

**Chemical Castration of Rape Convicts and Pedophiles:
Biopolitical Reading of Fear, Abject/Criminalized
Masculinites in a Neoliberal Society**

by

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Abstract

In February 2011, a draft law proposed by some of the women parliament members of the ruling party in Turkey, the Justice and Development Party, envisaged the application of a medical treatment so as to eliminate the sexual motivation and capacity of rape offenders to prevent the reoccurrence of rape and pedophilia in the society. According to the legislative proposal, the procedure applied to offenders is perceived as a method to reduce the testosterone level that is thought to cause violence and inappropriate sexual energy. While the parliament members who proposed the draft law considered the proposal as the most radical solution to sex offenses, various reactions from feminists, NGOs and the general public have emerged with one common point: they all agree on the prevalence of sex crimes in society as a problem. The basis for this thesis was founded on the legislative proposal in question that will soon be put into motion, after three years of discussions and no major changes on the initial proposal. The aim of this thesis is to understand how various medical and legal discourses meet around various ethical concerns in the form of a legislative proposal. While chemical castration is proposed as a solution against sex crimes, the indirect relationship among male sexuality, crime and fear of crime comes to light. Approaching chemical castration as a “cure” and a “radical solution” is an attempt at both evaluating it within modern and humanitarian values, and presenting it as an absolute solution. From this point-of-view, the application of chemical castration should be perceived as a part of a new kind of penology that reflects the neoliberal governmentality and the governmental policies of neo-conservative states. It can be seen that the act of governing, produced by power within the political economy of the late modernity and advanced capitalism orients to conform the moral concerns and the fear of crime in the society. Amidst this political economy, chemical castration presents itself as conforming social fear and moral concerns within a governmentality, in which medical and legal intertwines. Permeating all aspects of life, power re-shapes itself within the life itself, through its

own techniques. Throughout this thesis, the ways the biopolitical governmentality grasps male sexuality from molecular gaze and makes the sexuality a part of its own control strategies within the political economy will be presented.

Key Words: Chemical Castration, Fear, Biopolitics, Molecular Gaze, Abject/Criminalized Masculinities, Neoliberal Governmentality, Neoconservative Policies, Societies of Control.

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Introduction

In February 2011, some female parliament members of the Justice and Development Party, (the ruling party in Turkey since 2002; hereafter AKP) proposed a draft law which was about the chemical castration of rape convicts and pedophiles. The draft includes a medical intervention in the form of a pill that would reduce the testosterone levels of those convicted of rape and pedophilias in order to prevent sexual arousal and thus avoid any possible repetition of sexual violence. The assumption behind the draft law was that male hormone, testosterone, may generate male aggression, violent behavior and sexually offensive traits.¹ Since the very beginning, the proposed draft law attracted a lot of public reactions and triggered a lot of debates over moral, juridical and medical issues not only in the parliament but also in the everyday sphere. While the governmental party proposing the bill claimed it was the most humanitarian and modern but absolute solution to prevent rape, other opposing voices argued that chemical castration was an unfair or anti-humanitarian intervention against bodily integrity and human rights.

The introduction of such a draft law in the parliament attracted varied critiques and approaches from feminist organizations and civil society organizations. While some civil society organizations supported the draft as a solution for rape, others argued it was as uncivilized and fascist intervention similar to the eugenic projects of the Nazi period in Germany. Feminist considerations pointed out that the bill covered up social and cultural aspects of violence against women and reduced an act of violence to the sexuality of the perpetrator. For feminists, the real motivation behind rape lies in

¹ “‘Hadım’ Yasası... [Draft Law on Castration],” April 4, 2011, <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25199274/>.

the cultural and political structures of patriarchy, male dominance and the subordination of women.²

In the light of this very brief introduction, this thesis engages with some challenging questions such as how is it possible to constellate a wide spectrum of terms (or labels) such as ‘testosterone’, ‘aggression’, ‘chemical’, ‘rapist’, ‘sexual violence’, ‘humanitarian’, ‘modern solution’, and ‘prevention’ under the larger concept of castration as explicated in the draft? Where do medical and juridical discourses merge and where are/do they separate with regards to the treatment and/or the punishment of the convicts? How does a draft law which deems castration a solution for sexual violence provide a feeling of security in society? And how is this draft law legitimized through moral and political discourses articulated by the MPs of the AKP? Furthermore, how is the connection between sexuality and violence created? The answers to these questions generate the basic lines of inquiry that this thesis aims at elaborating. In answering these questions, the thesis further attempts to re-consider the scope of the concept of ‘castration’ and its moral, socio-cultural and political implications in neo-liberal Turkey, the official state ideology of which is based on neo-conservative tenets. It should be noted at this point that the application, feasibility and (in)effectiveness of chemical castration for preventing sexual violence in Turkish society is not a point that this thesis puts under scrutiny. Therefore, instead of providing an extensive field work on the perception and appropriation of the chemical castration in the eyes of the people belonging to various segments of society, this thesis engages with the theoretical and abstract notions of ‘castration’ and how it gains further moral and social dimensions in a neo-liberal society.

² Ebru Tönel, “Tecavüzcüyü Hadım Etmek Tecavüzü Engeller Mi?,” 2011, <http://bianet.org/bianet/kadin/127810-tecavuzcuyu-hadim-etmek-tecavuzu-engeller-mi>,.

The mainstream assumptions of the current literature revolve around a myriad of examples involving chemical castration of rape convicts in terms of legal or medical practices.³ Instead, this thesis appropriates the concept of castration as a mode of ‘gaze’, which in turn helps us re-define the concept as a cluster or configuration of terms, meanings, tendencies, approaches and feelings that appear together at the same time and the same place. In my quest to re-define this concept, I benefit from two books by Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language* and *The Order of Things*, which provide a methodological approach for the readers to gain an insight into how and why certain kind of words and things come together and produce a category, *episteme* and meaning within a concept and discourse.⁴ These two books also interrogate how ‘the power’ operates through specific techniques which come together and produce knowledge and discourses. These techniques intervene and invest in life in the form of biopolitics, which I will further argue on the first chapter of this thesis. I adopt the sort of structural analysis, which Foucault calls archeological methodology and makes use of in his *Birth of the Clinic* and *Discipline and Punish*, as the most fundamental methodological tool that I utilize in this thesis. I believe that one benefit of applying this model is about its heuristic value for understanding ‘the gaze’ as an operating power and its orientations through biopolitical techniques that invest in life itself. By ‘gaze’, I mean this a cluster of techniques and operation of the power formations that produce knowledge, definition and categories in order to capture life.

This thesis further suggests that a juxtaposition of Foucault’s definition of the terms cited above with Deleuze’s conceptualization of “assemblage” is helpful in understanding the scope of the meaning of “fear” as explicated in the second chapter of this thesis. To be more precise, Deleuze

³ See for example: Richard Wright, ed., *Sex Offender Laws: Failed Policies, New Directions* (Springer Publishing Company, 2009).

⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971).

defines assemblage as “the random collection of things, [...] a process of arranging, organizing and fitting together.”⁵ I aim to blend the discursive frameworks adopted by Foucault and Deleuze to show that “fear” is indeed a form of “assemblage” of terms, perceptions and attitudes as to the bodies of abject/criminalized masculinities. In this light, ‘fear’ is a vital and attractive or aggregator force to constitute assemblage through material or immaterial things within relations of everyday life. According to Deleuze, while ‘affect’ is an indeterminate and excessive force, ‘power’ is a form that aims at trying to follow or grasp the assemblages so as to control, capture or delimit this force. In this scheme, power formation is secondary to assemblage. It is these definitions of ‘power’ and ‘affect’ that this thesis makes use of while contextualizing power as the formation of a gaze, which tries to capture fear assemblages through biopolitical techniques shaped by the political economy of the age.

The first chapter tries to understand how different formations of power manage to capture life. The chapter, following Foucault’s definition of Panopticon gaze in the discipline society, focuses on molecular gaze within the Deleuze concept of societies of control.⁶ Here there is a change in formation of power as a response to a change in technology, economy, and politics after the mid-20th century.⁷ While the former provides a power formation that disciplines bodies to produce docile subjects in aggregated population, the latter provides a power formation that sieges the life through risk management, preventative and control strategies. Gaze is a constellation of techniques and operation of the power formations that produce knowledge, definition and categories in order to capture and control life. Gaze operationalizes through biopolitical dispositives, which are techniques of power oriented to political economy of the age. The political economy provides a

⁵ J. Macgregor Wise, “Assemblage,” in *Gilles Deleuze: Key Concepts*, ed. Charles J Stivale (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005), 77–78.

⁶ Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, “Biopower Today,” *Biosocieties* 1, no. 2 (2006): 195–217.

⁷ Gilles Deleuze, “Postscript on the Societies of Control,” *October* 59 (January 1, 1992): 3–7.

ground for a state of exception that determine the legal or political arena. As Carl Schmidt argues, state of exception determines the state of emergency like in the condition of war, and sets the borders of political and legal rights.⁸ Furthermore, state of exception provides with legitimacy for sovereign power to make use of violence over enemy, and expatriate and isolate the body of enemy for security. However, following arguments of Negri and Hardt, in the age of globalism there are no borders anymore, potential enemy is everywhere and permanent.⁹ Thus, security techniques of nation state are altered within the concerns of global networks of power. In addition, Esposito argues immunological logic of the state of exception in the face of enemy inside. Rabinow, Rose, Braidotti conceptualize a sort of molecular gaze as a new biopolitical technique which operates through state of exception and in which the possible enemy is inside, partial and everywhere in the body; hence, it is not possible to get rid of it totally but control and detect it all the time.¹⁰

The second chapter tries to figure out political ‘affect’ of fear as form of state of exception in global network of power relations. The chapter aims to trace fear affect and its meanings and functions, both politically and socially. In relation to the notion of assemblage, the chapter tries to show how fear assemblage is constituted through the production of the other; assemblage assigns a cluster of bodies who cannot be assimilated in society. Furthermore, assemblage of fear as a territory of bodies of other provides a zone outside the constitution of “self”, “identity” and “communities”. It does that through a morale as a collective, solidifying and assembling meaning for societies and it sets boundaries that are apparent in the communitarian logic of neoliberal societies. Lastly, considering these arguments, assemblage of fear is thought of, together with neoconservative and

⁸ Alexandru Racu, “The Friend/Enemy Distinction and Its Ethical Implications: A Critical Analysis of Carl Schmitt’s Political Thought,” *Gnosis* 10, no. 3 (May 9, 2011), <https://artsciweb.concordia.ca/ojs/index.php/gnosis/article/view/86>.

⁹ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ Rabinow and Rose, “Biopower Today”; Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory: The Portable* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011).

neoliberal governmentality strategies, as a state of exception that functions as a tool of legitimacy for violence and regulation of life by a sovereign power.

The third chapter takes castration as technological or medical gaze which operates through male bodies throughout history. In order to show the multiple operational meaning of castration, the chapter presents a historical and cultural perception of castration both in classical or pre-modern examples such as the Ottoman and Byzantine societies and in modern societies where it was practiced in the form of colonial state and eugenic policies. Here, I am trying to display a shift from the locus of reproduction to the locus of sexual desire in consideration of castration. The chapter argues that chemical castration as contemporary technique serves as a molecular gaze over male body and demarcates biological-moral boundaries of the “normal” and “appropriate” male subject in public. Hence, those outside of the boundaries are positioned as *abject/criminalized* bodies in public space. In terms of molecular gaze in ‘societies of control’ as defined by Deleuze, however, a/the state of exception does not work through casting out these individual bodies as enemies whose sexualities, instead, are deemed dangerous and required to be controlled.

The fourth chapter aims at seeing whether these theoretical arguments about the concept of castration fit into the recent developments in the neoliberal society in Turkey and the neo-conservative policies of the government. This chapter does not aim to fully analyze the neoliberal society of Turkey through the concept of chemical castration, but rather tries to provide a coherent story proving the neoliberal features of Turkish society with a specific reference to the effects of new form of patriarchy and masculinity crisis in its contemporary meaning in global economy and culture on Turkish society. Lastly, this chapter tries to show how the molecular gaze and control strategies work in neoliberal Turkey within neo-conservative policies of the ruling party, AKP.

Chapter 1- The Issue of Biopolitics

Principles of Biopolitics

In *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Michel Foucault (1976) put forward the term “biopolitics” to understand how modern governments manage to govern society and order the relations between subjects and the state through body and population politics.¹¹ According to Foucault, the birth of biopolitics seems related to “the emergence of liberal forms of government”. The ideology of liberalism pertains to a specific art of governing rather than just an economic or political theory. Liberalism puts forward rationality of government which is quite different from the medieval system of sovereignty and from primary versions of modern states which based on a regime of absolutism .¹² Hereafter, liberalism and its novel *way/art* of governing demonstrate a significant rupture in the history of political thought. Along with the political [and?] economic conditions of the 18th century, self-regulation of the market emerged, and it is arranged through an invisible hand by nature. Then, that new duties of governments respecting the nature of political economy protect the nature of the system by means of their own security technologies. These duties produce empirical norms, which adapt [?] to the nature of the market, instead of prescriptive and static laws. These norms regulate, differentiate and classify – not a restrictive or suppressive way, but a more productive way. There are no absolute borders or pre-defined values or norms. but there are calculations, measures and statistical dispersions of events contingent on occasions.

Accordingly, Foucault put forward a definition of power, which is productive and dynamic. It produces knowledge, meaning and factual norms and discourses over life itself. Life is included in

¹¹ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979*, Lectures at the Collège de France (Picador, 2010).

¹² Thomas Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 45.

a/the power mechanism which becomes biopolitics. Hence, power also produces subjectivities whereby a constant *gaze* or *surveillance*. In his books, *History of Sexuality*, *The Birth of the Clinic*, and *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault overemphasizes the concept of gaze in a dynamic function of power mechanism.¹³ Accordingly, gaze does not come from above but comes through self-regulation and inter-subjective relations. Gaze both produces knowledge and grasps it in an order and constellation of things. Gaze here becomes the main biopolitical technique of power. According to Lemke, Foucault's consideration of biopolitics "characterizes a particular and dynamic constellation that characterizes liberal governments."¹⁴ For example, the notions of freedom, self-management, and free citizenship within liberal governments are produced in relation to arts of government which are always already biopolitics.

According to Foucault, biopolitics is not a trans-historical and representational concept but it is embedded in history and requires genealogical analysis. Hence, biopolitics itself produces norms and values which are specific in history and contingent on technology of government. That ascribes a constellation which is constituted by political economic conditions of time and varied (very) possibilities of technology and science.

Considering 21st century capitalism, biopolitics needs to be evaluated differently from the *discipline society* and *obedient subject formation*. Rather, biopolitics in the 21st century, seems to work over fragmented subjectivities, and it is embedded in all activities of everyday life, which range from fashion to health, from security to parenting practices.¹⁵

¹³ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic*, Routledge Classics (Taylor & Francis, 2002), <http://books.google.hu/books?id=akbPmInlYTIC>; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Peregrine Books (Vintage Books, 1977), <http://books.google.hu/books?id=AVzuf-r22eoC>.

¹⁴ Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*, 48.

¹⁵ Engin Sustam, "Foucault'da İktidarın Jeneolojisi: Biyopolitiğin Doğuşu ve Yönetimsellik," *Teorik Bakış*, no. 3 (January 3, 2014): 222.

