DESIGNING ZOÖPOLIS: A GROUNDED THEORY OF DESIGN FOR INTERSPECIES CARE

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To the liminal lives in our societies, animal or otherwise, and to those who care to co-author more inclusive histories of and futures by design…

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis and that this is the true copy of my thesis, including the final revisions, approved by my thesis committee. All data and information have been obtained, produced, and presented in accordance with the rules of research ethics and principles of academic honesty. As required by these rules, to the best of my knowledge I have acknowledged ideas, thoughts, and any copyrighted material in accordance with the standard referencing rules. I certify that any part of this thesis has not been submitted for a degree or diploma in another educational institution.

Burak Taşdizen

ABSTRACT

Based on a 5-year fieldwork (2019–2024) employing *Situational Analysis* informed by *Constructivist Grounded Theory*, this research presents a substantive theory of design for interspecies care in Istanbul's *feline interventionist arena*. This arena is characterized by human interventions, designerly or otherwise, deemed a moral imperative in response to present or imminent *feline events*—frictions between the anthropocentric city and the feline user, implicated on a *dependency-autonomy continuum*. Central to this arena is a three-partite community-driven feline spatial population management (CDFSPM), including designing of cat houses, as a care-based response to the neglect of municipal veterinary departments (MVDs) and societal apathy. To contain imminent feline events foreseeable in the future, all eligible cats regardless of sex are subject to *nonselective neutering* as part of population control. In addition, while cats with heightened dependency transition from public space to private households during *selective defelinization*, human proxies actively engage in a process of *refelinization by design*, reshaping the urban landscape to support feline cohabitation for cats deemed independent and able. Feline non-use of cat houses discloses *species script*, that is, the epistemic limitations of human configuration of the animal user. Despite divergent positions regarding their functionality, cat houses not only point to Zoöpolis as a political horizon due to their symbolic function owing to their emphasis on liminal animal belonging in the city but also design a multi-species and care-based urban living here and now.

Keywords: Grounded theory, more-than-human design, interspecies care, community cats, designing against

ÖZET

Beş yıllık (2019-2024) saha araştırmasına dayanan ve Yapısalcı Temellendirilmiş Kuram ile Durumsal Analiz yaklaşımını benimseyen bu çalışma, İstanbul'un *kedi müdahale arenası*nda, türler arası bakımın nasıl tasarlandığına dair temellendirilmiş bir kuram sunar. Bu arenada, *bağımlılık-özerklik sürekliliği*nde konfigüre edilen kedi kullanıcıyla insan-merkezci kent arasındaki sürtüşmeden doğan ve insan müdahalesini etik bir zorunluluk olarak davet eden *kedi olayları* öne çıkar. Yerel belediyelerin kayıtsızlığı ve yetersizliği karşısında vatandaşlar, kedi olaylarına ihtimam temelli bir yanıt olarak kedi evlerinin de parçası olduğu üç parçalı mekânsal bir nüfus yönetimini tabandan yürütürler. Yakın gelecekteki kedi olaylarını önlemek amacıyla, sokak kedileri, operasyona uygun bulunduğu sürece cinsiyet fark etmeksizin *seçici olmayan kısırlaştırma*ya tabidir. Buna ek olarak, bakıma bağımlılığı yüksek sokak kedileri *seçici kedisizleştirme* bağlamında kamusal mekândan haneye olan yuvalandırma hareketliliğinde önceliklendirilirken, kamusal mekânlar görece bağımsız ve sağlam kediler için *kedi olaylarına karşı* bir *tasarım yoluyla yeniden kedileştirme* sürecine girer. Kedilerin kedi evlerini kullanmaması, insanın hayvan kullanıcıyı yapılandırmasındaki epistemik sınırlamaları, diğer adıyla *tür şeması*nı açığa çıkarmaktadır. İşlevsellikleri konusundaki farklı görüşlere rağmen kedi evleri, kentteki liminal hayvan yerleşimci aidiyetine dair sembolik işlevi sebebiyle yalnızca politik bir ufuk olarak Zoöpolis'e işaret etmekle kalmaz, aynı zamanda çok-türlü ve ihtimam temelli bir kentsel yaşamı mevcut koşullar içerisinde, şimdide tasarlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Temellendirilmiş kuram, insandan öte tasarım, türler arası bakım, sokak kedileri, -e karşı tasarlamak

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As an enthusiastic student of empirical questions, I have always been drawn to the field, and what it has to offer. My curiosity in unfolding lifeworlds brought with it its difficulties, presumably unbeknownst to some of my peers who choose to continue the scholarly dialogue in rather established fields. As I was "awash in seas of [extant] discourses" in different publics (Clarke, 2015, p. 91), I often found myself trying to make sense not only of "What is happening here?" (as cited in Charmaz, 2008a; Glaser, 1978, p. 57), but also why I was drawn to it before I was able to comprehend it. This was a time when I did not yet learn to take pride in "getting lost" (Lather, 2012) and not knowing what I was doing (personal communication). As I got lost in empirical data, I had to carve my path mostly through theory, "a healing place," as bell hooks aptly describes it (hooks, 1994). For me, one of these healing places was Grounded Theory, which is perhaps the

most well documented and systematic qualitative endeavor, which requires its students to be committed and meticulous. Grounded Theory became the lighthouse, lighting my path as I navigated the sea of extant discourses, clashing voices, and slippery and ephemeral materialities. Grounded Theory has been my ultimate teacher. I thank Melike Şahinol for introducing me to Grounded Theory and I thank Ayşe Hazar Köksal for establishing the critical framework on how to approach different scientific paradigms. Upon these learning experiences during my doctoral study, I was able to build my understanding of how different ontological and epistemological paradigms have resulted in different modes of Grounded Theory and qualitative research in general, of which I will remain a committed student.

"Every writer is first a reader," Sara Ahmed reminds us, "and what we read matters" (Ahmed, 2010, p. 19). Sara Ahmed, whose words are always a source of guidance whenever I am lost, beautifully captures that "citation is how we acknowledge our debt to those who came before; those who helped us find our way when the way was obscured because we deviated from the paths we were told to follow" (Ahmed, 2017). Lauren Beck writes that "*firsting* is the process through which a scholar presents an act, circumstance, or phenomenon generated by man, or accomplishment to have occurred for the first time" (Beck, 2017, p. 109, emphasis in original), problematizing the language of discovery due to its erasure of knowledges and practices that precede yet remain unacknowledged. In the case of this dissertation, I theorize on a substantive area that I did not discover, for it was never mine to discover, nor it can ever be. Caring for animals that are in proximity to humans is as old as humanity's history, and archaeological and historical resources support this in the context of Istanbul. This research, then, is yet another contribution to this dialogue that showcases how *I* theorize this social

phenomenon from *my* position, with the theoretical and methodological toolkit that I have collected and committed myself to over my scholarly upbringing.

I have always distanced myself to conventional and uncritical attitudes that prevail both in design education and practice which glorify individual successes over the collective. A weekly lecture on critique of "star designer" did not suffice, I craved more critique, and an unending commitment to ground it in collective design practices that remain marginal. I wanted to understand why and how certain design practices remained marginal, as well as who occupied the central positions in design. I wanted to look at "power" from its margins and unravel its agendas and working mechanisms. I believed in *my* standpoint and what it has to offer. This is why research for me is listening to and amplifying the voices of those human and nonhuman subjects who have been silenced, discursively constructed, or merely ignored. Hence, the dedication of this dissertation. It is to lend a "feminist ear" in order to hear "who is not heard, how we are not heard" (Ahmed, 2021). It is also a matter of belonging, not only to material spaces such as academic departments but also to a disciplinary home. Research, for me, is a feminist project to make my voice, and the voice of oppressed others, heard. As a first-generation scholar to parents with immigration background, I felt that I might take on this task.

This is why I am especially grateful for the scholarly and artistic networks that have welcomed and supported me and my research. The seeds of this research proper can be traced to April 2019. An assignment to conduct infrastructure walks led me to pay closer attention to the interspecies care designed by Istanbul's citizens for its feline co-habitants. Later, I was able to turn my term paper into an application and was awarded a research grant to study the design activist potentials of the cat houses I was documenting at the time. I would like to thank the Center for Spatial Justice [*Mekânda Adalet Derneği*]

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Research, but especially fieldwork, is not solely an academic endeavor. Throughout this process, I have been supported by caring family and friends who I hold dear. I would like to thank my dear parents, Ayşe Taşdizen and Şahap Taşdizen for their endless support and belief in me, without which this research would simply not be possible. I would like to extend my special gratitude to my mother, Ayşe Taşdizen, for her companionship, listening to my worries, and motivating me to achieve when I struggled. I am also thankful to my dear sister, Buket Taşdizen Özyurt, and my dear brother-in-law, Çağlar Özyurt, for their steady support and understanding throughout this journey. Their presence has been a comforting and reassuring reminder of the importance of family during the demanding process of conducting academic research. I am grateful to my dear friends, Ali Erdoğan, Ayşe Gökçen Demir, Buse Onur, Büşra Soydemir, and

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACI: Animal Computer Interaction

ANT: Actor-Network Theory

AR: Animal Rights

ASF: African Swine Fever

CCI: Child-Computer Interaction

CCM: Constant Comparative Method

CDFSPM: Community-Driven Feline Spatial Population Management

CE: Care Ethics

CGT: Constructivist Grounded Theory

DA: Domestic Animal

EU: European Union

FCoV: Feline Coronavirus

FIP: Feline Infectious Peritonitis

GT: Grounded Theory

IMM: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

MVD: Municipality Veterinary Department

MTHD: More-Than-Human Design

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

RQ: Research Question

SA: Situational Analysis

SCI: Spinal Cord Injury

SI: Symbolic Interactionism

SWT: Social Worlds/Arenas Theory

STS: Science and Technology Studies

TL: Turkish Lira

TNR: Trap-Neuter-Return Program

UK: United Kingdom

US: United States

USD: United States Dollar

LIST OF SYMBOLS

ca.: Circa

c.: Century

et al.: and others

fn.: Footnote

n. Endnote

para.: paragraph

p.: Page

pp.: Pages

1. INTRODUCTION

> Compared with the urgent task of securing negative rights not to be enslaved, vivisected, or skinned alive, the question of, say, redesigning buildings and roads to accommodate animals, or developing effective guardianship models for animal companions, may seem like challenges that can be left for another day. (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011, para. 18)

In *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights*, Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka critically explore the distinction between the negative and positive rights of animals, emphasizing how animal scholarship has predominantly focused on the former. This prioritization, authors argue, arises from the urgent need to address human exploitation of animals within the animal industrial complex—a system that epitomizes the systematic subordination of animal lives to human interests. While such focus is indispensable, it inadvertently trivializes the equally vital positive rights of animals, such as the envisioning of more-than-human cities designed to accommodate animal users.

The industrial scale killing of animals in factory farms and related industries is an overt manifestation of human dominion over animal bodies. Anthropocentric urban environments, though less visible in their violence, perpetuate harm by excluding animals as stakeholders in their design and governance, where the absence of consideration for animal users results in their systemic exclusion or demise, extending the life-threatening challenges and substandard conditions faced by animals beyond industrial exploitation (APPENDIX A). This dissertation investigates how the human-centric organization of cities continues to marginalize animals, calling for a reimagining of urban spaces as inclusive, more-than-human environments that recognize animals as integral participants in the urban landscape.

Such a task is taken by the citizens of Istanbul, whose everyday acts of designerly care for community cats serve as catalysts for reimagining how urban design may look. The proliferation of cat houses and feeding stations in disparate parts of the city reflects an informal yet deeply significant form of multi-species coexistence, where the needs of feline inhabitants are met not through top-down planning but through the collective efforts of a caring citizenry. Some are neat and colorful, and some others are jumbled and placed midway on the sidewalk. These care-based designerly interventions challenge the anthropocentric norms of urban planning and the notion of design in the service of exclusive human interests, while underlining care as a design ethos. This dissertation carefully attends to grass more-than-human design practices in Istanbul, to open up pathways for care-based more-than-human urban futures.

1.1 Aims and Research Questions

The aim of conventional Grounded Theory approaches is to produce a middle-range, substantive theory, which, when brought together with other substantive theories on the topic, may lead to a formal theory (Bryant, 2017, pp. 97-98; Charmaz, 2006, p. 8). However, this dissertation does not utilize earlier versions of Grounded Theory prioritized by Glaser and Strauss. It follows the Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006) and "its methodological sister" (Whisker, 2018, para. 1) Situational Analysis (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2015). In Situational Analysis, which is a reworked version of GT as a response to postmodernist critiques, the aim is to "generate sensitizing concepts and theoretical integration toward provocative yet provisional grounded *theorizing* (Clarke & Friese, 2007, emphasis in original). SA aims to map out the situation, its unit of analysis, with all human and non-human actors in it as well as organizations, discourses, etc. Following Clarke and Friese (2007), this dissertation also aims to describe and explain

the situation *as is* to illustrate it in its complexities and contradictions while being wary of oversimplifications in the name of producing a coherent theory (Whisker, 2018, para. 4). In line with GT approach, the aim is to develop fresh insights from empirical data, and to theorize from the ground. Therefore, the dissertation does not follow the conventional path in research, that is, subjecting collected data to data analysis to test hypotheses formulated according to extant literature. One needs to keep in mind that the extant literature on more-than-human design (MTHD hereinafter) is underdeveloped as a field. The aim is neither hypotheses testing, nor producing a formal theory, but to theorize on a substantive topic from the ground using empirical data. To conclude, the aim of the dissertation, first and foremost, is to contribute to a theoretical understanding of MTHD practices in urban environments by human proxies, caring or otherwise, by mapping all relevant elements in the situation of inquiry. The empirical focus of the study is designerly care-giving practices of non-professional designers for liminal cats of Istanbul. This dissertation aims to answer the following research question:

1. How can the multispecies situation, broadly conceived, be understood in terms of the underlying factors that shape human practices, motivations, and responses within these interactions?
2. How do human proxies interpret and make sense of the behaviors of community cats? How is the feline user of the urban environment configured?
3. What are the notable examples of practices, accommodations, or interventions—designerly or otherwise—that facilitate co-existence with liminal cats in urban environments?

4. How do human proxies in Istanbul conceptualize and design interspecies care practices for community cats, and through what processes are these designs negotiated and adapted?

1.2 Scope of the Dissertation

In this section, I explain the definitional and spatial scope of the study.

1.2.1 Definitional Scope: Human Proxies and Community Cats

Domestication, as a broad topic, has been studied in manifold methods of diverse disciplines such as genetics, animal sciences and archaeology. Although it is a shared interpretation among domestication scholars that the Pleistocene era climate constrained the emergence of domestication practices (Smith, 2007, p. 190), there is a lack of consensus regarding the causality behind how the shift to Holocene enabled domestication practices to emerge in independent centers around the planet at different times. Smith argues that domestication practices, regardless of their causality, is a result of concentrated human efforts "within a coherent and broadly based approach to managing and enhancing their environment" (p. 195). Therefore, although the causality behind domestication practices lacks a consensus view, according to Smith, where there is domestication, there is an orchestration of human resources in shaping the environment, namely, "human niche construction."[1] Therefore, domestication cannot be understood solely as a biological process, isolated from social practices surrounding it. Zooarchaeologist Nerissa Russell argues that an approach that transgresses such a binary is needed:

[1] Human niche construction is a term from Niche Construction Theory, a part of evolutionary biology, which argues that humans (along with other organisms) engineer their environments, thereby shaping the evolutionary processes of both their own and those of other species. Humans are argued to be the ultimate niche constructing species.

> Animal domestication serves as a particularly good example of the value of approaching this in terms of nature and culture—rather than nature or culture or nature versus culture. (Russell, 2002, p. 286)

Due to such hybrid nature of the domestication processes, which are partially biological and partially social, different approaches to domestication favor one side or the other (Russell, 2002), resulting also in a lack of consensus on a single definition of domestication. Similar to Niche Construction Theory, Russell, too, underlines the importance of culture in domestication processes, and calls for an approach that defies nature-culture dichotomy.

Definitions of domestications also diverge in terms of their interpretation of power dynamics between the human and the domestic, or whether the former intentionally initiated it. Although mainstream understandings of domestication incline to interpret the social phenomenon through the lens of domination exercised by Man over other species (Tsing, 2012, p. 144) as a conscious and systematic programming of the species on part of the human, such approaches do not consider unintended actions, or non-human agencies in these domestication processes of which non-humans are a part. However, one of the earliest animal laws in Istanbul shows otherwise. In Eastern Roman[2] tradition, the treatment of animals was subject to a legal framework in The Body of Law [CORPVS

[2] I purposefully refer to Byzantine as Eastern Roman in the dissertation, for citizens of the Eastern Roman Empire self-identified as Romans, and not Byzantines. For a discussion on the term 'Byzantine,' see Kaldellis, A. (2015). *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome*. Harvard University Press; Kaldellis, A. (Host) (2021, February 11). Is It Time to Abandon the Rubric "Byzantium"?, with Leonora Neville (No. 43) [Audio Podcast Episode]. In *Byzantium & Friends* https://open.spotify.com/episode/1RdASfvNdZtpp44Pbl4Hza?si=aqLKRemSQbKKHb5Wzexd5g.
Historian Leonora Neville explains that the coinage of the term 'Byzantine' in history represents a derogatory and gendered attempt to construct the Eastern Roman Empire as "less than" what is considered to be the authentic Roman Empire, which was taken as the basis for Western/European dominance through the rational values it upholds. See The Orthodox Christian Studies Center of Fordham University. (2021, October 7). *Is It Time to De-Colonize the Terms "Byzantine" and "Byzantium"?* [Video]. YouTube. https://youtu.be/oMIwE3DoU3U

IVRIS CIVILIS] issued by Justinian I, under the Natural Rights [IUS NATURALE]. Ius Naturale concerned a body of conditions that were not created and reinstated by humans but were perceived as natural. In Ius Naturale, animals were regarded as beings with will, whose possible acts of escape were interpreted as exercising of their animal agencies. Therefore, if/when an animal escapes, it would be considered free from then onwards on the condition that they do not return to their previous owner. The law stated as follows:

> It [the animal] is understood to be yours while they have the will to return, for if they no longer have the will to return, they also stop being yours and submit to (new) possessors. In addition, it is considered that they stopped having the will to return when they have abandoned the habit to return. (Gordilho & Júnior, 2020, p. 1438)

Ius Naturale emphasized animal's will, instead of the human citizen's ownership, and allowed for the animal to escape from ownership if it manages to do so until captured by another potential owner. As can be seen from one of the earliest written legal regulations concerning the treatment of animals in the city of Istanbul and wider Eastern Roman Empire, domestication did not unfold in one direction—from human owners toward the domestic animal in-question. Rather, animal agency was observed and respected, albeit to a certain extent.

Not only escaping but also approaching human-built environment and choosing to relate to humans showcases animal agency. DAs, especially domestic cats and dogs are drawn to human settlements due to the opportunities provided by living near human settlements. Archaeologist Melinda A. Zeder explains that cats, along with dogs, appear

in the commensal pathway of domestication,[3] that is, a pathway where domesticates participate in domestication journey at their own will. Zeder writes:

> feral animals attempting to divorce themselves from the domestic partnership with humans seem only partly successful in doing so and in many ways remain strongly tied to humans, even if indirectly. (Zeder, 2012b, p. 239)

Therefore, a DA such as a cat or a dog who escapes temporarily only to return to their human companion discloses not only animal's agency, but also their dependence on humans in sustaining their needs such as shelter and immediate access to food. Therefore, for DAs, even if they prefer living feral, their domestication pathway makes it impossible for them to survive the wild without relying on humans and the opportunities provided by cities, due to the irreversible and profound imprint of domestication on DAs (Zeder, 2012b, p. 239).

In addition to the irreversible impacts of domestication on domesticates, domestication delineates an ongoing process that continues to this day (Losey, 2022; Zeder, 2012a). Archaeologist Robert J. Losey argues that studying domestication merely through zooarchaeological findings remains limited in the understandings it offers and calls for informed ethnographic accounts of multispecies relations that unfold in the present time (2022). This dissertation joins this call and investigates how domestication unfolds as part of design for interspecies care in multispecies situations of Istanbul, for

[3] Despite the shared attributes across animal domesticates regardless of species membership, Zeder argues that the histories of domestication are highly varied spanning across different regions and eras shaped resulting in three domestication pathways: 1) commensal, 2) prey, and 3) directed. See Zeder, M. (2012b). Pathways to Animal Domestication. In J. R. Harlan, P. Gepts, T. R. Famula, R. L. Bettinger, S. B. Brush, A. B. Damania, P. E. McGuire, & C. O. Qualset (Eds.), *Biodiversity in Agriculture: Domestication, Evolution, and Sustainability* (Vol. 10). Cambridge University Press.

care is constitutive of domestication (Losey, 2022, p. 138). Such ongoing domestication processes of domestic animals living as liminal populations in the city need to be considered in relation to designing more-than-human co-existence in the city.

Domestication should not be understood merely as a malicious programming of a species to docility, but a crossing of paths of multispecies participants, all of whom exercise various degrees of agency. This ongoing domestication process is described by Donna Haraway and Anna Tsing, as a "becoming with" (Haraway, 2008b, p. 16) in an "interspecies relation" (Tsing, 2012, p. 144). However, in describing animals, science resorts to the method of categorizing them under species. To exemplify, cats fall under the species *felis catus*. As a trained biologist herself, Donna Haraway argues against the notion of species as neatly isolated categories and challenge them as social constructs. An example to this is Haraway's concept of "companion species," by which she emphasizes the co-evolution of species.[4] In this ongoing process called domestication, which is partly social and partly biological (Russell, 2002), and in which cats never reached the final destination (Zeder, 2012b, p. 249), human-feline encounters offer a particularly interesting site to understand unfolding care and design practices that constitute domestication.

In this ongoing domestication process, members of the same species may exhibit different behaviors depending on the population group they belong to. Following this line of thought, archaeologist Terry O'Connor (2013) encourages to divert our attention away from species-wide generalizations to specific populations within species. He writes:

[4] For a detailed discussion, see 2.1.2 On the Question of Domestication and the Belonging of Domesticates.

> consider the humble pigeon columba livia: it may be a wild animal (as free-living rock dove), a commensal animal (as an urban scavenger), or a domestic animal (as homing or "fancy" pigeons). (p. 8)

O'Connor's example of the pigeon discloses how different pigeon populations that belong to the same species may be found on a spectrum spanning from wild and commensal to companion animal. Such diversity within the same species requires a nuanced understanding of the way the animal in-question lives, and which population a study is approaching. Therefore, it is of vital significance that the research defines not only which species but also which population it attempts to understand and convey the experiences of.

The immediate animal population this dissertation focuses on is liminal cats in Istanbul. According to Oxford Reference (n.d.), the word liminal refers to "a state of being on the edge or margins of society." Thus, one can be socially or physically liminal. To exemplify, liminal cats of Istanbul occupy liminal positions both in terms the spaces they habituate but also in terms of their social belonging. The phrase "liminal cat," then does not describe a species membership, but rather a way of feline living, that is, near human settlements for the opportunities such as food, shelter, and tending that such settlements provide, with their membership being a matter of debate.

Throughout the dissertation, human proxies refer to citizens who care for liminal cats by sheltering, feeding, and tending to these animals. They often (but not always) self-identify as an animal lover [*hayvansever*], whose motives for caring for these animals are more culturally oriented and historically situated, than an informed activism such as that of animal advocates in animal rights (AR hereinafter) movements. However, the study, when including in the analysis of experiences of human proxies, does not explicitly

distinguish between animal lover and AR activist identities, as these often overlap, and animal advocates may self-identify as both depending on the circumstance. Therefore, the study does not prioritize the experiences of either animal lovers or the AR activists, because neither category negates developing one-on-one relations with liminal cats. This is the reason why proximity to liminal cats is the determining factor for this study, for the study explicitly focuses on those close relations between human proxies and liminal cats, and the designerly and caregiving practices thereof.

As the dissertation focuses on the experiences of human proxies, who discursively argue for and materially design social belonging of liminal animals, I utilize the term "community cats" throughout the dissertation to emphasize the belonging put forth by participants of the study as well as due to the term's rather established standing in the field. Following a survey of studies using the term "community cats," Lepczyk and Calver (2022) problematize the variance in lexicon, and recommend the use of community cats for "[u]nowned, free-ranging cats for which a human community acknowledges responsibility and, by common agreement, is implementing a management strategy that involves managing these cats in a free-ranging setting" (p. 2315). Following their recommendation, I use "liminal cats" and "community cats" interchangeably throughout the dissertation. Although another significant actor in the field, experiences of liminal dogs and their human proxies are not prioritized in the analysis, though a human proxy may care for both liminal cats and liminal dogs. This is because liminal dogs, despite being recipients of care themselves, are not the imagined users of cat houses. Cat house, as the name explicitly describes, is intended for community cats. Therefore, liminal dogs do not constitute the immediate focus of this dissertation.

1.2.2 Spatial Scope: "Cat House" and Its Environs

In line with theoretical sampling of GT, the study avoids representative sampling of populations or sites but approaches space according to the social phenomenon under scrutiny. The study centralizes the contemporary "cat house" phenomenon, a peculiar intervention designed to shelter community cats in Istanbul and wider Turkey, as well as the environs of cat houses which are often designed to tend to feeding needs of animals. The spatial scope of the dissertation, then, is cat house and its environs, for they demonstrate the core, designerly spatial transformation in public space in human proxies' interspecies care practices.

Not all one-on-one care relations occur in public spaces. Unlike human users whose navigation of the urban environment is informed by pre-conceived urban plan, liminal cats experience the city in such a way that transgresses the designed grid.[5] Such liminal mobility means that these animals may be found in places that may not be immediately visible such as windowsills, backyards, etc. (Taşdizen, 2021a). Therefore, a nuanced understanding in terms of the kinds of places these animals may visit as well as places care may be practiced is required to attain a fuller picture of the situation. Hence, professional care practices in spaces such as animal shelters of municipalities or private veterinary clinics are not subject to thorough analysis, based on the presumption that these spaces do not provide an immediate ground for one-on-one human-liminal animal relation compared to those around cat houses. The scientific knowledge or professional opinions of veterinary workers, albeit significant, do not constitute an immediate significance for the dissertation. These actors and their professional work sites are relevant so long as the

[5] One may even argue that liminal cats perform the ultimate psychogeography, navigating the city not according to the designed grid, but cutting across it, following whichever they may have, influenced by the plethora of psychological reactions aroused in them.

liminal cats and their human proxies cross paths with them. Such professional care practices are included in the analyses on the condition that they provide additional explanation for the conditions of designerly care occurring in public spaces of the city. In comparison to professional care provided to liminal cats, designerly attempts of professional designers such as ADORE cat house are included in the analysis, for they constitute a key, recurrent element in the field, appropriated by citizens according to emergent needs of liminal cats.

1.3 Motivations for the Study

In conducting this study, I have both professional and personal motivations. My first motivation concerns the professional design field, and how it operates from a human-centered framework (Forlano, 2017). Both design theory and practice largely ignore any actor other than human, contributing to the anthropocentric ways in which our societies organize, including our cities. This is due the Humanist assumption that the category of human, and the arrangement of human life can so easily and neatly be separated from other non-human life forms. One must be reminded that human bodies host many non-human life forms such as bacteria or that histories of domestication are a testament to entangled co-evolution processes of human and non-human lives such as that of humans and dogs (Haraway, 2003). Such arguments complicate the neat binary of human versus non-human where they are in opposition to one another and draw our attention to their entanglements.

Such entanglement of human and non-human lives becomes especially pronounced when we consider humans' relationships to domestic animals, one group of which is companion animals such as cats and dogs. Although most companion animals live with their human companions in households, cities, too, host a great number of these

animals. In Istanbul, a statistic from 2018 approximates the liminal cat and dog population to be 291.870 (Korkmaz, 2024). Despite their vast population and common occurrence in social life, these animals do not constitute an immediate concern within design, despite sporadic attempts to include these animals' companion animal cousins within households as privileged users compared to liminal ones in the city. These animals, who approach and live in urban environments due to the opportunities provided by human settlements are largely ignored by design field, leaving questions such as "how to better accommodate these animals and respond better to their needs" unanswered.

Another reason is that design research mostly focuses on professional conduct of professional designers. This is problematic from various fronts, one of which is subjugation of non-professional design knowledge, leading to a hierarchy of different design-related knowledges, in which the professional is ranked as superior. While situating itself as a serious discipline, design field distinguishes itself from its distant cousins such as craft and making, both of which predate the field of design, whose professional history starts with Industrialization. Such boundary work attempts have been discussed extensively within Science and Technology Studies (STS) and is not peculiar to design. However, boundary work in design over granting legitimacy only to certain voices and their design practices ends up assigning who gets to have the exclusive say in shaping futures.

There is a gendered dimension to the professional and non-professional dichotomy. Considering most of women's designerly practices took places in domestic settings, a strict adherence to professional practices excludes most of what women designed (Buckley, 1986). Therefore, for a balanced historical account of design, a

conscious effort needs to be made regarding the study of non-professional design practices taking place outside professional settings.

A non-exclusionary politics within design scholarship translates to a dedicated and conscious commitment to including non-professional designers and design practices that have been marginalized and othered, scrutinize the very othering mechanisms within and outside design, and work against them. This might explain why, as a "dutiful student of empirical worlds" (Taşdizen, 2023, p. 65), I have always been drawn to the messiness and the complexity of the field abundant in non-professional design practices, instead of the sterile design studios with their rather homogeneous social worlds. Having studied and written an ethnography over a knitting community in my master's thesis, I was well aware of the kind of insights that can be gained from studying making communities *in situ*. So, I continued to look outside professional design studios and professional design practice which prevailed as the empirical foci of conventional design scholarship. In the field that constitutes the empirical focus of this dissertation, I was amazed by the spontaneity and the resilience of more-than-human worlds in the making for liminal cats in the city by regular citizens, some of whom were themselves othered by different mechanisms such as sexism, ableism, and ageism.

Therefore, I take this opportunity as a lavish expression of what *I* believe matters for design, that is, the concrete realities of fellow liminal animals in our cities, suffering from an egregious anthropocentrism and an inadequacy of design in accommodating them, and the designerly and caring responses of mostly women, non-professional designers.

1.4 Structure of the Dissertation

I present an overview of the dissertation below by introducing the content of each chapter. Chapter 1 introduces the aim, the definitional, and spatial scopes of the study as well as the research questions the study aims to answer. The chapter ends with an overview of the content of each chapter of the dissertation.

Chapter 2 presents the literature review of the dissertation. Drawing upon critical disability studies, I first problematize ableist notions of domestication and construct domestic animals as dependent upon and deserving of human care. Later, I conceptualize the city as a multispecies entity, constituting of multispecies situations as well as potential contact zones. I then situate designerly care action as one potential of transformative encounters. Finally, I discuss emergent MTHD literature.

Chapter 3 introduces and discusses the methodology employed throughout the conduct of this dissertation, namely, Constructivist Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis. Constructivist Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis inform dissertation's methodological approach to simultaneous data collection and data analysis with the aim of theorizing from empirical data as well as mapping the situation of inquiry in its entirety with all relevant actors, human or otherwise. Situational Analysis also informs dissertation's epistemological approach on how to expand the knowers by attending to the standpoints of marginalized actors, and power dynamics in between, as well as their implication processes via discursive constructions by those in central positions in the situation.

In the following Chapters 4, 5, and 6, I discuss the analysis of the study. The structure of the analysis follows Grounded Theory's emphasis on theorizing a social process and delineates different phases of interspecies care in the form of a storyline

(Birks & Mills, 2019). For operational purposes, I present the Chapters 4, 5, and 6 of the analysis in a consecutive manner, yet the reader should bear in mind that, the multispecies situations that I describe in the context of Istanbul and wider Marmara region, do not have to follow these consecutive phases in this specific order.

In Chapter 4, I introduce the reader into interspecies care practices of human proxies, as is. Firstly, I situate such care practices in Istanbul historically which continues to this day, marking contemporary Istanbul as a "cat friendly" city. I discuss how such perception is partial, and that liminal cats suffer in manifold ways in the city exemplified in participant narratives, leading to *feline events*, a specific kind of *contact zone* where human intervention is deemed as a moral imperative. Such interventions transform both human and feline participants. For humans, this shapes the formation of their *interventionist caring self*, where they are designated, willingly or not, the public representative role of cats as the *human proxy*. For cats, feline events and human interventions thereof render them more trusting or suspicious of humans, depending on the nature and course of the feline event. The remaining half of Chapter 4 focuses on challenges human proxies face in maintaining their interspecies care, and how they navigate such challenges.

In Chapter 5, I discuss how and why human proxies spatially accommodate liminal cats in human households, theirs or that of their immediate kin. Spatial accommodation practices are grounded in constructed feline vulnerability, that is, cats who are deemed (more) vulnerable are prioritized. Firstly, I focus on the household of the human proxy, and then on how spatial accommodation practices extend to other households of those human proxies trust. Concurrent to spatial accommodation in the households, I discuss how human proxies engage in feline population management.

This chapter focuses on how human proxies manage liminal cat population through adoption, rehoming, and neutering, all of which aim at ensuring feline well-being and safety and are significant constituents of feline *good care*. These practices could be interpreted as attempts at reducing feline suffering through spatial accommodation, resources for which are finite. The chapter delineates a process of accommodating cats inside human households, with immediate care and supervision. Neutering as an ongoing practice accompanies such finite spatial resources, to manage the feline population, contemporary and future, in a caring manner. This chapter should be read as reducing feline population on the streets as best as possible, without immediately resorting to designerly solutions.

In Chapter 6, I discuss the last part of the analysis of the study. Firstly, I situate the design of a more-than-human city in perceived municipal indifference and inadequacy grounded in personal experiences of human proxies. Then, I discuss how human proxies configure the feline user of the city on a dependency-autonomy continuum. Firstly, feline user is regarded as infantilized, food-driven animals deprived of basic necessities essential for feline survival such as food and shelter in the city. Secondly, the feline user is acknowledged as an autonomous being demonstrating their animal agency and desire through their selective socialization with humans and spaces. Then, I discuss how human proxies collect more-than-human resources, material or otherwise, in designing the more-than-human city. Finally, I conceptualize human proxies' designerly practices in multispecies situations of Istanbul as a process of *designing against*, for design decisions are informed by the external human and non-human factors. Human proxies design against the non-human externs weathering care sites, human proxies' poor care practices undermining good care, and lack of care of human non-proxies in the form of displacing

and discarding care sites. I finish the chapter by discussing the contested functionality and feline non-use of the cat house, and emphasize its key, least-contested function, that is, designing of liminal animal belonging, thereby designing Zoöpolis.

In Chapter 7, I conclude the study. Firstly, I provide a summary of research findings. Then, I discuss the findings of the study in relation to extant literature and explicitly underline the novel contribution of the study to design literature by revisiting the research questions posed earlier, and how the findings respond to these questions. Finally, I address the limitations of the study and provide my recommendations for research and policy.

In Appendices, I provide all the necessary materials the reader may be interested in. Firstly, I provide a field note that showcases the complexity of feline interventionist arena. What follows are materials related to the conduct of the fieldwork and data analysis: Consent forms in Turkish and in English, semi-structured interview forms in Turkish and in English, Turkish originals of participant quotes, and my brief curriculum vitae.

2. DESIGNING MORE-THAN-HUMAN CO-EXISTENCE IN THE CITY

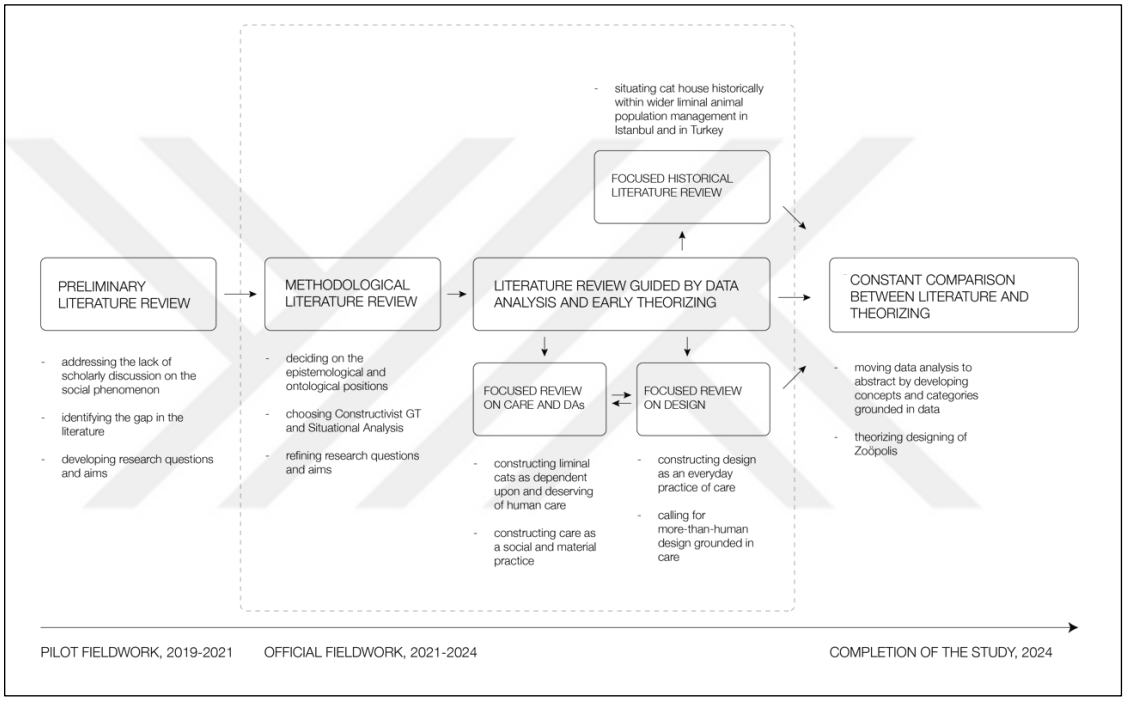
> Domination, domestication, and love are deeply entangled. (Tsing, 2012, p. 141)

> Contact zones change the subject—all the subjects—in surprising ways. (Haraway, 2008, p. 219)

This chapter introduces the literature review of this study. Firstly, I present a reflection on how I, as a GT researcher, proceeded the literature review process, as *when* and *how* to conduct literature review remains a topic of discussion among GT researchers, for which there is no immediate answer (Ramalho et al., 2015). Therefore, it helps to clarify the decisions I took as well as the steps I went through in navigating literature review as a GT researcher. The literature review for this dissertation was threefold (Figure 2.1). During the earlier phases of the study, I avoided a thorough literature review to avoid imposing extant theoretical frameworks onto how I interpret empirical data. The first phase consisted of a preliminary literature review of surveying similar empirical studies that showcase MTHD practices within the city for the feline user to underline the novelty of the phenomenon under scrutiny and identify the gap in relevant literature. In my application of the ethics committee approval prior to the commencement of the study, I had decided on GT as my methodology due to the novelty of the phenomenon inviting a "grounded" approach. Following the approval of the research by the ethics committee in March 2021, I pursued a methodological literature review on qualitative research and GT prior to the fieldwork to help position the research epistemologically and ontologically amid grounded theories. This resulted in an informed decision to employ CGT and SA. Due to the concurrent data elicitation and analysis in GT, literature review throughout the

conduct of the study was guided by data analysis and early theorizing, that is, I reviewed literature that related to the analysis. Therefore, I conducted focused literature reviews on design, and care, as well as a historical literature review on liminal cats and dogs in Istanbul to position the social phenomenon in its historical (dis)continuity.

Figure 2.1 *Literature Review During the Course of the Study*



As part of GT research, I conducted CCM, during which I compared and contrasted my data analysis with extant literature, which shaped my theorizing. Thus, the completion of the study in 2024 translates to the terminal phase of the literature review during the write-up phase of the dissertation as part of the constant comparison of my ongoing theorizing to that of extant literature. Knowing it is impossible to remain a "theoretical virgin" (as cited in Clarke, 2005, p. 13; Elkins, 2003, p. 31), and that the researcher inevitably carries a theoretical knowledge of and disposition toward the topic, I pursued "theoretical agnosticism" (Henwood & Pidgeon, 2003, p. 350), in order to

prevent any extant theoretical lens conditioning the way I look at empirical data and my theorizing thereof.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the study which has different disciplinary foci on the phenomenon under scrutiny, the literature review for the study, too, brings different disciplinary lenses. In what follows, I first introduce the ongoing dialogue between disability studies and animal studies, and the shared exclusion of humans with disabilities and animals from "the measure of all things", that is, "Man" according to Protagoras (Braidotti, 2013, p. 13). The dissertation draws upon disability studies lens 1) to deliver a critique of ableist notions of domestication which deems domestic animal bodies as weak due to their dependency on care, and 2) to draw the framework around which the study approaches its animal subjects: rightfully "dependent upon and deserving of human care."

Later, I introduce the concept "contact zone" developed by Mary Pratt in postcolonial studies, which was later popularized by Donna Haraway in multispecies studies. Contact zone allows to understand interspecies encounters in the multispecies city "Zoöpolis," in my naming of which I join scholars in articulating the city not only as a multispecies entity, but also as a political horizon to be achieved by designerly shaping of the city. Then, I introduce how such encounters in the Zoöpolis harbour potentials for interspecies care, one form of which is designerly action. First, I discuss care as a social and material practice, moving beyond psychological accounts. Then, I provide an overview of the emergent MTHD field and discuss the need for a nuanced approach to animal cultures in a given locale. Finally, I define design grounded in care, care about an issue that one feels deeply, care for a group of individuals, animal or otherwise, and

discuss the potentials and limitations of designerly representations of animals. I end the chapter with a summary of the discussed literature review.

2.1 Domestic Animals as Dependent Upon and Deserving of Human Care

There is an emergent scholarship on animals from a disability studies lens. At first glance, the two fields, animal studies and disability studies, may seem to be disparate as they focus on seemingly separate entities, namely, human and animal. However, there are "overlaps and gaps between the categories of disability and animality", which presents "a rich site for analysis," writes Alison Kafer (2013, pp. 216-217, n51). The reason for why the convergence of these two fields is recent is because disability studies and disability activism have mostly remained distant to animal studies and animal activism, especially due to the controversy over Peter Singer's opinions on cognitive disability (Kafer, 2013; Taylor, 2017), who, to this day, remains an influential figure in animal studies. Taylor explains that Singer's controversial opinions on disability as a negative "understandably led many disabled activists to distrust not only him, but the larger AR movement, as many of his ideas are considered foundational to animal rights theory" (Taylor, 2017, para. 4). Due to the distrust among disability activists towards Peter Singer, the affinity between animal and disability liberation is not as established, although the oppression is (Taylor, 2014, 2017).[6] In this section, I first introduce the disability critique toward the work of Peter Singer and his controversial discussion on the morality of killing. Then, I discuss

[6] In 2021, when I was presenting an earlier version of this dissertation to a group of young scholars in 2021, a blind woman in the audience confirmed and encouraged my effort to draw connections between persons with disabilities and DAs. For the presentation, see Taşdizen, B. (2021c, August 28). *Oturum 1: Tasarım-Bakım Dolanıklıkları: Alanyazının Konuştukları & Oturum 2: Tasarımı İnsan Olmayanlara Açmak: Sahanın Söyledikleri.*[Keynote Speech] Poedat: Gelecek Çalışmaları, Gümüşlük, Bodrum, Turkey. https://www.poedat.org/gelecek-calismalari/

how a disability lens might shed light on the ableist underpinnings of anti-domestication rhetoric within certain clusters of animal studies and animal activism.

2.1.1 On the Morality of Killing

How to formulate the position of the animals and how to treat them have been matters of scholarly concern for many decades, resulting in different approaches such as animal rights, utilitarianism, animal welfarism, care ethics, etc. Peter's Singer's well-known book *Animal Liberation* (Singer, 2018) marks the beginning of AR theory (Nocella et al., 2014), though AR discussions date back to much earlier.[7] In 18th C., the philosopher Jeremy Bentham notes in *The Introduction to Principle of Morals and Legislation* (Bentham, 1789), that, with the exception of Indian subcontinent in religions such as Hindu and Mahometan, animals, who are subject to man's actions, have historically been reduced to the status of *things*, and their interests have been neglected insensibly. He writes:

> It may come one day to be recognized, that the number of the legs, the villosity of the skin, or the termination of the os sacrum, are reasons equally insufficient for abandoning a sensitive being to the same fate. What else is it that should trace the insuperable line? Is it the faculty of reason, or, perhaps, the faculty of discourse? But a full-grown horse or dog is beyond comparison a more rational, as well as a more conversable

[7] For example, Henry Salt's "Animals' Rights Considered in Relation to Moral Progress" dates to 1894. Although animal advocacy dates centuries ago and is found in religious and philosophical texts, it is regarded as a modern concern. Religions, promote kind treatment to animals as a route to human enlightenment, disclosing a prevalent human superiority. See Nocella, A. J., Sorenson, J., Socha, K., & Matsuoka, A. (2014). Introduction: The Emergence of Critical Animal Studies: The Rise of Intersectional Animal Liberation. *Counterpoints*, *448*, xix-xxxvi. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42982374. This is also valid for Islam in the form of halal slaughter, that is, killing the animal as a resource for man. It reinforces the superiority of man over the animal, yet in a caring way that parallels the welfarist program.

> animal, than an infant of a day, or a week, or even a month, old. But suppose the case were otherwise, what would it avail? the question is not, Can they reason? nor, Can they talk? but, Can they suffer? (Bentham, 1789, Chapter XVII, Of the Limits of the Penal Branch of Jurisprudence)

Singer, in *Animal Liberation*, emphasizes that Bentham's remarks draw the line on having/lacking interests based on sentience, that is, the capacity to feel pain and pleasure (Singer, 2018, pp. 54-64). In the book, Singer elaborates his views on how to ethically treat the animals and defies reasoning as the sole determinant of a living animal's value (Singer, 2018). By building upon Jeremy Bentham's discussion, Singer emphasizes animals' capacity to feel pain (Singer, 2018, pp. 54-55), which, he argues, should be avoided.[8]

The capacity to feel pain is not directly proportional to the capacity to reason. Singer argues that human consciousness, herewith I add that of neurotypical individuals, could act both to reduce and to increase suffering. Exemplifying scientific experiments on laboratory animals, Singer argues that if humans were to be captured for scientific experimentation purposes, say, in public parks, human subjects would develop an anxiety when visiting these places. On the other hand, Singer argues that animals, human babies, and people with severe intellectual disabilities will not develop similar negative feelings (Singer, 2018, pp. 64-65). Consciousness could also decrease negative feelings. Singer exemplifies this through a hypothetical imprisonment of human and nonhuman wild animal subjects (Singer, 2018, p. 65). Human subject, herewith I would like to add an

[8] However, Francione et al. consider Singer's utilitarian approach as a welfarist position, which accepts animal exploitation so long as suffering is negated. Therefore, they argue that Singer does not do rights discourse justice. See Francione, G. L., & Charlton, A. E. (2016, September 8). *The Case against Pets*. Aeon. https://aeon.co/essays/why-keeping-a-pet-is-fundamentally-unethical.

able-minded, neurotypical human subject, when communicated that they will not be harmed and released if they submit, will likely experience a decrease in their negative feelings due to capture. Whereas a wild animal will not comprehend the difference between a life-threatening situation and an imprisonment without an attempt to kill. That lack of reasoning, Singer argues, might add to confusion and thus greater pain on part of the captured subject, as the subject may not be able to differentiate between, say, capture and imprisonment; whereas humans may, and this could lessen their pain (Singer, 2018, p. 65).

Singer strongly argues against speciesism, which he describes as a hierarchical ranking between animals due to their belonging of different species. This is exemplified in his expression that, to him, the killing of dog or a horse, is not morally worse than the killing of a pig for their meat, because, he argues, all animals have certain interests that must be protected regardless of species membership (Singer, 2018). He considers speciesism under the rubric of anthropocentrism, that is, a human centric framework resulting in an exclusive treatment to humans (Singer, 2018, p. 68). To him, species membership cannot constitute a reason in the judgement for a moral killing, meaning, being a human or a non-human animal is irrelevant in deciding on what is morally acceptable in ending a life. Yet, for Singer, "… a rejection of speciesism does not imply that all lives are of equal worth" (Singer, 2002, p. 20). He develops the argument that species membership, that is, being a member of *homo sapiens* or not, cannot readily constitute the basis for the morality of killing a certain living being.

In his discussion on the morality of killing, Singer draws the moral line on whether the said subject crosses the personhood threshold, however controversial it may be. For Singer, those who are non-persons, human or nonhuman, can be killed. Singer focuses on

a set of criteria that cuts across species barriers such as complex thinking and communicating capacities including awareness of one's own self and time including the future that lies ahead, for which one prepares oneself and the capacity to maintain meaningful relations with others (Singer, 2018, p. 69). A human in comatose state will not pass this threshold, whereas certain apes such as chimpanzees or DAs such as dogs are likely to have higher self-awareness and a capacity to build social relations, thus achieving a higher status in personhood ranking (Singer, 2018, p. 69). While Singer *rescues* certain animals through his formulation by constructing them worthy of moral consideration, and discourages their killing, his formula excludes people with intellectual disabilities, or in his words, "severely retarded" (Singer, 2002, pp. 16, 18 & 19).

Sunaura Taylor (2017), whose work lies at the intersection of disability studies and animal studies, argues against Singer's personhood threshold for the morality of killing. In her critique of Peter Singer's personhood and morality of killing arguments, Taylor (2017) argues that Singer's approach results in ranking lives against one another. First, by building upon the notion of *crip time*, Taylor argues for the relativity of time experienced by different human and non-human groups. First mentioned by Irv Zola and Carol Gill in passing as a key aspect of disability culture and community (Kafer, 2013), crip time explains how disabled individuals operate on a time that is slower, mostly due to ableist barriers such as "dependency on attendants (who might themselves be running late), malfunctioning equipment (from wheelchairs to hearing aids), a bus driver who refuses to stop for a disabled passenger, or an ableist encounter with a stranger that throws one off schedule" (Kafer, 2013, p. 26). Therefore, crip time, Margaret Price (2009) explains, "refers to a flexible approach to normative time frames" (para. 9). For Alison Kafer (2013), crip time, "rather than bend disabled bodies and minds to meet the clock,

[it] bends the clock to meet disabled bodies and minds" (p. 27). Sunaura Taylor borrows this concept to explain how time is relative to different bodies, human or nonhuman animal, refuting Singer's argument that certain animals would not know death, so killing them would be morally acceptable. She exemplifies cases in slaughterhouses where animals try desperately to avoid their death, sensing a life-threatening incident that will happen in near future. Second, Taylor criticizes Singer due to his ambiguous definition of "severely disabled humans."[9] While Singer's formulation grants certain animals personhood as they pass the threshold, certain intellectually disabled humans such as the comatose are excluded. Therefore, non-persons constitute a group of "severely disabled humans," though Taylor (2017) argues this description is rather ambiguous, as well animals who do not pass the personhood threshold due to their "lack of" intelligence. Rightfully so, Singer's views, his ambiguous description of "severely" disabled, his defense of infanticide of human babies with disabilities and his hierarchical ranking of lives worth living in general are infamous in disability circles as they operate from an ableist register (Taylor, 2017). Disability *is* desirable (Hamraie & Fritsch, 2019; Taylor, 2017), and it does not need to explain itself as to why, as this puts disabled bodies at defensive (Taylor, 2017).

In comparison to Singer's problematic personhood threshold under a disability lens, Tom Regan, philosopher and a leading scholar in AR, argues against personhood as a relevant criterion. For instance, human infants are not considered as persons, but they enjoy rights. A human might as well be dead, being stripped off rights. He, then, formulates that one is granted rights because one is the "subject-of-a-life". Regan writes:

[9] Singer also uses the phrase "severely retarded" in the English original resource. See Singer, P. (2002). *Animal Liberation*. HarperCollins Publishers.

> From the moral point of view, each of us is equal because each of us is equally a somebody, not a something, the subject-of-a-life, not a life without a subject. (Regan, 2005, p. 51)

By this, he argues for the moral equality between different beings who lead a life of their own as subjects, human or otherwise. Being the subject-of-a-life does not exclusively apply to humans, or all humans, but also to certain animals as well. In developing his idea based on rights acquisition/eligibility, he argues against being human as an enough qualifier. In contrast to Peter Singer, Regan's account does not rank lives among each other in relation to conditions such as cognitive capacities. To him,

> a genius who can play Chopin etudes with one hand tied behind her back does not have a "higher" rank than a seriously mentally impaired child who will never know what a piano is or who Chopin was. (Regan, 2005, p. 51)

Singer's anti-speciesist account on AR have been both highly influential and controversial, depending on where one's scholarly position lies. His rejection of speciesism, his discussion of non-human personhood, and animal liberation in general, have resulted in his appraisal in and a significant following among AR advocacy circles. Although his approach defies a human-centered framework that operates on reasoning as the sole determinant of a living's value by addressing the aspect of suffering building upon Jeremy Bentham's argument "Can they suffer?" (1789), Singer's rather controversial ideas on infant and adult humans with intellectual disabilities have stirred controversy to this day. Tom Regan's formulation of "subject-of-a-life" circumvents ableist notions of ranking (non)human lives worthy of moral consideration. According to

Regan, we are all somebodies regardless of our species membership. Still, Tom Regan's account, albeit more inclusive and wary of ableist notions compared to that of Peter Singer's, draws the moral inclusion line at the fish (Regan, 2005).

Considering Singer and Regan's accounts on the morality of killing, it can be concluded that both operate from logocentric and anthropocentric notions (Calarco, 2011), that is, the moral framework on the question of killing is informed by the proximity of the said subject's cognitive capacities to those of humans. Whereas Singer's formulation results in an ableist framework due to its clustering of those (non)human bodies whose deaths may be justified for they do not pass the personhood threshold due to insufficient cognitive capacities, Regan extends being "subject-of-a-life" until the fish. Singer's utilitarian views, and Tom Regan's rights-based approach fall within a particular animal ethics, which philosopher Matthew Calarco (2015) describes as the *identity* approach. Calarco argues that these leading scholars in animal ethics develop their arguments solely based on reason due to a shared notion of perceived sentimalism *if* one were to incorporate emotions in philosophical debates. The mutual logocentrism and the negligence of emotions in moral formulations draws the attention of feminist philosophers such as care ethicist Josephine Donovan, who argues against reason as the sole determinant in moral evaluation and argue for emotions to be included in moral thinking. Care ethics offers an alternative path on the discussion by rejecting a moral evaluation of determining one's life solely based on their cognitive capacities and emphasizes attentively listening to the animal subjects.[10] Would the animals wish to be killed, however painless the act of killing may be, or would they wish to lead a life of their own, interacting with humans if/when they want? Donovan (1990) answers:

[10] For a detailed discussion on care ethics, see 2.3 Approaching Animals Caringly.

> We should not kill, eat, torture, and exploit animals because they do not want to be so treated, and we know that. If we listen, we can hear them. (Donovan, 1990, p. 375)

In the next section, I continue the discussion on how a disability studies lens sheds light on ableist underpinnings of certain strains of animal advocacy pertaining to the question of domestication and the status of DAs.

2.1.2 On the Question of Domestication and the Belonging of Domesticates

Sunaura Taylor (Taylor, 2014, 2017) develops an account on DAs through a critical disability studies lens and challenges the independency rhetoric that prevails certain strains of animal advocacy, resulting in their glorifying of wild animals over domesticates due to wild animals' perceived independency. Such approaches problematize domestication and the existence of domestic bodies, for these animals are dependent on human care to sustain their lives. Taylor draws a comparison between people with disabilities and DAs and argues against the ableist notion that conceptualizes DAs as weak (and at times less worthy of living) for the animal in-question cannot survive without human care. Such an approach that favors independency over inter-dependency not only misinterprets wild animals who are also dependent on other beings (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011) but also discloses ableist underpinnings that devalue the care recipient by conceptualizing it as a weak state. Therefore, the problematization of domestication, Taylor (2017) argues, is a mere projection of ableism onto non-human animals. Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka remind that being dependent is inevitable including the wild animals, and is not undignified (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011).

One of the animal advocacy approaches that problematize domestication is abolitionism. According to abolitionists, domestication is an exploitative framework in

which animals are oppressed, as domesticates are dependent on human care givers for survival, and care is ultimately exploitative due to power hierarchy therein. The pioneer of Abolitionist Movement, Gary L. Francione, argues that DAs do not belong to the world (Francione, 2012; Francione & Charlton, 2016), and that they exist in a netherworld:

> Domestic animals are neither a real nor full part of our world or of the nonhuman world. They exist forever in a netherworld of vulnerability, dependent on us for everything and at risk of harm from an environment that they do not really understand. We have bred them to be compliant and servile, or to have characteristics that are actually harmful to them but are pleasing to us. We may make them happy in one sense, but the relationship can never be "natural" or "normal." They do not belong stuck in our world irrespective of how well we treat them. (Francione, 2012)

The problematization of animal vulnerability and dependency not only glorifies wild animals over DAs inevitably leading to the assumption that animals *must* be independent because that would be "natural" or "normal", but it also denies the agency of non-human animals in domestication processes, picturing a process whereby humans approached and enslaved these animals in a one-directional manner, undermining any resistance toward or active participation within domestication process on part of the animal. However, it is well documented in domestication literature that animals benefitted from their collaboration with humans for approaching human settlements meant convenient access to food and shelter.[11] Such cross-species socialization between humans

[11] See 1.2.1 Definitional Scope: Human Proxies and Community Cats.

and non-human animals, a precondition for domestication, is seen by Francione as unnatural and abnormal as it has resulted in animals being dependent on humans.

In addition to ableist condemning of dependence and care, DAs are reduced to "cute" animals who receive care for their perceived cuteness. Singer, in developing his anti-speciesist formula that considers the interests of all the animals, explains how certain animal advocates' concerns revolve around animals that are "cute." Although Singer offers a path out of extant, speciesist narratives, rejecting speciesist accounts should not mean a disregard for differences between different species that are of critical importance in understanding these heterogeneous, and complex animal social arenas. Of critical importance is the difference between wild and domestic animals, the latter of which are drawn to cohabitate with humans in/near human settlements such as the city, due to human-animal care relations that emerge therefrom. It should also be noted here that "cuteness" of certain DAs such as dogs' "puppy eyes", compared to those of their wolf ancestors', is the result of centuries-long domestication processes in which humans have taken part by feeding, breeding, and killing these animals according to specific physical traits (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011).

When domestication and the mere existence of DAs are problematized due to projecting ableist notions of independency over non-human animals, non-human lives that do not align with those values are demeaned and regarded as disposable. For abolitionists, the "solution" is clear: Neutering DAs *en masse* in order to ensure species extinction to eliminate oppression. Francione (2012) writes:

> But if there were two dogs left in the universe and it were up to us as to whether they were allowed to breed so that we could continue to live with dogs, and even if we could guarantee that all dogs would have homes as

> loving as the one that we provide, we would not hesitate for a second to bring the whole institution of "pet" ownership to an end. (Francione, 2012)

As much as a certain degree of human involvement in the form of neutering and providing care could be seen as caring practices, the ultimate aim of abolitionists as can be seen in the above excerpt is that DAs should not exist and go extinct. Because, for Francione, and abolitionists alike, DAs do not belong to this world.[12]

Francione's abolitionist argument is problematic on both human front and the DA front. Firstly, such a view relies heavily on an isolated understanding of humans and their settlements, and a strict nature-culture dichotomy. Donna Haraway (2003) emphasizes how, in multi-species histories such as domestication, nature and culture are inseparable and are entangled. To address this, she develops her concept of "companion species", arguing against the established categories of human and animal, which are often understood as neatly isolated categories that are in opposition to one another. Instead, Haraway argues, in the case of dogs, and other DAs, the histories of the human and the animal are intertwined, in which neither precedes the other, and both owe each other its existence in its current form in history of their evolution. Therefore, for Haraway, the history of dog cannot be separated from the history of human, and vice versa. Later, Haraway (2008) reminds that the word "companion" in companion species does not

[12] It should be noted here that Francione writes from a specific US context, using the word "pet," where companion animals are bought, sold, abandoned, and murdered in masses as the properties they come to be defined. However, in the Turkish context, street animals cannot be understood using the pet formulation, for these animals both conform to and challenge the definition of a pet. What is interesting in the Turkish context is that street animals are defined in 5199 Animal Protection Law as "unclaimed" [*sahipsiz*], underlining their property status, which is in relation to the definition of pet. This is where abolitionist formulation does not suffice, as it does not offer a guideline to deal with the messiness of the everyday multispecies situations, such as community cats who approach humans for food, shelter, or affection, which then lead to formation of human-animal bond over time, not necessarily an "ownership."

immediately refer to companion animals as most would think. She explains that the concept is "less a category than a pointer to an ongoing 'becoming with'" (Haraway, 2008, p. 16), for "the partners [human and non-human] do not precede their relating; all that is, is the fruit of becoming with: those are the mantras of companion species." (Haraway, 2008, p. 17). She explains that the concept refers to also those species who "break bread" with another (Haraway, 2008, p. 95). As a trained biologist herself, Haraway explains that her use of the biological concept "species" is due to her challenging of this social construct. Engaging with Donna Haraway's concept of companion species, anthropologist Anna Tsing (2012) explains how mushrooms *are* companion species. Tsing argues against the sciences' assumption of human species as an isolated category running as a constant across history and invites us to see human nature as an "interspecies relation" (Tsing, 2012, p. 144). Tsing reminds us that all species, humans included, navigate complex webs of dependency and interdependence. She writes:

> Human exceptionalism blinds us. Science has inherited stories about human mastery from the great monotheistic religions. These stories fuel assumptions about human autonomy, and they direct questions to the human control of nature, on the one hand, or human impact on nature, on the other, rather than to species interdependence. (Tsing, 2012, p. 144)

Tsing underlines that the analytical lenses through which human-nature relationships are interpreted rests heavily on an anthropocentric framework. She invites to see such relations through a species interdependence lens, undermining human exceptionalism. Therefore, Francione's call to remove the human, that is, "the oppressor" in Francione's formulation", from the human-DA equation is simply not possible, for

these relations are constitutive to what it means to be human. According to Belcourt (2014), such eradication of DAs would be a form of settler-colonial genocide, in which oppressed animals would face erasure. Donaldson and Kymlicka call the abolitionist call for DA extinction "a strategic disaster for the AR movement", as most animal advocates have developed close relationships with companion animals, which allowed them to pursue animal advocacy on a wider scope (2011, p. 79). In this dissertation, I join Donaldson and Kymlicka's criticism directed at abolitionist call, and distance myself to such an approach that problematizes domestic bodies and animal dependency. Being wary of ableism that undergirds wild, "independent" animals, I accept the existence of domesticates, without condemning their existence. I carefully avoid employing purist and isolated notions of "natural", abandon any notion of "normalcy", and argue that human-DA relation as a historically entangled situation. Such messy and entangled co-existence requires an approach that cares for the parties involved, instead of wishing for one to go extinct to be able to remove oneself neatly from the equation in the name of ending oppression, while causing more questionable acts in the meantime such as extinction. One needs to remember that care has been constitutive to domestication (Losey, 2022, p. 138), and in the commensal pathway in domestication, DAs such as cats and dogs have willingly participated and benefitted from domestication (Zeder, 2012b). Therefore, human-feline relationship is one that cannot solely be explained in a one-dimensional exploitation framework that neither takes into account nonhuman agency in actively choosing to participate in domestication process nor the caring practices that are provided by humans.

After Donaldson and Kymlicka, I argue for attuning to the cross-species differences, some of whom such as the DAs are known for their closeness to humans.

Because humans are directly responsible for the way certain DAs *are* today, it is a moral imperative that we formulate an approach to return our debt to these species. This does not have to follow an "either/or" approach, that is, ranking the animal exploitation practices and the urgency of disparate animal needs and selectively advocating, but rather "both/and", meaning, animal advocacy in both academic and/or activist circles do not have to solely focus on liberating animals from exploitation, say, from animal industrial complex, but also need to address issues on how to accommodate these animals spatially, and how to allocate resources for their care, once they are liberated from exploitative frameworks in just futures.

It is within this peculiar ableist/gendered climate in which DAs are deemed weak and perhaps less urgent as an issue due to their dependency on humans, and care-work for these animals is so often co-opted by regarding it as a charming, feminine tradition rooted in religion rather than an active, hands-on shaping of a metropolitan city towards anticipated futures whose public space has continuously been diminished through neoliberal policies, and anti-democratic measures against demonstrations of any kind that threaten the values the status-quo hold so dearly.

To summarize, I do not problematize DAs and their dependency on human care in ways that demean their existence. After Haraway and Tsing, I opine that interspecies relations characterized by care and dependency are essential and formative for both parties involved. Therefore, I pursue ways in which interspecies kinships, in this case, human-feline relations are formed through care and design across species barriers, and how inclusive urban environments can be built to accommodate DAs (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011; Kymlicka, 2023; Onay, 2019).

2.2 Encountering Animals in Multispecies Contact Zones of Zoöpolis

The urban environment remains as the habitat to many species including but not limited to cats (Meijer, 2021; Taşdizen, 2020b, 2021b), rats (de Bondt & Jaffe, 2022), dogs (Haspolat, 2021; Ragavan & Srivastava; Yıldırım, 2021), chickens (Oliver, 2024), coyotes (Van Patter, 2021), pigs (Gutgutia, 2020), storks (Doherty, 2019) among others. Therefore, the notion of city as an exclusively human realm is not only incorrect but also results in the erasure of the historical as well as contemporary presence of animals and their agency in shaping the course of human-animal relations and wider urban phenomena. This mandates the inclusion of animals in our theorizing, lacking in contemporary urban theory, mainstream or otherwise (Wolch, 1996, p. 22). Challenging the anthropocentric notions of the city, such as the city as the exclusive realm of the human to meet human ends, geographer Jennifer Wolch coined the term "zoöpolis" to argue for a notion of urban environment that is more-than-human.

Not only cities afford multispecies encounters between humans and animals for they are more-than-human, but they also hold transformative potential for participant parties in said encounters (Taşdizen et al., 2024). The latter informs Wolch's account on renaturalizing and re-enchanting the city by "bringing the animals back in" (Wolch, 1996; Wolch & Emel, 1995, p. 632), which she titles as the "Zoöpolis." The human-animal co-existence Wolch imagines taking place in Zoöpolis is significant as it would allow humans to understand animal standpoint by proximity. Wolch (1996) writes:

> The integration of people with animals and nature in zoöpolis can provide urban dwellers with the local, situated everyday knowledge of animal life required to grasp animal standpoints or ways of being in the world, interact with them accordingly in particular contexts, and

> motivate political action necessary to protect their autonomy as subjects and life spaces. (Wolch, 1996, p. 29)

Wolch continues that designing of Zoöpolis not only allows animal standpoints to be understood but also help to contextualize the alienation and distanciation of humankind from animals and wider nature in political-economic structures, thereby working to raise political consciousness. Wolch's account, then, should be understood as a political vision for the city, which would facilitate human-animal encounters, harboring transformative capacity for the human users toward non-anthropocentric ways of seeing the city. In conceptualizing such encounters advocated by Wolch, I refer to term "contact zone" popularized by Donna Haraway (2008b) but originally coined by Mary Pratt (1991):

> to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today. (Pratt, 1991, p. 34)

Here, Pratt refers to the encounters of different human cultures who are "previously separated by geographic and historical discontinuities, and whose trajectories now intersect" (Pratt, 2007, p. 7). Pratt uses the term "contact" in order to carefully move away from narratives of conquest and domination prevalent in discussions pertaining to colonialism. Instead, she chooses to focus on the transformative and co-constitutive colonial encounters, thereby granting agency to the colonized in shaping the course of social interaction. Therefore, contact zone, while being attentive to power dynamics in colonial contexts, acknowledges the agency of oppressed humans. Although she grounds the concept in human social interaction, Pratt's emphasis on cultures of different

languages as well as granting agency to the disadvantaged in shaping the course of social interaction demonstrates the potential of the concept for multispecies scholarship (Wilson, 2019). Similar to different human cultures, animals, too, have their own languages and cultures (Meijer, 2019). It was Donna Haraway, who, in her book *When Species Meet* (2008b), extended the concept to multispecies terrains. Drawing upon her relationship with her canine companion Cayenne during their agility training, Haraway applies (2008b) the term contact zone to human-canine relations, simultaneously abstaining from drawing parallels between colonialism and domestication:

> Cayenne and I definitely have different native languages, and much as I reject overdoing the analogy of colonization to domestication, I know very well how much control of Cayenne's life and death I hold in my inept hands. (Haraway, 2008b, p. 216)

Following Donna Haraway's footsteps, Helen F. Wilson also scrutinizes the potential of the concept for multi species scholarship (Wilson, 2019). Underlining the popularity of the term encounter in human-animal studies and animal geography as well as acknowledging its link to the term contact zone, Wilson argues that encounter illustrates one aspect of contact zones, that is, the initial coming together with the animal other. On the other hand, contact zone allows for a more encompassing understanding of human-animal relations, in which both subjects are transformed by the other. Although Haraway does not explicitly discuss care in human-canine relations, such interspecies contact zones including domesticates often include care in the form of feeding, sheltering and tending to the animals' constructed needs.

Building upon Jennifer Wolch's "Zoöpolis," Martha Nussbaum's *Frontiers of Justice: Disability, Nationality, Species Membership* (Milburn, 2018) and citizenship

theory, Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka (2011) develop a tripartite framework that expands citizenship theory to non-human animals in, around and outside of the city in their book *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights*. Their account on animal rights offer citizenship for DAs, denizenship for liminal animals and sovereignty for wild animals. The three categories developed by Donaldson and Kymlicka, however, may not be as distinct. In their discussion on wildlife hybrids, Erica von Essen and Michael P. Allen (2016) argue that, although Donaldson and Kymlicka delineate the inwards and outwards movements of animals (from domestic to wild and vice versa), some animals such as coydogs and coywolves may simply occupy an in-between status, defying categorization under the above-mentioned three categories of domestic, liminal and wild. The authors then emphasize that identifying which estate an individual animal or an animal population falls under is an empirical question that requires "context-sensitive and revisable intervention policies" (p. 183) over an extended period of time, for hybrids may graduate toward both independency as well as domesticity in future generations. In a comparative study on cat conservation practices in the UK and New Zealand, Palmer and Thomas explain that conservation policies begin with categorization of cats, and that, while companion cats (*felis catus*) and wild cats (*felis silvestris* and *felis lybica*) are granted protection under property and conservation laws, feline hybrids[13] which challenge such scientific categories are often not. The authors emphasize the difficulty of differentiating between wild cats and domestic cats, which require close evaluation of the animal. Such hybrid animal populations living in anthropogenic landscapes around the

[13] One of the examples to such hybrids, Virginia Thomas explains, are fertile offsprings of European wildcat and African wildcat. For a detailed conversation on the topic, see Milburn. J. (Host) (2023, April 7). Categorizing (and Killing) Cats with Virginia Thomas (No. 220) [Audio Podcast Episode]. In *Knowing Animals*. https://knowinganimals.libsyn.com/episode-220-categorizing-and-killing-cats-with-virginia-thomas.

city trouble Donaldson and Kymlicka's framework for domestic, liminal and wild animal categories.

While companion cats and wildcats are granted protection due to their rather straightforward functionality as property in human societies and as components of a functioning ecosystem respectively, animals who live in nature-culture borderlands in and around the city and defy such categories face ongoing problematization. Such animals in the city, be they cats or not, have been subject to various human attempts to be ordered, centered around modernist anxieties concerning hygiene or taming nature, rooted in anthropocentric notions of the city (Jerolmack, 2008). Explaining such categorization attempts within wider modernist project of imposing order, Griffiths et al. (2000) construct feral cats as "out of place," and argue that cats often escape such a matrix.

Attitudes toward animals in the urban environment are shaped by human belief systems, scientific or otherwise,[14] and by animal behaviors (Wolch, 1996, p. 35). However, such attitudes may not present themselves homogeneously and may vary from animals as nuisance to animals as desired. Delahaye underlines how, in the context Paris, perceptions toward liminal rats and mice are conflicted because they are regarded both as nuisances but also deserving of ethical consideration (Delahaye, 2023). This example shows how multispecies contact zones and human perceptions of animals that arise therefrom, may incorporate both negative and positive attitudes. This underlines the significance of social attitudes toward animals in the urban environment in order for MTHD to succeed its purpose (Hwang & Jain, 2021).

[14] Wolch further recommends the employment of science studies approach to subject scientific research on animals to critical scrutiny and understand it as a social practice shaped by its very context including research sponsors, research beneficiaries, and positionalities of researchers themselves.

As a perceived nuisance, liminal animal populations are often managed through means of population control. As an animal approaching human settlements due to opportunities provided, feline population is often managed through Trap-Neuter-Release programs (TNR hereinafter), finding support across diverse geographies such as USA (Fiala, 2021), China (Xu & Jiang, 2023), and Lebanon (Davey & Zhao, 2020). This is due to the likely increase in feline population in favorable conditions, when they are able to access opportunities enabled by urban settlements as well as caregivers' care practices. According to a study conducted on Weebo, a Chinese social media platform, Chinese publics' high support for TNR programs is accompanied by their criticism of irregular feeding practices (Xu & Jiang, 2023), pointing at the demand for regulation of feeding liminal cats. Such care toward liminal cats in Chinese context, are interpreted by Di Wu and Jintu Gu as "care extension," that is, extending care to liminal animals, thereby constructing a more-than-human community (Wu & Gu, 2024). This is supported by Lila Warawutsunthon's ethnographic study on interspecies care for liminal cats in Bangkok, Thailand (Warawutsunthon, 2021), which discloses that such care practices harbor multispecies communication and formation of a human-animal bond.

The complexity of any multi species ecology, urban or not, is prone to emergent challenges and amendments. Zoöpolis, then, should not be seen as an ultimate destination that will be reached, but as a political horizon and a guideline that we can consult to while navigating the complexities of multi species co-existence. Zoöpolis serves as a political horizon, where anthropocentrism is challenged, animal agencies are acknowledged and enabled, and multi species co-existence is promoted. Zoöpolis "invite[s] the animals back in," (1995, p. 632) whom we have excluded from scholarly discussions and our world building. This underlines -once again- that MTHD benefits from a care approach, wary

of delivering preconceived rights and wrongs but remaining attentive to emergent lifeworlds and accordingly taking action in a caring manner. For the purposes of this research, Zoöpolis offers a framework to pose questions on how to spatially accommodate animals, as well as work toward its designerly answers. It is time we discussed animals not only through the lens of ethics, where harm should be prevented due to animal sentience, but also cared to design the Zoöpolis, here and now.

2.3 Approaching Animals Caringly

> The basic concept in care ethics as I develop it is the caring relation. Life itself starts in such a relation. The caring relation is an empirical reality, not a theoretical construct. (Noddings, 2010, p. 28)

Care Ethics (CE hereinafter)[15] is originally formulated by the moral psychologist Carol Gilligan in her book *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Gilligan, [1982] 1993). In the book, Gilligan criticizes how the earlier works of psychologists Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, both of whom write on moral development in children, are gender-blind (p. 18). Gilligan underlines how the results of their empirical study, which was exclusively conducted with boys, was formulated in their moral development theory to explain "children" in general. Piaget and Kohlberg's assumption of the child to be male, Gilligan explains, excluded girls in understanding the moral behaviors in children. Such an approach to their sampling resulted in a male-centric measurement of moral development, in which women were not able to move further on

[15] Care Ethics comes in different wordings such as Feminist Care Ethics, Feminist Ethics of Care, Ethics of Care, etc. In this dissertation, I decide to omit "feminist" as it is redundant for Care Ethics *is* feminist.

the moral development scale as formulated by the authors. Thus, from these earlier accounts, women appear as morally deficient. Gilligan ([1982] 1993) writes:

> Yet herein lies a paradox, for the very traits that traditionally have defined the "goodness" of women, their care for and sensitivity to the needs of others, are those that mark them as deficient in moral development. (Gilligan, [1982] 1993, p. 18)

In her influential study, upon which CE will be built later, Gilligan argues for moral development from the standpoint of women's experiences as they relate to their caregiving practices and emotional labor. Gilligan's approach, although not written in the style of traditional moral philosophy for it focuses on the concrete experiences of women, should not be dismissed as lacking in its philosophical aspect (Pettersen, 2008). Instead, Gilligan's work discloses that mainstream moral philosophy remains gender-blind, while underlining care as an essential aspect of life in opposition to rights and justice frameworks that often leave care out.

Gilligan's seminal work was later picked up and further developed by other feminist scholars. In their article "Toward A Feminist Theory of Caring", Berenice Fisher and political scientist Joan C. Tronto (1990) categorize into three the main feminist approaches to care work and notions of caregiver starting from second-wave feminism: 1) selfish carer, 2) androgynous carer, and 3) visible carer (p. 35). Advocates for the notion of selfish caregiver argues that care has been and continues to be a burden for women, from which women need to emancipate themselves by prioritizing their needs. Authors argue that this perspective is inadequate as it fails to acknowledge care as a fundamental aspect of human life and does not offer a framework for considering how to care for others beyond one's own immediate needs. The notion of androgynous carer

recognizes the devaluation of care work and argues for its recognition by adding men into the picture. This approach, authors argue, does not address gendering of care work, which is related to the deep-seated sexual division of labor, and does not consider the potential male dominance over women's care work once men are involved. Final approach, that is, visible carer, does not suggest that women abandon their care labor, but instead work toward its visibility.

2.3.1 Moving Toward a Social and Material Notion of Care

Psychology-based approaches with emphases on emotional and one-on-one relationship developed between the mother and the child prevailed earlier scholarly discussions pertaining to care. This resulted in a notion of care that is emotional and moral, devoid of its sociality and materiality. This stems from a psychology-based education scholars' approaches to understand care, often by a group of middle-class, white, women scholars (Fisher & Tronto, 1990), called as "cult of domesticity" (Cott, [1977] 1997). Fisher and Tronto expand on the emotional and moral understandings of care as a result of the earlier psychology-driven accounts and describe it as an all-encompassing activity aiming to enhance living. According to Fisher and Tronto (1990), care is:

> a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, p. 40)

This definition moves care away from its one-on-one scope, and its mother-infant context. The authors describe care as a species activity, shared across all members of human society, regardless of gender, and caregiving practices are not limited in one way

or another. Care "includes everything that we do" to improve conditions of living. Such an approach lends care a sociality that it did not have before. To underline their testimony, Fisher and Tronto (1990) illustrate a real-life event that took place in a women's studies class discussing motherhood and care, during which, Diane, the only black woman in the class, contested traditional notion of care.

> During this entire discussion, Diane, the one black woman in the women's studies class, has been holding back her anger. Finally, she bursts forth. Her mother, a divorced women who worked as a night nurse to support her children, had had little time for long discussions about their emotional realities. Her talks with them took place during the chores they performed together or even during her daytime rest period, when she allowed the children to wake her to tell her about things important to their lives. Much of her caretaking revolved around making sure her children were safe and well while she worked—finding friends and neighbours to look after them or taking them along to the hospital where she tucked them into extra beds. Each morning when she returned home, she would cook a pot of food for her children to eat when they got home from school. That flavorful pot, those nights tucked in hospital beds, those calls to friends and neighbors—all these things mean "nurturance" in Diane's life. (Fisher & Tronto, 1990, pp. 38-39)

Diane's personal testimony refutes traditional understanding of care and emphasizes that care in real world illustrates a different picture. For Diane's mother, most of the care focused on ensuring Diane and her siblings' physical well-being such as safety and nourishment, during which the mother orchestrated different resources including

friends and neighbors transgressing the confines of the domestic space. Care, Diane's personal history reminds us, is always embedded in a particular sociality, going beyond the immediate subjects of care and includes friends, family, and particular materials and places. Both the recipients and the providers of care may be plural and fluid, with care remaining as the central focus among different actors.

