Knowledge Production as a Resistance in Precarious Times

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Abstract : What happened after the release of Peace Petition signed in Turkey on 11 January 2016 was the beginning of a total assault against the academia in Turkey. The history of Turkish Universities regarding freedom of thought and expression has never been perfect. But the extent of suppression, which has begun with the petition and become systematic after the failed coup attempt, has enlarged so much that it has already gained a special place in the history. The suppression against the academia has its local conditions specific to Turkey, but it also corresponds to the general rise of right-wing populist policies and anti-intellectualism worldwide. The suppression against academia is therefore related and corresponds to the suppression against society and other institutions. To create flexible working conditions for researchers in academia, instead of long-term permanent appointments, is one of the basic aims which neoliberalism has always wanted to achieve. The precarization process observed in education, health or media sectors has not only effected the economical aspect of the society, but also become a beginning of a total transformation and led the countries like Turkey into fascism's precarious dream.

In this study, the systematic suppression and violence against academy will be discussed in the context of precarization as a norm and rule of the neoliberal state crafting. In order to comprehend the contemporary nature of the systematic suppression against the knowledge production, neoliberal enclosure and security/war on terror paradigm will be discussed as the symptoms of neoliberalism. And David Harvey's (2005) concept of "accumulation by dispossession" will be referred to in order to embody the scale of dispossession of academy in the conditions specific to neoliberalism.

Key Words : Peace Petition, Precarization, Accumulation by Dispossession, Neoliberalism, Neoliberal Enclosure

In the memory of Mehmet Fatih Traş

"We are not at that point where words fail yet, we are at that point where words begin." – Füsun Üstel

"Peace, justice and democracy struggle has led me from Lyon to Çağlayan Courthouse and then from Lyon to Kepsut Prison. I don't know where it will lead me to next. But I know this. ... our solidarity will always carry on." – Tuna Altınel

1 Introduction

The Declaration of Academics for Peace in Turkey was shared with the public three years ago. During this period, uneven pressure on Peace Signatories has increasingly continued. First, there were disciplinary investigations, letters of threat, door signs and open threats of bloodshed of Sedat Peker, the mafia leader in support of the Erdoğan regime. And they were followed by unlawful layoffs by private universities, which have the most precarious employment model and then by a number of public universities, which foresaw the extraordinary character of the oncoming regime change. While the regime was being transformed with emergency state decree laws (KHKs) after the coup attempt in the summer of 2016, each KHK included some of Academics for Peace to be banned from public service. In the meantime, oppression in various forms was applied to those who were still working in the universities and especially to doctoral and graduate students, who were most often the most vulnerable within the institutions. By the end of 2017, individual cases were opened with the request of imprisonment of up to 7.5 years for the so-called terrorist propaganda charges.

In this process, it's obvious that the new regime in Turkey will continue to intimidate the Academics for Peace with as many oppression methods as possible. But more importantly, in return against all oppression, threats and fascist practices, the Academics for Peace have developed a wide range of forms of solidarity and resistance. For this reason, the Academics for Peace, consisting of a relatively small support group, was a very important case not only in terms of grasping the neoliberal transformation/attack directed in all its dimensions at universities today, but also important in terms of showing the ability of the university to resist this transformation and to produce a new political/academic alternative. What happened in this three-year period has revealed that the Peace Declaration and the attack on the universities and the production of knowledge in general were just the beginning. Even only two events in the first week of 2019 reveal the status of universities and knowledge production in Turkey. The first of them is the lawsuit filed against Bülent Şık, who is also among the peace signatories and therefore already exported and being tried.

The reason for the lawsuit was that Şık shared the results of the toxic waste survey on food and water with the public. The prosecutor's office announced that he was charged with "supplying and disclosing confidential information" with the request of 5 to 12 years in prison [1]. The second incident happened when Ceren Damar, who was a female researcher at the Çankaya University Faculty of Law, caught a male student cheating in an exam and was murdered by him in her room a couple of hours later. The facts revealed about the universities after the murder have showed the

1. Before being expelled, Şık was part of a research project as a food engineer that analysed the impact of environmental pollution on food and water in Turkey's four provinces. During the research, it was revealed that there was a significant amount of pollution in those four provinces that would seriously harm human health. Due to his signature in the Peace Petition, he was first removed from all the projects he was involved in ; shortly thereafter, he was expelled by a decree of the state of emergency. But Şık continued to follow the fate of that research project. He realized that the results were not shared anywhere, even not shared with public institutions. Using the available data, he continued the research himself, and in April 2018 he published the results of his research in a four-day series of articles in the Cumhuriyet Newspaper. It was announced that Bülent Şık was sued for 5 to 12 years in prison because of the series of articles. The Ministry of Health, which conceals the results of the research, had filed a criminal complaint against him on the grounds of "causing public outrage" and "influencing external purchases" (Tahincioğlu, 2019).

anti-intellectual, masculine and fascistic effects of Islamic neoliberalism dominating Turkey. In addition, it has made clear that, beside the state, universities themselves are also complicit in the spread of this logic of governmentality [2] (Vatansever, 2016). These two events show that the attack on universities after the 2016 Peace Petition has been continuing with full intensity. Moreover, at the beginning of 2019, Yonca Demir has been sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment (which is the highest penalty given in these cases until today) "on charges of demanding peace!". It shows that the unequal distribution of precarization will continue increasingly. Mehmet Fatih Traş's suicide on 25 February 2017 showed that the state and universities attacked not only the signatories, but also the professional dignity. Suicide has aggravated the feeling of hopelessness and futility created on young scholars. The case of Academics for Peace, on several accounts, has put forth a very important universal example in terms of clarifying the transformation of the knowledge production process in the neoliberal period. Some of the Academics for Peace, including myself, live in a forced exile after the attacks. Without a future prospect for a steady position and settled life, we are experiencing severe political, existential and economic precarity. For the very reason, the case of Academics for Peace creates a very vivid case to explore the challenges but also the possibilities of knowledge production in neoliberal, precarious times.

