarak genişletilebilir. *Okuma* ise, iktidar ilişkilerini biçimlendiren hakikat oyunları içindeki aktörlerin söz edimleri aracılığı ile kurduğu temsili ilişki biçimi olarak yorumlanabilir. Siyah feminizmin ve kesişimselliğin feminizm anlatısına yönelik ortak başkaldırısı, belirli kategorilerle homojenleştirilmiş ve ikili karşıtlık ilkesine dayanan anlatılarla kurulmaya çalışılan bu temsili ilişkinin kendisindedir. Her ikisi de ikili karşıtlıklara dayalı temsili ilişkilerin yapıbozumu için karmaşık ve çok boyutlu etkileşimlerin ifşasına odaklanır. Çünkü, kesişimsellik için kategoriler arasında ya da kategoriler içinde bulunan ilişki biçiminin ikili karşıtlık değil *çoklu karmaşıklık* olduğu söylenebilir. Çoklu karmaşıklık yoluyla kesişimsellik, bir ögenin anlamını karşıtı olan öteki öge yerine, kendisiyle ilişkisiz görülen diğer öğelerle eşzamanlı etkileşiminde aramaktadır.⁹

Tanınma ve Kesişimsellik

Kesişimsellik eleştirileri bağlamında tanınma politikaları konusuna eğilen Yuval-Davis'e (2017) göre iki ucu keskin bıçak olan tanınma politikaları, belirli toplumsal kategorileri ve kimlikleri temsil ettiği iddia edilen grupların tanınması ve hakları ile ilgili mücadelelerde

9 İkili karşıtlıkların yapısını bozuma uğratmanın, alt üst etmenin veya onları aşmanın tek bir geçerli yolu yoktur. Diğer bir deyişle, ikili karşıtlıklardaki öğeler arasında bulunan asimetrik ilişkiler, (Derrida'nın ifadesiyle şiddet içeren hiyerarşi) farklı şekillerde problemleştirilebilir (Derrida, 1981, s. 41). Davis (2008), kesişimselliğin de Batı felsefesi ve biliminin modern paradigmasının doğasında var olan ikili karşıtlıkları yapıbozuma uğratmak için kullanılabilecek bir araç olarak görüldüğünü belirtir. Modern kimlik yapısının ikili karşıtlıklar üzerine kurulmasına yönelik eleştiriler, postmodern düşünce akımları ve kesişimselliği birbirlerine yaklaştırsa da bu yapının nasıl bozuma uğratılacağı konusunda içerdikleri stratejiler açısından birbirlerinden ayrışır.

hayati roller oynar. Diğer yandan gruplar ve örgütlenmeler içindeki iktidar ilişkilerini maskeler ve grup üyeliğini, bağlılığını ve değerlerini homojenleştirir. Yuval-Davis'in kesişimsellik eleştirileriyle birlikte eşzamanlı olarak önerdiği alternatif çözüm ise *çapraz politika (transversal politics)* olarak adlandırılan bir politik stratejidir. Nancy Fraser gibi düşünürlerin, yeniden dağıtım ve tanınmanın birlikte ele alınması gerektiği görüşüne dikkat çeken Yuval-Davis, tanınma politikalarının zayıf yönlerini giderecek daha hassas bir bakış açısı için kesişimselliğin analitik bir araç olarak kullanılmasını önerir.¹⁰ Bunun için öncelikle toplumsal gruplaşma ve toplumsal bağlılık (*social attribution*) arasında bir ayrım yapmak gerekir. Örneğin bir kadın veya Yahudi olmak, doğal olarak bir kadın ya da Yahudi grubuna ait olmak anlamına gelmez. İkincisi, kendilerini bu grubun temsilcileri olarak sunan gruplar ya da sözde temsilciler ile oldukça heterojen olabilecek bu toplulukların gerçek üyeleri arasında da ayrım yapılmalıdır. Ona göre ancak bu ayrımları göz önünde bulundurduğumuz noktada kesişimsel analiz devreye girebilir. Çünkü basit bir örnek olarak, kesişimselliğin eleştirdiği geçmişteki feminizm ve ırkçılık karşıtlığı hareketlerde, kadın ile sadece beyaz ve siyah ile sadece erkek olarak düşünülmüş grupların nasıl homojenleştirilmiş olduğu görülür. Bununla birlikte Yuval-Davis, tanınma mücadelelerinin tümünün özgürleştirici olmadığını ve bazılarının iktidar ilişkilerini tersine çevirmek üzere ilkel kriterlere dayalı münhasır sınırlar yaratmayı amaçladıklarını belirtir. Yuval-Davis benzer bir eleştiriyi son yıllarda gerçekleşen kadın eylemlerine de yöneltir. Kadınların organize ettiği eylemlere sadece *doğuştan kadın* olanların katılımına izin verilmesini sorunlu bularak, söz konusu kadınların trans-kişilerin bu eylemlere katılımını engellemelerini tartışmaya açar. Ortaya attığı soruna çözüm önerisiyse toplumdaki bakım görevinin yalnızca belirli gruplara yüklemenin önüne geçmeye çalışan kölelik karşıtı bakım politikalarının kapsamını genişleterek cinsiyete ayırmaksızın öncelikle herkesin *insanlığının* tanınmasının gerekli olduğu yönündedir. Yine de bu vurguyu yeterli bulmayarak bakım politikaları ile birlikte çapraz politika tabir ettiği stratejiyi ön plana çıkarır. Söz konusu strateji, insanlığı daha adil ve eşit bir topluma dönüştürmek için toplumsal konumları ve kimlikleri çok farklı olsa da “toplumsal vizyonumuzu ve politik değerlerimizi paylaştığımız kişilerle” dayanışma içinde olmaya ve ittifak kurmaya karşılık gelir. Yuval-Davis (2017, s. 157-167) çapraz politikalara dair bu tanımda tırnak içine alınan ifadeyle ilgili dikkatli olmak gerektiğini belirtir. Çapraz politika düşüncesi, diyalojik bir epistemolojiye dayandırılmalı ve yalnızca politik değerleri paylaşanlarla sınırlı olmamalıdır. Çünkü bu anlayışa göre çapraz politika, yalnızca özgürlük mücadelesinde farklı güç ve konumdaki kimliklerin birbiriyle uyumlu değerler sistemini benimsemeleri bakımından dayanışma politikalarıyla aynı şeyi ifade eder. Oysa çapraz diyalojik epistemolojideki asıl amaç, sorunları anlamak değil, farklı sorun ve kampanyalarda durumsal, geçici, taktiksel

10 Fraser (1998), yanlış-tanınmanın psikolojik bir durum olmadığını, aksine kurumsallaşmış bir toplumsal ilişki olduğu eleştirisinde bulunur. Tanıma politikalarının salt kültürel ya da ekonomik boyutunun olamayacağını da iddia eden Fraser, bunun yanlış-tanıma ve ekonomik adaletsizliğe neden olan eşitsiz dağıtımla (*maldistribution*) arasındaki ilişkiye değinerek, birinin diğerini mutlak şekilde belirlediği görüşünü ve kültürel olan ile ekonomik olan arasındaki -analitik ayrımı korumakla birlikte- keskin ontolojik ayrımı reddeder. Fraser, kısaca günümüz toplumsal adaletinin hem yeniden dağıtımını (*redistribution*) hem de tanımayı gerektirdiğini; ikisinin tek başına yeterli olamayacağını vurgular.

olmayan sürdürülebilir ittifaklar kurmaktır. Yuval-Davis (2018, s.7-22), önerisinin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için kürtaj ve zorla kısırlaştırma sorununu örnek verir. Katolik Kilisesi zorla kısırlaştırmaya karşı feminizm ile güçlü bir müttefikdir. Fakat asıl ittifak, zorla kısırlaştırma karşıtı olan feministler ile kürtajın yasaklanmasına karşı olan feministler arasında olmalıdır. Çünkü kadının kendi bedeni üzerinde kontrol sahibi olma konusunda iki grup da aynı konumdadırlar. Oysa Katolik kilisesi ile kurulacak ittifak yalnızca bu sorun özelinde olduğundan dolayı durumsal, taktiksel ve geçici olmasıyla uzun vadeli olmayacaktır.

Kesişimselliği araç olarak kullanarak bakım ve çapraz politikalarında insan kategorisini merkeze alan bu önerinin ardından, *insan olmayan hayvanlar* ve *insan* kategorilerinin tanınma politikaları sürecindeki benzer inşa süreçlerine parantez açmak yerinde olacaktır. İnsan olmayan hayvanlara uygulanan baskı ve ayrımcılığın, tanınma politikaları içinde kendisine dolaylı olmayan bir yoldan yer bulamama nedeni açıktır. Hegel'in miras bıraktığı kavram olan "tanınma" (2011, s. 122), karşılıklı iki özbilinçli özneye ihtiyaç duyar. Fakat, insan olmayan hayvanlar çoğumuzun nazarında ne özbilinçlidir ne de karşılıklı tanınma mücadelesine girilmesi gereken varlıklardır. Bu nedenle tanınma politikaları bakış açısından insan olmayan hayvanların haklarıyla ilgili konuların muhatabı hayvanlar olamayacağından, en iyi ihtimalle tanınma mücadelesinin bu problemi sahiplenmiş ve kimliklendirme boyutuna taşımış veganlar ile karnistler arasında olması gerektiği düşünülebilir.

Kesişimsellik açısından insan olmayan hayvanlarla ilgili ilk olarak şu iki soruya cevap aranmalıdır: Cinsiyetçilik ve ırkçılık gibi insan türü içinde farklı baskı sistemlerinin ilişkiselliğine ve bunların keşiştiği noktalara işaret edilmesi, türçülük gibi bir baskı biçimini görmezden gelmeyi ve diğer baskı sistemlerini bu baskı biçimlerinden kopuk ve ilişkisiz olarak görmeyi gerektirir mi? Haraway (2006, s. 8), insanlar ve hayvanlar arasındaki sınırın belirlenmesinde kullanılan toplumsal ya da zihinsel göstergelerin insan-hayvan ayrımını temellendiremeyeceği görüşündedir. Siborg Manifestosu'nda, insan ile hayvan arasındaki sınırın çiğnenip aşıldığı yer olarak işaret ettiği Siborg'ları, aynı zamanda tüm tahakküm yapılarının alt üst edilmesinin ironik bir temsili olarak kullanır. Diğer yandan türçülük söz konusu olduğunda insanın problemlerinin insan açısından insan olmayan hayvanlar karşısında daha önemli ve öncelikli olduğunu iddia etmek, kesişimselliğin karşısına aldığı bir tür *mağdur olimpiyatları* (*oppression olympics*) bakış açısı değil midir?¹¹

Tanınma politikaları ve kesişimsellik arasındaki ilişkiyi hayvan kategorisi ve hayvan hakları açısından ele alarak tartışmak aynı zamanda potshümanizm tartışmalarını gündeme getirirken bir yolu olabilir. Hayvan hakları evcil-vahşi, yenebilir-yenmez, avlanılabilir-koruma altında olan, sahiplenilebilir-sahiplenilemez veya kutsal-kutsal olmayan gibi oluşturulmuş alt kategorilerle birlikte tekrar düşünüldüğünde, hayvanları koruma kanunu

11 İlk olarak Martinez tarafından kullanılan bu kavram, marjinalleştirilen ve baskılanan gruplar arasındaki rekabeti ifade eder (Davis, 1994). Baskı olimpiyatları, bir hiyerarşi içinde hangi grubun daha fazla baskılandığı ve böylelikle hangi grubun adalet ve eşitlik taleplerine öncelik verileceğini ve görünürlüğünün artırılması gerektiğini içeren tartışmalara verilen kinayeli bir isimlendirmedir.

gibi metinlerde veya hayvan hakları mücadelelerinde bahsi geçen hayvanların belirtilen kategorilerdeki bazı gruplar altında tektipleştirilmiş olduğu görülebilir. Bunların dışında hayvanları kategorize etmek için kullanılan ev ve süs, denek, güçten düşmüş, binek veya kontrollü gibi eklenebilecek başka birçok ayrıştırma örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Bu problemle doğrudan ilgili genel tartışma konusu, bir grubu temsilen hakları kısmen ya da tamamen tanınan grup içindeki belirli bir alt grubun, hakları görmezden gelinen ve dışarıda tutulan diğerlerinin haklarının tanınmasında ne tür engellemeler çıkaracağıdır. Bu problemi insan kategorisi bağlamında, birbirleriyle evrensel haklar problemiyle bağlantılı olarak bir araya getirilebilecek iki farklı dönemden iki örnek ismin karşılaştırması üzerinden tartışacağım: Yakın dönemden Catharine A. MacKinnon ve uluslararası hukuk teorisinin henüz tartışılmaya başlandığı dönemden Francesco de Vitoria.

MacKinnon (2017), *Are Women Human?* (Kadınlar İnsan Mıdır?) adlı çalışmasında, ulusal ve uluslararası hukukun erkeklerin tarihsel bilgi alanı olduğunu dile getirir. Buna rağmen kadınların yasal özneler olarak tanınmaları ise onların politik anlamda henüz tam anlamıyla insan olduklarına işaret etmez. Bu anlamıyla insan hakları, hiçbir zaman kadın hakları olmamıştır. Örneğin, kadınlara yönelik aile içi şiddet, tecavüz, cinsel kölelik veya cinayet gibi uluslararası, sistemli ve politik şiddetin (MacKinnon kitap boyunca dünyanın her yerinden birçok istatistik ve vaka sunar) neden bir *soykırım*, *terörizm*, ya da en basitinden *savaş* eylemi olarak tanınmadığı sorusunu yöneltir. Mckinnon'a göre cevap şöyledir: Uluslararası insan hukuku, bu eylemlerin kaynağını görmezden gelerek ve uluslararası hukuku kaygılandırmayacak düzeyde kendi içinde ayrıştırarak eylemlerin özel alanda gerçekleştirdiğini varsayar. Oysa, yine MacKinnon'a göre, aynı eylemler grup olarak erkeklere yönelik gerçekleştirildiğinde uluslararası hukuk bu hak ihlallerini ciddiye alır ve *insanlık suçu* olarak kınar. Modern uluslararası hukuk teorisi tartışmalarının henüz başladığı zamanlarda, benzer bir problemle Francisco de Vitoria aracılığıyla karşılaşılır. 1492'de İspanyollar tarafından keşfedilen yeni dünyanın ardından İspanya'da sömürgecilik faaliyetlerine eşlik eden insan hakları, uluslararası hukuk ve en temelde insanın kendisine dair enteresan teorik tartışmalar başlar. Vitoria'nın üzerinde durduğu konulardan birisi, yeni dünyadaki yerliler ve onların hukuk alanındaki konumuydu. Bu konuda kendi döneminin Tanrı yasalarıyla oluşturulmuş hukuk metinlerine bağlı hukukçulara, Papalık'a ve dönemin krallığına karşı yerlilerin savunusunu üstlenmiştir. Yerlilere karşı girişilen savaşın meşruiyeti, onların yasal statüsü ve korunması ile ilgili meselelere yoğunlaşan Vitoria'ya göre dünyadaki tüm halklar tarafından oluşturulan evrensel bir yasaya ihtiyaç vardır. Aynı zamanda, sözde insan eti yeme ya da ensest gibi en temel doğal yasaları çiğneyen vahşi yerliler, bu yasanın dışında tutulamazdı. Yerlilerin, doğal yasaları çiğnemenin suç olduğunu bilerek bu suçları işlemedikleri için birer Hristiyan gibi yargılanmaları ve sorunlu tutulmaları mümkün değildi. Böyle bir yargılamada yetkili olarak gösterilen Papa'nın yargılama ve cezalandırma hakkı, Hristiyan dünyanın sınırları içinde son bulmalıydı. Aynı zamanda bu yerlilerin Hristiyanlığa inanmamaları ve kabul etmemeleri de bir günah ya da suç teşkil etmediğinden bir savaş nedeni değildir. Tüm bu sonuçlardan hareketle Vitoria'ya göre, yerliler ve genel olarak

Hristiyan olmayanlar, inançlarından bağımsız olarak yalnızca akla ve iradeye sahip *insan* oldukları için özgürlük, toplum kurma ve iletişim gibi doğal haklara sahiptirler ve bu haklar uluslararası insan hakları yasasıyla güvence altına alınmalıydı (Aktaran Akal, 1997, s.27-60).