It should be noted that in Diane's story all these actors remain human, illustrating an anthropocentric notion of care. Feminist philosopher Tove Pettersen argues that some proponents of care ethics and ecofeminism such as Gilligan and Plumwood operate from an anthropocentric register as they hold onto normative "notions such as rationality, democracy, progress, and the view that there exists an autonomous, self-reflective, and responsible human subject" (Pettersen, 2020, p. 194). However, not all understandings of care operate from a human-centered register. Feminist STS scholar María Puig de la Bellacasa revisits Fisher and Tronto's definition of care for a less anthropocentric notion of care. She adjusts the earlier definition by changing the active voice of first-person plural with passive voice to accommodate a less anthropocentric standpoint. Care, according to María Puig de la Bellacasa (2017):

> is everything that is done (rather than everything that "we" do) to maintain, continue, and repair "the world" so that all (rather than "we") can live in it as well as possible." (de la Bellacasa, 2017, p. 161)

By adjusting Fisher and Tronto's definition, de la Bellacasa removes care from its previous anthropocentric confines. Care becomes a multispecies practice transgressing species barrier, while its motivation to improve living conditions remains. Such an understanding of care underlines once again the interdependency across species, as

previously emphasized by Haraway and Tsing.[16] Care approach not only addresses interdependency between species and the caring relations that constitute them, but also speciesism and the inequal standing of humans and animals before law. Criticizing utilitarian and rights-based approaches in animal studies, Josephine Donovan and Carol J. Adams argue against rights discourse's postulate of society consisting of individual and independent actors, and its presumption of equal agents before law (Donovan & Adams, 2007). They argue that humans and animals are not equal before law, and that DAs are dependent on humans for their survival. This is furthered by Eva Kittay, who argues against the notion of society as an entity of equals, as such a conceptualization disguises the many dependencies and asymmetries that make up the human condition such as being a child or aging elderly in need of care (Kittay, 2013, p. 14). In this dissertation, I employ the definition of care put forward by María Puig de la Bellacasa based on the adjustment of Berenice Fisher and Joan Tronto's earlier definition, to pursue a non-anthropocentric stance.

2.3.2 Care as a Designerly Practice in Emergent Lifeworlds

> In the logic of care doubt does not preclude action. The attitude is experimental: you interact with the world, while seeking what brings improvement and what does not. (Mol, 2008, p. 93)

Constantly made and unmade, care is an embodied response to interdependencies in emergent lifeworlds, rather than a set of predetermined, formulaic steps. Feminist ethicist Maurice Hamington discusses care not as cognitive, but rather embodied and performative, whose quality can be improved through iterations (Hamington, 2010).

[16] See 2.1.2 On the Question of Domestication and the Belonging of Domesticates.

Caring habits, as Hamington calls them, "can be applied to new and unfamiliar circumstances" (Hamington, 2017, p. 53). Such an approach recognizes care as an attentive and responsive practice to unfolding phenomena, which is iteratively practiced in the face of emergent lifeworlds. Care, then, does not unfold in a formulaic manner,[17] but is responsive. There could be iterations in caregiving, meaning, care could occur between same subjects at regular intervals, yet it never remains the same. This is the reason as to why care is not a cognitive endeavor, but rather an embodied and performative practice, whose quality can be improved through iterations (Hamington, 2004, 2010).

Laurene Vaughan, in her account to converge design and care, argues that in order to establish care as a practice, three tenets must be involved (Vaughan, 2018, p. 12). Firstly, there needs to be a connection between the caregiver and the recipient of care. This connection does not have to be based on one-on-one relation but can also be through empathy. Yet, care needs to be differentiated from empathy. Empathy is passive, and describes an emotion, whereas care is an active practice, which requires taking an action, or a counteraction, regarding those that are cared for (Hamington, 2010). Hamington states that "caring may have empathy as its imaginative basis, but it is realized in individual acts" (Hamington, 2010, p. 679). This action orientation of care is what allows care to emerge as a practice. Secondly, Vaughan (2018) argues, care action needs to include future expectations towards an anticipated outcome, one that would benefit the subject of care. Thirdly, care actions include skill.

To sum up, this dissertation follows the notion of care as a practice, which occurs in response to emergent lifeworlds toward an anticipated outcome and involves actors of

[17] This could be the case in a less-than-ideal care giving practice.

human/non-human qualities in a heterogeneous assemblage. In this heterogeneous assemblage, care practice brings together a diverse body of bodily skills and materials, which are orchestrated around the emergent problem facing the care giver and the care recipient, both of whom are in an ongoing, attentive dialogue. As it assembles bodies, materials, and skills, and adjusts itself according to what emerges, care practice becomes a designerly practice. As both the original definition and its revised version reveal, care, and caregiving practices, harbor the intention to enhance conditions of living for the care recipient by a caregiver. However, such a definition remains partial for it draws a positive picture of care, which I address in the next section.

2.3.3 Addressing Limits of Care

Care may not always work towards the benefit of the recipient or the provider, regardless of the intention to improve living conditions. Firstly, amongst the positive connotations surrounding the concept of care, the word's origin in Latin discloses its close relation to the urge to control. The adjective accurate, María Puig de la Bellacasa explains, is derived from the past participle form of the verb *accurare* in Latin, which means "to take care of" (2012, p. 211). The transition from the verb "to take care of" to the adjective which describes something that is precise reveals how care is intertwined with "the ambition to control and judge what/who/how we care for" (p. 211). Donna Haraway, too, underlines that one always needs to see care by remembering *accurare*, and adds: "Care is also poison" (ZKM & Zentrum für Kunst und Medien Karlsruhe, 2020, 1:02:39). Instead of enabling the care recipient to thrive, care might constraint them in ways that are not desired by the recipient subject. Too much care may end up controlling, and "asphyxiate the carer and the cared for" (de la Bellacasa, 2012, p. 212).

In addition to controlling the care recipient, care could work against the well-being of the caregiver. Care has also been discussed as a selfless and an altruistic act, and as a vulnerable state to be in for the caregiver, which may result in care becoming a burden. Tove Pettersen summarizes what she defines to be altruistic care: "A selfless, compassionate, and spontaneous act, the focus of which is the concrete other's immediate needs" (Pettersen, 2012, p. 367). Yet, one needs to be wary of normative portrayals of care as an ultimate good, a sort of remedy to all the troubles. Pettersen further breaks down, what she offers as the *ideal type* of altruistic care (2012, p. 368, emphasis by the author), into five constitutive defining elements to examine it, namely, "(1) a selfless act, (2) provided unconditionally and (3) spontaneously (4) to particular human beings in need of care (5) for the sake of that person's best interests." Firstly, altruistic care is one directional, that is, directed towards and centered around the recipient of care. Including the interests of the caregiver in the equation, say, caregiver's act of self-care, is interpreted as less than ideal. Philosopher Eva Kittay, in her book *Love's Labor: Essays on Women, Equality and Dependency*, emphasizes the vulnerability of providing care due to emotional investment and resource allocation for the purposes of care (2013). By doing so, she draws the attention to the ethics and politics of care work. Therefore, Pettersen argues, altruistic care idealizes selflessness. In relation to selflessness, care is perceived to be performed unconditionally, without questioning the situation in which care is to take place. Although unconditionality emphasizes care's non-discriminatory stance independent of gender, age, race (Pettersen, 2012), and herewith I add, species membership on part of the care recipient, it does not question the necessity of care. Rather, altruistic care, Pettersen argues, delineates that caregiver provides their resources without understanding why care is needed. In *The Promise of Happiness*, feminist philosopher

Sara Ahmed (2010) explains how care is a vulnerable state, as the caregiver is caring for someone that is outside of caregiver's control resulting in anxiety for the caree's future:

> There is nothing more vulnerable than caring for someone; it means not only giving your energy to that which is not you but also caring for that which is beyond or outside your control. Caring is anxious—to be full of care, to be careful, is to take care of things by becoming anxious about their future, where the future is embodied in the fragility of an object whose persistence matters. (Ahmed, 2010, p. 186)

Care, according to Ahmed, is centered around the caree and its needs. One ceases to hold onto their self by moving toward another, for the other's well-being, and not oneself. Therefore, in Ahmed's account, care appears to be a selfless act. Such a dynamic of care that is negligent of the caregiver's needs, and her own self, may not be rewarding (de la Bellacasa, 2012), and instead may be a "burden" on those who provide the care, as Laurene Vaughan (2018) puts it. By providing conditions for care, one might also protect themselves and their resources from exhaustion, while allowing the recipient to flourish in the long term. Overall, Pettersen's critique of altruistic care challenges the normative aspects of care that are exploitative for the caregiver and the care recipient. Pettersen offers "mature care" as an alternative, moving away from recipient-centered approach toward a relational frame, in which there is not only the caregiver, but also other care recipient, demanding a mature evaluation of one's boundaries and resources to be allocated according to needs.

Although the motives for caregiving may aim at enhancing conditions of living, it would be naïve to think that care exists in isolation to/outside of exploitative

relationships.[18] Both the caregiver and the care recipient may be affected negatively by the care relation in between. Care, then, harbors potentials for thriving as well as a detriment for the desired conditions of living. In this dissertation, I remain attentive to the care practices under scrutiny with all their contradictions, while being wary of portraying these practices as ideal. In the next section, I discuss the emergent field of MTHD.

2.4 Caring More-Than-Human Design for Non-Human Animals

In this section, I first introduce an overview of the emergent MTHD field. Then, I discuss approaches that call for observational approaches to the study of animal cultures including use and non-use practices and argue for designer, professional or otherwise, as representatives of more-than-human interests in wider multispecies situations in the Anthropocene. I end my discussion by discussing limitations and potentials of designerly knowledge pertaining to animals.

2.4.1 An Overview of the Emergent More-Than-Human Design Field

MTHD is part of the post humanist stance in disparate fields across social sciences and humanities, characterized by an attempt to incorporate the non-human entities into theorizing. These fields include (but are not limited to) STS (Clarke, 2005; Latour, 1992), sociology (Arluke, 2002), anthropology (Tsing, 2015), geography (Wolch & Emel, 1995; Wolch & Emel, 1998), psychology (Adams, 2020), and, last but not least, philosophy (Braidotti, 2013; Haraway, 2003, 2008b). Following the emergent trend, and confronting its own limitations caused by its prevalent human-centricity (Giaccardi et al., 2024; van Velsen et al., 2022), design research has started to step outside its human-centered

[18] An example to this would be pet ownership. Although I do not argue for abolishment of companion animals as a way of relating to animals for many companion animals and their humans form relationships healthy for both parties, there is exploitation in certain relationships due to treating the animals as property and lacking the capacity to listen to and meet their needs in a caring manner.

paradigm (Forlano, 2017; Vacanti et al., 2023; Westerlaken, 2020), seeking ways to de-center the human in its attempt to develop a more-than-human approach.

Recent scholarship from across diverse sub-fields within design such as participatory design (Akama et al., 2020; Haldrup et al., 2022; Lindström & Ståhl, 2019; Westerlaken & Gualeni, 2016), interaction design and game design (Westerlaken, 2020), landscape architecture (Aalto & Ernstson, 2017; Bracke et al., 2022) has witnessed calls to include non-humans such as non-human animals, plants, etc. in design processes as collaborators. Such approaches within design are often clustered under MTHD,[19] an emergent field in the making covering a wide range of non-humans in the design process from animals to plants, soils, and waters. The MTHD field brings together scholars from design subfields (interaction design, participatory design, etc.), and wider social sciences and humanities (STS, anthropology, geography and their encounters with design), causing a plethora of terms and what seems to be a lack of common lexicon (Vacanti et al., 2023). There are other terms that refer to this emergent field: multispecies (interaction) design (Mancini & Lehtonen, 2018; Westerlaken, 2020), interspecies design (Roudavski, 2021), post-human (interaction) design (van Dijk, 2020), zoocentric design (Baxter & Bruce, 2013), among others.

[19] The lack of consistency in language is observed also in social sciences and humanities with which MTHD is in dialogue. These include the case of transhumanism and posthumanism (See Wolfe, C. (2010). *What is Posthumanism?* University of Minnesota Press), or the case of animal geographies (Wolch, J., & Emel, J. (1998). *Animal Geographies: Place, Politics, and Identity in the Nature-Culture Borderlands*. Verso) and more-than-human geographies (See Isaacs, J. R. (2020). More-Than-Human Geographies. In D. Richardson, N. Castree, M.F. Goodchild, A. Kobayashi, W. Liu and R.A. Marston (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of Geography*. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118786352.wbieg2041). In this dissertation, I utilize the term "more-than-human design" due to its rather established use in scholarly conversation, while being wary of its shortcomings. The term MTHD still takes human as the reference point, following the logic of "Man as the measure of all things." (See Braidotti, R. (2019). A Theoretical Framework for the Critical Posthumanities. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *36*(6), 31-61. https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276418771486). Whatever is not human, falls under the bulk category of "more-than-human" or in most instances "non-human." I argue that the approach that is needed is one that pays particular attention to not only differences across species, but also within populations of the same species. Hence, *liminal* cats.

There is a strain of research within MTHD that focuses on inanimate "things" (Coulton & Lindley, 2019; Giaccardi & Redström, 2020) and their interconnectedness in a network, instead of living entities such as animals, plants, etc. In addition, studies may focus on utilizing the vital functions of living entities, instead of centering their needs, as evident in the emergent work that incorporates fungi, bacteria etc. which relies on the regenerative capacities of living entities (Karana et al., 2023; Oktay et al., 2023). Although the focus of the emergent field gravitates toward animals (Yanlıç & Coşkun, 2024), MTHD research on animals as users of designed products and spaces still remains rather sporadic.

Due to scope of this dissertation, I focus on design research that purposefully centers and thus addresses the needs of non-human animals themselves, instead of utilizing them in design processes to serve human ends.[20] Existing studies show that MTHD could alleviate the loss of natural non-human animal habitat by designing co-existence in human settlements (Edwards et al., 2022; Roudavski, 2020), accommodate domestic animals living in the city by providing them with designed living spaces (Oliver, 2024; Taşdizen, 2020b, 2021b), provide companion animals with a positive experience through interactive toys that emit familiar smells and sounds (Westerlaken & Gualeni, 2016). Similar to MTHD research, design education, too, started to aim for a more inclusive approach to design process by involving animals as stakeholders. Such attempts include designing for companion cats and dogs living with human families (Kaygan et al., 2018), raising awareness on the situation of liminal cats and dogs through

[20] It should be noted here that not each design that is provided for the use of animals centers animal needs. An example is the design of animal housing for animal confinement in places such as zoos for the human gaze, or animal cages for the use of animals to be used in laboratories for scientific conduct. Design, then, partakes in the confinement and forced labor of working animals in various human activities from scientific experiments to entertainment. For a discussion, see Bjørkdahl, K., & Druglitrø, T. (2016). *Animal Housing and Human-Animal Relations*. New York: Routledge.

communication design (Dokuzlar & Uçar, 2018), designing for liminal cats and dogs living in cities (Yavuzcan et al., 2019), and constructing multispecies cities through the lens of design anthropology (Fadok, 2024). Such an inclusive design education agenda is urgently needed, yet educating MTHD has limitations (Bekker et al., 2023), which await reflection on and strategies to alleviate for a sound MTHD program. In contemporary Turkey, MTHD works toward the social inclusion of animals in proposed designed environments. These include multispecies community spaces (Arer, 2022), citizen designs of animal spaces for the use of caregivers and liminal cats (Taşdizen, 2020b, 2021b), or municipal feeding stations working on the condition that a citizen provides a PET bottle, thus gamifying feeding liminal dogs (Yıldırım, 2014), however problematic they may be.[21]

In the next section, I first argue for moving beyond the notion of language exclusive to human societies and introduce philosopher Eva Meijer's discussion on animal languages. I discuss that non-human animals have their peculiar languages in contrast to the commonly held notion that animals are "mute." Later, I address the shortcomings of understanding animal communication, for it is inevitably through the human filter.

2.4.2 Attending to Animal Cultures and (Non)Use(s)

> I am proposing … that we shift the epistemological source of theorizing about animals to the animals themselves. Could we not, I ask, extend

[21] While encouraging citizens to recycle PET bottles, the design normalizes conditional feeding of liminal dogs, marking a complete departure from extant, one-on-one, interspecies care in the city. For a detailed discussion, see Yıldırım, M. (2014, September 6). *Geridönüşümle Çalışan Sokak Hayvanı Besleme Aygıtları Hakkında*. Birikim. https://birikimdergisi.com/guncel/1114/geridonusumle-calisan-sokak-hayvani-besleme-aygitlari-hakkinda

> feminist standpoint theory to animals, including their standpoint in our ethical deliberations? (Donovan, 2006, p. 305)

A sound MTHD research needs to develop methods that attend to animal ways of being in the world without jeopardizing animal individuality and agency. In constructing the needs of animal users, one way is to rely on quantified data. Smith et al. (2017) exemplify how GPS trackers allow humans to understand wild animals' spatial preferences, which, in turn, provides insight into designing more-than-human spaces. An example they give is wildlife crossing designed based on observations and quantified data. Another example is a study conducted with thirteen feline participants, who were tracked with GPS trackers designed for the use of their human companions. The study conducted reveals that the devices cause discomfort on the wearer cats (Paci et al., 2020). Although MTHD benefits from tracking technologies such as GPS in understanding overall patterns in an animal use of certain technologies, a heavy reliance on quantified data may lead to a dismissal of knowledges who may provide insights into the lives of individual animals.

A nuanced approach that purposefully constructs animals not merely as members of species, but as specific cultures or individuals is needed. The aim is to distance from approaches that, knowingly or unknowingly, reduce animals to a taxonomic category, hesitant to grant them individuality and individual agency. This is because animals and their agency are often ignored under biological essentialism, which interprets animal actions simply through the lens of species characteristics (Fox, 2006), thereby reducing individual animal to a mere member of a species, and not an individual animal who may chase *their* individual interests which may contest the socially constructed scientific knowledges around their species community. The same logic continues well into the

sharp distinction drawn between communicative capacities of humans and animals. Animals, although having their peculiar languages (Meijer, 2019) and cultures (Roudavski, 2021), are considered non-linguistic agents for they lack the capacity to speak to humans in humans' language. Moreover, the human is granted complex symbolic capacities, while the animal is reduced to a sound-emitting entity (von Essen & Allen, 2017). However, this is far from the truth. Recent scholarship has disclosed ways in which animals possess communicative capacities and demonstrate agency. An example is the geese population living in the Schiphol Airport and its environs in the Netherlands. Philosopher Eva Meijer writes that the geese population there are far from being "passive recipients of care and terror," (Meijer, 2019, p. 177) but are actors with political agency. Problematized by farmers due to their population increase over the decades, as a measure for which the Dutch government applies lethal control, geese insist on returning to their chosen territory, exercising their political agency. Therefore, understanding animal languages and behavior is essential (Meijer, 2019, p. 170) for human-animal cohabitations and human-animal care relations in shared places such as cities.

Such a MTHD research approach that acknowledges peculiar communicative capacities of animals would require human designers to rely on observational data, either collected data that of scientists such as ethologists, and/or their own elicited data based on their own observations, without solely relying on quantitative data. Such observations may include animal-animal interactions within and outside their own species community, as well as human-animal, and animal-technology interactions either in the "natural" habitat or in designed spatial interventions. A one-on-one observational approach, adjacent to that of design ethnography,[22] would enable MTHD researcher to approximate

[22] One such approach is Design Ethnography, which was built on a premise that designing of products and services need to go beyond existing methods and include observational techniques of human users in their

animal realities on the ground, capturing animal agency manifesting itself, say, in animals' spatial choices (Clancy, 2021). Immersive observations to understand animal realities may eventually help shape policy deliberations concerning animals (von Essen & Allen, 2017).

In order to respond to the animal uses as best as possible, political scientist Will Kymlicka, who has written an extensive body of work on liminal animals, calls for "iterative processes of proposals and responses" (2023, 26:06), in which, humans attend to the ways in which liminal animals appropriate certain urban spaces (animals' proposals) and respond to them by enhancing these uses. In this way, Kymlicka argues, designing *with* animals, instead of designing on behalf of, becomes possible, thereby granting these animals the status of "co-authors of shared urban life" (Kymlicka, 2023, 25:00). An example to attending to animals' proposals can be found in geographer Catherine Oliver's study on urban chicken keeping in London and the designed spaces thereof (Oliver, 2024). Oliver's study discloses how chickens do not use such spaces as preconceived, leading Oliver to construct chickens as "co-designers" of the city. Oliver's study shows that animals demonstrate their choices through their use or non-use of designed spaces, concretizing Kymlicka's proposal. However, such animal uses, or non-

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everyday, natural environment. Such promotion of observation is also supported in qualitative research paradigm that interviews often fall short in the data one is able to gather, due to reasons of power dynamics in an interview, humans' tendency to respond to in ways that they think the other party would like, and last but not least, the linguistic ability of one to explain oneself in said language. The latter excludes those humans that cannot explicate their needs to a designer or a design researcher due to lack of cognitive capacity, lack of language skills in said language, etc. Therefore, interviews alone cannot constitute the sole method of data collection during design processes. A diversified set of data collection methods not only enrich the data collected, but also diversify the data points, that is, potential users from whom the data is constructed upon, and for whom the product will be designed, including non-human animals, and in this case DAs. Therefore, going beyond relying on verbal explication of potential user's needs during design research, help to expand the amount and kind of data one can harness, which will inevitably result in a nuanced design proposal. Similar to how Design Ethnography offered ethnographic observations *in situ* to gain insight into patterns of everyday use to enrich preconceived design scenarios set by designers, MTHD, too, needs to operate from a methodological foundation that takes observation seriously, by challenging myriad forms of ableism and speciesism that operate from a human-centric framework, with human being Man in humanist sense.

uses should not be regarded as animals fighting back (Fadok, 2024), but rather ways in which we can learn more about animals preferences in peculiar contexts. Such an open approach to designing allows the participation and the co-authorship of animals in shaping the environments they live and the technologies they are subjected to. In this way, the animal subjects of those very spaces have power over what is done to *their* spaces, instead of designers who are outsiders in terms of their species membership, and presumably non-users of those spaces to be intervened in question. And these observations may be as simple as, say, felines preferring to sit inside small, contained spaces, or to sleep on freshly cleaned bed linens. These may seem trivial to us, but Donaldson and Kymlicka (2011) remind us that in the life of a dog companion:

> [W]ouldn't questions about what you eat, and how you spend the most active part of your day, in fact be of enormous importance? … That's not a question that can be answered in the abstract. lt can only be answered by engaging in the process-expecting agency, looking for agency, and enabling agency. (Donaldson & Kymlicka, 2011, p. 110)

To achieve this, however, animal communication needs to be deciphered, which remains as the major challenge (von Essen & Allen, 2017). Animals possess peculiar language capacities, and after Meijer's suggestion (2018), we need to be willing to listen to what they are saying. Despite peculiar languages and shared cultures diverse animal groups form (Meijer, 2019), animals are often portrayed as "mute" needing humans to be their "voice" in not only wider society but also within animal advocacy (p. 185). However, such premise is due to a human-centered understanding of what "having a voice" means, that is, taking the human as a measure on what constitutes a language. In

the case of DAs, Sunaura Taylor reminds that these animals have mastered the ways to communicate their needs with human caregivers (Taylor, 2014).

To be able to provide care for the animal, one needs to hear the animal first. To be able truly hear, one needs to abandon the "humanist ideal of 'Man' as the allegedly universal measure of all things" (Braidotti, 2019, p. 32). Posthumanist scholar Rosi Braidotti beautifully encapsulates the essence of posthumanist thought by arguing that humankind cannot be taken as the default standard for what matters, particularly when considering bodies such as non-human animals who are excluded from the category of Man. This revision maintains the meaning of the original sentence while refining clarity and flow. Care ethicists often emphasize care as a relation between the carer and the caree, characterized by an ongoing dialogue centered around the carer lending an attentive ear to caree's emergent needs. Therefore, for care relation to be established, the two parties need to enter a dialogue with one another. This dialogue sets the moral justificatory ground for the existence of care similar to providing consent. Human-animal care relations, on the other hand, cannot be comprehended in a traditional understanding of a transaction in the form of caree demanding care, which in return is provided by the carer. If the caree is a non-human animal, it is the caregiver's responsibility to lend an ear, and to hear. Care ethicist Nel Noddings (2013) describes her personal experience with her feline companion named "Puffy":

> When one is familiar with a particular animal family, one comes to recognize its characteristic form of address. Cats, for example, lift their heads and stretch toward the one they are addressing. Receiving an animal as nearly as we are able to do so adds greatly to the pleasure we experience in its company. Its responsiveness helps to sustain us as ones-

> caring. When I enter my kitchen in the morning and my cat greets me from her favorite spot on the counter, I understand her request. This is the spot where she sits and "speaks" in her squeaky attempt to communicate her desire for a dish of milk. I understand what she wants, and it does not seem inaccurate to say that she expects to be given both milk and affectionate stroking. I have incurred an obligation and, as we shall see, this obligation rests on the establishment of a relation. Puffy is a responsive cared-for, but clearly her responsiveness is restricted: she responds directly to my affection with a sort of feline affection—purring, rubbing, nibbling. But she has no projects to pursue. There is no intellectual or spiritual growth for me to nurture, and our relation is itself stable. It does not possess the dynamic potential that characterizes my relation with infants. I must consider her welfare because we are in a relation where reciprocity is presently exhibited. (Noddings, 2013, pp. 155-156)

Nel Noddings' account on care extends care to non-human animals in one of the earliest works on care ethics (Sander-Staudt, n.d.), however anthropocentric (Pettersen, 2020, pp. 204-205). This is because while Noddings includes non-human animals into the care framework, she excludes plants from the equation (Pettersen, 2020, pp. 204-205). Yet, her emphasis on an animal's characteristic form of address is significant, for they provide entry into her personal history with Puffy, and how the two have maintained an interspecies dialogue where one demonstrates their need, which is then understood and responded to by the other. However, such an established interspecies communication requires a shared history and a willingness to learn the other's "form of address," as

Noddings puts it. This is not only a prerequisite for interspecies communication to ground care and/or design action, but also a moral responsibility toward DAs, with whom humans have co-evolved and continue to do so. This is why actively seeking and hearing domestic animals becomes a significant moral and political task for MTHD. While they may not verbally express themselves and speak the human tongue, this should not yield to the conclusion that DAs are "mute" agents that lack the capacity to express their needs. Once animals are lent an ear, it is time that animals are represented, one way of which, I argue, is by the designer. In the next section, I discuss care relation as a prerequisite for designerly action and representation.

2.4.3 Grounding Design in Everyday Care

The discussions on what constitutes a design activity remained central and was always present in the discipline of design, albeit in different forms. Perhaps, the most encompassing definition comes from designer and educator Victor Papanek (Papanek, [1985] 2011), to whom one of the roots of socially engaged design may be traced, as he explicitly discusses design as a human activity, shared across all forms of human life. To Papanek, design constitutes "the primary underlying matrix of life" (Papanek, [1985] 2011, p. 3). While defining design, Papanek argues that design action *must* be driven by a conscious intent, which he later expands by including intuition into the picture, for "consciousness implies intellectualization, cerebration, research and analysis" (p. 4). Therefore, one can find in Papanek's position an inclination that challenges the notion of design as a set of rational decisions taken by a cognitive agent. Design, as Papanek explains, can also include intuition, that is, "impressions, ideas and thoughts" that the designing agent has accumulated "unknowingly, on a subconscious, unconscious or preconscious level" (p. 4). Such an approach explicitly challenges the notion of designer

as a knowing subject,[23] defining design as a process also shaped by, say, extant discourses. Papanek's approach stands in sharp contrast to his contemporaries, characterized by a positivist notion of a design science, or "science of design" named by Morris Asimov in 1962 (Arpak, 2012, p. 32), a program for design that was developed in the 60s.[24] Papanek, in his article "The Future Isn't What It Used To Be" (Papanek, 1988, p. 4), argues that such attempts to systematize design to make it more 'scientific' are reductionist, and jeopardize the psychic needs of human beings.

Not dismissing designing being a process of reasoning and decision-making, design decisions may neither rely on nor require systematic analyses but may simply be responses to emergent situations. Design, if construed as a "scientific" pursuit of rational agents, subjects human individuals to a certain cognitive threshold, subjugating the designerly practices and knowledges of those who fall below the threshold as 'less than.' Such a definition to design not only excludes most animals, but also certain people with cognitive disabilities, thereby creating a group of entities, human or otherwise, whose designerly knowledges and practices are deemed illegitimate. In addition to being exclusionary, design as science also discloses an outdated understanding of science that *discovers* rather than *constructs*. As Cross argues, it was the values attributed to science, rather than the actual conduct of scientific practice, that design was subject to. Soon, such an approach to "scientize" design were understood to be based on outdated and unrealistic visions of scientific conduct, and not fit for design practice, which Cross argues to be a

[23] Sociologist Adele E. Clarke and her Situational Analysis (SA) methodology built as an extension of GT challenges this knowing subject by furthering Michel Foucault's work on the topic. For a discussion on SA, see 3.4 Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn: Situational Analysis.

[24] Early design researchers looked for ways to merge positivist notions of science to design education and practice hoping to develop a systematic and rational body of design knowledge. These efforts later resulted in what was titled as "Design Methods Movement," which eventually failed. See Langrish, J. Z. (2016). The Design Methods Movement: From Optimism to Darwinism. In P. Lloyd, & E. Bohemia (Eds.), *DRS 2016: Future-Focused Thinking*. https://www.drs2016.org/222

technological practice and not scientific (Cross et al., 1981), that is, design practice relies more on *knowing how* rather than *knowing that*. Design as *knowing how* brings into spotlight the importance of approaching design as a skilled practice, consisting of designing bodies and materials in an ecological framework (Ingold, 2000). This is what philosopher Donald Schön, who was critical of positivist underpinnings to "scientize" design and pursued a rather constructivist understanding of design practice, proposes with his concept of "reflective practitioner" (Schön, 2017).

To sum up, my definition of design builds upon the Victor Papanek's expansive[25] notion of design as an everyday practice as well as Donald Schön's constructivist framing Tim Ingold's ecological approach, where designing agent as a reflective practitioner, professional or otherwise, engages in a skilled practice in dialogue with the material, the tool, and the wider environment. This is sharp contrast with the hylomorphic model of creation where the human designer executes a design precisely based on a pre-conceived conception, without deviating from it, for he has the absolute dominance over the process. Therefore, when I utilize the word design, or designerly, I do not draw neat boundaries around or point to professional design. The notion of design as a technological activity unfolding in an ecological framing demystifies the design process and constructs it as an everyday conduct drawing upon different types of knowledges, scientific knowledge

[25] In a detail called "We are all handicapped" from his poster "Big Character Poster No. 1: Work Chart for Designers," Papanek sketches a list of socially excluded members of society whom design *must* include. Despite his expansive definition of design as a human activity and underlining its social orientation and potential for social transformation by including the members of a society at the margins, Papanek does not include DAs as subjects of design, whose very definition may include social and physical liminality. I argue with Papanek that design must have a socially inclusive agenda, however, would hereby add to Papanek's diagram DAs such as companion animals who live in households, liminal animals who live in urban environments, etc. as these animals are also members of their societies. See Donaldson, S., & Kymlicka, W. (2011). *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights*. Oxford University Press. In addition, I am wary to not reproduce the use of the term "handicapped" due to its negative connotations, as highlighted by Alison Kafer, who asserts that the term is rooted in individual, medical, and charity models of disability, unlike the politically charged term "disabled." See Kafer, A. (2013). *Feminist, Queer, Crip*. Indiana University Press. pp. 111-112.

being one among many, in an ecological framework constituted by elements of human and non-human qualities.

For designing is an everyday practice, not all design takes place within professional sites such as the design office. Some simply occurs within the confines of the home (Brown, 2008; Jackson, 2010), or in communities of practices such as knitting communities (Taşdizen, 2017), makerspaces, hackathons and the like. Costanza-Chock (2020) argues that, despite their democratization of technology (p. 156), which should be applauded and encouraged (p. 159), spaces such as makerspaces, without a commitment to addressing dynamics of race, class, gender, and disability, may result in spaces where the majority of participants are white, male and masculine presenting, able-bodied individuals who come from privileged backgrounds in society. This, Costanza-Chock explains, renders them as *privileged design sites*. Costanza-Chock's hypothesis is empirically supported by the auto-ethnography of Sonali Hedditch, a self-identified woman of color in four different maker spaces in urban Australia (Hedditch & Vyas, 2021). It is within this context that Costanza-Chock calls for an "intentional intervention" in these spaces, without which they would "end up dominated by white cis men and by middle-class people with free time and disposable income" (p. 159). Therefore, such spaces work on an individual empowerment level and neoliberal entrepreneurialism for already privileged individuals (Irani, 2015), by not addressing the systemic and exclusionary injustices, despite its claim to openness, thereby "fail[ing] to disrupt the matrix of domination" (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 158). They state:

> Instead, absent an intentional and systematic effort to implement a pedagogy and practice of design justice, fablabs (like hacklabs, maker-spaces, and other privileged design sites) too easily become sites for the

> reproduction of the matrix of domination, despite their promise to radically democratize the means of production of everyday objects. (Costanza-Chock, 2020, p. 155)

There are, however, *subaltern design sites*, as Costanza-Chocks calls them (p. 139), in which a specific kind of design that is deemed non-technical and therefore rendered feminine and insignificant is practiced (p. 140). One such site is women's communities of knitting practice. My six-month ethnographic research into a women's knitting community in urban Turkey as a young man demonstrates the inclusivity of subaltern design sites deemed insignificant within larger design discourse, and women knitters' ongoing efforts to legitimize their practice in their ongoing dialogues with me as the researcher undertaking graduate studies in design at the time (Taşdizen, 2017). However, despite the marginalization of the practice, the community practiced a peculiar authorship regime around the knitting pattern, which was shared based on interpersonal economic and social dynamics. Therefore, non-professional design does not immediately translate to *subaltern design sites*, and, despite democratizing production, such design practices should not be romanticized but rather approached critically due to their potential to reproduce the matrix of domination.

Another alternative subaltern design site would be the grassroots citizen practices in the urban environment occurring outside professional design or its adjacent privileged design sites. One example is Do-It-Yourself Urbanism (DIY Urbanism hereinafter) which refers to practices in the city "in which nonprofessional or unauthorized community members create or repurpose urban spaces in ways usually considered to be the purview of professionals" (Douglas, 2019, p. 1). It describes bottom-up approaches to shaping the city, unsupervised by the authorities responsible for urban environment. Despite

constituting an understudied area in the social sciences, urban policy, and planning (Douglas, 2014, p. 8), such practices are discussed under different concepts such as ‘insurgent’ (Hou, 2010), do-it-yourself’ (DIY), ‘guerrilla’, ‘everyday’, ‘participatory’, ‘grassroots’ (Iveson, 2013, p. 941), ‘vernacular creativities’ (Edensor et al., 2009), tactical urbanism (Mould, 2014), disclosing a variance in lexicon (Douglas, 2014; Iveson, 2013). The extant literature approaches the phenomenon from different interpretations ranging from DIY urban actions as criminal without any deeper meaning toward seeing them as explicit protest action with transformative potential (Douglas, 2014, pp. 8-9). These practices exist on a spectrum of legality (Pagano, 2013), spanning across illegal to legal, which means that the legal status of such actions can change over time depending on their reception of lack thereof. Despite their grassroots nature and that they most often operate in a grey legal zone, these practices do not guarantee the constitution of a wider urban politics (Iveson, 2013). If they were part of a wider urban politics, they run against the risk of co-optation by “neoliberal development agendas” (Mould, 2014, p. 532; Peck, 2005). Therefore, I deliberately avoid framing these practices through a lens of legality or explicit political motivations, as their nature is manifold and cannot be confined to such parameters. Specifically, I refrain from using the term "tactical," as it implies and anticipates a deliberate opposition to authority, which is not always the case. Indeed, as Mould (2014, p. 532) demonstrates, bottom-up initiatives can often be co-opted by municipal bodies. Similarly, I avoid concepts that define these practices primarily by their political intentions. Instead, drawing on Pagano (2013, p. 339), I emphasize their bottom-up, do-it-yourself (DIY) character and prefer the term DIY urbanism. For instances where these practices transgress legal boundaries, I adopt the term guerilla urbanism.

In the case of urban design, cities constitute the concrete embodiment of elite concerns and exclusion of oppressed groups turned into material form (Piazzoni et al., 2022, p. 1). Following Costanza-Chock's Design Justice framework, Piazzoni et al. suggest Urban Design Justice, which aims to disrupt the spatial exclusion and deprivation of certain groups by encouraging the uses of urban environment however such oppressed groups see fit (p. 2). In their article which focuses on different groups that are othered through race and ethnicity in Baitu, China, Los Angeles, US, and Rome, Italy, they find out that these groups resist power by "carv(ing) out possibilities for profit and political resistance; … tak(ing) ownership of space by activating subversive relations of property; and … break(ing) dominant aesthetics by making their bodies and practices visible where they 'should not be'" (p. 3). Albeit valuable in documenting in material form citizens' spatial demands and transforming spaces in desirable futures, most DIY urbanist actions remain as sporadic, ephemeral, and small-scale examples in the city (Piazzoni et al., 2022, pp. 6, 18).

In design literature, DIY urbanist practices take on different names based on their geographies of origin paying attention to their idiosyncrasies such as ad-hoc, bricolage, DIY, *jugaad* (Campbell, 2017; Julier, 2017), *halletmek* (Horsanalı et al., 2018), *gambiarra* (Antunes, 2023). Although designerly practices of non-professional designers have been conceptualized across geographies through different concepts, I refer to designerly practices of non-professional designers simply as design, avoiding neologism and further confusion. Above-mentioned conceptualizations, albeit helpful to think with, focus on peculiar attributes of non-professional design practices, such as its solution-oriented focus in a given time frame by utilizing readily available resources in one's immediate environment. One must remember that pressing concerns such as resource

scarcity, or opportunistically drawing upon existing resources, with the aim of "fixing" a pressing design problem are not exclusive to non-professional design practices but are also prevalent in professional design practice and cannot describe non-professional design practices in their entirety. Not only such approaches to non-professional design redeems it from a methodic approach, deemed exclusively professional and academic, but simply incorrect.

Therefore, these concepts, albeit helpful, illustrate a partial picture of non-professional design practices, for they emphasize resource scarcity through which they define such practices. Therefore, when working with concepts other than design to describe non-professional design, the potential risk of stereotyping such practices as well as their practitioners must be kept in mind, regardless of the intention of the originators, however well they may be. Both the emphasis on creativity or lack thereof, and the emphasis on operating within a resource-scarcity, presents a partial and biased understanding of non-professional design practices. While discussions concentrating on lack of creativity undermine the practices by subjecting them to intellectually "superior" professional design and its criterion of success, that is, innovation driven by the fuel of originality, a notion of non-professional design practices characterized by resource scarcity manifesting itself in the form of "quick fix" takes the attention away from the design process of non-professional designers, where tinkering with care is at play, thereby inevitably emphasizing and describing the material outcome, which is a bricolage of immediately available resources. However, it is not the outcome of non-professional design practices that we should be focusing on, but the process, in order to excavate the designerly knowledges and skills cultivated (Brown, 2008; Jackson, 2010; Knott, 2013; von Busch, 2013), the construction of self through such practices and their overall

motivations, caring or otherwise. Compared to professional design which is first and foremost profit-oriented, citizens' grassroots design practices may be driven by a sense of justice stemming from care, to care deeply about an issue, to care for a marginalized group, human or otherwise, etc.

Therefore, the emphasis on the properties of the outcome characterized by immediately available resources with a quick fix approach renders non-professional design practices one dimensional. Rather, a focus on the design process that considers the motivations as well as the potentials of such practices will yield to a debate that is willing to learn from those practices without reducing them to impulsive acts of bricolage making devoid of intellectual and bodily engagement. In the next section, I discuss designer as a representative of more-than-human interests and the potentials and limitations of designerly knowledge production in representing animals.

2.4.4 Partiality of Designerly Representation of More-Than-Human Interests

Van Dooren et al. (2016) challenge the scientific authority over speaking on nature and call for approaches to study multispecies worlds beyond the confines of natural sciences. Studies on indigenous peoples and their relations to their land and other beings, or the work of artists such as multimedia documentations of multispecies lives allowed to understand multispecies worlds in ways that open up interpretations and understandings beyond the scientific format. In addition to artistic and indigenous knowledges, Sue Donaldson and Will Kymlicka (2011) argue that human companions of animals could represent these animals by proxy in processes that concern them. Haldrup et al. (2022, p. 15) argue that designers can represent the interests of those non-human bodies, because such non-human bodies lack a voice in the anthropocentric sense. This is furthered by Yanlıç et al. who argue for the lack of a nuanced approach in representing

the non-human in MTHD, animal or otherwise (Yanlıç & Coşkun, 2024). Joining these authors' calls that humans could represent animals by proxy, I hereby argue that representation is not only crucial but also possible through MTHD, on the condition that it adopts qualitative and one-on-one approaches to the animals under scrutiny. After Haldrup et al. among others, I hereby argue that MTHD offers a fruitful path to understand animal agency and choices that come with. My proposal is that multispecies contact zones, where subjects, animal and otherwise, are transformed by the encounter, hold the potential to be sites of designerly intervention. However, hearing a non-human animal to provide care presents challenges such as humans' lack of interpretative capacity for the ways animals perform their agency and address them. When representing animals through constructing their needs and designing for them, design research ultimately resorts to constructing animals in a particular way through the human lens. Pointing at the inevitable anthropocentrism in representing animals, Eva Meijer (2019) explains:

> Speaking for other animals (…) runs the risk of perpetuating anthropocentrism because it affirms an image of other animals as mute, and because it keeps intact the view of humans as the true political actors. Speaking for other animals should therefore always be accompanied by listening to them and looking for ways to let them speak for themselves within or outside given political and social frameworks. (Meijer, 2019, p. 246, fn 7)

Here, Meijer proposes the conscious act of listening accompanied by speaking on behalf of animals. The act of listening is emphasized by feminist scholar Sara Ahmed in her conceptualization of "feminist ear" "to hear who is not heard, how we are not heard" (p. 4). Feminist ear, then, is related to barriers that render certain voices mute. (Ahmed,

2021). In a similar vein, listening is emphasized in CE. As I previously stated,[26] Josephine Donovan (1990, p. 375) explains that "[i]f we listen, we can hear" and understand that animals do not want to be killed, eaten and exploited. Although listening provides a way to circumvent its drawbacks, speaking on behalf of animals remains inevitable in human representations of animals.

Being wary of the complexities of speaking on behalf of, it is essential that we minimize the human perspective whenever and wherever it is possible. Still, any data pertaining to animals, designerly or otherwise, is inevitably through the human lens, whether that be in the form of a scientific report, or a remark made of a layperson. To eliminate as best as possible any human-centric lens on animals, Catherine Johnston (Johnston, 2008) develops her notion of "responsible anthropomorphism," which she describes as "a way of knowing about and knowing with animals not based on our shared sentience, our shared place in the world or any other such abstract philosophical argument, but on our actual relationships, our day-to-day living and working" (p. 646). Following Johnston's invitation to focus on humans' relationships with animals, the question then becomes which humans, and which animals could provide a starting point. This is an empirical question, meaning, that it very much depends on the particular study and the research question thereof, and requires the researcher to map out all relations to the liminal/commensal animal under scrutiny.

Although not completely abandoned, a focus on day-to-day human-animal relations for MTHD marks a departure from solely relying on scientific knowledges pertaining to animals. Tarcan et al. underlines the significance of acknowledging and amplifying indigenous knowledges in order to create an inclusive design practice (Tarcan

[26] See 2.1.1 On the Morality of Killing.

et al., 2023; Tarcan et al., 2022). Expanding knowers not only translates to diversifying and legitimizing other knowledges, thereby working against marginalization of standpoints that fall outside the confines of Western science but also accept the diversity of animal populations in a given locale and individual animal lives therein, who are better understood and represented through one-on-one human-animal relations. The question then arises as to who best represents said animal(s) in the design process. This requires a commitment to map empirical situations "broadly conceived" (Clarke et al., 2015), a lack also reported in a review of emergent MTHD literature (Yanlıç & Coşkun, 2024). Mapping of multispecies empirical situations are not only significant to understand the relations in a given situation, but also because it appears as a gap in MTHD research. Jönsson (2014) proposes what she calls "design events" as gatherings of humans and non-human animals at the center of which lies the design activities that are focused on the present rather than the future. Such a framing is particularly interesting as it chooses to describe the unfolding of matter together with non-human animals using event framing. However, Yanlıç and Coşkun's review on the methods used in MTHD discloses that approaches are exploratory in nature, and do not map out the multispecies situations in their entirety with different stakeholders found in the situation (Yanlıç & Coşkun, 2024), and designing the holistic "world" in which the design in question is to operate (Schneiders et al., 2024). Both the gap in the literature, as well as attaining just animal representations invites holistic, network approaches to MTHD.

The designer's configuration of the animal user, and wider MTHD, remains a partial attempt, with the possibility of animals simply being indifferent to human designed visions of species would need. Note that such lessons can never be generalized to an entire

species but always need to be grounded in a particular population in a specific locale, attending to specificities of multi species situations.

Designerly knowledge production grounded in observation of animal uses and non-uses, however, remains partial. Partiality stems from the essential species difference between humans and animals who speak different languages, and there remains a human interpretative lens in deciphering animal languages. Hirskyj-Douglas et. al. (2018, p. 4) argue that, in the case of interaction design, although the animal's actions are available for observers, the intention behind animal's actions are always through the filter of human interpretations. Although the authors do not elaborate on this point in their thematic literature review on ACI (Animal-Computer Interaction),[27] the reason for this lacking is that non-human animals, similar to children in CCI (Child-Computer Interaction) or persons with certain cognitive disabilities, do not provide spoken feedback on their interactions, thereby requiring human agents to interpret these actions as this remains the only option. With recent advancements in artificial intelligence (AI hereinafter), better understanding animal languages seems a possibility in the near future (Rouk, 2024).

[27] Although animals have long been involved in technological experiments, recent decades have witnessed the growth of a field that focuses on animals as users of technology, namely, Animal-Computer Interaction (ACI hereinafter). ACI decenters the human user for whom the interaction has been designed by focusing on the animal's point of view, which has remained marginal within Human-Computer Interaction (HCI hereinafter) communities. It should not come as a surprise, then, that ACI has mostly been driven by academic research on the topic rather than the computer science practice. The aim of ACI is 1) to improve animals' quality of life, 2) to facilitate better human-animal relationships, and 3) to help animals during legal processes. In order to accomplish the above-mentioned aims, ACI as a field investigates the relationship between animals and technologies in the context of animals' environment. The environment varies depending on the species and whether the said animal is wild, domestic, etc. Therefore, such interactions could take place in a wide range of settings also including urban environments which host a number of DAs such as domestic cats. However, ACI operates from the postulate that DAs are to be found occupying predetermined places such as the household or the nature on a fixed domestic-wild dichotomy. Examples to this are pets in a household, farm animals in animal industrial complex, and wild animals in the nature, etc. A considerable gap in the current literature is that studies significantly lack a focus on the lives of DAs in urban environments within human societies, whose status cannot easily be clustered under an existing category or whose territory cannot be easily mapped. DAs such as cats and dogs who live in urban environments near humans blur such distinctions, and perhaps due to this reason, do not immediately constitute a user group within ACI. For a detailed discussion, see Mancini, C. (2011). Animal-Computer Interaction: A Manifesto. *interactions*, *18*(4), 69–73. https://doi.org/10.1145/1978822.1978836.

However, one should note that AI is a human construct and is prone to biases and is reported to perpetuate racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance (Ashwini K. P., 2024; Hofmann et al., 2024). Therefore, partiality in knowledge production pertaining to and the inevitable human interpretation of animal communication remains in the foreseeable future.

2.5 Conclusion to the Literature Review

The literature review for this dissertation draws upon separate disciplines such as moral philosophy, as well as design studies, animal studies and disability studies. As I discussed in first section, part of animal studies draws upon moral philosophy and philosophical debates on how to approach animals and DAs and the wider animal issue. Both CE and disability studies deliver substantial critiques to early accounts of animal studies developed and furthered by Peter Singer and Tom Regan. Peter Singer's utilitarianist account on the animal issue is especially criticized by disability studies scholars, due to Singer's ranking of animal and human lives worth living. While appreciating Singer's anti-speciesist stance, this dissertation does not follow Singer's utilitarianist approach which falls quickly into ableism. Instead, I turn to disability studies, and within it, an emergent cluster of disability and animal studies, to understand and situate the DAs. In this dissertation, CE and disability studies provide the framework on how to approach the DAs, without problematizing their existence, and emphasizing interdependencies between humans and animals.

As discussed in previous sections, CE abstains from formulating morally right and wrong actions but rather invites us to investigate messy particularities of the multispecies situations, underlining the need for a contextual and narrative mode of thinking compared to universal and abstract. By doing so, CE abstains from a "rationalistic, calculative grid

of humans' own monological construction" (Donovan, 2006, p. 306), invites scrutiny of situations each with its peculiar context, and challenges immediate moral responses. Political scientist Joan Tronto (2015), in *Who Cares? How To Shape a Democratic Politics*, writes that care:

> doesn't begin from abstract principles and reason down to pronouncements about what is right and wrong. It starts in the middle of things. Care practices don't suddenly begin; they are already ongoing. (p. 4)

In case of DAs such as companion animals living in households or liminal animals living in urban environments, whose survival depend greatly on human care, care ethics offers a helpful framework (Engster, 2006; Taylor, 2014). Because of human responsibility in domesticating these animals which result in their human dependency, caring for these animals is morally right. Yet, one should be reminded of the reality that care given to farm animals is sustained so long as they are eventually killed for human consumption. Killing animals, regardless of how painless or momentary it is, means ending the animal's life and operates against the very logic of care ethics (Engster, 2006). In the case of companion animals, care is not succeeded by an act of killing. Yet, in case the animal is carnivorous, caring for the companion animal translates to being embedded in the exploitation of other animal bodies in animal industrial complex to be able to feed and care for the pet in question.

There emerge major drawbacks from the surveyed literature pertaining to MTHD. Firstly, due to the prevalent anthropocentrism that heavily centers the needs of humans at the expense of animals, MTHD needs to establish an agenda that consciously aim for the well-being of animals for their own sake. This means valuing life and sentience, and

question ableist ideologies that deem (certain) animal lives "less than," thereby justifying their exploitation and killing. CE, especially from a disability lens, moves the attention away from functionalist accounts questioning the deservingness of care for a group of animals whose existence is problematized due to being deemed incapable of hunting for its own. Taking responsibility for humans' historical participation in domestication processes of DAs, a care lens chooses to focus on caring for a sentient population that is here with us, communicating for food, shelter, and affection. The task at hand, then, is to promote and enhance animal lives through care, while being wary of the limitations of a care lens.

Secondly, MTHD needs to develop a nuanced understanding of animal cultures. Liminal animals transgress extant categories elongated on the domestic – wild spectrum and invites MTHD researchers to narrow down their key animal user group to an animal population characterized by a shared culture in a given site. This means a willingness to see animal populations in a specific locale beyond the confines of scientific taxonomies. Scientific knowledges, albeit valuable for they are extant discourses pertaining to animals, should not be taken as the sole knowledge resource. Instead, MTHD needs to expand its knowers by including non-scientific knowledges such as knowledges of citizens, indigenous communities, etc., who may have developed interspecies relations with animal cultures through curiosity and care. Such an approach helps to situate animal cultures at a given locale in a relational frame by mapping stakeholders, human or otherwise. Designing for a non-linguistic agent requires design approaches that aim to de-center human stakeholders as well as designer's anthropocentric preconceptions as much as possible by including animals as well as those who are authorized to speak on behalf

of them, whether they be scientific authorities or laypersons who have developed one-on-one relations with said animal (population).

Thirdly, animal standpoint is ultimately alien to that of the human, due to which the possibilities of misrepresentation of animal cultures and rejection of proposed designs always remain. Despite humans' willingness to hear to understand the animal standpoint to be able to provide care, Kai Horsthemke reminds us that it is always through the filter of the human perception, and there remains an inevitable anthropomorphism (Horsthemke, 2018). Horsthemke (2018) writes:

> How do we know what "the animal standpoint" actually comprises? How can we speak with any authority on the plurality of perspectives that make up the animal standpoint? The contention is that we cannot, as humans, presume to make claims or demands from a standpoint that is necessarily, and essentially, not our own. (Horsthemke, 2018, p. 210)

This calls for an open-ended approach to MTHD, which will emphasize an iterative process of prototyping probes, observing animal (non)uses thereof, and re-designing. In responding carefully to animal needs, I argue for observation and one-on-one care relations as a central tenet for MTHD. Animals do have the potential to materially intervene in human-built environment, built for animals or otherwise, consciously or unconsciously. It is through observing the aftermath of designed spaces, including animal use and non-use, that the human designer/design researcher will be able to meticulously study which proposals are rejected, and which ones are accepted and perhaps modified by animal users, prompting the iterative cycle of MTHD. Only by accepting the limits of human knowledge pertaining to animals, design, and MTHD in

particular, could claim to represent and respond to the needs of animals, albeit always partial.

3. CONSTRUCTIVIST GROUNDED THEORY AND SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

> Our actions shape the analytic process. Rather than discovering order within the data, we create an explication, organization, and presentation of the data. (Charmaz, 2006, p. 140)

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the Grounded Theory theory/methods package[28] (GT hereinafter) utilized throughout the conduct of this study, and justifies the methodological decisions taken thereof. GT, originated by the sociologists Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss during their empirical studies on end-of-life care in hospitals in the US throughout the 60s, including their seminal work *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (1967), has become a standard social science method, the practice and implications of which cuts across disciplinary boundaries (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 47; Charmaz, 2004, p. 440; Charmaz & Thornberg, 2021, p. 306; Clarke, 2007, p. 423; Morse, 2016, p. 13), though Barney G. Glaser argues that GT belongs to the world social psychology (Clarke, 2007, p. 431; Glaser & Holton, 2004). Starting from the 90s with the proliferation of textbooks on the methodology (Thomson,

[28] Theory/methods packages, a term coined by Susan Leigh Star, remain central in STS, as the question of how we know what we know has always been a key concern in the discipline starting from Bloor's Strong Programme. See Star, S. L. (1983). Simplification in Scientific Work: An Example from Neuroscience Research. *Social Studies of Science*, *13*(2), 205-228. https://doi.org/10.1177/030631283013002002. It describes the inseparability and co-constituency of epistemology and ontology in SI/GT research and Social Worlds/Arenas mapping. GT is understood to be a theory/methods package with roots in SI and pragmatist philosophy and interpretive, constructivist epistemology. See Clarke, A., & Friese, C. (2007). Grounded Theorizing Using Situational Analysis. In A. Bryant & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Grounded Theory* (pp. 363-397). SAGE Publications. Clarke underlines that theory/methods package is now a central assumption in STS. See Fletcher, I., & Clarke, A. E. (2018). Imagining Alternative and Better Worlds: Isabel Fletcher Talks with Adele E. Clarke. *Engaging Science, Technology, and Society*, *4*, 222-245. https://doi.org/10.17351/ests2018.216.

2021, 20:50) by 2nd generation grounded theorists writing on their interpretations of Glaser and Strauss' earlier works (Birks & Mills, [2012] 2015), GT has gained momentum and popularity within qualitative research, and the citation practices employing GT slowly moved beyond its originators creating new versions adding diversity and rigor to it (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 48). Eventually, it has become one of the most widely used qualitative research approach (Clarke, 2007, p. 423). However, such popularity has brought a lack of nuanced understanding of the methodology (Locke, 1996, p. 243), "vulnerable to uncritical acceptance and imprecise application" (Annells, 1996, p. 391). Therefore, my major foci in this chapter is 1) to explicate GT in its historical formation in order to understand the methodology with its divergent ontological and epistemological assumptions so that my selection of Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006) and "its methodological sister" (Whisker, 2018, [1]) Situational Analysis (Clarke et al., 2015) situated in interpretivist/constructivist research paradigm upholding a relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) for the purposes of this study is justified, and 2) to provide a transparent and reflexive account on *who I am*[29] and *how I utilized CGT*[30] to deliver "methodological self-consciousness" (Charmaz, 2017; Charmaz & Thornberg, 2021). Such a philosophical and methodological positioning of a GT study is essential for its methodological congruence (Annells, 1996, p. 380; 1997, p. 177; Birks & Mills, [2012] 2015, p. 1; Mills et al., 2006, p. 26), as the GT analysis "can be enriched by clarifying the researcher's epistemological premises" (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1171).

GT is a qualitative approach to data collection and data analysis that "consist[s] of systematic, yet flexible guidelines … to construct theories 'grounded' in the data

[29] See 3.5.4 .
[30] See 3.5 Grounded Theory in This Research.

themselves" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 2). Therefore, GT denotes two meanings; namely, 1) the *method* that is employed throughout the conduct of the GT research process, and 2) the consequent, substantive/midrange *theory* (Charmaz, 2004, p. 440). A common misconception concerning GT is that it is regarded as thematic analysis, a qualitative method focused on extracting themes and patterns across data sets, characterized by its lack of theoretical underpinning and thus its accessibility (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81). To the contrary, GT is not *a* method, but a methodology utilizing select methods and procedures that are theoretically bounded. In addition, the aim of GT is first and foremost to theorize from empirical data (Strauss, 1987, p. 5). The notion of theory in GT aims to move beyond description, by attaining "explanatory power" over phenomena (ATLAS.ti – Qualitative Data Analysis, 06:50). GT is particularly useful in theorizing processes and change as they pertain to organizations, and social interactions (Glaser, 1965, p. 444). It also draws attention to patterns of interpretation, drawing upon its strong roots in Symbolic Interactionism (SI hereinafter). The research process is iterative, rather than linear, and data collection and data analysis are concurrent, informing each other.

The beginning of GT dates to the collaboration of the sociologists Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss in the 1960s. The two, with mutual personal experiences of dying within their extended families (Stern, 2009, p. 26) develop an interest in end-of-life care and start to collaborate in early 1960s resulting in the key texts of early GT, namely, *Awareness of Dying* (1965), *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), *Time for Dying* (1968) and *Status Passage* (2017), thereby leading to the incremental, yet robust development of GT, which would soon revolutionize qualitative research. Antony Bryant (Bryant, 2017, 2019) adds to this list *The Nurse and the Dying Patient* by Jeanne

Quint Benoliel (1967), an influential collaborator of Glaser and Strauss, whose contribution to GT often goes unnoticed.

Before the publication of their seminal book *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* by Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss in 1967, scientism and quantitative functionalist sociology characterized by survey research prevailed in the US sociology (Clarke, 2022, p. 48), which responded to the concerns of quantitative paradigm through testing the validity of existing theories on macro social structures rather than developing new ones (Bryant, 2017, pp. 66-67; Charmaz, 2000, p. 511; 2008a, p. 156; Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 1). *The Discovery* came at a time when sociology was "in the belly of the haut positivist quantitative sociological beast of the 1960s" (Clarke, 2007, p. 427). During this period, qualitative research was mostly used for preliminary research purposes. Glaser and Strauss (1967) explain that:

> [t]he qualitative research is generally labelled "unsystematic," "impressionistic," or "exploratory" … These critics, in their zeal for careful verification and for a degree of accuracy they never achieve, have forgotten both the generation of theory and the need for carefully appraising the different degrees of plausibility necessary for sociology's diverse tasks. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 223)

It was such understanding and practice of sociology that led to the development of GT. Glaser and Strauss aimed to develop a qualitative research approach that would surpass the notion of qualitative inquiry as mere data collection, attaining theory construction through qualitative data analysis and thus its independence from then-mainstream quantitative paradigm (Charmaz, 2008b, p. 129), which, at the time, was regarded highly and superior to qualitative research (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 33).

The approach of theorizing based on empirical data that led to the formation of GT was already practiced among the sociologists of Chicago School, albeit through oral tradition of mentoring (Charmaz, 2008a; Rock, 1979) as they remained undocumented (Charmaz, 2000, p. 512; Morse, 2016, p. 15). Therefore, the systematic documentation of GT methods democratized theorizing (Charmaz, 2008b, p. 130; Charmaz & Keller, 2016, p. 18; Charmaz & Thornberg, 2021, p. 310), acting as "a strategy of (self) empowerment of 'scientific proletariat' against 'theoretical capitalists'" (Mruck & Mey, 2007, p. 516), thereby challenging the then-dominant form of armchair theorizing of the scholarly elites (Charmaz, 2008b, p. 130). Charmaz (2008b) explains:

> The Discovery book arrived on the sociological scene at just the right time. Quantitative research had become systematic and quantitative researchers saw their work as ''scientific.'' The worship of a narrow conception of science abounded. (Charmaz, 2008b, p. 129)

Therefore, Glaser and Strauss responded to the discipline with a much-needed qualitative approach to help construct theory from fresh, empirical data. Hence, *Grounded Theory*.

The roots of GT can be traced through the scholarly lineages of its progenitors, namely, 1) Anselm L. Strauss, 2) Barney G. Glaser, and 3) Jeanne Quint Benoliel (Bryant, 2017). Only through situating each scholar within their disciplinary lineages, can GT and its further modes with competing ontologies and epistemologies be better understood.[31] I discuss Anselm L. Strauss in a more detailed manner compared to Barney G. Glaser and Jeanne Quint Benoliel, for it was Strauss that paved the way towards constructionist and

[31] See 3.2 Competing Ontologies and Epistemologies: Toward Grounded Theories.

postmodernist versions of GT (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 125), including Charmaz' Constructivist GT and Clarke's Situational Analysis (SA), which this dissertation utilizes in its methodology.

The positivist underpinning of early GT stems from Barney G. Glaser were mentored by Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert K. Merton (Bryant, 2017, p. 63; Clarke, 2022, p. 58). Lazarsfeld's approach to sociological inquiry, especially his study on the unemployed in the Austrian village Marienthal (Jahoda et al., 2017), remains a key influence on Glaser, and GT (Bryant, 2017, p. 124). On the other hand, Robert K. Merton, who is known for his work on philosophy of science (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 32), was criticized by Glaser and Strauss for his attacks on qualitative research (Star, 1998, p. 225). Karen Locke argues that Glaser and Strauss differ in the way they portray the researcher (Locke, 1996, p. 241). According to Glaser, the research should enforce distance to the phenomenon they study, thereby restraining potential influence on data and GT analysis. Hence, his study on *theoretical sensitivity* (Glaser, 1978). According to Glaser, there is no interpretation in GT analysis (Glaser, 1992, as cited in Locke, 1996). To the opposite, concepts *emerge*, whereas he finds that Strauss and Corbin *force* their interpretation on data. Emergence, Charmaz discusses, remains a key notion through which we can read how different modes of GT have come about (Charmaz, 2008a). Glaser maintained a strong positivist leaning in his theorizing of GT, whereas Anselm L. Strauss moved GT toward a postpositivist stance in his work with Juliet Corbin, which I discuss later.

In their book *Grounded Theory and Grounded Theorizing: Pragmatism in Research Practice*, Antony Bryant discusses the role of Jeanne Quint Benoliel in the earlier works of Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss including *The Discovery of*

Grounded Theory, which, the author argues, is "largely neglected" (2017, pp. 64-65). According to Bryant, GT was a "team effort" (2017, p. 39), not only between Glaser and Strauss, but also Quint, whom he considers to be one of the progenitors of the method (Bryant, 2017, p. xvi; 2019, p. 6). Phyllis Stern argues that empirical foundations of GT originate from Quint's data (Stern, 2009, p. 25; 2012, p. 1580). However, this position remains unclear for Glaser and Strauss do not detail their data collection and data analysis for the preparation of *Awareness* and *Discovery*, though Bryant argues that data collection and analysis might have been separately within research team members (2017, p. 134). Therefore, it remains unclear the extent to which Quint contributed to the original GT, though the practical aspect of Glaser and Strauss's collaboration "owed a great deal" to Quint's work. In 1967, the year *The Discovery* was published, Quint published her own version of how to theorize from empirical data (Quint, 1967). Bryant argues that much of Quint's unrecognized contributions can be seen in the popularity of GT in nursing research, as Quint herself was a nurse.

A discussion of the three contributors to early GT discloses the different influences through which GT was developed in the 1960s. Although both were sociologists, Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss came from different schools of sociology, and maintained ontological and epistemological differences such as the different notions of the concept of "emergence" (Charmaz, 2008a; Kelle, 2005), thereby leading to different modes of GT. Emergence, although a shared tenet between different modes of GT, remains as a "focal point in divisions and debates" (Charmaz, 2008a, p. 158), because it connects to different epistemologies in how knowledge is constructed. The concept of emergence also refers to the open-ended and flexible nature that characterizes the GT approach, as Charmaz argues (2008a), as neither of theories'

originators also fostered rigid approaches. Charmaz argues that it is the different notions of the concept of emergence that has resulted in distinctions and debates between these modes, and divergences in GT practices (Charmaz, 2008a). According to Charmaz, one of the major splits between Glaser and Strauss is due to the different notions of the concept. Charmaz argues that emergence according to Glaser is objective, as in there is no interpretation in abstraction.

Such differences prove to be vital, as they "planted the seeds of divergent directions" (Charmaz, [2009] 2016, p. 129). Yet, Charmaz argues that both Glaser (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1965, 1967) and Strauss and Corbin (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) impart 1) a realist ontology, meaning there is a truth to be discovered, and 2) a positivist epistemology (Charmaz, 2000, p. 513). In comparison to these approaches, which she calls under "Objectivist Grounded Theory" (Charmaz, 2000, p. 513), she develops Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT hereinafter), which I discuss in detail later.[32]

GT has evolved and continues to evolve translates to a history of competing ontologies and epistemologies in different eras translating to the qualitative research paradigms of its age (Hallberg, 2006). The next section illustrates how a discussion of different versions of GT translates into a history of competing ontologies and epistemologies.

3.2 Competing Ontologies and Epistemologies: Toward Grounded Theories

In this section, I explain the ontological and epistemological roots of GT, thereby providing the ground for and explaining its different versions. Starting from its post-

[32] See 3.2.2 Constructivist Grounded Theory.

positivist inception, GT slowly moved into an interpretivist/constructivist terrain (Annells, 1996). Adele Clarke, in her wording "From Grounded Theory toward Grounded Theories", captures this shift and describes how GT moved from a somewhat standard understanding of GT in its earlier years toward a multiplicity of different versions (Clarke et al., 2015, pp. 36-37). Depending on the position of the author, GT and its different approaches are grouped in diverging ways (Charmaz, 2000; Clarke et al., 2015, pp. 36-37; Clarke & Keller, 2014 [50]; Denzin, 2007; Rieger, 2019). After Charmaz, I group GT approaches in two main groups: 1) Objectivist GT, and 2) Constructivist GT (Charmaz, 2000), each of which corresponds to different authors and their diverging approaches, which I elaborate as they pertain to the focus of this study.

3.2.1 Objectivist Grounded Theory

Glaser and Strauss's collaboration follows the ontological position realism (Madill et al., 2000, p. 4), which assumes the existence of a reality "awaiting discovery like a fossil in a stratum" (Rennie, 1996, p. 322). It does not come as surprising, then, to them, at the time of writing their seminal book in 1967, that GT is *discovered* (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 34). The epistemological underpinning of their collaboration was positivist, which reveals itself in their vocabulary such as the "emergence of data", carefully avoiding interpretivism in data analysis. The positivist inclination of their collaboration is argued to stem from Glaser (Weed, 2009), who strongly advocates for the neutrality on part of the researcher (Bryant, 2007, p. 106). Still, Bryant argues (2007, p. 107), such claims to objectivity is understandable given the epistemological paradigm of the era during which objectivist scientific method was prevalent.[33] Although it made

[33] Similar claims to objectivity of scientific knowledge production also occurred in the field of design during the 1960s, under what was called the "Design Methods Movement". See 2.4.3 Grounding Design in Everyday Care.

explicit the way qualitative inquiry occurred and democratized theorizing for those outside elite institutions where oral tradition from established qualitative scholars abounded, GTM's positivist orientation remained as its weakness (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 33).

As a strong advocate of an objectivist GT, Glaser remains unclear as to whether his formulation on entering the research with no prior theoretical pre-conception is possible, as he later argues for theoretical sensitivity in his book *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory* (1978). Theoretical sensitivity is a concept coined by Glaser to eliminate theory-ladenness of the analyst in GT as much as possible, that is, the inevitable theoretical position of the GT researcher before and during the course of the GT research. Especially during the first phase of GT, Glaser encourages analysts to maintain distance to the theory and engage with the data so that the analysis is not filtered through preconceived hypotheses or biases (Glaser, 1978, pp. 2-3 as cited in Bryant, 2007, p. 107).

Later, due to their epistemological differences, Glaser and Strauss ended their collaboration and continued working on GT separately, but in response to one another's versions. Anselm L. Strauss continued his work on GT (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1994, 1998) in collaboration with Juliet Corbin. They revealed two co-authored books in 1990 and 1998. *Basics of Qualitative Research*, intended for students wishing to take on GT for their studies. Later in 1998, they published another book in which they fully developed a constructionist approach upon critiques they earlier received.

3.2.2 Constructivist Grounded Theory

Kathy Charmaz, a student of Glaser and Strauss, remains as a significant figure in GT who has extensively written on the methodology after Glaser and Strauss (Clarke, 2007, p. 429), leading her to develop Constructivist Grounded Theory (CGT hereinafter). Charmaz explains that "constructivist grounded theory is an emergent method, not a formulaic, prescriptive method to apply" (Charmaz, 2008b). Therefore, CGT allows flexibility to the researchers in the application of GT, affording its adaptation to emergent research contexts. In this way, CGT differs largely from Strauss and Corbin's approaches to GT in 1990s, on which a large consensus on the formulaic nature of this approach exists among 2nd generation grounded theorists such as Kathy Charmaz, Adele E. Clarke, and Susan Leigh Star (Clarke, 2007, p. 428).

CGT aims to move Objectivist/Classic Grounded Theory "away from its positivist past into an interpretive future" (Charmaz, 2008b, p. 134). CGT takes both data collection and data analysis as constructed, thereby rejecting the neutrality of the researcher. Data, in this version of GT, is a mutual construction of the participant and the researcher, and the theory/concept is an interpretative portrayal of the studied world, and not an exact truth. "Data do not provide a window on reality", writes Charmaz (2000, p. 523), underlining that GT is a construct, and does not present an objective truth. Because CGT believes in multiplicity of realities based on the standpoints of those involved, it does not ask "Why?" questions. Instead, it is interested in the "How?" and "What?" of the social phenomena. CGT focuses on 'rich data', including variations in data. Therefore, Charmaz argues against the "theoretical innocence" of a researcher. She finds such a notion "naïve" (Charmaz, 2008b, p. 135), and suggests, after Karen Henwood and Nick Pidgeon (2003), "theoretical agnosticism".

Although CGT is in direct opposition to Objectivist/Classic Grounded Theory in terms of whether there exists a reality which can be objectively studied, Charmaz continues the emphasis on action as the central phenomenon in GT. She reiterates Glaser's notion of GT as the "sociology of gerunds" (Graham, 2013, 10:20), through the practice of coding in gerunds (Charmaz, 2008a, p. 164; Charmaz & Keller, 2016 [41]) to differentiate CGT from thematic analysis (Charmaz, 2008a, pp. 163-165), and to maintain "theoretical sensitivity" as much as possible by focusing on action (Charmaz, 2006, p. 136). The focus on action, and not the individual, is also central to Anselm L. Strauss's theorizing (Charmaz, 2006, p. 118).[34] Glaser, who is one of the strongest critiques of CGT, argues that CGT pulls GT away from its original roots toward qualitative data analysis (QDA hereinafter) (Glaser & Holton, 2004). Therefore, it can be argued that Glaser holds a traditional, methodologically purist position in the debate, whereas grounded theorists such as Charmaz and Clarke develop their own versions of GT, Constructivist Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis respectively, thereby responding to critiques GT and qualitative inquiry receive. Continuing the line of constructivist discussion Charmaz has started within GT, Adele E. Clarke develops Situational Analysis (also called Situational Grounded Theory), the two methodologies pursued in this dissertation. Before discussing Clarke's expansion of GT into a new terrain, namely, Situational Analysis, I would like to summarize methodological tenets that are shared across different modes of GT, which this dissertation follows.

[34] Kathy Charmaz criticizes the shift from action to individual in the 2nd edition of *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* by Anselm L. Strauss and Juliet Corbin that was published following Strauss's death in 1996. Her testimony is that this does not reflect Strauss's views, thereby underlining Strauss's emphasis on action as the central phenomenon in GT along with Glaser. See Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. SAGE Publications.

3.3 Shared Methodological Tenets Across Grounded Theories

Despite the modes of GT operating across different epistemologies from (post)positivism to interpretivism, certain methodological tenets remain neutral and there is a consensus on these tenets between its practitioners (Charmaz & Keller, 2016 [55]; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). These shared methodological tenets are 1) the iterative process in which data collection and data analysis are concurrent and inform one another, 2) commitment to theoretical sampling during data collection, 3) hierarchical coding process from substantive to theoretical, 4) memoing, 5) constant comparative method, and 6) theoretical saturation (Hallberg, 2006, pp. 143-144). In the sections that follow, I discuss each tenet.

3.3.1 Theoretical Sampling

As the analyst moves through the GT process through constant comparison of data and memos, they inevitably realize certain gaps in the data that invite inspection. These discoveries of gaps, then, direct the analyst toward collecting more data, and not theory, to gain a better understanding of the workings of the phenomenon under scrutiny. The grounded theorist pauses, reflects on the data, collects more based on their reflection, and re-enters data analysis. This is what is meant by the concurrent data collection and data analysis. This iterative process during data collection and data analysis is called theoretical sampling. It is the ongoing, reflexive checking of theories, their gaps in the face of emergent field findings (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Theoretical sampling differs largely from population sampling, as the data points are not recruited for better representation of a body of people. To the contrary, theoretical sampling is applied to phenomenon under scrutiny as GT unfolds in order to enrich our understanding of the phenomenon to better theorize it, thereby shaping the sampling throughout the course of

data collection and data analysis. It should also not be confused "selective sampling" (Strauss, 1987, p. 39).

During the fieldwork for this dissertation, considering the GT approach this research adopts and the emergent nature of the field, I decided on the next field site, the next set of interview questions or the interview participants based on theoretical sampling in dialogue with literature review and data analysis.

3.3.2 Coding

When dealing with large batches of qualitative data, grounded theorists start the analysis with coding, which is the first step in making analytical sense of raw data, and an essential aspect of GT (Strauss, 1987, p. 27), shared across all its modes (Belgrave & Seide, 2019, p. 167; Charmaz, 2006; Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2015; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Coding, according to Charmaz, is "naming segments of data with a label that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data" (2006, p. 43). However, GT coding as practiced today, are not explicitly discussed in the seminal works of GT in 1960s written by Glaser and Strauss (Belgrave & Seide, 2019, p. 169), leading to different understandings of the process in its contemporary forms (Bryant, 2017, p. 118). A decade later after *Discovery*, Glaser (1978), and another decade thereafter, Strauss (1987) and his collaboration with Corbin (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998) explicate the process of coding. Although a shared process across its different modes, there is not a consensus on coding terminology and the coding process. As this dissertation pursues CGT pioneered by Charmaz, I follow

Kathy Charmaz's formulation on coding.[35] Therefore, it is imperative that coding terminology in CGT is first clarified.

In CGT coding, the analyst follows certain steps, though there is a certain flexibility and iteration between these modes (Thornberg & Charmaz, 2014, p. 156). These coding steps are 1) initial/open coding, and 2) focused/selective coding (Charmaz, 2006). As was discussed earlier, the aim of GT is to theorize.[36] Coding is a tool that serves the purpose of theorizing. Initial/open coding is the first phase of GT coding, during which the analyst closely engages themselves with the data in order to fracture it. In comparison to category and concept, there is a consensus on the definition of "code" (Bryant, 2017, p. 118). Codes constitute the first outcome of coding during which the analyst closely engages with the data and aims to move the empirical to an abstract level for the first time. Therefore, when creating a code for an excerpt, the aim is to analyze data in a way that the analysis moves from empirical data toward abstract codes. Charmaz likens GT codes to bones in the analysis, which, when completed, will make a working skeleton (Charmaz, 2006, p. 45). As Charmaz's metaphor illustrates, codes are vital to the ultimate theory the analyst aims to construct. Charmaz, by building upon Glaser's (1978) approach to coding, asks questions of the data during coding:

> What is this data a study of? (Glaser, 1978, p. 57, as cited in Charmaz, 2006, p. 47; Glaser & Strauss, 1967)
>
> What does the data suggest? Pronounce?
>
> From whose point of view?

[35] Adele E. Clarke does not detail coding in Situation Analysis but rather focuses on situational mapping.
[36] See 3.1 Introduction.

> What theoretical category does this specific datum indicate? (Glaser, 1978, as cited in Charmaz, 2006, p. 47)

At this phase, Charmaz recommends certain strategies to ensure that the analytical focus remains on the action, the central phenomenon in GT,[37] and capture the standpoint of the research participant as much as possible: 1) line-by-line coding, 2) focus on actions via the use of gerunds where possible, and utilizing 3) *in vivo* codes (Charmaz, 2008a, pp. 163-165). Firstly, Charmaz suggests line by line coding and the use of gerunds so that the focus is kept on implicit processes (Charmaz, 2008a, p. 164). This is to preclude the analyst from "make[ing] conceptual leaps and to adopt[ing] extant theories before…the necessary analytic work" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 48). This also ensures that the analyst achieves coding in line with GT principles, and that the analysis maintains its distance to coding of topics and themes, common in qualitative inquiry (Charmaz, 2008a, pp. 164-165). Another strategy concerns the avoidance of mere description in a code for the purpose of abstraction. An example to this would be that if the interview participant reports on watching the news at a particular time and space, the analyst could code it as "information gathering", instead of "watching the news", to elevate it to an abstract level, in order to facilitate theorizing in further steps that follow. Finally, in line with GT's approach to understand participants' life worlds, Charmaz encourages the use of *in vivo* coding, that is, the codes that are based on participants' original wording. These coding strategies aim to ensure that the analyst prepares codes for abstract theorizing while remaining engaged with the empirical data. After initial/open coding, the analyst moves to the second phase of coding, namely, focused/selective coding (Charmaz, 2006, p. 57).

[37] An exception to this would be Clarke's SA, where the focus is on the wider situation.

Line-by-line coding of data during initial/open coding results in a large number of initial/open codes, which invite a certain organization by the analyst. These initial/open codes are substantive, that is, closely related to actions in participant's narration. Charmaz and Bryant argue for a hierarchical model to explicate the relationship between code, category, and concept. As one moves along the CGT analysis through the processes of coding, categorizing, and conceptualizing, one also practices "abstracting." In the words of Glaser, the move is from substantive to theoretical, while bringing together the data that was fractured during initial/open coding for the purposes of theory generation (Glaser, 1978, as cited in Bryant, 2017, p. 130). While maintaining being grounded in data, the aim in focused/selective coding is to move these substantive codes to a higher level of abstraction to pave the way toward theorizing in line with GT principles. Therefore, during focused/selective coding, the analyst goes through these codes in order to 1) capture which codes are repeating in data, and 2) whether certain codes can be grouped using the same code (Belgrave & Seide, 2019, p. 176). These are done to organize the large batch of codes into a more organized body, in order to determine which ones to proceed with, and which ones to leave aside. Through focused/selective coding, certain analytic categories, namely, focused codes start emerging in the data (Charmaz & Thornberg, 2021, p. 308). As grounded theorist creates codes by drawing constant comparisons across data, categories slowly emerge. Compared to categories and concepts, codes are abundant in number, as line-by-line coding of data to be analyzed is most often the case. In comparison to "code", "category" and "concept" are contested terms in GT, the roots of which could be traced back to Glaser and Strauss split (Bryant, 2017, p. 119). The progenitors of GT do not clearly define category and concept (Kelle, 2007, p. 194), thereby enabling grounded theorists' use of these terms to mean different

things. Categories, Bryant argues, can be imagined as "containers", as the grounded theorist accumulates codes that are related within them (Bryant, 2017, p. 119). Less in number, categories are more abstract compared to codes, thereby approximating theory building purpose of GT. Using categories, it is possible to develop a hierarchical model with their subcategories, though it is cautioned that the analyst pursues a "grounded" approach in developing this, that is, being attentive to what "emerges" from empirical data, and not forcing a top-down approach. Concepts emerge as the outcome of focused/selective coding. They are the constituents of the substantive theory GT analyst aims to build (Bryant, 2017). To Charmaz, categories, if proven to be compelling, can be raised to the status of theoretical concepts (2006, p. 139). This requires a decision on part of the researcher to select categories, which they think, have "analytical weight" to carry the analysis further (Charmaz, 2006, p. 139). Coding is accompanied by memoing, constant comparing, and theoretical sampling, which will be discussed in the sections that follow (Belgrave & Seide, 2019, p. 184).