State of Exception and Dispositives of Power

Unlike Foucault, Agamben argues that biopolitics is not only an apparatus of the modern specimens forms of power, but rather immanent to all kinds of sovereign power forms of either a classical or liberal governments throughout history.¹⁶ Hence, according to Agamben, biopolitics is a phenomenon not only apparent in the liberal democracies of modern societies but also in ancient sovereign regimes. In order to explain his argument, Agamben reinterprets the ancient term of *homo sacer* in order to uncover the primordial relation between society, sovereignty and the sacred. *Homo sacer* describes a trans-historical concept *state of exception*. Here, state of exception is an instrumental production that has a border status at the margins of the sovereign power. Sovereign power regulates and produces but also suspends governing bodies through the law and juridical act. According to Agamben, the status of sovereign power and its perpetuity depends on maintenance of the sacred; the state of exception. A state of exception, however, is determined and deciphered through juridico-discourse of institutional apparatuses of sovereign power through its institutional apparatuses, sovereign power - as an expert - diagnoses risk predictors and recognizes potential dangers in society. These provide a warrant to sovereign power in order to control, regulate, police and punish its subjects through crime approach. A monopoly on violence and extreme regulation, thus, falls under the force of sovereign power by promising security. Agamben's legal and political theory provides an anthropological view on/toward power and its working principles in society. 'State of exception' is a key term in our understanding of the delicate demarcation between the political subject and the juridical object of the state. A state of exception bereaves political existence of human and reduce his or her body to a bare life which is contained

¹⁶ Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998).

within a bodily existence. The body becomes a single object of sovereign power through its apparatus and also the main instrument of the power. Through the disposition of *bare life*, political potential and the existence of human is abstracted and declined. Agamben's analysis tentatively aims at eroding the borders between totalitarian regimes or absolute state power and liberal democratic societies of modern states. In terms of bare life, both function in the same way; these are ruling over bare life due to apparatus of state such as law and juridical act. Hence, biopolitics is just a technique of power, which, functions the same in both totalitarian regimes and liberal democratic societies.¹⁷ The bare life is produced in modern spaces as an object of ruling power. However, the line of demarcation between political existence and bare life is going through every human life and dwell in every single biological body of every living being.¹⁸

Lemke considers Agamben's notion of biopolitics with some obstacles. Firstly, he considers that Agamben is fixed on an absolute division between bare life (i.e. Zoe) and the political existence of the human (i.e., Bios) ; from this, all power activities seem to be oriented toward reducing the human condition and its political existence to a bare life which is governable. However, according to Lemke, political existence and its acts are established in between. The power is not only that a sovereign rule over death or life, but it is the fact that produces values, meanings, and also, differences of individuals and populations. Thus, biopolitics is not an aggregative or homogenizing technique of power, but it produces differences and ascribes meanings and values for all bodies of differences.¹⁹ Secondly, the separation of bare life from the political existence of humans ends up

¹⁷ Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*, 53–65.

¹⁸ Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, 140.

¹⁹ Didier Fassin, "Another Politics of Life Is Possible," *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 5 (September 1, 2009): 50. Didier Fassin imposes an understanding of biopolitics within moral economy. He mainly points out the productive force of life itself as indicator of meaning and values. According to Fassin, the power is no force which is imposed upon a life, but rather the power is the life itself which is power of life such. He also criticizes the Foucauldian notion of "games of politics as arts of governing" by replacing "practices of government." Hence, for Fassin, biopolitics means something more than just power over life through techniques of domination; rather it is more biollegitimacy, which implies and endows power and meaning of life. Biollegitimacy concerns bio-ethical issues of

underestimating or overlooking the multiple and polyvalent meanings of bodily existence within the concept of politics and its potentials. The view grounds Agamben's understanding of biopolitics as mainly oriented to thanatopolitics, which regards bare life more as a dead (inactive) body and outside of political existence and production of subjectivity considering social exclusion, political deprivation and isolation. The understanding does not only disregard productive and vital forces of biopolitics, but rather fixates every biological body in a passive and object position in the face of ruling power.²⁰ Contrary to that, for instance, Giddens expands the notion of biopolitics in terms of "life politics" by including sovereign subject who is supposed to act in a more individually autonomous and responsible way.²¹ In terms of life politics, subjects are expected to make decisions, take risk as moral persons. Life politics of Giddens could also be considered in parallel with Foucault's inference on the art of government; subjects are directed or oriented to behave or act in terms of rationale or morale of liberal art of government.²² According to Agamben, however, individuals seem to be directly subjected to apparatus and techniques of power mechanism that regulates, represses suspends and restricts.²³

In light of Agamben's understanding of biopolitics, the juridical apparatus of power produces *bare life* that confined in state of exception. In his book *Che cos'è un Dispositivo? (What is an*

life and differential power relations over life itself. Biolegitimacy, therefore, surpasses the politics of population by placing more emphasis on the meaning and experience of life itself. Biolegitimacy turns into moral anthropology that pertains to all kinds of inequalities, asymmetrical relations in everyday life. It is also not merely about normalizing or ordering lives but it determines "the sort of life people may live or may not live" (Ibid., 49.). Fassin argues the Foucauldian understanding of biopolitics in terms of the concepts of arts of governing and ways of rationale. However, according to Fassin; these concepts are mainly focusing on the process of homogenization of lives as a general category. Hence, differentiation in lives or in the very kind of inequalities in everyday life stands outside of the scope of Foucault's biopower/biopolitics. Therefore, while Foucault underscores the function of biopower as method or technique of governing, he fails to explain the difference or variance in qualities of people's lives under the notion of either biopower or biopolitics.

²⁰ Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*, 60.

²¹ Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Stanford University Press, 1991), 209–31.

²² Lemke, *Biopolitics: An Advanced Introduction*, 61.

²³ Ibid., 9.

Apparatus?), Agamben reconsiders the term “apparatus” in a broader sense in terms of ordering, managing or assembling a dispositive which is under the service of power.²⁴ Agamben takes into consideration the dispositive within the loaded theological term of *oikonomia*²⁵ which comes through the theological lexicon of Christianity. In terms of *oikonomia*, all kinds of governing activities include an economic regulation and intervention by penetrating the process of subjectification. According to Agamben, maintenance of the order and prevention of the instability or disorder and the resistance which will be appear in future, are the main motivations of the political act and decision of sovereign power. A dispositive under the serve of *oikonomia* preserves the god’s existential power and its law that is transcendental, and abstracted out of everyday life. Through the abstraction of social relations, transcendental meaning of power is maintained and the subject is oriented to the subjection to the transcendental and sublime power. Hence, Agamben renders a dispositive as an oriented instrument of sovereign power in tendency and in the function of repairing and sustaining existence of sovereign power. The dispositive and its function come up with sets of logics and mentalities that are accorded with *oikonomia* of the sovereign power. Technical, military and legal aspects of the dispositive constitute acts of power and put forward a (legal) decision in terms of a state of exception.

However, Foucault uses the term of dispositive as a designation of any configuration or an assemblage of forces, discourses and practices which are strategic and technical all the time.²⁶

²⁴ Giorgio Agamben, *What Is an Apparatus? And Other Essays* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2009).

²⁵ Agamben argues that Foucault notion of governmentality as grounded on the Christian heredity of the *oikonomia* which represents the order of god in world. The term of dispositive is the pure activity of governing and processual production of subjects in terms of an order which names *oikonomia*. Concomitantly, Agamben put forward the term of *oikonomia* as a management or a conduct in a house including everyday life practices and relations. *Oiko* means the house and the word is *oikonomia* implies a conduct or management of this house due to genealogical term of “economy”.

²⁶ Michel Foucault et al., *Security, territory, population: lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan : République Française, 2007); J. Bussolini, “What Is a Dispositive?,” *Foucault Stud. Foucault Studies*, no. 10 (2010): 86.

Accordingly, dispositive is not only an apparatus or a tool which is given to a sovereign power, rather dispositive “has a strategic function” to the immediate need of it, and it is embedded in heterogeneous sets and networks of power relations in everyday life. For a formal and centralized power, dispositive could only be a secondary and reflective response which is in need of a control over unpredictable social reality and future possibilities. Furthermore, Deleuze also revisits the terms of dispositive regarding it is a conceptual and situational tool to think about how power is working. Going through Foucault’s work, *The Order of Things*, Deleuze determines the dispositive act in terms of the assemblage of what we can say or what we can see.²⁷ Instead of looking for any specific genealogy of the tool, he principally focuses on the historically contingent configuration of forces as dispositives. These dispositives sign a particular articulation of visible and utterable things in a specific time and space and provide a meaning within a *machinic assemblage*²⁸ Considering all varied arguments on dispositives, Bussolini makes the distinction between two confusing terms of dispositive and apparatus. According to Bussolini, apparatus is a subset of dispositive, and the apparatus as a tool, is utilized and developed under a certain service of a centralized state power and its agencies. On the other hand, dispositive is already surpassing basic instrumental usage of apparatus within more heterogeneous and dispersed networks of power. Dispositive, according to Bussolini, is the key term to understand how power works through techniques of normalization, control and orientation. While the restricted usage of apparatus assigns a device of centralized and formal mode of power, a dispositive is more than a device, it provides with an architectural arrangement of space and a strategic meaning to power.

²⁷ Foucault, *The Order of Things*; Bussolini, “What Is a Dispositive?”.

²⁸ Wise, “Assemblage,” 80. In his book of *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze refers machinic assemblages as a “system of signs that includes discourses, words and meanings and non-corporeal relations that links signifiers with effects”

Agamben's concept of dispositive replaces the restricted and narrow meaning of apparatus with a more elastic and complex interpretation and reveal heterogeneous elements in power structure. Considering the terms of gaze as an operational form of power, dispositives seems techniques which develop in the gaze, in accordance with political economy of the age. Lemke, for example, critically accentuates novel experiences, which are apprehended in late modern societies, which place more stress on individual responsibilities and emphasize autonomy in individual decision-making. In parallel, with the escalating puissance and empery of the *neoliberal political economy* all over the world, and the ostensible regression of state involvement in social security and health insurance, individual responsibility and the requisition of autonomy has accelerated. Lemke points out the examples of the novel tendencies, such as increasing numbers of active consumers, the new pattern of highly responsible parenting and autonomous patients in treatment, as indicators of neoliberal political economy.²⁹ Accordingly, the state as an actor in politics has been passing through the transformation of deregulation, new liberalization and extreme privatization in terms of a communitarian rationality (the term will be discussed in following chapter with more detail) in late modernity in harmony with global capitalism. Considering these, dispositives would be expected to be accordance with the nascent economic (administrative) concerns of global capitalism, along with a new subjectivity of neoliberalism. Dispositives, here, are embedded within the new orientations and motivations in terms of military, technical and legal aspects of convention of the power. For example, the new juridical apparatus of the state under the new political economy of late modernity and neoliberalism is also anticipated to concern all aspects of individual life in the face of rising individualism and privatization, comparing to previous legal perspective which is shaped around public or population regulation under the tutelage of state regulation. The juridical

²⁹ Thomas Lemke, "A Zone of Indistinction" – A Critique of Giorgio Agamben's Con-cept of Biopolitics," *Outlines. Critical Practice Studies* 7, no. 1 (2005): 9.

act, thus, could not only be equated with collective or public regulations and projects, but the juridical act seemingly reflects private concerns, moral values in society regarding orientation and function as a dispositive.

Biopolitical governmentality thus imposes a dispositive which response to the meanings and values of the new era in accordance with material constellation and recent social relations within a certain political economy. For instance, the legal account of abortion, castration penalty of rape convicts, euthanasia and organ donations already seem to be encapsulated in a matrix of moral economy and apprehended in a resonance and circulation of affect, such as fear, anxiety and panic, which are apparent in neoliberal societies. This thesis will try to interrogate the biopolitics further in terms of moral economy and accumulation of affect in the era of late modernity and advance capitalism which started to rule at late 20th century and have been enhanced in beginning of 21th century.

New paradigm of State of exception

The global level fear on terror, high level of mobility and migration flow, state regression form social services, and a neoliberal governmentality, and uneven development of global economy with decline of nation states autonomy³⁰ and rising demand for cultural identities and individual autonomy³¹ have come out as a new form of biopower in the age of late modernity. In the face of these social changes and desire, the disciplinary system of biopolitics becomes inefficient.³² The new paradigm of biopower brings about a shift in biopolitical techniques of governmentality from a disciplinary system to *society of control*.³³ Negri and Hardt revisit Foucault's understanding of

³⁰ Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire* (Penguin Group (USA) Incorporated, 2004).

³¹ Ali Akay, "Şirket Toplumu-Denetim Toplumu Üzerine," in *Gilles Deleuze'de Toplum ve Denetim*, ed. Barış Başaran (İstanbul: Bağlam, 2005), 133–48.

³² Hardt and Negri, *Empire*, 289.

³³ Deleuze, "Postscript on the Societies of Control."

biopolitics within the contemporary interpretation of Deleuze's critique and, thus, provide a fresh theoretical contribution that places social desire and it is a productive force at the center of social actuality and change. In societies of control, people are no more constructed within confinement institutions of society, such as family, factory or school.³⁴ Accordingly, as Negri and Hardt argues, biopolitics is passing through a reform in the face of new social stratum of globalism and advance capitalism. According to new social stratum, biopolitics needs a new techniques considering global network of power³⁵ in order to response social change and desire. Hence, corresponding to the social change, new biopolitical dispositives do not operate through disciplinary techniques of government (Foucault) and could not be reduced to confinement of living body (Agamben), but rather biopolitics seize or siege the whole life with huge and complex networks of power relations, and produce and reproduce life in turn. Life here is not reduced to a finite bodily existence but life is capacity to affect and to be affected by things and others in world.³⁶ Life is the real force that is productive and dynamic, embedded in social relations, and disperses through multitudes of possibilities. The life as real source allocates the multiple potentials of becoming and existence. Sovereign power tries to capture, control and monitor this flowing affective life (social desire and change) in order to benefit from life and maximize it. That produces a new understanding of power within a grift and heterogeneous structure.

³⁴Ibid. Societies of Control does not mean that these institutions of family, school and factor do not have any effect on the constitution of subject. Deleuze underlines a shift in mode of operation in these institutions such as *corporations* instead of factories. Corporations replaces factories by a new logic of profit maximization. For example, while factories discipline and regulate whole workers in the same manner in order to get maximum benefit, corporations modulates each of workers separately and evaluate their performances respectively, hence, corporations aims at profit maximization though different techniques and manner in accordance with expectation of capitalist system. These expectations make individuals more competitive than before and make training perpetual that may takes all life. Thus, any kind of institution such as; school and family do not sufficient to meet life-long training individual.

³⁵ Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*, 303.

³⁶ Ben Anderson, "Becoming and Being Hopeful: Towards a Theory of Affect," *Environment and Planning D* 24, no. 5 (2006): 733.

The power of life is operating through neither a centralized nor a static system with regular interventions over subjects, but through a more flexible, irregular and decentralized system, which grasps singularities and gathers a *multitude*³⁷ in itself. Hence, formal and centralized forms of sovereign power becomes the secondary, and reactionary to constituent power that holds the multiple potentials and vital productive forces immanent to themselves.³⁸

Considering their definition of power, Negri and Hardt put forward a different understanding of state of exception from Agamben's arguments of state of exception that is under service of sovereign power. According to Negri and Hardt, state's legitimate use of force and monopoly of violence through state of exception has been undermined in global system of power.³⁹ This, however, does not mean that state authority cannot use violence and force over subjects as before, but it means the ground of legitimacy has changed. There are different global actors of power (such as NGO's, transnational companies, and international organizations) in complex networks of power relations that emasculate state's legitimacy of violence based on state of exceptions of national security. Here, according to Negri and Hardt, the legitimacy of violence is now grounded on a state of exception of global moral economy which based on humanitarian concerns and so called democratic, civilized values around life itself.⁴⁰ Hence, moral claims and values such as freedom and democracy provide a legitimacy to violence, and moral reasoning of state of exception as well.⁴¹ Considering constituent power as multitudes which hold vital and productive forces of life, global order of power tries to both regulate and control multitudes. Moral ground, as state of

³⁷ Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*, 99. : Multitudes as “ composed of a set of singularities- and by singularity here we mean a social subject whose difference cannot be reduced to sameness, a difference that remain different”

³⁸ Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*.

³⁹ Ibid., 25–26.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 26–30. : These values provide a legitimate ground for violence or militaristic interventions. For example, Negri and Hardt, considers United States' militaristic intervention to Iraq and Afghanistan by promising humanitarian help and under promotion of democracy. That provides a legitimacy of militaristic intervention for other counties and also inter-nation organizations and NGO's, such as UN.

⁴¹ Ibid., 27.

exception, addresses to life itself and constitutes legitimacy of violence, regulation and intervention over subjects on the behalf of the life.

Biopower repeatedly produces and reproduces the life through biopolitical dispositives of gaze in order to maximize the benefit from the life. However, life is the force to affect and to be affected by others, which holds multiple potentials of relations and becoming in itself.⁴² Life itself expands its capacity of affection in global order of world via media, internet, NGO's, global civil society with increase in individual mobility and new informative techniques. Here state of exception does not addresses a *bare life* as bodily existent which is confined by sovereign power rules, but the state of exception addresses to *life itself* in order to control and benefit from life and its multiple potentials. Nevertheless, even if the sovereign power produces and reproduces life, affective and dynamic life, which never totally submits to sovereign power.⁴³ Considering Negri and Hardt's arguments on biopolitics, state of exception in *global war conditions* seems permanent and omnipresent, where the life take place.

Surpassing Boundaries of Biopolitics; Redemption of Zoe

Compounding Negri and Hardt's consideration of biopolitical techniques, which they permeate every single space of life, comprehension of biopolitics in terms of global moral economy has been

⁴² Gregory J. Seigworth, "From Affection to Soul," in *Gilles Deleuze: Key Concepts*, ed. Charles J Stivale (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 159–69.