The wave of purges, oppression and attacks on universities started just after the Peace Petition, indicating a breaking point in the history of academia in Turkey. It has obliged us to discuss the precarization process of knowledge production through a new, holistic lens. However, the scale and the effect of the latest attacks and the historical moment they correspond to, deserve a special attention and some detailed discussion. Although the oppression in Turkey seems to be experienced more deeply than other countries, it is not independent from the attacks on universities coming from the extreme populist right and their anti-intellectualism rising worldwide. And these latest attacks on knowledge production and academic freedom in countries like Turkey, Hungary, India etc., add a new layer to growing economic precarization of academic labour in neoliberal times. Therefore, I will firstly discuss that the basic reason of general transformation in universities and academic labour all over the world is related to the neoliberal paradigm and the capital accumulation model, or as Harvey conceptualizes, "accumulation by dispossession" (2003, 2004 :71-90, 2007 :21-44). The underlying cause of this model is compound growth (endless accumulation of capital) and the appearances of different experiences in different countries are in-

2. After the murder, it was pointed out by the academics who had previously worked at the university that it was not an ordinary murder. It is understood that the students systematically threatened academics for warnings about cheating in the exams and improper behaviours, as well as for political reasons. Moreover, these threats evolved into physical violence (Öztürk, 2019b). And the testimonies reveal that the university administration tolerates what has been happening. Çankaya University is a private university and the management's emphasis on "culture of reconciliation" in the first post-murder statement emphasizes the logic that "customer is always right" (Mulkiye Haber, 2019). Intertwinement of the marketization of education and the erosion caused by economic precarization with the politicization of universities as the apparatus of the state and the political precarization has become apparent via that incident (Vurdu, 2019, Öztürk, 2019a). As in Vatansever's words : "The universal values of knowledge production are being trampled down by the very institutions that are supposed to be dedicated to the safeguarding of these values. University administrations team up with the state in suppressing opposition by exploiting the economic vulnerability of the academic labour force to silence, intimidate or directly punish critical voices within the universities" (Vatansever, 2016, p. 1).

deed the symptoms, moments or consequences of this transformation process (Harvey, 2018 :424).

Secondly, I'll define neoliberalism as a political project of state-crafting following Wacqaunt (2012) and discuss precarization and precarious existence in our era as a norm and rule of this state-crafting (Lorey, 2015). In this context, the Academics for Peace case provides a very important example. Because it embodies not only the effects of "neoliberalism as market conforming state-crafting" (Wacquant, 2012 :71) on university and knowledge production ; but also how precariousness might become a new ground for resistance. And discussing the case from a theoretical perspective which is combining economic and political precarization, will reveal the challenges and possibilities of academic production process and relations. After the coup attempt in 2016, some of the Academics for Peace emigrated in order to continue their academic work. They have maintained the solidarity and the organization in different geographies under the names of Academics for Peace France, Germany, UK, North America or Canada. Reducing the Academics for Peace case to only a political precarization and a human rights issue, limits the discussion in two ways. First, it masks the global tendencies of contemporary capitalism and the transformation of academic production processes. And also, it is concentrating only on the aspect of political oppression in Turkey and overlooking the aspect of economic precarization, to which the displaced Academics for Peace are still subjected in the international academic labour markets. And secondly, to focus only on the aspect of political oppression, can lead to the victimization of the exiled academics. As in Vatansever's (2018 :154) words, it might cause the potential to a new subjectivity and resistance to be overlooked : "by victimizing the exiled intellectuals it fails to notice that a confrontation with such a structural impasse can also bear the potential to change the conventional view on academic production relations"

To clarify the discussion, I will demonstrate the different types of attacks on academic production and knowledge production processes in the first section, in the context of the Peace Petition. Secondly, I will discuss the precarization in academia and knowledge production processes in terms of the dynamics of capital accumulation and state-crafting in the neoliberal era. Considering academic freedom as a struggle and the exercise of academic freedom is the most political and public exercise of thinking (Lange, 2016), I will analyse the process that led to the Peace Petition and the experiences after its release with using the concepts of "precarization", "dynamics of capital accumulation" and "neoliberal Leviathan". Starting from redefining the academic production process in consequence of dynamics in question, I will focus on this question : How can we rescue the knowledge production process from the universal alienation and make it a part of the construction of future politics ? Because, as Harvey (2014 :90) emphasizes, "it is an obligation to write the poetry of our own future against the background of the rapidly evolving contradictions of capital's present"

2 Rising Anti-Intellectualism and the Transformation of Universities : The Academics for Peace Case

The attack on academia and rising anti-intellectualism are not independent from the transformation of "publicness" and "state" in other words, it is closely related to attacks on all parts of society and its institutions. Here I want to emphasise the key antagonistic outsides of neoliberal discourse which are structuring the identity of neoliberals as well : an antagonism to collectivism, an antagonism to socialism, an antagonism to Keynesian social democracy, an antagonism to state as in liberal comprehension and an antagonism to intellectuals (Phelan, 2014). These antagonisms, which give, paradoxically, coherence to neoliberal's identity, are also the ground for the transformation of the state, publicness and universities. And these transformations have triggered the rising anti-intellectualism globally. In this context, Odman's (2018d) remark that the signatories of the petition generally ground their work on public good is very important, because it signifies the common ground of the attacks on freedom of expression and academic freedom all over the world. Public good loses its qualification of being a common and mutual good and is redefined as a concept mystifying the interest of a specific class or a coterie. Or in Kant's words (1996 :18), it is a presentation of the private use of reason as if it is a public reason. The signatories don't prioritize "the change value" of the academic freedom and freedom of expression, on the contrary, they highlight "the use value" of the concepts, which can be defined as the ability to change the self, thought and society. This can be interpreted as the "lcm" (least common multiple) of the signatories, therefore, it is important to form the first line of defence from this perspective (Odman, 2018d).

There is a big transformation on the way we interpret the world and the scale of the transformation obliges us to discuss academic production processes critically and to urgently build a global defence line. This small step is important both in terms of understanding the target and the integrity of this transformation and producing the antidote of chronic alienation of knowledge producers experienced throughout the history of capitalism. Some follow up steps should acknowledge after that the purge process following the Peace Petition is to be defined not as an end, but a start : different knowledge production practices inside or outside the universities are being carried out with the help of solidarity and they should be watched and developed. Today, in this historical moment, alienation is everywhere and has turned into an "universal alienation" (Harvey, 2018 :424). When academic production process is viewed from this aspect, then, the petition should be turned into a potential is an urgent need. If "the theory of objective alienation along with an understanding of its subjective consequences is one vital key to unlock the door of a progressive politics for the future" (Harvey, 2018 :438), then we shall define new ways of academic/knowledge production processes and solidarity as an important part of a progressive politics for the future. Odman (2018d) asks if the petition can be interpreted in its spontaneous and unorganized momentum as the appearance of the energy accumulated through Gezi and its forums before and after the Turkish 7 June elections. Mungan (2016) defines the petition as "The Gezi of the academia". I consider these statements as an emphasis to an urgent and universal need and potential.

