Middle East Technical University Ankara

&

Humboldt Universität zu Berlin

German Turkish Masters Program in Social Sciences

MA Thesis

_____

**Understanding Emotional Activism of the *Prefigurative Multitude*:
Selected Cases of Migrant Solidarity Kitchen Collectives in İstanbul
and Berlin**

_____

Havle Güney
531841
havleguney@gmail.com

Dr. Ertuğ Tombuş

Prof. Dr. Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç

23 February 2022

DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby declare that my thesis is the result of my own work and that I have marked all sources, including online sources, which have been cited without changes or in modified form, especially sources of texts, graphics, tables and pictures.

I assure that I have not submitted this thesis for any other examination yet.

I am aware that in case of any breach of these rules procedures concerning fraud or at tempted fraud will be taken in accordance with the subject-specific examination regulations and/or the **Allgemeine Satzung für Studien- und Prüfungsangelegenheiten** (ASSP) or the **Allgemeine Satzung zur Regelung von Zulassung, Studium und Prüfung der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin** (ZSP-HU).

Berlin, 23 February 2022

Havle Güney

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Last, but not least, my gratitude is particularly due to my parents and my sisters, for their lifelong support for my studies and their beautiful company throughout my life. Without them, I would not be where I am now.

Thank you all, from the bottom of my heart, for being there for me.

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract

Conducting empirical research on selected cases of migrant solidarity kitchen collectives, this study aims to understand how emotions and affects construct the capacities to engage in collective political action, as well as how emotions and affects are constructed by it. Based on the data collected from the public materials, the kitchens are located within the descriptive qualities of Hardt and Negri's radical political subject *multitude* and *prefigurative politics* – a multitudinous form of doing politics. Thus, the kitchens are construed as acts of *prefigurative multitude* based on their common organizing principles. Through selected working concepts of the *relational affect approach*, the main aim of this research is to analyze how (and which) affective catalogue empirically operates within the prefigurative multitude. To this end, as one of the prominent data collection methods for affect and emotion studies, one-to-one narrative interviews with twenty activists from *Migrant Solidarity Kitchen* and *Komşu Café Collective* from İstanbul; as well as *Bilgisaray-Kiezkantine* and *Kochkollektiv* from Berlin have been conducted from 25th of May to 6th of July 2021. Designed with the perspective of biographical narrative research, interviews consist of thematically focused life stories of the activists.

Selected working concepts of the relational affect approach, namely *affective dynamic*, *affective communities*, *affective practice*, *affective atmosphere,* and *belonging* are employed to analyze the fine-grained intricacies of affective relationality at the kitchens. Grounded in the empirical evidence, the collective cooking and eating practices help to build emotional commonalities such as trust, acceptance, sense of belonging, home-feeling for the communities, help to create moments of "equalization" and "disidentification" and build reproductive capacities to maintain the activities both short and long term. The affective dynamics of *solidarity - charity dichotomy* as well as *mediating inequalities within singular differences* are the primary catalysts in building and maintaining the activities at the kitchens. Additionally, three different palettes of mobilizing emotions (governed and channeled by social, cultural, and political forces) may be attributed to the prefigurative multitude: i) empathy, closeness, and identification, ii) conscience, guilt, and justice, and iii) caring and feeling responsible. Based on the major findings, this research claims that the conceptual tableau of the relational affect approach provides versatile tools in revealing the affective catalogue of the prefigurative multitude which is much more complex and much less schematic than the original catalogue attributed to Hardt and Negri. Empirical examples debunk the binary distinction between "politically good" and "politically bad" emotions and reveal possible antagonisms embedded in relations within the prefigurative multitude.

Keywords: multitude, prefigurative politics, relational affect approach, emotional activism, collective political action, kitchen, migrant solidarity, İstanbul, Berlin

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Current State of the Research

The affect-based theorizing in collective action inspired various new trends of research on how emotions and affect as building blocks for action contribute to political mobilization and protest.[1] Such mobilization not only involves prominent epitomes of macro-level mass mobilizations and popular uprisings, but also micro-level collective political actions that stand against capitalism, and rising authoritarianism that causes social dislocation.

Although research on emotion and affect have been expanded immensely in recent years (Jasper, 2018, p.3), analyses based on empirical research on collective political mobilizations and their emotional and affective formations have been the focus of relatively little attention (Özkaya, 2021). Although there is expanding literature on developing specific methodologies to conduct systematic empirical analysis on emotion and affect (Kahl, 2019, p.1),[2] it seems that it has had little impact on engagements with empirical research within the discipline of political science (Ayata, Harders, Özkaya, & Wahba, 2019, p. 63). Taking this lack as a starting point, this study aims to fill in such a gap. To present the theoretical stance of this research, I wil briefly present the current state of how affect is conceptualized in the research at the nexus of affect and politics.

Within contemporary political theory, the focus of the discussions on rationality and affect, which are highly ambivalent, mainly revolves around the transformation in the political discourse in liberal democracy as well as new ways of doing politics in contemporary modernity.[3] They usually deal with "the ambivalent role of emotions in liberal democracies" as well as "'hostile' emotions and sentiments" related to political tensions (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.478). In contemporary modernity, "politics itself become affective" which presumes that "rational deliberation and orderly procedures belongs to the past" (Bens et al., 2019, p.11). Additionally, in this vein, affect is usually considered as *beyond* language, discourse, and representation (e.g. new materialist sociology, or theories inspired from the revisionist ontology perspective such as Massumi as well as Deleuze and Guattari).

On the other hand, emotion and affect scholars in social sciences or, to be more precise, interdisciplinary "affective sciences" (Protevi, 2009, p.23) already acknowledged that emotions *have always been* an intrinsic part of the social and the political (Crociani-Windland & Hoggett, 2012, p.162-164; Kisjuhas,

---

[1] e.g. Groves, 1995; Jasper, 1998, 2011, 2018; Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2000, 2001, 2004; Flam & King, 2005; Gould, 2009; Gould, 2009; Kleres, 2017; Stekelenburg, 2017.

[2] e.g. Hopkins, Kleres, Flam & Kuzmics, 2009; Kleres, 2011; Knudsen & Stage, 2015; Flam & Kleres, 2015.

[3] e.g. Clough, 2008; Nussbaum, 2013, 2018; Demertzis, 2013; Laclau & Mouffe, 2014; Massumi, 2015; Hardt & Negri, 2004, 2017; Mouffe, 2018.

2018; Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.20). In addition to this, the old approaches construing affect beyond language, culture, and representation are criticized in terms of their incapability of providing tangible tools to do empirical research. The way of theorizing affect beyond discourse and culture is "highly abstract and it has remained opaque" to working concepts (Scheve, 2018, p.56). We cannot operationalize "how affect [as a component of emotion] can be 'channeled' or 'governed' by other social processes and how it becomes essential to actors embedded in different social formations" (Scheve, 2018, p.55). These criticisms have been raised by *relational affect approach,* which is a relatively new-born approach in affect and emotion studies. This approach rather makes studying affect empirically possible by putting affect in a place where it is "susceptible to discourse and culture" (Scheve, 2018, p.55) and by theorizing a clear relationship with the emotion concept.

Against this backdrop, this study aims to be an example of an empirical work of this kind of theoretical stance with a specific focus on collective political action. The conceptual framework that is presented by relational affect approach will be operationalized with selected empirical cases. By doing so, this research is an endeavor to understand how emotion and affect produce capacities for collective political action as well as how they are shaped, directed, and governed by collective political action.

1.2. Objective of the Study and Research Question

The selected empirical cases of this research are migrant solidarity kitchen collectives[4], namely *Mutfak* and *Komşu* from İstanbul, and *Bilgisaray-Kiezkantine* and *Kochkollektiv* from Berlin. In fact, such collectives exist in many places all over the world, established by activists especially at the borders, in settled refugee camps, and within cities that become migration hubs[5]. The aim is to create solidaristic structures especially for refugees and asylum seekers who are forced to live in dire conditions. These kitchens are usually constructed through a grassroots perspective within the radical political activist scene for migrant solidarity. What largely shapes the solidarity relations in these kinds of kitchens revolves around survival (e.g., meeting people's basic living needs), creating a space for encounters and familiarity (e.g., social and cultural needs), and standing up against the detention centers, deportations, the international asylum system, and overall discrimination towards migrants and refugees both locally and beyond. Taking that into account, in this research, migrant solidarity kitchens collectives are categorically regarded as collective political action[6]. They are construed as particular forms of collective political action that reflect radically autonomous and participatory politics, which were also deployed in

---

[4] hereafter as migrant "soli-kitchen"
[5] e.g. No Name Kitchen near the Croatian border, No Border Kitchen in Lesvos, Antiracist Soli-kitchen in Thessaloniki, Khora Collective in Athens, Mutfak-Matbakh in Gaziantep and so on.
[6] To provide conceptual clarity, in the section 3.3., I will explain how migrant soli-kitchens are seen as particular forms of collective political action (in terms of *the level of action* and *mode of organizing*).

many contemporary social movements. Moreover, they are seen as formations constructed at the nexus of politics and affect.

The affect-based theorizing in collective action also opened new spaces for theoretical interlocutions and reflections in the field of contemporary political theory focusing on the radical left politics of collective action and emancipatory social movements. Among the approaches within this field at the nexus of affect and politics[7], Hardt and Negri's conceptualization of the *multitude* is chosen as the main analytical perspective. Since main *organizing principles*[8] of kitchens have strong affiliations with the conceptual pillars of Hardt's and Negri's formulation of the multitude, they are construed as the epitomizes of it and analyzed through the lenses of the respective literature. Furthermore, Hardt and Negri's formulation offers the strongest and the most concrete way of interpreting not only the very construction of the kitchens but also their day-to-day functioning. Thus, the constitutive descriptive elements of the multitude[9] provide the most rigorous conceptual tool among the other approaches. Based on Hardt and Negri's own formulation, the concept of *prefigurative politics* is construed as a multitudinous[10] form of doing politics (in other words, one of the various forms of governing *the common*). It is the second main concept in describing the migrant soli-kitchen collectives other than the multitude. Altogether, in this study, by combining the descriptive elements of multitude and prefigurative politics, I do construe the migrant soli-kitchens as acts of prefigurative multitude, arguing that the organizing principles of the migrant solidarity kitchens fundamentally illustrate the acts of *prefigurative multitude*.[11]

---

[7] e.g. Critchley, 2012, 2014; Holloway, 2002, 2010; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, 2003; Mouffe, 2005, 2018; Hardt & Negri, 2000, 2004, 2009, 2012, 2017; Negri, 2000.

[8] By *organizing principle*, I mean their main frame of reference concerning their foundational political ideas, the organizational structure, financial and other resources, purchasing strategies they reinforce, political and social capacities they strive to create, the types of social relations and communication within the community, types of participation that they promote, types of activities they organize, day-to-day functioning mechanisms at their space, their target groups, outer relationships that they establish, their future aspirations as well as main motivations.

[9] These elements are as follows: i) experimenting *exodus from capitalist social relations for the aim of constructing new capacities for self-valorized labor* ii) *producing and acting in common* iii) *singularity politics* iv) *autonomism, self-organization, non-representativeness, leaderless-ness* v) *direct participation, direct decision making and horizontal structure,* vi) *open and expansive networked structure* vii) *benefitting from new digital technologies and media tools* viii) *prefiguration and prefigurative ways of doing politics.*

[10] The term "multitudinous" is extracted from Giorgos Katsambekis (Katsambekis, 2014, pp.169-190). It is used as an adjective form of multitude that indicates the affirmation of plurality and multiplicity, namely, the main descriptive quality that the multitude carries, operates, or follows based on the conceptual terrain of the term. Hardt and Negri also use the term occasionally in the same meaning (Hardt and Negri, 2012; 2017).

[11] Although Hardt and Negri's radical political subject is substantially framed through its revolutionary potential, in this research, I do not claim that the kitchens have and/or *intend to have* revolutionary objectives. Thus, in this research, only the definitive qualities of the (prefigurative) multitude are taken into consideration to understand the activism at the kitchen collectives.

The main aim of this research, however, is to understand the affective formation of soli-kitchen structures and to critically examine the *affective catalogue*[12] of the prefigurative multitude. Such research objective will be empirically manifested through analyzing individual narratives within life stories of the activists. Therefore, I will try to present which emotions mobilizes and revitalizes the acts of multitude. I will also manifest how prefigurative multitude empirically operates. Such objective also reveals that the biographical stories of individuals cannot be understood within the personal realm, rather, emotional motives in their stories have always something to do with the social.

Having established the theoretical foundation, the questions I will explore in this research include:

1) How emotions shape and direct the activists' political action causing them to get politically organized at the migrant soli-kitchens?
2) Which emotions pioneer the mobilization of political action (in other words, how these emotions produce capacities in bodies, e.g. multitude, for political action)? Which emotions are produced and circulated by such political action at the soli-kitchens?
3) How are actors embedded in the formation of the kitchens and how affective dynamics form the political action at the kitchens and are channeled by their political action processes?

Along with the new affect-based ontology emerging in understanding politics and political engagements, these research questions are theoretically significant in terms of their powerful capacity to concretely exhibit how activists not only mobilize and/or act through their rational or conscious motives but also based on the emotional accounts.

As it was explained in the section 1.1., the main analytical perspective to analyze the individual narratives of the activists at the kitchens in terms of their affective catalogue, who are deemed as political subjects of Hardt and Negri's (prefigurative) multitude, is provided by *relational affect approach*. The approach has many working concepts that make it possible to conduct empirical research. Each working concept underlies different focus on affect and emotion which can be employed according to their level of capability of anchoring the subject matter of the study. It should be noted that while "working" concepts can rigorously provide a frame of reference for the analysis, they are always prone to develop with further research as well as new elaborations and inspirations (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.10-12).

To this end, some of the working concepts of the approach are filtered out based on their relevance with the soli-kitchens and interpretation capacities for them. These concepts are as follows: i) *affective community* ii) *belonging* iii) *affective atmosphere* iv) *affective practice* v) *political affect* and *political emotions*. Thanks to these concepts, the relationship between affectivity and the formation of kitchen

---

[12] By *affective catalogue*, I mean the kinds of emotions through which the actors are mobilized as well as the kinds of emotions that are produced/exercised within the formation of the prefigurative multitude.

collectives can be concretized; in other words, I will illustrate through tangible data how affective ties form migrant soli-kitchen collectives.

All in all, this research argues that Hardt and Negri's conceptualization on the affective catalogue of the multitude is not sharpened enough to capture what emotions and affects in practice operate within the (prefigurative) multitude. On the other hand, the relational affect approach offers a very fruitful and concrete outlook in comparison to Hardt's and Negri's affect analysis which manifests comparatively a vague and weak framework. Through relational affect perspective, I will argue that political, social, and cultural conditions are significantly important in transforming emotions into a political potential or in eliciting the *capacity* of the prefigurative multitude *to affect* and t*o be affected*. I will also argue that affective catalogue of prefigurative multitude rather consists of ambivalent and contradictory emotions. Thus, a sharp distinction between "politically good" and "politically bad" emotions becomes completely unnecessary. I will also try to exhibit how political subjectification processes that construct the multitude may appear in the empirical world. Thus, based on empirical examples, I will argue that the affective catalogue of the prefigurative multitude is much more multifold, ambiguous, complex, and contradictory than the original catalogue. By doing so, an abstract and schematic concept like (prefigurative) multitude will be empirically grounded through individual narratives and life stories of the activists embedded in it.

1.3. Structure of the Study

The backbone of this study is designed twofold. While one part of the research locates migrant soli-kitchen collectives into the conceptual lexicon of the prefigurative multitude, the other part analyses the affective catalogue of the prefigurative multitude, through the selected cases of Mutfak, Komşu, Kiezkantine, and Kochkollektiv.

As for the structure of this study, following the introductory chapter, the second chapter provides the methodological outlook of the research. Throughout the chapter, I will present both the story of the research process and theoretical insights on the methodological grounding of the research. To this end, in section 2.1., I will provide a brief introduction on how a *qualitative research design* serves the most appropriate perspective. In section 2.1.1., I will introduce the *narrative research approach* through its capacity in being well-suited for the main research question. In section 2.1.2., I will exhibit the main methodological frame of the analysis, namely*, biographical narrative research* as one of the sub-categories of narrative research together with technical information on how and why it is applied in practice. This section will deliver a brief defense on how it theoretically provides the most suitable lens through which to examine the main research question. Additionally, this section will go through two components of biographical narrative research, namely, *oral history* and *life history,* which are combined in this inquiry. As such, the methodological benefits of the two tools in eliciting emotional figures and aspects in the narratives of the individuals will be extensively explained. Based on all the theoretical

discussions presented above, section 2.1.3. describes *narrative interview*, the main data collection method of this study as a form of qualitative interviewing, through its general structure, thematic focuses, and other technical details. This section is particularly significant since it reveals how a narrative interview is a powerful tool in eliciting emotions and/or in facilitating the ways to obtain data on emotionally-driven and/or affectively charged experiences of the activists. While section 2.1.4. clarifies *the sample design* encompassing *sample size* and *sampling technique*, the section 2.1.5. tells the story of the whole *data collection process* at length together with insights on critical stages. Throughout the next section, 2.1.6., I will explain *the process of data analysis and coding techniques* and the challenges that data analysis poses. In the last two sections, 2.1.7. and 2.1.8., I will critically scrutinize the *research ethics and power dynamics* that are embodied within various stages of the research process to ensure the trustworthiness and reliability of the research. I will also critically interpret and reflect upon my own positionality in the research. As the last step, I will reflect upon the whole methodology of the research and put it under a critical gaze to assess the *potential pitfalls and limitations of the research*.

The third chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework. In section 3.1, I will take a closer look at the main theoretical insights on emotion and affect in contemporary sociological inquiry with a brief general overview of the main lines of thinking in a broad range of affect and emotion studies. Following subsection, 3.2. explains how and why the relational affect approach is chosen among these insights as the main theoretical perspective for this study. I will also briefly introduce the main working concepts of the relational affect approach that are deployed for analysis. As this study narrows its focus with the insights on emotion and affect in the context of collective political participation, section 3.3, I will briefly address the concepts of emotion and affect in the theories of collective action and social movements. Section 3.3.1. narrows down the previous section and demonstrates the discussions on emotion and affect in the theories of social movement and collective action repercussed in contemporary radical political theory. In section 3.3.1.1., I will explain how and why I have chosen Hardt and Negri's radical political theory as the main analytical perspective among the most prominent theories in this strand that focus on the intersections of radical politics and emotions/affects. After this point, in the following subsections, I will introduce the main conceptual pillars of Hardt and Negri's theoretical formulations that are relevant to this study, namely, i) their radical political subject *multitude*, ii) the setting, the primary characteristic, the radical political model that multitude produces *common and commoning*, and iii) multitudinous form of doing politics (a form of governing the common) *prefigurative politics*. I will make an attempt to sharpen the main tenets of these concepts in line with the purpose of this study. As the final step, throughout the last two subsections, after giving an overview on the whole affective catalogue of Hardt and Negri's multitude, I will deliver a brief theoretical critique of it. In doing so, the validity and necessity of the relational affect approach in understanding the affective/emotional attachments of the multitude will be set. Thus, Hardt and Negri's own theorization on the affective catalogue of the multitude will provide a comparative outlook.

The fourth chapter gives an overview of the empirical frame of the study. Section 4.1. introduce the empirical sites of the research together with explanations on why selected cases were selected in the first place and how they are relevant to the main research objective. Section 4.2. will locate the kitchens within the conceptual lexicon of Hardt and Negri. In other words, in this chapter, I will be discussing how and in which ways soli-kitchens can be regarded as acts of the prefigurative multitude by presenting tangible data on kitchens. In the fifth chapter, I will be finally submitting the main discussion on the research findings by pulling together the conceptual agenda and the empirical data into a coherent ensemble. The discussion part follows the concluding chapter in which I will summarize the general outlook of the research findings.

2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH: A QUALITATIVE INQUIRY

In the collective action (and social movement) studies on affect and emotion, researchers are not usually pertinent to a detailed methodological discussion, even though research data of those who conduct empirical research is mostly derived from interviews through which transmission of emotions is not very easy to achieve (Ayata et al., 2019, p.76). It is a complicated task to deal with the affectively charged moments coming from the side of the participant. As such, since studying affect and emotion requires rigor and thorough considerations on the part of the researcher, I kept the methodological part in this paper quite detailed by illuminating how I engaged with suitable research methods that are in good concordance with the subject matter.[13]

2.1. Qualitative Research Design

Since this study critically examines the emotional attachments of activists, it is designed as a qualitative study. Briefly put, the research aims to emphasize emotions, memories, and experiences concerning the political participation of the activists; hence, I intend to make far-reaching analysis through implementing a *qualitative approach*[14]. By doing so, this research tries to understand the role of different emotions in people's processes of involving themselves in political participation and mobilizing through constructing solidarity relations. To describe the routine and assign meaning attributions to it, as well as divergent experiences and moments in individuals' lives, the main sources of collecting information as empirical materials are *personal interviews* with the activists and a *reflexive journal* of the researcher along with *online public materials* on the kitchens as a set of complex interpretative practices.

---

[13] Please see "Introduction" section 1.3. to read the full summary of this chapter.

[14] Qualitative researchers usually try to learn "in-depth and intimate information" of certain group of people to elicit how people experience, think of, feel, perceive, and make sense of the world surrounding them (Ambert, P. A. Adler, P. Adler & Detzner, 1995, p.880).

2.1.1. Narrative Research

Among the qualitative approaches, I preferred to employ *narrative research* as my main approach. In narrative research, storytelling is the key criterion (Fraser, 2004, as cited in Tomaszewski, Zaretsky, & Gonzalez, 2020, p.3). It helps to focus on meanings the respondents attach to their experiences through storytelling (Esin, Fathi, & Squire, 2014, p.203-204). Thanks to the interpretative perspective it provides, the researcher can amplify the voices of multiple texts, voices, perceptions, and opinions and come up with common patterns of meaning. The researcher can understand, through stories, events, and experiences that made a significant impact on a person or in a particular situation, by "unveiling fundamental culture-specific opinions about reality" (Herman & Vervaeck, 2019, p.1). This was the most suitable approach for my research since narrative elements of real-life stories most of the time include personal and subjective representations that are embedded in the social setting. I was able to create conversational space between multiple texts and unfold the hidden meanings and unanticipated issues throughout my research.

It should be noted that, on the one hand, certain emotions can be elicited through narratives; on the other hand, emotions themselves have a capacity to elicit individuals' meaning-making, or at least they give us certain clues on the individual's meaning-making. Thanks to this holistic quality, narrative research has already become quite a popular approach in emotions studies. As Goldie underlines, an emotion "constitutes part of a narrative—roughly, an unfolding sequence of actions and events, thoughts and feelings—in which the emotion itself is embedded" (Goldie, 2000, as cited in Kleres, 2011, p.185). The narrative elements of the stories that my respondents shared with me helped me immensely to grasp how the events they experience are configured by their emotional experiences. This point will be elaborated on in section 2.1.3.

2.1.2. Eliciting Elements of Biographical Narrative Research: Methodological Benefits of Oral Story and Life Story

Even though there are many types of narrative research[15], one can combine different components of different types of narrative research in one inquiry. This combination allows the researcher to learn about either the entire life of a respondent, or distinct episodes of their life with a specific focus (Creswell &

---

[15] Discussions on various types of narrative research and their categorial variations is complex. Since there is a broad constellation of definitions, as the researcher, I had to interact with them to find correct articulations that the definition of my own approach relies upon. Definitions are contested and change in accordance with peculiar problematizations of each different discipline. Multiple variations of narrative research are often overlapping with each other such as biography, life story, oral history, and life history (see Tierney & Clemens, 2020, p.266). In this paper, life story/life history and oral history are considered as variations derived from biographical narrative inquiry within the larger category of narrative research (see Kim, 2016, p.121).

Poth, 2018, p.72; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998). As a sub-category of narrative research, I framed my analysis specifically with *biographical narrative research* (Kim, 2016, p.121) with a thematic focus. Biographical narrative research provides the tools to grasp "subjective perspectives and social actions of members of a particular milieu", as well as reconstruct "social lifeworlds" (Rosenthal, 2018, p.158). The biographical frame of reference made my research very productive because it allowed me to see sequences and life trajectories of the respondents to find significant turning points and epiphanies. I used a certain level of thematic focus since my initial question is only relevant to a particular research context that does not have direct links to the entire history of a person (Rosenthal, 2004, p.51). This thematic focus, the activist life story together combined with prior conditions and development of their activism throughout the course of their life, allowed me to state my topic openly and guarantee that the respondents talk about it specifically and reflect upon their past. My interest is not limited to respondents' political opinions regarding the kitchen but extends to overall emotional attachments embedded into their political actions throughout their life. In pursuit of this goal, the interviews I have conducted are divided into two parts. In the first part, I asked questions on the whole *life story* of the participant with a thematic focus where I ask about their family life, high school years, how they became politically active for the first time, the kinds of activities they were involved in, the first time they were involved in a demonstration, the political encounters they had for the first time and which of them emotionally touched their life, the events that changed their life trajectory, and the political activity of their families as well. In the second part, I specifically asked questions on the periods before, during, and after being part of the kitchen. Therefore, in the scope of the biographical narrative research, I mainly conducted *life story*[16] approach, but also elicited elements of the *oral history* approach, utilizing the methodological benefits of both tools.[17]

Through *life story,* I was able to listen to the biographical life trajectories which brought my respondents to be involved in collective action in migrant soli-kitchens. By listening to their life stories and certain episodes from their life, I was able to glean information on how the respondent sees and interprets their experience by asking questions in the context of the life review. I was able to highlight "the most important influences, experiences, circumstances, issues, themes, and lessons of a lifetime" that shape

---

[16] Gabriele Rosenthal has developed the biographical case reconstruction method where the researcher tries to understand the relation between the lived life *(experienced life history* as in *erlebte Lebensgeschichte)* and the told life *(narrated life story* as in *erzählte Lebensgeschichte)* for the data analysis. The self-narrations need to be analyzed by considering the differences between these two elements. What is not said is also important and the researcher reconstructs the life-long experiences (see Rosenthal, 1993, 2018); also see the interview of Breckner, R. & Massari, M. (2019) with G. Rosenthal. In this work, instead of this approach, only "current self-presentations and actions" are used as object of analysis and the researcher is not interested in untold or unshared things but engage themselves in semantics shaping their "biographical actions" (see Zinn, 2010, p.7).

[17] This combination helped me to better understand the specific changes between respondents' present perspectives and past perspectives as well as the reasons and motivations behind their actions. It was overall useful especially for the kitchens that are closed now. It gives respondents a chance to reflect upon the past on the practical level. It also provides the researcher a tool to construe the relationship between 'individual' and 'social' on an analytical level.

the emotional milieu of the respondents (Atkinson, 2002, p.125). Life stories make the researcher define implicit relationships, community membership, inner roles, group dynamics, and social interactions in an explicit way (Bertaux, 1981, as cited in Atkinson, 2002, p.125-129) and help facilitate convenient ways of keeping the memories, experiences, collective values, and future aspirations alive through the subject of the experience.

Through *oral history*, the researcher can acknowledge what is significant at the intersection of the personal and historical to understand a certain phenomenon. Oral history provides us with unique and non-repetitive data to enlighten hidden histories of communities. Paul Thompson underlines the significance of such data by stating that "the more personal, local, and unofficial a document, the less likely it was to survive." (Thompson, 1978, p.27). This kind of data can reveal the unanticipated principles of relating to others that characterize a community (Yow, 2014, p.12). I was able to gather deep personal and emotional reflections on past experiences and events in the kitchens. This was especially useful for the kitchens in İstanbul, namely *Mutfak* and *Komşu*, which are no longer active. Thus, as expected, these reflections were quite emotionally charged. Acts of remembering and narrating memories revealed important turning points for these kitchens, illuminations on various dimensions of life within their community, and ramifications of interpersonal relationships.

Empirical data has a central role in narrative research, and there are many narrative data sources to supplement interviews, such as journal records, letters, archives, visual mediums, and other materials (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p.6; Murray, 2018, p.276). After a comprehensive study of the relevant literature on emotions and collective action, I used multiple data sources for empirical data collection. I monitored publicly available materials on the kitchens such as their public letters and calls, videos, websites, blogs, pamphlets, short documentaries, social media activities, and publications.[18] These materials were particularly used for introducing the kitchens through their organizing principles, and second, to locate the kitchens within the framework of *prefigurative multitude*. Additional data came from my notes and a reflexive journal kept throughout the data collection process where I wrote my own observations, introspections, evolving perceptions, and interpretations. However, the themes that appeared as major findings in this study (*affective catalogue* of *prefigurative multitude*) came largely from the data that is acquired through transcriptions of the in-depth narrative interviews conducted with the respondents. As the key research tool, I conducted *narrative interviews* with a thematically focused and open structure, which will be examined and reflected upon in more detail below.

---

[18] Most of these materials are available online on the collectives' websites and social media accounts. Physical pamphlets and publications that are not digitally available are provided to me by the activists themselves. I did not narrow down the publishing time of these materials to a specific period. All public since this study does not intend to apply temporal periodization method as explained in the section 2.1.8. For the detailed list of these public materials, please see the section 4.1.

2.1.3. Data Collection Method: Narrative Interviews

Since this research aims to scrutinize emotions embedded in memories and encounters motivating the political experiences and/or behaviors of the actors, conducting semi-structured interviews exclusively was not sufficient, because people usually abstain from talking about their emotions due to certain social constraints and intrinsic sensitivities. Moreover, people may feel deeply propositioned and conflicted when their emotions are questioned, and certain difficulties could emerge in expressing themselves. In this sense, one-to-one narrative design in the interviews was most suitable for such research. It is also suitable for research aiming to achieve the "reconstruction of experiences of collective processes" through analyzing ad-hoc texts of interviewees (Riemann, 2006, p.14). This way, the emotional involvement of the interviewee in a complex series of events and experiences could be elicited through open questions.

My concern was not necessarily understanding the difference between the interviewees' subjective experiences and the objective truth, but rather how they perceive, experience, and remember their subjective experience. In this sense, the pre-formulated interview questions and topics were designed to elicit meaning-making of political participation and collective action experiences. That is why the interviews were quite unstructured, informal, exploratory, and open-ended based on narratives. Overall, I had a non-directive role: following Thompson's suggestion; respondents' narrations were at the center and were not interrupted even though seemingly "irrelevant" stories were shared (Thompson, 1978, p.172). In the end, those who were hesitant to be interviewed or share their innermost feelings and thoughts in the first place stated that they were encouraged and motivated since the interview was quite unstructured, and they benefitted very much from sharing their stories without interruption mainly because they had an opportunity to express their views and feelings freely, to reflect upon the past and to see how their political stances have changed. This clearly indicates the "therapeutic quality" of narrative interviews and is acknowledged by many prominent scholars of narrative research (Murray, 2018, p.268). From the researcher's point of view, I can say that I listened to many emotion-intensive narratives in my interviews that resulted from this quality. Bornat underlines the significance of this therapeutic effect in generating emotions and emotional sensations; and acknowledges its role in helping to "draw out new ideas" (Bornat, 2010, p.48-51). Thanks to this quality, the repertoire for interpreting the narrative accounts on emotions is expanded.

However, seeking analytical access to emotions through narrations presupposes a bigger claim, indicating that emotional dimensions and reasoning dimensions of subjective experience are interwoven and inextricably connected, at which point Kleres's theoretical reasoning is insightful.[19] In the narrative

---

[19] Kleres underlines that "human experience has a crucial narrative dimension", and interconnectedly, emotions have a "fundamental relevance to social life" (Kleres, 2011, p.184-185). The scholar argues extensively how emotions have a "storied nature" as well as how "narratives are emotional" (Kleres, 2011, p.185). While "storied

interviews, I was able to see the practical repercussions of this reasoning: participants vocalized certain events and actions by reflecting on the past as well as the present simultaneously. Their narratives contained certain trains of thought and feelings that they were speaking directly from the heart that caused various layers of emotions to emerge at once. Additionally, the way they remember their past and the way they construe the present and the future have their own emotional dynamics. The narrative structure of the interviews helped me deliberately avoid interrupting or redirecting the stories; participants were already sharing their feelings before I even needed to ask. Thus, the narrative structure of the interviews facilitated the transmission of emotional dimensions of participants' experiences.

2.1.4. Sample Design: Sampling Technique and Sample Size

Narrative interviews are conducted with twenty people from four different kitchens whose ages varied from 26 to 59 years. Drawing on the lifetime political experience of activists at these kitchens, the organizing principles, organizational structure, emotional attachments, and meaning-making processes were addressed in the interviews. Considering the size and different political positions at various migrant soli-kitchens all over the world, I do not consider a sample of this research to be representative. The primary purpose of the research is not to determine statistical inferences to a population and generalize it to a larger group, but to explore a phenomenon thoroughly by elucidating the particular (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p.157). In this sense, I consider the kitchens under scrutiny as particular expressions of political action shaped in a certain political agenda in the form of grassroots communities.

To find participants with the desired profile, I first created a categorical candidate pool based on the criteria of having an active engagement as a volunteer and activist either in the past or currently. I made a categorical distinction between i) long-term active members and volunteers: activists and volunteers who are continuous members for a considerable amount of time and part of the kitchen collective in the role of organizing the activities, ii) partially-active volunteers: volunteers who are not continuous members and rarely take part in organizing some of the activities, iii) beneficiaries: people who are not members at all and only utilize from activities and services. I limited the desired profile to only the first group, as I was interested in the group dynamics and long-term emotional attachments of participants which would require a certain level of sense of belonging to the collective and space. The aim is not to

---

nature of emotions" indicates the idea that people get familiar with the vocabulary of emotional repertoire through stories and "emotional nature of narratives" indicates that storytelling takes place through both thinking and feeling in an inextricable way (Kleres, 2011, p.185-188). Based on this perspective, a "specific instance of emotional experience" can be observed in sets of narrative elements consisting of "specific configuration of actors, objects, conditions, actions, events, etc." (Kleres, 2011, p.188). As such, emotionality is a dimension of human experience embedded in the stories told. Drawing his argumentation on this claim, Kleres accentuates that a narrative interview provides a "particularly fruitful lens" for emotionality and emotional universes to be conveyed by the narrator and for meanings attached to them to be interpreted by the listener (Kleres, 2011, p.196).

assess the emotional attachments from the perspective of people receiving the outcomes of the kitchen activities but from the perspective of activists providing them.[20]

Concerning the sampling strategy, purposive sampling among the non-probability selecting techniques was how I found the participants. Employed in qualitative research design largely, it is intended to select individuals who are "information-rich" concerning the central phenomenon (Schreier, 2018, p.88). Since this research aims to scrutinize the experiences of activists at the soli-kitchens, purposive sampling was the most suitable technique as it allowed me to gain insights into the phenomenon under scrutiny. It enabled me to find activists and volunteers who were actively engaged in migrant soli-kitchens in İstanbul and Berlin. Primarily, I reached the activists through common networks, independent social media announcements, advertisements through e-mail, and by approaching them specifically. I also requested many people from my networks in activist scenes to mobilize their resources to help me to reach a variety of people from the migrant soli-kitchens[21]. Having different entry points and multiple entrances enabled me to exceed the possible prejudices and helped to increase the objective capacity and profile diversity of the research. Various gatekeepers, or more precisely "mediators", helped me to better break the gates and build trust with hard-to-reach participants (Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2018, p.670).

As the next strategy developed across the research process, again commonly used in qualitative research as a recruitment technique, the snowball technique is followed thanks to the guidance of the participants interviewed. I had an opportunity to reach new respondents by the application of snowballing with the help of interviewed participants vouching for me with others (Taylor et al., 2016, p.47). In fact, some of the initiators of Komşu and Mutfak were common as well as some people from Kiezkantine and Kochkollektiv knew each other. These factors surely made the process of reaching those people easier and faster than I anticipated. Even at this stage of the research, emotional dynamics, as well as affective attachments and ties, played a role in helping me to reach a wide network of kitchen activists.[22]

---

[20] Refugees, asylum seekers and others who are not running the activities but only come to the kitchen to eat or join the activities are not included. This was a methodological choice since, first, this would require a totally separate research topic, theoretical perspective, and analysis. Briefly put, this research investigates how political action at the soli-kitchens are constructed and reconstructed through emotional attachments and affective ties on the part of the activists. Since the soli-kitchens are theoretically formulated as acts of prefigurative multitude, only the activists involve in this prefigurative multitude should be under scrutiny. In this sense, actors without political motivations to construct actions at the kitchens are deliberately excluded from the sample. Second, I was hesitant to involve them also to avoid possible asymmetrical dynamic between the researcher and the researched that may potentially cause new layers of sensitivity to be emerged.

[21] In Berlin case, I also requested the neighborhood stores and migrant consultation services which were seemingly leftist or left-oriented to be referred to activists. I attended to their activities while they were serving food to meet the activists while they were running their activity. I was also lucky that I already knew some of the activists from other initiatives that I took part in the past.

[22] For a detailed and comprehensive outlook at the workings of emotional dynamics and affective ties between researchers and interlocutors, please see: (Kahl, 2019).

In order to ensure the reliability of the interviews, the demographic key data of twenty participants based on their age, gender, country, where they live, educational background, occupation, employment status, and their engagement type and duration with the respective collectives are presented in Table 1 below. While fourteen participants were from İstanbul kitchens (*Mutfak* and *Komşu*), six participants were from Berlin ones (*Kiezkantine* and *Kochkollektiv*). For confidentiality reasons, they will remain anonymous.

Table 1: Synoptic Presentation of the Research Participants[23]

Parti-cipant	Age	From?	City	Gender	Highest degree	Occupation	Employ-ment Status	Collective	Engagement / How long?
1	35	Turkey	İstanbul	Do not prefer to define	MA	Psychological Counselor	Part-time	Komşu/Mutfak	Participant (active for 4 years)
2	33	Turkey	İstanbul	Female	MA	Social Scientist	Freelance	Mutfak	Participant (several years)
3	31	Germany	Frankfurt	Female	BA	Psychologist/ Counselor for people affected by right-wing violence	Full-time	Mutfak	Participant (active for 1 year but very intensely)
4	39	Turkey	İstanbul	Female	BA	Journalist	Full-time	Mutfak	Founding Member (intensely active for 1 year)
5	38	Turkey	İstanbul	Female	BA	Journalist	Full-time	Mutfak	Founding Member (active for 1.5-2 years)
6	36	Ireland	İstanbul	Male	BA	Language Teacher/Copy Editor	Freelance	Mutfak	Participant (active for 3 years)
7	59	Turkey	İstanbul	Do not prefer to define	MA	Film Producer/Director/Cook/Writer/Academic	Part-time	Mutfak/Komşu	Founding Member of both (active around 4-5 years in both)
8	49	Turkey	A village in Aegean	Female	High School	Designer/Publisher/Writer	Unemployed	Mutfak/Komşu	Founding Member of Komşu (active for 3 years) / Participant at Mutfak
9	34	Germany	Berlin	Female	MA	Project Manager at an NGO	Self-employed	Mutfak/Komşu	Founding Member of Komşu (active for 2 years) / Participant at Mutfak (active for 1.5 years)
10	26	Turkey	İstanbul	Female	MA	Radio Programmer/ DJ/Voice Artist	Freelance & Part-time	Komşu	Participant (active for 1.5 years)

---

[23] Resource: own table

11	33	Syria	Berlin	Male	BA	IT Manager	Full-time	Komşu	Participant (active for 2 years)
12	27	Syria	İstanbul	Do not prefer to share	BA	Event Curator/Planner/ Radio Broadcaster	Unemployed	Komşu	Participant (active around 4 years)
13	27	Lebanon	Warsaw	Female	High School	Data Analyst	Confidential	Komşu	Participant (active around 4 years)
14	29	Ukraine	Kiev	Male	BA	Teacher	Freelance	Komşu	Participant (active for 1.5 years)
15	36	Germany	Berlin	Male	MA	Architect	Full-time	Kiezkantine	Founding Member (active still today)
16	30	Germany-Greece	Berlin	Male	BA / Doing an MA	IT Specialist	Part-time	Kiezkantine	Founding Member (active still today)
17	27	Cameroon	Berlin	Do not prefer to share	High School	Project Manager/Theater Coach	No legal working permit	Kiezkantine	Founding Member (active still today)
18	30	Germany	Berlin	Male	BA / Doing an MA	Social Worker & Psychosocial and Asylum Law Counselor	Not working currently	Kiezkantine	Founding Member (active still today)
19	49	Germany	Berlin	Male	Doing a BA	Journalist/Rapper/Industrial Climber	Part-time & Freelance	Kochkollektiv	Participant (active since 2012)
20	48	Turkey	Berlin	Male	High School	Journalist/Writer/Employer	Part-time	Kochkollektiv	Founding Member (active still today)

2.1.5. Process of Data Collection

I collected key publicly available data on the kitchens prior to the interviews, and I conducted narrative interviews with respondents for a two-month period, from the 15th of May 2021 until 10th of July 2021. Depending on respondents' availability and preference, meeting dates were set for one-to-one meetings. Each interview lasted about 2 to 3 hours, some of them lasted 5 hours with breaks. Some of the interviews were spread over two or three meetings. I met with some of the interviews several times because there were many things that we had to cover.[24] I also offered multiple meetings, as well as different modes of communication[25] and recruitment mechanisms,[26] to all respondents to establish trust

---

[24] Interview formats were determined based on the preference of respondents. All six interviews from the Berlin field were conducted in person. While six of the *Mutfak* interviews were conducted through video conferencing, one of them was held in person. Coincidentally, it is the same for *Komşu*. While six of *Komşu* interviews were conducted through video conferencing, one of them was held face to face. In total, while eight interviews were held in person, twelve of them took place in an online setting. Face to face ones were held in an open air because of COVID-19 situation. Discussion on limitations resulting from COVID-19 is evaluated in the last section of this chapter.

[25] e.g. video calls on various softwares, phone calls, invitations for a virtual/IRL coffee

[26] e.g. e-mail, telephone, and introductory flyer

and build relationships with them (Roberts, Pavlakis, & Richards, 2021, p.11). Developing familiarity and mutual understanding and eliminating possible doubt or intimidation by spending more time with each other helped reduce the power imbalance between the researcher and the researched, and as an unintended consequence, helped me reach data saturation. Prior to interviews, I prepared agreement forms on data privacy, confidentiality, and research ethics and sent them to the respondents. Besides, respondents were asked if they gave consent and permission to be digitally recorded before each interview.

2.1.6. Process of Data Analysis and Coding

After I collected and prepared all the data, I read through each transcript,[27] my research notes, and my reflexive journal thoroughly to classify any significant patterns. I used the main research question as a sieve to refine and sift through the information in the compiled data, deeming it as relevant and useful based on its capacity to address the main question. Since the volume of my data was quite large and the stories people tell are complex in their own way, the coding process was extremely tedious. I had to read over the transcripts multiple times to reduce the codes to meaningful, concise, and compact themes and categories which ultimately represent the interpreted data.

After identifying significant meanings, emerging themes, and key ideas within the texts, I created major themes and categories of the analysis by describing, classifying, and aggregating the emerged codes (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p.184). These categories were not pre-arranged at the beginning but were built through an extensive review of texts. To shed light on the relationship between their political participation and emotional attachments, I organized themes and categories into "larger units of abstraction" through a comprehensive interpretation of the texts (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 187). They were revealed based on first-person narratives in the form of direct quotes from the participants and cut across all the data sources. I consistently adhered to the holistic view of respondents' experiences and actions in their context and allowed their perspectives to be at the center. To achieve this, I employed inductive reasoning and thinking (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Becker & Geer, 2005, p.380). I heavily benefitted from a priori concepts and analysis as well as pre-defined patterns and themes inherent in certain theories, embracing them as analytical lenses through a deductive approach. Deduction and induction are "considered as located on a continuum" (Kennedy & Thornberg, 2018, p.49). I referenced

---

[27] All twenty interviews were recorded with a voice recorder. After doing the interviews, I transcribed each oral text in a precise way. I changed certain parts only if there are repetitions or extra same information. Since I did not want to change the accuracy of meaning and lose the contextuality of the text, editing was performed as little as possible. I included almost everything said during the interviews into my transcriptions.

both new explorations through raw empirical data and previous insights through theory in continuous collaboration.

I conducted this study using the data analysis model for narrative research developed by Lieblich et al. (1998). Among the four types of approaching the text, this research uses the "Categorical-Content" type to come up with the main categories and sub-categories presented, widely known as "content analysis" (Lieblich et al., 1998).[28] Following the model, subtexts are selected to filter out the parts irrelevant to the research question. They are then read thoroughly and attentively to be sorted into major content categories, which are defined through both induction and deduction. In the next step, certain sentences and expressions are assigned to each specific category. This was an iterative procedure since new ideas and possible categories are constantly generated through multiple readings. Consequently, major themes and categories are systematically analyzed in concordance with the analytical framework formulated based on the core research question.[29]

2.1.7. Research Ethics and Process of Reflexivity

The research centralizes the participants' experiences and subjectivities. In this sense, the data collection process was quite interactive and respondents as the "source" of the empirical data were encouraged to reflect upon the content and suggest interpretations. Participants are considered as the only authority and expert on their own stories. However, the presence of a researcher in the process of data gathering is still unavoidable and can directly or indirectly influence the research process. In fact, it should be noted that interpretations may be influenced and formed differently by the positionality of the researcher, the reader, and the participants as well as by the performance of writing itself (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p.215). In this section, only the researcher's positionality and the established relationship with the respondents will be discussed.

As well-taught by feminist standpoint theory, "knowledge is socially situated" (Haraway, 1988). Regardless of transforming it into a productive tool or not, the researcher acquires only a limited perspective on the studied phenomena. In this sense, the positionality of the researcher should be taken into consideration through a self-critical reflexive lens especially if the researcher conducts qualitative research. My subjective position had already influenced the research at the stage of sampling and access to empirical sites. While I was criticized by some of the participants from the İstanbul kitchens as an outsider conducting research "about" their experience in migrant solidarity collectives, I was welcomed

---

[28] The four types are as follows: Holistic-Content, Categorical-Content, Holistic-Form and Categorical-Form. Detailed explanation on each approach can be found in the authors' remarkable book "*Narrative research: Reading, analysis, and interpretation*" (see Lieblich et al, 1998).

[29] It should be underlined that in this research, rather than distinctions and differences; commonalities and similarities in emotions, meaning-making, ideas, and perspectives of participants from different kitchens are described, conceptualized, and interpreted in the light of theory. In this sense, this research is not a comparative study between İstanbul kitchens and Berlin kitchens.

by Berliner kitchens because I was considered an insider of their experience who would like to do research "within" it, even though I was not involved in their community as an activist. Based on the comments I received from the Berliner activists, I can say that my ethnicity/nationality played a role in opening the gates in Berlin as I myself am a Turkish migrant living in Berlin who can easily be seen by an activist in Europe as a person who is probably suffering from the consequences of being an "Ausländer"[30] to some degree. Given that the meanings attributed to social categories change drastically depending on the context, this experience showed me how my own positionality as the researcher played a significant role in the access to empirical sites and sampling design throughout the research process.

My positionality also influences the ongoing interpretative process and the extent of respondents' contributions. I chose to study this topic based on my personal interest and past involvement in solidarity activities, my political perspectives and understanding are naturally akin to those of the respondents and have undeniably influenced my interpretation of the data, and consequently, the findings and conclusions. However, the reflexive journal that I kept during the data collection and coding processes enabled me to assess the implications of my method, theory, and conclusions carefully. Reflexive journaling is a technique to establish trustworthiness as it provides the researcher self-evaluation and criticism by presenting a panorama of the researcher's thought processes and foundations of the researcher's decisions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.109). This technique helped me reflect upon and evaluate the data multidimensionally, so the effect of the personal assumptions, biases, and preferences could be reduced as much as possible. The reflexive journal I had been writing throughout the data collection process also helped refine and eliminate distorted information and memory fallacies resulting from overwhelmingly long and intense interactions with different participants that could ultimately cause me to misinterpret the data. This way, I was able to ensure that the interpretations and conclusions represent the experiences and perspectives of the participants themselves.

Concerning interviewee responses, the relationship between the researcher and the "researched" should be underlined which could largely influence what is shared and not shared in the stories told. As Maxwell (2018) underlines, it is significant to make an endeavor for "continual creation and renegotiation of trust, intimacy, and reciprocity" (p.26). This is vital to overcome possible self-censorship from the side of the participants, as I explicitly strived for a non-hierarchical, interactive, and symmetrical relationship with them. Throughout our interaction, I sought to overcome the power factor which could potentially put the participant in a vulnerable position. I conducted multiple interviews with them and met with some of them in different settings where they feel most comfortable. For the sake of transparency, I reminded them that I would be glad to share the results once the research is completed. Their contributions are significant to the research, and I believe sharing the final product is going to create new channels to

---

[30] Meaning "foreigner" in German. Lately, the word is deemed by many as derogatory and discriminatory term since it is widely used for people with non-German parents living in Germany.

further discuss the insights presented in this analysis. My interpretation is open to revision and elaboration since it has continuous communication with the phenomenon in inquiry.