⁴³ Anderson, "Becoming and Being Hopeful," 165. :New biopolitical dispositives aim at exploiting and espousing not only the material production but also non-material and affective, symbolic, communicational values and meaning which are produced though social relations (Negri and Hardt *Multitudes*). Here loaded term of affect could be important to understand how power operates. We may understand how affect take the position in the process of operating power by reconsidering Massumi's words over how the control society works over excess of mechanisms that invest in and saturate life through techniques of biopower. According to Massumi, affect here is the integral element of the power structure but it also sets a limit since it is unmeasurable and exceeding its convention. Affect, thus, is a form-giving, cooperative and associative element which is articulated in a material force of power but also carries the potential to exceed its contract. As Anderson defines affect, which he/she considers to be "legitimized as timely" and also functions to make sense for individuals through engaging a set of changes in social reproduction by complying with an alteration of the systems of capitalism.

passing through the age of *biotechnology* whereby *molecular gaze* in terms of a new techniques and approaches towards life. This puts forward a molecular biopolitics which focus on molecular level organization of life instead of focusing a molar organization of body. The new focus is adaptable to nascent regime of neoliberal governmentality strategies (dispositives) and technologies of late modern era. Especially, Dillon, Rose, Rabinow, and Bradidotti have contributed fresh and revealing arguments on biopolitics literature by arguing for molecular biopolitics with details.

The new perspective on biopolitics deconstructs the classical gaze over a body and its working system. Biological knowledge does not only interrogate the body within an anatomic entity and integrity, but rather, the body here is particularized and dismantled through varying organs, tissues and cells that reconstitutes biopolitics as *recombinant biopolitics*.⁴⁴ In terms of the recombinant biopolitics, a body is not considered as a closed or a complete system of entity, instead it is considered as an operative system that is open for any expansion and various transformations and articulations. The inner nature is not an essential or eternal locus of biology, instead the inner nature is prone to change and can be affected all the time. Hence, biology is now regarded as a performative and transfusive entity which is available for any modulation.

Considering these new spectacles of biopolitics, Rose renders that there is no rigid demarcation between culture and biology, rather there is an ongoing interaction between them. Through the interaction, new moralities and rationalities have appeared in societies and constituted a new discourse and language over everyday life as a consequence. For example, Rabinow describes the new language within medicalized/biologicalized inflections in popular culture and everyday life.

⁴⁴ Michael Dillon and Julian Reid, "Global Liberal Governance: Biopolitics, Security and War," *Millennium : Journal of International Studies* 30, no. 1 (2001): 41–66.

Accordingly, genetic information, endocrinology and organ plantation have already become some of the common subjects of everyday life within ethical concerns and moral values. For instance, vitro fertilization provides with a new version of motherhood embedded in new fertilization technologies and the process of the application⁴⁵ and vasectomy or chemical castration have also changed the ways of deciphering of masculinity and manhood.⁴⁶

The form of biopower and its biopolitical techniques are already penetrating everyday life of individuals by producing new moral concerns and political views. For example, the terms of new conservatism and new liberalism are shaped around the debates of these new technologies and their applicability at either institutional or individual level. For instance, while individual decision of abortion is intervened by state agency through abolition or restrictions, the application of chemical castration of rape convicts are debated in public sphere through moral values. Rose signifies the increasing importance of risk management and corrective or preventive act of either governmental or nongovernmental organizations, with a civil society initiation.

In the light of these social concerns, it seems that understanding the terms of biopower and biopolitical techniques requires a challenging review and a new conceptualization. With regard to the change in functional meaning of biopolitical techniques from discipline society towards societies of control, Braidotti also informs us about an internal alteration of epistemological ground of biopower and biopolitical techniques, with the form of a fuzzy, yet relational one.

Braidotti explicates the new form of biopower differently than Foucauldian exemplification that stresses on disciplinary system. She proposes a fresh understanding of biopower, inspired by

⁴⁵ Heather Paxson, "With or Against Nature? IVF, Gender and Reproductive Agency in Athens, Greece," *Social Science & Medicine* 56, no. 9 (2003): 1853–66.

⁴⁶ Gary Taylor, *Castration an Abbreviated History of Western Manhood* (New York: Routledge, 2000), <http://site.ebrary.com/id/10053791>.

Deleuze's *Societies of Control*, which positions biopower as grounded on the governance of molecular bios-zoe power of today.⁴⁷ Braidotti exemplifies postmodern understanding of biopower in relation with political economy and technological enhancement in the late modern and advance capitalist era. Accordingly, Braidotti infers that, the political economy of Panopticon is no longer sufficient for governmental requirements of the new era of neoliberalism, however, molecular informatics of dominations (Donna Harraway) and its techniques have replaced it.

Braidotti propounds that the body is correspondingly disappeared in the age of advance capitalism in the face of mounting fragmentation of the body into organs and fluidity of genes.⁴⁸ Body, thus, represents neither a molar unity of self, nor identify, nor an anatomic entity, but it becomes purely an instrument or a tool of “intense vigilance and control” of the subject.⁴⁹ Braidotti infers that body loses its “substantial consensus” about bodily integrity while the progressive fragmentation and dematerialization of corporeality are escalating. In order to make clear the process of fragmentation, Braidotti uses the phrase “organs without bodies”⁵⁰ which seems to be inspired after Deleuze's term of “bodies without organs.” While “bodies without organs” explains the intensification and constitution of molar body through *desire machine*, “organs without bodies” underlies the process of *detrterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* of these detachable parts, fragments, organs into molecular gathering and assemblage. Hence, biopower constitutes a body that seems as a multilayered and multilingual entity which is founded on multiple and variable sets of organizations. Braidotti considers body in mottled information networks of organizations, from

⁴⁷ Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory*, 52.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). : The term is different from the Zizek book of “Organs without body”. Here, the term is used in Braidotti's own work of “Nomadic Subjects: Embodiment and Sexual Difference in Contemporary Feminist Theory”.

medical control to pharmacological interventions, within numerous individual concerns and collective care. The information of the body is embodied and voiced in multilingual expressions such as mood, temperature, emotion and affect.⁵¹

According to Braidotti, one of these multilingual expressions of body is regarded as gendered, and sexualized, as Braidotti makes use of Anne Balsamo words: “bodies are always and already marked by gender and race.”⁵² Balsamo goes on questioning the location of gender in the body: “When the human body is fractured into organs, fluid and genetic codes, what happened gender identity? When the body is fractured into functional parts and molecular codes, where is gender located?”⁵³

Braidotti answers the question on gender location, neither as a categorical entity, nor as a difference in bodies, but she considers gender and sexuality as culturally and historically contingent elements with the purpose of establishing subjectivity in relation with materiality and political economy of an age. In parallel with technological usage and through power relations, the meaning of gender and sexuality could be altered.⁵⁴

Braidotti claims that gendered body, in advance capitalism, is metamorphosed into a machine and is empowered as an essential function of body and its existence. For instance, feminine body is transformed into a mother-machine as the affective caregiver and in favor of procreation. However, the machine is projecting social fantasies and desires as well as fear, anxieties and panic.⁵⁵ Hysteria, panic, fear, anger and fury, for example, are the affects that merged in or attached to gender coded bodies.

⁵¹ Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory*, 63.

⁵² Ibid. with a reference to Anne Marie Balsamo, *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

⁵³ Balsamo, *Technologies of the Gendered Body: Reading Cyborg Women*, 6.

⁵⁴ Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory*, 38–39.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 64.

The new machines are constituted through assemblages of heterogeneous elements, which are articulated on the body. According to Braidotti, the subject is a nomadic subject who is incapable of possessing his or her qualities as pre-given, but inhabits and packs them in a *network of a presence*.⁵⁶

Logic of Immunology in Biopolitics and Appearance of Fear

As mentioned about a network of presence as assemblages of heterogeneous elements, the logic of immunology in biopolitics reveals a defensive mechanism of life which takes place in a *network of presence* as an impure ecology in which subject inhabits.⁵⁷ Esposito considers biopolitics in an immunitarian perspective that life is not grounded on a harmonic and pure environment, but life is on the position of defense against the enemy and disorder.⁵⁸ The defensive position of life also reveals social antagonism against *the other* as an *enemy*.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Esposito considers two different forms of communities, first is “ancient liberty” form that community “designate privileged exception from obligations” for its members, second “modern liberty” form that “community ensures individual subject to be free from other subjects.”⁶⁰ Esposito argues the defensive position in the modern liberty strengthen and solidify the communitarian body with a promise of security. Considering the defensive position within “risk society” (Ulrich Beck) and permanent state of exception in “*global war on terror*”⁶¹, the perception of risk and enemy might be changed. Perception of terror, which is like omnipresent, and risk calculation in every moment of life, trace the enemy inside. Here, potential risk and presence of enemy is detected in the body,

⁵⁶ Ibid., 94.

⁵⁷ Roberto Esposito, *Bíos: Biopolitics and Philosophy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

⁵⁸ Ibid., 259.

⁵⁹ Han-Yu Huang, “Risk, Fear and Immunity: Reinventing the Political in the Age of Biopolitics,” *Literacy & Cultural Studies* 37, no. 1 (2011): 54.

⁶⁰ Esposito, *Bíos: Biopolitics and Philosophy*, 72.

⁶¹ Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*.

accordingly, the enemy does not stay out of organic body or national borders and does not wait for invasion from outside, but the enemy is inside and invade from inside as well.⁶² (Huang, p.54). The enemy inside produces a moral panic in community because it unveils precarity and vulnerability of moral community in the face of a danger which does not come from outside, but is produced inside.⁶³

Considering these arguments above with molecular biopolitics and its gaze over each segment of the body, auto-immunology has come up with a new technique of controlling and monitoring the enemy inside. Fear, here, functions as an emotional response to various kinds of risks originated either internally or externally, and gathers individual members of risk society at the same point to target the body of other, which is not welcomed. Hereafter, fear turns into a “pivotal biopolitical sector” of risk management in order to provide modern and democratic societies with a legitimate cover on social antagonism that fits into global moral economy of humanitarianism and civilization.⁶⁴ However, considering Negri and Hardt argument that enemy is everywhere, and inside the body, it becomes harder to detect, segregate and expatriate the enemy out of the body, because the potential enemy is already a part of a whole, which would exist in, be dispersed upon and contaminate everywhere inside, like a cancer cell. Rose explains culpability of the criminal behavior (of an enemy) which ends up with a moral panic and fear in community/society is reduced to biological reasons such as genes and hormones.⁶⁵ The new culpability does not “focus on the crime in general, but focuses on anti-social conduct of criminal behavior.”⁶⁶ In contemporary liberal societies, according to Rose, culpability of biology provide the ways of altering or

⁶² Huang, “Risk, Fear and Immunity,” 54.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 62.

⁶⁵ Nikolas Rose, “Biology of Culpability: Pathological Identity and Crime Control in a Biological Culture,” *Theoretical Criminology* 4, no. 1 (2000): 5–34.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 6.

controlling criminal act which is regarded as anti-social behavior and lack of moral conduct by neutralizing social aspects of crime.⁶⁷ By means of molecular biopolitical techniques, the enemy is not segregated from the society but the enemy is taken under the control. The enemy is modulated and regulated in accordance with the moral, communitarian society through the techniques of molecular biopolitics.

This chapter attempted to explain some critical terms of biopolitics such as apparatus/dispositives, state of exception, bare life and life politics within a consideration of how different forms of power operates though biopolitical techniques. Besides, the chapter aimed to understand under which circumstances biopolitical techniques as dispositives take place and operate. In this construction, bio-power directly addresses to life itself and tries to regulate it in accordance with the political economy of age, social desire and change, and the new technologies. With reference to Negri's and Hardt's description of a permanent and internal state of exception within the conditions of *global war on terror*, and Esposito' conceptualization of defensive mechanism of life through the fear of enemy in immunological logic, we understand how biopolitics develop a new gaze over life. While panopticon gaze of disciplinary society operates though whole population and body entity, which aims at creating a homogenous and healthy (productive) population, in societies of control, the molecular gaze operates through varied fragments of individual life and each segment of bodies aiming at monitoring and controlling every aspects of social life.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 24.

Chapter 2- The Politics of Fear

In this thesis, biopolitical techniques are imbricated with the political aspects of affect that produce meaning and sensation in terms of *politics of life*. As previously mentioned in the Chapter 1, biopolitical governmentality already permeates every aspects of social life. Political affect is a key concept to understanding neoliberal biopolitical dispositives, which are oriented toward controlling or regulating excesses of affect, which is circulating and accumulated in the age of global capitalism and late modernity.

In his book *Political Affect; Connecting the Social and the Somatic*, Protevi interrogates the political aspects of affect by outreaching Deleuze's and Guattari's arguments around Affect Theory.⁶⁸ Protevi argues that affect is a cognitive and bodily constitutive feeling which makes sense of situations and of political categories such as race, gender and class. Cognitive processes of affect come from bodily openness for the situations to affect and to be affected by things or others in world. Affect here has "transpersonal capacity"⁶⁹ and cannot be possessed or occupied by subject⁷⁰ and affect is dispersed through bodies and is not limited to any form of life.⁷¹ Additionally, Protevi moves the constitution of affective cognition out of mechanical and static form, arguing that it is rather embedded in historical and cultural context, and actualized and embodied through

⁶⁸ John Protevi, *Political Affect: Connecting the Social and the Somatic* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

⁶⁹ Anderson, "Becoming and Being Hopeful," 735.

⁷⁰ Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

⁷¹ Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition* (Athlone Press, 1994), 164.

subjectification of individual. Hence, the affect is a “plastic” and “dynamic” form to shape and also be shaped in/by? individual persona.

In this thesis, fear is considered as a political affect of biopolitical dispositives which operates through the forms of power and the process of subjectification. Thus, fear somehow becomes a capital, or an object of centralized power agencies, such as the state, but also transcends the borders of its convention and function under the service. Rather, I approach fear as an affect which provides meaning and sensation and that is settled in the cognitive and bodily encounters of subjects. Fear has a specific role in the process of cognition and production of bodies of ‘the other’ by disavowal, repudiation, abjection or exclusion. Fear also creates a spatiotemporal perception that draws the border around the secure zone of private and familial, and decides who can come in and who cannot.

Perception of “the Other” as Outsider

“With modernity, we enter the age of the production of the other. The aim is no longer to kill the other, devour it, seduce it, vie it, love it or hate it, but, first, to produce it. It is no longer an object of passion, it is an object of production.”⁷²

The quote above from Baudrillard’s essay “The Surgical Removal of Otherness” posits the production of other as an unbearable and dangerous being in the face of rising individual values. The production of the other is going through the invention of difference and assigning a destiny, which is articulated in bodies and social relations. Baudrillard considers this attempt to create difference as an absurdity which could also be seen in sexual culture of liberation and emancipation of desire. According to him, utopian and ideological differences of sexes are based on a process of

⁷² Jean Baudrillard, *The Perfect Crime* (London; New York: Verso, 1996), 115.

invention of difference and a solidification of gendered identity. The invention of difference creates/begets/results in the invention of new images and new approaches to the other. Baudrillard gives a perfect example from the nineteenth century mode of modernism and social change. He looks at the productive activity of male hysteria as a creator of the image of *femme fatale* as femininity. Baudrillard considers the hysterical configuration through a projection of women as a stolen femininity by him in terms of a categorical other of a man. Even if the categorical difference seems to come from an essential separation of sexes, this is a mirror imagination which is projective and speculative. The separation of and difference between sexes are offering radical otherness. He claims that these categorical and dual separations are grounded in the same incestuous form of production. Ironically, through these mirroring images, singularities of sexes disappear and they become non-differential.⁷³ The sexes (especially in a binary system) initiate a never-ending, reflective and reciprocal examination and evaluation of each other. According to Baudrillard, the examination seems as a sexualized gaze, which is reflecting the moral and cultural values of individuals, rather than a sexualized gaze which is passing through a seductive or desiring gaze.

Even if Baudrillard proposes that a/the hysterical imagination of male gender could manage to produce his seductive otherness (as *femme fatal*), he could not say the same for female counterparts. According to him, even if the female position becomes a subject of desire, the problem persists in the form of finding an object of desire. Following this argument, Baudrillard claims that female hysteria fails to produce a desirable and ideal other but instead produces a fearful other. He considers sexual harassment as “a phobic caricature of every sexual approach, unconditional refusal to seduce or to be seduced.”⁷⁴ He further assumes that “there would be a presumption of

⁷³ Ibid., 117.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 121.

rape at every stage in the relationship, even a conjugal one.”⁷⁵ The explanation behind this argument is that “there could not be any possibility of their coming together except in violence.”⁷⁶ Hence, the sexuality of the victim in the case of a rape, no matter whether a subject of desire or object of desire, is always fixating on the impotent position which threatens with violation and exploitation. That reveals the asymmetrical dispersion of power between sexes. Through this imagination, female sexuality reflects a fragile and vulnerable disposition in the face of a male sexuality. This imagination seems to project the ideology of incompatibility and opposition between sexes. There is no ground for negotiation and reconciliation between them. Being different, however, it is going through a strangeness which is an impermeability of good and evil.⁷⁷ Concomitantly, during the process of producing the other, this radical otherness seems to be ascribed as an abject position within a fatal and dangerous figure, even if it would also be a seductive other, as we may see in the case of male hysteria. Diabolic and evil features are invented in the process of production of the other and the ideals of the features are fetishized.⁷⁸ These features are the main symptoms of evil which signify the body of the other. These are the fantasies of hysterical reflections and projections onto the other.