İnsan hakları problem bağlamında öncelikle yukarıdaki argümanlarının içeriğine değil, onların eleştirilerini ortak kılan temel noktanın üzerinde durulması gerekir. Kadınlar ve yerliler bağlamındaki eleştirilerin ortak noktası, sözde tüm insanları kapsayan uluslararası insan haklarından belirli grupların yeterli ölçüde pay alamamasıdır. Bunun nedeni insana ilişkin yasalar ile bir grubun insan olarak tanınması arasındaki ilişkinin politik olarak düzenlenmesidir. Öyleyse problem, yerli ve kadın kimlikleri bağlamından çıkarılıp bir aşama daha genelleştirilerek şu şekilde ifade edilebilir: Belirli bir gruba ilişkin düzenlenen yasalar, yasa koyucu ve yasanın öznesi arasındaki tanınma ilişkisine göre şekillenir. Fakat buradaki gizli vurgu; yasanın, yasa koyucunun yasayı oluşturduğu ya da düzenlediği anda, yasanın boyunduruğu altına aldığı muhatabı ile girdiği iktidar ilişkisine göre şekillendirilmesidir. Yasa koyucunun kendisinin aynı zamanda yasanın öznesi olması durumundaysa (buradaki örnekte insan hakları yasasını oluşturan belirli insanlar), yasa koyucunun kendisi ile yasanın muhatabının iktidar ilişkisine göre kimliğin tektipleştirilmesine rastlanılmaktadır. Vitoria ve Mackinnon'un eleştirdikleri yasa koyucu, kendisini yalnızca insan olarak değil, aynı zamanda Hristiyan ve erkek insan olarak tektipleştiren öznelerdi.

Sonuç olarak, kesişimsellik ve tanınma politikaları madun edilmiş ve baskılanmış gruplar ile tahakküm eden otoriteler arasındaki ilişkiye odaklandığı için, ikisi arasında en temelde bir ortaklık kurulabileceğini belirtmek mümkündür. Diğer yandan yukarıdaki tüm bu eleştirilerle birlikte kesişimsellik farklı kesişim noktalarında bulunan grupların ayrımcılık ve baskılanma deneyimleri ya da genel olarak yapısal eşitsizlik durumlarının tanınmasını amaçlamaktadır. Bundan dolayı tanınma politikalarının farklı kesişim noktaları üzerinde duran kimlikleri görmezden gelebilen genel paradigmasına karşı temkinli olduğu belirtilebilir.

Koalisyon ve Kesişimsellik

Hancock (2007), kesişimselliği, standart kimlik politikalarına karşı bir meydan okuma olarak görür. Hancock'un *standart* olarak ifade ettiği şey, tanımlanmış bir grubun tüm üyelerinin tek tip ortak deneyime dayandırılması ve bu ortak deneyimleri kolektif bir politik eylem için temel alınması durumudur. Böyle bir yaklaşım aynı deneyimleri paylaştığı varsayılan belirli bir grubun bütünlüğünü grup birliği olarak yorumlar. Böylelikle, bir şekilde bir araya getirilen bu grup üyeleri, önceden var olan belirli bir dizi politikayı dayanışma mantığıyla savunabilirler. Bu standart ya da kesişimsellikten önceki yaklaşımlar kendi içerisinde iki alt gruba ayrılır: Üniter ve çoklu yaklaşımlar. Kesişimsellik ise en temelde farklı kategorilerin eşzamanlı olarak karşılıklı etkileşimlerine dikkat çekerek bu iki yaklaşımdan ayrışır. Fakat Hancock, benzer bir tutum aşağıda Crenshaw (1991) ve Carastathis'te (2013) de görüleceği üzere, kategorilerin muazzam çeşitliliği ve postyapısalcı düşünürlerce bu kategorilerin sorgulanması karşısında kesişimselliğin -yapısökümcülük geleneğinden

doğmuş olsa da- bu kategorilerin ortadan kaldırılmasını değil, yeni bir paradigma olarak nasıl yeniden kavramsallaştırılacağını tartışmaktadır. Bununla birlikte kesişimsellik, hem bir teorik argümanı hem de farklı kategorilerin etkileşimini vurgulayan ampirik araştırma yürütmeye yönelik bir yaklaşımı ifade eder. Hancock'a göre bundan dolayı özellikle politik çalışmalarda kesişimsellikle birlikte farklı kategorilerin veya toplumun örgütleyici yapılarının incelenmesinde artık rahatlıkla üç farklı yaklaşımından söz edilebilir: Üniter, çoklu ve kesişimsel yaklaşım. Hancock bu yaklaşımları altı farklı soru üzerinden bir tabloda karşılaştırır:

Tablo 1: Irk, Cinsiyet, Sınıf ve Diğer Farklılık Kategorilerinin İncelenmesindeki Yaklaşımlar Arasındaki Konseptüel Farklılıklar

| | Üniter Yaklaşım | Çoklu Yaklaşım | Kesişimsel Yaklaşım |
|--|---|---|---|
| Kaç kategori ele alınır? | Bir | Birden fazla | Birden fazla |
| Kategoriler arasında belirlenmiş ilişki nedir? | İncelenen kategori önceliklidir | Kategoriler önceden belirlenmiş bir ilişki içinde birbirleriyle eşit derecede önemlidir | Kategoriler eşit derecede önemlidir; kategoriler arasındaki ilişki açık ampirik bir meseledir |
| Kategoriler nasıl kavramlaştırılır? | Kurumsal ya da bireysel düzeyde statik olarak kavramsallaştırılır | Kurumsal ya da bireysel düzeyde statik olarak kavramsallaştırılır | Kurumsal ve bireysel etkenler arasındaki dinamik etkileşime bakılır |
| Her kategori için varsayılan karakter nedir? | Tek biçimli | Tek biçimli | Çeşitlidir; üyeler politik olarak önemli ölçüde farklılık gösterir |
| Tek bir analizde hangi analiz seviyeleri uygulanabilir kabul edilmektedir? | Bireysel ya da kurumsal | Bireysel ya da kurumsal | Kurumsallıkla entegre olan bireye yönelir |
| Metodolojik sağduyusu nedir? | Ampirik ya da teorik; birisi tercih edilebilir; çoklu yöntem kullanılabilir | Ampirik ya da teorik; tek bir yöntem yeterlidir; çoklu yöntem arzu edilir | Ampirik ve teorik; çoklu yöntem gerekli ve elverişlidir |
| Kaynak: Hancock, A. M. (2007). When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm. <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> , 5.1, 63-79. | | | |

Hancock'a göre (2007) kesişimsellik, diğer yaklaşımlar gibi çağdaş iktidar ilişkilerinin içinde bulunduğu tarihsel bağlamı kabul eder ve bu yaklaşımların hepsi, gerçekliğin tarihsel ve toplumsal olarak inşa edildiği iddiasında birleşir. Buna karşılık kesişimsellik, yapısökümcülük geleneğine takılıp kalmayarak toplumu imal etmek için ırk, cinsiyet ve sınıf gibi farklı kategorilerin etkileştiği hegemonik, yapısal, disipline edici ve kişiler-arası oyun alanlarını tanımlar. Bu etkileşimlerin tanınması, gruplar arasındaki tek tip deneyime dayanan politikaların aksine koalisyon inşası için yeni fırsatlar ortaya koyabilecektir. Hancock, kesişimsellik yaklaşımının eğitim eşitsizliği gibi sosyo-politik problemleri daha gerçekçi ve etkili şekilde çözüme ulaştırmasını ve kimlik politikalarının dönüşümündeki potansiyel etkisini bu etkileşimlerin açığa çıkartılmasındaki başarısıyla açıklar. Diğer bir eserde Hancock (2011), bu koalisyonların inşasında engel teşkil eden mağdur olimpiyatları

kavramını ele alır. Hancock'a göre mağdur olimpiyatları, geniş toplumsal adaletin sağlanması için kolektif katılımı engeller. Çünkü bu bakış açısıyla hiyerarşinin alt basamaklarında bulunan gruplar, birbirlerinin problemlerini gördükleri halde iş birliği yapmak yerine yukarı doğru bir yarış içine girerler. Bunu yaparken baskın grubun politik çözümlerinde kendilerine daha fazla yer edinmek ve destek görmek için en çok ezilenin kim olduğu konusunda rekabete girerler. Hancock, toplumsal adaletin pasif destekçileri ya da felçlileri olmamak, mağdur olimpiyatlarının dikte ettiği rekabet hegemonyasını sona erdirmek ve en önemlisi geniş çaplı toplumsal adaleti sağlamak için kesişimsellik paradigmasına ihtiyaç duyulduğunu belirtir.

Crenshaw (1991) ise kimlik politikalarını Afro-Amerikanların sivil haklar hareketi, feminizm ya da eşcinsel hareketi gibi geniş çaplı bir tahakküm sistemine başkaldırabilmiş fakat bunu yaparken tikel kimlik kategorilerine dayanarak birbirlerinden ayrı ayrı yürütülmüş politikleşmeler olarak tanımlar. Bu hareketler, üyeleri için güç, topluluk ve entelektüel gelişimlerine birer kaynak oluşturması ve onların tabiiyetini gün yüzüne çıkarması açısından oldukça önemlidir. Fakat bu politikalar, hem kendi odağına aldığı gruplar içindeki farklılıkları hem de diğer otoritelerin yarattığı tahribatları göz ardı etmekte ve bunun sonucu olarak genellikle karşı çıktıkları otoritelere benzer şekilde çoğu zaman dışlayıcı pratikler sergilemekteydi. Crenshaw, dışlanmış belirli grupların kesişimsel lokasyonlarının analizi üzerinden tam olarak bu soruna çözüm aramaktadır. Fakat Crenshaw için bunun öncesinde asıl kritik nokta, grup politikasından vazgeçmek istemeyen kesişimsellik ile özellikle beyaz feminizme karşı yürütülen postmodernizmin özcülük karşıtlığının titiz şekilde karşılaştırabilmesidir. Kimliklerin birer özü ya da kendine özgü doğası olduğu görüşüne karşı çıkan ve her birinin belirli tarihsel koşullarda toplumsal olarak dil içinde inşa edildiğini savunan özcülük karşıtlığı, aynı zamanda bu kimliklerin birer inşa olduğu için önemsiz olduğu, onlar etrafında örgütlenerek onları yeniden üretmeye devam etmenin hiçbir anlamı olmadığı ve içinin boşaltılması gerektiğini iddia eder. Kesişimsellik ve özcülük karşıtlığı öncülde (kimliklerin birer inşa olduğu) hemfikir olsalar da sonuçta (önemsiz olduğu ve içinin boşaltılması gerektiği konusunda) kesin olarak ayrışır. Öncelikle, bir kimliğin özelleştirilmesi, özel deneyimlerin bu öze referans verilerek açıklanması ve grubun tamamına yönelik genelleştirilmesine her iki düşünce biçimi de karşıdır. Örneğin, kesişimselliğin siyah kadınların beyaz kadınlar ile aynı deneyime sahip olmadığına yönelik karşı çıkışı ve kadınlık deneyimi olarak adlandırılabilir bir genellemenin mümkün olamayacağı görüşü, böyle bir öze karşı çıkmıştır. Fakat iki düşünce biçiminin ayrıştığı önemli nokta, kesişimsellik açısından, sırf deneyimlere yol açan bu kategorilerin ya da kimliklerin birer toplumsal inşa olduğu için bunların ortadan kalkmasına yönelik bir amacın doğru bir strateji olamayacağıdır. Aksine, belirli kategoriler etrafında kümelenmiş ve diğerlerine karşı kullanılan iktidarın insanları nasıl ve hangi süreçte tabi kıldığına odaklanıldığından, bu kategorilerin anlamsız olduğu ya da sonuçlarının olmadığı düşünülemez. Yine de postmodernizm geleneğinin içine aldığı özcülük karşıtları bu kategorilerin varlığı ile değil, yalnızca onlara bağlı değerlerin hiyerarşiyi nasıl yarattığı problemi ile ilgilenirler. Oysa Crenshaw, bu kategorilendirme -ya da isimlendirme- sürecinin tek taraflı -sadece iktidarın bir pratiği- olmadığını, itaat altındaki insanların

da bu sürece dahil olduğunu ve kimliklerin itaat altındaki insanlar için aynı zamanda bir direniş mevkii olmaya devam ettiğini belirtir. Crenshaw'ın önerdiği çözüm, güçsüz kılınmış grupların önemli bir direniş stratejisi olarak, bu kategorileri boşaltmak ya da yok etmektense onların öznel deneyimlerini sabitleyen birer öz şeklinde değil, olumsal, ikincil, belirlenimci olmayan şekilde kullanılabilir. Ayrıca bu kimlikleri ve kategorileri kesişimsellik eleştirileri bağlamında yeniden tanımlamayı ve çeşitliliğini yadsımadan karmaşıklaştırmayı önermektedir. Bunun için de en etkili yöntem, kimlik gruplarının birer koalisyon ya da en azından potansiyel koalisyonlar olarak görülmesidir. Örneğin *kadın* kimliği birçok farklı renkteki kadının bir arada ittifak halinde bulunduğu bir koalisyon olabilir. Diğer yandan *ırk* ise heteroseksizmi yeniden üreten kültürel kurumlara karşı farklı cinsel yönelime sahip insanların koalisyonu olabilir. Kadınları, siyahları ya da diğer kimlik gruplarını bir arada tutan şey, ortak deneyimleri değil, ortak bir amaç olmalıdır.

Son olarak Carastathis (2013), kimlik politikaları ve koalisyon politikalarını birbirlerinden ayırarak çoğu zaman ikisinin çeliştiğini belirtir. Çünkü ilki, benzerliğe dayanan bir tür ayrılcılık olarak görülürken ikincisi, farklılıklar arasında inşa edilen ittifaklara bağlıdır. Oysa her ikisinde de kimlik kategorilerinin kesişimselliği çok fazla dikkate alınmamakta ve grup içindeki farklılıklara değil gruplar arasındaki farklılıklara odaklanılmaktadır. Kesişimselliği eleştirenlerse onun, grup içindeki farklılıkları ortaya çıkardığı için kaçınılmaz olarak bölünmelere, çatlaklara ve tikelciliklere yol açacağını; böyle bir anlayışın bölücü olduğunu ve bir tür bireycilik (*individualism*) dahi oluşturabileceğini düşünür.¹² Carastathis, çalışmasında bu ve benzeri eleştirilere cevap aramaktadır. Ona göre koalisyonlar olarak kimlikleri yeniden kavramlaştırmanın ne anlam ifade ettiği üzerinde daha fazla durmak gerekir. Carastathis, koalisyon politikalarını kendi arasında iki şekilde modellenebileceğini ileri sürer. İlki, koalisyonu oluşturan gruplarının sabitliğini ve kolektif kimliklerin homojenliğini öngören farklı gruplar arasındaki koalisyonlarken, ikincisi kesişimsellikte birlikte bu grupların her birinin heterojenliğini tanımak ve koalisyon alanı olarak yeniden kavramlaştırmaktır. Kimlik kategorileri, ancak ve ancak ikincisinde olduğu gibi koalisyon

12 Diğer yandan, Leslie McCall ve onu destekleyen kuramcılar, kesişimselliğin asıl amacının, tanımının veya vurgusunun, indirgemecilikten kaçınarak kimliklerin ve toplumsal yaşamın karmaşıklığına olduğunu belirtmiştir. Bu doğrultuda McCall (2005), kesişimselliğin kategoriler bağlamında karmaşıklığı yansıtan farklı yaklaşımlar bulunduğunu belirtir. Bu yaklaşımlar, aynı zamanda kategorilere yönelik tutumlar (nasıl anlaşıldığı ve kullanıldığı) ve kesişimselliğin farklı metodolojileri hakkında da bilgi verir. Sözü edilen yaklaşımlar en temelde kategorik ve antikategorik olarak ikiye ayrılır. *Antikategorik* yaklaşım yapıbozum metoduna dayanır, öznelerin ve deneyimlerinin kategorilere indirgenemeyecek kadar karmaşık olduğuna dikkat çeker. Buna göre, kategoriler sabit ve verili değildir. Kesişimsel olarak sürekli inşa halinde olduklarından kategorileri analiz için kullanan yaklaşımlar, indirgemecidir. Kategorik yaklaşımlar içinde *interkategorik* karmaşıklık olarak adlandırılan diğer bir yaklaşım, sosyal gruplar arasındaki eşitsizlik ilişkilerini ve eşitsizliğin değişen yapılandırılmalarını belgelemek ve kategoriler arasındaki ilişkiyi açığa çıkarmak için mevcut analitik kategorilerin varlığının geçici veya stratejik olarak kabul edilmesi gerektiğini savunur. Son olarak, diğer bir kategorik yaklaşım olan *intrakategorik* karmaşıklık ise yalnızca kesişimin ihmal edilen noktalarında, geleneksel olarak oluşturulmuş kimlik sınırlarını aşan belirli sosyal gruplara ve grup içindeki deneyimlere odaklanır. Bu yaklaşım, kategorizasyonun dışlayıcı tehlikesini yadsınamakta, aksine marjinalleştirilmiş öznelerin deneyimlerini bu kategorilerin yetersizliği üzerinden göstermeye çalışmaktadır.

olarak kavramsallaştırılabildiğinde kimliğin kendisi politik örgütlenme için faydalı bir temel olabilir. Kesişimselliğin baskın anlayışına karşı dile getirdiği en önemli eleştirilerden biri ise bazı istisnalar dışında özcü kategorileri kullanmada nispeten eleştirel olmaması ve ampirik araştırmalarda kategorilerin oluşturulma ve sürdürülme süreçlerine gönderme yapmadan bağımsız değişkenler olarak tanımlanması ve işletimselleştirilmesidir.