Thanks to the open structure of the interviews, the researcher and the participant could learn from one another and change in the interaction (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p.10). Although stories were elaborated through interview dialogue, I was mostly in the role of "guide" or "director" assuring smooth exchange of information and facilitating the flow of interaction in the process (Atkinson, 2002, p.126). Additionally, participants were interested in my initial thoughts, theoretical approach, and different steps of my research. They made suggestions concerning the foundation of the discussion and theoretical perspective both in data collection and interpretation processes. We also communicated with each other on occasions to clarify the meaning of some stories and negotiate concepts. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) underline the ethical importance of establishing a collaborative relationship with the participants in achieving equality and mutual understanding between the researcher and the researched (p.4). This collaborative and reciprocal character of our interactions played a significant role in minimizing the power imbalance between the participants and me, while also validating my analysis. Both during and at the end of the research, meanings of stories and certain concepts were discussed, negotiated, and, if necessary, corrected by the participants through the technique called "member checking" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.314). This technique enabled me not only to overcome the researcher's problem of claiming authority over people's stories but also to verify the credibility and trustworthiness of the study.[31]

2.1.8. Methodological Critique and Research Limitations

Since the research is limited in its pool of respondents, the results cannot be generalized to a wider population or a wider context, therefore the final analysis cannot be considered representative. This factor also has theoretical implications: since this research tries to empirically present certain qualities and emotions that are crystallized in *prefigurative multitude* only through *particular cases* of the migrant soli-kitchen collectives[32], it cannot claim to understand multitude or prefigurative multitude *as a whole*.

---

[31] At this point, it should be underlined that I did not prefer to be embedded in this research as an activist. Although my political ideas are "aligned with struggles" of the organized communities that are under scrutiny in this research (Hale, 2008, p.7), I am not (and was not) an active participant in them. Besides, I do not see my research as "part of a protracted struggle" for the migrant solidarity movement (Gutierrez & Lipman, 2016, p. 1242). My research, by itself, does neither seek to create constructive results to enhance the capacities of migrant solidarity movement nor to confront the relevant power structures in practice. Considering the scope and the aim, the research is not capable of diminishing the overall challenges that the kitchens go through and contributing to their main goals in practice. However, it still can open new channels for critical thinking on such challenges. Consequently, the purpose behind the close communication and collaboration with the participants was not conducting activist research, rather, the purpose was to establish mutual understanding as well as equal and symmetrical relationship with them. This has also increased transparency, credibility, and trustworthiness of the results.

[32] The broadest cluster would encompass both other migrant soli-kitchen collectives that are not included in the scope of this research and other acts of prefigurative multitude different than migrant soli-kitchen collectives in essence (e.g. worker solidarity collectives with very similar organizing principles).

In addition, the study results cannot be replicated to any extent, since they are shaped by the researcher's own experiences, background, and other context-specific capacities (Creswell, 2014). It should also be noted that while the interpretation was dependent on the capability of the researcher, the collected data was dependent on the participant's ability to recall the past, honesty, willingness, and responsiveness while sharing their stories. In this sense, the same interaction between the researcher and participants cannot be replicated either.

Another limitation is related to reliability: the time framework to conduct the empirical data collection was unfortunately limited and the process was not extended to a longer period. In this sense, "prolonged engagement" was achieved only to a certain extent which would otherwise increase the credibility of the results (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.301-304). Therefore, full reliability cannot be ensured since the same findings may not be found in each inquiry. Nonetheless, the validity of the conclusions can be guaranteed since the previously described interplays enabled the participants to be actively involved in the research process. Therefore, the conclusions have become fully transparent and congruent with the stories told.

Moreover, since the emotional attachments of the activists could be highly affected by the turbulence and changes in the major politics of the respective countries, temporal periodization could be employed in terms of data collection to better understand the interplay between the individuals and wider political and social realms. Additionally, collectives have time periods shaped by the turning points within their own histories. The interviewees had joined the collectives at different times and stayed in the collectives for varying amounts of time, and therefore developed distinctive degrees of attachments; accordingly, some contributions contradicted each other in different ways that might have been surmountable through a temporal periodization method within the collectives.

Other limitations resulted from the COVID-19 pandemic: lockdowns and mandatory social distancing measures were legislatively imposed during my data collection process, so immersing myself into the natural and non-manipulable setting of the still-open collectives was not possible. The majority of my interviews took place online, and on-site time and proximity with participants were restrained due to the emergence of COVID-19 (Tremblay et al., 2021, p.3).

Digitalizing the interviews had significant implications on the quality of communication as well. In some cases, clear and uninterrupted communication was not possible since the entire connection was relying on a digital conferencing tool, which relies on certain infrastructural capacities. Luckily, all respondents had either a smartphone or a computer[33], but the lack of a strong internet connection caused lots of miscommunication as well as loss of time due to repetitions. This problem "represents a risk to the quality and robustness of the research and poses a challenge to the data collection process" (Rahman,

---

[33] Given that this is a luxury for many people in the world because of the unequal access to digital devices, it would have been impossible to meet them if that was the case also for my respondents.

Tuckerman, Vorley, & Gherhes, 2021, p.5-6), and sometimes forced me to rearrange the meeting. Some participants had to switch their video function off to diminish the connectivity problem, which caused difficulty in engaging with participants through physical contact (Rahman et al., 2021, p.5): I could not maintain eye contact and other bodily expressions to show my attentiveness to them. The existence of physical contact is notably significant to create rapport in online settings (Roberts et al., 2021, p. 7)[34].

Although meeting online provided us with a certain flexibility in terms of faster recruitment of time, the adaptability to the virtual sphere was still problematic. Creating a natural and comfortable environment becomes much more difficult due to a lack of control over the medium. Pauses, necessary stops, and silences are usually not tolerated in the same way they are in real life. Overload of visual cues also interferes with the natural rhythm of the conversation. Since the meetings had to be limited within the boundaries of a single screen, zoom fatigue[35] was unavoidable and particularly challenging.

3. THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The main purpose of the research is to develop insights on how emotions and affects construct political action, as well as how they are constructed by the political action. To achieve this objective, in this section, the theoretical framework and the main conceptual foundation of this research will be demonstrated.[36]

3.1. Approaching *Emotion* and *Affect* with the Lenses of Sociological Inquiry

In order to build a bridge between the conceptual framework on collective action and the sociality of emotions, at first, the theoretical foundation on how emotions have become the object of analysis should be briefly spelled out. I do not seek to provide an all-encompassing summary of the history of 'emotional turn'; instead, in this section, I will briefly explain how emotions entered the scene of sociological

---

[34] One of the reasons why I employed the content-based model over the form-based ones in my analysis is also related to the online interview circumstances. In the form-based analysis, the deep structures of the storytelling such as the way a story is told, prosodic and syntactic qualities, language, pauses, fluency, concrete symbols, emotional tonalities, and paralinguistic features are among the main sources of information (Lieblich et al., 1998, p.141-156; Riessman, 2005, p.3-4). In the online setting, expressions, gestures, and nonverbal cues indicating these qualities were not easily observable. When they were observable, these observations were not at all trustworthy since the connectivity problems caused the lack of smooth and intimate interpersonal communication. This has, in return, caused the direct transfer of structural qualities got lost. Therefore, the focus of my analysis is based on the content of the text rather than its form. Another reason why I was reluctant to conduct a form-based analysis is the language of the communication. While twelve interviews were conducted in English, the remaining eight were held in Turkish (*Komşu*: five in English, two in Turkish; *Mutfak*: five in Turkish, two in English; *Kiezkantine*: all four in English; *Kochkollektiv*: one in Turkish, one in English) which was an obstacle at times since English is not my native language. However, I always doublechecked by kindly requesting the respondent to reword or even re-tell the story when language barrier was an issue between me and the respondent.

[35] Zoom fatique" has become a very popular term during the COVID-19 pandemic. It is defined as the exhaustion of mind and body because of the excessive amounts of exposure to the screen through remote working, remote education, and virtual meetings.

[36] Please see "Introduction", section 1.3. to read the full summary of this chapter.

analysis and generated a new ontology of the human, as well as the positionality of this research among different strands in the affective sciences. Following this, I will briefly state the main theoretical perspective of the study and exhibit the working concepts that operationalize the abstract conceptual tableau of this perspective. I will conclude by remarking on how the main aim of the research is compatible with the methodology I chose to examine it.

In the last few decades, there has been an explosion of interest in the study of emotions which are developed through different scholarly traditions within the interdisciplinary research. This significant development indicates an emergence of a new epistemological turn which is widely called "emotional turn" or "affective turn" (Halley & Clough, 2007; Hogget & Thompson, 2012; Stets & Turner, 2014). Theories that focus on emotion as a social phenomenon attempt to understand emotions in the context of social relations and social processes, such as in dramaturgical perspectives, symbolic interactionist perspectives, and perspectives on group processes (Weed & Smith-Lowin, 2016, p. 411). Such a development was conferred "a necessary counterpart to language, discourse, and conceptual thought" (Scheve, 2018, p. 42) since "affect and emotion are so intricately and essentially human that they form the fundamental basis of being and sociality" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.1).

In contemporary perspectives in the study of affect and emotion, it is widely accepted that rationality and emotion are inextricably and essentially connected. Alleged dichotomy or opposition between the two has been debunked as emotion connected to reason (Barbalet, 2009, p.54-61). As it is underlined by prominent scholars in the field, in our thinking and acting processes, emotional-affective and cognitive elements are interwoven to each other.[37] They are entangled and mutually co-dependent to one another (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.3). Therefore, both conscious and unconscious processes constitute and drive human action together. Various sociological inquiries point out the role of emotions in social life on the individual, group, and societal levels and try to understand how people's social actions and decisions are shaped through "emotional dynamics and affective structures" (Bericat, 2016, p.497). There is a certain level of "mediation process of meanings and feelings that are irreducible to the individual, and private only to a limited degree" (Vogler, 2021, p.10). From this perspective, social actors as well as their interactions and actions are analyzed beyond the limitations of instrumental, normative, and rational accounts of the social (Scheve, 2018, p.40). As in Wetherell's line of argument, meaning-making and emotions in our social relations are inseparable (Wetherell, 2012, as cited in Willis & Cromby, 2019).

---

[37] e.g. Goldie, 2000; Nussbaum, 2001; Turner, 2007; Clough, 2009; Gould, 2009, Massumi, 2015.

Overlooking the exhaustive discussions on definitive components and the nature of affect and emotion [38] for the sake of brevity, I will briefly explain the conceptual demarcations between the two terms that have been made in affect studies to explain my approach to affect and emotion in this research. The use of 'emotion' is mostly expanded in social science research mainly in sociology as well as cognitive and social psychology,[39] while 'affect' is mostly developed in cultural studies, humanities, and political philosophy, and recently became more popular with the rise of critical neuroscience.[40] While emotion is predominantly described as the direct expressions of feelings and mostly deemed as existing only in the realm of personal, subjective, and simply biographical (Scheve, 2018, p.43), the concept of affect is equally described as unstructured, non-personal, non-cognitive and non-linguistic *force* or *intensity* that affect bodies and move their actions, emotions, and ideas[41] (Slaby & Mühlhoff, 2019, p.27-37; Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.20). In other words, studies on affect ask what forces individuals to feel, to interpret, and to act in a particular social setting including both human and non-human bodies[42] (Seyfert, 2012,

---

[38] To be more precise, in this research, I have not chosen to do my analysis based on theories where emotions are specifically defined through cognitive elements (e.g. Roseman, 1984, 1991; Kemper, 1987; Thoits, 1989, Lawler, 1999), the evolutionary and psycho-evolutionary forces (e.g. Hammond, 1990; Ekman, 1992; Lazarus, 1991; Plutchik, 1980, 2002; Turner, 2000), biological, physiological or neurological and neuroscientific accounts (e.g. Bendelow, 2009; Damasio, 2004; Franks, 2006; Dalgleish, 2004; Panksepp, 2010), mental and psychological character (e.g. Scherer, 2000; Frijda & Scherer, 2009), psychoanalytical qualities (e.g. Hoggett, 1992; Scheff, 1997; Turner, 2000), metaphysical dimensions (e.g. Lin, 2004), or how all these components interact with one another (e.g. McNaughton, 1989; Turner, 2007; TenHouten, 2007). Moreover, the ongoing discussions on whether the foundational constitutive element of *the social* is inclined more to rational or to emotional appraisals (e.g. Elster, 1996; Verweij, Senior, Domínguez, & Turner, 2015), whether emotions are cognitive, non-cognitive or both by their nature (e.g. Solomon, 2004; De Sousa, 2004; England, 2019), whether emotion is more of a register that is biological-based or socially constructed —including the debates on contingency versus determinism— (e.g. Russell, 2003; Scherer, 2004; Turner & Stets, 2008) or similarly, whether emotion is determined more through cultural elements or the natural ones (e.g. Wilson, 1975; Ekman, & Davidson, 1994; Barrett, 2006) all these are not under the spotlight of this research. As Fox rightly put, sociological research asks "how emotions and affects transform bodies and the world" rather than considerations on cognitive, neurochemical, biological or evolutionary registers of emotionality (Fox, 2015, p.312).

[39] e.g. Kemper, 1978; Hochschild, 1983; Barbalet, 2002.

[40] e.g. Massumi, 2002; Hardt & Negri, 2004; Ahmed, 2010; Berlant, 2011; Choudhury & Slaby, 2012.

[41] It should be mentioned that this definition of affect is dominantly deployed by the "ontological lineage" in cultural studies (Scheve, 2018, p.42) and it is strictly separated from the 'emotion' which is radically interior to the 'conscious' realm. Affect and emotion, in such understanding, is not articulated as continuum. While affect is strictly exterior to consciousness, to put it more precisely, "prior to the personal" field and is "governed by an overarching logic of becoming" (Schaefer, 2019, p.64), emotion is regarded as "conscious processes that emerge from them [affect], such as anger, fear, or joy" (Cvetkovich, 2012, p.4). In "bodily capacity lineage" in cultural studies (Scheve, 2018, p.44), this strictly radical and technical differentiation between affect and emotion [especially, in feminist cultural studies e.g. Sara Ahmed and Lauren Berlant] is not employed (Cvetkovich, 2012, p.4) and the plural *affects,* in small letter, instead of the singular *Affect*, in capital, is preferred as conceptualization (Slaby & Mühlhoff, 2019, p.35). Ngai denotes that the difference could be simply thought as a matter of "intensity or degree" rather than a "quality or kind" (Ngai, 2005, p.27).

[42] Seminal approaches in affect theory take their root from mainly, on the one hand, the works of Spinoza, Deleuze and Guattari, Bergson, Seigworth and Massumi (Blackman, 2012, p.5) and on the other hand, the works of Silvan Tomkins later interpreted by Eve Sedgwick as well as Sara Ahmed (Timár, 2019, p.197). In the first legacy, while affect is an abstract register entirely independent from emotion (Slaby & Scheve, 2019b, p.45); in the second legacy, it is regarded as micro-registers of emotion (Schaefer, 2019, p.2). However, in both legacies, the concept of affective "body" is at the center of abstraction, and it is mainly defined as "any whole composed of parts, where these parts stand in some definite relation to one another and has *a capacity for being affected* [emphasis added] by other bodies" (Baugh, 2005, p.35). Bodies are constantly affecting each other in the social and material life we live in. This does not mean that a body is simply characterized by its material or organic composition or by the

p.30) and consequently try to understand "how bodies are impelled by forces other than language and reason" (Schaefer, 2019, p.1). This is, of course, a vague, non-nuanced, and very technical differentiation of the two terms. Therefore, I would like to underline the points that I do not agree with in this differentiation and explain the kind of differentiation I prefer to employ in this study.

First and foremost, emotions cannot be simply considered as inner characteristics of the individual as registers are limited with the realm of subjective. They are dynamic comportments that can "affect" and can "be affected"[43] by social interaction (Pearce, 2019, p.155; Seigworth & Gregg, 2010, p.1). As Guyau underlines, emotions do not belong to the "personal" sphere, but always exist within social encounters as "mutual affections" (Guyau, 1887, as cited in Seyfert, 2012, p.43). They are "constitutive sites of human sociality and contingent upon it" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019b, p.47) as "driving forces in the constitution of practices, forms of life, institutions, groups, and social collectives" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.4). Emotion is a phenomenon that would be unthinkable without social interaction (Karakayalı, 2017, p.10).

Even though presuppositions that the aforementioned bifurcation between affect and emotion are built upon could be useful for different levels of analysis across various disciplines, in this research, I will be theoretically leaning on another kind of difference which is formulated through a sociological understanding of 'relationality' (Scheve, 2018, p.51). To this end, I choose to approach the phenomena mainly through the perspective of "relational affect" based on the idea of "affective relationality" (Scheve, 2018; Slaby & Scheve, 2019). To understand the arc of relational affect approach, the next section will provide a context for this perspective together with its underlying characteristics and notions as well as their usefulness for the scope of this research.

3.2. Relational Affect and the Working Concepts of the Study

Although affect studies in sociology have erupted in recent years, there have been many conceptual (and methodological) intricacies in various theories. The conceptual outlook has either lingered on "underdeveloped" or "ambiguous," or is not compatible with the idea of the social construction of emotions (Scheve, 2018, p.39-41). Moreover, the existing conceptualizations of affect from political philosophy and cultural studies remained unconducive to the empirical research since they cannot be

---

physical space it occupies, but by "the relations of its parts, by its actions and reactions" towards its inner and outer milieu (Baugh, 2005, p.35). As pellucidly underlined by Wetherell, a body can be imagined as "a rock, a capitalist exchange relation, a cat, a philosophy, a psychotherapy group, a social movement – any whole, that is, which is composed of parts where those parts are related together in ways that can be characterized in terms of their motion, speed and rest" (Wetherell, 2012, p.59).

[43] The power "to affect and to be affected" is Spinoza's famous definition of *affectus* (affect) which was uttered extensively by Massumi. See especially pp.83-111 in Massumi, B. (2015). *Politics of affect*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.

easily operationalized to achieve concrete applications (Scheve, 2018, p.42), lacking in "explanatory value" (Scheve, 218, p.48). Therefore, "detailed development of a specific approach" was necessary (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.16) and was subsequently suggested by prominent scholars from the interdisciplinary research center "Affective Societies" at *Freie University Berlin* (Slaby & Scheve, 2019). The primary qualities of relational affect are "bodily or embodied nature," "bodily or affective forms of intentionality" and "ubiquity and continuity" (Scheve, 2018, p.47-51). First one refers to how actors are embedded in social formations through bodily capacities (Scheve, 2018, p.48). The second one indicates "world-directedness or 'about-ness'" of affect (Scheve, 2018, p.48). The third one means that "individuals are always in some mode or state of affect" and affect has an inherent relational character (Scheve, 2018, p.49). Furthermore, "affect conveys meaning" and it can be regarded as "a specific form of meaning-making" (Scheve, 2018, 49). Relational affect approach also underlines that bodies' potential to affect and be affected is formed also by discourse and language (Scheve, 2018, p.49-50). In this perspective, affect as "individual mental states with intentional content"[44] is rejected and rather seen as "relational dynamics between evolving bodies" (Slaby & Mühlhoff, 2019, p.27).

To have terminological clarity, this definition needs to be deconstructed. To this end, as well-explained by Slaby and Mühlhoff, the three fundamental arches of Spinoza's understanding of affect should be denoted.[45] *Relational ontology* means that individuals are "stabilized node in an encompassing relational dynamic and … constitutively entangled with other individuals and a shared formative milieu", *interplay of affecting and being affected* explains how pervasive and constitutive affective dynamics among all individuals evolve in an existing context, and *power* refers to "individual's capacity to enter into relations of affecting and being affected", or "affective capacity" (potentia) (Slaby & Mühlhoff, 2019, p.28-32). It is imperative to argue that the *potentia* of an individual is also generated through social structures "inscribed and perpetuated as patterns of affective relatedness" (Slaby & Mühlhoff, 2019, p.28-32). In fact, relational affect reads affect through multilayered accounts of power. In fact, the concept is derived from engaging with different strands of emotion and affect studies[46] even though they are not always compatible with each other. The idea of combining different strands to detangle the knots of the existing research is suggested by many scholars (Wetherell, 2012; Scheve, 2018; Schaefer, 2019). To achieve this combination, relational affect scholars put together the convergent elements of existing affect research. These elements are i) "focus on the complex interactive relationality of bodies" ii) bodies

---

[44] In various veins of affect theory, discussions on "intentionality" are usually limited with "mental states", and "beliefs" falling simply to the cognitive realm, while others acknowledge its "constitutively feelings-involving" character (e.g. Scheve, 2018, p.48; Slaby, 2008, p.429).

[45] Before digging deeper into this conceptualization, the distinction between "affections" (affectio/affectiones) and "affects" (affectus) should be pointed out as it is a very central one in Spinoza's account. While the former relates to the bodily traces, the forms, the impacts, and impressions made through relations affecting to one another [connected to the subject], the latter indicates all affective relations that increase or diminish the body's agentive capacity to act (potentia) [independent from the subject] (Seyfert, 2012, p.32).

[46] e.g. *ontological perspective* or *bodily capacity perspective* in cultural studies, or sociological and social-psychological models such as *social constructionism* or *affect control theory*.

as "constitutively relational, and as permeable, extendable, and plastic" with "capacity to resonate" iii) affect as "a modality of power – force, effectiveness, potential – not (directly) wielded by human actors" (Slaby & Mühlhoff, 2019, p.34-36). Consequently, the Spinoza-based approach combined with the other lines of theory helps us to conduct research on "specific imbrications of bodies and designed spaces … in contemporary societies" (Slaby & Mühlhoff, 2019, p.36) while otherwise, we would not be able to critically examine on "how actors are embedded in and make sense of the social world" (Scheve, 2018, p.48). Relational affect, therefore, makes it easier for us to observe tangible repercussions of power relations and understand the concrete mechanisms of it, which ultimately makes affect work in a particular setting or situation.

As I mentioned in the previous section, the relational approach also looks at the relationship between affect and emotion. According to the approach, emotions are seen as "part of an integrated conceptual field that encompasses affect, emotion, and feeling" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019b, p.43). The scholars elucidate:

> ".... whereas 'affect' stands for pre-categorical *relational dynamics* [emphasis added] and 'feeling' for the subjective-experiential dimension of [the] affective relations, 'emotion' signifies consolidated and categorically circumscribed sequences of affective world-relatedness" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019b, p.43).

As such, in this study, the two terms are neither opposed nor as strictly separated as in the Deleuzean-Massumean scholarship. Instead, as in the relational approach, emotions (e.g. fear, anger, happiness, shame, joy, pride) are deemed as the "affective comportments" that are socially and culturally coded and encompass "affective processes and appraisals for which individuals or groups are affected" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019b, p.43). In other words, in a very general sense, while affect is described as "formative forces of culture and society" affecting and constituting a body's capacity to act (Scheve, 2018, p.39), emotions are seen as "realizations and conceptualizations of affect" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019b, p.44). Emotions have world-directed qualities and are indications of "relational co-constitution of actors, situations and evaluative orientations" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019b, p.43). They can be regarded as the results of "the dynamic embodied interaction between actors" together with their environment (Slaby & Scheve, 2019b, p.44). As such, while affect is a "ubiquitous and a constantly shifting bodily mode" as "one of the building blocks of emotions", emotions are "culturally classified, contextualized, and labeled affect" (Scheve, 2018, p.56). Taking affect as "relational dynamics," power relations that crystallize in interactive processes affects (e.g. transforms, determines, etc.) the formation of a particular social setting. In such an approach, "individual affective states, emotions, and dispositions" are deemed as "derivative" of these relational dynamics (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.14). Consequently, emotions themselves are indications of how certain capacities in bodies are produced in social relations. In this

research, emotions, as one of the very significant derivations or indications of affects, are going to be taken scrutinized throughout the narratives of the individuals[47].

Having clarified the fuzzy terms in the theory and explained the conceptual background, several working concepts are developed by the relational affect theorists (Slaby & Scheve, 2019) as versatile tools for the operationalization of the studied phenomenon. I have inductively singled out some of these working concepts of relational affect approach based on the empirical research I have conducted, as well as in accordance with the purpose of the research.

The first concept is *affective communities*. It refers to "dynamics of collectivization" and "forms of commonality" that are "based on episodes of … relational affect" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.9). The concept eases the researcher's endeavor in exploring "processes producing a temporal solidarization between affecting and affected social bodies" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.21). The second concept is *belonging,* which indicates "actors' affective and pre-reflexive attachments to places, languages, or material objects" and helps to understand actors' "sensing of relational affect as a form of attachment" to the formation [namely, soli-kitchens] in question (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.21). The practical and performative accounts of these ideas embedded in kitchen collectives will be explored through *belonging* concept. Another working concept is *affective atmosphere*. It basically signifies a feeling which exceeds the boundaries of the individual body and pervades in a situation or site where bodies exist (Riedel, 2019, p.85). For this study, *atmosphere* helps to envision especially the temporary emotions that are generated in the situations of social event or ritual-based interactions (Jasper, 2018, p.4, pp.77-100; Jasper, 2011, p.287). Lastly, the concept *affective practice* is analytically useful for the present study. The term suggests a praxeological understanding of affect. It specifies how relational affect "gets enacted, further shaped, and reflexively thematized" within the practical reality and focuses on "actors' own reflexive understanding of the affective dimension of their practices" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.18). Based on affect theory and practice theory, affective practice explores "how practices incorporate affectivity, delineating the role of affect in practices" (Wiesse, 2019, p.134). As such, the concept is highly useful to bring the tacit repercussions of affectivity onto the practical reality of daily life at kitchens.

In the scope of this research, the above-mentioned four concepts are closely connected to another one, namely, *political affect* meddling with *political emotions,* which remarks the theoretical junction between affect and politics.[48] The concept formulates the "political" within the "formative relations of

---

[47] Following the scholars in this vein, I will be using the term "affectivity" to refer to "extended family of affective phenomena" (Slaby & Mühlhoff, 2019, p.30) which covers all cognate notions of affect such as emotion, feeling, attunement, sentiment, sensation, mode, mood, emotional statement, attachment, and passions.
[48] In Spinoza's political thought, "the ultimate point of politics" is the "social form of freedom as joyously

power" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.9). In this study, the concept is tackled in terms of its relations to collective political action and transformation, namely, creating power for resisting potentials and political subjects[49]. Within this context, *political emotions* can be regarded as "culturally script devices for 'doing politics'" (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.346). Szanto and Slaby take the emotion concept in its affective account encompassing in both the episodic (e.g. momentary and sudden shame) and dispositional states (e.g. more of a long-term fear or hatred constituting and constituted by social action) (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.490).

All in all, this conceptual tableau guides this study to concretize the relationship between affectivity and the formation of kitchen communities. Coming together, they craft a common conceptual ground and a far-reaching set of tools. Throughout the analysis, the concepts will be unfolded in a more comprehensive manner. In the next section, a brief outlook on how emotion and affect is studied in collective actions and social movement studies will be depicted, which has close linkages with the concepts of *political affect* and *political emotions*.

3.3. Locating the Notions of *Emotion* and *Affect* in Theories of Social Movements and Collective Action

In the activist scene during the 50s, when fears of fascism and communism freshly patrolled the world, people mostly had been feeling obliged to suppress their emotions since "[they] had to prove that they were rational enough to participate in politics" (Jasper, 2011, p.295) and not "flawed or immature", or not "primitive" and "desperate fanatics" (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001, p.2-4). In many academic models on collective action and social movements, emotions are either overlooked in the analysis or are seen as elements that have very little impact on the social action, albeit mostly in a pejorative way.[50] However, over the past three decades, the emotionality that drives people to the streets or gets them organized is much talked about in activist scenes as well as in social movements and collective action

---

enacted collective action" (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.348). This is where the scholars use as a starting point to explore and develop the nexus between politics and affect in their relational understanding.

[49] Political affect can be studied from various aspects, be they biopolitical governance or governmentality (e.g. Anderson, 2012; Schuller, 2017), political propaganda or 'emotion regimes' (e.g. Reddy, 2008, as cited in Scheve, 2018, p.55) or actors' voting behavior and judgments in political choices (e.g. Marcus, Neuman, & MacKuen, 2000; Crigler & Hevron, 2017).

[50] When we look at the historical trajectory, even though assumptions on strict dominance of rational action is declined and interest in cultural work is developed in time, the affect and emotion phenomena did not saliently occupy a conceptual space neither in the prominent sociological models of resource mobilization and political opportunity structures (e.g. Tilly, 1978; McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1996) nor framing and frame alignment theories (e.g. Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986; Snow & Benford, 1992), social networks analysis and movement recruitment (e.g. Snow, Zurcher, Ekland-Olson, 1980) or analysis on contentious politics (e.g. McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2004). Individuals are treated as if they are devoid of emotions even though these emotions are collectively shared. Through the cultural turn, even though some scholars acknowledge the significance of emotions specifically in collective identity analysis (e.g. Melucci, 1996, as cited in Goodwin et al., 2001, p.6), only cerebral dimensions on culture (Jasper, 1998, p.397; Goodwin et al., 2001, p.6) or cognitive aspects of it were put forward (e.g. Eyerman & Jamison, 1991).

research. It has been manifested emotions have a foundational significance in collective action and political activism.[51] It is widely discussed that love, solidarity, anger, fear, desire to change, loyalty or pride can be part of the object of analysis. As Gould rightly underlines, "feelings and emotions are fundamental to political life … in the sense that there is an affective dimension to the processes and practices that make up the political" (Gould, 2009, p.3). In his seminal work, Jasper underlines that "emotions are not only part of our responses to events, but they also – in the form of deep affective attachments – shape the goals of our actions" (Jasper, 1998, p.398). If a researcher wants to envision the actions that are carried out by activist actors, then they "need to understand the emotions that lead, accompany, and result from them" (Jasper, 2011, p. 298). Emotions are "shaped by social expectations as much as they are emanations from individual personalities" (Goodwin et al., 2001, p.9). Affective ties and emotional attachments are deemed as not only a matter of micro-level but also of the macro one. Constructing their political 'identity', actors cultivate deep emotional attachments to the collective, in both micro and macro levels, that they are part of (Polletta & Jasper, 2001). Emotions belong to both the levels of collective as well as individual, and "permeate large-scale units of social organization, including workplaces, neighborhood and community networks, political parties, movements, and states, as well as the interactions of these units with one another" (Goodwin et al., 2001, p.16).

3.3.1. Contemporary Political Thought at the Nexus of Collective Action and Affect

Reflecting on the new stirrings of movements that happened in the past decades, many scholars of contemporary political theory focusing on the radical left politics of collective political mobilizations[52] discuss the possibilities, potentialities, and shortcomings of the formations of new collective subjects who fight for political change. They delineate how repressive and oppressive apparatus of the states, neoliberal power dynamics and impositions of global market revitalizing "upward distribution of wealth" tramples basic democratic rights (Kioupkiolis & Katsambekis, 2014, p.2). To this end, they suggest various analytical tools to make sense of contemporary experiences of collective action along with new forms of political subjectification and suggest 'ideal' formations of political subjects in that regard. Surely, their discussions on various forms of doing politics as well as their perspectives concerning the ontological status of politics differ from each other while meeting on the common ground of the *affective turn.*

Against this background, migrant soli-kitchens need to be conceptually located in the literature of collective action and social movements. For conceptual clarity, as underlined before, the kitchens are seen as particular forms of collective action that reflect radically autonomous and participatory politics,

---

[51] e.g. Groves, 1995; Jasper, 1998, 2018; Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2000, 2001, 2004; Flam & King, 2005; Gould, 2009; Castells, 2015; Kleres, 2017; Stekelenburg, 2017.
[52] e.g. Critchley, 2012, 2014; Holloway, 2002, 2010; Laclau & Mouffe, 1985, 2003; Mouffe, 2005, 2018; Hardt & Negri, 2000, 2004, 2009, 2012, 2017; Negri, 2000.

which were also deployed in many contemporary social movements.[53] However, the level of collective action constituting migrant soli-kitchens is essentially different than that of these movements[54]. They are based on the micro-mobilization of people and the resources in local spaces that are aimed to be sustained. In this sense, in terms of the level of the collective action, they can be construed as "local grassroots" (Almeida, 2019, p.53). Briefly put, this conceptual grounding is made based on the kitchen's qualities on a micro-level organizational form based on local social relationships, "restricted supply of internal organizational resources", high reliance on individual voluntary support and donations as well as the necessity of alliances with other local groups (Almeida, 2019, p.53-54). In terms of the mode of organizing, migrant soli-kitchens are construed as prefigurative spaces where a prefigurative way of doing politics is experimented and practiced. This point is going to be clarified throughout section 3.2.1.1.3. of this chapter.

Following this clarification, it should be stated that, among the approaches referenced above, Hardt and Negri's conceptualization of the *multitude* is chosen as the main analytical perspective to understand the *organizing principles*[55] of the migrant soli-kitchens. Since main constitutive elements of kitchens have strong affiliations with the conceptual pillars of Hardt's and Negri's formulation of the multitude, they are construed as the epitomizes of it and analyzed through the lenses of the respective literature. Moreover, their formulation offers the strongest and the most concrete way of interpreting not only the very construction of the kitchens but also their day-to-day functioning. Throughout the next sections, the relevant concepts of Hardt and Negri's radical political theory will be exhibited. Afterward, it will be manifested why the definitive principles and descriptive qualities of the multitude are attuned to provide the clearest, systemic, and fruitful conceptual tools to explain the organizing principles of the kitchens. It should be noted that my aim is not to demonstrate the prevalent, full-fledged criticism of Hardt and Negri's theorization (or the post-foundational paradigm overall), even though they heavily steer the lexicon of the contemporary debates. Rather, I will draw upon their analytical tools to better understand what *kind* of political formations these kitchens are and present how Hardt's and Negri's concepts capture the constitutive elements of the kitchens.

---

[53] e.g. movements of Occupy Wall Street, the Spanish Indignados, Arap Spring, Gezi Parkı and so on.

[54] According to Paul Almeida, there are six levels of collective action in terms of their scope and scale. These are, namely, i) everyday forms of resistance, ii) local grassroots movements, iii) national social movements, iv) waves of protest, v) revolutionary movements, and lastly, vi) transnational social movements (Almeida, 2019, p.46).

[55] By *organizing principle*, I mean their main frame of reference concerning their foundational political ideas, the organizational structure, financial and other resources, purchasing strategies they reinforce, political and social capacities they strive to create, the types of social relations and communication within the community, types of participation that they promote, types of activities they organize, day-to-day functioning mechanisms at their space, their target groups, outer relationships that they establish, their future aspirations as well as main motivations.

3.3.1.1. Radical Political Subject and its Affective Catalogue in Hardt and Negri's Radical Political Theory

This section of the paper will try to manifest and briefly explain the emblematic concepts and underpinnings of Hardt's and Negri's conceptual universe that are relevant to the subject matter of this study. Based on their tetralogy,[56] I will try to briefly outline the nature of their theoretical expansion masoning the stones of collective political action. To this end, the first three subsections enlighten on i) the fundamental political subject of their theory, the *multitude* ii) the political model that multitude produces, *the common and commoning* iii) one of the forms doing politics that the multitude engages, *prefigurative politics*. The next subsection manifests the scholars' ideas on affective ties and emotional attachments that are framed as associated with the multitude. In the last subsection, a brief criticism of this affective catalogue is provided.

3.3.1.1.1. The Multitude

The concept of multitude is simply described by Hardt and Negri as "an open and expansive network in which all differences can be expressed freely and equally, a network that provides the means of encounter so that we can work and live in common" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.xiv). We need to deconstruct this definition in order to understand the fundamental principles constituting the multitude. Capitalist production not only involves the production of "the basic means of life" but also "subjectivity and social life" involving which ultimately makes it "biopolitical" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.145-147; Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.296-299). According to Negri's thesis on self-valorization of labor, contrary to capitalist valorization, "subjectivity is characterized by its needs, consciousness and organizational form of its struggle" (Negri, 2005, as cited in Harrison, 2016, p.497), hence, the new political subjectivity should not only reject the capitalist social relations but also construct new capacities and a new form of social relations. Exploring such capacities against the capitalist biopolitical production requires immaterial labor. Immaterial labor produces immaterial products such as "ideas, images, codes, languages, knowledges, affects, and the like" (Hardt and Negri 2009, p.364) that is "immeasurable" of which "capital can never capture all", hence, the potential for radical autonomy emerges (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.140-147). As such, the new political subject of this biopolitical production emerges: the multitude. Immaterial labor is capable of engaging and transforming all facets of society and constructing a collaborative network which, together, makes it a primary sketch of the "social composition of the multitude" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.65).

---

[56] the *Empire* (2000), the *Multitude* (2004), the *Commonwealth* (2009) and the *Assembly* (2017) but also *Declaration* (2012).

Taken its basis from the key term of Spinoza, *potentia multitudinis*, "the power of the multitude" (Kwek, 2015, p.155), multitude should be understood, first, by its creative, productive, and reproductive registers; and second, by its lasting presence that "refused authority and command, expressed the irreducible difference of singularity, and sought freedom in innumerable revolts and revolutions" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.221). Multitude "cannot be reduced to a unity" is not "the rule of one" or "sovereign" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.328-331). This means that the construction of the multitude should presuppose singularity politics. Each singularity exists within the multitude and is exclusive in itself. The multitude pursues "commonality" between different singularities in the sense of "the common social and political capacity of the multitude", rather than finding a "unity" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.223). Commonality "enables us to communicate and act together" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.xiii). In practice, actors from diverse ideological, social, economic, and political backgrounds come together in a collective social body to construct the alternative that they desire: "singularities that act in common" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.105).

In such formulation, capacities of the immaterial labor of the multitude go beyond the capital and pervade various spheres of life (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.146-153). It does not limit itself to the economic sphere but also partakes in the general production of "ideas, knowledges and affects" as well as "social relationships" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.66). The "exceeding capacities" of the immaterial labor are transferred into "the common" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.146-153). Their argument says that "cooperative, collaborative, associative, networked, creative, self-organizing, autonomous, entrepreneurial, affective dimensions of immaterial labor produce … new subjectivities" through the "subjective excess" that goes beyond capital's realm (Webb, 2019, p.218). Thanks to this excess, the multitude works for the liberation of the common from the capital. It can be regarded as the bodily expression of the common where diverse subjectivities act in common through autonomous "productive social cooperation" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.153). In this sense, it is safe to state that the multitude potentially involves the Common in itself. However, according to Hardt and Negri, the common should still be produced through creative and constitutive means of the multitude in the processes of "collaborative social interactions" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.222). In this sense, the multitude is defined through the constitution of a common rather than social and political antagonisms.

As it is mentioned above many times, the multitude has a network-based formation. "Network has become a common form that tends to define our ways of understanding the world and acting in it" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 142). Against capitalist networked structures of Empire that have exerted its hegemony in our social relations (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.142-143), multitude develops its own independent networks and engages with plural exchanges between various actors to create commonalities. To this end, the multitude "progressively incorporates the entire global realm within its open, expanding frontiers" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p.xii). Networks create "communicative laboratory" and become the "primary organizational tool" (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.54-59). Singularities of the

multitude merge and remerge in "mobile, fluid, communicative and affective networks" (Dean, 2014, p.76). In this sense, networks can be regarded as both the site and the source of interaction, communication, and cooperation between different actors of the multitude.

Another significant quality of the multitude is related to the electronic/digital fabric of their collective action. Multitude highly benefits from a wide range of tools repertoire that flows within the webs of networks. The digital technologies "allow the multitude access to knowledges, communication, and capacities for self-administration" (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.221)[57]. Multitude employs forums, social media organs, newly-advanced technological tools, and digital practices (e.g. citizen journalism and tactical cyber-activism through smartphones, video cameras, and the internet itself) to enhance its social networks, establish sustainable connections between them as well as to "reclaim [their] constituent power through actively discovering and creating commonalities" (Dahlberg & Siapera, 2007, p.10). All in all, through excessive capacities of their immaterial labor, the singularities within the multitude make intensive use of new technologies in order to strengthen and extend the ties between the networks on local, regional and global levels, to reclaim the common, to produce in common by creating commonalities, and to increase their capacities for self-organization.

.3.1.1.2. *The Common* and Commoning

As given the pinch of information above, the concept of the common is quite vital in Hardt and Negri's radical political thought in the sense that it is embedded in the theorization of the dominant modes of production and the very potential to create alternative(s) and alternative world imaginations. In their book *Commonwealth*, scholars define the *Common*, not only the commonwealth of the natural world such as "the earth, the air, the elements" but also the "constitutive elements of human society such as common languages, habits, gestures, affects, codes, and so forth" that are required for social interaction and production (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.171). It is "not only the earth we share but also the languages we create, the social practices we establish, [and] the modes of sociality that define our relationships" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.139). In such a framework, multitude constructs a struggle which indicates both the *exodus* from capitalist forms of social relations, that seize 'the common', and the re-constitution of social relations beyond them. By exodus, the scholars define the "process of subtraction from the relationship with capital by means of actualizing the potential autonomy of labor-power" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.152). To this end, the common appears as "lived in social, productive, and reproductive cooperation" and becomes the political model of new institutions established by the multitude (Hardt &

---

[57] The scholars also criticize the digital technologies due to their force benefitting digital surveillance of the neoliberal administration (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.221). However, they acknowledge that "the real motor" of "information and communication technologies" is "living knowledge, intelligence, and subjectivity" (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.321).

Negri, 2017, p.238). This cooperation surely indicates a biopolitical production that is beyond the physical resources and is unfolded by affective means.

Scholars argue that "the common does not refer to traditional notions of either the community or the public; it is based on the *communication* among *singularities* and emerges through collaborative social processes of production" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.204). Constituting the "common," "the primary characteristic of the new dominant forms of labor today," people become a site and source of struggle against capitalist regimes of production (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.xv). The common, then, can be seen as the product of the labor but not limited to it. It is also the setting itself, upon which the struggle takes place, struggle for owning the production of this labor. It is "the incarnation, the production and the liberation of the multitude" (Hardt & Negri, 2000, p.303) that unfolds the possibility of multitudinous forms of social cooperation. "Singular social subjects" construct the common through cooperation, communication, and collaboration (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.222, p.148). Constitution of Empire can only be hindered by such commonality "at each intersection of lines of creativity or lines of flight" against "fusional powers of control" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.137). Through the common, fundamental political subjectivity of radical politics (the multitude) comes to the surface. The common, in this sense, can be regarded as the imminent power that constitutes the multitude of singularities.

In practice, political action constituted through the common underscores "bottom-up practices of shared ownership, self-management, and social co-production" going beyond capital (Roussos & Malamidis, 2021, p.359). In their *Declaration*, Hardt and Negri introduce the practitioners of this action as the "commoner" whose productive labor is materialized in the form of "the commoning" that exceeds the capacities of the capitalist organization of the social (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.89-90).

In their formulation, the tangible organizational articulations of the multitude fighting for the common construed with the qualities of autonomy and horizontality (Hardt & Negri, 2012, as cited in Prentoulis & Thomassen, 2014, p.217). This form is a horizontally structured network without a leader or a center. It is constructed by singular autonomous individuals who cannot be represented by other people or institutions. According to scholars, "representation is in itself, by definition, a mechanism that separates the population from power, the commanded from those who command" (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.27). In this sense, representation turns the constituent power of the multitude into the constituted power. However, in a non-representational setting, singular individuals themselves are constituent power since "they do not make demands to an already constituted power (the state), but instead create a new power (the democratic power of the multitude) and in this way produce the common" (Prentoulis & Thomassen, 2014, p.217). The philosophical foundation of this perspective comes again from Spinoza. According to the scholars, to understand the strength of the constituent power, there should be a shift from the "ontology of transcendence" indicating mediation and representation to the "ontology of imminence" indicating immediacy and singularity (Negri, 1995, p.3, as cited in Çidam, 2013, p.34).

Although Hardt and Negri's political subject formulation has an emphasis on "prefigurative politics" only to a limited degree, it holds a considerable presence in their discussions on various forms of governing the common. As such, prefigurative politics, as one of the core terms of this research, provides a thorough insight to better grasp the practicalities at the kitchens. A closer look to prefiguration helps to reveal tangible combinations between substantial and affective practices in everyday life that are created by producing and communicating in common.

3.3.1.1.3. Prefigurative Politics and Prefiguration

Coined by political scientist Carl Boggs (1977), the term "prefigurative politics" is mainly embraced in utopian studies as well as feminist, anarchist, radical politics, and social movements scholarship.[58] It emphasizes a mode of practice that potentially envisages societal transformation based on actual human capacities rather than a set of abstract principles. Carrying out creative and experimental practices which are based on the principles of egalitarianism and democratic participation, it proceeds direct experimental actualization of social and political alternative. Rather than engaging with the power authorities for political reforms, prefigurative politics seeks to establish the political change in the "here and now" (de Sande, 2015, p.182). The main focus of doing prefigurative politics is less on "legislative change or the redistribution of resources" (Yates, 2014, p.2) but more on building the new world 'in the shell of the old' (Törnberg, 2021, p.85). In contrast to an institutional framework, prefigurative spaces are often informal spaces that are actively reconstructed in pursuit of imagination and dreams for future change. As underlined by Yates, the increasing trend of "anti-authoritarian, horizontal, participatory form of organizing in the left" is regarded as prefigurative especially in the sense of being network-based by following informal type of organizing (Yates, 2021, p.1034). Prefigurative practice takes place on the principle of "means-ends equivalence" indicating that means of the action becomes the ends of the action (Yates, 2015, p.3), albeit the question of "where does the political begin and end" in prefiguration is a difficult one to answer (Yates, 2014, p.7).

Many scholars acknowledge that micro-level community projects based on everyday practice and politics, grassroots initiatives with a practical-political motive, alternative economy projects, solidarity economy experiences, and other projects undertaking "everyday politics" can be deemed as actions under the umbrella of prefiguration.[59] Building a free and open space for everyone to practice prefigurative politics collectively is an *attempt* to create a small-scale miniature of the world that the activists are imagining and fighting to establish.

---

[58] e.g. Breines, 1982; Epstein, 1991, Graeber, 2002, 2007, 2013; Holloway, 2010; Maeckelbergh, 2011; Campagna & Campiglio, 2012; de Sande, 2013, 2015; Purcell, 2014; Yates, 2014, 2015, 2021; Trott, 2016; Gordon, 2018; Raekstad, 2018; Raekstad & Gradin, 2020; Creasap, 2021.

[59] e.g. Reinecke, 2018; Swain, 2019; Raekstad & Gradin, 2020; Yates, 2021; Creasap, 2021.

It is accurate to conclude that prefiguration has two fundamental dimensions: creating an alternative (as the *multitude* is ought to do) and the political motive and goal that are also affecting the processes of the prefiguration itself. To distinguish prefigurative practices from the sub-cultural or lifestyle practices, Yates suggests that existence of the elements of "imaginative and experimental construction of alternative …within either mobilization or everyday activities" and "future political relevance through material consolidation or diffusion of …ideas and practices" can make the political project prefigurative (Yates, 2021, p.1050). Surely, in such a frame, dimensions of performativity (in the sense of producing an effect within the social action) and spatiality (in the sense of being in a physical common space) become also significant. As underlined by Jeffrey and Dyson, prefigurative politics is an "inherently spatial and performative genre of political activism in which people enact a vision of change" (Jeffrey & Dyson, in press, p.3). Be it a setting to distribute the food or other consumables, or to share and exchange knowledge and skills, space is their backcloth to interact and perform to produce affect.

Although the concept appears only occasionally in Hardt and Negri's *Assembly*, they find the prefigurative way of organizing quite inspiring that is a "strategy to exodus" which creates a "new outside" while also recognizing its pitfalls (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.274). Prefigurative politics is grounded on "moral and political mandate to match means and ends" (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.275). "Creation and reproduction of the community of activists" is the focus (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.275). Prefiguration has the power to demonstrate what is desirable. Prefigurative settings build systems and avenues for various services and goods in common enabling "to open broader social debates about democracy and equality" (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.275). Concerning the pitfalls, prefigurative politics, scholars argue, cannot achieve the biopolitical transformation alone, in other words, "transformation of society as a whole" (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.288), they suggest pursuing a constellation of strategies[60] that are "potentially" complementary (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.278). However, since the aim of this research is neither to claim that migrant soli-kitchens have a *revolutionary character* nor to measure their level of or distance to it; the other two dimensions are not brought under the spotlight. Even though they do not (and did not) appeal a popular emancipatory politics by themselves, it will be argued that each creates a certain level of effect and political effectiveness in their own localities. As Hardt and Negri themselves acknowledged that prefigurative politics "give a taste of possible democratic social relations and nourish the desire for a different, better world" (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.288). Kitchens, in this regard, are framed as part of a prefigurative multitude in their descriptive sense.

