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AN ECOLOGY OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION:  
PROPAGANDA GEOGRAPHIES AND INFRASTRUCTURAL UPROAR IN  
ISTANBUL

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**An Ecology of Political Communication:  
Propaganda Geographies and Infrastructural Uproar in Istanbul**

**Siyasal İletişimin Ekolojisi:  
Propaganda Coğrafyaları ve İstanbul'da Altyapısal Karışıklık**

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- 1) siyasal iletişim
- 2) medya ekolojisi
- 3) propaganda
- 4) altyapı
- 5) kentsel mekan

Anahtar Kelimeler (İngilizce)

- 1) political communication
- 2) media ecology
- 3) propaganda
- 4) infrastructure
- 5) urban space

*To my mother and  
in memory of my father,*

## PREFACE

A preface should beforehand declare that this seemingly bounded object was once covered in scaffolding. Yet, this does not make the following pages into a complete building. A text is rather a partial spider web. However, the author is not a lonely spider secreting an adhesive material out of its own body to form a trap. The web-spinning is in fact a collective process. In this sense, this particular web here was collectively weaved as a humble warning not to become prey of our own symbols but to carry on imagining ecologies.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGU	American Geophysical Union
AKM	Atatürk Culture Centre
AKP	Justice and Development Party
AP	Justice Party
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BTK	Baku-Tbilisi-Kars Railway
CCO	Communicative Constitution of Organization
CHP	Republican People's Party
DP	Democratic Party
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
EEG	Electroencephalography
EMG	Electromyography
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
fMRI	Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging
IBB	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OBOR	One Belt One Road
PTT	Turkish Post
UKOME	Directorate of Transportation Coordination
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USS	Unites States Ship

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation aims to inquire into and theorize the ecology of political communication.

It focuses on political communication within and through the materiality of urban space. The quest of this study is to weave theoretical and methodological networks to grasp political communication within and through the messiness of spatial arrangements, infrastructures, and geographies. In this sense, it aims to go beyond conventional and disembodied approaches on political communication such as interpreting and analysing media content exchanged between fixed parties in linear processes and short durations of traditional categories such as elections, campaigns, media agenda and audience attention. The study problematizes political communication while grasping it as operating not only through language, symbols, and representations but material, affective and embodied encounters.

The study recommends ecology of political communication as a research horizon. It presents a new path for the field of political communication to focus on the processes and encounters that are beyond-the-stage and more-than-the-staged, considering the entanglement of body/mind/environment. In this sense, the study performs discussions at the junction of political communication, media ecologies, theories on ecological cognition, production of space, discourse theory, and nonrepresentational theories. Thus, in the context of political communication, it puts forth an ecology to embrace all embodied cognitive and affective processes and manipulation of material/discursive environments. In this sense, ecology of political communication emphasizes a non-linear, multi-spatiotemporal and more-than-representational perspective while focusing on machinic and naturecultural encounters and alliances.

In this line, the study renders the propaganda geography and infrastructural uproar in Istanbul region. It provides a panorama of historical periods while referring to specific historical and contemporary instances such as rampant excavations, constructions, demolitions, displacements and mobilization of

geographies and infrastructures as propaganda in their own right generating a warfare-like atmosphere. The study employs tanglegrams as material/discursive tracing and mapping practices serving to foreground the agencies, operations, encounters, and ecologies that are forgotten behind the traditional political communication categories. Besides, the study performs collage-making to generate simultaneous encounters with different agencies, juxtaposing their images that are otherwise framed and published separately within limited periods of time. Both methods as material/discursive tracing and visualization, afford to reveal and depict molecular processes obfuscated within and through focalized objects, routinized stagings and media representations.

In general terms, the dissertation aims to weave a theoretical/methodological network to deal with how political communication and propaganda machine operate within and through urban space and its arrangements, what does political communication do, and how does it govern and intervene into everyday embodied encounters among humans and nonhumans, depending or investing on what material/discursive affordances.

**Keywords:** political communication, media ecology, propaganda, infrastructure, urban space

## ÖZET

Bu tez, siyasal iletişimin ekolojisini soruşturmayı ve kuramsallaştırmayı hedeflemektedir.

Kent mekânının maddeselliğinde ve vasıtasıyla siyasal iletişime odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışma siyasal iletişimi mekânsal düzenlemelerin, altyapıların ve coğrafyaların tozu dumanı içinde ve bunlar vasıtasıyla kavramak için kuramsal ve yöntembilimsel ağlar örmek çabasındadır. Bu anlamda, seçimler, kampanyalar, medya gündemleri, izleyici dikkati gibi geleneksel kategorilerin doğrusal süreçlerinde ve kısa sürelerinde sabit taraflar arasında değiş tokuş edilen medya içeriklerinin analizi ve yorumlanması benzeri alışlagelmiş ve bedeni dikkate almayan yaklaşımların ötesine geçmeyi hedeflemektedir. Çalışma siyasal iletişimi sorunsallaştırırken onun sadece dil, semboller ve temsillerle değil, maddesel, duygulanımsal ve bedenlenmiş karşılaşmalar yoluyla işlediğini ele almaktadır.

Çalışma siyasal iletişimin ekolojisini bir araştırma ufku olarak önermektedir. Beden/zihin/çevre dolanıklığını dikkate alarak, siyasal iletişim alanının sahne-ötesi ve sahnelenenden-ziyade süreçlere ve karşılaşmalara odaklanması için yeni patikalar sunmaktadır. Bu anlamda çalışma, siyasal iletişim, medya ekolojileri, ekolojik biliş kuramları, mekânın üretimi, söylem kuramı, ve temsîlî-olmayan kuramların kavşağında tartışmalar icra etmektedir. Böylelikle, siyasal iletişim bağlamında, temsillerle birlikte maddesel/söylemsel çevrenin manipülasyonu ve tüm bedenlenmiş bilişsel ve duygulanımsal süreçleri kapsayan bir ekoloji öne sürmektedir. Siyasal iletişim ekolojisi çizgisel-olmayan, çoklu mekansal-zamansal ve temsilden-ziyade bir bakış açısına vurgu yaparken makinesel ve doğakültürel karşılaşmalara ve ittifaklara odaklanmaktadır.

Bu doğrultuda, çalışma İstanbul bölgesinde propaganda coğrafyasını ve altyapısal hengâmeyi canlandırmakta, resmetmektedir. Azgın hafriyatlar, inşaatlar, yıkımlar, yerinden etmeler ve propaganda olarak bizzat altyapıların ve coğrafyaların seferber edilmesi gibi savaşvari bir atmosfer oluşturan tarihsel ve güncel örneklerle

başvururken tarihsel dönemlerin bir panoramasını sunmaktadır. Çalışma, maddesel/söylemsel iz sürme ve haritalama pratiği olarak düğüm-çizim (tanglegram) yöntemini işe koşarak geleneksel siyasal iletişim kategorileri ardında unutulmuş faillikleri, işleyişleri, karşılaşmaları ve ekolojileri ön plana alır. Bunun yanında, farklı failliklerle eşzamanlı karşılaşmalar vücuda getirmek için bunların farklı çerçevelerde ve kısıtlı zaman dilimlerinde ayrı olarak yayınlanan imajlarını yan yana yerleştirerek kolajlar icra eder. Maddesel/söylemsel iz sürme ve görselleştirme olarak iki yöntem de ilgi-odağı-nesnelere, rutinleşmiş sahnelemeler ve medya temsilleri yoluyla üzeri örtülen moleküler süreçleri açığa çıkarmayı ve resmetmeyi sağlamaktadır.

Genel hatlarıyla tez, siyasal iletişimin ve propaganda makinasının kent mekânı ve düzenlenmeleri içinde ve vasıtasıyla nasıl çalıştığı, ne yaptığı, hangi maddesel/söylemsel sağlıklara dayandığı ya da yatırım yaptığı, insanlar ve insan-olmayanlar arasındaki gündelik bedenlenmiş karşılaşmaları nasıl yönettiği ve bunlara nasıl müdahalede bulunduğuyla uğraşan bir kuramsal/yöntembilimsel ağ örmeyi hedeflemektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** siyasal iletişim, medya ekolojisi, propaganda, altyapı, kentsel mekan

*When the water is spanned by planks,  
when bridges and railings  
leap over the river,  
verily, those are not believed  
who say,  
“Everything is in flux.”*

***Friedrich Nietzsche**  
Thus Spoke Zarathustra*

## INTRODUCTION

The introduction part will start with expounding the concepts of the title of this dissertation: *An Ecology of Political Communication: Propaganda Geographies and Infrastructural Uproar in Istanbul*. First, *ecology* and *geography*: These two concepts require to think of distance and proximity, of speed and movement, of (im)mobilities, of encounters among multitude of bodies embedded in ever-changing, complex relationality. How do I grasp *ecology* as a mode of thinking?

Today, the scope of ecology went beyond the natural environmental processes and interactions, expanding into a “general ecology” that cut across geology, biology, technology, media, nature, culture, body, mind, and conceptualizations (Hörl, 2017, pp. 1–3). Indeed, this is not to grasp them as individual fields, but as multiplicities, permeations, and transitions. Using the concept of *ecology*, in this sense, is entangled with the recent perspectives of new materialisms and critical posthumanities, which go beyond human exceptionalism, emphasizing the interdependencies and relations of humans and nonhumans co-habiting the Earth. Ecology is then, refer to thinking/acting *of, with, within* or *through* relations.

Geography, on the other hand, etymologically means “earth-writing” (Magrane, 2015, p. 87), of which the basic distinction between physical and human geography tended towards “hybrid, networked and posthuman/ist geographies” (Panelli, 2010, p. 81), blurring the dichotomy of humans and nonhumans. It is to generate scripts of the palimpsest Earth through basic questions. Geography basically deals with the question “why of where” regarding perpetual spatial differentiation among significant interrelations and scrutinizing occurrences considering the reciprocal impacts of the “where”, “what” and “how” upon one another (Fouberg & Murphy, 2020, p. 5). Its main focus is to spatially grasp the dwelling of “Geo” (Shoorcheh, 2019, p. 4). Overall, geography spatially *graphs* the *hows, whats, whys, and wheres*, within and through the *Geo*.

Harold Lasswell, laying the foundations of communication theories for his part, is famously known for the world war propaganda analysis (Lasswell, 1927/2013) and for his questions on politics “*Who gets what, when and how*” (Lasswell, 1936) and on communication “*Who, says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect?*” (Lasswell, 1948)<sup>1</sup>. These questions laid the foundations of communication studies, content analysis and journalism as well. In his later studies, Lasswell (1976; 1979) considered the interweaving of *material* and *symbolic* in the context of built environment and architecture. This provided a path to adapt his previous theories and methods regarding the connection between (political) communication and built environment. In these later works, his focus was not the “manipulation of significant symbols” (Lasswell, 1927, p. 627) as grasped in the propaganda studies, but on the manipulation of the material/symbolic environment through architecture and urban planning. However, Lasswell was still approaching the built environment as if it was a *content*. Meanwhile, in the context of spatial analysis, Henri Lefebvre also put forth questions resembling Lasswell’s:

The analysis of any space brings us up against the dialectical relationship between demand and command, along with its attendant questions: 'Who?', 'For whom?', 'By whose agency?', 'Why and how?' (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 116)

Considering geography, political communication, and spatial analysis, all these questions are intentions to know of agencies, conditions, locations, relations, and influences. In the middle of this multiplicity, the *who* pronoun refers to the exceptional humankind, having the ability to ask questions *to whom it may concern* about other *whos* under particular circumstances and surrounding processes. In this sense, first, I disengage with the question of *who*, which refers solely to human agents, and I grasp the *who* as a collective composed of many *whats* and many *whos*. Abandoning a linear process of communication as in sending and receiving,

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<sup>1</sup> One of the pioneers of environment-behaviour research and human-built environment studies, architect Amos Rapoport (1990) also asks, “who does what, where, when, how, and including or excluding whom” in case of decoding the meaning (p. 59), the “cues for behavior” and “nonverbal communication” in the built environment (p. 51).

or encoding and decoding, of messages or influences, I prefer to focus on *encounters* among multiplicities, in a non-linear manner.

My primary statement, in this sense, is that an *ecology of political communication* not only encompasses human agents and their symbols and representations in mediatized forms, but also nonhumans, material agencies of urban space, affordances embedded in environment, infrastructures and landforms, through the manipulation of material/symbolic environment which is composed of the intermingling of humans and nonhumans through embodied encounters.

This dissertation is an inquiry into and an attempt to theorize the *ecology of political communication* in the context of urban space. It attempts to weave theoretical and methodological threads to generate new connections to study politically communicative processes through physical surroundings, spatial configurations, infrastructures, and geographies. My purpose in this study is to focus on the interplay of *political communication* and *urban space*, considering the *production of space*<sup>2</sup> and the entanglement of *body/mind/environment; content and medium; symbolic and material; meaning and matter*. For an ecology of political communication, I conduct this study focusing on the material/discursive entanglement of urban space, composed of humans and nonhumans, overviewing historical instances and recent urban processes in Istanbul.

The dissertation aims to contribute to the dialogue between political and urban communication. It scrutinizes the processes of political communication occurring through the materiality of urban space, multiplicity of agencies, physical impacts on geography, mobilities and embodied experiences. Particularly, I am attempting to develop insights for *an ecology of political communication* on the basis of media ecologies perspective with a materialist and relational stance.

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<sup>2</sup> Chunfeng Lin's (2018) dissertation deals with "propaganda as a social space" that is simultaneously "produced" and "productive" (p. 68), in the context of Chinese Red Tourism. It moves away from traditional and western conceptions of propaganda and rather using the neutral Chinese term, *xuanchuan* (p. 7).

Having an ecological perspective, this study endeavours to develop and propose theoretical, and methodological connections and related conceptual tools for the study of political communication through the materiality of urban space, in the middle of an infrastructural uproar in Istanbul. It attempts to construct a narrative in order to render these proposed perspectives.

### ***Theoretical Connections: Beyond the Gardens of Anthropos***

Humans endeavour through labour, making tools and artefacts, coupling with possibilities embedded in the surrounding environment. According to James Gibson (1979/2015), “affordances” are what the environment “affords” as potentials and constraints to the capacities of an organism (p. 119). It is a concept traversing subjective-objective dichotomy and instead focusing on the permeability of the body/mind/environment through the coupling of environmental possibilities and organismic capacities (Gibson, 1979/2015, p. 35). While constructing myths, telling stories, warning fellows against dangers, persuading and making them believe to the encountered events, we depend on and survive through affordances entwined with ecologies full of captivating relations. Embedded in these ecological relations, we, the humans, should not be grasped as fixed entities and separate individual organisms. We are composed of both organic and inorganic temporal gatherings through biopsychic, sociotechnical, and affective encounters.

We must move away, in this sense, from the myth of human/organismic individuality and of homogeneous selves against outsiders. Following the philosophical thesis on immunology, parasitology, evolutionary biology and the debates on microbiota, we must put forth that “we have never been individuals” (Gilbert et al., 2012) and rather we are “holobionts” or “community of species” (Gilbert et al., 2012, p. 334; Gilbert & Tauber, 2016, p. 847). Similarly, Anna Tsing (2012) states that humankind, without exception, is “an interspecies relationship” full of interdependencies (p. 144). Or following Karen Barad (2007), again we should disband the abyss between *us* and *them* to move away from *interaction between* insular individuals possessing agency, towards “intra-actions” and

relations perpetually “enacting” agencies through “entanglements” full of possibilities (pp. 178-179).

Humans that are conventionally grasped as individual and “omnipotent” (J. Bennett, 2010, p. 87), in this perspective, can be grasped as a community, dependent on nonhuman capacities, or further within a “confederation” (J. Bennett, 2010, pp. 21, 32) which is generated through encounters and multiplicities. Moving beyond individual and sedentary subjects and the ossified self-other dichotomy is the first step of a “posthuman ethics” to encompass the planetary entanglement (Braidotti, 2013, pp. 49–50). In this line, Braidotti (2016) brings forth the conception of a “transversal” becoming which is weaved through associations within the planetary communities of all things and “eco-others” (p. 387-88). Likewise, Jane Bennett (2007) suggests grasping agencies as temporal human/nonhuman gatherings so as to abandon the exception of humankind’s “authorial intentions” (p. 144). In order to go beyond “human exceptionalism” (Pickering, 2008), the move to decentre humans affords capacities to experiment with our meaningful orientation to the earth while becoming aware of our own dependences on nonhumans.

We are machines, in the sense of Proto-Indo-European and Greek etymological roots of the word: “*magh*” means “be able” (Mallory & Adams, 1997, p. 3) and “have power” (Mallory & Adams, 1997, p. 3; Watkins, 1985, p. 38) and “*maghana*” refers to “that which enables” (Watkins, 1985, p. 38). In this line, recalling Deleuze and Guattari’s (1983) statement that “everything is a machine” (p. 2), it is etymologically a concept belonging to Spinoza -though he did not use the word: machines emerging as capacities through enabling or constraining encounters (Braidotti, 2019, p. 33). Humankind in this sense is a machine composed of machines of machines within and through entangled nature/culture (Herzogenrath, 2009, p. 8). Our meaningful connection to the world and our human capacities are not generated from *us as individuals* but emerge from *us as communities* of humans and nonhumans. In this sense, we do not dwell in an insulated garden rather within a planetary interdependency.

This imagination connects to a “standpoint ontology” (Shaw et al., 2013) and “standpoint epistemology” (Yuval-Davis, 1999)<sup>3</sup>, a “nomadic” thinking (Braidotti, 1994, 2006, 2011) putting “relations before states” (Jackson & Nexon, 1999) aid to strip off from the constraints of sedentariness and having the ability to move between different positions<sup>4</sup>. This provides to imagine a “world without us” (L. Bennett, 2016, p. 72) while not fully discarding ourselves in order to deploy a *more-than-human* perspective (L. Bennett, 2016) and to grasp human dependencies on nonhumans, and agencies as an emergence through arrangements. Following C. Wright Mills’ (1959/2000, p. 195) advice of being a “craftsman” in intellectual inquiry, I adopt his “sociological imagination” expanding it with an ecological imagination, a nomadic and minoritarian imagination in order to generate experimental encounters and to map and trace the relations and interdependencies concerning the *matter* in hand: *ecologies of political communication and propaganda geographies*.

### ***A Botany of Propaganda***

Propaganda, composed of “*pro*” meaning “forth” and “*pago*” meaning “to fasten down”, “to plant with slips” (Cunningham, 2002, p. 16). Etymologically and materially, it descends from agricultural activities referring to reproduction of plants via generating slips, carrying them to root in another place and thus *propagate*. Fastening down a slip to reproduce forth into a new plant, to be multiplied: until the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, propaganda was a botanical term rooting from Proto-Indo-European to Greek and Latin (Cunningham, 2002, p. 16). Multiplication of plants and agriculture as a whole necessitated larger space to be reproduced. The act of reproducing plants necessitated technical knowledge

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<sup>3</sup> Yuval-Davis (1999) states that “standpoint epistemology” is about to install oneself into different and incomplete positions in order to generate “dialogue” among the multitude of these positions (p.94-5). In their “standpoint ontology” Shaw et al. (2013) have a comprehensive grasp of these positions expanded into nonhumans in the case of mosquitoes in their surroundings.

<sup>4</sup>These movements among standpoints find expression in feminist theories (Harding, 1986; Harstock, 1986), in postcolonial studies as “subaltern standpoint” (Go, 2016, pp. 143-184) and as stated in the case of human/nonhuman relations (Shaw et al., 2013).

regarding ecological cycles and rhythms, environmental processes, and phenomena. So did the ideas.

Interestingly, referring to Mao Zedong, Chunfeng Lin (2018) depicts *Xuanchuan*, which is Chinese form of propagation, as a ‘seeding’ activity (p. 52), sowing seeds depending on “human mobility” and “word-of-mouth” (p. 39), as opposed to the conception of propaganda as “poison” or as mass mediated process, while resembling more to the abovementioned botanical term and a seemingly neutral cultural practice (pp. 25, 27). Starting from the earlier religious and political institutions necessitated their ideas to be multiplied, to be extended and spread to new geographies, to be fixed, fasten down or to sow the seeds in new body/minds, while attempting to produce new spaces. Long before the days of cables, radio waves and airborne leaflets, such dissemination did not only presuppose such technologies mediatizing messages. *Propaganda* was relying on art, architecture, spatial design, urban planning, and physical mobility of people through road networks together with speech or printing press.

As propagation of ideas, *propaganda* is conventionally grasped as a linear process of disseminating messages from a powerful origin to a target audience. In the Baroque days of the Western world, propaganda was conceived as a device to constitute and “interpellate” subjects through visual art and architecture in the case of Jesuit Baroque, as “directed communication” (Levy, 2004, pp. 110–111, 115). The Reformation in Europe relying on printing press rekindled the Counter-reformation movements organized in 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> to propagate Catholic faith. Baroque art and culture emerged as propagandistic devices for the Church to glorify Catholicism producing grandiose artifacts in the face of Protestantism (Özlem, 2018, pp. 114–124). Urban planning and design together with architecture were processes of stagecraft in the Baroque era (Mayernik, 2019, pp. 211–215). This urban-scale stagecraft could be named as propagandistic operations of Catholic Church –for instance in the era of Pope Sixtus V- encompassing urban design and planning activities with all other efforts comprising the dissemination of pamphlets and overseas missionary activities.

In the context of Christianity, propaganda was a child of Baroque era, and vice versa. Rather in its modern sense, propaganda is generally seen as a child of the industrial revolution and the age of masses growing through 19<sup>th</sup> century into a big and burly troll in 20<sup>th</sup> century. Propaganda is said to be operated through mobility infrastructures and technologies of communications as “nervous systems” as journalist and propaganda scholar O. W. Riegel underlined, as system generating an accelerated world which was increasingly becoming a village (Riegel, 1923/1939, pp. 18–19, 57). Besides, propaganda was generally handled in the context of warfare, as its historical debut of its operation from the first days of photographic coverage of Crimean War that evolved into visualization of Balkan Wars<sup>5</sup> as the earliest form of propaganda (Toprak, 2012, pp. 50–51), then culminated into its systematic functioning in the First World War (Yolcu, 2020, p. 47). When it comes to war, propaganda is about sowing passions, inciting hatred through falsehood, and boosting “morale” as “the first line of defense” (Bernays et al., 1941). It works as bellows, a diabolic device to flare-up, sustain and preserve passions at a certain level, for a certain duration (Zweig, 1964, p. 234) in order to consolidate targeted audiences. It was seen as a new weapon of mass representation competing over hearts and minds.

In this context, propaganda grasped as operating through “manipulation of significant symbols” (Lasswell, 1927, p. 627) and as “the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations” (Lasswell, 1937, p. 521) throughout the ages. In sum, in the context of mass society and total war, it was conceived as a machine producing representations operating through infrastructures targeting precarious subjects. In this conception, there is a presupposed linearity of sending of noiseless messages as much as possible from an authorial source to target audiences via infrastructures, as modelled in “mathematical theory of communication” (Shannon, 1948). The linear conception of these processes brings forth a vulgar conception even reducing the agricultural notion of propaganda to a linear representation as if using a *source plant* and rooting it in another *targeted soil*

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<sup>5</sup> See Yolcu (2020) for the Ottoman propaganda in the Balkan Wars in form of books and booklets.

Rather botanical and agricultural sense require an ecological thinking to grasp propaganda as complex and non-linear processes among multiplicities.

Between the years of 1799 and 1804, polymath Alexander von Humboldt was exploring the vegetations, volcanoes, animals, insects, climates and all other natural processes and interconnections in South American continent. In his diary, he wrote down the phrase “*Alles ist Wechselwirkung*” meaning that “everything is interrelated” (as cited in Ette, 2012, p. 17) or interconnected, interdependent, interacts and has effect on everything else. In 1807, Humboldt published *Essay of the Geography of Plants* where he depicted the primordial infographic<sup>6</sup> called “*Naturgemälde*” meaning the “painting of nature” (Wulf, 2015, pp. 88–89) visualizing those interconnections and relationalities. This painting was about depicting the web of non-linear interrelations through nature.

Humboldt’s words “general interlinking, not in a simple linear direction, but in an intricate net-like fabric” (as cited in Ette, 2012, p. 17) underlie this visualization and clearly describe a relationalist approach to nature and cosmos. In this line, he could be named as the founder and predecessor of today’s ecological and planetary thinking and relationalist approaches. His philosophical practices also stated to be a prospect of Bruno Latour’s study of associations (Walls, 2009, p. 359, n.37). Humboldt’s interconnected, relational, and planetary scale understanding of the Earth presaged today’s Anthropocene debates, ecological issues, climate change and political ecology, focusing on nonhuman-human interdependencies and their consequences. Following Humboldt, in this case, is it possible to adopt such relational and ecological perspective to study and depict propaganda and political communication?

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<sup>6</sup> “Nature-painting of Andes” recognized as the “first infographic” in history, at Biennial of Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. See the website <https://www.bbaw.de/en/research/das-jahresthema-biennial-theme>

### ***Propaganda Machine is of Encounters, Orientations and Arrangements***

Propaganda is a machine. Yet it is not an authorial machine producing words, images, visuals, sounds and representations, rather I argue it is a machine governing encounters, arranging/assembling agencies. It is a machine operating through particular arrangements, a machine incorporating ecologies. It is a machine not of representation, but of “intervention” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, p. 86). Propaganda should not be grasped as addressing *Masses* through *Mass* representations. Rather following Latour (1992), it is now of assembling *masses* – with a *miniscule m-* that includes more-than-human agencies and potential encounters serving to hold things together. In this perspective, propaganda refers to governing of encounters among and by means of these missing masses. In this line, my aim is to trace, map and depict the “missing masses” (Latour, 1992) of propaganda and political communication, such as landforms, nonhumans, infrastructures.

How can an encounter be governed, intervened, organized, and assembled? First, environment is an ever-changing arrangement, and encounters occur within and through environment that is naturally or artificially furnished. As Sara Ahmed (2006) states, furniture is an “orientation device” (p. 168) which operates to conduct life “by deciding *what* we do *with what* and *where* in the very gesture *toward* comfort” (p. 168, emphases are mine). Ahmed’s (2017) concept of comfort here refers to the adequate encounters between bodies that are smoothly dwelling in the normative (p. 122-23) while simultaneously constructing “walls” of discomfort against the aberrant bodies (p. 136, 146). An arrangement that affords comfort vanishes when it is experienced; or it is forgotten when things smoothly flow (Ahmed, 2006, p. 168, 2014, pp. 147–148). Overall, to sustain this forgotten smooth operation requires to produce and reproduce comforting encounters. This is valid at all scales: furniture, architecture, infrastructure, as propaganda arrangement, as devices of comfort that we dwell without noticing. They make us submerge into them, while empowering us *within* control, making us passive and docile while excluding those who are deviant.

Propaganda governs encounters and intervenes into the flow of humans and nonhumans by means of orientating machines. Recalling its botanical sense, propagation is accompanied with the correcting of plants in a garden and making them grow in the “right way” (Ahmed, 2010, p. 54), it is also of governing bodily rhythms and temporalities and of affording potentials to *move* and to *express* within and through systems of control (Berardi, 2018, pp. 26–27). In this sense, it simultaneously refers to enclosing, mobilizing, straightening, and addressing the targets. Propaganda become an arrangement to afford mobility and expressive potential for those who dwells in *comfort* entangled with the *control systems*, while building material/discursive walls as corrective and exclusionary devices. In this line, propaganda can be redefined in terms of orientating people, consolidating a normative dwelling and as a device to provide comfort for some, while discomfort for others. Propaganda operates through ecologies, affordances and dependencies that temporally hold and fix things into normative arrangements. Propaganda is itself an arrangement, in constant variation.

Propaganda furnishes and arranges spaces to orientate bodily movements, gatherings, and performances. In this sense, it is of arranging encounters. For Deleuze (1970/1988) “bad encounters” are of incompatibility of bodies that diminishes capacity to act (p. 27-28), that in turn generates “sadness” (p. 50) and “serves tyranny and oppression” (p. 72). In turn, those who sink into sad passions call for a despot to subsist and propagate (Deleuze, 1970/1988, p. 25). Apart from sad passions, tyranny arranges propaganda to organize encounters that exploit passions and a comfortable passivity, while building walls to constraint and exclude the aberrant ones.

After all, propaganda is not an invincible weapon, or something possessed by an authority. It refers to an alliance, a process, a machinic arrangement in constant change, woven with complex ecologies. From the perspective of Deleuze’s Spinozist ethology, bodily capacities cannot be known in advance or what an (organized) encounter or arrangement may bring forth (Deleuze, 1970/1988, p. 125). Relatedly, we cannot know in advance how a propaganda machine and

arrangements may generate. On the contrary, all these might simultaneously afford a potential to those in discomfort to swerve the ongoing normative processes. Propaganda machine generates arrangements and governs encounters through complex ecologies, yet these purposeful arrangements and organization of encounters might turn into dissipation.

### ***For an Ecology of Political Communication***

Studies focusing on the symbolic and representational level have fruitful contributions yet foregrounding symbols and representations in the case of political communication is not enough without including material conditions, ecological extensions, and the embodied and experiential processes of communication. In this path, my purpose first requires crossing over tendencies insulating *content* from *medium* and *discursive* from *material*. It is to highlight the boundless geographies of *content/medium continuum* that I proposed against the territories of *Kingdom of Content*.

Thus, my inquiry aims primarily to outstrip the representational impasse and insulation of *content studies* and *medium studies* along the history of communication theories. Besides, a brief delineation over the history of mass communication models –for instance in the textbooks- reveals theoreticians and their schemas as discrete and isolated, labelled and framed, and ruptured from their philosophical lineage. This is Mr. X’s model of communication and this is the Z-Model, which are presented in specific frames. This model is one-way, that is two-way with their little abstract boxes and arrows trying to depict complexity. This obsession with model-making is rooted from the days of Shannon’s (1948) mathematical model and Lasswell’s (1948) 5W model segregating the research areas of communication. Model-making and categorizing tendencies generated the insular fields of hypodermic needlers, representation inquiries and technology studies, political economists and social media freedom fighters, pessimists and optimists, content analysts and medium theoreticians. Each on a springhead, filling their own bottles, drinking their own holy water within their own kingdoms. Recalling Rabelais, “*Trinc*” said the oracle of the goddess-bottle.

In fact, this is valid for all disciplines that have strict boundaries declaring their own kingdoms and further having imperialist tendencies with their own technical language (Lefebvre, 1970/2003, pp. 55-56). In this line, categorizing habits still occupies a substantial place in the mainstream political communication studies. These studies mainly squeezed into the *short duration* of political campaigns, institutional actors, election periods and obsessed with the flows of representations focusing mainly on mediatised political communication. I overview this line of theories under the title of *major/mainstream or representational models* which refers to political communication, that the consumer culture deeply infuses, within a triangle of political organizations, media/journalists, and citizen/audience/voters.

Yet, this triangle exploded with recently emerged algorithmic nonhuman actors such as political bots. However, they are not the only agencies that provide the possibility to grasp political communication beyond this particular triangle. Then, as against the major forms of political communication with their fixed and institutional actors, I assess *minor or non-representational standpoint* which encompasses radical, counter-hegemonic movements, media activisms, creative acts for new compositions of collectivities including nonhumans, emphasizing the materialist ecologies of political communication differing from the representational perspective.

This rhizomatic and relational thinking provides insights to consider materiality of medium entangled with content, and to grasp all geofacts, artefacts, spatial arrangements and even images as having material agencies (Bissell & Fuller, 2017) in political communication. Relatedly, I overview studies on material rhetoric and rhetorical spaces that offer tools to consider material, embodied and sensorial experience in the context of political communication. For an ecology of political communication, I draw on recent materialist media ecologies (M. Fuller, 2005; Parikka, 2016). However, before going into materialist media ecologies, I am going to discuss first Marshall McLuhan's thought at the junction of theology and ecology. Recalling political philosopher Leo Strauss (1967/1997) that archetypes

of “Athens” and “Jerusalem” respectively refer to “wonder” and “fear”, “philosophical” and “Biblical” (pp. 379-380), or “reason” and “revelation” (pp. 397-398), which are the two antagonistic roots that constitute the Western thought (Strauss, 1989, p. 270), and what he called the “theologico-political problem” (Strauss, 1965/1997, p. 453). In this line, through my discussions on McLuhan’s concepts, I put forth the theologico-ecological problem and rather than *McLuhan of Jerusalem*, I attempt to extract and follow *McLuhan of Athens* referring to materialist media ecologies for the purpose of this study, connecting McLuhan to Spinoza, Deleuze, Guattari, Haraway, Gibson, Latour and Kittler underlining the perspective of “non-mediatic” (Parikka, 2016) or environmental media studies focusing on material agencies, flows and the entanglement of media and nature (Parikka, 2015, 2016; Taffel, 2019), and of content and medium.

Rather than studying content and medium separately, upon these discussions, it is to emphasize the co-constitution of medium and content, matter and meaning, material and symbolic. This approach proposes an ontological and methodological stance which is crucial and has practical implications in studying (political) communication through the materiality of urban environment and embodied encounters. *Content/medium* divide can be evaluated as resembling to the dichotomies of *urban/rural* and *city/non-city* which are the different aspects of the same problem. In this sense, I draw on philosophical stances which transcend these dichotomies which are futile to sustain under the contemporary planetary ecologies of *urban* and *media*. Media contents, representations, freedom of expression through digital culture is entangled with cobalt, coltan, tungsten, aluminium and blood, resources, miners, excavators, land reclamations, built environment, infrastructures, extractivist economies, carbon emissions of data centres, electronic wastes, and nonhuman others.

When political communication is grasped within such planetary entanglement, it is futile to limit it within the triangle of politicians-media-voters. Political communication may occur through raw materials and mines (Innis, 1950/1986), buildings and architecture (J. Hansen et al., 2018; Lasswell, 1979),

materials, mundane objects and technologies (Braun & Whatmore, 2010; J. Hansen et al., 2018; Marres & Lezaun, 2011), infrastructures (Denning, 2019; Winner, 1980; Winter, 2019), tear gas and tents (Feigenbaum, 2014), atmospheres (Böhme, 2020; Borch, 2014), material culture (J. Hansen et al., 2018), heritage (Winter, 2015, 2019), things, vehicles, bodily performances and urban space (J. Hansen et al., 2018; Willems, 2019), constructions, demolitions and reconstructions (Vale & Campanella, 2005). Affordances of materials and vehicles used within the built environment, for instance material agencies of quarries, concrete, marble or sand or excavators and earth-moving trucks are constitutive parts of material/discursive composition through the processes of political communication.

Relatedly, Harold D. Lasswell's posthumously published *Signature of Power: Buildings, Communication and Policy* (1979), of which he laid foundations in a photo-essay published with the same name back in 1976, concerned with the environmental and architectural manipulation as "a form of communication" and as "instrument of political power" while taking into account "the complex interplay between the material and the symbolic" (Lasswell, 1979, pp. viii–ix). He studies the manipulation of "resource environment" generating "culture materials", such as architectural activities manipulating and interweaving both the material and the symbolic within and through the processes of political communication (Lasswell, 1979, p. xiii). Lasswell's crucial contribution in studying political communication through built environment is to consider the entwinement of "physical change" with "communication" (Lasswell, 1976, p. 82, 1979, p. ix). In this line, political communication should be handled beyond the symbolic and representational realms. It is as if shifting from the "symbols of power" and "grammar of ideology" (Deringil, 1999) towards the *matter/symbol* of power. A bridge or a tunnel project may belong to a period of an election campaign. However, it also constructs a spatial arrangement of urban and political culture in *long duration*. The complexity of politically communicative processes not only creates representations but also excavate materials, arrange urban space, steers movement and govern the rhythms in everyday life.

In this sense, political communication does not only refer to an episodic process of producing media representations. Rather, together with representations it should be grasped through material/spatial arrangements, organizing encounters or any other act directly intervenes into embodied experiences embedded in everyday life. Political communication not only occurs as a *signification* process but also a process of direct affective interventions into bodily encounters, pre-reflective processes, and sensorimotor experiences (see Connolly, 2002; Hollweg, 2015; Protevi, 2009). The ecology of political communication should embrace all the affective and expressive processes, spatial and material interventions into urban space, including the alliances with more-than-human agencies rather than solely focusing on the realms of representation.

Apart from outdoor media visuals, studying political communication through urban space requires an ecological and a material/discursive approach while scrutinizing infrastructures, spatial arrangements, and affordances as materially communicative together with an “embodied” understanding of politics (Lakoff, 2009). Political communication is *embodied, material* and *ecological*. This indicates that it operates as bodily and ecological process that requires to consider the embodied, extended, embedded, enactivist and ecological approaches on cognition underlining the entanglement of brain, body, and environment. This serves to transcend disembodied and representational paradigms. While it is beyond this study to conduct an analysis of embodied cognition in the context of political communication; embodiment and ecological grasp of cognition are crucial tenets to take into consideration while scrutinizing political communication through urban space and material/discursive arrangements.

Overall, these argumentations culminate in “more-than-representational” (Barron, 2019; Lorimer, 2005) or “non-representational” stances (Anderson & Harrison, 2010; Lorimer, 2008; Macpherson, 2010; Thrift, 1996, 2008; Vannini, 2015) incorporating theories and methodologies that privilege embodied experiences and affective relations over Cartesian cogito, and over the domination of texts and representations in the context of political communication through

materiality of geographies, landscapes and urban space. Non-representational studies in the field of media and communication –especially in media ecologies— are surging (M. Fuller, 2005; Lovink & Rossiter, 2013; Moores, 2017a, 2017b; Parikka, 2010, 2015; Parks, 2017b; Taffel, 2013). Yet their direct implementation almost non-existing in the field of political communication, except Perry Parks’ (2017a, 2017b) theoretical and applied study on “non-representational journalism” debunking the stagecraft dominated politics.

### ***Methodological Connections: Tanglegrams and Collage***

My main thought-network is generated through the exercises of a serendipitous practice of reading, transversing seemingly disparate topics, a *flânerie*, in pursuit of fibres stretching into the matter in hand. The method –literally the path, journey, and the style of walking- is enacted with transversal<sup>7</sup> movements, which are boundary-blurring, boundary-crossing, heterarchical and non-linear. This style constitutes a “transversal methodology”<sup>8</sup> (Reynolds, 2003; Tan, 2017) acknowledging “the contingency and relatedness of all things” (Reynolds, 2003, pp. 6, 293). In this sense, it is a “rhizomatic” thinking, a practice of Deleuze and Guattari, that informs this dissertation “to map the oscillating network of transversal connections between that might otherwise be disparate things” (Stark, 2015, p. 186). It highlights an “ecology without scale” (Tong, 2014) exploding the macro-micro segregation and hierarchies to cut through interrelatedness. Against the top-

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<sup>7</sup>Transversality (non-hierarchical) is a term proposed by Félix Guattari for institutional analysis in the field of psychiatry in his article *La Transversalité* in 1964. In cases of art and activism, Gerald Raunig (2007) developed this conception highlighting “acentric” relations including lines evading from imposed grids (p. 205), emphasizing “transversal multitudes” as a “critique of representation” (Raunig, 2002). The concept of transversality incorporates the main nouns, verbs and adjectives such as heterarchical, non-hierarchical (Deleuze, 2006, p. 382; Yuval-Davis, 1999), rhizomatic (Braidotti, 2011; Stark, 2015; Tan, 2017), continuum (Parikka, 2011; Parisi, 2004, 2013), border-crossing (Braidotti, 2011; Brooten, 2014; Tan, 2017), border-blurring (Tan, 2017), nomadic (Braidotti, 2011).

<sup>8</sup>Pelin Tan (2017) presents “transversal methodology” as “translocal”, “borderless” and “rhizomatic” practice (p. 78) cutting across subjects, disciplines, fields, layers in order for the “cross-creation of knowledge” (p. 85). Reynolds (2003, p. 6) for his part, distills the transversal mode of inquiry as a practice incorporating an ambulatory character like a trailing/climbing plant through constant variation, adaptation and management of movements while debunking all prearrangements or limitations, with a perpetual openness to any aberration and to any encounter, paving new paths, carefully extending experimentally.

down gaze on Earth that flattens the multi-dimensional ecologies and that generates captivating representations causing the loss of relief, it practices a “vertical and sectional thinking” (Graham, 2016) bringing back the relief, depths, altitudes, nonhuman flows and infrastructural topologies cutting across multiple dimensions (see Bélanger, 2016). Such cross-sectional practice could also be described as an approach “to bring background the foreground” (Amin & Thrift, 2017) or to trace the forgotten “dependencies” (Hodder, 2012, 2018), or following Lefebvre, and in line with Hegel and Marx to dig down what is familiar, yet, in line with Nietzsche, not to find a bedrock. Drawing on these perspectives, I am going to employ a cross-sectional, transversal and rhizomatic practice focusing on political communication through urban space.

My focus, then, is to move away from the fixities such as end-products and representations. Following Lefebvre’s (1974/1991) spatial analysis, the point is to reverse the fixed end-products such as a landscape, a building, a painting, that make us “forget” their material flows, components and processes, and “to trace back” to the productive processes, components and relations (pp. 113–114). Political communication, as well, operates within and through “webs of dependencies” (Hodder, 2018) that we tend to forget, through material/discursive affordances and dependencies embedded in urban space that we need to trace back. “Focal objects” (Morgan, 2014) of political communication, whether an image, an artifact, a building, a monument, a highway, or an infrastructure, tend to make forget their own becoming and ecological connections. Material/discursive tracing and mapping is going to be employed to reconstitute these connections. It is not only to depict ownership relations<sup>9</sup>, but to put things, nonhuman agencies and dependencies on this map, which holds, empowers, or constrains the operation of propaganda machines and politically communicative processes. In this line, I put

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<sup>9</sup> For instance, the project called “Networks of Dispossessions” generate networks of relations between capital and political power, regarding mega projects, shopping malls, workplace accidents, brands, media ownership and so on. These are maps open to participation, depicting the political economic network. See <http://mulksuzlestirme.org> Also see Mega Projeler Istanbul, a critical mapping project of Istanbul’s mega projects, including detailed information and timelines <http://megaprojeleristanbul.com>

forth the *material/discursive tracing and mapping* and the term *material/discursive affordances* through theoretical discussions among discourse theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe; assemblage and rhizome thinking of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari; Bruno Latour's sociology of associations drawing on Gabriel Tarde; ecological psychology and affordance theory of J. J. Gibson, and Ian Hodder's entanglement theory and studies on human-thing relations, together with previously mentioned studies on environmental and materialist media ecologies. Overall, I am going to conduct material/discursive tracing, adopting "tanglegrams" as "maps" to depict and follow interdependencies of humans and things (Hodder, 2012), attempting to disentangle the ecologies of focal nodes and paths of political communication through urban space.

Besides tanglegrams, I am going to employ the technique of collage as an "experiential" method of inquiry, a process providing capacities to generate thought-provoking encounters in a "non-linear" style through re/arranging images, texts or objects to produce a relationality, a simultaneous presentation of things that might catalyse novel orientations and visualize connections between issues and experiences that normally stay isolated and concealed (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2010, p. 3). Collage-making incites non-linear encounters that highlight intuition, creation, experience, and affective relations differing from the methodological linearity upon what is *taken-for-granted* (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2010). This method has also potentials to break up with the conventional source-receiver, author-viewer, politician-voter linearity that conceives images as framed representations compelling us in specific directions, imposes its own frames. Rather this practice potentially moves us beyond semiotic or discursive interpretation, and triggers to encounter images within a new relationality. Although, I did not encounter with the use of *collage-making*<sup>10</sup> as a method in the field of political

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<sup>10</sup>There are valuable implementations of collage-making in humanities, media and visual culture studies as a creative and critical method of storytelling and a pedagogical tool in the case of "Transmedia Collage Project" at the University of Chicago (Jagoda, 2017-2019); again as a pedagogical and "contemplative" method in media studies with regards to news content, media consumption and media literacy (Healey, 2019); a method for visualization and creativity as part of audience studies (Awan & Gauntlett, 2011; Gauntlett & Awan, 2012), and studies on identities and minorities (Gauntlett & Holzwarth, 2006). Collage-making is a wide-spread critical tool at the

communication research, I must state that collage-making is already politically communicative inquiry and practice, since it disrupts existing layouts and arrangements, and generate new relationalities. It can be considered as a political act in itself, independent from the context it is produced. Through collage-making as a method for political communication, my aim here is not to generate artworks, rather to generate a simultaneity to be encountered out of separated and isolated media representations.

Following Deleuze's (2007) remarks "not to interpret, but to experiment" (p. 48) and "politics as active experimentation" (p. 137), tanglegrams and collage-making provide capacity to follow and arrange relationalities and embodied encounters, as a "non-representational research style" (Vannini, 2015) that aims:

to *enliven* rather than report, to *render* rather than represent, to *resonate* rather than validate, to *rupture* and reimagine rather than to faithfully describe, to *generate possibilities of encounter* rather than construct representative ideals. (Vannini, 2015, p. 15, emphases are mine)

Together with *tanglegrams* as material/discursive tracing/mapping practice, *collage-making* provides potentials to arrange new composition of images related to agencies/arrangements involved in the process of urban interventions. It is to generate an encounter with the simultaneity of agencies, an experimentation to render the relationality at hand. Both methods aim to invigorate new ways to encounter political communication processes and propaganda arrangements within and through urban space in order to consider multiplicity of agencies. Overall, I draw on "non-representational methodologies" (Vannini, 2015) that provide an aberrant movement to disentangle the *taken-for-granted*, conventional categories and prescribed sequences of events to generate new potentials to encounter while

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intersection of the fields of arts, design, architecture, and urban studies: for instance see Neyran Turan's work and exhibition "Strait" (2015); architect Esra Akcan's "(Land)Fill Istanbul"(2004); Venice Biennial workshop "Postcards from the Future: Istanbul 2014-2064" (Belloni & Rolla, 2014); the works of Murat Germen and Seydi Murat Koç at the exhibition "Speculative Spaces" (Yeğinsu et al., 2019), Erdal İnci's gif animations "Stumblers" (İnci, 2014), "Centipedes" (İnci, 2015a) of Taksim Square and "The Mass Ornament" solo show (İnci, 2015b) and "Postcards from Athens" the critical postcards created by Sergios Strigklogiannis and Francesca Cocchiara (2018). All these names are architect/urbanists, and their works can be grasped as practices of political communication.

attending “affective” relations and things forgotten in the “background” (Parks, 2017b).

### ***Propaganda Geography and Infrastructural Uproar in Istanbul***

Finally, I am going to depict the *propaganda geography* and *infrastructural uproar* in Istanbul region with a focus on spatial arrangements, infrastructures and mobilities, briefly overviewing the nexus of *propaganda* and the *materiality of urban space* referring to specific historical instances in Istanbul’s urban region. Yet, it is not a study of urban history and not a linear historical overview. It is rather a commencement of an open-ended tracing of an ecology of political communication through the materiality of urban space and infrastructures in Istanbul. I am going to describe the historical instances and contemporary situation in Istanbul -with a special emphasis to the last 10-15 years- as an infrastructural uproar –referring to hyper excavations, constructions, displacements, and demolitions— generating a warfare-like atmosphere through the mobilization of the urban *itself*. *Uproar* etymologically refers to a stirring up and motion. It is a warfare of endless cycles of excavation, demolition, and construction, perpetually holding the city *under construction* through various projects.

If geography, according to Yves Lacoste (1982), “is first a strategic knowledge rigorously attached to an ensemble of political and military practices” (p. 7) and “exercise of power” and “control” (p. 8) over territories and inhabitants, then propaganda geographies indicate the material/discursive modification of the environment through warfare-like infrastructural interventions. It is not a coincidence, in this sense, when the famous orators, Roman statesman Cicero and historian Tacitus used the verb “*propagare*” in relation to war [*bellum*] and territorial expansion (Prendergast & Prendergast, 2013, p. 24; Sutherland, 1983, p. 74 fn. 4). Back in 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, Sun Tzu (2011) was emphasizing that war depends on logistics and infrastructure (p. 11). Now, infrastructures deployed as machines, as part of a new type of warfare turning infrastructural interventions into an art of war.

I am going to deal with Istanbul's propaganda geography as a means to reconstruct a narrative for an ecology of political communication considering the materiality of urban space and infrastructures as communicative agencies. Again, the last chapter is not a study of urban history and does not offer an all-comprehensive implementation of these proposed tools. Rather, it is an overview of crucial phases of Istanbul's and Turkey's urban history, and a navigation through the recent infrastructural uproar in Istanbul in order to trace and follow the arrangements, material/discursive affordances and dependencies that empowers or impedes propaganda operations. Istanbul, with all its controversies provide elements contributing to animate new perspectives for an ecology of political communication, going beyond human actors, mediatized forms, campaigns, and the short duration of elections, in other words to go beyond isolated content and representation. The city is narrated to imagine and to render forgotten ecologies, nonhuman agencies and embodied encounters with material/discursive interventions in the messiness of urban region and everyday life. In this sense, I do not interpret the effectiveness, or reception of these infrastructures or spatial arrangements, and their related symbols and representations. I narrate and depict how propaganda and political communication processes *operate* within and through urban space and its *arrangements*, and what does political communication *do*, how does it *intervene* into everyday embodied interactions, *depending* on which *components*, material/discursive, human/nonhuman?

My attempt is to follow a materialist stance, an extended ecology of political communication in urban space, focusing on infrastructures, constructions, demolitions, silhouettes, staging of rallies, raw materials, mobilities and material flows as communicative and material/discursive phenomena. Overall, this study has an objective to evaluate materiality of political communication and extend it to the materiality of urban space where political communication occurs through. In this sense, addressing communication as not only symbolic but a material flow, the study will attempt to narrate an ecology of political communication in the case of Istanbul's transportation infrastructure uproar.

## CHAPTER 1: CRITICAL MEDIA ECOLOGIES AND CONTENT/MEDIUM CONTINUUM

“Gulf War did not take place” as Baudrillard (1995) stated, we are at “the end of geography” as Virilio (1998/2005, p. 9) declared. We have already passed beyond truth, news is fake, propaganda is algorithmic, we have become wireless, everywhere is full of clouds. Babies are growing up at the Instagram Kindergarten and dying in the Mediterranean. Baby Aylan did not wash ashore. Polar ice did not melt away; the ozone layer did not deplete... Simulation, post-truth, environmental and humanitarian disasters are all the outcrop of our so-called anthropocenic geological period. In a time of most material emergencies, the immaterial pervades. “Be there or not; see it or not, that village is our village”<sup>11</sup> we used to sing in childhood and imagined our community but did not ever imagine ecologies.

Media and communication technologies served as “mobility multiplier”, as Daniel Lerner (1958) stated in the context of modernization and development, make people imagine seductive lives of the faraway realms. Be there or not; see it or not, that village is our global village. However, it did not make us imagine our relationality in the planet. We get connected to remote realms without being aware of our relationality. We have believed that the planet is our *plant*, which is flourishing to supply *power* for our culture. For us, culture has created a tendency to make forget and conceal, that which is *micro*, that which is *tele* for real and the planetary relationality. Contemporary global culture makes us tend to forget its ecological connections. It recalls being and conceals becoming. Where natural resources are draining away under its nose, its eyes are bright with the greedy desire for end products.

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<sup>11</sup> A popular Turkish poem of Ahmet Kutsi Tecer, written in 1927, the first years of state railway investments.

**Figure 1.1:** Butterfly wings, cases made up of aircraft aluminium and the timepiece



**Source:** Khamama and Bespoke Website<sup>12</sup>

In figure 1 and 2 the brief life of butterflies is eternalized on the back of iPhone cases and the dial plates of luxurious timepieces in which the time of everyday life is superimposed on their wings. Eventually they are passing away, so their short life cycle ethically makes them a natural resource for an artefact of our contemporary culture<sup>13</sup> through sustainable butterfly farming supported by UNDP<sup>14</sup>. Here is the perfect example for assembling of technology and nature in a luxurious cultural artefact covering iPhones that are made up of rare earth minerals.

Butterflies, and specifically their wings are raw materials for these luxurious items within the world of human beings. In the meantime, the thrown rubbish of paper cups with sticky residues of beverages entraps honeybees, since they perceive them as *false-flowers* for nutrition that become their *death traps* (Sandilyan, 2014). Paper cups are both human trash and “cup-flowers” killing bees because of uninhibited urbanization and shrinking natural surroundings (Chandrasekaran et al., 2011). Butterfly wings [nature] as resource for mobile phone covers in the culture of human beings and trash of paper cups [culture] as a fake source for nutrition and

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<sup>12</sup> Butterfly wings and Khamama iPhone case visual captured from the Bespoke Black Book website <https://www.thebespokeblackbook.com/khamama/> and Khamama Timepiece visual captured from Khamama website <https://www.khamama.com/collections/khamama-timepieces>

<sup>13</sup> See Khamama’s website: <https://www.khamama.com/pages/la-maison-khamama>

<sup>14</sup> See Khamama ethics and “positive luxury” at their website <https://www.khamama.com/pages/khamama-ethics>

pollination for honeybees [nature] becoming their death-traps [culture]: Nature, culture, entangled.

In March 2018, Walmart filed a patent for robotic bees [culture] as pollination drones (Gohd, 2018) accompanying the decreasing honeybee population. Profitable Cyborgs! On the other hand, again in March 2018, NASA announced Mars-bees (Kang, 2018) [culture] for more efficient exploration missions on the planet [nature]. Imagine, how was Rimsky-Korsakov listening to the bee buzzing to compose the Flight of the Bumblebee? This is how nature/culture/nature goes on with harmful and sometimes with inspirational encounters. Human trash of *fake-flowers*, which is a negative affordance generating a material/symbolic death-trap for honeybees. The paper-cup is both a *trash* and a *fake-flower* that are coupled with different organisms in different ways. Diverse species interact with them as extensions of the same objective physicality, within and through “naturecultures” (Fuentes, 2010; Haraway, 2003). In an ecology, full of encounters and associations, through the natureculture continuum, both bio-psychically and socio-technically, humans are in-between. We are not on top of or beyond anything. As Alfred North Whitehead (1929/1978) long before propounded that “life lurks in the interstices” (p. 105).

In this line, this chapter presents the theoretical and methodological network concerning the continuity of content and medium, matter and symbol rather than their divide. It elaborates on their entanglement, embarking on a relational and ecological perspective. It scrutinizes media ecologies and their impasses, focusing on the studies implementing material, natural and non-dualistic treatment of media and communication processes. The materiality of media and infrastructures have a crucial impact in this complex naturecultural and socio-technical ecology of communication.

Running with an ecological imagination helps us to understand the relational and processual environment of communication across naturecultures and content/medium continuum. In this sense, this chapter is about weaving the main perspectives to handle the ecology of political communication. It provides the

insights and ways to go beyond the content-medium, matter-symbol, material-discursive, nature-culture divides which are also pervading political communication. In this sense, this chapter lays the paths for the second chapter to grasp an ecology of political communication beyond these dichotomies, beyond representational perspectives and later to study political communication through urban space and infrastructures.

## 1.1 MEDIA ECOLOGY-THEOLOGY NEXUS AND BEYOND

*Electricity is the pervading element that accompanies all material existence, even the atmospheric. It is to be thought of unabashedly as the soul of the World.<sup>15</sup>*

**Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1825)**

*I am thinking, of course, in the first place of the extraordinary network of radio and television communications which, perhaps anticipating the direct syntonization of brains through the mysterious power of telepathy, already link us all in a sort of “etherized” universal consciousness.*

**Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (1946/2004)**

*In this electric age we see ourselves being translated more and more into the form of information, moving toward the technological extension of consciousness.*

**Marshall McLuhan (1964/1994)**

This subsection attempts to put forth the philosophical lineage scrutinizing the content-medium divide in media and communication studies and proposes to give preference to *contentmedium continuum*<sup>16</sup>. It starts with a critique of McLuhan’s media ecologism and its theological roots, then goes on in the next

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<sup>15</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Versuch einer Witterungslehre* (1825) quoted in Asendorf (1993, p. 153).

<sup>16</sup> I generated this compound inspired by Marshall McLuhan’s (1964/1994) “the medium is the message”, Donna Haraway’s (2003) “naturecultures”, Jussi Parikka’s (2011) “medianature-continuum”, Rossi Braidotti’s (2016) “medianaturecultures” and Sy Taffel’s (2019) “entanglements of content, code and hardware”.

subsections to intermingle with non-dualistic, non-media-centric and materialist grasps of media ecologies. The primary purpose of this subsection is to delineate the theological roots and the hylomorphic thought in McLuhan's media ecology perspective and to indicate how McLuhan conversely provided an aberrant path connecting to relational, processual, elemental, and materialist media ecologies.

Media and communication studies mainly bifurcate<sup>17</sup> content/representation studies and medium/technology studies, each having their own seductive qualities which are creating barriers obstructing interaction (Meyrowitz, 1998). Such bifurcation started with the cybernetic categories [sender, receiver, channel, noise, message, encoding, decoding] that Wilbur Schramm (Schramm & Roberts, 1954/1971) and Harold Lasswell<sup>18</sup> transliterated.

Starting from these categorization and specialization in each study, there emerged a huge servitude for the *kingdom of Content*, a kingdom dominating the field of communication and media studies (Meyrowitz, 1998, p. 97). As a disciple of Harold Innis at Toronto School of Communication, it was Marshall McLuhan (1964/1994, p. 9) urging people against the mask of content. Instead, he states that “the ‘content’ of any medium is always another medium” (p. 8) and puts forward the medium as governing the environment of multiplicities and the message of a medium refers to the alteration it generates (pp. 7–9). For instance, McLuhan (1964/1994) underlines the electric light as “pure information” and as “a medium without a message” (p.8), but he also adds that all illuminated activities and gatherings such as surgery in an operating room, sports competitions, concerts at

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<sup>17</sup> Meyrowitz (1998) actually divides media literacy into three. I mentioned two of them “content literacy” and “medium literacy”. There is also “grammar literacy” which refers to specific “grammar of each medium” as “production variables” that incorporates technical features and components related to aesthetic processing of content including such as type-faces or camera-angles having material impact on the materiality of content and perception (pp. 99–103). The grammar of medium becomes hidden when the content is perceived, both become enmeshed. Grammar here can be grasped as a material space of transition between medium and content. There is materiality of grammar depending on a medium materially modifying a content. In this line, grammar can be grasped both as a medium study or a content study. When grasped not as representational but as material it provides the potentials to transcend the Kingdom of Content, as I suggested.

<sup>18</sup> Harold Lasswell (1948) made a categorization of fields through these cybernetic categories: sender=source studies; receiver=audience studies; message=content studies; channel=medium studies etc.

night or urban night life, meaning that all “users” are the *content* of electric light (p. 9). McLuhan continues and states that, the message [content] of any “extension” [medium, technology] is the infrastructural conditioning and alteration of “scale”, “pace”, and “pattern” brought into human assemblies (p. 9). This indicates the change through the affordances that a technology generates and how it does change the users’ process of coupling with what these technologies afford. Overall, in this perspective, human beings become the content of their own extensions<sup>19</sup>.

Marshall McLuhan (1987) calls himself a “metaphysician interested in the life of forms and their surprising modalities” (p. 413) and in his own wording his “communication theory is Thomistic to the core” (p. 427) flourishing from the everlasting debate on form [*morphe* or *eidos*] and matter [*hyle*], stemming from Aristotle and elaborated through the theology of St. Thomas of Aquinas. *Medium* and *message* seems to be an adapted version of *form* and *matter* owing to the hylomorphic thought<sup>20</sup>. McLuhan’s statement “content of any medium is always another medium” can be read as Aristotle’s ladder of being that later evolved into *scala naturae*, or *chain of being* in scholastic thought which was also adopted by Thomas Aquinas. This refers to the scale between the pure form [actuality] and the prime matter [potentiality], where each being is a *matter* for a higher level being, and each being is a *form* for a lower level being: a matter is a form for the lower level, a form is a matter for the higher level and so on.

Marshall McLuhan introduces his media theory following *Neothomism*, which is the main philosophical substrate of Catholic Church. In 1969, McLuhan wrote a letter to Jacques Maritain. Professor Maritain was a neo-Thomist philosopher becoming Catholic, abandoning Protestantism (Hanna, 1996, p. 39). In

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<sup>19</sup> As an antecedent of Innis and McLuhan, Giambattista Vico (1709/1990) expressed an instrument of science is another science, or art, or a technical object, which is a medium: “instrument of geometry is analysis; that of physics, geometry and geometrical method” (p. 7-8). The medium of medicine is chemistry and pharmacology; the medium of anatomy is the microscope; the medium of astronomy, the telescope; the medium of geography, the mariner’s compass (Vico 1709/1990, p. 8). Vico (1709/1990) states for instance as a result of mariner’s compass, “a wonderful luster has been bestowed upon geography” (p. 11), which is, in McLuhan’s sense, the message of the medium.

<sup>20</sup> The conceptions of medium and message corresponds respectively to the concepts of “figure” and “ground” of Gestalt psychology, and the aphorism the medium is the message refers to their interrelation (Nevitt, 1994, p. 210).

his letter, McLuhan tells Maritain how he was impressed by his *Art and Scholasticism* which was an epiphany to him in 1934 to turn into Catholicism later in 1937 (McLuhan, 1987, p. 371). Besides, in this letter, McLuhan introduces his well-known expressions such as “technologies as extensions of man” to Maritain and the impacts of the medium on the environment (p. 369-70) and here it is easy to notice the influence of St. Thomas of Aquinas (p. 371). Also, he put emphasis on the impotence of *Second Vatican Council* in case of attuning to “the world of instantaneous information” (pp. 371, 386). The Council was held between the years 1962 and 1965. The Council issued the decree on the “Media of Social Communications” in 1963, called *Inter Mirifica*, concerning the use and benefits of media<sup>21</sup> for the Catholic church. Coincidentally, McLuhan’s book *Understanding Media* was published in 1964, where he coined his famous “the medium is the message.”<sup>22</sup> This coincidence is appropriate with neothomism, which strives to serve for the adaptation of Catholic church to the speed of socio-technical transformations and the blessing of technology (Theall, 2001, p. 113).

By stating the associating humans as the content of electric media, McLuhan draws the lines of his media ecology. For McLuhan, electric light is the “pure information”, a “pure form” following Aristotelian and Thomistic traditions. For him “an actual process of thought” [which is a medium] is the “content of speech” [another medium]; speech is the content of writing, writing is the content of printing, printing is the content of telegraph (McLuhan, 1964/1994, p. 8). In this line, for instance, telegraph becomes the content of the Internet. In this perspective, there seems to be a continuity between technologies, a convergence between them, where the latter medium encompassing the former medium as its content. However, this linearity overlooks the naturecultural and sociotechnical complexities and there appears a thin line between electric media and God in McLuhan’s understanding.

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<sup>21</sup> Pope Paul VI (1963) declared in the decree that “The Church recognizes that these media, if properly utilized, can be of great service to mankind, since they greatly contribute to men's entertainment and instruction as well as to the spread and support of the Kingdom of God.”

<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere, McLuhan (1977/2010) expresses that “In Jesus Christ, there is no distance or separation between the medium and the message: it is the one case where we can say that the medium and the message are fully one and the same” (p. 103).

The remotest point McLuhan went in this scale is the “actual process of thought” which is not then the content of God, referring the quotation below? McLuhan’s media ecology in the electric age, is bounded with human body/mind and electric media. However, this amorphous ecology simultaneously generates a media theology:

*In this electric age we see ourselves being translated more and more into the form of information, moving toward the technological extension of consciousness. That is what is meant when we say that we daily know more and more about man. We mean that we can translate more and more of ourselves into other forms of expression that exceed ourselves. Man is a form of expression who is traditionally expected to repeat himself and to echo the praise of his Creator. “Prayer,” said George Herbert, “is reversed thunder.” Man has the power to reverberate the Divine thunder, by verbal translation. By putting our physical bodies inside our extended nervous systems, by means of electric media, we set up a dynamic by which all previous technologies that are mere extensions of hands and feet and teeth and bodily heat-controls—all such extensions of our bodies, including cities—will be translated into information systems. (McLuhan, 1964/1994, p. 54, emphases are mine)*

If man is “a form of expression of his Creator”, in this case he is the content/message [matter] of God [pure form]. “Actual process of thought” as the content [matter] of “verbal translation” [form] (p. 8), which “reverberates the divine thunder”, meaning that Divine thunder is the form of “actual process of thought”, of consciousness, of nervous system, of mind. McLuhan segregates body, consciousness, and sensory-nervous system. On the one hand, there is a divine weather, and on the other, he puts the physical bodies inside the electric media that is going to translate them into information. Between the lines, electric media and electric light as pure information are convergences to the pure form, a divine light, or God.

Apart from Thomism, McLuhan furthermore was addressed and even cursed as a technological determinist<sup>23</sup>. He could rather be qualified as a media theologian or a media cosmologist. His media ecology is indeed a theological

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<sup>23</sup> For instance, see Rosenthal (1969) and Levinson (2001) for a critique of technological and media determinisms.

cosmology introducing an ascending process of universal consciousness towards Teilhard de Chardin's (1955/2008) "Omega Point" in the guise of a closed, anthropo-electric ecology of media. This eclectic thought bears traces of panpsychisms, pantheisms and hylomorphism, which are actually differing perspectives. Resembling Marshall McLuhan's Catholic faith in media, Jesuit priest Walter J. Ong (1969), and Neil Postman with his Judaic origins (Strate, 2006) are the main important figures building the study field of media ecologies incorporating a theology-ecology nexus<sup>24</sup> bringing forth ethereal conceptions.

McLuhan has an eclectic philosophical lineage connecting to French palaeontologist and Jesuit priest Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. In *The Gutenberg Galaxy*, McLuhan (1962, p. 32) refers to de Chardin's *The Phenomenon of Man* (1955). This reference gives clues to McLuhan's conception of exteriorisation of the human nervous and sensory systems finding its foothold in de Chardin's panpsychist philosophy<sup>25</sup> and his concept of "noosphere". In de Chardin's cosmology (1946/2004), noosphere is the "sphere of consciousness" (p. 6) in an elevating cosmic evolutionary process, it is "the stupendous thinking machine" (p. 168) heading towards the unification and meeting point of "God-Omega" (Teilhard de Chardin, 1955/2008, p. 288) through the stage of "human planetization" (Teilhard de Chardin, 1946/2004, pp. 117–132). According to de Chardin (1946/2004), media and communication technologies "already link us all in a sort of 'etherized' universal consciousness" (p. 162), generating "the planetary totalization of human consciousness" (p. 109), and spiral ascension, intensification and confluence of *noosphere* towards the "Omega Point" (Teilhard de Chardin, 1955/2008, pp. 260, 291, 294). This reflects McLuhan's (1964/1994) conceptions of "technological extension of consciousness" (p. 57) and "global village" (p. 93). Obviously, McLuhan's statement "Christ as the ultimate extension of man" in 1969 *Playboy Magazine* (as cited in Marchand, 1998, p. 216) puts forth a direct

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<sup>24</sup> Recently, Israeli scholars Blondheim and Rosenberg (2017) put forth a *media theology* to outline reciprocal relationship between media and religion and interweaving of experiences of both fields. See Forsberg's (2015) article "Media Ecology and Theology" for the theological sources of media ecology.

<sup>25</sup> See Skrbina (2005, p. 182) for Teilhard's panpsychism.

connection to Teilhard's thought. Although McLuhan called his theory as Thomistic bearing the hylomorphic thought, in the lineage of Teilhard de Chardin it can also be called as panpsychic and pantheistic<sup>26</sup>.

Until now, this brief overview attempted to present McLuhan's connection to Aristotelian hylomorphism and scholastic philosophy producing a metaphysics of media, or a media cosmology drawing on theological accounts. Yet, these are not the only components of McLuhan's philosophical lineage. Stating that "all media are environments" (McLuhan, 1970a, p. 4), he puts forth interactive and dynamic qualities of media and their processes transforming the human gatherings and association patterns within environments. Relatedly, he highlights the mask of the content to urge people *not to forget* the infrastructuring environment and transformative capacities of the medium. This underlines that the medium should not be left invisible at the background. This also indicates a possibility to grasp media as a relational environment in line with the perspective of anthropologist Gregory Bateson, rather than the esoteric path of Teilhard de Chardin.

Differing from Teilhard de Chardin, Bateson (1972/1978) underlines that he conceives of mind as "immanent" (p. 317), ecological, relational, extended and emerging through interconnectedness and encounters of body and environment (p. 461) rather than a transcendental convergence point of a cosmic mind<sup>27</sup>. Rather than Teilhard's transcendent Omega-point, Bateson's conception emphasizes immanence. Although Teilhard de Chardin and Bateson can be classified both as monists (Charlton, 2008, p. 39); Bateson (1972/1978) puts forth an ecological perspective on ideas, underlining their relationality and grasping them as "differences" generating further differences through their lifecycles (p. xv; 317-18, 461). Rather than an inner/outer dichotomy, Bateson presents a continuum; a material/mental continuum, a body/mind/environment continuum, corresponding to

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<sup>26</sup> For the difference between Teilhard de Chardin's Christian pantheism and monism from Spinoza see (Grumett, 2005, p. 42) and (Harrison, 2015).

<sup>27</sup> While Teilhard de Chardin grasping atomic particles or waves bearing mental capacities, Bateson differs from him, indicating the composition of a God-like Mind as emerging from relationalities and interactions (Bateson, 1979, p. 93).

an ecology of “differences” (p. 461). In this sense, “ecology” examines the interplay and endurance of differences that have the capacities to bring forth perpetual differentiation (Bateson, 1972/1978, p. 483). Bateson’s perspective serves to overcome Aristotelian hylomorphism, and dualities of material/mental; individual/environment; content/medium, material/symbolic. In the end, Bateson’s perspective resembles Spinoza’s monism against the dualism of body and mind (Charlton, 2008, p. 179). The philosophical lineage, extending from Spinoza to Gregory Bateson, Gilbert Simondon and finally culminating in Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, is opposed to this hylomorphic thought model and such dualisms.

In this line, there is also a Spinozist<sup>28</sup> interpretation of McLuhan’s formula (Hörisch, 1999, p. 139; see also Ryba, 2013, pp. 150–151). In this perspective, the conception of the medium in McLuhan’s media ecology is indeed medium *or* message, as in Spinoza’s metaphysics where all modes of existence is in God *or* Nature, namely the substance. This interpretation grasps McLuhan’s formulation through a Spinozist monism and pantheism, adapting God *or* Nature (Hörisch, 1999, p. 139; Ryba, 2013, pp. 150-151) to medium *or* message putting forward a perspective of “panmedialism” (Engell, 1996) or a “pan-medial ontology” (Van Den Eede, 2013). This kind of panmedialism indicates immanence and continuity of content and medium, without relying on anthropocentrism, without searching for a transcendent target or substance or without handling medium as a fixed substance *or a priori*. Content/medium continuum should be grasped as relational, ecological, processual and as full of encounters.

In this sense, medium is not only an *extension* of human beings but medium itself is something *extended*, widespread, and entangled through ecologies and multiplicities. Then, it is possible to find footholds in this theology-ecology nexus while stripping its closed circuit and etherealized insights. It is possible to grasp the formula of “the medium is the message” as a continuity, as an entanglement, as an arrangement. Relatedly, following Deleuze and Guattari, recent assemblage

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<sup>28</sup> Although there is a great difference between Aristotelian-Thomistic cosmology and conception of God as “unmoved mover” against Spinoza’s “God or Nature”.

thinking connects to Spinoza's conception of affect and bodies as an assemblage of multiple parts interacting in multiple ways<sup>29</sup>. In this sense, a parallel reading of McLuhan and Deleuze enhances the conception of medium, replacing it with "media as assemblage" (Jenkins & Zhang, 2016) indicating medium as something machinic and collective arrangement (Bryant, 2014) to surpass technological determinism and tracing other conceptual continuities between the two authors.