Sonuç

Farklılık kategorilerinin eşzamanlı olarak karşılıklı etkileşimini ifade eden kesişimsellik, bize kimlik çalışmalarına ve politikalarına yönelik yeni bir eleştirel okuma imkânı sunuyor. Bu kavram etrafında yürütülen tartışmalar, tek eksenli kimlik anlayışları ve politikalarını, bu eksenlerin her birinin ikili karşıtlığa dayanan ve toplumsal ayrımcılıkları ve ayrıcalıkları her biri homojenleştirilmiş iki kutup arasında dağıtan olası indirgemeciliği de hedef alarak, eleştirmekte. Bu noktada, Siyah feminizmin öncülük ettiği kesişimsellik kavramının üstlendiği rol, bir kavramdan beklenenden daha fazla etkiye, kimlikle ilgili temel problemleri yeniden ele almaya olanak tanımıştır. Her bir görüş noktasının karmaşık ve çoklu iktidar ilişkilerini çözümlemedeki kısmi etkisi düşünüldüğünde, kesişimsellelikle birlikte asıl problem, bu ayrık ve ilişkisiz gibi görünen noktalarda konumlandırılmış öznelerin yaşam dünyalarını onların deneyimlerinden hareketle bütünlüklü şekilde ele almaya dönüşmektedir. Tek eksenden anlaşılmaya çalışılan kimlik tabanlı politikalara karşı çıkış bu noktada, yalnızca bir başlangıç noktası kabul edilebilir. Çünkü tek eksenlerdeki ikili karşıtlıklar ilkesine karşı kesişimselliğin kesişim eksenlerindeki çoklu karmaşıklıklar vurgusu, yalnızca farklılık kategorilerinin nasıl ayrıştırıldığı ile değil, aynı zamanda bu kategorilerdeki ikili karşıtlıklarla da yüzleşmeyi gerektirir. Bu noktada, Siyah feminizmle birlikte homojenleştirilmiş ve zıt kutuplara dağıtılmış ikilikler üzerine kurulu anlatılara karşı başkaldırının çözülmesi ve daha fazla üzerinde durulması gerekebilir.

Tanınma politikaları kimlik tabanlı politikalarda ikiliği aşmanın etkili yollarından biri gibi görünse de tanınma mücadelesindeki tarafların müzakeresine yaptığı sürekli vurgu, bu müzakereyi temsilen yürütecek olan belirli bir grubun, mücadele grubunu temsil hakkını nasıl elde edeceği problemini görmezden gelir ya da, daha masum ifadeyle, bunu bir problem olarak görmez. Bu problemin bir kişinin ya da grubun müzakerenin başında ya da öncesinde kendini ya da kendilerini kuramcı, ideolog, lider, temsilci olarak meşru aktörlüğünü diğer üyelere kabul ettirmesi ile aşılmasını beklemek, problemin ciddiyetini ve derinliğini kavrayamamaktan ileri gelebilir. Çünkü müzakere bir süreç olarak kabul edilirse, süreçte atılacak adımlar ve izlenecek stratejiler, başlangıç noktasında belirlenen ilkelere kaçınılmaz olarak farklılaşmaya başladığında problem ile sürekli yeniden yüzleşmek gerekecektir. Kaldı ki, süreç sonunda elde edilen tanınırlık, yasa özneleri konumuna getirilen fakat dışarıdan belirli kategoriler dahil edilerek homojenleştirilmiş bir biçimde gerçekleşebilir ya da hukuksal olarak tanınma sağlar gibi görünürken yine ilgili gibi görünmeyen bir farklılık kategorisi aracılığı ile politik alanı ihmal edebilir. Öyleyse, ilk aşamada kesişimsel bakış açısıyla tanınma politikalarının eleştirisi sözde temsilciler ile grup üyeleri arasındaki ilişkinin nasıl

kurulduğu üzerinden gerçekleşir gibi görünür. Bunun da öncesinde kesişimsellik bağlamında asıl problem, örgütlenebilmiş grupların tanınma talep ettiği grupla arasındaki müzakereyi yürütecek temsilcilerinden daha çok madunların ve belirli nedenlerle aidiyet ya da bağımlık problemi yaşayanların süreç içerisindeki ve sonundaki konumlarına dönüşmektedir. Kesişimsellik ve tanınma politikaları arasındaki diyalog, tanınma politikalarının kesişimsel eksenler üzerinde konumlandırılmış gruplar üzerinde durması ile ileri dönemlerde artış gösterebilir.

Söz konusu ikilik ve tanınma politikaları ile karşılaştırdığında grup içi farklılıklar problemine öncelik verdiklerinden dolayı koalisyon politikaları ve kesişimsellik daha yakın bir ilişkide gibi görünse de aralarındaki fark, konuya eğildikçe belirginleşmektedir. Crenshaw (1991), Hancock (2007) ve Carastathis'in (2013) çalışmaları bu bağlamda bir başlangıç kabul edilebilir fakat koalisyonun kesişimsellik üzerinden nasıl yeniden kavramlaştırılabileceğine dair argümanların daha fazla netleşmeye ve derinleşmeye ihtiyacı vardır. Ortak deneyimlere dayandırıldığı ve tikel kimlikler üzerinden yürütüldüğü düşünülen geleneksel kimlik politikalarından hareketle inşa edilmeye çalışılan koalisyon politikalarına yönelik kesişimsel eleştiri, yalnızca ortak deneyimin problemleştirilmesi ile değil, aynı zamanda yeniden adlandırmalarla kimlikleri tarihsel anlatılardan devralan birden fazla grubun oluşturduğu liberal bir alan olarak koalisyonun kendisine yönelik eleştirinin üzerinde de yoğunlaşır. Diğer yandan, kesişimsellik çalışmaları, postyapısalcılığın ve postmodernizmin özcülük karşıtlığı düşüncesinin, kategorileri ve kimlikleri ortadan kaldırılması gerektiği görüşüne karşı çıkararak kimlik tabanlı politikalarda atılacak adımların var olan kimlikleri olumsal koalisyon alanları olarak yeniden kavramsallaştırmanın gerekli olduğunu vurgulamaktadır. Bu noktada örneğin, queer politika süreçlerinin bu bağlamda dikkatlice incelenmesi, problemin anlaşılması ve çözümlenmesinde etkili bir başlangıç noktası olabilir. Çünkü queer politikaları, geleneksel kimlik politikalarının aksine ve söz konusu kesişimsellik eleştirileri ile çoğu noktada örtüşmektedir. Birincisi queer, farklı kimliklerin bir araya gelerek oluşturduğu sil baştan bir koalisyonun değildir. İkincisi cinsel yönelim ve cinsiyete dayalı grup içi deneyimleri yadsımamaktadır. Son olarak, tarihsel anlatılardan devralınan kimlik kurgularının normatif etkilerine vurgu yaparak ve kimliklerin kendisini değil fakat onların sınırlayıcı ve kısıtlayıcı performatiflerini reddederek açığa çıkan koalisyonel alanın bizzat kendisidir.

Kesişimsellik eleştirisi, kimlik politikalarının -özellikle de ikilik, tanınma ve koalisyon politikalarının- teorik temellerinin açığa çıkartılmasında kritik bir rol oynamaktadır. Kesişimsellik, öznenin özdüşünümü ve özkimliklendirmesi aracılığıyla varmaya çalıştığı kendilik etiğini oluşturma mücadelesinin enstantanelerini yakalayabileceğini gösterir. Bunun ötesinde kendini özgür kılmamanın ne denli ciddi, somut ve daha da önemlisi yerinde saymayan ve imkânsız olarak nitelenemeyecek en temel politik meselelerden birisi olduğu savunusunu üstlemektedir. Böyle bir savununun ilk adımı, tarihsel süreç ve koşullarda birtakım konumlandırılmalar ve ilişkilendirmeler yoluyla toplumsal ve politik alanda inşa edilen kimlikleri ve aralarındaki eşitsiz ilişkileri -bunları bir öze, mite veya hakikate sığınmadan- problemleştirmektir. Bununla birlikte, özgürlüğü Prometheus gibi bir kurtarıcının elindeki

ateş kıvılcımı ya da basitçe bir ahlak problemi olarak görmeden, varoluşun bir parçası veya estetiği olarak kavrayabilmektir. Böylece kendilik bilincine sahip olduğu düşünülen özne, varoluş kipleri olarak adlandırılacak şeylerle özgürlük tahayyülleri arasında, kendini belirli politik praksislerle tanımladığı ve eylem alanını biçimlendirdiği alana giriş yapmış olur. Bu alanın tarihsel ve toplumsal önemi, geçmişteki ve günümüzdeki belirli otoritelerin özneyi parçacıklara ayırıp ona tam olarak kim olduğunu buyurması ve ardından onu bir retorik aracı olarak kullanmasındadır. Minerva'nın baykuşu olarak nitelenebilecek kesişimsellik, kimlik politikalarının yönetimsellik sürecinde öznenin otoriteler tarafından araçsallaştırılması karşısında yeni eleştirel söylemler üretmenin en etkili yollarından biri olarak kabul edilebilir.

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Formal Exclusion/Informal Inclusion: Towards a Critical Political Economy of Long-Term Refugee Camps

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ABSTRACT

This essay traces conceptual shifts in ethnographic analyses of long-term refugee camps. Earlier studies analyzing long-term refugee camps formally established as “temporary” responses to conflict drew on Foucault’s theorization of the exercise of power in modern states. This literature focused on the attempts of host-states and humanitarian aid organizations to discipline refugees within spaces of containment and surveillance, as well as refugees’ articulation of diasporic nationalism in response to these unequal relationships of power. With the securitization of (im)migration policy in the Global North as well as Global South, researchers have deployed the concepts of “encampment” and “humanitarian government,” drawing on Giorgio Agamben’s critique of liberal democracies, to highlight the difficult conditions within refugee camps, and question the legitimacy of the authority with which they are administered. A shortcoming of these paradigms is a focus on the “political” to the exclusion of the “economic.” Drawing on long-term fieldwork conducted in the Burj al-Barajneh refugee camp located in the southern suburbs of Beirut, a different conceptual framework is proposed which examines social relationships within particular refugee camps in light of their historically shifting location within local and global political economies.

Keywords: Refugee camps, Informality, Statelessness



Over the past two decades, scholarship analyzing long-term refugee camps in the Global South in terms of the social production of space has proliferated, as has statelessness around the world. A comprehensive review of this large body of scholarship is beyond the scope of this present work. Rather this article aims to highlight and evaluate some of the main theoretical paradigms that have emerged within this body of work. Early efforts to analyze the continued existence of spaces formally established as “temporary” responses to conflict were initiated by anthropologists conducting fieldwork in Southeast Asia and East Africa. This body of scholarship was preoccupied with the attempts of host-states and humanitarian aid organizations to discipline and modernize refugees within spaces of containment and surveillance, as well as refugees’ articulation of diasporic nationalism in response to these unequal power relationships (Hitchcox, 1990; Hyndman, 2000; Malkki, 1995; Mortland, 1987).

With the securitization of (im)migration policy in the Global North as well as the Global South, researchers have deployed the concepts of “encampment” and “humanitarian government” to highlight the difficult conditions within refugee camps and question the legitimacy of the authority with which they are administered. A shortcoming of these paradigms is a focus on the “political” to the exclusion of the “economic.” Drawing on analyses of long-term fieldwork conducted in Burj al-Barajneh refugee camp located in the southern suburbs of Beirut, the interplay of (formal) norms and their (informal) implementation, negotiation, and circumvention is proposed as a framework with which to analyze the histories of particular refugee camps in relation to changing local and global political economies.

A concerted effort to analyze refugee camps as social spaces began in the late 1980s. Led by anthropologists conducting fieldwork in Southeast Asia and East Africa, this body of scholarship sought to understand social organization and the exercise of power within spaces formally deemed temporary and transitional responses to conflict and the “collateral damage” of development in recently independent nation-states (Hitchcox, 1990; Hyndman, 2000; Malkki, 1995; Mortland 1987). The 1970s had seen the beginnings of a shift from the preeminence of industrial manufacture to that of service production in the political economies of the Global North, which until the end of the Second World War had governed territories and peoples in the Global South through imperial and mandate rule. “De-industrialization” in the Global North was accompanied by the global implementation of neoliberal policies with the stated aim of creating and “freeing” markets around the world in response to the inefficiencies attributed to state regulation (Harvey, 2005). Subsequent changes in international labor migration flows, as well as a decided shift in international refugee policy from resettlement to repatriation, facilitated the perception among scholars and policy-makers that the continued existence of refugee camps in the Global South—spaces that had been explicitly established by host nation-states and international organizations as temporary measures—necessitated further analysis.

These early studies were based on fieldwork conducted in transit and processing camps which were established, through coordination between host states and the United Nations

High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), to provide humanitarian aid to refugees of Cold-War conflicts and process asylum claims for resettlement in the Global North. Reflecting the prevailing conceptualizations of globalization as an increased porosity—and for some, the weakening—of nation-state borders, the problematics of this body of scholarship were articulated primarily in terms of the power of modern institutions and the (im)possibility of “local” resistance. These early attempts to theorize the space of long-term refugee camps in the Global South played a pioneering role and established the terrain of subsequent inquiries that took place in the early twenty-first century context of global economic crisis and the global securitization of (im)migration policy. This body of scholarship highlighted the exercise of power by host state institutions and humanitarian aid organizations in refugee camps, and also drew attention to the transformations in the practices, social relationships, and identities articulated by the inhabitants of these permanently temporary spaces.

However, these studies tended to focus on “the political” in isolation from the “economic.” This focus mirrored the distinction between “political/forced” refugees and “economic/voluntary” migrants institutionalized in international law during the 1950s (Karatani, 2005; Long, 2013). It also reflected the prevailing view of globalization as a recent phenomenon that brought modernization and capitalism to the peoples of the Global South. In her work on a refugee processing center in the Philippines, Carol Mortland argued that the processing center operated as a liminal space where humanitarian workers attempted to transform refugees from “traditional small-scale societies” into future citizens capable of being resettled in “large and complex industrialized societies” (Mortland, 1987, p. 375). In a similar vein, Liisa Malkki analyzed Hutu refugees’ production of “mythico-histories” within the confines of the Mishamo Refugee Settlement in Tanzania as a response to their unequal power relations with the Tanzanian state and the humanitarian aid organizations administering the settlement (Malkki, 1995). According to Malkki, this heightened diasporic nationalism could hinder the refugees’ integration within host societies.

With the U.S. led “War on Terror” initiated in 2001, a succession of global economic crises, and a marked shift in international refugee and migration policy towards “securitization,” the organization and administration of refugee camps came to be analyzed in terms of “encampment” (Diken and Laustsen, 2003, 2005; Hanafi and Long, 2010; Pandolfi, 2003; Perera, 2002) and “humanitarian government” (Fassin, 2012, 2013; Feldman, 2014, 2018). In addition to Michel Foucault’s theorization of power in modern states (Foucault, 1991, 1995 [1975]), this body of scholarship drew on philosopher Giorgio Agamben’s critique of liberal democracy (Agamben, 1995, 1998, 2005). These studies have focused primarily on the exercise of power by the multiple institutions—host nation-states, UN agencies, and international humanitarian aid organizations—that are posited as governing the space of refugee camps and their inhabitants. Terming this exercise of power “sovereignty”—divinely mandated absolute authority claimed by European monarchies in the fifteenth-nineteenth centuries—these analyses of refugee camps have questioned its legitimacy given the lack of representation by those over whom this power is exercised. A corollary to this postulation of

refugee camps as exceptional spaces of “governmentality” and “bare life,” isolated from their environs, has been the representation of their inhabitants as a homogenous and unstratified “population” that is uniformly dispossessed in their subjugation to the illegitimate exercise of power.