3.3.3 Memoing

Another characteristic strategy in GT that is practiced across its different modes is dedicated memoing.[38] Memoing is practiced throughout the course of a GT study, to follow up on the analyst's theoretical reflections on data analysis. Although the common format of a memo is written notes, Strauss emphasizes the use of visual devices such as diagrams and matrices as theoretical memos (Strauss, 1987). Therefore, memo is not characterized by its format, but rather the theoretical engagement of the analyst with the engaged data and literature. Memos are supposed to be informal and spontaneous, and

[38] I use the term "memoing" instead of "memo-writing" to refer to a wider range of theoretical engagements in different formats such as drawing. For a detailed discussion on alternative types of memoing, see Strauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge University Press.

not formulaic and mechanical (Charmaz, 2006, p. 80). Although refined and edited memos can be included in final publications, they are meant for personal use and serve the analyst first and foremost. Charmaz reminds that memos are partial and tentative, and need to be treated in a flexible manner, and taken in a way that suits the researcher.

In this dissertation, I employ memoing throughout the course of the study in two formats: 1) written reflections as theoretical engagements with gathered data, the surveyed literature, and the meetings with supervisory committee, and 2) map making as an alternative way of analyzing the social arena. I kept my memos in a separate folder, noting their date of creation. These memos function as an archive of my theoretical journey throughout the course of the study, enabling me to reflect on my process, when needed.

3.3.4 Constant Comparative Method

Constant Comparative Method (CCM hereinafter) is a characteristic strategy in GT and refers to the ongoing comparison between codes and categories. First developed by Glaser (1965), CCM can be described as the "core category" of GT (Hallberg, 2006, p. 143), thereby bestowing it the status of "one of the non-negotiables" (Carmichael & Cunningham, 2017, p. 62). During GT coding and memoing, the analyst follows CCM to draw comparisons across data: data with data, data with code, code with code, code with category, category with category, category with concept. If the researcher were to apply an extant code on an excerpt, the researcher is encouraged to refer to previous excerpts to which the same code is applied. This referral ensures the consistency of a code through "constant comparison", that is, codes and categories delineate similar incidents within each, as well as defining the analytic properties of and helping to saturate categories (Strauss, 1987, p. 26).

Glaser describes constant comparison in four iterative stages that continue throughout the analysis until the analysis is terminated: "1) comparing incidents applicable to each category, 2) integrating categories and their properties, 3) delimiting the theory, and 4) writing the theory" (1965, p. 439). He reminds that "while coding an incident for a category, compare it with the previous incidents coded in the same category" (p. 439).

Through CCM, the analysis moves away from raw empirical data and lends itself to more abstract theorizing such as constructing concepts. Although an important aspect of data analysis, grounded theorist does not limit the use of CCM within data analysis. To the opposite, CCM helps to refine theory construction, as it allows to draw comparisons between data, literature review and theoretical framework (Charmaz, 2006; Giles et al., 2013; Ramalho et al., 2015; Thornberg & Dunne, 2019). It also allows the grounded theorist to move their substantive theory toward a formal theory as it allows comparison across different studies. As was discussed, the ultimate aim of GT is to theorize from empirical data.[39] The theory, in GT, refers to midrange theories, namely, 1) substantive theory (descriptive), and 2) formal theory (abstract) (Star, 1998, p. 221). Substantive theory refers to the theory grounded in the empirical data drawn from the specific phenomenon under study. Formal theory builds upon different studies through the analysis of the substantive theory at hand and its comparison to other substantive theories and attains a wider conceptual area. Through constant comparison, substantive theory may move toward a formal theory, through comparing the substantive theory to other theories (Glaser, 1965, pp. 444-445). Therefore, the difference between substantive

[39] See 3.1 Introduction.

theory and formal theory is one that is of scope and the level of description and abstraction.

3.4 Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn: Situational Analysis

> I see continuities and changes, not complete ruptures and de novo traditions. (Clarke, 2014, [65])

The postmodern turn has resulted in the re-evaluation of qualitative inquiry along with its epistemological assumptions and representation strategies (Charmaz, 1995). To Charmaz, the postmodern critique against qualitative inquiry revolves around three main axes: 1) the authority of the author, 2) their epistemological premises, and 3) the rendering of scientific work (1995, p. 48). Charmaz argues against what she names the *extreme postmodernism*, which calls for the abolishment of empirical research, including ethnography, which they deem part of the modernist project. Arguing that the empirical side of sociology is actually its strength, Charmaz disagrees with this call (Charmaz, 1995, p. 49). In the face of postmodernist critiques toward qualitative inquiry, Charmaz offers that qualitative researchers should "stand between" positivism and postmodernism, while taking postmodern critique in qualitative research as a constructive criticism to "remain self-conscious about our research and writing, to situate our analyses in historical and cultural processes, and to relativize our findings" (Charmaz, 1995, p. 43), so that the qualitative research can be enhanced (Charmaz, 1995, p. 44), and not abolished. Clarke, whose approach to GT this dissertation follows, push GT around the postmodern turn, and attain methodological pluralism, and to facilitate trans- and interdisciplinarity (Clarke, 2019, pp. 24-25).

GT is criticized due to its dissection of participant narratives through coding (Clarke, 2007, p. 426), and its simplification of social phenomena through deliberately cutting out contradictions in an attempt to create a "coherent" narrative (Clarke, 2005, p. 15). A careful avoidance of simplification is needed to underline the messiness and complexity of empirical worlds as well as to enhance the empirical project. Clarke argues that this can be achieved by complicating our stories through incorporating inconsistencies in *our* understanding of the messy social phenomena. Attending to complexities of unfolding phenomena requires an approach that is complex and not simplified. In light of these criticisms, Adele E. Clarke, a student of Anselm Strauss, took these criticisms seriously, and furthered GT in a direction which she calls Situational Analysis (SA) to "better address differences and complexities of social life articulated through the postmodern turn" (Clarke, 2003, p. 553). SA, sometimes referred to as "Situational Grounded Theory" (Denzin, 2007), is an approach that is not "either [S]GT or SA but both" (Berliner Methodentreffen, 17:58) as "an extension" of it (Berliner Methodentreffen, 2011, 17:05), Clarke explains. She writes: "I would not say that situational analysis is a type of grounded theory but rather that it is an extension of grounded theory" (Clarke, [2009] 2016, p. 234). This is because, Clarke explains, SA continues the tradition of GT through 1) analysis of collected data through coding, 2) reflecting on research process and theory construction through memo writing, 3) seeking further data for the purposes of deepening existing knowledge or variation through theoretical sampling, and 4) analytic diagramming (p. 234). It is the analytic diagramming that Clarke draws upon to build SA.

Strauss, in *Qualitative Analysis* (1987, pp. 143-150), argue for a particular kind of memos, which he calls "graphic representations." These are analytic visual devices to

help the analyst in their interpretation of the phenomenon during the research process, or to delineate the phenomenon visually in publications. Strauss argues that these visual devices can be used to map the multiple perspectives of the actors involved in, stages of or the relations within the phenomenon under scrutiny, while noting the limitations of visual memos, thereby inviting theoretical memos to be employed concurrently with diagrams (Strauss, 1987, p. 148). Later in *Basics* with Corbin (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998), they offer *conditional/consequential matrix* to situate the action in its wider context. According to Clarke, their take on contextualizing action was limiting in its micro-macro framework (Clarke & Keller, 2014, [88]). Clarke continues the GT diagramming and develops SA. However, there exists a major departure from previous versions of GT, including Charmaz's CGT. Glaser, Strauss, and Charmaz emphasize action as the central phenomenon (Charmaz, 2006, p. 118; 2013, 10:20), whereas Clarke offers situations as its focus in SA. Yet, the boundaries of any situation cannot be set against a standard. Clarke, in her conversation with Reiner Keller (2014), explains that the definition of a situation is an empirical one, that is, it very much depends on the particular field, how the researcher frames the research within this field. Situation, compared to context in previous modes of GT, does not exist outside of a phenomenon at varying levels from micro to meso and macro. Instead, Clarke et al. (2015) argue:

> Here the conditions of the situation are in the situation. There is no such thing as "context." The conditional elements of the situation need to be specified in the analysis of the situation itself as they are constitutive of it, not merely surrounding it or framing it or contributing to it. They *are* it. (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 98)

By moving away from an action-oriented analyses in previous modes of GT towards a larger situation framing, Clarke not only responds to postmodernist critiques, but also goes beyond "the knowing subject," through drawing upon Foucauldian discourse analysis (Clarke et al., 2015, pp. 90-91), thereby incorporating into GT research those discourses that are to be found in the situation of inquiry that shape human actions.

Clarke (2005, p. 22) draws upon feminist standpoint thinking such as that of Donna Haraway's and her notion of *situated knowledges* (Haraway, 1988), which Haraway conceptualizes against "the view from above, from nowhere, from simplicity" in science (p. 589). Haraway argues for *the view from a body*, situated and partial, in comparison to universal, which she calls "God trick." Clarke agrees that "knowers are embodied, and knowledges are situated" (2005, p. 22). Therefore, SA emphasizes the situatedness and partiality of the researcher while encouraging self-reflexivity.

It can be argued that SA works against and undermines knowledge production as such, and includes, what Clarke calls, "implicated actors" and "implicated actants". Implicated actors and actants are human and nonhumans, respectively, that are discursively present in the situation of inquiry regardless of their physical presence. In other words, human actors (individually and/or collectively as social worlds) routinely construct human actors and/or nonhuman actants discursively from those human actors' own perspectives, interpreting their properties and actions in specific situations. Therefore, SA discloses the discursive construction of those actors and actants in the situation of inquiry due to their invisibility and lack of active self-representation, regardless of their physical presence. The specifying of these actors in SA mapping, Clarke explains, is essential in order to lay out a situation in its whole complexity and heterogeneity. This becomes a vital task in a feminist project, as these actors and actants

do not hold dominant positions in the situation and are often affected by situations beyond their control. SA, then, accomplishes an important task of undoing how methodologies may contribute to the silencing/erasing of underrepresented actors/actants, if they treat the situation as a natural given without actively pursuing implicated actors/actants. This is a point that comes up in feminist critiques of Actor-network Theory (ANT hereinafter), also by Clarke. Although SA borrows the terms "nonhuman" and "actant" from ANT and wider Science and Technology Studies (STS hereinafter), the engagement with ANT within SA is "minimal", Clarke explains (Clarke & Keller, 2014 [52]). It should be noted here that Adele E. Clarke and Susan Leigh Star represent the voices that bring together GT and STS, both of whom also furthered Straussian Social Worlds/Arenas Theory, an ecological framework that takes nonhumans into explicit account similar to ANT, albeit in a more nuanced manner in its understanding of silenced actors and actants that are at the periphery. Another line of critique towards ANT is the neat separation of the categories of human and nonhuman. By acknowledging the work of Donna Haraway, Clarke reminds that human-nonhuman divide becomes problematic as the human body itself is home to many nonhuman entities, thereby inviting the problematization of the term nonhuman (Clarke & Keller, 2014 [55]). Nonhuman in SA refers to not only things but also discourses (Clarke & Keller, 2014 [70]). Clarke also draws upon Patti Lather's feminist, poststructuralist approach to qualitative inquiry (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 86; Lather, 1988). Therefore, SA, compared to previous modes of GT, is characterized by its embrace of the complex, messy situations, which can be seen in its reworking of analytic diagrams.

3.4.1 Mapping in Situational Analysis

> Adequate analyses of situations being researched must include the nonhuman explicitly and in considerable detail. (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 92)

Clarke's SA takes Straussian diagramming very seriously yet consciously works against simplifications as a feminist agenda (Star, 1983). SA offers a supplementary level of theorizing through three kinds of maps that work as modes of analysis (Clarke & Keller, 2014), namely, 1) situational maps, 2) social worlds/arenas maps, 3) and positional maps. SA mapping requires all the actors (human and non-human) and discourses to be mapped "regardless of their power", which creates "epistemic diversity", allowing to foreground forms of knowledge such as indigenous knowledges and hence challenge exclusive hierarchies. These maps allow the researcher to study relations between the elements, to refine their analysis by writing accompanying memos and regularly modifying the map. Her unit of analysis moving away from human action towards the situation, in which implicated actors/actants are actively searched and represented for, can also be interpreted as moving towards a post-human, post-colonial terrain. Continuing the emphasis on discourses in the situation of inquiry, Clarke offers positional maps to map discourses, both visible and invisible from the standpoint of the grounded theorist. By doing so, the analyst maps out the heterogeneity of the situation by paying attention to positions not immediately heard, thereby capturing implicated actors/actants in the situation of inquiry. This is how SA attends to power dynamics (Friese et al., 2021, p. 103).

In situational maps, the researcher maps all the actors, human and nonhuman, "as framed by those in it and by the analyst" (Clarke, 2005, p. 87). All human actors in a

situation should be specified, Clarke emphasizes, though not all may prove to be relevant to the inquiry. In comparison, nonhuman actors and actants require an active tracing of the invisible, those that are taken for granted in situations. In addition, discourses surrounding the issue in question should be included, for SA aims to decenter the individual as the "knower" and seeks to include discourses in shaping actions and wider social phenomena. The aim in developing a situational map is to be inclusive as much as possible (Clarke, 2005, p. 89).

Following the situational map, where all the actors are laid out in the situation of inquiry, the analyst is recommended to make copies and begin drawing relations across different elements. Hence, relational map.[40] Relational mapping should be considered as a part of CCM, where the analyst draws comparisons across data in classic GT.[41] Relational maps are done "*systematically*, one at a time, from every element on the map to every other" (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 107, emphasis in original). In a relational map, the relations center around one element that is singled out. Clarke argues that a focus on relations, one at a time, helps to see which relations are found in the data, and which are not. Disclosing such gaps in the data, relational mapping helps theoretical sampling, enabling the analyst determine data points for further data collection.[42] Among the relations that are drawn, Clarke et al. (2015, p. 173) ask to pay attention to those that the

[40] Clarke develops relational map as a separate mapping method explicitly in her later writings on SA. See Clarke, A. (2022). Situating Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis in Interpretive Qualitative Inquiry. In A. Clarke, R. Washburn, & C. Friese (Eds.), *Situational Analysis in Practice: Mapping Relationalities Across Disciplines* (2 ed., pp. 47-98). Routledge. Her earlier writings on SA methodology do not formulate relational mapping as a separate method per se. Rather, she conceptualizes *relational analysis* using situational maps once situational maps are done. See Clarke, A. (2003). Situational Analyses: Grounded Theory Mapping After the Postmodern Turn. *Symbolic Interaction*, *26*(4), 553-576. https://doi.org/10.1525/si.2003.26.4.553; Clarke, A. (2005). *Situational Analysis—Grounded Theory After the Postmodern Turn*. SAGE Publications; Clarke, A. (2015). From Grounded Theory to Situational Analysis: What's New? Why? How? In A. Clarke, C. Friese, & R. Washburn (Eds.), *Situational Analysis in Practice: Mapping Research with Grounded Theory* (pp. 84-118). Left Coast Press.

[41] See 3.3.4 Constant Comparative Method.

[42] See 3.3.1 Theoretical Sampling.

analyst deems most interesting to pursue.[43] While drawing relational maps and relations between different elements in the situation, Clarke encourages the situational analyst to pose the following question: "What is the nature of this line—the nature of the connection between these elements?" (Clarke, 2022, p. 13). The answer to each of the relation invites a reflection on part of the analyst, to be written as a memo. Through reflecting on these relations, relational maps can help the analyst see implicated actors/actants in a situation, when focused on a dominant actor in a situation, and their discursive constructions to another element. Such discursive construction, then, becomes the nature of the relation. As can be seen from this discussion, memoing, CCM, and theoretical sampling are vital GT strategies utilized through and through.

Clarke proposes Social Worlds/Arenas Map drawing upon Strauss's Social Worlds/Arenas Theory (SWT hereinafter), which Strauss develops over the years in separate articles (Clarke & Keller, 2014). First coined by the Chicago School sociologist Cressey in his work The Taxi-Dance Hall in 1932 (Cressey, [1932] 2008), the conceptualization of social worlds occurred in the 1950s.[44] Starting from its earliest conceptualization by the Chicago School sociologist Tamotsu Shibutani (Shibutani, 1955, pp. 565-566) (Shibutani, 1955, pp. 565-566), social worlds do not delineate a specific location. Enabled by the transportation and mass media communication, Shibutani explains that "[e]ach social world, then, is a culture area, the boundaries of which are set neither by territory nor by formal group membership but by the limits of effective

[43] Here, it should be noted once again that GT does not proceed based on a linear research process preconceived prior to commencement of the research, most common in quantitative studies.

[44] Sociologist David R. Unruh traces the roots of the concept of social world to Georg Simmel's notion of social circles which, Unruh explains, discusses how the individual in the city is exposed to many stimuli and offered the freedom to choose between many opportunities according to their interests, leading to their belonging to different social circles. See Unruh, D. R. (1980). The Nature of Social Worlds. *Pacific Sociological Review*, *23*(3), 271-296. https://doi.org/10.2307/1388823

communication" (Shibutani, 1955, p. 566). These social worlds, enabled and sustained through communication, often develop their own discourse, and a mutual *Weltanschauung*, that is, world view. They differ in size and geographic distribution, ranging from local groups concentrating in a peculiar site to geographically dispersed, multi-sited social worlds across the globe. Building upon Shibutani's conceptualization of social worlds, Strauss (1978) writes that:

> Though the idea of social worlds may refer centrally to universes of discourse, we should be careful not to confine ourselves to looking merely at forms of communication, symbolization, universes of discourses, but also examine palpable matters like *activities*, *memberships*, *sites*, *technologies*, and *organizations* typical of particular social worlds. (Strauss, 1978, p. 121, emphasis by the author)

The concept of social worlds was greatly influenced by Chicago School and SI. SI underpinning of GT stems from Anselm L. Strauss, who is a 2nd generation sociologist from the 2nd Chicago School (Lutters & Ackerman, 1996, p. 25). The Chicago School describes a sociological "school of activity" (Becker, 1999, p. 9) that originated at the University of Chicago Department of Sociology and refers to a period of alumni who helped shape the theoretical and methodological position during the years of 1892 and 1945 (Cortese, 1995). Although its name may imply a coherent set of theoretical and methodological stance, the department showed great diversity among its cohort including the practice of quantitative sociology (Becker, 1999; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 32; Charmaz, 2008b). Yet, qualitative research remains very central to the Chicago School, concentrated around its Symbolic Interactionist lens to understand social interactions and human conduct. SI remains to this day as one of the well-known approaches from Chicago

School, which explains that interactions are not mere mechanical actions and reactions but depend on symbolic interpretations of the actions in a situation. Although originating from Mead, the term "Symbolic Interaction" was coined by Herbert Blumer (Chamberlain-Salaun, Mills, & Usher, 2013, p. 5), an alumnus that belongs to 2nd generation of 2nd Chicago School (Lutters & Ackerman, 1996, pp. 24-25), who developed his version of Symbolic Interactionism (Blumer, 1969), thereby bringing together urban ecology and social psychology (Lutters & Ackerman, 1996, p. 12). According to Blumer, individuals do not "merely react" to one another's actions (1969, p. 79). They react based on their interpretation of the action. The main themes that SI deals with are concepts of self, meaning, and action (Chamberlain-Salaun et al., 2013, p. 5). SI has been criticized due to its meso-level analysis of society, lacking a macro perspective such as institutional discourses, media, etc. This is later picked up by Adele E. Clarke, in her extension of GT under the name of Situational Analysis. Chicago School is also characterized by its empirical commitment to studying urban social phenomena borrowing methodologies from the natural sciences (Lutters & Ackerman, 1996, p. 3). In 1892, Chicago opened its doors to the first sociology department of the world (Cortese, 1995, p. 237). At the time, Chicago was one of the major emergent urban areas due to industrialization and its mixed socio-ethnic composure due to immigration (Baszanger & Dodier, 1997, p. 29n). If sociology is the study of human society, then the city appeared as the laboratory to study "man its natural habitat" (p. 3). Inspired and enabled by the emergent urban space of the city, the school and its sociologists developed an urban ecology approach which looked at the shared geographic milieux that is the city (Baszanger & Dodier, 1997, p. 18), in comparison to anthropological tradition at the time which looked at shared cultures. One of these sociologists was Robert E. Park, a sociologist of the Chicago School known for

his approach to “human ecology” (Goist, 1971, p. 48; Park, 1936, 1984). Robert E. Park understood the city as constituting of different groups sharing a common “habitat”. Robert E. Park’s student Floyd House later became Anselm L. Strauss’s first teacher during Strauss’s undergraduate studies at the University of Virginia. Park’s notion of urban ecology has influenced Anselm Strauss’s Social Arena/Worlds Theory, a parallel project to GT that he develops in separate writings (Clarke & Keller, 2014, [37] - [40]). Building on Strauss’s work on Social Arena/Worlds Theory, Adele E. Clarke develops her Situational Analysis as an extension of GT, thereby responding to postmodernist critiques GT receives, such as oversimplification of complex, messy social phenomena (Clarke, 2005, pp. 37-45). Strauss expands on the notion of social worlds as “universes of discourse.” Building upon Strauss’s argument (Strauss, 1978, p. 121), Clarke argues that social worlds constitute “universes of discourse” (Clarke, 2015, p. 135).

SWT is a result of Strauss’s intellectual engagement with the social ecologies approach of Chicago School and SI. Owing to his SI roots, Strauss includes action in the frame, and how social worlds and the organizations and technologies thereof, are constantly negotiated through these very actions. The emphasis in SWT, then, is on the process of change, that is, social worlds are not static entities but fluid with porous boundaries that are constantly negotiated. One can enter a social world and become an insider or exit a social world and choose to remain an outsider. SWT also allows membership across multiple social worlds, rejecting fixed identities. To the contrary, in line with SI thought, Strauss argues for a self that is constructed, and in the case of SWT, this occurs in engagement with membership across multiple social worlds and their ideologies (Clarke, 2005, p. 151).

SWT argues for a meso-level analysis, apart from the micro-individual and macro-social (Clarke & Friese, 2007). In developing SWT, Strauss describes four levels of entities at meso-level: 1) social arena, 2) social worlds (SWs), 3) subworlds (SSWs), and 4) organizations (Strauss, 1982; 1987, p. 146). Social arena is the largest entity, constituting multiple social worlds, subworlds, and organizations. Therefore, it is the most heterogeneous. On the other hand, social worlds describe rather homogeneous groups which organize around at least one activity in different sites where this activity takes place (Strauss, 1978, p. 121). Social worlds share similar outlooks, meanings, and commitments to action. Within each social world, Strauss argues, there are subworlds with concentrated interests for particular activities and concerns (Strauss, 1982). Organizations are the smallest entities that cut across subworlds and social worlds.

In developing SA, Clarke builds upon Strauss's SWT and offers a Social World/Arena Model. According to Clarke, social worlds/arenas maps describe "cartographies of collective commitments, relations, and sites of action" (Clarke, 2005, p. 86). The aim is to "lay out all of the collective actors and the arena(s) of commitment within which they engage in ongoing negotiations" (Clarke, 2003, p. 559). In comparison to Situational Map, in which the aim is to map individual actors and actants, human or nonhuman, the focus in Social Worlds/Arenas Maps is on the collective, and not the individual. Clarke encourages the grounded theorist to zoom out from the individual-level interactions, and to look at what is happening at the meso level. Usually lacking in qualitative research, Clarke reminds (2022, p. 14), such mapping is essential to map dynamics of power in a situation of inquiry.

A positional map analyses two elements at a time, each of which is elongated on an axis from its positive (+++) to its negative (---). The discourses are then spread out in

the map between these two axes. One should note that positional maps do not map individual actors or organizations. To the opposite, the aim of the positional maps is to lay out the array of positions taken or not taken pertaining to significant contested issues in a situation, which cut across individual actors or organizations. Clarke recommends the making of *positional maps* at the end of the project after all the data has been collected (Clarke, 2022, p. 15). As a follow-up, Jane Mills et.al. (Mills et al., 2007) suggest frame analysis (especially Collective Action Framing) to be used together with Charmaz's Constructivist Grounded Theory and Clarke's Situational Analysis.

3.5 Grounded Theory in This Research

Having discussed the divergent epistemological roots and its different contemporary modes, I would now like to explain why and how I utilized GT as part of this dissertation. Firstly, I will discuss why I chose this approach to qualitative inquiry. Secondly, I will proceed through how I applied GT in this research.

Compared to other qualitative methods, GT is particularly well suited in this study, because cat house phenomenon in Turkey remains scholarly unexplored,[45] especially through a care lens. This gap in the surveyed literature invites a conceptualization of this urban phenomenon afresh. GT differs from other qualitative methods due to its commitment to theorizing, for which a systematic analytical process has been

[45] During the course of writing of the dissertation, an article focusing on designerly care for street cats in Istanbul was published. See Cucumak, S., Apaydin, P., & Subasi, O. (2021). Decentralizing Carer-Stray Cat Interactions in Local Neighborhoods. Proceedings of the NatureHCI 2021 Workshop, Co-Located with the CHItaly 2021 Conference. https://ceur-ws.org/Vol-2901/short1.pdf. The findings of the article reimburse the findings of my preliminary study. See Taşdizen, B. (2020a). *İnsandan Öte Bir İstanbul Düşlemek | Imagining A More-than-human Istanbul*. Center for Spatial Justice; Taşdizen, B. (2020b). İnsanın Dışında, Tasarımın Ötesinde: Sokak Kedileri, Geçici Birleştirmeler ve Tasarım Aktivizmi. In A. Turanlı, A. Aydınoğlu, & M. Şahinol (Eds.), *Türkiye'de STS: Bilim ve Teknoloji Çalışmalarına Giriş* (pp. 225-242). Istanbul Technical University; Taşdizen, B. (2021a). Feral (Im)mobilities. In İ. Burçak (Ed.), *Locomotion* (pp. 40-48). Well Gedacht Publishing; Taşdizen, B. (2021b). İnsandan Öte Bir İstanbul Düşlemek: Sakat Şehrin Kedi Evleri. *MADjournal*, *2*, 124-133.

documented by scholars since the 1960s, leading to its establishment and its wide use across the social sciences. For these reasons, this research follows GT to understand and theorize this urban phenomenon. As was discussed, due to the epistemological differences between its originators[46] (and later its practitioners who follow these originators), GT is not monolithic. To the contrary, different modes of GT were constructed that span across positivism to interpretivism under different banners. Though there are shared strategies across its different modes,[47] one needs to be aware of and explicitly discuss the ontological and epistemological assumptions of their chosen methodology for sound research. This dissertation follows Constructivist Grounded Theory pioneered by Kathy Charmaz,[48] as it operates on an interpretivist, and relativist paradigm in understanding social phenomenon. This means that I follow an understanding of multiplicity of truths that is dependent on the standpoints of participants (relativist), and I, as the researcher, interpret how they play out (interpretivist). Therefore, I am distanced to postpositivist interpretations of GT, including but not limited to those of Glaser, and less so to Strauss and Corbin. In my understanding and practice of GT, I have consulted the works of constructivist and postmodernist grounded theorists that follow the lead of Anselm L. Strauss (1987). These are, namely, 1) Kathy Charmaz (Charmaz, 2006), and 2) Adele E. Clarke (Clarke, 2005; Clarke et al., 2015).

Since the commencement of the fieldwork of this study in April 2019 until August 2024 where I reached theoretical saturation and terminated data collection and data analysis, I, as the researcher, became a participant of the social worlds I entered. Throughout this process, not only shaped the study trajectory through theoretical

[46] 3.2 Competing Ontologies and Epistemologies: Toward Grounded Theories.
[47] 3.3 Shared Methodological Tenets Across Grounded Theories.
[48] 3.2.2 Constructivist Grounded Theory.

sampling I was following in accordance with my GT approach, but it also helped me become more aware of my limitations. In this section, I discuss how my navigation of different social worlds helped refine the research question and aim throughout the 5-year-fieldwork and reflect on my position in the research.

3.5.1 Research Questions

GT is characterized by beginning an inquiry with a broad research question (RQ hereinafter) that is refined as the analyst progresses through the research from an unexplored terrain to developing an understanding and explanation of it in the form of a substantive theory. In addition, GT does not test hypotheses of extant theories. To the opposite, it might provide a hypothesis at the end of research to be tested by further research on the topic. My approach to developing a RQ evolved organically in response to emerging field findings, refining its focus across three key dimensions: 1) the human actor group, narrowing from a broad category of citizens to animal lovers and ultimately to human proxies; 2) the nonhuman actor group, shifting from street animals to a specific animal culture of liminal or community cats; and 3) the scope of care and design actions, transitioning from generalized DIY urbanist practices for street animals to a more holistic understanding of spatial accommodation and the feeding practices of human proxies, at the center of which I position the "cat house and its environs." During the initial phase of this research between April – December 2019, my focus was on the interventions for street animals in public space broadly conceived for the purposes of care. My research was guided by the following RQ at the end of my initial analysis:

1. How do citizens construct 'temporary assemblages' in animal geographies of Istanbul in times of precarity and lack of policy? (Taşdizen, 2019)

As can be seen from this RQ, the main social group is defined broadly as "citizens," and there is a lack of focus on a specific animal species or a population. Due to the then-missing points in data, I had purposefully aimed to remain open to the multispecies users of design for interspecies care. As I proceeded with interviewing, it became clear that the majority of my interview participants self-identified as animal lovers [*hayvansever*] and their intended user group was liminal cats. However, not all participants identified as such, and some rejected this identity. Yet all participants shared a commitment to intervening in feline events. Therefore, I revised my RQs as follows:

1. How can the multispecies situation, broadly conceived, be understood in terms of the underlying factors that shape human practices, motivations, and responses within these interactions?
2. How do human proxies interpret and make sense of the behaviors of community cats? How is the feline user of the urban environment configured?
3. What are the notable examples of practices, accommodations, or interventions—designerly or otherwise—that facilitate co-existence with liminal cats in urban environments?
4. How do human proxies in Istanbul conceptualize and design interspecies care practices for community cats, and through what processes are these designs negotiated and adapted?

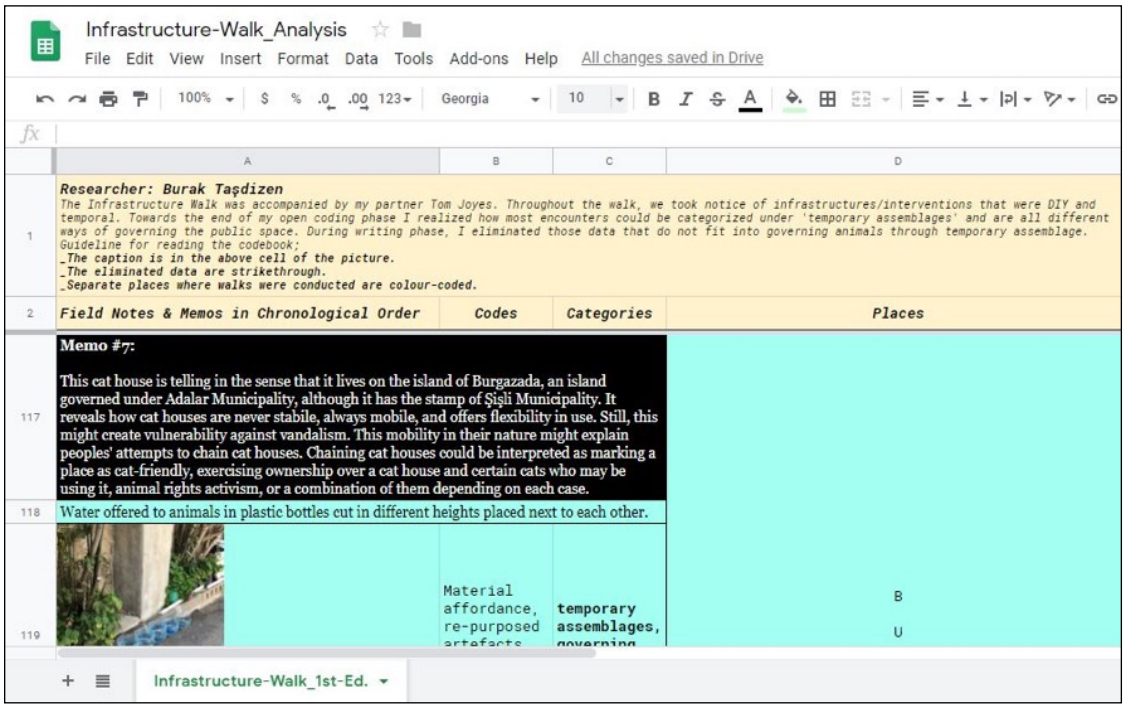
By responding to the above-stated RQs, I first aim to illustrate the wider situation of inquiry with its human and nonhuman actors. In line with SA's emphasis on going beyond the individual knower, I aim to include extant discourses pertaining to interspecies care in urban environments and contemporary positions for and against care as such. By mapping the wider situation with all its actors and discourses, I then aim to

understand how interspecies care is designed and negotiated across different social worlds and subworlds. In the next section, I discuss the methods I employed to answer these questions.

3.5.2 Data Collection and Analysis in This Research

I utilized three main data collection methods throughout the course of this study: 1) early infrastructure walks as part of open sampling of interspecies care across the city, 2) semi-structured interviews with participants who design interspecies care, and 3) field visits to specific sites such as veterinary clinics where professional medical care could be observed. The data I collected take the form of field notes, audio recordings, and photographs. Audio recordings of interviews were taken upon consent and transcribed verbatim before coding. For initial coding, I used Google Sheets followed by ATLAS.ti (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 *Initial Coding on Google Sheets, 2019*



During the initial phase of this research in 2019, I pursued Straussian GT (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The data I collected and concurrently analyzed consisted of photographic documentations of cat houses. At the end of the initial analysis on earlier version of ATLAS.ti 7 (Figure 3.2), I created the initial code list. The data analysis process led me to my initial category, namely, temporary assemblages, where I focused on temporal dimensions of designerly interventions in the city. As part of Straussian GT, I then created a Paradigm Model to gain insights into the working dynamics of the social phenomenon (Figure 3.3). Initial fieldwork and analysis helped me frame my research prior to the official commencement of the study.

Figure 3.2 *Initial Coding on ATLAS.ti 7, 2019*

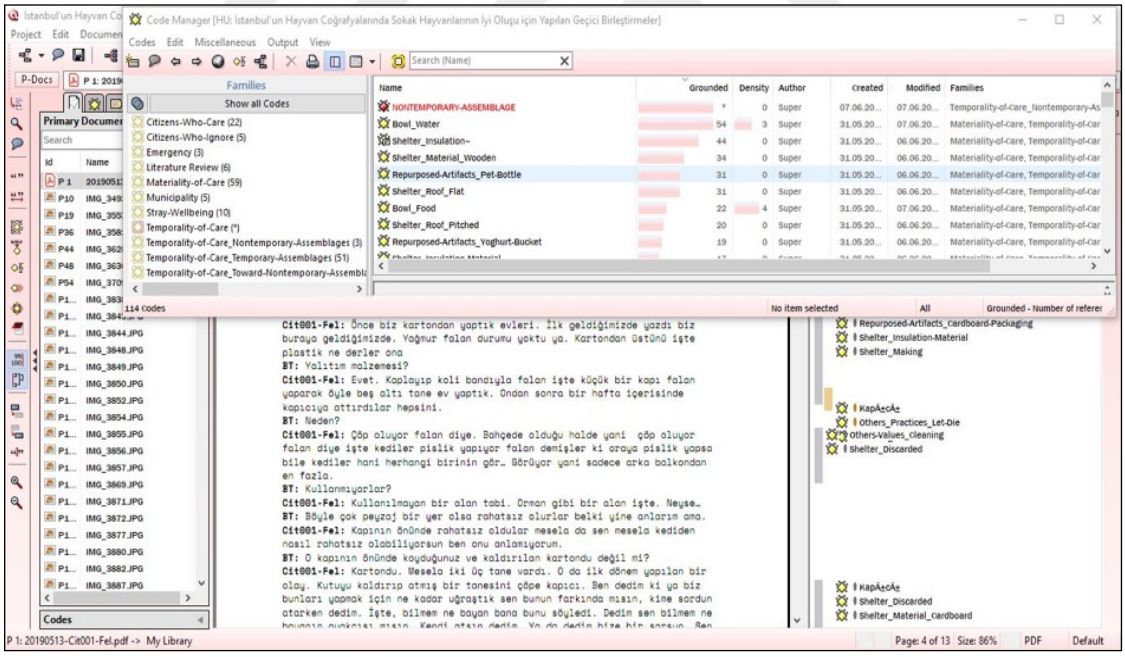
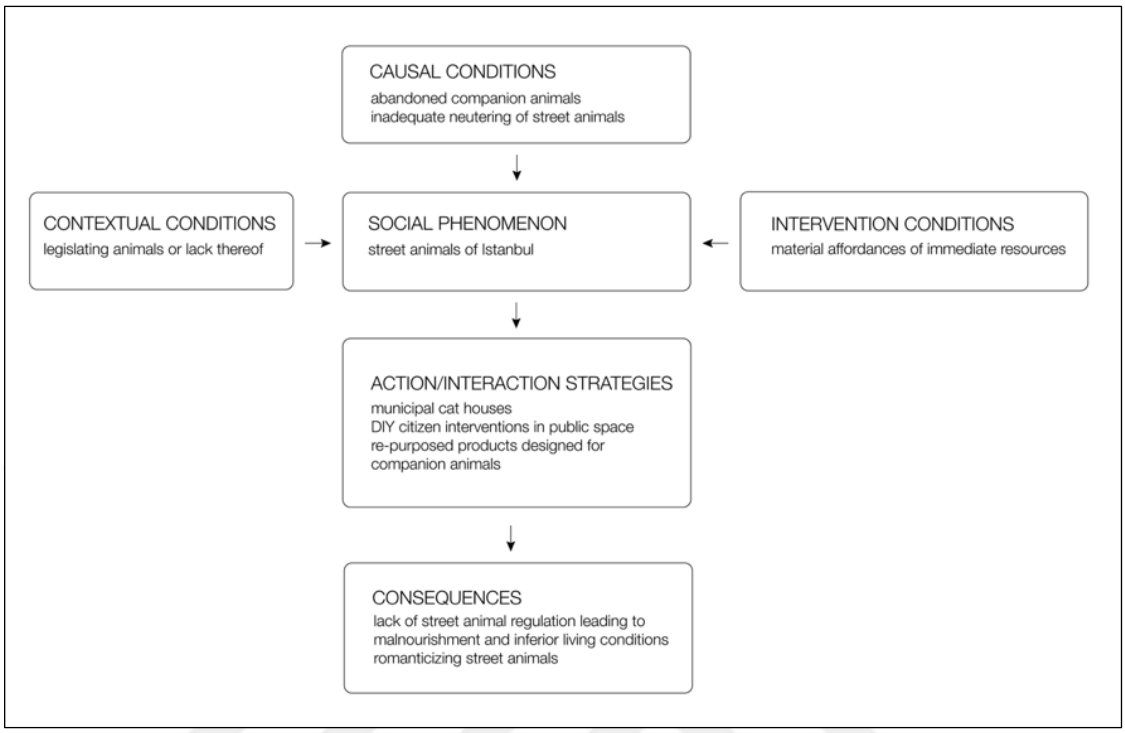


Figure 3.3 *Paradigm Model, 2019*



Starting from September 2022, I worked with ATLAS.ti Desktop for Mac (Version 22.1.5.0) (Figure 3.4), a software that is "specifically targeted at grounded theory analysis" (Star, 1998, p. 229) to analyze the data I collected throughout the field work (ATLAS.ti Scientific Software Development GmbH [ATLAS.ti 22 Windows], 2022). In line with GT coding principles, I purposefully conducted line-by-line coding to for a focused engagement with data. During line-by-line coding, I coded data in gerunds to maintain the focus on actions (Table 3.1).

Figure 3.4 *Line-by-line Coding on ATLAS.ti (Version 22.1.5.0), 2024*

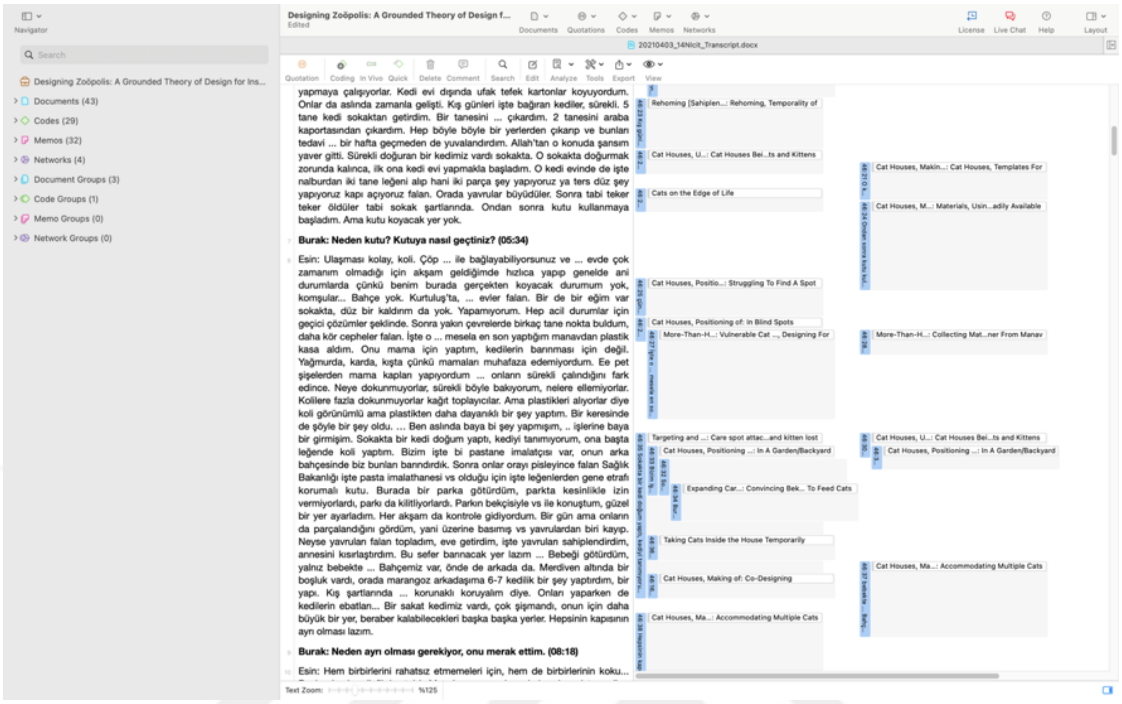
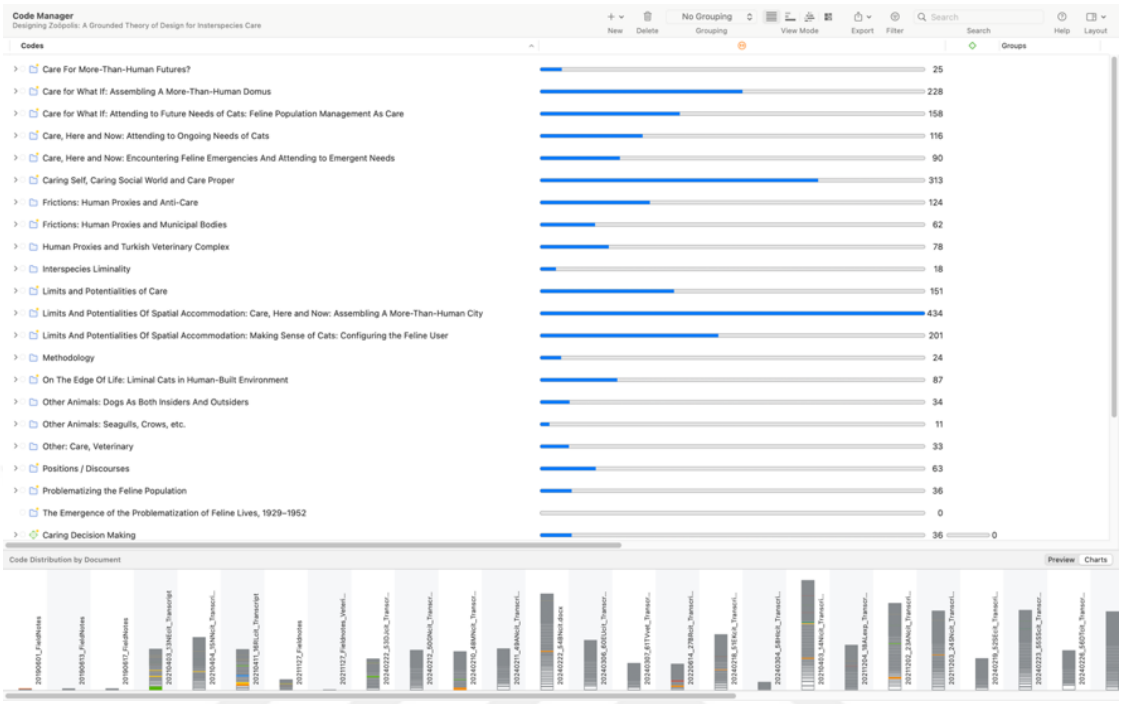


Table 3.1 *Line-by-line Coding in GT Data Analysis*

PARTICIPANT QUOTE	LINE-BY-LINE CODING
First of all, the aim there was to create **a [spatial] focus where these animals, how can I put it more precisely, feel safe and know where to come to be fed**; in other words, **[where] the animal can feel a sense of belonging where they can say that "This place is mine,"** maybe. **We don't know if they do**. But the aim is to have **an area where that animal will come to sleep, to feel safe, that is, primarily to sleep and to find food and water.** The reason why it is semi-free is because it was made to be a semi-protective area, **maybe to prevent a dog from entering from outside**, or **to show other people** that **the tarpaulins on the protection boards of the kennels inside are there for a purpose**, and to ensure that they do not interfere if possible. But at the same time, they are free because street animals continue to live their lives in some way. **They walk outside. Cats are curious animals. They are not animals that like to stay together in short, small places and shelter too much**. Naturally, it is **a place where they roam freely**, but also **a place where they come to feel safe**.	Constructing food and shelter as primary feline needs Emphasizing feline belonging Not knowing how to evaluate Constructing food and shelter as primary feline needs Preventing dogs' entry Communicating design to non-proxies Insulation, covering cat houses with plastic for Constructing cats as curious and mobile animals Designing flexible interaction with indoors Constructing food and shelter as primary feline needs

As the analysis proceeded, I moved from line-by-line coding toward an abstract level of coding, for it allowed me to see ways in which coded actions clustered (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5 *An Overview of Categories on ATLAS.ti (Version 22.1.5.0), 2024*



3.5.2.1 Documenting Spaces and Species

At the beginning of GT, I followed an open sampling approach to identify variations in the data before narrowing my focus. In line with the theoretical sampling principles of GT, I avoided setting strict geographic boundaries, instead tracing interspecies care and its designerly manifestations across Istanbul. At the outset, I did not define which interventions I would document, for whom, or why. Instead, I adopted an exploratory approach, allowing the field itself to shape the research process, including the formulation of the RQ.

My data collection at the time included two phases: Doing infrastructure walks around Istanbul and conducting unstructured and semi-structured interviews with citizens. During this process, I utilized theoretical sampling to decide on the site of the next walk or the interviewee (Foley et al., 2021). Throughout my field work, I used my iPhone for data collection purposes. My data include photographs I took, jottings and

memos I wrote during and after the walks and interviews, the sound recordings of interviews and their verbatim transcripts, and the field notes. Unless otherwise stated, all figures in this document were created by me.

While I refrained from setting rigid spatial boundaries, the study focuses on a specific aspect of Istanbul's animal culture: community cats. During the initial analysis, it became evident that materialized care for dogs, another significant animal culture in the city (Korkmaz, 2024), was not the primary focus of my documentation. This is likely due to the relative scarcity of materialized care for dogs, which can be attributed to the declining street dog population caused by their illegal deportation to the city's fringes (Yıldırım, 2021) and the societal stigma faced by those who care for them (Hart, 2019). Consequently, the abundance of care directed toward community cats naturally positioned them as the central focus of this study.[49]

3.5.2.2 Interviewing and Observing Human Proxies

Following the acceptance of ethics approval in March 2021 (Meeting no. 2021/07/02), I started conducting the fieldwork for the study. I circulated a poster on my social media channels (Figure 3.6). Following the interest from individuals, I set a timetable for conducting interviews.

[49] This was especially crystallized during the public debate around the crowd-sourced application "Havrita" which enabled its users to pin the locations and upload the pictures of street dogs, who they deem to be hostile, as well as that of citizens who provide care for liminal animals. See BBC Türkçe. (2022, August 22). Havrita'ya Erişim Engeli Getirildi, Hayvan Hakları Savunucuları İnternet Sitesinin Kapatılmasını İstiyor. *BBC Türkçe*. https://www.bbc.com/turkce/articles/cjqx5lzv7v3o.

Figure 3.6 *Call for Participants Poster*



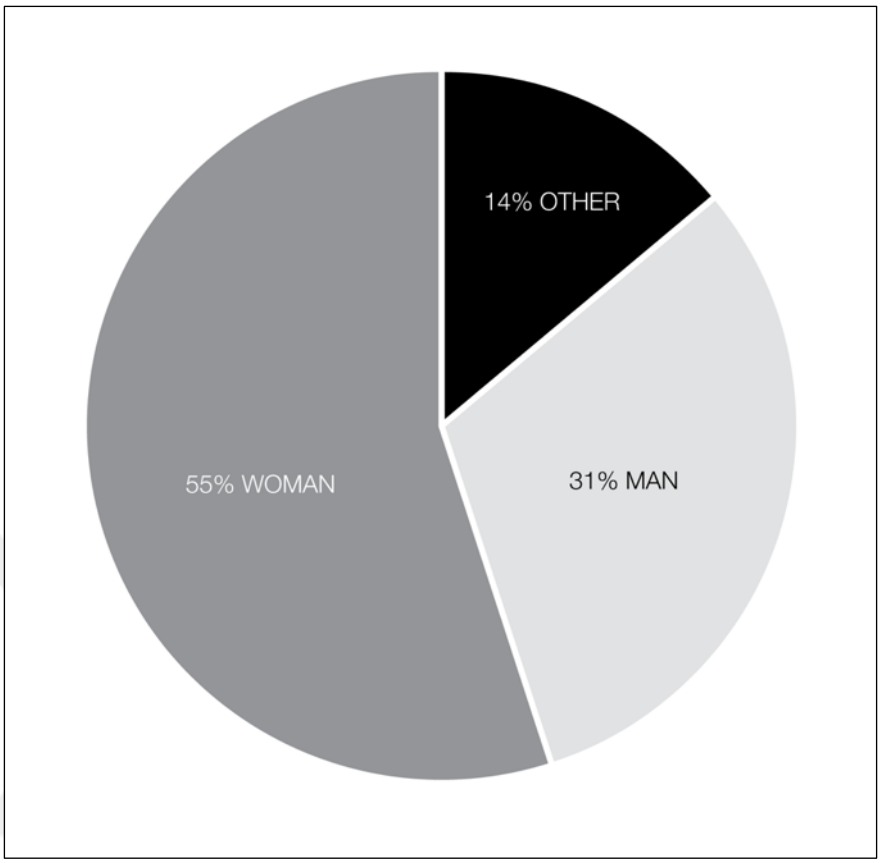
Before and at the beginning of each interview, I informed the participant on the research and provided them with the consent form (APPENDIX B), which is signed by the participant. I conducted semi-structured interviews based on preconceived interview templates in Turkish and in English (APPENDIX C), approved by the Özyeğin University Ethics Committee prior to the commencement of the fieldwork. In order to collect as diverse data as possible on the phenomenon, I have purposefully recruited diverse

participants in terms of age, gender and occupation (Table 3.2). However, participants who responded to the call were predominantly women, observed in the gender distribution of participants (Figure 3.7). Of the 29 interviews I conducted, I conducted two interviews face-to-face, five interviews via telephone call, and remaining 22 interviews online via video call on Zoom, Skype, Microsoft Teams and Google Meet. Conducting interviews via video calls was preferred due to the preference of the participants for the conveniency it offered. For the research, conducting interviews via video calls ensured quality recording of the interviews. The interviews are audio recorded on separate devices, namely iPhone 8 and iPad Pro using the IOS application "Voice Memos." The raw transcripts of the audio recordings I prepared using Microsoft Word Web's Transcribe command, were later proofread by a professional transcriber. I uploaded final transcripts on ATLAS.ti for data analysis. It should be noted here that conducting of interviews did not precede data analysis. Rather, as recommended in GT research, data collection and data analysis proceeded simultaneously allowing reflection for theoretical sampling.

Table 3.2 *Participant Summary*

#	PSEUDONYM	AGE	GENDER	PROFESSION
1	Alp	32	Man	Photographer
2	Gönül	54	Woman	Shopkeeper
3	Esin	42	Woman	Architect
4	Özge	38	Woman	Instructor in Industrial Design
5	Deniz	29	Woman	Psychology Student
6	Naya	31	Woman	Microblading Specialist
7	Aybike	58	Woman	Retired
8	Olcay	41	Woman	Industrial Designer
9	Aslı	32	Woman	Shopkeeper
10	Mira	32	Nonbinary	Editor
11	Arda	32	Man	Research Assistant
12	Uzay	28	Man	Communications Executive at an NGO
13	Güneş	30	Nonbinary	Photographer
14	Mert	32	Man	Sculptor
15	Bulut	36	Man	NGO worker
16	Janset	42	Woman	Media Production Coordinator
17	Umay	38	Woman	Freelancer
18	Asya	30	Woman	Doctor
19	Dicle	34	Woman	Manager
20	Ege	33	Queer	Media Executive at an NGO
21	Öykü	43	Woman	Financier
22	Meltem	38	Woman	Veterinary Assistant
23	Rıdvan	36	Man	Carpenter
24	Defne	35	Woman	Veterinarian
25	Kuzey	24	Man	Cat Catcher
26	Ada	23	Genderfluid	Gastronomy Student
27	Cansu	19	Woman	Pharmacy Student
28	Can	28	Man	Call Center Agent
29	Koray	23	Man	Human Resources Specialist

Figure 3.7 *Genders of Participants*



During the interviews, I utilized the strategy of prompts. However, in my prompts, I repeated their phrase as I expected them to confirm what they just said. This allowed them to reformulate their thoughts if they wished so. Yet, one must be aware that hearing from the interviewer, who participants may easily consider as the expert, what they have just said, may result in self-doubt on part of the participant, in stark contrast to the original aim of the interview, that is, listening to and learning about the participant's experiences. Therefore, during the course of conducting the interviews, I tried my best to inform them on the nature of qualitative research, that there is no right or wrong answer, and the interview is about *them* and *their* experiences.

The concurrent analysis of semi-structured interviews with human proxies disclosed veterinary clinics as a significant *site* of care, and veterinary practitioners as a

significant social group. Through my personal engagement with animal rescue, I conducted participant observations at different veterinary clinics in Istanbul,[50] and conducted two interviews with two veterinary practitioners. Another significant site that appeared from the analyses concerned municipal sites of care, accompanied by great suspicion pertaining to the care provided or lack thereof.[51] Because I focus on human proxies who voluntarily commit to interspecies care and design, I omitted municipal bodies and their official representatives as their official practices are neither voluntary nor grassroots.

3.5.3 Ethics and Methods of Representation in the Research

In this section, I explain the ethical strategies I subscribed to in approaching, collaborating with, and representing the human and nonhuman participants of this study.

3.5.3.1 Allowing Participants to Shape the Research Process

To recruit participants, I disseminated a call for participants poster on social media with the aim of reaching as diverse people as possible. This was in line with my methodology as GT aims to capture the diversity of the social phenomenon by interviewing diverse actors, as it does not aim at population sampling, but rather utilizes theoretical sampling. In recruiting participants for the study, I refrained from persuasion on purpose, as my core social group constitutes of human proxies whose investment in feline users of the city and commitment to action is comparably higher considering professional caregivers such as veterinary doctors. Because commitment to action is significant in understanding and mapping different social worlds,[52] by distancing myself

[50] 20211127_Fieldnotes, 20211205_Fieldnotes, 20220711-10_Fieldnotes
[51] See 6.1 Designing due to Municipal Inadequacy and Indifference.
[52] See 3.4.1 Mapping in Situational Analysis.

from politics of persuasion during participant acquisition, I became able to consciously observe the varying degrees of willingness to participate in a study that focuses on participants' designerly care action. Instead, I informed potential participants by providing a brief explanation of the nature of qualitative study and of my willingness to listen to and learn about *their* experiences. As it is discussed in the literature, consent cannot be reduced to a one-off signature on a consent form. Instead, considering the emergent nature of qualitative research, consent should be approached a process (Houghton et al., 2010), during which the researcher negotiates the consent in an ongoing dialogue with their participants as the field unfolds, and practices willing and humble explanation of their standpoint and be honest in explaining how and where their interview data will be used to those who are involved in the study. In this study, once participants agree to participate in the study, their consent was received in the form of signing the consent form, knowing that they have the right to discontinue their participation without having to explain as to why. Concerning nonhuman animal participants of the research, that is, street cats, willingness takes a different form, which I discuss in the following section.

This study, however, focuses on interspecies care designed for feline users in the city. The central data collection method in this research is interviewing, as in most GT studies, for interviewing is the standard method in GT research. This, however, focuses on understanding the experiences of human proxies and their construction of feline standpoint, including feline needs and preferences in their day-to-day life in the city, thereby presenting a partial understanding of feline standpoint. Despite the human-centric lens on the cat house phenomenon, this does not constitute a major issue in this dissertation considering the RQs and the focus on the human design process including its

contestation.[53] However, I purposefully allowed my encounters with felines to shape the research process. In imagining a more-than-human research, Eva Meijer reports on amateur ornithologist[54] Len Howard and ethologist Barbara Smuts' work with animals, the former of whom, Meijer narrates, "allow[s] herself to be changed by them [birds], and writes from that position, acknowledging their [birds'] influence on her life and writing" (Meijer, 2019, p. 238). In this research, I join Len Howard, Barbara Smuts and Eva Meijer and their willingness to allow human-animal encounters to shape the research process, thereby acknowledging and being shaped by animal agency and lives. Such flexibility to conducting research is in line with GT methodology, which encourages the researcher to be alert to emergent field and act according to research agenda. In this research, I have allowed myself the flexibility to be shaped by animal participants; what happened to them, what they did to me. To exemplify, our collective decision to euthanasia the kitten with SCI,[55] who my ethnographic companions and I were trying to rescue, helped to expand my understanding of care not solely as the politics of make-live, but politics of life in general, which also includes the "good death" (Meijer, 2018). Euthanizing an animal guided me into reviewing the literature on palliative care and animal euthanasia, through which I not only dealt with loss and remorse but also expanded my understanding of care and its contradictions as well as its limits.

[53] See 1.1 Aims and Research Questions.
[54] Someone who conducts ornithology, the subfield focused on the study of birds.
[55] See APPENDIX **A.** AN ATTEMPT AT RESCUING A KITTEN WITH SCI.

3.5.3.2 Methods of Representation

3.5.3.2.1 Ensuring Participant Confidentiality

To maintain confidentiality, I utilized certain strategies in reporting my analysis. As I discussed earlier,[56] a participant can be a member of many social worlds. To exemplify, a veterinary practitioner may self-identify as an animal lover.[57] This multiple membership across many social worlds omitted the formulation of participant codes based on social world membership pertaining to professional care or otherwise. Another reason is that one participant who did not study veterinary medicine received her training while working as an assistant to an established professional practitioner, thereby disclosing professional titles or lack thereof do not fully reflect everyday practice. In addition, I purposefully avoided numerical naming of participants due to numbers presenting a challenge during reading. This was decided after the feedback I received from a participant of the study, who read one of my fieldnotes. Therefore, I decided to assign each participant a pseudonym. In deciding on the pseudonyms, I opted for names that are neutral and devoid of any connotations, while remaining within Turkish naming practices as best as possible. Firstly, I assigned each participant a name in line with their gender identity. Secondly, for Turkish participants, I assigned Turkish names, whereas for participants of non-Turkish origin, I assigned names that reflect their non-Turkish origin. For example, to a self-identified Circassian participant from Damascus, Syria, I assigned a Circassian name. I also removed gendered relationship titles such as girlfriend and boyfriend and chose the term "partner."

[56] See 3.4.1 Mapping in Situational Analysis.
[57] The two veterinary practitioners I interviewed self-identify as animal lover.

Secondly, I assigned pseudonyms to cats who are referred to by participants of the study with specific names. When referring to animals whose genders are unknown, I utilized the pronoun singular "they," despite its shortcoming for potential removal of animal individuality (Fischer & Spiehler, 2023), over singular pronoun "it" due to its objectification of sentient animal beings. Animal genders often remain invisible in participant narratives due to Turkish, the language of conduct for 27 interviews, is a gender-neutral language. Animals who are mentioned in passing by human research participants are most often not named by their human caretakers. Therefore, animals in this research are discussed by their names, if provided by their caretaker. A list of encounters with animals is not provided, due to the difficulty of keeping track of individual animals in public space. Here, it should be noted that liminal animals such as street dogs, seagulls, and crows also appear in fieldwork as they are found near care and dispute areas, for all of whom it is impossible, and for the purposes of this study, not significant to track them individually.

Lastly, I purposefully edited out any detailed descriptions of a person, human or non-human, as well as names of places, and contact information[58] for such descriptions may undermine confidentiality and threaten caregivers and care recipients. I removed names of places that participants mention from participant quotes and described those places without disclosing their specific locale. This is due to the violence committed against street animals (especially street dogs), and to animal advocates who care for street animals (Hart, 2019). Instead of providing the exact locale where the participant may receive positive and negative attention due to their care practices, thereby undermining confidentiality and safety, I opted for broad areas such as cities and districts. However,

[58] Missing posters for missing community cats often accompany contact information of human proxies. See Figure 6.30.

material, spatial, and textual aspects of designed interspecies care are carefully noted for the analysis.

3.5.3.2.2 Presenting Data

In order for the reader to differentiate between 29 participants of the study, age, gender and occupation of the participant is provided in parentheses when a participant is mentioned in the text for the first time.

In my attempt to represent participants' narratives as best as possible, I avoided editing participant quotes as much as possible. However, for the purposes of providing a focused reading, I omitted parts of quotes that are repetitious or irrelevant. In line with APA citation style, when part of a quote is removed for the purpose of directing the focus of the reader, ellipsis is placed in where the said part is removed to convey the reader that part of the participant narrative is removed. I choose to edit participant quotes parts of which are problematic due to involving curse words. Instead of simply removing the curse word, however, I replaced it with "[obscenity]" to remind the reader that the participant in question feels strongly about the issue and uses a phrase that is edited out. I provided Turkish originals of critical quotes in italics in square brackets an example to which is "animal lover [*hayvansever*]." I provided Turkish originals of longer quotes in APPENDIX D. TURKISH ORIGINALS OF PARTICIPANT QUOTES. I present texts that are carefully crafted by or attract the attention of participants capitalized. These include texts on adoption ads, cat houses, pet shop ads, etc. I provide participants' reports of quotations, be they signs, or texts they write on cat houses, in caps to emphasize them.

Footnotes are provided to offer an extra discussion or further references, as a guidance for the reader if the curious reader wishes to continue to read on the topic in question. This allowed a fluent read, without being distracted by details which may not

be immediately necessary. Firstly, footnotes work as cross-references to direct the reader to a chapter or a section where I discuss the topic in passing in a more elaborate way. Secondly, footnotes refer to participants whose remarks in their interviews support my argument which I construct without resorting to longer participant quotes.

All photographs, diagrams, maps are by the author unless otherwise stated.

3.5.4 Researcher Positionality

> I am arguing for the view from a body, always a complex, contradictory, structuring, and structured body, versus the view from above, from nowhere, from simplicity. Only the god trick is forbidden. (Haraway, 1988, p. 589)

This dissertation represents the narratives of human proxies who provide voluntary interspecies care for liminal cats in the form of feeding, designing cat houses, neutering, etc. As can be seen from the participant summary, more than half of the participants of the study identify as woman, whereas the remaining participants identify as man or other. Among 29 participants, two are trained as industrial designers, and two are trained as architects. Only one out of four is professionally engaged with architectural practice. This presents a group of participants majority of whom are woman and non-professional designers. As someone who self-identifies as a man, who has an academic background in industrial design pursuing a Ph.D., and who does not identify as an animal lover or an animal rights activist per se, I embody outsider qualities compared to the participants of the study. To compensate my outsider qualities, I attempted to the best of my capabilities to become an insider through befriending human proxies and participating in their online groups in social media during the fieldwork. My loose membership in

animal advocacy circles allowed me to better understand their concerns, care-giving practices, as well as dreams and represent them as just as possible. Still, this dissertation is inevitably filtered through my epistemological and political standpoints, however I aimed to minimize my outsider qualities.

This research consists of infrastructure walks that I conducted to document examples of designed care. I identify three main axes that have shaped my access to the field, all of which are related to *my* body: 1) (dis)ability, 2) gender, and 3) species membership. Being an able-bodied human male, who is masculine presenting, has been an advantage for the fieldwork of this dissertation which contained ethnographic interviews and observation in public spaces. This is a privilege that needs to be addressed, as it contributed greatly to the quality and the quantity of data, I was able to gather. As an able-bodied human male, I was able to walk distances and navigate urban spaces that are readily accessible to non-disabled individuals but may not be so for persons with disabilities. Yet, because I do not embody conventional markers of hypermasculinity, I was presumably not perceived as a "threat" by human proxies in public space, who are mostly senior women. Some initiated the conversation through a simple suggestion that I should adopt the kitten that I was petting.[59] Yet, due to my human body, I was not able to enter all the spaces that feline residents of Istanbul can. Animal mobilities transgress those of humans', meaning, animals can reach places for which human access is not immediately possible, precluding humans in their attempts to approach for purposes of, say, rescue. Below excerpt illustrates how human access is limited to certain areas of buildings, which prohibits animal rescue:

[59] 20220709_Fieldnotes

A narrow, idle backyard, parts of which have no human access through nothing but windows, is a safe haven for birds amid the sounds of motorbikes whirring and cars honking on a street nearby. Pigeons and doves, but mostly pigeons, seem to take pleasure in the inaccessibility as they often times rest on the windowsills of the blocks rising around this tiny space. The ground plan, presumably divided between surrounding blocks on legal terms, is not level due to appropriations by fellow residents. The backyard is an eclectic combination of a garden, a terrace, and a roof, all of which are on different height levels making it all the more inaccessible not only for humans but also for the calico[60] who frequently goes out on the roof through one of the windows only to go back in quickly. The red of the roof, which belongs to the diner on one of the blocks surrounding the backyard, is hardly recognized due to the yellow of the bird seeds abundantly thrown by a woman who routinely feeds the visiting birds. As usual, the woman is placing bird seeds on her windowsill. Some birds are carefully observing, while some others are quick to fly to the windowsill knowing it is time to eat. The woman's usual generosity spills over from the windowsill onto the roof in the backyard, and onto the two dead pigeons who have been lying on the roof for the past 2 months, with their chests wounded, and feathers scattered. The comments on the forum where I consulted concerned citizens still show no sign of consensus, but rather a plethora of speculations as to the cause of deaths. Just like the birds, my post has lost its urgency and is

[60] Domestic cat with a tri-color fur.

> now forgotten among the news of animals whose lives can still be saved.
> I cannot help but think of the possible ways I would access this backyard,
> and the time spent doing so, if this were a case of an alive animal in need,
> and not a dead one. (Taşdizen, 2021a, pp. 44-46)

During my attempts to recruit veterinary practitioners as research participants to better understand the medical care provided for street cats, I was able to conduct short ethnographic interviews prior to setting semi-structured interview dates. In comparison to human proxies, whose motivations were to voice their concerns for this animal population, some veterinary practitioners were more concerned about their time, *if* they were to agree on an interview. Their lack of will in comparison to animal lover citizens could be explained through a lack of emotional/activist engagement with these animals. Another reason for their reluctance to be interviewed could be explained through a concern with their self-image and an anxiety to not be able to answer my questions "correctly." For instance, a veterinary doctor requested interview questions prior to agreeing on an interview date and did not respond my message after receiving interview questions.

At the time of writing this dissertation in late 2024, I do not hold a faculty position, but work on a part-time contract at a university, harmed by academic precarity in ways similar to many of my contemporaries but also uniquely individual due to my rather marginal research focus. I experience oppression due to patriarchy and ableism that permeate within and beyond academia. As a non-vegan, however, I also take part in the oppression of farmed animals in animal industrial complex. My lived experience that has brought me up to this point shapes the way I approach research, the questions I pose, and the analyses I make. I do not make any claims to objectivity and emphasize once again

that the knowledges I produce are situated, as in all knowledges. As my discussion illustrates, this research is not only shaped by participants, human or otherwise, with whom I crossed paths and from whom I had the privilege to learn, but it is also an account of humans, animals, and sites I was able to reach. Those actors, actants and sites who fall outside of my reach are avenues awaiting further theorizing. This, however, does not lessen the significance of or undermine the knowledges produced in this research. To the contrary, it provides the tools for the reader for a quality evaluation of the research which I cordially present to your attention.

4. HUMAN PROXIES IN FELINE INTERVENTIONIST ARENA

> ... something that tries to protect the right to life, that sometimes sacrifices some things against the right to life, ... looking for a way through the material conditions. I see it as finding a way through the circumstances. (Ege, 33, other, media executive) [1]

This chapter introduces a wider discussion of interspecies care practices of human proxies for liminal cats. Starting with how Istanbul is constructed as a cat friendly city historically as well as by some participants of this study, the discussion continues with how this is a partial understanding as the experiences of human proxies show otherwise.

4.1 Situating Interspecies Care in Turkey Historically

Before proceeding with the feline interventionist arena of Istanbul and wider Marmara region, it is significant to situate interspecies care practices in the region historically. The historical accounts on Istanbul during its Byzantine and Ottoman reign reveal how the city has always been more-than-human and witnessed human care and attendance to animal needs, albeit marginalized at times (Taşdizen et al., 2024). One of the earliest accounts on DAs in the city is when the city was called Byzantium in the Classical Antiquity. During the siege attempt orchestrated by the Philip II of Macedon in 339 BC, dogs, together with the goddess Hecate, were believed to have protected the city (Emecen, 2015). Due to their attributed uncleanliness, DAs such as cats and dogs held working and/or companion animal status in Eastern Roman, and their meat was not consumed except for extreme starvation (Kislinger, 2014). At times, these animals were held in high regard and entered the imperial milieu, cherished, petted (Kislinger, 2014; Tzetzes, [1826] 2018) and exchanged between the Roman and Ottoman ruling dynasties

as a gift of highly symbolic value (Shukurov, 2016). Cats were often kept both in households and in the fields to keep rodents under control, especially in harbor sites of the Eastern Roman Empire where military inhabitants engaged in farming crops (Baron, 2012). In addition to their employment in agriculture, feline excrements were used by the Romans as medicine for hair loss (Kislinger, 2014, p. 175). In the case of dogs and horses, animal employment was accompanied by human supervision and care,[61] as exemplified by the broken animal bones that healed in Theodosius Harbor of Constantinople (present-day Yenikapı, Istanbul) (Onar et al., 2010). Birds, who were employed for their meat, eggs, and droppings were provided feeders (Öztaşkın, 2019; Vedat Onar, 2021). Such care for and attendance to more-than-human needs continued during Ottoman reign of the city. Many traveler accounts from the West illustrate the multi-species co-existence in the city. Istanbul Research Institute's online exhibition "Four-Legged Municipality: Street Dogs of Istanbul" illustrate various notes, one of which is by Alphonse de Lamartine, the French diplomat who visited the city in 19th c. de Lamartine (1833) writes:

> The Turks themselves live in peace with all the animate and inanimate creation—trees, birds, or dogs; they respect everything that God has made. They extend their humanity to those inferior animals, which are neglected or persecuted among us. In all the streets there are, at certain distances, vessels filled with water for the dogs. (de Lamartine, 1833)

[61] During the Roman Empire, we see the development of a veterinary medicine and veterinary as a profession. See Goebel, V., & Peters, J. (2014). Veterinary Medicine. In G. L. Campbell (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life* (pp. 589-606). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199589425.013.033; McCabe, A. (2017). Horses and Horse-Doctors on the Road. In R. Macrides (Ed.), *Travel in the Byzantine World* (pp. 91-97). Routledge.

In addition to the general sensibility toward more-than-human life in the city, traveler accounts on Ottoman Istanbul also disclose a specific profession called *mancacı*[62] tailored around the feeding needs of liminal cat and dog population. A typical *mancacı* would roam the streets of the city with a stick over which he would hang the meat and liver to distribute to street animals (Figure 4.1). Some would buy the meat from *mancacı* and feed the animals themselves, whereas some others would pay the *mancacı* so that he would feed them. Baron Wenceslas Wratislav, 16th C. traveler to Ottoman Constantinople, narrates how the city was home to many cats who would sit on the walls, waiting for their alms (Wratislaw, 1996, pp. 65-66). Turkish matrons, Wratislav narrates, would walk the streets, mumbling prayers, while feeding the animals with tripe and lungs hanging on a stick. Wratislav himself recounts buying meat from the sellers (presumably from a *mancacı*) to feed these animals. "If there should be in the neighborhood a bitch with young," Busbecq narrates, "they [Ottoman folk] go to her and pile round her bones and scraps of cakes and porridge, and this they think a charitable action" (Forster & Daniell, 1881, p. 225).

[62] The word's origin is traced back to the Italian verb "to eat" [*mangiare*], and the occupation was mostly performed by Albanians. See Kuzucu, K. (2022). *İstanbul'un Sokak Köpekleri: Muhafazakârlık ve Modernlik Bağlamında Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e*. Kapı Yayınları.

Figure 4.1 *Oil Painting on Copper, Homme Turc qui vend de mouton pour les chats by Jean-Baptist Vanmour (Valenciennes 1671 Constantinople 1737), 1699/1737*



Note. A standing man with red and black hat feeding many cats pieces of red meat. Image No. 1010233. Upon special permission of National Trust Collection.

In addition to feeding liminal cats and dogs, Ottomans were especially concerned for the wellbeing of birds (Forster & Daniell, 1881), designed more-than-human spaces in the form of bird houses [*kuş evi*, *kuş köşkü*] on mosques (Figure 4.2), madrasas, libraries, etc. (Barışta, 2000; Bektaş, 2003), and tended to their medical needs (Haşim, 2011). Bird houses often appear higher on the walls of existing public buildings to prevent the outside interference of those animals that cohabitated Constantinople such as cats and dogs. By doing so, these designs not only provided these birds a safe haven but also the autonomy from the economic activities of humans which rely on domestication. Other

than avine housing, products that were utilized to feed birds are also found in archaeological excavations such as a bird feeder found in Olympos (Öztaşkın, 2019).

Figure 4.2 *Birdhouse on Yeni Valide Mosque in Üsküdar, Istanbul*



Note. A birdhouse on the wall of Yeni Valide Mosque in Üsküdar. Creator: M. Erem Çalıkoğlu. SALT Research. https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/6589. License: CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Cats, alongside dogs, birds and horses to name a few, are among the highly cherished and cared for animals with whom humans of Istanbul have willingly formed multispecies relations across empires. Once with determined tasks with regards to the sustainable functioning of the city, street animals of Istanbul such as cats and dogs, are neither workers nor customers (Atauz, 2002; Zeybek, 2014); they are unemployed, idle, and vulnerable following the modernist reshaping of the city. Starting from modernization, street dogs and cats witnessed extermination efforts, the most famous of which is the Hayırsızada incident in 1910. Cats, too, were not exempt from such extermination efforts, and during the Early Republican Era faced a mass cull (Obuz,

2022). To accommodate the animal population living alongside humans in the city, certain measures have been taken since the beginning of modernization efforts.

4.2 Constructing Istanbul as Cat Friendly

Despite city's recent past, in which liminal cats were problematized in terms of public health and were regarded as a barrier in Turkey's modernization in its Early Republican Era, Istanbul today is regarded as a cat haven presumably due to the resurgent visibility of cats visible in city's everyday culture (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3 *Cat Graffiti and Turkish Flag on the Walls of Notre-Dame de l'Assomption Church in Kadıköy, Istanbul*



Note. Photograph taken on 27 August 2023 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

Mert (32, man, sculptor) describes Istanbul as "a city that lives with cats," disconnected from its recent past of animal massacres. To Mert, this is "[b]ecause there hasn't been a cat thing like in Europe, what do you call it, a massacre or "purification." [2] Aybike (58, woman, retired), who used to run a café, explains how cats would attract

foreign tourists. “Just because there were cats in the café,” she says, “customers would come and sit down and take their photographs,” [3] drawing attention to how cats would serve as a tourist attraction in an Istanbul café. She continues: “There were many foreigners who paid extra money, ‘You would buy something for the cats.’”

Not only Turkish participants but also non-Turkish participants construct Istanbul as such. Janset and Naya, non-Turkish participants with migration background from the Levant[63] region whose countries of origin also have liminal cat population underline this. Janset (42, woman, coordinator), a Syrian participant of Circassian origin, who has been living in Istanbul for seven years, is amused at how welcome cats are in restaurants: “They are very spoiled. (Laughs) Right now, there was a cat sleeping upside down and I couldn’t disturb them. I took another table. This is normal, yeah. (Laughs)” Janset draws a sharp contrast between Istanbul and Damascus and emphasizes the “humanity” embodied in interspecies care practices observed in Istanbul. She continues:

> You may see a sick cat. You may see like a small, weak cat, but you can’t see [a] very hungry cat with bones getting out or [a] very injured cat because some, someone abused them. You can’t. You don’t see that. You know people won’t approve. It [sic] won’t accept it if they see it. (Janset, 42, woman, coordinator)

Naya (31, woman, microblading specialist), a Jordanian participant of Palestinian origin born and raised in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, who has been living in Istanbul for three years shares a similar observation that “[c]ats are taken care of, cats are neutered,” emphasizing the essential care that is provided by the people of Istanbul to

[63] Eastern Mediterranean region stretching from southern Turkey and Cyprus to Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine and Jordan.

liminal cats. She draws a comparison between Istanbul and Dubai, and how, in the former, cats are not excluded from everyday spaces which are exclusively human in Dubai:

> [E]ven stores are putting food and water, and they would let animals in. For example, I was at the mall a few days ago and cats were walking inside the mall and securities are OK, people are fine. It's totally normal. This, I mean, you would never see a cat in Dubai in a mall or… (Smiles) (Naya, 31, woman, microblading specialist)

Naya interprets these practices as part of a "lifestyle," in which care is provided "with love" for those who are members of a more-than-human community, and people "call [animals by] their names," who wear collars underlining their proximity to human caregivers, who cats know. Both Janset and Naya have a history of living in Istanbul, seven years and three years, respectively, allowing them to compare the multispecies situation of Istanbul to their countries of origin, where they had previous experiences with liminal cats. As can be seen from participant remarks, Turkish or non-Turkish, Istanbul is constructed as a distinct city with a peculiar tolerance for and acceptance of liminal cats as members of the city, who are cared for regularly and allowed in spaces, often deemed human.