As McLuhan (1964/1994) stated that humans become "nomadic gatherers of knowledge" in the global age of electric media (p. 358), it is more appropriate to grasp this nomadism through relational, processual, and materialist assemblage thinking, emphasizing encounters. Hence, the philosophical lineage encompassing Spinoza, Gilbert Simondon, Gregory Bateson, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari culminated in all standpoints within new materialisms, and planetary ecological thinking that are supplementing, regenerating, and expanding media ecologies perspective (Parikka, 2012). Rather than relating ourselves to a heavenly light (McLuhan, 2010), we can also relate the electric light to its material flows, to its physical/natural resources and mines, petroleum, coal, chemicals, turbines, infrastructures, flow of water, winds, and currents. Spinozist interpretation of McLuhan's formula mentioned above, together with assemblage thinking have the ability to recover media ecology from its theological roots and relocate into a more materialist grasp of its relational complexity embedded in natural and concrete processes. In this line, the next subsection focuses on and overviews the studies on materiality of communication and materialist media ecologies in order to elaborate a theoretical-methodical movement that is going to be implemented as an ecology of political communication encompassing material/discursive affordances, entanglements, and embodied<sup>30</sup> experience.

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<sup>29</sup> See Spinoza (1677/2002), *Ethica* Part II, Proposition 13 Postulate 1-6; and Proposition 15. See also Jane Bennet (2010), for her conception of "vibrant matter" referring to Spinoza via Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage thinking.

<sup>30</sup> See Holbert (2004) for an embodied approach on media ecology and medium theory, merging McLuhan's theory with embodied cognition. In this article, Holbert postulates that the meaning-making process through media content relies on the engagement with media environment and their affordances shaping embodied cognitive processes (Holbert, 2004, p. 108). The author states that a medium transforms the environment in which embodied cognitive processes are mingling with them,

## 1.2 MATERIAL COMMUNICATION AND MATERIALIST MEDIA ECOLOGIES

### 1.2.1 Material Communication and Medium Theories

As Marx (1844/1988) states human beings are dependent on nature since “the nature” is their “body” to sustain their lives, making life itself “as a means to life” (p. 76). Through their labour process, humans “mediate”, “regulate” and “control” this metabolic exchange with nature (Marx, 1982, p. 283). In this metabolic exchange, besides providing resources and nutrition, nature becomes prosthetics extending human organs and a warehouse providing instruments, affordances, or media (Marx, 1982, p. 285). Marx underlined that working upon our own inorganic body -which is nature-, we extend our human body and brain into nature, in form of infrastructures as our extended organs and indirect instruments of labour such as railways, highways, telegraph, undersea cables, satellites, signals (Marx, 1973, p. 706; 1982, pp. 286-287). These extensions are mobilizing the limits of the bodies, our own human bodies, and the nature as our body and are extending bodies beyond themselves.

“Physical communication” refers to the communication-transportation nexus embedded in geographies, the mobility of humans, nonhumans, news and messages throughout the history until the introduction of communication-cable nexus which was telegraph, dismantling the processes of communication dependent on transportation (Briggs & Burke, 2009, pp. 20–21, see McLuhan, 1964/1994, p.

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referring to McLuhan’s emphasis on “physiological” processes that comes to terms with J. J. Gibson’s theory of affordances. Holbert underlines the concept of affordances as a key junction between McLuhan and embodied cognition. In this sense, Holbert (2004) states that each medium generates its “unique set of affordances” (p. 111) and referring to Piaget that each medium has their own particular “sensori-motor schemata” which is the basic schema underlying all other schemas related to media content (p. 112). In this line, Holbert states underlines that embarking on an embodied approach affords that “content-based mental connections” (p. 113) are emerging from the engagement with the media as environment. Holbert’s approach put emphasis on the materiality of the medium infusing meaning-making process through bodily/sensorial encounters. Such embodied approach on media ecologies is crucial while grasping ecologies of political communication considering embodied encounters and material agencies embedded in urban space. Theories of embodiment is going to be presented in the next sections while merging the processes of political communication and Lefebvre’s spatial theory. Bodily encounters are a crucial part to be considered while grasping ecologies of political communication through urban space.

89). Starting from this rupture, the immateriality and invisibility of communication has begun to pervade the field. Respectively, communication has become transportation-free first, then wired and then become wireless, while human and non-human bodies were becoming physically more mobile than ever. When Virilio (1998/2005) declared the “end of geography” and the processes eroding physical movement, their materiality was right there. For Harold Innis (1950/1986), communications encompass all kinds of transportation infrastructures and vehicles and it was the same for his successor Marshall McLuhan (1964/1994), as stated in his *Understanding Media*, handling transportation systems, waterways and vehicles within the term of communication and grasped all of them as *medium* (p. 89-90).

Long before the media ecologists’ boundaries of communication, Charles H. Cooley’s theoretical studies on communications and transportation were the elemental footsteps to superpose communication and physicality and to understand the materiality and ecology of communications through physical space and mobilities. Cooley was a foundational figure of Chicago School, and social psychology with George Herbert Mead under the influence of American Pragmatism of Charles S. Peirce, William James, and John Dewey. In his 1894 doctoral dissertation in the field of political economy, titled *Theory of Transportation*, Cooley (1894) handled transportation as “material communication” (p. 42):

What, in general, is the social function of transportation? Sociologically considered it is a means to the physical organization of society... Such organization, such extension of relations, involves a mechanism through which the relations can exist and make themselves felt. *This mechanism is Communication in the widest sense of the word; communication of ideas and of physical commodities, between one time and another and one place and another.* These are the threads that hold society together; upon them all unity depends. And *transportation, the means of material communication* between one place and another, is one of the strongest and most conspicuous of these threads... *communication or the mechanism of social organization.* (Cooley, 1894, p. 42, emphases are mine)

Material communication as the material flows of different times and places relying both on human transportation and natural flow of organic and inorganic

matters, the movement of human/nonhuman bodies, their material interactions, articulations, and connections. In this line, Swedish geographer Thorsten Hägerstrand's (1967) contributions on spatial dimensions of the "diffusion of innovations" and "time geography" also provide an important foothold to grasp material communication:

The material world within human reach is altered *not by words but by the grasp of the hand*. The *word-makers* are in power, but for their decisions to turn into something more than vibrations in the air, one, some or all people must engage with *material things*. (Hägerstrand, 2009, p.27, translated and quoted in Ellegård, 2019, p. 1, emphases are mine)

Hägerstrand puts emphasis on the materiality influencing the engagement of humans and nonhumans as material bodies<sup>31</sup> and perseverance of humans seeking difference (Ellegård, 2019, p. 4) in a relational complexity and in constant movement.<sup>32</sup> Our everyday interactions and mobilities in urban space materially occur through excavations, materials and infrastructures intermeshing landscapes and human/nonhuman bodies. Recent studies of urban communication scholars also underline the significance of materiality while considering the embodied movement of bodies (Dickinson & Aiello, 2016). These raw materials and physicality of spaces in the case of urban mobilities, whether they are facilitating or obstructing the movement and acceleration, operate as basic elements of communication. Referring to these studies, what I mean by material communication<sup>33</sup> is the *mobile, embodied, and ecological* encounters within and through the *physicality* of spaces and infrastructures, including material flows, material/discursive arrangements, and nonhuman mobilities, which in turn this relationality depicts a materialist ecology of communication and media.

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<sup>31</sup> Hägerstrand's perspective on grasping humans as material bodies had criticisms in terms of its physicalist tendencies (Ellegård, 2019, pp. 4, 16).

<sup>32</sup> Describing the time geography, Hägerstrand (1967) states that considering their mobility that all humans move, act and gather within and through time-constrained spatial range including "nodal points", whether for work or for leisure (p. 8).

<sup>33</sup> This resonates with the perspective of the "communicative constitution of organizations" (Wilhoit, 2017) and "affordances as material communication" (Wilhoit, 2017) which will be discussed in the following pages.

In this line of thought, I am connecting to Harold Innis's materialist and ecological approaches on medium of communications. As a well-known founding figure of media ecologies, of medium theories, and of the Toronto School of Communication, his doctoral dissertation is also about transportation incorporating hints at his later medium theory.<sup>34</sup> Innis' dissertation titled *A History of Canadian Pacific Railway*, was a political economic analysis of building and operating the "railway as communication medium"<sup>35</sup> (Babe, 2000, pp. 61–62) enabling novel encounters as a result of the flow of people, their cultures and materials, and the railway line itself as a violently invasive "message", radically transforming the rhythms and patterns of living in local settlements (Babe, 2000, pp. 61–62). In this relational environment and embarking on a materialist stance, Innis's notion of *media* –apart from telecommunications— includes all infrastructures, vehicles, natural reserves, and affordances, landforms and animals, natural or artificial transportation infrastructure, waterways, highways and even extraction activities of raw materials which are intervening into on-going communicative encounters and constituting new ones among humans and nonhumans (Babe, 2000, pp. 59, 65, 82–84). In this sense, Innis deals with the power relations among socio-cultural groups through their engagement with raw materials, geography and technology while also considering the ownership of technologies that affords the potential to control the mediation of human relations. In short, constant flux of ores, commodities, goods, vehicles, cultural values, words, images, bodies, human and organic/inorganic non-human agencies, are in communication that are mediated through entangled and relational processes.

Harold Innis' ideas awakened McLuhan into a media ecology but fusing with theological tendencies, together with Eric Havelock, Walter J. Ong, and Neil

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<sup>34</sup> Drache (1995, p. xlv) states that Harold Innis' studies on the shifts and alterations in markets, technologies and cultures were interwoven in his oeuvre on the "history of communications".

<sup>35</sup> In a similar sense, the railway line can be stated as a "logistical power" (Mukerji, 2010), governing of territories through infrastructural interventions as means for renegotiating social relations and materially (p. 402), generating "an impersonal rule" (p. 404) on that political landscape.

Postman. These ideas also intensified in other minds<sup>36</sup>. For instance, transcending the dichotomies, Régis Debray's (1996) "mediology" also offers a thought-provoking perspective, focusing on "mediation" rather than the notion of medium, referring to in-betweenness, a socio-techno-cultural relationality (pp. 17-19). Debray's (1999) materialist stance is a strong move removing borders surrounding the contemporary media studies to encompass all material-organizational arrangements as mediation, considering a Braudelian *longue durée*<sup>37</sup> and approaching them as the dynamic intermingling of the material and the ideal/spiritual. Overall, Debray's (1997, pp. 1–2; 1999) mediology focuses on the material ecology of ideas beyond texts, on the materiality of mediation transforming ideas into material forces and the infrastructural becoming of ideas, culture, religion, or nations.

As a media materialist, Régis Debray can be situated in-between Marshall McLuhan and German media theorist Friedrich Kittler, interacting with both of them, and engendering resemblances and differences. Debray's (1996) mediology brings *mediation* to the front, rather than employing the concept of *medium* as

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<sup>36</sup> Barrington Nevitt's *Communication Ecology* (1982), a McLuhanist extension on the infusion of human society with media and communication technologies and acceleration. Besides, David Altheide's (1995) "ecology of communication" indicates that the human ecologies or social environments are pervaded by the logic of information and communication technologies and media in terms of control and influence on social order. Deriving on Innis and McLuhan, but underlining that he is not a technological determinist, Altheide's (1995) interactionist emphasis is on information technology altering social processes (p. 4) and to expand the media and communication research beyond the premises of mass media (p. 4). Differently, Niklas Luhmann's (1989) *Ecological Communication*, rooting from his system theoretical approaches, focuses on the relation between natural/physical environment with society, which is a closed system but in "resonance" with its environment. This was an extension of Luhmann's (1985) concern on the emergent ecological risks *that the society encounter at the juncture of modification and attunement*.

<sup>37</sup> French historian Fernand Braudel introduces the concept of "longue durée" in 1949 book "The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II" and in 1958 article titled "*Histoires et sciences sociales, la longue durée*" as part of his multi-temporal grasp of history. Braudel (1949/1995) introduces three types of duration: One is the "long-term" [*longue durée*] encompasses a macro form history of the human-nonhuman relationality through an inaudible and dead-slow duration, a geological, ecological flow of time over millennia (p. 20). The "medium-term" refers to conjectures incorporating "slow but perceptible rhythms" of social history (p. 20-21). The short-term [*courte durée*] refers to "a history of brief, rapid, nervous fluctuations" [*histoire événementielle*] (Braudel, 1949/1995, p. 21), incorporating a "journalistic" time (Braudel, 1958, p. 728). In the context of materialist media ecologies and for an ecology of political communication, "longue durée" is crucial to step into a multi-temporal perspective without being squeezed into the journalistic time and everyday speed of media agenda. In this line, I employed this concept in various sections throughout this dissertation.

having impacts on associations, emphasizing the concept of medium as “a false friend” (pp. 12; 29). However, Debray (2004) develops and extends McLuhan’s medium theory, regarding the organic/inorganic, artificial/innate extensions and resembles McLuhan while taking into account all types of mediation processes beyond mass media-centric studies, expanding from “larynx” to vehicles and transportation infrastructures (pp. 5–7). Again, like McLuhan, Debray (1996) also grasps history as technically episodic while incorporating shifts in socio-technical arrangements generated by technological interventions (p. 26). Yet, beyond analysing a particular medium or an extension that are changing associations, he focuses on the mediation as a processual entanglement of symbolic, social, technological (Debray, 1996, p. 13). In this sense, Debray did not prefer to use the concept of medium in order to focus on mediation emphasizing the relationality of cultural, social and technological, the entanglement of symbolic, institutional and technical (Huyghe, 2009), the entanglement of things, humans, nonhumans, institutions comprising all the arrangements and agencies (Debray, 1996, p. 13, 2000, pp. 127–130), and in this sense, focusing on in-betweenness and intermediaries following the philosophical lineage of Michel Serres and Bruno Latour (Debray, 1996, p. 17, 1997, p. 78). Rather than the cybernetic and Lasswellian formula of 5Ws, Debray (1998) proposes to replace it with the Leninist formula of *what to do, how, in which way, under which limitations* (p. 8). Like media theorist Friedrich Kittler, Debray can be called as a media materialist. However, Debray does not have such radical purposes as Kittler’s (1980) attempt to get rid of the spirit [*Geist*] or “human out of humanities” or giving autonomy to hardware; rather as Krämer (2015, p. 65) states, Debray attempts to grasp the intertwining of material and spiritual. Yet, they share a similarity while approaching materialities and practices as determinants of socio-cultural situations. Régis Debray’s (1991) entangled grasp of technology and culture, his refusal of “binary thinking” (p. 42) and his thought interacting with Serres and Latour provide the potential to transcend the dualistic thought while approaching media as a processual arrangement.

## 1.2.2 Materialist Media Ecologies

Recent studies on the materiality of communication and materialist media ecologies draw on the spatial, material, infrastructural and geological turns in social sciences and humanities, and on the relational, affective, processual approaches and new materialist thought flourished from the philosophical lineage of Spinoza, Bergson, Whitehead, Deleuze and Guattari. The focus on materiality emerged as a remedial for the deadlock of the nonmaterial, textualist, linguistic, content-centric and disembodied grasp of communication (Packer & Wiley, 2011, pp. 3–4). In addition, there are several materialist approaches to communication which encompass communication in physicality, taking discourse as a material force, together with materialist approach on topics such as economic base, technologies, bodies and spatiality (Packer & Wiley, 2011, pp. 4–15). To wrap up, the notion of ecology points to a complex relationality of material/discursive flux and intensities, a manifold of continuous interaction among natures, cultures, technologies, humans, and nonhumans.

As Spinoza indicates, body is a “mode”, a complex composition, and an arrangement of multitude of pieces (*Ethics* IIP13 Postulates 1, 3, 4; Hardt, 1993, p. 94), which enters into a multitude of affective encounters with different bodies, in need of them to preserve, persist and mature itself<sup>38</sup> (*Ethics* IVP39, IV Appendix 27). Through these affective<sup>39</sup> encounters and arrangements full of heterogeneities, the power or capacity of acting [*potential agendi*] oscillates, increase, or decrease, which is constituted collectively<sup>40</sup> through assemblages<sup>41</sup> and for Spinoza, we live

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<sup>38</sup> See Jane Bennett’s (2010) interpretation of Spinoza and Deleuze for her vibrant materialism. The acts of preservation, persistence and maturation refers to the Spinoza’s concept of *conatus*, which Bennett based upon to develop her concept of “thing-power” (pp. 2; 22).

<sup>39</sup> The term “affect” in English (or *l’affect* in French) corresponds to Spinoza’s concept “*affectus*” which means continuous change and modification of body’s power or capacity of acting [*potentia agendi*] through encounters (Massumi, 1987, xvi). According to Deleuze (1988b), affect (*affectus*) is the ability to affect and to be affected, it is a passage or alteration, which is distinguished from *affectio*, which is the emerging states as encounters between these two affecting and affected body, as the resultant state or traces of the modifying encounter on body and mind, the novel condition of a bodily arrangement that is emerged through encounters (Deleuze, 1970/1988, pp. 19, 48–51).

<sup>40</sup> See Rehmann (2016) for the clarification of the concept *potentia agendi* (capacity to act) and its collective quality.

<sup>41</sup> See Bennett (2010) for the relation of power of acting and “heterogenous assemblages” (p. 23).

through continuous alterations as a result of affective encounters which hinder or enhance our capacity to act (*Ethics* IIIDef3, VP39). All these encounters *influence* (*affectus*/affect), which are “uncertain and random” (*Ethics* VP10), continuously prompting to generate novel conditions, states, or remnants (*affectio*/affection) on body/mind, altering the bodily arrangement and capacities (*Ethics* IIIDef3, VP10; Deleuze, 1970/1988, p. 19). Against the affects that are decreasing the capacities and power to act, Spinoza states that we should have the “power to arrange and associate affections of the body” (*Ethics* VP10). In this line, he states that bodies that enable themselves open to more encounters become more unassailable against the influences abating their abilities to “arrange and associate” [*ordinandi et concatenandi*] their bodily conditions (*Ethics* VP10, P39; see also Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, pp. 256–257) and thus granting themselves power to make arrangements for their preservation and maturation.

In this Spinozist-Deleuzian lineage of thinking, “bodies” grasped as non-anthropocentric, including nonhuman bodies -both organic and inorganic- together with bodies of humankind pertaining to organization of natural/cultural/institutional bodies<sup>42</sup> (Stark, 2017, p. 73). The notion of “transcorporeality” (Alaimo, 2010) appropriately describes this context recognizing the porosity of bodies, transuding one another through material encounters of bodies as arrangements of humans, nonhumans, and their environment. Through these encounters, things that offer potentials, have always the probability to captivate humans and nonhumans into “dependency relations” (Hodder, 2012), culminating into novel arrangements generating threats and possibilities in long duration.

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<sup>42</sup> For Ian Hodder (2012), “things” , which have the ability to “assemble”, are temporary “bundles of matter, energy and information” (p. 8), are heterogeneous gatherings and arrangements including, humans, animate and inanimate nonhumans, social, cultural and political institutions (p. 219). In Hodder’s conception of entanglement, relations between things or part of things both afford potentials and create dependency relations that may lead to captivating temporalities. Hodder’s thinking resembles abovementioned conception of bodies in Spinozist-Deleuzian thought, in terms of potentials to make of assemblages through the encounters between bodies.

Figure 1.2: “New order of things”



Source: Collage by the author

Following Deleuze and Guattari and the subsequent assemblage thinking based upon their philosophy, we may grasp the potentials or hinderances coupled with our capacities thus creating entwined relations full of “dependences” and “dependencies” (Hodder, 2012, 2018). Gilles Deleuze (1995) referring to Michel Foucault’s conception of *episteme* in relation to the conception of *machinic phylum* underlines the coupling of human bodily cognitive forces with other material forces such as extraction of coal in the nineteenth century and asks what kind of novel arrangements and associations that today’s silicon-human encounter bring forth (pp. 99–100, see also Deleuze, 1988a, pp. 131–132). This means the coupling of human abilities with materials, things and nonhuman bodies are producing new compositions afford new potentials via generating novel dependency relations and thus simultaneously carrying possibilities to constraint, demarcate or diminish capacities within these arrangements.

*Medium*, which is also an arrangement, brings forth new potentials or constraints to be coupled with the human capacities. Friedrich Kittler (1990) states that “the typewriter” engenders altogether a “new order of things” underlining Michel Foucault’s neglect of these mundane devices (p. 352). According to

Foucault (1969/2002), “the keyboard of a typewriter” and A, Z, E, R, T keys are not utterances/statements [*énoncé*] while the typed letters of AZERT on a paper is “the statement of the alphabetical order adopted by French typewriters” (p. 96). In this sense, Foucault-Deleuze-Guattari-Kittler lineage brings forth an emphasis on the entanglement of episteme and machinic phylum generating the regime of truth.

What is entangled with A, Z, E, R, T and AZERT? It is the body. The body/mind is entangled with the keys and the typed. According to Kittler (1999), Nietzsche was the first philosopher to encounter a typewriter, unfolding the Nietzsche-typewriter arrangement and this new order of things altered his argumentation into telegraphic utterances (p. 203) that Nietzsche even validates Kittler with his statement “our writing tools are also working on our thoughts” (as cited in Kittler, 1999, p. 200). Enhancing this view, it is apt to state that the tools do not only work on our disembodied thoughts but on our bodies and embodied cognitive processes.

Recalling Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1945/2002), human bodies are “means of communication” with the world (p. 106) and while typing, we integrate the space of the typewriter into our “bodily space” (p. 167), making the machine as “extension”<sup>43</sup> of ourselves, our communicative bodies (p. 165-66), empowering our abilities coupled with what the machine affords. This refers to the coupling of fingers and types through the heterogeneous composition, generating the utterance AZERT, or the utterance cut through this heterogeneity. This is what Deleuze (1986) indicates that the utterance AZERT “regularizes” and “actualizes relations

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<sup>43</sup> Relatedly, see McLuhan (1964/1994) for the concept of extension, the medium extending the bodies, together with both Merleau-Ponty’s (1945/2002) and Gregory Bateson’s (1972/1978) example “the blind man stick” emphasizing the permeability of the body, mind and environment, breaking down the dichotomies and barriers between body and tool, self and non-self, subject and object. Long before these names, Alfred North Whitehead (1938/1968) also interrogates the boundaries between the body and the world, giving example of his pens and limbs as extensions of the body into nature and nature into body as in the case of breathing, Whitehead puts emphasis on the intermingling body and world, an emphasis on processes and events (p. 114). These discussions are crucial in the fields of phenomenological, embodied, enactivist and ecological theories of cognition and mind (see Fuchs, 2018, pp. 15, 132, 144–145; Gallagher & Zahavi, 2008, pp. 138–139) that are going to be discussed in the subsection 1.3.3.

of forces ... between the letters and fingers”. This means the utterance emerge through machinic and collective arrangements (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, p. 37). Overall, when Nietzsche-machine types AZERT, it is the coupling of the body/mind, all its capacities with the typewriter, the environment, with all its empowerments and constraints.

The utterance cuts through the encounters composed of heterogenous elements, the device with all its components, the paper, the ink, the ergonomic arrangement of the keys, the alphabet, the letters, coupled with the bodily movements. Their spaces extend into one another, act upon one another. The body and the medium extend into one another and co-emerge, co-constituted through ecologies. Killmeier (2009) grasps human bodies as medium and as communicative to be incorporated in media ecology while criticizing the “disembodied” perspectives (p. 35, 45-46) and Kraidy (2013) also suggests “human body as medium” in the context of political uprisings, as “a nexus of discourse and action” (p. 287). Drawing on the above perspectives, body as medium<sup>44</sup> corresponds to Deleuze and Guattari’s arrangements emerging through encounters and medium/body to comprise of both humans and nonhumans, and their continuous intermingling.

Regarding the encounter of Nietzsche-typewriter, material/discursive flows are arrested in novel material/discursive arrangements. Machine guns together with their raw-materials, assembly lines and markets witnessing a surge in production during wartimes and later, this arrangement transformed into typewriters, in the case of Remington, as Kittler (1999) stated “discursive machine gun” (pp. 190-191). They are in constant variation through novel compositions and arrangements of “energy, matter and knowledge” (Hodder, 2012). For instance, in the years between 1854-1912, the Ottoman Empire was the biggest customer of steel, gun

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<sup>44</sup> Iraqi artist Wafaa Bilal (2010) states that he used his “body as medium” in his work called 3rdi getting a camera-implant. Bilal’s cyborg-art obviously put emphasis on body as arrangement. Marina Abramović (2010) Serbian performance artist puts forth her “body as medium” in her artworks. Jacqueline Jung (2017), a professor of medieval art and architecture states “body as medium”, “communicative media” in the context of Medieval art in Europe.

and artillery manufacturer, *Krupp* (Grant, 2003, pp. 31–32). In 2016, Turkey with its largest investment project of Istanbul Airport, again has become the biggest customer of *ThyssenKrupp* with a contract of 147 passenger boarding bridges as the greatest amount in corporate history (thyssenkrupp, 2018). In a Kittlerian way, boarding bridges as a medium are now the mobility artillery, recalling Foucauldian biopolitics, not killing or letting people die but letting them live and be mobile. A gun firing people as bullets... Regarding relationality and distributed connections and agencies or medium as arrangements, in a new context, it becomes a new composition, full of new dependencies. Material/discursive flows culminate in machine guns during arms race and the war, later transform into typewriters, as Kittler stated. Now, rather than cannon balls, there are boarding bridges.

Drawing on technological apriorism (Kittler, 1999, p. 117) or “media apriorism” (Krämer, 2008, pp. 66–67), *German Media Theories* deviated the focus from representations to the material arrangements (Siegert, 2013, p. 50), generating a “media materialism” pioneered especially by Friedrich Kittler (Gane, 2005, p. 25), elaborating an approach that prioritizes technology, material arrangements and hardware rather than software, representation, message. Kittler’s (1999) statements “media determines our situation” (p. xxxix) and elsewhere “technologically possible manipulations determine what in fact can become a discourse” (Kittler, 1990, p. 232) describes the core of his media materialism. Indeed, in connection with Heidegger, Kittler’s understanding of media has a purpose to reach the “infrastructure of being” (Peters & Packer, 2011, p. 43; see Peters, 2015, p. 10). Considering these arguments, this materialist stance criticized for having little concern for environmental crisis, and socio-political issues while putting forth more concern on media as infrastructural conditioning (Gabrys, 2016, pp. 180–181). Kittler mainly draws on McLuhan’s inquiry into medium, but for him, media were not extensions of humankind as McLuhan had said. His attempts to push-out human/spirit “out of humanities” (Kittler, 1980), underlines his focus on the agential force of media as material conditions and as infrastructures of situations. Kittler underlines that “our situations” are determined by media.

Here I recommend first a correction by crossing out the word “our”: Media determine ~~our~~ situations while incorporating disorganizing contingencies where human beings are *not* the exceptional agents. Beyond that for Kittler (1997) “so-called Man ... is determined by technical standards” (p. 133). This anti-humanistic statement of “so-called Man” is said to be determined by so-called Media. Thus, rather than an *apriori*, media are arrangements, indeed there are “medianaturecultures” (Braidotti, 2016), indicating a continuum spreading through natures, cultures and technologies, which are not distinct, isolated entities, on the contrary they are always intermeshed in an on-going plasticity. They are heterogeneous arrangements composed of humans and nonhumans. As arrangements, they have a “temporal endurance” (Whitehead, 1929/1978, p. 35). They are always in process.

Building on these elaborations, pan-medialist perspectives grasp media as nature (McLuhan, 1970b) or media as “elements” and “nature” (Hörisch, 1999, p. 134), or as John Durham Peters (2015) states “media as enabling environments” (p. 3), as well as “environments as media” and *media as natural/cultural* (pp. 3, 46; see also Starosielski, 2019). These perspectives have path-breaking consequences. In a sense, they put forth the initial steps to a “cosmological media ecology” (Segall, 2019, p. 241). Jussi Parikka (2011) “transversally” moves from the geophysical processes and elements to wastes (p. 40), with an ecological perspective drawing a “continuum” of “medianatures” (Parikka, 2015) based on a philosophical lineage<sup>45</sup> of Spinoza-Deleuze-Guattari-Haraway. Besides, Parikka intricately connects to Matthew Fuller’s (2005) materialist media ecology that discusses the duality of “form-content” and applying the concept of “machinic phylum” for a dynamic focus on medial arrangements and indicates medium and media systems as complex, relational and processual, relying on Deleuze/Guattari and the Spinozist conception of body. Both Fuller and Parikka focuses on artistic<sup>46</sup> practices and

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<sup>45</sup> Parikka (2011) refers to the work of Luciana Parisi based on Félix Guattari’s notions of “mixed semiotics” and “transversality” to draw a “continuum” of nature/culture/technology and moving non-hierarchically while attending the entanglement of the material and the discursive.

<sup>46</sup> For instance, Erin Despard (2016, pp. 37–58) studies the relations of media and urban place relying on a materialist media ecology, grasping media in a wider sense to include medial capacities of

experiments on media, emphasizing and re-phrasing Spinoza's postulate that it is impossible to know in advance what "media" may bring forth (Ikoniadou, 2014, p. 6). The point of experimental/artistic practices is to generate new material/discursive arrangements and encounters beyond everyday habitual operations of media systems, to bring forth new potentials and forgotten connections through medianatures.

In the legacy of earlier media ecologies, media grasped as technologies that are determinants of societies, within their own closed ecology and their own spheres of interactions. Yet, ecology should not be grasped as a metaphor or as a bounded system while depicting the complex relationality of media. Drawing on new materialisms; Manuel Delanda's non-linear history; Friedrich Kittler's media materialism; and ecological thinking with planetary care, Parikka (2016) recommends expanding media to an extent ranging from natural resources to techno-waste and describes ecology as "nonmediatic media materialism"<sup>47</sup> (pp. 203–208), comprising the resources, the devices through life-cycles, mobility and flux of media matters, energy consumption, geology and geopolitics of raw materials and rare earth mines, to consider "non-mediatic basis of technical media" (p. 204) towards "a more environmental media ecological materialism" (Parikka, 2016, p. 208).<sup>48</sup>

Following philosopher Alfred North Whitehead, Mark Hansen (2015) similarly puts forth "a non-anthropocentric, non-prosthetic and radically environmental theory of media" (p. 250). This approach might also relate to "post-human media ecology" (Bryant, 2014) which incorporates a "machinic" understanding of "media as assemblages" (Jenkins & Zhang, 2016) drawing on Deleuze/Guattari, providing the potentials to ask what media can *do*.

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physical spaces together with communication systems. In another materialist media ecology study, Despard and Gallagher (2018) focuses on plants as nonhuman media.

<sup>47</sup> To a certain extent Jussi Parikka's statement resembles David Morley's (2009) flow of thought of "a materialist, non-media-centric media studies".

<sup>48</sup> See Herzogenrath (2015) and Murdock (2018) for media and materiality; and Casemajor (2015) for "digital materialism" and material turn in media studies.

These perspectives bring forth the geological *long duration* immanent in the *short duration* of our digital media processes and life-cycles of technologies (see Braudel, 1949/1995; Zielinski, 2006; Parikka, 2015). Jennifer Gabrys (2016) focusing on the “entanglements and complexities of our material-media” (pp. 192–193) has a similar approach to widen the perspective towards capturing material and relational processes of media in an extended ecology with an environmental concern.<sup>49</sup> These planetary-wide “sustainable media” studies and materialist ecologies of media have a “critical and material stance on ecologies beyond technologies” (Starosielski & Walker, 2016, p. 13). In line with these studies, Sy Taffel’s (2013, 2015, 2019) works on materiality and political ecology of digital media and mineral extraction relying on a dialogue between media ecologies and material/discursive entanglements have valuable contributions through locating media in more complex and wider environmental relations.

In a similar vein, Nina Lager Vestberg, professor of visual culture at Norwegian University of Science and Technology lectured at the Arctic University of Norway in 2016, focusing on media ecologies from a materialist and environmental stance. In this lecture, Vestberg addressed the issues such as material basis of media, conception of materiality and media, environmental cost of digital culture, carbon footprints of data centres, cloud computing and digital media infrastructures, while defining “media as all-encompassing environments; as evolving ecosystems; and having a material impact on natural environments and ecosystems” (3:30-4:00). Overall, Vestberg presented an environmentally concerned “materialist media ecology”<sup>50</sup> focusing on the material media flows extending from resources and mines to the landscapes of e-waste and energy

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<sup>49</sup> Also see Gabrys (2011) putting light on media materialities, waste and dust and Cubitt’s (2016) focus on the intricate relation of digital and environmental.

<sup>50</sup> For further information see *Media and Ecological Crisis* (Maxwell et al., 2017), with Vestberg as Editor.

soaking infrastructures highlighting their cultural, social, technological, and political implications through various affective artworks and images.<sup>51</sup>

Alfred North Whitehead's (1929/1978) conception of "world as medium" (p. 286) manifest itself as a precursor of McLuhan, as a processual thinking and philosophy of event on media and communication (Murphie, 2019, p. 41). Similarly, Bernd Herzogenrath (2008) also conceives of "world as media" following Deleuze and Guattari's assemblage thinking as if bringing forth a geophilosophy of media (p. 20). This approach also named as "earth as medium" and media ecology of the planet Earth as Adam Robbert (2013) stated in his "Geocentric Media Ecology", which is actually more than geocentric. Relatedly, we may also grasp "media theory" as "ethology" as Parikka (2010, p. xx) did, which serves -in a Spinozist-Deleuzian sense- to map and experimentally observe fluctuations of body capacities within and through affective encounters and compositions in medianatural terms, to have insights on what they afford as a field of possibilities (Parikka, 2010, p. 79). In this line, there is a crucial example that I need to put forth considering these discussions. Earth is a medium, where dung beetle finds its way by perceiving the lights coming from the Milky Way to transport its globe of dung (Dacke et al., 2013). Then, this moves us towards a non-geocentric media ecology which will then throw us into a media cosmology, a "communicative cosmos" (Segall, 2019), cosmos as media or vice versa. I prefer the words *communicative* and the *earth*, while adopting a relational and assemblage thinking, indicating material processes, entanglements, interconnectedness and interdependencies of things, humans, and nonhumans.

Like all other industries and cultural activities, media and communication technologies stand on extractivism<sup>52</sup>. Today, we know that coltan ore contains

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<sup>51</sup> Such a widened ecological approach has the potential "to think with the event" and "save and capture the event to resist mediatic events" as Ullus Baker (1995) suggested, and also to resist the black-boxing operations of media infrastructures concealing their ecologies.

<sup>52</sup> As Hubert Alain (2017) clearly formulates that material/discursive impacts of extractivism assimilate humans as a "consumer species" (p. 235). However, this does not mean that each human being is extracting. Likewise, anthropocene does not encompass each human being's activities. Instead, Anthropocene is "extractivist-centric" (Alain, 2017, p. 233), "an assemblage of extractive ecologies" (p. 234), and extractivism establishes a demarcated and privileged network imposing its

tantalum element that is extracted from conflict mines and is used in the production of mobile devices. However, in everyday life most of the people may not know of which mineral a product is made up of. It is concealed behind the outer design of those mobile devices and through user habits. Farmer (2018) proposes an ironic labelling “Extracted from Africa” on the back covers of Apple products, next to “Designed in California, Assembled in China” (p. 192). I would also add the label *Will be wasted in Agbogboshie/Ghana*, to whomever cares after the purchase.

Our most familiar bodily acts, such as scrolling on touch screen requires indium tin oxide powder, plastic for the case, a charged battery composed of cobalt from Congo, neodymium for headphones to avoid exposure to radiation emitted from mobile phones connected to cell towers, and databases to store cyber footprints, databases that are dependent on air conditioning that dependent in turn on energy infrastructure and resources. Yet, ‘who owns what’ and ‘what affords what to whom’, where the ‘what’ and the ‘who’ are composed of heterogeneous agencies encompassing both human and nonhuman. These questions of material agency and ownership are two illuminating aspects of the same stuff that needed to be traced and mapped beyond the self-concealing operations of the devices.

I would like to argue that any media and communication theory that does not take the ecological flow, interdependencies and interconnectedness of matters from mines to waste or environmental concerns into account within their material/discursive relational context has a potential to produce hypotheses based on usual nature and culture divide. For instance, even discussing freedom of expression on social and digital platforms, without emphasizing that our whole digital and mobile culture is built on tantalum, cobalt, plastic, silicon, and other blooded rare earth minerals, turns a research on media and communications into purified, isolated, and alienated inquiry in cakes and ales.

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own ecologies of humans and nonhumans, subjugating *nonhuman others* as resource and *human (others)* as perpetual “consumer species” of goods from those resources (pp. 234-235).

Based on these elaborations concerning media ecologies, the next section presents an ecological perspective and methodology to transversally move between background and foreground, cutting through scales and modalities, and tracing material/discursive affordances and dependencies to be implemented in studying political communication processes and propaganda entanglements through urban space and infrastructures in the next chapters. I am going to focus on the ecologies of political communication that are enmeshed with the experiences, with regards to the approaches emphasizing the entanglement of all bodies and embodied cognitive/affective processes embedded in environment.

### **1.3 MATERIAL/DISCURSIVE TRACING OF ECOLOGIES AND MACHINIC ENCOUNTERS**

This section presents how to methodically move through these complex ecologies, with respect to the theoretical elaborations. This requires “posthuman critical thinking” generating “navigational tools” as Rosi Braidotti emphasizes in order to cut through these entanglements, to depict embodied encounters infused with power relations, to trace relationalities and assemblages composed of humans and nonhumans and to connect seemingly unbound elements (Braidotti, 2019). Similarly, ecology operates as Sy Taffel (2019) states a “method of tracing connections” with a non-dualistic account dismantling binary conceptions (p. 8). These methodical movements require a balancing between the perspectives on a planet “with humans” and a planet “without humans” generating a moderate posthumanist stance that abandons human exceptionalism replacing it with associations and multiplicities while becoming more sensitive towards the dynamic interweaving of humans and nonhumans, matter and meaning (L. Bennett, 2016). In this line, this section develops the theoretical/methodological paths for a *material/discursive tracing* and *mapping* to be employed in the case of *ecology of political communication* through physical environment and infrastructures. For this purpose,

- the *first subsection* [1.3.1] deals with the tension between “perceptible realm” (Gobster et al., 2007) and planetary ecological connections. It problematizes

what is taken-for-granted through encounters. It focuses on the embodied encounters with material arrangements within the immediate environments and their forgotten “entanglements” composed of humans and things (Hodder, 2012).

- The *second and third subsections* [1.3.2 and 1.3.3] relocates this discussion to generate a dialogue among “production of space” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991), “affordances” (Gibson, 1979/2015) and “ecological theories of cognition” (Jensen & Greve, 2019). The aim is to depict how production of space and political communication/propaganda activities co-operate (see C. Lin, 2018); and how embodied subjects encounter the affordances through the entanglement of “brain, body and environment” (Fuchs, 2018) or “body, mind and the world” (Durt et al., 2017)
- The *fourth subsection* [1.3.4] goes on with the elaborations on material/discursive affordances through urban space and infrastructures. The discussions first focus on the entangled relation between matter and meaning (Barad, 2007). Then the section discusses how the material and the discursive indiscernibly intermeshed through generating critical dialogues between Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory, material discourse studies and posthuman, new materialist theories foregrounding assemblages, nonhuman agency and vitality of matter entangled with humans. It elaborates on the material/discursive, the embodied encounters with material/discursive affordances, namely enabling and restricting features, particularly through the ecologies of political communication.

### **1.3.1 Perceptible Realm, Affordances and Entanglement**

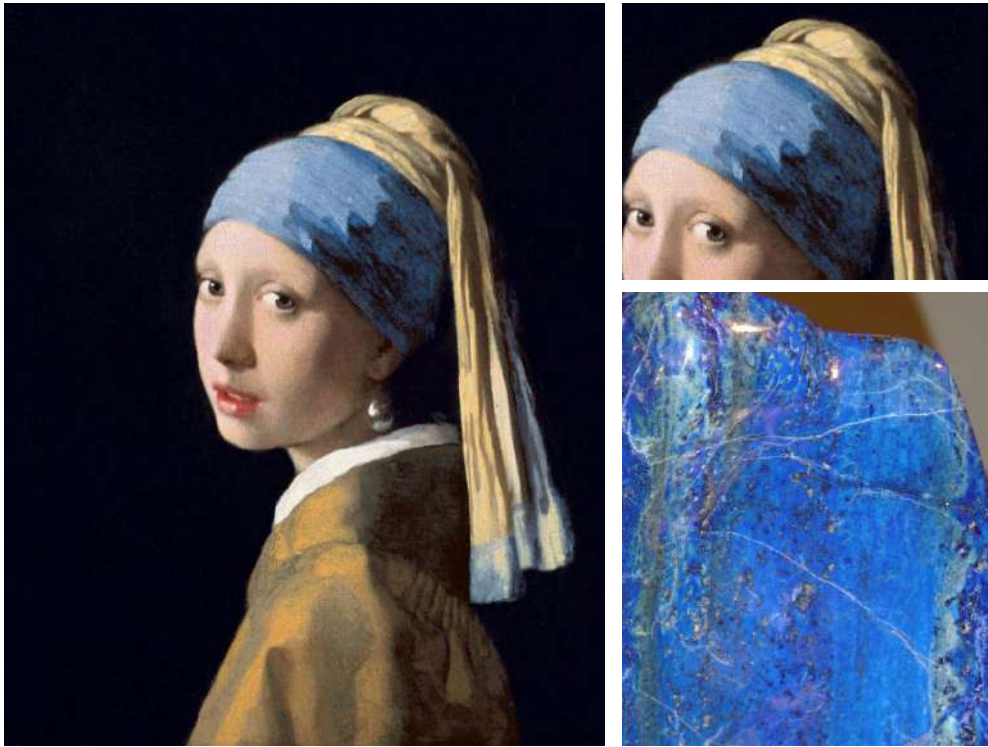
*A landscape without flowers or magnificent woods may be depressing for the passer-by; but flowers and trees should not make us forget the earth beneath, which has a secret life and a richness of its own.*

**-Henri Lefebvre (1947/1991)**

As *homo pictor*, human beings are “image-makers” (Jonas, 1966/2001, pp. 158–159). Within our species’ subjective sphere, we perceive and operate, we make images both in our minds, on canvas or flat screens via diverse materials, minerals, techniques, and performances. Quoting and interpreting Paul Valéry’s words, “the painter takes his body with him”, Merleau-Ponty (1964, p. 162) emphasizes the interweaving of body, movement, and vision in painting. On the other hand, as Hans Jonas (1966/2001) stated that a picture is not a representation of the creative body/brush movements engendering it as a work of art and while its making process self-conceals, it may still become manifest in the particular traces of its technique and bodily motions (p. 164). As a process or mode of thinking or representation of events, an image is simultaneously a fixity and a process. It is processed to be made and always in-process after it is made. Whether it is scientific, artistic, or mundane, looking at images or objects may cause a tendency to isolate and thus to conceal their process of becoming, temporalities, and their extended ecology in arts or within the flows of everyday life.

The red colour pigment *carmine* is extracted from pestled dried *Cochinella*, a parasitic insect living on cactuses and in the past, those insects were collected using deer tails (Hogg, 1854, p. 331; Phipps, 2010). Then, the pigment was exported to Spain and Europe. It coloured textiles and found place in the palettes of Caravaggio, Rembrandt, van Dyck, Van Gogh, Rubens, Vermeer, and others. Then, we spectate their paintings in the middle of a gallery. We participate in a process of spectating the material assemblages and interweaving of the traces of painter’s bodily motions and vision on the canvas. While having this aesthetic experience, it may be hard to imagine the insect on the cactus, for that particular moment of experience. However, it is always possible to go beyond or into the representation, following the material connections of an image. Johannes Vermeer’s *Girl with a Pearl Earring* is wearing a veil. The veil is in ultramarine colour and the pigment was extracted in Afghanistan, from lapis lazuli metamorphic rock (van Loon et al., 2020). She is also a *Girl with a Lapis Veil*.

**Figure 1.3:** *Girl with a Pearl Earring* by Johannes Vermeer (1665) and Lapis Lazuli



**Source:** Wikimedia Commons, collage by the author

Vermeer was in alliance with the “camera obscura” that he experimented with (Snyder, 2015, p. 157; see also Jelley 2017), with the pigments, the metamorphic rocks, organic/inorganic resources for dyes and his brushes. While the *Girl with a Pearl Earring* was wearing a lapis veil, emperors were wearing a purple dyed clothing in the ancient days. The Tyrian purple was the symbolic colour of nobles, aristocrats, and monarchs. This “noble” colour was dependent on a sea snail’s secretion causing to harvesting tons of glands of these creatures (Le Couteur & Burreson, 2004, p.164-65). In time the desire to sustain the noble appearance of the privileged ones, the exploitation caused the species to disappear, that a recent study detected its extinction as one of the crucial causes of the surge in “sea temperature” in the Mediterranean (Beaumont, 2016). There is an ecology that Vermeer operated through, as there is an ecology of noble fashion operating through the molecules and in long duration.

Referring to Félix Guattari's schizoanalysis, Pereira (2018) put emphasis on the relations of co-existence constituting the environment in terms of both signification and "asignification"<sup>53</sup>, among biotic and abiotic. "Schizoanalysis" takes, for instance, "painting as an event" as Eckersley (2014) states, and it focuses both on material elements and arrangements in composition with affective and intentional elements on the canvas, also extending into affective encounters between viewers and the painting and the space where these "encounters" occur (pp. 205, 210, 216). Such an approach opens up the way to encounter with the "ecology of an image"<sup>54</sup> (Morgan, 2014), composed of materialities, non-human and human actors bestowing agency upon that image or object. In coordination with unseen interconnections, images or "focal objects" embody and absorb this whole ecology and material arrangement engendering them as the privileged agents interpellating and acting upon their audience (Morgan, 2014, pp. 93, 97, 101). This relies in our forgetfulness in direct connection with the captivating quality of the object, the focality that continuously makes itself through an ecology while concealing its ecologies and "thingness", recalling Ian Hodder's (2012, pp. 48, 165) emphasis. Then, this ecology through the affective encounters and this coupling of the viewer and focalities generates a captive audience.

As Régis Debray (2004) says, "a medium always conceals or cancels itself as the condition of its performance"<sup>55</sup> (p. 29), and thus whether it is sacred or

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<sup>53</sup> "Asignification", "a-signifying" are the terms used by Félix Guattari in his "mixed semiotics". Besides linguistic systems' signifying relations, he includes "asemiotic encodings" such as DNA and "asignifying semiotics" such as algorithms, money, machinic devices and so on. Asignifying semiotics include material operations rather than meaning-making, discourse, and interpretation. It is about operating, triggering, functioning (Lazzarato, 2006). The term "asignifying" refer to the affective level prior to meaning and signifying relations. In the field of architecture, Pereira and Calo (2017) refer to affects infusing space as "asignifying relations", as "pre-personal and pre-signifying" underlining how spaces do, catalyze or act upon bodies, beyond representational and symbolic realms, asignifying signs intervening directly on the embodied subjectivities (Lahoud, 2016). According to Langlois (2014), while working through "meaning", the concept of "asignification" put emphasis on the arrangement of the world and how we perceive our own position within this world, rather than solely focusing on "the content of a message" (p. 82).

<sup>54</sup> Morgan (2014) uses the concept of "ecology" in the sense of media ecologies.

<sup>55</sup> Resembling to Hodder's statements that on entanglement and objects concealing thingness and entangled relations, Debray (2000) states that the "medium as self-concealing", such as a movie in theatres annihilates the storyboard sketches, film set, technical equipment, and post-production processes, or a fridge conceals the grid that it is embedded in, extending out to power plants and natural resources (p. 159). Debray (1996) puts forth various examples: "microwave oven"

profane, while becoming an interface, a focality is self-concealing, hiding its arrangements, its extended ecologies so as to become authentic. This suggests the significance of moving beyond the images or any focalities in order to become aware of both the realm of our bodily experiences and ecological connections. This is also valid in the context of propaganda and political communication process that are generated through similar self-concealing focal objects and images.

We focus our attention on a “landscape”, which is an “object of attention” (Nanay, 2016, p. 25). Paying attention on an object while distributing the attention on the various features of this particular object is called “aesthetic attention” (Nanay, 2016, p. 23). Again, during the aesthetic encounter with a landscape, the “object of attention” corresponds to the landscape as a whole while attention is allocated through concurrent vacillations on its countless components (Nanay, 2016, p. 25).

**Figure 1.4:** Perceptible Realm, Satellite view of plankton bloom, and microscopic image of the phytoplankton *Emiliana Huxleyi*



**Source:** Collage by the author

As human beings, we have an ability to perceive natural or artificial extraordinary events whether it is disastrous or not, in awe, in admiration, or indifferently. In 2017, a change of colour occurred in Bosphorus. This was because of the bloom of a phytoplankton called *Emiliana huxleyi* (“Plankton” 2017). First,

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incorporating and concealing the whole energy grid and plants or while focusing on “automobile” we forget oil wells, refineries, tankers, carbon emissions and transportation network or aircraft cabins or airport lounges when experienced obfuscates the all-pervading web of aviation industry and communication systems (p. 33).

we bodily perceived the affective bright turquoise colour and admired it in our everyday life. For most people, it may be felt as a soothing and a relaxing colour. Think how it would affect us if it were a bright red colour or a dark black. The perceived change of the colour of the water, was a single property composed of complex relations, within the relationality of the entire landscape and ecological connections with different temporalities. Then, digital images of this natural event spread through social platforms. Was that scenery itself an image, reproduced by digital devices? Was landscape just a “surface”; “spectacle” or a “sculptural immobility” (Lefebvre, 1992/2004, p. 31)? On the contrary, as Lefebvre (1992/2004) underlines that landscape subsumes an ecology, a “spatial simultaneity in a coexistence” that we must delve into within our perceptible realm, in order to attend and grasp it as “polyrhythmically” (p. 31) and to notice its relationality.

In our everyday life, while bodily experiencing a landscape in a specific moment, we may perceive the turquoise colour of Bosphorus as part of a scenic beauty, whether we know the colouring agent life-form or not. Within the “perceptible realm” (Gobster et al., 2007) which is the bodily scale of human intentionality where aesthetics and ecology are deeply entangled, in terms of environmental change (p. 961) and the complex relationality beyond the boundaries of the perceptible may be less inducing since they are outside of our bodily scale (Gobster et al., 2007, p. 963). This indicates a possibility that our cognitive-emotional and affective processes during the embodied experience of landscapes may create a tendency of disregarding the entanglement, and in turn this may have capacities to generate ecological implications and long-term eco-systemic effects<sup>56</sup>.

Similarly, Lefebvre states that we should not only attend the sublime and scenic beauties of a landscape but also the earth at the background with all its

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<sup>56</sup> Such holistic recognition of interconnectedness underlines the intimate connection between aesthetics and ecology; entwinement of ecological aesthetics and ecological ethics (Berleant, 2010a). “Aesthetic engagement” with the environment grasp the continuum between embodied aesthetic experience of subject and experienced landscape; the embeddedness and entanglement of embodied experiencer within the experienced (Berleant, 2010b, p. 344, 2005/2018, p. 152) and thus seems to emphasize the continuum between nature and culture. Enmeshing aesthetic and ecological perspectives generate a holistic experience and ethico-aesthetic engagement with our environment embedded in wider ecological connections in the context of extended urbanization (Berleant, 2010a).

complexity and fertility giving life to that landscape. Lefebvre (1947/1991) put forth this statement as a critical metaphor in which the “fertile earth” refers to everyday life which is often disregarded and forgotten as something dull and muddy behind the sublime sceneries of creativity (p. 87). Whether as a metaphor or in literal sense, perceptible realm should not drive us in a tendency to forget both everyday life and the ecological relations of the earth beyond human scale.

Certainly, landscape is not a fixed entity, whether we see it as sublime, disturbing or picturesque. In our bodily scale, the aesthetic appreciation of it, does not mean to ignore the relationality and the ecological connections. Indeed, as aesthetics and ecology are deeply connected, it is a need to imagine beyond the perceptible realm of human scale, together with imagining the plurality of all species, complex interspecies connections and go as far as possible to imagine the entanglement of all things, beyond macro and micro divide.

Our perceptible realm is composed of things, which are entangled, and which may afford<sup>57</sup> different possibilities of action related to our abilities. In J.J. Gibson’s (1979/2015) ecological psychology, “affordances” are potentials or hindrances embedded in the environment to be coupled with organisms’ capacities (p. 119). Although the notion of affordances has similarities with McLuhan’s notion of medium as “extensions of man”<sup>58</sup>, Gibson’s affordances suggest going beyond anthropocentric and solely subjective conception of tools and technologies. The notion of affordances provides a perspective to transcend the dualities of “subjective-objective”, material-mental, and nature-culture (Gibson, 1979/2015, pp. 121–122). Something qualified as an extension *of man* underlines man as the point of origin. In the meantime, it is also true that an affordance may extend the bodily capabilities –or an extension may afford abilities.

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<sup>57</sup> Following Gibson, according to Gaver (1991), there are different kinds of affordances: perceived, false, hidden affordances and correct rejections.

<sup>58</sup> See Overhill (2013) for a comparative analysis of Gibson’s “affordances” and McLuhan’s “extensions of man”.

In the middle of this comparison; referring to Gibson's concept of affordances, Bruno Latour recognizes agency of tools with "permitting" and "promising" features and suggests that tools are not "extensions of the organ" but tools are about "becoming" in association with nonhumans (Latour & Venn, 2002, p. 250). Latour's interpretation underlines the symmetry of humans and nonhumans in terms of agency as against the anthropocentric notion of extension. Yet, this should not be grasped as a never-ending symmetrical relation based on a flat ontology. Rather, there are oscillations between symmetry and asymmetry in terms of the relations between human and nonhuman actors, since they do not only assembled but also "depend" on each other (Hodder & Lucas, 2017, p. 122), sometimes one captivates the other and the intensity of dependencies among actors continuously variate.

As Gibson (1979/2015) states that affordance "provides and furnishes either for good or ill" (p. 119), they are offering potentials or restrictions to be coupled with our capacities and abilities. This interaction also weaves the "web of dependencies" (Hodder, 2018) capturing us in demarcating relationships. While providing potentials that may increase our capacity to act, all affordances may captivate things and humans into "dependency relations" (Hodder, 2012) that might diminish or restrict capacities to act. Thus, referring to Hodder depending on our abilities and capacities, we depend on affordances of a thing, and this might depend on another thing or human depending on other humans constituting other dependences, that all these relations constituting a "web of dependencies" or "entanglement" (Hodder, 2012, pp. 88-89) which refers to the "dialectic" between *empowering dependences* and *confining dependencies* concerning the necessity of reproduction and maintenance leading to entrapping and indebteding relations .

Since affordances are the potentials embedded in environment for organisms' abilities; in human world, affordances become environmental potentials to socially interact (Gaver, 1996) and they are mainly "sociotechnical" (Postigo, 2016, p. 5). Beyond that, the notion of "imagined affordances" (Nagy & Neff, 2015, pp. 5, 7) put forward in order to grasp what is perceived, expected, and intended

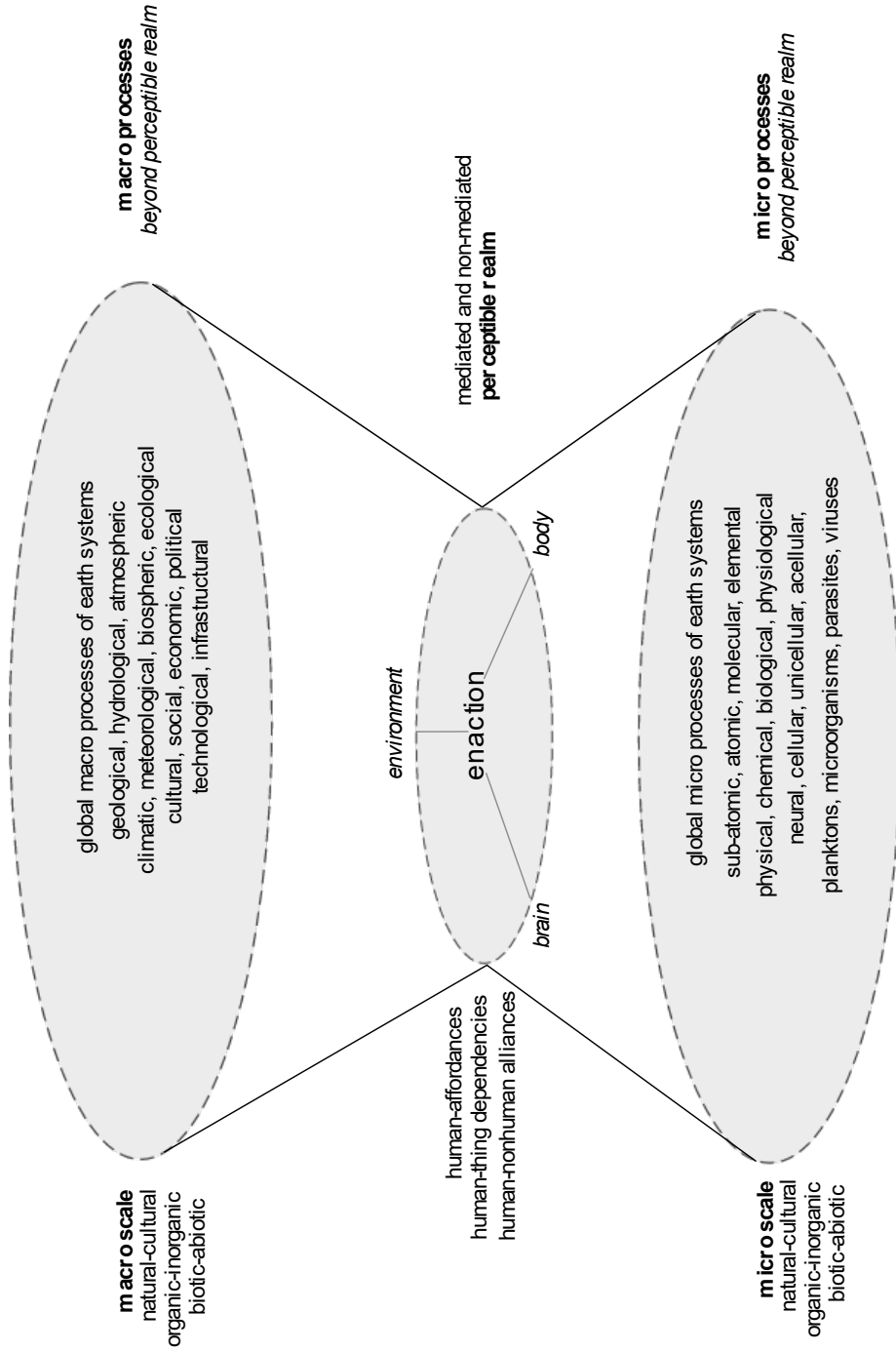
through encounters involving unforeseen potentials among users and designers with regards to technologies.

Besides providing material potentials and constraints for action, affordances also offer discursive potentials and constraints. As van Lier (2004) states “signs are mediated affordances” (p. 63) while “affordances” as in J.J. Gibson’s sense, are “pre-signs” and required to maintain the sign production (van Lier, 2004, p. 63, fn.6). In this sense, social semiotician Theo van Leeuwen (2005) indicates the close affinity between Gibson’s “affordances” and “meaning potential” of “semiotic resources” while the former encompassing the *dormant and not yet identified* meanings in an object along with the latter potentials that are already in circulation (p. 5). In this line, encountering affordances generate arrangements and provide material/discursive potentials and constraints through dependency relations.

Besides things and tools, such as stone, branches of tree, cave, soil, and all other artefacts, landscape as a whole may afford potentials and constraints in terms of aesthetic experience, for instance to settle and build a house with a scenery, that in the long run culminating into the alteration of the environment (Gobster et al., 2007, p. 964) through zoning for construction and urbanization. We may also create symbols and myths out of landscapes, mountains, rivers, other geographical features and also out of built environment. Think of Mount Fuji and Eiffel Tower. We may imagine our community through affordances of landforms or artefacts that provide memories or affective intensities to assemble a selective history fitting an ideology or to create imaginary monuments through what the environment materially and discursively affords.

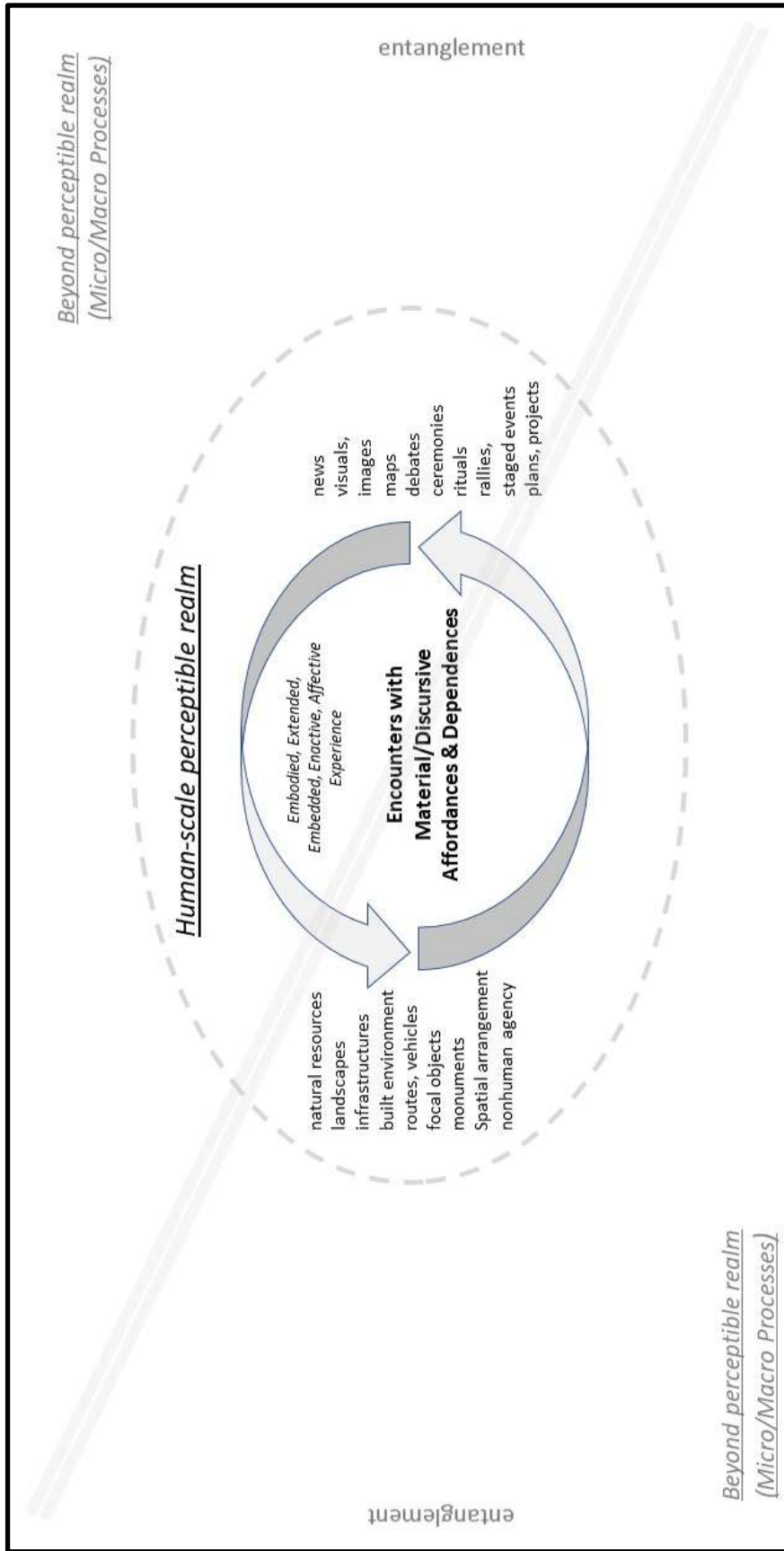
In the end, we depend on material/discursive affordances embedded in the environment and through our embodied experiences and on-going practices this environment might be altered, manipulated, or concealed as part of propaganda and political communication activities intermeshed with the production of space.

**Figure 1.5:** Perceptible Realm and Ecological Relations



**Source:** Original Drawing by the author

**Figure 1.6:** Model Depicting Perceptible Realm and the Beyond Entangled Relations, adapted to trace ecologies of political communication



**Source:** Original Drawing by the author, inspired by Gobster et al. (2007, p. 963) and Hodder (2012)

### 1.3.2 Production of Space and Affordances

Yet, where do these affordances emerge? Where do we encounter those possibilities and constraints, boosting or diminishing our capacities and power of acting? These encounters occur in the space that is produced. Regarding space, Henri Lefebvre put forth a perspective beyond nature-culture dichotomy, in a sense, emphasizing a processual, relational and assemblage thinking:

The form of social space is encounter, assembly, simultaneity. But what assembles or what is assembled? The answer is: everything that there is in space, everything that is produced either by nature or by society, either through their co-operation or through their conflicts. Everything: living-beings, things, objects, works, signs and symbols... (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 101)

Space beyond the object/subject dichotomy, is “a set of relations between things” (Lefebvre 1974/1991, p. 83). In this line, according to Lefebvre’s statement “spatial practice of a society secretes that society’s space” (p. 38), this naturecultural, this socio-natural *secretion*, space/society, is assembled and produced through associations and encounters of things, humans, and nonhumans, through what they afford to each other both as possibilities, as constraints and through the arrangements of dependencies. Thus, “spatial practice” or “perceived space” encompass the material, corporal, and sensorial perspectives in Lefebvre’s spatial triad, including daily routines, gestures and postures, patterns of habits and routes, bodily movements, mobilities, encounters among things of different scales from the movement of dust particles, microorganisms, viruses, insects, buildings, transportation and communication infrastructures, sewage systems, light and temperature, waste and pollution, noise and silence, all continuously varying rhythms (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 38). Put it another way, perceived space—and the whole spatial triad—is weaved with affordances<sup>59</sup> and dependency relations among humans, and nonhumans. Thus, space through its on-going production emerge as

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<sup>59</sup> See Pairman and Dalli’s (2017) approach theoretically merging Lefebvre’s spatial triad and Gibson’s concept of affordances in the case of studying children and care spaces (pp.128-129).

an entanglement, woven with affordances and dependencies providing both potentials and hinderances through encounters and experiences.

Still, perceived space is not a neutral space, since all these practices are already occurred within the processes of “conceived space”, which is a calculative space of mental models or instruments and technology, “a discourse on space” composed of scientific, expert, and technical knowledge [*savoir*] which is dominating over the embodied, subjective, local, and experiential knowledge [*connaissance*] of “lived space” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 7, 38-39, 251). Thus mental patterns enhances or restrains on-going lived patterns (Zähringer, 2017, p. 83), and these patterns and representations predetermined by technical experts and those in political power intervene into the production of space, and in this sense “representations of space” captivating and demarcating spatial practices or perceived space and lived space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 33, 38-39, 59, 188, 233, 362). This means that through conceiving space, these actors manipulate, alter, hide, reveal, select, or generate material/discursive affordances<sup>60</sup> which may bring forth possibilities of action and restrictions for their own purposes leading to new dependency relations.

The third angle of Lefebvre’s spatial triad is “lived space” which is conceptualized not to be captured into Cartesian dichotomy of “*res cogitans*” and “*res extensa*” and to contain both conceived and perceived for not to be attenuated to either (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 39; Elden, 2004, p. 187). Also, Lefebvre goes beyond the deadlock of ruling-ruled and base-superstructure dichotomies. The elements of this triad overlap and entangled, and Lefebvre do not privilege any of them over the others. Lived space is the space to aberrate from the domination of conceived space, it is where “the imagination seeks to change and appropriate” and “it overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 39). Lived space belongs to “users and inhabitants” and their local knowledge [*connaissance*], it is the space of struggle, imagination, openings,

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<sup>60</sup> See Pairman and Dalli (2017) focusing on classroom affordances and accordingly forming of rules as conceived space (pp. 128-129).

possibilities, and novelty through reappropriation of a dominated space, wriggling out of its instrumental and routine uses, to produce new spaces (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 167, 362), together with images and symbols. Lived space corresponds to “clandestine and underground” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 33) aberrating steps towards the horizon of “city as oeuvre” attempting to flight from the “exchange value” (Lefebvre, 1996, p. 101) and from the deadlock of perceived space involving physicality and routines of everyday life and conceived space involving models, calculations, measurement, dissections, surveillance, control, which are in turn captivating and infusing spatial practices, the perceived space.

Merging Gibson’s theory of affordances and Lefebvre’s spatial analysis (Pairman & Dalli, 2017, pp. 128–129) put emphasis on the embodied experience of material/discursive affordances through a struggle of domination and appropriation. Affordances may lead to manipulation or imposition of rules, schemas, habits, patterns, surveillance, and control mechanisms over the space, culminating in new norms altering or restricting behaviours, movements of both humans and nonhumans and engendering new dependency relations encapsulating, capturing, and demarcating lived space. On the other hand, they may provide potentials to reappropriate space and to deviate from the dominant mental patterns. Or we may imagine affordances or reveal the ones that the conceived space had concealed or prohibited. The contest between conceived and lived space emerge through the encounters with affordances, nonhumans and humans in an environment including the encompassing natural, social, cultural context.

Overall, affordances are situated in an on-going ‘domination-appropriation’ process. All these encounters with material/discursive affordances presuppose embodied processes. Affordances may be dominated and appropriated. Experts, technocrats, and governments have the ability to superimpose projects and representations over the physical and lived space to conceive, calculate, alter, manipulate, dispose, seize, and exploit existing material/discursive affordances. Yet, there is always potential to re-appropriate by those who dwells in and lives that space.

### 1.3.3 Production of Space and Enactivist, Ecological Cognition

The lived experience in everyday life emerges in an on-going pinball game through the continuous entwinement and interaction of *brain/body/environment* (Fuchs, 2018; Lindblom, 2015, pp. 82, 89); through the elements of embodied cognition *sensorimotor experience/image-schema/concept* (Johnson, 1987, 2017; Lakoff, 1987); or through *perceived/conceived/lived spaces* (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). These triads indicate that none of the elements are the sole determinant in any event and provide potential to overcome the binary thought grasping body and mind, organism, and environment as distinct entities. According to ecological perspectives, cognition emerges from this pinball game. It is an on-going interaction between and among mind/body/environment from which cognition emerges (Lindblom, 2015, pp. 12- 13). The correspondence between ecological processes of cognition and the spatial triad of Lefebvre is crucial to understand the material (political) communication occurring through encounters with urban space, built, unbuilt or extracted surroundings and infrastructures.

In Lefebvre's triadic approach to spatial analysis, body is at the centre of all processes: "for it is by means of the body that space perceived, lived and produced" (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, pp. 40, 162). In this sense, Lefebvre's spatial triad has crucial nodes to be connected with embodied cognition studies<sup>61</sup>, enactivist<sup>62</sup> and

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<sup>61</sup> Standard cognitive sciences disregard the body and environment and grasp the cognitive processes within the boundaries of brain, as a calculative device (Shapiro, 2011, pp. 1-27). As against the disembodied perspective, the literature of embodied perspective brings forth the body as influencing and entangled with the cognitive processes, the brain and the environment (Shapiro, 2011). In this line, enactivist approach asserts the co-emergence and co-dependence of the living body and its environment, the ongoing process of embodied and embedded reciprocal interactions of organism with the environment (Ward et al. 2017: 368). In their enactivist perspective, according to Varela et al. (1991/2016), the concept of embodied indicate the cognition relying upon body and its "sensorimotor capacities" and embeddedness of these capacities in bio-psycho-cultural context (p. 173).