Conceptualizing the disparate efforts of host nation-states’, UN agencies’, and humanitarian aid organizations’ disparate efforts to contain, manage, assist, and render refugees productive in terms of “sovereignty” invites a critique of reification in the misrepresentation of these efforts as the uniform exercise of power by monolithic entities. Moreover, analyses in terms of “sovereignty” preclude consideration of the ways in which these disparate efforts shape social relationships within refugee camps as well as the local political economy that they give rise to—a political economy that is integrated into regional political economies as well as with global capitalism through production, consumption, labor migration, and migrant remittances.

Spaces of Exception

Giorgio Agamben’s critique of liberal democracy conceptualizes the modern state’s exercise of power in terms of “sovereignty” (Agamben, 1995, 1998, 2005). Agamben has argued that, given the dual nature of exceptions, the very assertion of the sacredness of life in opposition to the exercise of sovereignty places that life squarely within the realm of the modern state’s power. In other words, the citizen can only come into existence by exchanging their right to participate in political life with an unconditional subjection to the state/sovereign’s power of death over their life. According to Agamben, the statelessness of refugees reveals this hidden relationship between the modern state (whether totalitarian or liberal-democratic) and “bare life” (Agamben, 1995).

The “camp,” then, is the space that is opened when the state exercises sovereignty, since the “state of exception” becomes the norm, and the only possible life is “bare life.” Claiming Auschwitz as the exemplar of both refugee and concentration camps, Agamben argues that it is the “paradigm” of the modern nation-state, in particular, the modern developmentalist state (Agamben, 1998). In Agamben’s words: “...in a different yet analogous way, today’s democratico-capitalist project of eliminating the poor classes through development not only reproduces within itself the people that is excluded but also transforms the entire population of the Third World into bare life” (Agamben, 1998, p. 193).

A large number of scholars have drawn on Agamben’s work to criticize the securitization of migration policy in the Global North, its out-sourcing to nation-states in the Global South, and the establishment of detention centers for the containment and processing of asylum seekers. In order to highlight the abuse experienced by asylum seekers and the difficult material conditions of their lives in detention camps, these scholars have argued that host states’ denial of their civil rights reduces refugees to “bare life”. They have also claimed that humanitarian organizations assist nation-states in this process by facilitating the containment

of refugees within camps where anything is possible and the “state of exception”—abrogation of citizens’ rights—is the norm (Diken and Laustsen, 2003, 2005; Pandolfi 2003; Perera 2002). According to these scholars, the modern state seeks to resolve the ambiguity of the asylum seeker’s status by including them in its own sphere of authority. It does so by denying them the rights that it grants its own citizens. In other words, since an asylum seeker is considered to be stateless until their claim is processed, their containment by host nation-states in detention centers where civil liberties are abrogated opens up a “space of exception” where violence is the norm.

The violence wreaked upon the objects of “development” cannot be disputed or dismissed (Cooper and Randall, 1997). The imprisonment of asylum seekers is a grave injustice. The overt and covert violence exercised in these camps regardless of who is formally in charge —nation-states in the Global North or their Southern sub-contractors—has been well documented (Boochani, 2018; Conlon and Hiemstra, 2014; Gueguen-Teil and Katz, 2018; Pandolfi, 2003). Nonetheless, Agamben’s work raises serious questions about the implications of universalizing the Nazi concentration and death camps as the paradigm of power relations within the modern system of nation-states. The analogy banalizes by universalizing (Latif, 2008(b)). Moreover, it appropriates an other’s experiences of violence, and rhetorically uses their suffering and death as a form of political capital in a manner similar to the use of slavery as a trope in Enlightenment critiques of absolutist monarchy (Latif, 2018). It narrates a total and totalizing order in which power is exercised as a constant, ever-increasing attempt to reduce the human beings within its sphere to inhumanity. The only history that can be told is the history of the omnipotent Sovereign’s development of more effective technologies of subjection and the concomitant reduction of human beings to “bare life.”

Over the last decade, widespread Palestinian criticisms of the Palestinian Authority have facilitated recognition of camp refugees’ fraught relationship, not only with the Lebanese state and the UN agency responsible for the protection of Palestinian refugees (UNRWA), but also with the leadership of the PLO. Drawing on the literature on encampment, this newer body of scholarship has analyzed these fraught relationships in terms of governance that lacks legitimacy (Feldman, 2014, 2018; Hanafi and Long, 2010; Hajj, 2017; Issa, 2021).

Referring to Agamben, Hanafi and Long have argued that the Palestinian camps in Lebanon constitute “spaces of exception,” since they are subject to the “multiple partial sovereignties” of the Palestinian political parties, the Lebanese state, as well as UNRWA and other humanitarian aid organizations. According to Hanafi and Long, this co-existence of multiple authorities results in “the suspension of all sovereign authority over the camp” (Hanafi and Long, 2010, p. 147). Moreover, they claim, that the Lebanese state and the international community have co-opted and undermined the legitimacy of Palestinian governance structures in the camps, replacing them with the bureaucracies of NGOs and humanitarian aid organizations.

Ilana Feldman has counter-argued that the aid agencies and host states that administer refugee populations do not usually claim “sovereign” authority, as they do not view themselves as the refugees’ political representatives (Feldman, 2014, p. 244). Neither do they view refugees as political actors. Rather, in humanitarian circumstances, aid agencies and host states secure authority by holding the question of legitimacy in a temporary/permanent state of abeyance.

While the two positions differ in their conceptualization of the authority of UNRWA and the Lebanese state over Palestinian camp refugees, they appear to concur in viewing it as an unrepresentative and, therefore, illegitimate authority, echoing Enlightenment critiques of the absolutist state. Furthermore, neither considers the particularities of the local political economies that have emerged in different refugee camps in Lebanon as a consequence of the formation of social, political, and economic ties between the camps and their neighboring communities. Neither do these two positions systematically consider the ways in which these political economies have shaped and are shaped by changes in the international political economy.

Humanitarian Government

Didier Fassin has pointed to links between the US led War on Terror and the global shift towards the securitization of migration by examining ways in which both have been legitimated with reference to humanitarianism (Fassin, 2012, 2013). Fassin has proposed “humanitarian government” as a concept with which to examine nation-states, international institutions, and NGOs’ deployment of “moral sentiments” as justification for their management and regulation of populations, whether stateless or holding the rights of citizenship. Highlighting the manner in which collective emotions are mobilized across political divides by appeals to a common humanity and shared suffering, in order to legitimate military intervention and the use of violent political action, Fassin has situated the origin of this “politics of compassion” in the emergence of “moral sentiments” in Enlightenment thought (Fassin, 2012). According to Fassin, since the 1990s, the production of a “scientific literature of compassion” in sociology, psychology, literary theory, and anthropology has accompanied the establishment of ministries of humanitarian assistance as well as humanitarian aid organizations that claim the right/duty/authority to intervene in situations deemed “humanitarian crises.”

Hence, Fassin claims that, a lexicon of moral sentiments has come to take the place of what he views as an older vocabulary of social critique. “Inequality is replaced by exclusion, domination is transformed into misfortune, injustice is articulated as suffering, violence is expressed in terms of trauma” (Fassin, 2012, p. 6). This “politics of compassion” is simultaneously a politics of solidarity in its recognition of others as fellows, as well as a politics of inequality in that it focuses on the most vulnerable. Moreover, Fassin has argued, that the very conditions of the social relation between benefactor and recipient—good intentions notwithstanding—preclude the possibility of reciprocity, as it is grateful

compliance that is expected as a counter-gift. Thus, humanitarian government is a politics of precarious lives, lives that are “not guaranteed but bestowed in answer to prayer” (Fassin, 2012, p.4).

Fassin’s work has highlighted some of the consequences of the privatization and outsourcing of the provision of social welfare, development, and humanitarian aid that have accompanied the global implementation of neoliberal policies. These consequences, as Fassin’s scholarship demonstrates, continue to be legitimated through the discourse of “moral sentiments.” However, my own work on the inequality of social relationships between refugees and humanitarian aid workers—many of whom are fellow refugee inhabitants of camps, —as well as the ways in which these relationships may shift over time, raises questions about their conceptualization in terms of sovereignty and its claim to absolute power (Latif, 2008(a), 2008(b)). Such a conceptualization overlooks the inequalities generated by the access of some camp refugees to salaried employment which facilitates the accumulation of social and economic capital through a predictable income and higher status work as employees of humanitarian aid organizations or the local NGOs with whom they partner.

Failed Urbanization

Scholarly concern with the unequal power relationships which organize refugee camps has been concomitant with the recognition that, over time, refugees come to form new social relationships that imbue camps with a symbolics of space (Agier, 2002, 2011; Allan, 2013; Davis, 2011; Khalili, 2007; Peteet, 2005). In his work on Daadab camp in Kenya, Michel Agier highlighted the ways in which the grouping together of refugees in residential blocks on the basis of country of origin, ethnicity, and clan facilitated the process by which local identities were transformed into national identities, which in the context of the camp took on the character of ethnic identities (Agier, 2002, p.333). Agier claimed that these identities acquired an operational reality in being deployed in various configurations of alliance and competition over access to the material and political resources made available through humanitarian aid. The process of identity coalescence was also reflected in the ways in which the various residential blocks grew and developed particular spatial characteristics. The manner in which “urbanization” took place suggested an attempt to reproduce life as it had been led at “home” within the constraints of the camp. However, Agier argued, that despite the emergence of new social relationships, identities, and solidarities, the transience and liminality characterizing life in the camps prevents individual and collective projects of self-realization from ever coming to fruition. In Agier’s words, “The camp, then, is comparable to the city, and yet it cannot ‘reach it’” (Agier, 2002, p. 336).

In his work on Kakuma camp in Kenya, Bram Jansen has demonstrated the continuities between this conceptualization of long-term refugee camps as spaces of “perpetually deferred urbanization,” and the developmentalist view, based on modernization theory, that deems all paths to urbanization seen as differing from an idealized Euro-American trajectory as

inherently problematic (Jansen, 2018). Emphasizing the ambiguity of refugee camps as spaces of control *and* care, Jensen has proposed the concept of “humanitarian urbanism” as a way of examining the ways in which the space of a refugee camp is produced by the refugees who inhabit it, through practices “that are both constitutive of and produced by humanitarian governance” (Jansen, 2018, p. 27). According to Jansen, since refugees have become accustomed to consultants, journalists, and researchers advocating for them, they may position themselves with the understanding that in certain contexts their refugee status can function as a form of capital. At the same time, refugee status is one of many from among the social repertoire of camp dwellers. While pertinent in dealings with camp administrators, humanitarian aid officials, and representatives of the host nation-state, refugee status may be irrelevant in daily interactions between fellow camp dwellers. In his analysis, Jansen has highlighted the ways in which Kakuma camp’s political economy is based on links between the provision of humanitarian aid, as well as salaried and informal employment within the camp and its environs.

The resettlement of relatives in other countries has facilitated a flow of remittances to those remaining in Kakuma camp. These remittances have enabled some refugees to initiate economic activities ranging from schools to poolhalls to the provision of computing and internet services. These activities are non-agricultural, frequently precarious, and are based on transnational ties that connect Kakuma to the global economy. The diversification of refugee incomes, tastes, and patterns of consumption is similar to processes associated with informal urbanization. In Jansen’s words, in the long run, humanitarian aid can become “a resource that refugees render into livelihoods...on the basis of which other forms of income generation and sociocultural phenomena” emerge in the camp, producing “a form of social organization comprising status, networks and power, and forms of social stratification” (Jansen, 2018, p. 108). My work on humanitarian aid and the urbanization of Bourj al-Barajneh refugee camp supports these conclusions (Latif, 2008(a), 2008(b)).

Marginality and Tradition

Scholarly interest in the inhabitants of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon emerged in tandem with the Palestinian Liberation Organization’s (PLO) establishment of its base of operations in Lebanon in the late 1960s. This body of scholarship was not primarily concerned with refugee camps as spaces. Rather, in keeping with analyses of marginalization developed in response to rural-urban migration in Latin America, the preoccupation of this work was to establish the “revolutionary consciousness” of the camp refugees in light of their dispossession (Franjeh, 1972; Peteet, 1991; Sayigh, 1978, 1979; Sirhan, 1975; Turki, 1972). Agreeing on the poverty of life in the camps, accompanied by the perception that pre-1948 kinship based social relationships and rural forms of political organization had been preserved in *ghurbā* (exile), scholars disagreed about the extent to which the camp refugees had acquired a proletarian consciousness and whether national liberation required such a consciousness.

For many scholars, the preservation of traditional fellah (peasant) culture they perceived in the refugee camps attested to the authenticity and strength of Palestinian nationalism, which they viewed as cutting across class, sectarian, and regional divides (Sayigh, 1978, 1979; Sirhan, 1975; Turki, 1972). For others this was the “legacy of a semi-tribal past” that had survived because the refugees had not been “integrated into any economic productive process and so know nothing of the economic exploitation to which a normal proletariat is subjected, and against which it ultimately rebels with the aim of establishing a new system of social relationships” (Franjeh, 1972, p. 53). It is significant that, regardless of whether they viewed social relationships and political organization in the camps in a positive or negative light, both positions concurred in viewing them as premodern survivals.

Moreover, both positions failed to systematically examine the political economies that had come into existence in the camps that were shaped by, and part of, the local political economy of their environs, whether urban or rural. While refugee social mobility and out migration from the camps were acknowledged, a shared experience of political dispossession was viewed by scholars and nationalist activists as being of greater social and analytic significance than the changes in class distinctions brought about by the humanitarian provision of formal education and opportunities for labor migration to the Gulf and other Arab nation-states.

This view of the camps as spaces whose isolation and containment facilitated the conservation of tradition—and by implication precluded the possibility of change from within—appears to have been shared by scholars as well as camp refugees themselves. In the words of anthropologist Rosemary Sayigh,

...the camps where the poorest Palestinians lived became, like Jewish ghettos, the conservation areas of “traditional culture.” This was possible precisely because the host regimes were not interested in training the Palestinians for liberation struggle, merely in preventing them from independent action” (Sayigh, 1978, p. 102).

However, as I have demonstrated elsewhere, such ascriptions of autochthony can be simultaneously empowering and disempowering. They empower the identity articulated with the weight of tradition, while at the same time disempowering the bearers of that identity as premodern and in need of intervention (Latif, 2011).

Building on earlier scholarship’s positing of camp refugees as nationalist symbols of *muqāwimā* (resistance) and *sumūd* (steadfastness in the face of opposition), more recent scholarship on Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon has examined the relationship between camp refugees’ collective memories of the *thaūrā* (literally, revolution, the term is used metonymically by camp refugees to refer to the PLO when it was based in Lebanon) and the articulation of a national history in the absence of a nation-state (Allan, 2013; Davis, 2011; Khalili, 2007; Peteet, 2005).

A major contribution of this body of scholarship has been to highlight the camp refugees' marginalization within considerations of "the Palestinian question" since the PLO's withdrawal from Lebanon in 1982, as well as the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in Gaza and the West Bank after the Oslo Accords of 1993. Camp refugees' continued identification with their villages of origin in the Galilee as evinced in the names of camp neighborhoods, the establishment of village leagues, and the compilation and publication of village histories has been analyzed in terms of the refugees' unwavering assertion of their right to return. However, these attempts to create a space from which the accounts of camp refugees—now recast as "subaltern" in relation to the Palestinian nationalist leadership, humanitarian aid organizations and the Lebanese state—may "speak for themselves," are hampered by their treatment of the refugee camps as homogenous, unstratified, contained spaces without any ties to their environs in Lebanon, or to the global economy.

The practices, social relationships, and forms of political organization in Palestinian refugee camps, which in earlier scholarship were analyzed as unchanging remnants of traditional fellah culture authenticating the history of Palestinian nationalism, have been recast in more recent scholarship in terms of the "idiom" of kinship (Allan, 2013; Hajj, 2017; Hanafi and Long, 2010; Issa, 2021). Perla Issa has argued that the perceived "paradox" of Palestinian political parties maintaining authority without legitimacy in the refugee camps in Lebanon can be understood through an examination of the ways in which camp refugees' political participation and relationship with Palestinian political parties is based on familial and personal ties of intimacy and trust (Issa, 2021). Similarly, Diana Allan has claimed that camp refugees' increased impoverishment since the PLO's withdrawal has necessitated the formation of new and wider "networks of dependency" with neighbors and friends that are articulated in the "idiom of kinship" (Allan, 2013, p. 76).