Following Baudrillard’s argument about the production of the other, the function and the meaning of the sexualized other has been gaining importance due to analysis of sexual harassment and rape as violence that is a threat from a stranger. Apart from the seductive and desiring gaze, these moral and cultural values in the sexualized gaze seem to be transferred into an image of the other with negative judgments and stereotypes. Especially, Baudrillard’s characterization of sexual

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 122.

⁷⁸ Sara Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 54.

harassment as “a phobic caricature of every sexual approaches, unconditional refusal to seduce or to be seduced” requires more emphasis more in order to understand how the vocabulary of sexual harassment is composed.⁷⁹ In which circumstances could the sexualized other and its every sexual approach be perceived as a threat, or, alternatively, under which conditions could these mirroring images of sexes project danger and menace to each other? Accordingly, we may need to focus on the social relations as a ground for the production of sexualized other in the process of activation of fear and anxiety.

In order to understand the activation fear and anxiety, an assemblage of fear and its components have to be understood. In this thesis, the perception of and social distance to the stranger and representation of its body are significant for understanding the sources of fear. The lexicon of fear is embedded and constituted in social relations between subjects. The social distance between subjects empowers the lexicon of fear: feelings of threat, danger and insecurity.

In this case, the lexicon of fear and perception of sexual violence are generally stimulated out of habitus as a social environment. Habitus is constituted by dispositional practices and rules are embodied and reproduced.⁸⁰ In his work *Masculine Domination*, Bourdieu argues that “symbolic violence” is internalized and normalized within daily practices and social roles in the habitus in which subjects are embodied.⁸¹ Within the borders of habitus, violence and suppression are, generally, normalized in accordance with learnt gender roles and gendered order. Hence, violence is perceived and expressed when violence and danger come from outside. Additionally, the borders of the habitus are produced and contoured by the image/presence of stranger as an object of fear. The borders are determined firstly through a production and then exclusion of the other. However,

⁷⁹ Baudrillard, *The Perfect Crime*, 121.

⁸⁰ Michael Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (Stocksfield [England]: Acumen, 2008).

⁸¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Masculine Domination* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001).

sexual harassment, abuse or violence could be hidden in daily practices of flirting, courting and mating among people who are in the same habitus. For example, people who are in the same social environment any kind of sexual harassment might be internalized or unvoiced as usual, and remain in a silence within a sort of acceptance. In that case, the subject in its habitus is inured to the very kind of violence, suppression and hierarchical power of the patriarchy.⁸² Hence, the definition or perception and even expression of sexual harassment and violence are always discursively articulated in knotted and sedimented social relations in which the subjects takes place, and contingent on differential social environment which perpetrators and victims belong in.

Therefore, all of vocabulary of sexual violence such as sexual harassment, verbal abuse, and even rape could be predicated on social perception and experience, and depend on the positions and distances of insider and outsider. In many cases, domestic violence, rape and sexual abuse, such as in family (private sphere), could ignored personally, socially and sometimes legally, which could be dependent on the protection of the private and recognition of intimacy and proximity.

Sara Ahmed, in her book of *Strange Encounters*, specifically interrogates the stranger's body in terms of social distance. She defines the body that cannot be assimilated in social spaces. For this reason the body is recognized, determined to be dirty and dangerous. Stranger's bodies are different from the familiar ones, in that they cannot be absorbed, integrated or assimilated.

Ahmed has using the critical but illustrative term "abject", which is then elaborated by Julia Kristeva.⁸³ According to Kristeva, the abject functions within a/the constitution of "self" through vomiting and expelling other. Kristeva defines the abject as a border object that also establish the

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Julia Kristeva and Leon S Roudiez, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).

border itself.⁸⁴ Judith Butler also considers the abject as a functional position during the process of constitution of the self; inside zone of the border which constitute a so called homogenized and solidified identity as if the zone is like home. With regard to Butler, the home as a place is a livable, clean and safer zone, which is inhabited by an ideal and privileged subject who already occupies it. This privileged subject occupies normative values and qualities which are already equated with home and locality. For example, “white”, “male” and “hetero” would be main constitutive elements of the normative order of the home for society.⁸⁵

At the same time, Kristeva argues, the abject is presented as outside of a specific or a particular object or a body; however, it is invented through asymmetrical relation between the self and other. The body of other always underlies impossibility of such body at home.⁸⁶ Because of the fact that strange bodies are temporally assimilated or recognized as unassimilated⁸⁷, dangerous and unclean bodies which have to stay away from the home. Hence, the presence of other functions in the border of home as a secure zone of social space. Bodily perception, recognition and definition of stranger thus produce the borders between the inside and the outside, the familiar and the strange, safety and danger. In this way, the figure of stranger both draws and solidifies contours of body- at-home⁸⁸ and (re)produce norms and qualities in it.

Through this border function of stranger and its constitution by social distance, the definition of perversion could also be regarded as a spatial term which determines the indeterminate or disoriented positions in relations. Mandy Merck argues that perversion is not just deviant sexuality

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*, 52.

⁸⁶ Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*, 53.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 54.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

but it is more about what is not expectable and acceptable.⁸⁹ Accordingly, the perception of men as outsiders could be associated with perversion. *Pervert* (Sapık) is a quite common word which is used to describe, define and sign the position of outsider. Accordingly, the intention of outsider men is likely to be construed as dangerous, harmful and perverse, which is out of the ways of proper and acceptable manner. Even if there are sometimes romantic or social motivations for an interaction between outsider and insider, these intentions and initiations in social relations might be condemned and regarded as *perverse*. The word *pervert* is voiced in order to define these outsider men's position, which is outside of a society in spite of his unavoidable presence and interaction in social environment. This has masked a reality of social distance and cultural difference between outsider and insider.

The notion of *pervert* (sapık) seems to represent any intentions or desires for social relations and affinities between outsider and insider as improper and unacceptable rather than direct intention or action of an incorrect and abnormal sexual desire. The abnormal and weird are to imagine outsider and insider together in same context that is already a delusion and perverse. However, the outsider is already stigmatized and excluded as sexual pervert since sexuality and desire represents borders of the private.

This thesis specifically focuses on a concept of the stranger and its perception contained by a political economy of late modernity, and in accordance with a collective experience of fear in neoliberal zeitgeist. Perception and production of the "stranger other", as I have argued in Chapter 1, receives a biopolitical dispositive and function in concord with a logic of immunology in control society of late modernity. That makes the stranger other an object of fear, which needs to be measured, or taken under the control and surveillance of society. According to Bauman, the

⁸⁹ Sara Ahmed, ed., *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

appearance of fear in late modernity seems decoupling from any other experience of fear in history. Here, the fear is exerted through an anxiety as well, but could not manage to placate the source of anxiety at the end. Furthermore, fear is not only grounded in an existential tumultuous human condition, in anxiety, but rather it seems to be grounded in an irrelevant source of anxiety as well.⁹⁰ Fear in late modernity is gestated and grasped in representation of a demonized stranger other. The presence of the stranger needs a calculation or precautions in order to avoid unpredictable and risky potentials of strangers, with which one could be confronted. However, prophylactic and preventative manners are invented and produced due to recognize and control the discomforting presence or action of stranger and avoid any possible penetration or contagiousness of the stranger other.⁹¹

Late modernity produces modes of subjectivities which are supposed to be *active citizens*⁹² and be cautious about risk situations and threat in everyday life. Bauman defines these subjectivities in highly sensitive situations of anxiety and risk which end up in a paranoid position, ultimately, orienting the subject to a certain kind of fear objects.⁹³

Anthropology of Fear as a Political Affect

⁹⁰ Zygmunt Bauman, "The Demons of an Open Society," *LSE*, 2005, 4.

⁹¹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts* (Oxford; Malden, MA: Polity ; Distributed in the USA by Blackwell, 2004), 106.

⁹² F. Van Houdt and W Schinkel, "A Genealogy of Neoliberal Communitarianism," *Theoretical Criminology* 17, no. 4 (2013): 493–516.

⁹³ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press ; Blackwell, 2000).

The perception and experience of fear are as dynamic, reflexive and context-dependent as other affects.⁹⁴ Fear engages in affective cognition which is bodily embedded in social life and produce “the other” out of secure zone which subject habituates in. The knowledge of the other is extracted in order to avoid bad surprises, which are full of negative feelings. The subject has to deal with negative feelings by avoiding or getting away from them and attempting to find positive ones. Sedgwick defines feeling of anxiety within a paranoid position S “alertness to the dangers posed by the hateful and envious part-objects...”⁹⁵ Further, fear creates a certainty which determines the “status of [the] object” and its place. Hence, fear is productive and functional, acting in order to overcome feeling of anxiety. Different from anxiety which is omnipresent and unavoidable, fear provides a space for security in the absence of a fear object, and provides a target object which the fear object, in order to avoid or get rid of it.⁹⁶ Fear, thus, a knowable, definable object is assembled in order to avoid or get rid of paranoid positions of anxiety.

When taking the fear in a modern context, knowledge of fear seems to gain an institutional reception within categorizations and definitions. Latour concerns modernity within the feeling of unpredictability as already embedded in representation of nature and social environment. For example, in his book *We Have Never Been Modern*, Latour deciphers nature as hybrid and unpredictable environment that modern institutions and science try to demarcate it in order to categorize, classify and control the nature (environment) through purification.⁹⁷ Hence, the experience of modernity, nonetheless, seems already as an unpredictable and constantly changing social reality seems to become a source of anxiety for human. For Bauman, the experience of

⁹⁴ Protevi, *Political Affect*, 36.

⁹⁵ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, “Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, Or, You’re so Paranoid, You Probably Think This Introduction Is about You,” 1997, <https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10224/3628>.

⁹⁶ Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*.

⁹⁷ Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

indeterminacy has signalled an exceptional importance in late modernity considering unpredictable assets of “global capitalism” and global level of insecurity of terror. Global capitalism and late modernity comprise an example of radical experience in modernity which comes up with ambiguous and liquid social structure.

Adding to Bauman’s arguments on late modernity, the state here as an actor has been transformed from embedded liberalism to neoliberalism. As David Harvey writes, "the state should focus on full employment, economic growth, and the welfare of its citizens and that state power should be freely deployed, alongside of or, if necessary, intervening in or even substituting for market processes to achieve these ends"⁹⁸ which are more collectivist and domestic-production-oriented policies to more neoliberal, regressive and private policies.

Regression of state from social services has changed the notion of citizenship experience in daily life. Individuals are deprived of collective welfare policies, and they become responsible for their own welfare and security.⁹⁹ Citizenship here is shifted from social citizenship to hyper-sensitive, consumer citizenship which is also called active citizenship or risk citizens. The new citizenship, however, embedded in a neoliberal system within the combination of individual responsibility, free and flooding market logic and communitarianism. In the place of the social state regulation and its intervention over citizens, the neoliberal state proposes preventive and control mechanism for active, responsible citizens and different communities, which are constituted on cultural identities.

Accordingly, individuals or communities concern risk management and taking measures to avoid unintended and unexpected events in their lives. According to Bauman, the fear is the production

⁹⁸ David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

⁹⁹ Bauman, *Liquid Modernity*.

of corporeal representations as perpetrator of social disasters qua evils, monsters and perverts have to be handled, calculated and prevented.¹⁰⁰

Materiality (Assemblage) of Fear

This thesis concentrates on the perceptual constitution of fear objects within an assemblage of these corporeal representations of fear. As emphasized above, these corporeal representations of fear are established through distance between bodies.¹⁰¹ Fear also becomes a political instrument or an object which is included in risk management and articulated in calculable and measurable bodies up to the biopolitical dispositives of late modernity.

Following Negri and Hardt's conceptualization of biopolitics, the state of exception has received a novel affect which coincides with a permanent state of global war.¹⁰² Hence, the sovereignty of *Empire*¹⁰³ is surpassing national level of control and regulation of any certain kind of production but it penetrates the each human life and permeate the everyday life relations.¹⁰⁴ The war here, infers a form of a rule which is re/produce all aspects of social life whereby biopolitical dispositives.¹⁰⁵ Anderson expands the argument of global and permanent, continuous state of exception in relation with the concept of "Total War"¹⁰⁶ or contemporary appearance as "global

¹⁰⁰ Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid Fear* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2006).

¹⁰¹ Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*.

¹⁰² Jared Woodard, "Waiting for the Multitude," *JCRD* 6, no. 1 (2004): 123.

¹⁰³ *Empire*, is the one of a books of Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt, interrogate new global form of sovereignty. Accordingly, *Empire* is constituted by networks of power and set a new global order.

¹⁰⁴ Woodard, "Waiting for the Multitude," 124.

¹⁰⁵ Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*, 13.

¹⁰⁶ According to Anderson, Total War covers interwar period between First and Second World Wars.

war on Terror.”¹⁰⁷ Anderson especially argues that there is a psychological effect and perceptual organization of the war.

According to Anderson, population is not a homogenous unity, which live in a certain territory surrounded by boundaries, but rather, population could be understood as a mass of affective gathering through constitution of morale as an “intense fellow feeling”¹⁰⁸ which carries any possibility of hopefulness in future. Morale is here signifies an occasional gathering of heterogeneous elements that constitute an assemblage which evince itself over individual moods in society.¹⁰⁹ Hence the Morale seems to be something specific in society as a mood or temper which endures temporally but also equated to *life itself* because the Morale becomes the vital source and guarantee of secured zone for whole population.

Morale in Total War functions in twofold focal ways; *tracking and attuning*, which is simultaneously controlling and synchronizing the excess of affect.¹¹⁰ As mentioned in Massumi’s arguments on affect¹¹¹; the form of affect is actually excessive and autonomous torrent through bodies. However, excess of affect is attempted to be restrained and moderated and intensified in forms of power. The Morale here could operate as an apparatus of state to direct and control this

¹⁰⁷ Ben Anderson, “Modulating the Excess of Affect: Morale in a State of ‘Total War,’” in *The Affect Theory Reader*, ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J Seigworth (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 181.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 170.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 172.

¹¹⁰ Anderson, “Modulating the Excess of Affect: Morale in a State of ‘Total War.’”

¹¹¹ The articulation of affect into material force of power take place through the rigorous linkage and synopsis to life itself. Negri and Hardt also demonstrate a recognition of that “affect is modulated and transmitted in the forms of power addresses to life” (Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*. Nigel Thrift, *Knowing Capitalism* (SAGE Publications, 2005). However, Massumi points out that power requires a calculation of affect to delimit its equivocal openness to alteration and transformation. The calculation, according to Massumi, needs a modulation of and even intervention over an affect. Modulation, thus a overcoding of affects are replace constrains and severe regulations of power. The modulation is an operation of power which is termed by Massumi over unownable or trans-situational dimensions of affect (Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002). Here is the term of overcoding of Deleuze and Guattari is also essential to understand how the power exercises; “Overcoding” is a way of identifying, stratifying things that impose a memory system which is inscribed and reconstructed on a molar body again and again (*Ibid.*).

excess of affect.¹¹² Hence, morale seems like a medium of different modalities of power that goes to modulate the affect in means of monitoring their effects. Morale, at the same time, functions to gather and grasp the flooding affects around its orbit and constitutes a machinic assemblage over them. Therefore, affects are imbricated within modes of power and are converged and articulated with one another to compose a meaning for the whole.¹¹³

Morale is the basis of the action which is organized around the faith of future. Morale is either promising a better future or a destructive power motive in the face of a potential threat. However, Total War makes the sense of threat omnipresent and unavoidable, and then morale is transformed into a battlefield the war takes place. These constitute a destructive power motive of the Morale against the threat which names panic.¹¹⁴ The Morale seems immune to the disordering and irrational experience of panic. While the experience of panic is like disorientation, or being lost in unknown mass, Morale provides a secured or salvaged space, which the subject can inhabit easily. Therefore, Morale is still promising maintenance of life in spite of the devastating effects of the threat outside. Hence the Morale seems as a promising land of “certain island of predictability in the ocean of uncertainty that is total war.”¹¹⁵ Morale does not have any essence in defined principles of work, but Morale seems to operate on the ground of problematic fields (of panic, uncertainty, indeterminacy and anxiety).