3.3.1.1.4. Affective Catalogue of Hardt and Negri's Multitude

---

[60] These strategies are "prefigurative politics", "antagonistic reformism" (both within and against the state), and "taking of power" (in the sense of both overthrowing existing order and creating the new) all together to sufficiently govern the common (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.277-280).

In Hardt and Negri's formulation, affective ties and emotional attachments are construed as "the birthplace" of the multitude (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.346). Multitude's resistance is an affective resistance. Affect is "an instigator of cultural and political change, catalyzing … a progressive political force" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019, p.21). Hardt underlines that the political project of the multitude "must be formulated and conducted on the terrain of the affects" and "path to liberation" can be drawn "only by working through the affects" (Hardt, 2015, p.215). In his book *Savage Anomaly* translated by Hardt, Negri underlies Spinoza's distinction between "potentia" (power, interpreted as individual's power to act) and "potestas" (power in capital, interpreted as individual's power to command and repress, crystallized in power relations) (Negri, 1991, p.191-202). In other words, while potestas indicates "the power of authority", potentia refers to the "force and strength of the multitude" (Large, 2017, p.163). Because potestas originates from potentia, people become able to engage with a collective understanding of social relations, desire for social and political change and transform their power into a multitude's collective and constitutive power to work for the collective good. Scholars argue that there is a need for "new production of political affects that cultivates people's appetite for participation and desire for self-government" so that democracy becomes possible (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.80). Based on the radical-political reading of Deleuze's interpretation of Spinoza's formulation of affect, Hardt and Negri formulate the constituent power (the capacity of affecting and being affected) as the essential capacity of *all entities* [emphasis added]. As such, no power can be greater than the power of the multitude (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.343). This power is "driven by imagination, love, and desire" (Hardt, 2000, p.xv). The driving force of politics are the constitutive and productive power of these affects that are preconditions of the multitude to be made up.

Affects are not only the constitutive initiators and catalyzers to be politically active, but also are themselves the cultivations of the processes of political activation and action. Affects and political relations are mutually constitutive in a dynamic and constant construction and re-construction process. According to the scholars, settings of the political action generate political affects, to be more precise, enabling people to experience "the power of creating new political affects through being together" (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.21). As they state, "the bases of political action are formed not primarily through the circulation of information or even ideas but rather through the construction of political affects, which requires a physical proximity" (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.20-21). For instance, occupation-encampment in a square "is a kind of happening, a performance piece that generates political affects" (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.21). Constituent actions are shaped and flourished by "intense affects" and "great joy" that are expressed and reconstituted in the action sites (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.51). Physical proximity, in such a scene, helps to create a feeling of security in a mutual sense (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.51).

Considering the role of media in covering the truth, mediums of the singularities of the multitude in networks "communicating and being together" create new truths, and these truths create political affects

(Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.37). Thus, "expressing these political affects in being together embodies a new truth" within "the corporeal and intellectual intensity of the interactions" (Hardt and Negri, 2012, p.37). This, in turn, builds the new political subjectivity (multitude of singularities) that brings along social and political emancipation.

Representation, according to Hardt and Negri, denies "control of [people's] productive social power; just as the intelligence, affective capacities … [and] every possibility of associative … and loving social exchange", thus, representation prevents the access to "effective political action" (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.29). Since individuals' power cannot be completely ceded to a political body (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.343), singularities in the common, who cannot be represented, can achieve such "loving social exchange" and compose the commonwealth. Mobilization of passions, agentive potentials, wills, and desires of the multitude play a significant role in the constituent process of constructing the common (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.64-65). The constituent character of "affects, needs, and ideas … rise up to form general assemblies" (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.59) where truths are spoken, and decisions are taken in common.

But what *kinds* of affects (and emotions) play a role in the construction of multitude? *Joy* is deemed as the ultimate emotion that the multitude wants to reach. In *What Affects Are Good For*, Hardt states that ethical and political project is ought to constantly convert joyful or sad encounters only to joyful ones (Hardt, 2007, p.x). As it was explained before, the productive potentials of the multitude come to the surface through immaterial labor. Against such background, there is a direct ontological connection between joy and the power of the multitude, the political subject of liberty. To proliferate the political action and movements, Negri construes that multitude "must necessarily recast in the presumed unity of joyous labor – the expression of potentia" (Ruddick, 2010, p.41). The political project of the multitude must "discover how to make last and repeat what is good, that is, what brings us joy" (Hardt, 2015, p.219). "Path of joy is constantly to open new possibilities, to expand our field of imagination, our abilities to feel and be affected, our capacities for action and passion" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.379). The aim of the multitude in constructing the common is to "restore or reinvent political conceptions of happiness, joy, and love for our world" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p. 380). By accumulating diverse collective desires, according to the scholars, the common turns into "a joyful democratic passion, something like a new natural right" (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.238).

It should be stated that before and beyond the political subjectivity, Hardt and Negri construe certain emotions as more relevant in the political sphere, thus, they ascribe those emotions to the multitude. For example, *indignation*, *anger*, *fear*, and *outrage* invigorate the political action of the multitude:

> A Prince is emerging at the horizon, a Prince born of the passions of the multitude. *Indignation* at the corrupt policies that continually fill the feeding troughs of bankers, financiers,

bureaucrats, and the wealthy; *outrage* at the frightening levels of social inequality and poverty; *anger* and *fear* at the destruction of the earth and its ecosystems; and denunciation of the seemingly unstoppable systems of violence and war [all emphasis added] (Hardt & Negri, 2017, xx-xxi).

However, even though "indignation" in this passage seems like a mobilizing emotion, they are ontologically construed as a destructive, passive, and non-productive one. As all passions should turn into constructive ones on the collective level, one should beat indignation. One should "proceed from indignation to rebellion against the structures of domination" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.330). Following this path, Hardt states that whilst "joy is the increase of our power to think and act … sadness is the decrease" (Hardt, 2015, p.219). To put it differently, while "joy" increases the body's power to act, while "pain" diminishes it (Negri, 2000, n.p.). As a Spinozist himself, Negri elaborates this point in an interview and states:

> There are two main and fundamental passions: joy and sadness. … Stating that joy is better than sadness is based on a material fact, namely on the productivity of labor, on the power of living labor. … Joy is constructive… From this perspective, fear is a great enemy. … we suffer from fear, and we are subjugated by fear (Negri, 2019, p.14-16).

As is seen, Hardt and Negri make a normative assessment by classifying politically good, valuable, desirable affects and the bad, unwanted ones. The political project of the Common, as the constructive cooperation for the free and equal future for all, can only be constructed through the good affects of the multitude. Fear and indignation are not among them. However, this can be true even for indignation, anger, and outrage as well. Even though they play a role in the invigoration of action, it does not mean that they are or will become constructive. According to Hardt and Negri, for an affect to be politically desirable, it needs to be constructive. What makes an affect constructive is its capacity to increase the productivity of labor. Labor, in turn, mobilizes the capacities of the multitude to explore the singularities within the multitude and build institutions that are self-governed (Hardt and Negri 2000, p.212; Hardt and Negri 2004, p.341; Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.153).

Love also occupies a voluminous space in Hardt and Negri's formulations. It would not be far-fetched to claim that their radical politics is a politics of love. Love broadens our joy and enhances the power of our bodies and minds (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.181). Love has the power to produce political subjectivity and create new forms of assemblages where encounters of 'singularities' are possible (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.180-186). In Hardt and Negri's formulation, love is the "primary force" of the multitude (Kioupkiolis, 2014, p.156). The autonomous production of a new subjectivity, the multitude, corresponds to "a new seeing, a new hearing, a new thinking, a new loving" (Hardt, 2010, p.141). "What counts in love" constitutes new forms of the common (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.186). Love is construed as an emotion related to the constituent power of the multitude. In his comparatively early work,

Insurgencies, Negri occasionally discusses how acts of love strengthen desire, and consequently, possibilities for liberation and the constituent power of the multitude (Negri, 1999, p. 323). In the same vein, in the *Multitude,* Hardt and Negri argue that if there should be a force, this cannot be destructive (e.g. towards an enemy), but rather target emancipation and liberation, that is, an "act of love" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.351). Acting in common is "the real act of love" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.358) in other words "creation of a new humanity is the ultimate act of love" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.356). Love is what turns the multitude into an emancipatory political subject.

Happiness is another emotion-related theme in Hardt and Negri's conceptual universe. In *Commonwealth*, scholars claim that happiness should become a political concept and should be institutionalized (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.377). As a public feeling, happiness is "a collective good," "a pleasure that lasts and repeats," and "a mechanism for increasing and amplifying what we want and what we can do" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.377). In this sense, "the multitude must govern itself in order to create a durable state of happiness" that is the "common happiness" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.377). As it is not that easy to achieve such self-government, happiness should be, in fact, understood as "the process of developing our capacities of democratic decision making and training ourselves in self-rule" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.377). The process of changing the world and ourselves can be inclined "along the lines of our desires, toward happiness" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.378). Happiness is formulated as an affect that increases our power to act in common and "bring about our new and ever greater capacities" (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p.378). On the other hand, scholars locate *sympathy* and *pity* in contrast to happiness. According to Hardt and Negri, even though sympathy and pity could perhaps provide "mechanisms for association and social constitution," they are "powerless and even block our power" (Hardt and Negri, 2009, 379).

All in all, in the context of the construction of multitude, while *joy, happiness,* and *love* are construed as constructive, *pain*, *sadness, fear*, *sympathy*, and *pity* are construed as destructive, or at the least, not at all located in the constructive palette. Undoubtedly, in Hardt and Negri's formulation, what joy and pain do in mobilizing political subjectivities are different and mutually exclusive.

3.3.1.1.5. A Brief Critique on Multitude's Affective Catalogue

Hardt and Negri's formulation of affective catalogue that they assign to their radical political subject leaves us in a fuzzy terrain and evokes two sets of challenging questions. Firstly; if affect is the constitutive power of the multitude, which consists of bodies and entities as well as interactions, relations, and networks among them, then how do we know that certain affects and emotions can be completely constitutive considering the complexity and idiosyncratic qualities of social relations? Can we really know in a normative sense which emotions are constructive and which are not? Can this be

purely determined by social and cultural labels describing certain emotions as "negative" and others as "positive"? For example, isn't it possible that pain, pity, or guilt has productive possibilities just like joy or love? Secondly; what about the antagonisms and confrontations, ambivalences, and controversies inherent in these actions and struggles? How can a pure cooperation be possible where there are layers of inherent antagonisms and ambiguities in social relations of people who *act in common*?

These questions were accompanying me throughout my research. Briefly put, in this research, the sharp binary duality between politically "bad" and politically "good" emotions, the lack of the cultural and historical variety of "good" and "bad" emotions, lack of possible ambivalences and contradictions of certain affects and emotions as well as construing affect and emotion as "exceptional, emergent and self-evident" concepts are criticized (Bens et al., 2019, p.16). Besides, my research is in line with the criticism of Çıdam who argues that focusing heavily on love cause their theories to ignore the contradictions and discordant veins within the multitude (Çıdam, 2013, p.39) and their formulation almost completely ignores the possibilities of the settings where constant efforts to negotiate and mediate the differences become a necessity (Çıdam, 2013, p.40-42). Lastly, Akgün's criticism on the lack of *political articulation processes* in Hardt and Negri's formulation of the radical political subject is also relevant to the scope of this research (Akgün, 2018, p.223).

All these "pitfalls" are, of course, only choices based on Hardt and Negri's ontological positioning on what *power* and *politics* is or what humans are capable of. In other words, they reflect a strong interpretation of Spinoza's political ontology, the underlying ontology of immanence over the ontology of transcendence. This, as explained above in detail, designates the multitude as an immanent and spontaneous subject which already has the potential in itself to accomplish the revolution through its constituent power to affect and to be affected. We can easily infer from this premise that actions that are invigorated by the multitude's affective ties will eventually end up with social and political emancipation. The emancipation is envisioned as existent *within* the multitude's action. Political articulation processes of subjectivities are somehow overlooked. It is reasonable to argue that this is a quite assertive metaphysical claim; we can surely ask what motivates the activists, revolutionaries, or any dissidents to engage in political action. However, it is another thing to claim that *what motivates them* will eventually bring political emancipation. For example, one can feel angry due to the precarious conditions that are enforced by neoliberal capitalism. That anger is obviously elicited by those conditions and can motivate the person to do something about it. However, *what exactly* this person is going to *do* with that anger (e.g. be a revolutionary guerilla or a cynic) is something that is determined by other factors and conditions. In this sense, in the scope of this research, I do not necessarily agree with their ideas on the ontological premises of power and politics. Rather, I will only be using their concept of the multitude analytically to see what functions in the multitude empirically. This being said,

I am only interested in understanding how multitude works in the empirical world, rather than in discussing what *multitude* (as well as *power* and *politics*) ontologically *is*.

4. SETTING UP THE FRAME OF ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the empirical and conceptual frame of analysis will be manifested. While empirical sites of the research will be briefly introduced throughout section 4.1., section 4.2. will locate the kitchens within the conceptual lexicon of Hardt and Negri that is introduced throughout the theoretical framework. Briefly put, the kitchens will be scrutinized through the lenses of Hardt and Negri's formulation of the multitude which reject capitalist social relations and attempt to prefigure alternative ones, which could potentially, suggest a grounding for a form of society beyond the capital. To this end, first, the kitchens will be introduced in detail in terms of the story of foundation, objectives, and aims, how do they operate, their activities, their target group, their networks, financial and infrastructural resources, and their situation during COVID-19 process as well as the closing stories if applicable. Second, based on all these qualities, the *organizing principles* of kitchens will be manifested. Third, these organizing principles will be put in the constitutive descriptive elements of Hardt and Negri's conceptualizations of the multitude explained above. The descriptive elements of multitude and organizing principles of the multitude are vividly synced up.[61] Thus, how *migrant solidarity kitchens* can be deemed as acts of *prefigurative multitude* will be demonstrated.

4.1. Empirical Frame

4.1.1. Universe of the Field: İstanbul and Berlin

There are various reasons that persuaded me to choose İstanbul and Berlin for my field research. Berlin presents a special case compared to other cities, as the symbol of the 'diversity' in Germany due to its huge transnational community of people with diverse national and ethnic backgrounds especially in the Western section of the city. This surely cannot be understood without considering "how deeply it is permeated by its histories of migration, migrant and contract migrant workers" (Neumann, 2019, p.19) as well as "Berlin's historical position of providing refuge to East Germans during and after the Cold War" (Baban & Rygiel, 2017, p.106). Even though Berlin does not receive the highest number of asylum seekers (to be more precise, asylum applications) in Germany (OECD, 2018, p.26), it provides an interesting framework regarding political activism and alternative solidarity networks that has emerged

---

[61] As a reminder, these elements are as follows: i) experimenting *exodus from capitalist social relations for the aim of constructing new capacities for self-valorized labor* ii) *producing and acting in common* iii) *singularity politics* iv) *autonomism, self-organization, non-representativeness, leaderless-ness* v) *direct participation, direct decision making and horizontal structure,* vi) *open and expansive networked structure* vii) *benefitting from new digital technologies and media tools* viii) *prefiguration and prefigurative ways of doing politics.*

in the context of refugee and asylum seeker rights and mobilizations. Over the past years, especially with the emergence of the O-platz Movement[62] in 2012 and then during and after the "long summer of migration" (Hess et al., 2016), a number of different political self-organized groups, welcome initiatives, and refugee solidarity collectives have appeared in Berlin which also highlights the deep-rooted anti-authoritarian and anti-fascist tradition.[63]

İstanbul, as the largest city in Turkey, has transformed into a more complicated site demographically than before especially after the new arrivals of migrants in 2011 from Syria with the start of an ongoing civil war and from Afghanistan recently after the Taliban took control over the country in August 2021. However, Istanbul has been a major contemporary international migration hub for a very long time, as migrants and refugees previously came from war-torn countries[64]. Since thousands of migrants live under insecure and highly precarious conditions without obtaining any legal status, the city is mostly deemed as a so-called "transit city" or a "gateway" as many refugees and asylum seekers only would like to stay temporarily on their way to Europe either to work for some time and/or apply for international asylum (Genç, 2017, p.119). The majority of this group consists of undocumented immigrants who were held in a state of uncertainty through "indefinite waiting, limited knowledge, and unpredictable legal status" (Biehl, 2015, p.69). Even though the grassroots radical political activist scene for migrant solidarity seems quite small compared to Berlin, there have been multiple initiatives and collectives established for solidarity with migrants and refugees, specifically to abolish the detention centers, and fight against deportations, imprisonment, the international asylum system, as well as the increase of oppression, criminalization, and discrimination towards migrants and refugees in the city.[65] Therefore, significant reasons for the selection of İstanbul and Berlin as the main fields of the research is that first, they are among the notable hubs attracting the largest contemporary floods of migrants and refugees in their respective regions; and second, they are two global cities where various generations of migrants and refugees' encounter. Consequently, due to the ongoing change in the demographics of the two cities and the dire conditions that refugees are forced to live in, the need for solidarity and support networks become socially, economically, and politically relevant.

After a couple of interviews, I realized that Berlin and İstanbul are recognized by the respondents as two connected cities in terms of direct and indirect networks and inter-organizational linkages they have established. Hence, in addition to the social and political relevance; I chose these cities for reasons of

---

[62] Further details on the movement will be briefly provided in the 4.1.1.4. section of this chapter under "Kochkollektiv in Berlin".

[63] e.g. *We'll Come United, Seebrücke, Migrantifa, No Border Assembly, Lampedusa, Anti-Deportation Café, Nationalismus ist keine Alternative* and many others.

[64] such as Afghanistan, Iran, and Iraq or those coming from Balkans, sub-Saharan Africa as well as Western Africa

[65] e.g. *"Refugees, We Are, Neighbours" Solidarity Network, Women Without Borders, Women to Women Refugee Kitchen, The Association of Bridging People, We Want to Live Together Initiative, Migrant Rights Watch Network* and so on.

access and existing relations between members. Expanding the research site from İstanbul to Berlin provided me to present a small-scale comparative perspective between similar spaces in terms of practical and political agendas in very different geographies with quite different resources and infrastructures. Inter-geographical links and informal ties through transnational solidarity networks helped me to better exhibit how people from different spaces are interconnected on a common political repertoire within a networked structure of dissidents. However, it should be noted that the aim is neither to analyze the infrastructures and the facilities of these cities nor to come up with an extensive representative analysis. Instead, the focus will be on how respondents in entirely different contexts can have certain commonalities and similarities in terms of their emotional attachments and affective ties in relation to their political participation.[66]

In İstanbul, the research is conducted on *Mutfak* (*Migrant Solidarity Kitchen*) and *Komşu (Komşu Café Collective)*. Even though *Komşu* is not framed as a "migrant solidarity kitchen" at first glance, it fits the framework of the research since it is an autonomous non-hierarchical collective kitchen that became home for many migrants and refugees in the city and the neighborhood. In Berlin, while *Kiezkantine* (*Bilgisaray-Kiezkantine*) was included from the very beginning, *Kochkollektiv* attracted my attention during the pre-interview research process. Since *Kiezkantine*'s story started at the O-platz Movement, I started to become quite interested in *Kochkollektiv* which was born at the O-platz Movement as well and learned thereafter that I was already connected to prominent key activists from the movement through other political circles.

 The "migrant solidarity kitchen" is a concept that should be explained in terms of its relevance to the subject matter. There are many studies on how food, culinary activities, cuisine, and kitchens in certain contexts revitalize specific sentiments and emotions[67] and how the kitchen, food, cuisine, and/or eating practices intersect with culture, gender, class, lifestyle and consumption practices, urban space, home-making, migration, memory, nationality, colonialism, and identity:[68] these strands of work are not within the scope of this research's interest, even though they touch upon the subject matter. To briefly explain, kitchens selected for this research are different from regular home kitchens and are deemed as forms of *collective political action*. These kitchens are where migrants and non-migrants meet (encounters of differences) directly for the purpose of establishing *solidarity* relations. In this sense, the focus of this research is neither explicitly the food, cuisine, or cooking, nor the emotions revitalized by them; rather, the focus is the role of the emotions in mobilizing agents to engage with the kitchens (as food-producing activity) and the emotions produced at these kitchens *by their very political action*. All in all, migrant

---

[66] It should be noted that this research is not a comparative research between İstanbul and Berlin experiences. Rather, this study tries to present the commonalities and similarities in emotions, meaning-making, ideas, and perspectives of participants from the respective kitchens in the respective cities.

[67] e.g. Law, 2001; Miele, 2011; Varela & Ares, 2015; Probyn, 2017.

[68] e.g. Çağlar, 1999; Guthman, 2003; Sobal, 2005; Yenal, 2006, 2010; O'Connor, 2009; Costa & Besio, 2011; Tuncer, 2014, 2018, 2019; Onaran, 2015; Supski, 2017; Wilkes, 2019; Okello & Turnquest, 2022; Khorana, 2021.

soli-kitchens are conceptually deemed as *affective site of collective political encounters of differences*. Of course, the kitchens under the spotlight of this research can also be studied through the lenses of gender, urban space, nationality, home-making, etc., but this falls outside of the scope and aim of the present work.

4.1.1.1. *Migrant Solidarity Kitchen* in İstanbul

Migrant Solidarity Kitchen[69] is a collective in which a group of friends come and cook together. Initiated by people from (and close to) the *Migrant Solidarity Network*[70], the project started in March 2012 in Tarlabaşı, a historic district in İstanbul which inhabits people of minority and migration background for decades. It is also a socially- and spatially-deprived district where many marginalized and disadvantaged groups of people live, including poor people, the transgender community, or refugees and (forced) migrants who fled war and violence.

Mutfak is basically an open space that aims to reach not only the migrants in the city but also locals from the neighborhood. It does not work as a restaurant or a café but works on the principles of solidarity, communication, and collaboration ("Tarlabaşı G.D.Mutfağı", n.d.). It is framed as a *communal* place where people bring and share whatever they have: food, cooking time, labor, projects, knowledge, or ideas ("Tarlabaşı G.D.Mutfağı", n.d.). Everyone has a share in the labor and production processes. On their collective blog, it is stated that "local markets, shops, organizations, farmer's cooperatives and all sorts of collectives contribute to the kitchen with vegetables, cereals, oils and other ingredients that they offer" ("Mutfak", 2012) while there is also a possibility to make solidarity donations to help maintain the activities.[71] Every resource brought to the kitchen is deemed as the common; how the kitchen works is summarized by some of the members as "we collect vegetables from the organic market, cook together and share the food with all hungry bellies around" (komsukafe, n.d.).

Their activities are not limited to cooking and eating, but also involve workshops on different topics, language classes, music classes, film evenings, activities for neighborhood children as well as consultation sessions on legal issues for migrants, and other support for migrants and asylum seekers

---

[69] hereafter as *Mutfak* which means "kitchen" in Turkish, stands for the short version of *Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı (Migrant Solidarity Kitchen)*. The activists themselves also call the collective the same way.

[70] *Migrant Solidarity Network* is called "Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı" in Turkish. hereafter as *GDA*. They summarize their fundamental political imagination with the slogan "free world without borders, nations and exiles". Started in 2010 with aim of bringing migration issue at the center of the struggle, GDA, formulated as horizontal network organization, fights for giving the voice to migrants for their struggles and organized manifold campaigns, protests, solidarity events and other activities concerning detention centers, the murder of Festus Okey in 2007 as well as accelerating migration issues in Turkey and beyond. The idea of Mutfak was born in GDA in 2011 and opened its doors in 2012 to various communities in the city. For detailed information on GDA and their engagements, please see: https://bit.ly/3qfvRid (last accessed October 2021) and see https://bit.ly/30O7nnM (last accessed October 2021).

[71] *Mutfak* is run with individual donations only and rejects corporate financings and alike.

("Mutfak", 2012)[72]. All these resources and services are communalized through voluntary work and open to everybody for free without any criteria such as age, religion, gender, race, or ethnicity.

The idea behind building solidarity is manifold. First, they wanted to open a space where people can establish contacts with migrants and locals in the neighborhood and engage with them in their daily life activities. In their introductory video series from 2012, one participant states that Mutfak is an answer to "the need for an organic space to establish direct contacts and relations" (Gambale, 2012, July 15) with the aim of "being a point of contact for those who arrive in Istanbul and experience a sense of helplessness" and "breaking out of isolation" (Hartlieb, 2015)[73]. Relatedly, another participant elaborates on how "eating is a very old ritual that combines people together" (Gambale, 2012, July 15). The solidarity underlines that "this kitchen serves as a locus of solidarity and sharing against all sorts of borders that tear us apart" where "all the stomachs of the world unite" ("Tarlabaşı G.D.Mutfağı", n.d.).

Mutfak's infrastructural center in Tarlabaşı is intentional: social, economic, and political consequences resulting from the ongoing urban transformation and gentrification processes in the district have been accelerating changes in the city and making life quite difficult for people with low socioeconomic status. Finance capital, specifically the housing market, was digging more into the scene and many spaces in the neighborhood had to be torn apart or transformed into construction sites (Fiedler, 2015). Against this backdrop, a beneficiary states that "immigrants are the owners of the city" and "we are all immigrants" at some point throughout our lives (Gambale, 2012, July 15). In this sense, another reason behind starting Mutfak was to open a common space for both locals and migrants and create possibilities to give the city space back to its owners. "It belongs to the neighborhood, and everyone is welcome" (Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, n.d.). The kitchen is located at the "edge of the urban renewal zone" (Gambale, 2012, June 22) with the aim of welcoming people who either recently come, or locals who are already marginalized or drifted into precarious living conditions. From a broader perspective, it can be said that their fundamental aim was to increase visibility of local migration issues and open a space where migrants in the city find a space to establish their own self-organization. *Mutfak* embraced the facilitation role in this process[74].

Another definitive quality of Mutfak is its relations with other collectives and networks. While introducing Mutfak, Hartlieb underlines how Mutfak is a product of "a huge network of people who are close to the Mutfak …. contacts with lawyers, women's groups" that is "a network that spans over the

---

[72] For videos and photos showing the idea, the planning, and the daily flow of the activities, visit *Mutfak*'s website https://bit.ly/3edliqC (last accessed October 2021).

[73] These quotations are extracted from the article based on my own translation from German to English.

[74] In their logo, they put the wire scissors beside the plate, fork, spoon, and knife which cuts the barbed wires surrounding the table. To listen the personal narrative of one participant from Mutfak on the story of the logo, please see: Gambale, M. L., [Maria Luisa Gambale]. (2012, July 15). *Mutfak* 3 [Video] Vimeo. Retrieved October 19, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3FfHaxb

whole Turkey and its borders" (Hartlieb, 2015). On the collective level, one of the solid examples manifesting this huge network is are solidarity kermises.[75] Kermises are assembled to show solidarity with the collectives (e.g. to fight against workplace homicide), to supply these collectives' needs and establish long-term solidaristic relationships with cooperatives and alternative economies for mutual support. Mutfak also gives press statements and solidarity calls with a variety of collectives and initiatives.,[76] collectively demanding the supervision of refugee camps and detention centers and a refugee policy that does not deprive refugees of their freedom and rights while raising awareness for police brutality and inhumane treatment towards refugees.[77] Moreover, Mutfak is involved in a transnational solidarity network of refugee rights defenders against racism and war called *Crossborder Solidarity* which encompasses around 500 collectives, initiatives, associations, committees and organizations through which they "demand peace, fundamental rights and freedoms of every person on the move" ("Crossborder Solidarity", n.d.). Social media platforms, digital campaigns, and calls, online blogs, and new technological media tools[78] are their main mediums that activists from the Mutfak benefit from for the purposes of establishing and sustaining their relationships with networks.

The kitchen closed its doors permanently in January 2020: after they operated for 8 years "at the heart of urban transformation in Tarlabaşı, going through various economic and emotional hardships" (Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, 2020a), around two months before the Covid-19 pandemic overtook daily life, they announced that they had to close down the kitchen due to the economic difficulties and political limitations as well as lack of labor power. First, they could not sustain to operate in a space due to the increasing rents as a result of gentrification. Second, there were too many burdens and responsibilities on the shoulders of only a few people who themselves were trying to survive in harsh economic conditions, thus, they could not sustain the collective work and "keep the organic flow of the events" (Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, 2020b). Third, the "state's constant oppression" and the increasing limitations on creating political arguments made it difficult to continue doing regular activities (Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, 2020b). Besides, the worrying situation on migration issues such as the increase in detention and deportation made it difficult "to ensure the rights and safety of the migrant communities"

---

[75] *Mutfak* occasionally co-organize kermises with *Free Kazova Textile Collective,* "Mülteciyim Hemşerim" Solidarity Network, *Kader Kısmet Atölyesi (Kader Kısmet Atelier), Don Quixote Occupied Social Center, Direnen Üretici Tüketici Kolektifi (Consumers and Producers in Resistance), Women's Initiative for Peace, Workplace Homicides Almanac Group, Komşu Café Collective, Lambdaistanbul LGBTİ+* and so on. Source: (Göçmen Dayanışması, 2016, April 27)

[76] such as *Atelier Without Borders, Our Commons, The Platform for Labor and Justice, "Refugees, We Are, Neighbours" (Mülteciyim Hemşerim) Solidarity Network, Women Without Borders, Çözüm Yerinde İnisiyatifi, The Association of Bridging Peoples, Quadruped City (Dört Ayaklı Şehir)* and so on. Source: (Göçmen Dayanışması, 2016b, May 20)

[77] Source: (Göçmen Dayanışması, 2016, May 23)

[78] As an example, GDA advertises an open source "multi-lingual mapping platform that collects reports on human rights issues affecting the livelihoods of forced migrants in Turkey" called OHRFMT (Observatory for Human Rights and Forced Migrants in Turkey). Source: Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı / Migrant Solidarity Network (2016, October 29).

as a collective space that feels responsibility (Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, 2020b). In their announcement, they called for financial support to pay the debts and expenditures as well as labor support to organize distributing the infrastructure. As their last event, a solidarity party took place to say goodbye with "collective spirits and good feelings despite everything that … [they] have been through" (Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, 2020b). In the end, they closed the debts and transferred the existing place to *Tarlabaşı Dayanışma*[79] who volunteered to take it over. Mutfak formulated this as they "took over our tiredness and our space" and the space would not be closed, just transformed (Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, 2020a). They underline that even though many spaces are "being restricted and deportations are increasing" they are "still determined to maintain the solidarity with transformations" (Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, 2020a). During the pandemic, *Tarlabaşı Dayanışma* continued to use the space, cook for people in need, organized educational support sessions for children and refugees, and responded the emergency situations that refugees experience in the city (Tarlabaşı Dayanışma, n.d.).

4.1.1.2. *Komşu Café Collective* in İstanbul

Komşu Café Collective was established in November 2013 by a group of friends who met at Mutfak. It's location in the Rasimpaşa neighborhood of the Yeldeğirmeni district on the Anatolian side of İstanbul has been another prominent target of urban renewal projects and gentrification. *Komşu Café Collective*[80] is a "common space" where people connect, cook, get together, eat, and produce collectively regardless of who they are, "young and old, families, migrants, neighbors, and strangers" (komsukafe, n.d.). The Collective defines itself as an "alternative economy experimental restaurant and cafe managed collectively with no hierarchy or authority" (Komşu Cafe Collective, n.d.a). They frame themselves as a contribution to an alternative economy that is against capitalist production relations. It is a public, common, autonomous, and self-organized space (Kühnert & Patscheider, 2015) and a "home" that collective members "try to create every day" (komsukafe, n.d.) with "fight, hard work, and mad love" (Komşu Cafe Collective, n.d.b).

The objectives of the establishment of the café collective are manifold. First, they imagine a form of work without any bosses where people can work, produce, and act in common (komsukafe, n.d.). They state if they combine all their "abilities and experience" in a collective way, an alternative world can be created (komsukafe, n.d.). "Living another way is possible, as well as another world who can be built from trials, experiences, ideas, desires..." (komsukafe, n.d.). They imagine a system in which "incomes are equally distributed, where people from different backgrounds can meet, where employees aren't

---

[79] Tarlabaşı Dayanışma is a community-based grassroots neighborhood solidarity group which provides economic and social support to the Tarlabaşı locals and migrants in Tarlabaşı. For further details, please see: https://bit.ly/3H4Vmtk (last accessed October 2021) and see https://bit.ly/3spcBBO (last accessed October 2021).
[80] "Komşu" means "neighbor" in Turkish. Naming the space Komşu indicates that everyone is welcome and will be deemed as neighbor. It also indicates that Komşu is a part of the neighborhood it is located which belongs to locals.

exploited, where migrants can feel accepted, where any kind of 'other' is welcome, where the living is at the core and not money" (komsukafe, n.d.). Second objective is based on the need of "a common space for everyone" instead of "cold shopping malls" engendered by urban renewal projects (komsukafe, n.d.). People get together at Komşu not based on who they are or what they have, since Komşu is a "space on a human scale" (komsukafe, n.d.). Third, their space was aimed to provide "a stable and fairly paid job" especially for migrants who have "very few possibilities to find a job", who have been forced to live under poor conditions in a world where "racism is violently prevalent" (komsukafe, n.d.). In such sense, *Komşu* aims to become a space where "migrants … escape this situation" (komsukafe, n.d.). As Akbulut underlines in her work on *Komşu,* this was in fact their main motivation in establishing the collective, namely, "providing some degree of economic security to the most precarious and exploited" (Akbulut, 2020, p.195). In such framework, they wanted to build and engage in a network of collectives who stand in solidarity in the long run. The space is constructed through "anti-authoritarian, anti-hierarchical, anti-sexist" perspective that is against discrimination and exploitation where "more communication" is possible (Komşu Kafe Kolektif, n.d.).

Their famous manifesto[81] describes their common political principles based on equality, autonomy, freedom, openness, communication, collective will, mutual collaboration, and solidarity. They employ consensus-based decision-making processes, non-hierarchical, communicative, anti-exploitative, and anti-capitalist stances, focus on commoning the goods and services, and strive to create an alternative economy with a wide range of collective networks. In addition to what is written on the manifesto, some points should be clarified firstly, decision-making processes, secondly, collective networks, and thirdly, prices. First, Komşu takes weekly routine meetings to organize practical issues as well as daily proceedings (e.g. infrastructural, technical, and kitchen-related needs, financial distributions and calculations, administrative paperwork). The decisions are taken only based on consensus through which "no one is left aside" which surely requires "more discussing until everyone agrees on what's best for the community" in comparison to a voting system (Yabangee, 2017). Each month, one big plenum takes place, where they discuss "what [they] feel about collective working and other members" as the first topic. This is done with the aim of preventing destructive conflicts and solving occurring problems on time. These meetings are deliberative processes and can be regarded as "the central tenet of collective governance" that aims to reach "shared decisions" rather than having a written "constitution" to reach judgments (Akbulut, 2020, p.197).

Second, since it strives to create an autonomous network outside of the capitalist system, they only get their food and materials from collectives, squatted gardens, local producers, independent orchards that are created based on solidarity and work completely outside of the corporate chain production. *Komşu*

---

[81] For the entire text of the manifesto, please see: Kühnert, N. & Patscheider, A. (2015).

also sells its products on its own shelves for the purpose of solidarity with the providers. In an interview, one of the members states that "by supporting all alternative economies …you are helping to support this network because we are all connected" (Yabangee, 2017). By creating an alternative economy, they strive to fight against the commercialization of not only goods and services but also wishes and pleasures (Komşu Kafe Collective, 2018a). *Komşu* aims to eliminate the demarcation between production and consumption processes, even though it is not always possible to do this due to the economic capabilities. In this regard, one collective member states "at the moment, we cannot buy everything from these networks, … we either go to small retailers or bazaars … we try not to go to the supermarkets as much as possible" (Özgül, 2016).[82]

Komşu, as it strived from the very beginning, engaged with a wide range of network of collectives, cooperatives, and alternative economy experiments within the borders of Turkey but also beyond.[83] Besides, *K-Fetisch Café Collective* in Berlin[84], *Café Libertad Collective eG* in Hamburg, and *Kochkollektiv*[85] are among the collectives that *Komşu* had collaborated with by organizing common events and solidarity exchanges from time to time. The aim is to establish a common ground to develop a parallel economy collectively. This is also how they try to remain *autonomous* in the sense that they break the dependence on the capitalist chain production and corporate firms as much as possible. As in the case of *Mutfak*, social media tools are also quite central for *Komşu* in establishing and maintaining these networks. However, there is no explicit statement or accessible information on other digital technologies that the collective benefits from.

In *Komşu*, there is a "pay what you wish" system dedicated to being a common space for all, working off of proposal prices based on the idea that "the value is always subjective, related to time and place and feelings" (Yabangee, 2017). The gap between the "clients" and "owners" is also reduced[86] since they operate based on an understanding of an economy that falls beyond profit maximization. The

---

[82] This quotation is based on my own translation from Turkish to English.

[83] such as *Mutfak, İstanbul Zapatista Coffee Collective, Food Not Bombs, Free Kazova Textile Collective, Köstebek Collective, Karaburun Collective, Kuçe Food Collective, Yeryüzü Association Food Community, Kadın Kadına Mülteci Mutfağı, Kadıköy Cooperative, Direnen Üretici Tüketici Kolektifi (Consumers and Producers in Resistance), Kader Kısmet Atalier, Migrant Women, Kirli Maya, Mimas Sabun.* Source(s): (Karaburun Kolektifi, 2018, December 12) and (Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, 2017, December 24).

[84] This information is based on my own one-to-one interviews with the research participants. Source(s): (Interviewees 12, 13, 14, personal communication, 3,2,6 and 12 June 2021).

[85] Following information is based on my own one-to-one interviews with the research participants. One of the founders of *Komşu Café Collective* is also one of the initiators of *Kochkollektiv*. Besides, people from Kochkollektiv are affiliated with people from *Bilgisaray-Kiezkantine* through other collective organizations (Interviewee 9, June 9, 2021). These organizations cannot be shared due to confidentiality reasons based on the request of interviewees.

[86] Instead of *client* they prefer to say *guest*, instead of *owner* they prefer to say *collective member*. The demarcation between the *owner* and the *customer*, or from another point, the *worker* (of the collective) and the *purchaser* is tried to be overcome by building an open and participatory space where everyone can take part in cooking, preparing, and serving the food.

kitchen is an open one and everyone stopping by the café brings their own food and cooks in the kitchen. People are free to go behind the counter to prepare and serve food and drinks for themselves. Cooking is seen as not only a means of producing but also a means of communicating with others. One member states that "cooking is a sort of communication, above languages…you can see it as an art to knock down borders that tear us apart" (komsukafe, n.d.).

Among the members, there are people who had to flee from their countries because of war where they can build "their own tactics against the general strategy of the global capitalism" by building and engaging with the alternative economy model at *Komşu* (Tuncer, 2019). It had been a shield for refugees and migrants who have been displaced. In this sense, it "constantly reminds people of commonality, solidarity and trust" that transforms it into "a refugee solidarity kitchen" (Tuncer, 2019). *Komşu* organizes theme nights on cuisines from all around the world, especially war-torn parts of the world to create a solidaristic and inter-communicative environment as well as to attract people to be able to afford the economic cycle of the space. It also hosts events such as storytelling evenings, stencil workshops, open bazaars, collective fairs, reading circles, solidarity kermises, film screenings, jam sessions, gigs, potlucks, art exhibitions, and so on.[87]

Through its alternative economic model, *Komşu* has been struggling to survive against economic hardships and precarious conditions of capitalism. As a kitchen that performs horizontal social relationships and mediate food production and food-sharing through egalitarian labor processes and social relationships in the flow of daily life, the community closed its doors in January 2019 after operating for 5.5 years. Even though they had a call for support "against the capitalist system and its domination on every aspect of [their] lives" and concretely "to gather money for [their] monthly rent and to pay [their] taxes to the state"[88] (Komşu Kafe Collective, 2018b), they could not manage to survive. Thus, they organized a final solidarity party to say goodbye and stay connected. They aimed to pay their last debts and move out with the income coming from selling the party tickets. As of today, there is no other collective, association or organization that replaced them; *Komşu* did not transfer the space or the experience to a new collective.

4.1.1.3. *Bilgisaray-Kiezkantine* in Berlin

Kiezkantine is a project initiated by the *Bilgisaray* collective, who started their journey in 2016 as a group of friends. *Bilgisaray* was first located in Heinrichplatz until the beginning of 2019 and then moved to the famous Oranienstraße, both of which are in the district of Kreuzberg, Berlin.[89] "Due to the

---

[87] For a full list of their past events, please visit: https://bit.ly/3yM5PqM (last accessed October 2021).

[88] Their rent was raised 25% and the cost of their expenditures had increased because of the drastic decrease in the value of Turkish Lira. Source: (Komşu Kafé Collective, 2018b).

[89] Kreuzberg has one of the largest immigrant populations (mostly Turkish community) in the city of Berlin. The district is known as *small İstanbul* (klein İstanbul) among the Turkish community. It has many squats, collective

great need for freely usable space in the city" (Bilgisaray, n.d.), *Bilgisaray* aims to provide an autonomous neighborhood space that is open to everyone in the city as the hotspot of solidarity. The collective defines itself as "a non-commercial space of political cooking subversion, an open space of solidarity, an upcoming stage of political awakening, expression of self-determination, testimony of the possibility of a better life" (Bilgisaray, 2016)[90]. *Bilgisaray* started as a self-managed and self-financed neighborhood kitchen, but involved in many activities in time, expanded rapidly and so far "fifty people have joined the *Bilgisaray* organizationally" (Bilgisaray, n.d.).

They list their organizing principles in their mission statement. The first principle is that the community takes a stand against the disappearance of communitarian and non-commercial spaces from the neighborhoods due to the rising rents resulting from urban renewal projects and gentrification processes (Bilgisaray, n.d.). The second principle is that the community is autonomous, free to use, and open to all where "all participants can use the space independently and give it to others for their use" (Bilgisaray, n.d.). At *Bilgisaray*, "the financing and the use of the space is deliberately decoupled" since one does not have to be able to afford the space to use it (Bilgisaray, n.d.).

The way they work collectively is that they organize plenums that work as open forums where they take decisions on practical and ideational issues based on consensus. The focus is always "common action" (Bilgisaray, n.d.)[91]. The community works entirely independently from companies, organizations, or state funding, and they insist to finance themselves through many small and some large donations from individuals (Bilgisaray, n.d.). If a person cooks in the kitchen, they are free to take the whole *Spende* (donation)[92] money for themselves at the end of the event or donate it to the collective. When the cook is the collective itself, they usually donate the whole money to squads or other solidarity collectives and

---

housing projects and alternative spaces. Mostly low-income strata and servant classes of society live in Kreuzberg, but since the district is one of the targets of the ongoing gentrification and urban renewal projects in the city, it continuously attracts the housing market as well as yuppies and expats as a package deal. This transformation changes the face of the district rapidly and cause ever-increasing rents as well as unaffordable living conditions for locals and people with low or no income.

[90] This quotation is based on my own translation from German to English.

[91] In their social media, Bilgisaray often talks about "appropriation of housing for the common good" especially during the public campaign for *Mietendeckel*, Rent Cap, which is a rent control law in Berlin until it was declared unconstitutional by *Bundesverfassungsgericht,* The Federal Constitutional Court, in April 2021. Bilgisayar also raised its voice quite actively concerning the commoning call for the accommodation sources against the real estate industry and their lobbyists in the frame of a campaign and a referendum for *Deutsche Wohnen and Co. Enteignen* that took place in September 2021. Source: Bilgisaray (2019, April 16). Additionally, in a call on recent collaboration with various networks on urban gardens, Bilgisaray construes itself under the roof of the commons, through the definition of Silvia Federici: *"commons are defined by the existence of a shared property, in the form of a shared natural or social wealth—lands, waters, forests, systems of knowledge, capacities for care—to be used by all commoners, without any distinction"* (Federici, 2018, p.93, as cited in Maini, 2021).

[92] The food and other resources are entirely free at Bilgisayar. However, "Spende" model functions in the food evenings, which basically means people are entirely free to leave some money in return to the food, or not to leave anything. They do not have a suggested price, so the amount is decided entirely by the consumer based on what they think is fair for such food and their purchase power at that moment. Similar to Komşu, this is a medium of exchanging ideas to question the prices that are enforced by the capitalist market dynamics.

organizations that they are engaged with. Moreover, the community states that they do not have a common regulation but only one basic idea: "a society based on solidarity" (Bilgisaray, n.d.). For the activists at *Bilgisaray*, "mutual goodwill and openness" are prerequisites to solving the problems collectively when they arise (Bilgisaray, n.d.). They define themselves "by [their] common goals and not by [their] differences" (Bilgisaray, n.d.).

The participants of *Bilgisaray* are from many different networks, especially anti-racist political groups, who either receive their own keys to use the space or work in collaboration with *Bilgisaray*[93]. The collective organizes "all-inclusive meeting under the name of Inklusions-café" which encompasses and welcomes all people and groups (Bilgisaray, n.d.). All these organizations, including *Bilgisaray,* is a part of huge solidarity network of political initiatives in the city of Berlin who aspire to systematic change in society and politics most of which operates within the field of policies on migration and asylum processes. Many of the members of *Bilgisaray* are also involved in establishing a commune called "MaHalle"[94] together with other solidarity groups and individuals. As in the case of *Mutfak* and *Komşu*, *Bilgisaray* also benefits from the social media tools and secure open-source digital platforms intensively to sustain their relations, exchange information, reach more people, and expand their networks.[95]

The *Kiezkantine* project[96] is one of the biggest projects that is run weekly by the collective. As an open and autonomous community center, *Bilgisaray* uses cooking as the main instrument for getting together and exchanging ideas. It offers people a kitchen with well-equipped infrastructure where they can cook and eat together. Everything is provided to the participants for free: all food, the use of the space, and other expenditures are financed by individual donors ("Das Bilgisaray", n.d.).[97]

---

[93] *Anti-Deportation Café*, *Stop Deportation Group*, *Common Ground (Prinzessinnengärten)*, *Deutsch-Bengalischer Kulturverein (German-Bengali Culture Association)*, *Frauenstreik Café (Women's Strike Café)*, *LAFI (Latin American Women's Initiative)*, *Solidarity City,* and *We'll Come United* are among these groups ("Birlikte Üret," 2021, para.11)

[94] MaHalle also organizes open cooking and food sharing activities such as KüfAs. KüfA is the abbreviation for "Küche für Alle" meaning "Kitchen for All". They also work with free donation system and usually donate the money to squads or other solidarity collectives. For more information on MaHalle please visit: https://mahalle.de/ (last accessed October 2021) and https://bit.ly/3FkdWgS (last accessed October 2021).

[95] This can be seen by looking at their intensive use and frequent sharing rate on their public social media accounts. In addition, also in the research interviews, many participants shared that they collaborate with other collectives through digitally secure platforms and communication tools such as open source and end-to-end encrypted messaging systems, various secure social network software as well as crypted file-sharing tools (Interviewees 16, 18, 15, personal communication, 9 June, 6 July and 25 May 2021). Tool names cannot be shared due to confidentiality reasons.

[96] For a general outlook on Kiezkantine's interests, engagements, foundational ideas, activities, please visit: https://bit.ly/3qmXBlo (last accessed October 2021) and https://bit.ly/3EkaXDL (last accessed October 2021).

[97] The collective states the idea behind constructing a collective kitchen as follows: "We have noticed that cooking and eating together is a unifying and easily accessible medium. When it comes to tasting there are no language barriers. Social hierarchies can be overcome here … We have proven that" (Maini, 2021).

As for other activities, *Bilgisaray* organizes action plans, protest organizations, book launches, movie screenings, exhibitions, small concerts, courses, and so on (Bilgisaray, n.d.). The community provides consultation sessions for refugees and asylum seekers as well as facilitation for finding accommodation and psychotherapy services for refugees and asylum seekers. To this end, *Bilgisaray* runs a project called KiezKajüte[98] where they work in collaboration with organizations like KuB[99] and Schlafplatzorga[100].

Due to the restrictions enforced by the authorities during the COVID-19 pandemic, the collective had to stop *Kiezkantine* for some time and tried to have online cooking sessions which did not work well according to the activists (Interviewees 15, 16, personal communication, 25 May and 9 June 2021). However, within the periods when the measurements against the pandemic eased, they collaborated with the urban gardening collective *Prinzessinnengarten* and organized their cooking events in an open garden under the protection of a winter tent (Kiez Kantine, 2020).[101] They announced that "we try to be Corona-aware but not isolated" (Kiez Kantine, 2020).