Anthropological scholarship on "primitive"/"pre-modern" peoples conceptualized kinship—whether "biological" or "fictitious"—as the idiom structuring their social, political, and economic organization (Evans-Pritchard, 1969 [1940]; Geertz, 1975; Geertz, Geertz and Rosen, 1979). In an essay on conflict in newly independent nation-states, Clifford Geertz argued that collective identity in "modernizing" societies remains bound up with "the gross actualities of blood" (Geertz, 1963, p. 106). According to Geertz, in such societies, the "givens of social existence" such as congruity of blood, language, custom, and religion appear to have "an overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves" (Geertz, 1963, p.107). In modern societies, by contrast, Geertz argued, unity is not maintained by calls to blood and land, but through "routine allegiance to a civil state, supplemented to a greater or lesser extent by governmental use of police powers and ideological exhortation" (Geertz, 1963, p. 107). In other words, modern societies have bureaucracy, a police force, ideology, and a conception of civil society, whereas modernizing societies rely on the idiom of kinship. Since, the modernizing society's inevitable transformation is structured by its traditional culture of "kinship as idiom," its failure or success in achieving modernization is determined by the local particularities of this culture. Moreover, Geertz argued, conflicts in such societies

have to be understood in light of the newly independent states' mobilization of resources for the provision of social welfare. He claimed that in the absence of a strong sense of civil society, the size of these resources, alongside the institution of universal suffrage made it very tempting to continue to lay claim to identity through primordial attachments.

Geertz's essentialized distinctions between societies categorized as modern or modernizing rests on a conceptualization of modernization as a totalizing process in the course of which personal ties of "kinship as idiom" are superseded by the "impersonality" of the market and of bureaucracy, legitimated by "ideology" as opposed to "tradition." Scholarship examining informality in "modern" bureaucracies have discredited these claims revealing them to partake in the "fair/democratic" "corrupt/authoritarian" dichotomy used to contrast the alleged impartiality of "older" nation-states in the Global North with the patronage claimed to be rife in their aberrant counterparts in the Global South (Hart, 2009; Jaffé and Koster, 2019; Ledeneva, 2018; Lomnitz, 1988). Modernization theory's claims regarding the impersonality and impartiality of bureaucratic and market forms are problematized by the insight that "formality can only be enacted in practice in conjunction with informality, both played as appropriate in a given context, seeming opposite but interconnected and interdependent" (Ledeneva, 2018, p.5).

Bram Jansen's work on Kakuma camp has demonstrated that the designation—whether bureaucratic or scholarly—of long-term refugee camps in the Global South as spaces of containment obscures the ways in which the social relationships that emerge within them are imbricated in global as well as local political economies. Jansen's analysis parallels the critique made of marginalization theory's postulation of Brazilian favelas' political, economic, and social isolation from the cities in which they were located (Perlman, 1975) The imbrication of local, regional, and global political economies is brought about by camps refugees and favela dwellers' production and consumption of commodities and services. Informality, in this context, is understood not as the absence of state regulation or as a state of exception (Roy, 2005), but as the ways in which the norms constituting "the formal" are performed and circumvented. If the formal is enacted on the basis of a situational "know-how" of how to follow, implement, enforce or bend rules, then the formal and the informal do not constitute separate spheres (Ledeneva, 2018). Rather, each contextualizes the other. Moreover, the persistence of the informal over a period of time can give rise to new norms that operate as such (Sassen, 1993). Such an understanding of the relationship between the formal and the informal may open up different ways of thinking about societal transformation that do not reproduce the teleology of modernization theory.

The Interplay of Formal Exclusion and Informal Inclusion in the Emergence of Refugee Camp Political Economies

My work on Burj al-Barajneh camp has shown that, despite statelessness and, hence, formal exclusion, decades of inhabitation in Lebanon have resulted in the "informal"

inclusion of Palestinian camp refugees in Lebanon's sectarian political economy (Latif 2008(a), 2008(b), 2012). Hence, the predicament of Palestinian camp refugees in Lebanon has to be understood not only in light of their formal exclusion as stateless persons, but also in terms of the precarity of an informal inclusion that does not confer any legally recognized or enforceable rights.

The Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon emerged during the late 1940s and early 1950s as a consequence of the mass expulsion of Palestinians during the founding of the nation-state of Israel in 1948. Prior to the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) in 1950, humanitarian aid to Palestinian refugees in Lebanon was provided by the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS), of which the Lebanese Red Cross, founded a year prior to national independence from French Mandate rule in 1946, was a member.

Burj al-Barajneh camp came into existence in 1949, near the village of Burj al-Barajneh on the southern outskirts of Beirut. According to interviews conducted with first and second-generation camp refugees in the course of fieldwork, members of a notable family from the village of Tarshiha in the Upper Galilee had taken refuge in the village of Burj al-Barajneh as they had pre-existing economic and social ties with a notable family from Burj al-Barajneh. Over time, the refugees from Tarshiha were joined by fellow villagers and kinsmen from neighboring villages in the Galilee. As the number of refugee families grew, the LRCS began to provide assistance in the form of tents, food rations, and basic health care. The increasing migration of Palestinian refugees to Burj al-Barajneh, the LRCS' provision of humanitarian aid, as well as the *wāsta*—mediation—of the notable family from Burj al-Barajneh with Lebanese state officials, facilitated the formal recognition of the settlement as an official refugee camp.

Along with fieldwork I conducted in Burj al-Barajneh camp (2003-ongoing), research in the archives of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement in Geneva (2007), revealed that the establishment of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, involved both organized transfers of refugees under the supervision of the League, as well as movement on the part of refugees themselves. The location and settlement of the camps, similarly, entailed both refugees' own initiatives as well as interventions on the part of the League (Latif 2008(a), 2008(b)). According to League reports, the Lebanese state viewed those refugees who were in need of humanitarian assistance as a threat to its sectarian balance of power between Muslims and Christians and relegated the provision of relief to the League¹. This abbreviated account of the emergence of Burj al-Barajneh camp highlights the importance of researching the particular histories of long-term refugee camps in order to gain a better understanding of

1 Report to the United Nations Relief to Palestine Refugees on the part of the League of Red Cross Societies in the Palestine Refugees Relief Programme (January 1950). IFRC archives. LRCS Box 19742. (LRCS 1949)

Report to the United Nations Relief to Palestine Refugees on the part of the League of Red Cross Societies in the Palestine Refugees Relief Programme (April 1950). IFRC archives. LRCS Box 19742. (LRCS 1949)

the social relationships that emerge within them, as well as the ways in which these social relationships shape and are shaped by changes in the location of the particular camp within local and global political economies.

Interviews with first generation camp refugees, LRCS reports of its work, as well as subsequent UNRWA reports from the 1950s make clear that the humanitarian aid provided was never sufficient to meet the refugees' needs. These circumstances, alongside the Lebanese state's legal prohibitions on their employment, necessitated informal work on the part of both adults and children. In a first-generation refugee's words: "Everyone worked, man, woman, boy, girl, to be able to live." At the same time, fieldwork revealed that the refugees' possession and dispossession of economic and social capital was not uniform or constant. Given the constraints on camp refugee employment in those early years, UNRWA was one of the few avenues of salaried employment and potential upward mobility open to some camp refugees. Hence, the camp was never an unstratified space.

The emerging political economy of Burj al-Barajneh camp was also shaped by the newly independent Lebanese state's domestic and foreign policy considerations, as well as by the political economy of Beirut and its environs. Scholarship on the regions that were administratively brought together under the French Mandate for Lebanon (1920-1945) indicates that the integration of these regions into the world economy during the Ottoman period led to the emergence of a sectarian political economy (Makdisi, 1996; Owen, 1981; Traboulsi, 2007). During the Mandate period, sectarian membership was institutionalized as the official basis for political participation (Amel, 2020; Traboulsi, 2007). The independent Lebanese republic was run on the basis of *laissez-faire*, understood as minimal state regulation of the economy. "Public" services such as education and healthcare continued to be provided primarily by each sect's charitable institutions to its own members. In other words, sectarian belonging in Lebanon came to be institutionalized not only as the basis of political participation, but also as the means by which to access social services in a capitalist political economy that had long been incorporated into the world economy.

The influx of Palestinian refugees in 1948 was deemed a threat to the new nation-state's sectarian balance of power and a burden on its economy (Sayigh, 1997; Vernant, 1953). This was in contrast to the settlement and naturalization of Armenian refugees during the French Mandate, a decision supported by many Christian political leaders and opposed by many of their Muslim counterparts (Traboulsi, 2007). At the same time, the regional boycott of the newly established state of Israel greatly benefited Lebanon's service sector. Beirut took over Haifa's role as a major port for the Arab hinterland and as an important hub of intercontinental communications. Beirut also received a huge inflow of Palestinian capital, along with large numbers of wealthy and middle-class Palestinian refugees, many of whom acquired citizenship (Nasr, 1978; Smith, 1986; Traboulsi, 2007). However, it is the impoverished refugees and their descendants who have come to be the representation of Palestinians in Lebanon.

In the milieu of Lebanon's sectarian political economy, living in the refugee camps as a marker of class and autochthony also came to be associated with sect. In 2003, when I first began fieldwork in Burj al-Barajneh camp, many second and third generation refugees responded to my questions about Dbayeh camp, located in the eastern suburbs of Beirut, with surprise that any Palestinian Christians still lived in a camp and had not been naturalized.

Over the course of the 1950s-1960s, a ring of informal construction formed on the outskirts of Beirut. Concentrated around industrial sites and punctuated by official Palestinian refugee camps, as well as informal refugee settlements, it was termed the "misery belt" in official and political discourse. Many Lebanese from the south and the Biqā', as well as Palestinian refugees from more rural camps such as Nahr al-Bared in the north and Rashidieh in the south migrated to the rapidly suburbanizing villages on the outskirts of Beirut in search of work. The founding of the state of Israel in 1948 had had a deleterious impact on the economy of south Lebanon, as Palestine had been an important market for its exports (Traboulsi, 2007). At the same time, the increasing capitalization of agriculture, monopolized by a small number of notable families, exacerbated landlessness and indebtedness in the rural regions of Lebanon, contributing to mass rural-urban migration (Gilsenan, 1977; Nasr, 1978; Nasr and James, 1985). This migration, in turn, facilitated the formation of social, political, and economic ties between impoverished Palestinian refugees and their Lebanese class counterparts.

The state's ideology of laissez-faire notwithstanding, thirty families—occupying key governmental offices—held monopolistic control over the main axes of the economy (Traboulsi, 2007). *Wāṣṭa*—literally mediation or intercession—facilitated access not only to "public" services such as education and healthcare, but also to day and salaried employment in public and private ventures alike. New migrants to the city found it difficult to join existing social networks, which coalesced at the level of the neighborhood around strong-men associated with the neighborhood—*qabadayat*. In addition to "protecting" the neighborhood, *qabadayat* mediated access to urban notables—*zu'ama'*—whose intercession facilitated matters ranging from registering children in the school, to securing employment, to acquiring permission to build, and even obtaining electricity connection (Denoeux, 1993; Johnson, 1986). In the absence of pre-existing claims based on shared inhabitation, claims based on sectarian membership, facilitated new migrants' access to social networks. This contributed to the increasing sectarianization of these relationships (Khuri, 1972).

Sectarianism was viewed by a number of scholars as serving a socially stabilizing function in facilitating redistribution across class lines (Denoeux, 1993; Johnson, 1986; Khuri, 1972). According to this view, the Lebanese civil war was brought about by the collapse of the sectarian order, in part due to the exclusion of Palestinians from the sectarian organization of patrons and clients, as they did not have a vote to offer in exchange for services accessible only through the patron's *wāṣṭa*. This claim is problematic on a number of counts. By the 1960s, a number of elite and middle-class Palestinians had acquired citizenship and therefore were eligible to vote. Moreover, fieldwork in Burj al-Barajneh camp revealed that

intermarriage between Palestinian camp refugees and their Lebanese class counterparts also inhabiting the “misery belts” surrounding Beirut, was not uncommon (Latif 2008(a), 2012). If the male partner of the marriage was Lebanese, the children of the union would be eligible for citizenship.

A narrow view of patron-client relationships as loyalty/votes in exchange for access to employment and social services may result in a reductive understanding, not only of how those ties come to be formed and change over time, but also of the contradictory ways in which they may be experienced by those involved in them. Drawing on Marcel Mauss’ work on non-monetary forms of exchange, some anthropologists conceptualized patron-client ties as unequal relationships of reciprocal exchange articulated through a discourse of kinship and amity (Hart, 1975; Gilson, 1977; Khuri, 1969, 1972; Lomnitz, 1988; Peters, 1972). In this view, unwritten rules of sociability prevent the requirement of reciprocity from being made explicit, recasting it as a “debt of honour.” As exchanges take place on a shifting continuum of power relations, relationships that are relatively egalitarian may become less so if one party’s capacity to give is increased beyond the other party’s capacity to reciprocate. These power relations are hegemonic in that both parties must be able to make a claim on each other.

The balance between these reciprocal claims is delicate. A patron who does not have a surplus to redistribute will find themselves without clients. Moreover, when detached from its social context, reciprocal exchange can transform into impersonal market exchange, such as exchanges between individuals who, due to class differences, cannot have a personal relationship, or when what is exchanged falls outside the claims of kinship or amity. In other words, the form of the exchange depends on the relationship and, hence, the difference in power between the parties involved. This does not remain constant over time, as the relationship itself may be transformed by the exchange.

Long-term fieldwork in Burj al-Barajneh camp indicates that *wāsta*—mediation—could be regarded by either party as honorable, marking the patron as a community-minded person of influence. It could also be regarded as an egalitarian or philanthropic redistribution of surplus. In this case, accusations of corruption and oppression were reserved for those on whom a claim to reciprocity could not be made (sectarian differences) or those who refused to recognize such claims (class differences). Discourses of kinship and practices associated with them may facilitate a disavowal of entanglement in relationships of unequal exchange. It does not, however, follow that kinship is the idiom that structures the social, political, and economic organization of communities deemed premodern.

In his work on social change in rural South Lebanon during the first two decades after Lebanese national independence, anthropologist Emrys Peters cautioned against taking at face value, the use of kin terms to press a claim upon the person so addressed (Peters, 1972). Whether or not the claim was honored may have little to do with kin ties, whether “real”

or “fictitious.” By facilitating the impression of a community structured by unchanging “tradition,” the discourse of kinship could forestall a consideration of the ways in which the appearance of continuity masked significant changes in the political economy of the community (Gilsenan, 1977). In other words, assuming an unchanging structure of patronage legitimated by the idiom of kinship can obscure shifts in who occupies the position of patron and who is relegated to the position of a client. Moreover, such an assumption hinders an examination of changes in the political economy within which these relationships of unequal exchange come into existence and are transformed.

Conclusion

Pioneering scholarship examining long-term refugee camps in the Global South as disciplinary spaces played an important role in delineating the terrain debated by subsequent work in the wake of the securitization of international (im)migration policy. However, the potential of this literature for critique was limited by its focus on what was deemed “political”—nation-states, international organizations—to the exclusion of what considered “economic”—local forms of production and consumption, global commodity and financial flows, and migration in search of work. This exclusive focus on the “political” mirrored the distinction between “forced” and “voluntary” migrants institutionalized in international law after the Second World War. Subsequent scholarship deploying the concepts of “encampment” and “humanitarian government” has sought to problematize this distinction. However, analyses led by these concepts may result in a reductive account of the micro and macro political economic processes that Henri Lefebvre theorized as “the social production of space” (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]). Erasing historical specificity, analyses based on the universalization of encampment fail to consider the ways in which the social production of refugee camp spaces is shaped not only by changes in the local political economies that emerge within particular camps, but also by changes in their location within the global political economy as well as the regional political economies of their environs. An examination of the interplay between formal exclusion and informal inclusion may also facilitate a better understanding of the interplay of coercion and hegemony in the changing social relationships that give shape to these political economies. By providing an alternative to reductive analyses led by conceptualizations of “bare life”, an examination of shifts in the interplay of formal exclusion and informal inclusion can make a valuable contribution to broader debates regarding migration, statelessness, and precarity in the contemporary capitalist global economy.