<sup>62</sup> The term enaction indicates an organism's sense-making and alteration of its surroundings through its active sensorimotor capacities of that organism coupling with the environment (Durt et al., 2017, p. 2). Varela describes the concept of enaction as "laying down of a path in walking" (Varela et al., 1991/2016, pp. 205, 235-252), leaving traces, that it is an ongoing process of interaction among the brain, neural pathways, the moving body, and the road (environment) that the "body as an adaptively autonomous and sense-making system" (Thompson, 2016, p. xxvi).

ecological<sup>63</sup> approaches on cognition underlining the entanglement of brain, body, and the environment. In accordance with this theoretical merge, materialist media ecologies, as discussed in the previous sections, also encompass the entanglement of brain/body/environment, indicating that media ecologies do not only encompass an ecology within the boundaries of media processes and media content, but continuously entangled with a general planetary ecology, and embodied cognitive processes (see footnote 30 in this dissertation, pp. 36-37).

Following enactivism (Varela et al., 1991/2016) and ecological grasp of the extended mind and brain (Fuchs, 2009, 2018), cognition is a becoming through continuous rearrangements within and through the entanglement of brain, body and environment (Gallagher, 2017, p. 40; Rosch, 1991/2016, p. xlviii; Thompson, 1991/2016, p. xx), and in the sense of “enactive embodiment” (Durt et al., 2017) cognition is an emergent process depending on bodily experiences and capacities of an organism embedded in specific environments (pp. 1–2). Flourishing from the foothold of Varela et al. (1991), ecological perspectives on cognition, studies on cognitive processes and mind expanded into a new dimension grasping it as intertwined with bodily experiences and environment, as “embodied”, “embedded”, “enacted”, “extended” and “affective”<sup>64</sup> (Jelić et al., 2016, p. 4; Madzia & Jung, 2016, p. 2; Protevi, 2009, p. 4), so as to overcome Cartesian dualisms. The emphasis is now on this entanglement, where cognition emerges in this relationality, and not through an insular, calculative processor encapsulated within the skull (Thompson, 2017, p. xx; Rosch, 2017, p. xlviii; Gallagher, 2017, p. 40).

In this sense, cognitive processes operate dynamically through embodied encounters embedded in the environment. Mind is embodied and enacted within and through environment, embedded, and extended through an ecology (Bateson, 1972/1978; Fuchs, 2009, 2018). In these perspectives, the point is the encounters between organisms’ abilities, perception and action coupled with affordances in the

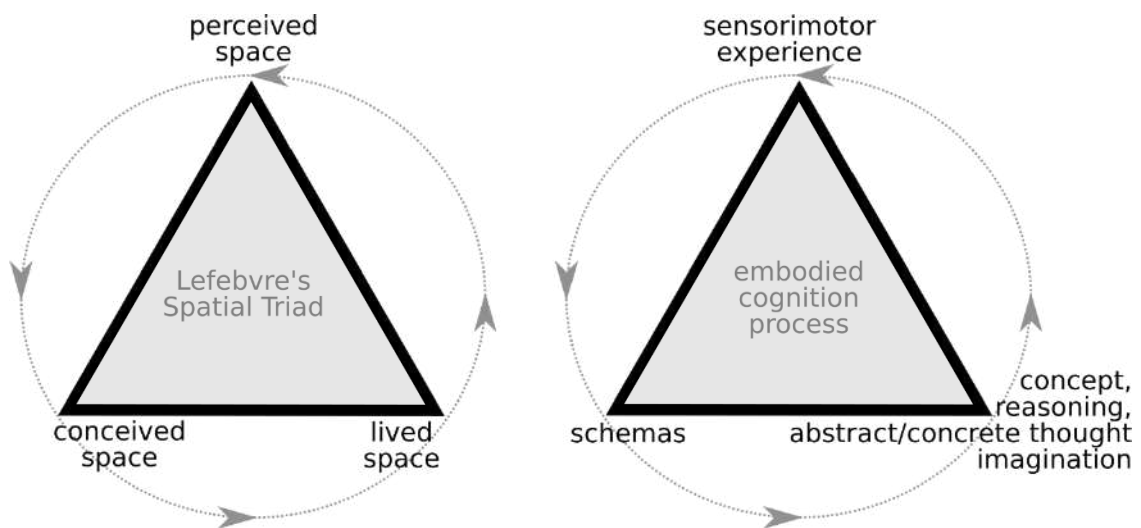
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<sup>63</sup> See Baggs and Chemero (2018) reconciling ecological and enactivist perspectives on cognition and see Jensen and Greve (2019) for a summary of approaches on ecological cognition.

<sup>64</sup> These are abbreviated as 4EA in the literature. Recently, Mark Johnson (2018) add three more “E”s to this compound: “emotional”, “evolutionary” and “exaptative” (pp. 53-54).

world, which are the specific features incorporating potentialities for an organism’s capacities to act (Gallagher, 2017, p. 40; Jelić et al., 2016). Merging these views with Lefebvre’s triad, that we are embedded in space, our spatial practices are embodied, which includes sensorimotor experiences, schemas, and the complex level of concepts, language, reasoning, and imagination. As perceived space corresponds to physical space and spatial practices in Lefebvre’s terms, all the bodily movements and engagements with the environment operate through our sensorimotor capacities, that is “embodied capacities for perception and action” (Chemero, 2009, p. 150) weave this space.

**Figure 1.7:** Lefebvre’s spatial triad and a basic model for embodied cognition process



**Source:** Drawing by the author

Yet, space is not only enacted with and composed of solely bodily actions, perception, and physical environment. There are also *schemas*<sup>65</sup>. We conceive space through schemas, which are mental patterns constituted through bodily experiences. There are two levels or degrees of schemas, which are propositional and non-propositional. *Propositional schemas* refer to often operating at the conscious level, standardized, conventional, normative and stereotypical mental arrangements relating to routine events, roles, behaviours, attitudes and value systems (Sinha, 2017, pp. 30–33; White, 2017, p. 60) or let us say they are mental depictions or arrangements organizing and setting standards for spatial practices and mundane everyday performances. These schemas can be named as generic knowledge built to consider the series and flows of occurrences (Rumelhart, 1980/2017) or “scripts” that are mental arrangements and cadres for everyday routine, ordinary and expected flow of events (Schank & Abelson, 1977). Resembling these notions from cognitive psychology, Roland Barthes’ term “image-repertoire” that Richard Sennett (1994, pp. 365–366) adapts to define it as an instantaneous filtering and judging device made up of stereotypical and generic classifications that manage and organize everyday encounters through changing, unexpected, strange situations to reduce the complexities and uncertainties to bring comfort through the expected and standard against the discontent of the difference.

Moreover, *propositional schemas* are in a continuity with *non-propositional schemas* which are operating as elementary units for complex and higher level mental and cultural patterns and cognitive processes such as conceptualization, reasoning, understanding and imagination (White, 2017, pp. 58-61; Sinha, 2017, pp. 30-33). Cognitive linguist George Lakoff (1987) and philosopher Mark Johnson (1987, pp. 19, 29) developed the notion of “image-schema” which are non-

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<sup>65</sup> These structures or patterns operate as a mediator between perceptual and conceptual realms and the origin of the notion of schema goes back to Kant, as procedures for categorization and judgment, functioning as fixed guides for actions and interpretations, and as organizing mediator and as a bridge in the middle of perceptual-conceptual cycle (Peuquet 2002: 81; 85-86). This notion then developed by Neo-kantian Ernst Cassirer and psychologists Jean Piaget, Otto Seltz, Frederic Bartlett and Ulric Neisser (Peuquet 2002: 82-83; 86).

propositional<sup>66</sup>. Johnson (1987) underlines the need to enhance the notion of schema regarding the preconceptual and sensorimotor experiences with the environment that are differing from propositional, generalized, and stereotypical knowledge (p. 29). In this sense, he defines *image-schemas* as “dynamic” and “recurring patterns of sensorimotor experiences” engendered through the coupling of brain/body/environment, which are preconceptual and implicit structures both inhibit and empower reasoning (Johnson, 1987, p. 29, 2005, p. 19, 2017, p. 82; see also White, 2017, pp. 58, 60) and which are operating as a bridge from “sensorimotor experiences to conceptualization and language” (Johnson, 2017, pp. 86, 127) that means to surmount body-mind dualism.

These image-schemas are working on, maintained by and emerging through pre-cognitive and pre-intentional system called *body-schema* (Murphy, 2019, p. 95; White, 2017, p. 58) that provide instant automatic rearrangements and lively management and monitoring of bodily posture, movement and navigation in space, composed of all “sensorimotor capacities” (Gallagher & Zahavi, 2008, p. 146; Gibbs, 2005, pp. 29–30). In this sense, the combined operations of *body-schema*<sup>67</sup> with *non-propositional* and *propositional schemas* are emerged through sensorimotor coupling<sup>68</sup> with affordances embedded in the environment and all these processes are spread through the entanglement of brain, body, and environment.

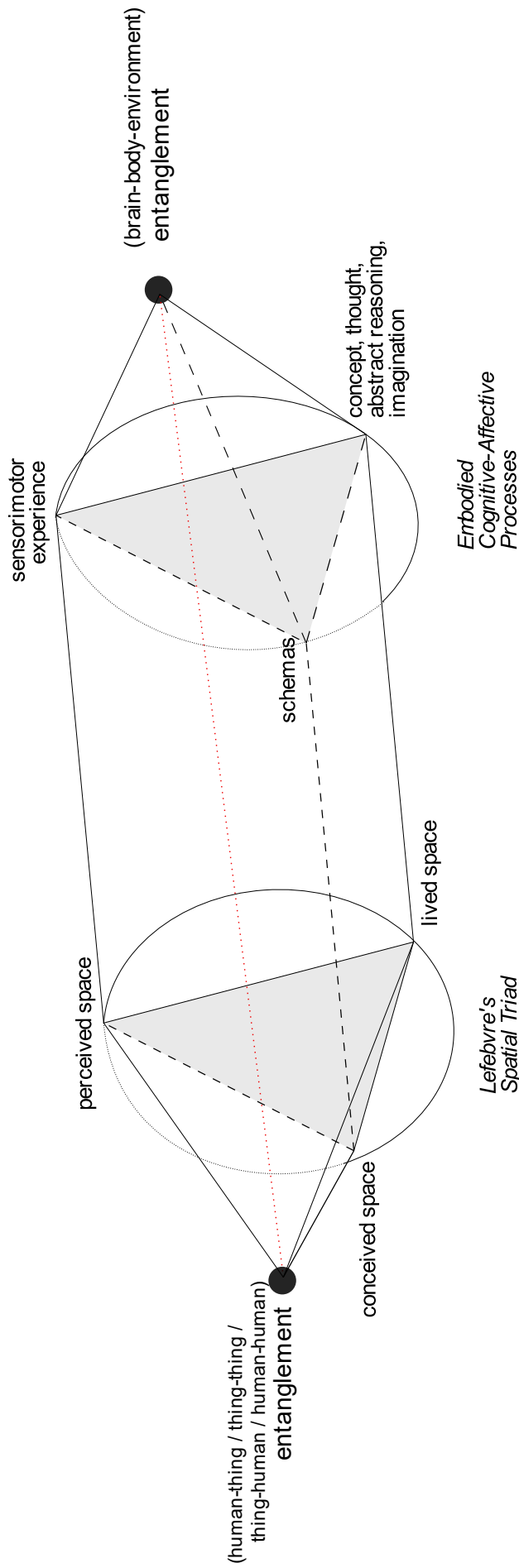
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<sup>66</sup> These schemas are always intermingled with emotions and thus embodied cognitive processes are always intimately linked with emotions (Johnson, 2018, p. 19-21).

<sup>67</sup>Jelić et al. (2016) take an enactivist account of embodied engagement with environment, specifically of architectural experience, bringing together the interaction of body schema<sup>67</sup> and affordances<sup>67</sup> (p. 3). Connecting perception-action and controlling embodiment together with “the pre-reflective awareness of one’s intentional action” (Jelić et al., 2016, p. 11), body schema occupies a crucial position in this interplay. Body schema coupled with affordances corresponds to the “communicative space” that Jelić et al. put forward as hypothesis (p. 11). According to their inquiry, body schema is situated at the core of “pre-reflective architecture-body communication” (Jelić et al., 2016, p. 6), meaning that it is the schema that can be intervened through a-signifying relations inducing affects.

<sup>68</sup> For the concept of “coupling” in terms brain-body-environment interrelation see Durt et al. (2017, pp. 7–8) and Menary (2007, p. 42).

**Figure 1.8:** Juxtaposition of Lefebvre's Spatial Triad and Embodied Cognitive-Affective Processes



This figure suggests that space is weaved through the entanglement of humans and things. This entanglement is distributed simultaneously among perceived, conceived and lived space and enacted through embodied cognitive-emotional actions, encounters and processes. In the meantime, our embodied selves and space are enacted through and distributed among the entanglement of brain, body and environment which is also composed of the permutation of human-thing entanglement. Three corners of these two grey triangles mirror each other. However, this mirroring does not only refer to a static one-to-one correspondence of the corners but a dynamic process that all three corners are always entangled with one another. Both triangles converge on one point creating triangular pyramids. This is to emphasize that none of the elements of these triads are privileged over the other.

**Source:** Original Drawing by the author

Through the lens of enactivist thinking and embodied cognitive-emotional approaches, dwellers and users simultaneously perceive (sensorimotor engagement with the environment), conceive (bodily-mental schemas) and live (concepts, abstract reasoning and imagination) the space which is produced. The dominating intervention of “representations of space” (conceived space) attempt to captivate the embodied experience of dwellers and users of that space. This dominating intervention captures and “identifies what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived” (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 38). These dominating operations make use of patterns, representations, projects, and schemas that seize and manipulate sensorimotor experiences (including gestures, postures, pre-reflective and affective level of engagements), bodily-mental schemas (including both cultural, social and political schemas) and in the end, repress and entrap the potentials of lived space, including imagination, abstract reasoning and re-appropriating practices. Thus, dominating interventions captures the dwellers’ and users’ embodied cognitive-emotional experience and alters physical space weaved with affordances.

Perceived space with spatial practices, is always already a conceived space to be re-appropriated and always incorporating potentials to diverge from both physical and mental patterns, uses, habits, routines and demarcations. Regarding on-going simultaneity of Lefebvre’s spatial triad, we move and act as an embodied being, our cognition emerge through our encounters in and through space, where our sensorimotor capacities couple with spatial affordances, and physical environment. Our bodily and mental schemas emerge from these encounters from the basic to the complex degrees, and in turn these schemas feed our processes of conceptualizing, understanding and imagination. On the one hand, “conceived space”, producing a “discourse on space” [*discours sur l’espace*] capturing and dominating space through mental patterns, calculations, measurements, arrangements, expert knowledge (Lefebvre, 1974/1991, p. 251). On the other hand, conceived space both altering physical space and its affordances, generating constraints and possibilities leading to new dependences and dependency relations. Relatedly, it interferes with sensorimotor, affective, and visceral experiences, body-schemas, postures, gestures, image-schemas, embodied and propositional schemas,

social, cultural, and political schemas, scripts, habitual patterns, and bodily movement.

Through predetermined and imposing patterns, conceived space (representations of space) has an impact both on the physical space (the perceived space and spatial practices), in terms of manipulating, hiding, or highlighting affordances and in turn intervening our embodied cognitive processes and mental schemas which are building blocks of our conceptualizations and imagination. Dwellers, users, or audiences-in-motion bodily experience the material/discursive arrangements weaved with affordances incorporating both potentialities and threats. These embodied encounters are in fact material communication processes, involving propositional, social, cultural, political schemas together with non-propositional schemas derived from sensorimotor experiences dynamically engaging with the material environment in a perpetual co-constitution.

Drawing on Gibson's (1979/2015) affordances and the literature of communicative constitution of organization (CCO), Wilhoit (2017) theorizes "affordances as material communication" considering the communicatively constituting and arranging role of nonhumans and infrastructures. In the CCO literature, the main insight is that organizations and also spaces are performatively and communicatively constituted and they are not stable and given beforehand (Wilhoit, 2017), in other words, they are processual. In this context, Wilhoit (2017) states that infrastructures and the human/nonhuman arrangements composed of affordances that engender a communicative space emphasizing their interactive quality (pp. 3-4), encompassing body/mind/environment. These perspectives have a potential to make contribution to study (political) communication through urban built environment and infrastructural spaces. In the context of urban environment, material/discursive arrangements are interventions into the existing affordances<sup>69</sup>,

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<sup>69</sup> A recent study indicates the importance of the complementary relationship between the affordances and "cultural ecosystem", considering sensory meanings and embodied perspectives (Raymond et al. 2018). On the other hand, in terms of place attachment, the "affordances of place" (Degnen, 2016) indicates a sedimentation through the coupling of body/mind and environment, making us to embody and generate deeper connections to that particular place (p. 1647).

manipulating and creating new ones through communicative processes. Material/discursive intervention corresponding manipulation of this relationality which may bring forth potentials for possible actions not only in the context of urban sociotechnical operations but also in case of political action. An urban intervention affording either potential or obstruction, generate possible political actions and material/discursive affordances for or against the intervention at hand.

We “enact” ourselves<sup>70</sup>, our world and our space (Fuchs 2018, p. 89), which indicates an intertwined co-constitution, an integrative grasp of brain, body and environment as a relationality; an on-going, active, dynamic, performative, simultaneous and entangled shaping of all agents embedded in environment, overcoming dichotomies of body/mind and body/environment (Fuchs, 2009, pp. 221–223; Fischman, 2009, pp. 35–36; Martínez-Pernía et al., 2016, p. 2). Through the entanglement of brain, body and environment, this continuous shaping indicates the plasticity of brain/body embedded in and intermingled with the plasticity of natural/cultural/social environment, that is called “metaplasticity” (Malafouris, 2013, pp. 45–50, 2015, 2020; Gallagher, 2017, p. 209). In this line, it is possible to consider production of space as a metaplastic process from neural to cultural; from sensorial to imagination, from material to discursive which are all encompassed in Lefebvre’s spatial triad. All these processes occur in the middle of an on-going and never-ending struggle between “domination” and “appropriation”, “command” and “demand” “*savoir*” and “*connaissance*”, “habitat” and “habiting”, “product” and “*oeuvre*”, which are all different aspects of the struggle over space (Lefebvre, 1974/1991). Production of space is a metaplastic process encompassing both shaping of bodily, neural, and mental patterns together with tools and affordances embedded in immediate perceptible realm and extended ecological connections, a plastic naturecultural environment overcoming macro and micro divide. Our human scale perceptible realm –woven with affordances- is embedded in “entanglement” or “web of dependencies” (Hodder, 2012) encompassing wider ecological

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<sup>70</sup> Fuchs (2009) refers to Ulric Neisser’s concept of “ecological self” as a resulting but unfinished entity through the brain/body/environment entanglement, blurring boundaries of dichotomies while also drawing on Gregory Bateson’s “ecology of mind” (Fuchs, 2018).

connections. This plastic relationality of brain, body, and environment; of production of space; of ecological/enactive cognition involves the plasticity of matter and discourse, which are intertwined.

#### **1.3.4 Material/Discursive Affordances and Dependencies**

Back in Ancient Mesopotamia, in the times of the production of sacred space, Sumerians, Akkadians and Babylonians constructed the “cosmic mountains” (Eliade, 1959, p. 40) called *ziggurat*, composed of temple, observatory and grain storage, materializing and symbolizing their faith and social life through the entangled imagination of cosmology, geography and urbanism. Before the Old Testament’s Tower of Babel, Mesopotamian ziggurats materialized as products of that particular era’s mode of production, and they were also symbolically a cosmological infrastructure<sup>71</sup> between the earth and the heaven. At the fall of Babylon, ziggurats were destroyed and ruined. A new Tower was symbolically constructed in minds using the former’s debris. As Samuel Noah Kramer (1963) stated, the Hebrews’ affective and embodied encounter with the ruins of ziggurats, aesthetically and affectively generated the Tower of Babel narrative emphasizing the fragility of human beings and merciless brutal consequences of the human desire for power (pp. 285, 293-294).

In this line, following their encounter, Hebrews narrated their embodied experience with the ruins, imagining the building process composed of both linguistic and extra-linguistic. Ruins material/discursively afforded such atmosphere, an aesthetic field to imagine and construct the Tower of Babel. Workers were building the former ziggurat, the tower, communicating within the same language. But later the Lord said: “Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language; and this they begin to do: and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound

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<sup>71</sup> Here, it would be fitting to add that studying the idea of nation or religion together with their transportation, communication infrastructures, and with bodies, crucial objects and materials such as relics, images or scriptures, is an instance for Debray’s (1999) mediological analysis, which is a foothold to grasp material/discursivity of infrastructural interventions.

their language, that they may not understand one another's speech.” (*King James Bible*, 1769/2017, Genesis 11:6-7) and then, the construction stopped, and people dispersed over the face of the whole earth (Genesis 11:9). It could be said that the materiality of stones and brick in the ruins did not only afford a utility but an atmosphere, a sensual and aesthetic experience (Edensor, 2005a, pp. 118–124, 2008, pp. 130–133), of the “absent presences” (Edensor, 2005a, pp. 146, 152, 2005b, p. 836) which are material/discursively offering the possibility for creation of a narrative. Yet, beyond material/discursive affordances of ruins to constitute a religious narrative, Babylonian ziggurats were once rising in Mesopotamia and were once the product of the labour connecting that community, built within a mode of production, social relations of production, together with the agencies of building materials, topography, and geographical features.

#### 1.3.4.1 Steps to Expand Laclau and Mouffe’s Discourse Theory

Hegel (1824/1956) in his *Philosophy of History* narrates the cities of Nineveh, Ecbatana and Babylon in terms of their built environment’s physical features in numbers (pp. 183-184). He, then continues with the city of Babylon and its hydraulic social characteristics depending on Euphrates and irrigation systems and also mentions the “Tower of Bel”, “Tower of Babel” and the approximate height and width of these towers and city walls (p. 184). Again, in his second volume of *Aesthetics*, Hegel describes the Tower of Babel as follows:

‘What is holy?’ Goethe asks once in a distich, and answers: ‘what links many souls together.’ In this sense we may say that the holy with the aim of this concord, and as this concord, has been the first content of independent architecture. The readiest example of this is provided by the story of the Tower of Babylonia. *In the wide plains of the Euphrates an enormous architectural work was erected; it was built in common, and the aim and content of the work was at the same time the community of those who constructed it.* And the foundation of this social bond does not remain merely a unification on patriarchal lines; on the contrary, the purely family unity has already been superseded, and *the building, rising into the clouds, makes objective to itself this earlier and dissolved unity and the realization of a new and wider one. The ensemble of all the peoples at that period worked at this task and since they all came together to complete an immense work like this, the product of their labour was to be a bond which was to*

*link them together (as we are linked by manners, customs, and the legal constitution of the state) by means of the excavated site and ground, the assembled blocks of stone, and the as it were architectural cultivation of the country.* (Hegel, 1975, p. 683, Emphases are mine)

Hegel's passage emphasizes the material conditions of the tower in terms of dissolution and empowerment of social bonds, which was "built in common", both bringing forth a holy structure and a holy social bond. He states "the product of their labour was to be a bond which was to link them" through the material processes and conditions of construction. The ziggurat was the product of their social relations and since these relations are social, they include language and labour, social relations of embodied cognitive actors engaging with the material agencies of the environment. Goethe's question cannot be answered, since that which is holy, whether it is religion, nation or society do not "hold us together", rather following Latour (1984, p. 276), they are "held together" and made "durable" (Latour, 1990) through heterogenous sociotechnical associations and temporal performances among humans and nonhumans. The construction process of a tower or a wall encompass cooperating human labourers, agency of construction materials, resources, technologies and all the things that empowers and captivates performances.

This recalls Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's (1990) analogy of building a wall to define their conception of discourse: There are two communicating workers. One of them asks for the brick from the other and adds the brick to the wall. The act of asking which is a "linguistic" element, and the act of adding the brick is an "extra-linguistic" element. The thing they call discourse is a "totality" made up of both "linguistic and extra-linguistic" elements (p. 100). In their example, this activity of building a wall can be named as an elementary fragment of social relations of production, or in their case, it is the totality of linguistic and extra-linguistic elements that they call discourse, a partial fixation of meaning. Following an anti-essentialist perspective, Laclau and Mouffe's theory flattens the Marxist base and superstructure model into a relationality called

discourse (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002, p. 33) while replacing the notion of “mode of production” by “hegemonic formation” (Laclau, 2014, p. 7).

In the case of Tower of Babel, even it is classified as a myth and a narration, still, where do those bricks come from to those construction sites of original Mesopotamian ziggurats? First, bricks made up of clay-bearing soil and fired or sun-dried. Right after their production, they need to be transported. This required adequate roads and enough number of workers. Then, the construction completed, and scaffolds disassembled. Later, ziggurats were destroyed, and a narrative constructed out of their ruins as a result of an embodied encounter. In this sense, the multi-temporal gathering composed of technologies, infrastructure, resources, construction and destruction of built environment, landscapes, landforms, meteorological, geological, and molecular processes, which can also be encompassed in the basic equation of *linguistic + extra-linguistic = discourse*<sup>72</sup> referring to Laclau and Mouffe’s Discourse Theory<sup>73</sup>. However, we should make this formula clear.

Considering the entanglement of humans and things and intermingling of brain, body and environment referring to enactivist, ecological accounts of cognition, this formula should be grasped as a distributed process<sup>74</sup> and not to be limited into a summation of distinct linguistic and extra-linguistic elements. In his example of “brickmaking”, Gilbert Simondon (1995) considers all the “inter-

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<sup>72</sup> Referring Harold Innis’ medium theory, extraction of natural resources to transportation infrastructure, vehicles and flow of commodities across geography are themselves media of communication providing cultural interaction and exchange (Babe, 2000, pp. 59, 82).

<sup>73</sup> I based my elaborations on Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory since it offers a possibility to emphasize the intertwinement of matter and meaning, without privileging one over the other as a determinant. Their conception of discourse including both material and linguistic elements as a partial totality, an on-going, relational, and plastic process without distinguishing a field of non-discursive, as in Critical Discourse Analysis. Yet, I criticize Laclau and Mouffe’s theory which is not taking into account an extended grasp of discourse beyond linguistic and extra-linguistic compound; not considering an embodied, enactive understanding of cognitive processes coupled with environmental possibilities; ecological connections with nonhuman forces and material agency of things; and evaluating discourse solely within the realm of human performance. Still, it provides an approach to grasp events as material, relational, perpetual, open and processual. In this sense, the word discourse may rather indicate concepts such as event, performance, enaction, assemblage or entanglement.

<sup>74</sup> See Malafouris (2013; 2018) example of pottery as a metaplastic process distributed through these mentioned entanglements.

elementary” and “intra-elementary” processes and relations (p. 38, see also Barad 2007). He conceptualizes this as a process of “individuation” focusing on the evolutionary, complex and dynamic encounters of different forces (Simondon, 2017, p. 26; see Chabot, 2013, pp. 73, 76–77) while rejecting fixed and complete quality of individuals, grasping them rather as a “phase” and putting emphasis on relationality and on-going, perpetual process of becoming involving dormant potentials (Simondon, 1995, p. 23). In this sense, it is crucial to consider processes, encounters and ecological connections beyond human scale and agency while dealing with the thing that is called discourse.

#### **1.3.4.2 Discourse Theory Encounters Human-Thing Relations**

In relation to bricklayers, think of people grabbing stones in Paris of May 1968 to throw them during the protest and the moment they realized that “under the cobblestones there is the beach” (*sous les pavés, la plage!*) formulating the famous graffiti and tagline, literally deconstructing/reconstructing the urban fixities. According to Laclau and Mouffe (1990), discourse is “a systematic set of relations” (p.100). Elsewhere, they described it as a “structured” and “relational” totality formed by “articulatory practice” which arranges associations among “elements”, capturing them into “differential positions” that is called “moments” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001). Laclau and Mouffe’s emphasis on the relationality of discourse and temporal capture of elements through articulation can be interpreted in terms of embodied encounters within and through environment affording potentials coupled with human abilities. In this line, a cobblestone affords throwability, in Gibsonian sense, while the sand under the cobblestone afford a discursive potential to be grasped as the beach [*la plage*]. As Gibson (1982) stated, “the meaning or value of a thing consists of what it affords” (p. 407). Yet, the meaning is constituted by its practical use-ability, this process of constitution involves enounce-ability, within the realms of material/discursive possibilities.

Then, in line with social semiotics<sup>75</sup>, all the things we encounter, and all our bodily acts can be grasped as “semiotic resources” affording “meaning potentials” whether they are hidden or perceived (van Leeuwen, 2005, pp. 4-5). Thus, the coupling of organism’s abilities and environmental potentials enact meaning within the entanglement of brain, body, and environment. Meaning is enacted through embodied encounters and spread through this entanglement.

Recalling the biologist Jakob von Uexküll’s concepts of “*Umwelt*” and “functional tone” that foreshadows J.J. Gibson’s ecological psychological concepts of “ecological niche” and “affordance” respectively (Koenderink, 2015, p. 1052) both<sup>76</sup> theorists have an intention to underline the “complementarity” (Gibson, 1979/2015, pp. 120–121) of the species and their surroundings which suggest the entangled relations of perception and action or *meaning* and *use*; generating the foundations for the later ecological theories of cognition (Caracciolo, 2019, p. 118). However, these two theorists differ in terms of Uexküll’s *umwelt* that put emphasis on organism’s subjective lens, grasp of, and investment on the surrounding environment while Gibson’s affordances refer to existence prior to any encounter with positive or negative possibilities provided in surrounding world to be modified and attuned by the organism (Gibson, 1979/2015, pp. 120–121; Ingold, 2011, pp. 79–80; Koenderink, 2015, p. 1052; Fultot & Turvey, 2019, p. 2). Giving the example of stone in both von Uexküll’s and Gibson’s account, anthropologist Tim Ingold states that:

In Gibson’s terms, shelter, anvil and missile are all properties of the stone that are available to be *taken up*. For von Uexküll, by contrast they are qualities to be *bestowed upon* the stone by the need of the creature in question and in the very act of attending to it. The stone only becomes a

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<sup>75</sup> Theo van Leeuwen (2005) indicates the close affinity between Gibson’s affordances and “meaning potential” of “semiotic resources” (pp. 4-5), while the former also encompass the dormant and not yet identified meanings in the object along with the introduced meaning potentials.

<sup>76</sup> J.J. Gibson’s realist concept of affordances are pre-existent objective potentialities to be captured in the environment in comparison to Uexküll’s *Umwelt* as subjective sphere of species endowing its surroundings is the obvious difference between the two theoreticians. Recently, there are studies demonstrating their reconciling conceptions (Fultot & Turvey, 2019). However, this seemingly obvious difference also contains a connection between the two. Their recognition of the complementarity of organism/environment and perception/action (Caracciolo, 2019, p. 118) brings forth much more fertile discussion for this study.

shelter when the crab scuttles under it, an anvil when the thrush smashes the shell against it, and a missile when the man picks it up to throw. Outside of these activities, it was none of these things. (Ingold, 2011, pp. 79-80, italics in original)

Returning to Laclau and Mouffe (1990), through their conception of discourse, which is hinged upon Wittgenstein's principle of "meaning in use" and their statement that "things only have being within a certain discursive configuration, or 'language game'" (p. 104), they indicate:

It would be absurd to ask oneself today 'if being a projectile is part of the true being of the stone (although the question would have some legitimacy within Platonic metaphysics); the answer, obviously, would be: it depends on the way we use stones. (Laclau & Mouffe, 1990, p. 104-105)

However, more than this, Laclau and Mouffe go to the extremes saying that:

If there were no human beings on earth, those objects that we call stones would be there nonetheless; but they would not be 'stones', because there would be neither mineralogy nor a language capable of classifying them and distinguishing them from other objects. (Laclau & Mouffe, 1990, p. 102)

According to the first quotation, we may interpret that, "the way we use" or the capacities and intentions coupled with the potentials afforded by stones generate the meaning in use. On the other hand, the hypothesis of a planet without human beings put forth that without language, scientific knowledge and act of classification stones would exist but not as stones but still a physical thing. Humanless earth hypothesis is the controversial point of their discussion reaching the point to say that "nature is a discursive construction"<sup>77</sup> (van Eeden, 2017, p. 5). This is an approval beforehand that we cannot imagine outside of being human and it is impossible to peel the *anthropos* off and to be purged of anthropocentrism while grasping the meaning of nature and nonhumans.

If human beings invest on things through surroundings, entangling meaning and use to form material/discursive arrangements depending on context, then Laclau and Mouffe's statements resembles to von Uexküll's subjective world

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<sup>77</sup> In this interview, Mouffe refers to Latour while indicating that "when we speak about it, nature is not outside of discourse" (p. 5) to emphasize the inseparability of nature and discourse.

*Umwelt*. Therefore, from this perspective, we invest the activity/meaning potentials of *stoneness* on that physical thing, which is called *stone* afterwards. In another perspective contrary to this, we are –as bodies composed of capacities— coupling with the potentials that the physical things called *stones* afford, embedded in the environment. Here, the double bind is based on the problem of what *endows* what, or what *provides* what in human understanding.

Rather when grasped as *enaction*, a dynamic co-constitution of organism and environment in association, we may transcend this double bind and the object/subject distinction. Indeed, the concept of *affordance* does this, with the emphasis on the coupling of capacity of organisms and potentials in the environment. The coupling of organismic capacities with environmental potentials are generated through the encounters of bodies, whether there exist humans on earth or not. Here together with these discussions, I employ Deleuze and Guattari's "assemblages" to expand Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory with a posthumanistic account, a Spinozist grasp of nature purified from anthropocentric understanding and in order to clarify the term material/discursive affordances.

As I referred previously to Deleuze and Guattari (1972/1983) that "everything is a machine" (p. 2), the concept of *machine* etymologically meaning that which is "able", and "that which enables", that which "have power to act" (Watkins, 1985, p. 38), within and through ceaseless variation of capacities and ever-changing arrangements through encounters. Again, Deleuze and Guattari use the concept of "*agencement*", which is translated into English as "assemblage" but rather refer more appropriately to "arrangement" (Buchanan, 2017). *Agencement* is both a noun and gerund form of the verb *agencer* in French which means "to arrange, layout and furnish" (Rey, 1998a, p. 56) and it is used by furniture stores in France. The root of "agencement" is the same as the French verb *agir* which refers "to act", and together with *agent*, *agency*, *agitate* and *agenda* all flourished from the Latin verb *agere* from *ago* meaning "to drive", "to lead", "to move", "to put in motion", "to conduct" (Rey, 1998b, p. 57-58; Lewis & Short, 1891a, p. 74-77),

going back to the Proto Indo-European root “*ag-*” meaning “to drive”, “to lead” (Anttila, 2000, pp. 1–3; Mallory & Adams, 1997, p. 170; Rey, 1998b, p. 58).

These etymological connections put emphasis on desire, dynamic performances, and ongoing arrangements related to power and capacity to act. Considering these concepts and their Spinozist philosophy, it is not a surprise to encounter the phrase “machinic assemblage” or machinic arrangement [*agencement machinique*] in the work of Deleuze and Guattari. Desiring machines are arranged through endeavour, dependent upon other machines cutting through the natural, cultural, social, and technological (Deleuze, 2004, p. 219). Agencies, then, are arrangements, composed of multiplicities.

Machines are continuous arrangement through multiplicities. According to Deleuze and Guattari, arrangements/assemblages (*agencement*) have two sides. On the one hand, there is “machinic assemblages of bodies, actions and passions”, and on the other hand, there is “collective assemblage of enunciation of acts and statements, of incorporeal transformation attributed to bodies” (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, p. 88). Overall, assemblages are, respectively, of “nondiscursive” referring to “content” and “discursive multiplicities” referring to “expression” (Buchanan, 2017, p. 471) and these multiplicities are entangled while acting upon one another, simultaneously operating through potentials and constraints on both sides (Bogue, 2003, p. 187).

Recalling Félix Guattari (2013), in the case of architecture, that there is a “polyphony” of discursive elements, instructions, regulations, laws and plans related to arrangements such as geopolitics urbanism, economy, function, technique, cutting through architecture at the “perceptive” level, together with a “nondiscursive”, “affective” arrangement endowing architectural form a capacity as “catalytic operator” generating “spatialised affects” directly intervening into bodily relations (Guattari, 2013, pp. 231–239). In this sense, it is a management of multiplicities within and through an ecology, in which the one that manages is also a multiplicity composed and traversed by this particular ecology. One generally tends to forget this “ecology” while encountering and experiencing affectively

charged objects that become focalities through incorporating this particular ecology, an arrangement of humans and nonhumans (Morgan, 2014). This ecology bestows power and capacity on “focal objects” –which could be relics, flags, or images operating as an “interface” with something beyond, sublime, and transcendent to address subjects and to directly intervene into embodied encounters (Morgan, 2014). Beyond such objects within furnished indoors; buildings, infrastructures, streets, squares, or landforms can become focalities empowered by particular arrangements composed of affective and expressive multiplicities.

Long before birth and throughout our lives, we went through “segments” with specific arrangements acting on us, intervening on our capacities (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, pp. 208–209). The “order-word” of a doctor regarding the biological sex generates an “incorporeal transformation” (Malatino, 2019, pp. 195–196) through interpreting the ultrasound imagery and casts the net of heteronormativity over the baby. Entering the binary segment of male/female, as we grew older, we went through “binary” and episodic segments where our family says that we are not a child anymore, we enter into adulthood segment, when we went to school, we are addressed that we are not at home anymore, when joined the army, we are not at school anymore (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, pp. 208–209)<sup>78</sup>. The judicial decision incorporeally transforming a convict into a “guilty”, plugging one to the prison-arrangement and judge’s words operates through the court dress, the gavel, furniture, spatial configurations as “non-discursive” multiplicities interwoven with habits, customs, legislations, rules, constitution as “discursive” multiplicities (Bogue, 2003, pp. 98–99). Saying “I do” at a wedding, become significant when embedded in a particular arrangement encompassing the entanglement of affective and expressive elements and we enter into the institution of marriage involving all its informal and formal relations (Bogue, 2003, p. 98).

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<sup>78</sup> Entering an airport, we become passengers, but also become suspects for the security of others, which generate incorporeal transformations through a series of acts to prove of innocence, embedded in arrangements acting on our bodies. In order to prove that we are not a threat such as a terrorist, a smuggler, an illegal migrant, a virus carrier, we go through control systems concerning the fit to rules and instructions, we are examined according to citizenship, criminal record, liquids in our baggage, baggage weight and so forth (G. Fuller & Harley, 2004, p. 44).

The naming of places, regions, landforms, infrastructures, buildings, or monuments; declaration of dominion through rituals, flagging or renaming, change the condition of the conquered lands, in the case of colonialism, leading to a novel material organization and re-arrangement through architecture and urbanism practices (Patton, 2010, pp. 111–112). All these order-words generating incorporeal transformations plugging us into new arrangements involving both discursive and nondiscursive multiplicities. This may be called in other words as a stagecraft in perpetual formation requiring an ecology of these multiplicities holding the stage intact but always open to change.

Following Deleuze and Guattari's (1980/1987) "order-words" generating "incorporeal transformation" (pp. 80-81), the slogan "under the cobblestone, there is the beach" together with the physical act of removing stones to build barricades occurred through discursive and non-discursive multiplicities, through "collective arrangement of enunciations" and "machinic arrangement of bodies". Barricade – as a utility afforded by a multitude of stones— offers material/discursive potentials and constraints. Referring to Lenin's text "On Slogans" and quoting his statement "every particular slogan must be deduced from the totality of the specific features of a definite political situation", Deleuze and Guattari (1980/1987) states that slogans as "order-words" generate incorporeal transformations underlining they are not representations but interventions into bodies, operating through on-going conditions and arrangements, "introducing new configuration of bodies" (p. 83). Recalling cobblestones and the sand beneath them, that the 68ers intervene with the slogan "under the cobblestones, the beach" within and through machinic arrangements of bodies intermingled with collective arrangement of enunciation. In this sense, propaganda and political communication processes could be grasped as what material processes and dynamics of political environment material/discursively affords and how to capture the affordances what a particular political situation provides through a particular historical period.

Overall, there seems to be little difference between Laclau and Mouffe and Deleuze and Guattari, yet there is a crucial one<sup>79</sup>. As we are machines of machines cutting through naturecultures, the main distinction between Laclau and Mouffe and Deleuze and Guattari, that the latter duo transcends anthropocentric standpoint to include all geologic, biologic, and technological agencies and material processes within assemblages/arrangements, to put forth a posthuman and nonhuman operation of life, and not taking a standpoint that gravitate on anthropocentric linguistic acts as the main source of making things significant.

#### 1.3.4.3 What-for-what, What-for-whom? A Posthuman Take on Discourse

I argue that in Laclau and Mouffe's perspective, discourse is an emergence encompassing both the cases of ignorance and knowledge while humankind is not an exceptional<sup>80</sup> author, rather an open-ended arrangement of multiplicities. Elements or events captured into *being* from *existence* both through ignorance and knowledge as Laclau and Mouffe acknowledged so that an earthquake or a natural

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<sup>79</sup> For the discussions on the differences and similarities between Laclau and Mouffe's discourse and Deleuze and Guattari's assemblages see Schatzki (2002, pp. 22-23); Gilbert (2008, p. 153, 159; 2011, p. 90). Carpentier (2018) for his part, grasps Deleuze and Guattari's perspective "to strengthen discourse theory and the material more visible" (p. 277).

<sup>80</sup> The term "intentionality" refers to "meaningful connection to the world" (Vagle, 2018, p. 63) in Husserl's sense and indicates that human beings always think *of* something, namely a meaningful directedness *at* something. Recently, according to postphenomenological (Rosenberg & Verbeek, 2015) and post-intentional accounts following Deleuze and Guattari (Vagle, 2018), "intentionality" is not grasped as something purely human, but more-than-human, not only emerged in a one-way direction, not something fixed and not only generated from humans but as something distributed through an ecology (Vagle, 2018, p. 63), emerging from human-technology associations, humans "mediated" through technologies (Ihde, 1990). Hence, disregarding human exceptionalism, considering the entanglement of human and technology it becomes to be called as "cyborg intentionality" (Verbeek, 2008). Again, on the fronts of posthuman and vital materialist accounts, Bennett (2007, 2010) abandons the conception of human as the exceptional "author", and rather grasp human intentionality as something emergent among temporal gatherings of humans and nonhumans, from their co-constituting multiplicity of heterogeneous agencies. (see Ihde and Malafouris 2019; Vagle 2018; and Verbeek 2008). Considering human dependency on nonhumans provide the potential to abandon conceiving humans as author-beings. Intentionality, thus, generated from gatherings. This standpoint leads to abandon the conception of a fixed, isolated, "origin-subject", rather to re-conceive intentionality generated "in the middle" of multiplicities (Vagle, 2018, p. 193) and intentionality not as an exceptional human activity but as a process of "material intra-action" (Barad, 2007). Agency and intentionality are not substances to be appropriated by insular individuals, but they are enacted through mercurial changes, "intra-actions", namely "the mutual constitution of entangled agencies" (Barad, 2007, pp. 23, 407). Hence our so-called *human* capacities emerge through our dependences on nonhumans and possible new encounters.

disaster alike, or falling of bricks and stones as events existing independent of our will; whether they are articulated as “natural phenomena or expressions of the wrath of God” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001, p. 108), or let us say a bull’s rage of which the planet Earth stands on its horns. Once these phenomena –which have agencies free from human will— are articulated and captured into discourse, objects have *being*, and outside<sup>81</sup> of discourse “they only have *existence*” (Laclau & Mouffe, 1990, p. 104). This is the process leading to the statement of “nature as discursive construction”. On this issue, Benjamin Glasson (2017) put forward an appropriate question asking, does *existence* disappears when we articulate earthquake and bestow *being* upon it and thus interrogating the inside and the outside of discourse (p. 84). He, then, continues to ask on the possible effects of the “unarticulated” and not yet unearthed culminations to be activated in the *long duration*, passing a threshold (Glasson, 2017, p. 84). In this sense, the subject, the act of knowing and the empty signifiers are interrupting the flux of knowledge and in this line, depending on context, a “materialist discourse analysis”<sup>82</sup> should investigate these interruptions black-boxing “material relations” within discourse (Glasson, 2017, p. 92). Refining the obfuscating relations and stripping off the knower Anthropos, are attempts to conduct a materialist discourse analysis. Together with knowing, the state of unknowing, not-knowing, not-yet-unearthed things, not-yet-actualized and encountered capacities and self-effacing tendency of material relations clearly have a latent but culminating agency in long duration.

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<sup>81</sup> Similarly, Wolfgang Teubert (2010), emeritus professor of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis, states that nonhumans and natural forces do not have intentionality and free of what humans say about them, yet we, the humans having intentionality are captivated within the boundaries of discourse where the meaning emerges, indicating that we cannot operate outside of discourse whether explaining a natural phenomenon or language itself (pp. 10; 118). However, he adds that human intentionality is “collective” emerging through a “discourse community”, generated as part of communities where we gather and associate with other humans, constituting “a collective mind” (Teubert, 2010, p. 108).

<sup>82</sup> Besides, in a materialist discourse analysis, it is important to overcome dichotomies of material and discursive, to have serendipity in analysis and to recognize the context in question, transformation of historical conditions, ideology, and uneven distribution (Beetz & Schwab, 2017, pp. xv, 42).

Whether religious or scientific, whether esoteric or positive whether literate or ignorant, we meaningfully directed to the world, since we, the humans have intentionality that we are aware of. Besides, this intentionality is part of a “collective intentionality discourse communities” where utterances are in contest and in continuous negotiations (Teubert, 2010, pp. 90, 108). Both knowledge and ignorance had martyrs and destroyed or constructed aspects of life throughout the history. Here, I operationalize ignorance and knowledge not as totalities, but as durations of oscillations between unknowing and knowing within mythmaking, toolmaking, scientific or everyday activities. According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001), myth-making and science and everyday practice bestow *being* onto *elements* through “articulatory practice” constructing “nodal points” and forming the “totality” called discourse as if captivating the water flow and nailing down the differences (pp. 112-113). In this sense, through intentionality, we grant *being* to non-intentional phenomena in order to construct the temporal fixity called discourse. Here, humans are directed *to* things, and in turn things become *for* humans. Yet, we need to ask *what for what*, rather than *what for whom*.

Here for comparison, we should recall Lenin’s expressions referring to Engels’ critique of Hume and Kant. Lenin (1908/1912) categorically proposes that “human knowledge develops from ignorance” whether unknown or known, things exist independent of us; *noumena* and *phenomena* are equal; and “*things-in-themselves*” transforms into “*things-for-us*” in the process of knowing whether in science, technology or everyday life (pp. 96-98). He tries to sharpen his propositions referring to Engels’ example of alizarin, an organic compound found in the madder roots and in coal tar, to state that how the unknown and matters not yet discovered exist independent of us as *things-in-themselves* and how they turn into *things-for-us* as a consequence of discovery, advancing human knowledge from “ignorance” towards expanding and developing sciences and technologies (p. 98). In the perspective of Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory, articulatory

practice transforms *things-in-themselves* into *things-for-us*<sup>83</sup> and differing from Lenin, *things-for-us* become discursive constructions whether scientific, or mythical. Again, in contrast to Lenin's critical realism underlining that there exists an external world independent of our minds, Laclau and Mouffe's (1990) stance emphasizes contingency and a post-foundational ontology (p. 183; see also Pantzerhielm, 2017, pp. 102, 105, 107). I argue that articulating things in environment refers to coupling of our capacities with the potentials in the environment, making them *things-for-us*. However, *things* and *us* are not separate entities, rather humans coupling with environment are continuously enacted and co-constituted. The word "for" should not highlight a one-way, hierarchical, and instrumental relation of exploitation, rather it should refer to the lines of a larger web.

Here the point emphasized is that we are not the *only* actor in the formation of the thing that we call discourse, and obviously things do not exist only for us: *Things-for-species*. In a more comprehensive way, rather than using the conjunction 'for'; these are *capability encounters* of all things and species. In fact, the problem and contradiction arise, from insistently using the word "discourse" captivated by linguistic and anthropocentric evocations, constantly underlining the exceptional position of human intentionality and exceptional capacity to bestow function or meaning upon things.

If discourse is, as Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001) states, "an ensemble of differential positions" (p. 106) and captivating "the flow of differences" (pp. 112), then recognizing this emphasis on relationality, we should embrace a standpoint and relational ontology encompassing *nonhumans agencies* and elements *not-yet-*

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<sup>83</sup> The preposition "for" indicate a learned, cognized utility, function or affordance in a relation, humans mastering things and environment. However, things and nonhumans are not solely for humans and should not be grasped in such an exploiting relation. Rather than a hierarchical order, there is an entangled relation distributed through ecologies. This means while *things* are *for-humans*, there are *things-for-things*, *humans-for-things*, *nonhumans-for-nonhumans* intervening into this ecology (see Hodder 2012; 2018). Based on enactivist, embodied, extended and ecological accounts, human cognition is distributed over brain-body-environment entanglement and emerge through their dynamic relationality. This indicates that mind is not a distinct entity that are disembodied representations machine facing an external and independent environment.

*articulated* in the formation of discourse. This perspective suggests a posthuman take on discourse. More precisely, this approach actually attempts to replace discourse with material/discursive encounters, including not-yet-encountered, virtual capacities of humans and nonhumans under particular conditions. For instance, the encounter of Alexandre the Great and the alizarin compound out of madder roots, as I mentioned in the previous pages: It was the encounter of Alexandre's capacities with the capacities of alizarin under particular conditions to generate fake blood stains to stage pseudo wounded soldiers in order to deceive the Persian army, to catch the enemy as unprepared through this encounter, through the alliance of Alexandre and alizarin (Le Couteur & Burreson, 2004, pp. 167–168). Besides humans, there are infinite number of nonhuman agencies, in other words, there are encounters among diverse capacities, rather than humans capturing elements into discourse. Overall, if there exist anything like discourse, in this line, it is posthuman and post-intentional, emerging through encounters.

#### **1.3.4.4 Re-assembling the Material/Discursive: Associations, Nonhumans and Dependencies**

In this respect, the philosophical lineage of Gabriel Tarde, Alfred N. Whitehead, Deleuze/Guattari and Bruno Latour provide the potential to expand Laclau and Mouffe's theorization into the field of nonhumans and assemblages.<sup>84</sup> Gabriel Tarde (2012) identifies everything as full of societies, as composites, as gatherings of "obscure labourers" generating culminations leading to new formulations in alliances with humans (pp. 28; 34). Likewise, Whitehead grasps each "living body" or each "ordinary physical object" as "societies" having "temporal endurance" (Whitehead, 1933/1967, pp. 204-206; 1929/1978, p. 35). Whitehead's (1933/1967) universe is full of "societies of societies" and "nature", which is another society "of enduring objects" (p. 206) indicating that all gatherings endure within a multitude of other endurances. Following Tarde's monadology and Whitehead's process philosophy, Bruno Latour (2005) deals with "associations"

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<sup>84</sup> Carpentier (2018, p. 277) remark the potentials of Laclau and Mouffe's conceptions to be expanded through Deleuze and Guattari's assemblages to encompass geological, biological, and technological nonhumans together with discursive.

replacing the major entities named “social” or “society”<sup>85</sup> and attempts to abolish the anthropocentric, fixed, and essentialist qualities of these conceptions (pp. 1-9). In this sense, society refers to “associations” that is “held together” that enhance and restrict our capacities to act (Latour, 1984, pp. 274, 276). Laclau and Mouffe’s approach contain similarities in relation to Latour<sup>86</sup> and also to Deleuze and Guattari<sup>87</sup> and these latter authors offer potentials to contribute and develop the former duo’s conception of discourse. Contingency, relationality, abandoning a totalizing perspective on society, ongoing formation of associations and capturing flows into temporary and incomplete arrangements called discourse (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985/2001, pp. 105, 106, 112) bring forth the resembling instances with Deleuze, Guattari, Latour and their philosophical lineage.

Yet, although Laclau and Mouffe’s conception of discourse involve both linguistic communicative process and extra-linguistic, material, and human cooperation, discourse is generated within the territories of humankind while also de-emphasizing the material processes and agencies of the other than human. As Latour (1993) aptly put forth “discourse is not a world unto itself but a population of actants that mix with things as well as with societies” (p. 90). In this sense, discourse, would not only be a relational totality produced solely by humankind, not only composed of linguistic and extra-linguistic, of human utterances and acts but also of *naturecultures*.

To put it differently, discourse is not a separate entity invested onto the phenomena afterwards only by human intentionality, or discourse is not a

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<sup>85</sup> As for Laclau and Mouffe (1985/2001), the notion of society as an essentialist, complete, fixed and homogenizing category leaving no room for difference and contingency, cannot be “a valid object of discourse” and has to be denied (p. 111).

<sup>86</sup> See Schinkel (2017, pp. 50-52) to compare similarities and differences between Latour and Laclau and Mouffe discarding the totalizing notion of society. For similarities and differences in terms of the notion of “articulation” see Latour (1999, pp. 133-144, 147-149) together with Laclau and Mouffe (1985, p. 58, 65, 85).

<sup>87</sup> Despite Deleuze and Guattari’s anti-Lacanian approach, they have similarities in terms of anti-essentialist conceptualisation of processes such as capturing, fixing, differences and assemblage thinking. See Gilbert (2011, p. 90-92), Gilbert (2008, p. 148; 153; 158-61). Toohey (2017) indicates that the notion of arrangement corresponds to Laclau and Mouffe’s “discursive hegemony” (p.19). For Mark Poster (1990/2007) Laclau and Mouffe’s perspective draws on Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari p. 133).

relationality emerging only from the compounds of human actions and representations. Rather it indicates a manifold in which both material and discursive; human and nonhuman; nature and culture simultaneously interwoven, creating affordances and dependencies. Naming this manifold as discourse is to impose exceptional human authorship on multiplicities. In other words, bestowing an omnipotent power to the human speech that transforms nature into a discursive construction, is as if to grasp the so-called human as a self-caused substance capturing everything into its discourse.

Above discussions enhance to comprehend discourse as a non-anthropocentric notion considering the agencies of nonhumans and to be grasped not only as a cultural entity but a naturecultural becoming through continuously differentiating and co-constituting relations. It is about defining human in-between rather than at the center of agencies while also stating that human intentionality is not the fixed and only constitutive act<sup>88</sup>. In this perspective take the below quotation of Laclau as an example emphasizing the performative dimension of discourse:

for if I'm going there and I open the door, on the one hand I want to open the door, on the other this forces me to a material act, which is to open the door. The performance of that act is what I call discourse; it is not that discourse produces some kind of material effect, but that the material act of producing it is what discourse is. (Laclau & Bhaskar, 1998, p. 13)

This statement certainly recognizes discourse as emerging through material processes and embodied engagements, yet it also underlines as if discourse do not produce a material impact. Then, the notion of discourse transforms into a spectral being which is continuously generated through material acts while does not have a material impact itself. However, it is still a meaningful totality as mentioned previously that it is generated through a desire (linguistic -want to open the door)

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<sup>88</sup> Studies on post-intentionality reconceptualize human orientation to the world as multiplicities, namely intentionality as composed of arrangements and as a non-linear orientation to the world (Vagle, 2018, pp. 193-194). In relation to Vagle, Thomas Rickert underlines in case of ambient rhetoric that human intention is not the only constituting element of rhetoric, it is just a participant among a multitude of actants (Rickert, 2013, pp. 36; 159-160). In this line, human intentionality is not an exceptional quality among the assemblage of nonhuman actors, intentionality is composed of multiplicities (see Bennett 2010).

and then a forced material act (extra-linguistic -opening the door, physically coupling with the door). Despite all, Laclau's example is certainly an embodied cognitive activity embedded in the entanglement of brain-body-environment, with all the sensorimotor experiences, affects, affordances, schemas, and concepts. Then, as an emergence out of this relationality, the discursive has both materiality itself and have material impact through this process<sup>89</sup>.

Recalling the previous instances stated above, aren't there an agency of materials extracted from nature, clay, bricks, their material composition and building processes of the wall? Do not the given and added bricks afford possibilities of action in this totality? Referring to Bruno Latour, isn't the door handle affording<sup>90</sup> the possibility of action, becoming an agent in this performance? We perform as part of associations, composed of both humans and nonhumans, meaning that performance emerge through entangled relations. A door handle as a *thing-for-humans* affords grabbing and moving the mechanism of the door to be opened. Door-closers, automatic doors or air curtains connected to electricity grid accelerates movement of people, altering or cancelling bodily acts or interrupting the flow of air, flies, or dust.

Here we find ourselves weaved through arrangements, affordances, and dependency relations where things-for-things, humans-for-things humans-for-humans, things-for-humans dependent on each other generating a "stickiness" holding associations together while more and more "entrapping" humans and things into irreversible dependencies (Hodder, 2012, pp. 206-207, 222). Rather than societies as associations that are solely "held together" as Latour stated, humans are also captured and constrained by dependency relations in Hodder's perspective. Then, we become more and more depending on these irrevocable relations that has to be cared and in turn we become more and more enslaved and controlled. Things

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<sup>89</sup> Here, recalling Donna Haraway (1989, p. 111) that "discourse is a material practice" together with Karen Barad's (2007) "entanglement of matter and meaning", material and discursive are not separate entities knotted afterwards, but prior to their individual entities, there are relations.

<sup>90</sup> Bruno Latour (2005, p. 72, fn. 83) cites and praises Gibson's term of affordances in his book *Reassembling the Social* and use the term in relation to the concept of agency.

or spaces provide material/discursive affordances that may both empower our capacities to act or captivate and restrain our actions. We are performing in alliances with nonhumans which are both affording and generating new dependency relations. Then, these “webs of dependencies” (Hodder, 2018) involving both material and discursive components in turn generate hegemonic formations that we are captured or in Ian Hodder’s (2012) words, captured within the all-pervasive entanglement of humans and things (p. 98).

To sum up, we live within this entanglement of brain, body and environment composed of things having material/discursive affordances, which may lead to captivating dependencies, which are both enabling and constraining our performances. We are dependent on what an environment affords materially and what it affords discursively. Furthermore, we might be captured by both material/discursive dependencies. Scrutinizing communicative processes through physical environment (together with media environment), it is crucial to consider both dependences providing potentials and those which constrains and captivates.

We make use of and depend on these material/discursive affordances while simultaneously manipulating them through material/discursive interventions that are pervading communicative processes. Mobile devices composed of minerals, hardware, software, and applications afford us acts of grasping and touching, then talking, hearing, sending, sharing, receiving, capturing, saving and so on, that constitutes a whole digital culture weaved with obscured planetary entanglements. Likewise, in the case of political communication through urban space, landscapes and infrastructures, all material/discursive affordances and dependency relations can be traced in order not to allow these material relations to be concealed by mediatized representations and symbols, and by their own smooth functioning as black boxes. Extractions, excavations, construction/demolition of a building or infrastructure, or manipulation of landscapes and landforms might generate expected and unexpected encounters with material/discursive affordances that those environments provided in the case of political communication and propaganda activities. Material/discursive tracing and mapping is to depict material/discursive

affordances and dependences in processes of communication and their obscured and forgotten ecological connections beyond perceptible realm. Tracing from extraction to dump among relations of human and nonhuman is a methodical movement for having both political economic and political ecologic insights.

## CHAPTER 2: POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND ITS ECOLOGY

Republican People's Party declaration for the 1973 elections had been published with the following title: "AK Günlere /Towards AK Days".<sup>91</sup> It is ironic and weird to encounter with such a tagline nowadays<sup>92</sup>. Let us think, how many declarations for elections do we recall? Or which electoral pledge? What is the basic objective to address the governed voters? It is to nail down and to ossify the kernel voters and increase the thickness wrapping it around by way of persuasion, reassuring and carrying conviction. However, such an attitude is way too naïve. In order to depict a realistic and strategic account of political communication, we need to salute Indian strategic advisor Kautilya, Sultan Melikşah's vizier Nizam al-Mulk, and Florentine state officer Machiavelli. We need to bear in mind the possibility of deception, flexibility to change of appearance and diffusion of falsehood together with the necessary virtues, such as being just.

Today's electoral market is colonized by the stock market jargon with the expressions of campaigning such as "this promise sells" and with the questions of so-called experts "what does the voter buy" and changing the voting behaviour to sell and profit are the main objectives of contemporary political campaigning and propaganda. These are mainly the extension of "voter persuasion paradigm", which is the primary and mainstream stage of political communication research (Swanson & Nimmo, 1990). Until now, these preparatory sentences and paragraphs depict the groundlines of mainstream political communication. However, this chapter aims at going beyond both the mainstream and the counter-hegemonic veins and to extend the ecology of political communication into materiality of urban space and mobility infrastructures.

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<sup>91</sup>"Ak günlere: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi 1973 seçim bildirgesi" is available at SALT Research Books (324.209561/AK).

<sup>92</sup> It is because the Justice and Development Party is called AK Party in Turkish. "AK" means "white" and "pure" and also abbreviation standing for "Adalet ve Kalkınma" meaning Justice and Development. AK Party and Recep Tayyip Erdogan is in power since 2002.

The objective of this chapter is to depict an ecology of political communication and this ecology is not limited with symbols, mediated representations, or fake news but encompass material/discursive affordances and embodied encounters through urban space and mobility infrastructures. Overall, the chapter is founded on a shift from symbols of power to matters of power in urban space. The word ecology operates not as a metaphor but literally to include materials/discursive relations, things, arrangements, and embodied encounters. An ecology of political communication is not simply an ecology of representations, symbols, or image-making processes of human actors, but it encompasses entanglement of humans and things, embodied encounters with material/discursive affordances and dependencies embedded in an environment. In such conception of ecology, political communication and propaganda activities turns into a “heterogeneous engineering” (Law, 1987) of temporal associations including humans and nonhumans and thus they can be grasped as sociotechnical assemblages, as alliances composed of multiple agencies (Latour, 2005). Ecology, then refers to both the relational environment of associations and connections, and the method to trace the elements and their connections composing arrangements in the context of political communication.

In this line, the first two section will go through the field from mainstream to counter-hegemonic approaches, from material rhetoric to extended ecology of political communication considering materiality. The following sections elaborates on the enquiry of political communication through urban space, drawing on the field of urban communication. The sections moves through history of propaganda geographies, mobility infrastructures, spatial arrangements, interventions to existing mobility and congregation patterns, interfering with embodied cognition of mobile audience of urban space, deploying vehicles and infrastructures for propaganda purposes, excavations, construction materials, demolitions, vehicles, the shaping of landscapes and the mobilization of nonhumans to depict the material/discursive affordances for political communication. The last section presents details of material/discursive tracing of ecologies of political communication through embodied encounters and materiality of geographies,

urban space, and infrastructures. Here, the aim is to deploy the theoretical-methodological arrangement, the material/discursive tracing in the context of political communication through geographies, urban space, and infrastructures.

## **2.1 MAJOR, MINOR AND BEYOND: APPROACHES IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION RESEARCH**

“How to become a ruling party?” might be the basic question in a representative political system regulated with elections yet this gradually becomes disputable across the globe. To answer this, considering the methods and the dynamics of politics, the practices of political communication aim to change the voting behaviour, addressing the dominant affinities and the existing comfort of a hypothetical ordinary voter while keeping its loyal voters. However, in this subsection, we will try to go beyond it: We need to consider algorithmic propaganda, political neuroscience or buying and using private data produced via social media for propaganda purposes.

Consequently, together with the western-centric notion of propaganda and political communication and we need to include for instance the Chinese neutral notion of propaganda, *xuanchuan*, which is constituted by “mass mobility” and “word-of-mouth” (Lin, 2017, p. 454). Moreover, we need to go through the mainstream viewpoints and then to consider radical and counter-hegemonic political communication theories and practices. These overviews are primarily a necessity to go beyond representationalism, content-centrism and mediatized understanding of political communication and to include material political communication through physical space, urbanism, and infrastructure.

Overall, this section, primarily goes through mainstream, or namely major models of political communication encompassing earlier propaganda studies, mass communication theories, traditional models, and then, social media, fake news, algorithms, and neuroscience. Then, differing from the major plane, the section goes on with minor, counter-hegemonic models of political communication. The next sections overview materiality and nonhuman agencies in political communication in the context of urban protest movements, elections, infrastructural

interventions, urban planning, and material organization of urban space. In the subsequent pages it deals with material rhetorics, rhetorical spaces and ecologies, and ambient and atmospheric arrangements of propaganda and political communication.

### **2.1.1 Major Models: From Propaganda Theories to Algorithms and Neuroscience**

*And so, he needs to have a spirit  
disposed to change as the winds of  
fortune and variation of things  
command him, and as I said above,  
not depart from good, when possible,  
but know how to enter into evil when  
forced by necessity.*

**Niccolò Machiavelli, The Prince XVIII**

The idiom *having the wind* in politics is not an abstract, immaterial phrase or metaphor. It is entangled with the materiality of context. As were in the [*ventus*] “*ob portum*”, meaning [having the wind that pushes] “towards a port” which is the material/etymological root of the word opportunity [ob + portum] (Lewis & Short, 1891c, 1271-1272): to reach the port by means of a favourable, opportune wind or weather condition that affords a convenient navigation. As Machiavelli (1998) stated for princes “to have a spirit disposed to change as the winds of fortune and variation of things command them” (p. 70) which is the point he suggested that it is not necessary to have all qualities in politics, but it is indeed necessary “to appear to have” them (XVIII, pp. 70-71). In his case, metaphorical construction of “dikes” and “dams” against the rise of rivers indicates the agility, resilience and plasticity in politics (XXV, pp. 98-99), having the power to change appearance and behaviour, knowing how to change from good to evil when forced by the flooding of rivers (VIII, p. 38) Together with Nizam al-Mulk, as one of the first theoretician on propaganda and political communication, Machiavelli focuses on the *appearance* and ability to change it, adapting to the winds and floods. This appearance relates to all the things, symbols, strategies, tactics, behaviours,

statements, speech, gestures, stagecraft, spatial arrangements and so on. As he put clearly:

Men in general judge more by their eyes than by their hands, because seeing is given to everyone, touching to few. Everyone sees how you appear, few touches what you are. (Machiavelli, 1998, XVIII, p. 71)

I argue that Machiavelli urges us how the realm of politics is infilled with symbols and content first appearing in front of our eyes and then go beyond appearances. Besides, putting forth an ocular-centric politics, the metaphor of using hands indicates to employ an ecological grasp of politics. Regarding Machiavelli's argument, since the earlier times, communicating politically and propaganda seems to be a representational phenomenon. Likewise, Harold Lasswell's (1927) definition of propaganda<sup>93</sup> succinctly underlines this symbolic environment: "management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols" (p. 627). According to Freud's nephew Edward Bernays (1928), propaganda is moulding of minds through the arrangement and the manipulation of "events" and mental pictures to generate an impact on the "relations of the public to an enterprise, idea or a group" (p. 25). Sociologist Jacques Ellul (1973) put emphases on the processes of stimulating "action" and inciting "mythical belief" to be attached in an "irrational" manner, rather than modification or transformation of mind or its mental products (p. 25). The common ground of these modern definitions of propaganda is about giving shape to tendencies for specific ends by means of significant representations, symbols, appearances, images to create influence in minds, attitudes, and behaviours. It is grasped as the propagation of ideas and images, a propagation through manipulation, multiplication of the manipulated messages. As the etymology of the word propaganda suggested, all these activities of political propaganda incorporate the literal meaning of the agricultural process of reproducing plants by means of seeds or slips in new soils.

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<sup>93</sup> In *What is to be done?* Vladimir I. Lenin (1902) differentiates the practices of 'propaganda' and 'agitation' in terms of style, media, content, and audience.

Long before the modern propaganda as a child of Industrial Revolution, the institutionalisation of the western notion of propaganda starts with the Baroque era and *De Propaganda Fide* in 1621, the Catholic Church's worldwide propagation of faith, of Counter-Reformation. The dissemination of Catholicism required education of missionaries at the *Collegium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide* and their global mobility in the faraway lands (Hamelink, 2014, p. 155), and disseminate the divine word by catechism, which is oral teaching and printed manuals for the basics of Christian faith. Having the seeds of global communication in its *catholicus* [universal] past, propaganda gained importance in a modern sense, starting from the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginnings of 20<sup>th</sup> century with the surge of communication technologies, war communications and mass spread of information in higher speeds than ever. Since then, the western conception, started to have the diabolic connotations concerning psychological operations and even conceived as “poison”<sup>94</sup> (Lin, 2017). Yet is propaganda really “a pathological aspect of political communication” (Cotteret & Emeri, 1993, p. 1336) ? It is defined with these negative connotations, since propaganda is mainly attributed with the qualities of unidirectionality and defined as non-dialogic that excludes free circulation and exchange of information through multiplicity of channels which are mainly the conditions and qualities for political communication (Cotteret & Emeri, 1993, p. 1335; Ollivier-Yaniv, 2010, pp. 32–33). Overall, there are different ways to define propaganda. It can be evaluated as a top-down process, practice, and technique as against the horizontality of dialogic political communication. It can be defined as a technique in the process of political communication, or it can be used interchangeably with political communication when it comes to manipulation, purposefulness, symbols, appearances and representations and mass dissemination. The difference emerges with the control over media, unidirectional operation of propaganda, and irrational, emotional tendencies of passive audiences. However, it should not be conceived as inherently a malicious and a corrupt process both in

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<sup>94</sup>In the same era of Propaganda Fide, in 1615, Pierre Jeannin, councillor of Queen Marie de Medicis, describe the pamphlet of the Duke of Bouillon as poison contaminating minds, denigrating Queen's policies (Sawyer, 1990, p. 15). Likewise, in the era of Pope Pius V between the years of 1566 and 1572, proto-newspapers, *avvisi* were described as “plague upon men” (Infelise, 2002, p. 214).

western context (Auerbach & Castronovo, 2013, p. 5) and for instance in the case of Chinese propaganda practices called *xuanchuan* (Lin, 2017, p. 453-54).

Let us write down first what political communication evokes traditionally: campaigning, mass meetings, public opinion, news media, body language and so on. Besides there is participation, freedom of expression, censorship, and the vain search for media's contribution to democracy. On the other side, the contemporary convergence with and divergence from the traditional by means of digital mobile technologies and social media are bringing forth precarious state of private information, selling of cyberfootprints, fake news, political bots, filter bubbles and so on. All these narrate movements and flows in the stratum of symbols/representations/content. It is a stratum for the competition among representations to obtain the guarantee to represent in (representative) democracies. Main intention is to *appear* and to be *perceived* in the adequate way by managing *representations* in order to *represent* a group of people to reach power.

Mainstream political communication is a multidisciplinary field. The contemporary field emerged with the early propaganda studies, mass communication theories and models. It is possible to basically delineate the development of the field of political communication with two axes: *Direct-Powerful Effects* versus *Indirect Effects* and *Active* versus *Passive Audience*. The ebbs and flows within these axes make possible to summarize the history of the field. Between the two world wars, passivity of audience and direct effects underlined by Walter Lippmann (1922/1998) focusing on the mental pictures, and by magic bullet and hypodermic needle models. Then, the critiques and corrections on them pave the way towards limited effects (Lazarsfeld et al., 1944; Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955), active audience and "uses and gratification" theses (Katz, 1959; Katz et al., 1973; Ruggiero, 2000), and encoding/decoding and reading types of Stuart Hall (1973).

With regard to political communication theories, there is a set of concepts and verbs mostly used in the titles of research and theories: setting<sup>95</sup>, selecting, priming, framing<sup>96</sup>, silencing<sup>97</sup>, keeping<sup>98</sup>, filtering<sup>99</sup> and so on. Those words make themselves clear enough to get an insight related to the operation of political communication system. First, they refer to the *lack* and *scarcity*. They point to a decision-making process of concealment and exhibition, which inevitably ends up with *lack* within a context and the *scarcity* is related to ownership relations, time, and space for the produced content.