Not only non-Turkish migrants, but also Turkish participants who migrated to Istanbul from Anatolia draw a similar comparison between Istanbul and elsewhere. Koray (23, man, human resources specialist), who "[has] lived in 3 places throughout [his] life; Adana, Istanbul and Konya" [4] spending "equal time in all of them" believes awareness around multispecies co-existence is higher in Istanbul. Often, moving to Istanbul after growing up in Anatolia has acted as a transforming experience due to encounters with liminal cats as well surrounding care practices. All these participant narratives, Turkish

or otherwise, point at established care practices and overall acceptance of these animals in the city. However true participants' observations of liminal animal acceptance and interspecies care may be, there is another side to this perception that requires scrutiny for a nuanced understanding.

4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment

> But, no! … I have the experience of meeting an animal five minutes ago, and in five minutes, I am walking to the vet with their dead body. That place is not here, that's not Istanbul, that's not Ankara. (Ege, 33, other, media executive) [5]

Despite being constructed as a cat friendly city, Istanbul and the situation of liminal cats in the city is far from perfect. Participant narratives reveal that the major problems liminal cats face, apart from not accessing food, water, and shelter,[64] concern the human-built environment, automobile traffic, imminent danger posed by co-existing with dogs. It is a repeating sentiment where participants share their observations where automobiles run over cats,[65] which, as two veterinary practitioner participants explain, lead to cats being killed on spot.[66] Cats also face harassment by dogs,[67] by children,[68] hospital visitors,[69] passers-by,[70] as well as believed to be adopted by those with motivations to use the cat as prey for other animals, or for folk magic.[71] This results in

[64] See Sections 6.4.1 Making Cat Food and 6.4.2 Mapping Feeding Sites.
[65] Gönül, 54, woman, shopkeeper; Umay, 38, woman, freelancer; Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter; Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper; Naya, 31, woman, microblading specialist; Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher
[66] Meltem, 38, woman, veterinary assistant; Defne, 35, woman, veterinarian
[67] Gönül, 54, woman, shopkeeper; Meltem, 38, woman, veterinary assistant
[68] Mert, 32, man, sculptor
[69] Asya, 30, woman, doctor
[70] Gönül, 54, woman, shopkeeper; Can, 28, man, call center agent
[71] Esin, 42, woman, architect

human proxies' resorting to posters and notes and placing them where they deem necessary (Figure 4.4), as well as making graffities emphasizing the situation of liminal animals in the city (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.4 *Posters and Notes Problematizing Automobile Traffic for Feline Safety*



Note. Photograph (left) reads: "OUR CATS ARE BEING RUN OVER BY CARS. YELDEĞİRMENİ STREET CATS INITIATIVE (NOVEMBER 2018) CONTACT: sokakkedileriinisiyatifi@gmail.com" Taken on 5 March 2021 by the author in Yeldeğirmeni, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (left) reads: "ATTENTION! THERE ARE KITTENS UNDER THE CAR. COULD YOU PLEASE HONK BEFORE STARTING IT [THE ENGINE]? THE NESTS ARE RIGHT UNDER THE APARTMENT BUILDING. THANK YOU." Photograph taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

Figure 4.5 *Graffiti for Community Cats*



Note. Photograph (left) reads: "DO NOT TOUCH MY WATER" Taken on 20 February 2021 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (right) reads: "CATS ARE NATURE'S MASTERPIECES. LEONARDO DA VINCI" Taken on 14 April 2022 by the author at the same spot.

The dense urban fabric of Istanbul presents many challenges for animals as explained by participants. Liminal animals, as invisible users of the urban space, often carve their own spaces in the city, by seeking refuge in rather quiet alleys, hiding under automobiles parking on the sidewalk.[72] As Arda (32, man, research assistant) aptly describes, this is due to the city being consumed by concrete, with attached buildings lining one after the other, leaving little to no space for neither human nor feline users, because of which "[accessing] green spaces where both us humans and animals can be more comfortable is incredibly problematic." [6] Rıdvan (36, man, carpenter) draws attention to the human-centricity in urban design, describing the situation as humans being "at their [animals'] throats" [*boğazına çökmüş gibiyiz*] [7] regardless of whether the animal is "a cat or a dog," because the city does not accommodate these animals. He emphasizes the necessity for designing "safe spaces" [*güvenli alanlar*], by which he means spaces "that are not immediately connected to the road" such as parks or old mansion gardens. In addition to shrinking of urban space for liminal cats, the spaces

[72] Özge, 38, woman, university instructor in industrial design; Asya, 30, woman, doctor

where they find shelter are vulnerable due to the possibility of being taken away. In opposition to Aybike (58, woman, retired), who would allow cats in her own café, some café owners remove cats from indoors. Alp (32, man, photographer) finds it "ridiculous" [*saçma sapan hareketler*] and admits having "had many fights" with those who refuse to let cats in: "You feed cats there, … the café owner says, you know, he pushes the cats, so they don't come in." [8] Sometimes, spaces cats seek refuge may end up as spaces of captivity due to animals not finding their way out. Not only this may cause confusion and potential stress on part of the animal, but the captivity also often ends up with cats defecating indoors,[73] which may work against their acceptance in a given area.[74]

The neglect of liminal animals as users of the city sometimes results in animal injuries and killing. Hot asphalt could cause significant burns in animals' paws,[75] and animals may end up falling inside construction leading to being killed.[76] Both of these constitute spaces designed for humans, for whom navigation of such spaces become common sense as they become part of their everyday world. However, for liminal animals, or for humans with disabilities, navigating human-built environment may become a struggle as their uses are simply neglected. Upon hearing kittens crying for help, Janset (42, woman, coordinator) explains she and her colleagues found a construction hole of three meters, left uncovered due to mere neglect, into which kittens fell. After many hours, with the help of others, they "could get one out, [they] couldn't get two. One died." This incident illustrates not only animals are not accommodated in the city, as elaborated by other participants, design or lack thereof kills animals. In such an environment, liminal cats live on the edge of life, always facing the possibility of being

[73] Janset, 42, woman, coordinator; Cansu, 19, woman, university student
[74] See Sections 6.5.2 Human Proxies' Poor Care and 6.5.3 Human Non-Proxies' Lack of Care.
[75] Mert, 32, man, sculptor
[76] Janset, 42, woman, coordinator

injured or killed due to human neglect. Esin (42, woman, architect) explains how feline death may be more frequent than one may be ready to accept:

> The nature of the cat, etc. The cat doesn't *live* in nature here, they *attempt* to live. Today a cat died on the doorstep, yesterday another died. These animals are barely one year old. They are run over by cars. Kittens born on the street either hide in a car hood or get hit by a car. Maybe one of them survives. I have a cat who has been giving birth for years, I have not seen any of her kittens grow up yet. Frankly, I feel very sorry for them. (Esin, 42, woman, architect) [9]

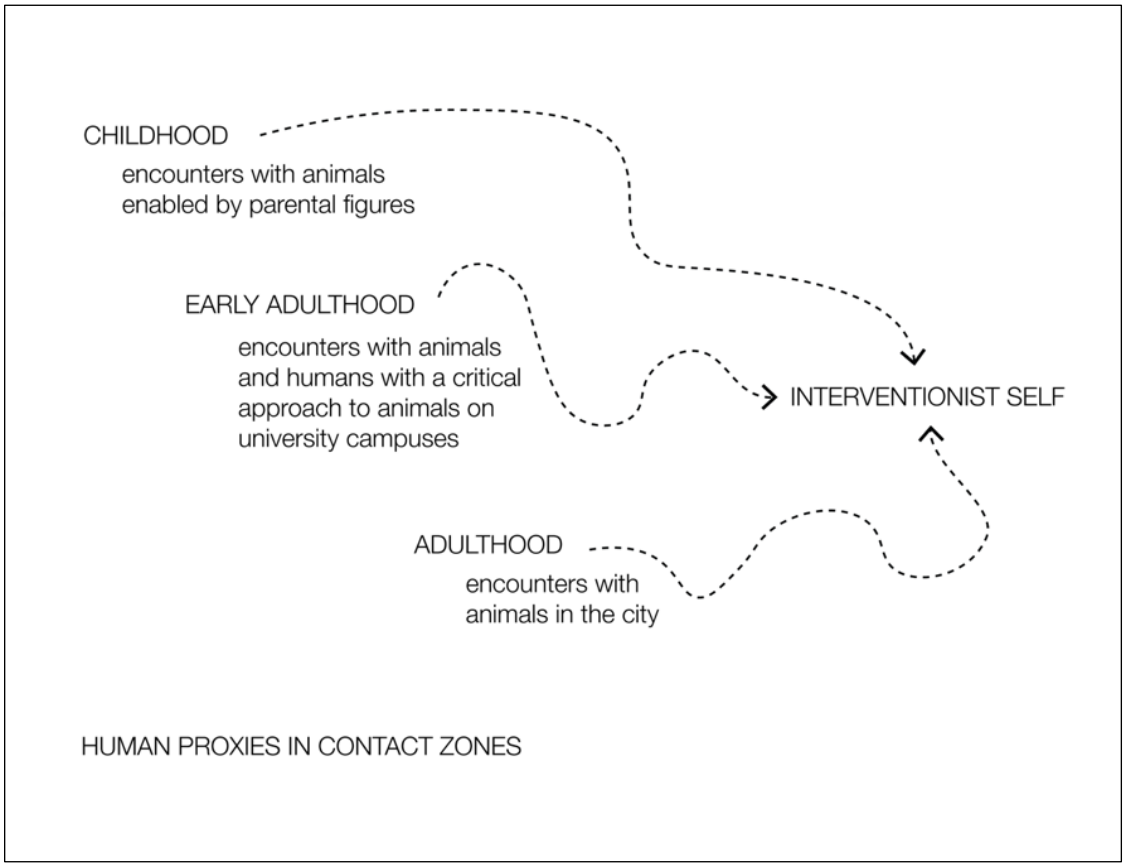
As can be seen from the above remark, observations of liminal cats' lives in human-built environment as well as their struggles for survival evoke strong emotions on part of those who choose to look. Such emotions work as a driving force behind care and designerly interventions and are constitutive of interventionist self. In what follows, I introduce human-cat encounters in the city, which I call *feline events*, incidents constructed as emergencies by participants, where the human proxy intervenes in the situation to rescue said animal and discuss how such encounters help in the formation of the interventionist self, that is, the process of *proxification*.

4.4 Proxification: Becoming a Human Proxy

When asked to recall their first encounter, human proxies narrate memories from different phases of their lives, spanning from early childhood and early adolescence to recent adult past. Firstly, participant narratives refer to key phases in one's life such as childhood, early adulthood and adulthood, during which human-animal encounters held a transformative power (Figure 4.6). These encounters occur in various locales spanning

across a spectrum from home to its environs (gardens, quiet alleys, etc.) to urban margins and online spaces, each of which inform and afford these encounters in peculiar ways. When, where and how such encounters occur is the subject of this section.

Figure 4.6 *Human Proxies in Contact Zones and Formation of Interventionist Self*



4.4.1 Childhood on the Streets, and in the Rural

In their narratives on human-cat encounters, some participants retrieve childhood memories including encountering animals, cats or otherwise. Often, these memories take place in the rural, and if not rural, in houses which have access to a garden, affording such interspecies encounters. Kuzey (23, man, cat catcher) remembers his childhood summer vacations spent in a village Giresun,[77] where "[he was] involved with cows or calves"

[77] A coastal city on the Black Sea of Turkey.

[10] with whom "[he] had the first emotional contact, the first serious, willing, realistic contact." He explains the bond he developed with them and how he would go and say goodbye to each one of them before going back to Istanbul. Arda (32, man, research assistant), who spent his childhood in a farmhouse in İzmir,[78] has a similar experience spent around "so many different animals; rams, sheep, lambs, goats, … horses, and donkeys, … cats and dogs." [11] As a vegan, this is what "strengthened [his] relationship with animals later on," as proximity to animals allowed him to witness animal abuse, which he now subjects to critical scrutiny due to feeling a "conscientious burden, responsibility" years later. Mira (32, other, editor) traces their first encounter to their "incredibly grumpy" [12] grandmother, who lived in a village house and "wouldn't want to let any animal into her house." They explain, following a pregnant cat sneaking under her sofa and giving birth to a litter of kittens, their grandmother started to care for them. "Every time I went to her house," Mira remembers, "there would always be a cat." The childhood experiences of Kuzey, Arda and Mira reveal how human-animal encounters were afforded in farmhouses in the rural, disclosing the significance of space in facilitating interspecies contact.

Similar to Mira and their grandmother, participants' childhood memories include parental figures who appear as significant actors due to their mediating of such encounters as well as showcasing care for animals. During childhood, parents emerge as figures with whom care for animals was observed, and in Naya's (31, woman, microblading specialist) words, "transferred" from. In a similar vein, Asya (30, woman, doctor), too, recalls her childhood spent in houses with animals, facilitated by her father:

[78] A coastal city on the Aegean Sea of Turkey.

> In the past, I always grew up in houses with animals. The house I was born in was a detached house. My father had both a dog and a cat. From a very young age, we were feeding dogs and cats together both in the garden and on the street. Almost from the moment I remember myself. Even in my earliest memories, they were always outside... In fact, one of my earliest childhood memories is of my father giving butter to a cat that was stuck. I remember my father doing that. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor) [13]

Human-animal encounters being mediated by parental figures are not always positive. Some participants' interactions with animals were also limited by parental figures. One participant remembers a painful memory of separation from her feline companion, due to her parents' decision to release the cat for her playful behavior deemed aggressive. Janset (42, woman, coordinator) recalls her companion cat, who was "aggressive when she played," because of whom she would have her hands scratches. Janset's father intervened and "abandoned" the cat. Later, "[he] [r]egretted but it was done," explains Janset, and "[they] were unable to fix it." As a formative period in one's life, interspecies contact during childhood brings in affinity with these animals, as beings not only they know of, but also feel close to and cannot look away from, which then propel intervention act in feline events. Interspecies contact during childhood emerges as a positive influence over the formation of an *interventionist caring self*.

4.4.2 Early Adulthood on Multispecies Campuses

Another period that is formative for the interventionist caring self is early adulthood during university years. University campuses are often described as multispecies communities, being populated not only by cats and dogs, but by other

animals such as "birds, hedgehogs, turtles" [14] as well. Some participants trace the beginning of their affinity to cats to their university years, as such multispecies campuses afforded interspecies encounters, some of which resulted in care practices. Özge (38, woman, university instructor) and Bulut (36, man, NGO worker) trace their first encounters with cats to their university years. Özge, who used to live with her family in Yalova,[79] explains how she started to feed cats during her undergraduate studies in one of the state universities in Istanbul:

> [W]here I lived with my family, there wasn't much of a culture of feeding street cats. As I said, I came to Istanbul when I was 18. At that time, there were cats in the garden of our university, and we would feed them. There were cats that we took care of at our university. (Özge, 38, woman, university instructor) [15]

In a similar vein, Bulut's (36, man, NGO worker) first encounter with cats was during his undergraduate studies at a state university with a large campus in Ankara,[80] where "[t]here are a lot of cats on campus … in the market, in the classrooms because university students fed them a lot." [16] Both Özge and Bulut's experiences disclose not only campuses are populated by cats, whom students provide care for, but also as a formative period in participants' lives where they allowed themselves to continually encounter and be transformed by these interspecies experiences. In addition to university being a multispecies community and affording human-animal encounters, the campus emerges as a place for meeting like-minded individuals at university clubs in their journey toward becoming a human proxy. Meeting individuals who share a similar approach to

[79] A city on the eastern coast of Marmara Sea.
[80] The capital city of Turkey in central Anatolia.

the animal issue could be a “breaking point” [17] as Mert (32, man, sculptor) describes, leading him toward a non-exploitative stance concerning all animals, that is, veganism. Despite having serious biases toward veganism, Mert was able to overcome his biases through living with a collective for 4 years. [18] In addition to Mert’s rather informal socialization with a vegan group, Deniz (29, woman, university student), Ada (23, other, university student) and Kuzey (24, man, cat catcher), all of whom studied at different universities, share a history of active membership in university clubs or commissions for animal protection at some point in their undergraduate education.

In addition to university being a multispecies community allowing human-animal encounters, as well as encounters between like-minded humans, being affiliated with the university especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, participants explain, allowed them more spare time, which they were able to allocate to cats. Kuzey, a recent university graduate reflects on his experience:

> Later, after I became the president [of the university club for animals], while my more experienced friends were teaching me the job, the pandemic started. Everyone went to their hometowns due to the pandemic. No one was left [in the city]. My real deep story was that period, … I clearly remember days when I got on a bus alone and the bus would take only me from … to …. During those times, we also got our official permissions and went out during the lockdown and started spending serious time with animals. Because education life was interrupted. Work life was the same, … and we were able to spend all this time with animals. … We were taking care of the animals on campus. There was a cat population of 300 to 500 on campus. During this period,

> when we sat down and thought seriously about how we could increase their well-being, what else we could do for them, of course, various things came to our minds and since we could spend serious time on this, we had the opportunity to do things that could not be done before. … Because the world has come to a complete standstill, you can completely devote your time to that point. I want to explain this part in detail, so I can convey to people or to you that we hold on to them [animals] in that serious time gap, that we spend time on them. Because it is important to me. (Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher) [19]

Kuzey's experience discloses how being a university student during the COVID-19 pandemic, where education was suspended and most students returned their hometowns, allowed him and his friends an unprecedented amount of time, they were able to allocate to animals and try methods they were not able to before due to their previous routines. In a similar vein, Özge, who was working as a university instructor during the pandemic, explains how lockdowns helped her bond and provide care for cats in the apartment backyard. It was "an excuse to go out every day," [20] when going outside was strictly governed. It should be noted here that lockdowns in Turkey applied to most professions, therefore Özge's experience is not representative only of university affiliates. Participants explain how the lockdowns that COVID-19 pandemic brought upon allowed them more spare time to be allocated for the care of liminal cats around them, which they remember as a transforming moment in their care practices. In a similar vein, being a student is also explained as having more time as a resource for care.[81]

[81] Mert, 32, man, sculptor; Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher; Can, 28, man, call center agent

4.4.3 Adulthood in the City

However, not all participants narrate childhood encounters with animals or university years spent at university clubs for animals or meeting others who are sensitive toward the animal question. Some encounters with animals, especially in Istanbul, occur in places in the city that are populated by cats, therefore affording such interspecies encounters. These places consist predominantly of apartment gardens and ground floors of apartment buildings, followed by quiet alleys of neighborhoods, vacant lots, as well as beyond the city such as urban margins, and gardens of detached houses in the rural area. Ege (33, other, media executive), who used to live in Ortaköy, a district on the European side of the Bosphorus describes this as such: "Before that, I was living on a ground floor. Maybe you encounter it very often in your work. The ground floor is a very convenient place for animal encounters and maybe the story of most feeders starts there." [21] Bulut, too, supports ground floors as a place of human-animal encounter. Living in a house on the ground floor in Ankara, "[he] used to buy sausages, a couple of boxes, and [he] would … go out on the balcony and throw them away. The cats would pick them up and take them away." [22] In a similar vein, Uzay (28, man, communications executive) draws attention to basement floors in Şişli, a district on the European side rented by economically disadvantaged queer people, enabling interspecies encounters of a specific kind. He explains:

> Well, I find it very interesting. Around Şişli, all the basement floors or the ground floors have tiny windows like this, through which you can see TV playing indoors while passing by. For example, in Şişli, there are a lot of queers living on these [basement] floors, I know a few people. But, on the other hand, this is something that has been told as a joke. I mean,

> every queer living on a basement floor always has at least two cats on the street that they feed. They [cats] approach the windows, are fed by the window. They [cats] have names. Well, for example, I find that very interesting. For example, the fact that all the cats in Şişli have eaten from the hands of queers. (Uzay, 28, man, communications executive) [23]

All these encounters narrated by participants occur on apartment floors which have immediate access to the street, where community cats often roam. Such access to the street from one's own house allows interspecies care in the form of "breaking bread"[82] together. Regardless of the place of encounter, these encounters often lead to intervention and formation of care practice, and an interventionist caring self. This, then, leads to heightened awareness on the situation of liminal cats, pulling the human proxy more into the practice. What binds these encounters they deem significant due to constructed feline vulnerability as well as the encounter's transformative potential is what I call *feline events*,[83] a specific kind of interspecies encounter, characterized by human intervention justified as a moral imperative. Such interventions are key to the feline interventionist arena, leading to the formation of the interventionist caring self, that is, the human proxy. Feline events are not limited to the temporality of the present moment. They can describe situations in the present moment as well as imminent scenarios centering the neglected feline user of the city. In other words, feline events delineate emergent human-feline

[82] Donna Haraway traces the root of the word companion to its Latin origin, which is *cum panis* [with bread]. To companion, Haraway explains, is to eat together. See Haraway, D. (2008a). Companion Species, Mis-Recognition, and Queer Worlding. In N. Giffney, & M. J. Hird (Eds.), *Queering the Non/Human*, xxiii-xxxvi. Ashgate.

[83] The term "event" is widely used in ecological psychology, one key concept of which I utilize in this dissertation, namely, "affordance." I borrow the term "event" from anthropology. See 4.5 Encountering and Intervening in Feline Events for a discussion on how participants construct and intervene in feline events, and see 6.5 Designing Against Feline Events for a discussion on human proxies' designerly responses to feline events.

encounters or presumptive feline scenarios in urban environments, deemed to require human intervention, designerly or otherwise, to reconcile the friction between the anthropocentric city and its neglected feline user. Özge (38, woman, university instructor) illustrates her experience with cats in her apartment backyard, and how she became more involved with them over time:

> We saw that a cat had kittens in the garden. One of the kittens' eyes had closed due to infection. We came across them while coming from the parking lot and we were really upset. We thought about what we could do. Then we went to the pharmacy and got some medicine. We started dressing the cat's eye. The cat was tiny; we couldn't find their mother. We gave them milk with a syringe. We followed them around for a few days. Then someone else took them and started feeding them at home, but our perspective on cats changed. This time we felt like we had to take care of the ones in the garden. We started chasing after the other kittens [to see] what were they doing. We also witnessed one kitten die. This broke our hearts even more. This time, we became even more sensitive about the remaining kittens and made it our job to see if they were eating their food, etc. (Özge, 38, woman, university instructor) [24]

As Özge's story illustrates, witnessing is the key transformative act. Firstly, they witness a tiny kitten whose eyes are closing due to infection. Then, they witness this kitten being taken under temporary care in a household, underlining the urgency of the situation. This acts as a "perspective-changing" witnessing on the issue, presumably due to

conveying them care, and supervision in the household is the norm.[84] Finally, they witness a kitten death, leading them to feel immense pain, leading them to begin to care for the issue. They check whether cats are well-nourished, and make sure that they eat. Esin (42, woman, architect), too, relates her ongoing care practices, which she describes as "financial and spiritual effort" [*maddi, manevi emek*] [25] to two feline events, namely "the difficult situation of a kitten and her kittens living in [their] apartment" and "a kitten falling into the garden from upstairs." [25] As both Özge and Esin explain, feline events have the potential to transform human-animal encounters into long-term commitments, where individuals may become a human proxy. By human proxy, I describe a specific type of caregiver, who has come to know of an individual animal or animals over a given time frame, and who chooses to speak on behalf of said animals pertaining to their well-being. It should be noted here that such a title of designated spokesperson is not wished by all participants. To the contrary, Özge explains how residents in the apartment building started to ask her questions pertaining to cats, which she explains with a slight discontent:

> When they [the neighbors] saw something wrong with the cats [in the apartment yard], they would come and tell us: "Did that cat's eye get better?" or "How long has that cat been gone?", "Have you seen them?" etc. It was as if we were their guardians. … Or they see another cat, who has come to the yard. If there is a problem somewhere, they come and tell us. "Have you seen this new cat? They are in a very bad condition."

[84] See 5.2.1 Sheltering Temporarily.

> Okay, but if you are worried about it, you can do something, too. (Özge, 38, woman, university instructor) [26]

Özge explicitly does not want to become the "guardians" of the cats she provides care for. To the contrary, she describes her stance as "concerned," whose proximity to a feline event invites her intervention, which she accepts. Proximity, however, does not always lead to becoming a human proxy. Gönül (54, woman, store owner) explain they have become the designated reference person on anything relating to liminal cats, because her friends start to consult her expertise in their own encounters. "When something happens to a cat near my workplace in the neighborhood," explains Gönül, "everyone calls me right away, they immediately run [to me]: 'Ms. Gönül, what can we do?'" [27] Becoming a designated human proxy in a given area could be preferred and worn as a badge of honor as in the case of Gönül, but it could also lead to resentment as Özge (38, woman, university instructor) experiences it, for people delegate the caregiver who would like to maintain distance to cats, and an overall boundary to care labor and do as much as they wish.[85]

[85] See 4.7.2 Keeping Care Flexible.

Table 4.1 *Self-Definitions of Participants and Their Groundedness*

SELF-DEFINITIONS that appear in data	**NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS**	**PARTICIPANTS** in alphabetical order
Animal lover [*hayvansever*]	10	Asya, Aybike, Can, Defne, Dicle, Gönül, Meltem, Mira, Olcay, Öykü
One that loves animals* [*hayvanları seven*]	6	Bulut, Deniz, Janset, Koray, Mert, Umay
One that loves animals but grounds their actions in a political ideology [*hayvanları seven ama*]	2	Arda, Güneş
Volunteer [*gönüllü*]	9	Asya, Alp, Can, Deniz, Kuzey, Meltem, Öykü, Rıdvan, Umay
Active [*aktif*, *faal*]	1	Esin
Animal protectionist [*hayvan korumacı*]	1	Ege
Street animal activist/rights defender [*sokak hayvanı aktivisti/hakları savunucusu*]	1	Ada
Concerned [*ilgili*]	1	Özge
None	4	Aslı, Cansu, Naya, Uzay

* This group describes those participants who do not explicitly claim "animal lover" identity yet explain how they love animals during the interview.

In mapping participants' self-definitions, I followed a qualitative approach, instead of a quantitative one. The significant thing in determining where a participant falls in this categorization required me to look at participant's narrative and read each interview thoroughly in order to go beyond the earlier fragmentation of data (Dierckx de Casterlé et al., 2012) through line-by-line coding. By looking at each interview, I was able to focus on storylines peculiar to each interview participant, and how they construct their encounters and further trajectory in their current self-identification (Table 4.1). I realized that participant's utilization of a term such as volunteer may refer to others, and not themselves. Or a participant may identify as an animal lover and describe their activities as voluntary. Therefore, the entire interviews are read for the purpose of determining participant's self-definition of (purposeful) lack thereof. When no self-identification is found, participant is categorized under none. It should be noted here that those who belong to the category none are those who are not committed and maintain a flexible interaction with animals. Uzay purposefully rejects both animal lover and vegan identities, despite being one of the most avid cat house designers in the study. This, however, is not surprising considering his trajectory starts with the encounter with cat houses, and not a feline event, involving a cat in need. Another "none" participant is Cansu (19, woman, university student), who with her family engages in breeding. Naya (31, woman, microblading specialist), despite being a vegan, does not mention her veganism as part of identity. It should be noted here that Naya is a native Arabic speaker, with whom I conducted the interview in English. Her situation, along with that of Janset's (42, woman, coordinator), who is another native Arabic speaker, is different since they are migrants in Istanbul.

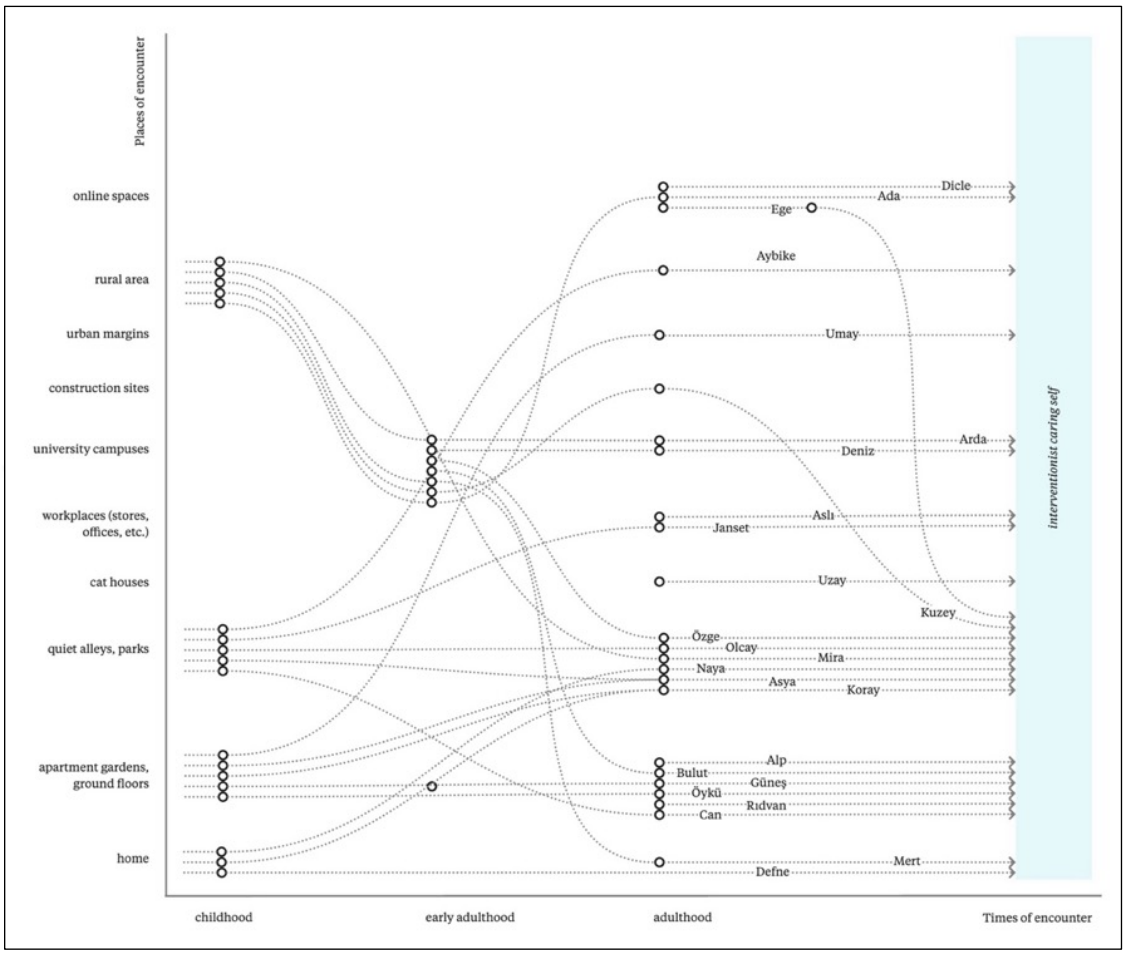
Participants have a repertoire of how they construct their self-identities around care work as well as how they construct the identities of care recipient cats. Most often, participants describe themselves as "volunteer" [*gönüllü*], and "animal lover" [*hayvansever*]. Although I use care as an overall description of their practices, care and its related Turkish translations such as "bakım," "ihtimam" etc. are not utilized as often. Instead, feeding [*besleme*] appears as a frequent description of their activities, along with the word "territory" [*bölge*] to explain where these feeding practices take place, and over which a participant oversees. It should be noted here that I neither explicitly ask participants their self-identifications nor present them a list to choose from. This is in line with Grounded Theory principles in diversifying participants as much as possible to adhere to the main aim of the research, that is, theorizing. In order to avoid predetermining the research, I addressed in the call for participants "those who care for street cats," regardless of any extant category such as "animal lover" [*hayvansever*] or "vegan." Therefore, the diversity in self-definitions of participants should not be seen as a weakness in the research. To the opposite, it presents the diversity of the feline interventionist arena, with individuals from different ideologies practice rather similar but sometimes conflicting good care. Considering the open-ended approach to sampling for a sound theorizing, it is noteworthy that participants cluster around the self-definition "animal lover" [*hayvansever*].

By building upon the works of Shibutani and Strauss,[86] Unruh sketches out four characteristics of social worlds: 1) voluntary identification, 2) partial involvement, 3) multiple identification, and 4) mediated interaction (Unruh, 1980, pp. 277-279). By voluntary identification, Unruh means that participation in the social world in question is

[86] See 3.4 Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn: Situational Analysis.

voluntary and not forced, which distinguishes social worlds from other, rather formal social organizations (p. 277). Partial involvement, as the name denotes, refers to participation in a select number of activities in a social world, providing the participant flexibility (p. 278). Multiple identification explains how participants participate in multiple social worlds. This, Unruh explains, is due to the improbability of total involvement in a social world considering the vast number of universes of discourse enabled and sustained by a plethora of communication channels (pp. 278-279). Finally, mediated interaction describes the kind of communication that exceeds face-to-face communication in disparate areas of the social worlds. This, however, may not apply to all the social worlds, especially those that are smaller in scale, characterized by its face-to-face conduct (pp. 279-280). In line with the characteristics of social worlds Unruh discusses, he offers four types of involvement along the axis of commitment: 1) strangers, 2) tourists, 3) regulars, and 4) insiders. In a similar vein, sociologist Howard Becker, too, formulates types of involvement in a social world as follows: 1) entrepreneurs (Becker, 1963), and 2) mavericks (Becker, 1982). Participants' self-descriptions and degree of commitments vary, but their intervention in feline events remain mutual. Hence, formation of interventionist caring self (Figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7 *Formation of Interventionist Caring Self*



As participant narratives illustrate, human-animal encounters, which, for the participants of the study, are constructed as feline events deemed urgent and intervened, span across time and space. Yet, certain patterns emerge from the elicited data. To summarize, participants who recall childhood memories of first human-animal encounter often describe these feline events taking place in the rural area in places such as farmhouses with access to a garden, as well as their childhood home and its environs such as gardens, quiet alleys, etc. In early adulthood, participants trace their human-animal encounters mostly to a specific locale, that is, the university campus. University campuses appear as multispecies communities of humans and animals of different species, but also as a hub of joining communities where they meet individuals theorizing and practicing

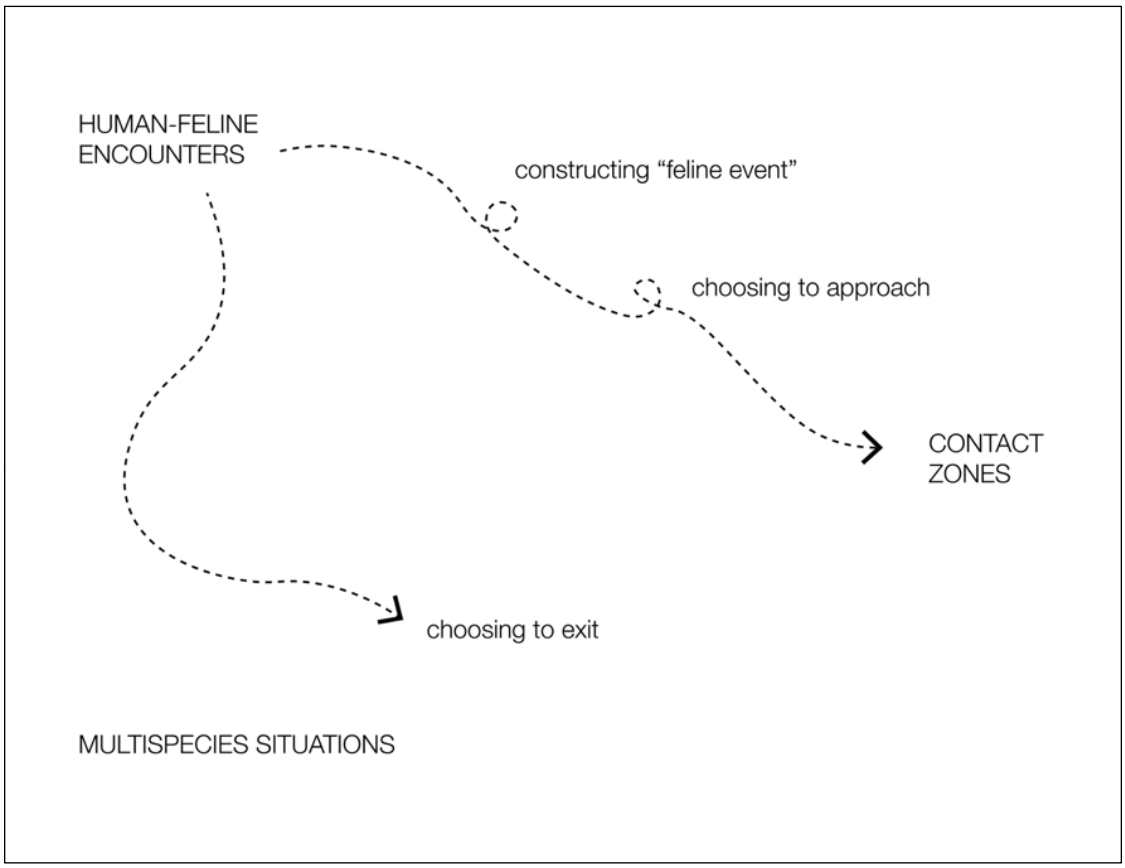
animal liberation to the best of their capacities. It is during adulthood where participants' locales of encounters diversify the most, including workplaces such as offices, stores and construction sites as well as urban margins and online spaces. Still, home and its environs constituting a major locale of interspecies encounter continue.

4.5 Encountering and Intervening in Feline Events

The city, as a hub of multispecies co-existence, allows a plethora of human-animal encounters, one of which is encountering cats. Anyone living in the city could come across animals, yet not all these encounters ground an intervention, or play a transformative role in individuals' lives. Some may choose to simply walk away from an animal in need, whereas others may seek ways to allocate time (Figure 4.8). Ege (33, other, media executive) recalls their experience with a neighbor, whose lack of action they feel is inconceivable. They state:

> I stood by that engine for like two hours. Apparently, the cat had been there for two three days, a neighbor said "Oh, you couldn't get them out?" or something like that, that's how they were related to a cat that had been meowing there for three days, whether they came out or not, when the cat was about to die! (Ege, 33, other, media executive) [28]

Figure 4.8 *Potential Pathways for Human-Feline Encounters*



As Ege's interaction with their neighbor illustrates, human-cat encounters do not readily translate to an intervention. Despite the encounter extending over a period of two three days, the human party may simply observe from afar. Asya (30, woman, doctor) grounds lack of action in human-cat encounters in mere ignorance, one example of which is feline self-neglect, where a cat may have decreased grooming behavior for reasons related to underlying health conditions. She explains how some people may be uninformed on such feline behavior, and brush it off with "It'll pass, it's an animal," [29] thereby constructing animals as dirty creatures who lack hygiene practices and justifying lack of intervention.

4.5.1 Feeling Morally Obliged to Take Action and Criticizing Lack Thereof

In this study, it is the latter group of individuals such as Ege and Asya who are willing to approach animals, intervene if constructed as necessary and maintain intimate human-animal relationship that stretch across time and space, that constitute the participants of the study, whom I conceptualize as "human proxy." What precedes any intervention in a feline event is an emergent feeling of "I Must", a moral obligation felt by the human proxy in what they perceive to be calling for action to enhance the condition of the feline subject. In extending care toward non-human animals, care ethicist Noddings explains how responding to a situation and taking a moral action is tied to the ethical "I must" (Noddings, 2013), that is, whether the caregiver feels willing enough to take responsibility and to act to the peculiar situation. "I must" arises in certain situations, and it does not in certain others, depending on caregiver's personal history, and the dynamics of the situation at hand. How does "I must" arise when the care recipient is a non-human animal who is considered to be "mute"? Noddings explains that "I must" is related to one's proximity to the animal, whether the animal is addressing and communicating its need, and one's past experience in caring for the animal in question, which she bases upon the dialogue in-between thanks to animal's communicative capacities and caregiver's hearing capacities. Nel Noddings (2013) explains this as follows:

> We also have aroused in us the feeling, "I must do something." When we see the other's reality as a possibility for us, we must act to eliminate the intolerable, to reduce the pain, to fill the need, to actualize the dream. When I am in this sort of relationship with another, when the other's reality becomes a real possibility for me, I care. Whether the caring is sustained, whether it lasts long enough to be conveyed to the other,

> whether it becomes visible in the world, depends upon my sustaining the relationship or, at least, acting out of concern for my own ethicality as though it were sustained. (Noddings, 2013, p.14)

This moral obligation to act in order to end the suffering of the animal, and to increase the quality of their life, is elaborated by Ada (23, other, gastronomy student):

> I feel like it's something I have to do. I mean, there was a cat I found in Fatih. They had a huge layer on their nose, a mixture of snot and infection. Now I see them. How can I not try to help them when I see them, and I am able to help or if I can by pushing my limits a bit? I mean, I don't know. It's like something I have to do. (Ada, 23, other, gastronomy student) [30]

Another constituent of the moral obligation formulated by study participants could be traced to how they construct feline vulnerability,[87] which justifies and deems necessary the intervention. Care recipient liminal cats are often constructed in an infantilized manner, underlining the dependent nature of these animals, thereby justifying their deservingness of care. The words "CHILD" [*çocuk*], and "STREET CHILD" [*sokak çocuğu*] are frequently utilized, followed by less frequent descriptions such as "GIRL" [*kız*], "BOY" [*oğlan*], "BABY" [*bebiş*]. These animals are also regarded as dependent beings and sometimes as "MUTE" [*ağızları yok*], therefore unable to verbally express

[87] See 5.1 Justifying Spatial Accommodation in Feline Vulnerability and 6.2 Designing for the Feline User on Dependency-Autonomy Continuum for a discussion on how human proxies construct feline vulnerability, which informs their adoption and rehoming practices.

their needs [*kendini ifade edemeyen*]. Another word that is used to describe cats is NURSING MOTHER [*Süt Anne*].

When the human witness to what is constructed as a feline event evokes the feeling of "I must", the act of witnessing transforms into an act of well-meaning intervention. First step concerns evaluating the situation of the cat. When he encounters a cat, Can (28, man) explains that he first checks the surrounding environment for traces of care to see if there is "a water or food bowl around," [31] and "physically feel[s] their bellies directly" to see if it is full. The lack of material traces for care, then would propel intervention. Sometimes, these encounters involve rescuing of the cat from a place the animal cannot remove themselves. Rescue actions may be as simple as redirecting a kitten away from the automobile traffic, or to use food to lure a cat so they leave the tiny space they previously ran into. Such rescue actions do not constitute immediate injury or life-threatening situations. Some, however, become more complicated when the animal is both feral and injured. Asya explains her rescuing of a feral cat whose infection had advanced:

> When I lived in Fatih, we also had a small feeding area there. Close to home, we created it together with the people in the neighborhood. There were cats coming and going there, and we were looking to see how they were doing. One day, it was wintertime, we noticed a very bad smell coming from one of the cartons we were feeding. There was a cat in it. The smell was so bad that I thought the cat had died. We reached out our hand to the cat and it reacted and tried to bite our hand. Then suddenly it ran out of the cardboard, the animal was alive, but one of the animal's legs was probably crushed or something, it had a very serious open,

> infected, smelly horrible wound, but the cat could run. And it hid under a car. We ducked down there, we tried to get it from there, like it hid under the car because it was from there. I was married at the time, with my ex-wife, it was probably at night. We started at 11 p.m. We spent two and a half hours lying under the cars until one and a half or two o'clock in the morning, crawling from one to the other, one to the other with a stick, one trying to scare the animal while the other was trying to catch it, and the last one we barely caught by making a net from a cardigan string, and after we took it in our hands, it scratched me all over and tore me to pieces. We had a very hard time until we put it in the box. It was quite difficult, I mean, we crawled on the ground for about two and a half hours, but also to keep an eye on it. Because he was probably lying there dying, trying to die. So, we didn't want to leave him, it was very difficult. I remember we crawled on the floor a lot. People coming and going asked if we were crazy. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor) [32]

Participants often describe how they felt morally obliged to care or continue extant care when previous caregiver is absent. Participants describe care for liminal cats as a "task" [*görev*],[88] an "obligation" [*sorumluluk*], something participants feel they "have to" do, which hold the possibility to become a "moral burden" [*vicdani yük*].[89] Bulut (36, man, NGO worker) "feel[s] responsible" [33] for domestic animals such as liminal cats "we [humans] have domesticated," because of which "[he] feel[s] like [he has] to do something" to enhance the inferior living conditions of these animals. Care for domestic

[88] Asya, 30, woman, doctor
[89] Bulut, 36, man, NGO worker

animals, for Bulut, then, is a way to undo the perceived "human damage" on domestic animals.[90] Güneş (30, non-binary, photographer) is of a similar opinion, believing that because the city and its human residents do not provide the ideal living conditions for these animals, and thus "[care] is not a favor … it is our responsibility to look after these animals on the street or at home." [34]

When care becomes a moral obligation, taking action is inevitable. Participants often criticize human non-proxy apathy, that is, indifference stance of outsiders and their lack of action, disclosing their wish that others, too, should care. Öykü's (43, woman, financier) first memory of a human-animal encounter is from her childhood apartment in Bakırköy.[91] She remembers a cat "who had been walking around with a broken leg for years" [35] in their apartment, who was completely ignored by the entire community, including Öykü who does not remember feeding them. Reflecting back on this memory, Öykü wonders "why no one took them to a vet." Öykü's memory is yet another example of how home and its environs afford human-animal encounters, and as I discuss previously, how some encounters may not be constructed as feline events, and thus not intervened. Although Öykü feels "cats weren't taken care of that much," and "there was no such thing as available cat food," she pauses to problematize the lack of action in an apartment building, the entire community of which ignored a cat with a broken leg for

[90] Domestication as Man's one-sided dominance of the animal is not only problematic as it erases animal's agency in approaching humans and human settlements in their pursuit of feline interests, it is also rejected in the domestication literature of cats. Cats' domestication process is considered as the "commensal pathway," where animals voluntarily took part in by approaching human settlements for opportunities provided. See Section 1.2.1 Definitional Scope: Human Proxies and Community Cats and 2.1.2 On the Question of Domestication and the Belonging of Domesticates for a discussion on domestication processes of cats, and Zeder, M. (2012a). The Domestication of Animals. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, *68*(2), 161-190. , Zeder, M. (2012b). Pathways to Animal Domestication. In Jack Rodney Harlan, Paul Gepts, Thomas R. Famula, Robert L. Bettinger, Stephen B. Brush, Ardeshir B. Damania, Patrick E. McGuire, & C. O. Qualset (Eds.), *Biodiversity in Agriculture: Domestication, Evolution, and Sustainability* (Vol. 10). Cambridge University Press.

[91] A municipal district of Istanbul on the European Marmara coast.

years. Problematizing lack of action continues in Aybike's story taking place in a coastal village in Bursa.[92] Aybike talks about a cat, who she later adopted:

> For example, my cat, who is now blind, came to my door in the village. However, that cat was roaming around the village when they were a kitten. Everyone saw them, before they were completely blind, before their eyes closed. If they put two drops, that cat's eyes would open, but people pushed the animal here and there. Somehow, because I was feeding, the animal made their way through the crowd to my house. (Aybike, 58, woman, retired) [36]

In Aybike's story, the lack of action eventually led to disabling of the animal. Öykü and Aybike's experiences with neglected cats take place either in a different time period (1980s) or in a space with its peculiar norms concerning liminal cats (village in a rural area). Today's Istanbul, as explained by some participants, is constructed as a cat friendly city, where such neglect is simply unobserved.[93] However, Alp's experience in an apartment building shows that neglected cats due to lack of action is not a thing of the past, and shows how a community of apartment building in Moda ignores the dire conditions of a cat colony in the apartment's backyard. Alp explains:

> I don't know, those kittens are squealing there, and no one sees them except us. They look, they hear the sound, but no one cares. That is a very troubling situation for me. There are famous writers, artists, etc. in this building, but you don't see anything from any one of them. For

[92] A city in southern Marmara region.
[93] See 4.2 Constructing Istanbul as Cat Friendly.

> example, there is a person who wrote a book on cats, but they didn't come down to feed them once. They have two cats at home, and they buy them the most expensive food. It's a ridiculous situation, you know? (Alp, 32, man, photographer) [37]

Such criticisms reveal disappointment intertwined with surprise that it is possible others could simply look away from an animal in need, knowingly or unknowingly. They also underline how taking action is expected and is a social norm within the social world. Therefore, the lack of it attracts attention as an anomaly.

4.5.2 Intervening in Feline Events

Considering that the city allows human-cat encounters, one of the major, most visible constituents of interspecies care is feeding of cats and providing them with water (Figure 4.9). Participants participate in feeding of cats due to increasing immunity especially in cold climate,[94] not wanting animals to starve in prey-scarce urban environments,[95] as well as overall perceived feline dependence on humans. Most often, human proxies feed cats with dry cat food, chosen due to the efficiency of purchasing over preparing one's own. When the number of cats gradually increase, purchasing helps decrease the care burden for preparing cat food at home for a large population. For Aybike (58, woman, retired), switching to cat food is simply because of meeting this increasing demand.[96] Another conveniency explained by Mert (32, man, sculptor) is choosing to trust the regulations around the production of cat food, as well as knowing its ingredients.[97]

[94] Mira, 32, other, editor; Meltem, 38, woman, veterinary assistant; Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter
[95] Cansu, 19, woman, university student
[96] Aybike, 58, woman, retired
[97] Mert, 32, man, sculptor

Figure 4.9 *Feeding Cats*



Note. Photograph taken by and used upon the kind courtesy of Özlem Özkal. Taşdelen, Çekmeköy, Istanbul.

Because there may always be a feline event, some participants explain they carry with them cat food. Aybike explains: “I never leave home without [cat] food. I always take a bag of food with me.” [38] For most participants, feeding occurs regularly, often on a daily basis. For example, Özge and Esin, as individuals who work during the day, put cat food in containers once in the morning and once in the evening. For Alp, feeding occurs every time he sees cats have run out of food. As a solution, he uses an automatic feeder, which fills the food container once the food finishes. All these attempts illustrate how human proxies attempt at making food available for cats at all times. For few participants, however, feeding cats is not a regular practice. For Naya, it is whenever the

weather is good enough for a walk to the park where cats live.[98] Feeding could occur very spontaneously, as some participants admit to carrying cat food with them at all times in case of an encounter with a cat in need. For Koray, it is whenever he happens to have cat food with him.[99] Compared to previous participants, Naya and Koray represent another kind of relation to feeding, one that is spontaneous and does not shoulder responsibility of a given territory or an individual or a group of cat(s). Asya explains that, despite a vital resource to survive on, water, is often neglected by human proxies. She believes this may stem from people's belief that water will somehow be accessible, "as something that exists in nature." [39]

In a similar vein, Mira (32, other, editor) carries eye medicine just in case. Because they could encounter a cat with an eye condition requiring medicine anywhere in the city, and they may not always be there, their intervention is conditioned by whether the cat lives in the said territory, in which another human proxy could be mobilized to care. They explain tending to cats' eyes in a community garden on the Asian side of the city, where "cats would usually be," [40] by "communicating with the shopkeepers" around the garden.

However not all feline events deemed to require a medical intervention could be managed by the human proxy alone. When the situation of encountered cat requires medical intervention by a professional or a prolonged treatment, certain follow-up actions are taken. In no particular order and not meant to be mutually exclusive, these actions are 1) going to the pharmacy, 2) taking the cat to a private veterinary clinic, 3) contacting local municipality's veterinary department, 4) adopting cat temporarily. These actions are

[98] Naya, 31, woman, microblading specialist
[99] Koray, 24, man, human resources specialist

not mutually exclusive, that is, they could be taken one after the other depending on the particularities of the situation as well as the human proxy's decision making.

When rescue cases involve medical intervention, human proxy decides to consult veterinary expertise by taking the animal to a private clinic[100] by paying from their own budget. Aybike explains: "And seriously, we now take them to a private veterinarian here, that is, when there is an animal that has had an accident, we take it to a private thing. We take them to the vet; we make installments and so on." [41] At the veterinary clinic, first thing that welcomes human proxies is often a desk where patient registration is done. Note that human proxy may not know the animal personally and may simply be a passer-by who choose to help an animal in need. Mira explains how this creates confusion:

> In all of them, whether it's a liminal animal or an animal that lives with us at home, it's a little bit more like this, with the motivation of "We take good care of them", "This child. What is their name? Are they registered? Let's create it right away. What was their name?" and so on. I find myself doing things like this directly. I've just met the animal. "What are we going to name them?" As soon as possible, but I shouldn't think for a long time as if I was naming my own child. Because the child needs to be treated immediately, and things like that. (Mira, 32, other, editor) [42]

Not only the human proxy feels a confusion toward naming an animal who they just met but also feels that the decision must be taken immediately so as not to delay the medical intervention deemed urgent. While it is noteworthy that veterinary practitioners approach the animal in question as an individual presumably with a name, registration

[100] See 6.1 Designing due to Municipal Inadequacy and Indifference for a discussion on why and how municipal veterinary services are often avoided by human proxies.

with a name is perceived to be lengthy and unnecessary in a state of emergency, leading to a notion on part of the human proxy that (some) veterinarians are disconnected from the reality of liminal animals, and relating to domestic animals outside pet equation. In addition, this is due to proxies' not always feeling a strong connection to the individual animal and not having a history with said animal. In one of my field experiences where I was rescuing an injured cat, such a lengthy procedure was avoided without me having to ask. The cat was registered under NONAME 6796.[101] From above remarks, it can be concluded that in certain feline events, participants feel a distance to the animal and may wish to maintain that without having to shoulder full responsibility of the animal in question,[102] while aiming to end their suffering as quickly as possible.

In cases that are perceived as mild, where the human proxy has an experience in treating, the veterinary is consulted remotely, without taking the animal to the clinic. Aybike (58, woman, retired), who cares for cats both in Istanbul and in a coastal village in Bursa explains that she "[has] two veterinarians [she] trust[s] very much. One [there] and one here [in Istanbul]." [43] Such established relations often help the human proxy to become experts in medical conditions that are common, leading them to diagnose and intervene without on-spot veterinary supervision. She explains:

> [F]or something related to the eyes, for example, there is an abnormality in the eye; there is redness, not discharge, etc. I take fifty photos of the animal and send them to both of my veterinarians. Or I send them [photos] when the nose is running. For example, the eye is running a lot, the nose is running, or something is coming out of the mouth. I open

[101] See APPENDIX **A.** AN ATTEMPT AT RESCUING A KITTEN WITH SCI.
[102] See 4.4 Proxification: Becoming a Human Proxy for a discussion on different levels of commitments.

> animal's teeth, take a photo and send it to them. They give me information, they tell me to use this and that, but when things repeat in the same way, I don't need to ask them again. Surely the veterinarian, of course, we have already done it thanks to these medicines. (Aybike, 58, woman, retired) [43]

Some feline events concern cases which are not treated on spot with a single medicine but require an extended human supervision of the cat. This leads to follow-up actions such as 1) temporary adoption within the spatial means of the human proxy, whether that be a household, or a garden,[103] or if that is not a possibility, 2) rehoming the cat underlining their medical condition.[104] Asya (30, woman, doctor) explains how she managed to treat a feral cat with an open wound in their own house:

> We barely got the cat into the box and took it to the vet. The treatment started, but since the cat was already very wild and didn't want to be approached, we locked it in a room in our house during the treatment process, and there, for every dressing, we would make a net out of something like a cardigan and one of them would put the animal in a completely immobilized position. The other one would change the back leg, the wet dressing, and in this process, we were bitten, torn, and injured every time. This was a treatment process that lasted for about a month and a half, full of torment, screams, and stinking. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor) [44]

[103] See 5.2.1 Sheltering Temporarily and 5.2.2 Adopting Permanently for a detailed discussion on human proxy's adoption practices within their own spatial means.
[104] See 5.2.3 Rehoming Permanently (Hoping) for a detailed discussion on human proxy's rehoming practices of liminal cats.

As the above remark illustrates, human proxies often take in cats temporarily in order to provide the required care over a period of time in a given area. Temporary care in the household provides the necessary control for the human proxy over the mobility of the animal, who is feral and may be difficult to continue treatment if not contained in a space. Asya's attempts to use a cardigan each time to trap the cat shows clearly that the cat avoids human contact, even when the intent of human proxies is to rescue the cat. Therefore, for feral cats, containing the animal in a space temporarily becomes a necessity for the human proxies such as Aslı for the animal avoids contact with humans, yet, when left neglected, could experience a painful and long process of dying. Here, the human proxy chooses to intervene at the expense of feline agency, for the perceived, increased well-being of the animal once intervened.

4.6 Collaboration or Lack Thereof: Navigating Interspecies Care

4.6.1 Navigating Difficult Emotions: Catalyst for and Obstacle to Action

Care is not neatly isolated from feelings. To the opposite, emotions, my analysis shows, are constituent of care practice. Emotions could be thought of as a separate actor throughout the entire care process, and in this case, good care. First, emotions propel care work as they create affect, pushing the human proxy to provide care due to feelings of sadness, etc. However, lack of emotional regulation could push the human proxy to take a break/exit care. As constituents of good care, emotions could be both blessing and a curse, depending on the participant and the wider empirical situation.

Positive feelings such as happiness and satisfaction during care and thereafter appear in participant narratives, albeit to a lesser extent.[105] Umay (38, woman, freelancer)

[105] It should be noted there that participants tend to report incidents that were rather difficult, so sharing them during an interview becomes a way of processing feelings, which then becomes an opportunity for

who rescues, lives with and rehomes many cats and dogs with disabilities, explain how "[s]ome of [their] adoptions go very well," [45] which "make [her] very happy." Her happiness is rooted in seeing how much of an impact she has on an animal's life. She continues: "[w]hile living on the streets in a village here, they go to the UK lead[ing] incredible lives, … travel[ing] the world." Her emphasis on living as a liminal animal in a village in Silivri[106] versus living in the UK with a beloved family draws attention on the observed inferior life quality of liminal animals in the rural. Such a drastic shift in an animal's life, where the animal is assisted on their journey toward safety and well-being is the ultimate form of motivation for Umay.

Most often, participants report negative feelings, spanning across feelings of inadequacy, guilt and anxiety to feelings of distrust, sadness, and exhaustion. Participants question whether they should have taken action, or whether they are taking enough action. They report feelings of anxiety and inadequacy due to cats' being displaced followed up by not knowing by whom and where the cats are taken, as well as not being able to have the mental and material capacities in case of an emergency encounter. Participants report feelings of sadness especially during human-animal encounters, when the animal is in need. After burying a kitten of a litter of five, Koray (23, man, human resources specialist) "remember[s] being upset and affected by this process." [46] Gönül (54, woman, shopkeeper) recalls her bond with a mother cat, for whom she "was very upset" [*çok üzülüyordum*] [47], because her kitten died at the municipal veterinary services. Allowing

finding solidarity and healing. Another likelihood for participants' rather low report on positive feelings could be explained by caregiving focused on not oneself and the positive feelings that will emerge thereof, but rather caregiving as an altruistic act focused on the animal and their well-being. This, however, should not yield to the conclusion that participants do not report positive feelings.

[106] A municipal district in Istanbul on the European coast of Marmara Sea.

this mother cat into her store received complaints from her friend,[107] another shopkeeper in the area, leading to "[throwing] his shoe at the cat. Following this incident, Gönül "stopped seeing that friend of [hers]. [She] told him never to pass by [t]here again ... spen[ding] days to lure that cat back into the store."

Even when care could be provided with enough human and material resources, it may not be enough to completely erase feelings of worry, as Arda (32, man, research assistant) reminds the ever possibility of cats' being suddenly displaced by anyone. Working at a private university on the Anatolian side of the city, Arda explains with worry that "[t]he thing [they] are most worried about is the possibility of animals being displaced over a weekend, and [they] have encountered such things." [48] These feelings of anxiety are triggered by not being able to trace humans who are responsible for the illegal displacement,[108] as well as the current whereabouts of the displaced animal in question. Sütlaç, the feline resident of the university campus who had been there long before Arda, disappeared during a holiday when the campus was deserted. Arda explains:

> Where they [Sütlaç] went, what happened, I mean, we ask people about them, no one says anything. There was news from somewhere, something like they took and dropped them off in an industrial zone or something like that. We can't find who took them, who did this, who told

[107] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment for a discussion on shrinking urban space for liminal cats as well as being removed from indoors such as cafés.

[108] Displacement of liminal cats and dogs, who are described as "unclaimed animals" [*sahipsiz hayvan*] by law, were criminalized under 5199 Animal Protection Law and was justified only for temporary treatment purposes on the condition that animals were later released in their place of origin. This regulation followed the logic of "trap-neuter-release" policy. However, shortly after the fieldwork of this study was finalized, a law amendment was published on the Official Gazette on August 2, 2024, making the previous "trap-neuter-release" regulation ineffective for dogs. Now, liminal dogs are subject to being collected to be accommodated in animal shelters temporarily for purposes of rehoming, and if not rehomed, killed by euthanasia.

> them to take them, etc. There is uncertainty there. This is probably what we are most concerned about. I mean, we can't find the source completely. (Arda, 32, man, research assistant) [48]

Apart from feelings of sadness and worry due to human violence, feelings of guilt for not taking action also emerges. The only, biggest regret in Esin's life (42, woman, architect) is "[t]he first time [she] came across a disabled cat at a construction site and didn't help them..." From the way Esin illustrates the feline event as a vivid image of "a cat with disability walking toward her in the rain at a construction site" is telling in the sense that how feline vulnerability is constructed and shaped by many factors, bodily condition, weather condition, space.[109] Walking away from a feline event still haunts Esin, which "[she] will never forget for years." "I was really unfamiliar with the subject," Esin admits, "I was a little scared, too." Now taking care of cats in her neighborhood due to feeling responsible [*sorumlu*], Esin reports feelings of guilt for not taking (enough) action, when she saw and ignored a rescue ad. [49] As a successful architect, Esin admits to receiving a bountiful job offers, which she often refuses for not wanting to work on the weekends, or in the evenings. Her wish to maintain a healthy work-life balance does not stop her worry whether the extra money she would earn could rescue more lives. She details a dream of hers:

> Now I have a dream for the future. I also share it with others. But it is not like, "Let me get married, have a house, drive this car, have a job," etc. My dream for the future is completely about animals. I have never had

[109] See 5.1 Justifying Spatial Accommodation in Feline Vulnerability for a discussion on how human proxies construct feline vulnerability, which informs their adoption and rehoming practices.

> to worry about making a lot of money. I have never had such a concern. But sometimes I think about it. Because I get a lot of work from outside, I don't accept any of it. Because I don't want to work on the weekends, in the evenings. I wonder if I could do it, even if I had that kind of money, maybe I could do something for street animals, sick animals... (Esin, 42, woman, architect) [50]

As someone who acknowledges her class privilege, guilt and regret is a dominant theme in Esin's narrative, making her feel she could do more, but she withdraws/pulls back. Feelings of guilt for not caring enough, continues in Ege's (33, other, media executive) narrative in the form of feelings of inadequacy. By drawing a comparison to others who they believe may find comfort and relief in care, Ege explains how care triggers intense feelings of anxiety and inadequacy that it started taking a toll on their mental health, ultimately leading them to take a break.[110] Ege states that "feeding animals is like 'Oh, [swear word]!' for me, I mean, what if an animal comes out of nowhere and they are in a very bad situation, what will I do if it's 01:00 am?" [51] Such spontaneity of feline events, and the strong emotions and desperation they may bring about, led Ege to "take a break" from care, in an attempt to regulate their potential emotions and prioritize *their own* well-being. Even after taking a break, they admit to recalling care as difficult and painful. They continue to exemplify how spontaneous feeding of a cat they encounter immediately bring potential future scenarios where the cat may not find food, and they may never see the cat. Ege continues how spontaneous feeding of a cat immediately pulls

[110] See 4.6.1 Navigating Difficult Emotions: Catalyst for and Obstacle to Action for a detailed discussion on how emotions shape care.

them back in a cycle of inadequacy as they face the bitter reality that the animal may not find food once they leave:

> At first, feeding made me happy, "they have eaten." Now when I feed, it's like, "What difference does it make if they are full for one meal?" or something like that. I mean, I carry with me cat food, you know, the ones I see, for example, I can feed them in my neighborhood. But if I got up today ... and if I saw a cat, I will feed them for one meal, and for them to be full for one meal does not satisfy me. (Ege, 33, other, media executive) [52]

Ege's journey illustrates how negative feelings due to providing ongoing care could lead a human proxy toward taking a break from or completely exiting care. This is because, Ege aptly describes, "despair" [*çaresizlik*] caused by lack of resources, "being crushed" [*eziklik*] by not being able to provide, leading to a "devastation" [*yıkılma*]. [53] In a similar vein, Güneş (30, other, photographer), after successfully fundraising for and treating Kiki diagnosed with FIP, a deadly feline disease, reports having felt an immense success and enthusiasm to continue rescuing other cats. They explain how this was short lived due to feelings of exhaustion:

> I was like, "Oh, I'll do this for a lot of animals after Kiki," but after Kiki's treatment, I collapsed psychologically. Because I was actually very tired at that time, so I didn't realize it. I mean, after Kiki recovered, I felt relieved, and after I felt relieved, I said, "No," I said, "I guess I don't have the strength to do this right now." (Güneş, 30, other, photographer) [54]

For those who continue to care despite all the hurdles, caregiving illustrates a process where human proxy sacrifices their own needs for the sake of animals. Upon my question where I ask her to recall a painful memory as long as it doesn't cause distress, Umay (38, woman, freelancer), who takes care of dozens of cats and dogs with disabilities, responds by saying:

> There is no situation that is not triggering for us. Since we experience it all the time, you know, "I am triggered by this" or something like that is a luxury for us, let me put it that way. Because we don't have the opportunity to experience a lot of pain for a long time. Because there are so many other animals waiting for care, we can't do things like, you know, "I'll shut myself down for a few days," "I won't get out of bed," or something like that. Even though we feel very sad, we have to go on. (Umay, 38, woman, freelancer) [55]

Umay's remark illustrates how a life devoted to rescuing liminal animals may easily translate to a life where one ends up prioritizing needs of animals over one's own. To summarize, emotions, whether they be positive or negative, appear repeatedly in participants' narratives. Often, they initiate an intervention, and at times, emotions (or lack of their regulation) push human proxies toward taking a break or exiting care.

4.6.2 Navigating Financial Scarcity

It is a repeating theme in participant narratives that feline care, spontaneous or ongoing, is costly. Due to the inflationist economic climate of Turkey, costs often increase, leading to participants to complain about increasing food prices, veterinary services, etc. Financial burden, often accelerated due to the number of cats one cares for,

results in a decrease in the quality of care provided, such as the kind of food participants feed cats with. Whatever kind of food cats are fed, some participants believe it is better than not feeding, as this would result in starvation of a population. When asked to elaborate on their choices, participants show an awareness of the shortcomings of the food they feed, disclosing a prior contemplation, yet justify their choices as "least bad." For Alp, cats would choose food, however unhealthy this food may be, over starvation and likely death. "If [he] were a cat," he imagines, "[he] wouldn't think about whether this food would make [him] diabetic or not, if [he] were in a position to starve to death." [56] Feeding, according to Alp, is vital if cats are to survive, for the cats he feeds in the apartment backyard "cannot even reach the garbage dump [to feed themselves]."

However, most of these participants *do* live with feline companions, who they often rescued from the streets.[111] Sometimes, they feel conflicted over providing different sources of food for those cats they live with and those that live on the streets. This is due to their attempts to make live as many cats as possible on cheapest food sources. Having adopted two cats to live with them inside their house, Ege questions their care practices for liminal cats:

> So, you start putting food by the garbage bins. You know, you are doing something very strange there, you are doing math. It's like, when you're providing the food, I mean, you look at the protein ratios for the ones [cats] in your own house and things like that, you ask the vet and so on. You do the math there, you know, 15 kilos, it was cheap at the time, I

[111] See 5.2.1 Sheltering Temporarily and 5.2.2 Adopting Permanently for a discussion on how human proxies temporary accommodation of liminal cats they rescue lead to an interspecies bond and adoption of these cats in their household.

> could have bought it for 75 liras or something like that, you know, "How much will it last if I buy 15 kilos"? (Ege, 33, other, media executive) [57]

Here, Ege touches upon a moral contradiction they feel for providing two different sources of food, one perceived to be of higher quality and approved by the vet, while the other is selected based on the criteria of being cheap and lasting as long as possible. Such a decision-making causes unease within Ege, emphasizing how care is always prioritizing some lives over others. Umay, who continues regular treatments of dozens of cats and dogs with disabilities in her house, reflects upon the same drawback. "When there is a large population," she justifies, "we have to go for the economical one." [58] Umay, similar to Ege, explains that "the first priority is that they do not starve, ... that they are fed in some way," which leads her to feed "whatever [she] can reach financially." Both Alp and Umay emphasize elimination of [death by] starvation. Yet, financial scarcity does lead to death of an injured cat Aslı (32, woman, shopkeeper) came across and took to multiple private veterinary clinics nearby, all of which refused to operate on the animal when Aslı could not pay. Aslı remembers:

> I saw a cat on the road that was dying, and I took them to the nearest vet. I don't remember how I found it [the clinic], because I don't think I had a smartphone at the time, maybe I took them to the first place I recall from my memory. They didn't look at them [the animal] and I didn't really have money again, I was a student, and I really didn't have any money. I took them to the second place and again they didn't look at them. I took them to the third place. Again, they demanded money and, well, I called my mom and asked for money. To take care of the cat. And then they died in the meantime. Within an hour or so. … Or maybe they

> didn't look because they realized the animal was going to die? But I remember being asked money, and I remember being entangled because of money... (Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper) [59]

As Aslı's experience with private veterinary clinics illustrate, financial scarcity experienced by the human proxy could lead to animal death. Aslı vividly remembers "being entangled because of money" in a situation where she expected others' cooperation. Yet, private veterinary clinics, being profit-driven, refused to operate on the animal, the reason of which, Aslı speculates, could be that the animal was already dying. The decision-making at play here is that a dying animal who is liminal by nature, whose proximity to a human at the time of their death is only through a passer-by witness, cannot orchestrate enough urgency and thus financial initiative. As participants' narratives illustrate, decision making processes over feeding, including what to feed whom, as well as rescuing an injured animal or not delineates a process of prioritization amid resource scarcity. Because care practices are limited (participants do not have unlimited sources), participants often go through a calculation and aim to justify the specific intervention they make (feeding a cheaper food) and potential interventions they choose to eliminate. Caregiving for liminal cats is, as Ege aptly summarizes:

> is something that tries to protect the right to life, that sometimes sacrifices some things against the right to life, ... looking for a way through the material conditions. I see it as finding a way through the circumstances. (Ege, 33, other, media executive) [60]

Financial burden and overall resource-scarcity is a major barrier to care. As can be seen from participant narratives, it decreases the quality of care provided, due to not

being able to access quality food, or veterinary services simply due to financial reasons. Not only decrease in the quality of care, but financial scarcity also leads to animal death, when human proxies are not able to cover for the operation costs of an injured animal they encountered, and veterinary clinics do not take initiative.

4.6.3 Seeking Support from Others

Care becomes a burden that is too heavy to carry on one's own when caregivers navigate care process alone due to lacking support from their immediate circles. Asya (30, woman, doctor), first hesitant to comment on the mental well-being of those human proxies she finds "agitated and reactionary," [61] believes their lack of social support may explain their psychological state. She explains their mental state could be due to being "lonely, … misunderstood by their families, who perhaps have very few people coming in and out of their homes, humiliated and despised for what they do." [62] Among the participants of the study, some were more emotional in their reactions than others, which I was able to observe during the course of the interview in their demeanor. Alp (32, man, photographer) is an example of how lacking social support during interspecies care could lead to one blaming others. When I ask him where he cares for cats, his immediate response is the location, followed by his emphasis on "voluntarily, without receiving any help from anyone." [63] Throughout our conversation, he repeatedly explains how an entire community of apartment residents chooses to ignore cats, and the "hypocrisy" of writing a book on cats and not feeding animals or caring for special breeds at home with quality food but not feeding cats in the backyard. He finds it "troubling," [64] when, despite his attempts to mobilize others to care, people choose to not take action. "Many people have cats at home, but they don't turn around and look at the creature on the street," he complains, underlining what seems to be inconceivable to him. Meltem (38,

woman, veterinary assistant) is another participant who blames others for their lack of support. She and her colleague took initiative to voluntarily neuter liminal cats in a coastal town in Yalova,[112] for the medical equipment used during neutering was about to expire, and they wanted to make use of them. As they neutered animals brought by human proxies at cost, another private clinic filed a complaint to Veterinarian Chamber, which led them being fined. Meltem explains disappointedly:

> What is worse is that none of the animal lovers we did this favor for even stood behind us. I mean, one person would just write this, go and send an e-mail to the Chamber of Veterinarians: "The population here is high, don't do it [prevent mass neutering of liminal cats at cost]". Or, I don't know, they could have gathered signatures among themselves and given such a reaction. They didn't. Because we have done the job. They got them neutered cheaply. (Meltem, 38, woman, veterinary assistant) [65]

As exemplified once again, financial scarcity is rampant, and so are the ways to bypass this. As their well-meaning initiative to mass neuter liminal cats in a given area at the cost of medical equipment used was interrupted by the Chamber, Meltem and her colleague were "punished" twofold: First by their colleagues and the professional chamber in the form of complaint and fine, but also by the human proxies who were able to neuter very economically yet refused to provide support as the process unfolded. Both Alp and Meltem's[113] experiences illustrate how participants seek support, which may not always be provided. This is why support becomes crucial not only to maintain care

[112] A city on the eastern coast of Marmara Sea.
[113] Although Meltem delineates a professional experience, she describes herself an animal lover first and foremost and works as a veterinary assistant without a veterinary degree. She was offered the position by a senior veterinarian upon Meltem's composed demeanor in handling an injured animal as a human proxy who brought the animal to the clinic. Meltem worked with the veterinary for five years.

practices for animal others, but also to keep oneself well taken care of in order to maintain one's well-being navigating lack of social support during continuous witnessing of animal suffering. Meltem's initiative to neuter cats at cost is a response to financial scarcity, who, as an animal lover herself, experiences firsthand. Human proxies often operate within small budgets, [66] spare money to potential care costs, [67] split costs with others, [68] and benefit from discounts offered by their veterinarian friends and acquaintances, [69] fundraise (Figure 4.10). To summarize, participants often seek support from others in shouldering care labor, financial or otherwise.

Figure 4.10 *Fundraising for Cats*



Note. Photograph (left) reads: "TIP BOX FOR CATS" and "UNDER THE DOOR ↓" Photograph (left) taken on 5 November 2022 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (right) reads: "LET THERE BE YOUR SALT IN THE SOUP," a Turkish idiom referring to small contributions by each. Photograph (right) taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

4.6.4 Finding Emotional Support in Immediate Circle, Human and Feline

Some participants reflect on the support they receive from their immediate circle, and acknowledge this as a privilege, for some human proxies lack support mechanisms. Asya, having grown up in a household caring for liminal animals, considers herself lucky for this continues well into her adulthood, as she continues to receive support from her

family and close circle. Reflecting on those who may feel isolated due to and misunderstood over their interspecies care practices, Asya acknowledges her support as privilege:

> I mean, I am very free from all of this. I mean, maybe if I had been alone, maybe if I had been marginalized by my family for this reason, maybe I would have gone through the same processes. I consider myself as lucky. … My sister is an animal lover and so is my brother. We grew up in a family that looks out for not only cats but also birds and crows. My mother is of the same opinion, I have parents who will support me when I am in financial difficulties [due to care responsibilities] and who find this reasonable. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor) [71]

In a similar vein, Umay, too, acknowledges her family's support, who she lives with. Similar to Asya, Umay also receives "financial and moral support" from their family, as well as her immediate circle, without whom, Umay admits, "[she] couldn't have done it," and thanks to their support, "[she] can continue to do it." [72] Finding support from others do enable care practices to continue. For Mira, knowing they have the support of their friends motivates them in their care, and help them not turn their back on an encountered animal in need. In a similar vein, Asya explains she has friends who "understand one another, share each other's pain and who she can cry with" [73] upon the conditions of an animal who they rescue. Support network is significant not only in terms of sharing care and ensuring it continues but also intervening at critical thresholds. In the case of Ada, who is living with bipolar disorder, explains how her care practices were on the verge of hoarding [*istifçilik*]. Leading up to that point, they explain, their friends insisted on them "not to take in any more cats." [74] At one point, they explain,

their family and friends intervened and rehomed the cats to other homes. In addition to finding support from other human proxies, participants also find support in human-animal bond, although this is not as frequently reported during interviews.[114] Caregiving over a period of time allows human proxies and liminal cats to get to know one another on a personal level, to witness which they perceive to be significant moments in a feline lifetime including birth, "the first hiccup", [75] growing up, [76] surviving despite the odds. [77] These events witnessed by human proxy leads to the formation of an interspecies bond, if conditions allow. Ada "feel[s] good being next to them [cats] for their pure, unconditional love" [78] whereas Umay feels happy "upon seeing their [animals'] excitement for wanting to be with their human companion." [79]

4.7 Distantiation: Human Proxies Disengaging from Interspecies Care

Despite being perceived as easy and commonsense, [70] interspecies care is constructed as a process that could easily consume financial and psychological domains of one's life. When care burden worsens, it could infiltrate every aspect of a human proxy's life, such as not being able to go on a vacation,[115] or accept a job offer abroad.[116] Exacerbated care burden leads to what I conceptualize as a *distantiation* process, during which human proxies disengage from interspecies care. Distantiation strategies include: 1) avoiding conflicts with other human proxies when arguments center human interests, and not necessarily those of animals, 2) keeping care flexible and non-committed for the purposes of self-care, 3) delegating care to other, trusted human proxies to lessen care load, and at times 4) exiting care.

[114] This could be interpreted as interspecies care provided unconditionally, i.e. animals are not expected to perform to human proxies' emotional needs. Such an approach to care is one way to de-center the human in the situation and re-center the animal.
[115] Ege, 33, other, media executive
[116] Esin, 42, woman, architect

4.7.1 Avoiding Conflicts

Because care practices are at times contested and negotiated,[117] conflicts may arise among human proxies due to differences in opinion. Aybike, having previous experiences with individuals of different opinions, regards arguments as pointless as they do not lead to a productive exchange, for people are not willing to see the other's point of view. She explains that she avoids such conflicts, which she deems endless: "I say, 'OK, fine.' I don't say anything, I just go on my way. I don't argue, because I get frustrated." [80] As can be seen from her remark, Aybike does become frustrated in these conflicts, and, in order to prevent such negative feelings, she simply avoids conflicts. While this may itself be regarded as unproductive, for she now chooses to refuse dialogue she deems negative, she does this for her own sake and well-being. Mira chooses to avoid those conflicts who they find unnecessary for they do not center the animal but the human proxies. As a vegan and a member of online vegan communities, Mira explains that non-vegan outsiders often infiltrate online vegan communities "to mock and troll" vegans and veganism, triggering heated debates that de-center animals and their liberation, and target vegan individuals and ideals. After a while, when they sense parties "[want] to win the argument," [81] rather than aiming for a productive discussion, Mira simply suggests to "talk about something else." They summarize their stance by underlining that they do not defend AR to win others in debates, which will not contribute to the animal's well-being. These remarks disclose avoiding conflicts is utilized not only for self-care purposes, but also to re-center the animal subjects in a situation, and to move away from those who do not purposefully aim to center animals, ending up being anthropocentric.

[117] See Section 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care.