4.1.1.4. *Kochkollektiv* in Berlin

To tell the story of *Kochkollektiv*, the story of the O-platz movement needs to be briefly provided since the collective was born there. The O-platz movement is a leaderless spatial mobilization initiated by asylum seekers and refugees in October 2012. The movement was initiated by 11 refugees in the form of a 600 km-long protest march that lasted about a month. The event that kickstarted the movement was the suicide of the Iranian refugee Muhammed Rahsapar at the refugee camp in Würzburg due to the poor and isolating conditions. After this incident, thousands of refugees from all over Germany started to walk from Würzburg until Berlin and they visited many refugee camps and called them to join their protest along the way. Around 7000 people joined the demonstration in one month (Anonymous, 2014, p.34-43). After they arrived in Berlin, they occupied the square called Oranienplatz[102], which is one of

---

[98] KiezKajüte basically means "neighborhood cabin". The project provides home to those who need a place to stay, with the priority to those who have sought refuge, those with difficult access to the regular housing market. It tries to "provide long-term accommodation and to meet these acute needs together trying to find solutions" in collaboration with dormitory institutions and other participants ("Birlikte Üret," 2021, para.14-15).

[99] KuB (Kontakt- und Beratungsstelle für Flüchtlinge und Migrant_innen e. V.), Association for Contact and Counseling Center for Refugees and Migrants, is a non-governmental non-profit association located on Oranienstraße, that works for the rights of refugees and migrants., provide them with assistance regarding the right of asylum and the right of residence, as well as psychological and social problems. According to the initiative, "all people are entitled to a secure residence status and political, social and economic equality". Source: (KuB, n.d.).

[100] Schlafplatzorga basically means "sleeping place organization". It is an initiative that "tries to organise a temporary shelter for homeless, … for illegalised migrants in Berlin" as well as "for those who are disenfranchised". Mainly, the initiative fights for refugees' self-organization and self-determination. It is one of the tens of initiatives built after the eviction of O-platz camp of the famous Oplatz Movement (2012-2014). Source: (Schlafplatzorga, n.d.).

[101] This tent is exact same tent that was used as the contact point and the main meeting tent at Oplatz (Kiez Kantine, 2020). The tent later became the symbol of the Oplatz Movement. Source: (Oplatz.net, 2019).

[102] Oranienplatz is called *Oplatz* in vernacular language. The square is where the movement took its name from.

the most prominent squares of Berlin, where mostly migrant communities have lived for generations. They erected protest tents in the square and established certain structures which are operated based on voluntary participation through self-organizational working groups such as "financial groups, media groups, infrastructure groups, action groups, legal groups, and the kitchen group" (Langa, 2015, p.8). Their main demands can be concluded as i) abolishment of *Residenzpflicht* [103] ii) shut down all camps called *lager*[104] iii) stopping the deportations[105] and iv) right to work and study. Series of hunger strikes, as well as long-lasting Gerhart-Hauptmann-Schule Occupation in Ohlauer Straße, can be regarded as their activities that had created a tremendous impression. The movement received huge media attention around the world, and today is regarded as one of the biggest and the most disruptive refugee movements in Germany on which many academic and non-academic research have been conducted.[106]

Even though O-platz encampment and the occupied school were evicted by police forces in 2014 (Oplatz.net, n.d.), the movement became a reason for many people to form smaller political solidarity groups. New initiatives and networks have emerged with the energy that is produced throughout the two years-long movement[107]. The core team of O-platz still continues to organize protests, actions, and solidarity events up until today. One of the most solid works that they are doing is publishing an occasional printed newspaper called "Daily Resistance" through which activists create content against the current border and migration policies, regulations, and their legislation in Germany and beyond (Oplatz.net, 2021), while also occasionally publishing a printed magazine called "Movement" through

---

[103] *Residenzpflicht* is a law on mandatory spatial residence of refugees. According to the law, refugees must stay in certain areas and their locational free movement is restricted. It applies both to the applicants for refugee status as well as the ones who received temporary resident permit. Source: (Oplatz.net, n.d.). It should be noted that after all public discussions resulted from the movement; this obligation which previously applied for the entire duration of the asylum procedure was reduced to three months at the beginning of 2015 (called "RStellVerbG"). However, in early October 2015, it was extended again and started to apply in case asylum seekers are obliged to compulsory residence in their first arrival. Thus, it may apply for the entire duration of the asylum procedure and more. Source: (Informationsverbund Asyl & Migration, n.d.). To read the full statements of the relevant articles of the law, see *Section 56* and *Section 59b* of *The Asylum Act:* https://bit.ly/32Cd3C1 (last accessed November 2021). However, it is worth noting that there are significant discussions that the new coalition government in Germany (in lead since 23rd of November 2021) might mean a change for the existing migration and asylum policy in Germany. To dive into such discussions, please visit: https://bit.ly/3eydY93 and https://bit.ly/3FFLciD (last accessed in December 2021).

[104] *Lager* means "prison-like refugee camps" or "refugee internment centers" that are located all around Germany. They are in places that are usually quite isolated from society and known as places where people are forced to live "under inhumane living conditions" as well as "constant surveillance by authorities". Source: (Oplatz.net, n.d.).

[105] This demand also encompasses of the cancellation of the *Dublin III Regulation*, which is construed by Oplatz refugee activists as "nothing else than a network of human trafficking between European countries" Source: (Oplatz.net, n.d.)

[106] For very good sources to dive into the details of the Oplatz movement, please see: Steinhilper, E. (2021). *Migrant Protest: Interactive Dynamics in Precarious Mobilizations.* Amsterdam University Press. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1cvvbgc Also see: Christoph, W. & Kron, S. (Eds.). (2019). *Solidarity Cities in Europe.* Berlin: Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Retrieved August 12, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3HjeB2P

[107] Bilgisayar is one of them. One of the Bilgisaray members stated that their network was started to be formed at the Oplatz: "we were so inspired by what was happening there … it was a tough process but also magical… we had so many discussions as the core group … we learnt a lot and gained new capacities for critical thinking" (Interviewee 17, personal communication, 25 May 2021).

donations.[108] Both activists from the O-platz movement who participated in this research are involved not only in this refugee initiative but also the mobile kitchen *Kochkollektiv* that was established by a group of friends who have met through O-platz.

Different from the kitchens previously introduced in this section, *Kochkollektiv* does not have a settled space, but rather a mobile kitchen that is non-commercial, autonomous, and self-organized "for a society that builds on solidarity instead of exclusion" (Ulu, 2014, p.23). It works drastically different than regular kitchens since it is "an expression of struggle through collective, production, collective consumption, and collective resistance" for the activists (Interviewee 20, personal communication, 3 July 2021)[109]. Like *Kiezkantine*, *Kochkollektiv* is entirely independent and survives through individual donations of supporters. They also operate the *Spende* model without a fixed or suggested price. They started to cook on their route throughout the protest match from Würzburg to Berlin. During the height of the O-platz movement, they were cooking for 70 people every day. "It was more of a matter of survival," although people "go there and get in touch with the people and make contact" (Interviewee 19, personal communication, 2 June 2021). Today, after O-platz, they mainly bring their kitchen equipment and the food with their mobile trucks to the refugee camps, refugee protests as well as the spaces where refugees wait for long hours in long queues for their papers. Before they start cooking, they usually get the food for free or at low prices from the supermarkets that they have an agreement with ((Interviewee 20, personal communication, 3 July 2021). They cook in these spaces as a team, invite refugees and other people in need on the site and eat the food together. They also invite locals and refugees to cook and eat together to connect them through culinary as well as additional activities such as political discussions, jam sessions, movie screenings, presentations on the current political agenda, and language courses (Interviewee 20, personal communication, 3 July 2021).

Since they do not own a fixed space, they work on a relatively unstructured basis and run their activities occasionally. If they have an event that requires a physical space, they use the spaces of other collectives with whom they already have a solidaristic relationship (Interviewee 20, personal communication, 3

---

[108] Substantial information on the content of their printed newspaper "Daily Resistance" and magazine "Movement" can also be found online. Source(s): (Daily Resistance Newspaper, n.d.) and (Movement, 2014).

[109] Unlike the other three kitchens, *Kochkollektiv* does not have an open media visibility (e.g. social media accounts, blogs, website, fanzine, manifesto etc.), most of the information on the collective is retrieved from the interviews I have conducted with the two members of the collective. Participants stated that they sustain their relations through high security private communication tools, some online collaboration software and digital clouds where they can work together and share their banners, brochures, pieces of writing as well as other contents and materials (Interviewees 19, 20, personal communication, 2 June and 3 July 2021). Besides, as a collective they are highly engaged in the refugee emancipation action and have many contacts with the huge networks of organizations located in Berlin and beyond through which they announce their activities. *Bilgisaray, Common Grounds (Prinzessinnengarten), Schlaftplatzorga, The Voice Refugee Forum Network, Medizin Hilft, Multitude e.V., International Women Space, Women in Exile* are among the organizations within this network. For a broader list of organizations, please see: https://bit.ly/329sl1b (last accessed November 2021) and see https://bit.ly/3qjiQ7h (last accessed November 2021).

July 2021). The collective is involved in the huge network of refugee movements in Berlin and beyond. They work in collaboration with the collectives in this network to reach out people in immediate need and organize themselves accordingly (Interviewees 19, 20, personal communication, 2 June and 3 July 2021). Although they had to stop their activities during COVID-19, the collective wants to continue to reach more refugees by cooking and sharing, involving them in the movement, and establishing non-hierarchical solidaristic relationships with them where nobody feels degraded or isolated (Interviewees 19, 20, personal communication, 2 June and 3 July 2021).

4.2. Conceptual Frame: Locating Migrant Solidarity Kitchens in Hardt and Negri's Conceptual Lexicon

Hardt and Negri's concept of multitude is criticized by many that questions the "capacity of this collective body to engage in sustained and efficient political action" (Kioupkiolis & Katsambekis, 2014, p.9). However, there is much empirical evidence for the concept that reveals itself in the form of "actual collaborations of horizontal autonomous networks in biopolitical production" that "generate new ideas, relations, and programs" through their collective productive forces (Kioupkiolis & Katsambekis, 2014, p.9); migrant soli-kitchen collectives are part of this huge network.

In this section, analysis of the prefigurative multitude will be put in contact with its existing concrete practices. The conceptual bridge between the *organizing principles* of the above-introduced kitchens (namely *Mutfak, Komşu, Kiezkantine,* and *Kochkollektiv*) and Hardt and Negri's *prefigurative multitude* will be briefly established. To explore the extent to which Hardt and Negri's notion of multitude is applicable to the migrant soli-kitchens context, the specific stories, organizing principles, and the main qualities of each kitchen are already presented in the previous section. Thus, in this section, the common organizing principles that cross all kitchens will be briefly located in the lexicon of multitude.

The movements of the *Spanish Indignados*, *Occupy Wall Street*, *the Arab Spring*, *Seattle WTO*, *Gezi Uprising,* and innumerable others have undoubtedly triggered intriguing theoretical and political debates. Even though migrant soli-kitchens are not revitalized within the framework of such movements (except for Kochkollektiv), they can still be regarded as acts of the multitude due to their organizing principles that have also experimented in these movements; These principles can easily be deemed as multitudinous.

First of all, just as the multitude, all these kitchens not only *reject the capitalist social relations* but also *aim to construct new capacities for self-valorized labor* and new forms of social relations in their own localities. It is imagined that the resources, the labor power used for production, and the surplus of this production are not appropriated by an owner of production, but only owned by the workers themselves.

Collective members have autonomy over their own labor, and the products are the results of the collective labor of the members. They constitute the collective (common)wealth that belongs to the collective itself. Considering the general approach to work, voluntary division of labor within the communities, length of working/volunteering hours, "pricing, purchasing and sales strategy" (Akbulut, 2020, p.197) at the kitchens all together manifest an alternative relationship with monetary accounts of the production process. In this sense, based on their political stance explained in the previous section, they all seek for a potential to explore capacities for (material and immaterial) social production against the capitalist production, at least on the ideational level. It would surely be far-fetched to claim that the kitchens achieve to exit from the capitalist relations in their entirety, however, they can be construed as experiments and attempted forms of non-capitalist understanding of labor where labor and its productions are not imagined as commodities.

Closely related to the first principle, another significant organizing principle of these kitchens is the pursuit of *producing and acting in common*. As manifested above, all kitchens build creative and productive capacities by organizing multitudes of events and conceiving their resources (both material and immaterial ones such as food, clothes, spaces, skills, knowledge, and so on) a part of the commonwealth. Their focus on solidarity is nothing other than sharing the existing resources with all, which originally belong to the common. They are unfolded by building affective communal relationships within and beyond the community. Kitchens try to achieve this commonality by communicating and cooperating among singular individuals (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.222, p.148).

As the kitchens are shields and shelter for the refugees out of oppression and repression, they can be deemed as the "lines of creativity or lines of flight" against "fusional powers of control" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.137). In fact, kitchen collectives can be considered as both the sites and sources of protesting against the capitalist regimes of production. Thus, kitchens are the product of their labor but also the setting that they constantly fight to own the production of this labor. They try to exit from the property relations and re-constitute bottom-up forms of relations by their own relatively autonomous labor-power without production and appropriation of surplus-value. At this point, we see the empirical example of Negri's self-valorization thesis (or in general within Autonomist Marxist strand) that indicates the functioning of alternative value attribution process (according to the needs, suggestions, wishes, and expectations of the subjectivity, e.g. the collective). This sort of valorization of labor is relatively autonomous from the capitalist forms of valorization. Members collectively distribute, share, manage and govern what they have with their constituent power. In line with this argument, Akbulut construes *Komşu* and *Mutfak* as typical examples of commoning practice (Akbulut, 2020). This argument conceives the line of argument I intend to follow, with the addition of extending the empirical sites of the analysis, encompassing *Kiezkantine* and *Kochkollektiv*. They are "political mobilizers to imagine non-capitalist, solidaristic and collective ways of organizing material life" "in a non-commodified space" (Akbulut, 2020, p.193, p.204). Considering their open structure inviting people from "outside"

in which they can stop by, cook together, and/or produce something else at the kitchen spaces can be regarded as the creation of a "commoning space" (Akbulut, 2020, p.199) where the distance between the "taker" and "giver" is debunked.

As their third principle, by their focus on "everyone is welcome" regardless of who they are and whatever political agenda that they have, they all draw upon the *singularity politics* of Hardt & Negri. As it is manifested above, the most important thing at the kitchens is finding commonalities based on solidarity and cooperation rather than nationality, languages, or other identities. This is sufficient to make them act together (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.xiii). In all kitchens, actors from diverse ideological, social, economic, and political backgrounds are called to join forces together. Singular differences of individuals are acknowledged, welcomed, in fact, embraced by principle. Their perspective on "everyone has something to learn from each other" considerably resembles Hardt and Negri's emphasis on the "concatenation of differences" (Hardt and Negri 2012, p.64). Considering that they create encounters between migrants and non-migrants, kitchens can be deemed as solid repercussions of such concatenation.

Another cluster of organizing principles of all kitchens introduced in the previous section is that they work as *autonomous, self-organized, non-represented, leaderless collectives* where *direct participation* and *direct decision making* are employed in every stage of action through an *open and horizontal structure*. They autonomous from all authorities such as state institutions and/or private funding institutions, reject all kinds of representations and seek effective ways of direct action as well as self-determination and self-government by "turn[ing] their backs on centralized leadership, closed ideologies and representation by political parties" (Kioupkiolis, 2014, p.155). Organized by common citizens, kitchens are framed as socially and politically heterogeneous without a set agenda or ideology. As manifested above, all kitchens specifically underline how they do not have any fixed agenda or a fixed identity definition through which they express themselves. Moreover, as it is manifested above, all kitchens negate hierarchies and refuse all kinds of authorities and commands. Cooking in a collective way, in such scenes, is construed as the fundamental mean of "building non-hierarchical relationships" (Akbulut, 2020, p.195). As it was depicted above, all kitchens in the scope of this research, collectively work based on horizontal structures. They make their decisions through consensus or other direct and participatory collective decision-making mechanisms such as general assemblies and plenums where everyone's ideas and demands are equally important. They take their decisions collectively through organizing regular weekly or monthly meetings. Parity in participation and decision-making is key in all these kitchens in seeking of expansion of democratic structures.

The other fundamental organizing principle of the kitchens is that they are all part of an *open and expansive network* providing new spaces and means of encounters. As illustrated above, all kitchen collectives within the scope of this research organize campaigns and actions through broader networks

and assemblies as part of "global multitudes aspiring to greater justice and freedom for all" (Kioupkiolis & Katsambekis, 2014, p.3). As Hardt and Negri formulated, collaborative networks construct the primary sketch of the multitude (Hardt & Negri, 2004). As it is exhibited, all kitchens are committed to the direct participation of everyone. To this end, all kitchens, albeit to various degrees, strive for reaching more people and collectives to expand their networks through both country-wide and global calls as well as common inter-cooperative events, protests, co-actions that they organize collectively. Besides, solidarity parties they organize collectively, their attentiveness in the problems in other localities, as well as high intensity of communication inter-geographically, we can say that the multitude reveals itself through its own independent networks and plural exchanges (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.142-143). Affective relations also matter in constituting these networks. As Hardt and Negri underline, it is built through immaterial labor that produces "communication, collaboration, and affective relationships" (Hardt & Negri, 2004, p.66). However, the relationship between affective ties and network establishments/expansions is going to be extensively illustrated in the analysis part through concrete examples on established networks of kitchens under scrutiny.

As another organizing principle, undoubtedly, to establish these networks, all kitchen multitudes *benefit from new digital technologies and media tools* for social networking through which they coordinate their actions and disseminate information across the globe. In migrant soli-kitchen collectives, as it is manifested above, it seems that the primary medium for this is undoubtedly the social media which they make use of. As Hardt and Negri underline, just like their organizational form, these tools do not have centers (Hardt & Negri, 2012, p.36). It seems that although each kitchen benefits from social media on different degrees (Mutfak and Bilgisaray intensively, Komşu on a limited degree, Kochkollektiv quite rarely), they all highly benefit from internet resources and other media organs (e.g. blogs, websites). They engage in global actions, cyber-activism activities, solidarity calls, knowledge exchanges through diverse digital channels such as various types of digitally secure, end-to-end encrypted communication/collaboration/networking software as well as instant messaging platforms; in order to increase capacities for self-administration and communication (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.221), reinforce the ties between the multitude of singularities (Kioupkiolis, 2014, p.162), and enhance their constituent power (Dahlberg & Siapera, 2007, p.10).

As previously presented, *prefiguration* is another quality of the kitchens: all kitchen communities operate with certain repercussions of prefigurative politics thanks to their practical-political motives and try to achieve a societal transformation based on their own imaginations and human capacities. Through creative practices, they engage in direct experimental actualization of social and political alternatives. While Komşu explicitly announces this by underlying that what they do is alternative economy experiment, the other kitchens also works on the basis of the similar idea of "political change here and now", even though it is this is not explicitly vocalized and under-theorized. This is their "strategy to

exodus" or "new outside" (Hardt & Negri, 2017, p.274). Their informal, free, open, decentralized, non-hierarchical, egalitarian, participatory, and inclusive way of building a new space and/or transforming existing spaces into something new and different from the traditional order of society (as in the case Kochkollektiv with its mobile character) are in line with the pursuit of future change and imagination of emancipated society, thus, the principle of "means-ends equivalence" (Yates, 2015, p.3). As it is exhibited above, this is also valid for the decision-making mechanisms that they employ, mostly the consensus-based mechanisms. They simply reflect an experiment to create a small-scale miniature of the world they imagine through material consolidation of ideas and practices. They perform this imagination in a certain space that they construct themselves and reproduce every day. Their settings where they share what they cook and exchange what they know and what can they do are the backcloth of a broader social change. They open their space to the public to produce exactly this kind of social and political effectiveness. As it was mentioned before, the focus here is not whether they achieve to build and sustain such an alternative but rather whether they have such a claim. As it was manifested in the previous section, creating this social and political effectiveness is one of the fundamental aims of all kitchens in common.

All in all, in this section, the empirical sites of this research are located within the lexicon of *multitude* based on their organizing principles that are the constructive elements of these sites. The lexicon consists of namely eight fundamental qualities of the multitude including the *prefigurative* ways of doing politics. As acts of the multitude, kitchens are deemed as loci for continuous construction of life and multitudinous democracy of the common outside of the commodity form. Against this background, it is justified that these kitchens can be categorized under the *prefigurative multitude.*

5. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Affect and collective action are closely linked and operate on the common ground. If affect and emotion "form the fundamental basis of being and sociality" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019, p.1) or the "fundamental 'mode of being'" (Scheve, 2018, p.55) and if solidarity kitchens are spaces where many social interactions between humans take place in the form of various relational dynamic constellations, then it is clear the very construction and re-construction of the kitchens is highly infused with affectivity. The affective qualities underlie the emotional episodes of social life at the kitchens as well as the emotional attachments that the activists are mobilized through.

Against this backdrop, this chapter is going to illuminate the affective catalogue and emotional motivations behind the political activism of the activists at the migrant soli-kitchens. Kitchens are established affective alliances where collective practices, affective dynamics, and emotional repertoire of various individuals are merged. In this sense, the organizing principles that form the kitchens as acts

of the *prefigurative multitude* and the *relational affectivity* are in intimate conversation. This section overall intends to depict this intimacy through stories.

5.1. Prefigurative Multitude's Understanding of "the Political"

When there is an aspect of *solidarity* to a kitchen, it indicates the existence of outside political subjects since it refers to solidarity *for* and solidarity *with*. In this sense, kitchens try to construct a certain capacity to affect on a public level (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.480-481). This indicates the existence of direct bodily (and spatial) encounters of *differences*. What makes the migrant soli-kitchens "political" heavily relies on the activists' criticisms towards power relations between these *differences* that make up their organizing principles in the first place. Against this background, this section exhibits activists' concerns regarding their relations with different outside subjects and how they posit themselves within these power dynamics and how they deal with the disadvantages and inequalities both on ideational and emotional levels.

Before starting the discussion, I would like to briefly exhibit the main profile of the participants at the kitchens especially in terms of nationality, ethnicity, and gender, since it helps to envision the scope of these differences I mentioned. For Mutfak[110], Interviewee 7[111] stated that the kitchen attracted mostly "20 to 40 years old migrants, predominantly male" from "anglophone and francophone regions of Africa". In terms of religious background, "mostly Christian but also some migrants from Muslim regions" were coming. I7 also stated that after the acceleration of the migration wave from Syria, "especially Kurdish Syrians" started to come in the neighborhood as well. While I4 pointed out that people from "Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and in general, people from Francophone places" were often there, I3 underlined "Turkish-speaking people, English-speaking people, and Germans" as well as "so many Erasmus students" were coming. As a specific dynamic, this diversity has created certain imbalances and conflicts between newcomer Kurdish Syrians and the African community[112].

I5 also underlines that there is already a certain hierarchy between Kurdish residents, Romani residents and migrants in the neighborhood. As for the general profile, I5 states that it was "quite a cosmopolitan

---

[110] All demographic information and arguments here in this section are collected from the interview data. Please see Appendix A for the exact citations extracted from the individual narratives. Narrators of citations respectively: (Interviewee 7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021), (Interviewee 4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021), Interviewee 3, Mutfak, 29 May 2021), (Interviewee 7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021), (Interviewee 5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021), (Interviewee 4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021), (Interviwee 2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021), (Interviewee 6, Mutfak, 20 June 2021), (Interviewee 5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

[111] hereafter as I7 that indicates Interviewee 7. I prefer to use this same structure for all interviewees while referring to them throughout the text. This also helps me to avoid doing gender attributions to the participants.

[112] I7 explain this point as follows: "The increase in the number of Syrian immigrants in Tarlabaşı caused Africans to think stuff like 'we are pushed to a secondary position here'. Immigrants from Syria in Tarlabaşı were predominantly Kurds. So, they can speak the same language with the Kurdish people in the neighborhood. So Africans were somewhat uneasy about it and they started to come less or spend less time at Mutfak after some point" (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

space" and it was also a space for people from Turkic republics for some time and many university students. In terms of gender profile, as stated by I5, I4, and I2, the number of women coming to the kitchen were comparatively lower than the number of men. However, I2 underlines that women still benefitted from the kitchen since they could leave their children at the kitchen so that they could rest as caregivers[113].

I6 emphasizes that many children, especially Kurdish Syrian kids and also kids of African families from Tarlabaşı, were attending language courses and they even named the kitchen as "school". As for the class positions, I5 points out that "people who went to kitchen and ate there were usually those who work day-based, make very little money, barely feed themselves and people who have to pay lots of rent for very uncomfortable flats".

Komşu[114], as stated by the I11, it basically attracted all kinds of people including "migrants and expats" as well as "a lot of hippies, Rainbow tribes, and the travellers" and "a lot of Erasmus students." I13 underlines that "the biggest majority were people who were either in the art scene or people who were in the political scene". In terms of ethnic/national background, I10 states that "it was a highly international environment" where people from Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, many Europeans (e.g. Germans, Italians) and Arabs were coming to Komşu. I9 emphasizes that "there were people from West Africa (French-speaking) involved also with different language skills, a couple of Europeans, then a couple of people from Turkey, more people from Syria". However, I13 points out that the general profile was drastically changing according to the theme of events: "For example, Yemeni food nights would have attracted a lot of people with hijab and Muslims. A movie about female anarchists would have attracted a different crowd". Gender profile was diverse: I9 specifically states that "I would definitely say that some people would like [to] look at themselves as queer. … It was definitely a place that was connected to LGBTI structures". I14 underlines that this demographic profile is heavily formed by friendship networks of the collective members.

As for Kiezkantine[115], I16 explains that they attract people (and migrants) "quite a lot from Afghanistan or from Iran then a little bit less people from Tunisia and then also people have come up from Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Pakistan quite often, also the national identities where it's really hard to get the paper[s]". I18 states "compared to other kitchen projects and also especially other political groups I

---

[113] "For example, we have done this with singular strategies. A man comes, but there is a woman with him. We are trying to have a conversation with the woman right away (we also had an organizational mindset). Or we call mothers through their children and say "let's prepare a meal with your mothers". They came once and then never again. Then we realized that the mothers consider the place where their children come as a dirty place [Mutfak] and they send their children to the kitchen to rest" (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

[114] Narrators of citations respectively: (I11, Komşu, 28 May 2021), (I13, Komşu, 6 June 2021), (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021), (I9, Mutfak & Komşu, 9 June 2021), (I13, Komşu, 6 June 2021), (I9, Mutfak & Komşu, 9 June 2021), (I14, Komşu, 12 June 2021).

[115] Narrators of citations respectively: (I16, Kiezkantine, 9 June 2021), (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021), (I16, Kiezkantine, 9 June 2021), (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

know in Berlin … we have a high percentage of people with some asylum statutes, refugees, fleeing history". In terms of gender profile, I18 continues "we have more men than women who are coming to the Kiezkantine, maybe 30-40% women, 60-70% men, actually we have mostly children there". I16 summarizes that there are also "a lot of activists stopping by, so it's also more of this left Antifa scene, it is more of a networking thing" as well as "a lot of migrants, lots of people without status".[116] In terms of class positions, I18 emphasizes that the profile is again quite diverse from people who have good financial sources to paperless and unemployed asylum seekers.[117]

As for Kochkollektiv[118], although the demographic profile in terms of gender and class positions are not particularly specified by the only two activists from the collective, I20 specifically defines the general profile of people coming to the kitchen in terms of nationality and ethnicity as diverse, encompassing "refugees and immigrants from Iran, Sudan, Afghanistan, and people from many places in Africa" as well as "German activist friends or people who have national identities from Europe".

Against this background, the next section is going to present the affective dynamic of charity and solidarity dichotomy which becomes meaningful based on the above-mentioned differences within each community.

5.1.1. The *Affective Dynamic* of Charity and Solidarity Dichotomy

Slaby and Bens point out that "individuals realize their potential through the forming of affective alliances, thereby creating a collective life grounded in understanding and solidarity" (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.349). In migrant soli-kitchens this alliance is a political one. Szanto and Slaby underline that *the political* has a dimension of emotionality since it "fundamentally deals with what *matters* to us, what we value, fear or desire or what *concerns* us—us as a polity" (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.478). They state that these emotions "always involve the negotiation of what, how, and with (or against) whom we *ought* to feel" (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.478). In the migrant soli-kitchen context, the empirical site demonstrated that the clear demarcation between the understanding of charity and solidarity is one of the recurring discussions that all kitchen communities care the most and have a normative "ought to"

---

[116] Due to COVID-19, the measurements at the refugee camps got more strict, thus, the number of asylum seekers and refugees coming to the kitchen had been visibly decreased. As stated by I16: The two years of Corona changed it a little bit because also the rules in camps were more difficult. So, people didn't come (I16, Kiezkantine, 9 June 2021).

[117] In Kiezkantine, in terms of income level, people are categorized by I18 as follows: "There is a general distinction between people without any papers who have no income at all, and people who are in the asylum process who have been unemployed, the kind of unemployment rates or even less. Then, there are the ones with papers who get either money from the state or have normal jobs. We also have some teachers, they are working and earning good money. So it's not the point that everyone is living with little money. I would say, some of us also have some financial resources" (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).
As an additional note, at the beginning of COVID-19, homeless people in Berlin started to sleep in their community space, however, since they started to use the space privately after some point, this started to become a problem for cooking and other activities (I15, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021). Please see Appendix A for the full narrative of I15.

[118] Narrator of citations: (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

standing on the topic. Brief extracts from interviews[119] with many of the research respondents can provide a flavor of the exact concern of this discussion:

> Charity is one thing, solidarity is another. We talked to people and worked hard to create an awareness for this, and we produced a discourse based on it. For example, I don't think helping people by giving them money is a solution. But I have a friendship I can give you, I can listen to you or something. On the one hand, those people also need socialization. … The state of being taken seriously and feeling valuable. Because you are not in your hometown, you do not have your own friends around you, you try to live in a very conservative society. That conservatism also gets in the way of communication. … We are not a charity, we are not Kızılay[120], we do not distribute blankets (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

> We use solidarity in our actions to put the emphasis on "solidarity not charity". …we don't want to do anything with a top-down approach on behalf of someone else. We want to build our movement with an anti-hierarchical perspective and we use "solidarity" to give this emphasis. … [Contrary to charity] We, on the other hand, prefer actions based on mutual consultation, agreement, consensus and common-ground by mobilizing collectivism and cooperation against hierarchical and authoritarian structures (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

> People, especially immigrants, have such urgent problems in daily life that they can't pay the water bill or the landlord displaces them. Or winter is coming, you don't have a coat. So many daily needs and simple matters were the biggest problems in their lives! For example, when we said let's give you a coat, that resonated with them faster, but this was not the type of relationship we wanted. That's why we tried to stay away from charity as much as possible… What I call solidarity does not include a hierarchical structure. It should be absolutely exempt from hierarchical structuring. Because when there is a hierarchical structure in it, it shifts towards charity. … It is a moment of being together and sharing. It may not be just a physical togetherness. This could also be an emotional commonality (I4, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

> Charity is an instrumentalized form of solidarity. It is not that possible to create the moment of solidarity in the charity form. Or it happens only in your imagination, but usually you don't share it in a space. Because you are doing this action from far away, then maybe you become happy by visualizing the *affect* of your action as well as your own state within that *affect* in your mind. Maybe you're experiencing a little ecstasy. But the states of solidarity we are talking about really require an act of coming together in a particular space and time… We cannot say that every charitable person acts with great arrogance, but since charity is a 'set-up', it already assumes this. It has a character that assumes this hierarchy, separation. On the other hand, the solidarity forms we embrace exclude them (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 24 and 27 June 2021).

As mentioned above, respondents from Mutfak and Komşu avoid doing charity work since, they construe, it involves hierarchies and power dynamics that contradicts with their organizing principles encompassing reciprocal communication, egalitarianism, horizontality, and self-organization, and would impede any potential for radical structural change. At this point, it should be underlined that activists' "collective affective intentionality"[121] is solidified in the discussion on charity versus

---

[119] The transcriptions are added in non-verbatim form since the unnecessary utterances are eliminated. The explanations in square brackets that I added in the individual narratives from time-to-time function as short background information substituting the rather voluminous content. Besides, all excerpts from interviews conducted in Turkish are based on my own translation into English. Please see Appendix B for the original Turkish versions.

[120] Kızılay (Türkiye Kızılay Derneği) is a long-established government-led charity organization in Turkey.

[121] "Collective affective intentionality" indicates a "disposition of a group to *jointly* disclose situations or events in light of more or less unified patterns of *shared* concerns" (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.482). The disposition is

solidarity. The distinction between solidarity and charity itself, no matter if it takes place on a discursive or practical level, is a matter of *dissociation* (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.480-481). In other words, based on the differences, inequalities, and ambiguities embedded in the relations with privileged and unprivileged groups of people, activists reflect a common disposition and have a unified pattern of shared concern (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.482) on what charity work mean and how it is *dissociated from* employing a savior and superior position. They would like to establish a common, communicative, inclusive, and egalitarian relationship with migrants with whom they are in solidarity, and they expect the same from others. We clearly see a parallelism between members' individually felt experiences and affective political concerns of the collective (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.482). Their individual narratives on how they construe charity work in comparison to solidarity work are entirely in line with the collectives' organizing principles which obviously helps them to stay together in the long run. At this point, it should be noted that the dichotomy between charity and solidarity for Mutfak and Komşu activists is itself a constitutive *affective dynamic*. As Slaby and Bens phrase it, affective dynamics that are specifically constructed in the collectives are essential to preserving "organizational political arrangements" (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.345-346). The idea of non-hierarchical solidarity that is distinct from charity wields *potentia* at the kitchens to create and maintain the alternative setting that becomes meaningful in a shared formative milieu. As relational affect scholars underline, preserving and using the potentia may require developing "relatively stable affective dynamics" (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.345-346), which in this context, is the idea of "solidarity rather than charity".

This dynamic is saliently relevant to their understanding of singularity politics, basically because charity perpetuates certain fixed positions, identities, and formats. These identities, in their essence, are repercussions of certain sets of power relations. On the other hand, solidarity indicates an autonomous sharing practice. This point is summarized by the I4 and I7 as follows:

> I am aware that a relationship based on neediness is established with the positions of *helper* and *receiver*. This is not the kind of solidarity I understand; there should be a more egalitarian approach. If our aim was to help, there would be no point in establishing Mutfak, there are many charities after all (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

> [in Charity] Only the shadow of that sense of solidarity remains. It fits into certain formats, open to new layers of identities or it falls under other identities such as Catholic, Muslim, philanthropy etc. … but what we call solidarity … is as if there is a common ground. In fact, you do not even question the views of the person you are in solidarity with at that moment. I think that motivation actually breaks away from that goal, that purpose, that interest, that unity

---

construed by "*individual members'* 'feeling-towards together'" (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p. 482). Based on this definition, "intentionality" here in this dichotomy consists of affective dispositions. As seen in the interview excerpts, solidarity is something related to certain sets of emotions [affective compartments (Slaby & Scheve, 2019b, p.43)] such as "the state of feeling valuable and making the other to feel the same" that is "touching to consciences" (I5), "mutual understanding" and "reciprocity" (I2 and I1), "togetherness and emotional commonality" (I4), "something ecstatic" (I7) and so on. It can surely be related to also "mental states" and "beliefs" of activists, however, as it is underlined by the activists themselves, it has "constitutively feelings-involving" character (Scheve, 2018, p.48; Slaby, 2008, p.429).

of interest… There is a collaborative set-up, there is a set-up that brings people together, like something that encourages solidarity, ignites it, retorts it (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

In this sense, the solidarity-charity dichotomy, as an affective dynamic, reflecting certain sets of power relations, becomes one of the constructive primary catalysts (Scheve, 2018, p.53) in building the egalitarian autonomous action and in mobilizing the individuals to create an alternative setting to the existing charity spaces. Thus, kitchens, where "complex interactive relationality of bodies" are crystallized, can be regarded as the result of this affective dynamic (Scheve, 2018, p.53). At this point, it is also worth noting that according to the relational affect approach, political emotions, in their essence, involve "both allegiance and antagonism" (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.488-489). While *allegiance* (association) signifies commonality, inclusivity, and sharedness of different emotions leading to alliance formations for certain constructive goals as in the case of migrant solidarity kitchens seek to establish solidaristic relations, *antagonism* (dissociation) refers to the conflictual dimension of political emotions indicating certain demarcations in a political formation, as in the case of kitchens rejecting charity work. As such, allegiance and antagonism are amalgamated at the foundation of feelings forming the solidarity versus charity dichotomy.

On the other hand, for activists at Kiezkantine and Kochkollectiv, the same matter of "political import"[122] exists (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.482). However, they relate themselves with the dichotomy of charity and solidarity in a different way. Simply put, even though, in their perception, charity work does not bring the radical systemic change, they still feel obliged to do it to be able to build political action with less advantageous groups of people. The interview excerpts below describe this position of activists together with their critical reflections on the issue:

> The other thing is a charity or just help, I don't like this charity because it's so paternalistic. But it's really very difficult for me to find the way between solidarity and help. …Privileges are so different. You can't do this without trying to overcome these privileges, it's not possible to overcome them. I can't be in a situation where I solve the difficulties of someone without papers, get no social money, cannot get a job and do only illegal jobs. … So it's important to try to put people that really have much less privilege in a better situation so that we can fight together. And this means I must be involved in helping. And now, it's happiness, it is a better word than charity. But it's always difficult to find the balance between political work and help … So the solution won't be helping people, the solution will be that we all fight together in a political way to change the situation. … So activism means something between these two things… Political work and trying to help as many people as possible to get papers, flats and so on. For me, it doesn't work without this support mechanism. This indeed takes a lot of energy, a lot of money, a lot of time and so on (I15, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021).

---

[122] According to the scholars, an emotion can have political import only if it is "jointly felt" where actions are characterized by a focus on political community (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p.484). In other words, it should be collectively concerned through a "background focus", namely, where this concern exists for a broader political community (Szanto & Slaby, 2020, p. 483), be it debunking the gender roles for the benefit of women or smashing capitalism for the benefit of workers. As we have seen in the examples of Komşu and Mutfak, their distance to the idea of charity and closeness to the idea of solidarity is something they jointly feel through which they desire to create an *affect* in relation to the broader community of migrants in the city and beyond.

You are in limbo most of the time. People are isolated, so we need to build a connection, also an emotional one. We need to come together, exchange ideas, maybe organize an action and stuff. Then, in the meantime, we always try to find solutions where people without flats can sleep, then how they get money, which also affects Kiezkantine, because normally the collective doesn't need any income, but still then, there are people in need of money for lawyers and stuff, so we try to cook more often (I16, Kiezkantine, 9 June 2021).

You can either do political work or do charity work, but in real life sometimes you don't have a choice. You do politics with the most vulnerable, what can you do? (I19, Kochkollektiv, 2 June 2021).

We said "don't see us as victims, we are not in need". With our resistance, Germans learnt this. ... It's a matter of consciousness. Otherwise, of course, there are times we do help each other. At any time something bad can happen. Some friends do need money for activities or paperwork, illness, etc. It needs money or other resources for it. We solve these kinds of things among ourselves with solidarity (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

These narratives are particularly interesting because it reflects how an ideational register and a practical register of the kitchens have to contradict with each other in certain contexts. Activists feel obliged to make specific endeavors to reconcile the benefits of charity work with the benefits of solidarity work. In this sense, the affective dynamic of solidarity as a political register is "channeled" or "governed" by social processes (Scheve, 2018, p.55) since it had to be negotiated due to social, economic, and political relations and conditions. Such negotiation between political work and charity work at the kitchens clearly results from different "positional relations and subject positions in a social and cultural space" (Scheve, 2018, p.55).

5.1.2. Looking at the Construction of Political Emotions through Life Stories

If we try to understand how political subjects are built (e.g. soli-kitchens), then we have to look at the processes of affective affiliations and attachments building the subjectivity for the sake of a political cause, friends or comrades. This "affective subjectivation" exerts to manifest how affect is significant in "the formation of collective subjects and communities" (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.348). To this end, this section of the paper manifests the culturally and socially conceptualized (also politicized) notions of affect, namely emotions (e.g. conscience, shame), to understand the relations that are forming the solidarity kitchens.

Hardt and Negri's multitude has its own affective catalogue, but the question is whether the empirical reality exhibits the same catalogue or not. Although "personal is political" and "everything is political" are very strong statements that are inherited by critical thought, it should be underlined that things cannot be political in themselves but individuals themselves are the ones who understand and politicize them. In this sense, the need of revealing how individuals themselves *have become* political is a significant starting point to understand the political subjectification and transformation processes of the activists. As such, my argument is that political, social, and cultural conditions are significantly important in transforming the emotions into a political potential or in eliciting the *capacity* of a person *to affect* and

to *be affected*. As discussed in the theory, individuals' affective capacities are also generated through social structures "inscribed and perpetuated as patterns of affective relatedness" (Slaby & Mühlhoff, 2019, p.28-32). At this point, we must understand the affective dynamics making up the political mobilization of the prefigurative multitude and their political subjectification processes through lenses of social and political structures that they are embedded in. Therefore, particular stories and specific life conditions of singular individuals within the multitude should be merged into the analysis to come up with a valid, comprehensive affective catalogue which not only mobilizes the actors, but also is produced within their mobilization. As such, emotions, as one of the very significant derivations or indications of affects, were taken under scrutiny through the narratives of the individuals.[123]

5.1.2.1. Empathy, Closeness and Identification

Although some of the participants from different kitchens were quite wary of the terms like *compassion, altruism*, and *empathy,*[124] analyzing their definition of solidarity and understanding of politics brought me to the similar terms when defining their energizers to mobilize. Based on life stories, I first found that the feeling of empathy highly operates within the acts of prefigurative multitude conditioned by cultural and social specifities. This aspect was made apparent by the experiences shared by activists as follows:

> My understanding of politically organizing is related to right-based struggles. … My social circle began to diversify at university. I noticed that the problem is related to women's struggle, to the Kurdish struggle, it is related to the political history of Turkey… I told you that my awareness began with Festus Okey[125] in the early 2000s, and that's the migration issue, seeing that there were certain achievements back then… I noticed that my afflictions are all connected. [Migration] is a women-related issue on the one hand, and an ecology-related issue on the other because they have to live in ghettos due to socio-economic reasons, they have no money, they are deprived from the most basic rights such as access to clean food. This is the same

---

[123] At this point, I would like to remind that this research does not seek to present distinctions and differences but only commonalities and similarities in the emotional fabric at different kitchens. It is also worth noting that this research neither claims that the presented affective catalogue belongs only to the prefigurative multitude, nor claim that the only affective catalogue of the prefigurative multitude is the presented one. Besides, it does not ask if the "political emotions" as a concept only belong to the prefigurative multitude. Other examples, definitions and conceptualizations can surely be developed; however, these are again political ontology-related concerns which fall outside of the scope of this research. As stated before, prefigurative multitude is employed in this research only based on its descriptive qualities (without its revolutionary character).

[124] In this analysis, altruism is defined as "a willingness to pay a personal cost to provide benefits to others in general, regardless of the identity of the beneficiaries" (Fowler & Kam, 2007, p.813). Relatedly, as another pro-social engagement, empathy is deemed as a constitutive fundamental emotion and "a possible source" of altruistic action (Miyazono & Inarimori, 2021, p.2). The affective social accounts of empathy and altruism stir in individuals feelings of closeness, allegiance, compassion and connectedness towards the others in a particular context. Identification, on the other hand, is defined as a desire to change the given situation for the interests of others where there is a certain level of self-relevance in terms of beneficiaries' identities. Regardless of their definitive distinctions, in the scope of this analysis, the concepts all belong to the same emotional palette that increases the capacity to act (political participation).

[125] Festus Okey, a Nigerian migrant living in İstanbul, was murdered by a police officer in 2007 at the Beyoğlu Police Station where he was brought based on a judicial justification. Primarily *Migrant Solidarity Network* became a close follower of the case. The court dismisses the claims concerning discriminatory motives behind the incident. For the current situation on the ongoing legal process, please visit: https://bit.ly/3oVjh7U (last accessed February 2022).

everywhere. How can you accept this? But I'm not building it from the things like "I've read the Communist Manifesto and I think it's just like that" or something. It's just something I interpret from my own experience. … As I said, moments and encounters are very important to me. Those moments and encounters put me in front of you. If I didn't do something, like I said at the beginning, this person wouldn't be me (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

In school there were a couple of students with Turkish migration history. I would say second or third generation, some of them second, some of them third generation and that was a primary school … I think it is maybe one of the first moments when I am sitting class and teachers reading out loud all the names of the students and then some of the Turkish names in the class couldn't be read properly and it wasn't learned by my teacher, for example, it continued throughout the four years that we were together in the class but the name couldn't be read properly and that made something in my mind as a child also like something is weird about this children because the teacher cannot pronounce their names, not that I was thinking they were weird but that was a different situation. That would be one of the first encounters, later on in university having a POC[126] course student and talking to this person in English instead of addressing in German, why, it actually supposed to be in German…you become aware through certain encounters as a white person in a white society or in a white-dominated society that in this kind of situation when discrimination happens and then you have two choices you either deny it and you say it doesn't exist or say *valla*[127] this cannot happen (I9, Mutfak & Komşu, 9 June 2021).

And even though I'm quite high in the hierarchy, I still have to fight against the system, because I'm also not free. … It's not only their thing and it's also my thing (I15, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021).

In these examples, participants tell some stories about their family and educational background, sociocultural affiliations, social status, and their micro-structural subjective positioning within the hierarchies in the society that is objectively perceived by others that builds up their *affective relatedness*. Although, they see themselves as comparatively privileged, thus, not suffering from the consequences of inequalities that they specifically talk about in their stories, they choose to place themselves in other people's shoes and they start to realize that there should be something wrong and they feel the urge to do something to change the situation which they *cannot accept*, as stated by all in different words. Thus, the feeling palette of empathy obviously played an important role in their political subjectification process. Another participant, a woman from Germany, talks about a very difficult period of her life as she was dealing with the asylum-seeking process for her husband. Like the other participants, she tells that although she herself does not directly suffer from the multilayered accounts of inequalities, conflicts, and power imbalances that she is fighting against, she has so much empathy, closeness, and compassion towards other people who are going through difficulties, and she even sometimes cannot see the clear boundary between herself and the other:

The concept of deportation... How is this possible to separate families with force or prisoning them? … I somehow chose these topics also in my life. Racism will be in my life forever because my family is affected by it. My husband and my daughter are suffering from it. It was a choice for a subject to work and to be an activist to fight against it. It has become every part of my life.

---

[126] POC is the acronym of the phrase "people of colour" which represents groups of people who are not white (Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary, n.d.).
[127] "wallah" is an Arabic interjection written as "valla" in Turkish.

> ... There was a woman, a mother of five children from Syria, which I met in Mutfak. We became very good friends. And it was probably why I feel so much attracted to these places. I like to connect with people I don't know. Sitting with her in her home in Tarlabaşı she told me of her life. Part of her family is already in Sweden, and she wants to go there, too. I'm so thankful to be part of this. People are trusting me and telling me about their lives. That's probably one of the motives why I'm turning to this place and these people. There is so much magic in meeting people and connecting with them. … I quickly connected and was feeling so much with people. … It didn't make it easy for me to be so close to the people who were in a very difficult situation. …I'm working with the victims of the terror of Hanau from the 19th of February[128], with the families and the survivors of this attack, which is crazy. It's really tough. So somehow, I'm still also in this field but it takes a lot. … I'm not able to do it any longer. … My experiences with counseling people in Hanau give me an understanding of what traumatic experiences mean for people's lives. … I mean, what does it mean for people to leave their country and live in uncertainty? How deeply it affects your life and everything around you? How unhealthy it is for your whole body and your being? Also, how violent is it to experience something like this? (I3, Mutfak, 29 May 2021).

As seen in her statements, especially the rhetorical questions that she asks herself are significant indications of her empathy as an emotional attachment to the topic. This attachment can be seen as an "affective comportment" since it reveals the power dynamic and relational context that she is embedded in. He also underlines how inhumanly the refugees are treated. His statements are quite empathic since he visibly puts himself in the place of inhumanely treated refugees. Although we do not necessarily see his own cultural and social embodiment to the topic solely based on this narrative, he explains the reasoning through the specific context of how desire systematic in the modern society works:

> You end up in a position where you can't even be human, like a refugee… So how can you judge a refugee because he/she wants to reach Europe? All the systematics of desire, all the arrows point to Europe in the modern world. It is our object of desire. So go wherever you can. Are you going to lay the burden on the refugee for this desire to enter Europe, that intensifies even to the point of death, to risk the death of his/her child? Modern society does this. It says, "Here you go, that's your problem. You asked for it, you drowned. You asked, you couldn't enter. Your child's body washed ashore on the coast because you wanted it, because you are like this…" (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 24 June 2021).