When it comes to democracy, media were the so-called fourth estate, once upon a time. Together with the crisis of representative democracy and participation, accompanied with the infusion of media logic into political processes generated the discussions on the controversies of “media democracy” (Tokgöz, 2014, pp. 207-210; 241; 256). Mediatization theses described this process of “media logic” that deeply pervades politics, society, culture, and everyday life (Brommeson & Ekengren, 2017, pp. 15- 16, see also Couldry & Hepp, 2013, p. 195). Besides, there is a conception of “audiencization” recommended to develop mediatization thesis through taking “audience dynamics” into account (Schröder, 2017, p. 91). Last may be not least, Hepp et al. (2020) introduced “deep mediatization” considering the context of algorithms, machine learning and datafication, stated that the contemporary world is profoundly grounded on digital technologies insinuating and capillary constructing the social by means of “datafication” (pp. 5-6). Once, we had

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<sup>95</sup> Agenda-setting theory underlines the ranking and selecting process according to relative significance and salience of issues leading to priming, effect on the voters’ judgment and evaluation (Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Perloff, 2014, pp. 152-185). See for more information on agenda-setting and priming in McCombs & Shaw (1972) and McCombs (2014). See also Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) and Sayre et al. (2010).

<sup>96</sup> Broadly, framing indicates the “selection” and “salience” of specific aspects of an issue to be interpreted in a desired way. For framing in relation to news media see Entman (1993) and Walter and Ophir (2019). Also see Bateson (1978) and Goffman’s (1974/1986) frame analysis.

<sup>97</sup> See Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann’s (1974) “spiral of silence”. For spiral of silence in the case of social media see Malaspina (2014).

<sup>98</sup> Gatekeeping is about decision-making process of selecting news in relation to newsworthiness and different levels of factors, individual, organizational, contextual, cultural, political, economic, and so on. The term coined by Kurt Lewin (1947) in the context of household food consumption and applied to news media by David Manning White in 1950.

<sup>99</sup> See Herman and Chomsky’s (1988) five filters of mass media in their book *Manufacturing Consent*.

Weber's "iron cage", now we have cyber cage, media cage, data cage and so on. In this context, what now for political communication?

Traditionally, political communication is "a purposeful communication about politics" (McNair, 2011, p. 4) generally demarcated within the triad of [leaders/parties/organizations] – [media/journalists] – [citizens/audience/public] (Perloff, 2018, pp. 12, 25; McNair, 2011, p. 6; Mutsvairo & Karam, 2018, pp. 28-29). Later, McNair (2017) updated this triangle to include social media and user-generated content. In mainstream definitions, political communication operates through language and symbols (Perloff, 2018, p. 12; Jamieson & Kenski, 2017, p. 4). It also operates through visuals, as representations, for persuasive and manipulative purposes (Veneti et al., 2019). Drawing on mass media theories, it is mainly a screen-centric, media-centric, mediatized field of study and practice. The mainstream vein of the field is representation-centric both for representative and participatory democratic systems and for authoritarian systems, with the blessing of the former and demonising of the latter.

According to McNair (2011), the purposefulness is about using means for specific ends, occurring through the triangular interaction, which is mediatized, infused with media logic. McNair includes all forms of political discourse whether they are verbal, non-verbal, written, visual or related to physical appearance as constituting political identity and image-making (p. 4). Inevitably, this definition highly infused with marketing logic and jargon pointing to a communication about politics remaining within the storms of content-centrism, representations, and stagecraft.

Together with the spread of mobile and digital technologies political communication has gained new actors and practices such as political bots, social media platforms, algorithms, computational propaganda, and deep fake image manipulation. Misinformation and falsehood always already dominated the political sphere with minute changes of appearances and now we must deal with new agents and new types of manipulation. In such an ecology of digital misinformation, the cases of digital forensics show the materiality of images in the

manipulation of the video of CNN's White House correspondent Jim Acosta (Knight, 2018; Rothman, 2018a; Warzel, 2018). New methods emerged such as "deepfake" and "image synthesis" to combine artificial intelligence and computer graphics to create manipulated yet still authentic images and videos (Rothman, 2018b; see also Mezaris et al., 2019). Thus, images are not only representations and content, but they become materially manipulated having material impacts in our everyday lives totally rupturing our connections to events.

These new practices and actors emerged within an "algorithmic episteme" bringing forth a shift from the interpretation of past events in the aftermath to the prediction of the upcoming and future patterns (Fisher & Mehozay, 2019, p. 13). According to Rouvroy and Berns (2013) the predictive and pre-emptive environment of "algorithmic governmentality" disregards the embodied subject and generated a "probabilistic subject" together with its potentials and possibilities through mining the big data and assembling divided and dispersed footprints and trails left through the desire, movements, and encounters in everyday life (pp. 153, 157). In such an ecology of algorithms, "computational propaganda" co-operates and enmeshed with "algorithmic governmentality" which is based on capturing instantaneous digital footprints of flesh and blood human desires, a real-time datafication of desires, in order to predict possibilities and to capture the future in advance to generate pre-emptive actions (Boler & Davis, 2018; Rouvroy & Berns, 2013). In this context, computational propaganda is put forward "as the assemblage of social media platforms, autonomous agents, and big data tasked with the manipulation of public opinion" (Wooley & Howard, 2016, p. 4886). Echoing Harold Lasswell's definition, as a new-born face of an old phenomenon, now encompassing digital misinformation through algorithms, automated systems and bots, computational propaganda is the "purposeful management and distribution of misleading information over social media networks" (Wooley & Howard 2018, p. 4). Algorithmic systems operate through unwittingly or knowingly left traces, processing them to project potential tendencies, to generate new ways of living, production, and consumption, while they do not target bordered individuals as separate entities, but "relations" (Rouvroy & Berns, 2013, pp.181-182). Now,

propaganda as “governmentality” and as a machine producing subjectivities (Wimberly, 2017; 2020), operates both at the level of “social subjection” and “machinic enslavement”<sup>100</sup> (Lazzarato, 2014, p. 12; Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, p. 458). The system of computational propaganda simultaneously operates at a cognitive level producing significant symbols, filtered content, messages and representations, employing bots<sup>101</sup> and strategies for microtargeting embodied subjects and at a pre-reflective, machinic level it tacitly controls, enslaves, and captures them as fragmented data in order to predict, re-configure and manage their desires and encounters. In sum, following Lazzarato, I argue that computational propaganda operates “at the junction of the individual and the dividual” (Lazzarato, 2014, p. 38) meaning that while it is a generator of self-conducting cognitive subjects and a producer of manipulated symbols addressing these subjects, it relies on the desire-traces related to individuals transformed into dividuals and enslaved by machines in order to calculate and predict probabilities to enclose their future patterns.

On top of these digital and algorithmic wonderland, when you add political neuroscience<sup>102</sup>, you are welcome to the funfair of propaganda. Relying on

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<sup>100</sup> On the one hand, it acts upon subjects at the level of cognition and consciousness by means of signifying semiotics and representations as a process of “social subjection”, which corresponds to one side of governmentality operating on individuals (Lazzarato, 2014, p. 39). The other side of governmentality is “machinic enslavement” as in algorithmic processes that operates at the pre-reflective level disregarding individual subjects that have cognitive capabilities, rather these machines subtly capture, and act upon their desires and traces through everyday life that are unconsciously -and may be knowingly- left, and these machines dis-assembles the self and transforms it into an enslaved component, a “dividual” operating according to instructions (Lazzarato, 2012, p.146; Lazzarato, 2014, pp. 25, 30-2; 37-39).

<sup>101</sup> Taking a post-phenomenological account, Neff and Nagy (2016) describe the interaction between humans and bots as “symbiotic agency” that considers non-human intentionality, human’s technologically mediated world and human impact on bots communicating through algorithms creating symbiosis (p. 4926).

<sup>102</sup> See Randall (2015) for the use of electro-encephalography, functional magnetic resonance imaging and political neuroscience activities in Turkey by Justice and Development Party in 2015. See the article in Sözcü Newspaper for Affectspots company’s neuropolitical research on Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and Recep Tayyip Erdogan (“Bu Teknik Ezber Bozacak,” 2013). See Thinkneuro, a Turkish neuromarketing company’s analysis of Erdogan’s balcony speeches (Think Neuro, n.d.). In the chapter titled “Media Biopolitics”, Bucy (2017, p. 286) narrates that the earlier studies of embodied cognitive processing of political media content focused primarily on the emotions impact on cognitive processing of that content; emotional responses of audience to politicians’ expressions on mediated content. These studies also got into dialogue with ethology for “human politics” (see Masters et al., 1986). Recent studies in psychophysiological measurements of processing media

magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), electro-encephalography (EEG) and other neurophysiological measurement techniques, political neuroscience aims to measure and understand brain activity in relation to encounters with political events or information, and how people react and evaluate them differently with differing emotional responses, attitudes, behaviours, and decisions at the neural level (Haas, 2016). Now, voters and users of media are not only subjects exposed to symbols and opinion polls at a cognitive level, but also enslaved by algorithms, neuroscientific imaging devices and neurophysiological tests which directly engage with the pre-reflective and bodily activities (Holland, 2009, p. 158)

Political communication is now beyond the semi-triangle of McNair (2011) expanding into the realm of neurons and algorithms. However, we should evaluate all these digital, neural, and computational ecology without forgetting the physical environment, minerals, materials, resources, hardware, and infrastructures making such a dystopic world possible. Without having a centre, governing is about acting upon the “complex composed of men and things” (Foucault, 1991, p. 93), and recalling Deleuze and Guattari, concerning the arrangements and multiplicities. In this sense, propaganda as a machine composed of both humans and nonhumans enacted through encounters of various bodies, operating both on the cognitive and affective/pre-reflective levels.

### **2.1.2 Minor<sup>103</sup> Models and Counter-hegemonic Ecologies**

In the previous subsection, the groundlines of the mainstream political communication were laid down that operating through communications infrastructure and diverse technologies and generating classifications, categories, identities, fixities, representations, and circulation of messages among human actors such as representative, represented, and non-represented or under-

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content (see Potter & Bolls, 2012) holds an embodied cognitive perspective, while employing techniques of electroencephalogram (EEG), fMRI (functional magnetic resonance imaging), galvanic skin response tests, facial electromyography (EMG) and other neuroscientific methods to experiment psychosomatic responses to media content (Soroka et al., 2018; see also Esopenko et al., 2012).

<sup>103</sup> For the differentiation between “major” and “minor” in case of politics see Kara (2019) on the theorization of “minor politics”.

represented. Using Deleuze and Guattari's terminology, the mainstream model can be named as major forms of political communication. Besides, it reflects the game of chess in comparison to game of Go in terms of their game pieces, game boards and spaces, movement, and categories (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, pp. 352-353). In the game of chess, in which the game pieces have specific fixed and unchanged classifications and positions incorporating predetermined movement patterns within a coordinated space. As against chess, in the game of Go, which is nomadic, pieces are nameless stones having the same shape, only with "situational" properties, and in which the main objective is the expansion of territory to get the most of it as against the opponent (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980/1987, p. 353). Major political communication corresponds to chess model. The chess model of political communication operates among coded human actors settled on fixed characteristics and moving according to planned patterns, representing fixed qualities on predetermined spaces and temporalities.

Attempts to solely enhance representation is about admitting a classificatory machine operating according to predetermined categories, fixed qualities within limited prisms of movement. For instance, Zerey and Akin (2019) narrates the movement of *#wedisperse* [*#dağılıyoruz*] during 2016 Istanbul Pride as a dispersal of a multitude of bodies generated a comprehensive conception of media as a discursive/performative space, a digitally/physically acentric communication pattern that cannot only be grasped within the boundaries of mass communication perspectives (p. 223). The conception and practice of "queering media" (Zerey & Akin, 2019) as a material/discursive spread distorts the fixed relations and hegemonic commands while performing and bodily dispersing a gathering through the physical/digital space (pp. 223–225). This approach consists material/discursive performances cutting through hegemonic layers within an expanded definition of medium. It is rather a non-representational performance inverting urban spatiality spreading through the streets, gathering not as a mass on a square, but becoming acentric and thus altering the normative policing command "Disperse!" into a new composition. This embodied act of dispersal as a political creation generated an acentric communication pattern through the entangled physical/digital space.

In search of discovering “modes of composition”, Nick Thoburn (2003) theorizes on “minor politics” extending Deleuze and Guattari’s approach to minor literature. Referring to Deleuze’s (1995, p. 175) statement of “creating has always been something different from communicating”, Thoburn (2003) put forward the minor political questions involving “how we are composed?” and “how we create?” rather than “are we communicating enough?” or “are we all heard?” (p. 20). In this line, regarding politics “as active experimentation” (Deleuze & Parnet, 1977/2007, p. 137), minor political communication should be grasped as non-representational, as political creation of new arrangements, new media that increase our capacities to act, while de-composing fixed and regulated relations. Then, “we disperse!” movement indicates a minor form of political communication, or following Thoburn (2006, pp. 42–56) let us say noncommunicative “political creation” transcending categoric processes of communication. This perspective is focusing on the non-linear enaction rather than a linear source-target relation, such as to say and to be heard, to send and receive messages. Stepping on Deleuze’s “vacuoles of noncommunication”<sup>104</sup>; creative noncommunication of minor politics differs from the chess model of major political communication and it is about proposing to escape the predetermined characteristics and to make breaches in the major model of communication while simultaneously creating and composing collectivities bringing forth novelty, expansion, and propagation of new networks.

This brings forth a new grasp of communication as an on-going process of creative composition and de-composition humans together with nonhumans embedded in an environment. Thus, minor political communication is about creation and modes of composition differing from the major political communication incorporating classificatory, identity-based and regulated forms among fixed actors and positions, such as political parties, media and citizens. Apart from humans and things, animals and all other species and nonhuman actors can be

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<sup>104</sup> With this concept Deleuze (1995, p. 175) put emphasis on cyberattacks, hacking and piracy. Besides, we must add “urban hacking” on both digital and physical practices (Valjakka, 2020). Although, they contribute into the hijacking practices and political creation, these practices far less unauthorized than cyberattacks and piracy to be able to struggle with the regime of the control societies, as in Deleuze’s sense.

involved in political communication processes extending beyond habitual boundaries, actors, and spaces of political communication to generate an assembly of species (Meijer, 2019). Minor politics, queer theory and politics bring forth a perspective and ability to encompass material/discursive compositions and decompositions through their unregulated, dispersing, contagious and nonrepresentational insights.

Against the major models, political communication is also grasped through the conceptions of “critical media” (Fuchs, 2011), “independent”, “horizontal”, “autonomous” media (Rauch, 2015, p. 125), “rhizomatic media” (Carpentier, 2016), or “autonomist model of political communication” (Thoburn, 2011). “Radical political communication”, according to Bacallao-Pino (2016), refers to debunk the exclusionary boundaries of major political communication composed of political parties and bring forth an inclusive conception and practices of counter-hegemonic actors and groups. Treré and Mattoni (2016) for their part review different perspectives in media ecologies to generate inferences and to develop new paths to be used in analysing media ecologies of protests. Here, we should add the conception of “media activism” (Pickard & Yang, 2017) and “video activism” in parallel with the development of ICTs, mobile technologies, and internet (Harding, 1997; Berensel, 2017). In this context, Maurizio Lazzarato (2019) draws attention to the materiality of video technology expressing it as “machinic assemblage” interweaving “asignifying flows” corresponding to “waves” with “signifying flows” corresponding to “images”<sup>105</sup> (p. 81). Thus, for Lazzarato (2003), images are not only representations but material interventions that are “constitutive of reality” highlighting the horizon of possibilities for the generation of novel material/discursive creations. They afford the potential to generate affective encounters, events, and atmospheres rather than only representing and producing content. Minor political communication perspective provides potentials to alter the captivating dependencies and to create new material/discursive compositions,

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<sup>105</sup> Considering the materiality of videoing and images beyond “signification”, Lazzarato (2019) posits video recording as “an electronic paintbrush”, that weaves images which are constituted through interactions between these flows (pp. 110, 148).

affordances, and non-representational, immanent practices. Besides, it has potentials to open up the ways to consider and highlight materiality in media activism in particular<sup>106</sup> and political communication in general.

Discussing the materiality of radical media, anthropologist Shannon Mattern (2012) clearly emphasize that radical practices operate not only through content, but also through the materiality of medium. In this line, political communication as a whole should not be grasped only by representation and content, rather as an on-going assembling and creation process of material/discursive compositions. Similarly, Jussi Parikka put forth an ecological and a “geological” perspective incorporating an activist/artistic/critical stance on media (Parikka, 2015) and a “non-mediatic media materialism” (Parikka, 2016), considering the materiality of media through environmental processes, earth systems, geological formations, elements, minerals, human waste, with regards to material composition and de-composition of media beyond media.

Overall, a materialist ecological thinking on media, explodes the field and re-assembles it within a planetary complexity. In this context, grasping media as arrangements (Jenkins & Zhang, 2016; Harper & Savat, 2016; Bryant, 2014; Parikka, 2010) provides a handy tool while dealing with minor political communication, to take material/discursive, human/nonhuman associations into account to consider dependency relations engulfing these activities and to highlight the horizon of possibilities for political creation and paths to escape fixed relations and to generate new material/discursive encounters.

## **2.2 POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND URBAN SPACE**

Drawing on the abovementioned discussions, I am shifting the focus on the embodied and material aspects of political communication through urban space and their entanglement. Here, I associate political communication with urban communication studies. Urban communication is political and political

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<sup>106</sup> Shannon Mattern’s (2012) presentation discusses the materiality and aesthetics of radical media and activism through the production, distribution, and consumption processes.

communication is urban. This perspective grasps political communication occurring through the manipulation of urban space and engaging with the embodied experience of its users. But first, what do we mean by city, urban, countryside or rural?

### **2.2.1 Overcoming the Nouns: City, Countryside, Urban, Rural**

Lefebvre states (1968) that humans produce themselves out of nature (p. 81), having consciousness mediated by language, communicating with, within and through their surroundings, and in social relations with other human beings (p. 67). Then, shaping the nature as our own body as Marx said, we produce our settlements, the city and the countryside as extensions of ourselves out of nature. Well, how did this division of city and countryside emerge?

In *German Ideology*, Marx and Engels (1976) stated that the city-country divide emerged from the division of “mental and material labour” culminated through history and sharpened with capitalism (p. 64), accompanied with the separation of industry and commerce from agriculture (p. 32, see also Lefebvre 1970/2003, p. 34-5). Following Marx, Lefebvre (1968) underlines this division that the city as “administrative, political and military” entity living “parasitically upon the countryside” while gradually increasing its domination that later “supplants the countryside” with the capitalist mode of production (p. 43, see also Lefebvre, 1970/2003, p. 8-9). As Lefebvre (1970/2003) states, the spread of “urban fabric” turns into a metastatic process infusing the countryside that was plugged into the city (p. 14-16). In both Marx and Lefebvre, cities emerged through the agricultural surplus through their “parasitic” relation to countryside (Lefebvre, 1968, p. 43; 1970/2003, p. 8) and countryside as the site of agricultural production that mediates between the nature and the city (Elden, 2004, p. 129). This conception on the emergence of cities dependent on agriculture can also be found in Gordon Childe (1950), in Marxist world history (Harman, 2002), or in Max Weber’s (1921/1966) terms reflecting the same division that cities as centres of “trade and commerce” dependent on agriculture (p. 66-67). On the contrary, Jane Jacobs’ (1970) and later

Ed Soja's (2000) studies, referring to case of Çatalhöyük<sup>107</sup>, proposed that cities emerged before the agriculture. In this line, Soja (2000) defined cities with the concept of "synekism" that is leading to agglomeration for a creative synergy (pp. 3-4; 12-15).

Through their evolution, the cities operate as arrangements increasingly in need of and desired for the 'beyond'<sup>108</sup>, which is accelerated with capitalism. This process culminates in the long run what Lefebvre (1970) calls the total urbanization of the planet (see Brenner 2015). This is indeed the character of the "capital" as "the endless and limitless drive to go beyond its limiting barrier" as Marx stated (1973, p. 334). Marx (1973) put forth that "every limit appears as a barrier to be overcome" (p. 408) as in the case of capital overcoming its own limits, including the spatial limits "annihilating space by time" by means of communications infrastructures as extensions of human body (p. 524) together with social, political, and cultural ones (Harvey, 2017, pp. 130-131). In this process of overcoming, simultaneously and gradually, the city itself becomes pathological, poisoning nature that was once mediated by the countryside (Lefebvre, p. 92). This was a point that Marx (1988) underlined that literally "the *sewage* of civilization ... comes to be the *element of life*" (p. 117, italics in original), that the sewage system becomes extended, accompanied with the process called "planetary urbanization" (Brenner, 2015), the endless and recurrent destruction of the cities (Harvey, 2012, p. 82).

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<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, Ian Hodder (2011), archaeologist and the excavator of Çatalhöyük, states that there are not enough evidence supporting that Çatalhöyük can be classified as a "town" that involves division of functions, rather in this case all the functions of such "agglomeration" performed in the house (p. 946).

<sup>108</sup> This desire for 'beyondness' collectively operates in alliance with urbanization and mediatization. As David Harvey underscores capitalism's fellow ally is urbanization is soaking "the surplus products" widening itself at all scales simultaneously through dispossession (Harvey, Rebel, p. 22). In order to surpass the physical limits, as Harvey (2001) narrates, capital intervenes by means of "spatial fix", namely fixing spatial arrangements to optimize the flows of energy, goods, people and knowledge, while requiring new and expanded obdurate arrangements throughout geographies accompanied with "technological change" in order to deal with the existing and further possible crisis of overaccumulation of the capital (pp. 24-25). Following Marx, Harvey (2001) underlines that capitalism, in order to overcome any boundary, operate within the dialectic of fixity and mobility while causing a destructive expansion, a metastatic dispersal to create new spaces to soak again more surplus and accumulating capital anew (pp. 24-25).

There is also a need to differentiate between ‘city’, ‘urban’ and ‘urbanization’, following Brenner and Schmid’s (2015) and Mathew Gandy’s (2018) recommendation. Gandy (2018) underlines “the city as a social and political arena” while “urbanization, as a broader set of socio-ecological and sociotechnical entanglements” (p. 103). On the other hand, for Brenner and Schmid (2015) the city as a mainstream conception and seemingly a frozen unit that cannot deal with the complexity of planetary urbanization process --while criticizing Louis Wirth’s definition of city as a demarcated heterogeneous agglomeration distinct from the countryside-- to pass beyond the divides of city and non-city, urban and rural (pp. 152, 165-166). Following Lefebvre, they stated that urban is a “multiscalar process of sociospatial transformation” that cannot correspond to the city as demarcated territory (pp. 165-166). In fact, the differentiation between urban and city goes back to 6<sup>th</sup> century Iberic peninsula, to Isidore of Seville (2006, p. 305):

A city (*civitas*) is a multitude of people united by a bond of community, named for its ‘citizens’ (*civis*), that is, from the residents of the city (*urbs*) [because it has jurisdiction over and ‘contains the lives’ (*contineat vitas*) of many]. Now *urbs* (also “city”) is the name for the actual buildings, while *civitas* is not the stones, but the inhabitants.

*Civitas*, then refers to the “social bond” of multitude gathering and contained under “the law”, “institutions” and “values”, within the *urbs*, composed of the walls and the material arrangements, while these two are conceived as distinct, they are co-constituted (Penry, 2019, p. 44). Brenner (2019) also underlines this distinction that *civitas* referring to “a bounded political space formed by social relationships and public associations” and *urbs* to “an infrastructure of sociospatial interdependence” and since it encompasses communications infrastructure and not just the walls, *urbs* expands beyond the demarcated area of *civitas* (p. 353, fn. 31). Thus, the social/political life of city, *civitas*, is always already urban and infrastructural. Here, recalling Latour (1990) that it is not the so-called social bond of *civitas* that is holding us together, *civitas* is rather what is hold together through *urbs*. In this line, Amin and Thrift’s (2017) proposal for “seeing like a city” is a call for flattening the divide of *urbs* namely the built environment and infrastructures with *civitas* which is the social relations among citizens, to generate a machinic

perspective of “Homo Civitatis” as entangled with nonhumans forces and infrastructures, as sociotechnical and socionatural (p. 68-70). The city that they are underlining is a complex machinic arrangement of multitudes of nonhumans and humans (p. 70), not simply as “territorial formations” but as “a mangle” (p. 9), and as “infrastructural entanglement” that is composed of our extensions mediating our lives (Amin & Thrift, 2017, p. 33). Shifting our perspectives from sceneries and insulated entities to dynamic arrangements, this also echoes what Keller Easterling (2014) states that infrastructures as medium having technopolitical agency, acting both as hardware and software and not mere decoration.

Overall, as Amin and Thrift (2017) concludes this “republic” of infrastructures themselves emerged as the new centres of gravity of “political action” (p. 7). It becomes clear that politics do not simply restricted with the republic of humans, as in *civitas*, but it is entangled with the republic of *urbs* that is more and more coming to the forefront, in forms of both smoothly functioning utilities depending on extractions and energy, or blackout, waste, pollution. It is this republic as our extended bodies are holding tight -or dismember- the so-called social. When we attempt to see like a city as Amin and Thrift proposed, we can see it in Thorsten Hägerstrand’s conception of “time-space web” with all its stickiness, its weaving process, including human and nonhuman agencies with their capacities and constraints through their encounters<sup>109</sup>.

Here, I would like to emphasize the parallels between medium/content divide with urban/rural, city/non-city, *urbs/civitas* divides and provide a perspective merging the discussions of the two fields referring to both environmental media

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<sup>109</sup> For Hägerstrand (1970), humans strive to move and operate as “islands” through these time/space geographies, struggling with the constraints constituted by their bio-psycho-social needs and capacities (pp. 149-150). A dialectic of extensions and time-space constraints determine the temporal order and spatial range of activities, their encounters with other humans and nonhumans, entangling with their “life-paths”, generating “bundles” with affordances and constraints (p. 157). We move from bundle to bundle within the boundaries of our time-space “prisms”, disciplined and controlled whether loosely or strictly. The constraints of bundles and domains are composed of durations width, height, volume, norms, rules, laws, or scripts as part determining the boundaries of accessibility to resources and bundles, all having different temporalities (Hägerstrand, 1970, p. 153, 155).

studies and assemblage urbanism considering their similar philosophical lineage mainly drawing on Deleuze, Latour, Spinoza. Referring to change both in the definitions and the material transformation in the case of city and countryside, urban and rural, city and non-city, urban and city or *urbs* and *civitas*, are parallel with the divide of medium and content. Cities were operating through distinct zones in the days of Chicago school research on the cities, and the city were distinct from countryside, the human ecological perspective conceived of it a “laboratory” or “clinic” (Park, 1925/1984, p. 46). As a member of Chicago School, Harold Laswell was well aware of this laboratory and divided the politics into who, what, when, how (1934) and later the communication process (1948) into sender, receiver, medium and content which was later adopted by many communication theories establishing a disciplinary differentiation causing them to sharpen their boundaries. As the city is divided in itself and as distinct from the countryside or as *civitas* distinct from *urbs*, in the case of communication studies, medium grasped as distinct from the content, the senders as distinct from the receivers.

Environmental media studies and materialist media ecologies expanded the ‘medium’ into geologies, atmospheres, resources, material flows, waste and all other molecular processes. Merging this with Amin and Thrift and Hägerstrand provide a crucial foothold for my study so as to follow and depict the material/discursive arrangements of political communication through urban processes and encounters. Handling *urbs* and *civitas* as entangled, the city as “infrastructural entanglement” (Amin & Thrift, 2017, p. 33) becomes the medium of political communication. It refers to a meta-medial process. In this line, I grasp political communication, on a content/medium continuum, as machinic arrangement, as Amin and Thrift did in case of cities. Also, Hägerstrand’s (1970) theoretical construct of the “web of time-space” composed of “life-paths” can be translated into who moves/goes where, bundles and couples with whom and what, for how long, under which constraints (p. 151), which can be related to Lasswell’s set of questions, the 5W. Infrastructures govern and manage the life paths and the activity bundles as processual communicative spaces composed of the encounters of “who”s and and “what”s and that Lasswell (1927) once underlined that “mobility

routes” and “congregating centres” to be used as part of political communication purposes. In this sense, all these life-paths, these bubbles of humans, bundling and unbundling of humans and nonhumans acting through infrastructures can be considered in the processes of political communication that are entangled within a “time-space web” encompassing encounters among capacities, affordances, and constraints. It is as if “seeing” political communication “like a city”.

### **2.2.2 Urban Communication, Political Communication and Materiality**

The interconnected, hybrid and transdisciplinary urban communication studies (Aiello & Tosoni, 2019; Aiello, 2020) and urban media studies (Tosoni et al. 2019; Krajina, 2019; Lokot, 2019; Rodgers et al., 2014) in fact echoes both the divide between *civitas* and *urbs*, and their entanglement. They are dealing with the mediated *civitas* or mediated *urbs*, *civitas* as communication or *urbs* as medium and *urbs* as communicative. Upon these discussions, I grasp political communication as the entanglement of *urbs* and *civitas*, while bringing forth the *urbs*, namely, material organization, built environment, infrastructures and landscapes to the front both as medium and as politically communicative.

In urban communication research, there is a shift from a textual, image-making, and symbolic approach (Gibson & Lowes, 2007) towards an experiential, sensorial and material one (Dickinson & Aiello, 2016). But still, it encompasses all the communicative, co-constitutive processes of urban life and urban space through the acts of “imagining”, “making” and “sharing” together with the spatial, material, and corporeal aspects (Aiello et al., 2017). Moreover, studying communication within and through urban space opens up new horizons to go beyond media-centrism at the junction of communication and urban studies (Tosoni & Ridell, 2016). Recent studies in urban communication research deals with the communicative practices within, through and about the cities, considering the entanglement of matter/symbol and physical/digital spaces while highlighting the embodied encounters through the materiality of urban spaces (Aiello & Tosoni, 2016; Dickinson & Aiello, 2016). According to Aiello and Tosoni (2016) there are three main strands in urban communication research: One is evaluating “city as

context” the mutual relation between media and city, focusing on communication networks, and interaction within the city<sup>110</sup> (pp. 1256-1257). The second approach is handling “city as content” for other forms of media and communication (p. 1258). The last one is about handling “city as medium”<sup>111</sup> of communication while attending to its materiality (Aiello & Tosoni, 2016, p. 1257). In line with the third perspective, Dickinson and Aiello’s article (2016) approaches “urban built environment as a medium of communication in its own right” (p. 1295). Their study, through an embodied perspective both in method and in theory, focuses on urban space in its materiality, as a material medium incorporating movement and bodily interactions. These recent contributions in urban communication research are substantial for the ecological conception of political communication through urban space.

After all, long before these studies, Harold Laswell (1976; 1979), moving political communication research into architecture<sup>112</sup>, environmental design and urban space and putting emphasis on both symbolic and material aspects, anticipated the recent urban communication research with a focus on political communication. In his posthumous oeuvre, *The Signature of Power: Buildings, Communications and Policy* on the relation between built environment and political communication, Lasswell (1979) focuses on his contemporary urban atmosphere and specific edifices in terms of political architecture, silhouettes and spatial arrangement as means of communication and allocation of power and values. In his introduction, Lasswell (1979) evaluates his main problem to deal with the

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<sup>110</sup> See for instance Georgiou (2013) and McQuire (2008).

<sup>111</sup> Here, we should also mention Friedrich Kittler’s (1996) article named “The City is a Medium” in which he describes the city as a medium in terms of its relation to the operations of media. Kittler applies the elementary logic of technological media composed of commands [or processing], addresses [or transmission] and data [or recording] to reconcile the operation of the city/medium (p. 722). Overall, Kittler treats the city as an infrastructure.

<sup>112</sup> See Robert de Fusco’s focus on “architecture as a mass medium” grasping it as a “channel” of mass communication within mass culture and in this line de Fusco put forth a necessity for “architectural semiotics” (de Fusco, 1967). A year later, in 1968, Umberto Eco introduced his grasp of “architecture as mass communication” in “*La Struttura Assente*”, see Leach (1997, pp. 173-195). Also see Umberto Eco (1977) for communicative dimension of urban realm. For further debates on architecture and mass communication, see Claus Dreyer’s review in Nöth (1997, pp. 689–702).

material/symbolic entanglement (p. viii) and he uses the term “culture materials” underlining the material/symbolic manipulation of environment for political communication (p. xiii), with a perspective, I argue, considering both natural and cultural communicative encounters:

A completed structure influences both the symbolic outlook and the behavioural activities of the who adapt to its existence...Whether or not physical resources are specialized to the transmission of messages, they usually have a degree of communicative impact. Presumably, the mountains were not made to speak. Nevertheless, they inspire poets to celebrate their majesty. It is clear that physical resources may be profoundly affected by the purposes, assumptions and identities of those who plan or change them. In the present sketch we are concerned with some of these communicative effects, whether premeditated or inadvertent. We review the past and formulate provisional principles for the analysis and management of environmental design as an instrument of political power. (Lasswell, 1979, p. ix)

Harold Lasswell, in a sense, adapt his theories of communication and content analysis to the built environment in order to evaluate its communicative aspects and to understand the interrelation of political communication and policies in the context of architectural, environmental, and urban design. However, he conducted his research via analysing his own photographs of façades of buildings, edifices, and silhouettes from around the world. Buildings and silhouettes are as if fixed images for the moment tending to conceal their own relationality. Lasswell’s analysis of silhouettes, edifices and façades are inquiries into frozen representational content of urban landscape as if they are communicative materials published, displayed, or broadcasted, such as news, statements, or propaganda visuals or as if they are content within urban medium.

The focus on the material/discursive performances and arrangements as political communication through urban space requires to consider material culture, politics of nonhuman agencies, mundane objects and infrastructures (Hansen et al., 2018; Winner, 1980; Braun & Whatmore, 2010; Bennett, 2010; Pineda, 2010; Marres & Lezaun, 2011; Barry, 2013; Feigenbaum, 2014; Burchardt & Höhne, 2015), materiality of images (Bissell & Fuller, 2017) and all types of arrangements having signifying (cognitive) and asignifying (pre-reflective, bodily, automatic)

impacts. In a recent study, Wendy Willems (2019) is also concerned with “the politics of things” (p. 12), focusing on the vital role of materiality, mobility and spatiality in political communication –such as use of objects, clothing, bodily performances, dancing, vehicles, buildings, infrastructures– and grasping those elements of urban built environment as communicative, concerning the entwinement of the physical and the digital circulation of political messages during election campaigns in the case of Zambia. Bringing forth a valuable contribution to consider the politically communicative dimension of things and spaces and emphasizing the hinge of physical and digital space<sup>113</sup>, Willems (2019, p. 11-13) offers a comprehensive perspective to grasp political communication through everyday encounters –such as graffities and disputes around everyday objects and infrastructures– beyond election periods, while limiting this particular study within the moulds of *major* political communication such as voters, campaigners and the short duration of elections.

Certainly, there are other examples interlinking physical and digital spaces, for instance, for the purposes of commemorations, apart from election periods. A case in point, Hammond (2020) focuses on the management of discursive circulation through joint operations of monument and digital media related to commemorations of 15 July 2016 failed coup attempt in Turkey. In this line, the author conducts discourse analysis of websites and interprets the material organization and design of landscape and monumental site next to the Bosphorus Bridge –later named 15 July Martyrs Bridge— to detect narratives pervading both digital and physical spaces in the making of “memorial publics” (Hammond, 2020).

Apart from communicative practices through material/spatial/political agencies entangling the digital and the physical, recognizing material construction of state through infrastructures (Knox & Harvey, 2015) and transformation of geography and nature through technology, Andrew Denning (2019) narrates a particular context of “infrastructural propaganda” of Italian fascist and colonial

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<sup>113</sup> This recalls Manuel Castells’ (2015) emphasis on the intertwinement of cyber and urban composing the hybrid space of movement as the “space of autonomy” (p. 250).

roadbuilding activities in Africa under Mussolini, conducting a visual culture analysis on the propagandistic images rendered to have support of the Italian people in the mainland and to present power of Italy on the international stage. Although the propaganda prints and visuals studied as part of visual culture, the material arrangement of these colonized space are propaganda practices in their own right conceiving space and intervening into affordances and experiences manipulating bodily movements, patterns, and embodied-cognitive schemas through everyday life. Overall, the case of infrastructural propaganda interweaves the visual and the material culture, the manipulation of physical and symbolic environment.

As a non-media centric study, Anna Feigenbaum (2014) focuses on material objects as communicative agents at the sites of protests, drawing on theories such as actor-network, object-oriented ontology, and new materialisms. Feigenbaum recommends extending the field through studying all forms of objects and matters rather than remain solely within the limits of media and communication technologies producing contents and representation, examining several sites of protests and focusing on tents, tear gas, barricades, placards, and all other objects, matters or atmospheres as politically communicative (see also Brown & Feigenbaum, 2017; Feigenbaum, 2017; Feigenbaum et al., 2013). Feigenbaum (2014) ends her article looking forward “toward a material political communication” encompassing all artefacts to be studied as material agencies of political communication (p. 22). In this sense, a materialist ecology of political communication through urban space and geography is crucial in order to trace and grasp interventions, infrastructures, constructions, demolitions, raw materials, vehicles, accidents, mobilities and material flows as communicative and material/discursive phenomena.

Yet again, long before these recent valuable research<sup>114</sup> concerning the political agency of matters, things, artifacts, nonhumans and infrastructures,

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<sup>114</sup> These recent studies are mainly rooted in the nonhuman, posthumanist and material turn in social sciences, humanities, political theory, and international relations, adding matters, things, objects and nonhumans into consideration.

Friedrich Engels, in the context of protests, underlined the “morale” agency in relation to the materiality of barricades in street fighting in his Preface to Marx’s *Class Struggle in France*:

Even in the classic time of street fighting, therefore, the barricade produced more of a moral than a material effect. It was a means of shaking the steadfastness of the military. If it held out until this was attained, victory was won; if not, the outcome was defeat. This is the main point which must be kept in view, also when examining the outlook for possible future street fighting. (Engels, 1895/2003, p. 27)

In an era of changing urban patterns, such as right after Louis Napoleon’s and Hausmann’s infamous plans in Paris to expand the streets and to make spatial interventions for political and control objectives against battles on streets (Winner, 1980, p. 124), Engels indicated the morale impacts of barricades together with their material obstruction, while putting more emphasis on the morale aspect. Certainly, the encounter with the barricades is material, embodied and affective experience. The morale is enacted through an embodied coupling of humans and affordances embedded in the environment. Engels’ barricades constitute a suitable example concerning the political agency of matters, things incorporating material/discursive arrangements.

In 2018 France, yet in a more pacific way, yellow vests [*gilets jaunes*] build much more than barricades and created new tendencies in using the perceived patterns of urban space during their movement. Apparently, yellow vest movement created new sites of congregation and built their own monuments. They occupied *roundabouts* as against the *square* and the *monument*. For instance, they gathered at and occupy these nodal points of the transportation network to constitute filtering barrage [*barrage filtrant*] in order to slow-down automobilities. They occupied toll booths [*péages*] for free passage. They used tents, constructed wood shelters, yet they were burnt down and then, they deployed caravans.

**Figure 2.1:** Screenshot of a Facebook post displaying the view of the roundabout and replica of Eiffel Tower and Arc de Triomphe and wooden shelters at the exit of toll booth in Cannet-des-Maures



**Source:** Citoyens en Colère Coeur du Var Facebook Page Post (2019)

They constructed replicas of Eiffel Tower and Arc de Triomphe and clothed the Statue of Liberty with the Yellow vest. They applied such instances of material political communication, re-appropriating urban spatial arrangements to generate new material/discursive interventions into mobilities and mobilization. In the context of political communication, adapting a materialist ecology expands the focus from the boundaries of the “multitude of human singularities” into “machinic assemblages” as heterogeneous gatherings of nonhumans and humans (Hardt & Negri, 2017, pp. 121-122). According to Toni Negri, yellow vest movement is fundamentally a pacific movement, a leaderless horizontal organization, a counter-power constituted on fraternity that formed these roundabouts, a multitude (Maximin, 2019). Rather than grasping square as fixed centres for meetings and protests in conventional ways, they re-appropriated urban mobility routes to bring forth new ways to congregate along roads, roundabouts, and toll booths. In this case, yellow vest gatherings operate with a dispersal throughout the extended urban space.

In relation to Yellow Vest movement, we may revise Henri Lefebvre's statements "for" and "against" the monument. "Against the monument", Lefebvre (1970/2003) states that monument is a centre of institutional gravitation generating a colonizing and oppressing arrangement of space, whereas "for the monument", he admits that it conducts people and bestow a conception upon space but also underlines that it is a space of congregation, as "the only conceivable or imaginable site of collective (social) life" (pp. 21-22). Differing from the monument, yellow vest movement transcended this conventional site of gathering.

Back in 2015, architect Eyal Weizman (2015) presented a Post-Arab Spring and Post-Gezi depiction of the entanglement of spatial design with the patterns of protest movements. He illustrated how do roundabouts arrange the patterns of protest gatherings; how do their spatial design and artefacts provide affordances for these gatherings as material/symbolic and affective concentration and how does the material agency of roundabouts make protestors resilient against the police and the military (p. 7-15). The roundabouts also feature a hybrid space emerging out of the encounter of social media interactions with the physical arrangements on the street level (p. 42). Roundabouts serve as the transformers in the traffic system, lowering the speed and transferring drivers to their directions a site of distribution as part of the transportation infrastructure. Thus, blocking this strategic node have a capacity to generate a city-wide impact, obstructing the ordinary flow of everyday life while disrupting the operation of this regulatory device for nonstop circulation (Weizman, 2015, p. 12, 30). Meanwhile, Weizman's examples of roundabouts around the world are in fact embedded in the main squares at the city centers. Yellow Vest movement, on the other hand, occupied the roundabouts more in rural areas of "a forgotten France", states French historian Christian Delporte (Mazoue, 2019).

As opposed to protest occupations of roundabouts, Kızılay Square of Ankara would be a counterexample for the transformation of a political square into a traffic intersection, upon the 1980 coup in Turkey (Batuman, 2002/2020, pp. 68-72). As Batuman states, the deployment of infrastructural projects including a metro station, generated a police order, together with surveillance systems making

“transportation” as the sole “legitimate spatial practice” in the square, producing a space of nonstop of circulation (p. 72). In Jacques Rancière’s words (2010) the square turns into “a space of circulation”, materially directing people to “move along” (p. 37). In contrast, all these roundabout occupations mentioned above as embodiment of politics, attempted to form what Rancière calls “a space for the appearance of the subject” (p. 37).

Highway infrastructure, routes and roundabouts afforded new ways of gathering, political communication as creation, composition outside the city centres and squares. Similarly, the increased police presence, surveillance and control mechanisms in city centres and the siege of squares, such as in the case of Istanbul, exploded protest movements towards recent infrastructurally colonized parts of urban region, from asphalt streets and concrete squares to muddy paths, for instance walking events of *Either Canal or Istanbul* [*Ya Kanal Ya İstanbul*] initiative<sup>115</sup> protesting against the controversial mega project called *Canal Istanbul*.

Drawing upon above discussions and from an ecological perspective, urban space becomes medium/content of political communication with all its materialities, arrangements, encounters, and processes. It is an arrangement through which political communication operates and composed of things having material/political agencies. Overall, things gather for political communication to operate as suasive forces through what they afford and what they captivate.

### **2.3 MATERIAL RHETORIC STUDIES, RHETORICAL SPACES AND ATMOSPHERES**

For ages, rhetoric evaluated in relation with persuasion either for good or evil purposes. Emerging from an oral culture, it is primarily based on speech and its influences on the addressed audience (*Gorgias* 450b-c). Contemporary definitions (Lilleker, 2006, p. 182; Cos, 2008, pp. 716-717) –still relying on the ancient ones– state that rhetoric operates through speech and symbols, their

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<sup>115</sup> See the twitter account @yakanal\_yaist of Ya Kanal Ya İstanbul Koordinasyonu [“Either Canal or Istanbul” Coordination].

manipulation and shaping of messages to persuade an audience in an intended and strategic way, which is pivotal to campaigning, propaganda and political communication through diverse media. In this sense, the following subsections overview the studies on rhetoric regarding materiality, spatiality, and nonhuman agencies, which are crucial contributions to consider while grasping ecologies of political communication.

Going back to Ancient Greece, for Gorgias, rhetoric refers to an art with the capacity to “persuade by speech” in front of gatherings (*Gorgias* 452e 1-7). In his *Encomium of Helen*, Gorgias states that “speech is a powerful ruler” like a tyrant, having the ability to manipulate and to arouse different emotions (*Encomium*, 8-9). Besides, to mould minds in a specific way operating through deception, speech incorporates a pharmacological working upon mental processes, as drugs do on bodies (*Encomium*, 14). On the other hand, for Socrates, rather than classified as art, it is a talent in terms of “flattery”, a talent “producing a certain gratification and pleasure” (*Gorg.*, 462c 3-7); a practice of “instilling persuasion in the souls of an audience” based on opinions [*doxa*], on deception and not on knowledge [*episteme*] (*Gorg.*, 454e; 459c-e; 465b) through ascertaining machines to persuade and rather than having a particular quality, to generate a desired appearance among people clinging to opinions (*Gorg.*, 459c). Overall, it basically refers to a process of arrangement to generate persuasive impacts to reach certain ends, desired outcomes.

Socrates’ and Gorgias’ words on rhetoric later developed by Aristotle in a more systematic way. For Aristotle, it is the ability in each particular case to detect “the available means of persuasion” on any subject (*Rhetoric*, 1355b26f). In this sense, it is about theoretically and practically detecting things and devices that affords suasive potentials and the ability to make associations with these things. The purpose of detecting those things is to empower the elements of the triad of persuasion, “*ethos*” (to have character composed of “practical wisdom”, “virtue” and “good will”), “*pathos*” (to manipulate emotional becoming of an audience) and “*logos*” (to produce logical arguments), which all three grasped as the “artistic

proofs” of rhetoric, to be “*invented*” (*Rhet.*, 1356a). Besides there are “inartistic proofs” referring to the things already existing external to the rhetor, such as evidence to be “*used*” (*Rhet.*, 1355a). In this sense, rhetoric is constituted by the acts of using and inventing things that afford persuasive capacity. The process of rhetoric is enacted through encounters and gathering of things within dependency relations and all these elements related to speaker and speech coupled with an audience embedded in a particular material environment. Yet beyond solely focusing on language and speech, rhetoric comprehensively indicates communicative practices operating through suasive multiplicities of matter/meaning to constitute arrangements, spaces, encounters, and atmospheres.

### **2.3.1 Material Rhetorics**

Recalling Erving Goffman, Aristotle’s triad of persuasion operates within a “setting” composed of physical arrangement and through “appearance” including management and arrangement of our own body together with significant things—and “manner” which is the way we use our bodies while presenting ourselves that all three elements—setting, appearance, and manner—constitute the “front stage” where we manage impressions (Goffman, 1959, pp. 22-25). Then, in order to manage the dynamics of persuasive triad (*ethos, pathos, logos*), we need to generate alliances with things that are both discursive and material.

As Latour (1987) suggests, rhetoric is about mobilisation of “external allies” (p. 61), entering into the suasive relationalities of humans and nonhumans (Latour, 1999, pp. 89-90) and gathering of proofs and things in a “*Dingpolitik*” operating through “matters-of-concern” around which assemblies of humans/nonhumans are generated (Latour, 2005, pp. 19; 22-23). In case of rhetoric, all the things—material and discursive, human and nonhuman, natural and cultural—are themselves suasive operating through arrangements incorporating capacities to alter the ways of dwelling and living a space (Rickert, 2013, pp. 36, 159-160). Considering the intertwinement of brain, body, and environment in the case of rhetorical actions, it is necessary to manage and assemble all the things, bodies and settings that afford suasive potentials.

In this sense, rhetorical processes have plasticity<sup>116</sup> and are enacted through a manifold of encounters. In a more extensive perspective, rhetoric operates in a non-linear way and as perpetually negotiated relations, differing from the conventional linear processes only composed of speaker, speech, and audience. In its classical sense, primarily referring to individual politicians acting at assemblies (Schiappa & Hamm, 2006, p. 5), *rhetor*, now gains a new meaning, rather than solely referring to the human practitioners of this art. *Rhetor* can be considered as a continuously *arranged agency* having the capacity to *arrange* –while depending on– the things affording persuasive potentials. In this line, rhetorical capacities of material things and spaces should be considered as crucial elements in political communication and propaganda activities, which are themselves arrangement processes, beyond individual human actors.

New materialism(s), flat ontologies, actor-networks, material turn, object-oriented-ontologies have great influence on material rhetoric studies<sup>117</sup>, which are drawing heavily on the philosophies of Heidegger, Deleuze and Latour. There are increasing number of studies on material rhetoric and materiality of communication focusing specifically on everyday life and ordinary things (Barnett & Boyle, 2016), urban space and mobilities (Pflugfelder, 2017; Dickinson & Aiello, 2016; Gallagher et al., 2011), marketing and spaces of consumption culture (Miles & Nilsson, 2018) and ecological thinking<sup>118</sup> (McGreavy et al., 2018). In the case of rhetoric through

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<sup>116</sup> Nietzsche described rhetoric as a “plastic art” [*plastische Kraft*] in his course notes at the University of Basel in 1872 and 1873, titled “Description of Ancient Rhetoric” (Gilman et al., 1989, pp. 34-35).

<sup>117</sup> There are differing conceptions concerning the material and ecological approach to rhetoric: “Rhetorical ecology” (Edbauer, 2005), ecologies of rhetoric (McGreavy et al., 2018), “material rhetorical ecology” (Stagliano, 2018), “rhetorical ontology” (Barnett & Boyle, 2016), “ambient rhetoric” (Rickert, 2013), “rhetorical ambience” (Rickert, 2013), “rhetorical agency” (Sowards 2010), “rhetorical bodies” (Selzer & Crowley, 1999), “assemblage rhetorics” (Nicotra, 2016), “rhetorical becoming” (Gries, 2016), “becoming rhetorical” (Gries, 2016), “rhetorical transformation” (Gries 2016); “rhetorical situatedness” (McNely, 2016).

<sup>118</sup> Focusing on ecological care, a recent edited book *Tracing Rhetoric and Material Life: Ecological Approaches* (McGreavy et al., 2018) intertwines material life, ecology, and rhetoric, emphasizing importance of ecological thinking, attunement, care, intervention, and action within the contemporary planetary and environmental issues; drawing on new materialisms, non-anthropocentric flat ontological approaches borrowing vitalist conceptions of Deleuze and Guattari. The common planes of such elaborations are interconnected, intermingling, entwining complex interactions among diverse agencies.

mundane things, Barnett and Boyle (2016) grasp *ontology* as “the pervasive relationality of all things” (p. 9); “an ongoing negotiation of being through relations among human and/or nonhuman” (pp. 8-9) and in this line they define *rhetorical ontology* encompassing processes of “material elements ... interact suasively and agentially in rhetorical situations and ecologies” (p. 2). This ontological approach expands the rhetoric into immense ecologies, beyond the realms of humans conventionally considered as the sole political actor.

Rhetoric, then, operates ecologically and “rhetorical capacities” are dispersed through ecologies and emerge through relationalities composed of human/nonhuman bodies and material relations (Stormer & McGreavy, 2017) beyond the linguistic grasp of rhetoric. In this sense, Pflugfelder (2018) defines the field of material rhetoric as an inquiry into persuasive capacities of nonhumans and nonrepresentational communicative interactions (p. 2). It is clear that material rhetoric provides a focus on nonhumans and the extended capacities of persuasion as a material arrangement and process forming new relations and generating new encounters.

Material rhetoric is indeed a study of material and embodied encounters incorporating persuasive capacities and as a practice it is of managing encounters to generate new suasive compositions. In this sense, it would be fitting to state that it harbours an ethological perspective. Drawing on Spinoza, Gilles Deleuze (1970/1988) suggests that ethology focuses on the encounters of bodies composed through affective relations which increase or decrease their capacities to act (pp. 27-28; 125-126). Since we are not able to know the potentials and capacities of our bodies in advance while encountering others, we cannot know what kind of abilities, doings, becomings and affordances or dependencies these encounters may bring forth (Deleuze, 1970/1988, pp. 125-126). An ethological perspective on rhetoric, according to Greenwalt (2018) focuses on “affective force” (p. 109) and “persuasive power” (p. 110) and in this sense “ethological rhetoric” serves to grasp the forces of “communicative behaviours” among all species (p. 119-20) within wider ecological encounters in which they are entangled with potentials,

constraints, and change. Yet to bear in mind that, in the context of ethology, rather than the behavioural interaction of indivisible and isolated entities (Ansell-Pearson, 1999, 171), encounters are in focus and they indicate machinic processes and arrangements (Ansell-Pearson, 1999, p. 171; Amin & Thrift 2002, pp. 78-79; Hardt & Negri, 2017, pp. 121-122) when evaluated through this ethological sense.

Likewise, ethological approaches on cities (Duff, 2013; Amin & Thrift, 2002) focus on and ask what bodies *do* and *can do* within the urban machinic arrangement and how bodies such as humans, nonhumans, things, infrastructures, and all other material agencies gather through affective encounters, and in which way they affect and are affected in these encounters. In a similar line, recent approaches on architecture provide posthuman, machinic, and ethological grasps to generate comprehensive conception of “built environment as a highly relational milieu and ecology of material-discursive practices” (Gorny, 2018, p. 192). The studies on material rhetorics provide us to think about the materiality of persuasion<sup>119</sup>, in our case asking questions concerning the materiality of political communication, infrastructures, urban space and material/discursive arrangements and interventions as simultaneously material rhetorical processes.

### 2.3.2 Rhetorical Spaces

Human beings with their embodied cognitive and linguistic capacities manipulate their material/discursive environment in order to mobilize persuasive

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<sup>119</sup> Pflugfelder (2017) put forth “material persuasion” to include nonhumans and material agencies incorporating “persuasive capacities” through encounters in everyday life (2017, p. 37). Material persuasion, in this sense, corresponds to “persuasive technologies” that have even tacit and pre-reflective influences on humans, generating a perspective blurring the division between humans and technologies and rather grasping them as intermingling (Verbeek, 2009, p. 232). Here, rather than solely concerned with the fields of computing and digital devices intended to generate persuasive interventions into “attitudes” and “behaviours” as technologies of the self-conduct (Fogg, 2003), persuasive technologies might be found embedded in more extended ecologies such as architectural arrangements, infrastructures or urban space having pre-reflective, visceral impacts, while coercion and persuasion intermingles. Rachel Riedner (2007) clearly states that “neoliberal rhetorics ... are persuasive in material ways in which they craft and direct our very capacities” (p. 651). For instance, Lockton et al. (2008, p. 275) gives examples of persuasive technologies through built environment referring to Langdon Winner’s “Do Artifacts Have Politics?” and to several other example such as park benches with central armrest to obstruct homeless people to sleep and bridges as obstruction for public transport vehicles.

affordances. Rhetors make use of affordances called “tropes” –literally means “turning” or “swerving” and “to turn”— which are tactical devices such as metaphor, metonymy, allegory, or irony invented and performed as practices to manage or alter the plasticity of words, meanings, arguments, and on-going rhetorical processes for the intended persuasive impact (Strecker & Tyler, 2009, pp. 166-167; Kelen, 2007, p. 39). Yet, from the perspective of ecological rhetoric, tropes are more-than-linguistic, material and relational devices that afford turning, aberrating and steering plastic words not only in human speech but including all the things entangled with possibilities and constraints where organisms coupling with environment enacting new capacities through affective material encounters and generating biological expressions within an ecology composed of multiplicities (Keeling & Prairie, 2017, pp. 41; 42; 47). A rhetor’s capacities emerge within the arrangement of things as a result of its coupling with affordances while captivated by dependencies.

According to Michel de Certeau (2002, p.100), rhetorical spatial practices, “rhetoric of walking”, as if tropes in speeches, are “tactical” movements that serve to alter and aberrate the hegemonic order to create new experiences, compositions, and paths for appropriation. For De Certeau (2002), “spatial order” arranges an assembly of affordances and dependences, creating both potentials and constraints, where rhetorical practices in space –bodily movements, walking and gatherings— is about manipulating and aberrating this dominant spatial organization (p. 98). In the case of political communication through urban space or using physical arrangements and depending on affordances of urban space as agencies of political communication, human beings engage in a suasive interaction with what the environment affords for new political compositions. Recalling the protest movements and specifically yellow vest movement –or any other social movement— they are persuaded by what roundabouts afforded in terms of new forms of gatherings, or in other words they discovered the affordances of roundabouts for their gathering strategies. This process indicates a discovery and invention of new assemblies in order to become more persuasive, through their spatial rhetorical practices and tactics mentioned above.

Through the extended urban space, things, nonhumans, humans, and their embodied actions involved in these rhetorical operations. Public spaces for gathering, similar to “eloquence”, rhetorically operates within social and political interactions (Rosenfield, 1989, pp. 221-222). “Rhetorical spaces” afford material/discursive empowering and constraining of speeches, ideas, persons and what is to be uttered in that space, managing what to exclude and what to include according to an agenda and conjuncture in hand (Code, 1995, pp. ix-x). In this sense, Carole Blair (1999) emphasizes the materiality of rhetorical space focusing on what a rhetorical artefact “does” rather than “mean” (p. 23), not solely operating through symbols, and not just influencing “the hearts and minds of its audience” but affecting body/mind in its totality through encounters (p. 46). Blair compares the effects and consequences of rhetorical action across diverse media and their materialities regarding “durability” and “vulnerability” of these media ( p. 37) and states that rhetorical spaces and artefacts operate to afford and to constrain embodied actions, working as “agenda-setter” with regard to “attention-worthiness”, acting upon embodied subjects, through physical presences of artefacts –within an ecology of things and humans— controlling and diverting movements, affects and rhythms in space (Blair, 1999, pp. 34, 36). Relatedly, for Mountford (2001) “rhetorical space is the geography of a communicative event” and it is a perspective encompassing the often disregarded natural/cultural and material/discursive dynamics and arrangements of physical spaces influencing communicative actions and processes (p. 42).

As if a political speech or eloquence, rhetorical spaces operate through embodied and affective experiences of material environment involving all types of sensory encounters, apart from verbal and textual elements (Clark, 2004, pp. 4-5). They perform gatekeeping and framing process, a selection and highlighting of particular discourses, orators, speeches through material and symbolic elements (Wright, 2005, pp. 52-53). In the case of public art and material artefacts, they catalyse material/discursive interventions into encounters and vital arrangements of “urban communication” (LaWare & Gallagher, 2007, p. 171), operating as material rhetorical agencies that generates a “space of attention” (Zagacki & Gallagher,

2009), invoking new ways to think and experience through embodied encounters with a purpose of un-concealing obscured relations. In the end, urban space as a whole or parts of it operate as “infrastructure” of urban communication, including the materiality of all “rhetorical-communicative” things constituting a “communicative space” continuously operating through and intervening into embodied encounters (Gallagher et al. 2011, p. 108). The abovementioned perspectives are crucial while dealing with political communication through urban space and its rhetorical becoming, in order to take urban space as a raw material, infrastructure and the content/medium of political communication, as language is for the speech.

### 2.3.3 Ambient Rhetoric and Atmospheric Political Communication

Beyond identifying solely as a symbolic process within the boundaries of human intentionality, Thomas Rickert (2013) put forth rhetoric as “ambient”, which is emergent and experiential stemming from or produced through ongoing material arrangements and the way of arranging humans and nonhumans, and referring to more-than-persuasion, intervening how we dwell, conduct ourselves and embodied experiences –cognitive/affective processes— in and through space (pp. 36; 154-155; 159-60). In this sense, ambience is something pervasive as it is obvious in its etymological root. The word was flourished from the Latin verb *ambire* which literally means “to go around”, “surround” or “encompass” which later gained the meaning of “to canvass for votes”<sup>120</sup> (Lewis & Short, 1891b, p.102), to surround anyone to ask for their votes for an election.

Ambient rhetoric operates on a pre-reflective level like a material/discursive gas pervading the mundane atmosphere that vitally affords breathing and, in this sense, transforming into an impersonal rhetor of neoliberalism and biopower generating an insidiously entrapping ambience (Goodwin et al., 2017, pp. 16-17). The conceptions of ambient and atmosphere bring forth a much more subtle and

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<sup>120</sup> *Ambire* stands for “affectare” and “captare” in the context of canvassing for votes at an election (Dumesnil, 1825, pp. 46–47). Furthermore, the words *ambient* and *ambition* stems from the same root, as canvassing requires an ambitious surrounding to get votes (Nettleship, 1889, pp. 154–157).

sneaky techniques and process of subjectivation, beyond a centralized discipline over individual. As Paul Roquet (2016) states, governmentality becomes much airier and more ambient, meaning that, it is permeated through the atmospheres that we move and breathe in, yet it is not only an imposition, but it implies that individuals are free and in control of their own ambiances, “tuning” them in their own way and regulating their moods accordingly (pp. 14-15). For Roquet, “ambient subjectivation” generates active selves that are enslaved both to “freedom” of choice and self-conduct together with “social control” on a pre-reflective, sensory, affective, and atmospheric level that is a form of control forgotten, automatically experienced, and becomes much harder to detect (pp. 4-8; 10-11; 177). This is also emphasized in the conception of “ambient power” (Allen, 2006) that pre-reflectively, in an asignifying way, operates through atmospheric design of spaces full of affordances in conjunction with the experiences of free, mobile, and self-conducting individuals while generating dependencies, even enslaving into an unescapable web in an imperceptible way.

In this sense, production of atmospheres/ambiances through crafting stages or spatial/material arrangements is simultaneously an “exercise of power”, as is valid for urban environments, constructions, demolitions, architecture, infrastructures, and political stage designs for rallies (Böhme, 2014, p. 46). From a Foucauldian perspective, Christian Borch (2014) underlines that the production of atmospheres generates “atmospheric conduct of conduct” or atmospheric governmentality, operating pre-consciously and affectively, to exert power, to manage and to act upon possible actions (pp.85-86). Borch narrates “atmospheric politics” drawing on Gernot Böhme and Peter Sloterdijk, as an insinuating political technique through design and arrangements to intervene psycho-physically, accustoming and manipulating the weather (pp. 61-62; 72-73; see also Mayo, 1978). On the one hand, referring to Hermann Schmitz’s conception of “technology of impression” in the context of propaganda, Gernot Böhme (2013, p. 6) put forth more comprehensively the “art of staging”, namely engineering and generating “atmospheres” through manipulation and mobilization of communicative arrangements corresponding to a material/discursive and aesthetic governmental

operation (see also Böhme, 2017, pp.164-165). On the other hand, in the case of the use of “tear gas” (see Feigenbaum, 2017) as weapons of “atmospheric governance” (Nieuwenhuis, 2018, see also Feigenbaum & Kanngieser, 2015) that materially permeates the air –as a medium of communication— diminishing the morale and bodily capacities in order to police and control of social movements or contrarily generating affinities and new tactics among protestors through smog and gas canisters as objects of “material political communication” (Feigenbaum, 2014, pp. 20-22). In the last instance, ambient regulation and atmospheric politics are infrastructural, meaning that they are dependent on things and resources that must be sustained and require certain material/discursive arrangements in order to generate and interfere with affective encounters.

In the same manner, infrastructures are atmospheric and operate through an ambient power exposing surrounding landscapes and themselves to those who navigate through. Power relations might operate insidiously through infrastructures and built environment tended to be forgotten, subtly engraved within all the natural/cultural landscapes experienced in everyday life, rather than indicating a central state power of legitimate agencies for violence (Furuhata, 2007, p. 361, 2013, pp. 117-118). Infrastructures, particularly transportation and communication infrastructures such as roads, highways or speed bumps are “rhetorical” that are material/discursively persuade or govern free mobile audience/users for certain directions and locations, to slow down, to accelerate or to prevent mobility<sup>121</sup> (Muckelbauer, 2016, p. 37, see also Bryant 2014, p. 269).

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<sup>121</sup>The examples indicate kind of coercive persuasion or persuasive coercion. They are composed of physical/persuasive affordances that pervades embodied experiences via generating new rhetorical arrangements and atmospheres empowering and constraining actions, while they are subtly subjectivating, stimulating self-conduct or conducting the conduct of others and “governing through mobility” (Bærenholdt, 2013). Together with “subjectivation” addressing individual at a cognitive and symbolic realm, infrastructures as governmentality operates through “machinic enslavement”, captivating subjects as components of machines at a pre-reflective, pre-conscious level when one uses ATM, credit cards, algorithmic systems, or driving car on highways (Lazzarato, 2014, pp. 88-92) while open to detection such as by speed cameras or “yawn cameras” installed on the longest bridge connecting Macau, Hong Kong and mainland China.

The production and governance of infrastructures entangled with landscapes are not only concerned with scenic beauties and wonders, but also with disturbance, devastation, and awe related to developmental works such as excavations, constructions, demolitions, ruination, deforestation, urban debris, and waste. Atmospheres of hyper-construction through urban geographies generates a disturbing ambience while creating an unintended feeling of disturbance, awe and sublime that may put emphasis on development or natural disturbance. In this sense, rhetoric, persuasion and meaning that reside in any material, environmental and infrastructural arrangements are not bestowed upon them solely by human intentions or emerged within the realms of human (Rickert, 2013, pp. 36; 285). Thus it is possible that any material/discursive intervention might reverse and run counter to the purpose of those “who” intended, while the “who” in question is not an individual, but a collectivity, alliances for certain ends.

Relatedly, propaganda is an arrangement for “conducting the conduct” of others and “government of the self” (Wimberly, 2020). As a machine of “ambient subjectivation” (Roquet, 2016) or “atmospheric politics” (Borch, 2014); propaganda through infrastructures and material interventions into landscapes generate atmospheres, both intended and unintended, always open to negotiation. Yet, propaganda coalesces with materials, construction processes, structures, and landscapes, becoming much more insidious, elusive, and impersonal. Infrastructural propaganda work with “aesthetics of construction” (Pendakis, n.d.) pervading mobile and embodied experience, incorporating a “primordial grandeur” (Smithson, 1996, pp. 101-102) and just back in the days of Victorian London it operates through “a new urban aesthetics built around the forms of the tunnel, the trench, the vault and scaffolding” (Nead, 2005, p. 39) whether performing colossal earthworks with convoys of vehicles, erecting monumental buildings, installing power lines, antennas, paving roads and highways, constructing bridges, or excavating for underpasses and tunnels.

All these abovementioned studies provide a perspective to consider the material/discursive and ambient qualities of rhetorical arrangements, spaces and

affordances performing a crucial role in cases of propaganda and political communication activities such as manipulations and management of geographical features, landscapes, urban space and atmospheres by means of environmental design, urban planning, architecture, infrastructures, staging and including counter-hegemonic tactical practices against these interventions.

#### **2.4 INFRASTRUCTURES, VIOLENCE AND POLITICAL AESTHETICS**

Although infrastructures hold a crucial position providing material utility entwined with symbols and virtues, people commonly imagine infrastructures as taken-for-granted, mundane, invisible, background systems (Star, 1999, p. 380), as technologies functioning at the background and as “absent presences” (Ihde, 1990, p. 109). Infrastructures indicate systems operating as technical, spatial, and multi-temporal backgrounds providing vital affordances for cities assembled. They work as “orientation devices” (Ahmed, 2006) directing, assembling, arranging, and familiarizing things, spaces, bodies, and processes embedded in environment with the patterns that bring forth a sense of “comfort” which in turn makes their operation and arrangement to be forgotten (Ahmed, 2006, pp. 134, 167-168) and this conceals all the impacts of segregation, exclusion and control they do.

There is a comfortable forgetfulness while excreting at a modern sanitized bathroom with its glittering closets (Morgan, 2002, p. 176). Whereas the floor may collapse, and you may fall into a septic tank and die, as this was the case at a public toilet in Mumbai in 2015 (Doshi, 2017, p. 125). As Bennett (2010) stated we become aware of infrastructural agency through experiencing their malfunctioning (p. 21) disrupting the comfortable forgetfulness. Apart from malfunctioning, the absence of infrastructures has a great influence on socio-cultural relations and infrastructures and their related issues are deeply gendered. In the aftermath of “No toilet, no bride” campaign in Harayan, India you may not get married if you are a man that does not have a toilet at home (Stopnitzky, 2017) in order to provide sanity, security and comfort for women or in Madhya Pradesh, brides may not get a government aid if grooms did not get a selfie in front of their toilets as evidence (“In Madhya” 2019).

Yet even a technically functioning infrastructure might already be a topic of malfunctioning and obstruction for another social group (Star, 1999). Infrastructures are relational and ecological systems (Star, 1999), “pervasive enabling resources in network form” (Bowker et al., 2010), while contrarily creating barriers and uneven distributions maintaining segregation and implementing “socio-technical geometries of power” (Graham & Marvin 2001, p. 11). They are unfixed more-than-human systems, including nonhuman agencies (Barry, 2017; Jensen, 2017; Maguire & Winthereik, 2017) in the midst of ongoing tensions within social, technical, natural complexities (Harvey et al., 2017) and as hybrid systems their “liveliness” (Amin, 2014) is constitutive of socialities, identities and struggles together with their impact on aesthetic and symbolic experience and vital role in the functioning of city-machine.

On the other hand, infrastructures may not be that much unseen machines at the backdrop, rather they might be clearly apparent as grandiose landmarks (Kaika & Swyngedouw, 2000), modifying aesthetic experiences and ambient conditions while facilitating flow and circulation of goods and people (Larkin, 2013) and addressing subjects to diffuse ideas (Larkin, 2018). Rather than just hidden backdrop of events, infrastructures operate as *medium* or *machine* composed of humans and nonhumans (Amin & Thrift, 2017; see also Bryant, 2014), cutting through and capturing material and energetic flows in order to sustain urban vitality and perpetually control, organize, manage, and negotiate encounters. Similarly, anthropology of roads and infrastructures – a subfield<sup>122</sup> emerging from political anthropology infused with infrastructural and material turn recognizing non-human agencies— focuses on and highlights the material constitution and manifestation of states through infrastructures and their effects on everyday lives. There are other

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<sup>122</sup> Examining the material embodiment of political power beyond ordinary institutional level and grasping the infrastructures as “ethnographic fields” that are shaping the political realm and materially intervening the dynamics of mundane spaces (Harvey & Knox, 2015) or studies focusing on border conditions entwined with infrastructures of mobility and immobility, roads and highways transforming existing material/cultural entanglement, narratives, spatial practices and performances (Dalakoglou, 2017). These studies contribute to shift our gaze into the road as a nonhuman actor to understand relational and complex socionatural and naturecultural atmosphere from the standpoint of infrastructure.

studies (Navaro-Yashin, 2012) examining the “materiality of sovereignty” in terms of manipulation of material relations in geographies, with a political purpose.

A crucial example for the relation of infrastructures and politics would be Jerusalem Light Rail system. As Nolte (2016) states, this urban infrastructure illustrates a “politics of infrastructure” that the system operating as a governmental machine, a control device managing urban communication and a material/symbolic<sup>123</sup> intervention manifesting Israeli urban war annexing Palestinian territories. On the other hand, it is also a space of political encounters, struggles and resistance (Nolte, 2016). Resistance emerges as part of the life stories and personal affective experiences of the “vulnerable bodies” encountering both the police violence (Laszczkowski, 2019) and the infrastructural violence.