What about neoliberal Morale? How is morale constituted in the age of neoliberalism and late modernity? The answer for the question lies within the concept of neoliberal citizenship. As argued in the section on Anthropology of Fear, citizenship in neoliberalism is an active, responsible and

¹¹² It is also crucial to mark that, affects are in the case are neither simply an instrument of the power nor take the shape of its will, but affects are something modulated or mobilized throughout the process of power (Total War).

¹¹³ Anderson, “Modulating the Excess of Affect: Morale in a State of ‘Total War.’”

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 173.

¹¹⁵ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*. ([Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 220.

sensitive one since the individual has to deal with multiple risk factors in everyday life. Moreover, the citizenship is constituted around a communitarian rationality of cultural identities and common concerns in the community. There could be reason to construe political affect of fear in the era of “global war on terror” as the biopolitical dispositives of governments along with the rising rampart of immunologic communitarian rationality and responsible-active citizens. As an irony of the notion of active citizenry, Protevi renders neoliberal citizenry as passive and atomized¹¹⁶ under the manipulation of neoconservative and neoliberal government.¹¹⁷ Fear is captured that could be a main tool of morale due to build borders of communities with an aim of protection for active citizens from a risky situation. State agencies or NGO could also make use of the fear in order to create consent and legitimize its social policies. Hence, a citizenship consensus¹¹⁸ is produced through the collective experience of fear, risk and anxiety and they may participate in and give consent to these policies.¹¹⁹ Political affects of fear on political act, consent or decisions of citizens deconstruct the myth of rational choice of individuals; the opposite way around, fear is wielded by political institutions through de-subjectivation and decontextualization¹²⁰ problematic field of life as a state of exception. Political affect of fear provide a consent to government to have monopoly of violence (institutional) to control violent or threatening behavior for sake of protection of citizens.

Rather than focusing on only the intersection of certain kinds of categories, bodies of fear in terms of ethnicity, age and class, this chapter tries to understand how certain kind of bodies turn into objects of fear, and how these undesirable bodies are merged, meshed in an assemblage. As Jasbir

¹¹⁶ John Protevi, *Life, War, Earth: Deleuze and the Sciences* (University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

¹¹⁷ Wendy Brown, “American Nightmare Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization,” *Political Theory* 34, no. 6 (December 1, 2006): 690–714, doi:10.1177/0090591706293016.

¹¹⁸ Bauman, “The Demons of an Open Society,” 6.

¹¹⁹ Bauman, *Liquid Fear*.

¹²⁰ Protevi, *Life, War, Earth*, 47.

Puar inscribes in *Terrorist Assemblage*, “(the assemblage) proposes a queerness as not an identity nor anti-identity, but an assemblage that is spatially and temporally contingent.”¹²¹ In her work, she analyses the tension between representations and affects, assemblage and identity; she provides the notion of assemblage as spatial, temporal and corporeal convergences, conjunctures and arrangement through terrorist bodies.¹²² As Puar does, I will also try to understand male bodies of fear that comes together spatially, temporally and contingent on politics of affect and emotions within an assemblage. The object of phobia (criminalized male body as outsider) is, thus, produced and worked in a function and on the service of neoliberal governments.

In this thesis abject/criminalized masculinities engender an assemblage of the fear including categories of ethnicity, age, class and sexuality. The assemblage assigns a male body as a projection of fears, rejection, moral panic and felling of indeterminacy that could be circulating in the society. Therefore, the assemblages of these affects project a corporeality is like monstrous, fearful body who is out of a community body. These bodies are generally regarded as outsider, dangerous and unassimilable. Morale here is a collective value and meaning which works through detection and bypassing the fearful body, and also provide a secure zone which is livable for citizens.

¹²¹ Jasbir K Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

¹²² *Ibid.*

Chapter 3- Concept of Castration – Understanding Masculinity

This chapter will regard the concept of castration as technological or medical gaze, which operates through male bodies throughout history. In order to show the multiple operational meaning of castration, the chapter presents a historical and cultural perception of castration both in classical or pre-modern examples and in modern societies where it was practiced in the form of colonial state and eugenic policies. Here, I am trying to show a shift from the locus of reproduction to the locus of sexual desire in consideration of castration. This chapter argues that chemical castration as contemporary technique serves as a molecular gaze over male body and establishes biological-moral boundaries of the “normal” and “appropriate” male subject in public space. Hence, those outside of the boundaries are positioned as abject/criminalized bodies in public space. In terms of molecular gaze, however, a/the state of exception does not work through casting out these individual bodies as enemies whose sexualities, instead, are considered dangerous and required to be controlled.

Historical Outlook and Conceptualization of Castration

The word “castration” originated from the Latin word *castratus*, which means to removal of testicles of a man or ovaries of women. The word regards as specific narration in Greek mythology refer to the castration of Uranus who is Father Sky.¹²³ Uranus was castrated by his son Kronos. However, symbolically this castration meant a change or new beginning and ended up being productive. For example, the castration of Uranus resulted in the creation of new gods and goddess such as Aphrodite, who is the goddess of love and lust.

¹²³ Charles Scott and Elena del Busto, “Chemical and Surgical Castration,” in *Sex Offender Laws: Failed Policies, New Directions*, ed. Richard Wright (Springer Publishing Company, 2009), 292.

Apart from the representation of castration in Greek mythology, castration has been given very different meanings and functions throughout history. “Castration has been used [for] different purposes, including protecting the chastity of royalty, ridding mankind of unwanted or inappropriate genetic traits, or punishing persons for their sexual crimes.”¹²⁴ In ancient history of castration, for example, the word of eunuch (implies castrated body), which comes from the word, eune (“bed”) and ekhein (“to keep”). Together that means “bedkeeper”, or one who is a protector of privacy and chastity. Bedkeepers, the protectors, function as guardians of the private sphere and protectors of royal chastity.¹²⁵ There was no suspicion of disloyalty, as these guardians were already infertile and incapable of making any female member of the royal family pregnant. In this way, the royal blood was kept pure and the reproduction of future generations of, especially, leading male members of the royal court was guaranteed.

Despite differences in time and space, eunuch guardians have been apprehended in similar manners by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. In the Roman Empire, castration also had/served a punitive function or was used as a way of humiliating a foe by annihilating reproduction potency of male body. However, in the Byzantine Empire, castration was a symbol of loyalty and submission to Empire authority.¹²⁶ It was the similar in Ottoman Empire, young slave boys who were captured generally from Sub-Saharan countries were castrated in order to make them use in “*Harem*”, which was the private sphere of the Sultan and his family. They were called “*Harem ağası*”, which means a man who responsible for the Harem and the Sultan’s family. Even if the

¹²⁴ Barbara M. Breitenberger, *Aphrodite and Eros: The Development of Erotic Mythology in Early Greek Poetry and Cult* (Routledge, 2007).

¹²⁵ Scott and Busto, “Chemical and Surgical Castration.”

¹²⁶ Kathryn M Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

castration did not take place with consent, *Harem ağası* was regarded as being as prestigious as high level officials in the Empire.¹²⁷

Most of these examples from ancient or pre-modern ages include a reality, which stuck on the issue of procreation. In her book of *An Abbreviated History Castration of Western Manhood*, Gary Taylor argues that in pre-modern or ancient examples of Western society, castration were likely concerned with reproduction issue.¹²⁸ Pre-modern castration, regardless of whether the reason was political, cultural or medical, was about the removing away reproduction ability of the male body. The mode of classical patriarchy was constructed around reproduction, patrimonial legacy and the welfare of the household. Loyalty, obedience and submission are main requisites of classical patriarchy. The name of the father and the honor of household were essential and indispensable for the patriarchal order. Accordingly, as Taylor argues, scrotum act as the main signifier of maleness, and masculinity is associated with reproduction capacity and patrilineal concerns of classical patriarchy.

Castration takes place under the rule of colonial government in colonial geographies. The practice of castration have been superimposed with racism and sexism in colonial government. Black male sexualities were casted as perilous and hypersexual, which were regarded as being a threat to the purity of white women living in colonial states. Hypersexuality was treated with surgical castration, and black men's *perilous* sexuality (understood as the potential to rape white women) was bypassed by reducing or delimiting their sexual urges.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Ehud R. Toledano, "The Imperial Eunuchs of Istanbul: From Africa to the Heart of Islam," *Middle Eastern Studies* 20, no. 3 (July 1, 1984): 379–90.

¹²⁸ Gary Taylor, *Castration: An Abbreviated History of Western Manhood* (New York: Routledge, 2000).

¹²⁹ K. A. Druhm, "A Welcome Reaction to Draconia: California's Penal Law Section," *Albany Law Review* 61, no. 1 (1997).

The practice of castration has also become popular in eugenic logic and the associated movement. In order to receive selective breeding and avoid transmission of unwanted genes, sterilization of people with undesirable traits was seen as appropriate. Mentally retarded people were especially targeted in this project. The same logic was also used to argue that propensity towards criminality is also caused by genetic transmissions, and castration is believed to be a way to prohibit the transmission of criminality to the next generation in society.¹³⁰

In the/our contemporary era, castration is mostly associated with being a punitive measure, as well as having a medical function. Castration is done to / carried out on sex offenders who are convicted of unlawful sexual activity.¹³¹ Rape, sexual assault, child abuse and molestation, public nudity or possession certain types of pornography can be included in the definition of sex offender. However, castration as a punitive measure is most commonly used against those convicted of rape and pedophilia. Most sex offenders are regarded as likely to repeat the same unlawful behavior or having the potential to commit dangerous acts in future.

In detail, castration is done/effected through either surgical or chemical means, and aim to reduce or alter the sexual urges of sex offenders. According to the logic behind castration, the real culprit of the sexual violence or crime seems to be the testosterone hormone. This hormone is seen as a source for any kind of crime relating to the level of aggression. Testosterone itself seems essential to regulate “sexuality, aggression, cognition, emotion and personality”¹³² and is responsible for spontaneous erection intensity.¹³³ Testosterone reaching a certain level also signals the shift into

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Scott and Busto, “Chemical and Surgical Castration.”

¹³² D R Rubinow and P J Schmidt, “Androgens, Brain, and Behavior,” *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 153, no. 8 (August 1996): 974–84.

¹³³ Georg K. Sturup, “Treatment of Sexual Offenders in Herstedvester Denmark: The Rapists,” *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, 1968, 1–62.

male adulthood because testosterone is responsible for male pubertal development.¹³⁴ Even if there are different amounts of the hormone in both female and male bodies, the hormone is associated with male body construction and sexuality. In males, the hormone is primarily produced in the testes. Viewed in this way, sexual crimes and their motives seem founded on triangle of masculinity, aggression and testosterone.

As a way of lowering the level of testosterone, castration, whether surgical or chemical, is asserted as a solution for sexual deviancy. However, most of the research does not prove that high testosterone levels generate sexual deviance or violence. Most sexual offenders' testosterone levels are around the average in male population.¹³⁵ However, some research proposes that sexual deviants experience unusual reactions to these average testosterone levels rather than possessing higher levels of testosterone.

Castration; Biopolitical Citizenship and New Approaches to Masculinity

Gary Taylor points out a shift in terms in interpretations or definitions of castration, and the meaning of “becoming a man”, from the pre-modern to the modern age. This shift has also seemed to change the whole narrative of patriarchy and the perception of the male body in modernity. Taylor underlines overriding narrative of sexuality in modernity, which constructed around penis. For example, Taylor argues Freudian interpretation of gender structure and sexual desire are established around castration anxiety and penis envy, which Freud emphasizes the penis as a central organ. However, according to Taylor, Freud's approach to castration seems to provide an

¹³⁴ Fabian M Saleh and Fred S Berlin, “Sex Hormones, Neurotransmitters, and Psychopharmacological Treatments in Men with Paraphilic Disorders,” *Journal of Child Sexual Abuse* 12, no. 3–4 (2003): 233–53, doi:10.1300/J070v12n03_09.

¹³⁵ A Rösler and E Witzum, “Treatment of Men with Paraphilia with a Long-Acting Analogue of Gonadotropin-Releasing Hormone,” *The New England Journal of Medicine* 338, no. 7 (February 12, 1998): 416–22, doi:10.1056/NEJM199802123380702; H C Seim and M Dwyer, “Evaluation of Serum Testosterone and Luteinizing Hormone Levels in Sex Offenders,” *Family Practice Research Journal* 7, no. 3 (1988): 175–80.

ahistorical or teleological narrative to understand the concept of castration and masculinity.¹³⁶ For example, Gayle Rubin also criticizes the Freudian concept of castration as being fixating on a heterosexual matrix of sexual practice that is centered around penetration. Accordingly, the male sexual organ becomes / turns into a fetish object of sexual desire, as if it is indispensable for both male and female pleasure (Gayle Rubin, 1994, *Sexual Traffic* 78-80). Rather, seemingly, Freud reflects a historical frame of European sexuality in accordance with social, political and technological conditions.¹³⁷ Accordingly, along with the rise of urbanization, industrialism and modern capitalism, the perception of masculinity has changed and brought about a new conceptualization of castration. Hence, the Freudian concept of castration, according to Taylor, signifies of “rise of penis and fall of scrotum.”¹³⁸ The penis, in the beginning of 18th century, gains a symbolic meaning which positions male sexuality in the matrix of desire and pleasure rather than assigning it a purely reproduction function. The reasons for that, as Taylor argues, are as follows: the first is the invention of contraceptive techniques which also change the tradition of fertility gradually; the second is the secularization of sexual desire along with the increased secularization of everyday life in Europe since 16th century; and the last one is the politicization of sexuality with the growth of individuality and political self.¹³⁹ Considering these changes, the shift in interpretation of castration also comes up with a new understanding of patriarchy. While the testis signifies a reproductive function, which is collective and important for maintenance of a whole household, the penis signifies a more autonomous individual who takes responsibility for himself. Patriarchy in modernity, then, does not symbolize a patrilineal order but rather a fraternal system of citizenship. Hence, the classical forms of paternal kinship relations is replaced with a new form

¹³⁶ Taylor, *Castration: An Abbreviated History of Western Manhood*, 60.

¹³⁷ Taylor, *Castration: An Abbreviated History of Western Manhood*.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 92–95.

of fraternity or friendship in modern democracies.¹⁴⁰ Schmitt interrogates the legacy of patriarchy within the tradition of modern democracies, which are based on fraternity or brotherhood.¹⁴¹ Schmitt proposes fraternity as a tradition of modern democracies in terms of familial relations or organization such as being grounded on a nation or ethnicity as an epitomic “togetherness of a democratic community.”¹⁴² Following Schmitt arguments on fraternal tradition of democracy, Carole Pateman considers the participation in modern democracies within fraternal relations in modern patriarchy by criticizing Locke’s social contract in democracies, and underlies democracy as a victory of brothers who defeat the father.¹⁴³ As she says, “conjugal power is not paternal, but part of masculine sex-right, the power that men exercise as men, not as fathers.”¹⁴⁴ Pateman makes a separation between the public and private spheres; the former is political and the latter is a non-political space. She takes marriage as a sexual contract that give man sexual right over women. According to Pateman, women are captured in the non-political sphere of the private¹⁴⁵ while men, as members of the fraternity, participate in the public political sphere. Pateman acknowledges a new kind of kinship coming out of a blood relationship but within a familial relationship in *polis*, and between male citizens as public actor.¹⁴⁶ Ruth Miller, however, considers women’s political identity as not totally captured in the non-political area of private, but focusing on stories from France, Italy and Turkey, women’s biological and political existence is captured in the form of a biopolitical citizenship, which takes women’s sexual existence into the public sphere.¹⁴⁷ Miller

¹⁴⁰ Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (Rutgers University Press, 1976).

¹⁴¹ Tuija Pulkkinen, “Tradition, Gender And Democracy To Come - Derrida On Fraternity” 13 (2009), http://www.jyu.fi/yhtfil/redescriptions/articles_2009.htm.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Joanne Boucher, “Male Power and Contract Theory: Hobbes and Locke in Carole Pateman’s ‘The Sexual Contract,’” *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 36, no. 1 (March 1, 2003): 23–38.

¹⁴⁴ Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988), 22.