Empathy, in the above-mentioned stories, is a socially and culturally-coded affect because the activists' meaning-making on injustices and inequalities is built through their own experiences and affected by how they construe their subjective positioning in the constellations of power relations. Thus, empathy, as an affective comportment becomes a socially script device for construing political ideas and doing politics (Slaby & Bens, 2019, p.346).

Empathy as an encompassing emotion is directly related to the feelings of closeness and identification and is experienced differently in the opposite contexts in terms of physical conditions. Activists who are not experiencing the hardship of the inequalities in their daily life, albeit doing activism about those hardships, are motivated and mobilized by the feelings of closeness that occurs through communication

---

[128] The Hanau shootings were committed by the far-right extremist Tobias Rathjen in Hanau, Germany targeting two shisha bars on 19 February 2020 in which eleven non-white people were killed. For more information, please see: https://bit.ly/3GXbUmF (last accessed February 2022).

and interaction. The stories by three activists below have a certain parallelism in terms of revealing the demarcation between the two opposite positionality of activists (who are citizens of the country they live in) and refugees, which in turn, makes them feel closer to refugees and energizes them to engage in more activism:

> You don't just cook there, you listen to people's problems as well. People's expectations of you are increasing inevitably, because as a citizen of this country, you are on the "cream of the crop" in terms of class. In reality you are not, but according to them, yes, you are in better shape. We had a friend who invited us to his house … and they made us dinner. … I ate that meal. Normally I would never ever eat cold eggs, ever since I was a kid. It was so delicious that I have never eaten such an egg in my life, I still remember its delicious taste. I wasn't hungry either, I just ate so as not to turn down the hospitality shown to us. There was complete solidarity there, it's a very small thing, but it is the thing, to share and to be in the state of solidarity that sharing brings. This was one of the things that motivated me the most (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

> I felt very bad, because we do not live in these conditions, we do not know what it means. We don't know what it means to sleep on the floor without furniture, just on a carpet. Maybe we'll never know. That's why empathy has a certain limit there. Even saying I understand you is a lie at a certain point. You can never understand. But seeing her happiness... Actually, I think I'm receiving the reflection of her feelings. This is what made me happy. You can't help them, you can't take them from there, but it's so good to see that happiness. Am I able to enjoy the moment of encounter and being together at that moment? I tried to take credit out of it. We are in pursuit of very small things (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

> Six weeks ago, I was doing an Alarm-Phone[129] shift. We were working with a friend of mine. We spoke with around 120 people on a boat, crossing from Libya to Italy. And the next day, we got the news that all of them died… And this was… sh*t. I mean, for the people, the families, the relatives, and the friends, this was sh*t. We had spoken to them the day before on the phone, and we tried to alert coast guards and ships and stuff, but they came too late and they didn't want to rescue. This was kind of fueling my negative idea of the world going down. … Sometimes, I don't really believe in bigger political change on a structural level. World is rather going down. This means that kind of the only hope and strength is what I can get from good interactions. … but I'm not on the side of hedonism. I don't want to be on that side. My activist motivation comes from moments of relatedness, of interaction, of communications where we can do things at small levels, we can have at least a good time together and help each other. The big picture will not change anymore but maybe we can stay close (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

Based on these stories, although activists are considerably more privileged in terms of class positions and national identities (within the context they frame) than the refugees with whom they are in solidarity, the feelings of closeness are created in particular context. At this point, it would not be far-fetched to claim that the way they make sense of these *encounters of differences* and their emotional attachments are in clear line with the idea of prefigurative politics of the prefigurative multitude. These interview excerpts saliently exhibit that the activists seek for a mode of practice which potentially envisages societal transformation based on actual human capacities rather than a set of abstract principles. The political change in the "here and now" is tried to be achieved through inclusive, communicative, and affective small-scale relationships they try to establish with all various singularities within the multitude.

---

[129] The Alarm-Phone (*Watch The Med Alarm Phone Project*) is where I18 works. It is a project established in 2014 by a network of activists and civil society actors from Europe as well as North Africa who mainly aim to facilitate the processes to rescue refugees in distress at sea. Source: (Alarmphone, n.d.).

Doing prefigurative politics is quite an affective practice for the activists. This is manifested by the narrative of an interviewee as follows:

> When I was a child also, I was such a sharing and solidaristic child. We also did not live a very different life with my ex-husband. … For example, when I first entered Komşu, I always read the manifesto[130], I read it every time I went, because it made me feel so good. To have such a place in the world. It's too emotional for me. The thing that is always found to be utopian, naive, impossible to do with six people, and what we know will happen... There are lots of things motivating me (I8, Mutfak & Komşu, 13 June 2021).

As for *identification*, activists who are themselves migrants, refugees, or asylum seekers in the respective countries where kitchens are located construe their political subjectification processes mostly through feelings of *identification with* the other rather than *empathy towards* the other. Power relations crystallized in their life stories in the form of class position and national identity increase activists' capacities to politically identify themselves (as an affective state) with those who are suffering from the same structural problems:

> I think I'm generally quite an empathetic person. I've been through really difficult situations, and on a personal level violence is in my life since my young years. Maybe also I use it as if you help others, you're helping yourself. … the factors like the oppressions we live in affect us physically. It's also my body that reacts, gets triggered, or empathized. I feel it's a bodily reaction because being oppressed engraves these things. … It's the same if you grew up in a violent house that you would have more intuition. If there's a situation getting a bit dangerous, you immediately feel it. It's almost in your body. I think it's the same thing with injustice. If you live it, you become allergic to it. … I've been in war where food was scarce [in Lebanon], but I've never been in that bad of a situation. But I've definitely been in a poor house, and I've been in situations where the fridge is empty. You don't argue with your parents because the fridge is empty, because you know that they're trying their best. For me, it just doesn't f*cking make sense. … This is also how I started. Not being able to eat for that day and having 2 Turkish Liras and hoping to have soup or something. It's just not okay. We can't live in a world like this. I don't want to ever have someone come to me and say "hey, I'm sorry". It's just so messed up …For me, it's absolutely unacceptable to see this. As I mentioned, I'm very sensitive to injustice (I13, Komşu, 6 June 2021).

> Since 14 years old, I always consider someone's problem like my own personal problem. I always want to share what I have with people in need. I feel responsible if I don't do something because maybe I know some ways to change the situation. For me, it was clear that things were not okay [in Cameroon]. And if it was not okay for me, it was also not okay for many people. … If you do something only for yourself, then it changes only your life. But it does not change people's lives, … you don't have real happiness, it is fake. … In the U-Bahn,[131] the other day, there was a woman feeling bad and begging for help. It was completely unbelievable because nobody cared about her. Maybe she was going to die in a few minutes? You see this but you do nothing… Nothing… That is what I call a "robot system"! People completely lost their feelings… If I did not give my hand to this woman, I would never forgive myself. … I don't

---

[130] For the full text of the Komşu Cafe Collective's manifesto, please see: Kühnert, N. & Patscheider, A. (2015).
[131] Subways are called "U-bahn" in many cities in Germany.

want to see this sh*t. It's not normal. If you walk away, then it means you kill someone. I feel responsible for this. I feel like as humanity we can do better. (I17, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021).[132]

Imagine, people stay in a refugee camp in the forest for 10 years. You can't go to the city even if you want to, and you're not allowed to go anyway. How would you go, even if it was allowed? Back then, they were giving us [refugees] 40 euros a month. You can do limited things with it. Where can you go? … As soon as I entered the refugee camp, I was setting dinner tables with the Pakistanis, no one else could. Because they [some other activists] do not feel close to them. I don't know his language either, but this is not something that can be explained and understood. You have to live it. … If you can look into his eyes, you can see. They [some other activists] go with their fathers' money in their pocket and tell refugees that "we are equal". They think sitting at the same table with a refugee and drinking beer with him make them equal. What equality? There is no such thing (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).[133]

In all these stories shared by different actors from different kitchens, we see the interaction between "individual-level properties of actors" and their "social structural and cultural embeddedness" (Slaby, Scheve, p.48). The formative forces and the power structures in the society (e.g. class positions, sexual orientation as in the case of I17, and e.g. national identities living under colonial rule as in the case of I13 and I17) and the culture that they live in (e.g. speaking the same language, similar socialization types, similar visions on friendship and family, similar eating culture as in the case of I20) directly have a certain level of 'affect' on the activists' capacities to politically mobilize. These formative forces and cultural affiliations become meaningful in relational dynamics. All in all, above-presented "individual affective states, emotions and dispositions" can be deemed as "derivative" of these relational dynamics (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.14).

The feeling of empathy and identification also reveals itself in some of the growing up, early youth and early-adulthood stories of the activists. I7, I5, I2 and I1 either have migration experiences themselves or their families have a particular migration background in the past. Based on their narratives below, it seems that the lack of sense of belonging to a fixed place (or intensity of it) made it easier for them to identify themselves with people who *cannot belong*, in this context, migrants:

Every time I was asked where I am from, I defined myself as an immigrant. … My register is in Tokat, my place of birth is Ankara, the place where I grew up and where I spent my whole life is Istanbul, my mother's side was Bosnian, immigrated from Bosnia and Herzegovina from Sarajevo, my father's side immigrated from the Caucasus. Where am I from then? You know, I never felt rooted, connected or settled in such a sense. Rather felt more like an immigrant, who can be anywhere. When I look at my past, I see how many professions I have changed over and over again. I stop doing a lot of things and start life from scratch, that's how life passes. … A sense of *yersizlik-yurtsuzluk[134]*, not feeling the sense of belonging to a place, not feeling like a native. Surely, these kinds of experiences are also about what you are going through at that moment (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

---

[132] Before this monologue, he told me his story on how he started to be aware of the oppressions surrounding him at the age of 14 while he was still living in Cameroon, both as a person who is not heterosexual and has been exposed to the consequences of colonial rule in his everyday life (I17, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021).

[133] In this narrative, I20 talks about activists standing on the part of *Critical Whiteness* (Kritische Weißsein).

[134] In colloquial speech, it simply indicates "a state of not having a sense of belonging" or "sense of rootlessness".

Hrant Dink[135] was murdered while I was still going college, I have missed the Hrant Dink demonstrations only once. On the one hand, since the Armenian question is a part of my family, my grandfather and my mother's father immigrated from Yerevan, we still have relatives there, and I identified myself with the Armenian question through Hrant Dink. Both in the context of journalism and in the context of family roots. Have I produced a discourse about it? No. … This is a cultural bond that I established myself, my sister and brother are not like this. But I faced many issues and stories due to those encounters, the field I'm connected to and my profession (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

After my undergraduate, I volunteered abroad at an organization where unaccompanied child immigrants stay. Because I was doing volunteer work, I was able to relate to young adolescent boys from a different relationality and had the chance to see things such as their lives, priorities, dreams, and stories based on an everyday life perspective. We had natural encounters and exchanges and they did not put me in any positioning. Therefore, I got drawn into this. At the same time, I also realized that I have always lived in another country since I was a child and when I returned, I felt *yersiz yurtsuz[136]*. I also had to move to another city to study. In fact, the issue of belonging/not belonging to a place and migrating to places is something related to me as well. That's why I was drawn here (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

As someone who immigrated from Ankara, I experienced Istanbul with immigrants, and even this was a very different experience for me. Something happened that reinforced all my *yersiz-yurtsuzluk* (I1, Mutfak, 23 June 2021).

At this point, the activists' distinct life episodes summarize well their lived experiences in relation to the social and historical setting where their experiences are embedded. These narrated experiences of the activists reveal the relationship between the 'individual' and the 'social' vividly and exhibits how feeling less of a sense of belonging to a nation or identity could have, directly or indirectly, affected the politicization processes of the activists in the first place.

5.1.2.2. Conscience, Guilt and Justice

The other energizing and mobilizing cluster of emotional catalogue of the prefigurative multitude most commonly elicited in the interviews encompasses conscience (and bad conscience), feeling of justice, and relatedly, guilt.[137] An example from I20 from the Kochkollektiv discloses such an emotional palette that increased his affective capacity to act. He tells a story from his prison years while he was in exile in Greece, fled from Turkey to seek asylum, and talks about how conscience and fear of bad conscience

---

[135] Hrant Dink, an Armenian intellectual, activist, and journalist and a member of the Armenian minority in Turkey, was assassinated by 17-year-old Turkish nationalist Ogün Samast based on racist and broader political motives in İstanbul, Şişli, on 19 January 2007. His assassination caused "a moral shock" in all over the country and beyond (Demirhisar, 2016) as well as engendered one of the most massive mobilizations of a solidarity networks and prominent civil society actors in contemporary Turkey.

[136] A person who is in "a state of not having a sense of belonging" or feels "sense of rootlessness".

[137] In this analysis, guilt is considered as a more fierce version of bad conscience. Contrary to how it is widely construed, "self-regard and self-punishment" (Cucharo, 2021, p.2), guilt as a feeling goes beyond the subjective realm since it requires the existence of others, as it is basically a *feeling-towards* in itself. In such a frame, justice (only as a feeling, not as a rational judgement, moral law or ethical demand in a law-related frame) can be deemed as central affective referent amalgamated with the feelings of shame, conscience, honor and guilt through which people evaluate fairness and unfairness. As discussed by Cremer and van den Bos, encounters with injustices often evokes "emotional deliberation" before it does rational judgment (Cremer & van den Bos, 2007, p.5).

caused him act more, how otherwise he would not be able to explain not acting to himself, this is a matter of honor and justice for him:

> There was a norm in prison: If someone is being physically resorted to violence, we have to react to it. We were banging on doors when forensic prisoners were beaten. I was alone in the Greek prison. Someone cut himself. We were eating, he went to the toilet and then he didn't come back. I was suspicious. We called the police, but they didn't come. I punched iron doors. Other people were afraid that the police would come, rightly so. But these things kept me healthy, I felt this. The man cuts himself and dies? How could I not react to this so that the police would not do anything to me? *This* is the thing that can make people sick. … You cannot live in that cell without the commune. What will H.[138] do? He has no money. Without the commune, he will starve. There can be no such thing. Not possible. You cannot accept it. You have to lose all your conscience first. You will eat, he will starve. How are you going to make yourself accept this? … If I hadn't done these things[139], I would have felt like a loser. My life would be over, I would go crazy. … There was sewage inside. Toilets were filthy. There was no place to sit or lie down. People were committing suicide, cutting themselves. The cops were humiliating us. I think I saved my dignity by resisting. … The search for equality and justice, and the desire not to tolerate injustice, I think, is something connected to the human mind, it has such a quest. Disobedience, rejection, resistance, what keeps the brain healthy (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

Although the type of action they are talking about is different in two narratives, I5 also has a similar positioning concerning her activism. She feels that having a conscience is something about her very existence and honor. Thus, she states that since she did what she felt obliged to do through her activism, she feels satisfaction rather than a bad conscience:

> Being together with conscientious people is very precious to me, because the more conscientious I am, the more I am. I take action not based on my idea of good or bad, but by how conscientiously it will make me feel. I take part in the women's struggle because this is a question of conscience for me, for the same reason I was interested in immigration and ecology. … I cannot separate women's struggle from immigration, immigration from ecology. Now they are opening İkizdere to real estate speculation[140], but there is a women's struggle on one side of it, because women are at the forefront. …This is a matter of honor. It is an honorable act to have a political stance. Therefore, it is also a matter of conscience. … It not only satisfies you individually in terms of conscience, but also because you empathize with the other person, it satisfies that person, too (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

I14 summarizes how he is motivated to be an activist based on his conscience for the future generations. Through fear of shame from them, he tries to repair the damage that was caused in the past so that he does not feel ashamed in the future:

> What if the kids in the future are going to ask you where the hell have you been? … This fear of shame is one of the motivators as well to stay at least a little bit active" (I14, Komşu, 12 June 2021).

---

[138] H. is one of his friends in prison whose full name cannot be shared due to confidentiality.

[139] He talks about the hunger strikes that he organized in the prison together with 9 Iranian political prisoners.

[140] İkizdere is a district in the Rize province of the Black Sea region of Turkey, where the Turkish government initiated a project to build a quarry for a logistic harbor project that would severely harm the pristine woodland of İkizdere. For details on the latest situation of the ongoing legal action, please see: https://bit.ly/34LeFe5 (last accessed February 2022).

This fear of shame goes hand in hand with the feeling of guilt. The form of guilt that the respondent feels reveals itself as responsibility towards the other, rather than destruction and shame. At this point, another participant as a journalist herself mostly creating content on migration issues underlines that she would feel "pretty incomplete" and "guilty" if she did not take responsibility for migration issues and migrant politics in general:

> I would feel very incomplete if I did not (and do not) do something while I see the severity of the situation of migrants. I would feel very incomplete and guilty at the point of not taking responsibility. So now I feel better. Yeah, maybe I'm not doing very important things. I don't do big things, but I think it's very valuable to sum all these little things. So this is something through which I complete myself. I would really feel so incomplete and guilty (I4, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

One brief extract from the interview with the respondent can also provide a flavour of how feeling guilt is a motivating factor for political mobilization and activation, albeit narrated in a more psychoanalytical sense. His guilt, however, does not reflect itself as a form of responsibility, but very much rooted in his childhood and transferred into the political field. Later in his life, he, as a German, encountered comparatively radical action through his Kurdish friend in Turkey. In the following years, through the strong bond developed out of this friendship and his *white guilt* (he puts it this way himself), he wanted to be involved a radical activist network in where he lives:

> From my family and my childhood, I somehow, in that context, had or have feelings of guilt. But I think, to some extent, I took this personal guilt topic to the the anti-racist movement which is super intense. … I was trying to equalize my guilt there in the political field, in interactions. … Somehow, maybe also with this impression from Ankara, when we left Turkey again, … all these bombings in Kurdish cities started and it was also like a really strange feeling. Leaving, having to leave Turkey again, or Ankara and leaving friends behind when bombs are starting. Maybe, that also gave me some of the motivation of "Okay, I'll also join a network or an activist organization where the work itself is actually sh*t" or is actually depressing and not really uplifting.[141] I think this played into it, definitely. Maybe, a bit also of fighting my *white guilt*: "Okay, I'm leaving my friends behind in Ankara and Istanbul, and what can I do here to level it up?" (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

Connected to the feelings of guilt, instances of injustice may also initiate emotional deliberation and bring about certain decisions on the level of micro and macro political engagements. A participant, a migrant in İstanbul who had to flee from Syria due to the civil war, tells a touching incident that he experienced in his early youth years. His narrative epitomizes how exposing something quite unjust may, directly or indirectly, affect one's political mobilization process. The incident, as a micro-repercussion of systematic oppression in his country, made him aware of the justice question in a broader sense and facilitated his political subjectification in the long run:

> Growing up in Syria, and in a country that is completely led by a dictatorship. You're always oppressed. … The first time I went to prison, I was sixteen years old. We organized a [musical] event in my hometown. We had no idea what might happen. So we did it, everything was good. … A lot of people came. Also guys and girls at the same place. Then a couple of days later, we

---

[141] He talks about how he joined Alarm-Phone and how it was not for fun but an intense involvement for him (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

heard that the air force intelligence and the secret police department, started investigating the event. [They took us]. [In their eyes] we were kind of, you know, like advertising and supporting, sponsoring the devil and worshipping satans. … It was completely unfair. Imagine, I was 16 years old, in a place that was so scary. It was unnecessary interrogations, some physical and psychological torture. … This is where I started to understand that all of that is unacceptable. After that period, I started to feel more and more politically involved. … We were the first people who were on the streets when the revolution started to change the system because Syria was not for us. We never felt home. And that's how the episodes followed each other until we got to 2011. The revolution broke out, all of us were on the streets just want it to end to build a new Syria (I12, Komşu, 3 June 2021).

The narrated life episodes in the last two excerpts by two different members from two different milieus reveal certain epiphanies and turning points in the activists' lives. These turning points brought them to the point of being politically engaged and active which are by themselves affectively charged experiences.

Encounters with injustices may also bring about certain changes on the level of personal and collective interactions. Below childhood story of another participant is an indication of how his sensitivity to injustice is a very significant starting point for him in his political actions, especially in the context of micro-level interactions and group dynamics:

I get very angry at injustice, or rather, I don't want to be silent about it. Even if I am the winner. [His score was miscalculated in a competition when he was a kid which caused his rank to be higher than he deserved] I was eaten up with it, you know? There is a mistake here and there is an injustice. Then I couldn't stop anyway, so I told them this. … So, the concept for me is justice. When I try to describe justice, I imagine a campfire, the whole community sat around it. Nobody is talking to each other, and it is a moment when everyone has consent for each other... No one has an uneasy feeling about the other, a feeling of inferiority, a feeling of inadequacy, an unsettled feeling. … But it necessarily assumes a community, a reciprocal relationship within that community, so if the other person does not feel that way, no matter how much you do, it is not possible for you to feel it either (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

It should be noted that this concept of justice is directly in line with some of the organizing principles at the kitchens which indicates that common decisions are taken by collective will where every collective member feels equal and where all of them are provided equal access to the participation in the decision-making mechanisms. At this point, I7 also discusses equality as something eliciting an empathetic contour of emotion and, for him, this is one of the constructive emotions of the solidarity relations:

It is like feeling that everyone is feeling good. It's such a bewildering thing. It's bewildering. Well, … like gratifying... That's one of the feelings I can describe existing in solidarity. Feeling good by feeling that everybody, everybody in there, feels good (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

Based on above-presented narratives of the activists, I can conclude that the constitutive affective catalogue of prefigurative multitude (socially, politically, and culturally conditioned) has a certain level of parallelism with its constitutive organizing principles.

5.1.2.3. Caring and Feeling Responsible

The role of care[142] is also quite significant in constructing collective political action of the prefigurative multitude. In fact, care is at the very foundation of solidarity for most of the participants. One of the participants from Komşu describes solidarity as "contact, taking care of each other, getting to know each other, having a space where one can get to know oneself and this being a collective space that is open to differences" (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021). Similarly, I18 from Kiezkantine defines solidarity as "looking out and taking care of each other" and points out that doing a collective open kitchen has "a strong caring factor," continuing: "you show people that you care about them and you are there for them, you want them to see you and you also see them, it's a caring activity" (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021). Taking this one step further, I7 states that care is at the very core existential action of human beings: "I think the issue of care is very key, I really think that the essential existential act of mankind is what we call 'care'" (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

Based on the feelings of care, activists take responsibility to address the problem and needs of the migrant groups whom they are in solidarity with through collective political action. Starting with the recognition of the problem, most of the participants state that feeling responsible about what they know and what they have been witnessing ends up with caregiving. The recognition turns into confronting the emerging problems, troubles, and oppression that the other people experience. This, undoubtedly, goes hand in hand with the feelings of empathy. Similar to what I18 states, I5 also talks about importance of *recognition* and *seeing* in building care relations:

> If there are people who live miserable lives, this is the problem of the system, not theirs. Being able to *recognize* this and sharing that *responsibility* a little, *seeing* your environment and touching people's lives… Even if it is a small thing, it is very precious (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

Another participant underlines the importance of feeling responsible for disseminating stories publicly of those who suffer from systematic oppression and violence and how this is her main motivation for activist activities:

> It is our all task to reach out and to say "okay but, how all these people from different places experienced migration, what are reasons for people to migrate, what are the other experiences

---

[142] In this analysis, care is understood through its emotional accounts. Care, in its general terms, is an activity that comprises acts of protecting self and the other from outside threads and disruptions to life (Santos, 2020, p.128). It necessitates a certain level of "sensitivity for the needs of others" (Gilligan, 1982, p.16, as cited in Santos, 2020, p.128). "Emotional care", on the other hand, is a more specific form of care and it may occur in the interactions between the activists to enhance participation and mobilization within "intimate social networks" (Goodwin & Pfaff, 2003, p.287, as cited in Santos, 2020, p.129). Thanks to this interaction and communication, participants share their emotions, and they are relieved from the everyday problems which in turn culminates solidarity relations (Santos, 2020, p.129). At the point where *care* becomes *relational*, we see its interconnection with *responsibility*. Activists turn their sensitivities into a certain channel and take responsibility to notify problems and needs of people they *care about* (Santos, 2020, p.128-129).

with racism and discrimination?" and stuff like that. I think this is our all task to share these kinds of stories with people and to break these narratives and I think that is really where I am coming from (I9, Mutfak & Komşu, 9 June 2021).

I4 and I20, also emphasize the importance of "seeing" and its relevance to "caring". The act of *seeing* is channeled into *doing* to solve the problem, as they underlined, by feeling responsible and feeling the need to act:

> People feel invisible. They are on the street but they feel invisible, or they are at home, they live there but are invisible. Solidarity means saying "I see you", it means "I care about you". … I mean, why did I get on that Beirut bus in the first place?[143] For whatever reason I did this, I did everything with that same motivation in my life, and I still do. I have afflictions about life, this world I live in, and Turkey in particular. … So, I wanted to be involved because I did not expect divine things coming from somewhere to solve these problems. That's my main motivation, I wanted to be a part of it. I wanted to be involved in both the solutions and the afflictions. I mean, I wanted to complete myself by doing this as a person who has afflictions herself. Then I wanted to shoulder responsibility for finding solutions, by feeling responsible. …with the responsibility or the trouble whatever that moves you, that emotional thing or whatever thing that literally racks your brain (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

> I encountered it for the first time in Greece when the police detained me. There were a lot of black people in the back trunk of a car with no windows. They were all so scared. I can never forget that scene. "Hello!" I said, they did not answer. They had been beaten and had mud on them. There you see colonialism, racism, and humiliation. You want to ensure justice, you feel responsibility. After those images, I started a hunger strike in prison (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

These narratives epitomize witnessing, knowing, or feeling afflictions about unacceptable situations that people are pushed into turn activists feel responsible to administer justice.

At this point, we can look to Hardt and Negri's affective catalogue that was presented above. The scholars, in their concept of multitude, did not truly focus on *how* multitude is articulated prior to the production of the multitude; instead, they prefer to manifest the societal conditions that are conducive to the production of the multitude. In other words, through which social and political conditions that the actors do something with these emotions are not presented by the scholars. As Akgün highlights, the scholars heavily focus on the social and political conditions that prepare the debut of multitude first, followed by the various forms of political mechanisms, then the composition of political subjectivity (Akgün, 2018, p.223). But this is how explanations on how the political life of the actors are 'articulated', as well as how exactly they get involved in collective political action, get neglected

---

[143] "Beirut bus" reference is related to her story of involving in a political action for the first time in her life: "Beirut was bombed by Israel. There was a conference call by Hezbollah to the left and social democratic organizations in the world. A bus of leftists set off from Istanbul to Beirut. In 2006, I found a place for myself on that bus. I was a student. I had no affiliation with any group or organization. … Imagine that I found myself with a lot of people organized in very different organizations, different ways of relating, and various ideologies. I spent three days with them. After that, my world changed. I really started looking for a place where I could politically organize myself. I felt ready to do so" (I4, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

(Akgün, 2018, p.223). Conversely, in the scope of this research, particular stories and specific life conditions of singular individuals within the multitude are presented, and a valid, comprehensive affective catalogue not only mobilizes the actors, but also is produced within their mobilization is manifested. When we look at the idiosyncratic narratives of the activists at the kitchens, we see a common trajectory in terms of their political dispositions (e.g. charity versus solidarity) and mobilizing affective catalogue (feelings of empathy, identification, guilt, conscience and care) which gives us a glimpse of the political subjectification of the multitude on micro-political and micro-social levels.

It should be emphasized that this mobilization is not independent from the political, cultural, and social conditions and contexts that the activists live in. Based on the individual narratives, it is manifested that the role of these affective attachments of the prefigurative multitude in creating new potentialities, capacities, and possibilities for mobilization and transformation is shaped by broader relations in which the actors are embedded. As presented in Hardt and Negri's formulation, there is a sharp binary duality between politically "bad" and politically "good" emotions (e.g. fear and sadness as bad, indignation and anger as good). Both the cultural and historical variety of "good" and "bad" emotions and the possible ambivalences and contradictions of certain affects and emotions are overlooked (Bens et al., 2019, p.16). Based on the findings of this research, we see that some seemingly non-constitutive emotions in a certain context are constitutive in another context. For example, as we have seen in the activists' narratives, guilt (and related, fear of shame or bad conscience) becomes constitutive in the sense that it directly mobilizes some of the activists towards political action. This is not to claim that every activist within the prefigurative multitude is moved by feelings of guilt, but only to say that these feelings are only meaningful in the contexts they emerge from (e.g. 'white guilt' or identification with the other based on experiencing similar hardships). This means that feelings of guilt could also be non-constitutive in other contexts. At this point, although Hardt and Negri may agree that "caring and feeling responsible", feelings of "justice" and the feeling palette of "empathy" can be productive for the acts of multitude, I should underscore that they do not specifically discuss the contextual conditioning of such emotions. On the other hand, thanks to the relational affect perspective, the demarcation between politically good and politically bad emotions is debunked by exactly focusing on the contextual meanings of prefigurative multitude's emotions through their personal stories.

5.1.3. The *Affective Dynamic* of Mediating Inequalities within Multitude's Singular Differences

Another affective dynamic for the activists is trying to develop mechanisms and ideas to deal with differences and inequalities within the unequal singularities. As it was discussed before, the relations of the multitude comprise not only concrete ties (the patterns and structures), but also affective and emotional ties (personal relationships, friendships, comradeships, and other immaterial attachments). All these ties surely "reflect interdependencies and power relations" (Scheve, 2018, p.52) between various singularities of the multitude. Especially within the micro-structure of their political project

(horizontal, autonomous, non-hierarchical, highly participatory, consensus-based as well as multitudinous self-organizational form operating in common), these singular differences ought to be tackled with different strategies in order to create capacities and opportunities for everyone. However, based on the individual narratives, it seems that it is either not always easy to deal with all these singular differences within the multitude, or not possible at all.

As tangible examples for such interdependencies and power dynamics I5 from Mutfak underlines the complexities and contradictions that exist within the migrant groups in the neighborhood and how it was quite difficult for many of the activists to calibrate the relationalities that they were not part of most of the time. After some point, the main goals of establishing the kitchen became quite difficult in such an environment. This was also one of the main reasons why many activists, and herself, had to leave the community:

> Because of those class differences, that state of equality becomes inequality. … Unfortunately, the Kurdish mothers in the neighborhood did not eat the food of immigrant women, they were saying "their food is dirty, they smell bad anyway" and so on. … If they had accepted the migrants, self-organization would have engendered out of it without the need for middle-class people like us. … In that web of relationships, you find yourself in issues where you don't need to be involved. Many people struggled with this and left, saying "there is nothing left for me to do here" because we lost our main focus. I was one of them. We aimed to create a political discourse on the migration issue. The main concern was not cooking but touching people's lives in solidarity. For one thing, they didn't accept immigrants. There was systematic oppression. The attitude of women to other immigrant women, the attitude of children to immigrant children. … Of course, it is not easy to equate these relations. There were times when it was quite challenging for us (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

Similarly, I2 from Mutfak summarizes how contradictions, conflictual dynamics, and other problems made her feel quite uncomfortable, basically since she was not the "subject" of the movement, meaning that she was not a migrant herself in this specific context, which in turn made her move more towards feminist queer movement:

> Again, the "them and us" distinction emerged. The citizen and the immigrant were positioned separately in the movement. We were unable to develop an integrated, solidaristic, organic form of movement. There were minor conflicts and insurmountable problems due to other dynamics. As I got tired of all this, I started to withdraw and turn to the movements I am a 'subject' of, queer feminist movements. The fact that the voice of the subject [migrants] was not heard or could not be decisive bothered me in the migrant solidarity movement. … In fact, we were trying to organize around the migration issue from the point of view of "everyone can become a migrant one day". But you still speak on behalf of someone else in some places due to statuses such as language and citizenship. This bothered me a lot (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

I10 Komşu also emphasizes how having lots of differences and inequalities within the community itself requires so much work and effort that one really needs to feel comfortable with their life (e.g. being able to sustain themselves economically) in order to sustain the community space. Since this was not the case for many people, it became more and more difficult for collective members to balance the relationships in a continuous manner and keep involving in caregiving:

If 90% of the people in the collective are refugees or people of similar status of precariousness, you are already so vulnerable when you work with such a team, alone or with someone outside. So vulnerable that trying to reproduce the space is something that takes some effort. Creating a place that is alternative to the power mechanisms requires some comfort in other spheres of life or in mind. Less fear, less fear of thinking about how to earn your livelihood. When we could not make it sustainable … the labor we put in the space started to feel difficult (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021).

Similarly, another participant stressed that how even "no border" solidarities also have borders and sometimes it is impossible to equalize all the singular differences. Distinctions are vividly there:

These projects and solidarities have their own borders, too. And sometimes, it's not working. It is not just enough to say that we share these values and that's why we are all here together. It's not like that. In reality, we are not growing up in the same way, we don't have the same resources, we don't have the same histories. … After closing the kitchen on Saturday evenings we were going to Muaf[144] to have a beer. And in Muaf, there were those who were able to stay at that place, but there were also a lot of people coming through, but they could maybe have one beer or none. It's separated again. We were there together but it changed already. For example, there were a lot of migrants also coming to parties and so on. I mean, there were a lot of spaces where it was clear who were the privileged ones.[145] … It's also so crazy to bring all those people together. It's so complicated and there are so many risks of disappointment (I3, Mutfak, 29 May 2021).

Mentioning the same kind of distinctions (e.g. class positions, national identities), Kochkollektiv activist I20 narrates a conflict that he experienced with a German activist while he was organizing the O-platz movement. He expresses how they dealt with inequalities by rather making the inequalities visible. This was a collective effort:

A German activist said "I'm not a refugee, I'm actually a colonial citizen, we are not equal". It was true, we were not. … When enforcements are implemented, they are not punished, the police were punishing only us. Because they have ID and residence permit, but we don't. We take the risk. We were having two meetings. A general plenum and a private plenum. Because only refugees had the right to make decisions in risky situations. This is how we solved the inequality. … We were rather spreading the word 'inequality' (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

Coming from a very similar point of view, I7 Komşu and Mutfak, also emphasizes that dealing with inequalities does not mean making them invisible or claiming to extinguish them. Instead, what they tried to do is to equalize the opportunities as well as diversify the resources according to the needs of a

---

[144] Muaf is a bar in Beyoğlu, İstanbul which has a leftist and left-oriented customer profile.

[145] She gives examples of these demarcations between unequal singularities. First, language barriers and second, freedom of organizing. First, she tells the story of how one of their friends from France had the privilege to learn Turkish easier than a lot of people in Tarlabaşı and was even able to give classes. She states: "It is also knowledge-sharing. But, at the same time, it's so difficult to share it. I mean, how can you share white privilege? It is really difficult to share". Second, she explains how no border activists who are not affected by the asylum system directly were able to go to demonstrations (e.g. 1st of May, Gezi) while it was much more risky and dangerous for illegalized people and people without papers. She states: "It was so clear that all these people could never attend. This was among the points that were separating the group again" (I3, Mutfak, 29 May 2021). This last point is made by many other activists as well in different contexts (I7, I5, I4, I2, I20).

person and conditions of a particular situation. He specifically warns that claiming to extinguish the differences based on inequalities and equalizing the opportunities are two different things:

> I don't think we've eliminated the differences. What we're trying to do is to diversify the possibilities. Equalizing those differences and opportunities. … For example, to ensure that personal differences do not alter, decrease, or increase the possibilities for participating in the decision-making. … Rather than acting as if those differences do not exist, we have to see those differences and change the possibilities of participation accordingly. … Equivalence with each other, not sameness with each other. On the contrary, if there is 1 on one side and 2 on the other side, how can they have the opportunity to add their wills equally to the same equation? … This is not a matter of status. … Equality is like bread. You have to bake it again and again for each special occasion. You have to actively put forward that effort repeatedly, you have to take care of it (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

Similar to his bread metaphor, I1 from Komşu also emphasizes the importance of being actively aware of differences in every specific situation. There is a constant need of keeping an eye open to not fall into the trap of assumptions. In all types of activities, activists had to try to be actively aware of the imbalanced power dynamics and provide an egalitarian environment between "unequals". Once collective members stop doing this, then the solidarity structure is doomed to disappear (I1, Komşu, 23 June 2021). She explains what she means by "assumption" with an example:

> You are writing right now and you can't give that pen to me, you need it right now, but I need it more than you because I have been without a pen from the beginning. So, you start to think about your own limit at that point, how much I can give? … That's why the boundaries change, sometimes it shifts towards sacrifice, which can bring a person to the point of exhaustion. That's why it's always very dangerous to act based on assumptions (I1, Komşu, 23 June 2021).

The exhaustion point is made also by I18 from Kiezkantine, since he was trying to level up the unequal positions in a non-transparent way, in I1's words, "based on assumptions":

> We had a lot of conflicts because we are different people or differently positioned people[146], especially in comparison to other leftist projects. In practice, there are physical barriers but low barriers. We try to overcome them and make it possible for most of the people or everyone to join the activities, but that just needs to be transparent. I, personally, did not always do it in a transparent way. I had times or phases where I was trying to somehow personally equalize or level up the unequal positions in carrying more and doing more in stuff. This is not sustainable. It is also not that good for the collective. I rather prefer seeing what positions, differences and structural differences there are, and then, thinking of ways to deal with them all together (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

---

[146] He concretizes the contradictions and conflicts with tangible examples: "For example, sometimes we try to find collective solutions for a person who does not have a place for sleeping. We talk about it and find ways to make the problem smaller or make it less pressing on an individual level. That's a collective work. On the other hand, after we found the sleeping place we find time for just spending time without this structural sh*t. There are situations where all these structural differences, which are so present in the lives of many of us, are away where it's just about eating, talking, having fun or dancing. It's a space where one can be in the context of exchange, where the structural differences, which are rather put by society in the middle of our steps, are just in the background. It's actually the collective kitchen that has both the pure presence of differences as well as the absence of differences with just being together" (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

The demarcations between *migrants* and *non-migrants* exists also on the discursive level. I6 from Mutfak, as a self-criticism, states that the concept of "migrant solidarity" in the name of the kitchen may have harmed the comprehensiveness of the relations with the Tarlabaşı neighborhood and prevented the activists from connecting other layers of differences with the differences resulting from migration. This idea surely provides another lense in developing various strategies to mediate inequalities at the intersection of social and individual:

> This idea of "migrant solidarity"… What do you mean by "migrants", right? Is it worth it? When you want to have a social center that also has relations with the people that live in that neighborhood already, is it worth to name it "migrant solidarity"? [People in the neigborhood] were experiencing really severe marginalization and gentrification, even if a lot of them migrated to Istanbul for some reason, from Kurdish regions, left a war situation or left the parts of Turkey for different reasons, maybe just economic. ... Can you not just make it a "neighborhood solidarity center" and then you don't have any *subjects* that are trying to create *objects*? Such that you're the migrants, you are all workers. You, I guess you're from here, but didn't you migrate here from Siirt 20 years ago? I mean, you are kind of trying to force that space to be something. So yes, we'd perceived ourselves as the kind of activist types, but then didn't know how to articulate our own needs and just couldn't bridge the kind of differences like class or whatever it might be (I6, Mutfak, 20 June 2021).

All in all, while unequal differences stand as a source causing conflicts, "mediating unequal differences" becomes a constructive affective dynamic as it develops strategies against this source, thus, maintain the action. At this point, the criticism of relational affect scholars towards Hardt and Negri's formulation of the multitude becomes relevant. According to the relational affect scholars, affects and emotions formulated as "exceptional, emergent and self-evident" through a "vitalist" perspective in Hardt and Negri (Bens et al., 2019, p.16). The political change brought by the multitude occurs in an immediate manner. This surely makes the multitude look like a generic entity, overlooking nuances and/or conflicts between various opposing groups. All singularities are portrayed in a happy place, as accepted by all as they are. Simply put, they do not emphasize possible antagonisms, but rather only *love* and *joy* as inherent constitutive elements to politics. Concerning this point, the narratives I have presented above contradict their formulation and go beyond such generic formulation of the multitude. The very contradictions and discordant veins within the multitude (Çıdam, 2013, p.39) are presented by manifesting the narratives underlying the need of developing strategies to deal with the imbalanced relations and conflicts within the communities. Besides, as narrated in the interview excerpts, there are many instances and settings in the kitchens where constant efforts to negotiate and mediate the differences become a necessity (Çıdam, 2013, p.40-42). As Hardt and Negri accentuate, multitude strives for overcoming "inequalities between rich and poor and between powerful and powerless" as well as for broadening "the possibilities of self-determination" (Hardt & Negri, 2001, as cited in Çıdam, 2013, p.40). However, in spaces and actions where these differences exist within the dissent groups, such as migrant soli-kitchens, we see that the whole "multitude of voices" or "singularities of the multiplicity" could easily get blurry and differences themselves could be at the forefront. As seen in the above-presented narratives, the singular differences are always in their agenda and directly affect the

whole formulation of solidarity relations in the flow of daily life. This is either within the key group or the wider networks they are involved in. In this sense, differences (as distinctions and inequalities) easily are contestant elements among such diverse groups of people. As a result of these "constestations" (not per se), contrary to strict classifications, it is indispensable to observe a much more complex affective catalogue (emotional attachments and affective ties) of singular entities in a multitudinous web of relations that are crystallized as migrant soli-kitchen collectives.

5.2. Kitchens as *Affective Communities* of Prefigurative Multitude

The previous section manifested the prefigurative multitude's understanding of *the political* through certain affective dynamics mostly based on existing contradictions in different subjective positions. This section, on the other hand, is going to exhibit the primary emotional attachments that do not necessarily indicate such contradictions but rather manifest commonalities.

Emotions as fundamental elements in constituting and sustaining the relationships in the communities facilitate the overall governance of the kitchens. As underscored by relational affect scholars, "dynamic comportments, affects and emotions are indispensable driving forces in the constitution of practices, forms of life, institutions, groups, and social collectives" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.4). The term *affective communities* is applicable to the migrant solidarity kitchen context; since it basically refers to "dynamics of collectivization" and "forms of commonality" that are "based on episodes of … relational affect" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.9). Based on the narratives above-presented, we have seen "how emotion and affect contribute to the formation, preservation, and disruption" of the formations of the kitchens (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.20). Besides, the affective dynamics that the kitchens have, such as the *dichotomy of charity and solidarity* as well as the *common efforts to mediate the differences within the unequal singularities* can be regarded as two of the main dynamics of collectivization of these communities that are mainly based on common ideas on contradictions. In this section, we will see how affective dynamics based on commonalities can do this.

Thinking of kitchen collectives as affective communities eases the endeavor in this research since it directly locates them in the affective formulations of relational affect theory. The term also stresses the significance of "sensual infrastructures of social encounters and of modes of affective exchange" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.21). These infrastructures and modes will be discovered through the selected working concepts of relational affect approach. Essentially, these working concepts will help to explain "how affect and emotion themselves are subjected to and channeled by" migrant solidarity kitchen collectives (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.20).

5.2.1. *An Affective Practice*: Building Commonalities with Cooking

This part of the study presents "actors' own reflexive understanding of the affective dimension of their practices" (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.18) and explains "how practices incorporate affectivity, delineating the role of affect in practices" (Wiesse, 2019, p.134). The practices of cooking and eating, in almost all the narratives, are regarded as something unifying and connecting the activists and increasing their attachments to the community. The following excerpts are very good examples of this point and specify how barriers like language or social status become insignificant. They explain how cooking together as a practice incorporates their organizing principles of equality in terms of putting the privileges in a secondary position and creating common communicative spaces:

> I think this activity of cooking opens the space of connecting and also connecting without language or with different languages. Because everyone knows how to cook, and everyone knows what to do. Then getting to the table, cleaning up… It was a very magical part of doing all these together. … While cooking, language was really not a big issue. And because language was less important, then privilege connected to language was less important (I3, Mutfak, 29 May 2021).

> I see the dinner table as a place of equalization. … That equalization is what kept me going. … It's not a matter of people coming from another country or speaking different languages. The matter is chopping onions together. … Classes and distinctions lose their importance there, so "you" are the only one left. A space where we are free from the roles that society has imposed on us. … Since it is a place where skills are also reset, the solidarity kitchen becomes a valuable place. … People who previously refused to eat from the same plate in the kitchen, later sat at the *iftar*[147] table together. … People who would never get together wanted to be together after some point (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

> It is something very social. … I love cooking. But why do I love it? It also resides with making people happy with food. When people are really hungry, you satisfy their simple needs. … Food is something that shows you that not everybody is the same, but at the same time that everybody has the same sudden needs. … When you meet other people and when you don't speak the same language, it's still very easy to cook together, you don't need so many words to cook. You just do it in a practical way. You also do not need any competences to cook together, this is where we feel like ourselves the most … And this is for me a very easy way also to start to get organized for a political theme. … If you would start with just sitting in the room then it is very difficult to set that communicative environment (I15, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021).

As seen in the last excerpt, cooking is also seen as an instrument to come together and get politically organized since it provides useful tools for communication without barriers. The point on communication was also stated in the following excerpts in which activists explain how eating and cooking provides tools to exchange of knowledge and to have bonding conversations:

> The kitchen, in this fight, is the best instrument we can give each other because I think that only food can truly bring people together. When it is food, I don't care who is there. Once I met someone at the kitchen where we were eating and talking. In the end, he invited me to the AfD[148] meeting. … He knows that the kitchen is something about anti-racism, but no matter what he was really enjoying the food. He thanked me and invited me to take part in their meeting. Of

---

[147] A religious activity of Muslim community. During the holy month of fasting (Ramadan), *iftar* is the dinner that Muslims eat every evening to end their fast.
[148] *AfD (Alternative für Deutschland)* is commonly known as a far-right extremist political party in Germany.

course, I did not go. But we were able to talk, you know? I think this is how we can change the world (I17, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021).

Food is a means to bring people together in the kitchen and it is one of the basic needs that we have … Everybody can cook what they want to cook and what they remember from their families and where they came from. … And it is a very easy thing to start a conversation through food in a way or an exchange through food, but it is really a great tool … It is a form of celebration also, eating food, preparing for hours and then you sit all together on the table. … I cannot think of another situation in which people come together that would be as inviting as having food together (I9, Mutfak & Komşu, 9 June 2021).

Those encounters, that feeling of trust make this sharing comfortable. A place where we see and share the differences as a beauty where we don't care about who is what (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

Another participant also stresses the "feeling of trust" that is stated in the last excerpt above and connects it to the ritualistic value of cooking and eating that builds relationships between people:

Food and eating together has a ritualistic meaning. It is more than just filling the bellies. It also has a function that connects people with each other. That's why big conflicts are resolved over dinner. … Why do people invite each other over dinner? Because eating together actually means building a relationship. It provides a minimum of trust, sitting at the same table, sharing the same bread (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

Other participants from Mutfak and Komşu state that although different positionalities do not disappear while cooking and eating collectively, it is certain that they facilitate the interaction, communication, and collaboration. They create emotional commonality. They also make it easier for the communities to establish contacts as the food is a strong tangible instrument to exchange knowledge:

We can't say that all those different positions meet on common grounds. However, food makes it easier because there's always something magical about somehow sitting around the table and having a meal together. You can both engage in cultural exchanges and relax by meeting a basic need. It's a relaxing activity a bit like self-care and an enjoyable activity. Also, kitchen is a collaborative space. Especially preparing a big meal and maintaining that space... Food opens up a space where cooperation prevails and where things come together through practical experience. So, it's a very nice instrument and makes a lot of things easier. At least, activism does not remain on a very abstract level (I2, Kitchen, 27 May 2021).

There is such an emotional commonality that is something about, back to the food issue, you're an ordinary human. … Every meal is made differently in different geographies. While it is being made and eaten, a commonality about the food opens up a conversation. … For example, you discuss how a certain meal should be prepared. Even this, is something that achieves such a commonality, a display of cultural exchange. … Cooking as an action, apart from its spatial belonging, is what binds us together at that moment. We are together at that moment because we cook the meal and fill our stomachs. … Therefore, it is one of the most fundamental unifying elements (I1, Komşu, 23 June 2021).