There is not only an “infrastructural warfare” referring to strategic attacks and destruction of vital infrastructures (Graham, 2005), but a warfare by means of deploying infrastructures throughout the geographies, accompanied by the “new military urbanism” (Graham, 2012). The rail system also represents a clear instance of “infrastructural violence” by means of construction/destruction, connection/disconnection, inclusion/exclusion, functioning/malfunctioning (Rodgers & O’neill, 2012). As Baumann (2018) underlines again in the case of Jerusalem Light Rail, that through intra-city colonialism and infrastructural siege, the afforded “connectivity” generates violence through convenience, or consent and control through comfort<sup>124</sup>. Infrastructures as medium or machine organize encounters of heterogeneous bodies intervening into capacities of action through their affordances or violence and capturing entities into dependency relations. In this sense, they operate simultaneously as military, political, rhetorical, and

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<sup>123</sup> See Nolte & Yacobi (2015) for political representations of infrastructure in the case of Jerusalem Light Rail. See Baumann (2016) for infrastructural impact on “embodied practices”

<sup>124</sup> In case of Aalborg, Sweden, Olesen (2019) illustrates that light rail infrastructure is deployed as a machine of gentrification to boost the allure of the city for investment as part of neoliberal material/discursive conquest of the city while disregarding essential public functions of transportation. Although sharply different from Jerusalem, the case of Aalborg also depicts a different mask of infrastructural siege and violence, in a so-called peaceful geography of Scandinavia.

communicative constitution of associations entwined with the (uneven) management of vital flows sustaining everyday life.

Anthropologist Brian Larkin (2018) contributes to the studies of political aesthetics in the context of infrastructures. Drawing on Jacques Rancière's conception of political as "distribution of the sensible", Larkin (2018) focuses on political aesthetics of infrastructures in a non-dualistic way encompassing both material and discursive, humans and nonhumans (p. 178). According to Larkin (2018), political aesthetics<sup>125</sup> focuses on the coupling of material/experiential with the symbolic/figural (p. 177-78). In this sense, he emphasizes that infrastructures are both interpellating people while mobilizing things (Larkin, 2018, p. 176, 190), and empowering the movement of "people", "goods" and "ideas" (Larkin, 2013, p. 328) both spectacular and metaphorical as well as technical, both serving for material and ideal/symbolic flows. In this sense, infrastructures are both signifying and asignifying systems, governing encounters, and urban communication, configuring sensory experience, producing atmospheres through their material qualities which in turn constitute the political life of a community enmeshed with on-going dependencies and potentials. Intervening into urban space, infrastructures become agencies of political communication through their own materiality, in embodied encounters with their physical presence and in representational, linguistic, or visual modes.

Since infrastructures are interventions entangled with socio-natural conditions, they correspond to Jacques Rancière's (2010) conception of "police

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<sup>125</sup> Political aesthetics and infrastructures are not limited to major forms, state apparatuses and hegemonic materialities and spatial arrangements. Protest movements and minor political compositions also constitute their own aesthetic field and infrastructures, in the case of protest camps for instance (Brown & Feigenbaum, 2017). Focusing on "aesthetic political action", Bakçay Çolak (2014) defines it as transformative and performative action repertoire, differing from 'festive oppositions', acting on relational socio-spatialities targeting novel publicness, sensibilities, and political potentials (pp. 342-344). A powerful example given is the construction of Revolutionary Youth Bridge in 1969 in Hakkari with the tagline "Bridge to Zap Water, not to Bosphorus" together with other instances of actions such as monumental worker portraits displayed during strikes, hijacking grocery lorries to distribute the goods in slums (Bakçay Çolak, 2014, pp. 346-347). Then, in case of counter-power, minor infrastructures are about appropriation and about constituting novel sensibilities while making breaches in the major infrastructures.

order”, a system operating through “partitioning” and “distributing the sensible” establishing an aesthetic order, a frame demarcating “sensory experience” in terms of what is possible and who is capable, who can act and speak (p. 36), what can be seen, what is sayable and what is audible on the policed stage (Rancière, 1999, p. 29). Overall, police order governs the materiality of communicative encounters. In this line, Bennett (2010) expands Rancière’s conception with a vital materialist and non-anthropocentric interpretation including “abilities of nonhuman bodies” within social assemblages (see also Bryant 2014, p. 206). Infrastructures correspond to police order, organizing, administrating and maintaining circulation of humans and nonhumans through space and time, a specific configuration of “sensory fabric” (Rancière, 2010, pp. 37, 148) or governing modes of everyday life and embodied cognitive schemas, generating dependencies and segregating, excluding, marginalizing communities, within the systems of control, where emerge different sensitivities concerning interventions and projects both in built and resource environment.

Infrastructures presuppose *going concern*, necessitates maintenance, has to be sustained, monitored, and controlled. It has to be policed. Policing is a must to maintain the order of infrastructures and in turn, infrastructures become systems and agents of policing; partitioning and distributing the sensible. Police order fixes, governs, and naturalizes a hegemonic machine which is always open to disruption by means of politics (Dikeç, 2002, p. 94). Since hegemony as “process” constituting “lived experience” (Williams, 2009, p. 111-112), the fixed order is always in negotiation necessitates to consider both the satisfied and comfortable individuals and dissenting political subjects.

Apart from configuring the spaces and sensory experience, infrastructures operate as an immanent part of social space which is a complex relationality of communicative arrangements and interconnected webs (Lefebvre, 2009, p. 241) and which is involved in the “means of production”, in the “forces of production” while operating as “means of control” (Lefebvre 1991, pp. 26; 347, 349). Infrastructures “dominate” space through engineered impositions cutting through

landscapes, such as in the case of highways (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 164-65). Infrastructures as “logistical media” (Peters, 2015, p. 37; Rossiter, 2016, pp. 4-5) conceive space and arrange movements, encounters of things and bodies. Besides, infrastructures can be grasped as “logistical power” (Mukerji, 2010) referring to the capacities for the mobilization of resources to exercise power and generate political outcomes through sociotechnical interventions into geographies, landscapes and built environment, physically altering existing arrangements (Mukerji, 2010, p. 404).

More than just technical systems, infrastructures become the sites of “political action” (Amin & Thrift, 2017, p. 6) that operate as a machinic arrangement capturing both human and nonhuman actors together into a dependency relation. Infrastructures shape and mediate aesthetic experiences and everyday encounters, naturalizing their police order, bringing forth new patterns and mobilizing resources together with affording vital inputs and energies to maintain cities as “machine” (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p. 78) and as “entanglement” (Amin & Thrift, 2017, p. 33). Apart from providing utilities, infrastructures themselves become landmarks, political agencies, material/discursive arrangements, and also “non-signifying media” (Bryant, 2014, p. 101, 269) governing urban communication, mobilities and encounters.

In his *Empire and Communications*, Harold Innis (1950/1986) approaches all arti-facts and geo-facts as medium of communication that creates change in the social, cultural and political ecology. He examines the river Nile, for instance, as an actor, a material agent in Ancient Egypt’s political ecology: “The Nile acted as a principle of order and centralization, necessitated collective work, created solidarity, imposed organizations on people, and cemented them in a society” (Innis, 1950/1986, p. 32). From the perspective of media ecologies, communications were always infrastructural depending on nonhuman capacities.

Coding of messages were material acts throughout geographies; for instance, lighting up the beacon towers connecting Cilicia to Constantinople, using wood, oil, fire, and smoke, within the territories of Byzantine Empire. In the case

of Inca Empire, messages were coded onto ropes with predetermined binding styles called *quipu*, as a memory device used by messengers named *chasqui* who were running kilometres through the imperial territories. This arrangement of rope, body, muscles, lungs, breathing, thirst, hunger, geographical features, and road infrastructure covering the imperial continent, corresponds to a materialist media ecology.

White roads [*sacbe'ob*] of Mayan civilization a transportation infrastructure covered with limestone plaster, are evaluated in terms of different purposes such as spatial organization of political power, as symbolic and ritualistic infrastructure, and arranging encounters among social groups (Witschey & Brown, 2012, p. 273). River Nile, Mesopotamian Euphrates and Tigris, Sumerian and Babylonian canals and waterways, Persian Royal Road from Persian Gulf to the Aegean coasts, roads built by Alexander the Great, Roman road and postal system *Cursus Publicus*, Mongol *Yam* relay system of communications, Russian communications system and road of *Vladimirka* infamous for exiles connecting Europe to Siberia, Byzantine beacon towers and inherited Roman roads which are transformed into Ottoman *Menzil* system are all political, economic and cultural infrastructures with their material/symbolic impact on landscapes and geographies.

In the end, infrastructures have the ability to mobilize materials, objects, data, people, ideas and affects, deploying asignifying operations and enabling signifying flows while also politically mobilizing operations on the signifying cognitive level and on the pre-reflective, affective level. Infrastructural interventions are arrangements “splintering” the urban (Graham & Marvin, 2001), working as urban gatekeeping machines generating segregated connectivities that modify and manipulate natural/built environment in order to have political and economic influence while propagating ideas through intervening into aesthetic and material/discursive arrangements, affordances, and dependencies.

## **2.5 PROPAGANDA ECOLOGIES AND GEOGRAPHIES : INFRASTRUCTURAL INTERVENTIONS AND MATERIAL/DISCURSIVE ARRANGEMENTS**

In his *Siyasatnama* –containing the earliest instances of advises on political communication— Seljuki vizier Nizam al-Mulk (1018-1092), at the very beginning of the first chapter, *On the Turn of Fortune’s Wheel*, mentions the importance of public works and infrastructures for a ruler and his subjects. The author also underlines the importance of maintaining infrastructures to care about its subjects and even animals living under a ruler. This is a sacred and divine issue that the one who has power to rule whether he is a shepherd or a ruler, will pay the price for their decisions (Nizam al-Mulk, 2002, p. 12). A story about a questioning narrates a son’s waiting for his father in his dreams, however the father could not manage to appear in his dreams due to such questioning:

O son, I was occupied, because in the country around Baghdad a bridge had become dilapidated and officials had not attended to repairing it. One day a sheep’s fore-foot fell into a hole on that bridge and was broken. Till now I have been answering for that. (Nizam al-Mulk, 2002, p. 13)

More than that, Nizam al-Mulk (2002) narrates another story concerning the relation between virtues and materiality of public improvements: “Let the city of Homs be protected by a wall of justice, and let the roads be purged of fear and violence. Then there is no need for bricks and mortar, stones and lime” (p. 242). On the one hand, there is development and maintenance of infrastructures as virtuous accomplishments. On the other hand, there is the metaphorical use of infrastructural and construction materials to put emphasis on virtues as if they are materials and infrastructures sustaining the state. Virtuousness of infrastructural works and infrastructures of virtues are enmeshed. The morals of these fables are about virtuously caring and maintaining convenience for the subjects and making lands prosperous both for humans and nonhumans. Without those seemingly immaterial, discursive elements, material configurations could not be maintained. This again underlines how material and discursive elements are entangled. Relatedly, Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror reigned between 1451-1481, reportedly

said that “The artfulness is to build up a city, it is to win the hearts of subjects, making them prosperous”.<sup>126</sup> As seen, throughout the history, winning the hearts and minds is an operation of manipulating and modifying material/discursive affordances, about generating a propaganda arrangement through the manipulation and modification of entangled matter/meaning.

**Figure 2.2:** Dinocrates’ Design of Alexander on Mount Athos, engraving by Austrian architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1721) from *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur*



**Source:** Wikimedia Commons

Having similarities with Machiavelli however misnamed as “Indian Machiavelli” (Rangarajan, 1992, p. 36), strategic thinker and political advisor Kautilya Chanakya (375-275 BC) had ideas on urban planning in relation to political strategies (Deshkar, 2010). Machiavelli (1469-1527) on his part expressed

<sup>126</sup> “Hüner bir şehir bünyad itmekdür. Reâyâ kalbin âbâd itmekdür”, Sultan Mehmed the Conqueror’s aphorism was quoted by Recep Tayyip Erdogan at the groundbreaking ceremony on October 29, 2013, as the Prime Minister and at the opening ceremony of the Beğendik Bridge on July 11, 2020 as the President of the Republic of Turkey.

the importance of public works, “dikes” and “dams”, used them as a metaphor in his recommendations on politics for taming the rivers of *fortuna*<sup>127</sup>. In this line, Machiavelli narrated the dialogue<sup>128</sup> between Alexander the Great and Dinocrates the Architect concerning the place and design of a city build for his glory, underlining the contradiction between sublimity and fertility. Dinocrates recommended an anthropomorphic design on the Mount Athos emphasising his extraordinary strength and splendour. However, Alexander laughed at the design and built the city of Alexandria instead, regarding the fertile and convenient lands at the coast of the Nile and the sea (Machiavelli, 1996, *Discourses* I. 5, p. 9).

The gigantesque carving disregards flooding of river *fortuna* both metaphorically and materially. It does aggrandize the emperor by using slave labour to carve the mountains in the short run. However, in the long run, it is not an infrastructure to sustain life in a city that is incorporating both his name and his colossal body replica carved on a geographical structure. It ignores the ups and downs in the conditions sustaining his power. Also, following Kant, such a sublime design needs to be affectively experienced in an appropriate distance. People living within the carving is too close to feel such an effect. On the other hand, this gigantesque carving of emperor’s body image on the mountain may expose to the gazes of enemies. Also, this carved image is unprotected against the natural events eating it away, enacting day by day its vulnerability through weathering and materially wearing down. This indicates the inseparability of materiality and discursivity of rhetorical artefacts and their capacities within the environment.

Rather than an anthropomorphic design, positioning the settlement on the waterfront of river Nile –a natural infrastructure providing both fertility and communications— is to make an alliance with a nonhuman to build a city for his glory. Constructing dikes and dams during the days of still waters is like an

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<sup>127</sup> In Machiavelli’s conception, *fortuna* means fortune referring to events out of control, which are imposing novel conditions to be overcome and to get through. In this sense, *virtu* is the plasticity of action and capacity to alter tactics and strategies in accordance with the encountered events and their changing conditions or weather of fortune.

<sup>128</sup> Long before Machiavelli, this anecdote was narrated by Vitruvius in his book *De Architectura*.

emphasis on the coupling of the imperial power and geographical features through infrastructures. Referring to Bruno Latour, political decisions and their communication requires an on-going negotiation about making “Machiavellian” alliances both with humans and nonhumans (Latour, 1987, pp. 124-125; see also Sismondo, 2010, pp. 81-84). This refer to the ability of using “affordances” which are possibilities of actions embedded in the environment (Gibson, 1979/2015) and which are becoming nonhuman allies through power relations, in other words, through management and manipulation of affordances and their enmeshed dependencies.

Together with Latour (2005, p. 72), and following Foucault’s (2001) conceptions “exercise of power” that refers to “sets of actions on possible actions” and “management of possibilities” (p. 341) in which concept of affordances is very apt to introduce as constitutive parts of power relations, since they empower, enhance, and stir or constrain, bridle and entrap possible actions. In Foucault’s (1991) terms, government is exercised through a “complex composed of men and things” (p. 93), as if “governing a ship” en-route to the destination port struggling with all meteorological events, bathymetric maps to avoid shallow waters, shores, navigating on the predetermined routes, complying with the laws for international waters and straits, and managing crew to securely deliver the freight, that is to sustain and manage the human and nonhuman alliances through mercurial environments (Foucault, 1991, p. 93). In line with Foucault’s ship, propaganda can be grasped as means of “conducting the conduct of others” (Wimberly, 2017; 2020). As means of managing possibilities, propaganda – and political communication- is not only a human operation among other humans, but it is composed of alliances of human and nonhuman actors, with an end of purposeful arrangement of things in order to govern.

Political philosopher Johannes Althusius (1603/2005) defines politics as “symbiotics” or “the art of associating”, and its concern is of those who gather to live together, in *symbiosis*, in order to set up, organize, sustain, and preserve their associations through communication (pp. 27-28). For Althusius (1603/2005),

“symbionts” gather through a contractual association in which they “communicate among themselves whatever is appropriate for a comfortable life of soul and body” and through “communication” of “things”, of “works” and of “rights” they preserve and maintain this life in association (p. 28).

Latour’s concept of “associations” (1990; 2005) expands Althusius’ “art of association” to include nonhuman actors (see McGee, 2014; see Paquette, 2019, p. 11-2). Althusius’ concept of *association* of humans through communication – referring to “sharing” and “commonness”— anticipates these perspectives to an extent. Yet, Latour’s study of associations encompasses nonhuman actors other than humans. In this sense, according to Latour, power is of “associations” and these associations are socio-technical that are “made durable” by the “glue”<sup>129</sup> as “sciences and technologies” (Latour, 1984, pp. 276; 278, see also Latour, 1990). This adhesive agent is indeed made up of the associations of different ingredients. Thomas Edison, Louis Pasteur, Rudolf Diesel or Frédéric Joliot are the names of associations generating Machiavellian alliances through exercising “translation” (Latour, 1987, p. 108-21; 125; 128-29). However, referring to Hodder (2012), Latourian conception of networks or associations disregards “asymmetrical” dependency relations thus creating the “sticky entrapment” called entanglement (p. 94). Considering the potential asymmetrical relations, all actors depend on one another and afford possibilities to maintain associations. In this context, propaganda activities seek for affordances as opportunities or manipulate existing ones to generate captivating dependencies in order to sustain, govern, and preserve its associations.

Depending on heterogenous elements, propaganda does not only act upon cognitive processes but also upon pre-reflective, visceral level, operating through

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<sup>129</sup> Latour’s “glue” of associations resembling the example of the river Nile referred above, as the “cement” holding the society together (Innis, 1950/1986, p. 32). This is also very similar to cybernetician Norbert Wiener’s statement on communication as “the cement which binds society’s fabric together” (Wiener, 1950/1989, p. 27). The stickiness, the glue or the cement are assemblages of heterogeneous elements that affords empowering and obstructing relations, ensuring spatio-temporally endurance, while generating enslavement.

manipulation and management of physical environment, staging of events, urban planning and architectural design which are nothing to do with falsehood and fakery, but they are machines for government, encouraging self-conduct (Wimberly, 2017). Propaganda activities introduce new patterns and conducts considering the existing ones within ongoing experiences of people (Lasswell, 1979, 1927/2013). Rather than the traditional conception of propaganda machine relying on representations, it works through assembling heterogeneous actors producing material/discursive arrangements working upon embodied actions. In the end, propaganda operates as a machine introducing, manipulating, or managing “possible actions” via acts of “inciting”, “inducing”, “seducing”, empowering, enhancing, or constraining (Foucault, 2001, p. 341). In other words, through the manipulation and management of affordances that introduce potentials we depend on with our abilities, may also lead to captivating relations.

Assembling new infrastructural interventions into existing landscapes, spatial arrangements and mobility patterns bring forth new embodied experiences, affective encounters, and seemingly free circulation through a conceived order. In Foucault’s (1984) words, together with the emergence of engineers of “territory, communication and speed” namely “three great variables” in 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries brought forth a shift beyond confinement, policing and disciplining towards governing of freely circulating people (p. 244), which later Deleuze (1990) named as “control societies” drawing on William S. Burroughs. This shift can be interpreted with the introduction of infrastructures, that are seemingly invisible, which bring forth “an absence of restraint as a form of restraint” (Joyce, 2003, p. 1) providing the smooth circulation of humans and things. Infrastructures operate as “biopolitical machines” (Joyce, 2003; Wallenstein, 2009; Certoma, 2015; Üngür, 2017). Intervening into on-going ecological connections and human perceptible realm, infrastructures introduce a re-arrangement to conduct the ecologies.

### 2.5.1 Shaping of Geographies: Mobilizing Nature as Propagation

There are many instances describing infrastructures (including communications<sup>130</sup>) affecting geographies and manipulating landscapes throughout history until contemporary planetary urbanization. Pointing at Nimrod, Xerxes and Yu Kong, Michel Foucault asks “after all, what sovereign has not wanted to build a bridge over the Bosphorus or move mountains?” (Foucault 1978/2009, p. 29). The desire is both to conduct the conduct through affording free circulation embedded in a control system. Concurrently, infrastructures and shaping of landscapes is an aesthetic/material intervention addressing/governing mobile embodied audience through encounters. All these desires to shape geographies and landforms in order to govern and interfere with aesthetic experience through infrastructures and mobilization of nature are to provide vital material/discursive affordances to make multitudes dependent on them. What may such perspective bring forth to the relationship among political communication, infrastructures, urban space, and geography?

While thinking on political communication and its ecologies we cannot disregard the materiality of urban space and geography within and through which they occur. In this context, it is important to handle infrastructures together with geography, topography and built environment as co-constituted. Infrastructures are controlling geographies and mobilities in terms of information, security, military, mode of production, trade, politics, and culture. In this sense, they generate both spaces of mobilities and also of “immobilities” since they are steering mobilities, they also demarcate spaces and constitute “enclaves” (Turner, 2007).

Manipulating environment is both politically communicative and infrastructural in a broader sense of the word, for social, cultural, political, and military purposes. The legend of *Rama Setu* bridge, which is actually a geological formation, said to be built by monkeys as a military infrastructure, an infill for conquest, to reach *Lanka*, to rescue Rama’s abducted wife Sita, according to the

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<sup>130</sup> The word used in a broader sense including transportation. For transportation and communication nexus see Armand Matterlart (1996); Briggs and Burke (2009) and David Morley (2011).

Indian epic poem *Ramayana* (Venkatesananda, 1988, p. 280). Yet this legend, again is probably based upon the encounter with this geological formation. Still today, debates go on whether it is a man-made or a natural landform.

Beyond legends, manipulating geography, mobilizing materials, and constructing infrastructures have always been a crucial political, economic, and propagandistic instrument throughout history and still valid in today's hyper-urbanization infused with global geopolitical moves relying on mega projects. Organic/inorganic nonhuman agents are allies for propaganda activities and sociotechnical interventions of state power in the process of material "political mobilization nature" (Mukerji, 1994, pp. 652-653) and dominating nature at all scales from gardens<sup>131</sup> to landscapes (Mukerji, 1997, p. 2; see also Mukerji, 2009).

"Colonial gardening" and "politics of botany" (Brockway, 2002; Schiebinger & Swan, 2005; Baber, 2016), gardens for diplomacy (Mukerji, 2007; Callahan, 2020, pp. 239-270), gardening as control in the context of colonial urbanism (Certoma, 2015) and "victory gardens" of the world wars for uplifting the spirits and to subsist (van Weesep, 2005, pp. 751-752) are examples for major forms of political communication through plants, gardens and spatial arrangements for socio-natural governance and political purposes through dominating and mobilizing nature.

Contemporary term of "propaganda gardening" on the other hand, a form of "guerrilla gardening", is a minor political communication through plants and gardening practices in urban space, literally "propagating plants" for *propagation*, putting strong emphasis on commonness as against the brutal urbanistic practices (Stuart-Smith, 2020, p. 164). It is of "gardens' natural propaganda" (Reynolds, 2009) with a little human intervention as assembling and inciting humans to preserve and enhance plants self-propagation (Reynolds, 2009).

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<sup>131</sup> For instance, in the case of colonial urban planning and governmentality, Certoma (2015) focuses on "gardens" as biopolitical machines controlling and conducting the urban stage of everyday life through taming nonhumans.

**Figure 2.3:** Propaganda Poster of 1951 depicting Stalin’s Plan of the Transformation of Nature and Aral Sea on the right corner of the map. The catchphrase is “Under the Leadership of Great Stalin – Forward to Communism!”



**Source:** Berezovskii & Solov’ev, 1951; University of Pittsburgh Stalinka: Digital Library

Back in 1921, Vladimir Ulyanov (Lenin) addressed to comrades, workers and fishermen of the Aral Sea to advise them to help people in Volga area who were struggling with the famine (Lenin, 1921/1976, pp. 325–327). Aral Sea was fertile and not dried up at that time. Later, Josef Stalin declared his “*Great Plan for Transformation of Nature*” in October 1948 right after the famine of 1946-47 (Josephson, 2016, pp. 1; 3). Meanwhile, Dimitrii Shostakovich composed “*The Song of the Forests*”, a propaganda oratorio glorifying this plan encompassing afforestation operations (Brain, 2011, pp. 1-2). Along with afforestation, the “great plan” mainly involved mega-scale irrigation systems, canals and hydro-electric power plants which will have drained the Aral Sea in the next fifty years. Fishermen of the *Bugun* village that Lenin were addressing in 1921, are today nine miles away from the shores of Aral as a result of the shrinkage –if any of them still exists (MacFarquhar, 2018). Today, propaganda mural depicting Lenin’s address at Aralsk train station remains a silent witness of those days.

As an unintended consequence, this drainage was a cumulative catastrophe of radical extractivism and its material/discursive ecology. In the case of Stalin's Plan, it is a radical "production of nature" (Smith, 2008) and geography, leading to fatal consequences. Besides classified as means of labour and control, both as means and product, infrastructures are complex of things, are material/discursive entanglements, bearing affordances as a propaganda assemblage, affectively and materially mobilizing humans and nonhumans.

**Figure 2.4:** Libya Arab Republic Postcard – "The September Revolution is a green Revolution, a revolution against the desert" written on the back.



**Source:** Author's Personal Archive

According to Food and Agriculture Organization (2004), Libya government exercised a huge afforestation plan starting from mid 1950s and increased these planting activities after the 1969 Libyan coup d'état, also known as the al-Fateh Revolution or the 1 September Revolution, led by Muammar Gaddafi. Apart from supplying ordinary products, these planted forests also served as "windbreaks" against desert storms (FAO, 2004). The postcard above (Fig. 2.4) is a positioning of political power encountering the forces of nature, afforestation as a natural

intervention –deploying nonhuman against nonhuman *for* human— as a green revolution against the desert.

Afforestation was a suitable operation for propaganda purposes and political mobilization (Brain, 2011, p. 115). For instance, Nazi Germany deployed forests as propaganda agencies and “sustainable forestry” operations as metaphor of sustaining nation, resembling forests to people adopting the concept of “eternal forest” [*Dauerwald*] resembling to “eternal people” [*Volk*] (Imort, 2005, pp. 55, 72; Closmann, 2018, p. 421). There were also planting activities as part of movements fostering harmony of nature and technology, putting emphasis on the use of native plants around *Reichsautobahn* projects (Lekan, 2004, p. 234; Zeller, 2006, p. 143). This transformed embodied cruising-watching of landscape through the highways (Zeller, 2006, p. 80) operate with harmonious nonhuman techno-artistic arrangements through German landscape (Zutz, 2014). The driver and passenger become embodied audience of landscapes embedded in the mediating arrangement of highway. *Autobahn* as medium brought forth a new aesthetic order via native technology-landscape nexus.

In China, Mao’s “greening the motherland” campaign uttered in 1956 forced people to plant trees wherever possible yet with the start of “Great Leap Forward” plan in 1958 deforestation campaigns surged for extractive purposes fuelling industrialization (Zhao & Woudstra, 2012, pp. 312, 317). While nature and nonhumans might be the actors to generate alliances for political moves, they may also become enemies. In the same years, apart from deforestation, Mao declared war and propaganda campaigns to mobilize people against rats, sparrows, flies, and mosquitoes, namely “four pests” to defend their grains and products (Shapiro, 2001, p. 86). In 1978, China declared an afforestation project planned to be accomplished in 2050 named as “Great Green Wall” against the sandstorms of ever-expanding Gobi Desert, flooding, and climate change (Moxley, 2010).

A different example for the relation between political communication and nature reveals this time the negative impact of elections on forests according to a study conducted in 2017 (American Geophysical Union [AGU], 2018). Examining

the period between 1970 and 2005, focusing on the relation between satellite photos of forest covered areas and the general elections data of all countries around the world (AGU, 2018), researchers detected that the deforestation were significantly surging in the election years, which is a result of *quid pro quo*, namely providing access to those lands and zoning for construction, commercial or agricultural use to get votes in return, especially in case of closely contested elections (AGU, 2018). While this study may state a lot in the case of Istanbul, this is a valuable contribution to study ecology of political communication, grasping it within an extended relationality beyond mediatized relations of human actors, politicians, journalists/media, and citizens.

Apart from forests, mountains are also crucial natural/cultural landforms preferred as propaganda agents in terms of their materiality of interactions between humans and nature and potentials to become powerful backdrops of political staging. The Great Hall of the People in China ornamented with huge Chinese mountainous landscape paintings. In case of Italian fascism, mountains were crucial agents in the making of desired people having strength, health and discipline, a hybrid natural/cultural body (Armiero, 2014). Hitler's staged images on mountain settings emphasizes both a domestic ambience of his life at cottage and majesty of this mountainous atmosphere (Stratigakos, 2015). In case of Japan, Mount Fuji used as a majestic icon of Japanese propaganda and also iconic target of American propaganda during World War II (Earhart, 2011).

During the Inter-Korean Summit in May 2018, mountainous landscapes afforded stages for political narratives. Besides their paintings were the most common background visual during the indoor stagings of this summit. The Blue Bridge in the demilitarized zone and Mount Paektu which is the primordial birthplace of Korean nation were among the environmental stages for political events. On these stages there were ritualistic performances such as planting trees and collecting water from the "Heaven" Lake at Mount Paektu where Kim-Jong-il allegedly born and where "mythical events" said to be occurred on that mountain when he died ("Kim Jong-II", 2011).

**Figure 2.5:** Propaganda in the Bottle: From South to North Korea plastic bottles filled with rice, USB sticks and K-pop (left), possible route of bottles and sea currents (left) and Loudspeaker at the border towards North Korea (right)



**Source:** NK News (Ji, 2017) and images from TV broadcast (“South Korea Turns” 2018)

In geographies of immobility, as in Korean peninsula, there are different methods to reach the other side of the border in terms of sending propaganda materials. In a world debating on plastic toxicity, people in South Korea considers the material agency of sea currents to send plastic propaganda bottles containing USB sticks installed with Korean pop music towards North Korea (Ji, 2017; Cha, 2020). Apart from plastic bottles, huge balloons were used in this context of immobility (“S Korea Activists”, 2014). Moreover, colossal loudspeakers placed on borders to play pop music, to create propagandistic soundscapes and broadcast anti-Pyongyang noises and messages to praise of Southern’s democratic life. These loudspeaker broadcast have ended in April 2018 before the Inter-Korea Summit, which resulted with the initiation of a dialogue (“South Korea Takes down” 2018).

Geographical features and topography have always been material/discursive affordances and dependences, a source of immobility throughout the ages and human beings always struggle with the landforms in terms of communications using beacon towers, road networks, tunnels, canals and so on. These are infrastructures

both to disseminate information for security and military purposes and also had material/symbolic impacts on embodied encounters.

Experiencing landscapes and landforms is an embodied, multi-sensory, emotional, material, and performative process which requires to grasp agencies as extended and landscapes as assemblages (Tilley & Bennett, 2004; Tilley & Cameron-Daum, 2017). In this sense, bodies and landscapes are inseparable, and they are coupled in a relation of becoming, in which human embodied encounters with landscapes generate a material/discursive co-constitution. As Smith (2003) suggests “political landscape” puts forth an “imaginative aesthetic”, an intervention to perception-action embedded in environment modifying our mobile bodily experiences (p. 10).

Performances and narratives are not the outcomes of disembodied cognition, rather they occur through embodied encounters and practices within the environment infused with a material aesthetic order generating suasive atmospheres (Chronis, 2005, p. 395). “Environmental dramaturgy” (Mayo, 1978) implemented through aesthetic arrangements and physical, propagandistic design of political rally stages, can be extended to much greater scales such as landscapes and infrastructures creating scenic propaganda assemblages of things and mobile embodied audiences. Or transportation vehicles might be appropriated as propaganda machines and become new stages operating through these infrastructures.

### **2.5.2 Propaganda-en-route : Mobile Propaganda Machines and Embodied Encounters with Infrastructural Propaganda and Spatial Arrangements**

The way we conceive the term propaganda as a demonic conception is totally western and had grown first in the bosom of Christianity, the Baroque and later of Industrial Revolution and the Great War. However, it is not only conceived in this way. As Chunfeng Lin (2015) explains, *Xuanchuan*, the Chinese concept for propaganda without any diabolic connotations, namely fakery and purposeful distortion of information flow through mass media. The main feature of *Xuanchuan* that it is grounded on “word-of-mouth” through “human mobility” and

“transportation networks” diverging from the ordinary mass media-centric conception (Lin, 2015, pp. 330-331; 2017, pp. 454, 457). As Lin (2017) clearly suggests that instead of mass media technologies humans *themselves* act and move as “propaganda media” since the days of ancient China through Cultural Revolution until today (p. 457). In an earlier article, Lin (2015) handles *xuanchuan* as “social space” in the case of analysing Chinese Red Tourism referring to Lefebvre and recommends focusing on “the social space of propaganda” (p. 343). This non-western notion of propaganda composed of mobile bodies together with Lin’s suggestions on spatial arrangements has valuable contribution to grasp political communication through the materiality of extended urban space and geographies.

The emphasis on the issue of governing mobilities and movement also exists in the Western world, in sixteenth century, Baroque axial planning was about affording an unimpeded and enhanced movement within the cities (Sennett, 1994, pp. 263-264), facilitating mobility through long axes ending with grandiose landmark sceneries (Mumford, 1961, p. 389). As Sigfried Giedion (1941/1959) names him as “the first of the modern town planners” (p. 100), Pope Sixtus V implemented this axial order to connect focal edifices via long and straight avenues in order to enhance movement during religious processions while his chief architect Domenico Fontana expressing a religious tourism advertising copy: “one can by foot, by horse, or in carriage, start from whatever place, in Rome one may wish and continues virtually in a straight line to the most famous devotions” (as cited in Norberg-Schulz, 1986, pp. 10-11). Relatedly, Edmund Bacon (1976) underlined this system as providing a “controlled sequential experience” (p. 143) through which urban spatial organization intensifies the religious vibrancy and experiential enthusiasm of rituals (Browne, 1980, p. 68) through an urban scale stagecraft, turning Rome itself into an open air temple (Giedion, 1941/1959, p. 92). All these planning operations was about to materialize the religious institution and divine hand through urban space controlling circulations.

As prominent figure of Counter-reformation movement, Pope Sixtus V implemented this plan right before the constitution of the Propaganda Fide, the

congregation for the propagation of faith throughout geographies. Before opening to overseas, Baroque urban planning operated as means of propaganda, in the sense of government of conduct, as Foucault (2009) states, while “making possible, guaranteeing, and ensuring circulations: the circulation of people, merchandise and air” (p. 29). Later, Baroque urban planning of Sixtus V transferred throughout the history as a powerful schema and appeared in the operations of Baron Haussmann in Paris, L’Enfant Plan in Washington (Mumford, 1961, p. 409; Moughtin & Shirley, 2005, p. 99) and also of Mussolini’s re-construction of Rome (Anker, 1996). Thus, affording the possibility of free circulation bring forth a means of control and government as *conduct of conduct* and *self-conduct* in all these cases. Propaganda is of appropriating material/discursive affordances to govern and to generate new dependency relations.

For political scientist and mass communication theorist Harold Lasswell (1927/2013), propaganda is “the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation significant symbols” (p. 627). Besides, in his dissertation *Propaganda Technique in the World War*, he also considers the interweaving of urban space, mobility, and propaganda with these words and also, without an emphasis, as if he was reflecting on the conceptuality of abovementioned propaganda assemblages embedded in urban space and recalling contemporary outdoor advertising:

People walk along the streets or ride in automobiles, trams, subways, elevated trains, boats, electrical or steam railways; people congregate in theatres, churches, lecture halls, eating places, athletic parks, concerts, barber shops and beauty parlours, coffee-houses and drug stores; people work in offices, warehouses, mills, factories and conveyances. *An inspection of the habit patterns of each community reveals a web of mobility routes and congregating centres, which may be taken advantage of for the dissemination of interested fact and opinion* (Lasswell 1927/2013, p. 210, emphasis are mine).

This quote from the year of 1927 is an indicator of outdoor advertising and guerrilla marketing ahead of its time, when taken together with his posthumous book on political communication through built environment (Lasswell, 1979), and in this sense it reaches significance to contribute contemporary research on urban

communication. Bodies in movement are interacting *with* urban space, among other humans and nonhumans, communicating *within* the city and communicating *with* the city. Spatial arrangements, routes and infrastructures co-constituted with the spaces of communication. Following Lasswell, tracing and analysing these patterns has a potential to provide the necessary data to practice propaganda through urban space, the manipulation and distribution of significant materials/symbols, spatial arrangements for significant embodied encounters.

Such propaganda practices through urban space are about creating and consolidating a captive audience, through a dual operation, of signifying and asignifying. It encompasses practices of “environmental dramaturgy” (Mayo, 1978) indicating manipulation and design of urban settings and mobility patterns or “political dramaturgy” to perform “political impression management” through urban space in the case of protests (Martin, 2013, pp. 174-175) occurring within a material/discursive ecology, an entanglement of humans and things. Bodies are in motion together with their speed of movement, sensorimotor, pre-reflective experience, embodied cognition, and attention process encountering material/discursive affordances and dependences. All these variables change in relation to style of motion such as walking, driving, or moving via public transportation. Interior or exterior designs of vehicles and stations, placements of outdoor advertising, spatial arrangements, interventions into urban fabric and silhouettes, everyday encounters with vehicles, buildings, construction, extraction, and other humans, and all types of mobilities and immobilities are within this scope.

Similar to Chinese propaganda grounded on mass mobilities and transportation infrastructure, there was Soviet propaganda on rails. The railway line, as an assemblage of human and non-human across geography, is not only an agent in itself and an infrastructural power for territorial control, but also a medium, an assemblage for political communication. This “propaganda in motion” (Heftberger, 2015) through a medium of transportation, a network of staging nodes

spreading over the landscape is a suitable example for a spatial/infrastructural medium within an ecology of political communication<sup>132</sup> throughout geographies.

Soviet propaganda assemblage encompasses railway, agitation points [*agitpunkty*] on the rail network and agit-trains [*agitpoezdy*] covered with placards, banners, posters, slogans, artworks and equipped with mobile multisensory, multimedia machine of dissemination, involving all kinds of mass media devices existing at that time to materially spread the messages to every remote corner of the geography, also using rivers with agit-ships (Taylor, 2003, p. 202). Soviet filmmaker and documentarist Dziga Vertov, who was also supervising the cinema screenings on *agit-boats* and *agit-trains*, gives a detailed description of this nonhuman and mobile propaganda assemblage:

*Along railways lines* Film cars (specially equipped, modelled after the cars of the agit-trains of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee). Screenings while en route, inside the car; on screens set up at the stations during stops. A travelling theatre serving settlements within a vicinity of about ten miles... *Along water routes* Film steamers, cinema barges, collapsible cinemas set up on shore, and mobile ones. The installation possibilities are greater than for the railway cinema. Searchlights for attracting the public would be desirable. A film laboratory is possible. Branches on passenger steamers plying rivers are possible. *Film-wagons* travelling from town to town in the countryside, from village to village, also have major significance for advertising and propaganda. (Vertov, 1984, p. 29, italics in original)

Apart from physical design of environment, modifying rhythms and pattern of encounters, mobile medium of propaganda concerns of generating urban soundscapes since the days of medieval town criers or “loudspeaker vans of Nazis” (Birdsall, 2012, p. 39). Moreover, interventions into sightsapes via management, removal or installation of focal objects, or campaign activities during election periods or opening ceremonies as well as dramatic interventions such as mega-scale

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<sup>132</sup> Another example for the use of trains as stages for political addresses are whistle-stop campaign tours in the United States (Perloff 240-41), started with Abraham Lincoln until Obama occupied an important place in the US political communication practice, especially in the case of Harry Truman’s presidential campaign in 1948. For the details of Obama’s whistle-stop tour see NBC Washington (2009). For the details of Harry Truman’s whistle-stop campaign see Goldzwig (2008) and Holbrook (2002).

projects, monumental buildings and infrastructures, or radical shifts in architectural culture related to rifting political, economic, and ecological relations are all operating through the network of mobilities and nodes of gatherings.

In case of focal objects in urban settings, Council of People's Commissars passed a decree on 12 April 1918, for monumental propaganda efforts before the Labour Day, ordering to remove tsarist objects, symbolic and monumental remnants, and erection of monuments to the revolution and decoration of streets. Article 4 and 5 of the Decree states:

The Council of People's Commissars wishes that by May the First some of the most monstrous idols be removed and that models new monuments be put in their place for the public to judge. The said commission is instructed to prepare at short notice May Day decorations for the city and to change the old inscriptions, emblems, names of streets, coat of arms, etc., to new ones reflecting the ideas and sentiments of the revolutionary working population of Russia (Lenin, 1970, pp. 222-223).

Between the years of 1919 and 1920, constructivist architect Vladimir Tatlin were designing his never-realized tower, *Monument to the Third International*, a monumental building composed three rotating geometric elements; cube (rotating yearly), pyramid (rotating monthly) and cylinder (rotating daily) corresponding Soviet Government, Komintern and multimedia propaganda center, respectively. The cylinder of propaganda is a machine of multimedia control centre of printing press, telegraph, radio and a projector reflecting slogans onto clouds as if they are screen when the weather is dark and gloomy (Traverso, 2016, pp. 62-63). Tower of Babel literally become a propaganda machine in the days of Soviet Union.

1920s and 1930s were the years of the boom in motorways in Italy and Germany. Piero Puricelli, the master of motorways, used for the first time the word *autostrada* [motorway] in 1922, the year Benito Mussolini took over the state power in Italy. Then comes the inauguration of the first motorways in Italy and in the world in the early 1920s. Fascism was literally accelerating in its enforcements in correlation with construction of roads to reach more divine speed, as futurist Tommaso Marinetti had consecrated it in 1916.

In the case of Italy, road construction was about creating “symbolic landscapes” as if erecting horizontal monuments through which motorized human beings to circulate with a manipulated gaze (Baxa, 2010). While physically altering the urban fabric, generating a new aesthetic order, and opening up spaces, the Master Plan of 1931 had the impact of reshaping the “mobile gaze” providing a visual highway to the glory of Ancient Rome via high-tech routes encountering its ruins (Baxa, 2004, p. 12). These operations refer to manipulation of material/discursive affordances to generate new dependency relations within ongoing ecology of encounters. Motorway/automobile vision created new vantage points for the material/symbolic landscape of Ancient Rome and Fascist Rome in continuity.

The use of infrastructural and vehicular modes in turn was instrumental as a tool of display and spectacle as in the case of Adolf Hitler’s visit to Rome on 3 May 1938. Hitler arrived with a train entering into the station specially constructed for this visit, a purposeful starting point to *orient* Hitler along his ride through desired passage points full of ancient and fascist monuments intermeshed as if he was moving in an open-air museum of the fascist urban space (Baxa, 2010, pp. 149-150). In Turkish *seyir etmek* refers both to movement, navigating in space and geography and to gazing and watching. Infrastructures intervene to the field of navigating/gazing bodies, through asignifying and signifying operations both on the pre-reflective, affective, and cognitive processes. As Desportes (2005) underlines “landscape in motion” [*paysage en mouvement*] stating that a technique of transportation reconfigures perception, “carry in itself a landscape” and each different mobility infrastructure generates “multiple mediations” interfering with body/environment coupling and constitute its own mode of vision, enveloping speed, rhythms, vantage points and experiences (p. 8).

Hitler had also started in 1933 deploying huge labour for the massive constructions of *autobahns* to conquer the souls simultaneously in 131 counties until the 1934 plebiscite affording him enormous powers (Voigtländer & Voth, 2014, p. 13). Efforts for *Reichsautobahnen* encompassed the “scenic embedding”

of highways in landscape to reach a purposeful “harmony” between German technology and German nature in accordance with “homeland preservation movement” and “landscape advocacy” (Zutz, 2014; see also Zeller, 2006 and Lekan, 2004); such as letting the landscape impose a compatible relation for the perfect flow of roads (Rollins, 1995, p. 498-99).

Hitler’s engineer Fritz Todt hauntingly said such embedding of technology, of highways into nature as an enhancement or upgrade to generate a total work of art, Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*, taking its steps not from the antagonism of nature and culture but from the integration of nature, technology, and culture (Lekan, 2004, p. 215; see also Herf, 1985, pp. 204-205). Limitless spaces of this German infrastructure embedded in German landscape to create new vantage points while making people navigate/gaze through these work of arts in harmony with nature.

Through these monumental infrastructures, there were attempts to break speed record as spectacles. 1934 Highway code overthrown all speed limits on the *Reichsautobahn* system. As Virilio (1977/2006) said, Nazi government “promised the highway” to its people to clean the streets from riots (p. 49). However, later in 1939, the days of ecstatic speeds come to an end and a new highway code had to be imposed speed limits to prevent deaths as a result of high-speed (Large, 2019).

In contemporary cases such as Kerch Strait Bridge, physically annexing Crimea and Russia, its design becomes an obstruction for the Ukrainian sea trade (Bond et al., 2019) and operates as a propaganda device, on which Russian president Vladimir Putin drove a truck together with a fleet of trucks parading at the opening ceremony of the bridge. As part of Chinese Belt and Road project, Peljesac Bridge (Santora & Surk, 2018) connecting lands of Croatia is reportedly another controversial mobility agent obstructing the connection of Bosnian coastline to open seas. The bridges and tunnels connecting mainland China to Macau and Hong Kong allegedly serves to tighten consolidation in the region (Sebena, 2018).

Chinese island-building activities, as a “geophysical” force manipulates geography to have a total control over the South China Sea, an area depicted on the

map with nine-dash line (Rice et al., 2016) while destroying coral reefs (Larson, 2015). The nine-dashed map also appeared in an animated movie called *Abominable*, a co-production of Hollywood's DreamWorks and Chinese Pearl Studio, lately disputed as a controversial propaganda issue (Westcott & Tham, 2019). Relatedly, encompassing roads, railways and maritime routes together with digital silk road of cables and data centres, China's colossal project One Belt One Road (OBOR) turns into a "geocultural power" (Winter, 2019), mobilizes huge amount of materials modifying geographies and heritage material culture to create influence across continents via physical connections, creating potentials for novel propaganda affects.

Macro-scale environmental/political dramaturgy is of insertion of a stage into an ecology of nonhumans and humans, such as embedding an infrastructure into landscape provides new operations through management of material/discursive affordances and dependency relations involving elusive dramatic interactions. As seen in the case of colonial geography, Italian fascist "infrastructural propaganda" (Denning, 2019) in Africa, the construction of roads was a project hybridizing Ancient Roman sublime with the modern technology generating material/discursive affordances for visual propaganda purposes to address the homeland and the world while domesticating and refining savage colonized lands, nature and people bringing forth a new spatial and aesthetic order.

Images involved in the material/discursive assemblage of propaganda are not mere representations, but they operate as material agents complementing the embodied experience of these material interventions. Since these mega infrastructures cannot be bodily experienced in their totality but only by parts, visualizations such as cartographic propaganda, postcards, booklets, posters, and aerial imagery work in collaboration with these material interventions. Ornamented with signifying elements, "a-signifying" operations -including images- works straight on bodies and senses and serves not just to *mean* or *represent* something but to *operate*, to *do* and to *move* bodies, not simply working on cognitive and conscious processes but on the pre-reflective/affective level (Bissell & Fuller, 2017;

see also Fuller, 2002, p. 241-42). In this sense, propaganda practices and embodied experience involve both representational and nonrepresentational processes, operate through material/discursive affordances creating new dependencies captivating the flows of matters/meanings.

Overall, infrastructural investments are both material/discursive activities, besides significant symbols, they manipulate significant materialities transforming mobility and communicative patterns. In all these examples, there are different modes of interventions into embodied encounters, into the mobility patterns, creating novel sensibilities in the perceptible realm. Moreover, according to urban planning professor İlhan Tekeli, these operations thereby transform, the “spatial framework of a city” which encompasses “the radius of spatial extension of urban macroform”; “network of main transport arteries which creates a kind of threshold for marginal additions to the city” and “characteristics of urban fabric” (Tekeli, 1999). In this sense, these mega infrastructural projects are environments coupling with humans and nonhumans in motion, they transform the spatial framework of a city, the actors’ boundaries of “manoeuvring” (Güvenç, 2004, p. 121). establishing materiality of future realms to have an agency in political communication.

As Tekeli (1999) underlines economic relations, production technologies, transportation technologies and regulations as factors to be named in determining the “spatial framework”. All urban interventions and embodied everyday interactions occur within this framework. Yet, these urban interventions may not always be a form of propaganda within the period in which it is realized but may emerge with material/symbolic communicative characteristics within a future framework, in long duration. Each infrastructure of mobility has its authentic properties for speed of navigation and mobile gaze, vantage points, landscape and panorama constituting modes of urban communication, becoming an intentional or unintentional propaganda infrastructure of today or of future.

## 2.6 TRACING THE ECOLOGIES OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION THROUGH GEOGRAPHIES AND INFRASTRUCTURES

Political communication involves both nonhumans and humans and it is not necessary to be mediatized via mass or social media platform. As this perspective involves all material/discursive interventions of humans and nonhumans as politically communicative actors, cities and the entangled infrastructures are themselves nonhuman political agencies/assemblages that shape affects, embodied cognition and communication processes re-arranging bodily movements, actions, and capacities through encounters. Beyond what they mean and represent, the point is to focus on the propagandistic affordances and what infrastructures *do* as political communication assemblages. In this context, infrastructural affordances provide abilities not only to generate narratives and representations but also, they become themselves material (communicative) agencies to alter environment, shape landscapes and intervene to bodily movements generating political outcomes (Bryant, 2014, p. 5). Infrastructures serve as affordances that socio-technically maintain communications in the broadest sense of the word while themselves materially operating as politically communicative agencies. They are constitutive of aesthetic realms which are indeed entangled with ecological elements beyond the immediate environment.

Spaces, buildings, infrastructures, and all urban elements can be symbolic. However, they are always in an entanglement of the symbolic and the material. When we study symbols or myths, it is impossible and vain to isolate the symbolic from the material. The notion of *material* encompasses political economic conditions and agency of things and matters within an ecology. “Matter and meaning” are not two insulated entities intertwined subsequently<sup>133</sup>, but they are already entangled, constantly co-constituted and rearranged (Barad, 2007, pp. ix, 3; see also Rickert, 2013, p. 160). Everyday encounters with an earth-moving truck may refer to a mega-project, or to urban transformation activities, yet the network of what materials it moves, where it dumps load and what this load serve for also

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<sup>133</sup> See also Carpentier (2017) for the conception of “discursive-material knot”

ceaselessly infuse the symbolic. Quarries, extractions, chemical reactions, transmixers pouring concrete weave the embodied experiences and debates on a bridge, a residence, a mosque, or an airport. Symbols are contagious not because they are coupled with relevant emotions (Edelman, 1964/1985) but co-constituted with embodied actions, material conditions and material agencies. According to Lilleker (2014), “political communication is a process of schema building, schema management and schema extension” seeking to catalyse reactions at the level of emotions (p. 59). If propaganda and political communication are about managing schemas as Lilleker stated, this should not be grasped as a disembodied<sup>134</sup> process solely focusing on the symbolic field and cognitive processes and mind not to be evaluated as something isolated from the body. As I mentioned while reviewing embodied, enactivist and ecological approaches on cognition in the section 1.3.3, communication and cognition emerge through the relatedness and interconnectedness of body/mind with the environment and all schemas as embodied.

Within the ongoing entanglement of brain/body/environment (Fuchs, 2018), embodied experience occurs through the entwining levels of both pre-reflective and reflective, through the materialities of communicative space. Besides, representations and symbols operate within and through these embodied encounters. This communicative space of brain/body/environment is intervened by numerous material/discursive arrangements. In the middle of the on-going material organization of environment entangled with ecologies of representations, we couple with the environment as embodied actors equipped with cognitive and affective

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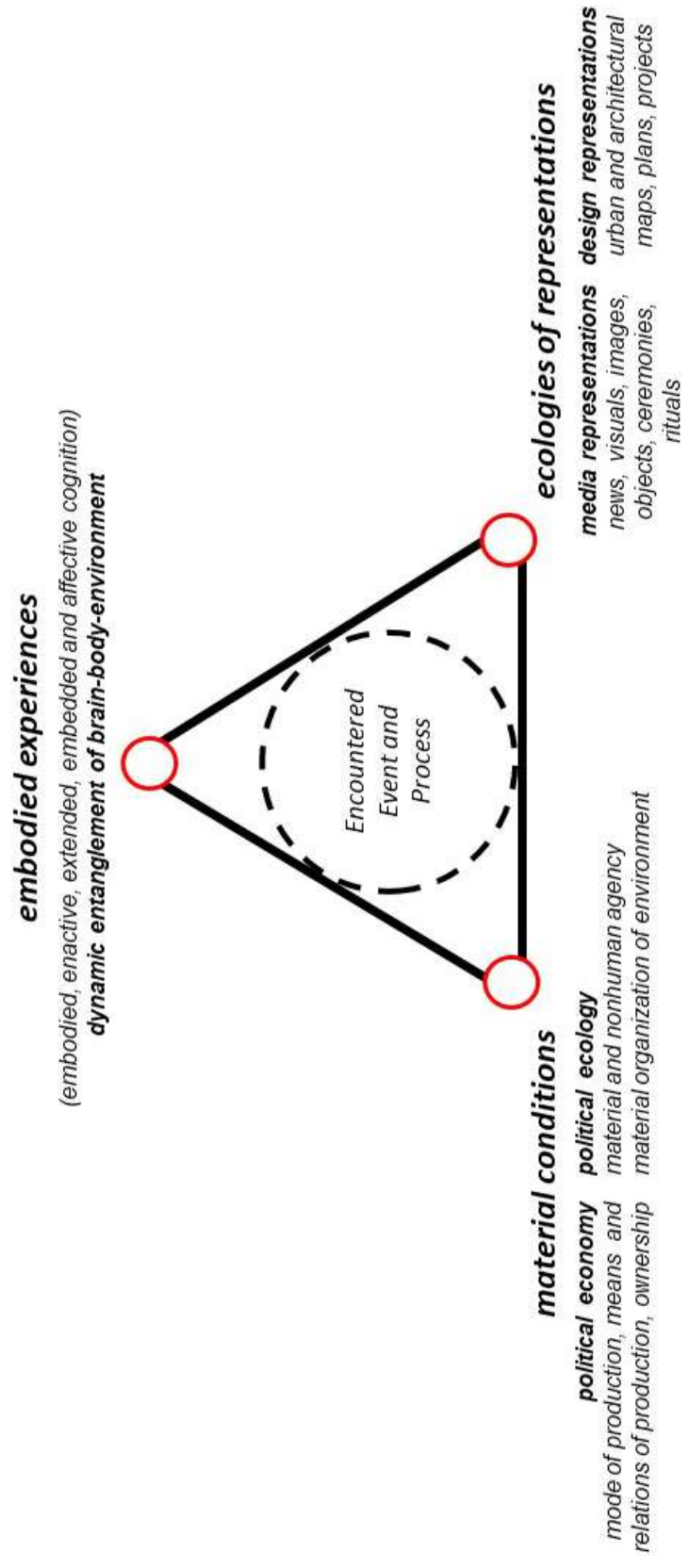
<sup>134</sup> Cognitive scientist and linguist George Lakoff rejects the disembodied mind and brain theses and underlines that the “brain is embodied”, it does not operate as isolated calculative device, rather operates with the body and the environment, and in this respect “political ideas”, language, metaphors, communication and “all meaning are embodied” (Lakoff, 2009, p.10-11; 232-34; see also Lakoff & Wehling, 2016). Also see section 1.3.3 of this dissertation for the review and discussions on embodied, ecological and enactivist perspectives. See also Machin (2015) for the vital importance of bodies and embodiment perspective in politics, deliberation and democracy; see Coole (2005) for “inter-corporeal communication” and bodily communication in relation to political meaning (p.129-130) and Coole (2007) obviously states that “communicative encounters take place in the flesh” including multisensorial, nonverbal, performative, gendered, atmospheric and spatial aspects through politics and communication as embodied processes, putting emphasis on discourse as material, embodied and experiential (p. 421).

capabilities, consist of body-schema; image-schema; cultural, social, and political schema; and concepts. We are equipped with these elements when encountering this entangled process of material/discursive manipulations and arrangements.

In this sense, studying political communication through urban space that is perpetually produced, requires an embodied account of these complex patterns simultaneously related to both the material conditions and organization and the ecologies of representations (Fig. 2. 6). Political communication is about building and managing corporal, mental and spatial frameworks. Material/discursive interventions in urban surroundings can be propagandistic or politically communicative intentionally or inadvertently, within a relatedness of social, cultural, political schema; body schema coupled with the environment; and spatial framework of a city. Users as the living bodies or *audience-en-route* are in a material communication process, an embodied experience through public spaces and infrastructures.

Hence, when it is grasped as production of space, propaganda not only occurs on the level of signification but also “assignification”, arranging the conditions of signifying relations, interfering with the body, the pre-reflective layer while we couple and interact with the environment (Lahoud, 2016, pp.112-113; 115). Since “urban life” itself and mobilities through it are deeply “embodied” processes, encounters to a large extent occurs at a “pre-reflective”, affective level, acting directly upon bodies (Crippen, 2016, pp. 126, 128). This means that we are almost enslaved by spatial arrangements, such as flow of roads and our orientation through them, location of bridges, alignment of directions, height, and vantage points, use of lighting, manipulation of silhouettes, and so on, we are addressed as subjects, while we move unconsciously at an automatic level through these material/discursive arrangements.

**Figure 2.6:** Triadic framework depicting embodied, enactive, extended, embedded and affective experiences, material conditions and ecologies of representations in politically communicative encounters



**Source:** Drawing by the author

During the processes concerning the production of space, propaganda is about the emergence of a framework. This framework might be both abstract or concrete, symbolic, spatial, or material. However, the impact of this framework does not necessarily emerge in a short period of time and it is related to change in conditions. It could spread over a long duration. Hence, propaganda cannot only be conceived as a technique of communication operating through symbols and signifying relations. It is a machine perpetually assembled to generate material/discursive compositions. Yet, in various conditions, these compositions such as the most glorious public works may die in vain, fall out of debates, become ineffective, cannot 'produce space' yet might rise again in long duration when captured within a suitable context and affective encounters. In this sense, propaganda is not only related with mega-projects, monumental public works, or transformation of nature.

Apart from mega projects, sometimes even a smallest intervention or practice might bring forth huge effects. The crucial point is an adoption of a *long duration* perspective while approaching propaganda and political communication activities in order not to be squeezed into the limited period of context in question and to detect changes through time. Producing space does not necessarily reinforce the political power. Production of space does not necessarily have propagandistic qualities. Under suitable circumstances, a small-scale spatial practice might become propagandistic. Nevertheless, it has the capacity to determine the spatial framework of an urban region. Under new spatial framework and material conditions, future debates or propaganda activities might find affordances and be captured by their dependencies in long duration.

In this sense, urban space harbours material/discursive affordances to be coupled with in different historical contexts. Both in mediatized forms and through the embodied encounter with the materiality of urban space, political communication is a process of coupling with *what* environment affords materially/discursively –whether manipulated or not, whether taken or bestowed. A material/discursive tracing is a focus on these affordances, dependencies, and

capabilities, encompassing both human and nonhuman agencies in the case of politically communicative encounters. In line with this, archaeologist Ian Hodder (2012) suggests an extensive tracing of the complex, endless and heterogenous relationalities called “entanglements” or “webs of dependencies” among humans and things (Hodder, 2018). These webs both offer potentials and set limitations, encompassing a relationship of humans relying on things that rely on other things and humans.

Humans and things are not isolated entities, but they are distributed agencies within the complex web of dependencies and the notion of entanglement provides the opportunity to grasp the material flows and to detect these dependencies. Hodder’s (2018) planetary thinking serves for a comprehensive tracing of entanglements to disclose obscured connections and consequences of these dependency relations (pp. 72-73). Besides, these complex relations involve the inseparability of material and discursive. In this sense, tracing entanglements of humans and things is indeed a pursuit for the material/discursive. There is always a possibility that the meaning or crucial material relations to be concealed.

Following the flow of a matter through associations and emphasizing its material agency without the need of human beings does not necessarily mean to overlook the political economic relations and ownership issues. On the contrary, this brings the possibilities of tracing the capillary flows of exploitation. Lefebvre (1974/1991) emphasizes that the end-product is a rupture from all productive processes and also productive processes themselves are self-concealing (p. 113). In order not to be captured by its black-boxing effect, its spell of forgetfulness concealing the productive processes and labour, Lefebvre (1974/1991) indicates the necessity to move away from the end-product and as a clarifying act to “trace a path back” to the productive processes and matter/meaning generating activities (pp. 113-114). This act of stripping the veil of forgetfulness through encounters brings up a multi-layered grasp of any object or matter in hand, tracing back and forth to reveal relations, processes, and elements.

To trace, to depict, to strip the veil of “forgetness” (Hodder, 2012, pp. 6-7; 101-103), to flip “background” into “foreground” (Amin & Thrift, 2017, pp. 3, 46), or to dis-assemble “focal objects” (Morgan, 2014), all these actions are attempts to dig into what is taken for granted. Henri Lefebvre (2003) emphasizes Hegel’s famous aphorism “what is familiar is necessarily not understood” to be an underlying principle for any social science research practice (p. 111). According to Lefebvre (1974/1991), the process that familiar objects subsume productive processes making them to be forgotten refers to “mystification” enabling “the fetishism of commodities” (p. 113). In the same line, Lefebvre (1974/1991) asks, “How does one ... perceive a picture, a landscape or a monument?” and responds to this question by narrating the spectator’s process of multi-layered aesthetic experience<sup>135</sup> and the act of reversing the black-boxed objects back to the “meaning-producing activity” (p. 114). What is familiar is intimately connected with forgetness, namely the processes of self-effacing and obscuring relations. Thus, in order to study the routinizing and familiar perceptible realm and seemingly fixed structures that are obscuring material relations beyond human scale, we need such a reversal of thought process in order to break the spell making the planetary connections to be forgotten. Overall, what these methodological movements proposed is to cut through these obscured relations or to depict those relations cutting through us.

Lasswell (1937) underlines that a propagandist is the one who generates symbols “to promote overt acts” and to bring forth change in patterns and behaviours, has to consider “the tissue of relations in which men are webbed” (p. 527). Enhancing Lasswell’s statements that propaganda occurs not only through generation of symbols in a disembodied way, but through material/discursive affordances and interdependencies capturing embodied encounters. Politically

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<sup>135</sup> In his later work *Rhythmanalysis*, Lefebvre put forth a similar aesthetic attentiveness in order to become more sensitive to detect and to identify sources and rhythms out of noises, and rearrange them regarding their interconnections, which are the intermingling noises of animals and humans humming, babies crying, machines buzzing, cars honking, drillers roaring, planes howling, subway whistling, ambulance screaming, hammers pounding, overall the background the noise of the production of space and infrastructurally caught-up cities (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 27).

communicative encounters are entangled within a “web of dependency” (Hodder, 2018) composed of interdependencies among humans and things. Meanwhile, Ian Hodder states in an interview that archaeological practices involve a retrospective dramaturgy to re-construct “the drama of staging events”, searching for traces of spatial activities whether it is mundane or sacred, and to re-stage performances and interdependencies (Laneri, 2019, 16:02-18:22).

Considering both Lasswell’s (1937) webbing “tissue of relations” in the context of propaganda and Hodder’s (2018) notions of “entanglement” or “web of dependencies”, we need to perform a material/discursive tracing and mapping of relations entangling propaganda practices and politically communicative encounters. For a material/discursive tracing, I am going to employ and adapt “tanglegrams” that Ian Hodder (2012, pp. 180-205) generated for archaeological studies. Generally, “tanglegrams” are drawings generated in the field of ecology and biology to depict and study co-evolution of species and symbiotic relations (Venkatachalam & Gusfield, 2018). In Hodder’s usage, it serves to delineate entanglements composed of dependences and dependency relations among humans and things. It is to reveal obscured and forgotten interconnections of things (including all organic and inorganic nonhumans together with humans) behind the familiar and routinizing objects and their unseen culminating processes.

In order to perform the tracing of relations, Hodder (2012) put forth “tanglegrams” that serve to depict “operational sequences” and “threads of dependences” and “dependency relations” (Hodder, 2012, pp. 184-185) in order to grasp how political communication and propaganda arrangements operate. At first sight, tanglegrams might be likened to *Networks of Dispossession*, open source data visualization and mapping of the intricate relations of political power and capital in Turkey (see [mulksuzlestirme.org](http://mulksuzlestirme.org)) launched in September 2013, right after Gezi Park protest, to visualize the network of capital and the intricate relation between companies, institutions and political power and the ownership relations of media companies, brands, mega projects, gentrifications, infrastructures, power plants, demolitions, and workplace catastrophes. Yet, differing from these networks,

tanglegrams here attempt to render material/discursive elements, flows, affordances, and dependency relations among these urban interventions, to depict how political communication operate through material/discursive arrangements while also involving crucial companies, and how material agencies within and through these urban interventions become politically communicative. It is as if a depiction of material/discursive flow of political communication.

Referring to Hodder (2018), through everyday life, we encounter with “objects” as if they are isolated, independent, and disconnected entities standing on their own, since we forget things, forget the “thingness of things”, their interconnections and interdependencies (p. 74). Applying material/discursive tracing and mapping in studying materiality of media ecologies and political communication processes via generating “tanglegrams” is to present what material and discursive affordances and agencies that we depend on empower or constrain, and in turn what material/discursive interventions shape these existing affordances, their interconnections and the embodied encounters among humans, and nonhumans embedded in environment. This is crucial since materials used, manipulated, and intervened in urban/natural environment are embedded in a co-constitutive process of matter and meaning. For instance, material quality of a thing affords the ability to generate political utterances, provides discursive potentials in relation to its material qualities.

Taking an object, an infrastructure or part of it, a bridge for instance, as an *event* is the first step for a material/discursive tracing. Approaching seemingly fixed structures as becoming, serves to recognize their on-going dynamic processes among material conditions, ecologies of representations and embodied experiences. It serves to bring into view the entangled relations and to trace connections within and beyond the boundaries of perceptible realm. This enables one not to be captivated by the matter-in-hand and popular debates on it as fixed and manufactured entities.

Thus, *tanglegrams* for political communication is to depict seemingly irrelevant and forgotten relations and to follow the material/discursive affordances

and dependencies in order to get back from isolating and ethereal analysis of decontextualized political discourses, representations, and contents as end-products. In this sense, I do not *interpret* the effects, effectiveness, and reception of propagation processes of messages, contents, or symbols. I am not going to evaluate the reception of the urban interventions either. I narrate and depict how propaganda and political communication processes *operate* through urban space through which *arrangements, alliances, and components* and what do they *do*, how do they *intervene* into everyday embodied interactions, *depending* on what?

Beside employing *tanglegrams*, I employ the technique of “collage as inquiry” (Butler-Kisber, 2008) which I did not come up with in political communication research. Collage-making as method affords potentials for deliberation operating with evocative encounters leading to invention of concepts while putting emphasis on non-linearity, embodiment, and polyphony of participants in research (Butler-Kisber & Poldma, 2010, p. 3; Butler-Kisber, 2008). Collage-making is a process of “experimentation” through re/arranging multiplicities that afford possibilities to generate new meaningful connections (Vaughan, 2005). It is a non-linear style to disorientate conventional encounters with framed images and to generate new arrangements to depict concealed connections between issues that remain isolated through changing news agenda.

*Collage* as an “art-based” method affords “an unspoken power” stirring researcher and participants to create non-linear and non-textual or more-than-linguistic manifestation of experiential remnants through seemingly discordant objects and images (Culshaw, 2019, p. 281; see also Plakoyiannaki & Stavradi, 2018). It has been used in various fields as a qualitative inquiry such as “women’s experience” and “mental health” (Margolin, 2014), participatory research with Indigenous communities (Dutton et al., 2019), “arts-based research in art therapy” (Chilton & Scotti, 2014), educational research (Culshaw, 2019), “mapping experience” (Letsiou, 2017), and in migration studies to call forth a deliberative sphere on delicate and traumatic topics (Vacchelli, 2018, p. 51-52). Collage-making is a critical method, a pedagogical and communicative tool throughout humanities,

media studies, architecture, urban studies, and visual culture (see footnote 10 in this dissertation, p. 21). Following the line of Spinoza-Deleuze-Guattari, collage is about desire to generate new capacities, relationalities and machinic encounters out of disparate elements and materials<sup>136</sup>.

In this line, here my concern is not to analyse visuals, texts, speeches, news or any other content and representation. Rather I disrupt these contents ripping them off from their framed and isolated style of presentation and re-assemble them together in juxtaposition with other issued always already intricately connected. *Collage-making* as an art-based method provides moments to “slow down, to linger and to notice” (Culshaw 2019, p. 271), in this sense, to experiment and establish intimate connections with the encountered elements and their relational context. It is a method having a naiveté, an intimacy affording an aesthetic attention to mercurially move between elements and to evoke a relational grasp of the events that are always already related, yet temporally presented and framed in isolation through media coverage.

In this sense, I theoretically and methodologically adopt a “non-representational” stance (Vannini, 2015) to attend processes of political communication through the materiality of urban space and infrastructures. In this line, I did not encounter with a research in the field of political communication employing a non-representational approach, except communication scholar Perry Parks’ (Parks, 2017b) study<sup>137</sup> on “non-representational journalism” together with

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<sup>136</sup> See Franco Berardi’s recent collage works (2020).  
<https://acikradyo.com.tr/psikocokuntu-gunlukleri/ufuk>

<sup>137</sup> In this article, Parks (2017b) intervenes into comfortable processes of political staging and news making practices to disorientate their conventional course, privileged focal events or persons and regular operations to consider new ways to look for evocative details, affective relations, and unexpected encounters. The main point is not to be captivated by staged political events and to go off the line from “normal” news which are foundationally fictive and full of fakery (Parks, 2017b, p. 2). Besides the author underlines to attend details out of the frames and stagecraft of events while practising journalism. In this sense, the author’s primary emphasis is on the “affect” which relates to visceral and sensorial encounters, ambient, rhythm and pre-reflective patterns of movement, ambient while dealing with the here and the now to attend to affective and seemingly mundane elements within the environment, rather than expected fixed representations. Taking this nonrepresentational stance, Parks (2017b) recommends surpassing crafted stages, events and ordinary habits and sequences of news making practices, going astray from presupposed news values and newsworthiness.

his theoretical discussions to employ nonrepresentational theory in communication research. Overall, Parks (2017b) performs a kind of *beyond-the-scenes* journalism or more properly bringing the non-staged to the front, flattening the background/foreground divide. In this sense, I argue that the author literally exercises a *live* coverage or more appropriate to say a *living* coverage. In a sense, it is a practice of *minor journalism*, which I may properly name.

Recalling Gilles Deleuze's dictum "experiment, never interpret" and grasp of politics as "active experimentation" (Deleuze & Parnet, 1977/2007, pp. 48, 137), overall, I attempt to adopt, invent and employ these conceptual and methodical tools to study political communication through urban space, which are material/discursive tracing, mapping and collage-making. Since these tools evoke to generate new ways to encounter the ongoing issues, to depict and consider forgotten agencies and connections and at last to create new ways to have capacity to intervene these issues.

### CHAPTER 3: PROPAGANDA GEOGRAPHIES AND INFRASTRUCTURAL UPROAR IN ISTANBUL

The frame below is shot on July 10<sup>th</sup>, 2020, right after the court decision and issue of the related presidential decree transforming Hagia Sophia into a mosque. Upon this declaration, Hagia Sophia, went through an incorporeal transformation: nothing had changed concerning its body and physicality, yet it is now positioned in a new status, disengaged from the *museum-arrangement* and plugged into *mosque-arrangement*.

**Figure 3.1:** Crowd gathered around Hagia Sophia, recording the first ‘call to prayer’ right after its declaration as a mosque



**Source:** Image captured from the streaming <https://www.pscp.tv/w/1vAGRrevrDZG1>

Machinic arrangement of bodies affords potentials and constraints to collective assemblage of enunciations. These discursive multiplicities, operating with particular machinic arrangements of bodies, directly intervene into these bodily encounters through order-words that generate incorporeal transformation, materially altering their connections, capacities, and status within socio-technical arrangement, leading to fluctuations (Bonta & Protevi, 2004, p. 98-99). Yet the order-words and the related incorporeal transformations depends on the affordances embedded in the environment that provide the material/discursive possibilities. For

instance, as Selim Deringil (1999) states, following the conquest of Istanbul, the purposeful construction of the Topkapı Palace right on the area of “Byzantine acropolis”, transforming Hagia Sophia into a mosque, the adoption of “the symbols of Caesar” and “the city itself” were material/discursive affordances providing the potentials to be coupled with, empowering the Ottoman Sultan as the new possessor of the imperial spirit of ages (p. 29). The intermingling of matter and symbol constitutes what we call spirit.