4.7.2 Keeping Care Flexible

As a preventative measure for care burden, some human proxies adjust the pace of their care such as slowing down or taking a break, thereby maintaining a flexible relation to care and care recipients for purposes of self-care. An example is Kuzey's intense period of cat rescue for neutering purposes in Fikirtepe, a district undergoing rapid urban transformation, eventually followed up by his slowing down care. Kuzey explains the physical difficulties involved in rescuing cats for neutering in an area that undergoes urban transformation, where old buildings are demolished in order to open up space for high rise residencies. Old feline residents of the neighborhood would seek refuge in abandoned buildings amid rubbles and ongoing demolitions, which Kuzey aptly describes the area as a "war zone," [82] and demolishers would not check whether animals were inside. It was Kuzey and a group of volunteers who ran to the rescue of these animals. In order to rescue as many cats as possible, he and other volunteers would "spend [their] days and nights." At times, they would spend the entire night, when "there [would be] no light, it [would be] pitch black." Kuzey says his Fikirtepe experience "could take a lot from" the person. Working non-stop over a period of time could be argued to be physically and psychologically damaging for individuals, leading to eventual slowing down as a self-care strategy in Kuzey's experience.

Fearing care burden is always a possibility, Uzay and Özge purposefully decide to not commit to interspecies care and keep it flexible. Their fears stem from finding themselves in a responsibility that they cannot or do not want to meet. Such fears make Uzay hesitant to connect with two "very old" human proxies in his neighborhood, because if he were to join them, Uzay feels "scared that at some point it might even be [his] responsibility to feed those cats and dogs when those people are no longer in this

neighborhood, when they either die or move away." [83] Similar to Uzay, Özge (38, woman, university instructor) explicitly self identifies as "concerned" [*ilgili*], a caring position, albeit with distance. She explains:

> I can't say that I feel a direct responsibility, I mean, I don't feel like I have to clean up after these cats. But I am concerned and interested in how these cats are doing. If there is something I can improve, I want to do it. But I don't want to take full responsibility for them. That's a bit scary. (Özge, 38, woman, university instructor) [84]

Most often, however, the psychological burden of care on the human proxy is lessened simply by managing care labor. Considering their finite resources, including their well-being, human proxies choose to keep care at a certain limit, so it does not "hinder their lives too much," [85] although this brings in potential feelings of guilt with it. Ege explains feeling as if they are a "fugitive, like someone who doesn't leave their comfort zone." Even though they regularly donate money to causes related to liminal animals, they do not find this enough. Mockingly, they explain they tell themselves: "You relieved yourself ... transferred some money to some IBAN number." Their feelings of guilt stem from their perceived conformism in themselves, thereby inevitably constructing one-on-one, hands-on care superior and ranking care practices among themselves. They continue: "Now I feel like a celebrity on a call-in show making donations, you know. [86] When care burden becomes too heavy to carry for participants, they delegate care to other human proxies.

4.7.3 Delegating Care

Human proxies delegate care to other human proxies when care load becomes heavy to carry, and they feel they no longer provide the same care. Often, such delegation of care work stems from not being able to physically be there for cats due to work, moving, etc. Care is delegated to those individuals they know, whose care practices they approve of, and they deem trustworthy, and never to those who they don't know. These include friends, family members,[118] neighbors,[119] janitors,[120] all of whom are proxies to the original human proxy or the care recipient cats. Delegation of care work often involves feeding of cats, for this is the most essential aspect of ongoing care, or at times, supervising newborn kittens. However, not everyone who attempts to delegate care, is met with a supporting network. Alp, who takes care of a group of cats in an apartment backyard, cannot convince the janitor to feed cats:

> No one comes down and feeds [cats]. … Now that I'm working, I have to do a lot of work. Sometimes I can't go down [to feed]. And I never ask the janitor for anything, okay? I don't know, I would rarely ask, if I'm in a difficult situation. He would knock on my door, and I wouldn't even open my door, to not waste his time. Sometimes I give him food, you know, if I have to go out very urgently and I won't be home that day. I said, "Can you feed this one package?" I asked [the janitor] once, I came home in the evening, and he didn't. I called him and said, "Brother, how come you didn't pour the food? I asked you to do something once in forty years, I said, 'Pour the food.' Is it too big of a thing to ask?" 'I forgot,

[118] Ada, 23, other, university student
[119] Esin, 42, woman, architect
[120] Esin, 42, woman, architect

> Sir,' he says. Thirty souls are waiting for him, and he forgets. (Alp, 32, man, photographer) [87]

From the interview, it can be concluded that Alp feels isolated and burnout from the care work he provides for a group of cats, while, simultaneously has to navigate people's negligence of ongoing cat deaths in the backyard, for reasons he cannot grasp. The residents in the building, he narrates, are against the care, yet refuse to take any action. When the participant takes action, janitor is utilized as an obstacle to block interspecies care.[121] Not as severe as Alp, Esin, too, shares a similar point of view: "But if I wasn't the only one [caring for cats] on this block, if everyone had a little bit ... this point of view, I wouldn't have paid so much." [88]

4.7.4 Exiting Care

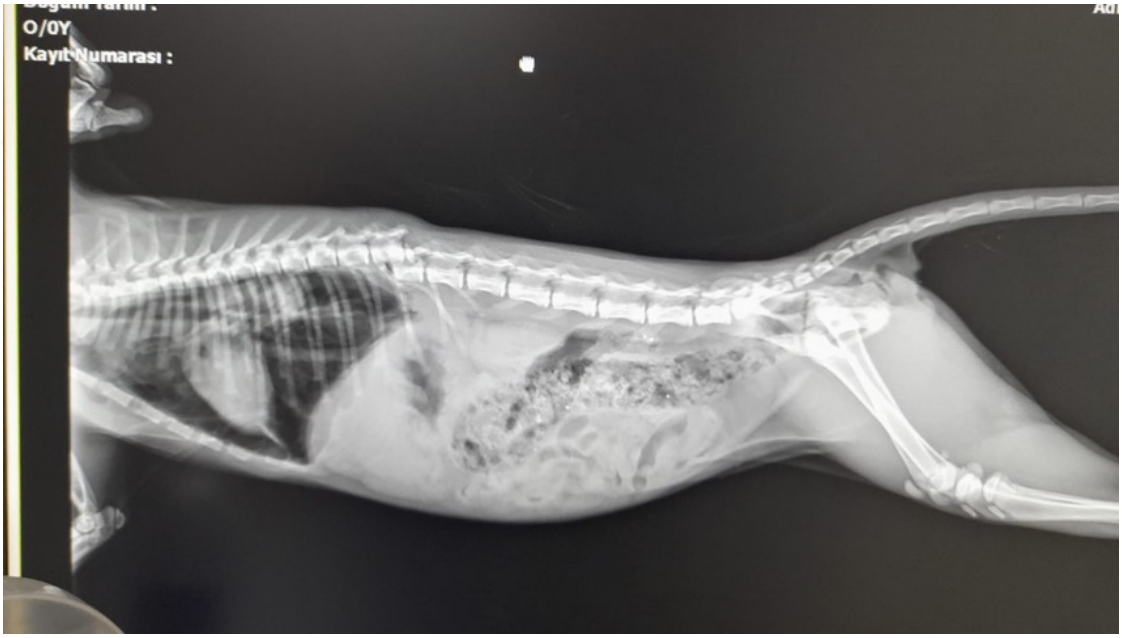
When conditions are justified, human proxies admit to exiting care. A mother's complaint on companion cat's fecal incontinence[122] leads to dropping the animal at an animal shelter.[123] Veterinarian and human proxy's mutual conclusion on immense animal pain due to SCI (Figure 4.11) with little to no chance of survival results in killing the animal in question through euthanasia. Umay explains:

> We come across many sick animals. But it is definitely not something like "They are sick, they are disabled, let's put them to sleep."[124] I mean, this is the last stage of the disease, the animal will not be able to survive

[121] Here, I do not mean to erase janitor's agency by reducing them to a resource to be utilized. However, in the Turkish context, apartment resident – janitor relationship is strictly hierarchical in nature, leaving janitors in an unfavorable position to make decisions on behalf of liminal cats.
[122] This is a feline medical condition, where cats defecate in seemingly random places due to their lack of control of defecation.
[123] Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper
[124] "Putting to sleep" [*uyutmak* in colloquial Turkish] is a euphemism for ending an animal's life through lethal injection, often referred to as euthanasia.

> until the morning, and they have lost consciousness in a very serious way, they are not aware of anything, they are in great pain. Unfortunately, in such a situation, we had to make that decision together with the veterinarian. (Umay, 38, woman, freelancer) [89]

Figure 4.11 *Radiograph of a Kitten Diagnosed with SCI*



As Umay explains, euthanasia is utilized only to end the suffering of the animal, who is believed to enter the process of dying. When the animal is judged under the supervision of a veterinarian to human proxies exit their care relationship and farewell those animals they care for through euthanasia. Defne recalls finding herself in situations during her shifts at the veterinary clinic, where "some people would leave [the injured animal] and run away," [90] not only delegating care work on those who are to become veterinarians, leaving it to their conscience, but also simply exiting care on spot. "It was up to your initiative [to rescue or not]," explains Defne. Despite their variations, all of these instances point at a point where human proxies decide that they cannot shoulder

required care work, leading them to exit care in various ways. In the next section, I discuss good care, and its peculiar practices.

Although decision-making before a euthanasia process is a negotiation and calculation of animal's perceived quality of life, and veterinary doctors do carry out the medical procedure, veterinary doctors do their best to remove themselves from the equation and from complicity. They do this by avoiding the last person to confirm the euthanasia. Their solution is to ascribe that agency, and that representativeness to the citizen who brings in the street animal.

This is another reason as to why I selected the term "human proxy," not because participants formulate or willingly adopt such a position, because they are regarded and approached as such by large. A passer-by witness of a feline event who chooses to intervene may find themselves as the spokesperson for the animal, delegated by veterinary practitioners the decision-making on whether to euthanize an animal or not.[125] It should be noted here that euthanasia practices do not only concern those animals that are "terminal," but for those that are "curable", who could lead happy lives provided that they receive care. Hence, exiting care.

4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care

Whichever pathway human proxies follow up in the formation of their interventionist caring self, their care practices converge and construct what I title as *good care*.[126] Good care refers to a set of practices and surrounding norms aimed at providing community cats best care possible by prioritizing 1) the needs of the individual care

[125] See APPENDIX **A.** AN ATTEMPT AT RESCUING A KITTEN WITH SCI for ethnographic observations in two private veterinary clinics in Istanbul during an attempt to rescue a kitten with spine cord injury (SCI) caused by a dog attack, 10-11 July 2022.
[126] Throughout the dissertation, I refer to good feline care simply as good care for the sake of legibility.

recipient cat(s), and 2) the needs of future populations. It takes place in the city[127] within the specific contexts of human proxies, being defined by their financial, physical and psychological burdens, all of which human proxies attempt to ease. Good care consists of a set of practices: 1) human provision of food and water 2) population management via neutering, 3) veterinary treatment, 4) spatial accommodation (adopting, rehoming, and designing spaces in the city), and 5) maintenance of care provided. These practices are not isolated from one another and may depend on one another or be in a causal relationship. To exemplify, a treatment may require supervision over a period of time, leading to the spatial accommodation of the animal by any means necessary. Asya (30, woman, doctor) working in a hospital in Istanbul, summarizes her care practices in a neighborhood on the historical peninsula:

> After a while, I started feeding animals [there]. I started to have their veterinary treatments done and I started to build them shelters and feeding spots. Cleaning of their areas. Generally, those places where animals populate become a source of infection because people leave too much home-cooked food, and the animals do not consume them [home-cooked food], they [food] get worms, etc. So, I started cleaning as well. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor) [91]

Good care constitutes *feline interventionist arena*. However, the arena does not delineate a uniform entity, within it, there are individuals with varying degrees of

[127] Umay (38, woman, freelancer) and Esin (42, woman, architect) take part in forest feeding [*orman beslemesi*] where street dogs are illegally displaced to the margins of the city. Although this shows how diverse sites of care are, such care practices do not concern the focus of this study, because 1) such care practices are directed toward liminal dogs, and 2) take place in urban margins. This study focuses on care practices *within* the city, where liminal animals rightfully belong. Hence, designing Zoöpolis.

commitment to and knowledge of feline care, some of whose *poor care* practices are subject to scrutiny. While some knowledge is common sense among the participants of the study, it may not be well known to all, human proxy or not. To exemplify, a common mistake reported by participants is feeding cats milk, which some participants explain to be harmful to cats due to their intolerance[128] and potential parasitic reactions.[129] Another criticized point is feeding animals leftover human food. However, home recipes should not be confused with leftover human food. As can be seen, home recipes are based on chicken offal, by which human proxies supplement cats with needed protein. On the other hand, leftover human food however simply refers to food that is not consumed by humans, and is left at a feeding spot, instead of a garbage bin. This may stem from not feeling comfortable throwing food as "rubbish", for this is a cultural sensitivity, therefore separating leftover food for liminal cats and dogs. Esin exemplifies how outsiders abandon leftover food in places that are designed for cats only. She explains:

> Now we also have crows, not just cats. Because it's a cemetery, the factory next door puts profiterole leftovers, ... things left over from the day before. Cat food, the crows recognize it, wait for it, etc. As I said, there is also a group of crows. For example, they do it very well, with good intentions. Dry bread, bread, bread, huge bread, they put it on the cat food for example, or they pour leeks, or they pour bulgur pilaf. Such ridiculous things. I'm trying to clean it up, and I'm complaining, to be honest. Here's a loaf of bread for the crows. The crows eat this, eat that, the bread molds there, whatever. Maybe he does it with good intentions,

[128] Asya, 30, woman, doctor
[129] Can, 28, man, call center agent

> maybe he does it thoughtlessly, I don't know, but well, these things happen. It's not like taking it and throwing it in the garbage. But dumping all the food waste there is... That's garbage, garbage, flies, etc. But like I said, I think they do it with good intentions. (Esin, 42, woman, architect) [92]

Often, negotiations occur due to different positions within good care. Gönül explains in a complaining manner how often she hears about conflicts emerging among human proxies: "'You shouldn't have done that; you should have done this,' I have heard it so many times." [93] Often, these conflicts concern what (not) to feed. Janset (42, woman, coordinator) explains that she often reminds others not to feed cats human leftover food, as they contain spices which cats are not supposed to consume. "It's damaging them," Janset says. Although these conflicts may occur around what (not) to feed, as Janset explains, they may also point at a different issue, one that does not directly concern the cat, but rather the power dynamics between human proxies. These discussions around good care occurs when human proxies start feeding the same cats. Hence, the emergence of the phrase "territory" [*bölge*] to denote ownership of a given area, implying not to be interfered there. Özge explains her experience with a senior man in their apartment building, and the changing ownership of the territory.

> Well, "You put little..." He didn't say "You put little," but "You put a lot." He brought special glass containers downstairs, and I used to put the plastic containers I had at home. Then we started putting it in those glass containers too, you know, so that they would be full. For example, he said, "Those are my bowls, don't put wet food in them." After that, when we bought pomade for the cat's eyes, "Which pomade do you use? The

> one I give is better, don't use this one." I feel like we had a power struggle there. We were even trying not to coincide with the uncle's hours, we don't go out when he goes out, if we see him, we don't go around at all. Because he was not very happy with our presence there. He makes a lot of faces at us. Then he got tired. The cats of the garden were left to us. Then he started not coming down. At first, he was saying, "Oh, it's nice that you are giving, I was thinking about it when I went on vacation, now there is someone there." But our stability worried him. After a while, it was like it was up to us. ... As I said, according to him, we were giving the wrong food, we were putting the wrong medicine on the cats' eyes, it was not right for us to wait by the cats, the containers we put them in were not right. I mean, whatever we did was wrong. Everything was wrong. That's why he criticized everything we did. (Özge, 38, woman, university instructor) [93]

This social world excludes two main groups, namely, hoarders [*istifçiler*] and cat breeders [*kedi yetiştiricileri*], for the care provided by these groups or lack thereof do not meet the standards of good care (Figure 4.12). Practices of hoarding and breeding do not prioritize animal needs and fail to meet criteria for quality care. For Ege, purchasing a dog from a breeder is a sign of being a complete outsider. Reflecting on their past, they say: "I was thick as a brick, thinking about purchasing a dog or something." [95] As can be seen, breeding animals for one's own financial gain as well as contributing to such an economy through purchasing and commodifying an animal are completely rejected. In Grounded Theory, it is essential to diversify sampling to capture the complexity and heterogeneity of the situation for a nuanced theory development (Clarke et al., 2015, pp.

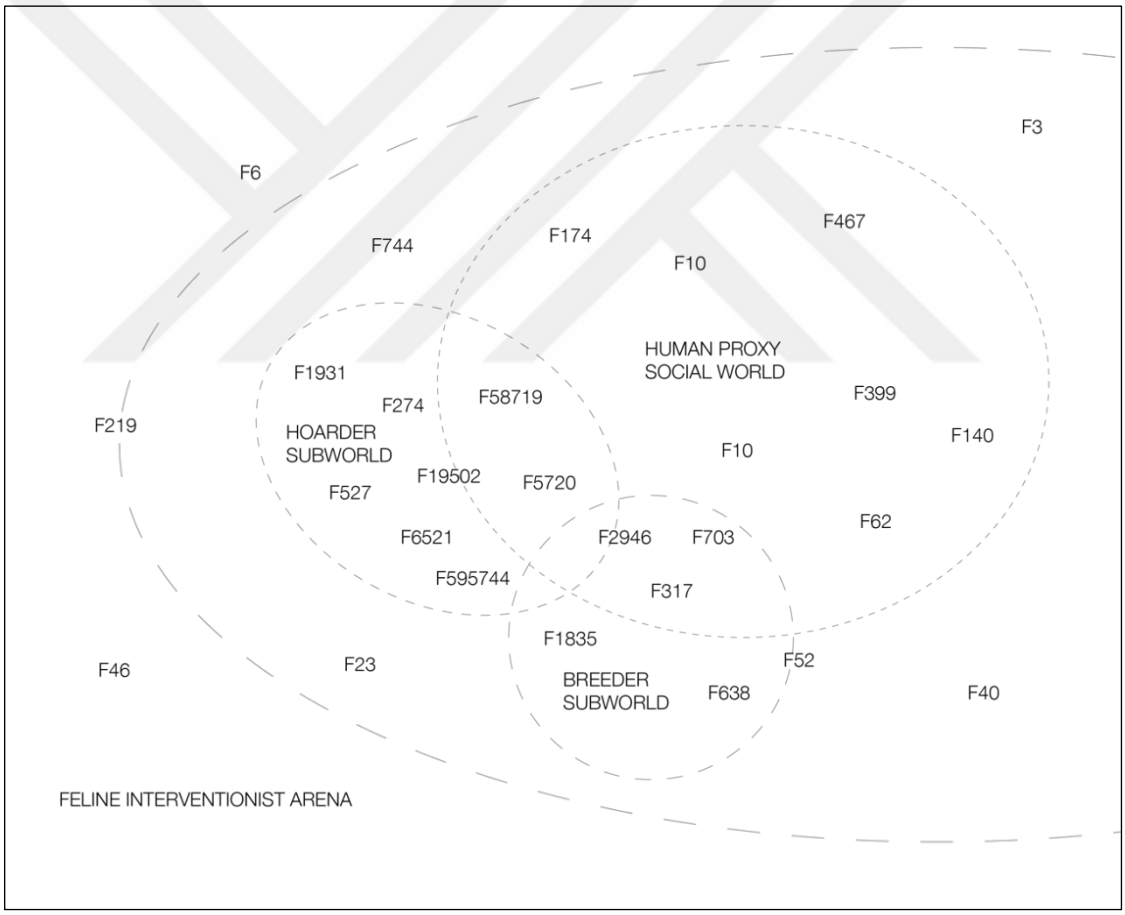
122-123). Although breeders and hoarders and their experiences do not constitute the focus of this study, I interviewed participants, one of whom engages in breeding with her family, albeit without financial gain, and another one who questions a time in their life bordering over hoarding.[130] Cansu, a 19-year-old woman participant, lives with her family, who maintain and use two houses, one in Istanbul and another in a town in Edirne,[131] engages in breeding of two companion cats, one British shorthair and one Scottish fold. When I ask her about her companion cats, this is how the participant introduces them, not by their names, but by their breeds, which appears as a sharp contrast between breeders and other participants who are representatives of good care.[132] This family also borders between hoarding and breeding, as the participant explained she does not wish to send away newborns and feel a bond toward them long after they are rehomed.

Another group that is repeatedly excluded from the social world is hoarders [*istifçiler*]. Hoarding, as explained by several participants, is a practice of adopting a number of cats more than one could provide quality care for. Asya describes hoarding as taking in more cats than one could simply care for, including those "animal lovers who say, 'I rescue cats' and take fifty cats into their homes." [96] At first glance, hoarding, as the name implies, may seem to be an issue of number. However, it is related to "good care," which Asya frames: "Those who don't take proper care of them, don't neuter them and keep them locked up somehow, even though male and female cats live together and don't offer them the life they need." From Asya's elaboration, it is conveyed that hoarding

[130] None of these participants were referred by those I interviewed, underlining the marginal position of these practices within the social world.
[131] A border city in Eastern Thrace.
[132] I do not claim that breeders do not name their companion cats or form any meaningful interspecies bond. I only underline that, within the participants of the study, Cansu, who engages in breeding through her family, appears as one of the few participants, who does not introduce their cat companions with their names. Other participants refer to their cats by their names and elaborate their personal histories.

is not simply an issue of numbers, although it is one aspect of it. From Asya's description, hoarding, then, albeit well meaning, is a way of subjecting animals to a kind of treatment under the notion of care, but without the necessary set of practices such as neutering that constitute good care. Taking in a population of cats, albeit well-meaning, becomes detrimental when animals are not neutered, and the hoarder, knowingly or unknowingly, facilitates their reproduction in a given area.

Figure 4.12 *Feline Interventionist Arena*



Note. Fs represent cats found in the arena, concentrating in Hoarder and Breeder Subworlds, due to being purposefully kept in specific sites in relatively larger quantities or bred to meet human ends.

One could take care of a large number of cats, providing them with adequate spaces, and attending to their individual and intrafeline needs. This is the point Asya emphasizes that hoarders lack such an attentive, careful approach in their alleged care

practices. An example to this is Umay (38, woman, freelancer), who lives with dozens of rescue cats and dogs who have disabilities. As a friend of Umay, Dicle (34, woman, manager) explains how Umay's situation is not hoarding, although it might seem as such at first glance simply due to number. She explains:

> Umay lives in a crowded house, but I don't see it as hoarding, because she only adopts animals with disabilities and it's not at a point where it endangers the hygiene and health of those animals. But there are hoarders who live in filthy conditions that endanger the health of animals. It's probably more of a mental problem than animal welfare, though it's not my area of expertise, but I don't see it as a very healthy behavior. (Dicle, 34, woman, manager) [97]

As Dicle's interpretation of Umay discloses, hoarding is not simply a matter of number, but the quality of care provided for these animals, that is, "good care." In addition to Aslı's emphasis on lack of neutering and facilitation of feline reproduction, Dicle underlines lack of hygienic practices, risking the health of animals. Meltem (38, woman, veterinary assistant) elaborates this further and draws the attention to increased risk of infection among cats due to hoarding behavior:

> [T]here is this aunt. ... She has a mansion inherited from her father. So, it is relatively isolated, after all, it has a roof and walls. The woman catches as many cats as she can on the street, ... takes it to her fenced, wired garden. She takes care of the animal there. Anyway, the aunt's garden is full of diseases, all the animals are sick. I mean, there are some with distemper, some with FCoV. And you can't fix it after a while, it

> gets out of control, you know what I mean? Diseases in cats and dogs are transmitted through feces, mostly. So, what does the animal do? They poop, and no matter how much they cover it with soil, over time that soil opens up and another cat comes on it, steps on it and licks their paw. And this is how it spreads. (Meltem, 38, woman, veterinary assistant) [98]

As a veterinary assistant who worked many years in a coastal town on southern Marmara, where their clinic was one of the few, Meltem accumulated a wide range of observations pertaining to human proxies and liminal cats as well as developed personal relations with most. In the above remark, she refers to a woman who lives in the town, who she personally knows. Even when the spatial means of said human proxy may exceed the Turkish average,[133] with a relatively larger area and an access to a garden, care for a large number of cats in a limited area could "spiral out of control," as diseases easily spread among the feline population, for the sick animal is not isolated. In addition to neutering, disease control is constructed as another issue in hoarders' alleged care practices.

Ada (23, other, gastronomy student) reflects upon their practices and admits to having questioned whether they ever crossed the boundary and became a hoarder. When I ask them to elaborate why they perceive hoarding as an undesired practice, they immediately get to the root of the issue:

> Why is it bad? Because they need a certain space. They need the cleanliness I can give them. They need the attention you give them. I

[133] Mansions, or villas with gardens do not constitute the most common type of households in the region. Most participants of the study live in apartments in a building, which is representative of the accommodation type of wider Turkish society.

> mean, I don't rescue normal ones, healthy ones, you know, there was a cat that needed a lot of attention, for example, eye drops every three four hours. Also, we used to take a taxi to one of them, we used to go to the vet twice a day, he had a kidney disease, I used to go once at four o'clock at night because I couldn't fit it into the day. You know, I was doing it, but recently, at first, I was balancing it, but as the number of cats increased, I was balancing four five very well. As I increased the number of cats, recently, the last one two weeks were really bad. I mean, I was still trying to keep it to the bare minimum in terms of cleaning. But it exploded, I mean, it exploded, I wanted to end everything. (Ada, 23, other, gastronomy student) [99]

In addition to hoarding being problematized due to increased risk of reproduction and infection among the feline population, Ada, as someone who questions whether their previous care practices constitute hoarding, summarize the problematic aspect with hoarding as commodifying animals: "Hoarding is something that is done to objects. So, I think we don't want to objectify the animal." [100] It should be noted here that the Turkish word for hoarding is "istifçilik", constructed around the root word "istif," derivative of Greek word στοίβή (stoíví) which, Turkish Language Association (TDK),[134] defines as "a pile of goods stacked on top of one another," exclusively referring to inanimate non-humans such as objects. Therefore, Ada aptly describes the issue as a lack of acknowledgement of animal's sentience, as a being that deserves a quality of life, and the freedom to pursue their own interests without being confined in a limited space with many other cats, which constitutes psychological and physiological risks for the well-being of

[134] https://sozluk.gov.tr

the feline subject. Therefore, it should be noted that the feline interventionist arena is not uniform in the sense that everyone knows of and abides by good care. Instead, good care is often contested, re-negotiated, which helps to explain the subworlds of breeders and hoarders.

5. MANAGING FELINE POPULATION IN THE CITY

> Yes, they [cats] have instincts, they have a certain disposition [towards the street], the street is dangerous, but they love the street. ... Do I not know that they love the street? Maybe if their arm hadn't been injured, they wouldn't have entered the house at all. They entered the house because their arm was broken. We are trying to rehome, BECAUSE their arm was broken, so that they wouldn't be less than, they wouldn't be beaten by others [cats], they wouldn't contract diseases, and so on. ... [B]ut, you can't say, "What [ableist curse word] people are there, they imprison a cat in the house and then try to rehome them." (Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer) [1]

This chapter focuses on how human proxies manage liminal cat population through adoption, rehoming, and neutering, all of which aim at ensuring feline well-being and safety and are significant constituents of feline good care. These practices could be interpreted as attempts at reducing feline suffering through spatial accommodation, resources for which are finite. The chapter delineates a process of accommodating cats inside human households, with immediate care and supervision. Neutering as an ongoing practice accompanies such finite spatial resources, to manage the feline population, contemporary and future, in a caring manner. This chapter should be read as reducing feline population on the streets as best as possible, without immediately resorting to designerly solutions.

From quiet alleys and parks to apartment gardens, windowsills on ground floors, and inside homes and cat houses, liminal cats are found across a wide spectrum of locales in Istanbul. Similar to diversity of feline locales, discourses on whether cats should be

spatially, and if so, how they should be accommodated vary greatly. There is a consensus among the participants of the study that, given its current conditions, the city does not constitute an ideal living space for liminal cats due to its prey-scarcity and lack of access to green spaces.[135] This results in a set of practices by which human proxies aim to spatially accommodate these animals as best as possible. These include: 1) taking cats under temporary supervision (Figure 5.1), 2) adopting/rehoming cats permanently, 3) neutering cats.

Figure 5.1 *Cat to Be Adopted*



Note. Banner reads "WOULD YOU LIKE TO ADOPT A CAT" Photograph taken on 31 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

Because she does not find city "suitable" for cats, it is Dicle's "ultimate desire that they [cats] all have homes under population control to the extent that there are no animals

[135] 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment.

on the streets." [2] Following a similar line of thinking, Umay, believes that "home would be great [for the cats]," [3] underlining rehoming an animal, if possible, always remains as the way to go for her. However, she states, followed by a laugh, that achieving adoption for all animals remains "utopian." Participants elaborate on reasons why the city does not constitute an ideal living space for liminal cats. Olcay grounds this in the city's rapid transformation over the past decades, where "the streets are not the old streets, rampant with interventions and constructions, with cars passing by." She believes animals may still have the same instincts to pursue outdoors, from which they need protection.

Another reason is that human violence against liminal animals always remains a possibility. Following remark contains description of human violence against cats, which I decided to include to showcase the rationale of human proxies' concurrent spatial accommodation and feline population management agendas. Olcay reminds that not everyone respects non-human life, and at times "there are some who kick them [liminal cats], … who cut off their legs. So, there are those [people] who think that the more [cats] get off the street, the better." [4] The position that the city conditions are not ideal for cats are dependent on humans are shared among many participants, which grounds the efforts to spatially accommodate existing population, as well as managing current population through neutering.

Spatial accommodation of cats operates on a three-level framework: 1) Adoption in one's own house, 2) rehoming to another's house, 3) designing cat houses. Neutering runs in parallel to these efforts, due to not meeting the spatial needs of current population. Even participants of the study idealize adoption of liminal cats in a household, this does not reflect the current reality of these animals. Cat house emerges as an outcome of this struggle, as a peculiar designerly intervention carefully carving more-than-human spaces

amid space- and resource-scarce Istanbul. Although not shared by participants of the study, there is, however, another discourse that aligns with the notion of cats as independent creatures and should not be kept inside households.

5.1 Justifying Spatial Accommodation in Feline Vulnerability

Although some participants state that "every cat should be adopted", or "ideally, no cat should have to live on the streets", adopting and rehoming efforts are not orchestrated for each and every cat they encounter and care for. During adoption and rehoming processes, human proxies prioritize certain cats in certain feline events, who they deem vulnerable and are unlikely to survive the streets. Therefore, spatial accommodation becomes a way to ensure that such cats continue to live, instead of being subject to miserable conditions where they wouldn't be able to sustain themselves. Regular care, albeit attentive, is regarded as insufficient for certain cats who are constructed as more vulnerable than others due to their bodily conditions including disabilities such as visual impairment, missing limbs, chronic diseases, as well as personal conditions such as infancy or a history of having lived in a human household from birth or for an extended period of time. What binds construction of feline vulnerability among all these cats is their perceived heightened dependency on human proxies. Cats who are more perceived as more dependent than abled cats are believed to struggle more on the streets, as they wouldn't be as agile in escaping external threats. Aybike (58, woman, retired) explains her rationale in prioritizing cats with different disabilities:

> First of all, crip animals are in the first place [of my priority list during rehoming]. Those [cats] who are in a very bad situation, there are already special [social media] pages for them. My own blind cat, I have pages on Facebook, Instagram, for example. Crip animals are of course a higher

> priority. First and foremost, of course, blind animals. The ones with three legs may live on the street, but the blind ones can never live. We push very hard for them, you know, on Facebook, on animal pages on Instagram, on adoption pages of animal lovers, etc. We try to rehome them there. And those we cannot rehome; we adopt ourselves. (Aybike, 58, woman, retired) [5]

Here, Aybike summarizes her rationale behind prioritization: Being able to survive on the streets or not. While acknowledging each disability requires special care and attendance, animals to be adopted are treated case by case, and ranked among themselves due to their perceived emergency. Blind cats appear as the most deserving of adoption in a household, for Aybike believes, it is impossible for a blind cat to survive on the streets without seeing the streets. Ranking slightly lower on the vulnerability list so constructed by participants are cats with a missing or a broken limb, who are also perceived to be deserving of adoption in a household more than others. This is because, Olcay explains, "so the animal is not -1," [6] "is not less than on the streets, so they are not beaten by other cats, this and that and so on." [7] Mert's experience in his previous house, which he shared with other students during his university education, is similar. He explains how they lived with "12 cats, but some of them had missing legs, some of them had their eyes infected or completely lost" all of whom Mert describes as "cats in need" [*muhtaç*]. He further defines feline vulnerability: "I mean, either they are very miserable outside, you know, they can't do much; they can't eat, they get sick, or they have a certain disadvantage, they are missing a limb, they are blind, and so on." [8] Ege (33, other, media executive), too, prioritized cats with disabilities during their adoption of their current feline companion in their house. They explain:

> Then I searched through those hashtags such as #DisabledCat, #SpecialPriorityForDisabledSouls, etc. Coincidentally, there was a story that hurt me very dramatically, I had returned from the road, I couldn't go that day. Animal cruelty news at the Konya animal shelter was very publicized. I wanted to go with that evacuating group. I couldn't go then because of transportation limitations. Lokum was a baby without one leg, who had been taken from the shelter and had been in a temporary home in Ankara for a few months. That's how I adopted them. (Ege, 33, other, media executive) [9]

Sometimes, animals are adopted/rehomed not because their disabilities are perceived as a barrier to their survival on the streets, but rather ongoing care is believed to have rendered them more dependent on humans than those on the streets. This includes newborn kittens, or cats taken under prolonged supervision in a household. Umay (38, woman, freelancer) describes this situation:

> Either we find them very young, you know, without a mother, etc., and you raise them somehow, or [we find them] very sick, they stay at the vet for a long time, we take care of them at home, etc. etc. I mean, you definitely don't have the chance to release that animal to the streets after taking care of them at home for 3-5 months, 6 months. Because they get used to it [home] and struggle [on the streets] because they are not used to it at all. So that would mean abandonment [of the animal] in this situation. So, of course, we are looking for a home. (Umay, 38, woman, freelancer) [10]

Umay explains, because animals become dependent on human care during a significant period in their lives, namely, feline infancy or surviving a major disease, denying the impact of such an intervention and releasing animal back would mean abandonment, thus, unacceptable for good care. Other times, it may be due to feline temperament, which is judged to be simply not suitable for living in the city. For Esin, "some of them [cats] are very naughty, not looking left and right, being goofy, getting hit by cars." [11] It should be noted at this point that human proxies construct feline vulnerability in relation to the urban environment and its manifold threats to an animal, thereby disclosing a social positioning of the feline body with disabilities. The emphasis is on the conditions of the urban environment constructed more detrimental for animals in general, but more so for the animals with disabilities.

5.2 Accommodating Cats in the Households

5.2.1 Sheltering Temporarily

While human proxies' decision-making processes during adoption/rehoming is heavily informed by feline bodily conditions such as disabilities, they are not completely defined by them, for feline vulnerability exceeds bodily conditions. Sometimes, there do not need to be a perceived medical emergency to allow cats indoors. External factors such as other liminal animals such as dogs, as well as weather conditions lead human proxies to take in cats inside their houses for temporary supervision, if the condition requires for human supervision over an extended period of time.[136] In those instances, allowing cats indoors acts as a precaution against the likelihood of such cases which would emerge in

[136] It should be noted here that private veterinary clinics often have limited spaces, and their charging for overnight stay is often outside financial means of human proxies. This is why human proxies' houses become the de facto choice to spatially accommodate during extended care.

case cats are not offered shelter. Cats are allowed indoors mostly due to climate, such as cold and/or rainy/snowy,[137] and other times, it is to offer protection from dogs who show aggression.[138] For Aslı, the COVID-19 lockdown made it imperative to move in with Şaşkın, her companion cat whom she cared for around her store, to ensure Şaşkın had regular access to food.[139] For Alp and his partner, it was to rescue newborns without a mother.[140]

5.2.2 Adopting Permanently

Following temporary sheltering, adoption delineates the second step in spatial accommodation of liminal cats. During adoption, human proxies prioritize the feline adoptee, and not their human desires.[141] Most often, adoption is justified on the basis of rescuing cats from the perceived inferior living conditions of the city.[142] Despite human-feline bond that is often formed, adoption is not necessarily grounded in such interspecies bonds, disclosing how human proxies center the immediate needs of the feline party, and not themselves. Mira (32, other, editor) explains the general tendency toward adoption in their circle is not always grounded in an interspecies bond, but in necessity. Though their statement does not negate the existence of a bond, adoption is first and foremost grounded in the urge to take action for the sake of the animal:

[137] Gönül, 54, woman, shopkeeper; Mert, 32, man, sculptor; Meltem, 38, woman, veterinary assistant; Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist
[138] Gönül, 54, woman, shopkeeper
[139] Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper
[140] Alp, 32, man, photographer
[141] This does not apply to all the participants. To exemplify, Cansu and her family practice breeding of peculiar breeds. Koray admits having sought after and adopted particular breeds, colors, etc. during the interview. These practices, however, remain as variations among the participants of this study, and does not constitute a general pattern.
[142] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment for a discussion on shrinking urban space for liminal cats as well as being removed from indoors such as cafés.

> I also adopted a cat in my house, whom I really love, but I took them out of necessity. For example, a friend of mine, there are those who take in cats with disabilities rescued from a shelter, there are those who take in blind cats. I don't know. Because they are very scared, they constantly get into car engines, so it makes them [friends] worry for their [these animals] lives. The house, I mean, people around me in general, they are always trying to rehome, trying, trying, trying, but they end up unable to rehome. The cat holds on to life and that person is left alone with that animal at the end of the day. Most of the [adoption] stories in my circle are like this, actually. (Mira, 32, other, editor) [12]

As can be seen from their remark, interspecies bond, albeit extant, does not ground or justify the adoption action in a household in the case of Mira and their companion cat. Here, and in Mira's vegan circle, the motivation is to take the vulnerable animal under one's protection, regardless of the specifics of the animal's vulnerability. Ege explains their failed attempt at rehoming which lead to them adopting the animal:

> Then I rescued them [from where they were stuck]. I told you that I was working at an NGO, I said "I'll find them [a house]" or something like that, "Well, my circle has expanded in Ankara, I know a lot of queers." I created an ad on the NGO's Instagram account. I mean, I utilized all my means. I was being cute like "We have a new employee," like we've done something new, because you can't rehome animals anymore without pitying them or doing something extremely cute. Everyone's hands are full, everyone's house is overflowing with animals. I was left holding the baby, classic. (Ege, 33, other, media executive) [13]

As Ege's experience with their adoption story of their current cat, temporary sheltering in one's household, despite the original intent to rehome, then, may lead to adoption in the long run. It should be noted here that cats with disabilities are prioritized during adoption,[143] yet, as confessed by Esin, caring for a cat with disability might frighten the human proxy leading to not taking action.[144] Similar to Mira and their circle's motivation in adopting, Umay, too, explains that her rationale during adoption is not based on interspecies bond, or that the animal "looks pretty" [*bu güzelmiş, bunu alayım*],[145] as she interprets how some may approach cats for adoption. Endorsing Mira's remarks, it is based on the prolonged treatment process, during which already vulnerable animal due to a disease or disability becomes used to home environment, thereby eliminating the possibility of releasing them in order to not increase their extant vulnerability.

In addition to centering feline adoptee's needs, and being partially grounded in interspecies bond, adoption practices of human proxies, broadly conceived, translates to acting as the guardian of cats one cares for, and this may not be limited spatially, albeit defined by spatial conditions. Although I avoid allocating a specific space for adoption practices, adoption is often understood to take place in the private household, be it one's own or that of a trusted other, where the human proxy could regularly care for the animal, whose status often takes that of "companion animal." Esin (42, woman, architect) defines adoption as follows:

[143] See 5.1 Justifying Spatial Accommodation in Feline Vulnerability for a discussion on how cats with disabilities are prioritized during adoption/rehoming.
[144] See 4.6.1 Navigating Difficult Emotions: Catalyst for and Obstacle to Action for Esin's encounter with a cat with disability.
[145] Umay, 38, woman, freelancer

> If we look at adoption as a concept, of course, we adopt the animals we feed and build shelters for. I follow up all of them, I know them all, I know where they roam. I even scold them when I see them [in an area outside their usual territory], "What are you doing here?" (Laughs) Adoption actually means adding them to a family - not belonging but maybe belonging - I do it in the sense of finding a warm home. (Esin, 42, woman, architect) [14]

Esin refrains from constraining the concept of adoption to the boundaries of a household, embracing a spatially inclusive perspective. Yet, she acknowledges the significance of space in her narrative. To Esin, adoption ultimately refers to "finding a warm home," that is spatially bound. Esin's spatial emphasis continues in community cats she cares for. She "know[s] where they roam," and laughingly scolds them if she spots them outside their territory. This underlines how adoption, within or outside a household is always defined by space. In this spatial spectrum, Esin places the "warm home" as the ultimate destination. Kuzey (24, man, cat catcher) explains how adoption in a "warm home" increases the overall quality of life of liminal cats:

> And mostly, of course, they [liminal cats] should all have a home, a warm home. Because when we faced chronic problems in animals that would not go away, we saw that we overcame them when they were adopted. So, when an animal feels a sense of belonging, when they are free from external factors, when they feel safe, they can be free from many of the problems they have been experiencing, and these problems can also be chronic diseases. When the stress level etc. decreases, when the animal feels that it belongs to a home, there is a serious improvement in the

animal, that is, an improvement in terms of health. (Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher) [15]

Similar to Esin's definition of adoption, Kuzey, too, emphasizes "warm home" in defining adoption. Warm home in Kuzey's narrative delineates not only a spatially bound household that provides safety and human supervision, but a sense of belonging for the animal, free from external street-related factors which undermine animal's health. Kuzey has observed how animals thrived after securing a "warm home." This is why adoption is part of good care,[146] and many participants of the study either lived with or currently live with a cat they adopted from the streets. Despite adoption being a group norm, resources are finite, that is, either participants' financial capacity and/or their spatial accommodation affords the regular care of only a certain number of cats.[147] This is when participants rehome cats.

5.2.3 Rehoming Permanently (Hoping)

Rehoming is the third step in spatial accommodation of cats. It appears as a solution for the human proxy who is not able to adopt due to limitations, spatial or otherwise.[148] Rehoming could be seen as a process of enrolling others not only to care for, but also to live with another being, a domestic animal who will depend on them for life. Knowing the difficulty of convincing others also amid financial difficulties, participants often admit to seeking certain strategies to facilitate the rehoming of cats into other households. High quality photographs, showing the animal in their best look is a

[146] See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care.
[147] Güneş, 30, other, photographer; Esin, 42, woman, architect; Dicle, 34, woman, manager
[148] See 4.6 Collaboration or Lack Thereof: Navigating Interspecies Care and 4.7 Distantiation: Human Proxies Disengaging from Interspecies Care for a detailed discussion on the challenges human proxies face in interspecies care, and the measures they take to combat those.

much-cited strategy, whose lacking is referred to as the reason for failure in rehoming.[149] These photographs are then uploaded on social media platforms on relevant pages, groups, accounts with higher and a relevant following, along with a caption that aims to attract the attention of and convince potential adopters. A good photograph for an adoption ad, describes Aybike, is when "the belly is exposed, and the face looks handsome." [16] Sometimes, misinformation in captions is utilized on purpose as a strategy. Knowing people are more willing to adopt special breeds, Aybike explains how she presents cats in ads in a way that would attract attention, and hopefully lead to adoption:

> None of the ones on the street are breeds, of course. They are just tabbies. But when you fluff their feathers and say, 'HERE COMES A LYNX CROSSBREED, COMING ALL THE WAY FROM THE HIGHLAND' or something like that, of course, it attracts people's attention. I have secured many adoptions that way. … And when you add a little, how shall I put it, 'NORWEGIAN FOREST CAT CROSSBREED,' 'SIBERIAN WHATEVER CAT,' you know, an adjective like that, it's easier to rehome a cat. (Aybike, 58, woman, retired) [17]

However, Aybike refrains from misinforming when visible disabilities [*sakatlık*] are involved, for these, when not reported in an ad, would eventually be found out. [18] Knowing the potential audience of adoption ads may not be as insiders as the participants of the study to the situation of liminal cats, or who may be complete outsiders, all these strategies emphasize the animal as someone who will add value to humans' life. This is

[149] Mira, 32, other, editor

not to condemn these practices, as they are tried and tested methods for ensuring success in rescuing animals. Yet it is telling that these emphasized features about the animal in question underline the borders between the social world of the study and what lies beyond (individuals focusing on *their* desires such as breed cats, fluffy cats, etc. rather than rescuing for the sake of rescuing). Mira's language in adoption ads is an attempt to center the experiences of the animal but also to speak to the audience. They use phrases such as "LAP CAT" [*kucak kedisi*], "A VERY GOOD GIRL/BOY" [*çok uslu bir kız*/*oğlan*], "LET'S FIND A HOME FOR THIS CHILD/BABY" [*Bu çocuğa*/*bebişe yuva bulalım*].

Human proxies face difficulties during their rehoming endeavors, including 1) misfit between human proxies and others on cats to be adopted/rehomed, 2) reluctance for adoption due to financial aspect of care, and 3) lack of trust for others. Firstly, rehoming process delineates a dialogue between human proxy and an outsider. This dialogue with the outside world during rehoming is difficult because of the friction between social worlds in terms of who human proxies want to rehome versus who outsiders want to adopt. Outsiders are willing to adopt kittens only,[150] and even with kittens, rehoming could be difficult due to financial aspect of care.[151] Participants explain that it is difficult to rehome adult cats,[152] or cats who are skinny and not conventionally beautiful.[153] As can be concluded from participants' experiences, there emerges a clash of values. Human proxies prioritize the adoption/rehoming of vulnerable cats, namely, cats with disabilities such as blind cats, cats with a limb, cats with chronic diseases, or kittens in no particular order. However, not everyone is ready or willing to adopt cats that require a more committed kind of care.

[150] This is constructed as a barrier by participants Güneş, Aybike and Olcay.
[151] Dicle, 34, woman, manager
[152] Dicle, 34, woman, manager; Aybike, 58, woman, retired
[153] Mira, 32, other, editor

Secondly, participants explain how it has become more difficult to rehome cats over the years due to the dire economic conditions. Despite her previous experiences in rehoming both cats and dogs, Umay admits how "people are hesitant to adopt an animal now because it has become very costly." [19] Dicle adds by saying this even affects the rehoming of "those kittens you would find sweet even by beauty standards." [20] To compensate this, some human proxies offer to "share the costs of cat food and cat litter" because, in the end, Mira continues, "all that is needed is a safe space" [*sadece güvenli bir alan*]. [21]

Lastly, rehoming practices are accompanied by a feeling of suspicion, because trust is not a given.[154] This lack of trust is caused by events human proxies witness firsthand or hear from others' experiences. For instance, Esin explains the story of two kittens she rehomed, one of whom died shortly after being rehomed, while the other was not heard of after:

> I rehomed a cat two years ago through a friend to someone I didn't know, and I didn't follow up much. ... I have a friend ... he told me, coincidentally there was someone with him, he was interested in adopting the cat, so we gave the animal to him. The cat died on the 2nd day. Then I gave them deceased kitten's sibling, thinking perhaps the kitten had died out of a disease or something. The kitten had a sibling, we gave them that one. A week later a photo came back and so on. Then I realized that three months had passed, the cat was nowhere to be seen,

[154] Human proxies do not only experience feelings of mistrust toward others. For a discussion on negative emotions human proxies deal with, see 4.6.1 Navigating Difficult Emotions: Catalyst for and Obstacle to Action.

there were no photos, nothing, he kept saying “I will give information”, “I will give information” and so on. (Esin, 42, woman, architect) [22]

Not receiving a response from the current adopter triggers negative feelings and escalates the suspicion among the previous human companion. During the interview, Esin explains how some adopters adopt cats not because they want to care for them, but for purposes of feeding them to exotic animals they keep as pets, or for folk magic.[155] From a similar position of distrust of others, Aybike, explains how she went to the police, when she couldn’t reach the woman who adopted the cat:

> This Syrian girlie, a doctor. She adopted the cat. Two weeks later, we didn’t hear from the cat. ... First, we tried to reach the girl. I went to the police. The police said, “What will she do with your tabby cat? There are cats everywhere. Will she eat your cat?” I said, “I want to hear from the cat.” Then we realized that Syrians ate cats when they were hungry during the war. I said, “They ate cats.” (Laughs) I don’t know if he thought I was crazy or something, he said “OK, you find me the girl’s phone number.” When nothing came out there, I took to social media. Earlier I took a photo of the girl and the cat together. I also took photos of the cat before I gave them away. I posted the photos on Facebook and Instagram: “SHE LOST THE CAT; I DON’T HAVE ANY NEWS. IF ANYONE RECOGNIZES HER, LET ME KNOW.” Immediately three hours later, I received the news that the girl had changed her phone

[155] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment for a discussion on the threats liminal cats face in urban environment including being adopted for purposes of prey and folk magic.

number, the cat was fine. Immediately, [she sent] one video after another. So, we don't just leave it [rehoming] like that, we follow up [on rehomed animals]. (Aybike, 58, woman, retired) [23]

The above quote is significant not only for the negative feelings which lead Aybike to go to the police, but also the way Aybike's dialogue with the police officer unfolds. Follow-up actions in rehoming are common among human proxies as a cautionary measure against potential animal abuse due to feelings of distrust. One of these measures, as Aybike's narrative illustrates, is keeping in contact with adopters and taking their photographs just in case. When Aybike cannot hear from the adopter, she goes on high alert, similar to Esin.

The urgency of the situation, however, seems to be not understood by the police officer, whose response "What will she do with your tabby cat? There are cats everywhere" summarizes the marginal and insignificant position of the liminal cat in society. Firstly, the cat in question is reduced to their breed, stripped off their individuality. This immediately constructs animals as members of species, but not individuals, thereby contributing to animal species as static entities, devoid of any personal lives. However, such reduction is not only important for purposes of stripping off feline individuality, but for disclosing intrafeline hierarchies in Turkish society. The quote perfectly illustrates a common attitude toward tabby breed, as a common subgroup of cats in Turkey, who may not always be appreciated as much as other breeds.[156] Then, the police officer continues: "Will she eat your cat?" This rhetorical question, posed by the police, reflects an awareness that eating cats is not a cultural tradition in Turkey.

[156] To exemplify, compare the number of adoption/sales ads for tabby cats [*Tekir*] (3 as of September 16, 2024) to that of other breeds such as British Shorthair (432 as of September 16, 2024) under cat ads [*Kedi İlanları*] here: https://www.patibul.com/

However, it also indicates his personal lack of knowledge regarding historical discussions of cat consumption a century ago (Obuz, 2022), while presuming a similar absence of such practices or discourses in Syria. It is at this point when Aybike utilizes "eating cats" as a tool to mobilize the police officer. Only after finding out sources of cat-eating in Syria during the Syrian civil war,[157] Aybike manages to convince the police officer to act. Because Aybike narrates her response laughingly, it could be argued that she disassociates with what she reports to the police. I should note here that, as a non-vegan, Aybike eats animals. When I ask her to elaborate during the interview, she draws a comparison to smoking, an unhealthy addiction she justifies under individual liberties. So, as someone who eats animals but not cats, Aybike's utilization of "eating cats" rhetoric is dissimilar to that of Donald Trump, who in US 2024 Presidential Debate wrongfully accused Haitian immigrants of abducting and eating companion cats in Springfield, Ohio.[158] Aybike's narrative may seem to connect with anti-immigrant sentiments and criticizing minority practices of animal eating that diverge from majority practices (Kymlicka, 2017), but it has more to do with enrolling authorities and triggering potential ethnocentrism by constructing cat-eating as a situation to intervene in and working toward a desired goal at the expense of minority others so that she can trace the whereabouts of the cat she rehomed.

To compensate lack of trust, as exemplified in Esin and Aybike's experiences, certain strategies are developed and implemented prior to rehoming, namely, conducting interviews and signing of a contract. Asya goes through what she calls as an "evaluation of incoming applications" during which she chooses to challenge and intimidate potential

[157] See https://english.alarabiya.net/News/middle-east/2013/10/14/Syrian-imams-plead-for-help-after-permitting-people-to-eat-dogs-cats-
[158] See https://apnews.com/article/haitian-immigrants-vance-trump-ohio-6e4a47c52b23ae2c802d216369512ca5

adopters only to understand if they are genuine in their pursuit in adopting an animal. She explains:

> There, too, the age of the person, whether they have taken care of a cat before, whether they have a cat at home, these are important for me. Apart from these, if there is no negativity about them, I ask the person very challenging things about the cat. For example, "You woke up in the morning, you saw the cat pooped on your bed. What would you do?" "What would you do when the cat urinates on you?" or I ask questions like "Maybe your cat tore your favorite clothes." From their reactions to these questions, I want something to form in their mind. An animal can do all of these. Because after all, this is an animal. I measure whether the person is prepared for these, and I also learn their reaction. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor) [24]

Asya aims to test potential adopters' psychological limits, by asking them hypothetical scenarios where companion cat might bring damage to personal belongings and observing their reactions. This is a way to measure not only how familiar a potential adopter to cats, but also how willing they are to adopt cats, who will surely bring with its own adjustments in the household. While Asya focuses on person's psychological readiness, Kuzey, focuses on what the adopter could provide for the animal to ensure feline health, well-being and safety. Kuzey explains:

> We ask questions to the people who contact us with a long text, and they respond to them. Of course, these are questions aimed at getting to know them and what kind of opportunities they will offer to the animal. For

example, “Will you be able to install a net?” “What will you do about nutrition?” “What is your opinion on neutering?” Then we have a long conversation over the phone. (Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher) [25]

Both Asya and Kuzey do not readily rehome animals, but proceed with caution, and test potential adopters throughout an evaluation process. This evaluation process, however, precedes the adoption. There are strategies human proxies utilize for post-adoption phase as well. One of them is the “Contract For Animal Lending” [*Hayvan Ödünç Verme Sözleşmesi*].[159] The emphasis here is that although the animal is rehomed, that is, they move to a new home to live with different human companions, the contract is conducted under lending to create a power dynamic to favor the previous human companion who has cared for and would like to ensure the future care for the animal. Aybike says that once contract is signed, parties have the contact information of each other including phone number and home address, and the loaner (adopter) promises to update the previous human companion when requested, the lack of which is regarded as suspicious, as Esin and Aybike’s experiences illustrate. After both parties decide to proceed with rehoming of the animal, with or without the contract,[160] the animal is transferred to their new home. Some human proxies would like to stay in touch and follow up on the animal after rehoming. This is often in the form of asking for photographs and videos of said animal, to test the adopter whose responsiveness or lack thereof is taken as an indicator of animal’s well-being and safety. At times, follow-ups may lead to the return of the animal to their previous human companion due to adopter’s lack of good care. Mira

[159] See a template provided by HAYTAP - The Animal Rights Federation in Turkey: https://www.haytap.org/tr/haytap-hayvan-sahplendrme-soezlemes-

[160] Not all participants utilize “Contract For Animal Lending” [*Hayvan Ödünç Verme Sözleşmesi*] during their rehoming practices. Some participants believe that it is not legally binding and ineffective.

(32, other, editor) explains how a cat they rehomed returned after deciding the cat did not lead a good life:

> I had to go back to Izmir for a while, so I left the cat with a friend again. I mean, they were a good friend of mine, but I guess they didn't take very good care of the cat. The other friend who found this cat visited them at home to see what they were doing and how they were taking care of the cat. Then they said that the litter was a bit bad, that the cat escaped from time to time, that they didn't pay attention in the apartment, and so on. They are also a bit too meticulous about these things; anyway, then they said [to me], "What are you doing? Come now. We can't do anything to this cat. Take care of them!" Then I met the cat again. I think I even had it [favoring cats based on looks]. Now a kitten grows and changes a lot in a month. They got so beautiful, and when I looked at them, I was like, "Okay, how could I leave this animal? Then we have been together since that day. (Mira, 32, other, editor) [26]

As can be seen from Mira's remark, following up on rehomed animals is to ensure animals continue to live in good conditions and not released back on the streets. At times, adopters prefer to cease their relationship with their companion cat, and as a solution may release the rehomed animal. This is a point that is noted by human proxies as a negative experience, which impacts one's commitment to rehoming.

5.2.4 Not Rehoming (Anymore)

While some participants do not take part in rehoming due to difficulties they observe,[161] those who do explain that releasing of a rehomed cat is an important point they emphasize in their communication with new human companions, and tell during rehoming not to release the animal, but return them, if they cannot adjust to living with a companion cat.[162] Returned cats lead to an additional pressure on human proxies, if they regularly take in cats for extended care and subsequent rehoming. Despite having participated in rehoming in the past, Dicle now remains hesitant to rehome cats due to previous, negative experiences. To Dicle, taking in cats and rehoming them is a major responsibility, the impacts of which are irreversible. She explains:

> But I try not to get involved in animal adoption because it's a huge responsibility. I mean, if the animal doesn't have disabilities or they can make it on the street, I don't get into the adoption because sometimes there are such houses that I wish I would never rehome an animal to. … Because I don't want to take a healthy animal from the street and rehome them to someone, because maybe they will be better on the street. Because I've been through this a lot. You know, I rehome an animal, after three months, after five months, the animal gets completely used to the house and [the person who adopted] says: "I can't do it." You can't rehome an adult cat and you can't release them back on the street. At least, it makes more sense not to break the habits of a liminal cat than releasing an adult cat on the street. You know, it makes more sense not

[161] Mert, 32, man, sculptor
[162] Dicle, 34, woman, manager; Aybike, 58, woman, retired

> to dull their habits and survival instinct on the street. (Dicle, 34, woman, manager) [27]

Here, Dicle is well aware that adopting and rehoming, which are usually done early on in an animal's life, are interventions into the life-course of an animal, which ultimately shapes animal's habits, and defines the kind of environment the animal becomes comfortable living in. When such an environment cannot be ensured due to people's changing their minds after they adopt, Dicle finds rehoming to be too risky to undertake due to potential, future impacts on animal. Both adopting/rehoming and refraining from rehoming are conducted in a careful manner, centering the needs of the animal.

5.3 Neutering Cats

> On a university campus in Istanbul, at the Faculty of Architecture, students and professors are chasing cats. They are members of the university club for campus animals, with a dedicated task of neutering. Some are carrying nets; others are holding boxes. Cats are running in all directions, terrorised and terrorising. Everyone is exhausted, not only because of the never-ending chase, but also because of the people-pleasing, negotiating with those who have the power and privilege to demand, to draw territories, and to exclude. Earlier, some members of architecture faculty issued an anonymous letter declaring they demand these cats at the faculty to be removed, for they sleep on cardboards and Styrofoam, some of the most valuable currency in design studios, which are neatly used to communicate their dwelling ideas for, well, humans.

(Reconstructed based on the interview with Deniz, 29, woman, university student, 11 April 2021) (Taşdizen, 2021a)

In addition to accommodating cats in the households through adoption and rehoming, participants take part in neutering of liminal cats as a caring measure to the increasing feline population. It should be noted here that human proxies do not problematize cat population per se.[163] What is problematized is the urban environment unfit for liminal cats[164] and lack of municipal governance.[165] Human proxies resort to neutering in an attempt to control the growth of, if not decrease, the feline population in their attempt to allocate finite care across a population. By doing so, they aim to attain a better care for the existing population, since care is not infinite. Therefore, motivations for neutering vary from managing feline population to eliminating feline deaths in urban environments. Population control of street animals through neutering and spaying is done for two primary reasons: 1) to decrease the quantity of animal suffering as much as possible, and 2) to allocate extant and finite resources to the current population as best as possible. First motivation aims to eliminate potential feline vulnerability and death in future populations, whereas second motivation concerns management of care amid resource scarcity, whether that be emotional[166] or financial.[167]

[163] Problematizing DAs characterizes abolitionist movement within animal rights, pioneered by Gary L. Francione, who argues for neutering DAs *en masse* to achieve DA extinction for, he believes, DAs lead lives that are dependent and thus undignified. For Francione's discussion on DAs, see Francione, G. L., & Charlton, A. E. (2016, September 8). *The Case against Pets*. Aeon. https://aeon.co/essays/why-keeping-a-pet-is-fundamentally-unethical. For a critique of the abolitionist position, see Muller, S. M. (2017). For the Good of the Species: Gary Francione and the Omnipresence of Eugenics in Animal Rights Rhetoric. *Communication Studies*, *68*(5), 588-606. https://doi.org/10.1080/10510974.2017.1381631; Donaldson, S., & Kymlicka, W. (2011). *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights*. Oxford University Press. Human proxies do not necessarily align themselves with a set politico-ethical stance such as abolitionism, but their population management is grounded in their commitment to care and intervention in feline events. Hence, *feline interventionist arena*. Non-interventionist positions exist outside of the scope of this study.
[164] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment.
[165] See 6.1 Designing due to Municipal Inadequacy and Indifference.
[166] See 4.6.1 Navigating Difficult Emotions: Catalyst for and Obstacle to Action.
[167] See 4.6.2 Navigating Financial Scarcity.

Firstly, I will introduce how participants explain the feline population increase, thereby justifying neutering. The increase in feline population is explained by feeding (by human proxies) but also deliberate breeding (by breeders) and abandoning of companion cats in the city. Esin explains how cats of certain breeds are often kept for breeding, while future kittens are sold to buyers.[168] Cansu, who practices breeding of their British shorthair and Scottish fold cats with her family, is one of those individuals who remains distant to neutering. Although she explains their breeding practices are not motivated by monetary gains, Cansu cannot explain in a clear manner why they keep one male and one female cat without neutering them, whose new kittens they need to relocate annually. Apart from excessive and unregulated cat breeding as a factor in overall increase in the feline population, abandonment of companion cats or litters of cats kept for breeding lead to an increase of street cat population. Cats are abandoned simply due to their human companions' not educating themselves or taking responsibility. Cats are abandoned for fear of zoonotic diseases,[169] or when the human companion is moving abroad and changing houses.[170] Adopting male and female cats in a house subjecting them to constant reproduction, and abandoning companion cats, are defined as practices that are not caring,[171] as they leave animals in situations worse than before: Companion cats who are abandoned and/or released on the streets will face difficulties in adjusting or may never adjust, as well as a female cat held in captivity with another male cat leading to repeating pregnancy and birth does neither take into account feline agency and desires, but subjects them to ongoing bodily processes which they cannot escape. This is why neutering

[168] Esin, 42, woman, architect
[169] Esin, 42, woman, architect
[170] 20220804_Fieldnotes; Güneş, 30, other, photographer
[171] See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care for a discussion on breeder and hoarder practices and their exclusion from good care.

emerges as a significant practice within good care as important as feeding, if not more. Lack of neutering, then, simply translates to neglect for Umay, who lives in Silivri.[172]

Secondly, participants defend neutering based on the health benefits on the animal, because they believe the way feline reproduction occurs in the city decreases animals' immunity and overall quality of life.[173] There is a general consensus among the participants of the study that neutering increases the overall quality of life in both female and male cats through its positive affect on feline health, thereby justifying this veterinary intervention and making it a significant constituent of good care.[174] Kuzey explains how physically exhausting mating and pregnancy are for cats:

> The female [cat] can give birth two three times in a year. The male can mate continuously. For the female, of course, this is a serious loss of nutrients. She is constantly giving because her source of food stores is constantly being replenished. Pregnancy, giving birth, feeding the offspring after birth; all of these are very heavy processes for her. Of course, all these processes can decrease immunity. A drop in immunity is the biggest threat for an animal, because there are already so many diseases because there are so many of them. If they become vulnerable to diseases even one click on the street, it poses a serious problem for them. (Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher) [28]

Kuzey self identifies as a "cat catcher" [*kedi yakalayıcısı*] and offers catching services to other human proxies who 1) wish to neuter cats in a given territory, or to a

[172] A municipal district in Istanbul on the European coast of Marmara Sea.
[173] Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher
[174] Arda, 32, man, research assistant; Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter; Mert, 32, man, sculptor; Esin, 42, woman, architect; Aybike, 58, woman, retired; Asya, 30, woman, doctor; Dicle, 34, woman, manager; Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher; Mira, 32, other, editor

lesser extent 2) treat sick ones.[175] He has vast experience in catching and neutering cats in various locales around Istanbul from university campuses to urban transformation sites, and specializes on catching feral cats, deemed especially difficult in neutering processes. As Kuzey explains, mating and pregnancy decrease immunity in female cats, making them susceptible to various diseases. Not only for the female cats, however, ongoing procreation also has health implications for the male cats. Being stuck in a constant fight over territory and dominance, Kuzey explains:

> the male [cat], since he prioritizes his reproductive system, his reproduction, he does not nourish himself enough, he does not rest enough, he does not take care of himself enough. Consequently, immunity also falls in males. Accordingly, they may suffer from chronic diseases. (Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher) [29]

In a similar vein, Umay, too, reflects on the perceived aggression among unneutered male population, constituting a menace both for themselves and for the traffic. She explains:

> Because their rutting behavior is very different; they become aggressive, they fight with each other a lot, they chase the females a lot. I mean, they run along the streets until they catch [females]. This, of course, causes traffic accidents, as they jump from left to right, and falls and injuries. Or males fight among themselves over females and gouge each other's eyes out. Of course, it is very important for the male to be neutered in

[175] Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher

order to end those behaviors and that excessive aggression. (Umay, 38, woman, freelancer) [30]

Last but not least, neutering is grounded in a motivation to eliminate situations such as feline death because these deaths are not perceived as natural, and human proxies' ongoing witnessing are expressed to be painful for the caregiver. Here, one might argue that such a motivation deeply centers human feelings over an animal's right to reproduction. While understanding and agreeing to how neutering could be wrong on a theoretical level due to power dynamics therein, Arda regards neutering as a necessity on a practical level for feline well-being and the decrease in feline death. [31] Having a similar opinion, Ege further defends neutering due to its power to convince those who are against animal presence on the streets on the acceptance of said animal who is neutered. For Ege, this is better than an animal being detained and abandoned to death at an animal shelter, an entity that remains inaccessible despite their personal efforts. Neutering is so embedded in good care and making liminal cats live that a discussion on animal's right to bodily integrity, albeit correct, is interpreted to be disconnected from the field and its realities.[176]

It could be argued that one does not practice good care only by feeding, but by feeding *and* neutering which then keeps the population at a certain limit, ensuring quality care distributed across members of the population in question, who is already regarded to navigate inferior living conditions in the city.[177] Neutering is also justified for the well-

[176] It should be noted here that the only participant hesitant and non-practitioner of neutering is Cansu, who, together with her family, engages in breeding. When asked, Cansu, justifies her not neutering out of well meaning, caring position. She recalls a memory of a friend's cat who died due to veterinary malpractice, and her father's belief that cats "gain weight after being neutered."
[177] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment.

being of caregiver human proxies, by decreasing their witnessing to feline events,[178] leading them to navigate difficult emotions and orchestrate care for cats to come. Therefore, feline population management in the form of neutering emerges as a part of good care[179] as a kind of optimized care grounded in resource scarcity, human or otherwise. In what follows, I discuss neutering of liminal cats in Istanbul through its 2 stages, namely, 1) trapping [*yakalama*], and 2) neutering [*kısırlaştırma*].

5.3.1 Trapping Cats

Trapping is the first stage of any neutering process. The methods participants utilize in trapping cats include installing traps [*kapan*] and nets [*ağ*, *file*] with the help of food to lure cats toward a certain spot/direction.[180] Deniz (29, woman, university student), who is involved in catching and neutering cats on a university campus on the European side, explains she and her friends installed traps in the blind spots in one of the buildings. After a short while, her friend would say "someone is in the trap,"[181] conveying the trapping of a cat for neutering, and Deniz and her friends would pick up the cat and take them to their veterinary clinic. However, trapping does not go as smoothly as Deniz describes it. The basis for intervening in any cat is an existing human-cat relationship, whereby the animal trusts the human and stays in proximity to them. Not surprisingly, then, human proxies are able to trap friendly cats that are within humans' reach, [182] greeting and purring human proxies.[183] If the animal is somewhat distrustful, trapping needs to be planned in advance and executed methodically. Rıdvan (36, man, carpenter),

[178] See 4.5 Encountering and Intervening in Feline Events.
[179] See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care.
[180] Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher
[181] Deniz, 29, woman, university student
[182] Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher
[183] Aybike, 58, woman, retired

who volunteers in mass neutering of liminal cats at an NGO, explains his method of catching cats in detail:

> Just today I caught one. I mean, there is [first] a cat with a problem, and, of course, there is also catching that cat. I've been improving my catching skills a lot during this time. ... Well, my tactic… If the cat, of course, I'm talking about cats that are afraid of the box, you know, the hard-to-catch cats, I place the box facing the wall and put the lid of the box half open. I leave a 3-inch gap. I pour a little wet food on the bottom [of the box]. I also pour a little bit of food between the wall and the box. Then I go to the back and walk away and feed the cat a little bit. I throw salami slowly, like [feeding] a bird. I attract cat's attention toward box's direction. They would approach that way and would see the food inside. After they [the animal] get into the food inside –by the way, I have to stay far away, because the cat wouldn't want me nearby– I close the box, I close it directly to the wall. (Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter) [32]

However, with or without using food, not being able to trap feral cats is constructed as a problem by participants.[184] This is why for both Aybike and Olcay, it has been impossible to trap and neuter all the cats they spot in their territory, given the difficulties in trapping those that are not trusting of and therefore avoiding humans. For this reason, feral cats remain out of reach and continue reproducing. Aybike elaborates on how a female cat keeps giving birth, for she cannot trap her.

[184] Arda, 32, man, research assistant; Umay, 38, woman, freelancer; Aybike, 58, woman, retired; Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer; Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher

> [Y]ou know, we have now given so much importance to neutering. It is very rare. For example, there is a mother cat that we can't catch, who is constantly giving birth, there is no way I can catch [her]. She gives birth four or five times a year. Just the other day she was pregnant again. For example, she keeps giving birth and bringing them here. Then someone sees [the cat, kittens], do they take them? Then we saw two or three of them in the trunk of the car and went down to the neighborhood, we ran after them there and so on. (Aybike, 58, woman, retired) [33]

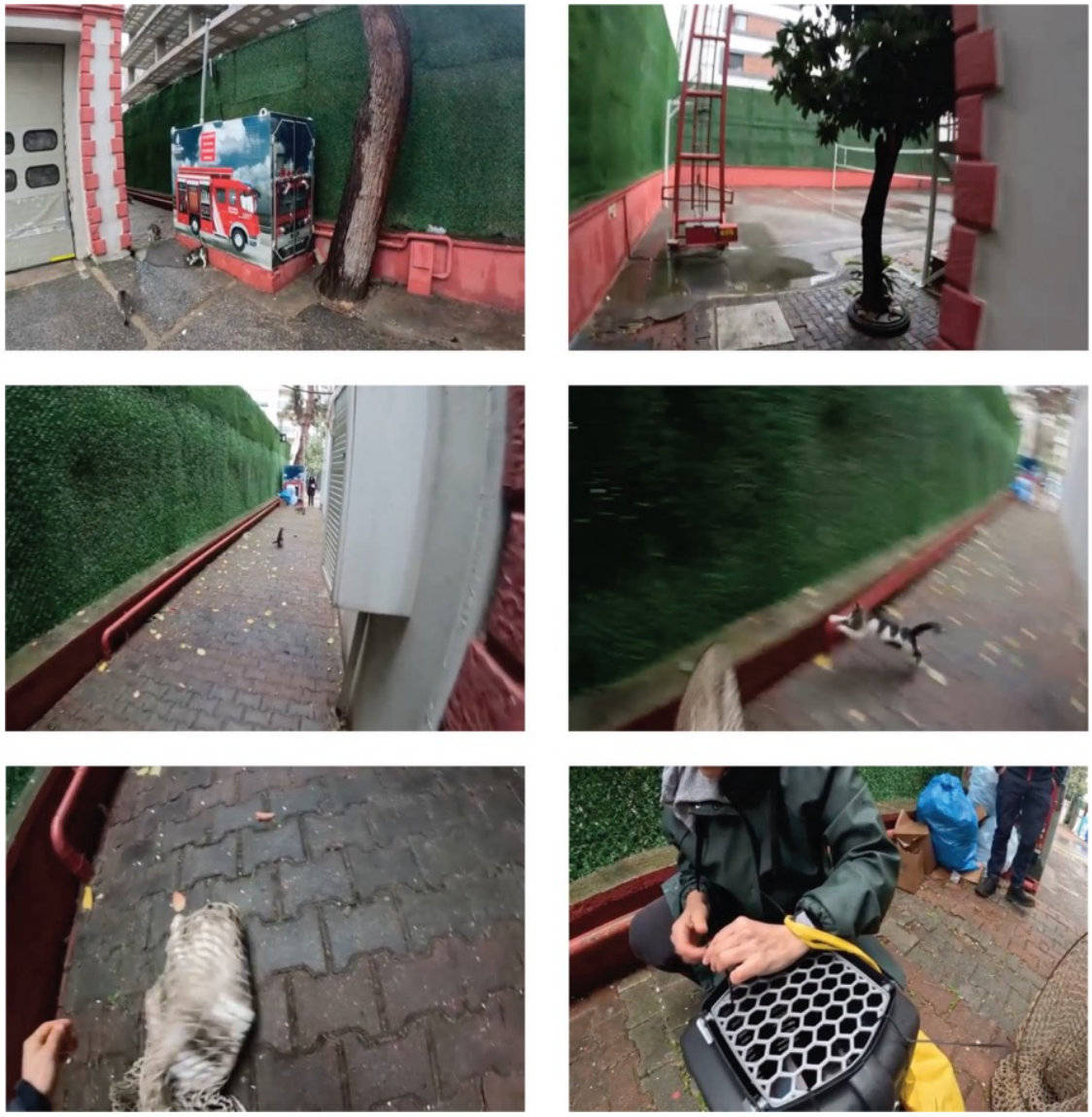
These methods have been proven effective, yet the issue continues with feral cats. Once a feral cat manages to escape human proxies' attempt to trap, the cat becomes more distrustful, which escalates the difficulty of trapping said cat in the future. For this very reason, Kuzey relies on the use of nets, and not traps, despite other human proxies' criticisms due to capturing with nets being perceived as animal abuse.[185] Because he believes not being able to catch feral cats has further implications such as making future attempts more difficult due to distrust built on part of the animal, Kuzey is very methodic in his approach to catching cats (Figure 5.2). Firstly, he collects data through observation and testimonies of human proxies on the cat in question and their general demeanor. "This is because," he explains, "not every cat has the same character and behavior. Some are very affected by sound, while others are very affected by sight. What some react very much, others may not." [34] Kuzey considers the individual personality of each cat and the potential ways each may behave and avoids expecting cats to behave in foreseeable ways typical of their species. Such a nuanced approach to knowing cats aims to eliminate

[185] Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher

any failure, as a result of which the cat may never be trapped and continue reproducing. He explains:

> The person who uses the net, that is, me, catches the animal from the back of the animal, I mean, from the back of the head, from the tail line, in a way that the animal cannot see. And by approaching quietly and not looking in that direction, again by closing the net over them [the animal]. This may sound very easy, but cats have very strong reflexes and very short reaction times. Animals can react very quickly to the slightest sound, a crunch, a momentary movement, and even if they don't see it; I mean, if you try to do something behind their back, they can escape very easily. It may be necessary to be very meticulous in this regard. While I was doing this, I bought a GoPro two three months ago and started recording with it. For example, if you watch one of those recordings, it is something that may seem very simple, because I can make this interpretation myself, but if you live that moment, unfortunately, the smallest movement, sudden movement, a crunch or something that they do not want, or dislike could take the animal completely away from that point at that moment. (Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher) [35]

Figure 5.2 *Trapping of a Feral Cat*



Note. Frames extracted from the participant-elicited video taken with a GoPro used upon the kind courtesy of the participant.

Despite being the most efficient way to catch feral cats, as endorsed by Kuzey, other human proxies approach the use of nets with suspicion for they consider this as animal abuse. When caught with a net, Kuzey describes, “the animal starts struggling, they try to escape but can’t escape, someone grabs them and puts them in a box”, [36] leading others to think this is a major stressor for the animal. Donaldson and Kymlicka

(2011), in their critique of Francione's abolitionist approach, which calls for a systematic neutering of DAs to achieve extinction, argue that animals *may* want to reproduce and that it would be an injustice to drive them toward extinction based on human projections of normalcy. As can be seen in Kuzey's remarks as well in the video where he methodically traps a cat, animals exhibit their agency reacting to being trapped. Their agency could also be observed in their pursuit of sexual partners and mating, thereby demonstrating the feline interest in reproduction. Yet, it should be noted here catching cats is for neutering and treatment purposes are both parts of larger good care,[186] and individuals who reach out to Kuzey for his proven ability to effectively catch cats are human proxies who already provide care in a given territory, often including more than one cat, feral or otherwise. Therefore, using trap in a territory populated by a cat colony, albeit effective in the short run, may debilitate the long-term process for those feral cats who observe traps and not get caught may become ever more distrustful. To compensate this, Kuzey imagines traps with a size of shelter, or a room, spatially affording catching of multiple cats, yet emphasizes how unrealistic this would be given Istanbul's urban fabric:

> Or let's imagine a trap the size of a room, with food inside, with a door. A trap the size of a huge hut, 10 cats entered for food, we closed the door, OK. Maybe the 3 cats we want to catch were caught at once and the net was not used. But such a thing is not possible here, this is not possible in city life in general. The opportunities are limited, time is limited. Doing such things are quite difficult, long processes. Most places are private

[186] See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care.

> property, it is not possible to do such things on private property. It is not possible to carry something like that. So, this is something that is not possible without the permission or guidance of the state or a state-affiliated unit. (Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher) [37]

Kuzey justifies the use of nets through drawing a comparison to how humans would also need to go through unpleasant procedures such as an operation where a surgeon would need to cut open the human body in order to achieve the desired outcome. He says:

> So, I can explain it like this; for a doctor, a surgeon to operate, he has to cut you somewhere. He has to do that otherwise he cannot operate on you. In this case, in order to help a cat, a wild cat, it is the same thing to detain it and expose it to things they don't want to be exposed to. Because there is no other way to help or touch a wild animal, or it's really not possible to be like "Let's not stress them too much. Let's try not to affect them too much while touching, reaching, trying to help them." (Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher) [38]

Although he understands with others' concerns regarding stressing the animal and imagines other effective solutions such as the use of larger traps, he concludes that this is not possible given current conditions. This brings -again- how care for liminal cats in Istanbul, as Ege aptly describes, is finding a way through material conditions, and

sometimes sacrificing.[187] Because, Kuzey explains, the intent is to help the animal. He continues his analogies:

> I can put it this way, you don't just need to put the animal in a net, you can put it in a box or in a trap and they will not want to be there at that moment, so they will still make similar movements. This is the equivalent of a child crying when being circumcised, or a child with asthma being taken to the hospital, or a child crying to avoid getting a needle, or a person who is afraid of a needle fainting at that moment, these are equivalent things, not different things. (Kuzey, 24, man, cat catcher) [39]

Here, Kuzey summarizes the core of the issue as "intervention" into a living being's life course, to which said subject may always react, whether it be to being caught with a net or a trap. However, to Kuzey, intervention is justified when the intent is caregiving by those who know what is good for the intervened, when they may not know (enough). His child analogy operates in the same logic, when the child is taken to a hospital by their primary caregiver due to asthma, it is out of genuine care, for the child may neither know nor decide on what action to choose. Yet, the intervention here is among humans, and a child may speak caregiver's language. The power dynamics in intervening in the animal, on the other hand, is more complicated due to species differences, and the finite understanding of an animal's standpoint. Kuzey's male child circumcision analogy is even more interesting, due to it raising a discussion on bodily integrity.

[187] See 4.6.2 Navigating Financial Scarcity for a discussion on how care is described as a process of optimization by Ege.