¹⁴⁵ Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

¹⁴⁷ Ruth Austin Miller, *The Limits of Bodily Integrity: Abortion, Adultery, and Rape Legislation in Comparative Perspective* (Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2007).

provides a historical contextualization of rape, adultery, chastity and intimacy, and she makes an analytical separation between the private and public sphere in history, respectively. For instance, in favor of perpetuation of patrilineal-classical patriarchy within a household, a woman and her sexuality was considered as property of private in family. In modern patriarchy, however, women have appeared in public space as one of a spectacle of modern visibility, and women's bodies have been transformed into a biopolitical space of modernity.¹⁴⁸ In the past for example, rape was regarded as an attack on or penetration in house, and as a violation of space.¹⁴⁹ However, in 19th century Ottoman legal policy, which adapted to Napoleonic code (1859), rape was reinterpreted as a violation against public morality. Here, the female body has also been captured in public control and surveillance. At modern juncture, Miller argues that woman's biological and political existence is bound to her sexual existence as defined by public mores. Because of the public control and surveillance over the female body, woman's political identity is considered to a biopolitical citizenship and her body become a biopolitical space. Consent Theory here, according to Miller, seems like good example of this biopolitical citizenship for women considering "consent" as a political-legal right to "bed" assigned for woman who keeps borders of private space, with respect to her body integrity. Ruth Miller argues that Consent Theory, in terms of a biopolitical frame, which determines sexual legislation of women as contained in the political and legal rights of citizenship. Ruth Miller argues the consent right as far away from full empowerment of women subjects bearing a political identity; rather, it seems to assume and enforce a representation of a female political identity that is physically passive but politically active. According to physically passive but politically active situation, women need to be protected by public mores, but not the same required in private. Hence, Miller argues that woman's political identity as a citizen is reduced

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 73.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 80.

to her private role and her sexual existence.¹⁵⁰ In private, decisions regarding sexual activity are already, as if automatically, consented to men who have an access to private.¹⁵¹ Moreover, sexual violence that is attempted in public without the consent of women become criminalized since the attempt violates trespasses and interrupts the private.¹⁵² Here, considering the political existence of women conflated with a sexual existence in consent theory, as political-legal right seems to favor and reiterate gendered and sexualized concepts of citizenship.

As mentioned above, Ruth Miller keenly interrogates women's political identity in public space and conceptualizes the female body as a sexualized and gendered biopolitical space regarding political implication of the sexual consent in the case of rape or sexual violence. However, the same could not be accomplished for Miller in men counterparts. In particular, Miller argues for a conception of man as a public actor who has political privilege and superiority over women and children in private. In order to support her claim, Miller compares political implications of two different issues of honor killing of women and castration of rape convicts by arguing that in the situation of honor killing, women lose their right to life but in the case of castration, men just lose to right to the penis as an organ.¹⁵³ Miller underlines the predominant importance of women's right to life in terms of biopolitical citizenship; however, she undermines political implication of the right to penis as a symbolically important component of maleness.

Contrary to representations of the biological and political existence of women being linked to sexual existence¹⁵⁴, the sexual existence of men is regarded to be linked to the biological and political existence of men considering appropriateness of him in public space. Therefore, men who

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 92.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 103.

¹⁵² Ibid., 72.

¹⁵³ Ibid., 92.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

commit rape places outside of the borders of the normative and acceptable representation of a public actor and as a proper man and citizen, since sexual violence, as a criminal act is committed against public norms and morality. The rapist, as an inappropriate public actor, seems to be diagnosed with extreme, perilous and uncontrollable sexuality. The rapist is marginalized and pathologicalized in terms of physiological and psychological diagnosis. Castration here as a biopolitical intervention, mixed with medico-juridical discourse, functions to provide surveillance and control over the dangerous body. Through biopolitical modification and intervention, the “inappropriate” male body is turned into a harmless body that is regarded as no longer dangerous in public.

Modern castration as a scientific concept and medical operation is different from the ancient practice of castration, which was surgical and permanent. Modern, chemical castration, however, is going through endocrinological regulations over the body. This modern chemical castration is achieved through reducing male hormones: testosterone. Some personal traits such as aggression or assertiveness, and sexual motivation and desire is attributed to male hormones as if a source of masculinity. Thus, masculinity is depicted as a hormonal entity under notions of endocrinology.¹⁵⁵ Chemical castration, for example, reflects the new scientific approach to maleness, which is engendered by a calibration of testosterone. Hence, different parts or components of bodies such as hormones seems to produce meaning of masculinity. The meaning of partial seems to project molecularization of male body within a *molecular gaze* of biopolitical techniques. As discussed in the section of Redemption of Zoë, Rose and Rabinow argue for a new molecular understanding of bodies and organs. Accordingly, the molecular gaze provides a gaze of monitoring and surveillance over the body through its parts and organs. Rosi Braidotti also considers gendered bodies as

¹⁵⁵ Meredith W. Watts, *Biopolitics and Gender* (Haworth Press, 1984).

machines which are constituted by myriad segments. Braidotti decipher the body as a machine rather than an organism, and each of these different segments of the machine produces a meaning and affect in turn.¹⁵⁶ For example, aggression, sexual energy or masculine violence are understood within an activation of male hormone of testosterone. Hence, the reasons for sexual crimes, violence, and assertiveness are also linked to the effects of these male hormones.¹⁵⁷ Thus, varied approaches in modern science (endocrinology) the male body gains a new meaning within the political economy of advance modernity.

In conclusion, the historical and conceptual shift in interpretations and uses of castration seems to bring about a different understanding of masculinity within a fraternal tradition in democracy and citizenship. Turning back to Schmitt arguments on fraternity, he proposes, “diagnose” enemy in order to control it. Diagnosis here is required in order to recognize and take measures against the enemy but also seem to establish and solidify norms and morality by making sense of bodies of enemy. Whereas the consent theory, as Miller argues, keeps women’s bodies as biopolitical spaces, the castration turns “inappropriate” or “excessive” male sexuality and his body into biopolitical spaces of control and regulation. However, considering molecular biopolitical techniques, diagnosis is zoomed in every single segments such as organs, cells or hormones through molecular gaze of surveillance, as Rose and Rabinow argue, these segments also starts to make sense and provide meaning. Molecular biopolitics as a gaze over the male hormones makes sense of aggression and violence in relation with the intensity or reaction of testosterone in male body. Therefore, explanation of sexual violence, which is assumed to be caused by an extreme level of testosterone or an abnormal response in some male bodies, comes to the point of undermining

¹⁵⁶ Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory*.

¹⁵⁷ Watts, *Biopolitics and Gender*.

either individual or social reasons for sexual crime. Accordingly, the perilous testosterone effect that generates uncontrollable sexuality and aggressive behavior, seems as an enemy, perversion or abnormality inside male body.

Following Rose's arguments in his essay of *Biology of Culpability*, the enemy inside is regarded as incapable of taking responsibility for his act; thus, he could not conform to the moral obligations of society because of his or her biological dispositions. At that point, molecular biopolitical techniques operate absolutely different from the eugenic view over crime and criminals. In eugenic operation of biopolitics, which the body of enemy is segregated or confined out society, differently form that in molecular biopolitics criminal subject is regarded intractable individual who are unable to commit moral obligations of society.¹⁵⁸ For this reason, molecular biopolitics tries to control and monitor the body of enemy under the surveillance, and the biopolitical intervention is preventative toward the dangerous body as enemy and inclined to avoid the risks associated with him.

This chapter has tried to demonstrate variance in the interpretations and functions of castration throughout history, and argue that any possible interpretation of castration also reflects the approaches to masculinities, especially when regarded as abject, criminal and dangerous masculinities of contemporary society. Seemingly, medical operation and juridical decision of chemical castration of those convicted of rape implies different interpretations of the enemy and dangerous masculinities from eugenic and colonial periods. While eugenic and colonial examples of castration have aimed to prevent the transmission of dangerous genes between races and to future generations, contemporary examples of chemical castration do not share the same concern. The former one claims to improve human genes and protect a whole race or nation from dangerous genes or the harmful hypersexuality of men as the abject/other, and this implies segregation or

¹⁵⁸ Rose, "Biology of Culpability: Pathological Identity and Crime Control in a Biological Culture," 22.

exclusion from public space and political areas of life. The contemporary one, however, does not aim to segregate the body from society but makes a calibration in the body's parts in order to make bodies of abject/other conform to social morality. Hence, in the eugenic and colonial examples operates through segregation or confinement of *bare life*, and in contemporary examples of castration operates through calibration of bodies' components takes place, but both of the operations still question and judge the appropriateness of the male body as a public actor through the gaze over his sexual existence. Contemporary castration within a penology¹⁵⁹, however, involves a series of risk calculations that does not take the individual perpetrator to account for the crime, but instead tries to carve the biological reason of criminal behavior from out his body.

The penology is going through a demarcation or separation between civilized, proper or desirable citizens and uncivilized or unassimilable bodies in society. The perpetrator here is marginalized as a person who could not take responsibility of his or her behavior and could not conform to the mores of civilized society.¹⁶⁰ In parallel with Protevi's arguments on decontextualization and desubjectification in the case of fear, there has been a dehumanization of criminals in order to strip criminal acts of their political and social background.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Malcolm Feeley and Jonathan Simon, "The New Penology: Notes on the Emerging Strategy of Corrections and Its Implications," *Criminology*, January 1, 1992, 449.

¹⁶⁰ Nikolas Rose, *The Politics of Life Itself: Biomedicine, Power, and Subjectivity in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton University Press, 2007), 6.

¹⁶¹ Alev Özkazanç, *Siyaset Sosyolojisi Yazıları: Yeni Sağ ve Sonrası* (Dipnot Yayınları, 2007), 37.

Chapter 4- Biopolitical Reading of Castration Neoliberal Turkey with Masculinity in Crisis

In this chapter I will focus on how abject/criminalized men are perceived as fear objects contained by an assemblage of ethnicity, age and sexuality in a neoliberal society. The chapter will provide an exemplary case of a biopolitical reading of the castration of rape convicts in neoliberal Turkey, which inspires the thesis subject. Here, I will focus on the draft law more closely by considering the theoretical arguments offered in Chapters 1 and 2 with an evocative contemplation on castration in neoliberal Turkey.

Turkey has entered a period of neo-liberal transformation since the 1980s; concepts of citizenship, urban space and gender structure have been altered to create a new subjectivity within the frame of a new social imagery. During the process of this construction, the policy makers have assumed an active role in shaping the society according to the expectations of the new global system. In this thesis, the matter of new social imaginary that lies within the triangle of the fear, neoliberalism and masculinity reveals/uncovers/highlights various perspectives about urban poverty, immigration, neoliberal subjectivity.

Considering that Turkey is a Middle Eastern country with a huge Muslim majority, of course the political and cultural context can/must be differentiated from other neoliberal societies, especially in West. However, this thesis aims neither to give an overall political and cultural contextualization of Turkey nor focus on a/the single experience of neoliberalism in Turkey. Rather, this thesis tries to interrogate the biopolitical meaning of the castration bill in neoliberal Turkey, which experiences “masculinity in crisis” at the same time. Turkey is passing through a period of neoliberalism, which is in some ways similar to that of other Middle Eastern countries, even though some structural and cultural differences have to be recognized. One of the most common and visible experiences in

these Middle Eastern and Muslim societies is “masculinity in crisis”, according to Paul Amar, has been experienced in these countries in relation with the/their post-colonial heritage, global market economy and neoliberal state regulation.¹⁶² In regards to this, structural changes and new economic regimes produce masculinity in crisis, which is regarded as social trouble and destruction in social morality. Serpil Sancar, in her book *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar* (Masculinity: Impossible Power) argues for masculinity in crisis within the context of neoliberal Turkey by considering the structural changes in Turkey and the new economic regime, the experience of masculinity and perceptions of the young man have also changed in society.¹⁶³

According to George Mosse, masculinity as idealized form regarded as foundation of nation and society¹⁶⁴ however “a failure to be masculine is seen in the national area as pathological.”¹⁶⁵ Construction of masculinity is always contradictory and complex in history since it is hard to meet idealized powerful figure of masculinity. This ideal figure, according to Connell, is “hegemonic masculinity” that occupies privileged position in society such as white, heterosexual, married, which also strengthen recent system of patriarchy in turn. However, Connell also deciphers varied masculinities that are constructed relationally in society, some of them are “complicit masculinities” which “received the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance” (p.832), abject/subordinate masculinities such as homosexual, criminal and black masculinities.¹⁶⁶ In the era of neoliberalism in Turkey, the young male population has been

¹⁶² Paul Amar, “Middle East Masculinity Studies: Discourses of ‘Men in Crisis,’ Industries of Gender in Revolution,” *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies* 7, no. 3 (2011): 5.

¹⁶³ Serpil Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler* (Metis, 2009).

¹⁶⁴ George Lachmann Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Middle-Class Morality and Sexual Norms in Modern Europe* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

¹⁶⁵ Sander L. Gilman, “Damaged Men: Thoughts on Kafka’s Body,” in *Constructing Masculinity*, ed. Maurice Berger et al. (Psychology Press, 1995), 176.

¹⁶⁶ R. W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender & Society* 19, no. 6 (December 1, 2005): 829–59.

regarded as troublemakers and a social problem. The reason for this perception young male is an imaginary, representative one and based on practical consequences of uneven social change in society, especially since the 1980's. Leyza Neyzi explains that youth in Turkey have always been represented as gatekeepers of the new, young republic. Particularly in the first decades of the republic (1920-1950), the youth population was regarded as locomotive for national development and welfare.¹⁶⁷

Since the 1950s, there has been huge amount of urban development and migration from rural to urban areas. This resulted in a new population structure, with a high concentration of youth becoming apparent in urban areas. In harmony with historical trajectory such as age of 68's, the youth population has engaged with political activities and made manifest their worldviews. Regardless of whether they are from the left wing or the right wing, there has been a high level of political participation by the youth and several political organizations which were initiated by youth movement. In that period, even if youth had been regarded as rebellious, they are still associated with "ülkü" (an aim, goal). In that period, youth were represented as idealistic and acting in accordance with their "ideological motivations."¹⁶⁸

The military coup that took place in the changed social and political life in Turkey. Neoliberalism was initiated in this period by a coalition between the new military regime, state agencies and free-market system in accelerated global capitalism.¹⁶⁹ Political parties and their associated youth organizations were prohibited and shut down, and all manner of political activities were shut down. Most of the young activists were imprisoned; others had to retrieve from their political aims (ülkü).

¹⁶⁷ Leyla Neyzi, "Türkiye'de Kamusal Söylemde Gençlik Kurgusunun Değişimi," in *Katılımın "E-Hali": Gençlerin Sanal Alemi*, ed. Aslı Telli Aydemir (Istanbul: Alternatif Bilisim Derneği, 2011).

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁹ Alev Özkazanç, *Neo-liberal Tezahürler: Vatandaşlık, Suç, Eğitim* (Dipnot, 2011).

After the 1980s, however, the youth came to be perceived as apolitical, selfish and irresponsible.¹⁷⁰

This new representation of Turkey's youth reflects the deep frustration and depression, nostalgia and melancholia that breed negative feelings toward youth, which reflected pessimism about future and feeling of insecurity in society, because of changes in social and political life after the military coup.¹⁷¹

Since the 1990s, the young population (between ages 16-24) has represented the highest proportion of the Turkey's population.¹⁷² This demographic reality generates new social consequence, the youth bulge in active population (between ages 16-65) supplies surplus which is excessive to demand in labor market. In addition, previous generation in active population have already occupied the positions in recent workforce. However, the youth bulge generates some difficulties such as unemployment, under-employment and feelings of disempowerment. These circumstances breed feelings of frustration and disappointment among many young men, because, unlike their fathers and men of previous generations, they cannot attain the prestigious and privileged position of breadwinner. Moreover, many of these young men remain dependent on their families, and they are suffering from lack of autonomy and individual freedom.¹⁷³

Family structure and gender roles are highly rigid and family is regarded as the core institution in Turkey. The modernization story of Turkey is grounded on family being regarded as the primary locomotive of the society, as it moves toward modernism and progress.¹⁷⁴ Ayşe Buğra points out, men always are regarded in the position of the breadwinner, playing the roles of father and husband,

¹⁷⁰ Neyzi, "Türkiye'de Kamusal Söylemde Gençlik Kurgusunun Değişimi."

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² F. C. Shorter, "The Crisis of Population Knowledge in Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 12 (December 1994): 1–31.

¹⁷³ Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*.

¹⁷⁴ Serpil Sancar, *Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, kadınlar Aile Kurar* (İletişim, 2012).

and women stay in the traditional housewife position, taking on the roles of mother and wife. Besides, family as an institution and gender roles within the family brings privileges for the people, thereby receiving social recognition and a prestigious position in society.¹⁷⁵ There is oft-repeated saying in Turkish society: “In order to be a proper man, men have to go military service and establish his family”; men have to meet social expectations in order to be recognized as a complete or proper man in the society. These are rites of passage which provide societal recognition and cooperation especially among male membership of their own society.¹⁷⁶

However, unlike young women who are not expected to work outside the home or leave parental house, men are strongly encouraged and expected to leave the house, to work and to meet his needs and those of his family. Women are still mostly considered as dependent on their fathers, and leaving the parental home is possible only if women marries and then goes to her own/ husband’s home. Because of that, men have to initiate marriage and set up home; in this way, men have to take responsibility for women as well. Therefore, men also have to earn enough money for the investment in marriage as for a future plan. Fathers have long held the prestigious role of breadwinner position in nuclear family model; hence, these young men are also expected to fit an ideal profile of a proper man/father/husband by meeting these social roles and expectations.¹⁷⁷

Being a proper citizen, man and father seems to merge into the roles and duties of the family structure. While previous generations of fathers derived/took these benefits as a sort of a standard way of life in their full-time, wage labor jobs, today’s young men are suffering from underemployment and disempowerment in their part-time or informal jobs. In previous

¹⁷⁵ Sancar, *Erkeklik: Imkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*.