*Azan* has always already been recited at Hagia Sophia since 1991, yet right after the order-word “Hagia Sophia is now a mosque”, people gathered around the edifice recording the first call to prayer [*azan*] right after the announcement of the decree transforming it into mosque, generating an affective intervention. This incorporeal transformation intervened into bodily relations and mobilized existing museum-arrangement which is composed of discursive/nondiscursive multiplicities: world-heritage, UNESCO convention, Atatürk’s signature on the 1934 decree, secularism, republican legislations, monarchical laws, so-called deed of trust of a pious foundation, conquest of Istanbul, Orthodox Christianity, Byzantine legacy, Ottomanism, foreign affairs. In the mosque-arrangement, floors to be carpeted, tourists to wear shoe covers, and faces on the mosaics to be covered during the prayer time, which transforms the embodied experience of the ones who just want to visit the structure as a world heritage. Again, political communication operates through heterogeneous arrangements including bodies and not only through symbols.

Each historical period and the shifts between them witness dramatic changes of the material constitution of the cultural, social, and political. Architectural culture in a particular period forms the conditions of *urban communication* since it is concerned with material/symbolic interaction among humans and nonhumans. Architectural culture is in a sense a *media* culture, as in Umberto Eco’s (1997) understanding of “architecture as mass communication” (pp. 173-195). However, it is better to grasp architecture as a material/discursive agency of urban communication. I grasp urban space as a communicative realm and this realm is not

only composed of symbols and representations. What we call *urban* is neither a *content* nor a *medium*. If urban is a communicative realm, the processes of communication that we are dealing with are material/discursive, embodied, and mobile (see Dickinson & Aiello, 2016; Aiello et al., 2016). It requires to scrutinize content and medium simultaneously, which are intricately connected. Focusing on political communication together with urban processes, material flows and new spatial arrangements prompt to focus on the manipulation and management of the content/medium and the matter/meaning.

Apart from architecture, an infrastructural project is simultaneously an aesthetic, discursive and material intervention into the political mobilization within a city, shaping affordances, rhythms and patterns. Thus, it becomes an arrangement in the processes of political communication, both as representations and materiality of urban space. For instance, a bridge or a road project is both a material and a symbolic intervention, handling urban environment as both medium and content, intervening into both signifying and affective processes, shaping landscapes, public spaces, and patterns of mass meetings and everyday encounters, managing rhythms, speed and directions, and displacing humans/nonhumans.

In this sense, a new infrastructure, a road widening or a pedestrianization project, all may have different impacts not only on proximate but on distant areas. They connect to and mobilize diverse ecologies. They connect to different temporalities. They shape urban communication processes occurring through public spaces, patterns of congregation, mobilities of humans and nonhumans. They manipulate and govern mobility patterns, mobile gaze, and embodied encounters. All these projects involve excavation, demolition and construction processes shaping urban *content/medium* and *material/discursive affordances*.

It is crucial to remind that urban space is neither a text, a visual, a content nor a media representation to be analysed in fixed categories. Rather, it requires serendipity to create its narrative. This narrative should encompass the heterogeneous elements and manipulation of urban space as politically

communicative. Urban interventions manipulate material/discursive affordances through which political communication occurs, creating new embodied encounters, patterns of mobility and assemblies of humans and nonhumans and interfere with what the human actors debating and taking decisions on the city. Nonhumans such as earth-moving trucks, excavators, cranes, quarries, concrete, steel, highways, bridges, tunnels, waterways, trees, street animals, bird migration routes, silhouettes, debris, and waste are the agencies to be involved in seeing political communication through urban space.

So, this chapter focuses on infrastructural interventions in Istanbul, moving back and forth in history, in different ecologies of events, in order to trace relations and the interplay of material political communication and production of space. After the historical overviews, the chapter continues with subsections to perform material/discursive tracings to detect crucial relations, to draw *tanglegrams* and to make *collages* of recent mega infrastructures in Istanbul regarding their impact on the spatial framework and their operation as agencies of political communication. This is an attempt for a holistic pursuit regarding mobile audiences moving through infrastructures, encounters of human and nonhuman agencies, molecular occurrences within and through urban arrangements and the intricate relation between propaganda and production of space.

The main objective is to avoid representations and urban structures to become focalities captivating attentions while subsuming and obscuring ecologies. In this line, it is to continue to trace, catch and map encounters through ecologies and to juxtapose isolated representations into a frame to generate novel encounters with their simultaneity and relationality. While moving through the history and contemporary urban infrastructural propaganda as material interventions, the main questions are: *what encounters what, entangled with which relations through space-time? What are the material/discursive affordances to be coupled with, dominated or appropriated, cutting across spatio-temporal gatherings? How these encounters operate depending on which heterogenous arrangements?*

### **3.1 OVERVIEW OF URBAN COMMUNICATION AND PROPAGANDA THROUGH ISTANBUL'S GEOGRAPHY AND INFRASTRUCTURES**

This section focuses on different periods including cases from Istanbul concerning the shifts and oscillations in architectural culture and infrastructural investments which may be classified within the scope of urban communication and of the nexus of propaganda and production of space. Contemporary hectic days are still in progress as extensions of the tumultuous history of this geography.

Throughout the history, rulers or states have always been exposed to various factors eroding their legitimacy and power. In case of empires, encountering geographical boundaries, technological diffusion, foreign pressures, fiscal deficits, debt spirals, socio-economic and ideological movements produce a dissolution in the legitimate power and trigger the rulers to search for new devices to persevere and sustain their legitimacy (Gelvin, 2011, p. 34). In Weberian terms, “charisma”, the “extraordinary” element of legitimacy, is condemned to be “routinized”, in other words, to dissolve within and through the restless ordinary troubles that have to be resolved (Gelvin, 2011, p. 34) accompanied by a “legitimation deficit” and “crisis” in Habermas’ words, leading rulers to deploy new devices (Deringil, 1999, p. 9-10). In case of kingdoms and empires, through the decline of their legitimate power, these new devices emerged mainly as awe-inspiring and sumptuous structures, infrastructures and constructions or any form of material/symbolic interventions of splendour to survive through a process of re-adjusting the arrangement of things to highlight as if the legitimate power was always-already natural (Deringil, 1999, pp. 9-10; see also Deringil, 1993, p. 7, fn. 18). This is what Wendy Brown (2010) states that increased acts of fortifications refer to a dissolving sovereignty. The more the power diminishes the more such material/symbolic or infrastructural interventions increase to re-establish legitimacy.

Amir Timur, who reigned between 1370 and 1405, presumably stated that if one doubts his power, one should look at his monuments (Gorshenina, 2014, p. 259), may be a case in point. This statement was written on a placard, rumour has it on his palace *Ak-Saray* (White Palace) which was started to be constructed in

1380 and which was still under construction in 1404 (Brend, 1991, p. 128). Thus, when the power starts to sumptuously materialize, this may probably indicate either to a celebration of the actual apparent authority, as trophies of victorious power and its pervasive consequences, or on the contrary to a “legitimacy crisis” accompanied with a total downfall of power in both internal and foreign affairs, a state in need of recuperation to regain capacities to hold vital things together anew (Deringil, 1999, p. 10; see also Deringil, 1991, p. 345). Yet the connection between the diminishing power and the increasing importance of legitimation machines (Deringil, 1999), namely symbolic interventions, spectacles of grandeur, and extravagant ceremonies and spatial arrangements is not an isolated, but a multifaceted process. For instance, Gülru Necipoğlu (1991) analyses “the multileveled architectural discourse of the Topkapı Palace” in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, and “raised questions about the ideology of sovereignty, the meaning of court ceremonial, the interplay between architecture and ritual, gender zoning, public versus private life and the perception of a building by contemporary audiences” (p. xx). Such analysis contains the communicative dimension of architecture concerning the social, cultural, and political relations among subjects and the subjects in front of the power. Until the days of industrial revolution, singular edifices were still powerful in a context of lower level of mobility and communications.

### **3.1.1 Developmentalist Rush in the Late Ottoman**

The Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century, on the other hand, was encountering a high-speed Western industrialization and diffusion of new production, communications, and military technologies. Industrialization and technological innovations imposed pressure on and triggered the Empire to catch up with and attune to these progresses. These attempts named as “defensive developmentalism” (Gelvin, 2011, pp. 71-86), composed of efforts to recuperate the legitimate power through becoming attuned to novel technologies and infrastructures to reform and modernize mainly the military field together with efforts encompassing education, bureaucracy, urbanism and everyday life (Durac & Cavatorta, 2015, p. 36-7), while relying on soaring debts (Berridge, 2018, p. 50)

and becoming more and more integrated with the industrial capitalist countries and the world market (Gelvin, 2011, p. 85). İlhan Tekeli names this period as “shy modernity”<sup>138</sup> corresponding to the late Ottoman Empire especially the modernization efforts and the encounter with the new world of industrial revolution. The rural<sup>139</sup> and urban were sharply divided yet started to be connected through railway lines.

In the nineteenth century, “Ottoman government houses” for instance, were materially arranging and controlling public space around them as symbols of omnipresent state, as representation of political power with their new spatial arrangements for mass appeal (Avcı, 2017), thus reconfiguring processes and patterns of urban communication. Besides this was a period of Ottoman Empire encountering new technologies, new communication and transportation networks which had significant impacts. Zeynep Çelik (1993) depicted Istanbul’s “communication network” expanded with sea access, horsecars, water transportation, horse-drawn trams, tunnel, and trains (p. 82) together with Westernization and technological diffusion which culminated in a period of government guaranteed profits for private investments under the scrutiny of public debt administration [*Duyûn-u Umumiye*]. The developments in communications created both a divide and a symbiotic relation between architecture and infrastructure. While they are the base and interface of communications,

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<sup>138</sup> My subsections rely on İlhan Tekeli’s periodisation of Turkish modernity project with regards to urban and rural dynamics and change that resulted in the annihilation of this division. These periods are as follows: the era of “Shy Modernity”, which lasted from the 1860s until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire; second, the phase of “Radical Modernity”, which commenced with the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and ended after the Second World War when Turkey passed into a multi-party system; third, the period of “Populist Modernity”, which took place during the multiparty system until the 1980s; and finally, the period that began with the 1980s and continues to the present day, which can be regarded as the “Erosion of Modernity” (Tekeli, 2010b; Tekeli, 2019)

<sup>139</sup> In this dissertation as I mentioned, I focus on the infrastructural interventions and their material/discursive arrangements in urban space in a context of blurred divisions of city/non-city or urban/rural. Yet, as I present this overview of propaganda through buildings, infrastructures, and material interventions into settlements through different era, there occurs an immense transformation in both physical features and definitions of cities, witnessing the gradual dissolution of urban and rural divide along with the change of material/discursive stage of political communication.

infrastructures themselves started to be materially communicative, simultaneously connecting different nodes in the city and creating novel encounters with architectural and spatial elements. Infrastructures started to materially arrange urban communication and to generate segregated connectivities while they are becoming communicative agents themselves together with edifices.

In a highly turbulent period, Ottoman geography encountered with new diffusions of infrastructural technologies. As a result of military defeats, new technological investments intertwined with geostrategic issues were evaluated as means for an exit road for the empire to reinstate power over territories. The struggle for infrastructural interventions was another battlefield for the empire. For instance, 1877-78 Russo-Turkish War generated a series of disastrous consequences for Ottoman Empire and a critical break point. At the end of the war, the Treaty of *Ayastefanos* [San Stefano] was almost indicated the end of Ottoman presence in Europe (Ateş, 2014, p. 392) which was a result correlated with Sultan Abdulhamid's panislamist ideology embedded in logistical/symbolic investments to re-establish the prominence of the Empire in the world of Islam. Dues to be paid and the number of territories lost were huge. This destructive treaty was later moderated with the Treaty of Berlin. Yet, this attempt was not enough to prevent the Empire going downhill.

During this tumultuous period of the war, Karaköy-Beyoğlu Tunnel was opened in 1875 and the third Galata Bridge was completed in 1878 (Çelik, 1993, pp. 88-89; 96-7). In 1880, Minister of Public Works Hasan Fehmi Paşa prepared a multi-dimensional plan encompassing various types of infrastructural arrangements with intentions to privilege foreign capital in order to realize these investments (Tekeli & İlkin, 2010, p. 113). In this atmosphere, in 1881, the *Decree of Muharrem* founded the infamous Ottoman Public Debt Administration [*Duyûn-u Umumiye*] which revived foreign investments in Ottoman railways, since this administration was authorized to raise the revenues set aside for mileage warranties to refund enterprises constructing and operating railways (Ozyuksel, 2014, p. 18). In 1882, in the atmosphere of German influence, Ottoman state ordered Krupp cannons

amounting a value of 1.206.987 *liras* (Ortaylı, 1981, p. 66), which were another form of iron and steel, other than rails. Between the years of 1854 and 1912 Ottoman state become the world's greatest client of Krupp company (Grant, 2003, pp. 31-32). Both in form of rail, train or artillery gun, Ottoman Empire become a market of end products dependent on steel, iron, and coal in the days of imperialist carbon economy.

This coal-dependent period encompassed the investment on Hejaz Railway project started in 1890s which was a logistical/symbolic accomplishment in the eyes of Sultan Abdulhamid II (Deringil 1999, p. 74) correlating the spread of panislamist ideology and desires. Focusing on the era of Abdulhamid II, Selim Deringil (1999) scrutinizes “applied legitimation policies” (p. 2) through symbols and underlines the rising number of “legitimation” devices put in circulation domestically and internationally during the downfall of the empire. In this era there were many instances of arranging and bringing an ideological order to public space, deploying symbols including coat of arms, sultan's signature or steles used as declaration of legitimation to decorate structures and infrastructures such as dams, roads, bridges, and clock towers (Deringil, 1999, pp. 26, 29-31). As against these imperial efforts to re-establish legitimacy, it was not only the empire that intervened into everyday life through such material/discursive arrangements. Meanwhile, the construction of Russian Monument of San Stefano started in 1892, and the monument was opened in 1898 commemorating Russian victory over Ottomans. A year later, Public Debt Administration moved to its new building designed in a neo-Islamic style by Antoine Vallauray (Çelik, 1992, pp. 157-158; 1993, p. 146), occupying a significant place in the city's silhouette as a material/discursive intervention<sup>140</sup>, constantly reminding of looming debts over the empire. Besides these architectural interventions, infrastructures such as telegraphy system, railway

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<sup>140</sup>Through their physical presence and topological impacts, buildings, monuments, or infrastructures themselves are communicative, and they are not only “symbols of power” (Deringil, 1999, p. 21) as devices of legitimation, but they are indeed material/discursive arrangements of power acting directly on embodied encounters.

lines and stations dramatically shaped the city and landscapes creating new avenues, squares, and neighbourhoods that generates new encounters.

Under these economic circumstances, in 1900, on his birthday, Sultan Abdulhamid announced an ambitious imperial *ferman* disregarding economic factors to inaugurate a campaign to collect the donations for the divine infrastructure of Hejaz without relying on foreign investment (Ozyuksel, 2014, p. 94). The same year, Muhammad Arif, the provisional chairman of the board of education in Damascus, published in a hustle his “propaganda” work on Hejaz railway, named “*The Book of the Increasing and Eternal Happiness*” (Ozyuksel, 2014, pp. 86-88). Sultan’s call for donation had success and this purely Muslim funded project with religious, military, and administrative motives, as a holy logistical tool of legitimation aimed to provide convenient transportation for pilgrimage, stretching to Medina in 1908 yet beyond this point encountered with the confrontations by Bedouins and tribal chiefs of Mecca backed by Britain (Ozyuksel, 2014, pp. 214, 222). As a propaganda infrastructure intended to produce space, it had an effect on Muslims connecting cities along a sacred line expected to reach sacred places, to create influence in the region and changing the desert landscape.

During the construction of Hejaz Railway, Ottoman Empire encounters Bedouins through telegraph lines and poles. Telegraphy infrastructure intervenes into Bedouin’s routine embodied experience and modifying their cultural landscape of the desert; and this hegemonic infrastructural intervention was socially and politically communicating ominous and colonizing ideas through its physical presence, and generating a conceived, colonized and dominated space (Minawi, 2016, pp. 130-131). While telegraphy infrastructure affording the communication system supporting the imperial railway line, it also communicated a threat to Bedouins through their material presence in the desert landscape, occupying their perceptible realm, generating new bodily experiences and new encounters since they were permanent physical/cultural interventions into their landscape. Thus, presence of poles and wires activated agencies and affordances shaping the space

and the relationships between Bedouins and the empire. An infrastructural project with propaganda purposes conceives of and dominates space, while material/discursive affordances of an infrastructure differ related to the experiences and memories of audiences in a given context.

During the years of Balkan wars, Istanbul was struggling with epidemics and fires were destroying many buildings. In the middle of cholera outbreak between the years of 1910 and 1913, Cemil Topuzlu, a surgeon, who studied medicine in Paris, was appointed as the mayor of Istanbul, an eligible personage to come through these ravaging public health issues. The city inevitably turned into, so to speak, a “medicalisable object” (Foucault, 1980, p. 175). In such context, Mayor Topuzlu attempted to sustain hygiene and public health through new infrastructural interventions and aggressive urban operations such as enhancing the sewage system, widening roads, setting up lines for electric trams, surgically resecting unnecessary buildings –while damaging historic structures— and chopping down trees to open up space for parks, gardens and to plant trees anew and to beautify selected parks and sites, which were harshly criticized (Yıldırım, 2009; Yıldırım Okta, 2017). His urban dreams later published in his book “Tomorrow’s Istanbul” in 1937 – applied to a certain extent in Henri Prost’s plan— depicting radical urban operations that clean sweep the messy and tangled surroundings to make the selected monuments salient to generate a novel urban landscape resecting malignity while implementing Haussmann-styled arrangements (Yıldırım, 2009, pp. 85; 111; 114-15; Yıldırım Okta, 2017, pp. 11-16), inherited from baroque axial planning with long and wide streets ending with landmarks<sup>141</sup>.

### **3.1.2 Radically Modern Arrangements of the Early Republic**

Through modernizing efforts in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, the centres of urban communication in everyday life shifted from mosques to

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<sup>141</sup> Long before Prost and Topuzlu, Tekeli (2009, p. 108) narrates that in the era of Sultan Abdulmecid who reigned between 1839 and 1861, Bekir Paşa –one of the earliest planners-- reportedly prepared an urban plan with streets ending with landmark mosques, namely bearing the characteristics Baroque axial-vista planning –or more recent example of the day, Haussman planning of Paris.

coffeehouses and later on in the early Republican period, mosques were deprived of their quality to serve as the centre of social life (Parlak, 2020, p. 124). In the same line, Early Republican era of Turkey, party-state organizations “People’s Houses” redefined city centres bringing forth new material arrangements in public space through the positioning of the edifice and through their façades (Gürallar Yeşilkaya, 1999, pp. 140-155), resembling the case of Ottoman government houses, generating new encounters.

Likewise, the train stations of the 1930s Turkey –functionally resembled to mosques within Ottoman-style complex named *kulliye*— constituting around them as a new secular complex, a new neighbourhood, a space of gazing at trains passing by, clustering of social spaces, new spaces of consumption such as teahouses, restaurants, shops and bazaars on station avenues and squares (Toprak, 2007, p. 28). Residential buildings also clustered around, named as “station neighbourhoods” (Bozdoğan 2002, p. 120). Railway infrastructure intervened into urban communication arrangements, its “activity bundles” (Hägerstrand, 1970) and produced new processes of communication within the city and with the materiality of the city itself.

Besides edifices, there were instances of urban decoration with propagandistic elements accompanying dramatic shifts in architectural culture. Urban infrastructural interventions were arranging the patterns and time-space geography of communication *within* the city and *with* the city had potentials to transform patterns of mobility and gatherings, changing landscapes and topographies politically, culturally, and ecologically. In 1930s’ Turkey, for instance, Turkish architect Seyfi Arkan was designing People’s Houses, and “Light Towers” as propagandist decorations to be encountered on the streets in the middle of a radical modernist change in architectural culture (Bozdoğan, 2002, pp. 94-96). Production of space includes processes composed of arranging patterns and rhythms of affective encounters, their constant conflicts and negotiations emerging from existing mode of production and everyday life. In abovementioned events, there are material/discursive interventions into physical, mental, and social space,

into the embodied actions and encounters, manipulating affordances and generating new captivating dependency relations.

In the era of radical modernity, the nation-building and modernization operated with architectural interventions (Bozdoğan, 2001). Ankara was an appropriate “quasi-non-space” as if a tabula rasa to constitute a new political geography of the modern nation-state (Bozarslan, 2015, p. 331). Building such a modern capital through the materialization of modern architectural culture, constituted new secular public spaces for the gathering of both women and men, while introducing modern ways of life. Architectural culture and urban interventions of Early Republican Turkey encompassing the years between 1923-1945 (Bozdoğan, 2001) can be considered as shaping of urban communication in the context of nation-building activities, establishing new routes and congregation nodes, using new raw materials, adopting new styles and spatial arrangements, generating novel forms of embodied encounters.

In the early years of the Republic when the division of urban and rural, city and non-city were obvious and demarcated, --adequate with Louis Wirth’s (1938) definition of city as infrastructured agglomeration in which “urban” is “a mode of life” but still not only limited within the boundaries of the city. Here an apt example is the entangled relation among Atatürk Forest Farm, Youth Park and Çubuk Dam in Ankara (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, p. 31). First, the forest farm was a modern project relying on science and technology in order to create an oasis in the middle of the steppes of Ankara, a modernizing fight with nature while producing a new space for the new urban ways of life, of the new nation-state (Kaçar, 2015, p. 88) and the farm was part of the industrial, agricultural, educational, and social development (Kaçar, 2015, p. 30). The farm was a material/discursive arrangement which required infrastructures to supply water, which are themselves symbolic investments. For instance, as Bozdoğan and Akcan (2012) states, Çubuk Dam is more of an ornament of nation-state, a stagecraft of modern life, and a symbolic infrastructure (p. 32). While this is true, the hydraulic works were also infrastructures that was fuelling the material/symbolic arrangement of Gençlik

Parkı, supplying water to its immense artificial lake together with the diversion of the creeks of Bentderesi and İncesu (Bozdoğan & Akcan, 2012, pp. 32, 35). In turn, this generated a modern seaside culture, with its promenades, in the landlocked Ankara.

All three entangled infrastructural projects of the radical modernity generated a new medium for urban communication shaping both communicative practices in these public spaces as secular and modern spatial arrangements and the material/discursive arrangement of the built environment and the affordances as communicative of the modern, secular, urban ways of life of the new Republic. Overall, Ankara itself was deployed as the material arrangement holding together all these values of the modernity project.

Shifting the focus from Ankara to Istanbul, there we encounter the projects of beautification of a neglected city. During the period of “shy modernity” from 1860s to the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, there is an intense diffusion of communications technologies and infrastructural interventions within and beyond Istanbul. Together with the increase in mobility, from the year of 1864 until 1914, Istanbul’s population increased %100 from 600,000 to 1,200,000 (Tekeli, 2010b). After the years of Great War, Istanbul experienced a huge downfall. Further to that, positioning Ankara as the capital of the Republic adorned with modern architecture and investments made Istanbul lonelier. Within a decade, Istanbul’s population decreased to 650,000 when the republic was declared in 1923 (Tekeli, 2010b). In 1936, the Prost Plan started to be implemented to create new residential areas and to beautify Istanbul (Tekeli, 2010b). These investments were exhibited in the propagandistic booklet named *Güzelleşen İstanbul* in 1944, depicting the arrangements of the town planner Henri Prost appointed back in 1936, of the era of governor Lütü Kırdar and national chief İsmet İnönü. Between the years of 1936 and 1951, beautification and hygiene operations infused with secular nation-state ideology implemented with Henri Prost’s plan (Akpınar, 2008, p. 64). Although Prost was sacked in 1951, the dominant voice of hygienic beautification echoed and generated a continuity until the end of Menderes government in 1960 and even

sustained in the 1980s (Akpınar, 2008, p. 65). Hygiene and cleansing implemented through radical urban operations causing uncontrolled demolitions and infrastructural interventions that attempted to hide material flows and sites that are not desired to be visible in everyday life, bringing forth new mobility patterns, experiences, encounters, and self-conduct.

These technical operations realized both to regulate urban circulation of things and humans and to generate new silhouettes and vistas to be spectated by circulating audiences embodying new patterns of gazing via new modes of transportations and speeds (Desportes, 2005). The infrastructures and urban design operations were indeed political aesthetic interventions (Larkin, 2018), simultaneously managing their presentation through their own physical presence, bodily experiences of people and patterns of urban communication. All these urban interventions as radical modernization project of an elite cadre party lasted until 1950 and accompanied by the modernization of agriculture and rural areas<sup>142</sup> in era when city and non-city distinction was still significant and sharp.

### **3.1.3 The Dust Storm of Populism: 1948-1960**

Upon the establishment of multiparty system in 1946, Democratic Party came to power in 1950 when the population of Istanbul increased up to a million. Between the years 1946 and 1950, Turkey already tended toward or rather opt in the United States bloc via Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, becoming a member of World Bank and International Monetary Fund, Organisation for European Economic Cooperation, European Council and UNESCO. The visit of U.S.S. Missouri battleship was the crucial point with regards to this integration with the

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<sup>142</sup> In this era, 'village institutes' were established in 1940 to develop rural areas through a modern and secular educational project encompassing scientific and cultural education including agricultural and crafts courses. Launched as a project for rural development together with technological diffusion to change the traditional economic and social relations, this project cannot become successful as a result of the resistance of the socio-economic tradition in rural population (Kongar, 1976, p. 452). Keyder (1979, p. 14) also underlined the discrepancies and conflicts between this modernizing institute and the rural population, while Akşin (2009, p. 238) highlighted the institutes as a successful attempt. Overall, village institutes as an unfinished attempt with regards to changing socio-political conditions that DP closed and labelled them as a communist organization while also put an end to People's House and People's Rooms in 1951 (Zürcher, 2017, p. 196, 225).

United States. The battleship was deployed to transport the remains of Münir Ertegün, the Turkish Ambassador to Washington. Yet the mission was a propagandistic journey turning Missouri into a “political instrument” that reached Istanbul on 5 April 1946 (Blechman & Kaplan, 1979, pp. 193-194). As a show of strength, this visit was so influential inasmuch that commemorative stamps were printed, Missouri cigarettes were released, and the façade of Maiden’s Tower were covered with a “Welcome Missouri” banner (Yılmaz, 2015, p. 119). In 1950, Turkey sent military forces to Korean War to prove itself as a reliable alliance partner and become a member of NATO in 1951. The DP government enacted laws on promoting foreign capital in 1951 and petroleum law in 1954 providing privileges to foreign companies (Kazgan, 2008, p. 102).

These years were the main breakpoint composed of the shift to multiparty system and rural transformation<sup>143</sup> triggering the forthcoming migrations and urbanization. DP operated as mass party formed and supported by the reactions of peasants and agrarian elite landlords shifting the politics into the rural stage (Kazgan, 2008, p. 109), granting power to the rural in the face of the cities. This culminated in DP’s well-known slogan “Enough, now the people have their say” marking the beginnings of the era of populist modernity. Yet, in implementation it was both a populist and a *radically* destructive period.

The shift to the populist era of modernization and the emergence of DP as a mass party also change the themes of slogans and shift the stage of politics from urban to rural. In the early fifties, DP’s election campaigns were putting emphases

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<sup>143</sup> After the 1948 Marshall Plan that transformed the agricultural means of production and boosted the migration, the first barrack-like settlements emerged that gradually evolved into shanty towns (Şenyapılı, 2004). Besides the diffusion of new technologies through the import of tractors was the other crucial factor behind the outflow of migration, together with the transformation of the size of agricultural businesses, changing the relations of production (Tekeli, 2008; 2019). The first great transformation of the rural was between 1948 and 1956 with the surge in the number of tractors from 1.800 to 44.000 and the same period witnessed a surge reaching the limits of arable lands (Tekeli, 2008, p. 70). While there is such triggering transformation in technologies and forms of businesses, the cities were not ready to absorb the inflow of rural population causing problems in social, cultural, and infrastructural adaptiveness. In other words, the cities as the project of modernity were not resilient enough and the first amnesty law concerning the informal settlements enacted in 1948 (Tekeli, 2008, p. 56).

on investments and developmentalism referring to public works, while opposition parties used negative and ironic campaigning referring to the cost of living and the means of production such as “we are pulling the tractors with ox”, criticising out of stock goods, or pointing the expensiveness of horseshoes, or the unavailability of spare parts, the lowered basis weight of bread, and the limitation of coffee export. Later, in the late fifties, DP’s hydraulic works and infrastructures (Gülmez, 2018) and Menderes urban operations in Istanbul (B. Boysan, 1990) themselves deployed as propaganda.

As part of the Marshall Plan investments, the Directorate of Highways was founded in 1950 to form communications network across the country, shifting the railway investments to highways to boost agricultural development (Kazgan, 2008, p. 102). Sarıyar Dam was the first major hydraulic investment as part of the Marshall Plan, constructed between 1950-1956 (Gülmez, 2018, p. 75). The urban starts to enlarge its footprints on the rural. In the following years, the State Hydraulic Works was established in 1953. In 1950s, the construction of larger dams continued for the purposes of energy, irrigation and to prevent floods. These dams also caused the displacement of settlements from the planned reservoir areas (Tekeli, 2008, p. 165). Along with this focus on rural areas, Gülmez (2018) states that building large dams was also a crucial device and stage for monumental/developmental propaganda (pp. 70-71, 73) as part of the war against nature while producing national icons (p. 89) and DP’s rural stagecraft for developmental politics also emphasized their scalar grandeur compared to Early Republican investments (p. 86). Overall, as infrastructural medium causing socio-natural and ecological transformations, dams and their surroundings become the stage for political communication, urban communication, and modern ways of life. While the political stage shifted from cities to rural areas, the development of the rural through what is urban, was fuelling the urban. For the first time in 1952, Istanbul got its electricity powered by Çatalağzı Thermal Power Station located in a distant province, constructing the first intercity power lines in Turkey. Istanbul

Yeşilköy Airport was opened in 1953, which was another infrastructure accelerating the explosion of the urban scale.

Following the first half of 1950s, the focus shifted again from rural to urban with the huge urban interventions in Istanbul, started in 1956 as part of election strategies, highlighting Istanbul as a neglected city (A. Boysan 1990, p. 225; B. Boysan 1990, p. 234). In 1956, on the road to the 1958 economic crisis, the total infrastructural warfare was launched through opening roads as if opening “intercity highways” (B. Boysan, 1990, p. 235). As Burak Boysan (1990) underlined, Menderes commanded the infrastructural warfare in Istanbul, the so-called development of Istanbul, that was a “public relations strategy” for the general election of October 1957. The first aim of this strategy was, that B. Boysan indicates, the development of Istanbul that was much more spectacular than rural projects and that can be deployed as part of the campaigns across the whole country, which was in turn effective to win the election and the second aim was to govern the relations with the press, to get their support (p. 237).

In such conjuncture, prime minister Adnan Menderes was saying “public improvements for Istanbul are much more productive than to establish a thousand factories throughout the country” (as cited in Serter, 2018, p. 143). These words were expressed in 1957, show how inevitable the crisis was, disregarding economic factors and solely focusing on demolitions for widening roads and sterilizing the city<sup>144</sup>. In 1957 elections, DP used the slogan “Towards Bright Horizons” [*Nurlu Ufuklara Doğru*] on the road to progress, in the harmony of noise of machines and the sound of azan (Atılğan, 2015, pp. 414, 430-431). Between the years of 1956 and 1960, thousands of buildings demolished as part of public improvements in Istanbul, under Menderes administration (Tekeli, 1991, p. 26). Public improvements, privileges for foreign capital and tourism investments were at the centre of Menderes’ policies in Istanbul. During the years of economic crisis,

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<sup>144</sup>Moreover, two years earlier, in 1955, the 6-7 September pogrom which happened mainly in Istanbul indicates how governors were unaware of the concepts of public improvements and prosperity.

demolitions were under way. The situation was like this: On the one hand, making Turkey the “Little America” (“İstanbul Heyecanlı,” 1957) and on the other hand, making Istanbul the Second Mecca (“Başvekil Dün 51inci,” 1957; “İstanbul İkinci Bir Kâbe,” 1957). Religion and public works were interweaving: “I was so busy with these public works in so much that I can count up their names as if I pray *Fatiha*”, stated Menderes (“Menderes Bugün Fatih’te”, 1957). He also stated that in seven years they have built 15 thousand mosques (“Menderes, 7 Yılda 15 Bin Cami,” 1957), while blaming İsmet İnönü allegedly converting mosques into wine cellars and stables (“İstanbul İkinci Bir Kâbe,” 1957). Menderes continues:

Now, (İsmet) Pasha says that “you are lowering and raising the roads, are you an architect or an urbanist?” Of course, your mind does not have such ability. Istanbul wore out, crumbled in your clumsy and ignorant hands. You are not the guy able to do these things. You would not understand prosperity and public works. The only thing you know is political unrest. You make the country to come to a deadlock in 27 years, that is why we took a stand against you.<sup>145</sup> (“Menderes-İnönü Düellosu,” 1957, translated by the author)

A year before the 1957 general elections, Menderes held a press conference concerning the public works in Istanbul, which was coined as a national issue, claiming to protect historical buildings while demolishing a huge number of them for road widening projects and cleaning unnecessary buildings and cutting down trees<sup>146</sup> for opening spaces to reveal selected monuments (“Başvekil İmâr,” 1956) (Fig. 3.2). These interventions were resembling the case of 1930s Italy –in line with Baroque axial planning, the road building and clearing of narrow and jammed quarters to expose Coliseum and other selected monuments, as mentioned in previous sections. In a process of selection and salience, this move put selected monuments at the centre and destructing the eliminated ones while this time bringing the roads at the centre as focal monumentalities. Navigating on the roads

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<sup>145</sup> In original words: “Şimdi Paşa der ki, sen yolları alçaltıp yükseltiyorsun, mimar mısın, şehirci misin? Elbette, bu senin aklının kârı değildir. Senin hoyrat ve nâdân ellerinde güzel İstanbul eskidi, harap oldu. Sen bunları yapacak adam değilsin. Sen ümrani, imarı anlamazsın. Sen ancak siyasi fitneden anlarsın, 27 sene memleketi olduğu yerde saydırdın, biz onun için karşına dikildik” (Adnan Menderes, 22 October 1957)

<sup>146</sup> In the same press conference, Menderes state that they will plant trees in different areas to compensate the trees cut down during these road widening projects.

desired to be transformed into an experience of gazing at selected monuments on the showcase<sup>147</sup>. Here the issue is in relation with beautification, hygiene and ecstatic monumentality.

**Figure 3.2:** Press clippings from Milliyet Newspaper: Drawing of the decision to change the position of third bridge on the Golden Horn in order not to interfere with the silhouette of Eyup (Left) and Photograph of the Model of Zoning plan between Eminönü – Unkapanı (Right)



**Source:** Cumhuriyet Newspaper (“Üçüncü Köprünün Yeri” 1957) (Left) and Milliyet Newspaper (“Başvekil İmâr İşlerini,” 1956) (Right)

Beautifying operations and radical demolitions continued as a follow up of Prost Plan, such that an exhibition held in Istanbul in 1956 on the change and beautification of Istanbul [*Değişen ve Güzelleşen İstanbul* by Hilmi Şahenk]. Yet the government broke away from the plan as implementation of nation-state ideology and urban secularization operations, and now engaging with a blend of Islamism and American Dream. Simultaneously, trying to become both “Little America” and “Second Mecca” brought forth this ideological shift in operations. Besides, shifting from Ankara as the stage of radical modern urbanism, the stage of modernity now set in Istanbul, “conquering Istanbul anew” as Menderes

<sup>147</sup> As mentioned, such operations go back to 16<sup>th</sup> century, Pope Sixtus V archetypical baroque axial planning, which were also propagandistic implementations back then.

underlined, through “monumental” roads, creating a panoramic gaze on selected and ostensibly restored edifices and monuments (Artun, 2019, pp. 61; 68; 70-71).

For the selected monuments to be “showcased” even courses of the roads changed and bridge projects abandoned in order not to interfere with the silhouette and the scenery of these selected monuments (Artun, 2019, pp. 114-115) (Fig. 3.2). Yet, the conquest ends with a devastation, demolishing 7289 buildings (Tekeli, 1991, p. 26), 46 mosques and many other hamams, masjids, public fountains, and cemeteries (Artun, 2019, p. 114). From the Early Republican period to the *Menderes* conquest the main continuity occurs at the level of *radical* interventions, but shifting from Ankara to Istanbul, from secular to Islamist tendencies and from modern edifices to the roads *as* monuments.

These detrimental political propaganda through infrastructural interventions were resulted in urbicidal landscapes and with the increase of population reaching 2 million in 1960, which was 1 million back in 1950 (A. Boysan, 1990, pp. 232-233). As a result, this urban warfare through road widening accompanied by rural public works causing a huge surge of population inflow to Istanbul surging shanty towns and causing urban implosion. The infrastructural warfare on the battleground Istanbul ended with the 1958 economic crisis and devaluation on August 4<sup>th</sup> declaring moratorium (Kazgan, 2008, p. 115). Then came the coup of 1960 marking the end of Menderes era.

#### **3.1.4 The Populist Saga Continues : 1960-1980**

After the 1958 crisis and 1960 coup, the State Planning Organization established in 1960 and Turkey entered into the planned economic period enacting the first 5-year development plan in 1963. It becomes clear that Menderes-style infrastructural warfare in the cities were not profitable and certainly cannot be the way to get out of the crisis. Although there was still high-speed urbanization, it was slower with regards to the previous years as populist politics focused on the rural<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> In this period, the rural were both feeding the cities while providing an outflow of population. As Tekeli (2020) states, this flow caused shanty towns to emerge at the outskirts of the cities while

areas supporting small-scale producers accompanied by the worker migration to Germany (Tekeli, 2009, p. 121). In this seemingly planned period of populist modernity, Justice Party (AP) got on the stage in 1961 as another mass party and the so-called successor of DP.

A key political figure, Süleyman Demirel became the leader of the AP in 1964 and the party came to power in 1965. He was named as the “King of Dams” (Stahl, 2019, p. 38) since he was the former director of the State Hydraulic Works, and under his government Keban Dam started to be constructed in 1965 -opened in 1975-, which was later evolved into the Southeastern Anatolian Project (Çarkoğlu & Eder, 2016). Keban Dam described as “a technopolitical frontier” (Stahl, 2019) bringing forth technocultural/socionatural repercussions and its construction caused the displacement of a population around 40.000, the flooding of 94 settlements and caused to relocate archaeological sites (Stahl, 2019, p. 31). According to Tekeli (2008), there were many other village relocations displacing populations between 1955-1965 and Keban Dam covered 212 settlements within its lake area (p. 165). Keban can be an instance of increased entanglement of infrastructures encountering socionatural agencies. The huge migration to cities increased the need to soak energy to be powered by the distant rural areas. Besides, “engineering ideology” merged with Islamism (see Göle, 1986/2016) that cut across and infused the mass party politics. In 1970, 38 dams were still under construction causing 167 village to be relocated (Tekeli, 2008, p. 166).

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inner zones were imploding with the build-sell type of solution starting from 1950s reaching its peak in 60s and 70s, namely, demolishing the single or two storey buildings and constructing apartments on the same plot as a result of high prices of land (p. 13). This concentration was destroying the spatial arrangements of 1930s and also causing infrastructural insufficiencies, causing to introduce a new shanty town law accompanied by the introduction of automobile in the late 60s, the introduction of shared taxis serving shanty towns in place of public transportation that cannot be provided by the municipality as a result of insufficient funds (p. 13). Also, the increasing population caused problems in the sewage system, causing the sewage to be discharged to the seas and rivers causing ecological damage and public health problems (Tekeli, 2020, p. 15). Besides, as a result of subemployment, informal types of jobs such as street vendors emerged. Overall, as Serter (2018) states, people carried the rural and religious ways of life while migrating to the cities, and in turn producing shanty towns that gradually materialized into the spaces of conservatism (pp. 134-137), becoming a battleground and a centre of gravity in the urban political geography in the coming years.

On 14 October 1973, Turkish General Elections bearing the impacts of the 1971 military intervention and under the leadership of Bülent Ecevit, CHP won the elections, gaining the support of left syndicates (Bozarslan, 2015, p. 313). Meanwhile, the First Bosphorus bridge was opened on 30 October 1973. CHP also won the municipal elections on 9 December 1973, including Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir. As a retrospective evaluation, Süleyman Demirel stated that “you cannot gain votes solely through operations” referring to the loss of elections in 1973, highlighting that although they were the ones who constructed the Bosphorus Bridge (Donat, 2005, p. 209). Following the opening of Bosphorus Bridge in 1973, the population density of the Anatolian side increased from 20% to 50% (Tekeli 2016, p. 364). In the same period, CHP’s electoral declaration brought forth concepts such as “village cities” and “satellite cities”, so-called attempts to deal with the “excessive urbanization” (Tekeli et al., 1976/2020, p. 347). Village-city concept emerged as a new type of infrastructural settlement system transforming villagers into workers, industrializing and urbanizing villages with new arrangements of production and land, introducing as a new “control center” within a hierarchical system of settlements (Tekeli, 2011, pp. 204 – 207). These debates were going on when urban population in Turkey were around 40% of the total population in 1975 (Tekeli, 2020, p. 9) and Istanbul’s population reached 4.6 million in 1980 (Tekeli, 2010b, p. 36).

In this period, apart from the ideological themes and expressions belonging to political wings, it is possible to detect the change of scale of public work projects and the related slogans. For instance, AP’s “Water, water, water and Road! Our main political purpose” in 1965; CHP’s “National Petroleum” and “Land Reform” again in 1965; “We have connected Asia to Europe” of AP hyping up the Bosphorus Bridge in 1973. Meanwhile CHP’s “Towards Bright Days” [*Ak Günlere*] campaign of 1973, election declaration and propaganda materials were involving infrastructures, urban issues, and rural development projects such as “village-city”. Until 1980s, rural were developing and urban fabric were intensely spreading into the rural, while it generates outflow migration putting pressure on cities.

As mentioned above, the rural- which was demarcated, dominated, and defined by cities—was also the stage of these material/discursive interventions. The shift of the stage of political communication from urban to rural, accompanied by the outflow of migration from villages to cities led to crucial changes affecting election demographics and campaign strategies. This followed a change in promises in party politics, shifting the sites of investments as a result of political economic, social relations and technological change both at national and international level.

### **3.1.5 From Highways to Catch-all to Authoritarian Earthmovers**

Together with the 1980s and “the erosion of modernity project” (Tekeli, 2010), the urban-rural divide started to be blurred. The agriculture was neglected and did not supported both in the era of military government and The Motherland Party as Tekeli underlines (2019, p. 33). In the 1980s, the shift from populist era of modernity to the “erosion of modernity project” (Tekeli, 2010), The Motherland Party, --as a pot of neoliberal conservatism, Islamism and Ottomanism-- got on the stage as “a catch-all party” after the 1980 coup, targeting the votes of shanty towns with the amnesty law promising deeds (Özbek, 1997, p. 231, fn. 17), in other words, getting advantage of the urban implosion and explosion. In a period of neoliberalism, privatisation, and urban sprawl, the second Bosphorus Bridge constructed, mayor Bedrettin Dalan conducted operations full of expropriations, demolitions, and road building in Istanbul, creating a city rolling into gentrifications, mass housing, gated communities and mega transportation projects starting from 1990s into the 2000s, when the urban population is accelerating on the road to surge beyond 80% of the total population and when the urban-rural divide started to blur and to be annihilated in the end.

In the 2000s onwards, the reformist successor of the Islamist parties, Justice and Development Party came forth in the guise of a catch-all party evolving into a typology of cartel and media party empowering the merger of the state and the party. It later adopted a neo-ottomanist and neoliberal authoritarian line accompanied by urban interventions (Serter, 2018), deploying mass housing as apparatuses of “neoliberal clientelism” (Marschall et al., 2016). Together with the

change of the regime into the Turkish style Presidential system, it is transformed into a state-party bringing forth a “neopatrimonial domination” (Cengiz, 2018). Of all these descriptions, in a time of planetary urbanization, mega-scale infrastructural projects are the best accompanying machines for this regime’s operations in form of public-private partnerships. Serter (2018) calls these interventions as a “developmental fetishism” (p. 236) along with material/symbolic shifts on both micro and macro scales including silhouettes, demolitions, landscapes, building envelopes, façade designs and ornaments (pp. 249-262).

Conservatism, Islamism and neo-ottomanism are notions that are dominating Turkey’s political atmosphere and all these notions bring their own symbolic ammunition on the battlefield. Tokdoğan (2018) concentrates on neo-ottomanism in relation to emotions and symbols that put into circulation via political acts of AKP. Focusing on discourses, myths, performances, and rituals, she suggests that “leader”, “space” and “myth” corresponding respectively to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Istanbul and 15 July 2016 failed coup are the main political instruments of “symbolic politics” embodying the neo-ottomanist narrative. Grasping the interplay of symbols and emotions, Tokdoğan (2018) focuses particularly on Istanbul as a space of revenge that provides an immense web of affordances for the Neo-ottomanist project and the gargantuan infrastructures and edifices in turn were deployed as symbolic troops or fortifications as part of the “re-conquest” of Istanbul.

Additionally, Batuman (2017) reveals the construction of a new architectural culture which laid siege to the contemporary built environment, depicting AKP’s hegemonic project of re-building the nation through Islamist urban policies and new spatial arrangements and underlines how built environment shape politics in Turkey. Relatedly, according to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, 184 Government Houses between 2009 and 2017 (T.C. İçişleri, n.d.-a); 88 Prefecture Buildings and 15 Governor’s Houses between 2006 and 2016 were completed (T.C. İçişleri, n.d.-b) throughout the country. These government buildings were designed in accordance with the aesthetic principals that are indicated in the procedures such

as designing façades coherent with the historical texture of a town or using materials consistent with the local architecture projects (T.C. İçişleri, n.d.-c). These aesthetic concerns reflect the same patterns as in the Presidential Complex, new municipality buildings, public schools, mass housing projects or neighbourhood houses. This transformation of the built environment including such aesthetic interventions resembles the motives as in the case of Late Ottoman Government Houses and the People's Houses and other government buildings of the Early Republican era. These edifices serve as legitimization devices either to restate legitimacy or to establish a new state.

Through the episodes of the modernity project, the political stagecraft oscillated between the cities and the countryside. These oscillations culminated in the total urbanization of the planet and witnessed a giant scalar leap of projects and the increasing construction speed materializing in an era of authoritarian earthmovers that sustains a public-private warfare over the geography infused by their ideological motives.

## **3.2 A CONTEMPORARY PROPAGANDA GEOGRAPHY: ISTANBUL**

### **3.2.1 Mobilizing Materials, Mobilizing People: Infilling the Stage**

In 1940 Taksim Military Barracks were demolished. It was constructed in 1806, under the reign Selim III (Yücel & Hatipoğlu, 2009, p. 356). In 1957-58 Tophane Military Barracks was demolished, of which the project owner was Sultan Mahmut II, the modernizing sultan. Taksim Barracks were decayed and demolished for constructing a park in the name of İsmet İnönü in the era of radical modernity. Later, Tophane Barracks were demolished for the monumental road widening activities in Menderes era. These two demolitions are instances of producing space in different contexts. Considering these cases, production of space is not an issue to be squeezed in a short duration. When suited to its context, a demolition and a construction might set the agenda anew. In the long duration, a project could come to the fore and the other might not be highlighted.

This is a relationality composed of scale, position and meaning within the materiality of a city. For instance, why the demolishing of Tophane Military Barracks in 1957-58 by Menderes government could not become an ideological problem to be debated in the long run as against the desires to reconstruct Taksim Military Barracks –demolished back in 1940-- on Gezi Park<sup>149</sup> in Istanbul? <sup>150</sup> The answer might be obvious at first sight, but the main questions are how scale and meaning of these manipulations and spaces change in the long run and what do these public spaces material/discursively afford to be coupled, seized and dominated? Overall, what are the entangled relations extended through time and scale? What encounters what, entangled with what, both in short and long duration?

Today, material/discursive affordances do not provide possibilities of action in case of a move to reconstruct Tophane Artillery Barracks, of which its project owner was a modernizing Sultan, Mahmut II. The reconstruction cannot resonate with the political lineage of an Islamist government or opponent parties' political and historical sensitivities. Also, as a result of the exploded spatial framework Tophane Barracks are now contained within the project area of Galataport, which is much more profitable for the political power's neoliberal engagements. In the case of the move to reconstruct Taksim Barracks, it was not solely the utterance and linguistic expression of a tendency that constitute an urban intervention. Rather the intervention is simultaneously constituted by the material/discursive affordances embedded in that particular area. Each public space affords political, social, cultural matter/meanings to be coupled with. It may foster both attachment and aversion to a public space. Here, it can also be stated that what a public space material/discursively affords is weaved with memory<sup>151</sup>. For instance, Taksim Square is a repository of political history. It contains many different affordances to

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<sup>149</sup> On 19 March 2021, the General Directorate of Foundations have taken away the ownership of the Gezi Park from IBB and transferred to the foundation named, Sultan Beyazıt Veli Hanı Hazretleri. The following day, President Erdogan and the prominent figures of his administration visited Taksim Square, examining the construction sites of AKM and Taksim Mosque. IBB claimed that the above-named foundation does not exist.

<sup>150</sup> Murat Güvenç (2019) asked this question, in a personal conversation.

<sup>151</sup> Natural/artificial traces in the built environment of places operate as “urban reminders” connecting to collective memory (Lewicka, 2008, p. 214).

be appropriated and manipulated for propagandistic purposes. The manipulation occurs by means of new buildings, demolitions and infrastructural projects on that specific site or producing new spaces in different areas through infilling coasts, directing the flow of urban debris that changes the patterns of congregations, creating new forms of controlled mass rallies. Let us overview this through the urban agenda.

On 1 May 2010, the square was allowed for the Labour Day meeting for the first time since 1977. However, the allowance lasted until 2013 and the meetings were prohibited on the grounds of ongoing constructions of Taksim pedestrianization project that started back in October 2012. On 26 April 2013, the infilling of Yenikapı meeting area started. 2013 May Day was not allowed on Taksim Square. Towards the end of May 2013, Gezi Park protests sparked against the construction of Taksim Artillery Barracks on the Park. On June 2, 2013, prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declared that Atatürk Cultural Centre (AKM) will be demolished and a mosque will be built on the Taksim Square (“Erdoğan: AKM Yıkılacak” 2013). On July 11, 2013, Erdoğan had the last word: “The biggest square is not the Taksim Square, it is Kazlıçeşme.”

In September 2013, 98.000m<sup>2</sup> area of Taksim was totally pedestrianized and closed to traffic and underways for vehicles opened for underground traffic. In an era of hyper-urban transformation projects, Yenikapı infilling reached towards the end around February 2014. Erdoğan held the first meeting on the Yenikapı infill on 23 March 2014. He addressed the opposition that if they want to hold a mass meeting, they need to gather either at Yenikapı or Maltepe infills (“Miting Yapacaksan”, 2014). Right after that, the governor of Istanbul declared these two infills as the only allowed areas to hold mass meetings and to celebrate the Labour Day (“Yenikapı ve Maltepe Dışında”, 2014).

On the Anatolian side of Istanbul, Maltepe infilling operations started in 2012 encompassing an area of 1.200.000 m<sup>2</sup> reportedly using excavations from Ataşehir Istanbul Finance Centre’s construction (Coşan, 2015) and the infilled

recreational area opened in July 2014 (“Maltepe’deki Dev Park”, 2014). For the presidential elections, Recep Tayyip Erdogan held the first mass meeting of the Maltepe infill on 3 August 2014. These infills became the new stages for Erdogan and Justice and Development Party. Beside the election meetings, Yenikapı was also used for the celebrations of the conquest of Istanbul on 29 May 2016, for Jerusalem Meetings protesting Israel and supporting Palestinians, and the festival of ‘ethnic sports’. Right after the failed coup of 15 July 2016, on August 7<sup>th</sup> Yenikapı infill witnessed the meeting of “Martyrs and Democracy”. This meeting held with the participation of AKP, Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and Republican People’s Party (CHP) and later called in the political discourse as “Yenikapı Spirit”. A year later, “Justice Meeting” was held on the Maltepe infill, at the end of “March for Justice” led by Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, chairman of CHP, protesting against the purges and extended state of emergency by the government following the failed coup.

On 2 February 2017, construction of Taksim Mosque began. The demolition of Atatürk Cultural Centre (AKM) on Taksim Square started a year later (“İş Makinesi Çatıda”, 2018) and completed in three months, at the end of May 2018. The embodied encounter with the simultaneous act of construction of a mosque and demolishing of a cultural centre constituted a material/discursive intervention through the square, generated an everyday embodied encounter on the axes of secular and Islamist camps. Project timing and duration of the simultaneous construction and demolition created a material presence and absence in the surroundings incorporating the existing political polarization.

For the presidential elections of June 2018, Erdogan was again on Yenikapı, while his rival Muharrem Ince was on Maltepe. For the 31 March 2019 Istanbul local elections, People’s Alliance candidate Binali Yıldırım’s meeting was held on Yenikapı. Nation’s Alliance candidate Ekrem İmamoğlu held a victory meeting on 21 April, on Maltepe infill. These two recreational areas, Yenikapı and Maltepe, infilled with the debris produced by the urban transformation projects throughout the city, changed the forms and patterns of mass meetings in Istanbul, together with

the political climate and the authoritarian atmosphere. Meetings on the coastline, with two of a kind stages for the two political poles. Yenikapı infill mainly become the stage of Erdogan, AKP and the People's Alliance; and Maltepe infill mainly for CHP and the Nation Alliance<sup>152</sup>. This can be named as an 'infilled' polarization. The material agency of these infills created legitimacy together with the decrees allowing them as the only sites to congregate. Situated on the coast, without direct connection to any street, disconnected by means of wide avenues and the sea, these insular formations with their geographical and physical features operate as a control mechanism in case of mass meetings. Meanwhile, protest movements declared these infills as urban crimes and refused to gather there for any event.

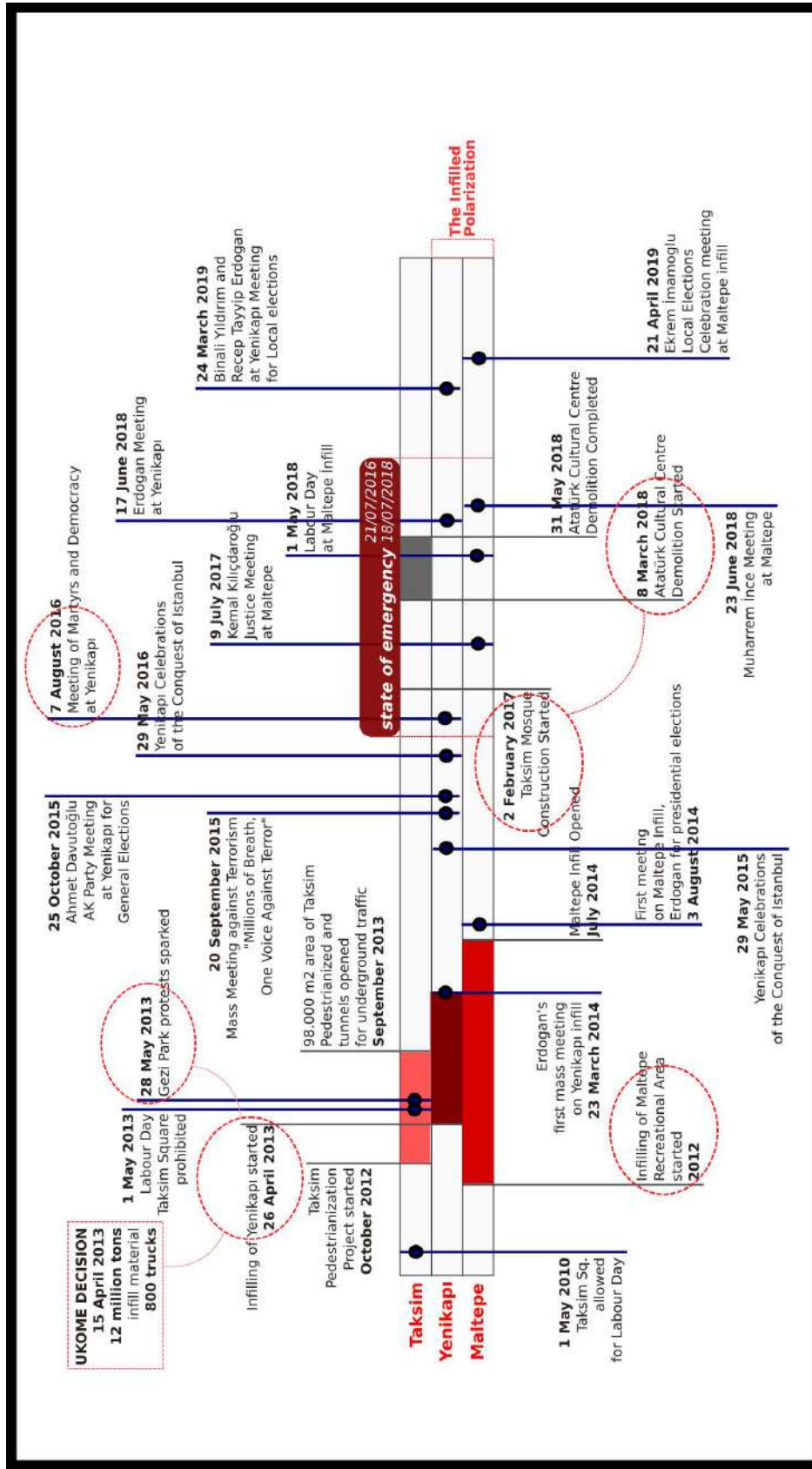
Besides, these infills had an impact on the stage design and patterns of congregations making them almost one and the same. The coast had such impacts on stagecraft bringing forth a regulatory biopolitical machine manipulating affordances, changing conduct and embodied experiences. Infilled coasts with urban debris concurrent with related projects throughout the city, corresponds to a pragmatic, mega-scale environmental dramaturgy encompassing the physical reshaping of routes for mobility and gathering patterns, through prohibitions and allowances, agency, and affordances of the associated projects. The latter also correlated the surged trend of aerial photography of mass meetings<sup>153</sup>, generating competitions of how many people can be squeezed into these areas. Lately, on 5 September 2019, Yenikapı Infill witnessed an "exhibition of extravagance" (Fig. 3.7) arranged by mayor Ekrem İmamoğlu, displaying redundant official service cars rented under AK Party mayorship. AK Party named the event as black propaganda ("İBB'den Kara Propaganda!", 2019; "Yenikapı'daki 'İsraf Sergisi'ne", 2019).

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<sup>152</sup> Alliances formed for the first time for the Turkish General Elections on 24 June 2018. People's Alliance was composed of AK Party and Nationalist Movement Party and Great Union Party. Nation Alliance was composed of CHP, the Good Party and the Felicity Party.

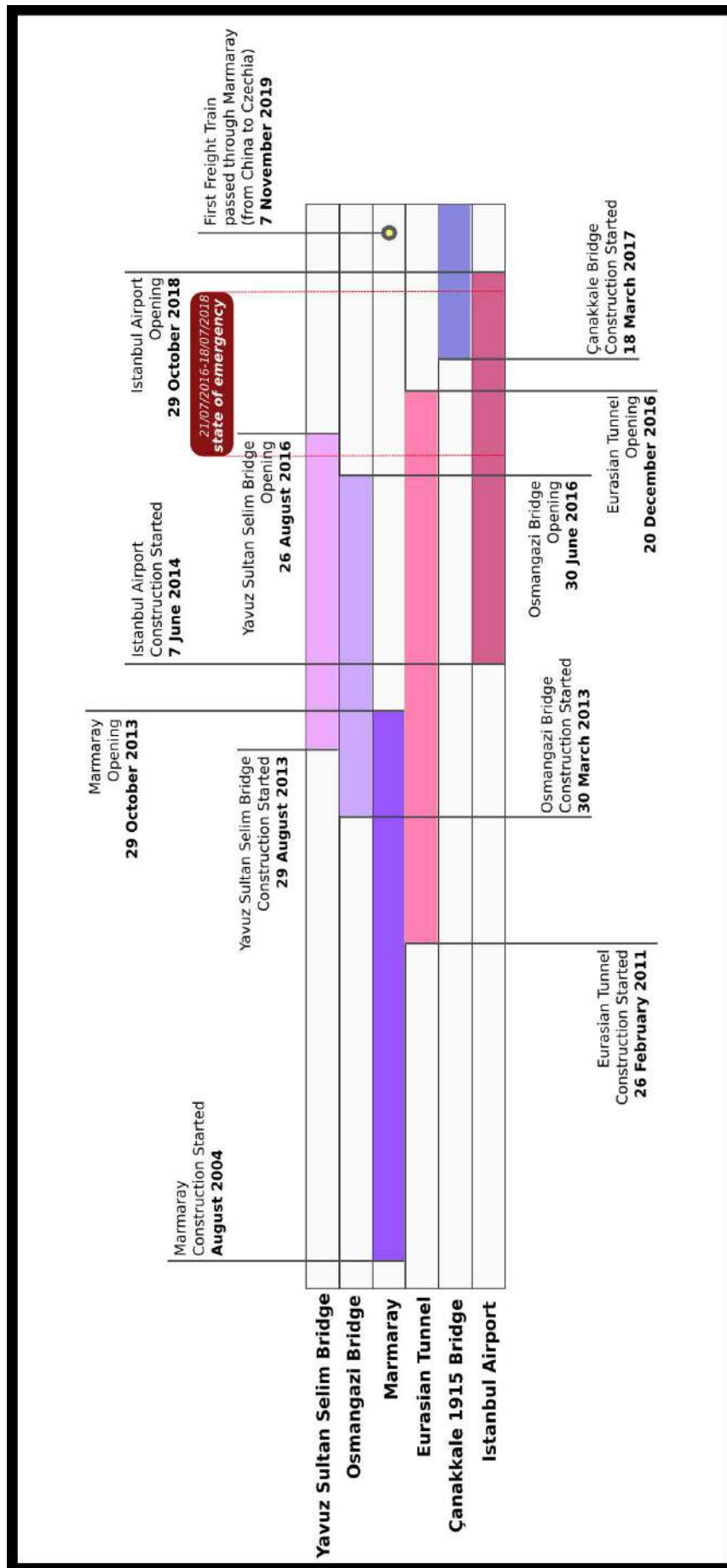
<sup>153</sup> See Begüm Özden Fırat's (2020) book section on the relation between the perspectives of drone and street images in case of protest ecologies.

Figure 3.3: Change in Urban Agenda: A partial timeline of construction periods and mass meetings at Yenikapi, Maltepe and Taksim



Source: Drawing by the author

Figure 3.4: A partial urban agenda of geography and transportation infrastructure, construction durations of transportation projects

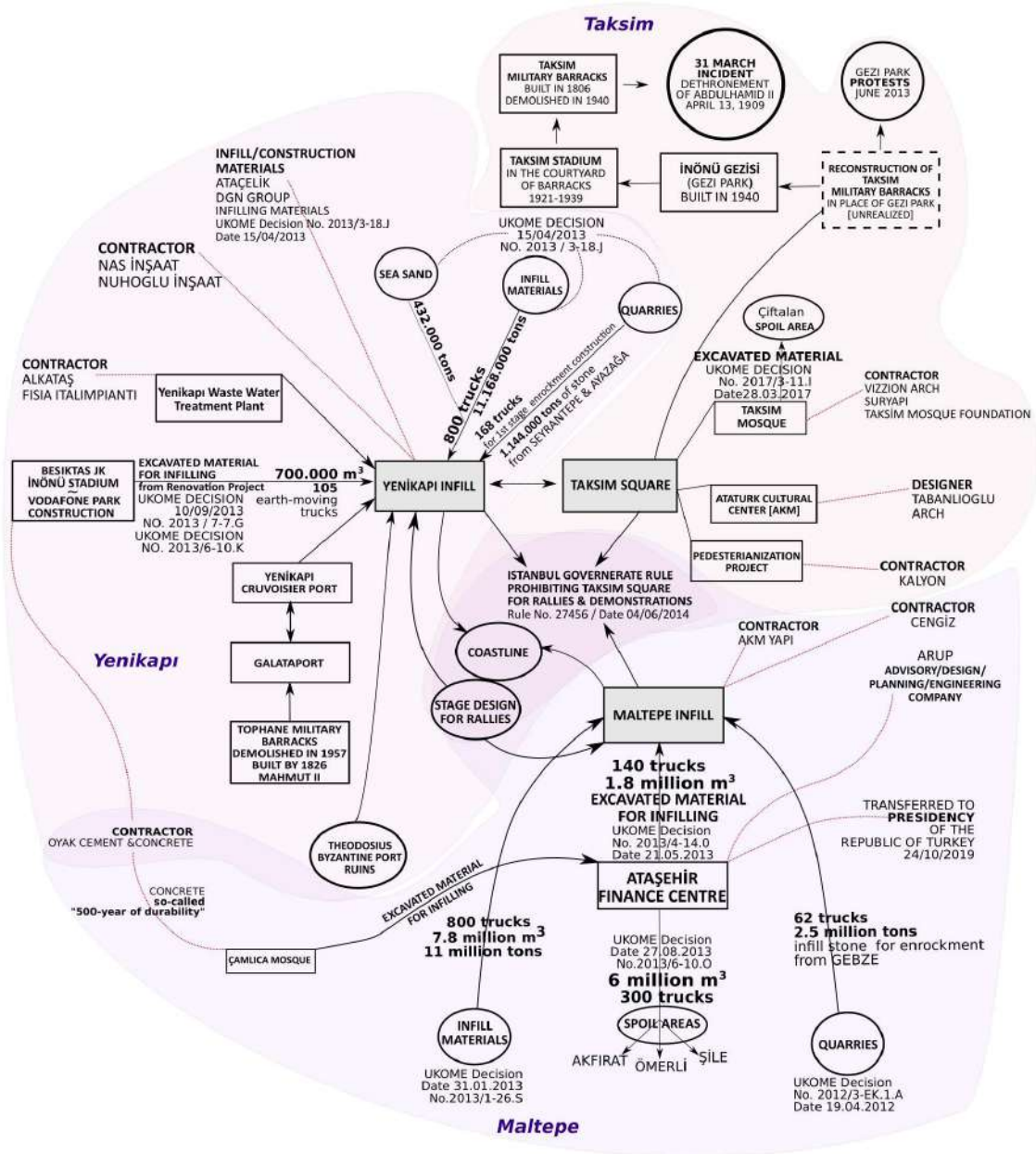


Source: Drawing by the author

The timelines (Fig. 3.3 and 3.4) depict a simultaneous interdependence among these projects and social movements through raw materials, the use of new spaces and debris of urban transformation as an opportunity, staging spectacles of constructions and demolitions, exploitations of projects as obstacles for gatherings and shifting the sites for rallying through urban geography. Infills materialized through mass debris of urban transformation projects, transformed into stages for mass rallies, generating a new urban arrangement for political gatherings. Overall, this context generates a total mobilization of urban ecology encompassing both social movements and material flows. Now, the concept of mobilization in political communication includes both people and materials to be mobilized to purposefully arrange material/discursive affordances for certain political ends. It is not solely “who” says/gets “what, when and how” as Lasswell (1936) once asked, but political communication is about [*what or who*] affords [*what*] to [*whom or what*], *what* encounters *what, when, how* and through *which dependency relations*.

In all these examples there are material/discursive potentials and constraints that these spaces afford to be coupled with, in line with the objectives of political decision makers that are embedded in ecologies and in alliance with a multiplicity of nonhumans. As shown in the *timelines* of the urban agenda above and the *tanglegram* on the next page, the speed and simultaneity of projects indeed rely on mobilization of material agencies and collective enunciations affording potentials in turn to mobilize people and urban as a whole in order to change the existing patterns of movement and gathering. Saying “we will rebuild the barracks” indicates the coupling with material/discursive affordances of that particular space and this phrase operate as an order-word generating an incorporeal transformation mobilizing new gatherings. Taksim Square is a public space for mass rallies and demonstration, especially filled with the past and wounded memories of the leftist movements. The square was obliterated through the pedestrianization project and later at the end of the construction of infills of Yenikapı and Maltepe, a governor’s decree declared these infills as the only spaces to be gathered for rallies, transferring the political polarization onto these infills.