The big transformation happening in universities today has been a long time coming. And the origins, reasons and consequences of this transformation have been discussed for a long time as well (Waters, 2009. Gill, 2009. Donoghue, 200. ; Harvey, 1998. Robins and Webster 2002). However, considering the threats and the attacks on universities and knowledge production processes all over the world -which appear in different forms depending on the unique conditions in different countries-, this discussion has become more urgent than ever. And the most important thing to comprehend is that the transformation in question is related to the end of the world as we knew it : when we see the connections among the transformations observed in cities, media, states and all the aspects of the society, we can position the academic production process as a part of a broader arena of politics. For this reason and for a broader comprehension of different types of attacks on universities, I want to clarify here two main contradictory and clashing definitions of academic freedom.

3 Clashing Definitions of Academic Freedom in Neoliberal Era

It is possible to reach different academic freedom definitions from different perspectives. However, two main definitions today make it possible to connect the experiences all over the world and in Turkey. The first of them is the neoliberal definition of academic freedom ; which takes knowledge to be a commodity, education as a service to be privatized and academic freedom as the ability to market knowledge and education services, without governmental regulation (Caffentzis, 2005). Without governmental regulation means that the regulations must have been only in favour of the market system. This is the ideological rhetoric of deregulation. The state actively re-regulates, rather than deregulates, the economy in favour of the markets and engages in extensive corrective and constructive measures to support and extend markets (Wacquant, 2012).

It is possible to think that the attacks on universities and academic freedom in Turkey contradict the neoliberal definition of academic freedom, and at the first glance, it does. For instance, Caffentzis (2005 :601) distinguishes the attacks on African universities, which have been affected from the rising "counter terrorism" paradigm in the USA following the 9/11, from the neoliberal enclosure that offers different kinds of struggles. But he also emphasizes that both of them are the attacks on the "commons of knowledge" definition of academic freedom [3]. This discussion is necessary to understand the connection between the political attacks on universities in Turkey and, for example, the economic precarization of the academic labour in Germany.

On top of that, the connection and the contradictions between the two paradigms explain the relationship between the 'counter terrorism' operations to expurgate universities after the Peace Petition and the neoliberal transformation of universities. Actually, President Erdoğan had signalled the upcoming purge in universities and education system generally before the petition was initiated. The petition provided

3. Caffentzis needs to make that distinction because he doesn't want to be in the same side with the ones who understand academic freedom in the sense of neoliberal definition, namely, he doesn't want to find himself defending neoliberal way of academic freedom.

him the list of names he was looking for. But on the other hand, through a different lens, lines of defence and solidarity were able to be organize against the upcoming attacks. Maybe the content of the petition and the effect it created can be connected from this perspective to the developments that occurred in universities before and after the petition.

Either we evaluate the signatories and the content of the petition as "truth tellers" (Ünlü, 2017), or we oppose this evaluation because of political/theoretical/practical reasons (Küçükaydın, 2018 ; Odman 2018(c)) the breakup the petition created is related to its time of release which was a very critical moment. The petition was a conscientious outcry towards the war and civilian deaths in east and south-east of Turkey (Odman, 2018(c) ; Alkan, 2016 ; Akbal Süalp, 2016). It was the time when saying "peace" meant death and to be lynched. As discussed below, that the mostly precarious academicians, public intellectuals and the ones who care about the public good was a common issue whose call for peace to the state was a very important sign in such a political atmosphere, while at the same time being very open to belittlement. The outcry was also an outcry for the honour and dignity of the academicians, as in Gezi Uprising (Fırat, 2017).

Many discussions after the petition focussed on content and the timing. Here the question of "what is the truth ?" forms the base of discussion. A second topic of discussions focussed on the neoliberal university that is standing in front of us when we realised clearly how unprepared we werefor persecution on this scale. But, are these two topics really independent from each other ? On the one hand there is a climate which abolishes the peace environment, squeezes the Kurdish/Turkish problem into a war and a security paradigm and criminalizes the calls for peace, and on the other there is a neoliberal market authoritarianism. Can these two be the two sides of the same coin ? This complicated and hard question also refer to a burning and urgent question of organization. In this context, as Odman offers, focused on the realities that the petition exposes, the accumulation, energy and potential appearing in different forms since Gezi Uprising, this lay the groundwork to think and act upon (Odman, 2018(d)).

Primarily, to clarify the second academic freedom definition, which is a world apart from the neoliberal one, is necessary to amplify the discussion. Caffentzis (2005 :599) calls the second definition "the commoner notion of academic freedom" and this definition takes knowledge as a common resource for all, education as a public good and academic freedom as the enlarging of the capacity of all to access and produce knowledge. The main reason for the clash of these two definitions is the capital accumulation ; in other words, whether to open university education and knowledge production to capital or not is the issue. Briefly, an enclosure movement is at the door of university. Neoliberal policies are targeting knowledge, education and academic freedom, in order to enclose them. Therefore, the attacks which seem contradictory and are carried out from two different ways (economical and military/political), are actually part of this long-standing transformation process. And the globally rising anti-intellectualism can be read as the contemporary sign of this process.

If we evaluate neoliberalism as a contradictory state project, security paradigm's (war on terror paradigm) very restrictive assault on academic freedom and neoliberal enclosure, as a chronic feature of contemporary reality in universities serve to the same reason. Both economic and military/political attacks targeting the common notion of university and academic freedom, somehow try to passivise or discharge students, academics and university personnel who prioritize open critical knowledge production and knowledge production processes to everybody, including those outside of academia, students, academics and university personell are the primary target of the transformation. One type of attack happens quickly and intensely, the other one triggers a slow transformation. But both of them emerge because of the contemporary capital accumulation process. This process, which Harvey (2007 :33-39) called "accumulation by dispossession", has made ambivalence, violence, precariousness and uncertainty into a rule.