We started this with the idea of "eating, dining table brings people from different cultures together, eating is an important form of action and emotional commonality". We thought that was the best way to get people with different identities to chat around a table and to get them to work on something together… It [food] is both mandatory but also includes pleasure. … Our concern was not only facilitating self-organization of migrants. … We are also 'subjects' here, so we also need those encounter spaces. … After all, you have said and read a lot of things

politically and ideologically but meeting those people you don't really know and being involved in the relationships of those people contributed a lot to us (I4, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

This unifying, equalizing, and bonding 'affect' of cooking and eating also reflects in creating new friendships and networks as well as in strengthening the existing ones both on political and emotional level. Following excerpts from the activists from Komşu and Mutfak explain this transformation as follows:

> You establish a friendship, comradeship. Working in the kitchen really takes physical effort. We were so tired! … There was a constant state of turmoil. And it requires physical exertion. There are people with whom you share that physical effort. Of course, not only in the emotional and political realm. There is something that you reveal as a result of that effort. Food is that thing, something you're, all together, happy with. In turn, it strengthened the relationships. A lot of friendships were started there, some friendships were strengthened (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).[149]

> Within that daily practical satisfaction [cooking and eating together], it is also a very comfortable environment for conversation, which gradually improves the relationships we have established and allows us to get to know each other. The conversation is very important. I know that friendships developed there, I can say that many of my friendships were established there and lasted for years. In this respect, it was a very important social sphere for everyone (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021).

Related to the connecting, unifying and bonding affect of the practices of eating and cooking together, activists also talk about the therapeutic affect of collective cooking as a form of handcraft practice. I20 from Kochkollektiv explains how working with hands and simultaneously engaging in a dialogue treats people reciprocally:

> Cooking together keeps me healthy, gives me therapy. How does it keep me healthy? By talking to the person you cook with, you learn each other's life story and at the same time, your hands are working. You cut potatoes; you peel them. If your hands don't work, you are going to turn edge. Your hand is working, you are thinking, you are making plans, you are in dialogue with people, this is something that takes away your loneliness. A practical way to communicate with people. It unites you and treats you mutually. That dialogue is very important. We could not continue without the kitchen in our street movement. The kitchen was what held people together there. … It's all about collective production, collective consumption and collective resistance. So it's not an ordinary kitchen (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 3021).

I18 from Kiezkantine also highlights the same point and draw attention to the renewing and reproductive capacity of collective eating and cooking practice for politically challenging collective work:

> The kitchen is where people can come, cook, eat, connect and talk about themselves and politics. I joined this group, kind of, because I really wanted to join something where it's about having a good time. My work was already depressing with all the deportation and sh*t fact asylum

---

[149] Opening up the practical labor factor, she continues: "If we were an NGO, if we had funds, would we have built a better kitchen? Definitely. Would we make a more comfortable space? We definitely would. But this was a form we didn't want anyway. For example, our refrigerator broke down, we did not buy it. We found it with solidarity. The very process of moving that refrigerator gave birth to another kind of solidarity. … When you put that effort together, when you experience its difficulties together, this is how you understand its value. … because the motivation and pleasure it gives is very different. … because being on the border always brings about a struggle" (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

systems. … The kitchen is not about deep, intense stuff the whole time, but also about facilitating and in creating a community space. … I got to know and understand how important the kitchen is for the whole facilitation and for the content work like planning big demonstrations (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

Similarly, a participant from Komşu stresses that there is a resemblance between the practice of collective cooking and prefiguring how a collective work can be accomplished:

What keeps me in this activity is that cooking, eating, and gathering doesn't require an intellectual background. … It's a very comfortable space to get to know each other because you're working with your hands, as well as it is a very natural collaboration space, a very comfortable idea-sharing space. … It feels like a little miniature of how to do a collective work together. It was the process of learning that it is not anymore important who cooks how. … I discovered all these by getting politically organized through the kitchen (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021).

All in all, as we have seen in the above-presented narratives, cooking and eating practices facilitate building commonalities, creating unifying, equalizing and bonding moments, engendering therapeutic effects, strenghtening the group dynamics and inner-group relations and building new encounters, networks and friendships for all the kitchen communities.

At this point, Wiesse's theory on affective practice becomes relevant. Wiesse envisions that there is a twofold understanding on the relationship between affect and practice, namely, affect as one dimension of a practice, or affect as something "practically constituted" (Wiesse, 2019, p.132-136). The former illuminates how affect keeps practices and people together, either as a teleological way or without it; the latter manifests "affectivity as practical accomplishments in themselves" (Wiesse, 2019, p.136). In the activists' narratives, we see both types of relationships. Collective eating and cooking are construed by many activists as practices that involve *affect* in themselves[150], and collective eating and cooking are practical activities that constitute affective attachments (deliberately or otherwise): thus, open a space to affect and to be affected by each other. In other words, these practices are seen as instruments to interact, communicate and collaborate which in turn strengthen the community bonds, create egalitarian moments and give more energy to actualize their political activities in the future, thus, make the communities more sustainable. As Wiesse stresses, "distinct emotional episodes are cooperatively performed and include elaborate interaction sequences that demand full participation from the bodies involved" (Wiesse, 2019, p.136). In the collective soli-kitchen context, cooking practice (and sustaining the kitchen space) requires so much labor and work, as stated by many activists, it also creates many interactive moments and various bonding encounters. Based on the narratives, the moments where many social and cultural barriers and limitations are removed by collective cooking and eating practice as well as the times where activists put physical and emotional effort and resources to reproduce those moments from scratch can be understood as *full participation* of the bodies involved.

---

[150] Participants construe these practices as "magical", "therapeutic", "ecstatic", "ritualistic" and so on. These descriptions are relevant to the concept of *affective atmosphere* which will be explained in section 5.2.2.

Wetherell sees affect as "embodied meaning-making" (Wetherell, 2012) and suggests the researchers to directly ask the participants of a practice how their practices are affective in their own interpretation to envision how affect is turned by participants into a visible and tangible practicality (Wiesse, 2019, p.138). When I asked this to the research participants, I found out that the affective dynamics of both "solidarity rather than charity" as well as "mediating inequalities within multitude's singular differences" are both tried to be accomplished through the very practices of cooking and eating together; although, as stated by many activists, most of the time they were accomplished only momentarily. In this sense, the concept of affective practice was useful to unfold the activists' relationship with the daily life flow. It unpacked the practical work taking place in the kitchens in terms of activists' affective embodiment into the practices. This also revealed activists' meaning-making processes on concrete actions they do.

5.2.2. *Affective Atmosphere* at the Kitchens: Joyful Connecting Moments

In affective communities, *affective atmosphere* basically signifies a feeling which exceeds the boundaries of the individual body and pervades in a situation or site where bodies exist (Riedel, 2019, p.85). Feelings are explicated as "collectively embodied, spatially extended, material and culturally inflected" (Riedel, 2019, p.85). The concept of atmosphere can also be interpreted in combination with affective practices, since it also requires a certain repertoire of practice (atmospherization) to be actualized. This atmospherization is expressed by I7 as follows:

> The power created by the gathering of everyone around a table is an *affect* that cannot be explained by any political or rational theory (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

Many participants underline how solidarity at the kitchen communities is built through affective *moments* as temporal components of the collective production and reproduction. Based on their narratives, we see how the intense affective relationalities are constituted by episodes of collective interactions in a specific space at a specific time:

> That magical *moment* we call solidarity… For example, setting up a barricade, occupying a certain area, trying to resist arm in arm… A similar 'set-up' is working behind all of this. What is it? There are fronts. There is the group you belong to and there is the opposite group. Here again, that 'individu' decreases and those collective connections get terribly stronger. A person who has been in that great crowd once in her/his life can never forget that experience. … Even though their tones are very different, I think the feeling of the moments we experienced together in Komşu or Mutfak are identical with these feelings. They are nourished from the same ground[151] (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

---

[151] This "same ground" is explained by the I7 through the ritualistic metaphor of "fire": Something like a hearth fire. … The feeling that people experience with each other when they gather around the fire is very strong, but the thing that brings them together is the fire. … The square or the hearth where that fire was lit, the fire itself, and the act of gathering are not synonymous. Therefore, if the fire fades out, people who come together in that square cannot get through the same phase. In this case, frictions occur and the need to set goals arises, the discussion

Those last *moments* before we're serving food, there are people lining up and everyone is excited. I don't know how the food is going to be but I'm pretty sure everyone's going to be nice about it. Knowing that you put an effort into providing a space for people to gather and talk. ... It was everything you needed as human beings of interpersonal relationships (I13, Komşu, 6 June 2021).

It makes such a difference if the *atmosphere* is nice, if there's coffee, if there's vegetables or fruits, if there's nice food… Content work is so draining. If you want to do it, you need good *surroundings*, so that you can do content work. With the kitchen, I think people can have the chance to actually enjoy this intense political work. The work by itself is mostly not really giving you positive energy (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

In *the food zone* we share *the moment*. You are talking and saying, "It's a pleasure to eat together" but also you see the situation of the people around. … That emotional support. This is when I feel like a human, where I have love (I17, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021).

Due to the emotional and affective attachments that atmospheres have created; participants remembered their momentary memories. Some of them expressed that, in such situations, there is an "immediate rupture" of the given context where "new ways of feeling" emerge (Ayata & Harders, 2019, p.284). Some scholars consider such atmospheres as "emanating and radiating 'ecstasies' of things" (Riedel, 2009, p.88). This is specifically expressed by I7 as follows:

Like a *ritual*. The thing that happens when twenty people are cooking together... I mean, really twenty people in a tiny space... It's a tiny place, so it's also extremely uncomfortable. … But we still enjoyed spending time there. … I describe this as *ecstasy*. A feeling of *intoxication*, a kind of *trance*. There is a *pleasure* involved, but not an ordinary pleasure. Let me put it this way: It's like you're rising. All of a sudden, the world starts to change slightly in your eyes. You start to look at things a little differently, it looks different to your eyes. The most tiring and sh*tty work in the world starts to give you pleasure. Not in consumption sense but something that changes your perceptions and the way you relate. … It is a very interesting *sense of fulfilment*, a kind of *jouissance* that has character we can call *orgasmic* (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

As emphasized in the narratives above and further expounded upon by other activists, the atmospheric moments are highly intense affective moments that form the collectivization processes of the activists in the particular context they take place:

It's more about the *general atmosphere*, a more progressive, more left-oriented group of people, … with an idea of social justice to create something and push for change. I would say Komşu is definitely coming up out of this *collective energy* (I9, Mutfak & Komşu, 9 June 2021).

What mattered was the *spirit* the Komşu created there. It was the opportunity to socialize, it was the political space itself (I1, Komşu, 23 June 2021).

When we entered the space, we were experiencing an *instinctive assembly* there, in the sense of the collective being able to survive. It was like that for me. I have never considered it as my place, and so as others. It was ours (I8, Mutfak & Komşu, 13 June 2021).

---

about "what are our political goals?" begins. …[Fire] is a kind of desire, a kind of catalyst. It can be thought of as if a certain orientation within humanity turns into a fire form. … Eventually, no matter how much we call the goals 'political', no matter how much they are refined from certain theories and formulated with rational arguments, they can become 'a goal' for us only when they become the signifier of certain desires (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

> It's a nice *sense of commonality*, it's like *having a party*. I remember the feeling of emancipation by getting rid of the necessity of building the kind of future as described [by norms]. … I am not at all upset with the labor I put there, because I'm rewarded for it (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021).

In all these examples, long-lasting connections and social immediacy are built-in atmospheric environments that the collectives established. The notions like "spirit" "general atmosphere" built by "collective energy" or "instinctive confluence" and "feeling of commonality like partying" that the activists narrated can be seen as expressions of "spatially extended non-subjective feelings" (Riedel, 2009, p.85). The expressions of especially I8 and I10 indicate that "binary distinctions between inner and outer world, medium and content, meaning and matter, individual and collective, body and mind, subject and object" are subverted through such atmospheric commonality (Riedel, 2009, p.86).

The concept *atmosphere* also helps to envision especially the temporary emotions, as in Jasper's terminology, short-run "reflex emotions'" as well as "moods" that are generated in the situations of social event or ritual-based interactions (Jasper, 2018, p.4, pp.77-100; Jasper, 2011, p.287). The moments of cooking and eating routines at the kitchens, both production and consumption processes of the food being served and shared, can be interpreted also through atmospheric emanations. This ritual-based interactions and the moods created by atmospheric emanation of affective practices are specifically emphasized by I7:

> [Solidarity] is a moment that occurs independent from unity of interest. There are no clear formulas about how it is formed. This moment is connected to very archaic knowledge in humankind. It reveals such a thing, therefore, has a very strong *affect*. … In Ramadan[152], we set the table on the street to engage in a common spirit with the people of the neighborhood. And there were people from the neighborhood joined us. … I think the most enjoyable times in the history of the Mutfak were those long tables set up on the street in summer. If only you could see the typology there! … The *atmosphere* created by Mutfak throughout Tarlabaşı was very strong. … People of all political affiliations were somehow *affected by* the atmosphere there. They somehow got involved with it, took its breath. It had such an interesting power (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

Based on such affective intensity within ritual-based interactions, activists experience moments of "disidentification" and "a real equalization":

> A situation where all belongings of people can be erased, where identities really become unimportant. A real equalization, a very fulfilling state of feeling, like in archaic rituals. A collective organic energy emerges, operating in the form of a flow. … It is flowing there, from hand to hand, eye to eye. A very clear opening occurs. Hierarchy cannot exist, even if you wanted. This is a dynamic that I can only describe with ambiguous concepts, and it has a flavor that really stays on the palate. Something empowering you, like an injection of meaning through your veins, in a situation where there is a loss of meaning towards life (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

---

[152] Ramadan is "holy month of worship" in Islam during which Muslim community engages with the religious activity of fasting.

It is for me … to leave all these social statuses, education, history, background, etc. for a moment, to *let them not have so much power*. Of course, they're always in there and they're coming back. But there are moments where you just meet. … Maybe it's more *moments* and *ways of seeing* each other without this kind of stuff (I3, Mutfak, 29 May 2021).

Riedel states that atmospheres are keen to be "contagious" and melt in "intensive situations" where a "group of bodies comes to exist as a felt collective" (Riedel, 2019, p.85). When we try to understand "what atmosphere does and how it operates" in a given context, we need to look at "its capacity to modulate situations and collectives into coherent wholes" (Riedel, 2009, p.86). This could be "an apartment, a concert, a mass uprising or a religious event" and based on the grammatical connotation of the word atmosphere,[153] these places could be portrayed through "being 'governed' by a particular atmosphere" (Riedel, 2019, p.89). Based on this backdrop, we have seen that the kitchen collective experiences are governed by such an atmosphere which at least momentarily obliterates the existing social hierarchies that exist in fixed identity formations as expressed in the shared narratives above. This means that the atmosphere does not "*let them not have so much power*". All in all, the above-presented experiences of the activists reflect many "emanating and discerning" (Riedel, 2019, p.87) moments in social interactions. Through these interactions, one can observe how collective participation in the form of solidarity action, as expressed by many interviewees, creates multilayered affective moments.

5.2.3. Sense of *Belonging*: Acceptance and *Home* as a Feeling

This part explains how feelings of acceptance and "home" are produced within the affective communities of kitchen collectives. The affective relationality scholars' concept of *belonging* is the facilitating concept to understand such emotional repertoire. The concept indicates "actors' affective and pre-reflexive attachments to places, languages, or material objects" and it helps to understand actors' "sensing of relational affect as a form of attachment" to the formation [namely, soli-kitchens] in question (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.21). The ideas of "commonality, mutuality, modalities of allegiance, and attachments" (Mattes, Kasmani, Acker, & Heyken, 2019, p.300) go hand in hand with the concept of belonging. This aspect was made most apparent by the experiences shared by a Kiezkantine activist:

> …Sense of *belonging* to the community and the sense of *togetherness* that we see each other again, that we can relate to each other. …This "coming back sense", it is this feeling of staying in contact...is somehow like saying "Hey, the world is sh*t, but somehow we'll see each other again". It's like the feeling of *Sinnhaftigkeit*[154]. … In the kitchen, in the collective, I find some sense of meaningfulness. The world is still going down but together we find a reason for staying in the world. If I wouldn't have found Kiezkantine, I think I would have stopped activism by now. I would be losing the hope of faith in a positive outcome of activism (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

---

[153] In German, atmosphere has a connotation with the word "herrschen (to reign or to govern)" so it is something that holds an agency to govern (Riedel, 2019, p.89). The verb carries a linguistic association with various feelings (e.g. joy, grief) which makes the atmosphere and feeling interconnected. In turn, they can be seen as "dominant forces that govern situations, societies, spheres of action" (Riedel, 2019, p.89).

[154] The interviewee translated the term into English as "meaningfulness".

Instead of a categorical identity, the concept of belonging operates within "the relationality involved in affective processes of collectivization" (Mattes et al., 2019, p.301). The concept indicates "the sense of being accepted as part of a community" without falling into the trap of the concept of "collective identity" which implies "sameness" rather than a multiplicity of the actors in the community (Slaby & Scheve, 2019a, p.21). In all the excerpts from the interview narratives below, there are indications of how the multiplicity of the actor co-existed and were accepted as part of their respective communities:

> You would be as accepting of others as others are accepting of you. I mean, the only thing you wouldn't accept is non-acceptance at Komşu (I14, Komşu, 12 June 2021).

> It's a way of saying that "it doesn't matter who you are, where you come from, what you do, that's how I saw you and I'm looking at you from the other side, we're at the eye level, we see and we accept each other". Acceptance is what matters the most. The biggest dream is to have a place where everyone is accepted as they are in which they can live together and communicate. Mutfak is just a physical, micro form of this… It is very important to seize on friendship, companionship, love, and accept them. This is what ensures the execution of the work (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

> People in Komşu were so different and I love that. I love that kind of acceptance. It was one of the only spaces, for example, where you could have a complete mental breakdown and have bad moments, and still be able to exist without judgment. … Even though we know things are sh*t, we have each other in terms of taking action, empathizing, or knowing that you can somehow rely on other people. Solidarity, for me, is just being able to rely on people. … just the feeling of having a place that accepts you whoever you are. This inclusion and involvement definitely motivated people, because you're living in a city and things can get lonely. You need social interaction (I13, Komşu, 2 June 2021).

One participant from Komşu specifically points out how not having a fixed political identity as a homogeneous formation helped to build stronger and more diverse relationships in the sense that it opens the possibilities to be there for *all* kinds of people:

> We co-existed nicely and neatly. And, you know, as long as everybody was treated with respect and that's all that matters. … [Not having a fixed political agenda] enabled us to have a stronger community and a more diverse community and be more welcoming to all sorts of people. Anyone could pretty much come in and make themselves feel at home (I14, Komşu, 12 June 2021).

Similarly, a participant from Kiezkantine talks about how the collective tries to get rid of all sorts of leftist dress codes (political dressing) and similar cultural and social barriers so that everyone approaching the community feels safe. He exemplifies this with his memories, how he was trying to engage himself in a leftist scene and how he was lacking a sense of belonging to the scene:

> For example, Antifa groups. They had a very leftist look. I didn't have the dress code, the behavior, the codes. … So my clothes were not black totally, I had blue jeans. I didn't have a side cut by then. And, I didn't know all the words. I didn't know. I wasn't secure and did not know how to behave in plenaries… So I think one idea of the Kiezkantine is trying to have low barriers for all people. Trying to create a space where you can just be. … where it's possible for newcomers, although not so politicized, just to be themselves (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

In line with the subject matter of this research, the term sense of belonging carries an important analytical robustness to scrutinize phenomena such as migration and collectivity (Mattes et al., 2019, p.300). Belonging has manifold emotional manifestations such as "feeling at home, experiences of familiarity, or feeling safe, legally secure, and economically rooted in place" (Mattes et al., 2019, p.302). Ahmed defines "home" through emotional registers as "how one feels or how one might fail to feel!" (Ahmed, 1999, p. 342, as cited in Mattes et al., 2019, p.302). As such, the term "home" is specifically of importance for the present study in the sense that it has strong affiliations with the feeling of belonging. At this point, as an outcome of this research, I have found out that one of the emotional registers produced in the kitchen communities is this kind of "feeling at home" in the context of migration and collectivity. Interestingly, within the scope of this research, almost all activists who have migration background or flight history expressed that they "feel at home" in their respective communities. The owners of the below narratives were all migrants (or refugees, asylum seekers) when I was conducting interviews with them when they were involved in their respective communities back then. While some of the participants associate either the space or relations in the space with the feeling of *home*, some others refer to the community as *family*. This emotional bond becomes a shield for them:

> It was a home to me. It made me feel like, yeah, I can consider this little place a home for me (I11, Komşu, 28 May 2021).

> I felt very at home, kind of being there. It was really nice to know that it was also something very meaningful for other people around you (I6, Mutfak, 28 June 2021).

> You have this in Turkey also in Lebanon like whenever things need a lot of time preparing, there's a bunch of people doing that. There were always conversations and a social vibe. For me, that was like home. … I needed that space as an immigrant, in Turkey. I needed a place that felt like home. I love Turkey in general, but you still need that space where you can talk to people, where you can get help and not feel like a stranger. Also, there was some sense of security. It was a space that could have been the roof over my head on bad days or could have been the place where I could eat (I13, Komşu, 06 June 2021).

> It was a place where you could be yourself, you didn't really feel that you're an outsider or a foreigner. … It's a place where refugees would come or immigrants would come and not feel like an immigrant. … For me, this was what it felt like a place that I would spend a lot of energy on to make it a place surviving. Not only for me, I think everyone who worked in Komşu felt similar. Probably this is one of the main reasons why we all felt accepted (I12, Komşu, 3 June 2021).

> In Kiezkantine, to be clear, it's like one family. We share this political activism but also we are connected to one another with strong feelings. … For us, the refugees who came to Berlin, we didn't know anybody, and we were living in the streets. Today having this kind of a big network and strong community… This definitely changed many things in my life. Being with people, the trust between us is real (I17, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021).

Considering the highly precarious conditions that are described in the last excerpt, displacement and exclusion are necessarily embedded in the stories of the collectivization processes of the activists who have flight history or who had to leave their countries due to economic or political reasons. This can be regarded as an indication of how a sense of belonging as an affective component of communities cannot

be thought of without the dynamics of power relations (Mattes et al., 2019, p.302). Besides, the sense of *belonging* both to the space and the community is built through a socio-spatial inclusion and acceptance "in the form of people's practical engagement" (Mattes et al., 2019, p.302). As underlined by Mattes and his colleagues, the aspect of "making a home", can be regarded as an "essential performance of belonging by entering into a productive relationship with place and time" (Mattes et al., 2019, p.302). In this sense, the narratives of the activists indicating high engagements in collective production and reproduction work on a daily basis, specifically presented in section 5.2.1, epitomize this aspect of the interplay between "practical engagement" and construction of "sense of belonging".

6. CONCLUSION

Emotions and affects as omnipresent phenomena in all social relations become both the sources in forming the activist politics of individuals (constructing the social) and the outcomes of their actions (constructed by the social). Migrant solidarity kitchens are complex local arrangements where relational affective dynamics, emotional attachments of individuals, and organizing principles are inseparable from each other.

In this study, I argue that the selected cases of the migrant soli-kitchens are acts of prefigurative multitude based on their commonalities in terms of organizing principles. To do so, I locate them within the framework of prefigurative multitude primarily by monitoring the public materials as well as supplementing them with data coming from the narrative interviews.

Taking this one step further, based on the interview data elicited by the narrative interview method, I attempt to manifest a certain set of emotions and affective dynamics that mobilize the prefigurative multitude as well as are mobilized by it. Thus, I exhibit how the organizing principles of the prefigurative multitude are in conversation with the emotional attachments that mobilize the activists and construct their political participation. While the first part of the discussion (section 5.1.), presents the affective dynamics constructing prefigurative multitude's understanding of 'the political' by exhibiting *contradictions* embedded in the relations of differently positioned subjects, the second part of the discussion (section 5.2.), presents the primary emotional attachments based on *commonalities* in such subjects.

In the first part of the discussion, I present two main affective dynamics (namely "solidarity and charity dichotomy" and "mediating inequalities within singular differences") which construct the activists' common ideal of 'the political' and reflect their common concerns as a polity. The *collective affective intentionality* of the activists is crystallized within these two affective dynamics. These dynamics indicate matters of *dissociation* as they reveal strict demarcations between solidarity versus charity as

well as equal versus unequal. The strategies developed based on these affective dynamics are in direct parallelism with practical repercussions of the organizing principles revolving around egalitarianism, horizontality, singularity politics, and autonomous self-organization. Consequently, I argue that these dynamics wield *potentia* in the kitchens in building and maintaining their activity and become two of the constructive primary catalysts of them. I also assert that these dynamics uncover the existing contradictions, complexities, and ambivalences resulting from contextual differences, comparative disadvantages, and inequalities (e.g., social, political, and cultural) within the singularities of the multitude. The second argument becomes clearer especially when we assess narratives on certain episodes within the life stories of the activists. I exhibit the emotional palette that moves activists for political action encompassing i) empathy, closeness, and identification, ii) conscience, guilt and justice iii) caring and feeling responsible. Based on these narratives, I argue that there is a process of political subjectification behind the political action of activists (affective subjectification), and second that this process is heavily shaped by social, cultural, and political forces surrounding the activists transforming their emotions into the *capacities to affect* and t*o be affected*, as suggested by relational affect approach. The idiosyncratic narratives in emotionally charged stories manifesting specific life conditions of singular individuals within the prefigurative multitude offer a glimpse of how the political subjectification of the multitude may be articulated. As Akgün criticizes, such subjectification process is neglected in Hardt and Negri's formulation depicting multitude with an almost messianic character.

The analysis helps to make such affective catalogue a contextual rather than an emergent one. Based on Çıdam's important criticism and the findings of this research, I conclude that Hardt and Negri's affective catalogue they attributed the multitude overlooks the nuances and conflicts within the singularities of the multitude and stands rather as an emergent, generic, and exceptional entity. On the other hand, the relational affect approach helps to reveal the possible antagonisms and discordant veins within the body of the prefigurative multitude. Drawing special attention to cultural, social, and political forces, the relational affect perspective achieves to go beyond Hardt and Negri's vitalist formulation. This is achieved specifically through exhibiting the points of the activists where they put constant efforts to negotiate the differences as well as the political subjectification processes of the actors shaped by ambivalent emotions. I present the stories of the affective mobilization processes of the activists in connection to the contexts in which they live. This showed how actors are embedded in social, cultural, and political formations surrounding them. At this point, I contend that sharp demarcation between "politically good" and "politically bad" emotions become completely unnecessary and invalid. I verified with the interview data that some seemingly non-constitutive emotions in a certain context can be constitutive in another context. As suggested by the relational affect approach, contextual meanings of emotions are decisive in this regard. The multitude has other types of emotional attachments than only joy, happiness, love, anger, fear, and indignation which invigorate and mobilize it to act in common.

Thus, I demonstrate that the affective catalogue of the prefigurative multitude could be much more multifold, ambiguous, and complex than the original catalogue.

In the second part of the discussion, the specific working concepts of relational affect approach are put into the dialogue with the narrative data. Migrant soli-kitchen collectives are framed as *affective communities* since they reflect various dynamics of collectivization, forms of commonality, and affective infrastructures. This is made clearer with the working concepts of the study. Through the concept of *affective practice*, I show how the practice of collective cooking and eating incorporates affectivity. I demonstrate that such practice brings about certain ground to build commonalities such as unifying, connecting, equalizing, and bonding affect. Thus, cooking and eating practices reflect the organizing principles of the prefigurative multitude, as the activists carry out these practices to accomplish the two main affective dynamics shaped by these principles. Through the concept of *affective atmosphere*, I discuss that the joyful connecting atmospheric moments at the soli-kitchens affect the processes of collectivization of the individuals by increasing their attachments to the community as well as by creating encounters of disidentification and equalization. I assert that such an atmosphere operates within the kitchens as an obliterating factor for social hierarchies and fixed identity formations, which are, in turn, in line with their organizing principles. Lastly, through the concept of *belonging*, based on activists' narratives, I demonstrate that communities operate as generators of a sense of belonging. The feelings of acceptance and home (as a feeling) are indications of existing singularities and multiplicities within the prefigurative multitude as they exclude sameness and categorical identity.

Having manifested the affective catalogue of the prefigurative multitude through selected empirical cases, it is clear that relational affect approach lets us examine more closely the fine-grained intricacies of the affective workings in the acts of prefigurative multitude. It provides excellent access to emotional attachments and affective ties of activists that constructs and constructed by collective political action. The approach allows us to extend the existing affective catalogue of prefigurative multitude with tangible individual narratives which was rather schematic before the empirical investigation. The intimate stories shared by the activists exhibit concrete experiences and substantialize the affective formation of the prefigurative multitude previously depicted abstract. Clearly, what I present here can only be a starting point of a rather exhaustive empirical analysis to conduct in the future on how other acts of prefigurative multitude categorically different than migrant soli-kitchens may operate in the empirical world. A further empirical investigation into the subject matter would bring about new insights revealing other constellations of affective catalogue which may potentially be attributed to the prefigurative multitude. New research may not only test and expand the presented affective catalogue but also engage many other working concepts developed by relational affect approach into the scope of analysis.

REFERENCES

Ahmed, S. (2010). *The promise of happiness*. Duke University Press.

Akbulut, B. (2020). Cooperative economies as commons: Labour and production in solidarity. In D. Özkan & G. B. Büyüksaraç (Eds.), *Commoning the city* (pp.193-206). New York: Routledge.

Akgün, R. (2018). *The Possibilities and limitations of articulation and political subjectification mechanisms in Turkey* [Ph.D. Dissertation]. Middle East Technical University. Retrieved August 28, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3BMNyuU

Alarmphone. (n.d.). *Über uns*. Retrieved January 15, 2022 from https://bit.ly/3GK0QJw

Almeida, P. (2019). *Social movements: The structure of collective mobilization.* Oakland, California: University of California Press.

Ambert, A., Adler, P. A., Adler, P., & Detzner, D. F. (1995). Understanding and evaluating qualitative research. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, *57*(4), 879-893. https://doi.org/10.2307/353409

Anderson, B. (2012). Affect and biopower: towards a politics of life. *Transactions of the institute of British geographers*, *37*(1), 28-43. Retrieved September 12, 2021 from http://www.jstor.org/stable/41427926

Angen, M. J. (2000). Evaluating interpretive inquiry: Reviewing the validity debate and opening the dialogue. *Qualitative Health Research, 10*(3), 378-395. https://doi.org/10.1177/104973230001000308

Anonymous. (2014). Appeal of the Würzburg refugees. *Movement Magazine, 1.* Retrieved August 13, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3FkZuF9

Atkinson, R. (2002). The life story interview. In J. F. Gubrium, J. A. Holstein (Eds.). *Handbook of interview research: Context and method* (pp. 120-140). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ayata, B., Harders, C., Özkaya, D., & Wahba, D. (2019). Interviews as situated affective encounters. A relational and processual approach for empirical research on affect, emotion and politics. In A. Kahl (Ed.), *Analyzing affective societies: Methods and methodologies* (pp.63-77). New York: Routledge.

Ayata, B. & Harders, C. (2019). Midan moments. In J. Slaby, & C. von Scheve (Eds.), *Affective societies: Key concepts* (pp.279-288). New York: Routledge.

Baban, F. & Rygiel, K. (2017). Living with others: fostering radical cosmopolitanism through citizenship politics in Berlin. *Ethics & Global Politics, 10*(1), 98-116. https://doi.org/10.1080/16544951.2017.1391650

Barbalet, J. M. (2001). *Emotion, social theory, and social structure: A macrosociological approach*. Cambridge University Press.

Barrett L. F. (2006). Emotions as natural kinds? *Perspect. Psychol. Sci., 1*, 28–58. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1745-6916.2006.00003.x

Bates, R. H., Comisso, E., Lange, P., Migdal, J., & Milner, H. (Eds.) (1996). *Comparative perspectives on social movements*. Cambridge University Press.

Baugh, B. (2005). Experimentation. In Stagoll, C., & Parr, A. (Eds.), *The Deleuze dictionary* (pp. 93-95). Edinburgh University Press.

Becker, H. S., & B. Geer. (2005). Participant observation: The analysis of qualitative field data. In R. G., Burgess (Ed.), *Field research: A sourcebook and field manual,* 363–381. New York: Routledge.

Bendelow, G. A. (2009). *Health, emotion and the body*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bens, J., Diefenbach, A., John, T., Kahl, A., Lehmann, H., Lüthjohann, M., … Zik, R. M. (2019). *The Politics of Affective Societies: An Interdisciplinary Essay*. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag.

Bericat, E. (2016). The sociology of emotions: Four decades of progress. *Current sociology*, *64*(3), 491-513. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0011392115588355

Berlant, L. (2011). Cruel optimism Duke University Press. *Dur ham NC*.

Bertaux, D. (1981). *Biography and society. The life-history approach in the social sciences*. London/Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Bertaux, D. & Kohli, M. (1984). The life story approach: A continental view. *Annual Review of Sociolog*y, (10). 215-237. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2083174

Biehl, K. S. (2015). Governing through uncertainty: Experiences of being a refugee in Turkey as a country for temporary asylum. *Social Analysis 59*(1). https://doi.org/10.3167/sa.2015.590104

Bilgisaray. (n.d.). Wer Wir Sind [Pamphlet]. Retrieved October 11, 2021 from https://bit.ly/354SVd6

Bilgisaray (2016, October 25). Bilgisaray ist ein nicht/kommerzieller Raum der politischen Kochsubversion, ein Open-Space der Solidarität, eine kommende Bühne des politischen Aufbruchs. [Status update]. Facebook. Retrieved October 10, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3LVs7fY

Bilgisaray (2019, September 4). *Photos* [Facebook page]. Facebook. Retrieved October 10, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3mmZLAc

Bilgisaray (2017, May 1). *Photos* [Facebook page]. Facebook. Retrieved October 10, 2021 from   https://bit.ly/3EaUdyI

Bilgisaray (2019, April 16). Photos. [Facebook page]. [Status update]. Facebook. Retrieved October 5, 2021 from https://bit.ly/32aODzA

Birlikte Üret, Birlikte Yetiştir. (2021). Arts of the Working Class. Food Eats the Soul, 16. Retrieved October 16, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3pe9eew

Blackman, L. (2012). *Immaterial bodies: Affect, embodiment, mediation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Boggs, C. (1977). Marxism, prefigurative communism and the problem of workers' control. *Radical America, 6*, 99–122. Retrieved October 12, 2021 from https://bit.ly/33Oox6d

Bornat, J. (2010). Remembering and reworking emotions: the reanalysis of emotion in an interview. *Oral History*, *38*(2), 43–52.

Breckner, R. & Massari, M. (2019). Past, present and future of biographical research. A dialogue with Gabriele Rosenthal. *Rassegna Italiana di Sociologia, Rivista Trimestrale Fondata da Camillo Pellizzi*, (1), 155-184. https://doi.org/10.1423/93563

Breines, W. (1982). *Community and organization in the new left 1962-68: The great refusal.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Brydon-Miller, M., Greenwood, D., & Maguire, P. (2003). Why action research? *Action Research*, *1*(1), 9-28. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F14767503030011002

Campagna, F. & Campiglio, E. (2012). *What we are fighting for: A radical collective manifesto.* London: Pluto Press.

Castells, M. (2015). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the internet age*. John Wiley & Sons.

Chamberlain, K. & Hodgetts, D. (2018). Collecting qualitative data with hard-to-reach groups. In U. Flick (Ed.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative data collection* (1st ed., pp.668-685). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Choudhury, S., & Slaby, J. (Eds.). (2016). *Critical neuroscience: A handbook of the social and cultural contexts of neuroscience*. John Wiley & Sons.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (2000). *Narrative inquiry: Experience and story in qualitative research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Clemens, R. F., & Tierney, W. G. (2020). The uses and usefulness of life history. In S, Delamont & M. R. M, Ward (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research in education* (2nd ed., pp. 268-282). Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Clough, P. T. (2010). The affective turn: Political economy, biomedia, and bodies. In Gregg, M., Seigworth, G. J., & Ahmed, S. (Eds.), *The affect theory reader* (pp.206–225). Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Connelly, F. M., & Clandinin, D. J. (1990). Stories of experience and narrative inquiry. *Educational researcher, 19*(5), 2–14. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189x019005002

Costa, L. R., & Besio, K. (2011). Eating Hawai'i: local foods and place-making in Hawai'i regional cuisine. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *12*(8), 839-854.

Couture, S. (2017). Activist scholarship: The complicated entanglements of activism and research work. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, *42*, 143-147. Retrieved February 1, 2022 from https://bit.ly/3vhmP8Q

Creasap, K. (2021). 'Building future politics': projectivity and prefigurative politics in a Swedish social center, *Social Movement Studies 20*(5), 567-583. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2020.1798752

Creswell, J.W. & Poth, C.N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell J. W., & Plano Clark V. L. (2018). *Designing and conducting mixed method research* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crigler, A. N., & Hevron, P. R. (2017). Affect and political choice. In Kenski, K., & Jamieson, K. H. (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of political communication* (pp 663-682). Oxford University Press.

Critchley, S. (2013). *Infinitely demanding: Ethics of commitment, politics of resistance*. Verso Trade.

Critchley, S. (2014). *Ethics of deconstruction*. Edinburgh University Press.

Crociani-Windland, L., & Hoggett, P. (2012). Politics and affect. *Subjectivity*, *5*(2), 161-179. Retrieved August 10, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3JTAQh2

Crossborder Solidarity (n.d.). Common statement: Transnational solidarity against racism and war! [Blog post]. Retrieved October 25, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3HePu0p

Cucharo, S. (2021). Justice beyond repair: Negative dialectics and the politics of guilt and atonement. *Contemporary Political Theory*. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41296-021-00528-3

Cvetkovich, A. (2012). *Depression*. Duke University Press.

Çağlar, A. (1999). Mc kebap: Döner kebap and the social positioning struggle of German Turks. In C. Lentz. (Ed.), *Changing food habits: Case studies from Africa, South America and Europe* (pp.413-431). Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers.

Çıdam, Ç. (2013). A politics of love? Antonio Negri on revolution and democracy. *Contemporary Political Theory, 12*(1), 26–45. Macmillan Publishers. https://doi.org/10.1057/cpt.2011.44

Daily Resistance Newspaper (n.d.). *A newspaper published and written by people, so-called refugees, who don't accept their disfranchisement by the German state. They*. [Landing Page]. Oplatz.net. Retrieved August 13, 2021 from https://bit.ly/33TdloF

Dahlberg, L., & Siapera, E. (2007). *Radical democracy and the internet: Interrogating theory and practice*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dalgleish, T. (2004). The emotional brain. *Nature Reviews Neuroscience, 5*(7), 582–589. https://doi.org/10.1038/nrn1432

Damasio, A. R. (2004). Emotions and feelings: A neurobiological perspective. In A. S. R. Manstead, N. Frijda, & A. Fischer (Eds.), *Feelings and emotions: The Amsterdam symposium* (pp. 49–57). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511806582.004

Das Bilgisaray (n.d.). Rundumkotti. Retrieved October 16, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3qatiy2

Dayanışma Mutfağı (2012, June). mutfak [Blog post]. Retrieved October 17, 2021 from
https://bit.ly/3FfQ6Tx

De Angelis, M. (2017). *Omnia sunt Communia: On the commons and the transformation to postcapitalism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

De Cremer, D. & van den Bos, K. (2007). Justice and feelings: Toward a new era in justice research. *Social Justice Research, 20*(1), 1-9. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-007-0031-2

De Sousa, R. (2004). Emotions: What I know, what I'd like to think I know, and what I'd like to think. In R. C. Solomon (Ed.), *Thinking about feeling: Contemporary philosophers on the emotions* (pp. 61–75). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Dean, J. (2014). Sovereignty of the people. In Kioupkiolis, A.& Katsambekis, G. (Eds.), *Radical democracy and collective movements today. The biopolitics of the multitude versus the hegemony of the people* (pp.73-92). Farnham, Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate.

Demertzis, N. (Eds.) (2013). *Emotions in politics: the affect dimension in political tension.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Demirhisar, D. G. (2016*). Emotion and protest in Turkey: what happened on 19 January, 2007? Open Democracy / ISA RC-47: Open Movements*. Retrieved February 15, 2022 from https://bit.ly/3IgCtFb

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2018). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ekman, P. (1992). Are there basic emotions? *Psychological Review, 99*(3), 550–553. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0033-295X.99.3.550

Ekman, P., & Davidson, R.J. (Eds.). (1994). *The nature of emotion: Fundamental questions.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Elster, J. (1996). Rationality and the emotions. The *Economic Journal, 106*(438), 1386–1397. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/2235530

England, R. (2019). The cognitive/noncognitive debate in emotion theory: A corrective from Spinoza. *Emotion Review, 11*(2), 102–112. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1754073918798038

Epstein, B. (1991). *Political protest and cultural revolution*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Esin, C., Fathi, M., & Squire, C. (2014). Narrative analysis: The constructionist approach. In U, Flick (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative data collection* (pp.203–216). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Eyerman, R., & Jamison, A. (1991). *Social movements: A cognitive approach*. Penn State Press.

Federici, S. (2018). *Re-enchanting the world: feminism and the politics of the commons.* Oakland, CA: PM Press.

Fiedler, M. (2015). Transit-)Migration. Strategies within and beyond fortress Europe. In *Mapping global city Istanbul*. Retrieved October 10, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3BMGcri

Flam, H., & King, D. (Eds.) (2005). *Emotions and Social Movements*. London, New York: Routledge.

Flam, H. & Kleres, J. (Eds.). (2015). *Methods of exploring emotions*. London: Routledge.

Fowler, J. H. & Kam, C. D. (2007). Beyond the self: Social identity, altruism, and political participation. *The Journal of Politics*, 69(3), 813–827.

Fox, N. J. (2015). Emotions, affects and the production of social life. *The British Journal of Sociology 66*(2), 301–318. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12119

Franks, D. (2006). The neuroscience of emotions. In J. E. Stets & J. H. Turner (Eds.), *Handbook of the sociology of emotions* (pp. 39-62). New York: Springer.

Frijda, N. H. & Scherer, K. R. (2009). Affect (psychological perspectives). In N. Frijda & K. R. Scherer (Eds.), *Oxford companion to emotion and the affective sciences.* Oxford University Press.

Gambale, M. L., [Maria Luisa Gambale]. (2012, July 15). *Mutfak* 3 [Video] Vimeo. Retrieved October 15, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3FfHaxb

Gambale, M. L., [Maria Luisa Gambale]. (2012, June 22). *Mutfak* 1 [Video] Vimeo. Retrieved October 19, 2021 from https://bit.ly/36Ek4nH

Genç, F. (2017). Migration as a site of political struggle An evaluation of the Istanbul Migrant Solidarity Network. *Movements, 3*(2). Retrieved June 3, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3hgJERy

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory: Strategies for qualitative research.* Chicago: Aldine.

Goldie, P. (2000). *The emotions: A philosophical exploration*. Oxford University Press.

Goodwin, J., Jasper, J. M., & Polletta, F. (2004). Emotional dimensions of social movements. In Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A., & Kriesi, H. (Eds.), *The Blackwell companion to social movements* (pp. 413-432). John Wiley & Sons.

Goodwin, J., Jasper, J., & Polletta, F. (2000). The return of the repressed: The fall and rise of emotions in social movement theory. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 5(1), 65-83. https://doi.org/10.17813/MAIQ.5.1.74U39102M107G748

Goodwin, J., Jasper, J. M., & Polletta, F. (Eds.). (2009). *Passionate politics: Emotions and social movements.* University of Chicago Press.

Gordon, U. (2018). Prefigurative politics between ethical practice and absent promise. *Political Studies*, *66*(2), 521–537. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321717722363

Gould, D. B. (2009). *Moving politics*. University of Chicago Press.

Göçmen Dayanışması (2016a, May 20). GDMutfak: Haftalık Programı // May Programme. [Blog post]. Retrieved October 17, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3yJ0zEu

Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı (2020b, January 4). *Closure and call out for solidarity Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı, The Migrant Solidarity Kitchen, continued to existed in Tarlabaşı despite the* [Image attached] [Status update]. Facebook. Retrieved October 17, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3vfTpIb

Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı (2020a, February 25). *Mutfak'ın Dönüşümü, Dayanışmanın müziği // Metamorphosis of Mutfak. Migrant Solidarity Kitchen has survived for 8 years at the heart of* [Image attached] [Event announcement]. Facebook. Retrieved October 17, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3LZAkQf

Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı (n.d.). *Details about Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı* [Facebook page]. Facebook. Retrieved October 17, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3paQn48

Göçmen Dayanışması (2016, April 27). İş Cinayetlerini Birlikte Durdurabiliriz! Ortak Dayanışma Kermesi [Blog post]. Retrieved October 18, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3IlDX0C

Göçmen Dayanışması (2016, May 23). Komşuma Dokunma Basın Açıklaması // Do not Touch My Neighbour Press Statement [Blog post]. Retrieved October 18, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3shmMI3

Göçmen Dayanışması (2016b, May 20). #KomşumaDokunma! // #DoNotTouchMyNeighbour! [Blog post]. Retrieved October 18, 2021 from https://bit.ly/35rWUjS

Göçmen Dayanışma Ağı / Migrant Solidarity Network (2016, October 29). *Atölye: Yeni medya araçları ile göçmen dayanışması.* [Image attached] [Event announcement]. Facebook. Retrieved October 25, 2021 https://bit.ly/351RqfU

Göçmen Dayanışma Mutfağı (2017, December 24). *Yılbaşı Kermesi.* [Image attached] [Event announcement]. Facebook. Retrieved October 20, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3HvACLv

Graeber, D. (2007). *Possibilities: essays on hierarchy, rebellion, and desire.* Oakland, CA: AK Press. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/3BMvGR5

Graeber, D. (2013). *The democracy project: A history, a crisis, a movement.* London: Allen Lane, Penguin.

Graeber, D. (2002). The new anarchists. *New Left Review, 13*, 61–73. Retrieved 3 September, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3hvV989

Gregg, M., & Seigworth, G. J. (2010). An inventory of shimmers. In Gregg, M., & Seigworth, G. J. (Eds.), *The affect theory reader* (pp. 1-26). Duke University Press.

Groves, J. M. (1995). Learning to feel: The neglected sociology of social movements. *The Sociological Review*, *43*(3), 435-461. https://doi.org/10.1111%2Fj.1467-954X.1995.tb00610.x

Gutierrez, R. R. & Lipman, P. (2016) Toward social movement activist research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 29*(10), 1241-1254.

Guthman, J. (2003). Fast food/organic food: Reflexive tastes and the making of "yuppie chow". *Social and Cultural Geography 4*(1): 45–58. https://doi.org/10.1080/1464936032000049306

Hale, C. R. (2001). What is activist research? *Items (Social Science Research Council), 2*(1–2), 13–15. Retrieved February 1, 2022 from https://bit.ly/3LZ6g7d

Hale, C. R. (Ed.). (2008). *Introduction.* In *Engaging contradictions: Theory, politics, and methods of activist scholarship* (pp. 1-28). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hammond, M. (1990). Affective maximization: a new macro-theory in the sociology of emotions In T. D. Kemper (Ed.), *Research agendas in the sociology of emotions* (pp. 58–81). Albany, NY: State Univ. NY Press.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated knowledges: The science question in feminism and the privilege of partial perspective. *Feminist Studies*, *14*(3), 575-599. https://doi.org/10.2307/3178066

Hardt, M. (2000). Translator's forward: The anatomy of power. In T*he savage anomaly: The power of Spinoza's metaphysics and politics*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Hardt, M. (2007). Foreword: What affects are good for. In Clough, P. T., & Halley, J. O. M. (Eds), *The affective turn: Theorizing the social*. Durham: Duke University Press. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/3vgAAEK

Hardt, M. (2015). The Power to be Affected. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, *28*(3), 215–222. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/24713010

Hardt, M. (2010). The common in communism. In S. Žižek (Ed.), *The idea of communism*. London: Verso, 131-144.

Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hardt, M. & Negri A. (2004). *Multitude. War and democracy in the age of empire.* New York: Penguin Press.

Hardt, M. & Negri A. (2009). *Commonwealth*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hardt, M. & Negri A. (2012). *Declaration*. New York: Argo Navis.

Hardt, M. & Negri, A. (2017). *Assembly*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hardt, M., & Clough, P. T. (2007). *The affective turn: Theorizing the social*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Harrison, O. (2016). Occupy: 'Struggles for the common' or an 'anti-politics of dignity'? Reflections on Hardt and Negri and John Holloway. *Capital & Class*, 40(3). 495–510. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0309816816653877

Hartlieb, M. (2015, October 28). Ein Netz aus Freunden. Die Küchenstube für Einwanderer. *Maviblau*. Retrieved October 8, 2021 from https://bit.ly/36tmWUa

Herman, L., & Vervaeck, B. (2019). *Handbook of narrative analysis*. University of Nebraska Press.