¹⁷⁶ Victor Turner, “Liminality and Communitas,” in *The Performance Studies Reader* (Psychology Press, 2004), 89–97.

¹⁷⁷ Sancar, *Erkeklik: Imkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*.

times/years/generations, fathers had access to the prestigious breadwinner role and, thus, to masculine honor but the lack of economic autonomy and submission to paternal authority facing today's young men keep them away from masculine honor and in an extended period of boyhood.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, women's participation in labor market and continuation in higher education postpones marriages. The new gender structures generate dissonances and discrepancies between social expectations and recent social experiences and ideals of youth.¹⁷⁹ This dissonance and discrepancy seems like concrete indicators of apparent crises in patriarchy and make the powerful idea of masculinity fragile. These young men are experiencing frustration and hostility because they are not recognized as respected citizens and men, and they are stigmatized as failures and shameful to masculinity.¹⁸⁰ They are represented as immature, boyish, irresponsible and distrustful persons within society and an unnecessary part of population who become idle and useless bodies.¹⁸¹

Neoliberal communitarian logic, hyper-responsible citizens, mounting consumerism and privatization in society produce gated communities of middle class urban citizens.¹⁸² The new urban structure produces social distance and exclusion between social classes, the wealthy and poor. The borders of environments are determined and demarcated through exclusion of the stranger.¹⁸³ Middle class people wish to create their own pure and secure social environment.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Alev Özkazanç, "Gezi'den Sonra Gelen: 'Kızılı-Erkekli' Şeyler Üzerine Düşünceler," *Birikim*, 2013, <http://www.birikimdergisi.com/birikim/makale.aspx?mid=1050&makale=Gezi%27den%20Sonra%20Gelen:%20%22K%FDz1%FD-Erkekli%22%20%DEeyler%20%DCzerine%20D%FC%FE%FCnceler,>.

¹⁸⁰ Sancar, *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ayfer Bartu Candan and Biray Kolluoğlu, "Emerging Spaces of Neoliberalism: A Gated Town and a Public Housing Project in Istanbul," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 54 (2008): 5–46.

¹⁸³ Zygmunt Bauman, *Collateral Damage: Social Inequalities in a Global Age* (Polity, 2011).

Religious and colocation-based communities of people who are constituted by immigrant groups in urban space¹⁸⁴ are also looking for exclusion and protection from the unpredictable urban structure. People who come from same origins generally live in same neighborhood in order to create a solidarity, based on colocality, which is different from national citizenship. Colocation constitute a community refers to people who come from same origins living together in a destination country or city.¹⁸⁵ Sometimes, colocality constitutes ghettos through a crystallization of identity and culture of the place of origin, and also produces its own social norms, values and mores in urban area. These neighborhoods are semi-private spaces, which are based on gender segregation and exclusion of the stranger man. Women's mobility is restricted in the neighborhood and they only gather with their women relatives for socialization in these communities. Social life is predicated on kinship at the micro level and religion at the macro level. Women gather for religious talk (sohbet) with other women who also come from different cities and have different origins, or they visit their relatives in order to solidify kinship relations and socialization processes.¹⁸⁶ The man, as outsider, is regarded as an undesirable body that is dangerous and therefore kept out of the social organization, which is based on co-locality and kinship networks. The public spaces such as parks, tea gardens in the borders of these neighborhoods are exclusively occupied by women, married couples and respectful elder men, while excluding outsider men (young, strange and single) for the sake of security and protection patriarchal honor.¹⁸⁷

The new urban structure results in the privatization of the public sphere. From gentrification projects to new gated residences and sites within a rampart structure, from ghettos based on

¹⁸⁴ Cihan Tugal, *Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism* (Stanford University Press, 2009).

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Erol Demir, "Toplumsal Değişme Süreci İçinde Gençlik Parkı: Sosyolojik Bir Değerlendirme," *Planlama*, no. 4 (2006): 69–77.

colocality to religious communities, they demonstrate examples of segmentation, fragmentation and (re)territorialization of urban spaces. The new urban structure has been raised through segregation, exclusion and separation between different socio-economic classes¹⁸⁸ Setting boundaries for the sake of a more secure and pure social environment clusters particular kinds of social groups (social class, ethnic or religious based communities) together and demarcates others (urban poor, immigrants).

In parallel with new neoliberal state policies and economic conditions in advanced capitalism, Kurdish people, as newcomers in urban space, can hardly be integrated into new urban structure because they lack the opportunity to receive social services and economic equality and equity. As a deprived group, Kurdish people have to overcome double burdens in urban areas. First, they have to deal with stereotypes and prejudices of being terrorists because of recent guerilla war, and second, as newcomers, they have to deal with the stigmatization of being the stranger and the other in urban space, because they have been regarded as potential danger and scapegoat for all recent problems in the urban society.¹⁸⁹

Assemblages of Fear through Bodies of Young, Single and Racialized Men

“Ineffectual persons anywhere in the social organization are a menace to the whole” (Anderson, Total War) “The avoidance of demoralization and the promotion and maintenance of morale are as important in the civilian home front and the industrial and commercial supporting organizations as they are in the zone of combat”¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ Caglar Keyder, “Globalization and Social Exclusion in Istanbul,” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, no. 1 (March 1, 2005): 124–34.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁰ Anderson, “Modulating the Excess of Affect: Morale in a State of ‘Total War,’” 171. With a reference to (Sullivan 1941, p.288)

As discussed in Chapter 2, the assemblage of fear is constituted by corporeal representations of the stranger other. *Morale* here functions as an assemblage that gathers, collects and territorializes stranger others who are regarded as a menace to whole in order to deal with them. *Morale* diagnoses, differentiates and categorizes these bodies of *ineffectual persons* in order to avoid demoralization in society. Considering the function of fear as a political affect together with *morale* as an affective gathering of population, *Morale* puts forward an assemblage of fear in order to make sense of bodies of other and take them under the control and surveillance in the *state of exception* as seen under the conditions of “Total War.”¹⁹¹ In this thesis, the assemblage of fear is constituted by young, single, poor and immigrant male citizens as perceived as ineffectual persons in neoliberal Turkey. The state of exception here is grounded on neoliberal context of Turkey, which has been confronted with unregulated global market forces, evaporation of social citizenship, ethnic conflict and migration, and a new gender regime struggling with masculinity in crisis.

As mentioned above, there have been huge amounts of young people who cannot or do not conform expectations of society. They are unmarried and sometimes unemployed men who are regarded as unwilling to take on social responsibilities.¹⁹² These young men, which are out of the social system and family life experience have been regarded as degenerative and self-destructive individuals in society. According to a recent declaration of the Minister of Energy and Natural resources, “Being single is more dangerous than nuclear energy”. He has tried to prove his claim by referring to research in the USA that indicates single people live six years less than the national population average.¹⁹³ Single, young male sexuality is likely to be associated with disorder that threatens family and the patriarchal order.

¹⁹¹ Anderson, “Modulating the Excess of Affect: *Morale* in a State of ‘Total War.’”

¹⁹² Sancar, *Erkeklik: Imkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*.

¹⁹³ “Yıldız: Bekarlık Nükleerden Daha Tehlikeli,” n.d., <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25199789/>.

Young males who live on the street are also condemned or demonized in the public eye, since they are perceived as dangerous and unpredictable. Being rootless and homeless is associated with a trouble and disorder that could be contagious for others. As an example, both dogs and young male people in the streets are associated with each other and the same degree of danger and dirtiness. “The idle young man is not human; he is more an animal – a dog that lives in the street.” This saying is a quite popular analogy among the Turkish public. It means that these men are as dangerous and wild as dogs which do not have an owner and live on the street. They spend the time on streets, and it does not matter where they are coming from, because they are everywhere. Along the lines of this perception in society, Prime Minister Erdoğan declares his conservative moralist agenda by saying, “We do not want the young who addicted to thinner, but we cultivate a religious young!”¹⁹⁴ The words also reflect Islam religion as a moral ground for Turkish society and boys who are addicted to thinner is popular stigma of/against street boys, which reflects fear of the “uncontrollable” young male body. Erdoğan used the same strategy during Gezi movements (June, 2013) by announcing the young political protestors were “çapulcu” (pillagers) and claiming that these young protestors destabilized welfare of society.¹⁹⁵ It seems that the government could manage to mobilize fear toward political agenda of government as a legitimate source of the social policies and as an immune to any sort of political resistance.

Sexuality becomes spectacles in public in the 1990s with rise of global media and culture effects on local.¹⁹⁶ According to Öncü, the commodification and public exhibition of sexuality results in a shift from reproduction to consumption that is associated with pleasure. However, this also

¹⁹⁴ “Erdoğan: Gençlik Tineri Mi Olsun?,” n.d., <http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25319805>.

¹⁹⁵ “Başbakan Erdoğan: Biz Birkaç Çapulcunun Yaptıklarını Yapmayız,” n.d., http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/basbakan_erdogan_biz_birkac_capulcunun_yaptiklarini_yapmayiz-1136875.

¹⁹⁶ Ayşe Öncü, “Cinselliğin Seyirlik bir Tüketim Malzemesi Haline Gelmesi,” in *Kültür Fragmanları: Türkiye’de Gündelik Hayat*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti and Zeynep Yelçe (Metis Yayınları, 2003).

produces an undesirable other through this *sexualized gaze*¹⁹⁷, viewing the other as monstrous and uncivilized figure.¹⁹⁸ This also delimits absurd and inappropriate bodies in public in accordance with cultural, socio-economic and ethnic identity of other.¹⁹⁹ Thereafter, the spectacle of sexuality in public produces unaesthetic bodies through a visual economy. As Öncü argues, these bodies are regarded as hypersexual, dangerous epidemic in society.

Kurdish men are considered as having destructive power. In her article, “Who is İstanbuler?” (Öncü, 2000) Ayşe Öncü states that people always need *the other* in order to claim himself as local and original. The other is always created within the role of devastator of social order or perpetrator of undesirable, devastating social change. They are stigmatized as uncivilized and ignorant. They are seen as powerful enough to ruin social order. They are perpetrators of all social crises, uneven urban development and degeneration.²⁰⁰ Young Kurdish men are represented and projected as a social problem which needs to be solved. However, these bodies are presented as criminals and threat for middle class family life.²⁰¹ In the media, these Kurdish young men are represented as dark, ugly and hairy men who are uncivilized, ubersexual and vulgar. These racial images are converge to the definition of ‘pervert’ (sapık). Racialization of masculinities is encapsulated in definitions of perverse, abnormal and dangerous behaviors.²⁰²

Regarding the examples mentioned above, the perceptions over male sexuality seems to merge with the production of the other at the border of the home. These male bodies and their sexual

¹⁹⁷ Baudrillard, *The Perfect Crime*.

¹⁹⁸ Öncü, “Cinselliğin Seyirlik bir Tüketim Malzemesi Haline Gelmesi.”

¹⁹⁹ Öncü highlights that these undesirable other is generally signs Kurdish immigrant population that becomes apparent in urban space in the beginning of 80’s, that also run across change in visual culture and rising spectacle of sexuality in public. Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ayşe Öncü, “İstanbulites and the Others: The Global Cosmology of Middle Classness in an Age of Globalism,” in *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, ed. Çağlar Keyder (Rowman & Littlefield, 1999).

²⁰¹ Levent Cantek, *Çizgili kenar notları* (İletişim, 2007).

²⁰² Ibid.

existence do neither occupy any prestigious status in home nor do they conform to the normative expectations of home, so they are recognized as “unassimilable bodies.”²⁰³ *Morale* here operates through fear assemblage that makes it possible to assimilate these unassimilable bodies by labeling them as dangerous-stranger other. *Morale* gathers the population around the feeling of fear oriented toward these bodies, and also positions these bodies in a borderline status within normative society. Since these bodies do not fit into normative forms of home, they are cast out from home as inappropriate, improper public actors and citizens in society. However, as argued before, *morale* does not function only in production of the other contained in fear assemblage, but *morale* also reflects the state of exception which society experience and also promises a “hope” for the future.²⁰⁴

The Draft law of Castration and Biopolitical Citizenship

Remembering the discussions in Chapter 1, within global networks of power, a state of exception could not be created primarily through the juridical-legal apparatus of state-centered power, but rather it is engendered as a moral response to an unpredictable social reality and future possibilities. Not only does sovereign power reduce the political existence of the subject to *bare life* in order to produce a governable life, but the power tries to take life itself under its control to make it predictable.

From beginning of 80’s risk has become an apparent phenomenon in *new penology*²⁰⁵ with the rise of neoliberal governmentality.²⁰⁶ New morale around risk and fear constitutes biopolitical dispositives of neoliberal governmentality. Chemical castration of rape convicts here provides an example of biopolitical dispositives in two aspects: The first is the molecular gaze that creates new

²⁰³ Ahmed, *Strange Encounters*.

²⁰⁴ Anderson, “Modulating the Excess of Affect: Morale in a State of ‘Total War,’” 170.

²⁰⁵ Penology is based on (selective) incapacitation, preventive detention and profiling.

²⁰⁶ Feeley and Simon, “The New Penology: Notes on the Emerging Strategy of Corrections and Its Implications.”

technological approaches to body and produces meaning over each different segment of the body. The second is the state of exception that delivers a context-dependent *morale*, which gathers people around an affective collection. In the case of castration, *morale* seems to be subject to a molecular gaze over bodies and make differentiation, categorization and classification through them, constituting the form of a new penology in turn.

Focusing on the draft law that proposes chemical castration for rape convicts and pedophiles, two aspects of biopolitics in neoliberal Turkey become apparent: The first is the molecular biopolitics of castration, which claims to provide a treatment rather than a punishment, and the second is the state of exception that reveals a masculinity in crisis in the face of modern patriarchy in Turkey. The first reflects contemporary global moral concerns over liberal and democratic claims in order to keep citizens believe in so called universal, civilized and humanitarian values of modern democracy, and the second creates/generates/engenders local moral concerns and anxieties in society surrounding masculinity in crisis.

The government party, which has been in power since 2002, postulates the political view as “conservative democrats.”²⁰⁷ This political view declares itself as a democratic and civilized tradition of modernity and also a protector of cultural traditions and the morality of society. The political definition of conservative democrat seems adaptable to the neoconservative trend in the world. Unlike classical conservatism, neo-conservatism is open to, and even admires, modernist technological enhancement and supports an economy, which is well-adapted to a global, flexible economy. However, the main discontent of neoconservatives in Turkey against modernism is more cultural issues rather than technological.²⁰⁸ Prime Minister Erdoğan has clearly declared this view

²⁰⁷ Yalçın Akdoğan, *AK Parti ve Muhafazakâr Demokrasi* (Alfa, 2004).

²⁰⁸ Özgün Erler, “Yeni Muhafazakârlık, AKP ve Muhafazakâr Demokrat Kimliği,” *Stratejik Öngörü*, no. 10 (2007): 126–32.

toward Turkish students, saying: “Unfortunately we get [the] immorality of West, not the science of it”.²⁰⁹ According to Erdoğan, some traditional values, such as family, morality, religion have to be protected while achieving contemporary technological developments. However, the AKP, as neoconservative party seems to merge democratic modernism and cultural conservatism in the same political agenda: Hence, the spectacle of updated technology.

Two parliament’s members of the AKP government party (2011) proposed the castration bill. The draft proposed that rape convicts and pedophiles should be exposed to a “medical treatment” of decreasing the level of the testosterone hormone in order to make perpetrator sexuality inactive and impotent.²¹⁰ The draft has been debated since 2011, and many of ministers and PM’s have been involved in the debate. Recently, there has been new law enforcement mechanism on sexual crimes and punishment, which includes the “medical treatment”²¹¹ of rapes convicts as well. There has been a pivotal emphasis on “treatment” instead of punishment and denial that the application constitutes castration, since the application of castration recalls pre-modern, classical Ottoman manner, which had been done by surgical means.²¹² The draft, thus has a strong statement that the application is a treatment fitting into democratic claims and humanitarian values. Comparing with other castration examples from “all over the World” but predominantly from counties known as modern, democratic countries of West, such as Canada, Nederland, Denmark, it is claimed that the

²⁰⁹ “‘Batı’nın İlmini Değil Ahlaksızlığını Aldık’,” n.d.,

<http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2008/01/25/haber,8B601321AE6D4C2287A5CBC5E777E323.html>. Apparently, the idea of modernism implies western modernism which Turkey Republic aims to achieve, since foundation of the Republic.