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After Lewontin: Dr. Pangloss and His Imagined Community

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ABSTRACT

Two influential papers of Richard Lewontin “The Apportionment of Human Diversity” (1971) and “The Spandrels of San Marco and the Panglossian Paradigm: A Critique of the Adaptationist Programme” (1979) co-authored with Stephen Jay Gould have a profound effect on post-Darwinian evolutionary biology discourse. In his 1971 paper, he is credited for causing a major paradigm shift in scientific thought on race by demonstrating that there was more variation within human populations than between them. He also shares Gould’s joy in triggering another one by laying out the case of the adaptation in their 1979 paper. Lewontin’s contributions to the discussions on the relationship between race and genetics, as well as his adaptationist approach, had a tremendous political impact, which is consistent with his ideals as a “good scientist” since his definition of science entails producing politically useful knowledge. This paper assesses the two papers comprehensively, in terms of their scientific reliability and relevance to current political discussions. It also aims to discuss the concepts introduced by Lewontin such as “good science” and “politically responsible scientist”. It can be recommended that these ideas should be reconsidered and that their value as a legacy needs to be discussed again.

Keywords: Adaptationism, Apportionment, Lewontin



Introduction

The “Spandrels of San Marco and the Panglossian Paradigm: A Critique of the Adaptationist Programme” (1979) by evolutionary biologist Richard Lewontin and paleontologist Stephen Jay Gould has undoubtedly become one of the most contentious publications in the anthropological literature. Although Lewontin later revealed that the paper was mostly written by Gould alone, he does not deny that he had contributed to the paper to some extent (Wilson, 2015). Gould also claims to have been equally involved in the process of borrowing the term from architectural terminology (Gould, 1997). Meanwhile, the paper has continued to be attributed to both authors in various publications (Olson, 2019; Mastrogiorgio, 2022) to this day.

The scope of the iconic publication in which they sarcastically criticize an irrational Adaptationism they consider to be a pervasive trend in the evolutionary biology community has gone beyond the authors’ home fields of genetics and evolutionary biology and reached the literature of fields such as medicine, psychology, and sociology. This is also true for Lewontin’s stand-alone publication, “The Apportionment of Human Diversity” (1972), which is the second most popular publication of his career after the Spandrel article. These fields indeed have provided a significant contribution to the turgid citation statistics (Carlson and Harris, 2022).

The attention paid to both papers was due to their timing, language, and context, i.e., their contributions to contemporary scientific and political debates at the time of publication, rather than their groundbreaking findings. Lewontin and Gould successfully catch the zeitgeist of the post-World War II period when studies on animal social behavior and its assumed continuity with human behavior rapidly gained attention. The origins of the controversies on the matter could be traced back to Darwin’s natural selection theory and the following Victorian nature-nurture debates to which Francis Galton, cousin of Darwin also contributed. Thus, the extent they reached has been relatively novel. Post-war discussions were centered around the studies on innate and learned behaviors, and these studies were mainly conducted by the pioneers of ethology such as Lorenz and colleagues. Later, the approach of this emerging scientific field caused a polarization between the environmentalist doctrines of American psychologists versus the European genetic determinism, then represented by etiology (Barlow, 1991).

Stemming from Herbert Spencer’s “survival of the fittest” and evolving into Lorenz’s theoretical scheme which defines development as “a process of intercalating instincts and learning”, the biological determinist view consistently reflected the proclaim that natural selection was the primary determinant of important characteristics of human behavior. The early twentieth-century eugenicists claimed that the origins of “deviant” behaviors such as alcoholism or criminality were genetically based, and another camp represented by Arthur Jensen and his colleagues in the 1970s suggested that racial differences and intelligence also had a genetic basis (Allen, 1984). Gould and Lewontin shared a common political stance

against the biological determinist view (Allen, 1984), which Gould also had traced its' origins in the history of Western thought back to the Ancient Greek era in his later-to-be-published book "The Mismeasure of Man" (1981).

Biological determinism suggested a model in consistency with the Darwinian adaptationist view. It was possible to categorize people based on phenotypes such as skin, hair, and eye color, the patterns of variation of which were genetically determined and evolved through natural selection. There was more variation between human populations than within populations in terms of these phenotypes, suggesting that this could be a useful tool for categorizing human populations. Eventually, similar patterns of variation in human traits such as intelligence, scholastic achievement, and criminal behavior could be demonstrated.

The climax of the publications of the biological determinist camp was undoubtedly Edward Wilson's famous book, bearing the date 1975, *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis*. He attempted to combine the approaches of biology, psychology, and other relevant sciences and create a grand narrative on the "biological basis of all social behavior" (Barlow, 1991; Levallois, 2018). Having reignited the debate, Wilson received a strong response. Later, his critics came together under the dome of the Sociobiology Study Group to take further actions against the works of biological determinists, particularly Wilson. The most active segment of the group consisted of Richard Lewontin, Richard Levins, and Stephen Jay Gould; all three were at Harvard University, which was Wilson's home institution at the time (Barlow, 1991).

According to Feldman (2022), although Lewontin did not place his work in this framework, he made several publications with his colleagues, especially Gould, to indirectly refute the biological determinist assumptions. In this regard, his 1972 paper proposed that the variation underlying the phenotypes thought to distinguish races was greater within populations than between populations. As a response to the biological determinists' assumption that these variation patterns were genetically determined, he brought the methodological problems in human genetics' studies using hereditary statistics into question. Simultaneously, in the well-known Spandrel paper, he and Gould directly discussed the adaptations view itself to demonstrate that such models did not arise by natural selection.

In this paper, I tried to take an unpopular stance and discuss Lewontin's mentioned works, specifically the Spandrel and apportionment papers, as well as the scientific zeitgeist that led to the emergence of these works. It can be suggested that the influence of the political atmosphere on the scientific studies produced at a given time, and its effect on the reliability of scientific knowledge is a rather underappreciated phenomenon that needs further discussion.

1972 Paper: The Apportionment of Human Diversity

Lewontin wrote his *opus magnum*, "The Apportionment of Human Diversity" at a time Arthur Jensen made controversial publications on genetics and races, and many geneticists were called upon to respond (Novembre, 2022). Jensen's 1969 paper "*How Can We*

Increase IQ and School Achievement”, were showed that IQ score was highly hereditary, varied between races, and could not be increased later in life as he observed on the scale of his program was the leading one (Jensen, 1969). The following year, 1970, Lewontin published a critical response (Lewontin, 1970), followed by other publications in 1974 (Lewontin, 1974) and 1975 (Lewontin, 1975). (Lewontin and Feldman, 1975). Although it was clear that the famous 1972 article was written in the context of the discussion triggered by Jensen’s publication (Novembre, 2022), Lewontin made no reference to Jensen in it. The article was written almost *in vacuo*, insulated from current political debates. Thus, one of the most important publications of Lewontin’s career was not a critical response to Jensen, an opinion piece, or a scientific comment. *Prima facie* it emerged as an independent scientific study that proved the theoretical and practical inaccuracy of suggesting a genetic basis for race.

Lewontin sequenced the gene loci encoding 17 proteins, mostly erythrocyte antigens, from various populations, which he first classified as Caucasians, Black Africans, Mongoloids, South Asian Aborigines, Amerinds, Oceanians, and Australian Aborigines, and then further classified into 168 subgroups. Then he compared the relative degree of variation found in these loci. In conclusion, he demonstrated that 85% of the genetic variation in these loci was seen within the populations, while 15% was seen between populations. According to him, genetic differences among human populations cannot be used to rationalize racial identity. Thus, he declared that there was no need to discuss races, as it was now biologically proven that there was no such thing as race.

The paper was followed by both supporting and opposing publications. Supporting ones repeated his work by using different kinds of data such as microsatellite and single nucleotide polymorphisms yielding concordant results. Yet their implications from their works slightly differed. Among them were Nei and Roychoudhury, who agreed that the biological concept of race should be abandoned but insisted that statistically significant differences between smaller population groups could justify the continued scientific division of humans by gene type (Carlson & Harris, 2022). However, according to Cavalli-Sforza (1997), the accumulation of publications in favor of the “more-variance-within-than-between hypothesis” was sufficient to claim the invalidation of race and it could finally be trumpeted that “*the burden of the proof is now on the supporters of a biological basis for human racial classification* (Cavalli-Sforza, 1997)”.

The criticisms, on the other side, covered the scientific accuracy and reliability of the paper in addition to its polemical style. Single-locus analyses, according to Spielman and Smouse (1976, cited by Novembre, 2022), would be insufficient to measure human genetic diversity, and they recommended multivariate analyses instead. Mitton argued that multiple loci studies were eligible to demonstrate a greater partitioning of variance among populations (1977, cited by 2022)

Neel summarized this dispute by stating that it was the questions differed on both sides. Lewontin, Nei, and others asked, “*What proportion of all the genetic variation within some large group can be attributed to differences among subgroups and individuals, on average, overall known loci?*”, while the question Spielman and others asked was “*Are the levels of allelic frequency variation found between human populations sufficient to generate a useful taxonomy?*” (Novembre, 2022).

According to Novembre (2022), Lewontin’s focus was not on whether one could do classification, but on what a racial classification conveyed about genotype. He was interested in the taxonomic value of the current race groupings in the sense of their predictive nature of meaningful differentiation at a typical genetic locus, and, fifty years after the publication, his key empirical claim that there was more variance within human populations than between continued to hold.

In the first two decades of its life, the paper, now regarded as one of the milestones in anthropology’s long journey away from racism, did not go beyond the population genetics literature. It also had no impact on the scientific consensus within the field that race was not a taxonomically significant category. Only 15 percent of the article’s total citations were made between 1972 and 2002. 85 percent, by an ironic coincidence, were from 2002 to the present (Carlson and Harris, 2022). According to Ruvolo and Seielstad (2001, cited in Carlson and Harris, 2022), the article’s lackluster interest in this early period was due to the scientific community’s belief that race was a scientific nonissue or that discussions about race and genetics were too politically charged. They mentioned that Lewontin’s findings were surprising to the readers and that although the term “race” began to be abandoned in anthropology, it was still a concept that continued to be respected by many scientists and laymen. According to Carlson and Harris (2022), the provocative conclusions of Lewontin’s article earned it iconic status because they appealed specifically to scholars in the social and human sciences. In the late 90s and early 2000s, the paper became hugely popular, and in newspaper articles and even introductory and educational texts prepared during the Human Genome Project period, the phrase “*there is more variation within populations than between populations*” was quoted out of context, without even mentioning Lewontin’s name. It was no longer regarded as a reference to a scientist’s work, but rather as a scientific consensus, and it gradually became anonymous and circulated as such (Carlson and Harris, 2022). Its relationship with Lewontin became so obscure that William Edwards (2003), author of one of the most famous criticisms of the article, initially thought that the common taxonomical practices in evolutionary biology were starting to disappear completely, hence he first titled his article “Death of Phylogeny”, intending to criticize this trend in the field. Later, following the traces of this variation analysis, he explored Lewontin’s 1972 article and decided that this criticism should have only had one aim and changed the title to “Lewontin’s Fallacy”. One of the reasons that prompted Edward to write this article was a sentence he encountered in a paper published in Nature in 2001 that reads, “*Two random individuals from any group are almost as different as any two random individuals in the entire world*”. The enthusiasm

of its political connotations following the focus of the discussion being shifted, let alone being taken out of context, greatly distorted Lewontin's conclusion. It is indeed the rhetorical and contextual differences of Lewontin's work that separated its path from similar ones. Lewontin stood firm on his position on race and the biological determinist views concerning it. As a consequence, he gained the growing support of social sciences. Being in the public eye assisted him in his cause as well. Meanwhile, the works of his colleagues like Nei and Roychoudhury were overlooked, and their rather-scientific-than-political suggestions were accused of "*reflexively falling into the comfortable habit of White supremacy in science*" (Carlson and Harris, 2022).

Therefore, it is critical to emphasize the impact of scientific communities' vulgar contributions to such debates, as well as the impact of publicity on a scientist and his works. The tendency of academia to reduce scientific disputes down to two ends and hyperbolically demonize one out of them plays a major part in the progress of these debates. This tendency causes an aggressive polarization, creates nothing but two extreme sides, and leaves no ground for a reasonable discussion. This hostile environment fosters the concept that the most virtuous thing a scientist can do is deliver a scientific "silver bullet" to end all of these harmful debates. Lewontin's 1972 paper was his bullet, or, according to Feldman (2022), it was "*one foray in his battle against biological determinism*". The militaristic jargon in the analogy gives an insight into the persistence of academic belligerence.

1979 Paper: San Marco's Spandrels

Stephen Jay Gould and Richard Lewontin's article "*San Marco's Spandrels and the Pangloss Paradigm: A Critique of the Adaptationist Programme*" begins with an interesting definition of an architectural term. The authors begin by describing the "spandrels" or "pendentives" in San Marco Basilica, a famous cathedral in Venice. These structures are triangular spaces formed where the domes intersect with the arches beneath them, and they enhance the cathedral's aesthetics with valuable works of art on them. To the authors, it is possible for visitors who are not interested in architectural history and lack technical knowledge about the subject to think that these above-arched spaces were placed in the cathedral to display the artwork they saw there. The triangular spaces spontaneously appeared on their four sides while the domes were placed on the arches. Famous artworks were made to fill these gaps afterward, and this aesthetic emerged as a result. It is therefore ridiculously optimistic to believe that the spaces were placed solely to act as canvases for painters. Similarly, evolutionary biologists in the 20th century attempted to assign a function to each anatomical or physiological feature of organisms to produce a meaningful adaptation story about them. The authors then mention a ludicrously optimistic character in the French novelist Voltaire's novel *Candide*, Dr. Pangloss, written to ridicule the optimistic philosophy of the famous mathematician and philosopher Gottfried Leibniz. Dr. Pangloss is an exaggerated caricature of Leibniz, suggesting that even the greatest disasters happen to serve a good cause and that the world we live in is the best of all possible worlds. The adaptationist approach,

according to Gould and Lewontin, is the evolutionary biological equivalent of acting like Dr. Pangloss or performing a Panglossism in some way. Biologists narrate evolutionary mechanisms using imagination and goodwill despite insufficient data or an empirical model.

The adaptationist approach also refers to the norms of capitalist society by emphasizing the combative aspect of the individuals of the 20th century who are best adapted, have the highest chance of reproduction, and invest in the right place, just as the evolutionist view reflects the dynamic political character of the 19th century that resulted in bourgeois revolutions. Therefore, it is an approach that must be divorced from its ideological burdens. In this context, their position on Darwinian adaptationism reflects a broader political stance suggesting that 19th-century capitalism had a significant impact on natural and social science theses at the time. These dynamics are articulated by psychologist Erich Fromm: *“In order to prove that capitalism corresponded to natural needs of man, one had to show that man was by nature competitive and full of mutual hostility. While economists “proved” this in terms of the insatiable desire for economic gain, and the Darwinists in terms of the biological law of the survival of the fittest, Freud came to the same result by the assumption that man is driven by a limitless desire for the sexual conquest of all women.”*

So, in their paper, Gould and Lewontin repeated this popular generalization of Darwinian evolution theory in the form of a scientific article to initiate a discussion in the post-Darwinian evolutionary biology community of their time. The latent problem with Darwin’s theoretical approach seems to be its failure in complying with the Marxist standards applied to biology. Lewontin explains his Marxist filter by stating that: *“As working scientists in the field of evolutionary genetics and ecology, we have been attempting with some success to guide our research by a conscious application of Marxist philosophy...”* and goes on by *“There is nothing in Marx, Lenin or Mao that is or that can be in contradiction with the particular physical facts or processes of a particular set of phenomena in the objective world.”* (Barlow, 1991).” The paper demands an epistemological break from Darwinian evolution theory the way it happened with Freudian and Malthusian theories in other disciplines in their respective history. The underlying theoretical and practical differences between natural and social sciences do not appear to matter, and despite being praised by Gould as a “kindly liberal,” Darwin’s political stance does not save his scientific theory or his bourgeois birds in Galápagos. Another aspect of the paper is, to Feldman (2022), it’s being one of the *“crucial components of his* (Lewontin’s) *campaign against biological determinism and the racism with which it was associated”*. The Spandrel paper is a rather discursive study in evolutionary biology (Nielsen, 2009), and Gould and Lewontin react to sociobiology (Pigliucci and Kaplan, 2000), which they see as another representative of the biological determinist views they oppose. Pigliucci and Kaplan (2000) argue that *“The attack on adaptationism expressed in Spandrels, and which Lewontin and Gould each pursued in many other works, would probably have been far less aggressive if the adaptive significance of the variation in the color of snail shells were the only thing at stake.”*

The paper has received harsher criticisms, possibly because its extra-scientific nature was easier to educate. Thomson (1994) states that “*Principally Gould’s creation, it is, as he says in this volume of essays devoted to it, a distinctly personal “opinion piece” and as such falls outside the rules (whatever they are, and they are probably unnecessarily restrictive) of the “paper.” Intended as a challenge to orthodoxy, it was deliberately crafted as a tour de force, leaving the interesting question whether its central message would - have been so compelling if its exposition had been less polemical.*” and goes on to say: “*As scientific prose, its dramatic energy and imagery render it a model to some readers and a case of puffery to others.*”

Another aspect of the discussions has been the challenge against the adaptationist approach itself. According to Dennett (1995), the role of the adaptationist view plays in evolutionary biology is so important that displacing it would immediately result in Darwinism’s downfall, let alone the collapse of modern biochemistry and all the life sciences and medicine. According to Smith (1995), questioning what function an unknown structure was chosen to perform a specific function is fundamental to evolutionary biology. “*Confronted with feathers, or eyes, or ribosomes, we cannot ask what they are for. It would be no more plausible to suppose that they are accidental and non-selected byproducts of something else than it would be to suppose that the gyroscope in the V2 rocket was connected as it was because some German fitter made a mistake,*” he adds.