If the violence is intrinsic to the neoliberal power, the sustainability of neoliberalism is not dependent on order, peace and stability but on disorder, conflicts and crisis (Harvey, 2007 :145). And disorder, conflict and crisis turn the precarization and precarity into a norm of neoliberal power. As Foucault, Dardot & Laval, Harvey and Wacquant refer in different contexts neoliberalism, for the sake of its sustainability, constructs a rationale of control which foresees the flexibilisation of crime and criminal categorization (Foucault, 2015 ; Dardot & Laval, 2012 ; Harvey, 2005 ; Wacquant, 2015). And this means the collapse of the state of law and liberal philosophy (Dardot & Laval, 2012). In this case, the transformation of universities should be reconceptualized by considering the fact that the relationship between market and state has been transformed and violence has been the part of the profit maximization process. Therefore, I will use Harvey's concept of "accumulation by dispossession" here, which stems from Marx's "primitive/primal accumulation" and Foucault's "security paradigm" with Wacquant's "penal state" in conjunction with neoliberalism. Both discussions are important in order to understand the relationship between neoliberalism and precarization. And understanding the nature of this relationship is necessary to analyze the scale and the consequences of the transformation of universities and knowledge production. Evaluating the Academics for Peace case can reveal the interconnectedness of political, economic and existential precarization in neoliberal era. Thus this case shows clearly that the flexibilization of crime and the criminalization processes are an inseparable part of market conforming policies, or in other words ; the temporal and geographic pattern of diffusion of punitive penal institutions across the globe tracks the spread of policies of economic deregulation and welfare disciplining (Wacquant, 2012 :75).

4 Knotting Political, Economic and Existential Precarization Together

Not only the Academics for Peace,[4] but also the whole opposition movements, including labour movements, ecological movements, urban movements or journalists, lawyers and members of parliament have been sued and sentenced by imprisonment. Çağlayan Courthouse in İstanbul has become the daily meeting point for opposition in Turkey (Erol, et all, 2016). Starting from this point of view, it might be possible to find a common ground on the different forms of resistance in universities and define a collective struggle - even exceeding universities. Therefore, to transform the precarity into solidarity and strength by prioritizing public and commons is a small but an important step. The attacks on universities both in Turkey and the world is not new, so the need of redefining does not originate from a nostalgic desire towards the past or the former elite and untouchable position of the university. It's a need originating from the historical moment. Odman (2018a) states that the purge in academia is a part of the second capitalist enclosure and a reconstruction process like in the sectors such as construction, health, mining, energy, media and cinema. She terms this process "the big reconstruction". In the context of Turkey's capitalism and the experiences in academia, Tanıl Bora's metaphor of "covering the garden with concrete" corresponds to her term conceptualizing the process[5] (Odman, 2018(a)). And Vatansever (2016 :2), one of the Academics for Peace in exile, used the same metaphor to describe the effects of precarization she is subjected to : "My whole life looks like a construction area and, being a sociologist, whose research happens to focus on precarization, I feel like an oncologist who has just diagnosed cancer on herself". That "local and national university" and "entrepreneurial and competitive university" discourses exist simultaniously in Turkey exposes the contradiction knotting the political, economic and existential precarization together. While "the giant company" and "the academical factory" (Odman, 2018(a)), which are purged from commons and governing society and life like a company, are redefining the university and academic production process. They are also creating an environment possible to turn the crisis into an opportunity, one of the main components of accumulation by dispossession, as in Harvey's classification[6]. On top of that, the key of turning crisis into opportunity is found on the common ground of neoliberal enclosure of academic freedom and the attacks of the security paradigm and the penal state. Both of them materialize within context of the "acceptable academician" (Odman, 2018 (b)), who is competitive and who doesn't leave the corridors of university, doesn't produce politically unaccepted

4. After the lawsuits, Academics for Peace Lawsuit Coordination and Solidarity have been founded. Almost 500 cases have opened against the signatories (individual cases) until now. And almost every day, the Academics for Peace solidarity meets regularly in Çağlayan Courthouse and watches the process. They are doing such a great and hard work in documenting every detail of the legal process and organizing the solidarity at the same time. The accumulating knowledge, experience and solidarity practices via the Lawsuit Coordination and Solidarity could also give us a lot of clues about the contemporary discussions over neoliberalism and penal state.

5. Bora, tells the story of purges in rooted universities like Ankara and Ege because of the Peace Petition after the coup attempt with the metaphor of "covering the garden with concrete". The tradition universities constituted over the years has been destroyed like covering a beautiful garden with concrete. As to Odman, she is using this metaphor in a political economic context of the big transformation.

6. It will be explained in the chapter *Accumulation by Dispossession in Neoliberal Era.*

new knowledge and never speak outside the limits of capitalism and security/penal state -which have become integrated in present time.

In an interview, President of the Koç University Ümran İnan states that a high number of leading academicians applied for a position to his university, despite the political and regional problems in Turkey and its neighbors. "People look for a challenge. People are not looking for easy cop-outs or high salaries or things like that. They want to rub elbows with quality people, they want an environment in which non-linear, unpredictable things can happen" (Bothwell and Inan, 2018). In conditions of the state of emergency in Turkey, which at the first sight contradicts with the neoliberal definition of academic freedom, Inan's words implies turning the crisis into opportunity :

> *"Neoliberalism promised to the academic community a sense of 'no borders' to academic discourse through organizing open, 'global' universities and scholarly networks where knowledge and information could circulate ubiquitously at the speed of light. The war on terrorism legislation is now restricting and even blocking the information channel. Indeed, the result is becoming the exact opposite of the neoliberal 'deal' that promised a small increase in 'user fees' and 'licenses' for intellectual property in exchange for a huge increase in the flow of information and diffusion of knowledge. The ideology of neoliberalism is being strangled by the war on terrorism's effort to save it" (Caffentzis, 2005 :603).*

As Bauman (2010 :74-75) states that "no borders" discourse of globalisation is only true for the capital, finance and advantaged, rich elite, the real promise of academic freedom in that sense means just more precarization. "The talent pool that I have been interviewing for this year has been amazing" part in Bothwell's interview with Inan, exhibits the worldwide economic precarization of the academy. In addition to that, Inan's words towards the Academics for Peace expose the usefulness of the neoliberal academic freedom definition in terms of the security paradigm or state of emergency regimes like in Turkey : "Some of our academics may have done things themselves outside of the university operations. They might have signed statements that have nothing to do with their academic output" (Bothwell and Inan, 2018). What is required by neoliberal capitalism and capital accumulation swaying between economic and political precarization is the environment, which is competitive, individualistic and purged from every publicness, commons and resistance. Academic freedom considered as acceptable in this day and age is expected to provide this environment where that kind of capitalism can move freely and destructively.