5.3.2 Neutering Operation

Following the trapping of the animal, they are taken to a clinic for neutering.[188] In this dissertation, I follow my participants' gender-neutral phrasing "neutering" [*kısırlaştırma*] as an overall term for medically removing the reproductive organs of any cat, without resorting to any gender specific differentiation.[189] Such a genderless term continues also in participants' practices on who they choose to neuter, female or male. While some participants neuter male cats due to the operation being cheaper, or male cats being able to mate with multiple females during one mating season,[190] some participants choose to neuter female cats, for they perceive it is the female who shoulders the burden through pregnancy and nursing kittens.[191] For others, there is not a priority in terms of sex, but they neuter whoever cat they happen to meet and being to provide care.[192] Due to neutering of male cats being relatively cheaper and simpler, participants also neuter them if they catch them.[193] Neutering operation in female and male cats are different. Meltem (38, woman, veterinary assistant) explains the difference:

> Normally, a neutering surgery in a female cat takes a maximum of -- where no complications develop and you have done the pre-anesthesia and anesthesia of the animal, placed the animal on the [surgical] table, now you will start the operation-- 20 minutes from the moment you start the operation. You know, you made the incision, you made the last

[188] MVDs provide neutering services for liminal cats for free. Yet, participants often prefer private clinics due to the process being rapid due to lack of bureaucracy, and overall lack of trust in municipal services. Private clinics and their pricing for neutering of female cats, however, are regarded to be pricey.
[189] Gender specific terminology for neutering cats is spaying [*Ovariohysterectomy*] for females and castration [*Orchidectomy*] for males.
[190] Asya, 30, woman, doctor
[191] Umay, 38, woman, freelancer; Esin, 42, woman, architect; Dicle, 34, woman, manager
[192] Mira, 32, other, editor
[193] Umay, 38, woman, freelancer

> internal and external suture, you left, it [the procedure] takes 20 minutes. Then you take this animal to the incubator. You bring the oxygen and body temperature levels to normal, and the animal wakes up. ... Then the animal takes their first pee. It gets the anesthesia from the liver. You wait for the second pee. In the meantime, we strongly recommend one thing for female cats. Put the Elizabethan collar on [the cat]. Because some cats are uncomfortable with those stitches and try to remove them. This is something you recommend for sure, because you can't control the animal. (Meltem, 38, woman, veterinary assistant) [40]

Male neutering, Meltem comments, is way simpler:

> Male cat surgeries are very simple. ... In males, we wouldn't even need stitches; because the testicular sacs in males, when testicles are exteriorized, they act like a shame-plant [*mimosa pudica*], with the skin [of testicles] sticking to each other as soon as you touch them. They heal quickly anyway, especially after you spray those antibiotic sprays. Also, males do not groom themselves as much as females, so at some point you also trust that [newly neutered male would not groom the area]. (Meltem, 38, woman, veterinary assistant) [41]

As can be seen from Meltem's remarks, not only surgical procedures of neutering proceeds differently in male and female cats, but male neutering is also simpler and does not need as much postoperative care. Regardless of the sex, neutering constitutes a significant part of good care, lacking of which is immediately explained by breeding and hoarding. It could be argued that human proxies aim to level their intervention in the form

of feeding via neutering to keep the population at a limit, while also providing care for them. In the meantime, they aim to accommodate them inside the households, theirs or that of trusted others, to provide cats a “warm home,” as the city is often constructed as a place unfit to accommodate cats. It is within this context that cat houses appear as solutions to lack of spatial accommodation for many cats, who are simply not prioritized due to other cats constructed vulnerability deemed more urgent. I discuss why, how and for whom these cat houses are designed in the next section.

6. DESIGNING ZOÖPOLIS

> This is roughly what we do. In general, the first reaction we usually give is to give the other party their rightfulness and, if possible, to quickly remove the animal from there for the sake of the animal in a short time, without agitating the person on the other side. We don't get into too much of this with people. I generally have the same attitude towards the food given to the cats in the neighborhood. If they are uncomfortable with food being placed somewhere, I say, "Ay, you're right, sister, rats must be approaching the food," (Laughs) and I take it [the food] and put it somewhere else. Because I think that the reactions given to people in general indirectly harm animals, because I don't want to take the risk that they will take out their anger not on me, but probably on the first cat they see after I turn my back. That's why I usually give people the benefit of the doubt and if it's something very damaging, something on the level of violence, of course, if they have done something that is sanctioned by law, and if I can prove it, not only if they did it, but if it can be proven, I go after them, but if there is nothing I can prove, I say "You are very right" and take the animal away. This is the method I follow. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor) [1]

This chapter focuses on MTHD, a set of designerly practices of human proxies for feline users, attending to their sheltering and nourishment. Human proxies arrive at destination design knowingly or unknowingly amid material and immaterial scarcity.

6.1 Designing due to Municipal Inadequacy and Indifference

6.1.1 The Emergence of Animal Shelters in Turkey, 1990s

Although dating back as early as the beginning of 19th c., the initial animal movement in Istanbul and wider Turkey maintained a welfarist position.[194] This slowly changed parallel to the rise of a rights-based animal advocacy during 20th c. in the West. In 1975, Peter Singer published his book *Animal Liberation* (Singer, 2002). The book, although it is not the first book that tackles the animal issue, it has become widely influential to this day.[195] In 1978, Declaration of Animal Rights was signed by various countries (La Fondation Droit Animal, Éthique et Sciences (LFDA), 1978), although Turkey is not a signatory of the said declaration. Starting from the 80s, animal rights movement slowly gained visibility in Turkey. In mid-80s, a draft bill for Animal Protection Law was proposed by the then-Minister of Environment İmren Aykut. 1987 was a year that witnessed great turbulence over the question of street animal and their mass killing. The law was not accepted (Sungurbey, 1999, p. v). Following the efforts of İsmet Sungurbey and Ümit Sinan Topçuoğlu (Özdoğan & Bilgin, 2021), animal shelters were introduced in Istanbul as a part of a TNR program that was taking hold in the city to vaccinate and neuter street dogs. These were the joint efforts of the animal advocates of the time (Özdoğan & Bilgin, 2021; Yıldırım, 2021), as they thought shelters would respond to the needs of the animal population on the streets. It was only a decade after Turkey's EU accession talks that the country started its legislation pertaining to animal rights. Similar to the Early Republican Era, during which Turkey's Europe-centric

[194] In comparison to rights-based approaches, which acknowledges each and every animal as a living, sentient being, who has the right to not be exploited for human ends, welfarist position does not wish to end animal uses by humans and focuses more on ensuring animal welfare in processes where animals are employed.
[195] See 2.1.1 On the Morality of Killing.

understanding of modernity and the modern city resulted in a dedicated program of cleansing Istanbul from its feline undesirables (Obuz, 2022), Turkey's EU accession process, too, shaped animal politics in the country. First, following Turkey's EU candidate country status in 1999, the country signed the European Convention for the Protection of Pet Animals ETS No. 125 on 18 November 1999 (Counsil of Europe [Conseil de L'Europe], 1987). Later in 2004, Animal Protection Law No. 5199 passed in 2004 (T. C. Resmi Gazete, 2004). 5199 Animal Protection Law legally defines street animals as "unclaimed" [*sahipsiz*], and Animal requires that the lives of all DAs, be they pets or unclaimed [*sahipsiz*], should be supported. Thus, following centuries-long care practices that accommodate street animals in the city, the law emphasizes legally that the street animals have the right to care.

Starting in the mid-90s, municipal animal shelters (Onay, 2019), designed to keep, and care for street animals slowly emerged as spaces of care, as an alternative to the previous spaces of care that was the streets. It is in this context that the cat house, two decades after the establishment of municipal animal shelters, and almost a century after mass cull of street cats (Obuz, 2022), appears as a social phenomenon scattered across disparate parts of the city, designed, and maintained by human proxies inviting scholarly scrutiny. According to the 5199 Animal Protection Law in Turkish legislation, local and metropolitan municipalities are responsible for the governance of liminal cats. Such governance includes building animal shelters to accommodate the animal population, where veterinary care including neutering is provided. Overall, municipalities constitute the immediate responsible legal entities for feline population management through neutering and their spatial accommodation such as sheltering and rehoming. Municipalities in Turkey have Veterinary Services Department [*Veteriner İşleri*

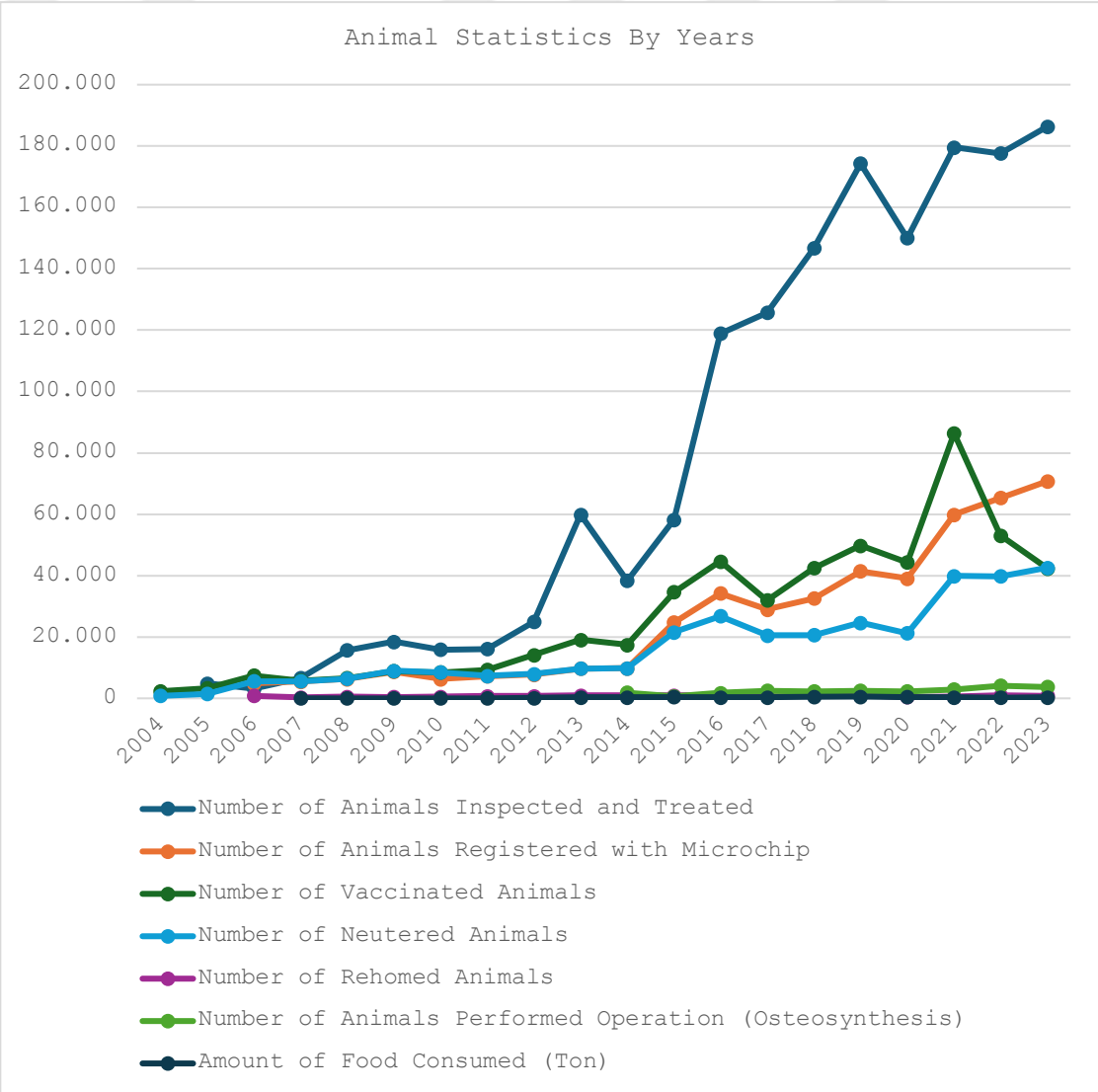
Müdürlüğü], under which services such as neutering, rehoming are provided to citizens and liminal cats. Municipalities are also required by law to provide healthcare for liminal animals and to build animal shelters for them. However, statistics provided by IMM disclose that the number of animals rehomed and conducted osteosynthesis operation are drastically low compared to numbers of animals inspected and treated, as registered with microchip (Figure 6.1). From the graph, it could be concluded that municipal practices do not focus on rehoming animals as a part of their policy. This is in sharp contrast to human proxies, for whom spatial accommodation is a constituent of good care.[196]

Veterinary municipal services are freely accessible for human proxies, making rescue work "much easier" [*işimiz kolaylaştı*].[197] In case of a feline event, such as cats run over by automobiles, Gönül, (54, woman, shopkeeper) immediately calls the Sarıyer Municipality Veterinary Department (MVD hereinafter), who she finds swift and responsive, implying a healthy collaboration between the citizen and the municipality. However, not all municipalities provide quality care, or they respond to every human proxy in the same way. In addition, such services often remain limited in what they offer. Olcay, who benefits from veterinary municipal services, explains that Bakırköy MVD, "don't perform operations here in Bakırköy, that's what they said. They apply internal and external parasites, they give injections, they do not perform any operation other than that. If there is any treatment other than an operation, they do it." [2] However, this is often not the case, as explained by participants and their one-on-one correspondence with municipal officials. This then leads to a lack of trust in municipal capacity and capability in dealing with care, creating an unwillingness on part of the human proxy to collaborate

[196] See 5.2 Accommodating Cats in the Households.
[197] Mira, 32, other, editor

with municipal bodies. Participants often abstain to collaborate with the municipality due to their previous, negative experiences. These include 1) lacking standard across local municipalities, 2) animal admission being disorganized and not transparent, 3) admission process being bureaucratic, 4) municipal facilities lacking measures for disease control, 5) municipal facilities being inaccessible. These experiences lead to participants' construction of municipality as inadequate and inefficient in governing liminal cats.

Figure 6.1 *Animal Statistics by Years*



Note. Source: IMM Open Data Portal.

Firstly, local municipalities do not live up to a standard on the care they provide, leading human proxies to inevitably choose those municipalities that are perceived to provide a quality care.[198] In one of my field visits,[199] I was recommended by a woman in the clinic, who walked in with her paralyzed cat unable to relieve themselves, to take the kitten with a spine cord injury (SCI hereinafter) due to a dog attack to Üsküdar MVD, instead of that of Kadıköy's, the locale of the feline event, because she believed cats with disabilities are taken better care in Üsküdar municipal facilities.

In addition to lack of a standard care, local municipalities are criticized for their disorganized conduct of animal admission and a transparent communication with the human proxy who brings in the animal. Aybike, a resident of Cihangir, Beyoğlu, explains how she used to take injured animals to municipal services. Aybike recalls how Beyoğlu MVD reported that "an animal, who was just walking with a limb, died of internal bleeding." [3] After "losing three or four cats through municipality," Aybike decided never to use veterinary municipal services again, and now "[doesn't] know where to take an animal [for treatment]." In a similar vein, Esin, after many unpleasant experiences with Şişli MVD, who were not able to neither track nor inform of the whereabouts of animals, thereby leaving her in ambiguous situations, now believes that "the only thing municipalities do, all of the municipalities, is to take the animal and dump them wherever." [4] Admission process is also found bureaucratic. To exemplify, in a feline event such as neutering a feral cat, an action needs to be taken immediately without waiting, for the animal may simply disappear. In cases concerning trapping and neutering feral cats, Umay chooses to work with private clinics of her own choosing over local

[198] This includes misinforming the municipal officials on the locale of the feline event by providing a locale that is within the borders of the municipality in question, so that the MVD in question receives the animal for treatment, neutering, etc.
[199] Ethnographic interview with Zühtüpaşa neighborhood in Kadıköy, Istanbul, 10 July 2022.

municipalities, which she deems "complicated" [*karmaşık*]. [5] "Each municipality functions differently," explains Umay, who does not seem willing to navigate bureaucratic processes, but want to act immediately on spot, for the animal may simply escape. She explains:

> The municipality point can be a bit complicated. I mean, it is already a laborious job for the municipality to come and catch the cat. We usually take the cat [to clinic] as soon as we can catch them. It [neutering] happens in a private clinic. Because the functioning of each municipality is different. Some of them say "Don't bring the animal, we will come and pick them up." If we can't catch the cat at that moment, on the day they come, it's a problem. The cat is not taken then. (Umay, 38, woman, freelancer) [5]

The problem could simply be overcome if the local municipality in question chooses to collaborate with citizens on the ground, allowing them to bring in cats to be neutered to municipal facilities. However, the municipality in question asks Umay to wait for municipal services to arrive, so they can take the cat. This means organizing the catching of cat on the day municipal services arrive, which creates a one-sided, municipality-focused arrangement. Opting out from this, Umay, who has rescued and continues to live with many animals with disabilities, chooses private clinics, despite their price. Olcay, who, through veterinarian acquaintances working at municipal services, benefits from municipal veterinary services. Olcay is of a similar opinion:

> [T]hey said the animal needs to be neutered, but I do not dare. First, I need to call Bakırköy MVD, so they will come and pick up the cat. And

they will send it to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM), the post operation will take place in their facilities. Maybe, the animal will stay here for a day or two. In the meantime, they might catch a disease. Again, because there are other cats kept in the same place. (Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer) [6]

In addition to problems during animal admission, Olcay believes municipal facilities to be detrimental for an animal's already weakened immune system due to the number of animals received in municipal facilities (Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 *Animal Shelters in Istanbul by Years*

YEAR	NUMBER OF ANIMAL SHELTERS	CAPACITY OF ANIMAL SHELTERS
2011	4	1100
2012	5	2350
2013	5	2350
2014	5	2350
2015	6	7650
2016	6	7650
2017	5	7590
2018	6	7314
2019	6	7314
2020	7	7458
2021	7	7458
2022	7	4869
2023	7	4869

Note. Source: IMM Open Data Portal.

This is why Olcay remains reluctant using municipal services for operations requiring post-operative care, for she fears the animal she brings may catch a disease in an overcrowded clinic. To Aslı, it is not the post-operative care that she is concerned

about, but rather not being able to accompany the animal at the Kadıköy Municipality Merdivenköy Street Animals Rehabilitation and Training Center [*Kadıköy Belediyesi Sahipsiz Hayvanlar Rehabilitasyon ve Eğitim Merkezi*]. Not knowing if they have a basis or are simply "urban legends," Aslı shares her concern whether "sick cats brought in municipal facilities were put to sleep." She decides not to bring her cat to municipal facilities and decide to wait for them to get better due to feelings of suspicion upon learning that "after the examination, if the animal is recommended for an overnight stay, [she] can't accompany the animal, [she has] to drop them and leave." [7] Referring to the same municipal facility in Merdivenköy, Özge's neighbor recommended her to not "take them [cats] there," because "cats that go there sick come out dead."

This is why, human proxies avoid sending cats to municipal facilities, whether they be rehabilitation centers or temporary care facilities [*Geçici Hayvan Bakımevi*],[200] the latter of which are often likened to Nazi concentration camps [*ölüm kampları*] due to their horrendous conditions both by Arda, [8] as well as by late activist Burak Özgüner (Özgüner, 2015). Ege (33, other, media executive), who had similar experiences with a municipality where they were not allowed to see a liminal dog they brought in, states that "I would not never leave a dog to a municipality. I would wait for the animal to die in my lap, die in the backyard, at least I would say that they died with love, that they died with a full stomach." [9] Participant's remark discloses the level of distrust in municipalities, and the amount of work needed to repair this broken relationship between citizens and the state. They emphasize the significance of care during all phases of animal's life, including end-of-life. This hypothetical scenario illustrates participant's attempts to

[200] Municipality-run animal shelters are officially titled "Stray Animal Temporary Care Center" [*Sahipsiz Hayvan Geçici Hayvan Bakımevi*]. In the dissertation, I refer to these spaces simply as "shelter" [*barınak*] for it is the colloquial name given to such spaces providing better legibility.

decrease an animal's suffering at the end of their lives by providing love and eliminating starvation, two important needs they believe are not met at the municipal shelters. Rıdvan is well aware of this distrust, which he volunteers to transform so an efficient municipal process is established. He comments:

> I see this thing among most people, seventy to eighty percent of them, among those who are in contact with cats: "You can't do business with the municipality. Get it done in private clinics." There is such a point of view towards the municipality. "Don't leave cats there, don't leave cats there for post-operative care." (Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter) [10]

Even when the human proxy may wish to bring an animal, municipal officials may decline to admit an animal. Olcay explains that when she reported a cat with diarrhea, the answer she received was "The cat will die if they come here [municipal facility] ... There are too many sick cats here, if you can take care of them, do so with boiled chicken." [11] Olcay's correspondence with municipal officials also demonstrates how municipal facilities are found risky for animals even by the municipal officials who work there. However, Olcay believes municipal officials do their best to help:

> Every time we go to Kemerburgaz, for example, they were conducting a neutering operation. I mean, hundreds of cats are received there, and they really do a lot of operations. If a cat could be saved without an operation, then that's how they proceed. Each operation means a post operation and accommodation for the cat. I don't know if we have that much space; I don't know if we have that many veterinarians, but they are definitely trying to help in some way. (Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer) [12]

Rıdvan, a volunteer at a non-governmental organization (NGO hereinafter), which works as a bridge between IMM and citizens, is well aware of the discourse surrounding municipalities. His approach to the problem, however, is to work to improve it. This is why he reacts against the discontent with municipal services: “But nobody is like, ‘How can we fix this in some way?’ There is only this thing: “The municipality can’t do these things; they can’t do it. Don’t send the animals.” [13] Rıdvan’s position to collectively enhance municipal services may remain naïve, considering participants explain problems of accessing municipal services in the first place. Access problems are not experienced the same way by everyone or experienced at all. Alp explains how it has been difficult to convince the municipality to deliver two cat houses:

> How many times we called the municipality! Neither the municipality came... When they came, they brought one cat house by force. They were supposed to bring two, but we made that happen by putting psychological pressure on them. The inside of the cat house is cobwebbed. It waited, who knows if it waited for 2 years, 3 years, whatever. It’s covered in dust. Why should it be kept in a garage or in the municipality or wherever? Put it on the street or in a garden... (Alp, 32, man, photographer) [14]

Here, it should be noted that, although one could come across cat houses with municipality names on them (Figure 6.2), cat house making is a grassroots practice, and the municipalities are not by law required to build or distribute cat houses. They are, however, legally required to build animal shelters (Table 6.1), one function of which is to receive liminal cats for vaccination, neutering, etc., but not to accommodate them

permanently.[201] Lack of spatial accommodation and low-level rehoming statistics on part of MVDs ground spatial accommodation practices of human proxies in the form of adopting, rehoming and designing shelters.

Figure 6.2 *Identical Cat Houses by Şişli Municipality*



Despite being their legal responsibility, municipalities may not always be available or accessible by human proxies. Esin, who lives in Bomonti, Şişli, explains that when she contacts Şişli Municipality, their response is "We are very busy," [15] conveying their incapacity to provide any service. However, her neighbor is able to access the same municipal services. Esin explains how municipalities respond to a particular

[201] The August 2, 2024, amendment to 5199 Animal Protection Law requires liminal dogs to be collected and accommodated temporarily until they are rehomed, and euthanized if not rehomed. This regulation does not apply to liminal cats.

citizen's demand, who they believe has established a certain standing. However, even that may not be enough when a larger intervention is at stake. For instance, Aybike, who lives in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, explains how it was through locals' pressure into building the cat house, the estate for which was donated solely for this purpose by the late singer Harun Kolçak.[202] Aybike explains:

> He donated it [the estate] on the condition that a cat park is built. But they never managed to build one. It remained idle. We tried very hard to get it built, we went to the municipality a lot. Finally, it was built. A cat park was built, cages were placed inside. A man was put in charge of the area, etc. When it was going very well, I mean the municipality did it, thanks to the pressure of us, the Beyoğlu MVD. They even had an opening event, we liked it. But then they closed it when the pandemic broke out. It stands empty now. (Aybike, 58, woman, retired) [16]

As can be seen, an established social standing and a restricted donation to the municipality may not be enough to facilitate desired change. Participant explains that the area remained idle for a while, and only after their pressures, they realized late singer's will. At times, participants admit having pressured the municipality to get things done. Sometimes access problems are bypassed by references, acquaintances that work in municipalities. Olcay, who is able to access municipal veterinary services, justifies such access in her reference contact, a veterinarian family friend. She explains:

> If we didn't come across a veterinary doctor that we personally know, when we first took this cat, for example, if we didn't go there with a

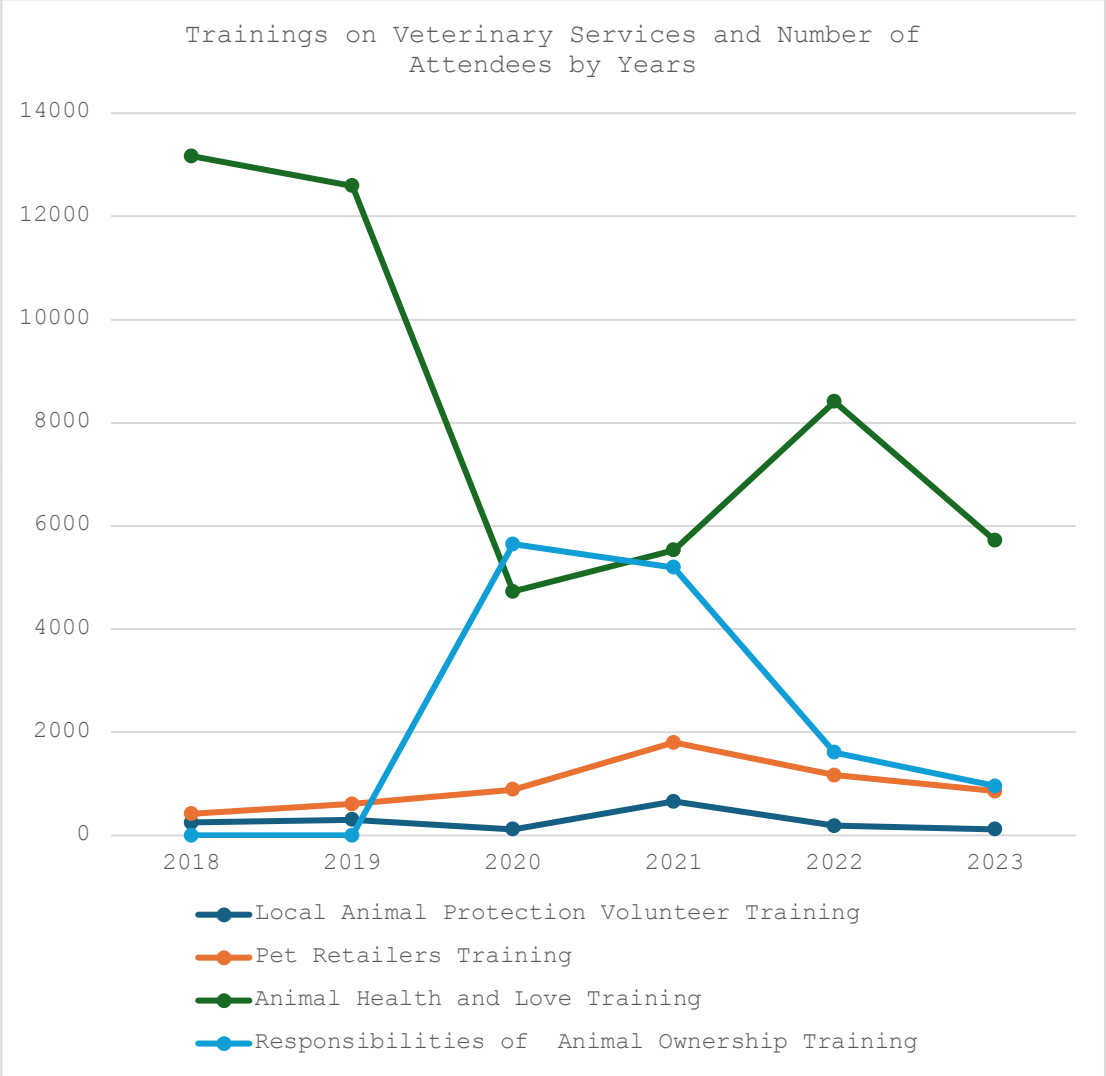
[202] See https://beyoglu.bel.tr/eski-video-icerikleri/beyoglunda-harun-kolcak-anisina-kedi-evi-acildi/

> familiar doctor, maybe we wouldn't have been able to reach there [the MVD]. Since we were directed [through a reference], it was easier for us to access certain places. (Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer) [17]

The disconnect between the municipality and the citizen in governing the liminal cat issue demonstrates itself also in the different agendas set by both. As the responsible body, IMM held a number of trainings in recent years, one of which is "Local Animal Protection Volunteer Training" [*Yerel Hayvan Koruma Gönüllüsü Eğitimi*].[203] As can be seen from the graph (Figure 6.3), number of attendees in this training is drastically low compared to others.

[203] This practice is removed from the 5199 Animal Protection Law in the August 2, 2024, amendment.

Figure 6.3 *Trainings on Veterinary Services and Number of Attendees by Years*



Note. Source: IMM Open Data Portal.

Aybike, having attended one of these trainings in the past, received her local animal protection volunteer card (Figure 6.4), which she shows if there emerges a problem with other citizens who may question her care practices for liminal cats. “If someone says, ‘Why are you feeding here?’ you can say, ‘I’m in charge,’ or something like that,” [18] explains Aybike, yet feels the card does not necessarily provide her any advantage over ordinary citizens who do not have these cards. When I ask her about the course that she attended to be eligible for the card, she implies she finds the course content

inadequate, and explains that “we were like ‘Municipalities, the Ministry did something like this, let us see if could get some cat food for free.’ (Laughs)” As can be seen from Aybike’s experience, the local animal protection volunteer card does not assign any authority to human proxies, except for reminding other citizens in a conflict that care practices are allowed and endorsed by the municipality and the ministry. She explains she and her friends’ motivations as to go and check whether they would receive cat food for free, which she emphasizes toward the end of our interview, as a significant but costly aspect of ongoing care for a cat population.

Figure 6.4 *Aybike's Local Animal Protection Volunteer Card*



As can be concluded, there is a general distrust and suspicion of local municipalities pertaining to their capacities or lack thereof in governing liminal cats. While most human proxies have had negative experiences due to municipal disarray, leaving citizens uninformed about the fate of animals they bring in, or their sudden and confusing deaths, few human proxies have had experiences where they were able to get essential veterinary care such as vaccinations done. Participants often regard municipal services as inaccessible on a personal level, often requiring a reference contact to facilitate desired action. The friction among the municipal bodies and human proxies is unproductive, for the former is by law responsible for the governance of liminal cats, and

the latter constitutes a group of volunteer individuals who provide their utmost resources to the well-being of these animals. This is why such a friction is problematized and overcome through volunteers who choose to be a bridge between the two, working toward establishing and maintaining a dialogue. Rıdvan, an NGO volunteer, emphasizes the population of liminal animals, neutering of which, he believes require an organized effort, and cannot be achieved through individual efforts and means. He believes "the municipality is the only power that can do this job," [19] and, instead of completely rejecting municipal bodies, he chooses to "volunteer to make things better." [20] Aslı, too, is of the same opinion, explaining this is not how things have to be, that "[s]helter is an option," [21] and that they "don't have to be like this," indicating extant municipal conditions and services could always be improved. However, she imagines shelters and their functions to be, Aslı's remark discloses an openness to accept municipal services could be enhanced, and that they should not dismissed as workable options. This requires, first and foremost, as Rıdvan, with his volunteer experience at the organization between IMM and citizens, explains, investing in trust:

> I think one-to-one relationships do that. It's like that saying, "Once you trust, you can even go to hell," or something like that. They [human proxies] look at the person, and they are not looking at what you do, for example, very often, people don't look at what you do. If there is good communication and they trust your word, I think it's settled. But other than that, when we think about how the material conditions are improving, of course they come to the warehouse [to drop cats to be neutered], they see it [the warehouse], they see how we are struggling on WhatsApp, they see the warnings we make, we want everything to be

> clean, etc. I think the way we present IMM's responses is also effective. ... [A]bout the cat we send for neutering, we copy and paste ... IMM's report, share it [with volunteers] verbatim in quotation marks. And now the volunteers ... see how IMM makes a statement, they see how IMM approaches it [the issue]. They check the [operation] stitches after the cats arrive. They don't like it when they [veterinarians] shave the fur too much. They convey this concern to us; we report it to IMM. IMM gives us a reply. Then we tell them, "They mentioned that they use…" or something like that, "During the operation, they mentioned that the fur was shaved so wide so that the wound, the wound that was stitched ... so that there would be no infection afterwards." We mail things back and forth like this, I mean, we work like postmen. (Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter) [22]

As can be seen from Rıdvan's statement, they work like "postmen" in order to build trust between IMM and citizens. He believes this to be necessary, for IMM, according to Rıdvan, is the only institution that could "solve" the issue, that is, neutering of community cats *en masse*.

6.2 Designing for the Feline User on Dependency-Autonomy Continuum

What precedes design action is construction of the feline user in a way that informs designerly care practices. Such discursive constructions are essential to SA, for they demonstrate how "implicated actors" are spoken on behalf of regardless of their presence or absence in a given situation.[204] In the feline interventionist arena, community cats are

[204] See Section 3.4 Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn: Situational Analysis.

implicated actors for they lack any traditional agential power compared to that of human citizens, animal lover or not. When I ask participants "What would cats living in the city demand from us?"[205] they construct feline needs under three main clusters: 1) ensuring feline well-being and safety, 2) allowing interspecies contact between cats and humans and 3) to understand cats as individuals with peculiar needs. To ensure these, participants emphasize feeding and sheltering,[206] allowing contact with humans,[207] recognizing them as sentient beings[208] and affection and an end to human violence.[209] As can be seen from these immediate responses, configuration of the feline user is elongated on dependency-autonomy continuum. Firstly, participants infantilize community cats, by constructing them as food-driven animals, who are dependent on humans for food and water provision yet unable to express feline needs in human tongue. However, participants also acknowledge and delineate feline communication and underline a human-cat interaction that is attentive to feline consent. As a continuation, participants emphasize feline autonomy despite their dependency on humans. They argue that cats demonstrate their choices in the flexible interactions they have with humans and the human-built environment. Construction of feline (in)dependency immediately informs designerly care practices, namely, the cat house, designed and maintained for sheltering community cats, and its environs, designed and maintained for feeding them.

[205] I am aware of the anthropomorphism in this question, and participants criticism of the question or lack thereof were noted during the analysis.
[206] Naya, 31, woman, microblading specialist; Asya, 30, woman, doctor; Dicle, 34, woman, manager; Cansu, 19, woman, university student; Can, 28, man, call center agent; Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist
[207] Güneş, 30, other, photographer; Dicle (34, woman, manager; Ege, 33, other, media executive; Cansu, 19, woman, university student; Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist
[208] Arda, 32, man, research assistant; Ege, 33, other, media executive; Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist
[209] Güneş, 30, other, photographer; Dicle, 34, woman, manager; Ege, 33, other, media executive; Cansu, 19, woman, university student

6.2.1 Constructing Feline Dependency

Participant narratives disclose infantilization of community cats due to their constructed dependency on humans. Construction of feline dependency could be observed in two ways. Firstly, participants utilize a repertoire of phrases that liken community cats to human children, thereby infantilizing them. Secondly, participants assemble their observations of community cats as food-driven animals populating a territory solely for purposes of food.

Susan Leigh Star recommends that during fieldwork one needs to seek the special language including "metaphors, *mots justes*, turns of phrase, private codes used by one group and not another" (Leigh Star, 2010, p. 605). Following Star's recommendation, I paid special attention to the language used by human proxies in feline interventionist arena during the fieldwork of this study. In both the interviews and ethnographic observations that I conducted, I repeatedly encountered the use of certain phrases that are used by human proxies such as "çocuk" [child], "sokak çocuğu" [street child], "bebek/bebiş" [baby], disclosing the infantilization of liminal cats by their caregiver human proxies. As non-linguistic agents (despite peculiar feline communicative capacities, they do not "talk"), observations of human proxies become a valuable source of knowledge. One of these observations concerns cats' selection of locales.

Regardless of the pathway or the motivation thereof, participants explain that cats are territorial, that is, cats often gravitate toward certain locales, whether that be in the city or inside the household, during their lifetimes,[210] a sort of "comfort zone"[211] where they could be solitary. The animal may keep a flexible relationship with this territory, going away only to come back. Aslı (32, woman, shopkeeper), who runs a fashion store

[210] Özge, 38, woman, university instructor in industrial design; Umay, 38, woman, freelancer
[211] Umay, 38, woman, freelancer

on Bağdat Avenue on the Anatolian side of Istanbul, explains how different stores are visited by different cats, all of whom "have chosen a place for themselves." [23] At times, animals become protective of their territories, leading to them not allowing other cats to come near.[212]

Participants explain that cats approach and populate a territory given that there are ongoing food resources,[213] or if they are in need [of humans].[214] Other than the locales participants feed liminal cats, cats are also found near butchers,[215] and fast food restaurants,[216] places where they are likely to scavenge through leftovers (Figure 6.5). Cats often leave their designated territories due to interruption in the ongoing food resources, whether that be ceasing to feed[217] or removal of garbage bins by the municipality,[218] and human violence.[219] To some cats, territories are simply temporary stops where they stay until satisfying their nutrition and/or sheltering needs and then leave.[220]

[212] Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper; Mert, 32, man, sculptor; Esin, 42, woman, architect
[213] Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper; Aybike, 58, woman, retired; Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer; Bulut, 36, man, NGO worker; Cansu, 19, woman, university student; Can, 28, man, call center agent
[214] Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer
[215] Öykü, 43, woman, financier
[216] Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist
[217] Alp, 32, man, photographer
[218] Can, 28, man, call center agent
[219] Gönül, 54, woman, shopkeeper
[220] Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer; Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist

Figure 6.5 *Cat Colony by Trash Bin*



Note. Photograph taken on 23 January 2020 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

Because cats are regarded as "mute" [*ağızları yok*],[221] who are unable to verbally express their needs [*kendini ifade edemeyen*],[222] feline consent is at times violated from a position of care. Intervention is justified from a position of care, only if it is believed to be better for the animal. If "the animal does not seem to be in need, if they are not hungry, weak, sick," Asya prefers to not intervene. Feline consent is violated only when care is deemed necessary for the animal's well-being. "Only then I intervene," explains Asya laughingly, "ignoring their will." [24]

[221] Gönül, 54, woman, shopkeeper
[222] Defne, 35, woman, veterinarian

6.2.2 Constructing Feline Autonomy

Parallel to their construction of feline dependency, human proxies recognize feline capacities for communication,[223] underline feline consent and agency which ground their construction of feline autonomy. Cats are constructed as affectionate animals who love the company of humans,[224] and those who don't are regarded as exception.[225] Despite seeking affection from humans,[226] cats are also regarded as animals with a sense of personal space, teaching human companions "consent,"[227] and co-existing while remaining distant at times.[228] When violated, cats remind humans of their autonomy by physical aggression.[229]

Mert lives in a house with a garden along the Anatolian side of Bosphorus, where he is able to take care of his free-roaming companion cat, as well as other community cats who come to the garden every now and then. Due to his ongoing interaction with cats, at home, and in his garden, as well as on the streets where he feeds other cats, he has observed feline behavior and shares his observations on feline communication. As might be wrongfully expected from domestic animals, cats do not "obey you [the human]," thinking the human party is a dominant cat, explains Mert, they bond with humans in their own "feline" [*kedice*] way: "You know, you can see it very clearly when you observe cats." [25] One way he picks up on feline communication is the meowing. He explains cats often approach to him "when they want to, when it is cold [outside], when they are hungry,"[230] often accompanied by meowing. Sometimes, his cat waits by the door,

[223] Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper; Asya, 30, woman, doctor; Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist; Mert, 32, man, sculptor
[224] Umay, 38, woman, freelancer; Esin, 42, woman, architect
[225] Umay, 38, woman, freelancer
[226] Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper
[227] Dicle, 34, woman, manager
[228] Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper
[229] Mert, 32, man, sculptor; Cansu, 19, woman, university student
[230] Mert, 32, man, sculptor

meowing, to convey “Please take me out.” [26] He says his friends are often surprised on the interspecies communication they have established. He explains:

> Here's what I mean when I say that people are surprised: I go up to the door, I leave them in my garden, they go. When I call “Bubbles” by their name, they come. They come every time. When I shout “Bubbles” one two times, you know, like when you would call your child to come, they come, I give them their food, I caress them, and so on. When they want to go out, they meow again. ... They meow when they need toilet, I take them out, they hang out there [in the garden] for a while. But they come every time I call them, I mean, it never skips, it’s very strange. (Mert, 32, man, sculptor) [27]

Mert also criticizes the anthropocentric projections onto cats, in the sense that they are expected to perform in ways that tend to the needs of the human party. He emphasizes consent in interspecies communication, and underlines how this may lack in other people’s approaches to cats in the form of “hugging and kissing a lot without their consent.” [28] He continues: “cats yelling, doing that thing, it really means that they don’t want this. In a way, you are violating the cat.” [29] Feline consent also informs how Asya approaches (or not) liminal cats, the course of which she “leave[s] to the animal’s will.” [30] She explains in detail:

> First of all, when I see a cat outside, I don’t mess with the cat. (Smiles) They are a creature that continues their life freely, they have a will, if they have an intention to cross paths with me, if they come towards me at some stage, if they initiate a communication with me, only then I

> respond. I don't easily initiate communication with a cat I see outside. ... If they have decided to communicate with me, I approach them by introducing myself, by getting down to their level as much as possible, not from above, ... I don't know what position; I mean, not by bending over at the waist, but by squatting completely down. Maybe not giving sudden reactions that they wouldn't notice, not touching them from behind suddenly, not making loud noises, not screaming "Oh, how beautiful you are," to the animal. I pay attention to things like not touching the belly, where we know that cats probably don't like to be petted, or suddenly picking up a cat whose habits we don't know and lifting them up and holding them. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor) [31]

In addition to feline communicative capacities and consent, Ege (33, other, media executive) and Arda (32, man, research assistant) emphasize feline individuality. Ege explains that cats would wish to be recognized as individuals, and not as mere members of a species who are constructed as a bulk and are expected to behave accordingly in preconceived ways. To achieve that, Ege believes, cats would demand interspecies contact as an opportunity for understanding feline standpoints beyond the discursive, scientific or otherwise. To emphasize the uniqueness of each human-cat interaction, Ege confesses that there are cats "that [they] don't like, [they] don't get along well." [32] This is why they reject a "prescription-like approach" [32] to the liminal question and their spatial accommodation or lack thereof and emphasize an approach that is attentive to individuality of each animal and their peculiar personal histories and preferences. By challenging the impulse of many human proxies to rescue, Ege creatively reformulates what is regarded as a feline event: "The story of them [Mika] getting inside the car hood

that day... Maybe they like the enclosed spaces very much, maybe that's why [they entered the car hood]?" In a similar vein, Arda (32, man, research assistant) claims that cats would like to be understood as "living beings who communicate," [33] instead of as "commodities by law," [34] and would reject anthropomorphic projections of humans and speak for themselves if given the opportunity. [35]

Participants explain how cats prefer flexible interaction with humans and spaces, demonstrating their feline agency. Comparing them to dogs and wider avian family, Asya believes that cats, after fulfilling their needs, may wish to remove themselves from their interactions with humans. [36] Kuzey, too, shares a similar opinion. If he were cat, Kuzey imagines that he would say "leave us [cats] alone," "let us [cats] live." [37] Although acknowledging cats' dependency on humans for food and water provision, Kuzey believes that cats would communicate their needs with whoever human they cross paths with. Although Kuzey emphasizes feline communicative capacities, Asya and Kuzey's remarks reduce human-cat interaction to a mere transaction on part of the cat, who approaches the human only to satisfy sustenance, thereby neglecting any potential non-material aspect of interspecies contact such as mutual affection. It is noteworthy that participants construct cats not only as food-driven animals dependent upon humans for food provision in a city that does not accommodate their needs,[231] leading to their infantilization due to their perceived dependency by human proxies, participants also construct them as sentient individuals who may pursue their independency after fulfilling their needs. Although they respond to feline needs deemed essential for feline survival such as feeding and spatial accommodation, participants argue that cats prefer a flexible interaction with humans as grounded in their observations.

[231] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment.

Cats maintain a flexible interaction not only with humans but also with spaces. Cats are constructed as "curious"[232] animals, who maintain an interest in outdoors,[233] keeping a flexible interaction with their territories.[234] Despite their interest in outdoors, cats also gravitate toward indoors to avoid harsh winter conditions and the summer heat,[235] as well as liminal dogs.[236] It could be concluded from participant observations that cats show variation in the spaces they approach and territorialize within the city, making it difficult to decide on whether they choose indoors or outdoors. On the contrary, what could be said after participant observations is that cats seem to be avoiding perceived threats, whether that be dogs or climate, often seeking refuge indoors, only to leave once the threat has passed. Feline mobility may explain why Özge, Rıdvan and Bulut, all of whom have personal experiences of designing cat houses, believe that cats would somehow find a place to shelter,[237] and that the city needs ways of accommodating animals beyond the cat house. Therefore, flexible interaction with spaces emerges as an important observation pertaining to community cats in the city. This is why Ege (33, other, media executive) prefers a flexible interaction with the outdoors for cats, and wishes "they would go out, and come back if they want to." [38] However, this, they find, was possible in Kadıköy, where streets are rather safe for liminal animals, [39] implying that such flexible interaction would not be desired due to repercussions in other districts that may be neither tolerant nor welcoming of multispecies co-existence. Ege further narrates their story with Anıl, a liminal dog who regularly visited their house and with

[232] Asya, 30, woman, doctor
[233] Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer
[234] Umay, 38, woman, freelancer; Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist; Mira, 32, other, editor; Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer
[235] Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper; Esin, 42, woman, architect; Naya, 31, woman, microblading specialist
[236] Deniz, 29, woman, university student
[237] Özge, 38, woman, university instructor in industrial design; Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter; Bulut, 36, man, NGO worker

whom they formed an interspecies bond. To Ege, “Anıl was the most perfect embodiment of that dream [of multispecies co-existence in the city]”, in an anthropocentric world where “animals are commodities, where they are killed, exploited.” [40]

6.3 Collecting and Disseminating More-Than-Human Resources

Human proxies’ designerly responses to feline events are often preceded by seeking and collecting resources, whether they are material resources to be utilized in the designing of interspecies care, or immaterial resources such as knowledge. In the face of emergent feline events[238] amid financial scarcity,[239] human proxies resort to collecting various resources before they embark on designing more-than-human spaces, whether it be for purposes of sheltering or feeding. Human proxies keep their own/collect resources of others which they deem to be of good quality and fit due to their affordances to use them later in their designerly practices.

Tracing these cat houses, there emerges a pattern of repurposing artefacts. These artefacts are disposed products of domestic environments, products designed for pet animals, waste of supermarkets and construction sites. These include sturdy cardboards left over from moving houses,[240] containers and blankets from janitors,[241] old boxes from taxi drivers,[242] Styrofoam boxes from fishermen,[243] leftover PVC sheets and wooden sticks from one’s own artistic production,[244] dated local newspapers from the local municipality,[245] crates from greengrocers,[246] empty packaging boxes from

[238] See 4.5 Encountering and Intervening in Feline Events.
[239] See 4.6.2 Navigating Financial Scarcity.
[240] Naya, 32, woman, microblading specialist
[241] Arda, 32, man, research assistant
[242] Uzay, 28, man, communications executive
[243] Aybike, 58, woman, retired
[244] Uzay, 28, man, research assistant
[245] Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter
[246] Esin, 42, woman, architect

supermarkets,[247] or simply found objects and materials such as cardboards, wooden pieces, plastic sheets, etc. from the streets or nearby trash bins.[248] Human proxies also provide resources such as cardboards and glass plates to others as they delegate interspecies care due to changes in personal life such as moving abroad.[249] At times, ready-made cat houses become resources to work with. Human proxies obtain cat houses from other sources such as distributors or local municipalities via mukhtars. Can, living in a neighborhood on the historical peninsula, explains that "Fatih Municipality put three of them [cat houses] in our neighborhood. As far as I understand, the people around me asked for them from the mukhtar's office." [41] However, these "ready-made" municipal cat houses, as explained by Esin, are found inadequate, due to which, she "try[ies] to do something by re-taping them wherever I[she] see[s] them." [42] At times, some participants purchase cat houses from corporate distributors such as ADORE or local stores nearby, particularly those that specialize for companion animals. The motivation for purchasing is the perceived robustness of the ready-made cat houses, as explained by Arda, which would not "fall apart quickly due to weather conditions and so on" or which would not "fall apart when you move it." [43] Özge explains:

> Well, we had tried it before. We tried to create a place where we could put the cardboards we have at home when we see kittens and create a shelter for them. But that is very flimsy and turns into garbage after a while. In the meantime, we came across something on social media, ADORE Furniture had a campaign. You buy that cat house, you don't

[247] Alp, 32, man, photographer
[248] Uzay, 28, man, communications executive; Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter; Bulut, 36, man, NGO worker
[249] Naya, 32, woman, microblading specialist. See 4.7.3 Delegating Care for a discussion on how human proxies delegate care work to those they trust.

> actually pay any extra money for the cat house, but you only cover the shipping cost. They actually send you the chipboards left over from the furniture, cut to the appropriate size. You can assemble it at home. Well, we liked it, we liked the fact that we could assemble it ourselves. Instead of going to the pet store and buying something there. We bought two such home sets. (Özge, 38, woman, instructor) [44]

For Aslı, purchasing a cat house was more spontaneous, upon seeing the sign "CARDBOARD CAT HOUSE AVAILABLE" at a store for companion animals: "I went in, I looked at it. I asked about … whether it would get wet, whether it would withstand things. Then I bought it, and it was in pieces. Then I assembled it." [45] Similar to Aslı, Mira, too, has a similar criterion for being waterproof when purchasing a cat house. They explain: "[I]t was a little bit off the ground, you know, so that it wouldn't get cold, and when there is a little bit of rain, it would remain dry… I was more worried about, I guess, yes, rain, snow." [46]

As can be seen, some participants choose to obtain cat houses from sources outside the immediate environment, whether they be a companion animal store, or a furniture distributor. Purchase criteria remain parallel to design concerns when designing cat houses: longevity by keeping cats and cat houses waterproof. There is a perceived higher quality, of ready-made cat houses among some participants although this is a point that is not shared among all, for some participants continue to adjust and modify ready-made ones.

Other than material resources spanning across ready-made cat houses to reused materials of manifold uses, human proxies also accumulate knowledge as another valuable resource. These may include entering the world of carpenters to acquire craft

knowledge pertaining to bodily skill and material,[250] consulting other human proxies via personal communication,[251] local WhatsApp groups,[252] or in online forums for liminal cats,[253] learning online tools such as Google Forms and MS Excel in information design pertaining to neutering of cats for human proxies,[254] participating in design workshops on making cat houses,[255] learning new uses of materials by observing in other contexts,[256] or learning simply by doing.[257] They also disseminate making knowledges to others in the form of cat house workshops,[258] or simply by keeping in contact with other human proxies[259] in their attempt to enlarge the designerly care.

Having observed clumping cat litter interferes with moist wound healing (MWH hereinafter) of a liminal cat she cared for, Olcay switched to non-clumping cat litter. Olcay explains:

> The thing that I soaked in that Rivanol water, think of it like a plaster, they [the cat] had a wrapped paw, and I kept wetting it [the paw]. If they tried to dig in the litter while it was wet, because that's what they do reflexively, it [the paw] would stick there or it would solidify or something. ... I would have to constantly clean the dressing from that

[250] Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter
[251] Can, 28, man, call center agent; Mira, 32, other, editor; Arda, 32, man, research assistant, Ege, 33, other, media executive
[252] Aybike, 58, woman, retired
[253] Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper
[254] Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter
[255] Cansu, 19, woman, university student; Mira, 32, other, editor
[256] Alp, 32, man, photographer; Naya, 32, woman, microblading specialist
[257] Ege, 33, other, media executive; Arda, man, 32, research assistant; Uzay, 28, man, communications executive
[258] Mert, 32, man, sculptor; Bulut, 36, man, NGO worker
[259] Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer

litter, and it would deform. Because it was changed every three days.

(Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer) [47]

This is why Olcay decides to switch to non-clumping litter, one that would not interfere with MWH. After a while, "[I receive] from my circle, 'Oh, you use pine pellets for the cat [litter]? How do you like it?'" [48] explains Olcay, leading her to disseminate her knowledge she learned by doing.

Materials are not only collected to shelter and to treat, but also to feed liminal cats.[260] Aybike (58, woman, retired) explains she would collect different food sources such as leftover animal meat and bones to feed a large population of cats and dogs in a coastal village in Bursa.[261] By collecting these animal remains, Aybike makes her own recipes to be able to feed a large population of liminal cats and dogs in the rural, where she explains that animals are often neglected. In the next section, I discuss in more details human proxies practices of making cat food.

6.4 Responding Designerly and Carefully

Following collecting resources, human proxies design interspecies care to tend to the feeding and sheltering needs of feline users, including 1) making cat food, 2) mapping feeding locales, 3) designing and positioning cat houses, and 4) re-designing cat houses against emergent conditions. However, some designerly responses are rather spontaneous in nature, such as leaving a blanket at a bus stop,[262] or turning a PET bottle into a scoop.[263]

[260] Animal flesh also becomes part of the materials human proxies seek and collect in their attempt to feed liminal cats.
[261] A city in southern Marmara region.
[262] Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer
[263] Olcay, 41, woman, industrial designer

Others, however, are more thought through responses where one could observe a pattern, disclosing that a solution is tried and tested in a given area, one of which is the cat house.

6.4.1 Making Cat Food

Feeding over an extended period of time and/or a large group of cats is not within financial means of some participants,[264] as a response to which some participants seek cheaper ways to purchase or make their own cat food. Some follow discounts offered by stores, while others prepare their own cat food at home. Following the increase in the feline population in her territory, Olcay (42, woman, industrial designer) explains that she started searching for alternative, cheaper ways to feed them. By boiling chicken offal on discount, "the cheapest thing [she] could do at the time," [49] with "a little potato, a little broccoli, a little carrot, rice, etc.," she started making her own recipes to ensure she fed the population. "That [recipe] was very abundant," [*bereketli*] explains Olcay, some of which she would also freeze for future uses. Similar to Olcay, Esin (41, woman, architect) explains how her neighbor Ms. Ayla boils scraps of meat and animal bones to make a broth, which she then combines with bread to multiple it: "It's very tasty and healthy, especially in the winter, ... it works as a serious [immunity] protection for the animals, ... and the cats are happy to eat it. So, everyone is trying to do it in their own way." [50] Both Olcay and Esin's neighbor relies upon cheap offal as a protein source, which they then multiply with carbohydrates such as bread, rice, and potatoes. These recipes are called "papara," a popular dish native to Balkans, that is based on reusing of old bread with warm water and milk (Figure 6.6).

[264] See 4.6.2 Navigating Financial Scarcity.

Figure 6.6 *Papara and Water Placed in Reused PET Bottles*



Note. Photograph taken on 28 April 2020 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

For Ege (33, other, media executive) and their friends, however, their emphasis is on "fatty" food, that would be "plentiful, abundant and filling in the winter." [51] As can be concluded from these remarks, participants, often due to the perceived expenses of feeding, refer to preparing home recipes for street cats. Uzay (28, man, media executive), who lives in Vişnezade,[265] explains how cats may get used to these recipes, making it difficult for others like himself to take on feeding with cat food, for cats reject this type of food. He explains he first bought and fed them a cheap cat food, which they rejected. Thinking this may have to do with food's inferior quality, he bought and fed them cat food that is higher in price, which cats rejected as well. In the end, he gave up on feeding them: "Do whatever you're doing. I won't feed you anymore." [52] He then elaborates

[265] A historic neighborhood on the European shore of Bosphorus in Beşiktaş, Istanbul.

on the reason why cats reject industrial cat food: "[T]here are two people who ambulate [the streets to feed cats] three four days a week. I think they cook chicken liver or something and give it to them. Well, all the cats of the neighborhood dive into what they feed." As can be seen, due to financial scarcity or cats' dietary preferences, human proxies resort to making their own cat food based on sources of protein, which they often mix with bread to multiply the dish so as to feed as many cats as possible. In addition, they also resort to preventive medicine such as vitamin supplements, medicine to support intestinal flora, etc.[266] to help strengthen feline immunity system.

Because cats often scavenge through trash, Esin also recommends others to sort their food waste in a separate trash bag, just in case: "Just put the food in a clean bag when you throw it in the garbage," [53] she said to her friend, "because there are animals that eat food from the garbage." Because liminal animals already scavenge through trash bins, she finds food sorting significant so that, say, starving animals would not consume food mixed with, say, "cigarette butts."

6.4.2 Mapping Feeding Sites

Feeding, as an integral part of good care,[267] is an essential aspect of more-than-human co-existence in Istanbul. Although it may seem spontaneous and intuitive, and not necessarily designed in any way, I argue that feeding practices are orchestrated in such a way that a closer lens into their orchestration discloses their designerly aspects, that may not be visible at first glance. It is a routine practice and most often occurs in designated locales, such as feeding spots [*besleme noktası*], around certain food/water focals [*mama/su odakları*], that are tried and tested places, upon which there is seemingly a

[266] Aybike, 58, woman, retired
[267] See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care.

consensus, where all parties confirm the use of the area for feeding purposes. Sometimes, feeding is conducted without leaving the house. Aslı (32, woman, shopkeeper), who lives in an apartment building in Erenköy,[268] explains that her neighbor living downstairs takes care of cats in her apartment as well as the entrance of the apartment building. Aslı says her neighbor Ms. Handan often places cat food inside a basket, which she then hangs down from her balcony. [54] An example to such feeding practices could be seen in the figure below (Figure 6.7), where a plate is placed on a tray, which is then connected to a rope going up to the balcony on the first floor. The rope allows for convenient food delivery on part of the human caregiver.

Figure 6.7 *Vertically Mobile Food Containers*



Note. Photograph (left) shows two 5L PET bottles both of which are cut in the middle to contain cat food, which are then taped to a wooden stick and a rope going up to the second floor. Photograph (right) shows a plate placed on a tray, which is then connected to a rope going up to the balcony on the first floor. In both designs, the rope allows for convenient food delivery on part of the human caregiver. Photograph (left) taken on 20 April 2020 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (right) taken on 22 August 2022 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

[268] A neighborhood in Kadıköy in the Anatolian side of Istanbul.

Apart from the equipment utilized or designer for, designerly aspects of feeding includes mapping of feline territories in neighborhoods and delegating feeding responsibilities and territories [*bölge*] among human proxies. Feeding [*besleme*] occurs more spontaneously in the form of surveying a territory by attentively walking in an attempt to notice cats, and its designated spots, which also includes cat houses. The most common way of feeding occurs is through carefully attending to the space. Aybike (58, woman, retired) explains:

> I look [around for cats] as I walk, when I see a cat in the nooks and crannies; –I never leave home without taking food with me, I always take a bag of food with me when I leave the house– I try to distribute it [the food] wherever I see them [cats], –especially when there is rain and snow– but now even in such weather, I have food in my bag in my pocket. I distribute it as I walk. (Aybike, 58, woman, retired) [55]

As she walks, Aybike carefully looks for cats in the secluded parts of the city, an example to which a niche of a fountain, appropriated as a feeding area (Figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8 *Food and Water Containers Placed inside the Niche of the Fountain*



Note. Photograph taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Gümüşsuyu, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

Prior knowledge of cats and the locale, intertwined with an attentive eye for cats in need define feeding practice. Not excluding spontaneity of walking, most feeding practices visit certain locales, connected by certain routes [*rota*]. In spontaneous encounters in those areas of the city one may not know, Can (28, man, call center agent) seeks sheltered corners, and looks for traces of extant care such as food and water containers: "I try to find a place where that cat can eat comfortably; a corner, or, in Eskişehir, I usually put them near those gas distributor boxes." [56] Can further elaborates that if he comes across traces of care such as cat houses or containers, he uses these to provide food or water. If not, he "put[s] food on a napkin, newspaper, this and that." If he cannot find any of these, he simply "put[s] a handful on the ground" (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9 *Cat Food Placed on a Valve Box*



Note. Photograph taken on 21 August 2024 by the author in Altay, Etimesgut, Ankara.

Mapping of the more-than-human city also includes sharing of places among human proxies so that each person gets assigned a specific locale. Alp (32, man, photographer) takes care of a group of cats in an apartment backyard, and upon the suggestion of his neighbor Ms. Müjgan, a woman in her 80s known for her care for community cats in the neighborhood, he only feeds cats in the backyard, leaving the street under Müjgan's supervision. Such sharing of spaces is a very common occurrence that, and when territories are breached, conflicts may arise. Esin explains one such case:

> Everyone is feeding individually, but some of us have been in contact. But even amongst us, well not involving me, something happened with my neighbor when I was on vacation. Tensions arose and we had to define territories. (Laughs) For example, my neighbor said, "Don't go on

> our street". Those certain places... For example, I took a corner, but in fact, the other places I put are more secluded, not in front of the apartments or anything like that. (Esin, 42, woman, architect) [57]

Here, her neighbor does not want others to feed in what she considers to be her territory, that is, the doorstep to an apartment building. This may be due to an attempt to feeling a sense of control over a given area, not only how much or which kind of food is fed to cats but also cleaning of it. This is understandable and justifiable considering care is a one-on-one practice, often requiring caregiver and care recipient to have a close relationship for a quality care. Territories, then, become justifiable, for one person oversees a given area, along with a certain population, whereas others may be responsible over another area, and another population. This does not negate cats' approaching another area due to, say, another food source, but it may provide human proxies a sense of control so they could provide better care for liminal cats as well as keep their care within a certain limit, returning as self-care (they may not have to clean after others' care or lack thereof, that is, leftover human food). Sometimes, human proxies deliberately choose to feed in locales where they could monitor cats' eating and intervene if necessary. Arda (32, man, research assistant) explains how he and his colleagues feed cats on the windowsill of their office on a university campus in Istanbul, so that they could "check whether it [food/water] is finished," or if they are discarded by the canteen clerk, who "comes and supposedly cleans them." [58]

6.4.2.1 Managing Intrafeline Dynamics

During feeding, human intervention takes on another layer. Human proxies intervene in intrafeline relations to ensure each cat accesses food, and one does not dominate another. To accomplish this, human proxies do not feed in one single spot, a

territory where a certain cat may be dominant and not allow other cats to approach the food, but rather, human proxies leave food in several different spots in a given territory (Figure 6.10), and sometimes, in different territories. Mert, who has a private garden visited by liminal cats, chooses to feed cats in several spots on the street in an attempt to prevent dominance of certain cats:

> [W]hat happens is that when you leave them [food] in the same place, when they [cats] all gather in the garden, stronger cats eat more. There are cats that can't eat. Other cats beat them up. To avoid that, there are certain spots on my street. I now know who comes where. I pour it there, that's how I feed them. (Mert, 32, man, sculptor) [59]

Here, the emphasis is on providing food for who is perceived to be rather weak such as cats who are not as dominant in intrafeline territorial conflicts, cats who may not be as agile due to their age (elder cats or kittens), or their disabilities (cats with paralysis).[269] By doing so, feeding intervention is attempted to be balanced by including vulnerable animals, as a leveling effect of such intervention. Having the same motivation, Özge remembers how she and her partner "wouldn't leave until [they] saw them [kittens] eating," [60] while "chasing the other cats."

[269] See 6.2.1 Constructing Feline Dependency.

Figure 6.10 *Cats Eating from Separate Containers*



Note. Photograph taken by and used upon the kind courtesy of Özlem Özkal. Taşdelen, Çekmeköy, Istanbul.

6.4.2.2 Feeding Near Design Sites

One of the designated locales for feeding is the cat houses, as the existence of cat houses often points at a consensus of feline existence in a given area. Living in Bostancı, a coastal district on the Anatolian side of Istanbul, Koray observes that "there are designated places [for feeding]" [61] which are established areas, where cat houses are also found.[270] "There are also these things called cat houses where cats are cared for in the same way, which are actually made of boxes, but with more rooms, there are also those. They [cats] are usually fed in such places." As can be seen from Koray's remark, feeding areas and cat houses are not neatly separated, but often intertwine. Feeding often

[270] See 6.2.1 Constructing Feline Dependency.

occurs around cat houses, and cat houses often are designated feeding territories. However, lack of maintenance could easily turn such areas into an ad-hoc dumping ground. As a trained architect and an avid cat house designer, Uzay empathizes with the resident living on the ground floor, whose windows face cat houses and food/water containers that are not cleaned regularly:

> [T]he ones who probably suffer from this the most are the neighbors on the ground floor, and I see it right across the street from my house. Where the cat houses are, it smells of urine. Nearby, where the food is left, so much food has been left that there are mushrooms and interesting sci-fi creatures on it. Well, I think the person who lives on the ground floor right next to it must be disturbed. Well, obviously they didn't complain. Because it hasn't been removed for a long time, but it would definitely bother them. So, it's only a matter of time before they complain and have the cat houses cleaned/removed. (Uzay, 28, man, media executive) [62]

Regular use followed by lack of maintenance in the form of cleaning produces a threat to both cat population, but also those living nearby. Both cats and those live nearby constitute what Clarke conceptualizes as "implicated actors" of the arena, whose concerns may not be heard, completely ignored or discursively constructed as "against care" if they raised concerns. Cats, despite having their peculiar communicative capacities, cannot communicate in literal human language their preferences for a desired way to nourish themselves, as well as some people, as described by Uzay, may not voice their concerns, for feeding has become a dominant norm in a given territory in the case of Uzay. Certain outsiders may choose to not speak.

However, Asya explains how feeding near cat houses is not ideal, for cats "don't want to sleep next to the food, ... because it attracts other animals." [63] To Asya, cat food should be placed "sparsely" [*seyrek*] to decrease any potential stress caused by intrafeline dynamics.

6.4.3 Designing and Positioning Cat Houses

Street cats' right to the city (thus to life) is a recurring theme on Turkish national and social media coupled with the urge to 'protect' these animals, on banners the local municipalities are placing within the city reminding the citizens of the 5199 Animal Protection Law, and in the more-than-human geographies Istanbul's citizens are carving for street cats in particular which populate the public spaces of Istanbul. Their life (and death) is covered by the Turkish national media with the urge to protect these cats from weather conditions ("Donmak üzereyken bulduğu kediye sahip çıktı," 2019; "Onları unutmayın: Kediler 6 saat aç kalınca donarak ölüyor," 2017), sometimes through the examples of citizens who materialize the care by designing cat houses (Özmen, 2019). In a similar vein, motivations for designing cat houses converge around protecting cats from the cold during harsh, winter conditions,[271] "because it is not possible to house all of them, all the cats," [64] explains Mert. In a similar vein, Dicle "want[s] them to at least have a shelter on the street by making cat houses." [65] For Cansu, "even though their [feline] physiology may protect them, they also get sick in the cold," [66] which justifies designing cat houses. Ege interprets cat houses as a way to "get rid of this guilty conscience this winter." [67] For Uzay, who remains distant to the animal lover identity, designing cat houses stemmed from a Messiah Complex, as a way to evade feeling guilty

[271] Özge, 38, woman, university instructor in industrial design; Mira, 32, other, editor; Cansu, 19, woman, university student

post-February 6th, Kahramanmaraş Earthquake that has affected a vast area in Southeastern Turkey and Northern Syria. [68] Cat houses, then, aim to ensure feline well-being by providing community cats with shelter.

The design process and the ultimate design are shaped by design decisions that eliminate external factors, be they human or non-human, which threaten the well-being of feline user. These include displacement of the cat houses by human non-proxies and decaying of cat houses in the face of weather conditions. I conceptualize this design process as "designing against," that is, a non-hylomorphic design process that is shaped by external elements, human or otherwise, in emergent multispecies situations. This means that the imagined design and the preconceived design process to achieve said design, however well-thought it may be, will never translate from mind to matter, for external factors are constitutive of and essential to the design process. In the case, design process of cat houses. In the narratives of the participants, design process does not start with a preconceived idea in the mind of the maker, which is then perfectly executed into material form. None of the participants I interviewed conceptualize a design on paper or in any other media prior to the commencement of material engagement. It is only during collection of more-than-human resources, that a human proxy may select a material they encounter based on its perceived affordances for a future cat house.

Designing cat houses may involve co-designing with other human proxies. Living in a neighborhood in Üsküdar on the Anatolian side of Istanbul, Güneş (30, other, photographer) explains how the entire building community takes part in interspecies care: "If a [cat] house is bad, if a cardboard is bad, I see that someone else brought down [a new one] immediately. They place another pair [of pajamas] next to my pajamas, fluffy and soft." [69] Sometimes, a senior neighbor may describe a design to Rıdvan (36, man,

carpenter): “My neighbor requested that I made something that could be opened from the top, you know, ‘My knees hurt when I [want to] clean it, trying to crouch.’ I made a lid like in the old chests.” [70] Rıdvan would then build it (Figure 6.11). In addition to co-designing with his neighbor, Rıdvan also designs modular cat houses, which enable each individual unit, i.e. cat house, to be positioned in different ways with one another (Figure 6.12).

Figure 6.11 *Cat House with a Top Cover*



Note. Participant-elicited photographs of a cat house designed by the participant. Photographs used upon the kind courtesy of the participant.

Figure 6.12 *Modular Cat House*



Note. Participant-elicited photographs of a cat house designed by the participant. Photographs used upon the kind courtesy of the participant.

Despite the lack of an exact dimension, participant answers disclose how it should not be big enough to accommodate a dog. Making it so is perceived as a mistake.[272] This could be explained by the urge to distance cats and cat houses from dogs to prevent any undesired interaction. To Esin, the dimension of the cat house translates to the dimension of its main aperture, through which cats go in and out. She explains that the openness should be big enough for the cat to pass through, but small enough to preempt wind and rain to ensure insulation. This is why there is not a definitive answer on the dimensions of a cat house.

One of the most crucial design decisions in designing cat houses is deciding where to position them. Firstly, participants recommend the positioning of cat houses away from 1) dogs, 2) doorsteps, 3) pedestrian/automobile traffic, 4) trash containers, and finally from 5) wind and rain. This means cat houses need to be set up places that are dry and

[272] Güneş, 30, other, photographer

somewhat secluded. Ideally, they should be positioned in places inaccessible by dogs, but accessible by cats.[273] It is also important that cat houses are not placed on anyone's doorsteps.[274] This is because residents whose doorsteps cat houses are positioned often have hygiene concerns about which they complain.[275] Uzay is also of the opinion that cat houses should be positioned in "places where the neighbors won't say anything." [71] Apart from people's doorsteps and dogs, cat houses are positioned away from traffic of any kind, automobile or pedestrian. This is to decrease the likelihood of car accidents causing injuries or deaths among liminal cats,[276] but also to keep cats and cat houses in a more secluded area, away from undesired attention which could lead to human violence against cats such as displacement.[277] This is why finding a locale for a cat house could be a process in itself, explains Esin: "I tried and tried. … Now I found a permanent place after receiving little warnings from the neighbors, 'No, madam, here is' ... but reactions that had nothing to do with cats." [72] Asya, a doctor working at a hospital, explains how she maintains a small group of cats along with cat houses away from hospital visitors:

> Now, our area, that is, the campus is quite large, and of course, cats coming in and out of the hospital. Yes, there are animals that are serious sources of infection, this is true. That's why our first aim was actually to take those animals a little bit outside the hospital, but when we looked at the reasons why they enter the hospital, we realized that they enter there because of the heat or because there are people inside the hospital,

[273] Ege, 33, other, media executive
[274] Esin, 42, woman, architect
[275] See 6.5.2 Human Proxies' Poor Care and 6.5.3 Human Non-Proxies' Lack of Care for a discussion on how lack of cleaning and maintenance of cat houses are problematized both by human proxies and non-proxies.
[276] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment.
[277] See 6.5.3 Human Non-Proxies' Lack of Care.

> because they are given food, because someone sees them and loves them, and we deployed the parking area of the hospital in an area that is a little bit more within the hospital campus, within the boundaries of the hospital campus, but actually quite far from the hospital building and entrance and a little bit on the opposite side. So, the purpose of doing this is to eliminate the risk of infection you mentioned. Because, in fact, when you offer those cats an alternative space and they are fed there, they can sleep there, and as long as there are people who come and go and take care of them, as long as they spend time and play there, the possibility of them entering the hospital and coming into contact with patients actually decreases considerably. Naturally, I think that actually that area is already connected to a positive result in terms of management, you know, in terms of people's concerns about this infection. So let me put it roughly like that. In other words, that area was actually created as an area that would prevent animals from being sheltered in the hospital. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor) [73]

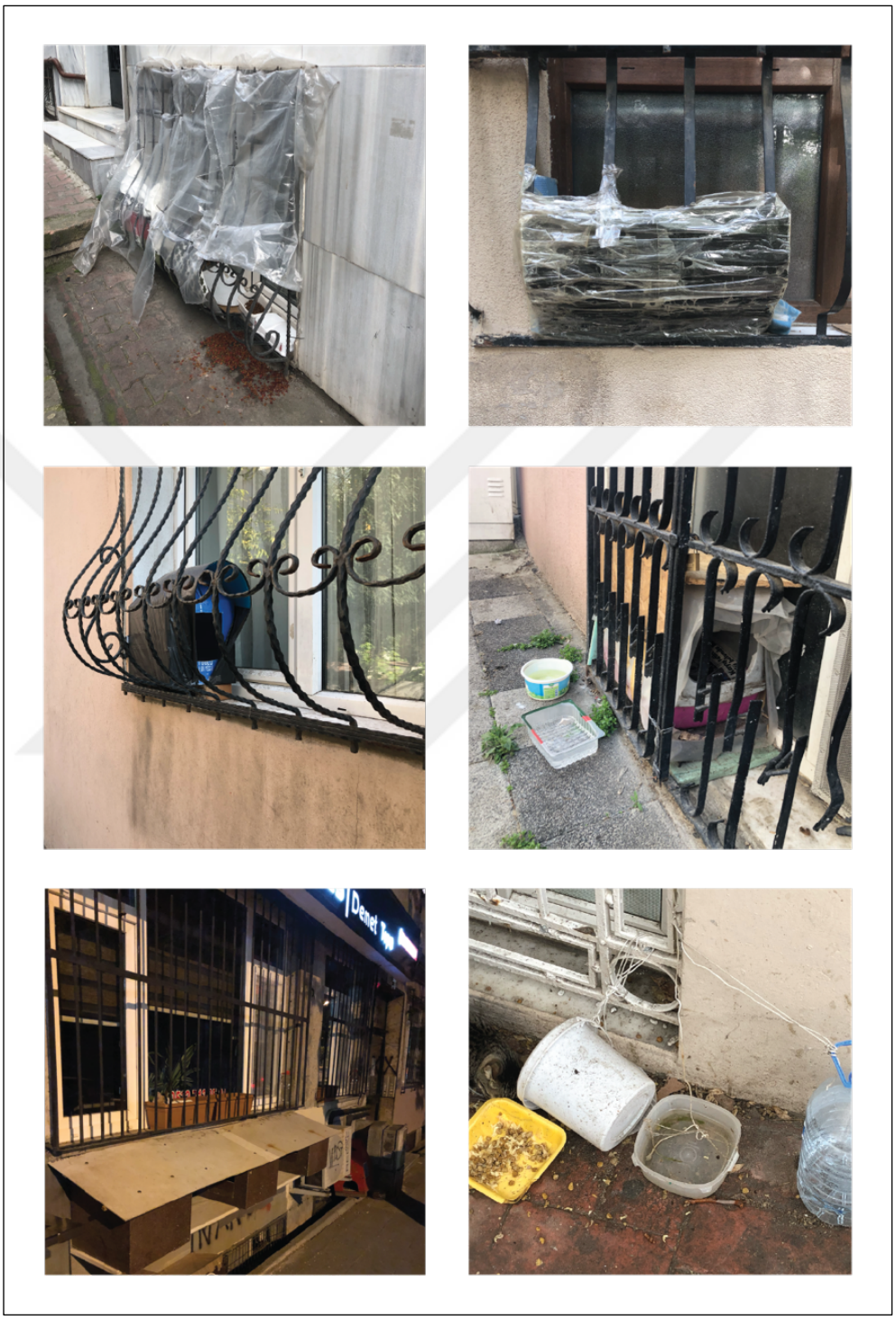
From Asya's remark, it could be argued that positioning of cat houses away from pedestrians translates to feline safety, but also caring for hospital visitors, as it decreases the human-animal contact and any zoonotic disease that might spread. For Asya, a participant who contemplates deeply on her care practices, and who co-runs an animal sanctuary for liminal animals in Istanbul, this is a precaution to ensure the safe existence of the animals near the hospital, where she works, so she could watch over them and care for them. Often, positioning cat houses away from automobile and pedestrian traffic mean protected areas such as one's own private property such as windowsills (Figure 6.13) or

apartment gardens and backyards. Elif, with whom I conducted an ethnographic interview, takes care of cats in such a backyard, a closed-off area from the bustling street nearby, mostly accessible to human dwellers through their buildings' backyard doors, or individual gardens separated by fences, or in our case, through the pub.[278] These areas constitute spots that are within human proxy's reach, allowing conveniency due to easy supervision, but also protection from the unpredictable nature of public space, be it automobiles, humans, or other liminal animals such as dogs.

Asya, as someone who has experience in caregiving in different types of locales, at her workplace, in her neighborhood, and in the animal sanctuary she co-runs, shares a list of recommendations for feline existence in the city, which other participants often overlook. Firstly, she emphasizes intrafeline dynamics could act as a stressor for individual cats in areas heavily populated due to design, for "cats are not animals that live together." [74] Compared to dogs, for whom dog parks allow them to socialize and exercise outside the confines of a household, the idea of a cat park seems to be impractical for cats due to their overall solitary and territorial nature (Thompson, 2022). However, this does not mean cats never socialize. Given there are sufficient food sources for each feline member, cats also form and maintain social groups (Crowell-Davis et al., 2004) despite their documented solitary ways of living. This is why cats are often constructed as "selectively social," that is feline socialization is not a given, and cats select whom to socialize with.

[278] Ethnographic interview with Elif, a woman resident in Caferağa neighborhood in Kadıköy, Istanbul, 27 November 2021.

Figure 6.13 *Windowsills As Design Sites for Interspecies Care*



Note. Photograph (upper left) taken on 4 March 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Photograph (upper right) taken on 28 May 2019 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (middle left) taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Gümüşsuyu, Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Photograph (middle right) taken on 3 May 2019 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (lower left) taken on 1 May 2019 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (lower right) taken on 20 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

From a similar point of view, Umay, too, criticizes some human proxies' belief that a group of cats will co-exist in a healthy way in a park: "'Here is OK, a very green place, a very beautiful place, fit for many animals to live.' It doesn't work like that. So, it is necessary to somehow distribute it [the area] to a certain number of animals. Then it will be more comfortable." [75] As can be seen from Asya and Umay's remarks, cats are regarded as individuals who do not necessarily prefer crowded areas, because of which a space designed for feline users' needs a distributed approach, rather than a concentrating in one single spot. Asya finds it: "more logical to have cat houses in small pieces that are not too big, ... if possible, distanced from one another, with a single room, that is, a space for a single cat." [76] Building upon their observation that cats do not use multiple cat houses clustered in a given area, they recommend a more distributed positioning of cat houses for individual cats.

Esin (42, woman, architect) is also of the opinion that each cat should be allocated their own cat house. She explains she commissioned a carpenter to make a cat house for a group of cats she cared for, emphasizing each should have separate areas. Upon my question why, she explains that this is because:

> they don't disturb each other, and so that they don't smell each other. ... They leave their own scent. ... [B]ecause when another cat comes and leaves odor, they may not enter. For example, there is another cat on the street right now. He won't go in because the cat entered, slept, left its odor. (Esin, 42, woman, architect) [77]

Other than making cat food, mapping feeding locales, and designing and positioning shelters in the form of cat houses, there are more individual designerly responses. In an attempt to manage interspecies feline-corvine dynamics, Aybike covers

the stump of a tree using PET bottles, so that cats cannot climb and reach the crow nest (Figure 6.14).