Criticisms seem to have sensed the extra scientific motivations of the paper and responded to it well, but they somehow don’t elaborate on it. An out-of-context call to reject a useful paradigm for almost entirely political reasons, on the other hand, is not common in evolutionary biology. Lamarck represented a previous epistemological break. He was rejected, however, because he was incorrect, not because his evolutionary theory would not have satisfied Mao. Instead, the debate didn’t last long as the sociobiology discussions seem to come to an end. The spandrel paper began to lose its political charge and the terms it introduced became popular in evolutionary biology literature over time. Gould himself brought the usefulness of the term “spandrel” to the table in a paper he later wrote (Gould, 1997). According to Müller (2013), the concept of spandrel became more useful for studies in this field as evolutionary and developmental biology emerged as separate fields during the 1980s. And, like others introduced by Gould, the concept was eventually accepted by the literature.

Thus, the Spandrel debate got resolved on its own as it became eventually clear that Wilson’s sociobiological approach wouldn’t make way for a Fourth Reich. The paper got slowly depoliticized and the color variation in snail shells became the main concern again, letting the practices shown in the hectic period of the debate go by the wayside.

A Look at Lewontinian Science

Richard Lewontin became an original scientist by opening up the philosophical dimensions of scientific knowledge production and the political repercussions of biology’s data and implications. He prioritized dealing with evolutionary biology and genetics in their

broader contexts, making room in his laboratory for biology historians and philosophers (Braide, 1999). His entire life was dedicated to combating the use of biology to justify and perpetuate racial, class, and gender inequalities. Lewontin fought this struggle with his many identities, including those of a scientist, activist, or an authority figure influencing public opinion, and even preferred not to separate these identities, which were already intertwined, in order to increase the power of his discourse and actions. In the period 1970-80 which covers the year 1972 when the apportionment article exploded, he made many media appearances, including television interviews, which led to an increased interest in his work. Between 1982 and 1994, he was already a well-known author, having published four major books (Carlson and Harris, 2022).

He perceived his social role as a scientist differently from other colleagues. In an interview, he described how his wife, Mary Jane Lewontin, questioned the significance of his scientific work: *“I was talking with a colleague about some work I was doing on ants and ant behavior, and a woman came up from Stanford to talk to me about it. When my colleague left, Mary Jane said to me, “Why do you want to do that? Why does anybody want to study the behavior of ants? What’s it got to do with anything that we care about?” And we started to talk about that issue, which is: “What is the motivation for academic life, in general?”*

Scientists are people who have a respected and privileged place in society, to him, and their academic work should not only serve to satisfy their intellectual curiosity. They must do meaningful work that would have political relevance. However, renouncing science in favor of purely political motivations is not the right thing to do. Science is a pursuit that would give people who want to take political action legitimacy. As a result of this legitimacy, scientists gain the right and authority to interpret social issues. Therefore, every scientist must continue to do scientific studies if they want to become an authority and remain so before the people.

Thus, the scientists in Lewontin’s ideal are people conducting meaningful scientific studies under the guidance of their political attitudes. And since their scientific studies give them a respectable authority, they eventually find a settlement for political discussions in the public arena. They are the self-citing *Deus ex-machines* of social issues.

According to Novembre (2022), this is an example of “misbehaving science”, which is a term introduced by sociologist of science Aaron Panofsky. In this mode of science, *“controversy is ‘persistent’, ‘ungovernable’ and ‘political’ and ‘scientists are confounded to draw the boundaries between politics and science’. And ‘if science is like a machine for resolving controversies, in misbehaving science that machine is broken’”* he cites.

Panofsky’s emphasis on the inability of misbehaving science to resolve controversies is highly significant. Segestråle (1986), concordantly, defines the dynamics between Lewontin and Wilson as a symbiosis, with both parties interested in the same thing, which is keeping the controversy going. And this shows that a scientific debate may not always be a true representation of what the conflict is about.

Indeed, Lewontin and his colleagues, both supporters, and opponents, were more concerned with how they carried out a controversy than with its resolution. Segestråle (1986) suggests that both Lewontin and Wilson were “*engaged in long-term agendas based on fundamentally different metascientific convictions strongly “coupled” to their moral self-images as scientists*”. However, I choose to examine Lewontin’s relationship with his self-image as he is the one whose scientific contributions are accepted as a legacy for all scientists.

Scientific studies are classified as “good science” or “bad science,” according to Lewontin. Good science has no problems and is simple to explain, whereas bad science requires more explanation. According to him, the primary cause of bad science is scientists’ political bias. Also, he believes in having a two-stage mission as a scientist: the first is to show scientists who hold false political beliefs the scientific mistakes they made, and the second is to prove that the cause of these mistakes is their false belief (Segestråle, 1986). Having professed to be a Marxist himself (Barlow, 1991), he believes that “his science would be immune from the influence of ideology because of his ideological awareness” (Segestråle, 1986). Lewontin can be distinguished from the others who perform bad science not whether they produce science under the influence of their political views, but whether the political views per se are correct. Hence, according to this formulation, Lewontin is a good scientist employing his correct political convictions.

Good science produced with the right political view bears the power to nullify a political debate, as it would always yield “explainable” and “correct” results. A good or “politically correct” scientist would be able to produce definite and indisputable resolutions to social conflicts and demonstrate with p0.05 reliability that they were on the right side of history. And this is not their talent and grace, but rather their debt to society as a scientist.

Politically correct scientists should perform positive science, produce data to give the world the right answers, and even change the paradigm if necessary. If genetic studies have become a confirmation mechanism for negative political views, they must reject genetics. If natural selection has come to be useful for this purpose, they should have come to terms with the adaptive view itself. They should be ready and motivated to prove, if necessary that even Darwin was wrong, that we did not consume oxygen, or that DNA consisted of three strands, instead of two. Studies in which the data alone seems insufficient should have a sarcastic tone, and borrow the style and caricatures of Voltaire, who also conducted his philosophical discussion with Leibniz with the assistance of his sarcasm. The authors then should create ridiculous biologists who produce bad science and win the imaginary debate against them on paper.

However, this substitution of scientific studies for political action is an attitude that feeds the intellectual sloth on the one hand and damages the influence of scientific knowledge on policymaking in the long run, on the other. Most importantly, it undermines the intellectual consensus on what scientific and philosophical truth is, as well as what it means to reach the

truth through scientific methods. If what is politically correct is always true, then what is politically correct should never change. Even in a purely Marxist-Leninist political ground, “good science that tells us the truth” could easily change, as in the case of Stalin’s belligerent disagreement with Mendelian genetics (Witkowski, 2008). Mendel’s “factors” responsible for the plastids synthesized by the white blooming flowers remained constant; it was Stalin’s political interpretation of Mendelian genetics that proved to be incorrect. Meantime, the beans were unaware of the politically charged scientific discussions covering their flower color.

A similar change in discourse appears to be occurring in the notorious race and genetics debate. Reich (2018), one of the evolutionary biologists who disagree with Lewontin’s interpretations of his 1972 paper, elaborates his position by stating that: “*The approach of staying mum, of implying to the public and colleagues that substantial differences in traits across populations are unlikely to exist, is a strategy that we scientists can no longer afford, and that is positively harmful. If as scientists we willfully abstain from laying out a rational framework for discussing human differences, we will leave a vacuum that will be filled by pseudoscience, an outcome that is far worse than anything we could achieve by talking openly.*”

It is not yet clear how such disagreements would resonate in the groves of academe. It can be suggested to reconsider the Lewontinian practices leading the good scientists to perform the same, never-ending *reductio ad Hitlerum*, making them respond in the most hyperbolic way they could, using the same old broken machine -as Panofsky put it.

Conclusion

Richard Lewontin has had a great influence on a whole generation of scientists as well as laypeople. He is still recognized for his *sui generis* contributions to critical scientific and political discussions with keystone publications such as *The Apportionment of Human Diversity* (1972) and *Spandrels of San Marco* (1979).

However, in the world after Lewontin, and in the 50th year of the apportionment paper, we should reconsider the idea of Promethean scientists fighting against politically and thus scientifically unacceptable movements. Scientists should not be assigned an intellectual debt such as resolving political or social conflicts using their scientific efforts. They also should not be judged by the hypothetical and almost imaginary outcomes of their findings. These hostile attitudes are what intimidate scientists and leave a vacuum to be filled by pseudoscience instead, and now that vacuum is becoming much more visible than ever.

Thus, now seems to be the best time to reconsider the validity of Lewontinian scientific practices for the future of anthropology.

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DESCRIPTION

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All the citations done in the text should be listed in the References section in alphabetical order of author surname without numbering. Below given examples should be considered in citing the references.

Basic Reference Types

Book

a) Turkish Book

Karasar, N. (1995). *Araştırmalarda rapor hazırlama* (8th ed.) [Preparing research reports]. Ankara, Türkiye: 3A Eğitim Danışmanlık Ltd.

b) Book Translated into Turkish

Mucchielli, A. (1991). *Zihniyetler* [Mindsets] (A. Kotil, Trans.). İstanbul, Türkiye: İletişim Yayınları.

c) Edited Book

Ören, T., Üney, T., & Çölkesen, R. (Eds.). (2006). *Türkiye bilişim ansiklopedisi* [Turkish Encyclopedia of Informatics]. İstanbul, Türkiye: Papatya Yayıncılık.

d) Turkish Book with Multiple Authors

Tonta, Y., Bitirim, Y., & Sever, H. (2002). *Türkçe arama motorlarında performans değerlendirme* [Performance evaluation in Turkish search engines]. Ankara, Türkiye: Total Bilişim.

e) Book in English

Kamien R., & Kamien A. (2014). *Music: An appreciation*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

f) Chapter in an Edited Book

Bassett, C. (2006). Cultural studies and new media. In G. Hall & C. Birchall (Eds.), *New cultural studies: Adventures in theory* (pp. 220–237). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

g) Chapter in an Edited Book in Turkish

Erkmen, T. (2012). Örgüt kültürü: Fonksiyonları, öğeleri, işletme yönetimi ve liderlikteki önemi [Organization culture: Its functions, elements and importance in leadership and business management]. In M. Zencirkıran (Ed.), *Örgüt sosyolojisi* [Organization sociology] (pp. 233–263). Bursa, Türkiye: Dora Basım Yayın.

h) Book with the same organization as author and publisher

American Psychological Association. (2009). *Publication manual of the American psychological association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

Article

a) Turkish Article

Mutlu, B., & Savaşer, S. (2007). Çocuğu ameliyat sonrası yoğun bakımda olan ebeveynlerde stres nedenleri ve azaltma girişimleri [Source and intervention reduction of stress for parents whose children are in intensive care unit after surgery]. *İstanbul University Florence Nightingale Journal of Nursing*, 15(60), 179–182.

b) English Article

de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identity. *Discourse and Society*, 10(2), 149–173. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002002>

c) Journal Article with DOI and More Than Seven Authors

Lal, H., Cunningham, A. L., Godeaux, O., Chlibek, R., Diez-Domingo, J., Hwang, S.-J. ... Heineman, T. C. (2015). Efficacy of an adjuvanted herpes zoster subunit vaccine in older adults. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 372, 2087–2096. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMoa1501184>

d) Journal Article from Web, without DOI

Sidani, S. (2003). Enhancing the evaluation of nursing care effectiveness. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 35(3), 26–38. Retrieved from <http://cjr.mcgill.ca>

e) Journal Article with DOI

Turner, S. J. (2010). Website statistics 2.0: Using Google Analytics to measure library website effectiveness. *Technical Services Quarterly*, 27, 261–278. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07317131003765910>

f) Advance Online Publication

Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a45d7867>

g) Article in a Magazine

Henry, W. A., III. (1990, April 9). Making the grade in today's schools. *Time*, 135, 28–31.

Doctoral Dissertation, Master's Thesis, Presentation, Proceeding**a) Dissertation/Thesis from a Commercial Database**

Van Brunt, D. (1997). *Networked consumer health information systems* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 9943436)

b) Dissertation/Thesis from an Institutional Database

Yaylali-Yıldız, B. (2014). *University campuses as places of potential publicness: Exploring the politicals, social and cultural practices in Ege University* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <http://library.iyte.edu.tr/tr/hizli-erisim/iyte-tez-portali>

c) Dissertation/Thesis from Web

Tonta, Y. A. (1992). *An analysis of search failures in online library catalogs* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley). Retrieved from <http://yunus.hacettepe.edu.tr/~tonta/yayinlar/phd/ickapak.html>

d) Dissertation/Thesis abstracted in Dissertations Abstracts International

Appelbaum, L. G. (2005). Three studies of human information processing: Texture amplification, motion representation, and figure-ground segregation. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B. Sciences and Engineering*, 65(10), 5428.

e) Symposium Contribution

Krinsky-McHale, S. J., Zigman, W. B., & Silverman, W. (2012, August). Are neuropsychiatric symptoms markers of prodromal Alzheimer's disease in adults with Down syndrome? In W. B. Zigman (Chair), *Predictors of mild cognitive impairment, dementia, and mortality in adults with Down syndrome*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

f) Conference Paper Abstract Retrieved Online

Liu, S. (2005, May). *Defending against business crises with the help of intelligent agent based early warning solutions*. Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Enterprise Information Systems, Miami, FL. Abstract retrieved from http://www.iceis.org/iceis2005/abstracts_2005.htm

g) Conference Paper - In Regularly Published Proceedings and Retrieved Online

Herculano-Houzel, S., Collins, C. E., Wong, P., Kaas, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 105, 12593–12598. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0805417105>

h) Proceeding in Book Form

Parsons, O. A., Pryzwansky, W. B., Weinstein, D. J., & Wiens, A. N. (1995). Taxonomy for psychology. In J. N. Reich, H. Sands, & A. N. Wiens (Eds.), *Education and training beyond the doctoral degree: Proceedings of the American Psychological Association National Conference on Postdoctoral Education and Training in Psychology* (pp. 45–50). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

i) Paper Presentation

Nguyen, C. A. (2012, August). *Humor and deception in advertising: When laughter may not be the best medicine*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

Other Sources

a) Newspaper Article

Browne, R. (2010, March 21). This brainless patient is no dummy. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 45.

b) Newspaper Article with no Author

New drug appears to sharply cut risk of death from heart failure. (1993, July 15). *The Washington Post*, p. A12.

c) Web Page/Blog Post

Bordwell, D. (2013, June 18). David Koepp: Making the world movie-sized [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/page/27/>

d) Online Encyclopedia/Dictionary

Ignition. (1989). In *Oxford English online dictionary* (2nd ed.). Retrieved from <http://dictionary.oed.com>
Marcoux, A. (2008). Business ethics. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.). *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-business/>

e) Podcast

Dunning, B. (Producer). (2011, January 12). *inFact: Conspiracy theories* [Video podcast]. Retrieved from <http://itunes.apple.com/>

f) Single Episode in a Television Series

Egan, D. (Writer), & Alexander, J. (Director). (2005). Failure to communicate. [Television series episode]. In D. Shore (Executive producer), *House*; New York, NY: Fox Broadcasting.

g) Music

Fuchs, G. (2004). Light the menorah. On *Eight nights of Hanukkah* [CD]. Brick, NJ: Kid Kosher.

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Yazarlar dergide yayınlanan çalışmalarının telif hakkına sahiptirler ve çalışmaları Creative Commons Atıf-GayrıTicari 4.0 Uluslararası (CC BY-NC 4.0) <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/deed.tr> olarak lisanslıdır. CC BY-NC 4.0 lisansı, eserin ticari kullanım dışında her boyut ve formatta paylaşılmasına, kopyalanmasına, çoğaltılmasına ve orijinal esere uygun şekilde atıfta bulunmak kaydıyla yeniden düzenleme, dönüştürme ve eserin üzerine inşa etme dâhil adapte edilmesine izin verir.