Hess, S., Kasparek, B., Kron, S. & Rodatz, M., Schwertl, M. & Sontowski, S. (2017). *Der lange sommer der migration. Grenzregime III* (2nd ed.). Berlin: Assoziation A.

Hochschild, A. R. (2012). *The managed heart*. University of California Press.

Hoggett, P. (1992). *Partisans in an uncertain world: The psychoanalysis of engagement.* London: Free Association Books.

Hoggett, P., & Thompson, S. (Eds.). (2012). *Politics and the emotions: The affective turn in contemporary political studies*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.

Hollender, R. (2016). A Politics of the commons or commoning the political? Distinct possibilities for postcapitalist transformation. *Spectra: The Aspect Journal*. *5*(1). Retrieved October 3, 2021 from https://spectrajournal.org/SPECTRA/article/view/351/229

Holloway, J. (2002). *Change the world without taking power: The meaning of revolution today.* London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.

Holloway, J. (2010). *Crack capitalism*. London; New York: Pluto Press.

Hopkins, D. R., Kleres, J., Flam, H. and Kuzmics, H. (Eds.). (2009). *Theorizing emotions: Sociological explorations and applications*. Frankfurt am Main, New York: Campus Verlag.

Informationsverbund Asyl & Migration (n.d.). *Pflichten von Schutzsuchenden während des Asylverfahrens.* Retrieved November 25, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3mFDvBK

Jack, B. (Eds.). (2002). *Emotions and Sociology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Jasper, J. M. (1998). The emotions of protest: Affective and reactive emotions in and around social movements. In *Sociological forum, 13*(3), 397-424. Kluwer Academic Publishers-Plenum Publishers.

Jasper, J. M. (2011). Emotions and social movements: Twenty years of theory and research. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *37*, 285-303. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-081309-150015

Jasper, J. M. (2018). *The emotions of protest*. University of Chicago Press.

Jeffrey, C. & Dyson, J. (in press). Geographies of the future: Prefigurative politics. *Progress in Human Geography xx(x).*

Kahl, A. (Ed.). (2019). *Analyzing affective societies: Methods and methodologies.* New York: Routledge.

Kara, O. E. (2019). *Yapabileceğimizi yapmak–Minör siyaset ve Türkiye örneği.* İstanbul: İletişim.

Karaburun Kolektifi (2018, December 12). *Dayanışma Kermesi.* [Image attached] [Event announcement]. Facebook. Retrieved October 20, 2021 from https://bit.ly/35net4s

Karakayali, S. (2017). Feeling the scope of solidarity: The role of emotions for volunteers supporting refugees in Germany. *Social Inclusion*, *5*(3), 7-16. https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v5i3.1008

Katsambekis, G. (2014). The multitudinous moment(s) of the people: Democratic agency disrupting established binarisms. In A. Kioupkiolis, & G. Katsambekis, (Eds.), *Radical democracy and collective movements today* (pp. 169-190). Farnham, Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate.

Kemper, T. D. (1978). *A social interactional theory of emotions*. John Wiley & Sons.

Kemper, T. D. (1987). How many emotions are there? Wedding the social and autonomic components. *American Journal of Sociology, 93*(2), 263–289. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2779585

Kennedy, B. L. & Thornberg, R. (2018). Deduction, induction and abduction. In U. Flick (Ed.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative data collection* (1st ed., pp.49-64). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kiez Kantine (2020, October 20). This is our winter tent for Kiez Kantine. It is in Prinzessinnengärten at Moritzplatz where we also did some events [Image attached] [Status update]. Facebook. Retrieved October 15, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3LWXPcO

Kim, J. (2016). Narrative research genres: Mediating stories into. In J, Kim (Ed.)., *Understanding narrative inquiry: The crafting and analysis of stories as research* (pp.117-153). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kioupkiolis, A., & Katsambekis, G. (Eds.) (2016). *Radical democracy and collective movements today: The biopolitics of the multitude versus the hegemony of the people* (2nd ed.). Routledge.

Kioupkiolis, A. & Katsambekis, G. (2014). Introduction. Radical democracy and collective movements today: Responding to the challenges of Kairos. In Kioupkiolis, A., & Katsambekis, G. (Eds.), *Radical democracy and collective movements today: The biopolitics of the multitude versus the hegemony of the people* (1st ed., pp. 11-26). Routledge.

Kioupkiolis, A. (2014). A hegemony of the multitude: Muddling the lines. In Kioupkiolis, A.& Katsambekis, G. (Eds.), *Radical democracy and collective movements today. The biopolitics of the multitude versus the hegemony of the people* (1st ed., pp.149-165). Farnham, Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate.

Kišjuhas, A. (2018). Reason without feelings? Emotions in the history of western philosophy. *Filozofija i društvo*, *29*(2), 253-274. https://doi.org/10.2298/FID1802253K

Khorana, S. (2021). Can producers and consumers of color decolonize foodie culture?: An exploration through food media in settler colonies. *Gender, Work and Organization.* Wiley Online Library. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12615

Kleres, J. (2011). Emotions and narrative analysis: A methodological approach. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 41*(2), 182–202. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-5914.2010.00451.x

Kleres, J. (2017). *The social organization of disease: Emotions and civic action*. London: Routledge.

Knudsen, B. T. & Stage, C. (Eds.). (2015). *Affective methodologies: Developing cultural research strategies for the study of affect*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Komşu Cafe Collective [@komsucafecollective]. (n.d.a). Posts [Instagram profile]. Retrieved October 15, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3hg6s48

Komşu Cafe Collective (n.d.b). *About Komşu Cafe Collective.* Retrieved October 15 2021 from https://bit.ly/3LZCkYL

komsukafe (n.d.). *Komşu Kafe Collective (Komşa)*. Retrieved October 15, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3t35EFi

Komşu Kafe Kolektif [@Komsu_kafe]. (n.d.). *About Komşu Kafe Kolektif* [Twitter profile]. Retrieved October 13, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3BLSYqc

Komşu Kafe Collective (2018a, June 30). *Kolektif Ev Yapımı Bira Tadım Gecesi // Collective Home-Made Beer Tasting*. [Image attached] [Event announcement]. Facebook. Retrieved October 17, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3ve70zy

Komşu Kafe Collective (2018b, December 8). *Komşu Kafe's 5th Anniversary // 5. Yaş Günü Partisi*. [Image attached] [Event announcement]. Facebook. Retrieved October 17, 2021 from https://bit.ly/36Ijqpn

KuB (Kontakt- und Beratungsstelle für Flüchtlinge und Migrant_innen e. V.). (n.d.). *Startseite*. Retrieved August 13, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3qgkZ3J

Kühnert, N. & Patscheider, A. (2015). Gregor Samsa and Don Kişot fighting against windmills - Squatting in Istanbul as an attempt to resist neo-liberal urban politics. In *Mapping global city Istanbul*. Retrieved October 17, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3Fh3FBP

Kwek, D. H. B. (2015). Power and the multitude: A Spinozist view. *Political Theory*, *43*(2), 155–184. Retrieved November 10, 2021 from http://www.jstor.org/stable/24571661

Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (2003). Hope, passion, politics. In Mary Zournazi (Eds.), *Hope: New philosophies of change* (pp. 122-49). London: Routledge.

Langa, N. (2015). About the refugee movement in Kreuzberg/Berlin. *Movements: Journal for Critical Migration and Border Regime Studies, 1*(2). Retrieved August 13, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3HguR3Z

Large, W. (2017). Spinoza for our time: Politics and modernity (Review). *Contemporary Political Theory, 16,* 161–164. https://doi.org/10.1057/cpt.2015.64

Law, L. (2001). Home cooking: Filipino women and geographies of the senses in Hong Kong. *Ecumene: A Journal of Cultural Geographies*, *8*(3), 264–282. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F096746080100800302

Lawler, E. J. (1999). Bringing emotions into social exchange theory. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *25*, 217–244. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/223504

Lazarus, R. S. (1991). *Emotion and adaptation.* Oxford University Press.

Leach, D. (2016). When freedom is not an endless meeting: A new look at efficiency in consensus-based decision making. *The Sociological Quarterly* 57(1): 36–70. https://doi.org/10.1111/tsq.12137

Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R., & Zilber, T. (1998). *Narrative research: Reading, analysis, and interpretation*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lin, M. (2004). Spinoza's metaphysics of desire: The demonstration of IIIP6. *Archiv fur Geschichte der Philosophie*, *86*, 21–55.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lünenborg, M. (2019). Affective publics. In Slaby, J., & Scheve, C. (Eds.), *Affective societies* (pp. 319-329). Routledge.

Maeckelbergh, M. (2011). Doing Is believing: Prefiguration as strategic practice in the alterglobalization movement. *Social Movement Studies 10*(1): 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2011.545223

Maini, D. (2021, June 9). May the commons grow and be edible: A mapping of community projects in Berlin. *Arts of the Working Class.* Retrieved October 5, 2021 from https://bit.ly/33BhQDV

Massumi, B. (2002). *Parables for the Virtual*. Duke University Press.

Massumi, B. (2015). *Politics of affect*. John Wiley & Sons.

Mattes, D., Kasmani, O., Acker, M., & Heyken, E. (2019). Belonging. In Slaby, J., & Von Scheve, C. (Eds.), *Affective Societies* (pp. 300-309). Routledge.

Maxwell, J. A. (2018). Collecting qualitative data: A realist approach. In U. Flick (Ed.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative data collection* (1st ed., pp.19-32). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

McAdams, D. P. (1995). *The life story interview*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University.

McAdam, D. (1996). Introduction: Opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes-toward a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements. In Mayer, N. Z., Bates, R. H., Comisso, E., Lange, P., Migdal, J., & Milner, H. (Eds.), *Comparative perspectives on social movements* (pp. 1-20). Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, D., Tarrow, S., & Tilly, C. (2003). Dynamics of contention. *Social Movement Studies*, *2*(1), 99-102. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511805431

McNaughton, N. (1989). Interaction of the components of emotion. In *biology and emotion* (*problems in the behavioural sciences)* (pp. 130-142). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511608445.011

Melucci, A. (1996). *Challenging codes: Collective action in the information age*. Cambridge University Press.

Miele, M. (2011). The taste of happiness: Free-range chicken. *Environment and Planning A*, *43*, 2076–2090. https://doi.org/10.1068%2Fa43257

Miyazono, K. & Inarimori, K. (2021). Empathy, altruism, and group identification. *Front. Psychol.* *12*(749315). https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.749315

Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: towards a radical democratic politics*. Verso.

Mouffe, C. (2005). *On the political*. London, New York: Routledge.

Mouffe, C. (2018). *For a left populism*. Verso Books.

Movement (2014). *Es ist eine seit langem bestehende Idee unserer Bewegung eine Zeitschrift zu Veröffentlichen. Erstmal haben wir eine Probeauflagen gedruckt um.* [Magazine]. Cargocollective. Retrieved August 13, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3FkZuF9

Murray, M. (2018). Narrative data. In U. Flick (Ed.) *Sage handbook of qualitative data collection* (pp. 264-279). London: Sage.

Mutfak (2012). Dayanışma Mutfağı [Blog post]. Retrieved October 19, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3HfQcdR

Negri, A. (1991). *The savage anomaly: The power of Spinoza's metaphysics and politics.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Negri, A. (1999). *Insurgencies: Constituent Power, and the Modern State*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Negri, A. (2000). Freedom and necessity in Spinoza's work: Some alternatives. *Multitudes, 2*. Retrieved August 15, 2021 from https://philpapers.org/rec/NEGFAN

Negri, A. (2019). In a conversation with Antonio Negri: Empire before and after, multitude, passion and emotion, Bob Dylan and Michael Moore, and more. Interview with Atsushi Shibasaki. *Global Europe – Basel Papers on Europe in a Global Perspective, 118*. Retrieved from https://bit.ly/32hVhEa

Negri, A., Hardt, M., & Camfield, D. (2005). Multitude: war and democracy in the age of empire. *Labour*, (56), 359.

Neuman, W. R., Marcus, G. E., & MacKuen, M. B. (2018). Hardwired for news: Affective intelligence and political attention. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, *62*(4), 614-635. https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2018.1523169

Neumann, M. (2019). A solidarity city in the making Berlin's government and left movements are pushing for migrants' social rights. In W. Christoph & S. Kron, (Eds.), *Solidarity cities in Europe*. Berlin: Rosa-Luxemburg-Stiftung. Retrieved August 12, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3HjeB2P

Ngai, S. (2005). *Ugly feelings*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Nussbaum, M. C. (2001). *The fragility of goodness: Luck and ethics in Greek tragedy and philosophy*. Cambridge University Press.

O'Connor, K. (2009). Cuisine, nationality and the making of a national meal: The English breakfast. In S. Carvalho, & F. Gemenne (Eds.), *Nations and their histories.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

OECD (2018). Migration snapshot of the city of Berlin. In *Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees in Berlin*. Paris: OECD Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264305236-6-en

Okello, K. W. & Turnquest, A. T. (2022). 'Standing in the kitchen': Race, gender, history and the promise of performativity. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *35*(2), 228-243. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2020.1828653

Onaran, B. (2015). *Mutfaktarih: Yemeğin politik serüvenleri*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Oplatz.net (2019, May 5). *Refugee Movement: News From Inside. O-Platz Verein*. Retrieved August 13, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3mogy62

Oplatz.net (n.d.). *Refugee Movement: News From Inside. About*. Retrieved August 13, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3299wex

Oplatz.net (2021, November 20). *Daily Resistance Assembly #3, November 24.* Retrieved November 26, 2021 from https://bit.ly/32rnBni

Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (n.d). Person of Color. In *Oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com Dictionary*. Retrieved February 15, 2022 from https://bit.ly/3hamaOh

Özgül, S. (2016, March 13). Yeldeğirmeni'nde Fiyatsız Bir Kafe [Blog post]. Retrieved October 15, 2021 from http://senayozgul.blogspot.com/2016/03/komsulu-komsu.html

Özkaya, D. (2021, May 4). Brownbag: Affective dimensions of collective action in Turkey's Gezi uprisings and their aftermath [Research presentation abstract]. University of Graz: Zentrum für Südosteuropastudien. Retrieved February 15, 2022 from https://bit.ly/3sd80C5

Panksepp, J. (2010). Affective neuroscience of the emotional BrainMind: Evolutionary perspectives and implications for understanding depression. *Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience*, *12*(4), 533–545. https://dx.doi.org/10.31887%2FDCNS.2010.12.4%2Fjpanksepp

Pearce, C. (2019). *The public and private management of grief: Recovering normal*. Springer.

Pinnegar, S., & Daynes, J. G. (2007). Locating narrative inquiry historically: Thematics in the turn to narrative. In D. J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 3–34). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Plutchik, R. (2002). *Emotions and life: Perspectives from psychology, biology, and evolution*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Plutchik, R. (1980). *Emotion: A psychoevolutionary synthesis*. New York: Harper & Row.

Polletta, F., & Jasper, J. M. (2001). Collective identity and social movements. *Annual review of Sociology*, *27*(1), 283-305. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.27.1.283

Prentoulis, M. & Thomassen, L. (2014). Autonomy and hegemony in the squares: The 2011 protests in Greece and Spain. In A. Kioupkiolis & G. Katsambekis (Eds.), *Radical democracy and collective movements today* (pp.213-234). Farnham, Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate.

Probyn, E. (2017). Queer fish: Eating ethnic affect. In J. Erni (Eds.), *Visuality, emotions and minority culture. The humanities in Asia*, *3*, Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-662-53861-6_3

Protevi, J. (2009). *Political affect: Connecting the social and the somatic*. U of Minnesota Press.

Purcell, M. (2014). Possible Worlds: Henri Lefebvre and the Right to the City. *Journal of Urban Affairs, 36*(1), 6. https://doi.org/10.1111/juaf.12034

Raekstad, P. (2018). Revolutionary practice and prefigurative politics: A clarification and defense. *Constellations 25(3*), 359–72. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8675.12319

Raekstad, P. & Gradin S.S. (2020). *Prefigurative politics: Building tomorrow today.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Rahman, S.A., Tuckerman, L., Vorley, T., & Gherhes, C. (2021). Resilient research in the field: Insights and lessons from adapting qualitative research projects during the COVID-19 pandemic. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *20*, 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069211016106

Reinecke, J. (2018). Social movements and prefigurative organizing: Confronting entrenched inequalities in Occupy London. *Organization Studies 39*(9), 1299–321. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0170840618759815

Richardson, L. (1990). *Writing strategies: Reaching diverse audiences.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Riedel, F. (2019). Atmosphere. In Slaby, J., & Scheve, C. (Eds.), *Affective societies* (pp. 85-95). Routledge.

Riemann, G. (2006). An introduction to 'doing biographical research'. *Historical Social Research*, *31*(3), 6–28. https://doi.org/10.12759/hsr.31.2006.3.6-28

Riessman, C. K. (2005). Narrative analysis. In N. Kelly, C. Horrocks, K. Milnes, B. Roberts, & D. Robinson (Eds.), *Narrative, memory and everyday life* (pp. 1-7). Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield.

Roberts, J. K., Pavlakis, A. E., & Richards, M. P. (2021). It's more complicated than it seems: Virtual qualitative research in the COVID-19 era. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *20*, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069211002959

Roseman, I. J. (1984). Cognitive determinants of emotion: A structural theory. *Review of Personality & Social Psychology, 5*, 11–36.

Roseman, I. J. (1991). Appraisal determinants of discrete emotions. *Cognition & Emotion, 5*, 161–200. https://doi.org/10.1080/02699939108411034

Rosenthal, G. (1993). Reconstruction of life stories: principles of selection in generating stories for narrative biographical interviews. *The Narrative Study of Lives*, *1*(1), 59-91. Retrieved August 21, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3hfoFPc

Rosenthal, G. (2004). Biographical research. In C. Seale, G. Gobo, J. F. Gubrium, & D. Silverman (Eds.), *Qualitative research practice* (pp. 48-64). London: Sage. Retrieved August 21, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3pae7Fm

Rosenthal, G. (2018). *Interpretive social research: An introduction*. Göttingen: University Press. https://doi.org/10.17875/gup2018-1103

Roussos, K. & Malamidis, H. (2021). Social movements and the commons: A framework for understanding collective action in crisis-ridden Southern Europe. *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, *26*(3), 359–379. https://doi.org/10.17813/1086-671X-26-3-359

Ruddick, S. (2010). The politics of affect: Spinoza in the work of Negri and Deleuze. *Theory, Culture & Society, 27*(4), 21-45. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276410372235

Russell J. A. (2003). Core affect and the psychological construction of emotion. *Psychol. Rev., 110*(1), 145–172. doi:10.1037/0033-295X.110.1.145

Santos, F. G. (2020). Social movements and the politics of care: Empathy, solidarity and eviction blockades. *Social Movement Studies*, *19*(2), 125-143. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2019.1665504

Seyfert, R. (2012). Beyond personal feelings and collective emotions: Toward a theory of social affect. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *29*(6), 27-46. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0263276412438591

Schaefer, D. O. (2019). *The evolution of affect theory: The humanities, the sciences, and the study of power*. Cambridge University Press.

Scheff, T. J. (1997). *Emotions, the social bond, and human reality.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Scheve, C. (2018). A social relational account of affect. *European Journal of Social Theory*, *21*(1), 39-59. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1368431017690007

Schlafplatzorga. (n.d.). *Who we are – Wer wir sind.* Retrieved August 14, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3EhQMGo

Schreier, M. (2018). Sampling and generalization. In U. Flick (Ed.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative data collection* (1st ed., pp.84-98). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Scherer, K. R. (2000). Psychological models of emotion. In J. C. Borod (Ed.), *The neuropsychology of emotion* (pp. 137–162). Oxford University Press.

Scherer K. R. (2004). Feelings integrate the central representation of appraisal-driven response organization in emotion. In A. S. R. Manstead, N. H. Frijda, A. H. Fischer (Eds.), *Feelings and emotions: the Amsterdam symposium* (pp. 136–157). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Schuller, K. (2018). *The biopolitics of feeling*. Duke University Press.

Slaby, J. (2008). Affective intentionality and the feeling body. *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences*, *7*(4), 429-444.

Slaby, J., Mühlhoff, R., & Wüschner, P. (2019). Concepts as methodology: A plea for arrangement thinking in the study of affect. In Kahl, A. (Eds.), *Analyzing affective societies* (pp. 27-42). Routledge.

Slaby, J., & Bens, J. (2019). Political affect. In Slaby, J., & Scheve, C. (Eds.), *Affective societies* (pp. 340-351). Routledge.

Slaby, J., & Scheve, C. (2019a). Introduction: Affective societies–key concepts. In Slaby, J., & Scheve, C. (Eds.), *Affective societies* (pp. 1-24). Routledge.

Slaby, J., & Scheve, C. (2019b). Emotion, emotion concept. In Slaby, J., & Scheve, C. (Eds.), *Affective societies* (pp. 42-51). Routledge.

Smith, R. C. (2019). Analytic strategies for oral history interviews. J. F. Gubrium, J. A. Holstein (Eds.). *Handbook of interview research* (pp.711-732). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Snow, D. A., & Benford, R. D. (1992). Master frames and cycles of protest. In Mueller, C. M. (Eds.). *Frontiers in social movement theory* (pp 133-155). Yale University Press.

Snow, D. A., Rochford Jr, E. B., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation. *American Sociological Review*, 464-481. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095581

Snow, D. A., Zurcher Jr, L. A., & Ekland-Olson, S. (1980). Social networks and social movements: A microstructural approach to differential recruitment. *American Sociological Review*, 787-801. https://doi.org/10.2307/2094895

Sobal, J. (2005). Men, meat, and marriage: Models of masculinity. *Food and Foodways, 13*(1-2), 135-158. https://doi.org/10.1080/07409710590915409

Solomon, R. C. (2004). (Ed.). *Thinking about feeling: Contemporary philosophers on emotion.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Stets, J. E., & Turner, J. H. (Eds.). (2014). *Handbook of the sociology of emotions: Volume II*. Springer.

Stets, J. E., & Turner, J. H. (2008). The sociology of emotions. In M. Lewis, J. M. Haviland-Jones, & L. F. Barrett (Eds.), *Handbook of emotions* (pp. 32–46). The Guilford Press.

Supski, S. (2017). Kitchen as home: Shifting meanings. In J. Lloyd & E. Vasta (Eds.), *Reimagining home in the 21st century*, (pp. 224-238). Edward Elgar Publishing.

Swain, D. (2019). Not not but not yet: Present and future in prefigurative politics. *Political Studies*, *67*(1), 47–62. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0032321717741233

Szanto, T. & Slaby, J. (2020). Political emotions. In Szanto, T., & Landweer, H. (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook of phenomenology of emotion* (pp 478-494). Routledge.

Tarlabaşı G.D.Mutfağı (n.d.). Göçmen Dayanışması: sınırsız, ulussuz, sürgünsüz ve özgür bir dünya. [Blog post]. Retrieved October 19, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3IjQZMh

Tarlabaşı Dayanışma. (n.d.). *Home* [Facebook page]. Facebook. Retrieved October 17, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3JSkXHz

Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. L. (2016). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: A guidebook and resource*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

TenHouten, W. D. (2007). *A general theory of emotions and social life*. Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Thoits, P.A. (1989). The sociology of emotions. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *15,* 317–342. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.so.15.080189.001533

Thompson, P. (1978). The *voice of the past: Oral history.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Tiidenberg, K. (2018). Ethics in digital research. *The Sage handbook of qualitative data collection* (1st ed., pp.466-481). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Tilly, C. (1978). *From mobilization to revolution*. Reading, England.

Timár, E. (2019). The body of shame in affect theory and deconstruction. *Parallax*, *25*(2), 197-211. https://doi.org/10.1080/13534645.2019.1607230

Tomaszewski, L. E., Zarestky, J., & Gonzalez, E. (2020). Planning qualitative research: Design and decision making for new researchers. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 19.* 1-7. https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406920967174

Touré, A.S., Silan, E. & Ulu, T. (Workshop Film Committee). (2017). *Embryo der Freiheit* [Short Documentary Film]. Retrieved August 5, 2021 from https://bit.ly/32hzg8n

Törnberg, A. (2021). Prefigurative politics and social change: a typology drawing on transition studies. *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory, 22(1)*, 83-107. https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2020.1856161

Tremblay, S., Castiglione, S., Audet, L., Desmarais, M., Horace, M., & Peláez, S. (2021). Conducting qualitative research to respond to COVID-19 challenges: Reflections for the present and beyond. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, *20*, 1–8. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F16094069211009679

Trott, C.D. (2016). Constructing alternatives: Envisioning a critical psychology of prefigurative politics. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology* 4(1), 266–85. https://doi.org/10.5964/jspp.v4i1.520

Tuncer, E. (2014). Yemek, küresellesme ve kent: Arktik besin ağı projesi ve az pişmiş kent denemeleri. *Arredamento Mimarlık*, *285,* 92-101.

Tuncer, E. (2018). Sefertası, yemek, mobilite, ev, aşk. *Dosya 41: Ev,* 71-77. TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları. Retrieved December 7, 2021 from https://bit.ly/354vS25

Tuncer, E. (2019). New food practices in Istanbul in the aftermath of the Syrian Civil War: Syrian restaurants and collective refugee kitchens. In Kültür Politikası Yıllık: Zorunlu Göç ve Kültürel Üretim. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Kültür Politikaları ve Yönetimi Araştrma Merkezi. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. Retrieved December 7, 2021 from https://bit.ly/35garLb

Turner, J. H. (2007). *Human emotions: A sociological theory*. London: Routledge.

Turner, J. H. (2000). *On the origins of human emotions: A sociological inquiry into the evolution of human affect*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Ulu, T. (2014, July 16). Why the Refugeestrikemovement is publishing a magazine. *Movement Magazine*, *1*. Retrieved August 13, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3FkZuF9

Van de Sande, M. (2013). The prefigurative politics of Tahrir Square. *Res Publica, 19*(3), 223–239. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11158-013-9215-9

Van de Sande, M. (2015). Fighting with tools: Prefiguration and radical politics in the twenty-first century. *Rethinking Marxism: A Journal of Economics, Culture and Society, 27*(2), 177 - 194. https://doi.org/10.1080/08935696.2015.1007791

Van Stekelenburg, J. (2017). Radicalization and violent emotions. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, *50*(4), 936-939.

Varela, P. & Ares, G. (2015). Food, emotions and food choice. *Food Research International*, 76(2), 179-308.

Varvarousis, A., Asara, V. & Akbulut, B. (2021). Commons: a social outcome of the movement of the squares. *Social Movement Studies, 20*(3), 292-311. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2020.1793753

Verweij, M., Senior, T. J., Domínguez, D. J. F. & Turner, R. (2015). Emotion, rationality, and decision-making: how to link affective and social neuroscience with social theory. *Front. Neurosci*, *9*(332). https://doi.org/10.3389/fnins.2015.0033

Vogler, G. (2021). Bridging the gap between affect and reason: on thinking-feeling in politics. *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/1600910X.2021.1927782

Webb, D. (2019). Prefigurative politics, utopian desire and social movement learning: Reflections on the pedagogical lacunae in Occupy Wall Street. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 17(2), 204-245.

Weed, E. A., & Smith-Lovin, L. (2016). Theory in sociology of emotions. In Abrutyn, S. (Eds.), *Handbook of contemporary sociological theory* (pp. 411-433). Springer, Cham.

Wetherell, M. (2012). *Affect and emotion: A new social science understanding*. Sage Publications.

Wiesse, B. (2019). Affective practice. In Slaby, J., & Von Scheve, C. (Eds.), *Affective societies* (pp. 131-139). Routledge.

Wilkes, K. (2019). Eating paradise: Food as coloniality and leisure. *Annals of Leisure Research*, *23*(5), 573– 589. https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2019.1579102

Willis, M., & Cromby, J. (2020). Bodies, representations, situations, practices: Qualitative research on affect, emotion and feeling. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, *17*(1), 1-12. https://doi.org/10.1080/14780887.2019.1656361

Wilson, E. O. (1975) *Sociobiology*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap/Harvard University Press.

Yabangee (2017, December 26). *In Conversation with Komşu Kafe Collective, A Community of Open Hearts and Open Minds Komşu Kafe Collective is unique in.* Yabangee. Retrieved October 7, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3t4qXWQ

Yates, L. (2014). Everyday politics, social practices and movement networks: Daily life in Barcelona's social centres. *The British Journal of Sociology, 66*(2), 236-258. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12101

Yates, L. (2015). Rethinking prefiguration: Alternatives, micropolitics and goals in social movements. *Social Movement Studies, 14*(1), 1-21. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2013.870883

Yates, L. (2021). Prefigurative politics and social movement strategy: The roles of prefiguration in the reproduction, mobilisation and coordination of movements. *Political Studies, 69*(4), 1033– 1052. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. https://doi.org/10.1177/0032321720936046

Yenal, Z. (2006). 'Cooking' the nation: Women, experiences of modernity and the girls' institutes in Turkey. In A. Frangoudaki & C. Keyder (Eds.), *Coping with modernity: Greece and Turkey in their encounters with Europe* (pp.1850-1950). I.B. Tauris.

Yenal, Z. (2010). The myth of Turkish cuisine. National appropriation of local food cultures. In A. Neuwirth & G. Stock (Eds.), *Europa im Nahen Osten - der Nahe Osten in Europa* (pp. 271-284). Akademie Verlag. https://doi.org/10.1524/9783050062334.271

Yow, V. (2014). *Recording oral history: A guide for the humanities and social sciences*. (3rd ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Zinn, J. O. (2010). Biography, risk and uncertainty—Is there common ground for biographical research and risk research?. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung*, *11*(1), Retrieved June 18, 2021 from https://bit.ly/3veicfs

Interview Transcripts: Section 5.1.

This appendix consists of the longer versions of the quotations from individual narratives that are presented in section 5.1, and is particularly useful since the full transcripts could not be shared in the respective section due to technical limitations. All the excerpts are shared in the original language of the interviews through which they were collected.

1. Main Profile of Participants in Mutfak

p.62: Birkaç dönem birbirinden ayrılıyor. Tabii ki mahalleden gelenler daha çok kadın ve çocuktu. Göçmen olarak gelenler ağırlıklı olarak erkekti, ilk dönemde ağırlıklı olarak. Afrikalıydı. Afrikalılar Frankofon ve Anglosakson bölgesindendi yani İngilizce ve Fransızca konuşulan bölgelerden gelen Afrikalı vardı. Ağırlıklı olarak Hristiyan'lardı ama Müslüman olan da vardı yanılmıyorsam. Ama dini bir söylem olmadı, onun üzerinden var olmadılar. Biz de hiç öyle bir ortam yaratmadık. Daha çok göçmen profili belli bir yaş grubu içinde oluyor, yani yirmili yaşlardan işte kırklı yaşlara kadar diyeyim. Ağırlık olarak ekonomik sebeplerle herhalde geliyorlardı. Çalışmak para kazanmak için geliyorlardı, genelde gücü kuvvetli olan insanlar. Kadınlar da geliyordu ama daha seyrek geliyordu. Afrika toplulukları oldukça erkek egemen, onu söylemekte fayda var. Çok kıskançlar, çok sahiplenciler dolayısıyla kadınlar daha çok evlerde kalıyorlar. Çok dışarılarda bir yerlere gitmiyorlar diye anlıyorum ama kadınlar da var yani, yok diyemem gelenler arasında (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.62: Hedef ülke dediğinde kaçak olarak da olsan gidip kalmayı düşündüğün ülke hedef ülke. Geçiş ülkesi o hedef ülkeye geçerken yolunun üstünde geçtiğin ülke. Kademe kademe etap etap yolculuk yaptıkları için Afganlar olsun, Amerikalılar olsun Avrupa'ya gitmeye çalışıyorlar ya da İngiltere, Almanya, Fransa, Hollanda gibi ülkelere. Genellikle Türkiye'de kalmayı hedefleyen pek yok, hayalleri Avrupa'ya geçmek. Ama bu hayali kesintisiz gerçekleştiremiyorlar. Gelip Türkiye'de takılmış çok insan var. Beş senedir on senedir Türkiye'de ya da ilk fırsatta gitmek için para biriktirmeye çalışıyor ama biriktiremiyor, biriktirince yolunu bulunca da gidiyorlar. Daha sonra tabii Suriyeliler arttı. Mutfak'taki Suriyeliler daha azdı, sonradan gelenler çok Mutfak müdavimi olmadılar. Afrikalılarla beraber gelenler arasında bir iki Suriyeli de vardı. Sonradan tabii daha çok Kürt kökenli Suriyeliler Tarlabaşı'na oldukça kalabalık olarak geldiler. O dönemde de benim gözlemlediğim çok müdavimleşmediler. Fakat o dönem benim Mutfak'tan kopma dönemim. Sonrasında nasıl oldu, profil nasıl değişti çok bilmiyorum. Çünkü sadece yemek değil türkçe dersleri ağırlık kazandı. İngilizce, İtalyanca gibi birtakım dil kursları oluyordu. Çocuklar için birtakım atölyeler oluyordu, müzik veya ona benzer aktiviteler…Bazen film gösterimleri falan yapmaya çalıştık. Profil bu şekilde diyebilirim (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.62: Nijerya, Sierra Leano, Francophone yerlerden gelenler vardı bir de, belki Kamerun olabilir ama emin değilim (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

p.62: There were a lot of French-speaking people. And then there were Turkish-speaking people, English-speaking people, and Germans. There were a lot of languages and also the way how to communicate together was often a thing and very funny. … The group who was involved in Mutfak also changed a lot. Some Erasmus students were coming and going. There were also some weekends when it was hard to find enough people for the market and stuff. … Some weekends in the Mutfak, there were so many Erasmus students there. Those weekends Mutfak became a cool and authentic place for the

Erasmus students (I3, Mutfak, 29 May 2021).

p.62: Suriyeli göçmenlerin sayısının çok artması Tarlabaşı'nda ve bu insanların mekâna gelmek yerine sadece yemek alıp evlerine götürdükleri bir şeye dönüşme ve onların adedi çok artınca insan sayısının. Mesela Afrikalıların "Biz burada ikinci plana atıldık." gibi bazı tavırlar göstermeye başlaması gibi gibi gibi bir takım şeyleri var. Orada tabi şöyle bir şey var. Suriye'den tarlabaşı'na gelen göçmenler ağırlıklı olarak Kürtlerdi. Kürt Suriyelilerdi. Dolayısıyla oradaki mahalleliyle daha fazla böyle bir şeyi oldu. Aynı dili konuşabilirler oldu. Arapça değil, aynı zamanda Kürtçe de konuşuyorlar çünkü. Ve Afrikalılar bundan bir şekilde tedirgin oldular. Bu nüfus artışından şeyin değişiminde ve Mutfak'a çok daha az gelmeye, gelseler bile böyle çok kısa süre takılmaya… (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.62-63: Tarlabasi çok kozmopolit bir alan, bir taraftan göçmenler var ,bir taraftan Romanlar var, bir taraftan Kürtler var. Bunlarin kendi arasinda bir çesit bir hiyerarsi var. Bu hiyerarsi içerisinde Kürtler, Romanlar ve Göçmenler diye siralaniyor. Birbirleri üzerinde hegemonya kurmaya çalisiyorlar. Oradaki o birlestirici unsur… (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.63: Göçmenler geliyordu, bizim ana hedefimiz de zaten Afrika kökenli göçmenlerdi. Bazen Türki Cumhuriyetlerden gelen insanlara da yer açti orasi. Sinifsal olarak baktigin zaman günlük islerde çalisip, çok az para kazanan, zar zor karnini doyurabilen insanlardan bahsediyoruz. Çok kötü evlere, ederinden fazla kiralar ödeyen ve bu yüzden de belleri bükülen insanlar (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.63: Üniversite ögrencileri çok fazlaydi. Erasmuslular. Onlar için de bir aktivizm alani oluyordu gerçekten. O zaman Beyoglu da daha farkliydi zaten, korku iklimi henüz yaratilmamisti, özgürlüklerimiz daha kapsamliydi. … Bir taraftan solun farkli fraksiyonlari geliyordu. I. vardi mesela. Birkaç kez gelip, yemek yaptilar. E.Y.Y. da galiba gelip yemek yapmislardi. Iliskilendigimiz insanlar mevzuyu bildikleri için gelip yemek yapmak istiyorlardi zaten. Ama yine de bütün yük bizim üzerimize kaliyordu (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.63: Çocuklar genelde anneleri ile geliyordu, mahallede oturan Kürt çocuklari genelde. kadinlar da geliyordu ama onlar çok vakit geçirmiyordu, yemek yiyip veya yemege yardim edip gidiyorlardi.. Bence erkekler daha fazla geliyordu oraya. Kadin gelip orada yemek yemiyordu ama yemek alip evine götürüyordu (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.63: İlk önce erkekler geldi çünkü bizim de yolda fark ettiğimiz üzere kadınlar o kadar dışarılarda değillerdi, özellikle göçmen kadınlar. Çünkü diğerleriyle böyle… Herkes kendi komünitesine hapsolduğu için o kadar dışarılarda değillerdi. Daha çok dışarıda olan, iş bilmemne peşinde olan erkekler önce geldi. Ama biz bunu sonra anladık mevzunun neden böyle olduğunu. Kadınlar daha çok evdeydi çünkü. Ve başkalarıyla da ilişkisi olmadığı için mahallede, çünkü dil de bir problem, dışarıda olan erkeklerdi. Sonra kadınlar da tek tük gelmeye başladı (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

p.63: Örneğin cinsiyet rolleri arasındaki farklılıkları ortadan kaldırmak için çok iyi bir alan değil. Çünkü orası bir mutfak ve bu alan kadına atfediliyor. Kamusal alan erkeğe atfediliyor. Tarlabaşı'da pek çok göçmen olmasına rağmen ilk dönemlerde daha düzensiz göçmen gruplarının olduğu zaman (şu an da tabii düzensiz göçmen grupları var ama Suriyeliler de çok olduğu için populasyon biraz daha değişti) daha genç erkek yoğunluklu bir nüfus vardı mesela. Tabii ki çocuk, yaşlı, kadın göçmenler de vardı aralarında ama kamusal alanda çok az görünürlerdi. Görünür olan kısımlar genç erkeklerdi ve Mutfak'a gelenler de onlardı. Biz Mutfak'ta çok zaman oturup kadınları nasıl çekebileceğimizi tartıştık. Ya da Mutfak'a Tarlabaşı'nın tüm çocukları doluşuyor ve çocuklar orayı zapt edince yetişkinler çekiliyordu. Biz çocuklarla yemek yapmak üzerinden bir bağ kuramıyorduk. Yemek

üzerinden kurguladığımız alan sofrada beraber oturup yetişkinlerle göz hizasında bir diyalog kurmak için anlamlıydı. Çocuklar ise o yemekleri alıp birbirlerine fırlatıyorlar, onlarla oyun oynaman lazım. O nedenle çocuklarla da farklı şeyler kurgulamaya başladık. Öncesinde çocukları oyalayacak oyunlar oynuyorduk ve sonrasında onları alandan çıkarıyorduk. Çünkü çocuklar geldiği için bazı yetişkinler gelmiyordu. "Orası pis" ya da "Zaten tüm gün başım şişiyor" deyip gelmiyorlardı. Yetişkinler gelirse erkekler geliyordu ve "Orada sadece erkekler var" diyerek kadınlar gelmiyordu. "Kim gelirse gelsin yeter ki gelsin" dediğimizde de o mutfak alanına aşina olan bazı göçmen arkadaşlar daha kolay benimsiyordu oranın işleyişini. Bulaşığını kendisi yıkıyor, geldiğinde hemen bıçağını alıp işe girişiyordu. Ama bazıları da sadece kapının önünde dikiliyordu ve yemeği içeri girip kadın arkadaşlardan istiyordu. Veya aynı masada oturuyoruz diye flört etmeye çalışabiliyordu ve sonra bulaşıkları bırakıp gidiyordu. Dolayısıyla orada kadınlık-erkeklik pozisyonundan dolayı da farklı tansiyonlar da olabiliyordu. Bunu değiştirebiliyor muyuz diye soracak olursan eğer ben oradaki göçmenlik olayını bir kenara bırakıp kadınlık-erkeklik konusuna odaklanırsam bunu değiştirmek isterim ve kendimce o alanın içinde küçük müdahaleler yapabilirim. Ama diğer yandan da bir şekilde orada var olmak istiyoruz, bu insanlarla bir araya gelmek istiyoruz ve benim ne haddime ki kendimce kadınlık-erkeklik rollerine dair veya kendi dünyadaki pozisyonuma dair kendi fikri olan birine gidip başka bir görüş dayatayım. Tepeden inme bir müdahale yapamam zaten. Böyle çelişkiler de vardı dolayısıyla (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.63: Mesela tekil olarak şunu yaptığımız oldu. Bir adam geliyor ama yanında bir kadın da var. Hemen kadınla muhabbet etmeye çalışıyoruz. Böyle bir örgütçülük kafası da oluyordu. Ya da çocuklar üzerinden annelerini çağırmamız da oluyordu. "Hadi annelerinizle bir yemek yapalım." dedik. Bir kere geldiler ve sonra gelmediler. Sonra anladık ki anneler çocuklarının olduğu yeri pis olarak görüyorlar ve zaten kafa dinlemek için çocuklarını mutfağa gönderiyorlar (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.63: I think for a lot of people, both kids and their parents or other adults, it was just seen as a kind of a resource center in Tarlabaşı. So like, the profile wasn't entirely people who come from outside Turkey in the time that I was there. … In the time I was there, you still had a lot of contact from that time and very important people like one Nigerian guy. … he is still running a creche for kids who have different African nationalities in Tarlabaşı as well. … The activities with kids were 99% done for all the kids in the neighborhood, except for maybe some extra classes that were being done for Syrian kids, mostly Syrian Kurdish kids to do with extra lessons to bring them up to speed for school, or just stuff around registering them for school. But most kids activities, the focus was on actually integrated activities with other kids from the neighborhood. The language classes that I did and that changed again later but they were largely attended by people living in the neighborhood, or growing up in the neighborhood, or maybe in Okmeydanı, like Kurdish folks from Batman, from Mardin. And then maybe other people kind of dropping in, and whatnot. … So that was mostly people from the neighborhoods, occasionally, other folks would drop by. Sometimes you'd have like 20-25 people, mostly Kurdish. … You might have people who are coming from maybe more middle class, but backgrounds, let's say, from Egypt or Syria or whatnot. All might just drop by because they'd like to be involved. They already speak English as well as Arabic, maybe Turkish. … So the target profile for Turkish classes was, again, definitely different. German classes, Italian classes, again, these would have been kind of a better resource for people planning to move. But then that could be people from Turkey planning to move, as well. … And kind of towards the end of the time that I was there, there were a lot more Pakistani guys from the neighborhood who were kind of hanging out on the street. Obviously a very different profile to the typical people coming to Mutfak, they liked to be in the street hanging out there. They had good relations with bakkal and people in the streets, and their good relations with Mutfak and that was mostly something I saw it kind of just from dropping by when I wasn't really involved anymore, but it was nice to see. And then obviously, with the Kurdish classes, I could also say that was something where people from the neighborhood were offering some kind of service or resource as well (I6, Mutfak, 28 June 2021).

p.63: I think one of the problems that people had in Mutfak in a lot of ways was, you are not being able to assert, why are you there, what do you want from it, what needs do you have, even if there are all these social differences, let's say and it was a way of forming kind of real relations with people that were in some way based around solidarity. Those things they do become also very hard to get around that kind of activist identity, or there are different identities. I mean, if you talk to the kids today, they don't call it "Okul". You meet them, if I meet them in the street now, and they're like "Neden okulu açmıyorsunuz?", that was school-like, I am thinking about food, or something else that they were getting from there? (I6, Mutfak, 28 June 2021).

2. Main Profile of Participants in Komşu

p.63: There'd be a lot of students, men and women, I would say equally. … So we did not have a target. We just wanted to be a place to host anyone. … There have been migrants and expats. … There have been a lot of Erasmus students coming. … And there'll be a lot of migrants also, everybody was supporting, it's not that migrants were not supporting or and only Europeans or whatever. There'll be a lot of Turkish people. … There were a lot of hippies, Rainbow tribes, and the travellers of the world barefoot. You can find a lot of different groups of people in the cafe, especially if it is like, say an international cooking night like Indian night or, for example, Portuguese or Syrian or so on. We had people from all over the world. All genders also, quite everyone. Everyone who respected our manifesto and our beliefs and values (I11, Komşu, 28 May 2021).

p.63: There's from all walks of life. The biggest majority were people who were either in the art scene or people who were in the political scene. … So the idea was … appealing to any old person that would come in or the young people, educated or non-educated, involved in the art scene or not, local or international... It brought everyone together somehow (I13, Komşu, 6 June 2021).

p.63: Sonradan aramiza bir sürü Suriye'den kolektif üyesinin katilmasiyla, orasi mültecilerin de bir bulusma noktasina dönüstü. Bu açidan çok bereketliydi bence. Sürekli yeni insanlar geliyordu. Onlar için de iyi bir bulusma noktasiydi. Bizim için de Suriye'den olup bizimle ayni zeminde olabilecek bir insanla tanisabilmek açisindan çok güzeldi. Son senesinde Kadiköy'de agirlikli olarak yasayan göçmenlerin de geldigi bir yere dönüsmüstü. Her zaman da inanilmaz uluslararasi bir ortam vardi. … Pazar günleri Arap kolektifinden arkadaslar vasitasiyla Araplara özgü bir kahvaltiyi çikariyorduk ve pazar günü bir sürü Arap geliyordu. … Insanlar direkt yaptiklari islerle geliyorlardi ve Avrupa'dan da çok fazla insan oluyordu. … Türkiye, Suriye, Lübnan, Misir, Almanya, Italya… (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021).

p.63: There were people from West Africa involved also with different language skills, a couple of Europeans, then a couple of people from Turkey, more people from Syria. … It was, French-speaking West African countries (I9, Mutfak & Komşu, 9 June 2021).

p.63: Actually, it was also different from one event to another. For example, Yemeni food nights would have attracted a lot of people with hijab and Muslims. A movie about female anarchists would have attracted a different crowd (I13, Komşu, 6 June 2021).

p.63: In terms of gender, … I would definitely say that some people would like look at themselves as queer. … It was definitely a place that was connected to LGBTI structures (I9, Mutfak & Komşu, 9 June 2021).

p.63: I think in many ways the way we attract people was through the collective members. So, like, without me, there would be no Russians and Georgians, without the Syrians, there probably would be way less Syrians and without the you know, the Kurdish people, there would be less Kurdish people. And, you know, and each of the members having their own different circle of friends and community, they kind of brought in a lot of people, because it's easier to join some kind of gang, when you already have some of your own there, so to speak, and some of the people who were excited to see or know you (I14, Komşu, 12 June 2021).

3. Main Profile of Participants in Kiezkantine

p.63: I think quite a lot from Afghanistan or from Iran then a little bit less people from Tunisia and then also people have come up from Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Pakistan quite often, also the national identities where it's really hard to get the paper and to add like topics of deportation (I16, Kiezkantine, 9 June 2021).

p.63-64: Compared to other kitchen projects and also especially other political groups, I know in Berlin, the proportions of people with fleeing history or without it, we have a high percentage of people with some asylum statutes, refugees, fleeing history or whatever. I can't really put it in numbers, but maybe half-half (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

p.64: We have more men than women who are coming to the Kiezkantine, maybe 30-40% women, 60-70% men, actually we have mostly children there. … Among the like the ones with citizenship. German-European citizenship is mostly academics or a lot of academics not all (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

p.64: In the evenings, Kiezkantine has a lot of activists stopping by, so it's also more of this left Antifa scene, it is more of a networking thing. … Yeah, a lot of migrants, lots of people without status. I think it's very uncommon for groups that huge. Especially in the beginning. The two years of Corona changed it a little bit because also the rules in camps were more difficult. So people didn't come (I16, Kiezkantine, 9 June 2021).

p.64: There is a general distinction between people without any papers who have no income at all, and people who are in some kind of asylum process who have been unemployed, the kind of unemployment rates or even less. Then there are the ones with papers who get either money from the state or have normal jobs. We also have some teachers, they are working and earning good money. So it's not the point that everyone is living with little money. I would say, some of us also have some financial resources (I18, Kiezkantine, 6 July 2021).

p.64: In the beginning of Corona, some homeless people started to sleep there. We give the key to everybody. So of course, they also have the key because they asked us, they said, "I want to cook tomorrow.", "Okay, here's the key you can keep it." I think we have 200 or 500 keys somewhere in Berlin, I don't know. And you gave this key to them and then they were in a bad situation. And because a lot of helping stuff broke down at the beginning of Corona, they have no flat and there are not so many activities anymore in this room, because it was forbidden in the beginning, nobody knows how to handle it and so on. … This room was quite empty, also because I think it was much more controlled than today. And then they started to sleep there. There was one person, he was quite involved in the Kiezkantine and he was cooking very well. He came from Tunisia and he was a real professional cook and he cooked fantastic things. There were tables full of wonderful-looking food. So he started to sleep there, and then some friends asked him, and then he started to get in the way organizing the room a little bit, and three of his friends were allowed to sleep there, then some other people came and wanted to go in and he

131

didn't let them in and so on, and then this change from this public thing in the private thing and this is something we noticed very often… It doesn't fit each other when someone needs the room for his private needs just to sleep there. This does not fit with the fact that everybody is invited to the space, because he also needs some quiet place to sleep, so not everybody can come in during his sleeping period. So this is the other thing that it shouldn't be privately used it should be used for everybody for the society, but we also have the responsibility, in this case, it was clear that we can't say "sorry please go out" or something like this, so we organized a flat for him together (I15, Kiezkantine, 25 May 2021).