Figure 6.14 *Tree Stump Covered with Plastic Sheets Made out of PET Bottles*



Note. Photographs taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

Aybike explains:

> So, I wrapped the plastic bottles around the tree so that the cats couldn't climb up the tree and catch the crow. I cut those plastic bottles so that the tree would be slippery, and they wouldn't be able to climb up. But the crow proved to be smarter and carried her nest to the top branches [of the tree after cats' attempts]. I then extended the plastic covering to the top. Anyway, the cat can't climb all the way up there, but my covers are still on the tree. (Aybike, 58, woman, retired) [78]

Not only Aybike, but their mukhtar as well, is attentive to the multispecies life in the neighborhood. Aybike explains how he placed a traffic sign using his initiative (Figure 6.15). Note that the traffic sign is a customized design and is not listed in the official

traffic signs issued by General Directorate of Highways in Turkey.[279] Not only traffic signs, but speed bumps are regarded as necessary for a more-than-human city that acknowledges and cares for the existence of liminal cats (and dogs). Esin (42, woman, architect) explains that they collected signatures to build a speed bump in a specific locale where automobiles run over cats in Bebek,[280] and achieved it.

Figure 6.15 *Animal Road Sign for Liminal Cats and Dogs*



Note. Photograph taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

As can be seen in the context of Istanbul, designing a more-than-human city is concentrated around liminal cats, and focused on responding to their feeding and sheltering needs. There are sporadic examples of lessening the impact of automobile traffic[281] by placing traffic signs and speed bumps, albeit not as common as cat houses

[279] See here for a list of official traffic signs issued by General Directorate of Highways in Turkey: https://www.trafik.gov.tr/kurumlar/trafik.gov.tr/03-Mevzuat/Trafik_isaretleri.PDF
[280] A historic neighborhood on the European shore of Bosphorus in Beşiktaş, Istanbul.
[281] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment.

and food/water containers. There are all grassroots efforts organized by human proxies, for whom, it is simply impossible to not take action due to their proxy to feline events and the care commitments that emerge thereof.

The ongoing designerly care actions of human proxies inevitably expand the social world, by converting non-proxies into human proxies as well. These include family members such as Dicle's father, or neighbors in the cases of Aybike, Esin and Naya. Aybike's neighbor Aybars, who would "go up the mountain and hunt [birds, pigs] among the olives" repented and gave Aybike his riffle. Aybike announces proudly: "Now he is more of an animal lover than me." [79] Aybike is also happy to observe the change on her street in Cihangir neighborhood: "I was the only one feeding them [cats] on our street. Now I see that one in every two building has a container in front of it." [80] She believes the intent matters, and they will learn how to provide care[282] as they continue: "The other day someone put cabbage, and I wrote there that 'CATS DON'T EAT CABBAGE.' But thanks to them, they thought of it and put it in. That's how they start. (Laughs)" [80] Esin, too, has a similar experience. Feeling content that she has transformed her street, where "everyone has embraced" [81] cats and interspecies care, she now delegates care while going on vacation.[283] Despite the potential to expand interspecies care through interpersonal relations and/or designerly care, this is far from being the norm. Most often, human proxies face external factors, be they human or non-human, challenging their care practices, which they navigate in designerly and caring ways.

[282] See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care.
[283] See 4.7.3 Delegating Care.

6.5 Designing Against Feline Events

Grounded in "designing due to" indifference, whether it be municipal, veterinary, or wider social, I conceptualize the design processes of human proxies for feline users as a process of *designing against feline events*. Their design processes describe a set of designerly responses to emergent feline events in unfolding lifeworlds. Designing against occurs on three main pathways: 1) designing against *externs*, that is, non-human materials in public space such as weather and water, which undermine care practices by simply decaying materials, 2) designing against *poor care* provided by human proxies to ensure feline well-being and long-term feline belonging, and 3) designing against *lack of care* of human non-proxies, which threaten feline belonging at a given site.

6.5.1 Externs' Weathering Care

Weather is an invisible actor in multispecies situations, the material traces of which allow entry points to understand how it shapes entire design processes tending to feeding and sheltering of feline users. In addition to financial scarcity,[284] weather immediately informs the material selection.

Anthropologist Tim Ingold (2012) argues against the now-common convention that social sciences have ignored the missing masses (Latour, 1992) and claims that non-humans are not neglected; artifacts are favored over lifeforms. Although materials may be categorized as *artefacts* and *externs* according to human intervention and thus being granted membership to the material culture (Schiffer, 2002), Ingold calls for the inclusion of externs such as sunlight, rocks, etc., into material culture discussion. Their lack of objectness does not prevent their thingness, and thing, Ingold argues, and their leakiness,

[284] See 4.6.2 Navigating Financial Scarcity.

is what provides access into the realm of material culture. Because material culture "represents at once ideas that have been made material, and natural substance that has been rendered cultural" (Thomas, 2007). Therefore, a stone placed on top of a cat house to fix materials in place, or a tree stump utilized to elevate a cat house are part of material culture as a ready-made cat house (Figure 6.16). Things, in comparison to objects, are gatherings of materials in movement, a particular knotting together of the matter-flow (Heidegger, 1971; as cited in Ingold, 2012). They are in dialogue with the environment they place themselves or are placed in; they are becoming and growing. Things are dynamic centers of unfolding activity, they are "part of life" (Ingold, 2012, p. 435).

Figure 6.16 *Stones and Tree Stump*



Note. Photograph (left) taken on 21 December 2021 by the author in Kalamış, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (right) taken on 15 June 2019 by the author in Kuzguncuk, Üsküdar, Istanbul.

Not only things are part of material culture, but they have affordances dependent upon their innate, material qualities as well as individual perceptions thereof. The term "affordance" could be traced to ecological psychology, and it was first coined by James

Gibson, who defined affordances as the possibilities for action of an object relative to an individual animal (Gibson, 2014). As can be seen from Gibson's original definition, the concept underlines the potential of a given material in terms of enabling action, but it is also relative to the animal that perceives the object in question. Such emphasis on perception continues in the work of design scholar Donald Norman who popularized the term within design research as "perceived affordances" (1988). Norman, similar to Heft (2001) and Stoffregen (2000) argued for affordances as dependent upon the perception of the user, thereby highlighting the role of prior experience with and knowledge of interaction in human users' interpretations of action potentialities of a design and lack thereof. It is noteworthy neither Gibson, the originator of the concept nor other scholars in ecological psychology (Gibson, 2000) do not specify species membership of the individual, which offers a more-than-human notion of affordances, in contrast to that of Norman's, which is ultimately anthropocentric. Therefore, I follow Gibson's original definition grounded in a more-than-human account.

A typical feeding consists of certain equipment to help carry, transfer and contain food. Most often human proxies carry the cat food in a container such as a plastic bag, or a bucket. When feeding cats in the backyard of his apartment building in Caferağa,[285] Alp "put[s] the [packaged cat] food in a bucket, the big 15-pound ones [cat food]." [82] He then takes it down the stairs to the backyard (Figure 6.17, left).

After transferring cat food in buckets or bags, human proxies place cat food in containers. The food/water containers "should not be [made of] wood, soil, grass, but something that will not absorb water or bacteria," [83] explains Uzay, and then comes to the conclusion that it could be plastic. In a similar vein, Meltem (38, woman, veterinary

[285] A neighborhood in municipal district of Kadıköy in the Anatolian side of Istanbul.

assistant), recommends the use of melamine containers for cat food, as opposed to those scattering the food, say, on a piece of newspaper, whose possible decay and mixing with the food provided would not be desired. To Meltem, such containers disclose one's lacking delicacy on the matter. Apart from Uzay and Meltem, Mert (32, man, sculptor), too, recommends the use of plastic containers such as reused yoghurt packages or PET bottles. To Mert "it could be any yoghurt packaging. [He] would find it and turn it into something." [84] Plastic is the go-to material due to being an overall food-grade material, that is fit to contain food as it does not interact with it and keeps the food safe. It is also malleable enough to transform, if deemed necessary, and durable enough against external factors such as weather conditions (Figure 6.17, right).

Figure 6.17 *Plastic Food and Water Containers*



Note. Photograph (left) taken on 15 May 2019 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (right) taken on 23 April 2019 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

Cat food is vulnerable in the face of external factors, be they weather conditions or passers-by. In order to prevent this, Esin (42, woman, architect) explains that she attached a note with a slightly warning tone, as if she watches the area with a camera, including the food, and she will take legal action if necessary. [85] Aybike explains that

when cat food is placed without any protection above it, they are often wasted on rainy/snowy days, leaving cats in a more vulnerable position in terms of accessing cat food. This explains some of the container designs to protect cat food (Figure 6.18).

Figure 6.18 *Containers Designed to Protect Cat Food*



Note. Cat food placed inside reused packaging such as modified PET bottles, clay and plastic yoghurt buckets which are then sheltered with other water-proof plastic packaging to protect cat food from weather conditions. Photograph (upper left) taken on 14 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Photograph (upper right) taken on 3 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Photograph (lower left) taken on 4 March 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Photograph (lower right) taken on 30 January 2020 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

A major concern for human proxies when designing cat houses is providing insulation. Rain, or water in general, is constructed as a major problem: “There is this water issue, before all. First of all, protecting them [cats, cat houses] from water.” [86] This informs both feline well-being by keeping them warm and dry, but also longevity of the cat house by extending its lifespan. To secure insulation, human proxies often utilize

materials that are waterproof such as plastic, elevate cat houses from the ground, as well as position the cat house in such a way that rain and wind are blocked.

While choosing materials, human proxies often go for what is immediately available around them.[286] Instead of purchasing new materials, they go for reusing what is within their reach. Refraining from calling them "garbage" [*çöp*], Uzay (28, man, communications executive) describes such materials as "spare" materials "that have not yet found/await their function" [*henüz işlevini bulmamış/işlevini bekleyen*]. Such materials include packaging of consumer goods, old clothes and blankets, cardboards used in deliveries, as well as leftover modeling materials such as wood strips, PVC sheets, etc. Material repertoire of each human proxy is descriptive of one's waste products, often reused to be used in cat houses, informing also the design and further uses. Materials are not purchased for cat house building. Uzay (28, man, communications executive) explains how he uses spare materials in his house to make cat houses:

> On the one hand, I make these cat houses with garbage. I also make them with material that is not garbage in my house but has not yet found its function. It can be garbage, or it can be spare material like this. It could be extra materials that I don't know what they are. I don't really want to call them garbage. That's why the size of these materials is important, so I never have a material that I can fit a dog in my house. And stray dogs are usually big dogs. They are not small dogs. So, I probably can't make

[286] Arda, 32, man, research assistant; Esin, 42, woman, architect; Naya, 32, woman, microblading specialist; Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter; Uzay, 28, man, communications executive

something that can accommodate a dog with any of the garbage materials I find in my house. (Uzay, 28, man, communications executive) [87]

Selection of materials go parallel to design decisions. For instance, Naya explains she stopped using wool inside cat houses and switched to using hay, after her American friend's recommendation, which helps keep cat drier. Uzay, for example, utilizes PVC due to the transparency it affords, and uses it to build transparent cat houses, allowing him to watch the cat house from his apartment, while simultaneously allowing cats to watch outside for external threats. Transparency, he later found out, does not work for cat houses, leading to cats' non-use of these transparent cat houses. [88]

Participants explain that they cover cat houses with waterproof materials such as plastic bags and/or insulation materials such as Styrofoam.[287] Mira covered cat houses with plastic garbage bags in order to create a waterproof system, so cats remain dry and not get sick. [89] In a similar vein, Özge and her partner covered all four sides of cat houses with leftover renovation materials such as thick tarps and sheets to provide water insulation, comfort and warmth. To ensure durability, they then fixed the cover material by using nails. [90] Creating insulation by covering surfaces of the cat houses using readily available waterproof materials is a common design decision most human proxies admit to using.

Another, less common design decision is to elevate cat houses to provide safety from potential aggressors and insulation from rainwater.[288] Elevation is achieved by

[287] Arda, 32, man, research assistant; Asya, 30, woman, doctor; Aybike, 58, woman, retired; Bulut, 36, man, NGO worker; Esin, 42, woman, architect; Mira, 32, other, editor; Naya, 32, woman, microblading specialist; Özge, 38, woman, university instructor in industrial design

[288] Asya, 30, woman, doctor; Esin, 42, woman, architect; Naya, 32, woman, microblading specialist; Uzay, 28, man, media executive

designing supporting legs,[289] placing cat house on top of crates,[290] on another cat house or on a found stone, or simply on a higher platform (Figure 6.19). Recently, Uzay started to hang it on fences to elevate cat houses (Figure 6.19, lower left). [91]

Figure 6.19 *Elevated and Lowered Design Sites for Interspecies Care*



Note. Photograph (upper left) shows a cat house elevated by placing on the roof of an annex structure to an apartment building. Photograph taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Photograph (upper right) shows a cat house placed below street level. Taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Photograph (lower left) shows cat house elevated by hanging on a fence. Participant-elicited photograph in Beşiktaş, Istanbul used upon the kind courtesy of the participant. Photograph (lower right) shows cat house elevated by placing on a group of stones. Photograph taken on 24 May 2019 by the author in Göztepe, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

[289] Uzay, 28, man, communications executive
[290] Asya, 30, woman, doctor

However, waterproof does not equate warmth and comfort, which, human proxies also attempt to provide through their design decisions. Often, old clothes and blankets, wool, fiber and sometimes hay are placed inside cat houses to keep feline users warm. Participants answers converge around accessing food, water and warm and dry spaces they could find shelter in,[291] deemed vital for feline survival. This is Uzay's main concern when building cat houses. Building upon the design principles he learned during his undergraduate studies in architecture, he explains that "a building has two concerns. To keep the water out and to keep the cold out." [92] Insulation becomes the "compass," [*pusula*] which informs his design decisions, as well as many other human proxies, during making cat houses.

Last but not least, providing insulation requires a careful positioning of the cat house, in such a way that the wind and rain are blocked to ensure the longevity of cat houses against weather conditions.[292] After securing a locale for the cat house sheltered from external factors, Uzay explains that the decision concerns the positioning of the cat house in such a way that it does not take in wind or rain. He explains:

> Wherever the wind is coming from, wherever the air flow is coming from, that's where the water falls. Wherever it goes, the water falls there. So, I didn't want to turn the door, the side where the cats enter, toward the wind and the rain. Well, but at the end of the day, I left it [cat house] in the corner where other people also left cat houses. Because there was

[291] Arda, 32, man, research assistant; Asya, 30, woman, doctor; Can, 28, man, call center agent; Cansu, 19, woman, university student; Defne, 35, woman, veterinarian; Dicle, 34, woman, manager; Güneş, 30, other, photographer; Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist; Naya, 32, woman, microblading specialist; Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter

[292] As trained architects, both Esin (42, woman, architect) and Uzay (28, man, communications executive) emphasize this point.

obviously something there that was learned, repeated and continued. (Uzay, 28, man, communications executive) [93]

As can be seen from Uzay's remark, despite his careful calculation to shelter the animal and the inside of the cat house from the wind and the rain, he decides to place the cat house next to others due to his perception that this designated locale translates to a consensus on the locale of interspecies care. He might be mistaken, as such locales often receive complaints. Participants also aim to provide warmth and comfort for the feline user inside the cat house.[293] They use wool,[294] fabrics,[295] reused clothes[296] such as pajamas,[297] and blankets.[298]

As can be seen from human proxies' designerly responses to design against, weather plays a significant role throughout the life course of each individual cat house (Figure 6.20). What emerges, then, is a heterogeneous constellation of human and non-human elements, always in flux, both shaping and being shaped, assembling and being assembled. Their assemblage nature challenges and de-centers the authority of citizen designer, and empowers a whole network of other stakeholders, be they human or non-human, by giving them the option to modify when and as they wish (even if that includes disposal).

[293] Alp, 32, man, photographer; Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper; Gönül, 54, woman, shopkeeper; Güneş, 30, other, photographer; Koray, 23, man, human resources specialist; Özge, 38, woman, university instructor in industrial design
[294] Gönül, 54, woman, shopkeeper
[295] Özge, 38, woman, university instructor in industrial design
[296] Can, 28, man, call center agent
[297] Güneş, 30, other, photographer
[298] Alp, 32, man, photographer; Aslı, 32, woman, shopkeeper; Can, 28, man, call center agent

Figure 6.20 *Cat House Before and After a Rainy Night*



Note. Photographs taken on 7 January 2020 and 8 January 2020 respectively by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

6.5.2 Human Proxies' Poor Care

Complaints pertaining to lack of hygiene stem from three sources: 1) designed cat houses, 2) feeding practices, and cats, themselves. However, what binds all these sources is lack of maintenance and cleaning by human proxies (Figure 6.21), as well as lack of tolerance for interspecies co-existence. Firstly, cat houses, for they reuse old materials, and lack regular maintenance as emphasized by some participants, become a source of complaint, attracting negative attention from outsiders.

Figure 6.21 *Design Sites for Interspecies Care As Ad-Hoc Dumping Ground*



Photograph (left) taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Gümüşsuyu, Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Photograph (middle) reads: "PLEASE DO NOT POUR YOUR LEFTOVERS HERE!..." Taken on X by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (right) reads: "PLEASE DO NOT LEAVE FOOD SUCH AS FATTY FOOD WITH PASTE, RICE, PASTA, RAW MEAT, NUGGETS, BREAD AND MILK IN THIS AREA WHERE OUR COMMUNITY ANIMALS ARE BECAUSE ANIMALS DO NOT EAT THEM! ALSO, DO NOT PUT DRY FOOD ON THE GROUND OR IN THE SEATING AREAS, PUT THEM ONLY IN CONTAINERS AND KEEP THE GROUND CLEAN." Taken by and used upon the kind courtesy of Özlem Özkal. Taşdelen, Çekmeköy, Istanbul.

Alp (32, man, photographer) explains how the cat houses he built for the cats living in apartment backyard were thrown away by janitor within a week, upon the request of other residents in the apartment building. When I ask the reason why, he explains: "Even though it's in the garden, because it's garbage or something, they said that the cats are making a mess or something like that. Even if they make a mess there [the backyard], they [residents] don't see it..." [94] Here, Alp finds it incomprehensible how residents may be bothered by cat houses, for they are placed in the backyard, which is not immediately visible (Figure 6.22, left). However, the backyard is a place where cats often live short lives and die (Figure 6.22, right) which puzzles him. These deaths are presumably due to a disease, which transmits among the population. Building cat houses for a sick population, albeit well meaning, may not be the immediate intervention they need.

Figure 6.22 *The Apartment Backyard*



Note. Photograph (left) shows the fence surrounding the backyard. Photograph (right) shows a dead cat under the cat house. Photographs taken on 15 May 2019 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

Secondly, feeding liminal cats is not always designed in an organized manner, and, at times, it occurs very spontaneously, without following extant good practices. As I discussed previously, outsiders to good care, may feed animals with leftover human food in places that are not designated locales. Such spontaneous feeding practices, albeit well meaning, are neither benefitting the animal (for human food may not be ideal), nor the human proxy (requiring cleaning, which is often ignored in more spontaneous instances). In one of my ethnographic encounters, a woman explains how feeding becomes an undesired practice. She explains: "People are putting bread and stuff there. I mean, if they hadn't put bread... They also put homemade food there, and then all those seagulls come, they spill mess on the glasses..."[299]

[299] 20190601_Fieldnotes

Final source is cats themselves, problematized due to defecating and urinating in places, as well as constructed by some as sources of zoonotic diseases. Esin (42, woman, architect), in a frustrated tone, finds such complaints "ridiculous" [*saçma sapan*], because it is only natural that male cats urinate during mating season,[300] which will smell. In a frustrated tone, she explains that people are like: "'It smells like pee in here.' Of course, it does! Just hose down the area! Very simple things." [95] As can be seen from her remark, Esin finds it only natural that males urine smell during mating season, and she cannot comprehend why instead of caring (by cleaning the area), people choose to complain over what she perceives to be a minor inconvenience. Most often, hygiene related complaints are found insubstantial by human proxies, not only because it is simple to clean after, but simply because cats are regarded as clean animals, and they do not prefer to defecate indoors, as often claimed by others, and if that is the case, it is simply due to human neglect in not accommodating animals carefully in designed spaces. Arda (32, man, research assistant) who works on a university campus explains an incident: "Well, one [cat] got into the classroom, they [janitors] locked the classroom, and when they opened it the next morning, [they found out that] the animal defecated there." [96] Arda exemplifies this incident to explain how cats do not defecate indoors, for they prefer soil, and if they do defecate indoors, this is simply due to human neglect. Therefore, he does not find such complaints substantial and interprets them as excuses to disrupt/cease interspecies care: "These statements are a bit, they don't like them [cats] very much and they just say, 'They [cats] make a mess,' or something like that."

[300] This is why human proxies' neutering practices become part of good care, because they work toward the acceptance of animals in an area, where, if not neutered, their mating behavior and litter may be problematized, undermining their moderate acceptance. See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care for a discussion on how participants construct good care, a constituent of which is neutering, and MANAGING FELINE POPULATION IN THE CITY for a detailed discussion on neutering practices.

Sometimes, complaints take on a lighter tone due to others' phobias of cats. Aybike (58, woman, retired) finds such arguments "ridiculous," [*saçma sapan*] over which, people may end up in legal processes, explains Gönül (54, woman, shopkeeper). Ceasing of care often translates to either animals leaving a territory, or animals simply being displaced thereafter, which some outsiders wish for.[301] This is because, outsiders often operate from an internalized anthropocentric position, from which they believe they have a more righteous claim to public space compared to an animal. These lead to outsider attempts to convince human proxies to empathize with the human party, for outsiders believe it is humans that are victimized through animals' occasional urine. "Someone comes to you with an argument that starts with 'I love animals, too,' or there are those who start with 'Love people a little bit, not animals,'" explains Deniz (29, woman, university student), which, she believes, "creates more problems than solutions." [97] Participant's remark discloses how, complaints they receive often wish to cease extant care for animals, for reasons that are not grounded in multispecies co-existence.

This is where the selection of the word "proxy" becomes crystal clear. Whether they identify as such or not, outsider non-proxies talk to human proxies as representatives of these animals, as those who know these animals, who could be better informed about the animal, to whom problems are reported and their collaboration (displacement of animal, removal of cat house) is expected. A participant may identify themselves as "concerned"[302] in an attempt to distance themselves from the burden of care, it does not change the fact that residents in the building come to her about emergent situations pertaining to liminal cats. They become human proxies in the eyes of the other social actors. Being a human proxy brings forth responsibilities, one of which is navigating

[301] Ethnographic interview on 27 November 2021 with Elif, a resident in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.
[302] Özge, 38, woman, instructor in industrial design

conflicts to the best interest of care recipient cats. This is often the case, and those human proxies who tend to pursue conflicts rather than contain them are problematized on this very ground, because contentious attitudes are believed to impact care in a given area often in a negative way. Asya shares her observation in a common area, for which she was responsible along with others: "One of the animal lovers there was a bit agitated, and I observed that the security guards there changed their behavior towards animals over time due to personal animosity." [98] As Asya's observation illustrates, pursuing conflicts with non-proxies work against the well-being of animals, for outsiders may not be able to separate between interpersonal conflicts with interspecies care. Because of this, containing conflicts becomes a caring act, and part of good care.[303] This is what Asya chooses to do in the situation, in which "[she] made a great effort to reconcile [with security guards], and [she] had to separate [herself] from that person."

Other times, human proxies may choose to acknowledge outsider's complaint and render to each their due (even though they may not be of the same opinion). Elif takes care of numerous cats and kittens in a shared backyard of many apartment buildings, where she feeds and provides them with cat houses.[304] Cats often defecate in a particular area in the backyard, in front of the window of a basement floor. During my ethnographic interview with her, a neighbor of hers, who lives on the upper floor overseeing the particular area of the garden, comes out to complain about the number of cats and blames Elif for feeding them. Instead of arguing with the man, Elif tried to reach a consensus: "You're right, I will take these cats from here." Upon receiving complaints concerning cats, Aybike, too, follows a similar approach. She explains that she cannot expect others

[303] See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care.
[304] Ethnographic interview with Elif, a woman resident in Caferağa neighborhood in Kadıköy, Istanbul, 27 December 2021.

to “not be scared” of animals, or “love” them: “I can't say, ‘You have to love [the animals],’ I don’t have such an entitlement. It’s enough if they don't interfere, if they don’t kick the animals. Even if they don’t like them, that’s not that important. But everyone should respect each other.” [99] Despite identifying herself as an animal lover, Aybike draws interspecies co-existence not in love, but in mutual, interspecies respect for the others existence. For the sake of not prolonging a conversation, she acknowledges their fears and complaints. These strategies are significant not to agitate the complaining party, who, if provoked and not understood, could resort to violence. Asya aptly describes:

> [T]he first reaction ... is to give the other party their rightfulness and, if possible, to quickly remove the animal for their sake, without agitating the person on the other side. We don’t get into too much of this with people. I generally have the same attitude towards the food given to the cats in the neighborhood. If they are uncomfortable with food being placed somewhere, I say, “Ay, you’re right, sister, rats must be approaching the food,” (Laughs) and I take it and put it somewhere else. Because I think that the reactions given to people in general harm animals indirectly, because I don’t want to take the risk that they will take out their anger not on me, but probably on the first cat they see after I turn my back. That’s why I usually give people the benefit of the doubt and if it’s something very damaging, something on the level of violence, of course, if they have done something that is sanctioned by law, and if I can prove it, not only if they did it, but if it can be proven, I go after them, but if there is nothing I can prove, I say “You are very right” and take the

> animal away. This is the method I follow. (Asya, 30, woman, doctor)[100]

As can be seen, human proxies not only acknowledge complainer's complaint but also chooses to remove the animal from such an environment where they are not welcome as a caring intervention. Asya simply adjusts their care zone in a way to accommodate emergent complaint. Sometimes, there does not need to be a conflict around caring for cats. Another strategy human proxies resort to is purposefully keeping cats outside buildings, because liminal cats indoors often result in conflicts. Leftover cat food that is not finished by a cat could lead to a conversation where the complainers explain that "they were having a hard time because they [cats] were doing their own things, like defecating." To silence complaints, Cansu started feeding cats outside. In a similar vein, Janset, as a preventative measure, simply feeds cats outside her workplace, for she believes cats require "attendance."

6.5.3 Human Non-Proxies' Lack of Care

Design interventions to feed and shelter liminal cats often receive complaints. These complaints pertain to perceived lack of hygiene caring for liminal animals are assumed to entail (Figure 6.23), as well as individual citizens' phobias of said animals.

Figure 6.23 *Municipal Worker Sweeps Cat Food Along with Cigarette Butts*



Note. Photograph taken on 24 January 2020 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

Often, however, these complaints are regarded to be insubstantial by human proxies, leading to develop certain strategies to de-center human concerns and to center animal's well-being. Upon receiving complaints, participants respond in caring ways to not escalate the situation further. These often include 1) justifying care utilizing a repertoire of extant discourses, and 2) containing conflict so it does not escalate. Complaints often involve proposing to displace animals, threatening to file an official complaint, and utilizing other neglected, vulnerable groups in society (i.e. whataboutism) to undermine interspecies care. At times, these complaints are followed up by action such as disruption of designed sites of care and displacement of feline users.

Due to complaints from non-proxy human stakeholders, a care zone consisting of a set of cat houses and water and food containers could be dismantled one day (Figure

6.24).[305] This sudden disruption of designed care interrupts the established system of interspecies interaction, potentially forcing the feline users of the area to seek alternative human proxies or relocate to other sites within the city.

Figure 6.24 *Care Disrupted*



Note. Photograph (left) taken on 30 April 2019 and photograph (right) taken on 1 June 2019 by the author in the same spot in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

Esin (42, woman, architect) explains how positioning of cat houses often translates to a process of designing against. When she came across a cat that gave birth, she made a box using plastic basins [*leğen*] and placed the cat house and the cats in a backyard of a pastry manufacturer in her neighborhood. Later, due to hygiene regulations,[306] she then took the animals and the cat house to a nearby park, where liminal

[305] Ethnographic observation in Caferağa neighborhood in Kadıköy, Istanbul, 1 June 2019.

[306] Here, Esin refers to the "Hygiene Principles and Good Practice Guidelines for Bakery and Pastry Production" issued by Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock, which states that "[n]o domestic animal should be kept, and no plants should be grown in the production area." See page 11 in Turkish Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Livestock. *Hygiene Principles and Good Practice Guidelines for Bakery and Pastry Production*.https://www.tarimorman.gov.tr/GKGM/Belgeler/Uretici_Bilgi_Kosesi/Egitim/Hijyen_Kilavuz/Fırıncılık%20ve%20pastana%20Mamulleri%20Üretimi%20İçin.pdf

animals were denied access. By convincing park's caretaker [*bekçi*], she was able to allocate an area for the cats and the cat house. She started visiting them every day, only to find out one day that the entire area was destroyed:

> One day I saw that they [cat houses] had been smashed, I mean, stepped on. One of the kittens was missing. Anyway, I collected the kittens, brought them home, adopted the kittens, neutered the mother. This time I needed some place to shelter [them] ... I took the kitten, only the kitten ... We have a garden, front and back. There was a space under the stairs, I had my carpenter friend build something for six seven cats, a sort of structure. To keep them sheltered in winter conditions. (Esin, 42, woman, architect) [101]

When care practices or their designerly manifestations are challenged by others, human proxies pull different discourses in justifying the existence of animals and designs thereof. These discourses focus on emphasizing 1) utilization of animal for human needs, and 2) animal vulnerability and respect for them. While the former is anthropocentric, and the latter centers the animal subject, both could be considered as opportunities for dissemination around animal awareness. When communicating non-proxies, Gönül (54, woman, shopkeeper) emphasizes how the animal feels good for the human companion in terms of decreasing stress and giving unconditional love, or the existence of cats in any given area repelling rodents. More common, however, is centering the animal, one way of which is Gönül's constructing animal as a vulnerable being. When customers with a phobia of cats come to her store, Gönül explains that the first thing she says is that "They [cats] fear you. What can a little cat do to you? They are the ones running away from them." [102] By doing so, Gönül flips the course of the human-centric conversation, and

underlines feline vulnerability. Another way is utilizing spiritual and religious discourses such as those in Islamic tradition. Gönül explains to others that "[t]hese cats are entrusted to us, they are living souls, too, and they have as much right to eat and drink on this planet as we do." [103] Aybike explains that, if she believes the non-proxy to be religious, crafts her argument for the justification of animal existence and care for them around a religious discourse. She tells them "that Muhammad had a cat, and if the cat was sleeping on the prayer rug, he did not pray on that side," [104] to emphasize the respect given to cats in Islamic tradition.

Such attempts to justify the existence of the animal and the designerly are ways in which human proxies, as participants of the social world, negotiate with outsider non-proxies, whose approaches to animals are often different. Hence, conflicts. Therefore, by pulling these discourses, proxies engage in disseminating awareness on animals, not only managing on-site conflict. This is very important that these negotiations are regarded as part of good care.[307] Because proxies often narrate their managing of these conflicts in very attentive and careful ways. When conflicts arise due to differences in stance, proxies are careful to not turn this into an unproductive conflict, which could then harm the animal, or other animals in the future.

As complaints illustrate, cat houses do not lineate an example of a technology upon which all relevant groups have agreed a consensus. They constitute a design in the making, open to participation of everyone, even if that participation involves displacement of the intervention. The root of these interventions could be traced to the complaints due to alleged lack of hygiene. Cat houses are also perceived to lack aesthetics. For instance, Aslı, who purchased her cat house, explains that those cat houses

[307] See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care.

people make themselves resemble squatter town [*gecekondu*], "something irregular and dirty, (Laughs) lacking a standard, irregular urbanization of cats ... often unkempt." [105] It is frequent that places where cat houses may be positioned for a long time may be completely cleared of any sign of cat houses. Experiencing this regularly, human proxies have developed design strategies to design against such displacements.

One of them is to aestheticize cat houses. Alp (32, man, photographer), who takes care of many cats in his apartment backyard, which receives complaints from the resident community in the building,[308] explains that "because they [others] say they [cat houses] are not aesthetic," he and his partner "covered them [cat houses] with wrapping papers [they] bought for Christmas." [106] Mert (32, man, sculptor) ran cat house workshops in central area on the Anatolian side of Istanbul by using styrofoams. To Mert, aestheticizing cat houses through decorating and painting is significant to decrease any complaint that might arise, which he would encourage during the workshops. By doing so, he would like to "add a nice taste to the landscape of the neighborhood," which participants also liked: "[E]ven people who say 'Ugh, what's this ugliness!' can say, 'It's cute.'" [107] Another design strategy is to write warnings for human non-proxies against potential displacement (Figure 6.25). Bulut (36, man, NGO worker), another participant who ran cat house workshops, explains he and the participants would attach notes on cat houses such as "CAT HOUSE, PLEASE DON'T THROW IT AWAY" [*KEDİ EVİ, LÜTFEN ATMAYIN*] against their likely displacement. Following a similar line of thinking, Ege (33, other, media executive) and their friends, they would write "WHOEVER THROWS THIS AWAY IS A SON OF A MAN" [*BUNU ATAN ERKEK OĞLU ERKEKTİR*], subverting a common curse phrase in Turkish creatively. It should be noted here that these

[308] See 6.5.3 Human Non-Proxies' Lack of Care.

design decisions such as aestheticizing and attaching notes serve the immediate, material sheltering needs of cats, but rather work toward the acceptance of cat house in a given area, thereby benefitting feline users rather indirectly and in the long term.

Figure 6.25 *Cat Houses Against Displacement*



Note. Photograph (left) reads "PLEASE DO NOT TOUCH." Taken on 28 January 2021 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (middle) reads: "CAT HOUSE (PLEASE DO NOT TOUCH!)" Taken on 7 March 2020 by the author in Yeldeğirmeni, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (right) reads "CAT HOUSE MEOW MEOW MEOW [hand drawn hearts]" Taken on 28 October 2022 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

Another design decision concerns securing cat houses to nearby infrastructures such as ventilation pipes, garden fences, or trees, via the use of duct tapes, etc. This design decision not only materially connects the cat house in its given area, thereby symbolically underlining its belonging, but also works against its displacement by non-proxies and in its decay due to weather, long-term use, and structural weakness. It should be noted here that the cat houses that are more bricolage and spontaneous are prone to collapse more than those that are sturdy whose structure is well studied. Therefore, securing them to nearby infrastructures is a way to preempt displacement and collapse. Despite design decisions to preempt their decay, displacement of cat houses continues to remain as a possibility, for a non-proxy could simply tear the connecting material, which is often duct

tape. Therefore, similar to design decisions concerning aestheticizing, they remain symbolic rather than robust material measures (Taşdizen, 2020b).

Due to being a good currency on the streets of Istanbul,[309] plastic food containers for cats are often taken by waste collectors, a group of workers who collect valuable waste to sell it for money, therefore being a significant actor in waste management in Istanbul (Yigit, 2015). Because waste collectors collect what they deem valuable, in this case plastic, Esin chooses a material that mimics the look of cardboard: "I'm always observing what they [waste collectors] don't touch," explains Esin, "[t]hey don't touch the [cardboard] boxes much, but they take the plastic ones. So, I made something that looks like cardboard but is made of plastic, so it's more durable." Plastic, due to its durability, and overall food-safety makes a good choice for everyone for different reasons. It is the preferred material for food containers for human proxies, but also a valuable currency to be collected and sold by waste collectors who roam the streets of Istanbul, which eventually leads Esin to consult to strategy of illusion, hiding plastic.

Cat food is not only vulnerable against weather conditions,[310] but also against simply being taken away, being stolen. Esin (42, woman, architect) explains that during the pandemic, stealing of cat food was becoming recurrent. Living on the 3rd floor, she explains: "I would put it [food] down, I live on the 3rd floor, I would go upstairs, and the food would be gone." [108] Later, she caught those who stole cat food, who she believes "probably feed them [cats], but perhaps can't do much because they don't have a job or money, maybe they don't have much at home to share [with cats]."[311] As a solution, she

[309] See 6.5.1 Externs' Weathering Care.
[310] See 6.5.1 Externs' Weathering Care.
[311] See 4.6.2 Navigating Financial Scarcity.

communicated them: “Don’t take them [the cat food], ring the third bell, I’ll give you food,” which, was ineffective and the food kept being taken away.

Earlier, I described feline events as situations that catch human proxy’s attention and invite them to act to enhance the conditions of the feline subject. These included a cat in need of food, or water, as well as illnesses or injuries that human proxies can tend to by themselves or have it checked at a clinic. Feline events in multispecies situations of Istanbul, however, are not limited to bodily conditions of cats. They expand and include wider social situations such as negotiations with non-proxies, be they human or non-human, e.g., weather. Human proxies’ design processes, then, delineate ongoing responses to emergent actors, and the way they “design against” them. Designing against also describes a process that is not calculated prior, but one that is ever-changing depending on external factors.

6.6 Reflecting on Use(r)s and Non-Use(r)s of Cat Houses

Although participants do not so verbalize their construction of the feline user, cat houses are often designed with able-bodied cats in mind, that is, cats who are not as prioritized in the adoption/rehoming ranking.[312] Construction of feline vulnerability informs who is adopted/rehomed inside human households, leaving able-bodied cats who are constructed to be fit for survival on the streets better than vulnerable ones.[313] Despite the knowledge and resources that go into building and managing them, cat houses may not be adopted by their intended users, disclosing feline agency. In addition, cat houses

[312] See 5.1 Justifying Spatial Accommodation in Feline Vulnerability before adopting/rehoming liminal cats in the household.

[313] This is not to say human proxies believe city life is fit for able-bodied liminal cats. To the opposite, city is constructed as unfit for all cats, regardless of their individual vulnerabilities. This shows that feline body is not constructed as the problem, but the wider social/environmental context is. From a disability lens, this delineates a shift from medical model to social model of disability. See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment.

may transform into feline hubs over time, acting as spaces for poor care, e.g. drop-off points for vulnerable cats or a site for feline disease transmission, undermining their intended functionality for feline well-being.

6.6.1 Feline Distantiation and Non-Use

Özge (38, woman, university instructor in industrial design) grounds non-use of cat houses in perceived feline independency, which she constructs based on animals' pursuing their own interests. She believes that "cats like to be free, to have their own will. You cannot force the cat." [109] She then continues over a period of one year, she came across a cat in a cat house two or three times: "[T]hey don't do what *you* want, they do what *they* want. You put a house there like a castle, and they go and sleep on a bench." While explaining cats' non-use of cat houses, Özge's voice carries a tone of slight resentment, as if it would make her happier if cats used cat houses as *she* envisioned, that is, more frequently. However, as Özge's observations over an extended period show, cats *do* use cat houses, albeit not as frequent, or in other cases which I will discuss, not as desired.

Here, it should be noted that human proxies often fail to take into account the peculiarity of each context, as well as the individuality of cats in any given area. Özge takes care a group of cats in an apartment backyard, and self identifies as "concerned" in an attempt to distance herself from the commitments of interspecies care. Therefore, she approaches cats as a group, not as individuals. Özge's observation that cats are not using cat houses should be thought of as cats in Özge's apartment are not using the cat houses Özge made and placed in a specific apartment backyard populated by a specific feline population with peculiar intrafeline dynamics. Although there exist repeating design

decisions in terms of material selection,[314] and positioning,[315] which prove to be successful in terms of securing feline well-being and design longevity, these design decisions do not secure the adoption of the cat house by feline users, underlining the lack of a uniform design guideline in achieving feline design adoption. Asya's remarks on positioning of cat houses while tending to intrafeline dynamics may be helpful for the purpose of this discussion. Asya observes that, at times, other cats constitute stressors for certain cats, which may lead, in Özge's apartment garden, some cats to move away from cat houses. Human proxies often feed nearby cat houses, with cat houses ending up as the center of all care action, resulting in designed sites of interspecies care.[316] As explained by participants, and evidenced in relevant literature, domestic cats are commensal creatures (Zeder, 2012a, 2012b), approaching food resources in an opportunistic manner.[317] Cat houses with feeding occurring next to them become feline hot spots, around which a feline traffic occurs. Although cats enjoy small, confined spaces, they are also known to shy away from crowds at times. Therefore, positioning of cat houses should concern intrafeline dynamics, in addition to external factors such as liminal dogs, automobile traffic, etc.[318] Approaching a feline population not as a bulk, but as a culture with peculiar inner intrafeline dynamics, would allow to see an animal population consisting of individuals, with personal histories and preferences. Such a MTHD approach, then, allows to see and pay attention to site-specificity of cat houses, which

[314] See 6.3 Collecting and Disseminating More-Than-Human Resources and 6.5.1 Externs' Weathering Care for a discussion on repeating design decisions concerning material selection during designing cat houses for feline well-being and cat house longevity.
[315] See 6.4.3 Designing and Positioning Cat Houses for a discussion on repeating design decisions concerning how to position cat houses in a caring manner.
[316] In vivo codes describing such sites such emerge from the analysis. Some participants refer to them as "food, water focals" [*mama, su odakları*], or "feeding spots" [*besleme noktaları*] both of which focus on feeding, a central practice to good care. See 4.8 Constructing Good Care and Poor Care for a discussion on how participants construct good care, a constituent of which is feeding.
[317] See 6.2.1 Constructing Feline Dependency.
[318] See 6.4.3 Designing and Positioning Cat Houses.

should be thought of as a successful strategy in designing of interspecies care in the long term.

Cat houses that are adopted by feline users are those that are made for pregnant or postpartum cats and their litter. Pregnant cats are known to seek refuge in solitude places before, during and after birth (Cooper, 1944; Spotte, 2014). Cooper states: “Most frequently, domestic cats retreat to relatively secluded, sometimes even inaccessible places to deliver litters” (Cooper, 1944, p. 71). This is also the case when Güneş’s friend who lives on a rooftop in Istanbul reached out to them to ask for a cat house, for a pregnant cat chose the rooftop to deliver her litter. As I explained in adoption and rehoming practices, certain cats and their conditions are prioritized in caregiving, and constructed as more urgent than others. This also includes pregnancy. When pregnant cats are found, or the animal seeks refuge within spatial means of a human proxy, certain measures are taken, including spatially accommodating the animal by designing the environment in accordance with perceived needs of the pregnant cat, and her future litter, who are also deemed dependent on human supervision and care more than other cats. Pregnant cats and their litters constitute one specific user group for whom cat houses are made (Figure 6.26), reported by participants to use cat houses more than others.

Figure 6.26 *Adult Cat by an Elevated Cat House with Litter of Kittens Inside*



Note. Photograph taken on 12 May 2019 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

Cat houses, as interventions in public space, invite unanticipated uses of other human proxies as well as non-proxies. As designated care sites, cat houses often attract the attention of those who may choose to delegate care to others by abandoning cats nearby cat houses. Umay (38, woman, freelancer) recommends me talk to "the volunteers who feed [in Fenerbahçe Park, in Cihangir]," [110] who, she believes, will complain about other people "bring[ing] cats and leave[ing] them there all the time." At times, an abandoned cat may be a post-op cat (Figure 6.27), who needs special attendance and isolation from other cats due to the risk of infection. Because cat houses result in feline traffic (Figure 6.27), due to regular feeding around its environs,[319] cat houses as drop-off

[319] This is significant to emphasize that cat houses invite the use(s) of multiple cats through their very design and positioning, and because human proxies feed around them, cat houses become feline hubs, thereby acting of reservoirs for transmitting feline diseases.

areas delineate the kind of use that is not only unanticipated but also undesired due to its careless position. Such areas may unwillingly allow transmission of diseases across the feline population, for they invite cats.

Figure 6.27 *Cat House as Feline Hub*



Note. Photographs taken on 4 August 2022 by the author in Osmanağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

Umay explains:

> A liminal animal is often unvaccinated. Even if you vaccinate, you know that the vaccine has a one-year protection. And you already know that there is FCoV in cats because you take care of cats, and this turns it into FIP, it is deadly and so on. FCoV already has no vaccine and ninety percent of cats carry it. Apart from that, there is herpes virus, … these

> are upper respiratory diseases. In other words, as the animal sleeps in the same place, it makes a lot of saliva, snot, runny nose, runny eyes and so on. ... They shake it off and spread it everywhere and so on. You know, even if they don't come side by side with each other, as the other animal enters and leaves the environment where one animal enters and leaves, it picks up these viruses. In other words, on the street, of course, the conditions are harsher in winter, etc. It is easier, the cold triggers this disease, it puts the animal in a more difficult situation, and deaths increase accordingly. (Umay, 38, woman, freelancer) [111]

Most participants are not aware of such health implications of bringing cats together in a given area through intervention such as feeding or building cat houses. Those who draw attention to potential health-related drawbacks of cat houses,[320] maintain a distance to cat houses, and approves of them under certain conditions. It should be noted here that those participants who are cautious of cat houses are within the committed cluster in the sampling. Asya co-runs an animal sanctuary, while taking care of cats in the hospital she works at, as well as the neighborhood she lives in. Rıdvan volunteers at an NGO in the reception of liminal cats to be neutered, and Umay rescues and lives with cats and dogs with disabilities. All of them remain critical of cat houses, due to the lack of regulation of such spaces in public, being susceptible to misuse, leading to spreading of feline diseases. Although not completely rejecting the caring disposition it entails, Ege (33, other, media executive) regards cat house making as an Instagram trend, on the condition that if the person does not have one-on-one relation with the cat(s) they are designing for. [112]

[320] Asya, 30, woman, doctor; Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter; Umay, 38, woman, freelancer

To eliminate the spread of infectious diseases among feline population, human proxies often appeal to regular maintenance of cat houses through cleaning.[321] Not only "[a] cat house on the street gets dirty very quickly," [113] explains Rıdvan, but also "they spread disease easily" due to the increased feline traffic around cat houses. To Asya, another problem is "home-cooked food," people leave out of good intentions, which, "become a source of infection." [114] This is why both Rıdvan and Asya decided to clean cat houses and its environs where food is provided. The necessity to clean as formulated by Asya and Rıdvan, leads Rıdvan to opt out of building permanent cat houses. Previously, he collaborated with a carpenter to build robust cat houses out of wood, that would withstand conditions more so than some others (Figure 6.28). However, he now stopped his practice completely, due to his position that cat houses spread diseases among the population: "You know, you can make more practical cat houses out of foam or cardboard, you can do that for cats on the street. But I am now a little against making a durable cat house." [115]

Regardless of maintenance practices such as cleaning, cat houses often complete their lifetime, either by decaying in the face of weather conditions, [116] or by being used by cats, [117] or sometimes by simply being thrown away or displaced.[322] Their significance on emphasizing and materially affording liminal animal belonging, however, prevails.

[321] Asya, 30, woman, doctor; Rıdvan, 36, man, carpenter
[322] See 6.5.3 Human Non-Proxies' Lack of Care.

Figure 6.28 *Cat Houses Co-Designed by Carpenters*



Note. Participant-elicited photograph of cat houses co-designed by the participant and a carpenter. Photograph used upon the kind courtesy of the participant.

6.6.2 Designing Belonging

Despite the feline non-use as emphasized by some participants, cat houses are regarded as symbolically functional, despite their functionality pertaining to sheltering and feline population management being a contested matter. Participant narratives disclose how cat houses are interpreted as a marker of interspecies tolerance and membership in a given neighborhood.

During their apartment search in the same neighborhood in Kadıköy, Özge and her partner came across an apartment that they liked, yet "the first thing that caught [their] attention was ... a very organized garden, very clean, but there [were] no cat houses." [118] Finding this "strange" [*tuhaf*], she and her partner thought: "Maybe, they don't like cats?" As can be seen from Özge's reaction, the absence of cat houses in an apartment garden is interpreted as indifference or hostility toward liminal cat population. Lack of material traces of interspecies care played a role in their decision not to rent the apartment. When they came to visit their current apartment for the first time, they saw "three or four separate cat houses on one side of the garden. They have bowls, etc. Cats are sleeping all

around. They all have separate corners." In addition to being associated with feline belonging and interspecies community, cat houses are also regarded as symbols of animal lover identity [*hayvanseverlik*]. Bulut (36, man, NGO worker), who organizes cat house workshops for children with migration background, elaborates how he regards cat houses and wider *hayvanseverlik* as vital constituents of migrant belonging: "It [the aim] is not to make a cat house, but to cultivate the idea of making a cat house." [119] To Bulut, cat house making becomes a way to instill awareness on liminal animals and multispecies co-existence within the city: "[C]at house may not have much meaning functionally, but it has a meaning as an idea." When I ask him to elaborate on what that idea is, Bulut responds: "I mean, it's *hayvanseverlik*. It means [that] animals are valued here. It's like saying, 'This is a place for cats.'" [120] Similar to Özge and her partner, Bulut is also of the opinion that cat houses have symbolic functions that speak to citizens, proxy or otherwise, on the belonging of community cats at a given area.

Not only they designate places for cats and underline overall acceptance of animal ways of living, but cat houses could also be designed for an individual cat living in a particular locale. This is significant for they mark a departure from cats as a group of animals to cats as individuals, with whom personal, interspecies relations are formed. It is not uncommon then that such community cats are given names by the human proxies, which are then written on top of the cat houses underlining the individual feline user: Leo, Mercimek, Rasim, Murathan (Figure 6.29). Cat houses, already regarded as markers of feline belonging in a community by Özge and Bulut, further multi-species agenda through name-giving and cat house designing for individual cats in a community. Not only cats are granted individuality by name-giving, but they also disseminate alternative, more

egalitarian ways of relating to animals, i.e. individual to individual rather than human to non-human animal (which is inevitably hierarchical in anthropocentric societies).

Figure 6.29 *Cat Houses Designed for Individual Users*



Note. Photograph (upper left) reads: "LEO'S HOUSE. PLEASE DO NOT TAKE IT. [cat illustration] CAT HOUSE. DON'T TAKE. DON'T DISCARD" Taken on 1 December 2021 by the author in Caferağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (upper right) reads: "MERCIMEK'S SPOT" Taken on 22 January 2020 by the author in Gümüşsuyu, Beyoğlu, Istanbul. Photograph (lower left) reads: "[cat illustration] Cat Rasim's House. [heart illustration] 'Please do not touch my house!' [heart illustration] Yes, the house is very pretty. It takes fifteen minutes to make. Please do not take!" Taken on 19 January 2020 in Acıbadem, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (lower right) reads: "MURATHAN'S CAT HOUSE. LET'S NOT TAKE THE CAT HOUSE. DO NOT LEAVE CATS HOMELESS" Taken on 4 March 2020 by the author in Gümüşsuyu, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

Also agreeing with the function of cat houses as a means to designing belonging, Uzay (28, man, communications executive) designs them in such a way that "draw[s] attention" [121] to the cat house, by which he aims to further promote feline inclusivity and care. He aims to achieve this through decorative found objects such as Eros figurine, pieces of a shiny, gold pelmet, broken piece of an old ashtray, all of which are

conventionally not often utilized in making cat houses.[323] By doing so, "I want people to come and take photos for Instagram and while they are doing so, they can see the cat and feed them," explains Uzay. In another cat house, he utilizes a transparent material and sets up the cat house facing the street so that the passers-by acknowledge that the intervention houses cats, for whom they could also care. He explains that he "target[s] people's Messiah complexes," [122] that is, he wishes that people who see the cat house will say "Oh, what a cute cat, I shall feed them and take a photo for Instagram." Yet, cat houses being positioned mostly in public spaces, emphasizing them through purposefully increased visibility may make them more vulnerable. They can attract negative attention, disclose the locales of interspecies care and care recipient community cats to human non-proxies, and result in displacement or discard of cats and/or cat houses, thereby inevitably disrupting care. Ege (33, other, media executive), similar to others, confirms the existence of cat houses as a marker of liminal animal belonging: "If I move into a neighborhood and I see that there are cat houses, I see them the next day, and the day after that, I would say, 'Yes, this is a place that recognizes the existence of liminal animals.'" [123] Despite being interpreted as a sign of liminal animal belonging, Ege continues, cat houses do not inform the visitor of the existence of human non-proxies, some of whom may wish to cease interspecies care practices and their designerly manifestations thereof: "It [existence of cat houses] conveys a message that there are other people [like me, who care], but it doesn't tell me anything about how strong those who don't want them on that street are." [124] As I explained previously, human proxies' design process is a process of designing against non-human externs, "poor care" of human proxies, and last but not least, "lack of care" of human non-proxies.

[323] See 6.3 Collecting and Disseminating More-Than-Human Resources for a discussion on the material resources utilized in designing of cat houses.

Figure 6.30 *Missing Posters for Community Cats*



Note. Photograph (left) reads: "MISSING CAT. NAME: ASIL. NAME-RESPONSIVE. DISAPPEARED FROM ÜZÜM KIZI PARK IN SELAMI ALI NEIGHBORHOOD. PLEASE CALL THE NUMBER BELOW IF YOU SEE THEM. [MOBILE PHONE NUMBER]" Taken on 30 January 2021 by Merve Dilara Yıldırım in Selami Ali, Üsküdar, Istanbul and used upon her kind courtesy. Photograph (right) reads: "LOST!!! DUMPED IN YOĞURTÇU PARK OR NEARBY. PLEASE LET ME KNOW [MOBILE PHONE NUMBER] IF YOU FIND THEM [pensive face and praying hands emojis]" Taken on 17 May 2021 by the author in Osmanağa, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

Apart from feline agency to stray, visibility of care and cat houses, purposeful or otherwise, who invite human non-proxies into multispecies situations might explain disappearances of community cats. Disappearances of community cats who have names, who are regularly fed, for whom cat houses are designed and maintained, who are taken to veterinary clinics if they are injured or sick, are immediately noticed by human proxies and acted upon. A missing poster with a full-body photograph of the cat in question is designed with a description of the animal such as their name, whether they are name-responsive, if they a characteristic physical attribute such as a disability that distinguishes them, and where they were last seen (Figure 6.30). A contact information is provided for those who come across the missing animal. Posters are then placed where visible.

Similar to feeding while walking, missing posters extend design sites for interspecies care beyond the confines of immediate care such as feeding and sheltering, which are often conducted in rather safe and isolated corners within the city. Missing posters are set up across the streets to communicate to proxies and non-proxies to locate the missing cat and re-establish disrupted care, simultaneously underlining feline belonging in a city. Not only they confirm extant interspecies care practices, from which community unanimity on feline belonging is deduced, but also design sites for interspecies care operate as public probes that disseminate rights-based voices pertaining to wider animal liberation movement (Figure 6.31).

Figure 6.31 *Rights-Based Discourses Found in Design Sites for Interspecies Care*



Note. Photograph (left) reads: "FREEDOM FOR ALL SPECIES, LAW FOR ALL SPECIES" Taken on 21 December 2021 by the author in Kalamış, Kadıköy, Istanbul. Photograph (right) reads: "HORSES DON'T HAVE LICENSE PLATES" Taken on 24 January 2020 by the author in Cihangir, Beyoğlu, Istanbul.

Not only such discourses expand the impact of such design sites by including the interests of other animals in a wider political agenda, but they also emphasize -once again- the symbolic function underlined by human proxies. While carving more-than-human sites in the city, where liminal animals are invited and their needs are tended to, human

proxies underline their political vision for Istanbul: Not only *a* more-than-human city, but a true Zoöpolis, where the inclusion and belonging of community cats becomes a design agenda, purposefully materialized, discursively articulated (Figure 6.32), adapting to and thriving *against* external conditions.

Figure 6.32 *Found Drawing Illustrating "Animal House" in City Skyline*



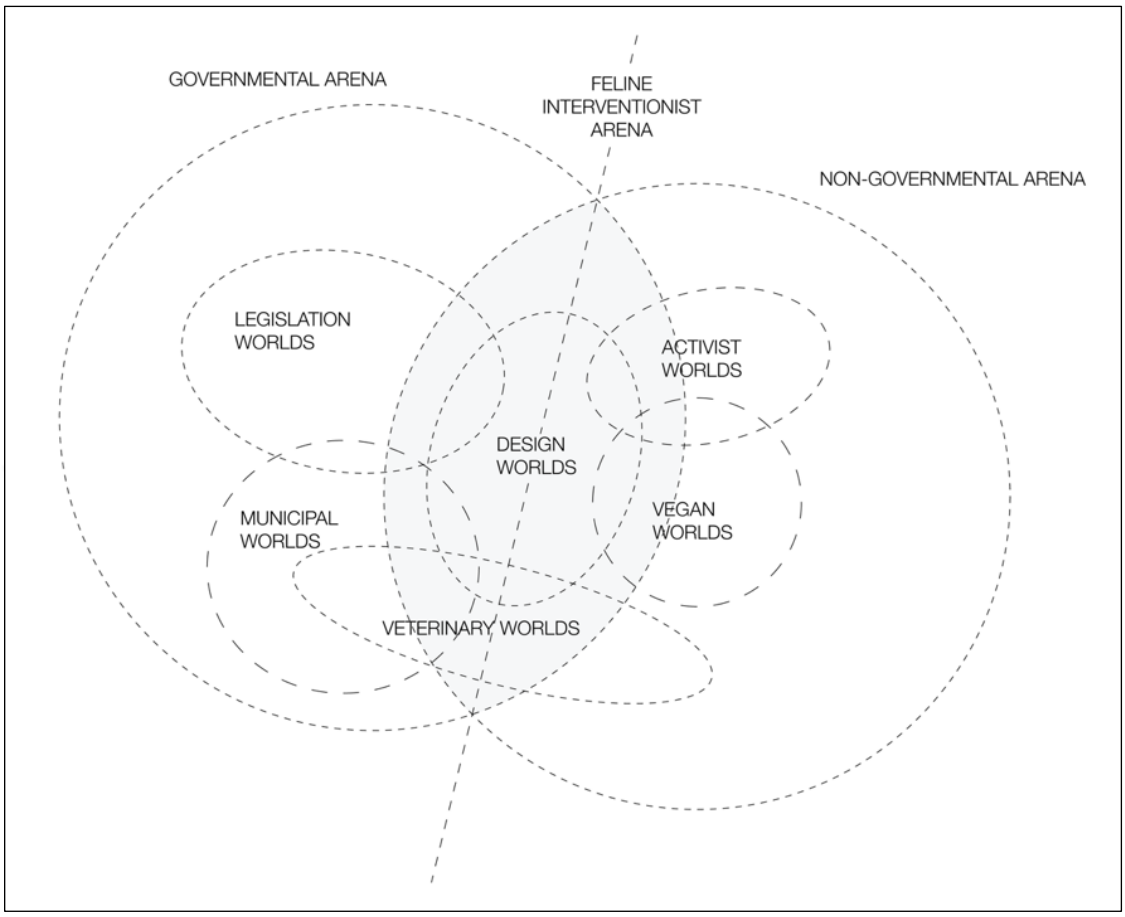
Note. Illustration reads: "Animal House" Taken on 22 March 2020 by the author in 19 Mayıs, Kadıköy, Istanbul.

6.7 Conclusion to the Analysis: Feline Interventionist Arena

In this study, I offer a substantive theory on design for interspecies care situated in *Feline Interventionist Arena*, in which human proxies design interspecies care for feline users of the city, thereby designing *Zoöpolis*. Grounded in American Pragmatism and Symbolic Interactionism of the Chicago School (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, p. 5;

Strauss, 1987, pp. 5-6), GT embodies the two mutual principles shared between these philosophical and sociological positions, namely, 1) the continuous change of social phenomena, and 2) rejection of strict determinism and nondeterminism. Therefore, social phenomena in GT tradition do not delineate static entities but are constantly changing in relation to conditions, and actors do not stand outside social phenomena, but shape and are shaped by them. Therefore, GT approach aims to uncover 1) the relevant conditions to the phenomenon under scrutiny and 2) how actors respond to the conditions through their actions/interactions. As my analysis has shown, the arena is positioned at the intersection of governmental and non-governmental arenas (Figure 6.33), the first of which constitutes of legislation and municipal worlds, legally binding local municipalities and their MVDs to govern liminal feline population.

Figure 6.33 *Feline Interventionist Arena*



Considering the continuous change of social phenomena in GT, feline interventionist arena and its social worlds do not delineate static entities. To the opposite, their porous borders are constantly negotiated, and members (of social worlds) may enter and exit for identities are also not fixed but prone to change. Hence, emphasis on designerly care action within the design worlds, and not the manifold identities of animal lover, animal rights activist, vegan, etc., for these identities do not necessarily exclude interventionist positions.

6.7.1 Human Proxies, Feline Events and Interspecies Care

I showed that human-feline encounters hold transformative potential for both parties involved, which, after Haraway, I explain as "contact zones" in multispecies

situations. One transformative path is becoming, willingly or not, a human proxy. A human proxy translates to a caregiving agent who either self-identifies or is designated by non-proxies as the representative to speak on behalf of feline recipient of care and its designerly manifestations. Contact zones in the experiences of my participants could be divided into three in time and space. Firstly, human-animal encounters take place during childhood, often accompanied by parental figures in places, rural or otherwise, with immediate access to outdoors. Secondly, university campuses are constructed as multispecies spaces which allow human-animal encounters as well as encounters with human individuals with a critical approach to the animal question. Thirdly, the city as a more-than-human entity consists of a plethora of multispecies situations. Regardless of the locale, some human-cat encounters are constructed by human proxies as events that require human intervention and care, which I conceptualize as "feline events" as one specific form of contact zones, during which human and feline parties transform. There is a sense of moral urgency in feline events, creating affect and evoking a sense of "I must," which is lacking in contact zones due to its emphasis on mutual shaping of participating parties. While the human party allocates material and psychological resources in their care, the feline party may respond to care or may not. Such feline events are constructed by human proxies as turning points in their lives, which lead to the formation of an interventionist caring self, by which I mean human proxies who have a history of and are more prone to make intervention in feline events. However, feline events are not limited to feline bodily conditions, deemed urgent by human proxies. They simply refer to any multispecies situation, at the center of which sits the feline user of the city deemed vulnerable by human proxies, thereby justifying and inviting human intervention. Here I draw upon Broz et al.'s conceptualization, who borrows concept of

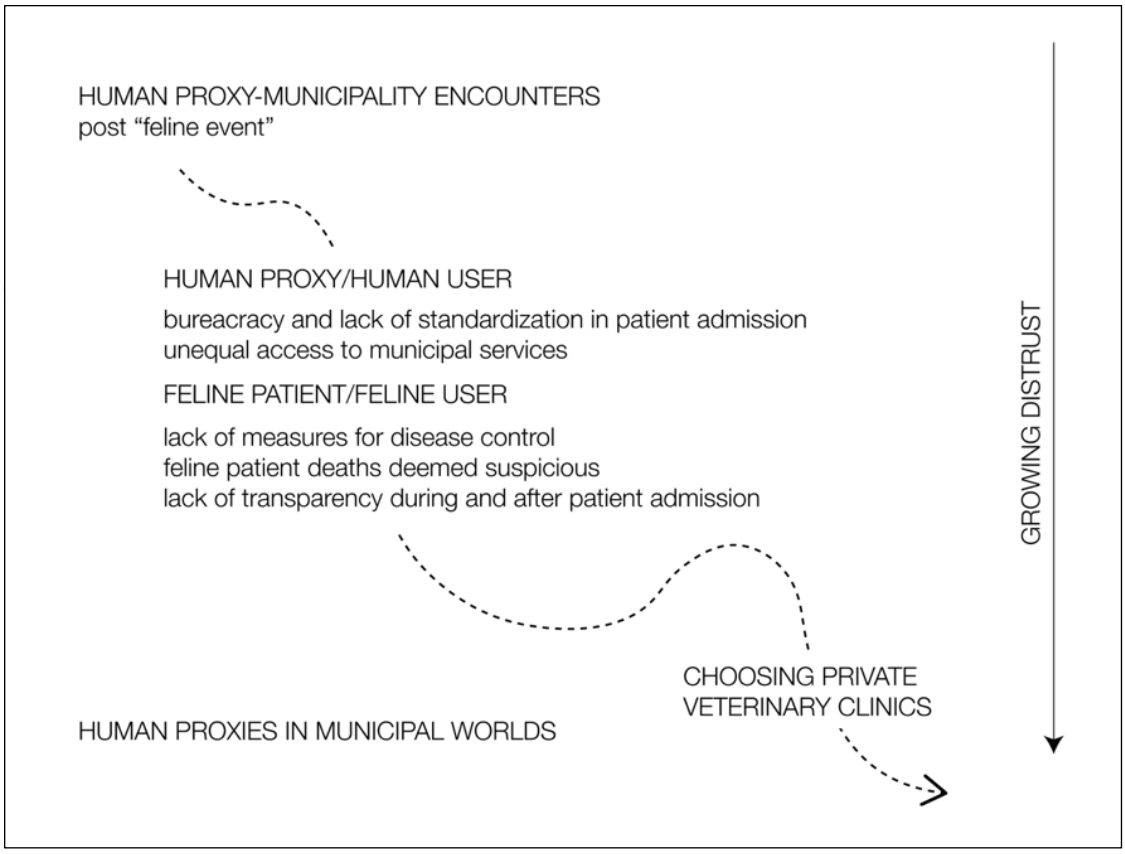
event from the work of anthropologist Veena Das (1995) to explain the unpredictable and transformative nature of human-animal relations, the case for which they discuss African Swine Fever (ASF) and veterinarization in mediating human-wild boar co-existence amid the outbreak of ASF (Broz et al., 2021). Their emphasis on mutual transformation through interspecies contact could be traced to Donna Haraway's *When Species Meet* (2008) and her notion of "contact zones," despite authors' lack of engagement with Haraway's work. After Haraway (2008) and Broz et al. (2021), I propose feline events which are situated in multispecies situations, and delineate one form of contact zones, characterized by caring and designerly intervention of the human proxies, through which (non)human participants transform. The framing of event I propose could be extended to other human-animal encounters in the city or in the wild, e.g. canine events, simian events, avine events, where human intervention, designerly or otherwise, is justified and desired for the well-being of animal(s) in question.

Feline interventionist arena takes hold in the city due to municipal indifference and inadequacy pertaining to the issue, grounded in personal experiences of human proxies during municipal processes (Figure 6.34). The felt absence of adequate municipal services as a reliable partner and the prevalent distrust toward municipal services, exacerbate already disconnected citizen-MVD relationship. Consequently, the inadequacy of local governance results in human proxies to take personal initiatives.

Interventionist caring self is characterized by the intervention due to a caring standpoint. A human proxy may or may not choose to identify as animal lover [*hayvansever*], animal rights defender, vegan, etc. as all of these identities have interventionist and non-interventionist positions within each concerning feline events.

What characterizes the human proxy in feline interventionist arena is their interventionist caring self regardless of their political dispositions of lack thereof.

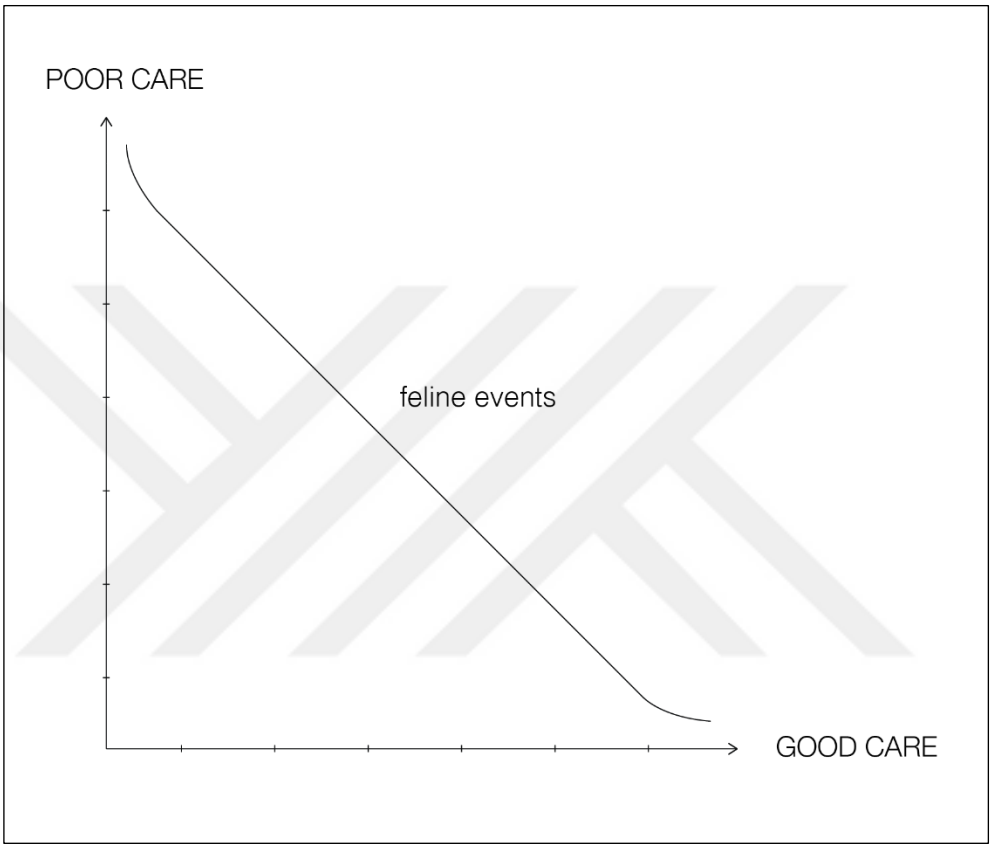
Figure 6.34 *Human Proxies in Municipal Worlds*



Characterized by their intervention in feline events, human proxies engage in ongoing interspecies care, one form of which is designerly action. While navigating care, which they deem emotionally and financially challenging, human proxies resort to a set of strategies. These include finding emotional support from their immediate circle, human or otherwise, purposefully avoiding conflicts with those who challenge their care practices, keeping care flexible so as not to exhaust themselves, delegating care when they find it difficult to manage, and if conditions justify, exiting care. How the intervention takes place or whether it is justified is subject to "good care," a set of values and practices human proxies construct and negotiate on an ongoing basis. Despite

participating in feline interventionist arena, hoarders and breeders are excluded for their "poor care" which does not center the interests of community cats (Figure 6.35).

Figure 6.35 *Interplay Between the Quality of Care and Feline Events*



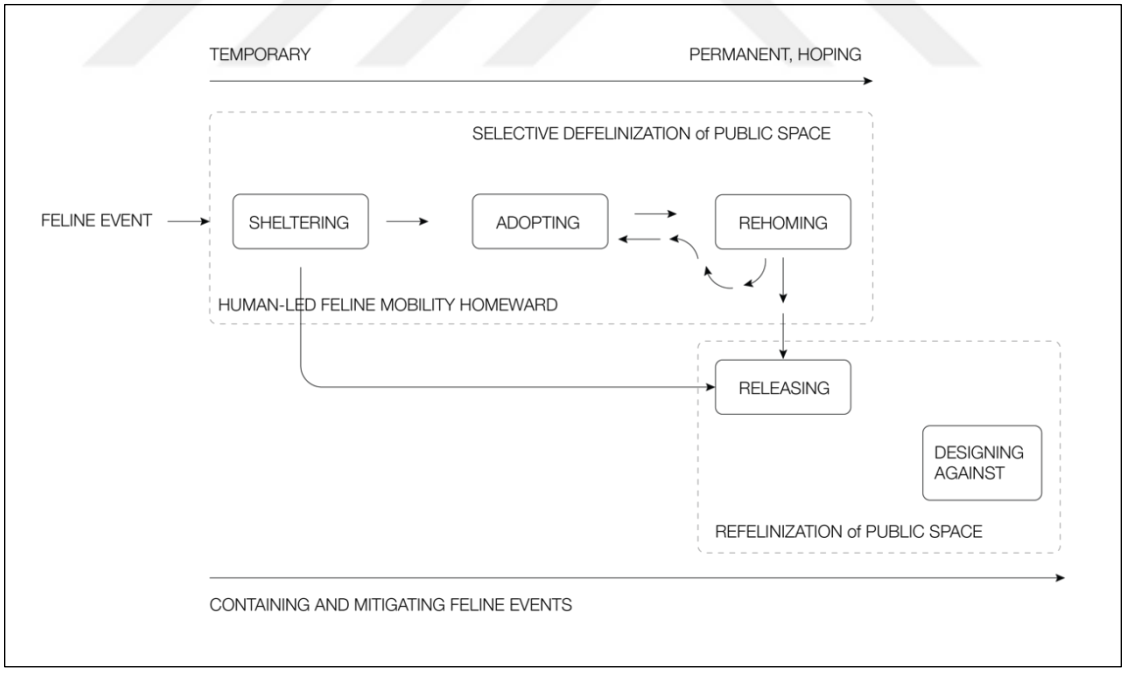
6.7.2 Selective Defelinization of Public Space Preceding Design

Human proxies develop a three-partite community-driven feline spatial population program (CDFSPM) amid municipal indifference, societal apathy and resource scarcity (Figure 6.36). A significant constituent of good care pivots around concurrent spatial accommodation and population management of community cats, as the city in its current form is constructed as detrimental for cats to habituate.[324] In their decision-making on spatial accommodation, human proxies prioritize certain cats and feline conditions such as personal history, disability, etc., thereby constructing feline

[324] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment.

vulnerability,[325] as a criterion to evaluate the urgency of a cat's being taken under human supervision. Human proxies construct feline vulnerability on a dependency-autonomy continuum, with those cats deemed dependent are prioritized in spatial accommodation inside a household, theirs[326] or that of another proxy's[327] (Figure 6.37). In their evaluation, human proxies focus on feline bodily conditions such as age, (dis)ability, and life events such as pregnancy and postpartum processes as well as the personal history and general temperament of animal in question. While feline infancy, pregnancy, disability and domesticity are constructed as feline vulnerable states, justifying the decision to prioritize adoption in human households, able, senior cats with a history of living outdoors are deferred for they do not constitute feline events for human proxies.

Figure 6.36 *Selective Refelinization and Refelinization by Design*



[325] See 5.1 Justifying Spatial Accommodation in Feline Vulnerability
[326] See 5.2.1 Sheltering Temporarily and 5.2.2 Adopting Permanently.
[327] See 5.2.3 Rehoming Permanently (Hoping).

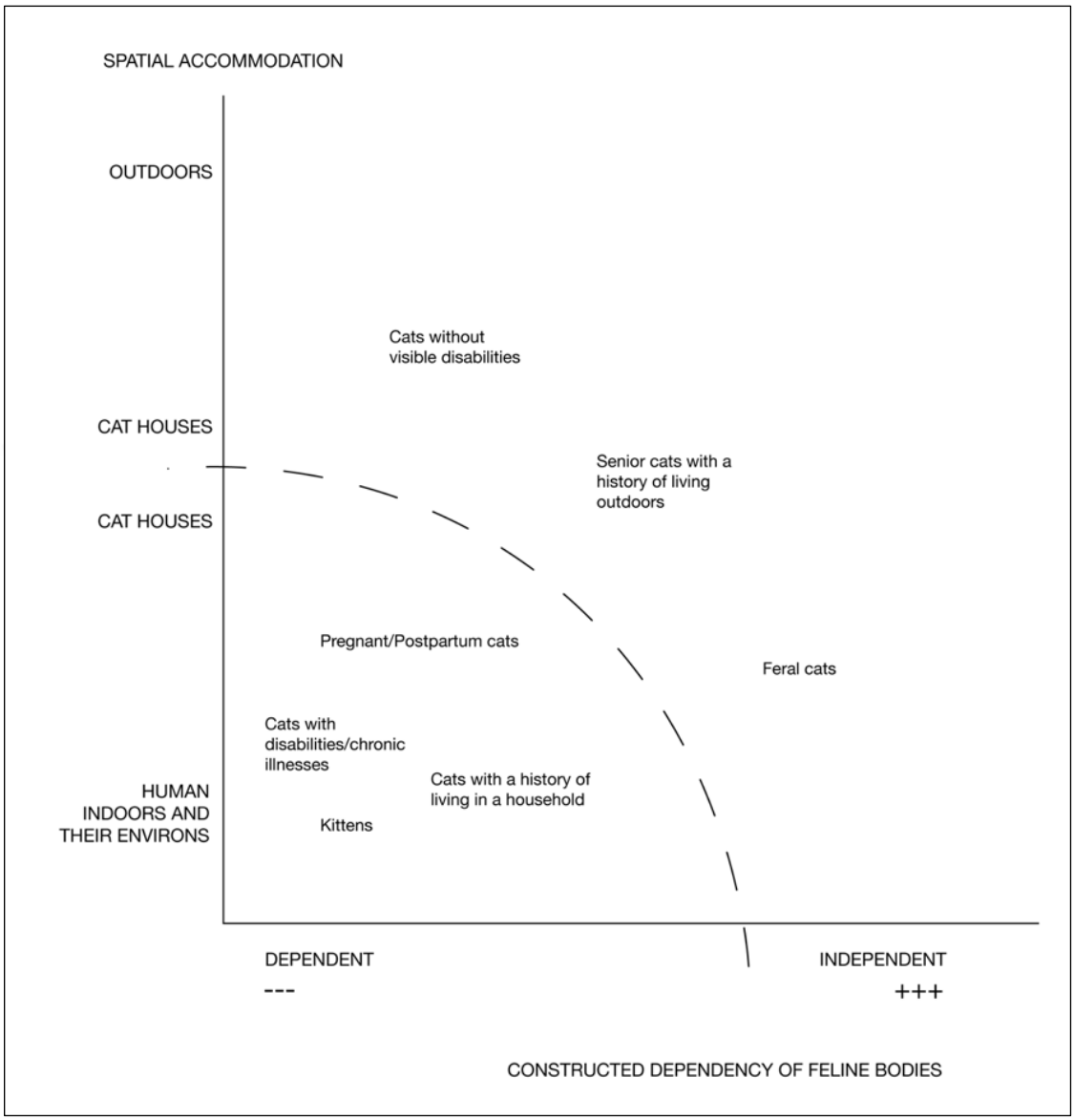
As I discussed previously, human proxies' good care consists predominantly of feline spatial accommodation and population management, as an agenda to provide care for those deemed vulnerable and aiming to control the future population. I interpret this under a larger *selective defelinization* framework grounded in care. Selective defelinization describes the care-based process of removal of community cats deemed vulnerable from the public space toward the households constructed as safe in the form of feline spatial accommodation. Parallel to this, human proxies engage in *nonselective neutering*, i.e. feline population management of community cats through neutering regardless of bodily conditions such as sex or ability/disability given the feline patient meets operation criteria such as age. In the context of liminal dogs of Istanbul, Mine Yıldırım (2021) conceptualizes "decanisation" as a systematic attempt to remove liminal dogs from the city center to its margins, which ultimately disrupts extant human-canine interspecies care practices in the city. Building on Yıldırım's (2021) concept of "decanisation," my findings expand upon the human-led animal mobilities in the city not only as a systematic neglect and killing, but also as a care-based agenda from the ground up. Therefore, motivations behind such human-led animal mobilities within the city complicate these phenomena based on whether they are driven by care or not.

Although adoption and rehoming practices within selective defelinization perpetuates ability/disability system due to their construction of *feline normalcy*, selective defelinization discloses how an agenda to remove liminal animals from public spaces could operate from a caring standpoint and may simply choose to continue interspecies care in rather confined environments such as the human household deemed apposite, rather than disrupt it. Note that selective defelinization is practiced by human proxies themselves in a grassroots manner, as a caring response to lack of rehoming policy of

MVDs,[328] however ableist they may be. The directions of liminal animal mobilities may change, e.g. to the city margins or to the household, but human-led animal mobility remains, shaped by opposing ideologies and various agendas.

[328] See 6.1 Designing due to Municipal Inadequacy and Indifference.

Figure 6.37 *Spatial Accommodation of Liminal Cats*



Note. The diagram is an adjusted version of Clarke's positional mapping. Note that Y axis does not focus on a discourse but describes a spatial axis elongated from indoors to outdoors, with cat houses occupying an in-between position.