Some of the most important reasons that makes possible the acceptable, 'productive' academics and universities without "commons" are the transformation of the intellectual labor and the precarization in universities. This clarifies not only the economic and political fragility, but also the enclosure of universities and the rising security paradigm attacking on academic production process. For this reason, the precarization of the academy will be addressed briefly below in the context of the dynamics of capital accumulation and neoliberal penal state.

5 Precarization as Governmentality and Neoliberal Penal State : How to Find a Starting Point for Collective Movement ?

Lorey (2015 :1) stated that if we fail to understand precarization and how it is governed, then we fail to understand neither the politic, nor the economy of the present. Precarization is the base of the neoliberal accumulation regime and also a new artform of governance. That makes precarization and precarious existence as a norm and rule rather than an exception in our present era (Lorey, 2015 :1). Neoliberalism creates the labor market globally as flexible as possible all over the world. The ability of flexibilisation and conformance to socio-political changes is one of the main components of the precarization process (Standing, 2014 ; Foti, 2017). Individuals should always be ready to change occupation, life style and place. The basic norm of work life and even survival is to accommodate, flexibilise and be able to live in every given condition (De Gaulejac, 2013, p. 208-209). Such change is one of the ways of existing in the assets market ; however, it is also required to adopt and survive in the case of exiting from the market. Lordon (2013) terms the possibility of exiting from the assets market anytime as "liquidity". The liquidity of finance capital is the twin paradigm of the neoliberal desire ; on the one hand it has accesses to money, on the other hand it serves as a model of total reversibility. As Keynes (1936 :78) realizes, liquidity is anti-social ; it denies all the permanent responsibilities while desiring to keep all the options to itself. The idea of the neoliberal era is to liquidize labor power. The goal is to make the general employment capacity as fluid and easily adjustable as the elements in financial asset portfolio ; correspondingly and maybe consciously, wage labor falls into a trap of an overly ambiguous world (Lordon, 2013 :65-70). Technology and digitalization have the power to enhance this tendency of capitalism but also have the power to reverse it.

While this tendency has been liquidizing the capacity of employment, it has quickly reached a point at which life, relationships and social space have also been liquidized, corroded and transformed (Bauman, 2000. Lyon and Bauman, 2013. Sennett, 2008. Wacquant, 2010. Wacquant, 2015. Foucault, 2013. Foucault, 2015. Bourdieu, 1998). Therefore Wacquant has defined neoliberalism not only as an economical project but also as a form of state (Akçaoğlu, Wacquant, 2014 :67-73). As Roberts stated (2014), the state has been used to push forward a neoliberal political and social project into society. This is an also important point to understand and to explain the precarization ranging from economic space to political space and transforming state/citizen relation into entrepreneur state/consumer relation. Foucault (2015) discussed this shift considering neoliberalism's focus on competition instead of exchange. And again, as Foucault (2015) and later Dardot and Laval (2012) remarked, at this stage the power is internalized and therefore it becomes very intensive but very hard to be determined.

But for a better evaluation of the precarization of academic labour and globally rising interconnected anti-intellectualism, it is very important to add to this approaches the precarization as governmentality (Lorey, 2015) and the neoliberal state-crafting creating and also governing insecurity and precariousness (Wacquant, 2012, Lorey, 2015). These approaches will give the opportunity to see why the case of the Academic

for Peace presents an important example of internationally transforming academic production process.

As Butler (2004) already stated, in the course of history the precariousness always threatened less protected or unprotected social margins, where immigrants, women, ethnic or sexual minorities, low incomers etc. belong. But the general biopolitical condition of neoliberalism means normalization and diffusion of precarization and precariousness. This shift effects all aspects of labor and life. Lorey (2015 :10-17) distinguishes three dimensions of the precarious : The first is, precariousness of human life, in other words, the ontological or existential precariousness in social life- as in Butler's discussion. The second dimension is precarity, "which designates the effects of different political, social and legal compensations of a general precariousness" (Lorey, 2015 :12). This dimension is associated with unequal distribution of precariousness, internalization and normalization of power. Therefore it creates social relationship of inequality. The third dimension is governmental precarization, which leads to a state of insecurity and precarization becomes an instrument of governance. And insecurity functions as an inseparable part of subjectivation.

Lorey's (2015) focus on the neoliberal state of insecurity and its relation to the process of precarization is not so far away from Wacquant's (2012) comprehension of neoliberalism as state crafting and penal state. And with these two theoretical approaches, not only the political, existential and economic precarization have been knitted together, but also precarization as governmentality and as state craft have been addressed. The Academics for Peace case responds to all parts of these theoretical approaches and it also presents a starting point for a collective movement using precarization and precariousness as a ground for solidarity and new political struggles (Lorey, 2015 :5). The deepening witch-hunt in Turkish universities creates a nightmarish example of neoliberal Leviathan brought by police, courts and prison into the political anthropology of neoliberal rule (Wacquant, 2012, p 66). In doing so, it added a political dimension to the economic precarization of the academic labour force. And it should be seen as part of a wider, distinctly neoliberal attempt of the state aiming to eradicate critical thought and agency, which have become an obstacle to capital accumulation (Vatansever, 2016 :1). And the contemporary capital accumulation mode is closely connected to the neoliberal Islamic Leviathan in Turkey [7].

Wacquant's (2012 :66-67) theses for an actually existing neoliberalism respond very well to precarization because he first traced the micro-ethnography of the postindustrial urban precariat and then combined it with the macrosociology of the neoliberal Leviathan. According to him, the penalization of poverty has emerged "as a core element of the domestic implementation and transborder diffusion of the neoliberal project, the iron fist of the penal state mating with the invisible hand of the market in conjunction with the fraying of the social safety net" (Wacquant, 2012 : 67). Specific to Turkey's case and within the Justice and Development Party (JDP/AKP) era, we can easily track down the 'penalization of poverty and dispossessed' [8]. Moreo-

7. For further explanation see the chapter "*Accumulation by Dispossession in Neoliberal Era*".

8. Even with the war against Kurds after the break of the Peace Process we can clearly follow the pattern. The war was used as an excuse of the urban renewal projects and it leads to more dispossession. Criminalization and penalization helped the government to push more construction business in historical

ver, focusing on neoliberalism as state-crafting and a concrete political constellation, clarifies the global contemporary shift to authoritarianism and the rise of a far right. When we consider the shift "from a thin economic conception centered on the market to a thick sociological conception centered on the state that specifies the institutional machinery involved in the establishment of market dominance and its operant impact on effective social membership" (Wacquant, 2012 :71), we can easily understand the logic of rising extreme far right all over the world, which absolutely welcomes more privatization and neoliberal policies.