4. Main Profile of Participants in Kochkollektiv

p.64: İranlı, Sudanlı, Afganistanlı, Afrika'dan birçok yerden mülteciler ve göçmenler oluyor genelde. Çok Alman, Avrupa'dan kimlikli aktivist arkadaşımız var. Kolektifte Türkiyeliler de var, Alman'lar da var, Kürtler de var. Belli bir profil var diyemem ama. Karışık. Berlin'in genel profili gibi düşün (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

APPENDIX B

Interview Transcripts in Turkish

This appendix consists of the individual narratives from the interviews I conducted in Turkish and translated into English. It is worth noting that only the Turkish narratives that are included in this paper are exhibited in this appendix.

p.65: Yardimlasmak baska bir sey, dayanisma baska bir sey. Biz gerçekten bunun ayrimina insanlarin varmasi için konustuk ve bunun için çabaladik, bunun üzerinden söylem ürettik. Ben mesela insanlara para vererek yardimlasmayi bir çözüm olarak görmüyorum. Ama sana verebileceğim bir arkadasligim var, seni dinleyebilirim ya da baska bir sey. Bir taraftan o insanlarin sosyallesmeye de ihtiyaci var. … Ciddiye alinma ve degerli olma hali. Çünkü kendi memleketinde degilsin, kendi arkadaslarin yok etrafinda, çok baska muhafazakar bir toplum içinde yasamaya çalisiyorsun. O muhafazakarlik da iletisimin önüne geçiyor. … biz bir yardim kurulusu degiliz, Kizilay degiliz, biz battaniye dagitmiyoruz (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.65: Dayanışmayı biz eylemliliklerimizde "solidarity not charity" vurgusunu ortaya koyabilmek için kullanıyoruz. …tepeden aşağı birilerinin adına, başkasının yerine bir şey yapmak istemiyoruz. Anti-hiyerarşik bir yerden kurgulamak istiyoruz hareketimizi ve bu vurguyu vermek için dayanışmayı kullanıyoruz. … Biz ise hiyerarşik ve otoriter yapıların karşısında kolektivizmi, işbirliğini harekete geçirerek karşılıklı istişare, anlaşma, hemfikirlilik ve hemzemin üzerinde yapılan eylemlilikleri tercih ediyoruz (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.65: Ama insanların, özellikle göçmenlerin gündelik hayatta, o kadar acil dertleri var ki. Su faturasını ödeyemiyor ya da ev sahibi çıkartıyor. Ya da kış geliyor, montun yok. O kadar gündelik ihtiyaçlar ve basit mevzular onların hayatındaki en büyük problemlerdi ki! Mesela biz sana mont verelim dediğimizde daha hızlı karşılık buldu ama bizim istediğimiz ilişkilenme biçimi bu değildi. O yüzden olabildiğince de sadaka konusundan uzak durmaya çalıştık … Dayanışma dediğim şey hiyerarşik bir yapılanmayı içermiyor. Yani hiyerarşik yapılanmadan kesinlikle muaf olması lazım. Çünkü içinde hiyerarşik bir yapılanma olduğunda, charity'ye doğru kayıyor. … Yan yana olma ve paylaşma anıdır. Bu sadece fiziksel bir yan yanalık olmayabilir. Bir duygudaşlık da olabilir (I4, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.65: Yardimseverlik dayanismanin araçsallastirilmis bir hali. Yardimseverlikte o dayanışma momentinin olusmasi çok da mümkün olmuyor ya da senin imajinasyonunda oluyor, ama bir ortamda bunu paylasamiyorsun genelde. Çünkü sen uzaktan bir harekette bulunuyorsun, sonra yapmis oldugun hareketin yaratmis oldugu etkiye ve senin de o etki içindeki halini zihninde canlandirarak mutlu oluyorsun belki. Küçük bir extaz yasiyorsun belki. Ama bahsettigimiz dayanisma halleri gerçekten o anda, belli bir zaman ve mekânda bir araya gelmeyi gerektiriyor. … Her hayirsever büyük bir kibirle davraniyor diyemeyiz ama hayirseverlik bir düzenek oldugu için bunu zaten varsayiyor. Bu hiyerarsiyi, ayrilmayi varsayan bir hali var. Oysa bizim dayanisma formlarimiz bunlari disliyor (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 24 and 27 June 2021).

p.65: Benim için dayanisma, bir insanin kendinden olani baskasina vermesi ve bir baskasindan olani kendine alabilmesi, yani karsiliklilikla es anlamli bir sey. … Göçmen hareketinde "ezilenlerin nezaketidir" gibi seyler çikti, romantik söylemler, zinhar katilmiyorum (I1, Komşu, 23 June 2021).

p.66: *Yardım eden* ve *yardım alan* pozisyonlarıyla bir muhtaçlık ilişkisinin kurulduğunun farkındayım. Anladığım dayanışma bu değil; daha eşitlikçi bir yaklaşım olmalı. Zaten amacımız yardım etmek olsaydı, Mutfak'ı kurmamızın da bir anlamı olmazdı, bir sürü hayır kuruluşu var sonuçta (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

p.66: [Charity'de] o dayanışma duygusunun sadece gölgesi kalıyor geriye ve bu anlamda belli üstelik formatlara oturduğu için çok kimliklendiği için, ya Katolik ya Müslüman ya işte hayırseverlik vs. gibi başka başka kimliklerin altına girdiği için. … ama dayanışma dediğimiz … bir ortak alanmış gibi aslında, dayanıştığın kişinin görüşlerini o anda sorgulamazsın bile. Yani, burada o motivasyon aslında bence gerçekten kopuyor o erekten, o hedeften, o çıkardan, çıkar birlikteliğinden. Bir ortaklaştırmacı düzenek var, yan yana getirici bir düzenek var dayanışmayı cesaretlendiren, onu ateşleyen, imbikleyen bir şey gibi (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.68: Bizi kurban gibi görmeyin" dedik. "Muhtaç değiliz". Bu direniş ile bu durumu Almanların bilincine yerleştirebildik. … Bu bir anlayış meselesi. Yoksa tabiiki yeri geliyor kendi aramızda yardımlar yapıyoruz. Dünyanın binbir türlü hali var. Bazı arkadaşlar aktivite yapabilmek için ya da kağıt işleri, hastalık vs. için paraya ya da başka kaynağa ihtiyaç duyuyor. Bu tür şeyleri dayanışma ile kendi aramızda çözüyoruz (I20, Kochkolektiv, 3 July 2021).

p.69-70: Dolayisiyla benim örgütlenme mevzum galiba biraz hak mücadelesi üzerinden. … Üniversitede benim sosyal çevrem çeşitlenmeye basladi. Bu mevzunun kadın mücadelesine Kürt mücadelesine gittigini, Türkiye'nin politik geçmisi ile alakali oldugunu, 2000'lerin basinda iste Festus Okey ile benim farkindaligim basladi demistim ya, o konuda iste o zamanlar belli hak kazanimlarinin oldugunu görmek, derdimin oldugu her alanin tek bir yerde birlestigini fark ettim. O da göçmenlik mevzusu. Bu bir taraftan kadın meselesi, bir taraftan bir ekoloji meselesi çünkü gettolarda yasamak zorundalar sosyo-ekonomik sebeplerden dolayi, paralari yok, temiz gidaya ulasmak gibi en temel haklarindan yoksun olarak yasiyorlar, bu her yer için geçerli. Bunu nasıl kabul edebilirsin ki? Ama bunu seyden kurmuyorum, Komünist Manifesto'yu okudum ve bence de tam o oluyor falan, öyle bir sey degil, tamamen kendi deneyimimi yorumladigim zaman böyle bir sey çikiyor. … Anlar ve karsilasmalar dedim ya benim için çok önemli. Iste o anlar ve karsilasmalar beni senin karsina oturttu. Basta da dedigim gibi bir sey yapmasaydim ben ben olmaktan çikardim (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.71.: İnsan bile olamaz bir pozisyona düşüyorsun, mülteci gibi… Dolayısıyla mülteciyi nasıl yargılayabilirsin ki Avrupa'ya ulaşmak istediği için? Çünkü bütün arzu sistematiği, modern dünyada bütün oklar orayı gösteriyor. Arzu nesnemiz bizim orası. Şimdi, dolayısıyla git gidebilirsen nereye. Mültecinin içindeki Avrupa'ya giriş arzusu, hatta ölümü göze alacak derecede, çocuğunun ölümünü göze alacak şekilde yoğunlaşan bu arzunun sorumlusunu sen göçmene mi yükleyeceksin tek başına? Modern toplum bunu yapıyor. Diyor ki, "Al işte, bu senin sorunun. Sen istedin, sen boğuldun. Sen istedin, sen giremedin. Sen istediğin, sen şöyle olduğun için çocuğunun sahile vurdu cesedi… (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 24 June 2021).

p.72: Empati kuramadiginda o dayanismayi sürdüremiyorsun. … Çünkü orada sadece yemek yapmiyorsun, orada insanlarin dertlerini dinliyorsun. Insanlarin senden beklentileri artiyor ister istemez, çünkü bu ülkenin vatandasi oldugun için sinifsal olarak daha kaymakli taraftasin. Aslinda degilsin ama onlara göre evet daha iyi durumdasin. Bir arkadasimiz vardi, bizi evine davet etti … ve bize yemek yaptilar. … Ben o yemegi yedim. Normalde beni kessen, soguk yumurta asla yemem, çocuklugumdan beri. O kadar lezzetliydi ki, ben böyle bir yumurta yemedim hayatimda, hala tadi damagimda. Orada aç da degildim üstelik, sadece bize gösterilen misafirperverligi geri çevirmemek için yemistim. Orada tam bir dayanisma vardi, çok küçük bir şey aslında ama işte mevzu sadece paylasmak ve paylasmanin getirdigi dayanisma hali. Beni en çok motive eden şeylerden biriydi bu (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.72: Kendimi çok kötü hissettim, çünkü bu şartlarda yaşamıyoruz, bilmiyoruz ne demek olduğunu. Mobilyasız yerde yatmak, sadece bir halının üstünde yatmak ne demek bilmiyoruz. Hiçbir zaman da bilmeyeceğiz belki. O yüzden empatinin orada belli bir sınırı var. Seni anlıyorum demek bile belli bir noktada yalan. Asla anlayamazsın. Ama onun o mutluluğunu görmek... Aslında onun duygu yansımasını alıyorum galiba. O beni mutlu etti. Yardım edemiyorsun, alıp çekemiyorsun, ama o mutluluğu görmek çok güzel. O karşılaşma ve birlikte olma anında halimiz neyse ondan keyif alabiliyor muyum? Ondan pay çıkarmaya çalıştım. Çok küçük şeyler peşindeyiz (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

p.73: Ben çocukken de hep böyle paylasimci, dayanismaci bir çocuktum. … Biz eski esimle de çok farkli bir hayat yasamiyorduk. … Ben mesela mekana ilk girdigimde mutlaka manifestoyu okurdum, her gidigimde okurum, çünkü bana kendimi o kadar iyi hissettirirdi ki. Dünyada böyle bir yerin varin olmasi. Benim için fazlasiyla duygusal bir şey. Hep baskalari tarafindan ütopik bulunan, naif bulunan, alti kisiyle olmaz denen seyin ve bizim olacagini bildigimiz seyin olmasi… Motive eden çok sey var (I8, Mutfak & Komşu, 13 June 2021).

p.74: Düşün, insanlar 10 yıl boyunca ormanın içinde bir mülteci kampında kalıyor. İstesen de şehre gidemezsin, zaten gitmen yasak da. Hadi serbest olsa nasıl gideceksin ki? O zaman bize [mültecilere] ayda 40 euro veriyorlardı. Onunla sınırlı şeyler alabiliyorsun. Nereye gidebilirsin ki? … Ben mülteci kampına girer girmez Pakistanlılarla sofra kuruyordum, bir başkası kuramıyordu. Çünkü aynı değil. Ben de onun dilini bilmiyorum ama bu anlatılarak anlaşılabilecek bir şey değil. Yaşaman lazım çünkü seni kendisi gibi görmezse hep ayrı kalıyor. Gözünün içine bakabilirsen görüyorsun. Cebinde babanın parasıyla gidip eşitiz güya diyorsun. Mülteciyle aynı masada oturup bira içince eşitiz sanıyor. Ne eşitliği? Öyle bir şey yok (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

p.74: Her zaman bana nerelisin dendiğinde kendimi göçmen olarak tanımladım. … Nüfusum Tokat'a kayıtlı, doğum yerim Ankara, büyüdüğüm yer bütün ömrümün geçtiği yer İstanbul, anne tarafım Boşnak, Bosna Hersek tarafından Saraybosna'dan göçmüş, baba tarafım Kafkasya'dan göçmüş. Ben şimdi nereliyim? Hani böyle bir kök, bir yere bağlı ya da yerleşik hiçbir zaman hissetmedim. Hep daha göçmen, her yerde olabilir. Geçtiğimiz dönemlere baktığımda kaç tane mesleğe yeniden başladığımı görüyorum. Bir sürü şeye durup durup yeniden hayata sıfırdan tekrar başlıyorum, öyle geçiyor hayat. … Bir yersizlik yurtsuzluk gibi bir his, kendini bir yere çok ait hissetmeme, yerlisi gibi olmama. Tabii ama o an ne yaşadığınla ilgili de bu tür deneyimler (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.75: Ben üniversitedeyken Hrant Dink öldürüldü, su an daha ben sadece bir kere Hrant Dink eylemlerini kaçirdim. Bir tarafta Ermeni meselesi benim ailemin bir parçasi oldugu için, dedem, annemin babasi, Erivan'dan göçmüs, hala orada akrabalarimiz var, bu Ermeni meselesinde Hrant Dink üzerinden kendimi çok özdeslestirdim. Hem gazetecilik baglaminda, hem de aile baglaminda. Bununla ilgili bir söz ürettim mi? Hayır. … Bu mesela benim kendi kurdugum bir kültürel bag, kiz kardesim erkek kardesim öyle degil. Ben ama o karsilasmalar, bagli oldugum alan ve meslegimden dolayi bir çok mevzu ve hikaye ile karsi karsiya kaldim (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.75: Lisans eğitiminden sonra bir gönüllü çalışma için yurtdışında refakatsiz çocuk göçmenlerin kaldığı bir kuruluşta gönüllülük yapmıştım. Ve gönüllü çalışma yaptığım için genç ergen erkek çocuklarla daha farklı bir yerden ilişki kurabilmiş ve onların yaşantıları, öncelikleri, hayalleri, hikayeleri gibi şeyleri daha gündelik hayatın içinde görme şansım olmuştu. Beni herhangi bir pozisyona koymadıkları bir yerden, doğal karşılaşmalarımız ve paylaşımlarımız oluyordu. Dolayısıyla işin içine çekildim. O sırada aynı zamanda şunu da fark ettim ki ben küçüklüğümden beri bir başka ülkede yaşadım ve döndüğümde kendimi yabancı, yersiz yurtsuz hissettim. Üniversiteyle de başka bir şehre taşındım. Aslında göç meselesi, bir yere ait olma olmama, bir yerlere göçme hikayesi benimle de alakalı bir şey. O nedenle buraya çekildim. … Fiziksel iş yapmayı, sosyal etkileşimi, iletişim kurmayı seven

biriyim. … Bir alana gidip orada emek vermek ve birlikte kolektif bir şey üretmek, var olmak ve bunun dolayımıyla paylaşımın içinde bulunmak… (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.75: Ankara'dan göçmüş biri olarak, göçmenlerle deneyimledim Istanbul'u ben, bu bile benim için basli basına çok farklı bir deneyimdi. Benim bütün yersiz yurtsuzlugumu da pekistiren bir şey oldu (I1, Mutfak, 23 June 2021).

p.76: Hapiste şöyle bir norm vardı: Eğer birine fiziksel şiddet uygulanıyorsa buna tepki vermemiz lazım. Adli mahkumlar dövülünce kapılara vuruyorduk. Yunan hapsinde de ben tektim. Mesela, birisi kendini kesti. Yemek yiyorduk, tuvalete gitti sonra da gelmedi. Ben de şüphelendim. Meğerse kendini kesmiş. Polisi çağırıyoruz, gelmiyor. Ben de demir kapıları yumrukladım. Diğer insanlar polis gelecek diye korkuyordu, haklı olarak. Ama bunlar da beni sağlıklı tutuyordu, öyle hissediyordum. Adam kendini kesmiş ölecek. Buna polis bana bir şey yapmasın diye nasıl tepki vermeyeyim? Bu asıl insanı hasta edebilir. … [Dayanışma ve komün] insanın kökeninde var. Bizim hayatlarımızda da öyle. O hücrede komünden başka türlü yaşayamazsın. H. ne yapacak? Hiç parası yok. Komün olmasa aç kalacak. Böyle bir şey olamaz. Yani mümkün değil. Yapamazsın. Onun için bütün vicdanını yitirmen lazım. Sen yiyeceksin o aç kalacak. Kendine bunu nasıl kabul ettireceksin? … Bunları yapmasaydım ezik hissederdim. Hayatım biterdi, delirirdim. Kabul etmem mümkün değil. … İçeride lağım suları vardı. Tuvaletler pisti. Oturacak, uzanacak yer yoktu. İnsanlar intihar ediyor, kendini kesiyordu. Polisler bizi aşağılıyordu. Direndiğim için onurumu kurtardığımı düşünüyorum. … Eşitlik ve adalet arayışı, haksızlığa tahammül etmeme isteği bence insanın beyninde var. Bence beynin böyle bir arayışı var. İtaat etmemek, reddetmek, direnmek, beyni sağlıklı tutan şeyler (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

p.76: Vicdanli insanlarla bir arada olmak benim için çok kıymetli, çünkü ben ne kadar vicdanliysam o kadar varım. Bir sey iyi ya da kötü olarak degil, vicdanen bana ne hissettirecegine bakarak aksiyon aliyorum. Ben vicdan meselesini bir kenara koydugum için kadın mücadelesinin içinde yer aliyorum, ayni sebepten göçmenlikle, ekoloji ile ilgilendim. … Kadın mücadelesini, göçmenlikten, göçmenligi ekolojiden ayiramiyorum. Simdi İkizdere'yi ranta açmaya çalisiyorlar, ama bunun bir tarafinda kadın mücadelesi var, çünkü orada kadınlar ön safta. …Bu bir onur meselesi aslında. Politik bir durusa sahip olmak onurlu bir davranis. Bu yüzden de bir taraftan da vicdan meselesi. … Çünkü hem seni bireysel olarak vicdan olarak seni tatmin ediyor, hem de karsindakiyle empati kurdugun için onu tatmin ediyor (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.77: Göçmenler için durumun vehametini gördüğüm halde bir şeyler yapmasam ve yapmasaydım kendimi çok eksik hissederdim. Sorumluluk almama noktasında kendimi çok eksik ve suçlu hissederdim. O yüzden şimdi kendimi daha iyi hissediyorum. Evet, belki çok önemli şeyler yapmıyorum. Çok büyük şeyler yapmıyorum ama zaten bu küçük küçük şeylerin birleşmelerinin de çok kıymetli olduğunu düşünüyorum. Dolayısıyla bu benim kendimi tamamladığım da bir şey. Gerçekten fazlasıyla eksik ve suçlu hissederdim (I4, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.78: Haksızlığa çok öfkelenirim, daha doğrusu pek sessiz kalmak istemem. Kazanan tarafı ben olsam dahi. [Çocukken bir yarışmada puanı yanlış hesaplanınca sıralaması yüksek çıkmış]… Benim içim içimi yedi orada, anlatabildim mi? Burada bir hata var bir yanlışlık var ve bir adaletsizlik oldu. Sonra zaten duramadım gittim söyledim. … Sonuç itibariyle kavram benim için adalet kavramı, yani adil olması insanların. Adalet nedir dendiğinde mesela, bir kamp ateşi var, bütün topluluk onun etrafına oturmuş. Kimse birbiriyle bir şey konuşmuyor ama öyle bir an ki herkes birbirinden razı. Kimsenin diğeri hakkında içinde kalmış bir duygusu, ezik hissi, kötü duygusu, eksiklik hissi, bir yerine oturmamışlık yok. … Fakat illa bi topluluk varsayıyor, o topluluğun karşılıklı olarak bir ilişkisini varsayıyor ve hani sen ne kadar öyle hissetsen de karşındaki hiç öyle hissetmiyorsa senin de hissetmen

mümkün olmuyor (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.78: Yani, mesela benim açımdan herkesin kendini iyi hissettiğini hissetmek... Bu mesela çok acayip bir şey. Acayip bir... Şey, o tatminin bir... Mesela dayanışmada tarif edebileceğim duygulardan bir tanesi bu. Herkesin, orada bulunan herkesin kendini iyi hissettiğini hissederek kendini iyi hissetmek… (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.79: Eğer sefil aileler varsa bu onların değil, sistemin problemi. … O sorumluluğu biraz olsun fark edebilmek, paylaşabiliyor olmak, etrafını görmek ve ona küçücük de olsa dokunmak bile çok kıymetli (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.80: İnsanlar kendilerini görünmez hissediyorlar. Sokaktalar ama görünmez hissediyorlar. Ya da evdeler, orada yaşıyorlar ama görünmezler. Dayanışma, ya "ben seni görüyorum" demek bir yandan, "seni önemsiyorum" demek… Yani, o ilk Beyrut otobüsüne neden bindiysem sonra her şeyi o motivasyonla yaptım hayatımda, hala da öyleyim. Yani hayatla ilgili bu yaşadığım dünya ve Türkiye özelinde… her şeyle ilgili derdim var. Dolayısıyla bu dertlerin çözümü noktasında bir yerlerden ulvi şeyler beklemediğim için dahil olmak istedim. Asıl motivasyonum bu. Bir parçası olmak istedim. Bu çözümün ya da bu derdin hem dahili olmak ve bir dert sahibi olarak kendimi tanımlamak istedim, sonra da çözüm noktasında da elimi taşın altına koymak istedim sorumluluk hissederek. Bilmediğin alanlarda bilmediğin şeylerle sırf o sorumluluk ya da dert neyse seni harekete geçiren, o duygusal şey ya da kafanı şişiren şey neyse bir şey yapmalıyım ihtiyacı (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

p.80: Beyrut biliyorsunuz İsrail tarafından bombalanmıştı. Hizbullah'ın dünyaya sol ve sosyal demokrat örgütlere falan bir konferans çağrısı olmuştu. Buradan bir otobüs dolusu solcu İstanbul'dan Beyrut'a yola çıktı 2006 yılında, ben de o otobüste kendime bir g*tlük yer buldum. Öğrenciydim. Hiçbir grupla ya da bir örgütlenmeyle falan bir ilişkim yoktu. Arada bir 1 Mayıs eylemlerine gitmek dışında bir şeyim yoktu. Fotoğraf ve video kaydı almak, gazetecilik mezunuyum. Gazetecilik yapıyorum zaten. Öyle bir içgüdüyle yapıyordum. Dolayısıyla benim ilk tanışmam o otobüsteki değişik yolculuğum, değişik insanlar. Bir anda kendimi aslında çok başka örgütlü insanların olduğu, başka başka örgütlenmelerin, ilişkilenme biçimlerinin, farklı ideolojilerin bir araya geldiği bir sürü insanla düşünsenize, ben bir araya geldim. Onlarla 3 gün geçirdim. Ondan sonra dünyam değişti. Gerçekten de kendime örgütlenebileceğim bir yer aramaya başladım. Çünkü öyle bir durumum var, hazır hissediyorum kendimi artık örgütlenebilirim diye (I4, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.80: İlk kez Yunanistan'da polis beni göz altına aldığında karşılaştım. Hiç camı olmayan bir arabanın arka bagajında bir sürü siyah insan vardı. Hepsi o kadar korkmuştu ki. O sahneyi hiç unutamıyorum. "Hello." diyordum, cevap vermiyorlardı. Dayak yemişlerdi ve üstleri çamur olmuştu. Orada sömürgeciliği, ırkçılığı, aşağılamayı görüyorsun. Adalet yerini bulsun istiyorsun, sorumlu hissediyorsun. Zaten ben o görüntülerden sonra hapiste açlık grevi yapmaya başladım (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

p.82: O sinifsal faklardan dolayi o esitlik hali esitsizlige denk geliyor. … Koyu tenli doğmak hayata bir sifir geriden baslamak. Bu dünyanın her yerinde böyle. Bizim Kürt annelerimiz ne yazik ki göçmen kadinlarin elinden yemek yemiyordu, … çünkü onlar abdest almiyor, onlar pisler yani zaten kötü kokuyorlar. … Onlari kabul etmis olsalardi bizim gibi orta sinif insanlara gerek kalmadan oradan baska bir örgütlenme çikardi. … O iliskiler aginda senin müdahil olman gerekmeyen iliskiler içinde buluyorsun kendini. Asil odagimizi kaybettigimiz için birçok kisi zorlandi ve gitti. Burada yapabilecegim bir sey kalmadi diyerek. Ben de onlardan bir tanesiydim. Biz göçmen meselesi ile ilgili politik bir söylem yaratmayi hedefliyoruz. Orada esas dert yemek pisirmek degil, dayanisma içinde

insanlara bir sekilde dokunuyor olmak. Bir kere göçmenleri kabul etmiyorlardi ki oradakiler. Sistematik olarak o onu, bu sunu ezme halindeydi. Kadinlarin, diger göçmen kadinlara olan tavri, çocuklarin göçmen çocuklarina olan tavri… Tabi ki de bu ilişkileri esitlemek çok kolay bir sey degil, cok zorlandığımız zamanlar oldu (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.82: Yine "siz-biz" ayrımı doğuyor, vatandaş-göçmen ayrı konumlanıyor hareketin içinde. Bütünleşik ve dayanışmacı organik bir hareket biçimi geliştiremiyoruz. Ya da başka dinamiklerden dolayı ufak çatışmalar ve aşılamayan problemler olabiliyor. Biraz bunlardan yorulduğum için de çekilmeye ve öznesi olduğum hareketlere, kuir feminist hareketlere, yönelmeye başladım. Öznenin sesinin duyulmaması veya belirleyici olamaması göçmen dayanışma hareketinde canımı sıkıyordu. Tabii Suriyeli mültecilerin gelmesinden çok önceki süreçten beri alanda olduğum için tam olarak bırakamıyorum da. … Aslında biz göçmenlik meselesinde de "herkes bir gün göçmen olabilir" gibi bir noktadan örgütlemeye çalışıyorduk. Ama yine de dil, vatandaşlık gibi statülerden dolayı bazı yerlerde başkası adına konuşuyorsun. Bu beni çok rahatsız ediyordu. (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.83: Kolektifteki insanlarin %90'i mülteci ise yahut benzer statülerde güvencesiz insanlarsa, böyle bir ekiple çalisinca da zaten disarda tek basinayken veya biriyle birlikteyken de o kadar kirilgansin ki, içeriyi kurmaya çalismak da biraz emek isteyen bir sey. Durusu itibariyle iktidar mekanizmalarının karsisinde olan bir yeri var etmenin kendisi biraz baska alanlarda ya da zihinde biraz rahatlik istiyor. Daha az korku, daha az nasil geçinecegini düsünme korkusu. Onu sürdürülebilir kilamadikça … giderek verdigimiz emek de zorlasmaya baslamisti (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021).

p.83: Bir Alman aktivist "Ben mülteci değilim aslında sömürge vatandaşıyım." dedi. "Şimdi eşit değiliz." dedi. Doğru eşit değildik. Toplantılarda da bu durumu sürekli konuşuyorduk. … Çünkü ceza geldiği zaman ona ceza vermiyorlar, sadece bize veriyorlardı. Çünkü onların kimliği ve oturma izni var ama bizim yok. Riski biz alıyoruz. İki toplantı yapıyorduk. Bir genel toplantı bir de özel toplantı. Çünkü riskli durumlarda sadece mülteciler karar alma hakkına sahipti. Eşitsizliği bu şekilde çözüyorduk. … Biz aslında eşitsizlik üzerine yaygınlaştırmalar yapıyorduk. … Bir gün bir aktivist kadın hepimiz eşitiz, dedi. Yanılıyorsunuz, dedim. Şu anda hepimiz bu çadırın içindeyiz ama akşam olunca sen evine gideceksin, duşunu alacaksın, internetin, televizyonun olacak ama biz bu çadırda kalacağız. Senin hayat sigortan var, emekli olacaksın ama burada böyle bir şey yok. Eşit değiliz. Çok fazla üniversitede o üsttenciliği kırdık ve gerçekleri göstermek için sürekli çabaladık (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 2021).

p.84: Farklari ortadan kaldirdigimizi düsünmüyorum. Bizim yapmaya çalistigimiz sey imkanlari çesitlemek. O farklari, esitlik anlamında, imkanlari esitlemek. … Mesela karar alma toplantilari, burada kisisel farklarin o kararlarin alinmasina katilmadaki imkanlari degistirmemesini, azaltip çogaltmamasini gözetmek. … O farklar yokmus gibi degil, o farklari görüp katilma imkanlarini ona göre degistirmek zorundayiz. … Birbirine denklik, birbiriyle özdeslik degil esitlik, tam tersine bir tarafta 1 varsa diger tarafta 2 varsa, ayni denkleme bunlar kendi iradelerini esit olarak nasil katma imkanina sahip olabilirler? … Bir statü meselesi degil. … Eşitlik ekmek gibi bir şey. Her özel durum için tekrar pişirmeniz gerekiyor onu. O çabayı aktif olarak tekrar tekrar ortaya koymanız gerekiyor, gözetmeniz gerekiyor (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.84: Sen su an yaziyorsun ve o kalemi veremeyeceksin, ihtiyacin var su anda, ama benim senden daha çok ihtiyacim var, ben çünkü basindan beri kalemsizim. Sen o noktada kendi sinirini düsünmeye basliyorsun, ben buraya kadar verebilirim. … O yüzden sinirlar degisir, bazen fedakarliga dogru kayar ve bu da bazen insani tükenme noktasina getirebilir. O yüzden varsayimlarla hareket etmek her zaman çok tehlikeli. Sen mesela bana iki tane üç tane kalem hediye ediyorsun bende bastan beri yok diye, ama benim kaleme ihtiyacim yok ki, varsayimlarla hareket ediyorsun (I1, Komşu, 23 June 2021).

p.87: Yemek esittir dayanisma; dayanisma esittir yemek benim için. Ben o dayanismayi yemek üzerinden kurdugum için mutfak benim için çok önemliydi. Ben yemek masasini bir esitlenme hali olarak görüyorum. O esitlenme beni ayakta tutan sey. … İnsanların baska ülkeden geliyor olmaları, farkli dil konusuyor olmaları mevzu degil, birlikte sogan dogramak esas önemli olan sey. … Orada siniflar ve ayrimlar önemini yitiriyor, dolayisiyla sadece sen kaliyorsun … Toplumun bize biçtigi rollerden azade oldugumuz bir alan. … Vasiflarin da sifirlandigi bir yer oldugu için dayanisma mutfagi kiymetli bir yer oluyor. He yemegin de paylasilabilir olması yapilan yemegi de daha kiymetli hale getiriyor. … Önceleri mutfakta ayni tabaktan yemek yemeyi reddeden insanlar daha sonra ayni masada iftar sofrasina oturdular. … Asla bir araya gelmeyecek insanlar bir süre sonra bir arada olmak istediler (I5, Mutfak, 17 June 2021).

p.88: O karşılaşmalar, o güvenlik duygusu bu paylaşmayı da rahat kılıyor. Kimin ne olduğunu önemsemediğimiz farkları bir güzellik olarak gördüğümüz ve paylaştığımız bir yer (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

p.88: Yemek meselesini ve birlikte yemek yemek meselesini karın doyurmaktan çok daha öte bir ritüel anlamı var. Bunun da insanı, insanları birbiriyle bağlayan bir işlevi de var. O yüzden çok büyük anlaşmazlıklar yemekte çözülür. … Ya da, neden insanlar birbirlerini yemeğe davet ederler? Çünkü aslında birlikte yemek yemek bir ilişkiyi kurmak demek. Asgari bir güveni sağlar aynı sofraya oturmak, aynı ekmeği paylaşmak. Bunların böyle kelimesel karşılıklarının ötesinde aslında son derece arketipsel karşılıkları var. … Yemegin hep birlikte pisirilmesinin ve bir sofrada hep beraber yenmesinin, herkes sofraya oturduktan sonra yemege baslanmasinin muhtemelen uygarlık açısından ilksel, en temel tohumlarindan biri olması ile ilgisi var. Yani çok kadim bir yere degen bir hali var. Dolayisiyla bu yakinlik, bu kökensel hale yakinliğin bence dayanismadaki esas hale yakinlikla bir akrabalik iliskisi var. Daha dogrusu aralarindaki kat edilmesi gereken mesafe herhangi başka bir konuya göre daha az (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.88: O farklı pozisyonların hepsi harika hemzemin düzlemlerde buluşuyor diyemeyiz. Ama bir yandan da bunu kolaylaştırıyor çünkü her zaman bir şekilde masanın etrafına oturup birlikte yemek yemekte büyülü bir şey var. Hem yemek vesilesiyle kültürleri paylaşabilirsin hem temel bir ihtiyacını gidererek rahatlayabilirsin. Biraz öz-bakım gibi rahatlatıcı ve keyif verici bir aktivite. Ayrıca yemek yapmak işbirliği gerektiren bir alan. Hele ki büyük yemek yapmak ve o alanı sürdürmek... Dolayısıyla işbirliğinin hakim olduğu ve bir araya gelerek pratik bir deneyim üzerinden bir şeylerin konuşulduğu bir alan açılıyor. Bu nedenle çok güzel bir enstrüman ve pek çok şeyi kolaylaştırıyor. Aktivizm en azından çok soyut bir düzlemde kalmıyor ve meseleleri soyut şeyler üzerinden tartışmıyorsun (I2, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.88: Duygusal olarak öyle bir ortaklik var ki, o da, yemek meselesine dönersek, bayagi insansin. … Her yemek her cografyada farkli yapilir. Ama o yapilirken ve yenirken o yemege dair ortaklik sohbet açiyor. Üzerine konusabilecegin en temel sey. Mesela o yemegin nasil yapilmasi gerektigi tartisilir. Bu bile o ortakligi saglamak için en basit haliyle, kültür alisverisinin bir görünümü. … Mekansal aidiyeti disinda o eylem olarak yemek yapmak, bizi birbirimize baglayan sey o anda. Yemegi yapip karnimizi doyurdugumuz için o an bir aradayiz. Yemekle herkesi ayni sofrada bulusturabilirsin. Çünkü herkesin yemek yemeye ihtiyaci var ve herkesin yapabileceği bir şey. O yüzden en temel birlestirici unsurlardan bir tanesi (I1, Komşu, 23 June 2021).

p.88-89: „Yemek yemek, yemek masası farklı kültürden insanları bir araya getirir. Yemek yemek önemli bir eylem ve duygu biçimidir" diye yola çıkmıştık biz. İnsanla bir masa etrafında, farklı farklı kimlikleri bir masa etrafında sohbet eder, bir iş yapar duruma getirmenin en iyi yolunun o olduğunu düşündük. … Hem zorunlu ama aynı zamanda keyfi de içinde barındırıyor. … Tek derdimiz göçmenlerin öz örgütlenmesi değildi. Göçmenlerin mahalleliyle, mahalledeki değişik kültürlerle de ilişkisi zayıftı, çünkü herkes çekimserdi. … Burada biz de özneyiz, yani bizim için de o karşılaşma

alanlarına ihtiyaç var. … Sonuçta politik anlamda, ideolojik anlamda bir sürü şey söyleyip kitaplar okumuşsundur ama gerçekten tanımadığın o insanlarla tanışmak, o insanların ilişki biçimlerine de dahil olmak bize de çok şey kattı (I4, Mutfak, 27 May 2021).

p.89: Orada bir arkadaşlık, yoldaşlık, bir şey kuruyorsun. Gerçekten mutfakta çalışmak fiziksel emek istiyor. O kadar yoruluyorduk ki! … Sürekli böyle bir hengame hali var. Ve fiziksel bir efor istiyor. O fiziksel eforu paylaştığın insanlar var beraber. Tabii ki sadece duygusal ve politik alanda değil. Fiziksel bir efor sonucunda da ortaya çıkardığın bir şey var. Yemek ortaya çıkardığın bir şey, beraber mutlu olduğun bir şey. O da o ilişkinin güçlenmesini sağlıyordu. Oradan çok fazla arkadaşlık kuruldu, bazı arkadaşlıklar pekişti (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021)

p.89: "Biz bir dernek olsaydık, STK olsaydı, fonumuz olsaydı daha güzel bir mutfak yapar mıydık? Kesinlikle. Daha konforlu bir alan yapar mıydık? Kesinlikle yapardık. Ama bu bizim zaten istemediğimiz biçimdi. Mesela buzdolabımız bozuldu, satın almadık. Dayanışmayla bulduk. O buzdolabının taşınma sürecinin kendisi başka bir dayanışma doğurdu. O bile başka bir şeyin örülmesine, emeğin ortaya konmasına sebep oluyor. Ben bunu kıymetli buluyorum. Yoksa para olsaydı, alınsaydı, dışarıdan biraz daha güzel gözükürdü belki. Ama kesinlikle onu tercih etmem. Bence duygudaşlık, yoldaşlık, yan yana gelme anlamında çok başarılı oldu. Bunun olabileceğini göstermek anlamında. Bir yerdeki hazır şeyle emekle ortaya konan şey, kendi örgütlediğin ve birlikte yaptığın şey aynı sonucu vermez. … O emeği beraber verdiğinde, onun zorluğunu beraber yaşadığında, onun kıymetini o zaman anlıyorsun, oralardan kuruluyor. O yüzden dernek vs. onu kurmuyor. Çünkü ortada o hazır bir şey için çaba harcamakla yoktan bir şey var etmek arasındaki motivasyon ve verdiği haz çok farklıdır. Çünkü sınırda olmak hep bir mücadele halini de beraberinde getiriyor" (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).

p.89: Oradan hem bizi o gün tatmin edecek bir sey çıkıyordu, hem oradan büyük bir sofra çıkıyordu ve herkes doyuyordu. … Öte yandan o gündelik pratik tatminin içinde, bir de kurduğumuz iliskileri de giderek gelistiren ve birbirimizi tanımamızı saglayan, sohbeti çok rahat bir ortam. Sohbet çok önemliydi. Arkadasliklarin orda gelistigini biliyorum, benim de arkadasliklarimin çok fazla kez orda kuruldugunu ve senelerce sürdügünü söyleyebilirim. Bu açidan herkes için çok önemli bir sosyal alandi (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021).

p.89: Birlikte yemek yapmak beni sağlıklı tutuyor. Terapi ediyor. Nasıl sağlıklı tutuyor? Beraber yemek yaptığın insanla konuşarak birbirinizin hayat hikayesini öğreniyorsunuz ve aynı zamanda elin işliyor. Patates kesiyorsun, soyuyorsun. El çalışmazsa köreliyorsun. Elin işliyor, düşünüyorsun, plan yapıyorsun, insanlarla diyalog halindesin, yalnızlığınızı yıkan bir şey bir taraftan. İnsanlarla iletişime geçmenin pratik bir yolu. Sizi birleştiriyor ve karşılıklı tedavi ediyor. O diyalog çok önemli. Bizim sokak hareketinde mutfak olmasa devam edemezdik. İnsanları orada birarada tutan şeydi mutfak. … Bu tamamen kolektif üretmek, kolektif tüketmek ve kolektif direnmekle alakalı. O yüzden sıradan bir mutfak değil (I20, Kochkollektiv, 3 July 3021).

p.90: Beni bu faaliyetin içinde tutan şey yemek yapmanin, yemenin ve toplamanın bir entelektüel arka plan gerektirmemesi. … Hem ellerinle ugrastigin için birbirini tanımak için çok rahat bir alan, hem de çok dogal bir yardimlasma alani, çok rahat bir fikir paylasim alani. … Birlikte kolektif bir faaliyeti nasıl yapacagının küçük bir canlandirmasi gibi hissettiriyor. Artık kimin yemegi nasıl yaptigi umurunda olmuyor, bunu öğrenme süreciydi. … Bunlarin hepsini mutfak vasitasiyla örgütlenmeyle keşfettim (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021).

p.91: Bütün herkesin bir sofra etrafında toplanmasının yarattığı güç hiçbir politik ya da rasyonel şeyle açıklanmayacak, teori ile, bir *etki* (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.91: Dayanışma dediğimiz o çok tılsımlı olan o *an* … Örneğin bir barikat kurmak, belli bir alanı işgal etmek, kol kola girip direnmeye çalışmak... Bütün bunların da arkasında benzer bir 'set-up' çalışıyor aslında. Nedir, bir cephe ayrılıyor, senin dâhil olduğun grup var, karşı grup var. Burada gene o 'individu' aslında azalıyor ve o bağlantılar, kolektif bağlantılar korkunç güçleniyor. O büyük kalabalıklığın içinde bir kere bulunmuş bir insan o deneyimi hiçbir zaman unutamaz. … Tonları çok farklı olsa da, bizim Komşu'da ya da Mutfak'ta bir araya gelip de yaşadığımız anların duygusu bence bu duygularla özdeş. Aynı yerden besleniyorlar. (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.91-92: Bir ocak ateşi gibi bir şey… Bir ateşin etrafına toplanma hissi var ama ateşin etrafına toplandığında bir araya gelen insanların birbiriyle yaşadıkları o duygu, o bir araya gelme duygusu çok güçlü ama onları bir araya getiren şey de ateş. Yani o ateş olmasa onun etrafında bir araya gelmeyeceklerdi. … O ateşin yakıldığı meydan, ocak, işte her neyse ile o insanların bir araya gelişi ve ateş, bunlar aynı şey değiller, eş anlamlı değiller. Dolayısıyla ateş söndüyse o mekânda bir araya gelen insanlar aynı faza geçemiyorlar. Bu sefer gerçekten sürtüşme başlıyor ve hedef konulması ihtiyacı ortaya çıkıyor. Bizim politik hedeflerimiz nedir tartışılmaya başlanıyor o noktada. …[Ateş] bir çeşit arzu, bir çeşit katalizör diyebiliriz. İnsanlığın kendi içindeki bir yönelimin sanki belli bir yerde ateş formuna dönüşmesi gibi düşünülebilir. … Hedefler de ne kadar adına politik de desek, ne kadar belli teorilerden rafine edilerek akılcı argümanlarla formüle edilmiş dahi olsa, aslında sonuçta belli arzuların gösteren haline geldiği zaman bizim tarafımızdan hedef haline gelebiliyorlar (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.92: Ekstaz gibi. Ritüele çok benzetiyorum bu anlamda. Hani müzik çalmıyor belki o sırada ya da bir şey olmuyor ama mesela yemek pişirmek... Yirmi kişi bir arada yemek pişirirken yaşanan şey... Yani, gerçekten yirmi kişi küçücük bir mekânda... Küçücük bir mekân, yani üstelik son derece de konforsuz bir mekân. … Ama biz yine de orada vakit geçirmekten zevk alıyorduk. … Ben bunu esrime gibi tarif ediyorum. Bir çeşit sarhoşluk duygusu, işin içinde haz var ama sıradan bir haz değil. Şöyle söyleyeyim: yükseliyorsun gibi. Birdenbire dünya gözlerinde hafifçe değişiyor. Her şeye biraz daha farklı bakmaya başlıyorsun, gözüne farklı gözüküyor. Dünyanın en yorucu ve boktan işi sana zevk vermeye başlıyor. Haz dediğimiz zaman tüketici bir ilişki de oluyor. Öyle değil, senin algılarını ve ilişkilenme biçimini de değiştiriyor. … Çok ilginç bir tatmin hissi, bir çeşit *jouissance* diyebileceğimiz, orgazmik diyebileceğimiz bir karakteri var (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.92: Önemli olan Komsu'nun orada yarattigi ruhtu. O sosyallesme imkaniydi, politik alanin kendisiydi (I1, Komşu, 23 June 2021).

p.92: Mekana girdiğimizde, kolektifin devam edebilmesi baglaminda, orada bir içgüdüsel birlesme yasiyorduk, benim için öyle oluyordu. Hiçbir zaman ben oraya benim yerim diye bakmadim, digerleri de öyle bakmadi. Orasi hepimizindi (I8, Mutfak & Komşu, 13 June 2021).

p.92: Güzel bir ortaklik hissi, partilemek gibi bir sey. Anlatilan türde bir gelecek kurma gerekliliginden kurtulup özgürleşme hissini hatirliyorum. … Hiç gocunmuyordum bu harcadigim emekten, çünkü karsiligini aldigim bir emek (I10, Komşu, 10 June 2021).

p.93: [Dayanışmanın] çıkar birliklerinden farkli olarak olusuveren ve nasil olustugu konusunda da çok net formüller olmayan bir moment oldugunu ve bu momentin insanlarda çok arkaik çok kadim bilgilere degdigini, böyle bir şeyi açığa çıkarttığını ve bu nedenle de çok güçlü bir *etki* yarattigini düsünüyorum. … O düzende 30 kişi sığacaksa o masaya 50 kişi yemek yedik biz. Mesela ramazan ayında mahalleli ile de böyle daha böyle bir içsellik için sofrayı sokağa kurduk ve saati de iftara denk getirdik. Bu sayede bütün mahalleliyi de aslında katmaya çalıştık ve gelenler gerçekten oldu. … Bence Mutfak'ın tarihindeki en keyifli zamanlar böyle yaz aylarında sokağa kurulan o uzun masalardı. Oradaki tipolojiyi görsen! … Bizim Tarlabaşı'ndaki mahallenin genelinde yaratılmış olan *atmosfer* Mutfak'ın

yarattığı atmosfer çok güçlüydü. … Her çeşit politik görüşten olan insan bile yani bir şekilde orada olan atmosferden etkilendi. Ona bir şekilde dahil oldu. Onun nefesini yuttu. Böyle enteresan bir gücü vardı (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.93: İnsanların bütün aidiyetlerinin silinebildiği yani gerçek bir eşitlenme ya da yani kimliklerin gerçekten önemsizleştiği bir durum yaşanıyor. … O anda, o durumda çok tatmin edici bir duygu durumu oluşuyor. … Çok kadim ritüeller yapar gibi. … Artık kolektif organik bir enerji ortaya çıkmıştır ve böyle bir akış içindedir. …Bizzat fiilen yaşarsın. Yani bir durum akıyordur orada ve böyle elden ele, gözden göze falan. … Çok açık bir açılma meydana geliyor. … Hiyerarşi sen olacak desen dahi olamıyor diyebilirim. İşte bu ancak biraz muğlak kavramlarla tarif edebildiğim bir dinamik ve bunun gerçekten damakta kalan bir lezzeti var. İnsanı güçlendiren ve hayata karşı bütün bu anlam yitirme dediğin şeyde böyle bir damardan anlam enjeksiyonu gibi bir şey (I7, Mutfak & Komşu, 27 June 2021).

p.95: "Senin kim olduğun, nerden geldiğin, ne yaptığın önemli değil, ben seni böyle gördüm ve karşıdan bakıyorum sana, göz hizasındayız, biz görüyoruz, birbirimizi kabul ediyoruz" demenin bir yolu. Bence bu kabul mevzusu asıl önemli olan şey. Kabul edilmek için başka başka bir şeylere bürünüyor insan. En büyük hayal, herkesin olduğu gibi kabul edildiği ama bir arada yaşabildiği, iletişim kurabildiği bir yer olması. Mutfak onun fiziksel, mikro mekanı sadece. … Arkadaşlık, yoldaşlık, sevgi her neyse onu yakalamak ve kabul etmek çok önemli. Bir işi yürütmeyi sağlayan şey de o (I4, Mutfak, 30 May 2021).