**Figure 3.5:** Tanglegram for Taksim Square, Yenikapı and Maltepe Infills. The indicated material flows are retrieved from UKOME documents (See Appendix A)



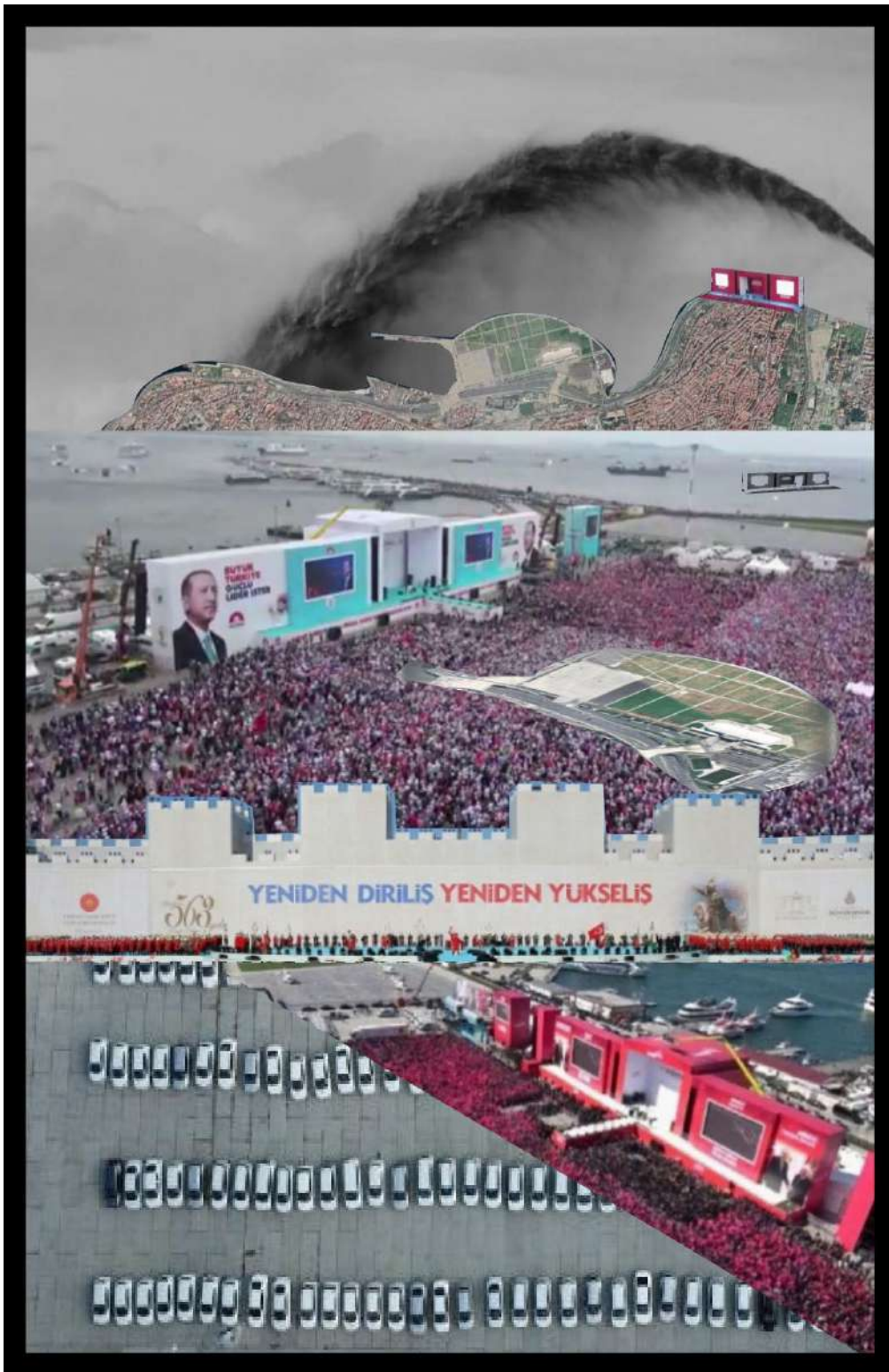
Source: Drawing by the author

**Figure 3.6:** Collage for Maltepe infill



**Source:** Collage by the author; captured images from TV broadcasts and paper clippings

**Figure 3.7:** Collage for Yenikapı Infill



**Source:** Collage by the author; images captured from TV Broadcasts and Google Earth

Figure 3.8: Collage for Taksim



Source: Collage by the author; newspaper clippings, captured images from TV broadcast, photo clippings and Google Earth

### 3.2.2 Propaganda Geography of Istanbul's Transportation Infrastructures

Scale is not the only effective quality of a public work. Yet, the scale gradually enlarges, exploding the spatial framework in time, through new infrastructural interventions ending all debates, while generating new ones. Following the 1958 economic crisis and the stagnation until the mid-1960s, the biggest public improvements in Istanbul were Karaköy pedestrian underpass, Unkapanı clover-leaf junction, Saraçhanebaşı underpass and widespread asphaltting throughout the city (Tekeli, 2010a, pp. 60–61). Later on, debated for a long time, the construction of Bosphorus Bridge started in 1970 and completed in 1973 during the world petroleum crisis. Between the years of 1970 and 1973, automotive industry made a great progress, the share of petroleum products in total energy consumption increased and automobile production soared from 3.7 thousand to 46.9 thousand (Kazgan, 2008, p. 175). Such understanding of prioritizing automobiles and highways has been indeed started with the Roads and Bridges Regulations [*Turuk-u Maabir Nizamnamesi*] dated 1866, documenting the shift from *kervan* to car transportation (Tekeli & İlkin 2010, pp. 372-373). Then, came the automobile, exploding the spatial frameworks in the West with the First World War, later clinched, and developed right after Second World War, together with Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan (Tekeli & İlkin 2010, pp. 378, 401). Relatedly, between the years of 1948-1957 half of the government investments were on communications and transportation (Tekeli & İlkin, 2010, p. 403). Considering these, it might be realized how inevitable was this highway-dependent transportation policy to explode the city's spatial framework. Even two years after the opening of the first Bosphorus Bridge, the debates for the second took off (Tekeli, 2010a, p. 15). In these material conditions, debates on mega projects emerged through a nexus of *ability to do* and *to oppose*. Yet in different contexts this contradiction appeared in different forms. In 1969 for instance, a revolutionary group using the tagline of “Bridge to Zap River, Not to Bosphorus” (Fig. 3.9), built a bridge on the Zap River in the eastern border city of Hakkâri, an act on the basis against the uneven geographical development. It was a material intervention rather than pure discourse.

Figure 3.9: Collage for the first and second Bosphorus bridges



**Source:** Collage by the author, images captured from the groundbreaking ceremony of the first bridge, the TV advertisement of Turgut Özal driving through the second Bosphorus Bridge, Necdet Calp and Özal dialogue and Erdoğan's tweet. Paper Clippings of Milliyet Newspaper: "Austere opening ceremony of Zap Bridge" ("Zap Köprüsü Sade" 1969) and "Youth building bridge over Zap River" ("Gençler Zap", 1969)

Bridges should be built where needed. Yet, the city, jumping the track through the historical conditions, become an agency *itself*, an unbridled agency culminated in the Bosphorus Bridge and the like. In such ethos, it was not enough to solely oppose these projects. Back in 1957, prime minister Adnan Menderes complained about those who opposed Hilton Hotel in Istanbul and stated that more hotels to be constructed in order to make Istanbul more touristic ("Menderes-İnönü Düellosu", 1957)<sup>154</sup>. In 1983 right before the general elections, Turgut Özal, the

<sup>154</sup> Menderes states that there are even objections against Hilton Hotel built in Istanbul and says that ten more hotels will be built and turn Istanbul into city attracting tourists" ["İstanbul'a yapılan Hilton'a bile itiraz edildiğini ifade eden Menderes, daha 10 otel

leader of ANAP and Necdet Calp, the leader of *Halkçı Party* entered into an argument on the privatisation of first Bosphorus Bridge: “*We can sell it*”, insisted Mr. Özal; Mr. Calp urged, “*You can’t*” (Fig. 3.9). Those were the days. Today, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan states that his political opponents were always against such projects throughout the history while pointing that they are now the ones using these structures the most and he adds: “Do not use these bridges then, use boats instead along the Bosphorus”<sup>155</sup> (Erdoğan, 2013) (Fig. 3.9).

Buildings or infrastructures become agencies themselves manipulating and generating these utterances and vice versa. In time, sensitivities to such projects differed. Today, attempts to oppose and thwart projects realized mainly through ecological sensitivities or rather concerning socio-political sensitivities. Debates emerge through historical figures and controversial naming of structures, which are considered more newsworthy than nonhuman creatures, land reclamations and their negative impacts on peasants’ life on the periphery of Istanbul. In the case of third Bosphorus bridge named after Ottoman Sultan Yavuz Sultan Selim sparked reactions in Alevi community, because of the massacres carried out during his reign (Tekin, 2016) (Fig. 3.12). Against these reactions, Hüseyin Çelik, the then spokesman of AK Party, recommended Alevi community rather to react against Sabiha Gökçen and İsmet İnönü, who allegedly bombed and killed Alevi communities according to his words (“Çelik: Soros’un Uzantıları”, 2013) (Fig. 3.12).

Another controversial debate occurred in the case of naming of Eurasia Tunnel in 2014. The survey of name recommendation for the tunnel turned into a contest between Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and Sultan Abdulhamid and in the end, the name Atatürk reportedly won it. Then, the survey was cancelled by the Ministry of Transport with the reason that such a contest caused peoples to compete social and

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yapılacağını ve İstanbul’u turist çekecek bir şehir haline getireceklerini söylemiştir”] 22 October 1957, p. 5, Milliyet. Translated by the author.

<sup>155</sup>Back in 2016, A pedestrian underpass cutting across the Bosphorus was proposed between Kabataş and Üsküdar As part of the failed project of transport transfer center, named ‘Kabataş Seagull’.

cultural values (“Avrasya Tüneli Isim Anketi”, 2016). The tunnel’s name remained Eurasia, a neutral one (Fig. 3.14).

### **3.2.2.1 In the Fabric of New Silk Road: Infrastructures and Naturecultures**

While such local debates were going on, these infrastructures were entangled with the colossal web of the new Chinese Silk Road. Under the presidency of Xi Jinping, China’s New Silk Road Project or One Belt One Road (OBOR) inaugurated in 2013 as a new opening of Chinese foreign affairs by means of infrastructural investments through geographies. The project consists of a land bridge and a maritime route connecting continents, cutting across countries, generating a new type of trans-diplomatic, political, economic and cultural affairs (Winter, 2019). Today, the new infrastructural move of China grasped as a powerful machine of cultural dialogue and endorsed along this line by the former Director General of UNESCO, Irina Bokova:

I see the Belt and Road Initiative as another “soft power infrastructure” -- to provide younger generations the knowledge, values and openness of mind to shape more inclusive and peaceful societies, to master the language of diversity... I am convinced we can do more, harnessing science and innovation, capitalizing on UNESCO’s network of Biosphere Reserves, to strengthen the Belt & Road Initiative, to nurture the next generation of Silk Road citizens. (Bokova, 2017)

Besides, Bokova issued another statement on China Radio International (Ning, 2017), on New Silk Road concerning cultural diversity and constructive intercultural dialogue:

I believe nowadays we need more such initiatives, in order to see how we trade, with investment, with economic ties. We see also intercultural dialogue being developed, and I believe this is an important initiative that the UNESCO commends and supports... This is a message about exchange. This is a message about diversity. This is a message about intercultural dialogue. This is a message about prosperity and development. It is very relevant today because unfortunately, we see also extremism; we see destruction; we see a different vision of the world.

At a time when UNESCO was to lose USA and Israel and their budgets, the head of UNESCO was supporting the Chinese initiative as a “soft power infrastructure” and “promoter of intercultural dialogue”, while these infrastructural

interventions generated controversial issues damaging environment and causing ethnic displacements and conflicts. World Wildlife Fund's report published in September 2017 urged against the Initiative's damaging impacts on the natural reserve of Myanmar (Helsingen et al., 2017), a region also involving Inle Lake, which was enlisted in the Tentative List of UNESCO as a "genuine instance of cultural landscape" (*Inle Lake*, 1996).

In such a vulnerable region, China has 70 percent stake in \$7.3 billion strategic port in Myanmar's Rakhine State, where Rohingya humanitarian crisis sparked in 2017 (Lee & Aung, 2017). According to newspapers, China reportedly confronted United Nations attempts to intervene into this conflict and rather backed Myanmar<sup>156</sup> government (Dasgupta, 2017). In other sources, the project was seen as a solution to end this ethnic conflict (*Can an Economic Corridor*, 2017). Such a huge scale infrastructural intervention inevitably generated such dubious allegations.

In this context, Turkey for its part condemned the humanitarian crisis occurred in Rakhine state, while sustaining to be a crucial partner and junction of the BRI, endorsing its global advantages, attracted to the allure of the New Silk Road, more and more entrapped to this infrastructural web. In 2013, the then Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan responded the call of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, for a dream of a rail line connecting Tokyo, Istanbul, and London, at the opening ceremony of *Marmaray*<sup>157</sup> under sea tunnel:

Tokyo, Beijing, London, Üsküdar: Can it be? It can. The Marmaray is the project of all our brothers in Beijing, London and Tokyo ("Marmaray Tunnel Officially", 2013)

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<sup>156</sup> On 1 February 2021, Myanmar's military carried out a coup and seized power.

<sup>157</sup> In order to finance Istanbul Bosphorus Undersea Tunnel, later named Marmaray, a credit agreement between the Republic of Turkey and Japanese Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund was promulgated on 15 February 2000, in the Official Gazette No. 23965. AKP was not yet founded at the time of the agreement.

In 2017, Erdoğan delivered a speech at the Forum of Economic Cooperation Organization in Islamabad, stating that mega projects of Istanbul, which are shaping its urban region, are crucial parts of One Belt One Road Project of China:

We have completed and opened to service Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, Marmaray and Eurasia Tunnels, connecting Asia to Europe. We have opened a way from north to south over the Marmara Sea by building the Osmangazi Bridge. We attach great importance to the ongoing Edirne-Kars High Speed Rail Line and Baku-Tbilisi-Kars Rail Line and also the 1915 Çanakkale Bridge, which will be built over the Çanakkale Strait. These investments actually make up pieces of the modern version of the historical Silk Road. I believe China's 'One Belt One Road' Project, a new Silk Road project, is very important in this regard. The 3<sup>rd</sup> airport we are building in Istanbul as the world's biggest airport will greatly contribute to our region. We are realizing all these projects not only for ourselves but also for our 400 million brothers and sisters living in the geography of the ECO (*"Boosting Our Economic"* 2017).

Again in 2017, Erdoğan also addressed at the Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation held in Beijing, underlining Turkey's crucial role in the New Silk Road's geography with its mega transportation infrastructure projects (*"A New Era Will Be"*, 2017). In this context, Osmangazi Bridge, Gebze-Orhangazi-Izmir Highway, Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, Marmaray, Northern Marmara Highway and Çanakkale 1915 Bridge constituting the Marmara Ring –exploding the spatial framework of Istanbul region— are key infrastructural nodes of China-led OBOR project (*"Modern İpek Yolu"*, 2019). Such a planetary urbanization is in a simultaneous process of fusing with local political propaganda activities, generating new possibilities and constraints.

Figure 3.10: Collage for Marmaray



**Source:** Collage by the author; Above to below paper clippings: Marmaray Line; Chinese Signboards and “Murderer China” stickers, “No need to Haydarpaşa” newspaper headline in 2012; the company “Hezarfen” winning the tender back in 2019 of Haydarpaşa and Sirkeci warehouses to be used for so-called “cultural” purposes; Baku-Tbilisi-Kars (BTK) Rail Line Map, China Iron Silk Road Map, the groundbreaking ceremony of BTK Railway in 2008 and opening ceremony of BTK in 2017

The infrastructural web of OBOR generated new encounters in Istanbul region. The Marmaray Line, as a component of OBOR, as an extension of Baku-Tbilisi-Kars railway line, and as a materialization of Sultan Abdulhamid's dream project seen in the perspective of Erdoğan government, made Haydarpaşa and Sirkeci station buildings idle, transforming them into new sites of future commercial nodal points for domination. The then mayor of Istanbul, Kadir Topbaş said the last word that there is no need for Haydarpaşa, when Marmaray start to operate. Then, this sparked the "Haydarpaşa Solidarity" movement to preserve this railway heritage, to re-make it "a lived space" (Yüksel, 2019; Güneş, 2020), the gate to Anatolia and the Middle East. While the solidarity gatherings were going on at Haydarpaşa, the first freight train from Xi'an, China to Czechia passed through the Marmaray line on November 6<sup>th</sup>, 2019 ("Çin'den Avrupa'ya", 2019).

As part of a global transportation project, these infrastructures force the politicians and decision-makers to change the patterns of local mobilities. In addition, they generate new agreements in trade relations as a result of the permanent physicality of infrastructure. The permanence of terrestrial transport infrastructure mobilizes materials and goods and also languages. In the context of the New Silk Road cooperation with China and reportedly related to 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of China and Turkish-Chinese tourism relations, Istanbul Municipality placed Chinese signboards at underground and bus stations and touristic signs, right after a treaty of friendship between the municipality and China ("İBB'den 'Çince Tabela'", 2019). This signboard issue sparked reactions from political parties and nationalist groups and in some subway stations, labels attached on signboards written "Murderer China" referring to the crackdown on Uyghurs (Fig. 3.10).

All these projects, structures and material organization of urban space as a whole, become agencies of political communication both with their related representations and their material modifications forming new spatial frameworks of the city, shaping material conditions and flows through geographies, building up new structures into the silhouettes, and causing new encounters among humans and nonhumans through the materiality of urban space.

Meanwhile, Erdoğan and his government were not alone and not the only actors behind these infrastructural/propagandistic interventions. These are occurring within and through an entanglement. They formed alliances both with human actors, global political economic relations, contracting companies, engineers, scientists, labourers, and also nonhuman agencies such as excavators, earth-moving trucks, concrete, steel, tarmac, chemical reactions, and so on. Accelerated against the earthquake risk as a material agency, hyper-urban transformation projects produce for instance a huge amount of urban debris which also emerged as a crucial actor in this alliance, to be used for infilling purposes. This provides a look beyond the perceptible realm both into the subcomponents, molecular and extended ecological relations of these processes.

Recalling Harold Innis' perspective together with materialist media ecologies discussed in the previous chapters, how is it possible to disregard quarries, extractions, materials, and chemical forces while focusing on political discourse? A man of letters, politician and the chairman of the Turkish Hearths Association back in the 1930s, Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver, once said “Throughout the history, marble was a religious fellow of nations” and “marble sensitivity resound with the sound of sajdah”, at the opening ceremony of a Turkish Hearth building (as cited in Bora, 2016, p. 15, translated by the author).

In 2016, the chief executive officer of *Sabancı Holding* stated in a press release that they have produced a ready-mix-concrete specifically for Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, considering the conditions of the Bosphorus, branded as “100+” which is said to endure for centuries. *Akçansa* again produced a special cement for *Çanakkale 1915* bridge which is under construction, said to be “the country’s pride” (*Akçansa, Özel Ürünlerini*, 2019). The durability of the concrete is intricately connected with the propagandistic/infrastructural interventions. Even, at the construction of Çamlıca Mosque, 150 thousand cubic meter concrete poured, reportedly having “500-year of durability” (“Camiye 500 Yıl”, 2013). According to the website of OYAK Concrete, the brand of Çamlıca Mosque is “DURABET PLUS” with C50 concrete, meaning that it almost has the highest level of strength

among the standard concrete types, while in Eurasia Tunnel and Marmaray projects, it is “DURABET” (and not “plus”) C40, a lower level than the former.

The contagious material/discursive influences of these infrastructures seize the companies involved making them the main allies of the propagandistic projects, producing new chemical blends arming these structures. They assemble and provide technical and chemical substances contributing to generate both discursive multiplicities and material modification of geographies having impacts on embodied and affective experience.

**Figure 3.11:** Visual Designs of Akçansa Cement and Concrete Company for the promotion of the brand “1803 Cement” to be used in the construction of Çanakkale 1915 Bridge



**Source:** Screenshots from Akçansa website and its Twitter Account (Akçansa, 2018) Visual Designs on Akçansa Website for the promotion of brand “1803 Cement” specially produced for Çanakkale 1915 Bridge to be used in foundation (left) and “We are in the mortar of solid foundations” Tagline of Akçansa 1803 Cement and the visual includes the map of Çanakkale, dashed lines and two points indicate 1915 Bridge (right).

Figure 3.12: Collage of Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, the third Bosphorus bridge



**Source:** Collage by the author; paper clippings from above to below: indicating “Massacre Bridge” (Cumhuriyet), the address of AKP spokesperson, Erdoğan’s words (Hürriyet Daily News) and people swimming “against” the 3<sup>rd</sup> Bridge; captured background images from the promotion video of bridge deck slab production, from <https://vimeo.com/145417517>

These urban interventions having impacts on planetary-scale not only surge extractions and flow of materials but also change and direct local mobilities. In the case of Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge, as a result of the public-private partnership and guarantees of vehicles per day given to companies, intercity buses and heavy vehicles were compelled to use this bridge, according to the decision of Transport Coordination Center (“*UKOME, Karayollarının*”, n.d.). The decision increased the travelled distance for intercity buses around 100 kms more<sup>158</sup> within the boundaries of Istanbul. While this also forced heavy trucks to use ferries to avoid using the Third Bridge, increasing the congestion. Later ferries were also prohibited for the trucks, forcing them to use Yavuz Sultan Selim Bridge as the only way through the strait, an “obligatory passage point” (Callon et al., 1986) in the jargon of actor-network theory, that is made unavoidable, a bridge to rule them all.

A truck or intercity bus starts its course passing through the third Bosphorus Bridge and going towards Osmangazi Bridge to pass over Izmit Gulf to join Izmir Highway, for instance, which is pumped as reportedly lowering the travel duration between Istanbul and Izmir to three and a half hours. Apart from buses and trucks, the mentioned highway is represented as a shortcut for a breed apart making them reach Çeşme, the sumptuous holiday destination of Izmir, leading to the colonization of Izmir by Istanbul (Fig. 3.13). In a context of surging traffic fine payments and lowered speed limits, Osmangazi Bridge, called as “a response against terrorism” (“Yıldırım: ‘Bu Dev Eser’”, 2016), opened with a motorbike speed record of 400 km/h. During the construction period of the Northern Marmara Highway and its connecting bridges, one of the main opposition topics was “the massacre” of Northern forests. The debates on media related to Osmangazi Bridge and other aforementioned projects now includes the issue of ‘toll charges’ and ‘the dues’ that have to be paid to the conglomerate building and operating. Meanwhile, the ‘pass guarantees’ cannot be met. In case of Osmangazi Bridge --named after the founder of Ottoman State in 1299-- 1.75 billion guaranteed payments were made

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<sup>158</sup> I have checked this distance on Google Maps, from Alibeyköy Bus Station to Gebze Exit of Istanbul.

for the first half of 2020 and around 1.6 billion to be made for the second half of the same year, lately reported.<sup>159</sup>

**Figure 3.13:** Collage of Osmangazi Bridge



**Source:** Collage by the author, paper clippings above indicates the guaranteed payments, 400 km speed record at the opening ceremony; captured images from the promotional video of FOLKART company housing estate project [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_36lpTEfHYQ](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_36lpTEfHYQ); “Binali Yıldırım: This monument is a response to terrorism”; and below shows headlines on the “war on terror”

<sup>159</sup> For a compilation of tolls and guaranteed payments see Tuncer (2021).

In the case of Eurasia Tunnel, the opposition frame was mainly the naming of the project as mentioned above. Meanwhile, this “shortcut between continents” had another crucial issue concerning the city in terms of silhouette and the height of the ventilation shafts for the emission of exhaust gases, which was not that newsworthy. UNESCO put forth this issue as a serious concern for the “historic areas of Istanbul” (World Heritage Centre, 2017, pp. 52–56), while the decision of shortening the ventilation shafts was another problem for the public health that exhaust gases should not be exhaled in principle from a lower level, which is now the case for the Çatladıkapı shaft (Fig. 3.14). Selimiye shaft on the Anatolian side painted with a gradient colour palette seems to be managing to make it imperceptible. Meanwhile the tunnel which is said to lower the carbon emission of vehicles have a calculator on its website. This double bind did not attract the media attention, while the main debate was on the naming poll for the project, the contest between Sultan Abdulhamid Han and Atatürk (Fig. 3.14). Now, the drivers are welcomed at the entry of the tunnel by special police units equipped with heavy weapons and Bosch incident detection system controlling the security in the tunnel.

The silhouette issue was also raised in the case of Golden Horn Metro Bridge, which is a crucial part of the underground system connecting Yenikapı-Hacıosman metro line to the Marmaray. The design of the bridge piers was, opposed by UNESCO back in 2009, interfering with the world heritage silhouette. In 2011, UNESCO recognized the design to be implemented, after years of warnings to enlist Istanbul as an endangered world heritage site (Boulton, 2011). Later on, the debates that are maintained on the irremediable impacts were not only limited to the silhouette issue. Other damaging impacts were on the last remnants of Genoese city walls, Harupkapı, and on Yeşil Direk Hamam of Mimar Sinan as a consequence of the vibration engendered by the trains (“Galata surları”, 2012).

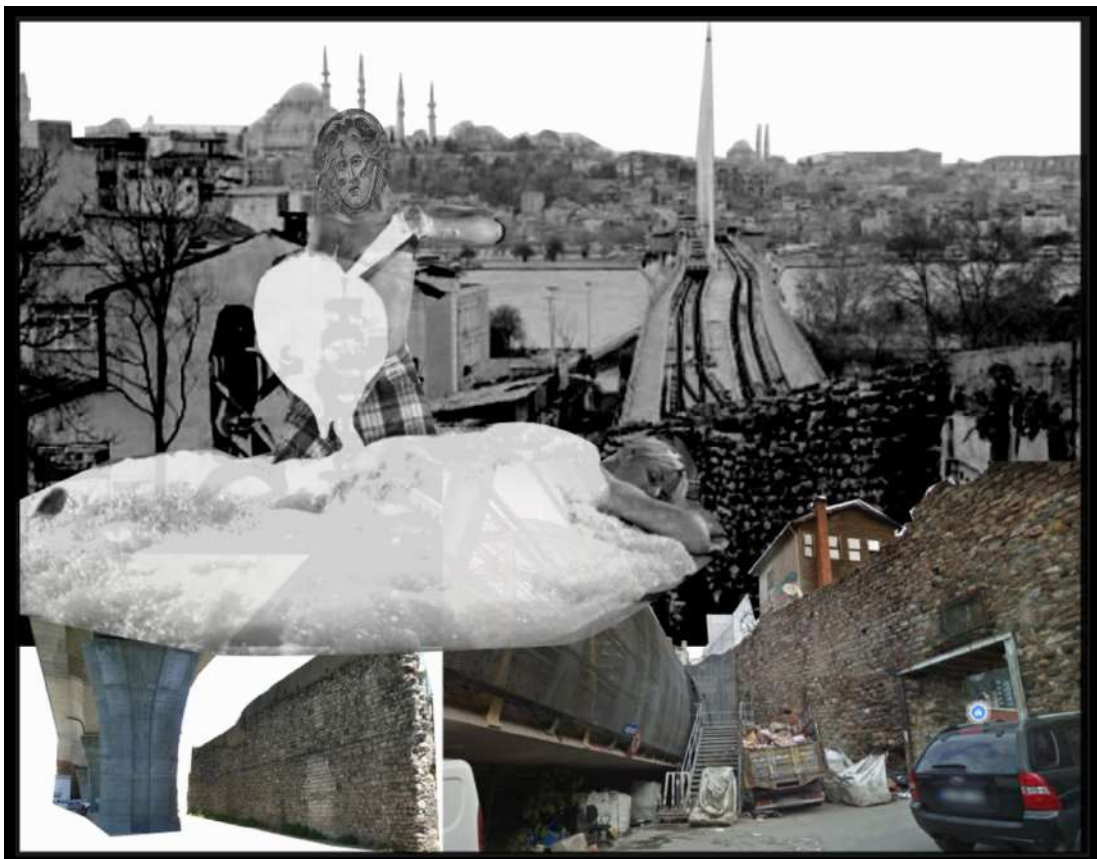
**Figure 3.14: Collage of Eurasia Tunnel**



**Source:** Collage by the author, paper clippings, Google street view, screenshots from websites, below the name polling between the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey. The headline of Sözcü newspaper indicates “They did not give the name of Atatürk to any public work they invested!”

As in the case of Golden Horn Bridge and abovementioned projects, they are all entangled with a huge web of global infrastructural interventions, sinking into their dependency relations involving human and nonhuman multiplicities, leaving a narrow space of manoeuvring to prevent such endangering impacts. Meanwhile, the subway cars come out of the darkness of underground tunnel and stop at the station over the waters, in the middle of the Golden Horn Metro Bridge. Passengers were looking outside with eyes wide-open in a packed wagon, attempting to watch the historic silhouette of the city hindered intermittently with the reel suspensions of the Bridge. A new embodied experience generated through a new infrastructure cutting through the city. The train is still vibrating the bridge. Genoese walls vanishing. Will the ancient bath be full of soap bubbles?

**Figure 3.15:** Collage of Golden Horn Metro Bridge



**Source:** Collage by the author, paper clippings and captured images from Google maps street view

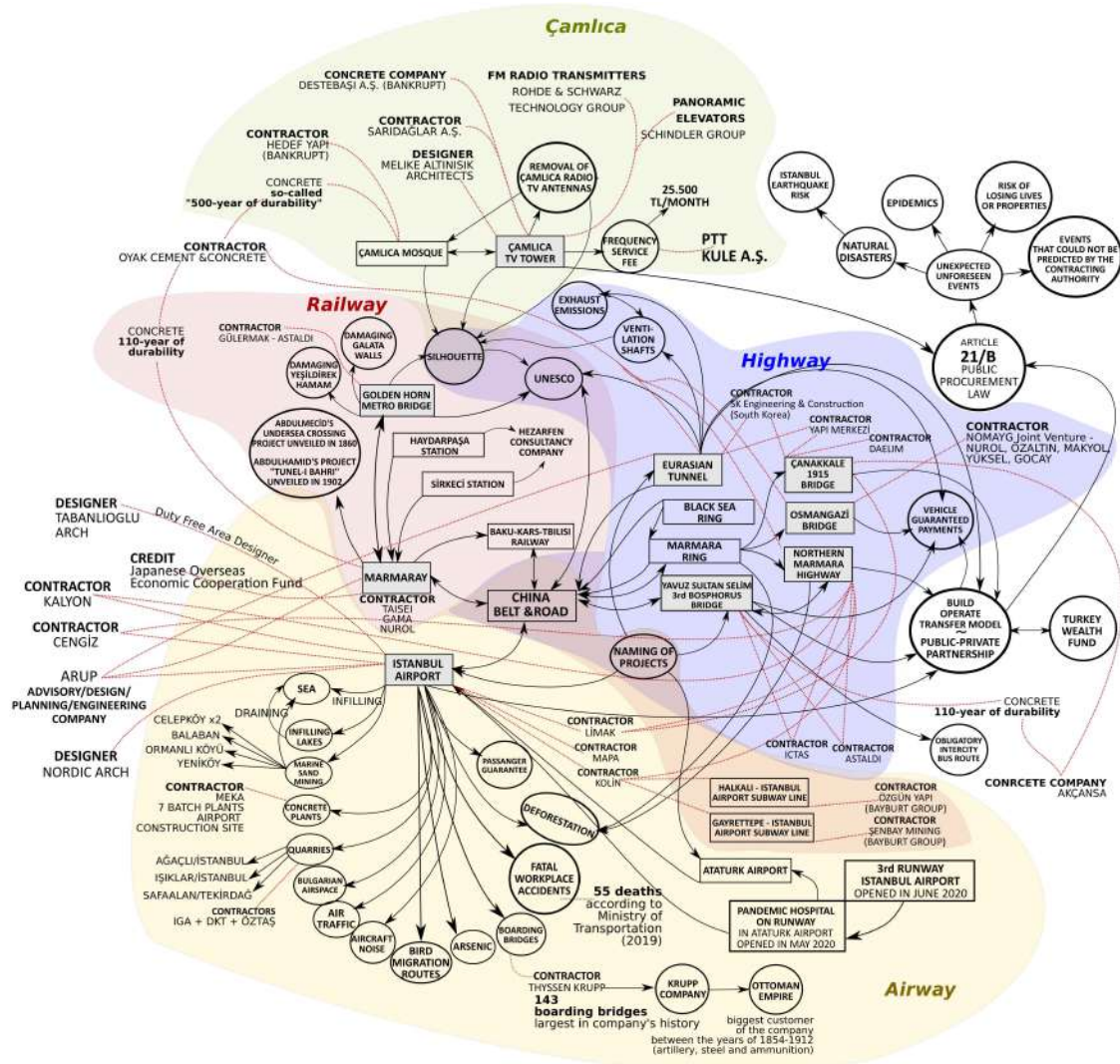
### **3.2.2.2 To be There or Not to be There : Monumentality versus Guarantee Payments**

Deploying monumental infrastructures and edifices, governments do not only target the people living nearby but those living beyond and even having no chance to experience these structures. As mentioned above, throughout the history of Turkish politics, infrastructures and edifices were used as part of election campaigns targeting the whole country. These campaigns feature the “mosts” in terms of utility or monumentality of the infrastructures.

However, the effectiveness of public works on voting behavior is a controversial issue. Infrastructures do not always produce a positive outcome, even causing the “incumbent’s defeat” in local elections as opposed to the hypotheses of pork-barrel politics (MacManus, 2004). The recent history of Turkey witnessed both positive and negative election outcomes in terms of infrastructures. However, this issue is just a node in an ecology of political communication and a short sequence in the *longue durée* of infrastructures and geographies.

Contemporary infrastructural investments in Istanbul also deployed as if they are monuments of conquest or victory. In the midst of this messy entanglement, the guaranteed payments for transportation infrastructures lately gained prominence in political debates. Opposition parties highlight that there is a huge gap between the levels of guaranteed payments and the number of vehicles passing through these infrastructures. As a result, this turned so-called monuments into black holes soaking the public resources. Tolls witnessed a great surge. Even the people that have a possibility to use these highways or bridges might not prefer to and search for alternative routes. In such circumstances, apart from their mediated monumentality, infrastructures may remain idle. However, their idleness does not strip their material agency in political communication and in urban geography. In long duration, such ‘monumental’ structures continue to demarcate the fields of maneuvering in material/discursive political communication and the urban region of (im)mobilities. Whether we are there or not, we are paying the price not only in form of guaranteed payments but by being entangled in this messy ecology.

**Figure 3.16:** Tanglegram for transportation infrastructures, numbers indicating material flows were retrieved from the UKOME documents (See Appendix A)



Source: Drawing by the author

### 3.2.3 More-than-Silhouette: Çamlıca Mosque and TV Tower

Back in 1972, the first powerful TV transmitter put into use on Çamlıca Hill, after an arduous construction process severally interrupted by adverse weather conditions, postponing the opening of the 148 meter-tall tower (“Rüzgar Dinerse”, 1972; “Rüzgar Yüzünden”, 1972). In this period for instance, a temporary antenna put into use for the broadcasting of Summer Olympics (“Olimpiyatlar için Çamlıca’ya”, 1972). Later, the transmitter activated on 30 December 1972

(“Çamlıca Vericisi”, 1972) and the construction of the tower totally completed in 1976, with a revolving storey for a restaurant located at the elevation of 77 meter (Endem, n.d.). Moreover, the tower was debated with regards to expropriations (“TRT istimlakine itiraz”, 1987). Together with the surge of private TVs and radios with the early 1990s, the number of antennas multiplied (“Çamlıca’ya 50 metrelik”). There were ongoing criticisms in terms of silhouette and electromagnetic pollution issues (Koyuncu, 2011). The first proposals for a single antenna to remove the so-called “antenna pollution” put forth back in the early 2000s (“Çamlıca’ya 10 Trilyonluk”, 2001), its investment said to be implemented in form of build-operate-sell model and the tower proposed to be 174 meter-tall (“İstanbul’un TV Kuleleri”, 2002).

Great Çamlıca Mosque and Çamlıca Radio and TV Tower modified a spectacular part of Istanbul’s Bosphorus hills silhouette. In 2019, the Minister of Transport stated that the construction purpose of the tower is to gather all antennas on a single tower and in this way to remove 28 older antennas causing “visual pollution” deteriorating the silhouette, which formed a “metal forest” on the Çamlıca Hill (Garip, 2019). The removal antennas started in October 2020 and completed in January 2021 (Yaman, 2021).

Back in 2016, the former minister of transport quoted French author Alphonse de Lamartine’s saying “If I had a last chance to gaze at the earth, I would look at Istanbul” and then the minister added that “if watching Istanbul is a last wish, watching it from 180 meter-tall on this tower will add a greater value” making it a tourist attraction, with 4.5 million tourist expected a year as if they were expected to go up (“Bakan Arslan: Çamlıca Tepesi”, 2016). The new tower, to be operated by PTT Kule Company, will reportedly have a radio service fee of 25.500 liras a month, sparked reactions among radio producers (“Çamlıca Kulesi’nde Fiyatlar” 2019). The tower almost completed by February 2021.

Architect Melike Altınışık designed the 396 meter-tall tower, reaching 589 meters above sea-level (Melike Altınışık Architects, n.d.). Altınışık states that before the risk of earthquake, the wind was the primary factor to be considered in

terms of the durability of this tower. Nevertheless, she underlined that the tower was firmly designed according to an earthquake that might occur once in a thousand years and adds “God forbid, even so, lots of things will collapse but this structure will remain intact” (Taylan, 2020). Regarding the silhouette issue, she states that any tall building might interfere with the silhouette depending on the built environment and the topography, and in this case, “if the TV Tower was located in a skyscraper-dominated district it would not that much stand out, expressed Altınışık (Taylan, 2020). The tower first appeared in the silhouette as a brutalist concrete core with 203 meter-tall and then the building is enclosed from the top to the bottom. The wind was the main factor having impact on the design, engineering, and the use of materials (Melike Altınışık Architects, n.d.).

Çamlıca Radio and TV Tower together with Çamlıca Mosque projects implemented with urban transformation projects that were carried out in the surrounding neighbourhoods. Shifting the focus onto Çamlıca Mosque, this TV tower served to remove the ‘antenna forest’ that interfere with the minarets, to clean the surroundings of this landmark mosque to make it more salient in the silhouette. According to Ayşe Çavdar (2020) this landmark mosque as a victory of “Islamist project” (pp. 254-255), which is not only built for the “worshiping purposes” in the first place but turns into a park of urban transformation operation of cleaning the surroundings, displacing people living in these neighbourhoods and demolishing their old mosques in the name of more lucrative projects (pp. 261; 287-289). In this sense, it is not only a monument positioned against the secular camps, but it is a monument of an “Islamist project replacing religion itself”, as Çavdar (p. 255) underlines. Besides, the earthworks were carried out between March and August 2013, and the excavated soil amounting 700.000 cubic meters (Sarıçayır, 2014) or amounting to 50 thousand trucks reportedly transferred to the Maltepe Infill Area (“Çamlıca’ya yapılacak cami”, 2013).

Çamlıca Complex involves the mosque with its capacity of 63.000 person, having a pulpit [*minber*] with an elevator, a library, a conference hall, and a museum (“Çamlıca Camii ibadete”, 2019). The mosque has lots of numerical symbolisms

such as having a dome of 34 diameter, number 34 symbolizing Istanbul's traffic code, the minarets with a height of 107,1 meters symbolizing the year of the Battle of Malazgirt, the Seljuki victory over Byzantine Empire in 1071 ("Çamlıca Camii'nin", 2019; Çavdar, 2020, p. 281). Beside these numbers, the symbolism is "immanent" in the construction material of the mosque (Çavdar, 2020, pp. 282-283): In this project, OYAK Cement Company used a type of concrete which is more durable than the one used in Marmaray and Eurasia Tunnel, which is reportedly to endure for 500-years. This case also underlines the entanglement of matter and symbol, and its extended ecological connections together with the embodied experience of the perceptible realm, in this case the silhouette.

**Figure 3.17:** Collage of a Çamlıca: More-than-silhouette



**Source:** Collage by the author, paper clippings and authors own photograph at the center displaying the tower withing the frame of the first bridge

### 3.2.4 More-than-Airport: Total Mobilization of Geography<sup>160</sup>

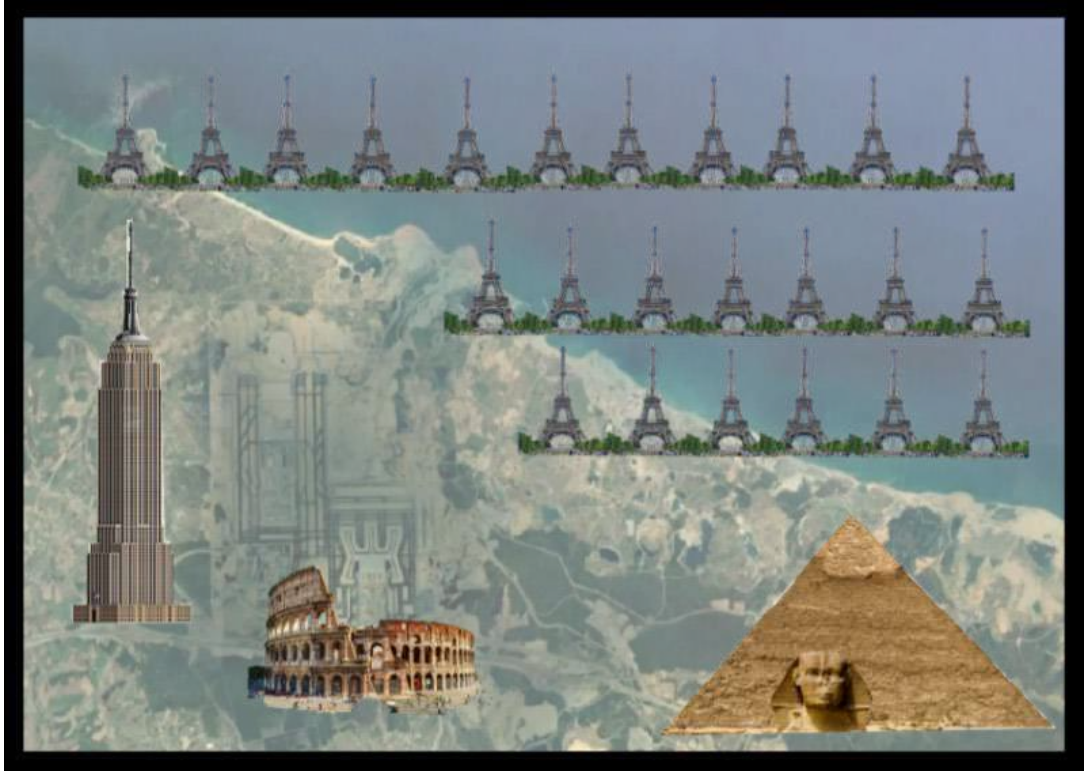
In December 2015, Istanbul Grand Airport CEO Yusuf Akçayoğlu stated the amount of materials to be used in the construction referring to world landmarks: 1 million cubic meters of concrete to be used in the construction of airport terminal building, an amount that is 1,4 times more than used in Empire State Building; 180 thousand tons of iron used which amounts to 24 Eiffel Towers; 450 thousand square meter of terminal roof area that is 23 times greater than Coliseum in Rome and 1 million 400 thousand cubic meters of soil is in motion and every two days the amount of soil moved equals the volume of the Great Pyramid of Giza (“Rakamlarla Üçüncü Havalimanı,” 2015).

On 29 May 2017, one thousand four hundred and fifty-three earth-moving trucks paraded through the runway to celebrate the Conquest of Istanbul, the number of trucks, 1453, signifying the year of conquest (Fig. 3.19). Istanbul Grand Airport is also a significant project in terms of 147 boarding bridges ordered from Thyssenkrupp, amounting the largest deal in the company’s history. Once the Ottoman Empire was the biggest customer of the Krupp cannon balls, now the Republic of Turkey becomes the biggest customer of Thyssenkrupp’s boarding bridges.

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<sup>160</sup> The most apt example for the total mobilization of geography is the Canal Istanbul project. It deserves dissertations, tanglegams and collaborative research projects on its own, with regards to its ecology of political communication. That is why I did not include this colossal project in my study. Yet, it should be noted that with its 45 kilometers of length, 275 meters of width and 20.75 meters of depth (Kanal İstanbul, n.d.-a), if this project does indeed occur, it will irreversibly transform the shape of the geography and produce incalculable damages on the whole marine-terrestrial ecology. Also, if occurs, it may have inconceivable geopolitical implications with regards to international agreements. Moreover, it will cause immense displacements in the surrounding settlements while relocating new populations. It will also transform the European side of Istanbul into an island involving 19 districts. According to the government sources, the project will produce 1.17 billion cubic meters of excavation, that will be transported to the coastal infill areas. The total cost of the project reportedly said to be 75 billion Turkish Liras (Kanal İstanbul, n.d.-a,b). Starting from its first announcement, this so-called “crazy project” produced speculations, increasing the surrounding land values and for instance paved the way for the mother of the Amir of Qatar to buy an estate next to the proposed Canal (“Katar Emiri’nin”, 2019). Ekrem İmamoğlu, the mayor of Istanbul, calls Erdogan’s dream project as a crime against Istanbul. On 20 March 2021, it is promulgated that the Ministry of Transport will undertake the project’s payment of debts. See also Canal Istanbul Workshop Website [kanal.istanbul](http://kanal.istanbul) for further information on the workshop that is promoted with a neutral tone, but in fact certainly opposing the project.

**Figure 3.18:** Material flows through the geography of Istanbul Airport according to Istanbul Grand Airport Chief Executive Officer Yusuf Akçayoğlu



**Source:** Collage by the author, clippings on Google Earth image

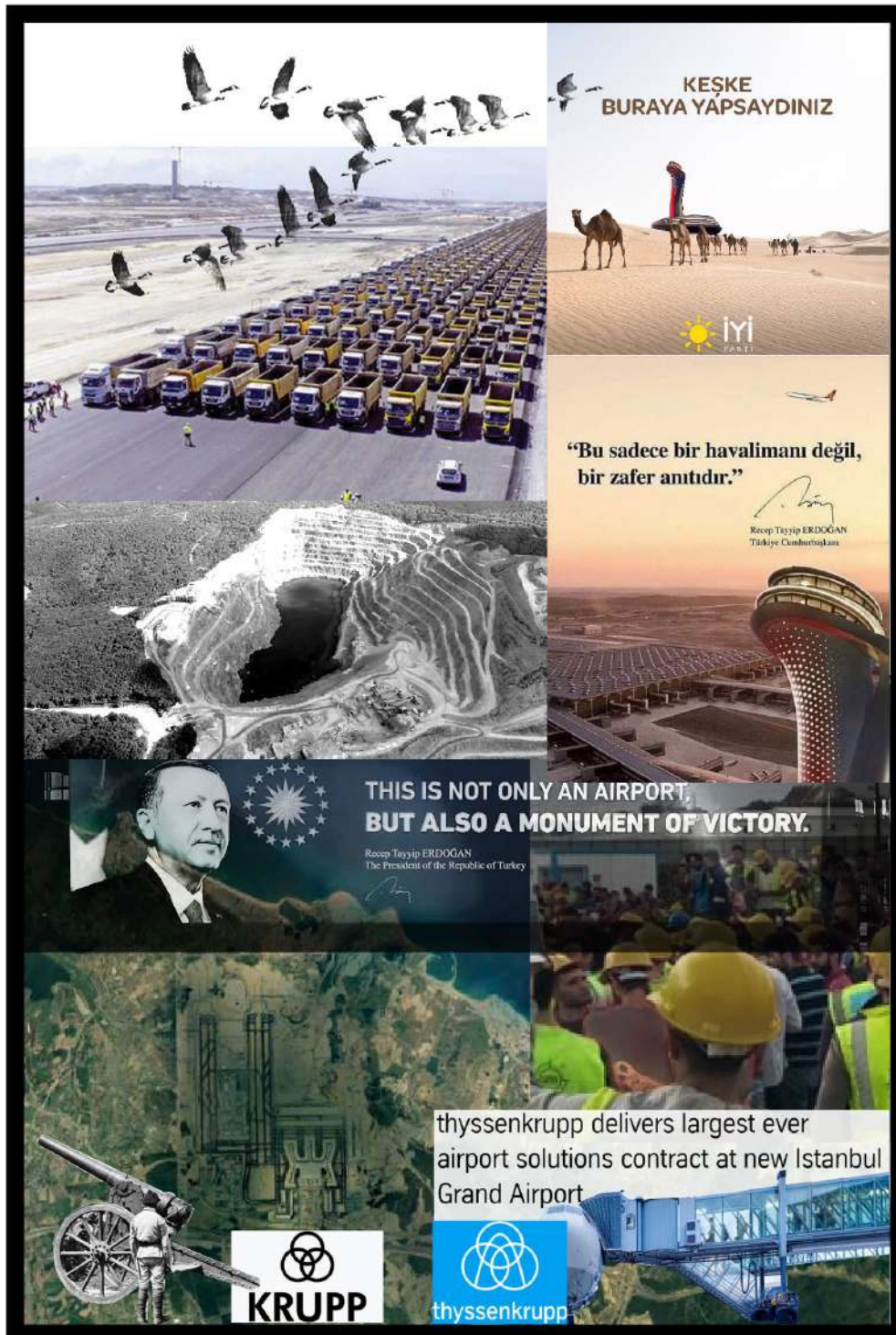
With its 76,5 million square meter area, the airport swept away the geography. Constructing an airport of this size affords material/discursive potentials yet it gravitates the constructors into dependency relations. In November 2017, CEO of Limak Holding, Nihat Özdemir urged for a shortage of materials for the construction and the infilling (Alp, 2017). This resulted in an expansion of the quarry sites causing 107 thousand 822 trees to be cut down, yet five times more trees supposedly said to be planted to compensate, authorities stated. In addition, serving every 74 seconds a flight, Istanbul Airport situated in a risky position with regards to birds' migration routes, which is also an issue that found its place on media debates. The airport, at first said to be the third one of Istanbul, while it became the main one. All the things and airplanes moved from Atatürk Airport to the third one, under the name of a transport operation called "The Great Migration". Even a documentary film of this migration was shot, which had almost 500

thousand views on YouTube (IGA Istanbul Airport, 2019). There were two types of migration together with their related reactions: The ecological sensitivities considering bird migration and the ecstasy of the great migration.

Controversial naming of Istanbul Airport was another issue as with abovementioned projects. On 29 October 2018, on the Day of Republic, at the opening ceremony of the third airport, President Erdoğan declared its name as Istanbul Airport, replacing all operations of Atatürk Airport and appropriating its international location code IST. Although it replaces Atatürk Airport, it left its name behind. Besides, it seems that Istanbul as a neutral name seems to have a possibility to get an additional name of a political figure if desired. All passengers onboard now hear the captain saying Istanbul, the biggest airport of the world, instead of Atatürk. In this sense, even the cabin announcement becomes a politically communicative instrument with the removal of the name of Atatürk.

While the ‘name debate’ was going on, there were still calls from the opposition fronts to re-open Atatürk Airport for the passenger traffic. Yet, taking advantage from the recent coronavirus pandemic, a new pandemic hospital swiftly built right on the runway of Atatürk Airport, emphasizing its post-pandemic purpose as a health tourism investment. This move again ended the debates on possibilities to re-open Atatürk Airport to the passenger airport, which is now serving only for the cargo flights. Meanwhile, the third runway was opened at Istanbul Airport on June 14, 2020, which is reportedly stated to reduce taxi durations during take-off and landing.

**Figure 3.19:** Collage of Istanbul More-than-airport Geography: bird migration routes, workers, deaths, quarries, parade of earth-moving trucks, “This is not only an airport, but also a monument of victory”



**Source:** Collage by the author, paper clippings, above left 1453 trucks on the runway and above right the Good Party’s collage; quarries, Control Tower, “the monument of victory”

On the opponent camps, the control tower (Fig. 3.19), which was said to be designed as a tulip-shaped structure, was described as a cobra snake (Ataklı, 2018) and as a phallus (Elbek, 2019) of ninety meters. The Good Party, an opponent party from the Nation Alliance, for its part, used collage-making (Fig. 3.19) to generate critical visuals to underline that the airport was not worth the investment since it was built through a tree massacre, right on the bird migration routes and reportedly there is a conflict between the wind directions and the take-off/landing routes. In this line, through these collages, the party wished the airport to have been built in the middle of nowhere, such as deserts, poles, and mountains.

Embarking on a construction of such a colossal airport or any other project mentioned above means to get into a material/discursive entanglement. Besides, it means to distort and manipulate existing entangled relations and to generate new affordances and dependency relations. On the one hand, an airport can be called a “monument of victory”, a sublime image and material intervention swallowing ecologies with all its runways, facilities, and buildings. On the other hand, it is called as massacre, as extravagance and as creating debt spiral on the opponent camps. How do we encounter the monument and the massacre? On the one hand, it is through representations, but only within a restricted frame and period of time. But then, we bodily experience through directly encountering the changes together with their representations and the partial impacts within the total mobilization of urban geography.

Istanbul Airport generated a more-than-airport geography, rather than a victory monument. In order to discover the surrounding villages, me and a friend of mine took a taxi at the airport and said “Yeniköy” as our destination. The driver suddenly asked, “Yeniköy of Sarıyer, right?” We said “No, Yeniköy right next to airport”. The driver was shocked and asked another driver if there exists any village called Yeniköy around the airport. After getting the route, it took around twenty minutes and seventeen kilometres through the highway to reach this village right on the edge of the colossal airport.

**Figure 3.20:** Google Earth image of Istanbul Airport and Yeniköy



**Source:** Screenshot from Google Earth

Having reached the village, we came across the village coffeehouse, we did not ask anything, but “Are you going to the airport? It is right there!”, a man yelled us. We, then, asked how to reach the coast and then started to walk. Every minute an airplane was flying over us. The village was right on the route of take-off and landing, causing a highly disturbing noise and vibration. I did not experience any flight passing that close over me while walking on a so-called countryside. In July 2019, Ali Şeker of CHP, delivering a speech at the parliament emphasizing the airport’s new air traffic routes causing noise pollution over Büyükçekmece, Beylikdüzü, Bağcılar, Avcılar, Esenyurt, Küçükçekmece and Başakşehir, and recommended to change the routes towards unpopulated areas. Consequently, the increased heat and humidity as a result of 13 million trees cut for the construction of Istanbul Airport and the noise pollution “have negative impact on the sleep quality of a seven million population” underlined Ali Şeker (“CHP’li Ali Şeker: İstanbul’da 7 Milyon” 2019).

While standing atop, we were looking at the shores. The construction debris of the airport infilled the shores of Yeniköy, this time not to build a meeting area. Each step on the muddy paths reminded the meaning of *urban* as a web of dependencies: Thirst, need for urinating, disconnected mobile phones, going back

home before it gets dark, no taxis, no buses or bus stops, the need for hitchhiking, no billboards, no party flags but the noise of aircrafts and the patrolling gendarmerie instead.

This infrastructural “monument of victory” is so gargantuan that it could not be perceived in its entirety as this is the case for monuments, sculptures, or edifices. Apart from its propagandistic or protest representations, how do we experience the airport geography: As residents or protestors in the surrounding neighbourhoods experiencing seemingly disparate elements through its widespread impacts on the surrounding environment, through the construction geography, flight routes, the noise, trucks and excavators passing by, the changed patterns of mobilities, flow of materials, movement of humans and nonhumans. As construction workers. As engineers. As patrolling gendarmerie. Or as an ordinary passenger encountering the glass façades of the terminals, passing through lofty indoors and boarding bridges reaching the aircraft, waiting for the take-off, gazing at the airport under construction or watching the promotional video of the airport on the in-flight entertainment screen.

### **3.3 ROUNDUP: CHANGING LANDSCAPES, SHIFTING ECOLOGIES**

During our embodied experiences and encounters through everyday mobility, we could not attend to every process occurring around us. It is obvious that we are not instantaneously aware of all our bodily movements, cognitive processes and the details and molecular occurrences in the surroundings. Otherwise, we could not operate and probably would become paralyzed. Yet, attentiveness, slowing down, listening the rhythms, and opening to encounters is something different. In this case, this serves to attend political communication operating through the taken-for-granted banality<sup>161</sup> of sites under construction, an earth-

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<sup>161</sup> Focusing on the banal and the mundane, see Edensor and Sumartojo’s article (2018) “the geographies of everyday nationhood” for the “banal experience of everyday space” in terms of nationalism, and Åhäll’s (2018) studies “the everyday international relations” scrutinizing the taken-for-granted, while Björkman and Harris (2018) focuses on engineering and urban space underlining “how material environments can have political significance” (p.253). These are all connecting to what Ian Hodder emphasized as “forgetness” through dependency relations in his entanglement theory. Similarly, Enloe (2004) highlights how these dependency relations are in fact constituted

moving truck passing by, the noises and the smells, the poured debris on the roadside or a quarry on the hills. Yet, we often do not tend to think of these urban arrangements and processes as politically communicative at first sight. These urban operations might rather be experienced in terms of bodily comfort or discomfort through our routine activities. Yet, these affective relations are embedded in larger embodied cognitive processes, occurring through the entangled brain, body, and environment. This means that we bodily act and encounter together with our bodily, mental and political schemas intricately connected with the surrounding material arrangements. Political communication is indeed continuing to occur through these entanglements in everyday life, through the mundane and the banal encounters, through forgotten and obscured material relations and molecular processes.

Meanwhile, verbal/visual media contents representing the airport and other projects continues to be generated. Whether they are propagandistic or critical, representations, they tend to freeze the sender and the receiver, and the thing that is represented, embedded in an antagonistic atmosphere. Apart from representations, even a single building, part of an infrastructure, or a landscape, when grasped as picturesque, sublime, weary or mundane have a similar tendency to transform them into fixed isolated objects accompanied by wonder, indifference, hatred, joy, sadness or awe. Our polyrhythmic bodies encounter indeed the polyrhythmic urban arrangements that are composed of diverse multiplicities and temporalities (Serres & Latour, 1995, p. 60). Yet, these mentioned fixities simultaneously imposing the linear rhythm of the routine that flattens *polyrhythmia* (Lefebvre, 1992/2004), subsume multiplicities and diminish the potentials to encounter ecological relations beyond the habitual, human scale perceptible realm.

This was what Harold Lasswell (1979), stated in his seminal work on political communication through built environment, underlining that “architectural signs ... tend to freeze” relations (p. 19). Yet, this perspective sustains the common sender-receiver categories and Lasswell’s analysis in fact remains within these

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through a perpetual “lack of curiosity” (p. 3), in other words, tendency to forget how the mundane is assembled and operates.

relations of frozen categories. This depicts the same political communication process as occurring between receiver/audience citizens and sender/political organizations, while grasping architecture as medium and content. Relatedly, Lasswell's (1979) "silhouette analysis" of cities grasps silhouette as a fixed entity from a single perspective. Silhouette analysis is indeed corresponding to a content analysis applied to urban built environment, to grade and to quantify a silhouette based on predetermined value categories. It is in fact a valuable contribution opening the methods of media content analysis to the field of urban. Yet, silhouettes, landscapes or any element of built environment here grasped as if they are stable images generated through a single perspective, embodying a single standpoint. Landscapes, silhouettes, buildings, and infrastructures that are seemingly fixed structures are indeed composed of multiplicities, recalling Lefebvre (1992/2004) that they are "polyrhythmic" and always in continuous change. Both seemingly fixed objects and their representations incorporate vast ecologies, multiplicities and polyrhythmia.

In this sense, analysing representations is to handle with things that become frozen and opaque, whereas encounters are in continuous flux. The widespread use of filtered sci-fi images of Istanbul Airport's air traffic control tower attempted to create a focal edifice encompassing the whole airport as a monument of victory, incorporating its whole infrastructural ecology with all its dependencies. These are propagandistic representational attempts to subsume entangled relations, ecological connections through generating such frozen representations and propagandistic focalities.

Material/discursive interventions act on the entanglement of the brain/body/environment, manipulating bodily and cognitive schemas, conceptions, and imaginations, exploiting materials, directly acting on the body and the movements while modifying the physical environment. For the short period of time, these mega projects might operate as props for election campaigns, yet they always have the potential to generate totally negative outcomes. Despite all, they have the force to explode the spatial framework, and irreversibly change the existing urban

patterns, routines, and to generate a new material organization in which the future political communication processes are likely to occur.

The city is under the siege of hyper-urbanization through mega-projects exploding spatial framework and radical interventions changing mobility patterns, prohibiting, and shifting sites for rallies. As a result, the protest movements thrown out of the city centre and streets, and now started to happen through the countryside. The period encompassing Gezi Park protests and the simultaneous construction operations throughout the city was a turning point cancelling out the squares and street demonstrations (see timeline in Fig. 3.3). The streets became more and more under siege through increasing police presence, fences, barricades, and control systems. Meanwhile, it came more and more under construction, which could be named as another type of siege. These shifted the demonstrations which were once occurring on the asphalt covered city centres towards the muddy paths of the so-called countryside. In other words, this shifted the “protest ecologies” (Treré & Mattoni, 2015). Here, I grasp ecology as the intricate connection of embodied encounters with the material/symbolic potentials/constraints embedded in spatio-temporal arrangements.

Power as *authoritarian control* and power as *capacity* to act are in continuous variation through encounters composed of entrapping and empowering relations (see Hodder, 2012, pp. 213-215). Material/discursive interventions manipulate and control flows of matter/meaning, appropriate existing material/discursive affordances, modify existing life patterns and introduce new ones generating dependencies. It is through manipulating and mobilizing matter and meaning through urban space and infrastructural interventions as power of authoritarian control changed the patterns of political gatherings and diminished and even annihilated the capacities to act within and through the city centres.

Now the political acts together with artistic and exploratory research projects<sup>162</sup> mainly at the intersection of art, architecture, and urban studies, changed

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<sup>162</sup> For instance, see Serkan Taycan’s artistic/activist walking project “Between Two Seas” launched back in 2013 first during 13th Istanbul Biennial, which is described by Taycan as a descendant of

pattern with an artistic touch, much more pacified with regard to street demonstrations, yet much more attentive to the surroundings. Long walks, critical observation practices and demonstrations through the muddy countryside emerged as an embodied political action while generating images and new standpoints from the ‘out of sight’. New embodied encounters follow up the entangled relations to highlight the forgotten humans, nonhumans, and ecological impacts. These new forms of artistic/activist research practices provide the potentials to regain power as capacity to act and to become open to new encounters. These are indeed instances of material and minor political communication as discovery of and creation of new content/medium, new affordances, and agencies.

In these artistic/activist research practices, the satellite and aerial imagery as control technologies appropriated as critical tools<sup>163</sup> –as if medical imaging technologies and forensics— to follow and detect infrastructural impacts as urban malignity, to multiply standpoints and to generate critical content/medium (Erkılıç, 2019). Such uses make images more-than-representations, in continuity with embodied experiences, generating affective encounters to come across the project’s materiality, searching for dependency relations, forgotten agencies and affordances embedded in the environment. This is complemented with site trips to bodily experience these particular areas and to encounter with humans and nonhumans living there, to mobilize them against these interventions.

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Gezi Park protests (see [serkantaycan.com](http://serkantaycan.com) for further information). Taycan’s art-walk is also practiced together with the *Northern Forest Defense* movement, which is also another child of Gezi. Another walking project called “Istanbul Walkabouts” led by Nazlı Tümerdem Medaric (2018), as a methodology and outcome of her dissertation titled “Istanbul Walkabouts: A Critical Walking Research of Northern Istanbul”, focusing on the hyper-urbanization and infrastructuration of Northern Istanbul through walking practice. *Either Canal or Istanbul* (Ya Kanal Ya Istanbul) is also another movement performing walking practices through urban periphery, through a geography subject of infrastructural violence, on the routes of controversially proposed project called Canal Istanbul. In November, the Ministry of Internal Affairs launched an administrative inquiry on Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality for posting visuals against Canal Istanbul throughout the city, since the government highlights canal project as “state project” meaning that it is unquestionable.

<sup>163</sup> In her doctoral dissertation titled “This is not a line: Critical delineation of the coastline in Istanbul”, Gökçen Erkılıç (2019) practices “critical cartography” using aerial imagery, satellite images, archival materials and site visits to follow and detect coastal transformation in Istanbul, stating that the “coast” is “not a line”, but multiplicities of scale, time, and actors, an on-going process entangled with planetary multiplicities.

Moreover, focusing on the cases of resistance against infrastructures, ethnographic studies encompass the perpetual subject-formation and “embodied/affective experiences” of protestors that are resisting against such interventions and police violence, while including the researchers’ own bodily experience through direct participation in such events (Laszczkowski, 2019). The junction of intermingling arts, sciences, direct experience, and activism generate capacities to produce new *ways* to encounter molecular occurrences and to go beyond macro and micro divides, to imagine ecologies and to grasp what is within and beyond the perceptible realm.

Through these propaganda geographies –as outcome and as process, infrastructural interventions produce landscapes of victory and massacre, of sublime and awe, of progression and disturbance, of comfort and discomfort, of joy and sadness. Infrastructural components and impacts remain hidden, tending to be forgotten in the midst of these landscapes reducing these relationalities into single antagonistic perspectives. Meanwhile, infrastructures as complex systems are collective productions, with the participation of a multitude of human and nonhuman agencies (Pineda, 2010, p. 123). Within and through the heterogeneity of infrastructures, even a molecular agency, a single affordance embedded in this multiplicity might have the capacity to become catalyst for greater political implications<sup>164</sup> (Pineda, 2010, pp.129-131, see also Hodder, 2012). In this line, infrastructural propaganda operates as a machine composed of material/discursive multiplicities, meaning that the urban agencies involve in politically communicative processes through their materiality. While they grow into catalysts within and through the urban arrangement, they also turn into material agencies of political communication.

In this sense, tanglegrams serve to cure the forgetness within and through these complex infrastructural systems and political communication processes, an urge to stay within their ecologies, rather than focusing on single phenomena

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<sup>164</sup> See Pineda (2010) for how platforms and stations operated as crucial agencies having political implications in the case of *Transmilenio* transportation system of Bogota, the capital of Colombia.

captured by isolated representational relations between static parties through mediatized content. On the other hand, these seemingly fixed entities capture our attention through their operations, obfuscates the events and ecologies, masking behind the end-products such as silhouette, façade, hardware, or user interface presenting themselves and received as something frozen and self-caused. Recalling McLuhan's urge on the masks of content, *medium/content* as machinic arrangement operate through black-boxing their ecologies and dependency relations. Tanglegrams are ongoing depictions of a pursuit to grasp these relationalities.

As a general tendency, traditional or major political communication research mainly focuses on the deployed language and symbols that are designed and manipulated for influential purposes among the triangle of key actors -political organizations, citizens and media- (Perloff, 2018, p. 12; McNair, 2017) through media content on any platform. The scholarly work accompanied with the "traditional" or major political communication research basically focuses on the means for specific ends through communicative processes and outcomes in terms of political effects (Holbert & Bucy, 2011, p. 3), obviously sustains the formula of Lasswellian linearity and categorizations.

In such a context, composed of predetermined chess pieces moving on board, the traditional/major perspective of political communication research focuses on the content and representations exchanged among fixed parties and their oscillating behaviour squeezed into short duration. Recently, the field witnessed the surge of algorithms and political bots and started to use computational techniques and software retrieving big data through research in ecstatic speed. Whether it is algorithmic, visual, verbal, or non-verbal, all these mediatized events are grasped through research practices focusing on --and embedded in-- the symbolic field of media content, or transmedial content.

News, social media trending topics, staged political events, speeches, and visuals, overall whether they are politician-generated or audience/user-generated content, they tend to encapsulate the multiplicities embedded in an event, packaging into narrow standpoints of selected, and highlighted topics. In turn, these staged

events and contents entrap the analyses, interpretations, and research practices into their deadlock of frozen categories and representations. This perspective excludes encounters and molecular processes of becoming and on the contrary focuses on the exchange between insulated actors.

Throughout the observations on political communication and propaganda as production of space, all these dynamic interactions operate through machinic arrangements. Machines operate, having capacities to act, depending on other machines, within and through arrangements and encounters (Bryant, 2014, pp. 38-39, 78-9; see also Hodder, 2012). In this sense, political communication and propaganda refer to the management of machinic encounters, in order to produce certain material/discursive outcomes. Yet, it is not possible to know their outcomes in advance. Every politically communicative attempt may also incorporate its dormant reversals.

All these projects leave a permanent physical effect on geography changing relations and flows of organic, inorganic materials, nonhumans, and humans. These projects intervene into natural/cultural ecologies. They are not just symbols of a political wing or an ideology. They do not only interfere with political communication processes happening among human beings. They are not just spectacular contents to be represented. This brings forth the agenda of geography to be scrutinized both through representations and materialities. These projects mobilize materials extracted across geographies as co-constituents of discourses, interfering with ecological flows while aiming to (im)mobilize humans both bodily and ideologically.

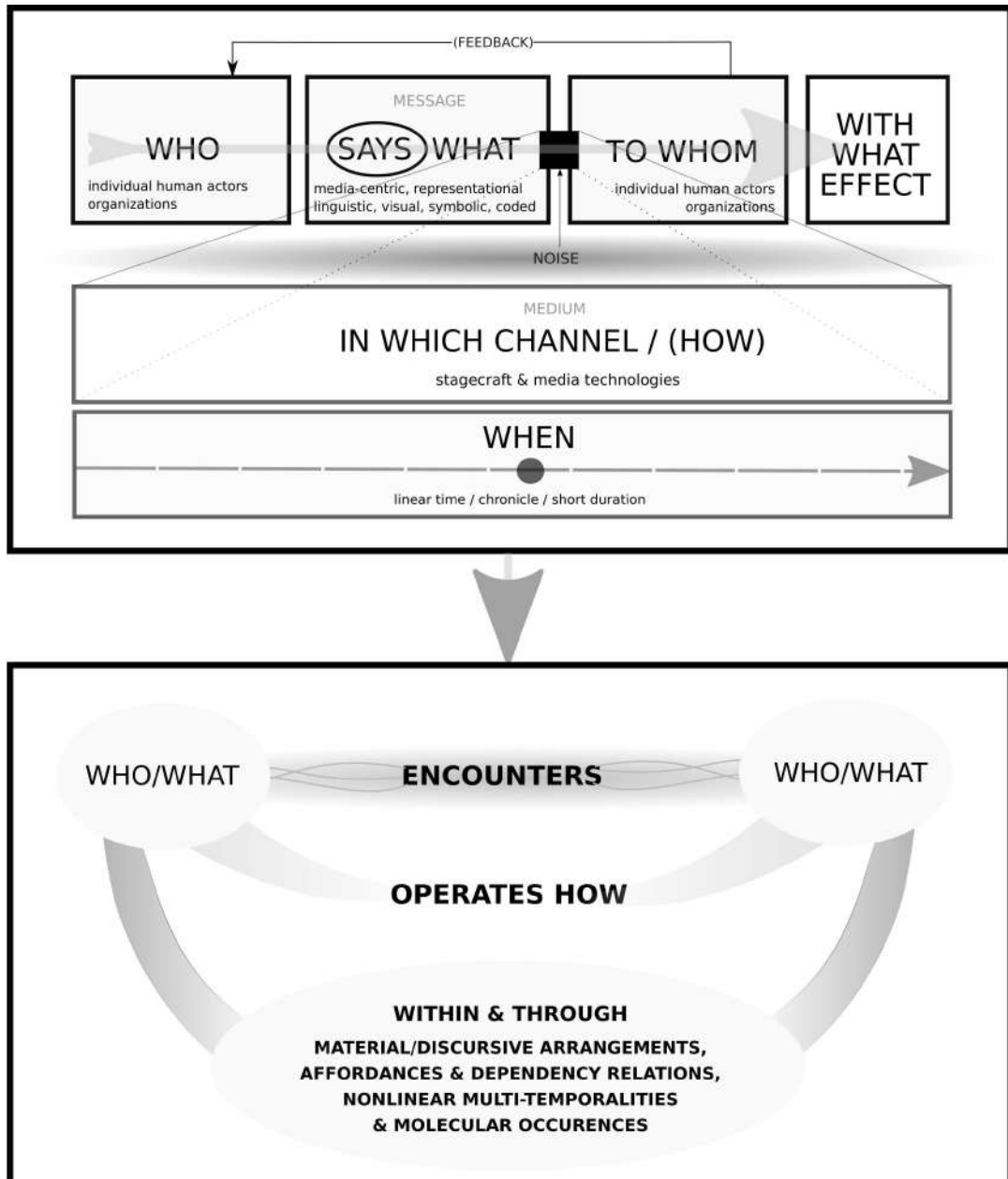
To mention a case from the field of medicine, Louis Pasteur operates through alliances with microbes together with humans and laboratory arrangements, or Rudolf Diesel through alliances with nonhumans such as “pistons” and “kerosene” and human actors (Latour, 1987, pp. 123-125; see also Sismondo, 2010, p. 82). All these agencies are machines connected to other machines within ecologies. Likewise, in contemporary Turkey, President Erdoğan is in alliance with

earth movers, quarries, specially produced concrete, public-private partnerships, the new silk road, and the all other material/discursive affordances mentioned above.

Political propaganda operates through the alliances of these machines. Propaganda is embedded in a general ecology. This “general ecology” (Hörl, 2017) involves “medianaturecultural” (Braidotti, 2019, p. 52; 2016) relations and processes. Political communication is *not* an exchange of messages between the addressors and the addressees, senders, and receivers, aiming to be purified of noise as far as possible. The present context of users/citizens/voters as content producers through social media or autonomous media platforms already problematized such linearity of political communication. Moreover, the ecological and machinic grasp emphasizes this non-linearity not only occurring through content but more-than-representations, through embodied experiences, non-human agencies, material flows and molecular processes involving all kinds of arrangements through natural, cultural, medial, technical processes.