Wacquant (2012 :71) traced this shift in three theses : Firstly, *neoliberalism is not an economic but a political project and it entails not the dismantling but the reengineering of the state*. Reengineering of the state means that neoliberalism endeavored to overcome liberalism's flawed conception of the state and self-regulating market (Foucault, 2015 ; Wacquant, 2012). And this conception of neoliberalism clarifies the authoritarian turn because it provides hard institutional contents to internalizing the power and political rationality invoked by the Foucauldian approaches (Wacquant, 2012 :72). Secondly, *neoliberalism entails a rightward tilting of the bureaucratic field and spawns a Centaur-state*. When we follow the second thesis, we can comprehend neoliberalism as the systematic carving of state priorities and actions from the (protective, feminine and collective) left hand to the (disciplinary, masculine and individualizing) right hand (Wacquant, 2012 :73). The second thesis completes the first thesis and (as in Wacquant's metaphor) it envisions *a neoliberal Leviathan* ; *a Centaur-state*, which has two different faces at the two ends of the class structure. The Neoliberal Centaur state enables laissez faire laissez passer for the elite, dominant classes. But it needs to be draconian, paternalist and intrusive for the precariat, in order to sustain the "perfect harmony" despite the growing destabilization, deepening inequality and the diffusion of insecurity. For that, the Centaur-state uses a combination of supervisory workfare, judicial oversight and even a draconian control on the fabrication technologies itself, so that the state retains full responsibility for the distribution of social goods. And within that responsibility, it can reward the parties in favor and punish the rebellious precariat, suspect ethnicities and other fractious social formations by excluding them from the distribution of wealth (Wacquant, 2012. Greenfield, 2017). Following the path of the Centaur-state, we can reach the third thesis : *The growth and glorification of the penal wing of the state are an integral component of the neoliberal Leviathan (*Wacquant, 2012 :74). There are obvious signs about the rising numbers of incarceration in almost all the market economy based societies and states (Wacquant 2012 :74 ; Harvey, 2007 :39). We can regard precious few exceptions in the post-industrial societies of the West, like Canada, Germany, Austria and parts of Scandinavia (Wacquant 2012). According to Wacquant (2012 :74-75), this is not a coincidental rise after mid 1970's we can see a deep structural and functional connection between market rule and punishment after the close of the Keynesian-Fordist era. And following the third thesis, we realize that the increased budgets, personnel and precedence given to the policing and judicial organs in all the societies transformed by neoliberalism are not an anomaly or a transitional phenomenon. They are integral components of the neolibe-

parts of the Kurdish towns, like Sur in Diyarbakır. Another example would be the journalists, academics etc., who have been dispossessed with statutory decrees in last three years and with those decrees, their basic occupational activities or freedom of speech have been criminalized and penalized.

ral state : we must recognize that the police, court and prison constitute core political capacities through which the Leviathan governs physical space, cuts up social space, dramatizes symbolic divisions and stages sovereignty (Wacquant 2012 :76).

Within this analysis, it is possible to comprehend Turkey's regime change and the punitive and (in the same time) corrosive character of the KHKs (emergency decree laws) together with the global neoliberal transformation and precarization as governmentality. In this context, the transformation of universities in Turkey sets an important example for the precarization process, which has begun economically and then turned into a political one. What the universities in Turkey are experiencing today is the latest stage of the neoliberal Islamic project, which has started with 1980 military coup. The suppression against academia is related and corresponds to the suppression against society and other institutions. To create flexible working and living conditions for researchers in academia is one of the basic aims which neoliberalism has always wanted to achieve (see Vatansever and Gezici Yalçın, 2014). The precarization process observed in education, health or media sectors has not only affected the economical aspect of the society, but also become a beginning of a total transformation and led the countries like Turkey into fascism's precarious dream. Liquidization of academic labor power in universities, which has at first begun economically, then has turned into a political and ontological one (Özkırımlı, 2017 : 851-856).

At this point I want to get back to the initially mentioned matter, the "lcm" of the signatories. The women ratio of the academicians among signatories is 54% (Sözeri, 2017). This ratio has increased to 56% together with the second wave of signatories. As Odman emphasises, it is even over the ratio of woman academics in Turkey's universities (50%) (Odman, 2018 (a)). The youngest and the most insecure section of the academy, with 60%, is the majority of the signatories. Briefly, instead of discussing the signatories, of which the majority of them are precarious, as an imaginary whole, will be consider their efforts as an accumulation for a universal solidarity within the universities and as taking small steps that carries the potential for future gains. Such thinking would be more productive (Odman, 2018 (a)). And to re-define precarization and vulnerability as a basis for resistance, we first need to understand that we resist not just despite vulnerability ; but perhaps because of it and for its sake (Ertür, 2016 :118). And to realise the potential of these actions, it is necessary to understand the challenges ahead of us, namely the nature of the capital accumulation and what it is transforming. To materialize resistance throughout knowledge production so that knowledge becomes public and part of commons, it is necessary to define the big transformation we are experiencing. Therefore, in the section below capital accumulation practices in the neoliberal era will be briefly discussed.

6 Accumulation by Dispossession in Neoliberal Era

According to the classical political economy, once the primitive accumulation was completed, capital accumulation would expand reproduction in peace, welfare and equality. The dialectical methodology of Marx shows that the market liberalization can't create a harmonious state in which everybody lives better. Like the global tendencies of neoliberalism, it always creates big inequalities. At the same time, it triggers

big and important instabilities that lead up to a chronic crises of overaccumulation. As Harvey (2003) claims, what we experience in neoliberal capitalism is the phase Marx foresaw. The fact that the primitive accumulation has been reanalyzed historically and geographically has revealed that it may have a continuous characteristic.