Hakem Süreci

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir. Gönderilen ve ön kontrolü geçen makaleler iThenticate yazılımı kullanılarak intihal için taranır. İntihal kontrolünün ardından uygun olan makaleler, baş editör tarafından orijinallik, metodoloji, işlenen konunun önemi ve dergi kapsamı ile uyumluluğu açısından değerlendirilir.

Baş Editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar.

Seçilen makaleler, en az iki ulusal/uluslararası hakeme değerlendirmeye gönderilir; yayın kararı, hakemlerin talepleri doğrultusunda yazarların gerçekleştirdiği düzenlemelerin ve hakem sürecinin sonrasında baş editör tarafından verilir.

Baş editör; yazarlar, editörler ve hakemler arasında çıkar çatışmasına izin vermez. Hakem atama konusunda tam yetkiye sahiptir ve dergide yayınlanacak makalelerle ilgili nihai kararı vermekle yükümlüdür.

Hakemlerin değerlendirmeleri objektif olmalıdır. Hakem süreci sırasında hakemlerin aşağıdaki hususları dikkate alarak değerlendirmelerini yapmaları beklenir.

- Makale yeni ve önemli bir bilgi içeriyor mu?
- Öz, makalenin içeriğini net ve düzgün bir şekilde tanımlıyor mu?
- Yöntem bütünlüklü ve anlaşılır şekilde tanımlanmış mı?
- Yapılan yorum ve varılan sonuçlar bulgularla kanıtlanıyor mu?
- Alandaki diğer çalışmalara yeterli referans verilmiş mi?
- Dil kalitesi yeterli mi?

Hakemler, gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdır.

Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör, hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir.

YAYIN ETİĞİ VE İLKELER

İstanbul Antropoloji Dergisi - Istanbul Anthropological Review, yayın etiğinde en yüksek standartlara bağlıdır ve Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Open Access Scholarly Publishers Association (OASPA) ve World Association of Medical Editors (WAME) tarafından yayınlanan etik yayıncılık ilkelerini benimser; Principles of Transparency and Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing başlığı altında ifade edilen ilkeler için: <https://publicationethics.org/resources/guidelines-new/principles-transparencyand-best-practice-scholarly-publishing>

Gönderilen tüm makaleler, orijinal ve yayınlanmamış (tam metin konferans bildirisi dahil) olmalı ve başka bir dergide değerlendirme sürecinde olmamalıdır. Her bir makale, editörlerden biri ve en az iki hakem tarafından çift kör değerlendirmeden geçirilir. İntihal, duplikasyon, sahte yazarlık/inkâr edilen yazarlık, araştırma/veri fabrikasyonu, makale dilimleme, dilimleyerek yayın, telif hakları ihlali ve çıkar çatışmasının gizlenmesi, etik dışı davranışlar olarak kabul edilir.

Kabul edilen etik standartlara uygun olmayan tüm makaleler yayından çıkarılır. Buna, yayından sonra tespit edilen olası kuraldışı ve uygunsuzluklar içeren makaleler de dahildir.

Araştırma Etiği

İstanbul Antropoloji Dergisi - Istanbul Anthropological Review, araştırma etiğinde en yüksek standartları gözetir ve aşağıda tanımlanan uluslararası araştırma etiği ilkelerini benimser. Makalelerin etik kurallara uygunluğu, yazarların sorumluluğundadır.

Uluslararası Araştırma Etiği İlkeleri

- Araştırmanın tasarlanması, tasarımın gözden geçirilmesi ve araştırmanın yürütülmesinde bütünlük, kalite ve şeffaflık ilkeleri sağlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma ekibi ve katılımcılar, araştırmanın amacı, yöntemleri ve öngörülen olası kullanımları; araştırmaya katılımın gerektirdikleri ve varsa riskleri hakkında tam olarak bilgilendirilmelidir.
- Araştırma katılımcılarının sağladığı bilgilerin gizliliği ve yanıt verenlerin gizliliği sağlanmalıdır. Araştırma katılımcılarının özerkliğini ve saygınlığını koruyacak şekilde tasarlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma katılımcıları gönüllü olarak araştırmada yer almalı ve herhangi bir zorlama altında olmamalıdır. Katılımcıların zarar görmesinden kaçınılmalıdır. Araştırma, katılımcıları riske sokmayacak şekilde planlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma bağımsızlığıyla ilgili açık ve net olunmalı; çıkar çatışması varsa belirtilmelidir.
- Deneysel çalışmalarda, araştırmaya katılmaya karar veren katılımcıların yazılı bilgilendirilmiş onayı alınmalıdır. Çocukların ve vesayet altındakilerin veya tasdiklenmiş akıl hastalığı bulunanların yasal vasisinin onayı alınmalıdır.
- Çalışma, herhangi bir kurum ya da kuruluşta gerçekleştirilecekse bu kurum ya da kuruluştan çalışma yapılacağına dair onay alınmalıdır.
- İnsan ögesi bulunan çalışmalarda, “yöntem” bölümünde, katılımcılardan “bilgilendirilmiş onam” alındığının ve çalışmanın yapıldığı kurumdan etik kurul onayı alındığının belirtilmesi gerekir.

Yazarların Sorumluluğu

Makalelerin bilimsel ve etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığı konusunda teminat sağlamalıdır. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telifle bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların ve katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar, uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir.

Gönderilen makalede tüm yazarların akademik ve bilimsel olarak doğrudan katkısı olmalıdır. Bu bağlamda “yazar”, yayınlanan bir araştırmanın kavramsallaştırılmasına ve dizaynına, verilerin elde edilmesine, analizine ya da yorumlanmasına belirgin katkı yapan, yazının yazılması ya da bunun içerik açısından eleştirel biçimde gözden geçirilmesinde görev yapan birisi olarak görülür. Yazar olabilmenin diğer koşulları ise makaledeki çalışmayı planlamak veya icra etmek/revize etmektir. Fon sağlanması, veri toplanması ya da araştırma grubunun genel gözetimi tek başına yazarlık hakkı kazandırmaz. Yazar olarak gösterilen tüm bireyler, sayılan tüm ölçütleri karşılamalıdır. Yukarıdaki ölçütleri karşılayan her birey yazar olarak gösterilebilir. Yazarların isim sıralaması, ortak verilen bir karar olmalıdır. Tüm yazarlar, yazar sıralamasını, Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formunda imzalı olarak belirtmek zorundadırlar.

Yazarlık için yeterli ölçütleri karşılamayan ancak çalışmaya katkısı olan tüm bireyler “teşekkür/bilgiler” kısmında sıralanmalıdır. Bunlara örnek olarak ise sadece teknik destek sağlayan, yazıma yardımcı olan ya da sadece genel bir destek sağlayan, finansal ve materyal desteği sunan kişiler verilebilir.

Bütün yazarlar, araştırmanın sonuçlarını ya da bilimsel değerlendirmeyi etkileyebilme potansiyeli olan finansal ilişkiler, çıkar çatışması ve çıkar rekabetini beyan etmelidirler. Bir yazar, kendi yayınlanmış yazısında belirgin bir hata ya da yanlışlık tespit ederse bu yanlışlıklara ilişkin düzeltme ya da geri çekme için editör ile hemen temasa geçme ve iş birliği yapma sorumluluğunu taşır.

Editör ve Hakem Sorumlulukları

Baş editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar. Gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalacağını garanti eder.

Baş editör, içerik ve yayının toplam kalitesinden sorumludur. Gerektiğinde hata sayfası yayınlamalı ya da düzeltme yapmalıdır. Baş editör, yazarlar, editörler ve hakemler arasında çıkar çatışmasına izin vermez. Dergide yayınlanacak makalelerle ilgili nihai kararı vermekle yükümlüdür.

Hakemlerin araştırmayla ilgili, yazarlarla ve/veya araştırmanın finansal destekçileriyle çıkar çatışmaları olmamalıdır. Değerlendirmelerinin sonucunda tarafsız bir yargıya varmalıdırlar. Gönderilmiş yazılara ilişkin tüm bilginin gizli tutulmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar.

Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör, hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin gizli bilgi olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri, başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir. Bazı durumlarda editörün kararıyla, ilgili hakemlerin makaleye ait yorumları aynı makaleyi yorumlayan diğer hakemlere gönderilerek hakemlerin bu süreçte aydınlatılması sağlanabilir.

DİL

Derginin dili Türkçe ve İngilizcedir.

YAZILARIN HAZIRLANMASI VE YAZIM KURALLARI

Yazıların Hazırlanması ve Gönderimi

Makale gönderimi, derginin e-mail adresine: iar@istanbul.edu.tr yapılmalıdır. Gönderilen yazılar, yazının yayınlanmak üzere gönderildiğini ifade eden, makale türünü belirten ve makaleyle ilgili bilgileri içeren (bkz: Son Kontrol Listesi) bir mektup, kapak sayfası, yazar formu, yazının elektronik formunu içeren Microsoft Word 2003 ve üzerindeki versiyonları ile yazılmış elektronik dosya ve tüm yazarların imzaladığı Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formu eklenerek gönderilmelidir.

1. Çalışmalar, A4 boyutunda, üst, alt, sağ ve sol taraftan 2,5 cm. boşluk bırakılarak, 11 punto Times New Roman harf karakterleriyle ve 1,5 satır aralık ölçüsü ile hazırlanmalıdır. Ana makale dosyası, çift taraflı kör hakemlik gereği yazar bilgilerini içermemelidir.
2. Yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makale ile birlikte yazar bilgilerini içeren kapak sayfası gönderilmelidir. Kapak sayfasında, makalenin başlığı, yazar veya yazarların bağlı oldukları kurum ve unvanları, kendilerine ulaşılabilecek adresler, cep, iş numaraları ve e-posta adresleri yer almalıdır (bkz. Son Kontrol Listesi).
3. Giriş bölümünden önce 180-240 kelimelik çalışmanın kapsamını, amacını, ulaşılan sonuçları ve kullanılan yöntemi kaydeden makale dilinde öz ve İngilizce öz ile 600-800 kelimelik İngilizce genişletilmiş özet yer almalıdır. Makale İngilizce ise Türkçe özet ve İngilizce geniş özet istenmez. Çalışmanın İngilizce başlığı İngilizce özün üzerinde yer almalıdır. İngilizce ve Türkçe özlerin altında çalışmanın içeriğini temsil eden 5 İngilizce, 5 Türkçe anahtar kelime yer almalıdır.
4. Çalışmaların başlıca şu unsurları içermesi gerekmektedir: Başlık, Türkçe öz ve anahtar kelimeler; İngilizce başlık, İngilizce öz ve anahtar kelimeler; İngilizce genişletilmiş özet, ana metin bölümleri ve kaynaklar.
5. Çalışmalarda tablo, grafik ve şekil gibi göstergeler numaralandırılarak, tanımlayıcı bir başlık ile birlikte verilmelidir.

6. Referanslar derginin benimsediği American Psychological Association (APA)- 6 referans stiline uygun olarak hazırlanmalıdır.
7. Kurallar dâhilinde dergimize yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen çalışmaların her türlü sorumluluğu ve çalışmada geçen görüşler yazar/yazarlarına aittir.

Kaynaklar

Kabul edilmiş ancak henüz sayıya dahil edilmemiş makaleler Erken Görünüm olarak yayınlanır ve bu makalelere atıflar “advance online publication” şeklinde verilmelidir. Genel bir kaynaktan elde edilemeyecek temel bir konu olmadıkça “kişisel iletişime” atıfta bulunulmamalıdır. Eğer atıfta bulunulursa parantez içinde iletişim kurulan kişinin adı ve iletişimin tarihi belirtilmelidir. Bilimsel makaleler için yazarlar, bu kaynaktan yazılı izin ve iletişimin doğruluğunu gösterir belge almalıdır.

Referans Stili ve Formatı

İstanbul Antropoloji Dergisi – Istanbul Anthropological Review, metin içi alıntılama ve kaynak gösterme için APA (American Psychological Association) kaynak stilinin 6. edisyonunu benimser. APA 6. Edisyon hakkında bilgi için:

- American Psychological Association. (2010). Publication manual of the American Psychological Association (6th ed.). Washington, DC: APA.
- <http://www.apastyle.org/>

Kaynakların doğruluğundan yazar(lar) sorumludur. Tüm kaynaklar metinde belirtilmelidir. Kaynaklar aşağıdaki örneklerdeki gibi gösterilmelidir.

Metin İçinde Kaynak Gösterme

Kaynaklar metinde parantez içinde yazarların soyadı ve yayın tarihi yazılarak belirtilmelidir. Birden fazla kaynak gösterilecekse kaynaklar arasında (;) işareti kullanılmalıdır. Kaynaklar alfabetik olarak sıralanmalıdır.

Örnekler:

Birden fazla kaynak;

(Esin ve ark., 2002; Karasar 1995)

Tek yazarlı kaynak;

(Akyolcu, 2007)

İki yazarlı kaynak;

(Sayiner ve Demirci 2007, s. 72)

Üç, dört ve beş yazarlı kaynak;

Metin içinde ilk kullanımda: (Ailen, Ciambrene ve Welch 2000, s. 12–13) Metin içinde tekrarlayan kullanımlarda: (Ailen ve ark., 2000)

Altı ve daha çok yazarlı kaynak;

(Çavdar ve ark., 2003)

Kaynaklar Bölümünde Kaynak Gösterme

Kullanılan tüm kaynaklar metnin sonunda ayrı bir bölüm halinde yazar soyadlarına göre alfabetik olarak numaralandırılmadan verilmelidir.

Kaynak yazımı ile ilgili örnekler aşağıda verilmiştir.

Kitap

a) Türkçe Kitap

Karasar, N. (1995). *Araştırmalarda rapor hazırlama* (8.bs). Ankara: 3A Eğitim Danışmanlık Ltd.

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Mucchielli, A. (1991). *Zihniyetler* (A. Kotil, Çev.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

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Ören, T., Üney, T. ve Çölkesen, R. (Ed.). (2006). *Türkiye bilişim ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: Papatya Yayıncılık.

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Tonta, Y., Bitirim, Y. ve Sever, H. (2002). *Türkçe arama motorlarında performans değerlendirme*. Ankara: Total Bilişim.

e) İngilizce Kitap

Kamien R., & Kamien A. (2014). *Music: An appreciation*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

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Bassett, C. (2006). Cultural studies and new media. In G. Hall & C. Birchall (Eds.), *New cultural studies: Adventures in theory* (pp. 220–237). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

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Erkmen, T. (2012). Örgüt kültürü: Fonksiyonları, öğeleri, işletme yönetimi ve liderlikteki önemi. M. Zencirkıran (Ed.), *Örgüt sosyolojisi kitabı* içinde (s. 233–263). Bursa: Dora Basım Yayın.

h) Yayıncının ve Yazarın Kurum Olduğu Yayın

Türk Standartları Enstitüsü. (1974). *Adlandırma ilkeleri*. Ankara: Yazar.

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b) İngilizce Makale

de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identity. *Discourse and Society*, 10(2), 149–173. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002002>

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Lal, H., Cunningham, A. L., Godeaux, O., Chlibek, R., Diez-Domingo, J., Hwang, S.-J. ... Heineman, T. C. (2015). Efficacy of an adjuvanted herpes zoster subunit vaccine in older adults. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 372, 2087–2096. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMoa1501184>

d) DOI'si Olmayan Online Edinilmiş Makale

Al, U. ve Doğan, G. (2012). Hacettepe Üniversitesi Bilgi ve Belge Yönetimi Bölümü tezlerinin atf analizi. *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*, 26, 349–369. Erişim adresi: <http://www.tk.org.tr/>

e) DOI'si Olan Makale

Turner, S.J. (2010). Website statistics 2.0: Using Google Analytics to measure library website effectiveness. *Technical Services Quarterly*, 27, 261–278. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07317131003765910>

f) Advance Online Olarak Yayınlanmış Makale

Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a45d7867>

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Sarı, E. (2008). *Kültür kimlik ve politika: Mardin'de kültürlerarasılık*. (Doktora Tezi). Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara.

b) Ticari Veritabanında Yer Alan Yüksek Lisans Ya da Doktora Tezi

Van Brunt, D. (1997). *Networked consumer health information systems* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (UMI No. 9943436)

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Tonta, Y. A. (1992). *An analysis of search failures in online library catalogs* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley). Retrieved from <http://yunus.hacettepe.edu.tr/~tonta/yayinlar/phd/ickapak.html>

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g) Online Olarak Erişilen Konferans Bildiri Özeti

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