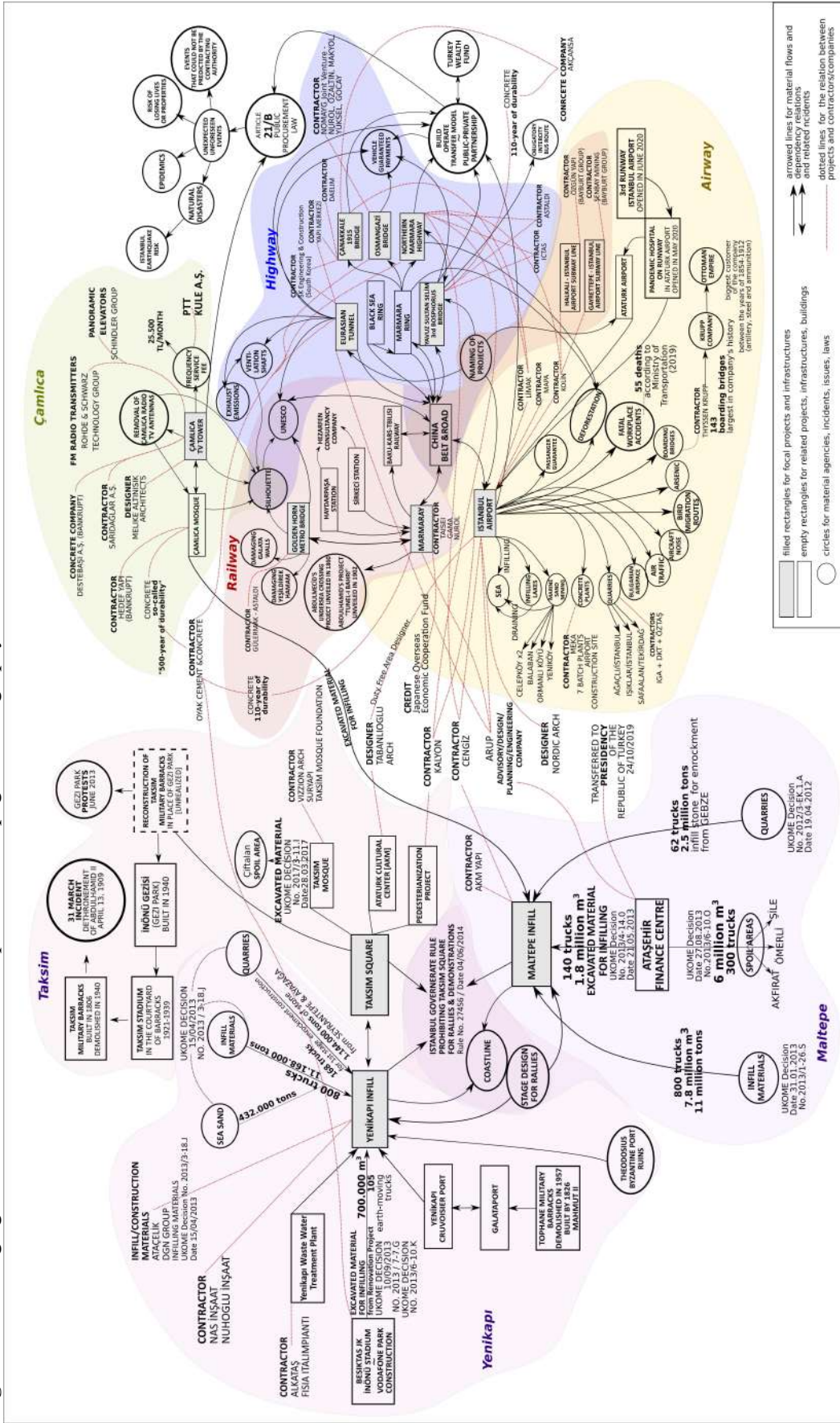
Overall, I recommend a flight from the regimes of staging and representations in political communication and rather than asking ‘what is staged’, or who says what on the stage, I replace how stage-machine operates, “who” or “what” composed of “what”, and operate how, and how representations operate entangled with what material relations. Overall, what or who encounters what or who, entangled with what, through which arrangements, through what multi-spatiotemporal dependency relations? How does political communication operate?

**Figure 3.21:** Traditional (quasi)linear model of major/representational political communication (above) and the ecology of political communication (below)



Source: Drawing by the author

Figure 3.22: Tanglegram of the Infrastructural Uproar and Propaganda Geography of Istanbul



Source: Drawing by the author

## CONCLUSION

*I go along the new streets of our cities and think how, of all these gruesome houses which the generation of public opinion has built for itself, not one will be standing in a hundred years' time, and how the opinions of these house-builders will no doubt by then likewise have collapsed.*<sup>165</sup>

**-Friedrich Nietzsche (1874)**

The Vesuvius erupted in AD 79 during the elections in Pompeii (Lasswell, 1928). Harold Lasswell added jokingly as a contribution to the political geology that the overheated campaigning ignited the volcanic eruption (Lasswell, 1928, pp. 259-260). Campaign graffiti on the walls were covered with ashes. Lasswell's 5Ws --who says what, when and how, in which channel, with what effect-- sank into the flowing lava. Those voters and campaigners covered with lava, and their brains "vitrified" encountering the enormous heat (Petroni et al., 2020). Likewise, contemporary constructions/demolitions and infrastructures of hyper-urbanization projects as a volcanic eruption "burying" all the questions, *the five 5Ws* of Lasswell under the "building foundations" or to make them trapped under the debris, an act silencing all the sayings, an act "ending all words" (Bora, 2016, pp. 15-16).

This dissertation was an attempt to develop and experiment with novel ways to dig the ashes, lava, and debris of frozen representations, and stabilized experiences. My journey started with encountering Harold Lasswell's (1976; 1979) study on political communication through built environment. This was highly influential on my attempt to bridge political communication and urban studies and to grasp political communication as a material/discursive process rather than as solely composed of ephemeral contents. Lasswell's study focusing on urban environment as it were a media content was a crucial expansion to encompass political communication through architecture, spatial arrangements, and

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<sup>165</sup> Quote from "Schopenhauer as Educator" in *Untimely Meditations* (Nietzsche, 1874/2007, p.128)

silhouettes. This approach was a key foothold to move on with a transdisciplinary stance and to expand the scope of the field.

Lasswell employed an adapted version of content analysis, for instance quantifying silhouette according to a set of values or evaluating the public buildings communicating particular messages with regard to their institutional policies. This means that he was dealing with buildings and silhouettes as if they were contents to be analysed, as seemingly frozen entities. At this point, I argued that urban space and geographies are not contents to be read and analysed. They are content/medium, a material process of on-going re-scraping, an entanglement of matter and meaning. So, at a given moment, we do not read ‘discourses in urban’ as we do in the case of discourses in news. How do “architectural propaganda” (Lane, 1968), “infrastructural propaganda” (Denning, 2019) or landscapes send their messages to its urban audience? They do not send messages. Architecture, buildings, infrastructures, or silhouettes do not speak. They are not mere messages, contents, or representations. Rather, they are machines operating as material/discursive arrangements to govern encounters or to generate new ones.

On the other hand, how does an election speech matter, while we are standing on an infilled recreational area that swallowed the debris of hyper-urbanization? The speech does only matter within the framework and duration of the media agenda. Yet focusing solely on contents miss the black-boxing operations of political communication. Representational research of major political communication attempts to catch up with the speed of agenda through *taken-for-grantedness*, to attune to the routine and the dominant staging patterns of political events while gravitating us to forget material ecologies. Major political communication, then, operates through *fait accompli*, both in relation to its frozen, predetermined, innate categories and in the case of the projects discussed in the previous pages. Through the mediatized events and agenda, all these urban projects become irreversibly done deals and then grasped and used as if they were always there as any stagecraft or spatial arrangement, leading to forgetfulness with regards to the ecological processes.

The approval of categories, fixed identities of chess pieces and backgrounds in advance is the preliminary failure causing political communication research to be captured by the major/dominant practices and the haunting speed of the agenda whether on conventional or social media platforms. In this sense, there is always a tendency to be captured by the materiality of medium, technologies, objects, and spatial arrangements through power relations. Overall, this warning does not mean to avoid using these methods or conducting research in these fields. Rather, it is to urge to be on the lookout for the black-boxing processes of political communication that swallow material/discursive ecologies and holding multiplicities as mere backgrounds.

Despite all, media cannot simply be grasped as Plato's cave. This would be a loose translation. Echo chambers, filter bubbles or algorithms might be evaluated as caves. Even if they are conceived as caves, there are always tunnels and connections within, behind and beyond the caves. Plato's philosophy represents a narrative of a salvation, an acquittance, a discharge from the prison for ascension (*Republic*, 514a-520a). It is about getting out of the illusion of shadows and opting into an ascending *theoria*, which literally means seeing, spectating, navigating and going upward to the sun, the realm of truth, the ideas. It is about a process getting rid of the sensory/bodily illusions of the physical world. The shadows in the cave are representations of ideas, fire as the representations of the sun, and the sun itself as the representation of transcendent truth. There is a hierarchy and chasm between the physical and ideal realms. Removal of blindfold through *theoria* enhances the ability of seeing to ascend. Plato's conception relies mainly on a unisensual, ocular-centric world, and on the body/mind divide and in turn, on a disembodied cognition, disregarding multi-sensory encounters since the body and the senses are inferior entities, "the prison of the soul" (Plato, *Phaedo* 82e), the cave of the soul. The burning smell, the combustible, the dampness of the cave, the matters of shackles are trivial and questions regarding bodily encounters are unnecessary that will not carry us to the truth. Of course, Plato's allegory can be considered as an overstatement to put emphasis on his overall conception of the world and the objective to enlighten reason. Yet the allegory itself a representation composed of

captivating categories, identities, fixities, and essences, both within the cave and beyond.

Contrary to Plato, Nietzsche (2007) asserts that every cave has another cave masked behind, that is again opening to another cave, and recommends digging deeper from cave to cave, while there is no bedrock to be reached (pp. 172-173). Mingling with Nietzsche's thought, Deleuze (1968/1994, pp. 67, 106) underlines that the real deception is the *act of unveiling* itself with an expectation to find a bedrock, a stable essence (see also Deleuze 2004, p. 17). There are caves, mountains, tunnels, and geological forms and processes. We may go out of the cave; we can go deeper yet these are not contradictory acts. Unlikely of a matrushka, the statement that *behind every cave there is another cave* means that if a cave opens to another cave, it opens nothing but to ecologies, to new connections, to new encounters. That is why, stating that *unearthing* is itself a deception, Deleuze puts emphasis on the encounters with multiplicities, molecular occurrences, mapping the ecologies of caves, caves opening to ecologies. This also serves to problematize cyberneticist and Lasswellian categories and linear processes of communication.

Conventional or major political communication research is captured by cave analysis. The "cave" haunted many authors in the field of media studies. For instance, Walter Lippman (1922/1998) quotes Plato's allegory as an epigraph at the beginning of its well-known book *Public Opinion* relying on the divide between what is out there and the mental pictures, Jean Louis Baudry compares the cave and cinema, Susan Sontag focuses on the cave of photography; Jean Baudrillard theorizes simulation as extension of the cave. Ecological grasp of political communication resists the cave apparatus and metaphors of it, composed of puppeteers, spectators, representations as shadows and puppets, shackles, and the fire, and the wall as means and overall, the cave as media. As Nietzsche put forth, all these things and actions are separated and enclosed into fixed categories that we clumsily grasp as "fact", that we capture through "language" as a system of representation, "through words and concepts" interrupting and freezing the perpetual water flow of life, transforming them into ice cubes of essences, identities,

and opinions (Nietzsche, 1996, p. 306). In this line, Deleuze (1969/1990, p. 21) indicates the need to invent a novel language to privilege verbs rather than nouns and to generate new concepts to grasp this flux. Against the captivating media causing the “loss of event”, Ulus Baker (1995) recommended to regain events through anti-mediatic thought, to favour and regain non-mediatic events against the mediatic ones. While media pulls off fragments of events to generate mediatic events replacing the non-mediatic ones, it also blackboxes its own operations, infrastructural connections, material ecologies.

In this sense, communication was grasped throughout the dissertation not solely as sending and receiving of messages between parties. It included “non-communication” as an act to rupture communication as control system and “creation” in lieu of communication (Deleuze, 1995, pp.174-175; see Deleuze & Guattari, 1994, p.108, see Thoburn, 2006, pp. 43-46). Besides, it involved, “non-representational communication” operating through the physical/affective level (Banfield, 2016; Henriques, 2011, pp.164-165; see Moores, 2017; see Lahoud, 2016), through events beyond the representational stagecraft (Parks, 2017) together with “material political communication” through material objects and arrangements (Feigenbaum, 2014) or the production of material encounters and impacts occurring at the level of algorithms (Collister, 2016, p. 365). In this sense, the ecology of political communication is also an *ecology of political non-communication*, an ecology of *political creation*, and an ecology of *political non-representational communication*.

I recommended the ecology of political communication as a research horizon. It is to follow with an extended ecological grasp into urban space, including infrastructures, constructions, demolitions, raw materials, nonhumans, accidents, mobilities, material flows and all material/discursive phenomena as communicative. In this sense, addressing communication as not only symbolic but a material flow, the study attempted to narrate an ecology of political communication in the case of Istanbul’s propaganda geography and transportation infrastructures. Contemporary and historical examples in Istanbul were not used for

a total analysis and reporting, rather to render theoretical and methodological elaborations through these particular cases.

At the beginning of this dissertation, I asked whether there is an ecology of political communication or not. I departed with the objective of theory-weaving for an ecology of political communication. This was indeed emerged through my affective encounters with and experiences of the infrastructural uproar in Istanbul, as an entanglement of experiences with the filaments of theory. I attempted to generate a theoretical collectivity. I started with this basic observation: In a period where there is micro, computational, and algorithmic propaganda, there is simultaneously a huge surge in material interventions and geophysical transformation of the Earth as in the example Chinese island building efforts in South China Sea. The tendency of modifying geographies and urban environment for political purposes, social control and political communication persist both in global and local contexts contrary to Virilio's (1984/1991) arguments indicating the eradication of geography, the "contamination" of physical space by speed, telecommunications and interfaces (pp. 12-18, 111), and replacement of physical public spaces by screens (Virilio, 1988/1994, p. 64). While such contamination does exist, there was not only a screen ecology of images, while screens themselves having ecologies through their material components plugged into immense infrastructures. The end of geography needed much more geography, geology, and the earth, extraction of rare elements, database centres, infrastructures, energy, emissions and so on. Using our fingertips scrolling the touchscreen made up of indium powder, the bodily/affective encounter with the image of a puppy or hedgehog, the change in our facial expression and the dopamine secretion: all are entangled within and through the material/discursive ecologies.

I attempted to shift from studies focusing solely on the symbolic and representational and to move beyond content-medium divide or urban-rural, city-noncity divides. It is to flee from these major models built on the remnants of mass communication, the linear communication models composed of fixed, isolated categories of human actors or collectivities and their mediated interactions,

producing representations. Rather shifting the focus of political communication occurring through materiality of urban space, mobilities, everyday life, spatial arrangements, and objects, ecology did not only indicate an ecology of representations, but to the entanglement of material/symbolic, material/discursive. Here, there is not a linear process of someone having effect on some other, rather propaganda and political communication are immanent to the processes of production of space, spatial arrangements, landscapes, infrastructures, architecture, objects, material flows and encounters. Propaganda and political communication operate as machine composed not only of human masses, but molecular masses of nonhuman agencies to arrange encounters intentionally or unintentionally.

In this line, reviewing and depicting political communication as major and minor provided different implications regarding its operation. Differing from major process of generating effect through media representations, the examples of minor political communication suggested to consider the entanglement of content/medium, the materiality of medium, an activism re-appropriating material flows, tools, concepts and spaces, the materiality of bodily encounters and molecular occurrences in the surroundings and beyond. Minor political communication is about conceiving communication as creation and as making breaches. It relies on thinking and practicing not through isolate individuals and categories but through collectivities and multiplicities of diverse agencies. Besides emphasizing major/minor differing, material rhetoric studies, rhetorical spaces, and atmospheric communication, are dealing with any object and spatial arrangement as communicative and persuasive to generate rhetorical encounters, rhetorical spaces, and ambiances at all scales through material/discursive affordances commingling with embodied experiences.

Through the theoretical elaborations, I developed the terms ‘material/discursive affordances’ and ‘material/discursive arrangements’ as key tools to be employed while grasping and rendering ecologies of political communication through urban space. Finally, these elaborations served to develop methodological tools, to employ material/discursive tracing and mapping of these

affordances, agencies and encounters forgotten behind the routine of media agenda, staging and representations. This methodical tracing provides to depict material/discursive affordances, dependencies and embodied encounters that emerge through manipulation of geographies, landscapes, infrastructures, or urban space that hold a propaganda assemblage together, that provide endurance or likewise cause failure and collapse.

In these processes, ‘who’s and ‘what’s are in fact multiplicities in constant change. Silhouette, at first sight, seems to be a frozen view. The only things that are moving seems like the sea and the clouds. Or a building or a bridge, an infrastructural entity, are not simply fixed structures. Or a politician is not simply an individual, rather composed of human and nonhuman agencies, operating through arrangements. The idiom “born to the purple” is not only a phrase pertaining to pure linguistics, but it is material/symbolic arrangement as the phrase and nobility symbolism is dependent on the gland of sea snails secreting the molecule for the colour purple (Le Couteur & Burreson, 2004, pp. 164-165). Purple as a politically communicative colour indicating rank and power is a material/discursive arrangement causing the extinction of this particular sea snails.

This perspective can be called as a material flow analysis of symbols and representations. Grasping everything as political, this indicates an ecology of political communication. In this line, in cases of urban processes mentioned in previous sections, the leaders and the governments captured by and depending on existing material/discursive arrangements, generating interventions to modify them. They depend on an immense web of affordances while captivated by them to sustain their projects. In these cases, interpreting speeches or visuals on these projects are crucial yet limited within the antagonistic field of expected representations. Rather, modification of street network, spatial arrangements, constructing infrastructures or edifices including their raw materials, components, resources are themselves politically communicative. They arrange both the communicative encounters within and through cities, while also becoming themselves agencies/arrangements of political communication.

As adapted tools, tanglegrams and collages as material/discursive visualization, serve to reveal and depict molecular occurrences within and through representations of mediated political communication. It is to shift and dis-entangle mediatized focalities and agenda. The news agenda haunts mediatized contents, visuals, headlines, taglines, condemning them in a temporal separation. We encounter contents of the haunting agenda. Collage-making serves to generate affective encounters through gathering elements together that are indeed intricately connected yet published or emerged separately in different timeframes. In this sense, collages serve to transform images more than mere representations, juxtaposing them to generate a simultaneity to be encountered. Tanglegrams serve to unbundle subsumed multiplicities, operations and encounters that compose focalities and the routinized staging of events that obfuscates molecular occurrences and vital materials. They are partial attempts to depict crucial nodes or lines for possible futures, horizons and virtualities.

Here, following Deleuze, the purpose is “not to interpret, but to experiment” (Deleuze, 1977/2007, p. 48) through collage-making. Here, the author does not present an interpretation, rather he --not as a single individual-- attempts to generate new encounters for the reader, an invitation to encounter the relationality and experimentations to move towards possible horizons.

Upon these theoretical/methodological elaborations, I described Istanbul as a propaganda geography considering the latest infrastructural uproar. This uproar indeed encompasses a process that is plugged into global economy, becoming captivated by the transnational investments and networks, and diverse cooperation strategies of the public and the private as part of mutating neoliberal hyper-urbanization, deepening unevenness, segregation, dispossessions, and displacements. In this context, “infrastructuralism” was the new soulmate of neoliberal strategies (Olesen, 2019), opening up the cities as the new hunting grounds. Through the panorama of Istanbul’s urbanization, it was clear that it has always been a battlefield of public works, a stage of “revanchist” urbanization (see Smith, 1996, Amon, 2015) related to government changes, each time starting a

cycle of hyper-constructions, demolitions, material/discursive interventions anew. Such revanchism of the successor over the predecessor is not just an application of a pure ideological scheme upon the city, rather an operation in alliance with human and nonhuman agencies, together with political economic alliances and partnerships and affordances embedded in the spaces of revenge or spaces to be exploited, to empower the government. Whether it is revanchist, diplomatic, religious, populist or developmentalist, propaganda is immanent to the infrastructures and the material organization of space intervening into material/discursive ecologies, everyday patterns and experiences accompanied with political promises, publicity meetings, launching events, opening or ground-breaking ceremonies as the staged propaganda events.

Passing through diplomatic/sacred infrastructuralism of Sultan Abdulhamid, nation-building infrastructuralism of Early Republic, populist infrastructuralism of Menderes Era, neoliberal infrastructuralism, we reach an atmosphere of panic infrastructuralism. Franco Bifo Berardi (2011) declared the contemporary city that we manage to strive through, as “the city of panic” that is generated through the excessive speed of “chaotic sprawl” of intermingling urban/media, the collision of extended urbanization/mediatization, accompanied with the accelerating material/semiotic hyper-stimulation of experience causing the crackdown on psyche-soma, attention, time, and space (pp. 93-96). The “city of panic” is accompanied by the omnipresent, omnidirectional “noise of the crowd” through which the “postpolitical power” materializes, managing the noise, replacing the older unidirectional power that were addressing, muting, and deadening the crowds (Berardi, 2018, pp. 26-27). Istanbul became a city of panic through mega projects and infrastructural uproar, a city of excavation, noise, and dust. This attention absorbing “chaotic sprawl” itself becomes propaganda that has to be traced and mapped. In the panic city, coronavirus emerged as a new material agency makes us to produce self-bubbles that transformed all the material/discursive and spatial arrangements, bodily movements, greeting gestures, mobility and work patterns, increasing domestic violence, introducing remote education, causing people to produce facemask waste with a 450 years of full

decomposition process in the environment. The pandemic as a naturecultural phenomenon showed how human lives are deeply entangled with infrastructures and increasing their dependencies so as to strive through. Infrastructures afford us to remain insulated and connected, while the infrastructures for the physical movement of people and goods causing such outbreaks with a high-speed of contagion.

Overall, my main motives were to recommend a research horizon for an ecology of political communication through establishing a transdisciplinary thought network to warp the dominant and habitual perspectives. The main argument of this study is that political communication and propaganda operate through empowering or constraining encounters. The study presents a new path for the researcher to focus on the processes and encounters that are *more-than-the-staged* or *beyond-the-staged*. It gives prominence to the study of manipulation of affordances and generation of dependencies, changing patterns of mobility and gatherings, embodied encounters, the agencies of the molecular, mundane and more-than-human. In this line, it puts forth the tracing and depicting of these relations and material agencies together with the discursive, rather than interpreting and analysing disembodied processes, content, symbols, and representations. It is to avoid being captivated by antagonistic categories, linear processes, short duration of news agenda, elections, and campaigning. An ecology of political communication is an ecology of encounters, emphasizing the non-linear, non-representational, multi-temporal, machinic and naturecultural encounters.

As a matter of course there are limitations, gaps, and shortcomings. Establishing a collective non-disciplinary dialogue seems as if dealing with extraneous fields and topics in the relation to the matter in hand. Through these dialogues there were abrupt transitions and disparate examples to depict the complexity of ecological connections. For instance, readers might ask why the author did not encompass embodied experience in the third chapter. I did narrate just a little part of my trip to project sites. There should have been more personal experience to be narrated. I theoretically highlighted embodied processes and

ecological perspectives on cognition as a crucial component for the ecologies of political communication and then put aside. They are immanent to the process of political communication, though studying embodied cognitive processes in the context of political communication through urban encounters is far beyond the limits of this research. Besides while focusing on these particular cases, there might be in-depth interviews with the users and residents for their experiences with regards to these projects and their impacts.

It could also be argued that the dissertation trivialized the impact of digital media or conventional news media or disregarded the interaction or merge of the digital and the physical or mediatization of urban space. This argument is partly true since my focus was to highlight material agencies, forces, and processes and to emphasize their crucial communicative potential together with discursive multiplicities from a nonrepresentational perspective. This is because digital, representational, and media-centric studies are always the dominant ones in the field. Despite all, an ecology of political communication definitely includes digital media contents and representations, as I mentioned the ongoing intermingling of the material/discursive arrangements.

There might also be argument on the methods, *tanglegrams* applied as an incomplete attempt that partially encompass entangled relations, yet always open for expansion, as an open-ended tracing and mapping. Collage-making can be evaluated as having diverse possible ways to be interpreted, and it could be asked what kind of a knowledge the collages produce. As ecology is simultaneously both a theoretical stance and a methodology, making *sense* of encounters and it refers to much more than the pure *interpretation*. Interpretation requires an all too human attempt to freeze events. Moreover, it is true that even the collage, the selection and juxtaposition of clippings bring forth an interpretation. It could also be asked whether there are any categorizations, procedures, or steps in generating these tanglegrams or collages. Yet here, adopting a *flâneur*-style through tanglegrams and collages, I have rather attempted to follow, render, and experiment with what is

going on, what occurs, how do things work depending on what and how disparate things are actually deeply connected.

Further studies on political communication might deal with election rallies and meetings, non-representationally disentangling stagecraft, spatial arrangements, and conducting material flow analysis of symbols, representations, campaigns, and images, other than linguistic content or discourse analysis of what is said and what is displayed. Studies on journalism might focus on the infrastructural entanglements and material/discursive arrangements of news-making. While conducting surveys to retrieve data on the impacts of infrastructures and mega projects on voting behaviour could be crucial and complementary contributions. Feminist and queer studies might expand the focus of the ecology of political communication grasping gendered and masculine material/discursive arrangements. Grasping political communication as creation, experimentation and full of encounters, a further cooperation between “minor politics” (Kara, 2019) and ecology of political communication might bring forth a theorization and potential practices of minor political communication/creation. Studies on interspecies and animal political communication (see Meijer, 2019) might also strengthen the ecology of political communication and to shift anthropocentric political communication. Studies on political communication should also get in touch with anthropology of infrastructures to focus on the political communication practices of minorities against the infrastructural encounters at the border regions or minority cultural landscapes. Memories and biographies might be great sources for depicting embodied experiences. Autoethnographic research, in-depth interviews, collective video-making, participatory collage-making, art-based research practices, material experimentations on generating new communication medium and disentangling the existing devices might empower the capacities of the studies on the ecology of political communication.

Moreover, further studies on the ecologies of political communication requires a collaborative and transdisciplinary/metadisciplinary perspective. As Keller Easterling (2014) states, the contemporary uproar of infrastructures and the

entangled issues also call for such transdisciplinarity. For instance, in her most recent book, Easterling (2021) proposes a potential collaboration between “designers and media theorists” to conduct “experimentations” intervening into and modulating the entangled “spatial and infrastructural networks” (pp. 37-38), generating a meta-perspective and emancipatory potentials bringing forth the medium and the “interplays of things” rather than insulated entities (pp. x-xi). To generate such atmosphere, Lefebvre (1970/2003) once proposed a transdisciplinary “department” focusing on the urban phenomenon (p. 55-56), depending on his metaphilosophy that aims to overcome “the traditional philosophy” accompanied with “the project of a radical transformation of everydayness” (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 113). This promises to generate a perspective disenthralled from institutionalized disciplinary fixities, (Lefebvre, 1970, pp. 64-65) and from systemizing tendencies and ideology of urbanism (Lefebvre, 2016, p. 112, 254). Such department might also need “classroom without walls” (McLuhan, 1960) and to grasp “city as classroom” (McLuhan et al., 1977). In this line, I attempted to employ ecology of political communication as a meta-perspective to evolve into a metadisciplinary assembly for further studies.

In conclusion, we, the humans still continue to secrete our webs in the caves. We must urgently reconsider our ways of spinning or find out new paths beyond the cave. The ecology of political communication focuses on both beyond and within the walls of the cave, and on the ecology of the wall, the web, and the cave. Meanwhile, it annihilates the web, the wall, the cave, and itself, in order to have the capacities to connect to new ecologies.

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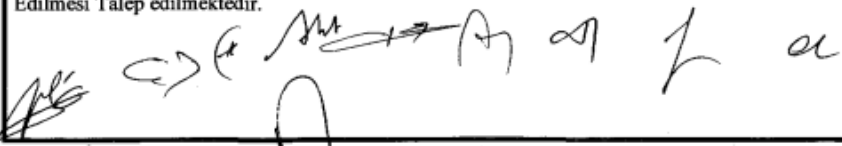
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**APPENDIX A**  
**ISTANBUL DIRECTORATE OF TRANSPORTATION COORDINATION**  
**(UKOME) DECISIONS**

Figure A.1: Yenikapı Infill Material Flows, Decision No. 2013/7-7.G – Page 1

	T.C İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI ULAŞIM KOORDİNASYON MERKEZİ KARARI	<b>UKOME KARARI</b>	
		<b>TARİH</b>	10.09.2013
		<b>SAYI</b>	2013/7-7.G
<p>UKOME, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Genel Sekreter V. Sa. Hüseyin EREN Başkanlığında 10/09/2013 gün ve saat 15.00'da gündemindeki konuları görüşmek üzere toplandı.</p> <p><b>İLGİ:</b> a) BJK Beşiktaş İnşaat ve Tic. A.Ş'nin 09.09.2013 tarih ve 81 sayılı yazısı. b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü'nün 10.09.2013 tarih ve 2712 sayılı yazısı.</p> <p><b>TEKLİF:</b> BJK Beşiktaş İnşaat Ve Tic.Aş.Nin Bjk İnönü Stadyumu Yenileme Projesi Kapsamında 10.09.2013 Tarih Ve 2013/6-10,K Sayılı Ukome Kararı İle 65 Adet Hafriyat Kamyonuna 01.12.2013 Tarihine Kadar 10.00/16.00-22.00 Saatleri Arasında çalışmak üzere verilen UKOME kararının revize edilmesi teklifi</p> <p><b>TOPLU ULAŞIM HİZMETLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ RAPORU:</b></p> <p>İlgi (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporunda;</p> <p>“ İlgi (a) yazı ile BJK Beşiktaş İnşaat Ve Tic.Aş.Nin Bjk İnönü Stadyumu Yenileme Projesi Kapsamında 10.09.2013 Tarih ve 2013/6-10,K Sayılı UKOME Kararı İle 65 Adet Hafriyat Kamyonuna 01.12.2013 Tarihine Kadar 10.00/16.00-22.00 Saatleri Arasında Trafikte Seyir İzni verilmiş Ancak Talep Edilen 24 Saat İzin Çıkmaması Neden İle Planlanan İşin Süresinde Bitirilebilmesi İzin Verilen Saatlerde (10.00/16.00-22.00/06.00) ;</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1) Toplam 105 Kamyonu İhtiyaç Olduğu,</li><li>2) Önceki UKOME Kararında Belirtilen Araç Plaka Listelerinde Değişiklik Yapıldığı ,</li><li>3) Taksim Güzergâhında Emniyet Tarafından Yapılan Geçici Yol Kapamaları Nedeni İle Farklı Güzergâh Kullanıldığı Kararda Belirtilen Güzergâhlarda Değişiklik Yapıldığı</li><li>4) Gündüz 10.00/16.00 Akşam 22.00/06.00 Saatlerinde Verilen İzin Akşamda 21.00/06.00 Saatleri Arasında Yeniden Düzenlenmesi</li><li>5) Stad İnşaatından Çıkan Betonların Ve Bahçe Üst Toprağının Yenikapı Dolgu Sahası Tarafından Talep Edildiği,</li></ol> <p>Şeklinde Belirtilen nedenlerden dolayı UKOME Kararının Yukarıda belirtilen şekilde Yeniden Revize Edilmesi Talep edilmektedir.</p> <p style="text-align: right;"></p>			

Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>

Figure A.2: Yenikapı Infill Material Flows, Decision No. 2013/7-7.G – Page 2

**GÜZERGAH:**

1) Beşiktaş İnönü Stadyumu-Kadrgalar Cd.-Gazhane-Askeri Cd.-Cumhuriyet Cd.-Yedi Kuyular-Sazlıdere Cd-Irmak Cd-Piyale Paşa Cd.-Odesa Bulvarı-Sadabat Ve Nurtepe Viyadüğü Hasdal-Kemberburgaz-Bolluca

2) Beşiktaş İnönü Stadyumu Taksim Tarlabası Bulvarı-Refik Saydam Bulvarı-Unkapanı Köprü-Atatürk Bulvarı-M.Kemalpaşa Bulvarı-Kadrgalar Cd.-Meclisi Mebusan Cd.-İnönü Cd.-Dolmabahçe Cd.-Gazhane Cd.-Kemeraltı Cd.-Galata Köprüsü-Tersane Cd.-Atatürk Bulvarı-Kennedy Cd.-Ragıp Gümüşpala Cd.-Yenikapı

3) Taksim Kapalı Olduğunda : Dolmabahçe Cd.-Kemeraltı Cd.-Atatürk Bulvarı-Tepebaşı Kavşağı-Evliya Çelebi Cd.-Bahariye Cd.-Piyalepaşa Bulvarı

**ARAÇ PLAKA LİSTESİ: Ek' te**


Konunun UKOME' de görüşülmesi teklif edilmektedir.

**UKOME'NİN KARARI:** İlgili (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporu doğrultusunda teklifin kabulüne karar verilmiştir.

 Üye Hüseyin EREN Genel Sekreter V. ... / ... / 2013	 Üye Muzaffer HACIMUSTAFAOĞLU Genel Sekreter Yrd.	 Üye Yakup DEMİRHAN Ulaşım Daire Başkanı	 Üye Temel KEMALİ İst. Plan. Md. Tem.
 Üye Ersin AKÇA MSB İst. İnş. Em. Böl. Bşk. Tem. (KATILMADI)	 Üye Celal ÖZDEMİR İl Jari. Kom. Tem.	 Üye H. Avni CINDIK Sahil G. V. Kom. Tem. (KATILMADI)	 Üye Yaşar PARLAK 1. Hukuk M. Ş. Tem.
 Üye Mehmet ÖZÇELİK Fen İşl. Dai. Bşk.	 Üye Engin BAYRAM Karayolları 1. Bölge Md. Tem.	 Üye H. Gam AYĞÜN Ulş. Dnz. Hbr. Bakanlıđı İst. Ulaştırma Bşk. Md. Tem.	 Üye Levent ÖNÜVAR DHML Gen. Md. Tem.
 Üye İsmail ÖZDEMİR TCDD 1. Bölge Md. Tem.	 Üye Yeli ATILGAN Ulş. Dnz. Hbr. Bakanlıđı 1. Bölge Müdürüğü	 Üye S. Nec. KARAYAZAR DLH Gen. Md. Tem.	 Üye Mürmin KARİVEÇİ İETT Gen. Md. Tem.
 Üye Süleyman GÜNÇ İst. Şehir Hatları Tur. A.Ş.	 Üye Abdullah ÖZCANLI İst. Ulş. A.Ş. Gn. Md. Tem.	 Üye Adil KARAIŞMAİLOĞLU Ulaşım Koordin. Md.	 Üye Mustafa EBOL Top. Ulş. Hiz. Md. Tem.
 Üye Cem SERT Türkiye Söförler ve Otomobilciler Federasyonu			


Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>

Figure A.3: Yenikapı Infill Material Flows, Decision No. 2013/6-10.K

	<p style="text-align: center;">T.C İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI ULAŞIM KOORDİNASYON MERKEZİ KARARI</p>	<b>UKOME KARARI</b>	
		<b>TARİH</b>	27.08.2013
		<b>SAYI</b>	2013/6-10.K
<p><b>UKOME, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Genel Sekreter V. Sn. Hüseyin EREN Başkanlığında 27/08/2013 gün ve saat 15.00'da gündemindeki konuları görüşmek üzere toplandı.</b></p> <p><b>İLGİ:</b> a) BJK Beşiktaş İnşaat ve Tic. AŞ.' nin 20.08.2013 tarih ve 201/71 sayılı yazısı b) 2008/6-7 sayılı UKOME kararı c) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü'nün 27.08.2013 tarih ve 2533 sayılı yazısı.</p> <p><b>TEKLİF:</b> BJK Beşiktaş İnşaat ve Tic.AŞ.nin BJK İnönü Stadyumu Yenileme Projesi kapsamında stad projesinin öntümündeki sezona yetiştirilebilmesi amacı ile çıkacak olan 700.000 m3 hafriyatın taşınması için 65 adet hafriyat kamyonuna 01.12.2013 tarihine kadar 24 saat trafikte seyir izni verilmesi teklifi.</p> <p><b>TOPLU ULAŞIM HİZMETLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ RAPORU:</b></p> <p>İlgi (c) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporunda; "İlgi (a) yazı ile BJK Beşiktaş İnşaat ve Tic. AŞ.' nin BJK İnönü Stadyumu Yenileme Projesi kapsamında stad projesinin öntümündeki sezona yetiştirilebilmesi amacı ile çıkacak olan 700.000 m3 hafriyatın, ekte plakaları aşağıda ise güzergâhı bulunan 65 adet hafriyat kamyonuna Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğünden güzergâh kullanım izin belgesi almak kaydıyla 01.12.2013 tarihine kadar 10.00-16.00 / 22.00-06.00 saatleri arasında trafikte seyir izni verilmesi talep edilmektedir."</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Konunun UKOME' de görüşülmesi teklif edilmektedir.</p> <p><b>GÜZERGAH</b> Beşiktaş İnönü Stadyumu-Kadırgalare Cd.-Gazhane-Askeri Cd.-Cumhuriyet Cd.-Yedi kuyular-Sazlıdere Cd-Irmak Cd-Piyale paşa cd.-Odessa Bulvarı-Sadabat ve Nurtepe viyadüğüHasdal-Kemberburgaz-Bolluca</p> <p><b>UKOME'NİN KARARI:</b> İlgi (c) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporunun kabulüne karar verilmiştir.</p>			
<p><b>Başkan</b> Hüseyin EREN Genel Sekreter ... / ... / 2013</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Muzaffer HACIMUSTAFAOĞLU Genel Sekreter</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Yakup DEMİRHAN Ulaşım Birim Başkanı</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Ali ÖZSOYUNAR İst.Emn.Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p><b>Üye</b> Ersin AKÇA MSB İst. İnş. Eml. Böl. Bşk. Tem.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Cemal SOLUK İl Jan. Kom. Tem.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> H. Avni CINDIK Sahil GÜv. Kom. Tem.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Ali KARAAŞLANI 1. Hukuk Müş.</p>
<p><b>Üye</b> Mehmet ÖZÇELİK Fen İşl. Dai. Bşk.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Engin BAYRAM Karayolları 1. Bölge Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> M. Gani YÜĞÜN Ulaş. Dnş. Hbr. Bakanlığı İst. Liman Bşk. İlg. Tem.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Levent ÖNÜVAR DHMİ Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p><b>Üye</b> M. Rahmi GÜL TCDD 1. Bölge Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Veil ATILGAN Ulaş. Dnş. Hbr. Bakanlığı 1. Bölge Müdürlüğü</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Sıray KARATAĞIZ DLH Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Mumin KAHVECİ İETT Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p><b>Üye</b> Süleyman GENÇ İst. Şehir Hafarı Tur. A.Ş.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Ali İhsan YÜĞÜN İst. Ulaş. A.Ş. Gn. Mdl.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Adil KARAIŞMAİLOĞLU Ulaşım Koordin. Md.</p>	<p><b>Üye</b> Mustafa EROL Top. Ulaş. Hiz. Müd. Tem.</p>
<p><b>Üye</b> Cem SERT Türkiye Soförler ve Otomobilciler Federasyonu</p>			


Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>

Figure A.4: Yenikapı Infill Material Flows, Decision No. 2013/3-18.J

	T.C	UKOME KARARI		
	İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI		TARİH	15.04.2013
	ULAŞIM KOORDİNASYON MERKEZİ KARARI		SAYI	2013/3-18.J
<p>UKOME, İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediye Başkanlığı Genel Sekreteri Sn. Adem BAŞTÜRK Başkanlığında 15.04.2013 gün ve saat 15.00'da gündemindeki konuları görüşmek üzere toplandı.</p> <p><b>İLGİ:</b> a) Fen İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü'nün 26.03.2013 tarih ve 315804 sayılı yazısı. b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü'nün Bila Tarih ve Bila Sayılı yazısı.</p> <p><b>TEKLİF:</b> Fen İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü'nün Yenikapı Meydan Düzenlemesi 1.Etap Anroşman İnşaatı işi kapsamında 168 kamyona 15.07.2013 tarihine kadar, geri dolgu malzemesi için 800 kamyona Yenikapı'ya 01.09.2013 tarihine kadar 24 Saat Trafikte Seyir Etme Teklifi.</p> <p><b>TOPLU ULAŞIM HİZMETLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ RAPORU:</b></p> <p>İlgi (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporunda; "İlgi (a) yazı ile Fen İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü'nün Yenikapı Meydan Düzenlemesi 1.Etap Anroşman İnşaatı işi kapsamında kategorik taş temini (1.144.000 ton) ve geri dolgu malzeme temini (11.168.000 ton karadan/432.000 ton denizden= toplam 11.600.000 ton) için aşağıda belirtilen iş programları çerçevesinde kategorik taş temini için Seyrantepe (142 Kamyon) ve Ayazağadan (26 kamyon) Yenikapı güzergâhına toplam 168 kamyon 15.07.2013 tarihine kadar, geri dolgu malzemesi için 800 kamyona ekte Alt komisyon raporunda belirtilen ilçelerden Yenikapı'ya 01.09.2013 tarihine kadar olmak üzere yasak saatlerde trafiğe çıkış izni verilmesi talep edilmektedir."</p> <p>Konunun UKOME' de görüşülmesi teklif edilmektedir.</p> <p><b>UKOME'NİN KARARI:</b> Fen İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü'nün Yenikapı Meydan Düzenlemesi 1.Etap Anroşman İnşaatı işi kapsamında kategorik taş temini (1.144.000 ton) ve geri dolgu malzeme temini (11.168.000 ton karadan/432.000 ton denizden= toplam 11.600.000 ton) için aşağıda belirtilen iş programları çerçevesinde kategorik taş temini için Seyrantepe (142 Kamyon) ve Ayazağadan (26 kamyon) Yenikapı güzergâhına toplam 168 kamyonun araç sayısı sabit, izin süresince yapılacak plaka değişikliği halinde ise plaka değişikliği yapılarak 15.07.2013 tarihine kadar, geri dolgu malzemesi için 800 kamyona ekte plakaları ile belirtilen ilçelerden Yenikapı' ya Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğünden güzergâh kullanım izin belgesi almak kaydıyla 01.09.2013 tarihine kadar 24 saat trafikte seyir etmelerine karar verilmiştir.</p>				
<p>Başkan Adem BAŞTÜRK Genel Sekreter</p>	<p>Üye Muzaffer HACİMİSTANAOĞLU Genel Sekreter Yard.</p>	<p>Üye Yakup DEMİRHAN Ulaşım Daire Başkanı</p>	<p>Üye Ali ÖZSOYLAR İst. Emn. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Ersin AKÇA MSB İst. İnş. Emn. Böl. Bşk.Tem.</p>
<p>Üye Fatih GÜNEŞ İl Jan. Krm. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye H.Avni CINDIK Sahil Gv. Kom. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Ali KARAAŞLAN 1.Hük. Müş. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Metin ÖZÇELİK Fen İşl.Dai.Bşk.</p>	<p>Üye Nurdan APAYDIN TCK Gen Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p>Üye H. Gani ARĞUN Uls.Dnz.Hbr.Bakanlığı İst.Liman Bölge Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Levent ÜNÜVAR DHMI Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Tayfun AKBULUT TCDD 1.Bölge. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye YERKATIRGAN Uls.Dnz.Hbr.Bakanlığı 1.Bölge Müdürlüğü Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Enk. KARAYAGIZ DLH Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p>Üye Mümin KAHRİVCI IETT Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Süleyman GENÇ İst. Şehir Halkları Tur. A.Ş.</p>	<p>Üye Abdullah ÖZCANLI İst.Uls. A.Ş.Gn.Mdl.</p>	<p>Üye Adil KARAIŞMAİLOĞLU Ulaşım Koordin. Md.</p>	<p>Üye Mustafa FEROL Gen. Uls. Hiz. Md.</p>
<p>Üye Cem SEYİT İstanbul Şoförler Esnaf Odası Tem.</p>				

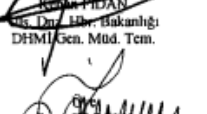
Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>

Figure A.5: Taksim Mosque Transportation of Debris, Decision No. 2017/3-11.I – p. 1

	T.C		UKOME KARARI	
	İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI		TARİH	28.03.2017
	ULAŞIM KOORDİNASYON MERKEZİ KARARI		SAYI	2017/3-11.I
<p><b>UKOME, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Genel Sekreter Sn. Dr. Hayri BARAÇLI Başkanlığında 28.12.2016 gün ve saat 15:00'da gündemindeki konuları görüşmek üzere toplandı.</b></p> <p><b>İlgi: a)</b> Sur Yapı Endüstri San.ve Tic.A.Ş.nin 24.03.2017 tarih ve bila sayılı yazısı.  <b>b)</b> Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetler Müdürlüğü'nün 27.03.2017 tarihli ve 869 sayılı yazısı ile ekli raporu.</p> <p><b>TEKLİF:</b> İstanbul Taksimde Yapımına Başlanan Taksim Camii Projesi Kapsamında 23 Adet Araca 6 Ay Süre İle 24 Saat Trafikte Seyir İzni Verilmesi. (23 Araç/6 Ay)</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>TOPLU ULAŞIM HİZMETLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ RAPORU:</b></p> <p>İlgi (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü yazısı ekli raporunda;</p> <p>İlgi (a) yazı da "İstanbul Taksimde Suryapı Endüstri Sanayi ve Tic. A.Ş. tarafından Yapımına Başlanan Taksim Camii Projesi inşaatından çıkacak hafriyatın taşınması işi Kapsamında 23 Adet Araca 6 Ay Süre İle 24 Saat Trafikte Seyir İzni Verilmesi" Teklifi Müdürlüğümüzce uygun mütalaa edilmekle birlikte, konunun UKOME gündemine alınması hususunu olurlarınıza arz ederim.</p>				
23 Araç				
ARAÇ SAYISI	PLAKA		PLAKA	
	1)	34 ZN 4537/34 ZN 4589	13)	34 ZM 378/34 ZR 8205
	2)	34 ZN 5105/34 ZR 3854	14)	34 ZP 1327/34 LKV 89
	3)	34 ZN 5075/34 ZR 3828	15)	34 ZM 7425/34 ZS 3497
	4)	34 ZN 5065/34 ZR 3753	16)	34 DE 6419
	5)	34 ZN 4357/34 ZR 4020	17)	34 DE 1987
	6)	34 ZN 5112/34 ZR 3650	18)	34 DE 3746
	7)	34 ZN 4486/34 ZR 4329	19)	34 DE 2449
	8)	34 ZN 5108/34 ZR 4017	20)	34 HA 8239
	9)	34 ZN 4276/34 ZR 4390	21)	34 DE 3502
	10)	34 ZN 4278/34 ZR 3549	22)	34 DE 6954
	11)	34 ZP 6673/34 ZM 935	23)	34 HA 8390
	12)	34 ZP 3972/34 HA 9200		
<p><b>İŞİN SÜRESİ</b> : 6 ay</p> <p><b>YÜKÜN CİNSİ</b> : Hafriyat Kum Mıçır</p> <p><b>GÜZERGÂHI</b> : Taksim Tarlabası Bulvarı-Kasımpaşa-Piyalepaşa Bulvarı –Okmeydanı TEM-Hasdal-Kemberburgaz Yolu-Çiftalan:</p>				

Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>


Figure A.6: Taksim Mosque Transportation of Debris, Decision No. 2017/3-11.I – p. 2

	T.C		UKOME KARARI		
	İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI		TARİH	28.03.2017	
	ULAŞIM KOORDİNASYON MERKEZİ KARARI		SAYI	2017/3-11.I	
<p><b>UKOME'NİN KARARI:</b> İlgili (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporu doğrultusunda Güzergâh Kullanım İzin Belgesi" almak kaydıyla teklifin aşağıda belirtildiği şekliyle kabulüne karar verilmiştir.</p>					
ARAÇ SAYISI		23 Araç			
PLAKA LİSTESİ		PLAKA		PLAKA	
		1)	34 ZN 4537/34 ZN 4589	13)	34 ZM 378/34 ZR 8205
		2)	34 ZN 5105/34 ZR 3854	14)	34 ZP 1327/34 LKV 89
		3)	34 ZN 5075/34 ZR 3828	15)	34 ZM 7425/34 ZS 3497
		4)	34 ZN 5065/34 ZR 3753	16)	34 DE 6419
		5)	34 ZN 4357/34 ZR 4020	17)	34 DE 1987
		6)	34 ZN 5112/34 ZR 3650	18)	34 DE 3746
		7)	34 ZN 4486/34 ZR 4329	19)	34 DE 2449
		8)	34 ZN 5108/34 ZR 4017	20)	34 HA 8239
		9)	34 ZN 4276/34 ZR 4390	21)	34 DE 3502
		10)	34 ZN 4278/34 ZR 3549	22)	34 DE 6954
		11)	34 ZP 6673/34 ZM 935	23)	34 HA 8390
		12)	34 ZP 3972/34 HA 9200		
İŞİN SÜRESİ		: 6 ay			
YÜKÜN CİNSİ		Hafriyat Kum Mıdır			
GÜZERGÂHI		Taksim Tarlabası Bulvarı-Kasımpaşa-Piyalepaşa Bulvarı –Okmeydanı TEM-Hasdal-Kemberburgaz Yolu-Çiftalan:			
<p>  Başkan Dr. Hayri BARANCI                  Genel Sekreter                  ... 7... (2016)             </p> <p>  Üye Muzaffer HACIUSMANOĞLU                  Genel Sekreter Yard.             </p> <p>  Üye Yunus Emre AYOZEN                  Ulaşım Daire Başkanı             </p> <p>  Üye Bolent AY                  İst. Emn. Müd. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Şevket AKTAY                  Milli Savunma Bakanlığı                  I. Ordu Kom. Tem.                  (Katılmadı)             </p> <p>  Üye Ali Naci BİNİCİ                  İl Jan. Kom. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Akif CERAN                  Sahil Gv. Kom. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Hüseyin YAĞCIOĞLU                  I. Hukuk Müşaviri Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Mehmetin ACAR                  Fen İşl. Mü. Bşk. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Hikmet VURAL                  Ulaş. Dnz. Hbr. Bakanlığı                  Karayolları I. Bölge Müd. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Muhammet ERDOĞAN                  Ulaş. Dnz. Hbr. Bakanlığı                  İst. Liman Bşk. Lgş. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Kemal FIDAN                  Ulaş. Dnz. Hbr. Bakanlığı                  DHMI Gen. Müd. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Mehmet N. İZ                  Ulaş. Dnz. Hbr. Bakanlığı                  TCDD I. Bölge Müd. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Halil SAHİN                  Ulaş. Dnz. Hbr. Bakanlığı                  Karayolu Düzenleme                  Gen. Müd. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Mehmet Levent ACET                  Ulaş. Dnz. Hbr. Bakanlığı                  Ait. Yapı Gen. Müd. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye İsmail ERDOĞAN                  İETT Genel Müd. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Hacı ERDOĞAN                  İst. Şehir Hatları Tur. A.Ş. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Ali FİRAT                  Metro İstanbul A.Ş. Gn. Müd. Tem.             </p> <p>  Üye Mükemmet KARAR                  Ulaşım Koordinatörü             </p> <p>  Üye Musa YAZICI                  Top. Ulaş. Hiz. Md.             </p> <p>  Üye Halil YEMEZ                  Türkiye Soförlere ve Otomobilciler                  Federasyonu Tem.             </p>					

(2/2)


Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>

Figure A.7: Maltepe Infill Material Flows, Decision No. 2012/3-EK.1.A

	<p style="text-align: center;">T.C İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI ULAŞIM KOORDİNASYON MERKEZİ KARARI</p>	<b>UKOME KARARI</b>		
		TARİH	19.04.2012	
		SAYI	2012/3-EK.1.A	
<p>UKOME, İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediye Başkanlığı Genel Sekreteri Sn. Adem BAŞTÜRK Başkanlığında 19.04.2012 gün ve saat 14.00'da gündemindeki konuları görüşmek üzere toplandı.</p> <p><b>İLGİ:</b> a) Fen İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü'nün 02.04.2012 tarih ve 62818 sayılı yazısı. b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü'nün bila tarih ve sayılı raporu.</p> <p><b>TEKLİF:</b> Ağır Tonajlı Araçlar "Maltepe Sahil Düzenlemesi 1.etap anroşman inşaatı işi kapsamında sahile yapılacak dalga kıran ve sahil dolgusu için 2.433.865,29 ton dolgu taşı taşıma işinde çalışacak 62 adet kamyonu 24 saat çalışma izni verilmesi teklifi"</p> <p><b>TOPLU ULAŞIM HİZMETLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ RAPORU:</b> İlgi (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporunda; "İlgi (a) yazı ile ihale komisyonunun 30.01.2012 tarih ve 482 sayılı kararı ile "Maltepe Sahil Düzenlemesi 1.Etap Anroşman İnşaatı" işine 12.03.2012 tarihinde yer teslimi yapılarak başlandığı, yer teslimi yapılan söz konusu iş kapsamında sahil dolgusu ve dalgakıran imalatı yapılacağı belirtilerek, bahse konu imalatlarda 2.433.865,29 ton miktarında dolgu taşı kullanılacağı, bu taşların nakliyesinde kullanılacak olan ek'te plakaları bulunan 62 adet kamyonu 24 saat çalışma izni verilmesi talep edilmektedir. Yukarıda belirtilen konunun UKOME' de görüşülmesi" teklif edilmektedir.</p> <p><b>UKOME'NİN KARARI:</b> Maltepe Sahil Düzenlemesi 1.etap anroşman inşaatı işi kapsamında sahile yapılacak dalga kıran ve sahil dolgusu için 2.433.865,29 ton dolgu taşı taşıma işinde çalışacak ve Gebze taşocaklarından getirilecek dolgu taşı taşıyacak 62 adet ağır tonajlı araca Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğünden Güzergâh Kullanım İzin Belgesi almak kaydı ile işin bitim süresi olan 12.04.2013 tarihine kadar 24 saat trafikte seyir etmelerine karar verilmiştir.</p>				
<p>Başkan Adem BAŞTÜRK Genel Sekreter</p>	<p>Üye Muzaffer HACIMUSTAFAOĞLU Genel Sekreter Yard.</p>	<p>Üye Dursun GARCIOĞLU Ulaşım Daire Başkanı</p>	<p>Üye Mehmet ŞENGÜN İst.Emn.Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Ersin AKÇA MSB İst. İnş. Em. Bdl. Bşk.Tem.</p>
<p>Üye C. Mahmut SÖLAK 1. Jan. Kom. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye H. Avni CINDIK Sahil Güv. Kom. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Ali KARABİSLAN 1. Hu. K. Müş.</p>	<p>Üye Abdurrahman UĞAK 1. Bölge Müd. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Nurdan APAYDIN TCK Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p>Üye Mustafa AKMAN Denizcilik Müs. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Levent ÜNÜVAR DHM Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Mehmet Rahmi GÜL TCDD 1. Bölge. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Yeli ATILGAN Uş. Düz. Hbr. Bakanlığı 1. Bölge Müdürlüğü</p>	<p>Üye M. Ziya ERDEM DLH Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p>Üye Mümin KARVEÇİ İETT Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Süleyman GENÇ İst. Şehir Hatları Tur. A. Ş.</p>	<p>Üye Abdullah ÖZCANLI İst. Ulaş. A. Ş. Gn. Mdl.</p>	<p>Üye Adil KARAIŞMAILOĞLU Ulaşım Koord. Md.</p>	<p>Üye Mustafa EROL Top. Ulaş. Hiz. Md.</p>


Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>

Figure A.8: Maltepe Infill Material Flows, Decision No. 2013/1-26.S

	<b>T.C</b> <b>İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI</b> <b>ULAŞIM KOORDİNASYON MERKEZİ KARARI</b>		<b>UKOME KARARI</b>	
			<b>TARİH</b>	31.01.2013
			<b>SAYI</b>	2013/1-26.S
UKOME, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Genel Sekreteri Sn. Adem BAŞTÜRK Başkanlığında 31.01.2013 gün ve saat 15.00'da gündemindeki konuları görüşmek üzere toplandı.				
<b>İLGİ:</b> a) Fen İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü'nün 21.01.2013 tarih ve 1253819 sayılı yazısı. b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü'nün 25.01.2013 tarih ve 266 sayılı yazısı eki raporu.				
<b>TEKLİF:</b> Ağır Tonajlı araçlar "Fen İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü'nün Maltepe Sahil Yolu İnşaatı İşi kapsamında 13.09.2012 tarih ve 2012/8-10.I sayılı UKOME kararı ile 24 saat trafikte seyir etmesine izin verilen 415 araç sayısının 800 adet" e çıkarılması teklifi"				
<b>TOPLU ULAŞIM HİZMETLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ RAPORU:</b> İlgi (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporunda; "İlgi yazı ile Fen İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü'nün Maltepe Sahil Yolu İnşaatı İşi kapsamında 13.09.2012 tarih ve 2012/8-10.I sayılı UKOME kararı ile 6.000.000 m3 nitelikli toprak, 1.800.000 m3 üst örtü toprağının 31.05.2013 tarihine kadar taşınarak bitirilmesi amacı ile 415 adet hafriyat kamyonuna aşağıda belirtilen güzergahta 24 saat çalışma izni verilmiş bu izinler verilirken araçların günlük ortalama 5 sefer yapacağı hesaplanmış (415*5*25 = 52.000 ton) ancak trafik yoğunluğu, gerekli nitelikli malzemenin her zaman olmaması nedeni ile projenin zamanında bitirilebilmesi için araç sayısının 800 e çıkarılması talep edilmektedir."				
Yukarıda belirtilen konunun UKOME'de görüşülerek karara bağlanması teklif edilmektedir.				
<b>UKOME'NİN KARARI:</b> Fen İşleri Daire Başkanlığı Yapı İşleri Müdürlüğü'nün Maltepe Sahil Yolu İnşaatı İşi kapsamında 13.09.2012 tarih ve 2012/8-10.I sayılı UKOME kararı ile 6.000.000 m3 nitelikli toprak, 1.800.000 m3 üst örtü toprağının 31.05.2013 tarihine kadar taşınarak bitirilmesi amacı ile 415 adet hafriyat kamyonuna aşağıda belirtilen güzergahta 24 saat çalışma izni verilmiş bu izinler verilirken araçların günlük ortalama 5 sefer yapacağı hesaplanmış (415*5*25 = 52.000 ton) ancak trafik yoğunluğu, gerekli nitelikli malzemenin her zaman olmaması nedeni ile bu doğrultuda kalan 5.200.000 m3 (10.400.000 ton) dolgu imalatının zamanında bitirilebilmesi için 13.09.2012 tarih ve 2012/8-10.I sayılı UKOME kararı güzergahına TEM ve Bağlantı Yolları eklenerek 385 adet hafriyat kamyonuna 13.09.2012 tarih ve 2012/8-10.I sayılı UKOME kararında belirtilen şartlara uymak ve aşağıda belirtilen güzergahta 31.05.2013 tarihine kadar Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğünden Güzergah Kullanım İzin Belgesi almak kaydı 24 saat trafikte çıkışlarına izin verilmiştir.				
<b>HAFRİYAT MİKTARI :</b> 800 (ARAÇ)*5 (SEFER)*25 (TON) = 100.000 TON GÜNLÜK 100.000*110 (GÜN) = 11.000.000 TON				
<b>GÜZERGAHI :</b> ÜSKÜDAR-ÜMRANIYE-ATAŞEHİR-KADIKÖY-KARTAL-MALTEPE-TEM VE BAĞLANTI YOLLARI-ES-SAHİL YOLU-İDAELTEPE BAĞLANTI YOLU PROJE ALANI				
Başkan Adem BAŞTÜRK Genel Sekreter	Üye Muzaffer HACIÖRSALPAĞLU Genel Sekreter Yrd.	Üye Yakup DEMİRHAN Ulaşım Daire Başkanı	Üye Ali ÖZSOYUN İst.Emn.Mdl. Tem.	Üye Necdet TÜRKMEN MSB İst. İnş. Eml. Böl.
Üye Cahal SOLAK İl Jan.Kom.Tem.	Üye H.Avni CINDIK Sahil Güv.Kom.Tem.	Üye Yaşar PARLAK 1.Hukuk Müş.Tem.	Üye Abdurrahman UCAK Fen İşleri Daire Başkanı	Üye Burdan APAYDIN TCK Gen Mdl.Tem.
Üye H.Gani AYŞÜN Ulaşım Hizmetleri Başkanlığı İst. Liman Bölgesi Tem.	Üye Levant UNÜVAR DHMİ Gen.Mdl.Tem.	Üye M. Rahmi GÜL TCDD 1.Bölge.Mdl.Tem.	Üye Veli ATILGAN Ulaşım Daire Başkanlığı 1.Bölge Müdürlüğü	Üye Şirvan KARAYARAK DLH Gen. Mdl.Tem.
Üye Mümin KAHVECİ İETT Gen.Mdl.Tem.	Üye Süleyman GENÇ İst.Şehir Hatları Tur. A.Ş.	Üye Ali İhsan UYGUN İst.Ulaşım A.Ş. Sn.Mdl.	Üye Adil KARAIŞMAILOĞLU Ulaşım Koordinatörü	Üye Mustafa EROL Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Md.
Üye Cem SERT İstanbul Söforler Esnaf Odası Tem.				


Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>

Figure A.9: Ataşehir Finance Center Material Flows, Decision No. 2013/6-10.O

	T.C		<b>UKOME KARARI</b>	
	<b>İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI</b>		<b>TARİH</b>	27.08.2013
	<b>ULAŞIM KOORDİNASYON MERKEZİ KARARI</b>		<b>SAYI</b>	2013/6-10.O
<p><b>UKOME, İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanlığı Genel Sekreter V. Sn. Hüseyin EREN Başkanlığında 27/08/2013 gün ve saat 15.00'da gündemindeki konuları görüşmek üzere toplandı.</b></p> <p><b>İLGİ:</b> a) Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının 10.07.2013 tarih ve 10431 sayılı yazısı. b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğünün 27.08.2013 tarih ve 2533 sayılı yazısı.</p> <p><b>TEKLİF:</b> Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı TOKİ Emlak Konut Yatırım Ortaklığının Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı ve kararname ile Çevre Şehircilik Bakanlığı tarafından Özel Proje Alanı ilan edilen İstanbul Ataşehir'de 350.000 m2 alanda yapımı devam eden Uluslararası Finans Merkezi inşaatı işi kapsamında 8.500.000 m3 hafriyatın Anadolu Yakasında bulunan Tuzla/Akfiyat ve Şile'de yeni açılan döküm sahasına taşınması işi kapsamında ilgili yazı ekinde plakaları belirtilen 250 kamyonu 31.12.2013 tarihine kadar 24 saat trafikte seyir izni verilmesi</p> <p><b>TOPLU ULAŞIM HİZMETLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ RAPORU:</b></p> <p>İlgi (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporunda; "İlgi (a) yazı ile Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı TOKİ Emlak Konut Yatırım Ortaklığının Bakanlar Kurulu Kararı ve kararname ile Çevre Şehircilik Bakanlığı tarafından Özel Proje Alanı ilan edilen İstanbul Ataşehirde 350.000 m2 alanda yapımı devam eden Uluslararası Finans Merkezi inşaatı işi kapsamında 8.500.000 m3 hafriyatın kalan 6.000.000 m3'nün işin aciliyeti ve süresinde bitirilebilmesi için Anadolu Yakasında bulunan Tuzla/Akfiyat ve Şile'de yeni açılan döküm sahasına taşınması işi kapsamında ekte plakaları belirtilen 300 kamyonu Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğünden güzergâh kullanım izin belgesi almak kaydıyla 31.12.2013 tarihine kadar aşağıda belirtilen güzergâhta 24 saat trafikte seyir izni verilmesi talep edilmektedir." Konunun UKOME' de görüşülmesi teklif edilmektedir.</p> <p><b>ATAŞEHİR TUZLA DÖKÜM GÜZERGAHI</b> -ATAŞEHİR-TEM ÇAMLICA BAĞLANTI YOLU-E-5-TEM KURTKÖY ÇIKIŞI-KURTKÖY-TUZLA AKFIRAT BAĞLANTI YOLU DÖKÜM ALANI</p> <p><b>ATAŞEHİR-ÖMERLİ DÖKÜM GÜZERGAHI</b> -ATAŞEHİR-TEM ÇAMLICA BAĞLANTI YOLU-ÖMRANİYE ŞİLE YOLU-KÖMÜRÇÜ ODA YANI ÖMERLİ DÖKÜM SAHASI/ŞİLE DÖKÜM /SABİHA GÖKÇEN HAVALİMANI</p> <p><b>UKOME'NİN KARARI:</b> İlgi (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporu doğrultusunda 10.00-16.00 / 20.00 – 06.00 saatleri arasında trafikte seyir etmesine karar verilmiştir.</p>				
<p>Başkan Hüseyin EREN Genel Sekreter ... / ... / 2013</p>	<p>Üye Muzaffer HACIMUSTAFAOĞLU Genel Sekreter Yard.</p>	<p>Üye Yakup DEMİRHAN İlçe Başkanı</p>	<p>Üye Ali ÖZÇAYIR İst.Eml.Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Ersin AKÇA MSB İst. İnş. Eml. Böl. Bşk. Tem.</p>
<p>Üye Mehmet ÖZÇELİK Fen İşl. Dal. Bşk.</p>	<p>Üye Erçin BAYRAM Karayolları 1. Bölge Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye H. Avni CINDIK Sahil Güvenlik Kom. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Ali KARAAŞLAN 1. Hukuk Müş.</p>	<p>Üye M. Rahmi GÜL TCDD 1. Bölge Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p>Üye Süleyman GENÇ İst. Şehir Halkın Tur. A.Ş.</p>	<p>Üye Veli ATILGAN Ulaştırma Bakanlığı 1. Bölge Müdürlüğü</p>	<p>Üye Sırac KARAYAGIZ DLH Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Levent ÜNÜVAR DHMİ Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Cem SERT Türkiye Sotörler ve Otomobilciler Federasyonu</p>
<p>Üye Ali İhsan UYGUN İst. Ulaş. A.Ş. Gn. Mdl.</p>	<p>Üye Ali KARASMAİLOĞLU Ulaşım Koordinat. Md.</p>	<p>Üye Mehmet EROL Toplu Ulaş. Hiz. Müd. Tem.</p>		

Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>

Figure A.10: Ataşehir Finance Center Material Flows, Decision No. 2013/4-14.O

	T.C		<b>UKOME KARARI</b>	
	<b>İSTANBUL BÜYÜKŞEHİR BELEDİYE BAŞKANLIĞI</b>		<b>TARİH</b>	21.05.2013
	<b>ULAŞIM KOORDİNASYON MERKEZİ KARARI</b>		<b>SAYI</b>	2013/4-14.O
<p>UKOME, İstanbul Büyük Şehir Belediye Başkanlığı Genel Sekreteri Sn. Adem BAŞTÜRK Başkanlığında 21.05.2013 gün ve saat 15.00'da gündemindeki konuları görüşmek üzere toplandı.</p> <p><b>İLGİ:</b> a) Ergü İnşaat Mad.ve Gıda San.Tic.Ltd.Şti'nin 16.05.2013 tarih ve bila sayılı yazısı. b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğünün 21.05.2013 Tarih ve 1544 Sayılı yazısı.</p> <p><b>TEKLİF:</b> Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı İstanbul Uluslararası Finans Merkezi İnşaatı Hafriyat Kamyonları (250 Adet) Ömerli-Tuzla Döküm Sahası 24 Saat Çalışma İzni Verilmesi Teklifi</p> <p><b>TOPLU ULAŞIM HİZMETLERİ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ RAPORU:</b></p> <p>İlgi (b) Toplu Ulaşım Hizmetleri Müdürlüğü raporunda; "İlgi yazı ile Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığının Ataşehirde İstanbul Uluslararası Finans Merkezi Projesi kapsamında 350.000 m2 yüzölçümlü sahada 8.500.00 m3 hafriyat bulunduğu iş başlama tarihi olan 01.01.2013 tarihi itibarı ile hafriyata başlanmış ve Maltepe sahil düzenleme inşaatı kapsamında dolgu inşaatına 11 kilometre mesafede 140 araç ile günlük 1500 sefer-14.000 m3 ve aylık ortalama 400.000 m3 şu ana kadarda toplam 1.800.000 m3 hafriyat Maltepe döküm sahasına valilikten gece çalışma izninde alınarak 24 saat çalışılarak döküldüğü belirtilmiştir. Maltepe Sahil Düzenleme projesi Hafriyat Döküm işi 31.05.2013 tarihi itibarı ile faaliyetini bitireceğinden projede kalan 6.700.00 m3 hafriyatın sözleşme sonu olan 31.12.2013 tarihine kadar bitirilmesi ve Tuzla Akfırat Döküm alanı (36 km), Şile Ömerli Döküm alanı (40 km) olması, ayrıca döküm alanlarında sıra olması nedenlerinden dolayı günlük 250 araca ihtiyaç olduğu belirtilerek Maltepe döküm alanına alınan izinlerin 31.05.2013 tarihinden itibaren 31.12.2013 tarihine kadar uzatılması talep edilmektedir." Konunun UKOME' de görüşülmesi teklif edilmektedir.</p> <p><b>GÜZERGAH</b> <b>ATAŞEHİR TUZLA DÖKÜM</b> -ATAŞEHİR-TEM ÇAMLICA BAĞLANTI YOLU-E-5-TEM KURTKÖY ÇIKIŞI-KURTKÖY-TUZLA AKFIRAT BAĞLANTI YOLU DÖKÜM ALANI <b>ATAŞEHİR-ÖMERLİ DÖKÜM</b> -ATAŞEHİR-TEM ÇAMLICA BAĞLANTI YOLU-ÜMRANIYE ŞİLE YOLU-ÖMERLİ DÖKÜM SAHASI</p> <p><b>UKOME'NİN KARARI:</b> Teklifin reddine karar verilmiştir.</p>				
<p>Başkan Adem BAŞTÜRK Genel Sekreter .../.../2013</p>	<p>Üye Muzaffer HACİMUSTAFAOĞLU Genel Sekreter Yrd.</p>	<p>Üye Yakup DEMİRHAN Ulaşım Daire Başkanı</p>	<p>Üye Ali ZEKİ YILMAZ İst. Emn. Md. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Ersin AKÇA MSB İst. İnş. Em. B61. Bşk.Tem.</p>
<p>Üye Fatih GÜNEŞ İl Jan. Kom. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye H.Avni CINDIK Sahil Gv. Kom. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Mustafa KARAKAŞ 1.Hukuk Md. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Mehmet ÖZÇELİK Fen İşl.Dai.Bşk.</p>	<p>Üye Nurdan APAYDIN TCK Gen Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p>Üye H. Gani AYGÜN Üst. Dnz. Hbr. Bakanlık İst. Dman. Bşk. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Levent ÜNÜVAR DHMİ Gen. Mdl. Tem. (KATILMADI)</p>	<p>Üye İsmail ÖZDEMİR TCDD 1.Bölge. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Veli ATILGAN Üst.Dnz.Hbr.Bakanlık 1.Bölge Müdürlüğü Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Süleyman KAHVECİ DLH Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>
<p>Üye Mumin KAHVECİ İETT Gen. Mdl. Tem.</p>	<p>Üye Süleyman GENÇ İst. Şehir Hatları Tur. A.Ş.</p>	<p>Üye Abdullah ÖZCANLI İst.Ulş. A.Ş.Gn.Mdl.</p>	<p>Üye Adil KARAIMAİLOĞLU Ulaşım Koordin. Md.</p>	<p>Üye Mustafa BROL Top. Ulş. Hız. Md.</p>
<p>Üye Cem SERT İstanbul Şoförler Esnaf Odası Tem.</p>				

Source: UKOME Decision Query System at <https://ulasim.ibb.istanbul/kararlar/>