The primitive accumulation process covers the preconditions of capital and its expansion to other territories and production modes as well. It's not a concept only referring the first occurrence of the capitalist mode of production, but it is also a concept that explains the dispossession, seizure and legislative process in which the other economical and social relations are destroyed in order to make them productive for the sake of the capital. What is meant by the primitive accumulation is labor's divestiture from the means of production and support, and this is also the main accumulation strategy used for neoliberalism in many fields. In this sense, the primitive accumulation is not only the reason of the capitalist mode of production, but also the result of it. It can be said that wherever the privatization of the common properties is encountered or the conditions for the commodification of the production and the reproduction of the existence are available, there is primitive accumulation (Read, 2014).

The hypothesis that capitalism always needs to have something outside in order to stabilize itself is important for today's discussions about continuous primitive accumulation practices. As Harvey (Harvey, 2013 :140-141) emphasizes, if 'capitalism necessarily and always creates its own other', then the noncapitalist social formations or the not yet touched sectors in capitalism will use the outside already there or produce one. This inside-outside dialectic is also very important in order to discuss the tendencies of the neoliberalism. As Wacquant (Wacquant and Akçaoğlu, 2014) also emphasizes, the enemy outside of the Cold War Era is replaced with the enemy inside due to a changing economy and this is significant in the context of this dialectic. This dialectic that Wacquant is mentioning, is also showing why these two threats against academic freedom, neoliberal enclosure and security/war on terrorism paradigm, are two sides of the same coin. At the same time, it is explaining the state power imposed on academicians who have been stigmatized by enemy criminal law and suffering from the unequal distribution of precariousness. This dialectic also appears when the strategies, what Harvey (Harvey, 1997) called temporal-spatial shifts, are brought into force to absorb the overaccumulation. That the neoliberalism is expanding by flexing the space increases the competition regionally and globally and as such causes the disadvantageous countries and regions to put up with the worst consequences. For instance, the fact that the developing countries like Turkey or India have adopted neoliberalism and dragged in authoritarianism is connected to these severe consequences. As Arundhati Roy (Roy and Bilgici, 2017) states, India will colonize itself because it can't colonize others anymore. India will target the population, the forests and the space inside it ; it will eat itself. This means that the capital accumulation process continues in a primitive manner and its destructiveness is more than one of expanded reproduction processes. This tendency is the explanation of why the neoliberal threat, which is directed towards the knowledge production process and shows itself as political and ontological precarization in the countries like Turkey and India, is more destructive than economic precarization.

The primitive accumulation, as in Arendt's (2003) analyze of imperialism, continues through the historical geography of the capital accumulation, via imperialism. "The original sin of simple robbery" that enabled "the original accumulation of capital" and started the endless loop of the accumulation hundreds years ago, has to repeat itself every time the accumulation process is in danger (Harvey, 2003 :142-143). As Arendt (2003 :140) states, if "endless accumulation requires endless accumulation of political power", then with the state, universities, knowledge production process and academic freedom are also important parts of this transformation.

Harvey (2003 :149) explains this strategy of accumulation, which has crystalized in the neoliberal capitalist era and became a part of it, with the concept of "accumulation by dispossession". "What accumulation by dispossession does is to release a set of assets (including labor power) at very low (and in some instances) zero cost. Overaccumulated capital can seize a hold of such assets and immediately turn them to profitable use". This process includes various mechanisms and techniques : the commodification of the land, privatization of the different types of the ownership, the oppression of the rights to access natural sources and commons, commodification of labor, slave trade, usurious interest, national debt and credit system and so on. There are four main elements, which characterize the process of accumulation by dispossession : privatization, financialization, the management and manipulation of crises and state redistributions (Harvey, 2007).

Harvey's (2003) concept of accumulation by dispossession stands out significantly from the other evaluations of contemporary imperialist practices and this difference is beneficial to explain the today's crisis of politics and academia in Turkey. There are also parallels between Harvey (2003) and the thinkers like Dardot and Laval (2012) in terms of the novelty of neoliberalism. Which one is a bigger problem ? Is it the import and insertion of capital accumulation through expanded reproduction to other economies, or destroying the whole process through accumulation by dispossession ? Although the latter follows the former and the former process is disastrous because it sometimes forcefully starts the transformation of the population into the proletariat, Harvey (2003 :164) thinks that the latter process is more destructive in terms of creating long term hopes, expectations and impoverished population : "The implication is that primitive accumulation that opens up a path to expanded reproduction is one thing, and accumulation by dispossession that disrupts and destroys a path already opened up is quite another".

The difference of neoliberalism is that it perpetuates "creative destruction" (Harvey, 2007 :33-39). In this context it is important to note how Foucault contextualized 'expendability' firstly regarding racism and fascism, after a bit regarding liberalism, and finally regarding neoliberalism (Foucault 2002 :245-269 ; 2013 :3-77 ; 2015 :63-260). Reading the historicity of a security paradigm, together with neoliberalism reveals the common ground between neoliberalism and racism, which is a specific expendability rationale. Foucault's (2002) analysis exposes the differences and the contradictions between the sovereignty paradigm of the modern state based on law and legitimacy and security paradigm. The security paradigm rationalizes ambiguity between the law and rights. The security paradigm causes state violence that is intrinsic to make

the sovereignty paradigm functional again. It calls back the sovereign state to the biopolitical domain as a police state (Gambetti, 2009 :158). The security paradigm, defined by Foucault and used to describe neoliberal era, is also one of the first steps of the neoliberal Leviathan emphasized by Wacquant (2012).

The difference specific to neoliberalism is the juncture of two attacks : neoliberal enclosure and a security paradigm. The reason for the two threats against academic freedom is that the commoner notion of academic freedom is an obstacle to capital accumulation. Knowledge production draws attention to the destructive nature of capital accumulation in the era of accumulation by dispossession and then the academic/public/intellectual responsibility takes up position by saying no to war. This is the political appearance of this destructive era as both are obstacles to the accumulation regime. And the acts like signing a petition to say no to wars or just to share the findings of a research which shows the destructive nature of capital accumulation, will be punished immediately by neoliberal Centaur-state, in order to govern through precarization and sustain the endless accumulation of capital and power.