²¹⁰ “Tecavüzcüye Hadım Cezası Teklifi,” n.d., http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/tecavuzcuye_hadim_cezasi_teklifi-1039484.news informs about the law and its content.

²¹¹ “Cinsel Suçlar Yasası Ne Getiriyor?,” n.d., <http://bianet.org/bianet/kadin/155853-cinsel-suclar-yasasi-ne-getiriyor>,. minister of Justice declare that there would be medical treatment or an intervention over rape convicts If the court find it necessary.

²¹² “Başbakan Erdoğan: Biz Birkaç Çapulcunun Yaptıklarını Yapmayız.” especially recent minister of Family and Social Policies insist on the claim of treatment by determining the medical intervention is not a surgical one but it is a chemical one.

application is universal and reasonable.²¹³ As in the example of announcement of medical treatment of rape convicts, molecular biopolitics, which operates over single parts of body, affords the legitimization for the intervention and regulation within a civilized and humanitarian discourse and promises a betterment or treatment for criminals. Medical techniques and scientific discourse constitute the legitimate ground for this claim, in order to approve medical intervention over bodies in accordance with liberal and humanitarian creed.

The reason for sexual violence pertains more to the social and cultural context rather than being essential to sexuality and individuality.²¹⁴ However, chemical castration seems to be considered as a way to prevent sexual violence caused by these ubersexual and perverse bodies. In terms of the draft law, dangerous men are disarmed from their weapon (penis); this brings up the promising treatment of sexual disorders rather than punishment. Moreover, a man without his weapon is considered as disengaging from his primary motivation for the sexual violence. If men lose sexual potency, they will stay away from the crime. One of these PMs also claims that while “perpetrators of rape suffer from shame and regret, they also demand salvation.”²¹⁵ The crime here appears as gendered and sexualized; male sexuality without self-control is regarded as threat; thus the issue of crime is also reduced biological reasons.²¹⁶

As Rose discusses, biology per se becomes the reason for culpability through diminishing the individual responsibility for his criminal action. The shame of rape convicts then reveals a lack of

²¹³ “Tecavüzcüleri ‘Hadım Etme’ Yasa Teklifi!,” n.d., <http://www.haberaktuel.com/tecavuzculeri-hadim-etme-yasa-teklifi-haberi-238386.html>, two PM’s who proposes the draft, explains legitimate and scientific background of Draft law

²¹⁴ Tönel, “Tecavüzcüyü Hadım Etmek Tecavüzü Engeller Mi?” Ebru Tönel, Kocaeli University, Faculty of Communication.

²¹⁵ Alev Dedegil, “Tecavüzcüye Kimyasal Kısırlaştırma,” n.d., <http://www.turkhukuk sitesi.com/showthread.php?t=41442>,. Alev Dedegil Who is one of a parliament members of Government party; AKP claim that medical treatment is the absolute solution to erode rape.

²¹⁶From Turkish translation; Tecavüz Suçları İle İlgili Kadın Milletvekilleri Tarafından Hazırlanan “Hadım Etme” Yasa Tasarısı Üzerine, Ankara Barosu, 2011.

self-control and disability to conform moral obligation of individuals, makes rape convicts differentiated from a “normal” citizens in public. Biological dispositions seem to be merged with a lack of moral conduct, and criminal act is also linked to moral culpability. Hence, Rose explains genetic reasoning as “my gene made me do it!”²¹⁷ In this case, rape convicts seems likely to put forward the excuse of their biological disposition as “my hormone made me do it!”

Paul Amar defines the state function as a “security state” or “police-state” under the group of “human security state” (Amar, p.5)²¹⁸, which predominantly concerns “security for human subject”. However, a human security state is prone to the use of control strategies²¹⁹ such as the *new penology* and *penal welfare*²²⁰ of neoliberal governmentality, which operates through criminalization of the other but takes their bodies as objects to be controlled. Here, as Amar keenly highlights, the human security state and its agencies do not confine or expatriate criminalized bodies within category of *bare life*²²¹ but rather the state and its agencies produce these bodies in terms of cultural and political categories. Diversity in cultural and political subjects have taken under the control and a permanent surveillance by eliminating their political, cultural and ethnical identities and totalize them under a depoliticized category of risky and criminal body. Here the depoliticized and decontextualized subject seems sexualized as hypersexual and perverse, and criminalized as being lacking of morality and self-control. Masculine aggression is regarded as a sign of sexual energy and power; thus, the extreme amount of aggression has to be controlled and kept under surveillance. Even if the male power is appreciated and regarded as socially respectable within a model of hegemonic and normative masculinity, the power is outside of the model needs

²¹⁷ Rose, “Biology of Culpability: Pathological Identity and Crime Control in a Biological Culture,” 17.

²¹⁸ Amar, “Middle East Masculinity Studies,” 41.

²¹⁹ Rose, “Biology of Culpability: Pathological Identity and Crime Control in a Biological Culture.”

²²⁰ Nicola Lacey, “Punishment, (Neo)Liberalism and Social Democracy,” 2012, <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/21134>.

²²¹ Amar, “Middle East Masculinity Studies,” 41.

to be controlled. For example, the main mission of the Ministry of Family and Social Policies²²² enforces the protection of women and children from danger, and regulates the family structure while the domestic violence and gender inequality in family structure are remained untouched. The ministry has an absolute approach over women that position women in private and women need to be protected in public. Accordingly, the public is already represented as masculine and dangerous for female participation.²²³ Turning back to Ruth Miller's arguments as mentioned in previous chapter, woman's political identity and her representation in public policies seems to be restricted to her sexual existence and gender roles, and that turns the female body into a biopolitical space which is under the surveillance of public.²²⁴

Applying Miller's arguments to Turkey, women's bodies apparently turn into a biopolitical space in the context of modern Turkey. State authorities and public institutions, such as high schools, initiated virginity examinations from 1990s in order to protect the purity and chastity of young women.²²⁵ Another striking example involves the rape issue. In such cases, it is proposed that the female victim marry her rapist in order to protect her innocence and honor. The marriage was encouraged by state agencies as well. Pertaining to honor issue, there have been ritualized honor killings in which male relatives, such as husbands, fathers or brothers kill women, because women chastity and honor of family becomes impure. The state agencies of Turkey overlook the issues considering honor killings as private issues or cultural specificities. Lastly, the right of women to abortion is also under regulation of state agencies, and the right to abortion is debated in public through religious, moral and humanitarian judgments of women. For example, the mayor of Ankara (Capital City of Turkey) said, "What is the guilt of the child? The mother (who plans to take

²²² The name of the Ministry has been changed in 2011, former name was Ministry of Women and Family.

²²³ Sancar, *Erkeklik: Imkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*.

²²⁴ Miller, *The Limits of Bodily Integrity*.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 118.

abortion) should kill herself instead of her child”.²²⁶ As such, this implies a moral judgment by public authorities over women’s decisions. According to Miller, a woman’s social and political identity is reduced to her sexual existence and its visibility in public. Moreover, a woman’s body and her life is relegated to the private sphere, even in public concerns.

However, biopolitical intervention does not only apply to female citizens; male citizens also become the subject of biopolitical dispositives and regulations. Firstly, the compulsory military service of male citizens is depicted as them being protector of country and nation. This is given the form of a public duty for public actor as protector of nation. Men have to experience military discipline and practice both bodily and morally under the Panopticon gaze of military. The gaze constitutes a “proper”, “national” masculinity in relation to respectable status of national citizenship.²²⁷ Following the idea of the protector as a public actor, being the head of the family, the male citizen provides a panoptic gaze in order to control and monitor other members of family. However, as argued above, experience of male citizens in contemporary Turkey has changed according to global market economy and new neoliberal social structure. For example, most of young male citizens are reluctant to go into military service. Individual concerns and ideals preponderates national and collective concerns.²²⁸ In addition to that, fathers and husbands can no longer exclusively occupy the breadwinner position in their families; there has been an increase in women’s and children’s participation in the workforce, as these men can hardly support the needs of all family members that also make impossible to Panopticon control over these member in total. Moreover, young men demand both individual autonomy and masculine honor as their fathers had;

²²⁶ “Melih Gökçek: Anası Kendini Öldürsün!,” 2012,

http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/melih_gokcek_anasi_kendini_oldursun-1089899,.

²²⁷ Tuba Kancı and Ayşe Gül Altınay, “Educating Little Soldiers and Little Ayses: Militarised and Gendered Citizenship in Turkish Textbooks,” in *Education in Multicultural Societies: Turkish and Swedish Perspectives*, ed. Marie Carlson, Annika Rabo, and Fatma Gök (Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2007).

²²⁸ Sancar, *Erkeklik: Imkansız İktidar: Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*.

however, the discrepancy between their expectations and material conditions, such as underemployment and disempowerment, make these demands impossible. This ends up causing frustration and disappointment.²²⁹ Accordingly, the paradigm of biopolitical citizenship in neoliberal era of Turkey seems likely shift to different form in the situation of recent masculinity in crises.

Deniz Kandiyoti highlights the nascent shape of patriarchy differently from traditional one.²³⁰ The new shape reflects a more fragile and inconsistent structure that brings about fears for women who bargaining with patriarchy as well. The fragile and inconsistent structure of the new patriarchy does not assure or conform traditional social and gender roles in family and society. With the rise of neoliberal subjectivity, the patriarchal order seems to change as well. Kandiyoti argues that decline of classical patriarchy comes with female conservatism and engenders feelings of nostalgia of classical patriarchy and moral concerns about future.²³¹ Accordingly, masculinity crisis in neoliberal society effects women as well as men. Furthermore, conservative tendencies in society seem to be reiterated by the media, as does the commodification of fear.²³² For example, according to Mehmet Kul's research, in recent decades in Turkey, the level of fear of crimes has becomes larger than the level of crime.²³³ Mehmet Kul interrogates the perception of fear in Istanbul within urban space. The result of the research highlights an increase in fear of crime in urban space. It is not a claim that violence has increased in neoliberal Turkey, but rather that the perception and

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Deniz Kandiyoti, "Bargaining with Patriarchy," *Gender & Society* 2, no. 3 (September 1, 1988): 274–90, doi:10.1177/089124388002003004.

²³¹ Öncü, "Cinselliğin Seyirlik bir Tüketim Malzemesi Haline Gelmesi," 283.

²³² Mark Warr, *Fear of Crime in the United States: Avenues for Research and Policy* (United States, 2000).

²³³ Mehmet Kul, *Suçtan Daha Büyük Suç Korkusu* (Yeniüzyıl Yayınevi, n.d.).

visibility of violence have increased by means of media and visual culture, and the commodification of fear through global security industries.²³⁴

Masculinity in crisis propounds the problems of young men in society, as they are regarded as a danger for public morality, but it also unveils the economic, social and political crisis in a neoliberal society and also reflects cultural values and taste. Additionally, the disciplinary Panopticon gaze provides much less efficient control in the face of masculinity crisis in neoliberal society because changing subjectivities and gender roles. Hence, as a reflection of “the draft law of castration”, this chapter particularly focuses on the apprehended feelings of moral perturbation, fear and anxiety of neoliberal urban subjects in conjunction with the representations and perception of these “criminalized” masculinities. The draft law seems a part of neoconservative policies and strategies of the patriarchal order in society. Considering Rose’s “biology of culpability”, the chemical castration of rape convicts reflects the fear of crime and its spectacular moral resonance in society, and provides persuasion about prevention or bypassing of fear through molecular operations inside of the social body. Here moral panic is reflexive and the constructive force of biopolitical dispositives. The biopolitical gaze is both affective and technical one; it proposes a molecular understating of dangerous masculinity as an enemy inside society. Biopolitical dispositives do not only construct normative and appropriate male citizen as a public actor, but these also recognize the enemy inside as inappropriate public actor, and modulates and monitor these bodies in order to take control.

²³⁴ Ibid.

Conclusion

As mentioned in the introduction, this thesis attempted to elaborate on the concept of chemical castration and a constellation of terms such as “testosterone”, “aggression”, “chemical”, “rapist”, “sexual violence”, “humanitarianism”, “modern solution”, and “prevention”. Following Foucault’s archeological methodology, I tried to understand how and why these terms come together under the larger concept of castration. In doing so, the thesis aimed to unpack the concept of castration in terms of logical and technical reasoning so as to make sense of the draft law which proposed chemical castration for rape convicts in contemporary Turkish society.

The scope of castration that was used in this thesis allowed us to see how the form of power operates in recent political economy of late modernity and advanced capitalism, and in moral economy of global society. Here chemical castration provides a form of gaze as operating power with biopolitical techniques over abject/criminalized male bodies and their masculinities, which produce knowledge, discourse and meanings that apprehend these bodies by linking their sexualities and crime to each other. While chemical castration approves a new penology based on culpability of biology and control strategies in contemporary societies, chemical castration with medical-juridical-scientific discourses merge with moral concerns of people’s everyday life. Here the thesis analyzes molecular gaze in societies of control (as defined by Deleuze) that approach different segments of life separately and produce the knowledge of it in turn. In this scheme, castration becomes an indication of molecular gaze over male body that constitutes knowledge of dangerous/risky masculinities, criminal or violent behavior and unpredictable/uncontrollable sexualities through male hormone of testosterone. Molecular gaze does not only provide scientific techniques but it re/produces life itself by trying to define, detect and control life itself. Power as a form of gaze operates through state of exception that addresses these aspects of social life thus,

gaze as a form of operating power also adapts to recent moral concerns, feelings and values in social life. Following Negri's and Hardt's arguments revolving around global networks of power, state of exception receives permanent, omnipresent and internal features which permeate every single space of life. According to this, feeling of danger or enemy does not come from outside the community/society, but the enemy appears inside the body, family, community and society. Fear of the dangerous other as the enemy becomes a risky body which would exist everywhere like virus, cancer cell or pervert in society. With the new state of exception, political affect of fear is utilized by sovereign power as legitimacy for violence, and it also transforms into a new modulation in the face of global civil society. Fear here molds between universal humanitarian and individual/communitarian moral concern of global citizens. In this light, neoconservative governments put forward control strategies and preventative techniques that aims at responding moral panic and fear in society and claiming humanitarian legitimacy for these.

For the last ten years in Turkey, the AKP has been the ruling party and adopted neo-conservatism as its fundamental ideological stance. This thesis aimed to recount the story of neoliberalism in Turkey since the 1980s and locate the neo-conservative policies of the AKP within the 20th century Turkish history, the last quarter of which witnessed a coup d'état and the state's entering into global economic market. I approach the AKP's neo-conservative policies as a response to the moral panic and anxiety in the face of the changes in social, economic and political life and global culture effects in contemporary neoliberal Turkey. For example, the change in patriarchal system and masculinity crisis in the neoliberal period, which created anxieties and moral panic, may provide the conditions of state of exception, as a mode of political affect of fear, which has been utilized by the ruling party since ten years. Morale in society constituted around fear is promoted by neo-conservative policies by promising a hope for the future. Within this political economy, chemical

castration presents itself as following moral concerns and social fear within a biopolitical governmentality, in which medical and legal merge. That also claims to avoid (sexual) violence that is visible in society by ultra-modern techniques and so called most humanitarian ways. Permeating all aspects of life, power re/produces itself within the everyday life, through its own techniques. Throughout this thesis, the ways the biopolitical governmentality grasps male sexuality from molecular gaze and makes the sexuality a part of its own control strategies within the political economy is presented.

Another aim of this thesis was to open new vistas for understanding the shifting modes of governmentality in Turkey with regards to the biopolitics of the AKP in theoretical grounds. A theoretical analysis on the concept of chemical castration for rape convicts in contemporary neoliberal society constituted the larger part of this thesis. The draft law which was proposed in 2011 here is the initiation point that inspire me to contemplate on the concept of castration. There were also several different perspectives and considerations on chemical castration which I could not present here due to the scope of my interest and space limitations of an MA project. I preferred to present a selection of argumentations and considerations, which provide an understanding of the concept within a neoliberal society. It is important to take the concept with archeological methodology by Foucault, and assemblages by Deleuze in order to understand how the power operates through life itself. The reasons why I have chosen contemporary society of Turkey as an example are twofold. Firstly, the draft law was proposed in the parliament of Turkey, and debates on the draft took place there, thus, it is feasible to follow and argue on Turkey more than any other countries. Secondly, I hope to carry out further research in Turkey as a fieldwork to analyze how theoretical ground which is presented in this thesis applied in the empirical area. For example there could be a fieldwork around perception of chemical castration in society, and fear of crime, moral

panic, and moral considerations on castration. However, I believe that it is equally important to put a theoretical framework on the concept in order to go further.

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