7 The Legacy of the Academics for Peace Case

From this perspective, the attacks on universities, coming from neoliberal enclosure of academic freedom and the security paradigm, seem contradictory but have a common origin and target, as it become clear. All the happenings before and after the Peace Petition at the universities of Turkey have made the whole pattern explicit. The latest developments in Turkey are neither a problem specific to Turkey, nor only an "Islamization process as disengagement from the West" like in the popular wisdom. On the contrary, they are the contradictory consequences of the capital accumulation process and Centaur-state specific to neoliberalism, which is the last haunt of capitalist modernity. In spite of signing the same Peace Petition, unequal distribution of penalisation and the precarization processes have been implemented on different academics and they have it made difficult for the signatories to act with solidarity and to come together on a common ground. For explaining the unequal distribution, we can give examples of the variety of methods, through which most of the Academics for Peace lost their jobs, such as non-renewal of the contracts, forced resigns or dismissals by KHKs (Aydın, 2018, p. 9). Beside losing jobs, signatories of the Peace Petition have been facing other different types of pressures. In some universities, PhD or Master students have lost their right to education, either with KHKs or disciplinary processes. And some students also lost their future job or academic career opportunities. Regarding the unequal distribution of penalisation, we can also name a lot of various quasi-legal methods like KHKs, disciplinary processes within the universities or Council of Higher Education (YÖK). The Peace Petition trials have been ending up with different prison sentences, beginning from 15 months (with or without deferment of the announcement of the verdict, known as HAGB's in Turkish) up to 3 years prison sentence (until now). In the very beginning of the oppression against the signatories, 4 of our colleagues stayed in jail for 40 days. And now, Füsun Üstel has become the first Academic for Peace, who was imprisoned with the 15 months prison sentence verdict without a HAGB. And Tuna Altınel, another Academic for Peace, ended up in prison with the accusation of making terrorist propaganda. This accusation is not

related to the Peace Petition trials. Altınel, who is a lecturer at Lyon-1 University, was arrested as per the article 7/2 of the Anti-Terror Law (TMK) due to a conference that he attended in France. I can name pages of other different political or economic punishments related to inconsistent penalisation and precarization processes after the release of the Peace Petition but I think these examples are enough to imagine the scale of inequality.

Additionally, it seems very difficult to organize a global solidarity in the middle of the economic precarization of neoliberalism and the political attacks of the security paradigm shaping the Centaur-state. In this inequality in the era of destructive creativity, insecurity and ambiguity, the transformation processes occur differently in different places, and their randomness can be considered as a practical tool for state and capital desiring to redesign universities. As Harvey (2018 :424, 437) emphasized, the question about "what forms of social movement can help us get out of the state-finance nexus") is the big question of our era. And he adds : "But we also have to understand that we are also a key part of the problem. It is not just the dominant capitalist class and their hangers on who are actively engaged in foreclosing our future in order to ensure the perpetual growth of their monetary power. We are all caught in a trap" (Harvey, 2018 :437).

That every single signatory academic suffering from different and unequal punishments of the neoliberal-Islamic Centaur-state and experiencing different kind of vulnerabilities and precarization after the Petition is virtually a metaphor of Harvey's universal alienation (2003, 2018). If we go back to our original question we can ask ; how can we create an organizational model and solidarity powerful enough to build a university prioritizing academic freedom as a public value and a common ? How can a university and its knowledge production be possible which can be an antidote against the instrumentalization of knowledge production, racism, conservatism and economic/political inequalities ? Inequalities increased by the rising far-right ? How can we relate academic freedom to other humanitarian and social arena of struggles which are dispossessed ? And how can we use precarization as a ground for resistance ? In this sense, it is also useful to follow the rest, as Odman states (Odman, 2018 d), the silently growing solidarity, its global echoes and its adventures in diaspora. The Peace Petition exposed the situation of the neoliberal academy and academic freedom in a lump sum which are caught between precarization, accumulation by dispossession and the security paradigm. But in the mean time, it has also exposed and shed light on new possible ways of academic production (Aydın, 2018, p. 14-15).

In this study, I have contextualized the definitions of academic freedom in terms of the conditions created the Peace Petition, developments experienced after it and its relation to the universal dynamics. I think that one of the dynamics the petition has made possible is to be able to define academic freedom as a commoner notion. The solidarity organized by an enormous effort and invisible labour, the progressing effort to produce knowledge as commons and the will to reconstruct another academy by our friends in spite of their purging from universities is also to realize academic freedom as a right. As Butler (2009 :v-vi) stated, 'a right is exercised even when no rights exists, or precisely, when no right exist'. In this sense, the Academics for Peace

who have different vulnerabilities and are facing different charges, are exercising the right to academic freedom, which is declared null and void by state and global capital, and on a global scale. The most important emphasis of Arendt's (1973) "right to have rights" conceptualization is that "the exercise of this right can never be something that an individual performs" : "It has to be an action with others and it has to be public" (Butler, 2009 :vi).

What provides this right to everybody without any assurance or protection by any institutional guarantee is that every individual is part of humanity. Through a different lens, this will give us an opportunity to imagine how precarization and vulnerability arising from it, as one of the very possibilities of resistance (Butler, Gambetti and Subsay, 2017 :1). For that, we need to focus on the practical strategies of the silently growing solidarity [9]. Despite the growing neoliberal penal state and rising of the far right globally, the power of those who are oppressed and dispossessed is also growing silently. And it is possible to discover the vulnerabilities of the neoliberal Centaur-state and use the precarization that we all experience in different forms and dosages, to build a common ground for solidarity and resistance. The solidarity and resistance experiences among the precarious have being accumulating all over the world. And one drop within these accumulations is the silently growing solidarity and resistance of the Academics for Peace, through which we can imagine and develop a new and global ground which exceeds neoliberal limitations and leads us out of the trap we all caught in.

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9. See solidarity or street academies founded in Kocaeli, Ankara, İzmir, İstanbul, Mersin, Dersim, Antalya, Eskişehir and Berlin : http://biraradadernek.org/. Or see Off-University founded by the dismissed scholars from Turkey in Germany : http://off-university.com/. See Kültürhane in Mersin (http://www.kulturhane.org/tr/) or Kampüssüzler (Academics with no campus) in Istanbul (https://tr-tr.facebook.com/Kampussuzler/). See Köstebek Akademisi (mole academy) https://m.bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurlugu/201759-kostebek-akademisi-nin-akademik-yili-basliyor ; @KostebekAkademi https://twitter.com/kostebekakademi?lang=tr

See the growing solidarity of the Academics for Peace : https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/English. For the growing global solidarity see also the Academics for Peace Germany (https://academicsforpeace-germany.org/), France, UK, USA or Canada.

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