Most human proxies' position could be categorized within *selective defelinization*, where human proxies mark feline bodies based on which they deduce feline vulnerability, inevitably operating within ability/disability system (Garland-Thomson, 2002). However, research has shown that, in the case of primates such as lemurs and macaques (Camón, 2024), disability does not hinder simian chances for survival in the wild. In a similar vein, gray whales who have lost flukes due to fishing gear survive and reproduce (Sahagún et

al., 2004). In Istanbul, one may come across community cats with missing limbs, continuing their lives as many other community animals. This is not to deny, however, that animals with disabilities will survive regardless. It is to emphasize that some animals adjust to living with their disabilities in their "natural" environment, so long as the environment accommodates these animals and/or they receive support from their conspecifics in the case of primates or from humans in the case of community cats. This ultimately requires situating disability socially, politically and relationally. As Alison Kafer describes it, an individual is not disabled, but the environment is disabling (Kafer, 2013). Focusing excessively on the body and casting it as the problem invites medical/veterinary interventions to "fix" the issue, and if unsuccessful, delegates the task of navigating built environment to the individual with disabilities, and their immediate circle, human or otherwise. Kafer shifts the focus by advocating for a political/relational framework, in which she problematizes the environment and its reproduction of bodily normalcy that fails to accommodate bodies with disabilities. Drawing upon an ethnographic study on animal shelters in southern California, Katja M. Guenther explains how dogs with disabilities are infantilized and constructed as deserving of "saviors" to rescue them during rehoming practices (Guenther, 2023). While dogs are provided caring homes, ability/disability system continues to perpetuate practices and discourses of those who adopt/rehome DAs.

In the feline interventionist arena, human proxies do problematize the city in its failure to afford animal ways of living,[329] as well as local municipalities and their policies or lack thereof.[330] The selective defelinization human proxies engage in utilizing spatial population management, e.g. concentrated spatial accommodation of feline infancy,

[329] See 4.3 Liminal Cats on the Edge of Life in Human-Built Environment.
[330] 6.1 Designing due to Municipal Inadequacy and Indifference.

(post)pregnancy, disability and overall domesticity, is a caring response to the human-built environment that fails to acknowledge the issue in design and urban planning framework, let alone attempt to solve it. It is in this wider municipal negligence and non-proxy apathy that I situate the design practices for interspecies care such as the cat house. In a city that neglects liminal animals, human proxies construct community cats as vulnerable entities, and strive to offer them purposeful more-than-human living spaces in the form of cat houses to compensate for its absence in a city tailored according to Man.

Such ranking of community cats/feline events due to their urgency stems from a caring standpoint, for feline population is high and spatial accommodation resources are scarce. Due to resource-scarcity, human proxies intend temporary spatial accommodation during caregiving in their own household,[331] with the intent to rehome the animal in another household[332] or to release them in the territory of the feline event once feline event ends. The interplay between emergent emotions and the deliberate attempt to distance oneself from them as well as the one's ideology on the animal issue and specifically liminal animals profoundly shape the decision-making processes of human proxies pertaining to spatial population management. Following the feline event, wherein said animal is deemed worthy of human intervention and rescue, co-living with an animal contributes to the formation of a human-animal bond and a devotion to said animal. For some participants, there do not need to be an established human-animal bond, but rather an ideological and moral disposition that said animal needs to be rescued, regardless of whether there is any human-animal bond. This is why feline events may lead to the spatial accommodation of rescued cat in the human proxy's house, that is, adoption. When human proxy does not have the spatial means to adopt the animal themselves, they seek

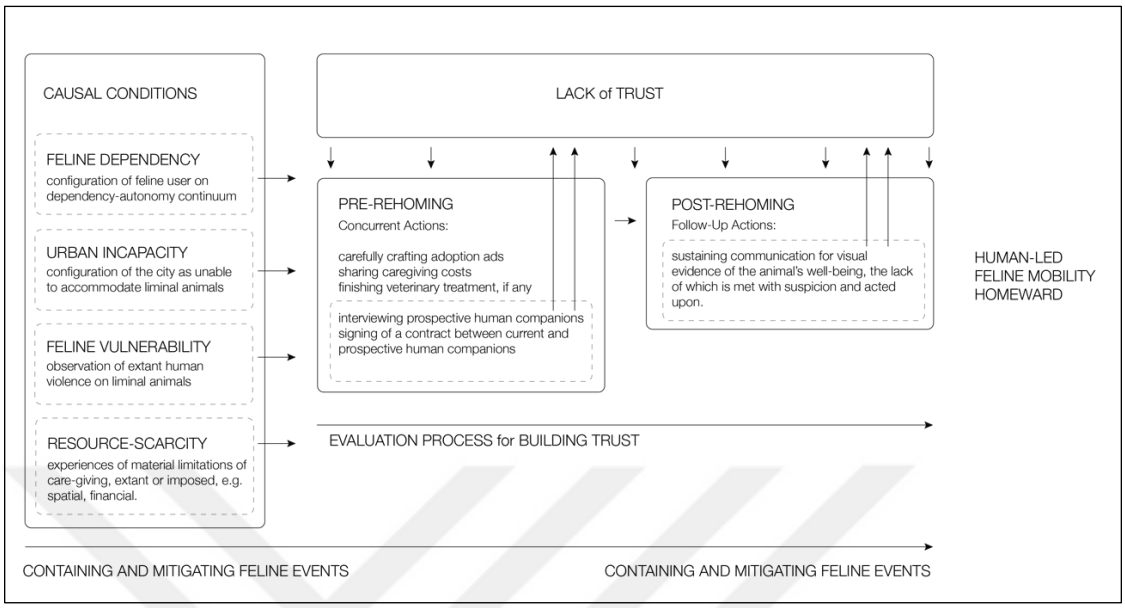
[331] See 5.2.1 Sheltering Temporarily.
[332] See 5.2.3 Rehoming Permanently (Hoping).

other ways in which they could accommodate the animal.[333] This may take the form of rehoming the animal, taking care of the animal outside their immediate spaces such as household or workplace.

During rehoming, human proxies seek those they trust within their immediate circles (Figure 6.38). Some human proxies proceed with processes of evaluation and signing contracts, the aim for both of which is building trust and ensuring future communication on the well-being of rehomed animal. Some human proxies with an experience of rehoming report having quitted rehoming practices due to the unforeseeable course of the rehoming process, the end of which could lead to releasing adopted animal to the streets.[334] This is believed to impact feline well-being as the animal has developed a habit of co-living with humans in a household, who then has to adjust to living on the streets. Such a concern could be seen as a continuation of the evaluation of feline personal history I have previously described.[335]

[333] See 5.2.3 Rehoming Permanently (Hoping).
[334] See 5.2.4 Not Rehoming (Anymore).
[335] See 5.1 Justifying Spatial Accommodation in Feline Vulnerability.

Figure 6.38 *Rehoming Process as Part of Selective Defelinization*



Concurrent to their spatial accommodation in households, human proxies engage in *nonselective neutering*, i.e. ongoing neutering of community cats en masse to prevent feline population increase,[336] thereby decreasing the number of *feline events*. Neutering is conducted due to perceived health benefits on the neutered cat and the limited resources human proxies could allocate for existing and future feline populations. Therefore, veterinary intervention in the animal body is justified from a caring standpoint, for neutering offers a better quality of life. Cats as trapped and are taken to private clinics, and municipal veterinary clinics, albeit to a lesser extent due to lack of trust in municipal bodies. Due to the difficulties in trapping a liminal cat, human proxies neuter whoever cat they come across, regardless of whether the animal is male or female, despite their differing views on the efficiency of neutering different sexes in their population management efforts. Hence, *nonselective neutering*.

[336] See 5.3 Neutering Cats.

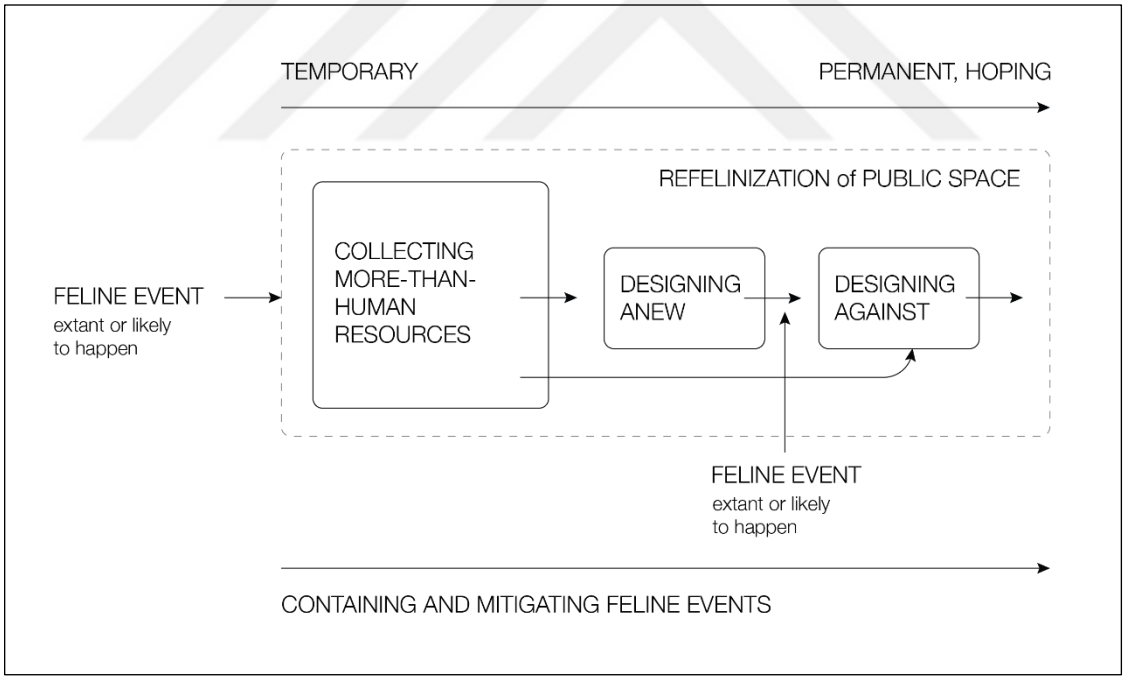
Liminal animal mobilities, especially in the case of DAs such as community cats, disclose the ultimate anthroparchy observed in the organization and governance of our cities and societies in which these animals are implicated. In the midst of human-led decanisation and selective defelinization, caring or not, cat houses purposefully refelinize the city, illustrating Zoöpolis serves not only as a political horizon, but also as a living reality made and remade in Istanbul.

6.7.3 Refelinization of Public Space by Design: Designing Zoöpolis

Parallel to *selective defelinization* and *nonselective neutering*, i.e. concurrent feline spatial accommodation and population management, where community cats deemed deserving of adoption or rehoming in a human household, human proxies *refelinize* public spaces by designing for interspecies care from the ground up (Figure 6.39). Drawing upon Wolch (1996), and Donaldson and Kymlicka (2011), I title this urban vision as Zoöpolis, to describe not only a political horizon geared toward multi-species futures but also to theorize its making, here and now. Hence, *designing Zoöpolis*. The grassroots designerly practices emerge as a compassionate response to municipal indifference and inadequacy, informed by the construction of the feline user of urban public space along the dependency-autonomy continuum, which is empirically grounded in the experiences and knowledges of human proxies. Similar to the process of *selective defelinization*, where feline infancy, (post)pregnancy, disability and overall domesticity are constructed as *dependent upon and deserving of spatial accommodation*, designerly practices of human proxies are preceded by the configuration of the feline user of urban public space as *dependent, yet autonomous entity*. Community cats are regarded as dependent on human provision for sustenance and shelter, infantilized by some human proxies in a way similar to that of the human child dependent on a human adult. Yet,

feline agency and autonomy are also emphasized in how community cats selectively interact with humans and spaces. As I previously discussed, species are social constructs,[337] domestication is ongoing,[338] and humans and DAs form interspecies relationships that are transformative for both.[339] Community cats of Istanbul, then, can move on a domestic-feral continuum, in their individual lifetimes or across generations. However, recognition of animal agency means to allow animals to contest the behavioral norms common to their species, thereby demonstrating their individuality. This is why configuration of the feline user is a *species script*, a configuration of the animal user, grounded in knowledges and discourses, scientific or otherwise.

Figure 6.39 *Refelinization of Public Space by Design*



In *Frontiers of Justice*, philosopher Martha Nussbaum (2006) extends capabilities approach to non-human animals, and argue that, in order to ensure animal well-being,

[337] See 1.2.1 Definitional Scope: Human Proxies and Community Cats.
[338] See 1.2.1 Definitional Scope: Human Proxies and Community Cats.
[339] See 2.2 Encountering Animals in Multispecies Contact Zones of Zoöpolis and 4.4 Proxification: Becoming a Human Proxy.

animals, like humans, need to achieve certain capabilities, and proposes species norm. Donaldson and Kymlicka (2011) argue that Nussbaum's capabilities approach works in the wild, where animals are removed from social interaction with humans, but cannot be applicable to more-than-human cities, where humans and animals co-exist. This is due to the fact that DAs are social by their nature, and their socialization often includes interspecies interaction with humans. Nussbaum's capabilities approach relies on a strict species category, where different animal species are expected to reach a certain level of capabilities, which she titles as species norm, in order to reach a fulfilling life. Donaldson and Kymlicka remind, however, that neither humans nor DAs form societies separate from one another, and they often benefit from such interspecies relations. This is why, Donaldson and Kymlicka argues, DA capabilities are immediately related to the social norms of societies DAs are a member of, thereby requiring an interspecies account of capabilities. Building upon Nussbaum's species norm, and Donaldson and Kymlicka's critique, I propose *species script*, drawing attention to social construction of animal well-being, including but not limited to community cats. Such an approach to species, DA or otherwise, illustrate not only the human author of such knowledge production but also its limit, for the animal has the agency to re-write the script. This is the case in Istanbul's community cats, who, through their non-use of cat houses as preconceived by human proxies, challenge human script as to how community cats should habituate in the city.

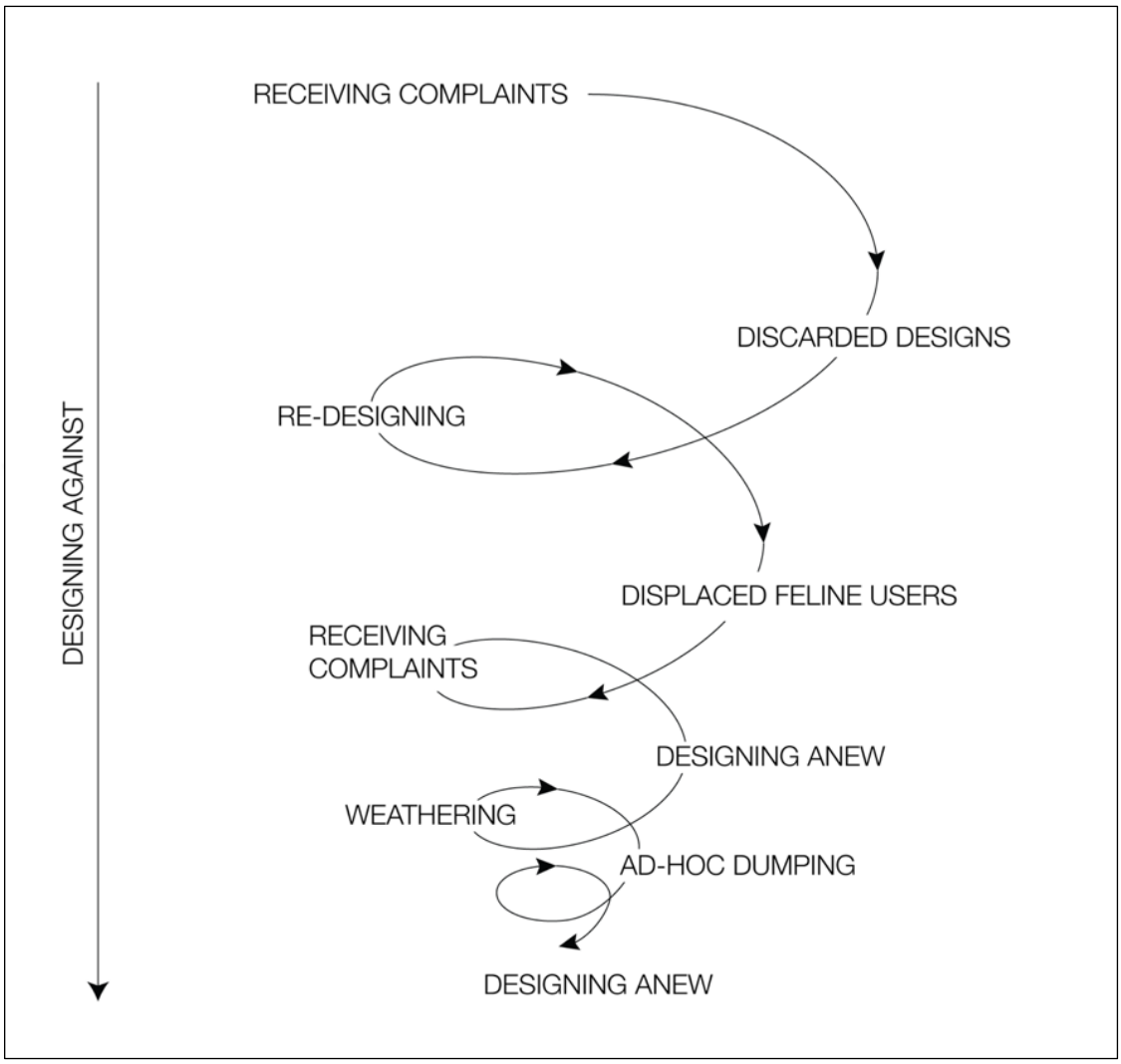
Immediate feline needs are constructed as food/water provision, sheltering, and interspecies contact with humans by human proxies. To respond to feline needs, human proxies seek and collect diverse more-than-human resources, material or otherwise, prior to and during their design processes.[340] Guided by *good care*, material selection of human

[340] See 6.3 Collecting and Disseminating More-Than-Human Resources.

proxies is informed by two main factors. Due to financial difficulties human proxies face in providing care,[341] they often resort to materials that are freely available within their immediate circles.[342] Such materials include animal remains collected from fishermen and butchers as ingredients for cat food preparation and waterproof and sturdy materials reused for shelter design. Within these immediately and freely available resources, they evaluate and utilize them based on their affordances, i.e. their potential for ensuring feline well-being as best as possible by providing sustenance and shelter and eliminating emergent undesired conditions in each. Their material selection is ultimately guided by good care and could be understood as a part of *designing against* as a *caring pre-emptive measure for and respond to feline events* which presumably emerge in multispecies situations (Figure 6.40). Therefore, designing against should be understood not only designing interspecies care for *here and now*, but also designing for *what if*.

[341] See 4.6.2 Navigating Financial Scarcity.
[342] See 6.5 Designing Against Feline Events.

Figure 6.40 *Designing Against. A Model for Design Process for Interspecies Care*



Note. The downward conical spiral that I present in the diagram illustrates how, despite and due to the external conditions, against which human proxies design, inform the design in a way that it informs the emergence of design form. Note that the diagram is a representation, and elements do not have to emerge in the consecutive manner so illustrated. However, such elements are constitutive to designing against, without which design for interspecies care that I theorize would remain stagnant, unable to respond to emergent conditions.

Process of designing against operates at three levels: 1) designing against non-human elements outside social world, e.g. *weathering* externs,[343] 2) designing against human elements within social world, e.g. *poor care* provided by human proxies,[344] and 3) designing against human elements outside social world, e.g. *lack of care* by human

[343] See 6.5.1 Externs' Weathering Care.
[344] See 6.5.2 Human Proxies' Poor Care.

non-proxies.[345] Designing against delineates an emergent design process that is informed by emergent conditions in multispecies situations. The design process does not pursue a hylomorphic model, in the sense that human proxies neither discuss a mental model they conceive prior to commencement of form-giving, nor they exercise absolute control over how design takes form, and which design ultimately takes hold. It is the external conditions that inevitably shape the design process and design itself. Hence, *designing against*. However, by such a conceptualization, I do not intend to conceptualize a design process shaped *only* by external conditions, as if human proxies are docile and their materials are inert. I have discussed human proxy as an *interventionist caring self*, often themselves critical of apathy and indifference, whether it be individual or municipal, in feline interventionist arena. Such conceptualization of design process of human proxies as docile is not only incorrect, but also problematic as it would mean denying their creative agency as if they are devoid of the creative autonomy to shape the design process the way they see fit via designerly decision-making. To the contrary, how human proxies respond to the emergent external conditions are caring *and* designerly. Apart from the most immediate caregiving, human proxies advocate for approaching feline events such as those with human non-proxies (discard, displacement, etc.) carefully. They often avoid conflicts for purposes of self-care and centering animals,[346] or purposefully contain conflicts in order to de-escalate feline events. Designing against could be framed within Schön's (2017) notion of design as a "reflective conversation with the situation." In this case, the conversation occurs in feline events in multispecies situations. The conversation in designing against is well-meaning and reconciliatory in nature, for it aims to contain feline events, and achieve good care.

[345] See 6.5.3 Human Non-Proxies' Lack of Care.
[346] See 4.7.1 Avoiding Conflicts.

Designing against underlines how design in feline interventionist arena is characterized by ongoing negotiations within and outside the design world, for feline interventionist arena is very much shaped by the disrupting interventions of human non-proxies in the form of discard and displacement. Therefore, designing against substantively theorizes the design processes for interspecies care in the *feline interventionist design world* that I present. By design world, I reference Donald Schön (Schön, 1988), herewith I would like to contribute to his notion. To Schön, design world delineates "configurations of things, relationships and qualities" (p. 182), into which designers enter during design processes. These environments act as "holding environments" for design knowledge. As a constructivist, Schön explains both opposition and consensus during collective design action in his notion of design worlds.

In feline interventionist design world, designerly practices could be observed in two main care practices, namely, feeding and sheltering. In feeding, some human proxies resort to preparing their own cat food as an alternative to industrial products,[347] and map feeding locales in the city by attending to intrafeline dynamics.[348] Designerly practices are more concentrated in sheltering, another significant constituent of good care. In sheltering, cat house emerges as a peculiar solution. Human proxies design cat houses to accommodate cats they neither adopt nor rehome, for they are not constructed as vulnerable as adopted/rehomed others. These cats are those who are not constructed as vulnerable as others who are adopted or rehomed in households. Cat houses are designed with the able-bodied cat in mind, although this is not so stated explicitly. However, designed cat houses are not as used as imagined by human proxies who design them,

[347] See 6.4.1 Making Cat Food.
[348] See 6.4.2 Mapping Feeding Sites.

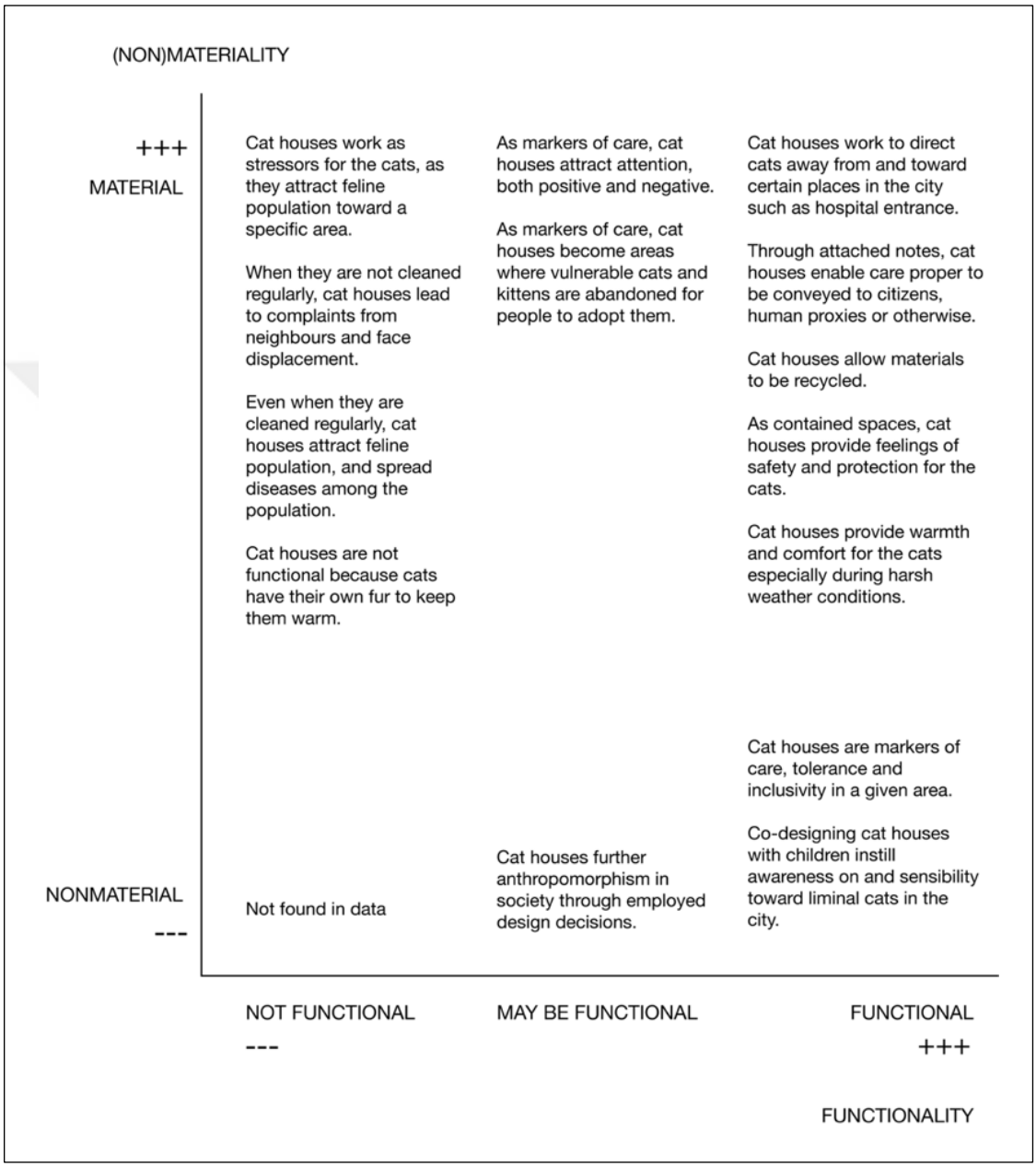
thereby disclosing feline agency. Cats often use them when they seek refuge due to weather or medical conditions such as pregnancy or postpartum.

Schön's understanding of worlds is not dissimilar to Strauss's SWT, upon which Clarke builds SA, though Schön does not discuss Strauss's work. In SWT, however, social worlds are universes of discourses, a point that is lacking in Schön's formulation. In his definition of design worlds, however, Schön does not include discourses as elements of design worlds. As I have discussed, discourses shape human action, and this is one of the motivations of SA in pushing GT around the postmodern turn.[349] Feline interventionist arena illustrates how extant discourses and silent voices illustrate a map of positions, thereby disclosing the significance of positions in shaping design (Figure 6.41).

The function of cat houses to shelter liminal cats, albeit well meaning, is problematized by some human proxies due to cat houses directing cats to a certain locale (through feeding taking place nearby) and thus acting as a human-mediated *feline hub* to transmit diseases across feline population. This is why some human proxies emphasize the maintenance of cat houses through regular cleaning or simply designing disposable cat houses. Therefore, cat houses appear as a contested intervention within feline interventionist design world, with human proxies adopting distinctly opposing stances pertaining to their functionality or lack thereof. Despite the controversy on immediate feline well-being, human proxies converge on the symbolic functionality of cat houses, that is, cat houses are regarded as a marker of multispecies co-existence for they materially and discursively further liminal animal belonging in Zoöpolis.

[349] See 3.4 Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn: Situational Analysis.

Figure 6.41 *Positional Mapping of Cat Houses on Materiality and Functionality Continua*



Note. The diagram is based on Clarke's positional mapping. Both X and Y axes delineate discourses, (non)materiality and functionality respectively, elongated across a continuum. "Not found in data" describes positions that do not have some correspondence in the data of this study.

7. CONCLUSION

As stated in the Introduction, I aim to contribute to the emergent body of MTHD literature through a substantive grounded theory of design for interspecies care. The substantive theory I offer is grounded in the empirical world of human proxies and community cats in Istanbul and wider Marmara region and their designerly care practices. This research aimed to answer the following RQs introduced in Chapter 1:

1. How can the multispecies situation, broadly conceived, be understood in terms of the underlying factors that shape human practices, motivations, and responses within these interactions?
2. How do human proxies interpret and make sense of the behaviors and needs of community cats? How is the feline user of the urban environment configured?
3. What are the notable examples of practices, accommodations, or interventions—designerly or otherwise—that facilitate co-existence with liminal cats in urban environments?
4. How do human proxies in Istanbul conceptualize and design interspecies care practices for community cats, and through what processes are these designs negotiated and adapted?

To answer the above-mentioned RQs, I employed Constructivist Grounded Theory and Situational Analysis, and interviewed 29 participants who, from a care-based standpoint, intervene in the lives of community cats to feed, neuter, and shelter them through adoption, rehoming and designing of cat houses. In what follows, I first explain how the findings of this study answer the above-mentioned RQs. Then, I discuss the theoretical and methodological contributions of the study. I end the chapter by addressing

limitations of the study for a quality evaluation on part of the reader, and recommendations for future research and policy.

7.1 Revisiting Research Questions

7.1.1 For RQ1: Feline Interventionist Arena and Feline Events

In addressing the first RQ, which explores the broad contours of the multispecies situation—specifically the motivations behind human proxies intervening in the lives of community cats—the rationale for such intervention emerges as a central point of inquiry. The grounded theory I propose conceptualizes this situation through the main, conceptual category of the *feline event*, which refers to the present or imminent scenarios of feline use, marked by a tension between the anthropocentric urban environment and the often-marginalized feline presence. This friction is the impetus for human intervention, which, whether designerly or otherwise, is perceived as a moral imperative. Thus, the notion of the *feline interventionist arena* is introduced as the focal context for these dynamics. Local municipalities and their veterinary departments (MVDs), though legally responsible entities, emerge as often overlooked and dismissed stakeholders in this context. Human proxies perceive MVDs as indifferent and inadequate in their governance of liminal animal populations, prompting themselves to assume responsibility and act from the ground up.

In emphasizing interventionist actions, this framework sidesteps the complex array of identities often attributed to individuals within this field—such as animal lover, animal rights activist, volunteer, or vegan—each of which embodies both interventionist and non-interventionist stances. Instead, the dissertation prioritizes the level of intervention and investment in community cats over the ideological positions that

individuals may hold. This focus does not dismiss the significance of ideologies, but rather acknowledges that, within the scope of this dissertation, care-based design actions take precedence in shaping the nature of human intervention.

Feline events unfold across various sites and temporal contexts in the lives of human proxies. For the participants in this study, all of whom share a history of and commitment to care-based intervention, these feline events carry significant transformative potential. Participants recall feline events as significant milestones in their *proxification* process, in which they assume the role of human proxies for feline users and their interests. In a similar vein, feline events followed up by care-based human intervention facilitate *domestication* pathways of community cats. Recognizing the agency and desire of both parties, human proxies and community cats may pursue *distantiation* due to their individual desire to distance themselves from the other party and care relation.

Due to above-mentioned dismissal of MVDs, human proxies develop a three-part, community-driven feline spatial population management (CDFSPM) program as a care-based alternative. CDFSPM includes 1) selective defelinization of public space preceding design characterized by transitioning of community cats with heightened dependency to private households, 2) nonselective neutering of community cats for feline population management, and 3) refelinization of public space by design for community cats deemed independent and able. CDFSPM is navigated amidst challenges such as emotional strain and resource scarcity, prompting human proxies to devise strategies to manage the demands of care labor. Paradoxically, care can also give rise to distantiation, wherein human proxies intentionally withdraw from intervention (and subsequent care) in certain feline events. Overall, the event framing that I propose emerges as a design opportunity

to design for animals in urban environments, that is, designing Zoöpolis, by identifying frictions between human-centric city and its neglected animal users.

7.1.2 For RQ2: Feline User on Dependency-Autonomy Continuum

RQ2 explores how human proxies conceptualize and configure the feline user and their needs within urban environments, for such configurations critically inform designerly care practices. As a non-linguistic agent lacking the capacity to communicate through human language, the feline user is discursively constructed and implicated by human interventions irrespective of their physical presence or absence in a given design context. Such discursive configuration can be understood along the *dependency-autonomy continuum*.

Firstly, community cats are often infantilized, characterized as dependent beings requiring human provision of food, water, and shelter. This dependency is reinforced through language likening cats to human children and through observations that frame them as prey-scarce and food-driven animals. In addition, certain community cats are regarded to have heightened dependency on human supervision and care, often associated with factors such as infancy, (post)pregnancy, disability, prior exposure to human care and domestic settings, or an overall domestic temperament.

Regardless of the degrees of feline dependency, participants also emphasize feline autonomy, recognizing cats' agency, individuality, and capacity for selective interaction with humans and spaces, who navigate the urban environment based on factors such as food availability, environmental conditions, and perceived threats. Feline autonomy is particularly highlighted in participants' attentiveness to feline consent and communication, rejecting anthropocentric projections and advocating for interspecies interactions grounded in mutual respect. In addition, community cats, which exhibit a

more feral temperament and lack a personal history of exposure to human care or human households, are often characterized as less dependent on human supervision, and able. These cats are situated towards the extreme end of the autonomy continuum, demonstrating a pronounced capacity for self-sufficiency and a pronounced degree of independence.

This interplay of dependency and autonomy emphasizes the need for human interventions aimed at reducing reliance, which I frame as practices of "good care." These practices are characterized by efforts to empower feline users and foster their independence, as opposed to "poor care" practices that risk reinforcing their dependency and limiting their agency. Quality of care which human proxies abide by act as a separator between human proxy and non-proxy worlds from the perspective of human proxies. Those who engage in breeding and hoarding are criticized for furthering feline events and deepening feline dependency. Configuration of the feline user along the dependency-autonomy continuum informs human-led feline mobilities within the city.

7.1.3 For RQ3: Selective Defelinization and Refelinization

RQ3 asks the examples of practices, accommodations, or interventions—designerly or otherwise—that facilitate co-existence with liminal cats in urban environments. As explained in responding to RQ1, human proxies engage in three-partite CDFSPM, a community-driven feline spatial population management. CDFSPM discloses two types of human-led feline mobility in the city: 1) cats with heightened dependency transitioning from public space to human households as part of *selective defelinization preceding design*, 2) *refelinization of public space by design* for cats deemed independent and able. Accordingly, the two types of mobilities with separate destinations, private household and public space, translate to two main types of human-

feline co-existence. While the former favors a more traditional human-companion animal co-existence in a confined physical space with immediate human supervision, the latter reveals a more flexible human-feline co-existence.

This *selective defelinization* process characterized by removing cats deemed with heightened dependency from public spaces to private households forms the core of human-led interventions aimed at mitigating the difficulties liminal cats face in urban settings. It aligns with an ability/disability framework, wherein certain cats are considered more deserving of intervention due to perceived vulnerabilities, such as age, pregnancy, or disability. Here, human proxies go through processes of adoption (in their own household) and rehoming (to another household of a trusted human proxy). Parallel to this, nonselective neutering practices are employed to curb the population growth of community cats, further managing the challenges of overpopulation in the urban context.

In *refelinization by design*, human proxies engage in grassroots, designerly practices to accommodate the needs of cats, who cannot be taken under immediate human supervision due to resource scarcity or respect for feline autonomy. Refelinization by design includes the designing of cat houses and food/water containers, utilizing repurposed artifacts readily available within local communities, aimed at addressing human provision of food, water and shelter. Designerly interventions such as the cat house represent a purposeful effort to refelinize urban spaces and enable community cats to co-exist with humans in a more sustainable, caring manner, contributing to the reimagining of urban public spaces in ways that accommodate both human and feline lives.

7.1.4 For RQ4: Designing Against Feline Events

RQ4 asks how human proxies conceptualize and design interspecies care practices for community cats, and how these designs are negotiated. Human proxies in Istanbul

conceptualize and design interspecies care practices for community cats through a process that emphasizes fulfilling immediate feline needs, including food, water, shelter, and interspecies interaction. The design process is informed by a commitment to "good care" and is shaped by the practical limitations and available resources within the human proxies' immediate circles. Due to financial constraints, these proxies often repurpose materials that are freely accessible, such as animal remains from local fishermen and butchers for cat food, and durable materials for shelter construction. In their design choices, human proxies prioritize the well-being of the cats, evaluating materials based on their affordances to provide sustenance, shelter, and mitigate adverse conditions. This process of design is not static but involves an ongoing negotiation, adjusting to emergent multispecies circumstances, and guided by a reflective, pre-emptive approach I conceptualize as *designing against*. In this process, they design against *present or imminent feline events*, which will deepen feline dependency if not intervened or taken precaution.

Designing against involves anticipating and responding to three external elements: non-human elements (e.g., weather), poor care practices of human proxies (e.g., lack of maintenance), and lack of care of human non-proxies (e.g., displacement or discard). This conceptualization challenges a deterministic view of design, instead acknowledging the agency of human proxies in shaping the process through their creative decision-making. The design process, thus, reflects a reflective conversation between the human proxies and the wider feline interventionist arena. Although the design outcomes are shaped by external human and non-human elements, human proxies maintain significant agency in directing their responses to these conditions owing to their interventionist position.

Key practices in the design process include feeding and sheltering, with feeding involving the creation of alternative cat food and mapping of feeding locations in the city. Shelter design is especially prominent, with human proxies constructing cat houses for cats that are neither adopted nor rehomed. These shelters, intended for able-bodied cats, reveal the agency of the cats themselves, as they use these structures selectively, primarily for shelter from weather or during health-related conditions such as pregnancy. The functionality of cat houses is contested within the community, as some human proxies critique their potential to congregate cats in one location and facilitate the spread of disease. Nonetheless, the symbolic function of cat houses as markers of multispecies co-existence is broadly accepted.

The process of *designing against* that I propose is shaped by a complex interplay of discourses, material choices, and human decisions, mapping positions and perspectives within the feline interventionist arena. The design process is therefore characterized by negotiation, adaptation, and continuous reflection on the emergent needs of both cats and their human proxies.

7.2 Contributions of the Study to Literature

This study contributes to the growing body of literature on MTHD through a systematic study of an empirical world designing a more-than-human city in situ. Despite its focus on animals rather than other non-humans such as plants or things, there is a gap in surveyed literature pertaining to network approaches mapping stakeholders in a given more-than-human situation as well as representation of animals in design processes. This study responds to this gap and provides an example of how SA could be utilized in design studies, and especially in MTHD studies wherein non-linguistic agents take part.

This study contributes to both animal literature and design literature. Mostly focusing on moral standing of animals, their sentience and a right to life without human violence and exploitation, spatial accommodation of animals in captivity such as those in animal industrial complex, once liberated, does not appear as the most pressing issue and the most immediate concern within animal scholarship. This study contributes to animal literature that design offers a path to answer these questions.

7.2.1 Theoretical Contributions to More-Than-Human Design

This study offers a list of contributions to design scholarship, especially pertaining to More-Than-Human Design. I offer a list of recommendations especially on design research centering animal users, for the study is grounded in feline user of the urban environment.

Trace *events*—feline or otherwise—as design opportunities for designing Zoöpolis: The event framing I have proposed can be extended beyond felines to encompass other species and their respective territories, offering a lens to examine the tensions between anthropocentric urban environments and their often-overlooked animal inhabitants. Similar to feline events in Istanbul, similar research could be undertaken on canine events in Bucharest, Romania; simian events in Mumbai, India; or murine events in Amsterdam, the Netherlands; among other possibilities. The critical objective here is to shift the focus to these points of friction where the anthropocentric urban design becomes conspicuously apparent in its mere neglect of animal users at their detriment or demise. These friction points should be recognized as design opportunities—spaces where cities, traditionally shaped by humans tailored according to the needs of Man, can evolve towards a more-than-human paradigm. In this way, the ambitious task of designing

Zoöpolis can transform from an abstract ideal to an everyday practice, embedded in the design of the city itself.

Design interventions that facilitate animal agencies as sites for the co-production of knowledge on animal users: The spatial scope of this dissertation, the cat house and its environs, discloses the potential of design interventions as a site for knowledge production pertaining to animals via their uses, and non-uses of said intervention. Design interventions offer the opportunity for designers to observe how animals engage with the proposed designs, and, equally, to learn from their refusals or disengagements. This challenges the preconceived user personas for said animal(s), which I conceptualize as *species script*. However, confronting the inevitable epistemic limitations of human configuration of the animal user should not be viewed as a failure. On the contrary, when approached with methodological rigor and careful attendance, it provides an invaluable learning opportunity to decipher animal desire.

Center interspecies relation and proxification process by design thereof, not merely the designed outcome: This study has shown that the design intervention may embody conflicting positions on its functionality or lack thereof. While the designed outcome serves as a crucial object of designerly inquiry, for it enables an understanding of convergent and divergent positions regarding animals, it must be approached with caution as an inherently incomplete and evolving entity. This is particularly salient when considering *species script*, where animal users may resist or redefine their human-imposed configurations. As such, the interspecies relationships and proxification processes that arise from human interventions in animal events, designerly or otherwise, should serve as foundational knowledge sources within the methodological framework of MTHD. The specific interspecies relationships to be examined are ultimately an empirical

question, contingent upon the research objectives and inquiries guiding the designerly process. This necessitates a deliberate engagement with mapping stakeholders and the interspecies relationships surrounding the animal user.

Map interspecies relations and seek human proxies as key representative stakeholders for animal interests: Because the non-human user is non-linguistic, that is, they cannot speak the human tongue, the primary task is to map key stakeholders and seek representatives who will speak on behalf of animal interests. The findings of the study revealed that refusing to self-identify through extant identities (e.g., animal lover, animal rights activist, vegan) do not necessarily translate to lack of genuine concern and care for the animal user. For instance, the most prolific cat house designer Uzay strictly rejects animal lover and vegan identities, refrains from caring collectively in his neighborhood due to fear of care burden. Compared to other human proxies, he stands out as a negative case, differing from others due to strict rejection of extant identities. To him, designing cat houses is more about designerly tinkering and place-making. However, his investment in design coupled with his extended observations of community cats afforded him a body of knowledge on designing spatial accommodation for liminal cats in urban environments. Therefore, interspecies relation must not be understood only as care relation in the traditional sense, such as providing regular food and water provision, which Uzay purposefully disengages. Interspecies relation is characterized by purposeful approaching and intervening in the lives and spaces of animals, leading the human in proxification, that is, someone knowledgeable enough of those animals that they can speak on their behalf better than others.

Operate on proxification-distantiation continuum: This dissertation identifies the existence of a proxification-distantiation continuum for human participants and

domestication-distantiation continuum for DAs in human-animal interactions, highlighting the dynamic and non-static nature of interspecies relationships. Human proxies possess agency to either draw closer to or distance themselves from animal counterparts, and, in a symmetrical manner, animals, too, exhibit agency in determining their proximity to humans (human spaces and human care). Both parties may pursue to distant themselves from the relationship, contingent upon their desires and the feasibility of doing so, particularly within the constraints imposed by existing power imbalances in human-DA relations. In contexts characterized by hierarchical human-animal relationships, such as those involving working animals within the animal-industrial complex, animals may actively resist human-imposed configurations of their exploitation, subjugation, and incarceration. Distantiation, whether enacted by humans or animals, may not necessarily manifest as a physical or unequivocal separation or a complete withdrawal from the relationship. Instead, it can be understood as an effort to create distance or redefine boundaries to the extent of their respective capacities. Note here that animals, and DAs especially, have disadvantageous positions in their relations with humans marked by power imbalance. Important for design, however, is the reflexive and attentive employment of proxification-distantiation continuum in MTHD processes. Designer or design researcher must purposefully and carefully pursue human-animal interaction to cultivate proxification as a strategic approach to gain deeper insights into animal standpoint, and to serve as informed representatives of their interests. By being attentive to potential animal distantiation, the designer or design researcher of more-than-human concerns can foster interspecies interactions grounded in respect, thereby underlining the transformative potential of proxification to afford meaningful influence of animals on human conduct, designerly or otherwise.

Enable animal agency to shape research process: A critical recommendation for MTHD research and practice is the intentional commitment by researchers and designers to allow their work to be shaped by the agency of animals. This principle is fundamental for decentering the human perspective and prioritizing, as far as possible, the agency of animals, acknowledging their capacity to influence and direct the trajectory of the MTHD process. Reflecting on my personal experience during this study, I participated, under veterinary supervision, in the euthanasia of a kitten with SCI through a lethal injection. This deeply emotional experience profoundly impacted me, prompting an exploration into end-of-life care for animals, as well as the politics surrounding disability and euthanasia. Through this encounter, my understanding of care expanded beyond normative frameworks of enhancing life to encompass a more complex and nuanced practice—one that involves navigating the ethical challenges of making ends meet within the constraints of present circumstances. This underlines the significance of designing MTHD processes that are open to being influenced by the animals involved, fostering a purposeful awareness on animal agency.

Expand the professional and geographical scope of MTHD research and practice: The study enriches the emergent MTHD literature by examining design practices from the periphery of both 1) the design discipline and 2) the Western context. First, the research theorizes the designerly practices of primarily non-professional designers, with only four participants trained in industrial design (two participants) and architecture (two participants). This shifts the focus in MTHD from professional design scholars and practitioners to everyday design practices for animal users within proximity. The study shows how such a designerly task is never within the exclusive realm of professional design but rather embedded in everyday care practices of caring about an

issue as well as caring for a marginalized and underserved animal community. Second, the designerly practices this dissertation theorizes take place in Istanbul and wider Marmara, the most southeastern point of geographical Europe. Hence, periphery of the West. Essential here is to reflect on the key takeaway: while human proxies envision a specific way of feline habitation—whether that's in a cat house, at a particular location, or near food and water—the feline user often rewrites that script through non-use or alternative use. This non-use should not be seen as a failure. Instead, it calls for an open, iterative approach to design—one that embraces feedback, adaptability, and the agency of the animal user. This is where MTHD comes into play. It's not a rigid, one-size-fits-all solution; rather, it's an evolving process. It invites animals to interact with the design—or not—and through this, we learn about their standpoint. To borrow from Kymlicka, designing for animals is an "iterative process of proposals and responses" (2023: 25:00), where animals are invited to become "co-authors of shared urban life," if they so choose.

Turning back to the gaps identified in the literature, this dissertation has shown that domestication is an ongoing, dynamic process—one that is shaped by both care and design. It is through the efforts of human proxies, who forge close, one-on-one relationships with liminal animals, that the positive rights of these animals are ensured. From a design perspective, this research also underscores the potential of non-professional design and citizen engagement as critical drivers of multispecies transitions, challenging the reductionist view of non-professional design as a mere "quick fix."

7.2.2 Methodological Contributions to More-Than-Human Design

The study highlights the novel application of Grounded Theory (GT) and Situational Analysis (SA) methodologies in MTHD research, showcasing their robustness

and potential for advancing this emerging field. I introduce two main methodological contributions of the study below.

Grounded theorizing of designerly action: As an established, well-documented and thoroughly discussed methodology, GT offers especially novice researchers such as graduate students a well-documented guideline for conducting qualitative research and theorizing empirical worlds. Important for design research is GT's commitment to theorizing social change and accordingly its emphasis on action, which researchers can utilize especially during data analysis (e.g., coding in gerunds). Especially CGT, due to its constructivist approach to knowledge creation and its reflexivity, allows design researchers to position themselves as an element entering into design situations including many other elements, encourage reflexivity on their positionality, and embrace design knowledge as a co-creation. The tradition of memoing, often textual but sometimes visual, along with diagramming in GT, furthered by SA, allows design researchers to methodically and reflexively trace their research process and think reflexively during their analysis.

Situational theorizing of empirical design situations: SA, through its feminist and STS sensibilities, expands GT to exciting and promising avenues such as mapping situations broadly conceived including nonhumans, whether they be sentient, inanimate and/or discursive. As an approach that is attentive to discourses and (silent) voices in a situation, SA allows to map out positions in an empirical situation. Mapping all the positions in a given situation is significant to represent all voices, silent or otherwise, to attain a just representation of human proxies. SA's purposeful encouragement to trace implicated actors/actants, discourses and silent voices in an arena is especially helpful in design research on marginalized and underserved communities, animal or otherwise. This

is essential especially for processes concerning democratic representation of liminal animals, if interspecies democracy is to be achieved. Its feminist sensibility to power imbalances differs SA from popular network approaches in design such as ANT. A key contribution of SA to GT, and to MTHD if utilized, is its inclusion of extant discourses in the situation, in an attempt to go beyond the "knowing subject". In MTHD, this would mean mapping discourses surrounding the animal cultures, or individual animal users, and reflect on their socially constructed nature. These include not only cultural, but also scientific discourses. In GT, and in design research, this means to avoid centering solely the lived experiences of the individual, but work toward situating them in the wider situation, where discourses are to be found, shaping individuals' actions.

7.3 Limitations of the Study

This study is not without limitations, which must be acknowledged to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the substantive theory I present here. First, an inherent anthropocentric bias permeates research on animals, as human participants and the researcher interpret emergent lifeworlds and social phenomena through a distinctly human lens. Second, the study is empirically situated within the distinctive interspecies culture of humans and community cats in Istanbul, and the designerly interventions thereof (e.g., cat houses and their environs). Consequently, the theorization offered here is inherently rooted in a specific substantive field. Third, this research does not pursue population sampling but, consistent with GT methodology, adopts theoretical sampling to encompass a wide spectrum of practices for rigorous theorizing. In doing so, the study deliberately prioritizes the lived experiences of non-professional human proxies while deemphasizing professional perspectives. In the sections that follow, I elaborate each of these limitations.

7.3.1 Inevitable Anthropocentrism in Interpreting and Representing Animals

Investigating a specific animal culture, such as the liminal cats of a given locale,[350] is essential due to the focused and nuanced analysis it provides. Participants in this study, through their ongoing provision of food, water and shelter for community cats demonstrate their personal experiences in fostering a more-than-human city. However, despite their commitment to and expertise in feline urban experience, these participants, as humans, inherently possess a partial understanding of the feline standpoint. Consequently, the first limitation of this study pertains to the unavoidable anthropocentric lens through which animal standpoint is interpreted. In this study, the human interpretation has two levels: Human proxies' interpretations of feline users, and human researcher's interpretation of human proxies' interpretations. Given the study's focus on how human proxies design interspecies care, its findings predominantly illuminate human practices and constructions of the feline user. These insights are particularly significant as they shed light on the concept of *species script*, that is, the human construction of animal reality, whether scientific or experiential, and the corresponding design decisions. The study highlights human constructions of the feline user of the urban environment, as a response to RQ2.[351] Such configuration is empirically grounded in specific animal cultures, for they rely on extended observation of an animal population, which underline another limitation of the study.

7.3.2 Empirical Grounding in a Specific Interspecies Design Culture

This study theorizes the designing of Zoöpolis based on the lived experiences of human proxies who provide designerly care for community cats in Istanbul. While this

[350] See 1.2.1 Definitional Scope: Human Proxies and Community Cats.
[351] See 7.1.2 For RQ2: Feline User on Dependency-Autonomy Continuum.

focused inquiry is essential for achieving depth and nuance, it inevitably limits the scope of the theorizing to its specific substantive context. GT, by its nature, is rooted in particular empirical fields, and this study is no exception. Consequently, the theoretical framework I present here is shaped by its emphasis on non-professional interspecies care practices, the Turkish context, and human-feline relationships.

It is important to recognize, however, that care-based interspecies design practices are not limited to non-professional design practices, to the Turkish context, or to human-feline relations. Design for interspecies care extends beyond these definitional and spatial boundaries and occurs in diverse geographies with peculiar interspecies cultures. While the study concentrates on designing of Zoöpolis by focusing on the cat houses and their immediate environs, wider practices of interspecies care, e.g., mapping urban spaces and fostering supportive environments for other species, provide fertile ground for future MTHD research and practice.

The contextual grounding of this study does not diminish the significance or applicability of the concepts proposed in this dissertation. Rather, it highlights that the theorizing and concepts I offer in this study, while significant and highly valuable for informing future MTHD research and practice, resist simplistic or uncritical application to other contexts. The effective utilization of this substantive theory necessitates nuanced interpretation, contextual sensitivity, and a thorough understanding of the peculiar interspecies dynamics at play in each multi-species situation. Furthermore, it underlines the need for complementary substantive theorizing on other interspecies cultures of designerly care practices in urban environments worldwide. CCM[352] in GT emerges as a significant technique to be utilized in comparing substantive theories. Future studies

[352] See 3.3.4 Constant Comparative Method.

could inquire other phenomena that await theorizing such as different interspecies cultures, map these multispecies situations in their entirety, and compare and contrast the substantive theory I offer to that of their own. Ultimately, the development of a formal theory on care-based interspecies design for more-than-human urban environments requires the constant comparison of multiple substantive theories grounded in diverse empirical realities. By expanding our understanding of interspecies care practices and their implications for urban design, we can collectively contribute to a more comprehensive theoretical framework for designing inclusive, multispecies *Zoöpoleis* for fellow animals and their human proxies on the Earth.

7.3.3 Prioritization of Lived Experiences of Non-Professionals

As I explain in my methodology, GT does not utilize population sampling and the notion of social research as representative of a certain population in time and space. To the contrary, GT research, due to its commitment to theorizing, aims to represent the social phenomenon under scrutiny, because of which the aim is to recruit as diverse participants as possible in dialogue with theoretical sampling, memoing and constant comparison.[353] Reflecting on the limitations of this study, one key aspect is the selection of interview participants and design objects. The study includes both Turkish and non-Turkish participants, as well as participants of different demographics in terms of age, gender, class.[354] The focus on grassroots practices of human proxies intentionally de-prioritized the overemphasis on professional, more-than-human design perspectives, though mass-produced design objects like the ADORE cat house were still included in the analysis.

[353] See 3.3 Shared Methodological Tenets Across Grounded Theories.
[354] See 3.5.2.2 Interviewing and Observing Human Proxies.

Deprioritization of professional perspectives is due to the fact that this research centers on the lived experiences of human proxies caring for community cats in urban spaces, leaving out veterinary and municipal professionals. While their professional perspectives would certainly have added another dimension to the findings, the decision to focus on direct, personal involvement with the cats limited their inclusion.

Another limitation of this study concerns the absence of religiosity in the narratives of secular-presenting participants as a potential way to make sense of animals and motivate human proxies toward interspecies care and design action. As I explained previously,[355] I allowed individuals to voluntarily respond to the call for participants I disseminated publicly on different social media platforms in order to recruit those who are more committed to the care of liminal cats. Those who volunteered to participate in the study slowly shaped the research process by informing my theoretical sampling. Participants of the study did not articulate or ground their care practices in religion, thereby slowly eliminating this avenue for further inquiry during my theoretical sampling. This does not, however, translate to religion as an overall insignificant aspect in interspecies care. It is, however, non-existent for the secular-presenting research participants who did not justify their care and design practices in a religious framework. Religious perspectives, which could influence care and relationships with animals, were largely missing here and could provide a more nuanced view if explored further.

In summary, this study acknowledges several limitations that must be considered when evaluating the substantive theory that I present here. These limitations include the inevitable anthropocentric lens in interpreting and representing the animal standpoint, the empirical grounding in the interspecies culture of human-cat relations in Istanbul, and the

[355] See 3.5.3.1 Allowing Participants to Shape the Research Process.

prioritization of the lived experiences of non-professional human proxies in interspecies care practices. I should note once again that this study, as any other study, is situated in time and space and produces, after Haraway, situated knowledges of *a* body. This is why I provided an expansive methodology chapter elaborating diverse ontological and epistemological positions resulting in "Grounded Theories,"[356] as well as discussing how I navigated my research process utilizing GT methodology.[357]

7.4 Recommendations for Future Research and Policy

This study identifies recommendations for future research to further expand upon and presents several recommendations for advancing MTHD research and practice, as well as policy pertaining to the governance of liminal animal population in Istanbul and beyond.

7.4.1 Revised MVD Care for Human Proxies and Community Cats

Grounded in empirical worlds of human proxies and community cats, this study is indebted to research participants who generously volunteered hours of conversation with me, some of whom, the study finds out, struggle during their caregiving. Therefore, I present the following recommendations to ensure the well-being of both human proxies and community cats who are immediately impacted the care provided by their human companions. The recommendations emphasize the need to redesign MVD processes toward a desired direction for the benefit of immediate stakeholders.

[356] See 3.2 Competing Ontologies and Epistemologies: Toward Grounded Theories.
[357] See 3.5 Grounded Theory in This Research.

7.4.1.1 Improving Human Proxy Well-Being

The study identifies three major areas to be addressed for a quality interspecies care: 1) Building trust between human proxies and MVDs, 2) building communities to combat social isolation experienced by some human proxies, and 3) alleviating compassion fatigue caused by ongoing care. Policy developments that effectively tackle these identified problems will ensure an increase in the quality of care provided, promote collaboration between key stakeholders, and inevitably mitigate the potential to deepen feline dependency.

1. **Building Trust:** The lack of trust in Turkey, as seen in the low trust index (Ortiz-Ospina et al., 2024) is echoed in the experiences of human proxies I spoke with. This mistrust is observable among human proxies toward one another, but it also extends to others, including MVDs and non-proxies including the researcher. As the study indicates, trust is an important currency in interspecies care, the lack of which, justified in participants' previous experiences, lead to a dismissal of (some of) veterinary and municipal services as viable options. Breach of trust due to professional misconduct include lack of transparency during animal admission and treatment, problems with accessing municipal services and the inequality participants observe thereof, and lack of a standard procedure across local municipalities. Such experiences lead human proxies to approach municipal services with suspicion, who they often find indifferent toward and inadequate in feline population management. This results in human proxies to build solidarity with those individuals whom they trust, seek support from and delegate caregiving tasks. At times, these trusted individuals may be private veterinarians, with whom they develop a regular relationship, and the contact information of whom they

remain hesitant to share (knowing such relations are too valuable in a climate of distrust). Therefore, policy development pertaining to the governance of community cats in Istanbul and beyond must address the pervasive lack of trust in MVDs, especially among human proxies in Turkey. Due to its potential to facilitate negative perceptions toward non-proxies, lack of trust is a significant barrier in citizen-MVD cooperation. For a stronger, unified, multispecies community addressing this lack of trust is a must.

2. **Building Communities:** As I explained, lack of trust leads human proxies to form small cliques with those they trust. A significant parenthesis that I would like to open hereby is that social capital is not a given, and those who suffer from deteriorating mental health conditions may face difficulty in maintaining social relations. This leads to what I elsewhere conceptualized as "interspecies liminality" (Taşdizen, 2024), a shared liminal status across species, human, feline or otherwise, that hold the potential to form interspecies bond. This shows the importance of caregiver not as an infinite resource of care, but a material body who is itself vulnerable, but whose vulnerability may render them more empathetic to others' suffering, thereby leading them to care more than others. Therefore, future policy must address social isolation experienced by some human proxies due to various mechanisms one of which is interspecies caregiving. It must address human proxies' caregiving processes in an anthropocentric, sexist, ageist and ableist world, and ways in which interspecies care is rendered insignificant, ridiculed and overall marginalized, thereby resulting in further "interspecies liminalities." This will shed light on mutual survival in the face of

shared interspecies oppression that cut across species barriers (ableism, ageism, sexism, etc.).

3. **Alleviating Compassion Fatigue**: Another major challenge I observed is compassion fatigue among human proxies, caused by the emotional and physical demands of caregiving. Research shows that long-term caregiving, particularly for chronic issues, can lead to caregiver burden, which can be eased by psychosocial support (Adelman et al., 2014). Given the lack of trust and social isolation, there's a clear opportunity for organizations like MVDs, in collaboration with mental health professionals, to offer accessible mental health programs, to support human proxies cope with compassion fatigue caused by ongoing caregiving. This will ensure a long-term commitment to interspecies care, while caring for caregivers as well.

7.4.1.2 Improving Feline Well-Being

The study identifies key problem areas in MVD services related to the provision of food, water, shelter, and veterinary care for community cats. Due to their lack of trust in MVDs, human proxies seek private veterinary care, which exacerbates the financial strain of caregiving, resulting in helplessness and, at times, animal suffering or death as they delegate or simply exit care. To address this, MVDs must reassess their policies and overall conduct on governance of community cats to reduce citizen reliance on private services and better support both human proxies and community cats. Grounded in the lived experiences of human proxies, the following recommendations emphasize collaboration between MVDs and citizens to improve the well-being of community cats.

1. **Prioritize Spatial Accommodation:** As a deprioritized policy, MVDs must prioritize and implement an effective strategy in spatial accommodation of

community cats, a problem area identified by and set forth as a community-driven agenda by human proxies from the ground up.

2. **Ensure Feline Access to Veterinary Care:** In the meantime, I recommend that MVDs provide community cats with free healthcare insurance to reduce the financial burden on human proxies and support the fundamental right to healthcare for animals.
3. **Provide Non-Exploitative Food Provision:** Additionally, I propose providing sustainable, non-exploitative (ideally vegan) food sources for community cats to ensure quality care, while reducing costs of care for human proxies who might otherwise rely on low-quality food.
4. **Implement Nonselective Neutering:** To compensate for food provision, which would increase feline population in a given area, simultaneous non-selective neutering must be implemented free of charge for feline population control. This is already implemented by IMM, but lack of trust in MVDs appears as a barrier between citizen-IMM cooperation for an effective population control campaign. During neutering, human proxies may be mobilized to cooperate with officials in reporting unneutered cats, and if necessary, assist in their trap and release or rehome.

In conclusion, the policy recommendations I present pertaining to the well-being of human proxies and community cats aim to address the critical deficiencies in MVD services for community cats, while fostering a collaborative approach between MVDs and human proxies. Prioritizing spatial accommodation, ensuring access to veterinary care, providing non-exploitative food sources, and implementing nonselective neutering are essential steps toward creating a more effective and equitable system for the

governance of community cats in the city. By integrating these community-driven solutions set forth by human proxies into their policies, MVDs can gain the trust of citizens who engage in interspecies care, alleviate their financial and emotional burden, and therefore improve the well-being of community cats.

7.4.2 Recommendations for Design Research and Practice

Drawing on the policy recommendations I previously outlined regarding the problem areas identified in MVD processes, I propose ways in which future MTHD research and practice may address these as design opportunities. I advocate for a holistic MTHD research approach that purposefully and carefully attends to the complexity of the empirical situations broadly conceived, while strategically remaining attentive to power dynamics and implication processes of discursively configured actors, animal or otherwise.

7.4.2.1 Improving MVD Processes by Design

As participants' experiences with MVDs reveal, there is a lack of standardization in municipal services for feline patient admission, and communication with human proxy. This contributes to the perception of municipal bodies as inadequate to manage feline population. A holistic service design approach may address such systemic issues, and co-design a governmental service for the benefit of all stakeholders involved, including human proxies, community cats and municipal administrative and veterinary staff. MTHD research pertaining to liminal animals in urban environments should pursue a participatory approach in shaping cities to a more-than-human direction and purposefully include human proxies as representatives of animal interests in such processes. This is because one-on-one, interspecies relationships human proxies and liminal animals form

are valuable sources of knowledge, and may provide, after scientific knowledges, nuanced insights into the animal realities on the ground.

Because this research focused on the experiences of human proxies and their configurations of feline user, future design research could pursue a more animal-centric approach and focus on designerly interventions from the standpoint of the animal, feline or otherwise. For instance, various positions pertaining to the functionality of cat houses or lack thereof found in the data could serve as starting points to test cat houses on the ground. Significant to future MTHD research is understanding cat houses as feline hubs and their role in transmitting diseases across feline population, as observed by the participants of the study. This points to designing interspecies care for community cats (and liminal animals in general) in a way that is attentive to feline disease control, a preventative measure for which is maintenance of cat houses as well as designing products with short lives as proposed by participants. The sustainability issue with the latter proposal underlines maintenance as a potential avenue for design research for interspecies care.

7.4.2.2 Mixed Methods Approach for Animal Standpoints

As Wolch and Emel remind us, “Animals are the ultimate Other” (1995, p. 632). Therefore, designing for them requires humility: the acceptance that we don’t have all the answers but must still choose to collaborate, despite the epistemic limitations of truly knowing the animal standpoint. This humility is not just a humbling experience for humanity but an urgent necessity. As the world continues to urbanize, encounters with animals, feline or otherwise, will become more frequent, challenging us to rethink the definition of urban, and the ways in which we could redesign our cities to accommodate other forms of living.

I argue that a mixed methods approach is crucial to attain animal standpoint and animal user experience within urban environments as best as possible. Proximity to animals, especially from indigenous or citizen viewpoints, can provide care-based designerly strategies, as this dissertation has demonstrated. In addition to human proxies, extended ethnographic observations of animal cultures, and quantified animal user data, may offer valuable tools for a holistic understanding of the animal standpoint. Each method involves varying degrees of human interpretation, but their synthesis in MTHD allows us to approximate animal realities more to the best of our human capacities. The objective here is to diversify research techniques and data sources. A mixed methods approach is vital for fostering empathy and designing responsibly for urban animals.

Designing for DAs, however, brings complex ethical challenges that we need to confront. Intensified domestication through care and design might inadvertently reinforce dependencies. This is problematic if non-violent alternatives for these animals' flourishing cannot be ensured, and if the broader system supporting their survival continues to rely on the exploitative animal industrial complex. This system operates on speciesist and extractionist politics, perpetuating mass killings of farmed animals for food. Here, the critical question emerges: How do we ensure the flourishing of DAs without harming other animals or the planet? Abolishing animal exploitation? Yes. Abolishing DAs? No.

As I have shown throughout the dissertation, DAs are with us here and now. They depend on our care, and they have mastered to communicate this need for as long as humanity's history. We owe them not only justice but also continued care. Human proxies cannot imagine a world without these animals, as it is not up to humans to decide who belongs in the world. Such ableist projections are socially constructed and are morally

problematic. Furthermore, the biopolitics of “who belongs?” and “which body is natural?” pushes us more quickly than we can ever imagine into the murky waters of speciesism, ableism, species extinction, and even eugenics.

Design, as seen through the everyday practices of Istanbul’s citizens, offers one way among many to care for and flourish the existence of these animals. Citizens not only shelter and feed vulnerable animals but also engage in designerly interventions that serve as public probes, raising essential questions about multi-species co-existence. These questions, in turn, create publics. This dissertation, along with its public dissemination, serves as a contribution to this ongoing dialogue.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. AN ATTEMPT AT RESCUING A KITTEN WITH SCI

Arriving at the Clinic

When I enter, I expect the veterinary doctors to be anxious and running around, almost as in an emergency room. There is none of that. Only a terrier inside one of the rooms who start barking upon seeing me. The passer-by who walked us to the clinic draws my attention to the conversation sounds coming from upstairs, so I go up. I see a couple of wire cages with cats inside. I move towards the sounds and see two veterinary practitioners discussing a patient's situation. I quickly explain them what happened earlier and its urgency. I am holding the kitten on top of the wooden board, wrapped in my flat mate's jacket. They guide us downstairs in a room with a metal bed.

I place the kitten on the table. I explain that the kitten could be disabled and attacked or paralyzed after the attack. One of the veterinary doctors recommends an X-ray to be able to diagnose. I confirm and they take her to another room. Before the X-ray, he sits down at the desk to create a patient account. He asks whether we have one. "No," I reply, and give him my full name. Then, the woman interferes and reminds him that she already has an account, which we could use. He registers the kitten under Meryem's existing account.

The veterinary doctors call us to discuss the X-ray result. Meryem, my flat mate Giannis and I follow. The room is quite small, so we cannot all enter. Giannis stays outside the door. The veterinary doctor shows us the radiograph, explaining that the spine is severely injured by pointing at the point of fracture. There *is* a chance of survival for the kitten, but it requires MR imaging and then a surgery. I ask how much this would all cost. "4.000 Turkish Lira for the MR, and 10.000 Turkish Lira for surgery," (ca. 1000USD), the veterinary replies. Then I ask whether they provide discounts for street animals, upon which he adds: "These *are* the prices with discount."

I translate them for Giannis. We discuss our options for some time, not knowing what to do. The veterinary doctors do not provide a concrete answer to the solution, as they do not know whether the kitten would survive the operation. They offer to put the kitten to sleep, after our lack of capacity to financially care for the animal's medical costs. We remain unsure as we are not the legal guardians of the kitten, which I also communicate to the veterinary doctors. Meryem says that the doctor *is* a good doctor, and he wouldn't recommend it [euthanasia] if he believed it could survive [the injury]. Yet, what constitutes "survival" in veterinary understanding remains ambiguous. I explain the veterinary that I am merely a passer-by, and I do not feel comfortable in taking such a decision. I ask him: "What would *you* do?" He then explains how he took care of a cat that was run over by a bicycle when he was a student in veterinary medicine. After two months or so, he explains, he was not as attentive in his caregiving. His professional recommendation is that such care needs to be provided by professionals, which we are not. Due to the holiday, they explain that they cannot host the kitten and recommends that we take her home if we are not going to euthanize them. Meryem says she could not take them home because of her two dogs.

As we discuss our options, a woman with a cat carrier arrives. She tells the veterinary doctors her cat's symptom: "My cat cannot relieve itself for five days." To our surprise, the cat brought in disabled, who needs human cooperation to be stimulated and relieve itself. Upon learning that we, too, are dealing with a kitten that might end up disabled, she suggests that we take her to the veterinary department of Üsküdar

Municipality Veterinary Department, where, she thinks, disabled cats are taken better care of. She seems upset over the kitten's injury and repeatedly says she cannot even bring herself to look at the kitten that we brought.

I look at my flat mate Giannis not knowing what to do. Our earlier experience with a street cat we later adopted resulted in rehoming her as I developed severe allergies. Yet, we aren't comfortable with the idea of putting an animal to sleep, because of a hypothetical scenario where the cat might end up disabled, as if disability is a condition that must be avoided at all costs, at the expense of an animal's life. We decide to take her home for a couple of days to figure out what to do. Before we leave, Meryem offers to pay for our visit to the clinic. I am surprised by this random kindness offered voluntarily by Meryem. I cannot help but think whether Meryem, or her dog have a part in kitten's injury.

As we are about to leave the clinic, Meryem wants us to remain in contact and offers to give me her phone number. She says that she could ask around whether anyone would be willing to adopt her. She gives me her phone number and kindly asks me to call her so she could save my number. I confirm.

We part ways. Somewhere on our way back, we see Meryem walking with her dog. The other dog that earlier attacked the kitten is still following them. I tell Giannis that the dog that attacked might indeed be hers, and her payment for the kitten's clinic visit might be out of guilt. Giannis remains unsure. I remind him how she was watching from afar when the kitten was attacked and not removing the dog.

Later That Day

When we arrive, we realize that the kitten cannot hold her stool and relieves herself onto the wooden board. We clean and transfer her into a box, as suggested by the veterinary doctor. She refuses to eat and drink water. From time to time, she meows in desperate need to get out but fails each time.

Giannis posts on a local Facebook group explaining the situation and asking for help on what to do. The post triggers a heated debate among group members. One member embraces being called "a kitten slayer" if that meant stopping the animal's pain by killing them. A 78-year-old woman with disability comments that the kitten, if it were to survive the operation, would live a "life of horrific pain." Emily, who introduces herself as someone who has been rescuing street animals for over ten years, reacts against the idea of killing the kitten by euthanasia, and shares the contact information of a veterinary clinic she has been taking rescue animals to, and offers to meet with us. Giannis contacts her and the two decide to meet at the clinic.

Giannis and Emily meet, and they go to the clinic. Upon seeing the radiograph, the veterinary doctor at the clinic tells them that it is beyond his expertise to deal with such conditions. He recommends the name of a well-established veterinary doctor, who specializes in such cases, whose clinic is in an affluent neighborhood in the city. Emily volunteers to participate in 6,000 TL (ca. 350USD) for the surgery in addition to keeping the kitten post-surgery to take care of her until she is capable of walking again. Giannis calls the clinic and manages to secure an appointment for the next day.

Next Day

To transfer the cat rather easily to the clinic, I ask for a spare cat carrier on a local Facebook group at 8.30 AM. The post status is pending until 10.00 AM. Emir, a friend of mine, offers their cat carrier, and soon arrives. We place the kitten inside doing our best to not cause the kitten any further injury. Soon, we find a taxi, and drive to the clinic.

Seeing the cat and the cat carrier, the taxi driver develops an interest in conversing with me. I explain kitten's spine injury, and we are headed to an expert doctor suggested by other doctors. Seeing my friends are not from Turkey, he comments: "It doesn't matter where you're from, what matters is to be a *human*." (Pointing at Giannis and Emir) He then asks me if I would be willing to pay, say, 3000 TL (ca. 175USD) for this kitten we came across on the street.

At the Clinic

From outside the building, I realize this clinic might as well be the largest facility I have seen to have been allocated for a veterinary facility. We pass through a parking lot with few expensive cars, one of which has the word "VET" on its plate. I recall that one must pay for those special texts. We enter the building, and a pleasant perfume and the cooling air of the AC welcome us.

We see a large desk at the entrance, where two people are sitting. One is a woman, and the other is a man. The man is wearing a medical outfit, he is presumably a veterinary doctor. As we wait, the secretary calls us. Giannis explains her the situation. She responds: "Okay. Could you please give me your ID?" Giannis gives his ID and the woman at the desk registers the information, and prepares a patient information paper, with a label that says NONAME 6796.[358] We then move on the waiting area. Later, I go back to ask about the examination fee: "Excuse me, may I ask about the examination fee?" She asks: "Is this a street child [*sokak çocuğu*]?" I confirm. She then explains the pricing policy for street animals: "The examination fee is 750TL. We offer 20% discount for street children. That makes it roughly 650TL. We'll ask 500TL from you." We orient ourselves to the waiting area.

As we wait, a woman with a husky dog asks whether she could come wait inside. In an apologetic manner, she explains they are not comfortable under the sun. Not understanding her reason to ask for permission, I immediately think she is asking whether could use our bench, so I confirm as I move the cat carrier to the other one. As I am about to move, she sits on the other, so I understand her asking for permission concerns her concern for bringing her dog near a kitten. I think of the sharp contrast between dog owners' attitudes, and how thoughtful she is to ask that. The secretary tells us that we could wait upstairs, as the doctor will be ready soon. We go up. There we see another waiting area. Emir sits down. Giannis and I are standing. A woman with a golden retriever arrives. The dog is wearing black shoes, which attract our attention. As the kitten is quite silent, the woman, facing Giannis, asks him in Turkish about our kitten. Giannis does not understand, so I explain her injury. She shows sympathy. Being used to the idea of private veterinary clinics run by one veterinary doctor, I am surprised at the number of doctors and assistants running around. One veterinary doctor invites another patient before us. I realize doctors have their specialization as opposed to the other veterinary clinics I have so far been to.

The veterinary doctor arrives and asks us to bring the animal into the room. We walk in. I explain the incident and what happened at the other veterinary clinic. He asks: "May I see it (the radiograph)?" I hand in my phone with the image open. He explains to us that the animal may never fully recover and may require lifelong care. He tells us he

[358] Street cats in Turkey, unlike companion animals in a certain household, do not have legal guardians, but are under the governance of local municipalities, who are legally responsible for well-being of the animal population including their population management. NONAME 6796 is automatically assigned for the street cat we brought.

will only conduct the surgery if we accept to adopt the animal. The doctor knows fully well that a disabled animal may not survive the streets. Nobody is sure of what to do. Emir keeps crying. The doctor leaves us alone so that we may discuss in private.

I realize I need to decide on behalf of everyone else, including the kitten. So, I decide to euthanize her. I do not have the emotional and material capacity to care for this animal, who I think deserves better. We inform the doctor of our decision, who does not try to convince us in any way but comforts us by saying the kitten doesn't have much chance of surviving. He then asks: "Do you want the body?" We do not. We go downstairs to the desk. I think about how euthanasia costs less than half of the cost for examination. Ending life is cheaper than maintaining it. Ending a disabled life removes one from the "burden" of care. We go outside the clinic. Emir sits down somewhere convenient on the sidewalk and continues crying. I approach to console him: "We did our best to provide her comfort during her last hours. We took her home. If we hadn't done that, she would probably be picked up by seagulls, or by that dog." I feel like I console myself more than I console Emir. Perhaps, I want to convince myself that I did the right thing, and if I repeat this long enough, maybe I would believe in it. The guilt I feel for having euthanised an animal is immense. I try to suppress it as I repeat the same sentences. Emir nods but cannot stop crying.

In the meantime, Giannis calls an Uber. For some reason, the driver cancels. Then, we see a taxi station down the street and decide to walk. A taxi driver waves and shouts at us: "Were you the ones who requested a taxi? I declined your request because I don't take customers with animals." Now that he sees there is no animal with us, he lets us in. Once we are inside the taxi, he continues complaining: "You know sometimes these women get on with these dogs on their laps… I mean I have a child whom I drive around… Am I right?" (Looks at me) He expects me to agree with him. Knowing we have a long road ahead; I engage with the conversation by using the most common excuse that I know of: "You're right, it's not hygienic." The driver keeps complaining about other things. As I feel nauseous, I text my sister our decision to put the kitten to sleep. She calls. I pick up. We talk. The taxi driver, presumably because he has been listening to the conversation, eventually stops complaining.

APPENDIX B. CONSENT FORM

Informed Participation Consent Form in Turkish



Gönüllü Katılım Onay Formu (Form B)

Projenin Adı:
Tasarlanan Bakım, Bakım Veren Tasarım: İnsandan Öte Bir İstanbul Kurmak
[*Care As Design, Design As Care: Assembling A More-than-human Istanbul*]

Proje yürütücüsünün adı ve iletişim bilgileri:
Burak Taşdizen
Özyeğin Üniversitesi, Tasarım, Teknoloji ve Toplum Doktora Adayı
E-posta: [redacted] Tel: [redacted]

Proje bütçesine katkı ile ve/veya diğer şekillerde projeyi destekleyen kuruluşlar:
Araştırma, Özyeğin Üniversitesi Tasarım, Teknoloji ve Toplum lisansüstü programında doktora tez projesi olarak yürütülmektedir.

Projenin amacı: Bu araştırma, tasarım ve bakım pratiklerini gündelik ve birbiriyle iç içe geçmiş olgular olarak kurgular; bu tasarım-bakım dolanıklıklarını İstanbul'un insandan öte coğrafyaları üzerinden inceler. Osmanlılardan günümüz Türkiye'sine bir gelenek olarak aktarılan ve küresel Kuzey'in insan-merkezci, sokak hayvansız, modern şehir tahayyülüyle çatışan İstanbul'un sokak hayvanı bakımının şehrin parklarından pencere pervazlarına uzanan bir peyzajda birçok maddi aktöre rağmen nasıl tasarlandığı, tasarımın nasıl umursayan ve bakım veren bir pratik olduğu hususları araştırmanın irdelediği sorular arasındadır.

Süreç: Araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ederseniz, sizden beklenen, görüşme sorularını cevaplandırmanızdır. Sizin yanıtlarınızı daha sonra analiz edebilmek adına görüşmemizin ses ve/veya video kaydını almak isterim. Bu ses ve/veya video kayıtlarının yardımıyla analizlerimi gerçekleştirebileceğimden, bu konudaki izninizi araştırmam için oldukça büyük bir önem taşımaktadır. Bu ses ve/veya video kayıtları şifreli bilgisayarda saklanacak ve analiz edilecek ve araştırmacı ve (gerekirse tez danışmanları ve tez izleme komitesi) dışında kimsenin erişimi olmayacaktır.

Gizlilik: Görüşme sürecinde, sizden edindiğim kimlik veya kurum bilgileriniz gizli tutulacaktır. Cevaplarınız, sadece araştırmacı tarafından değerlendirilecektir. Araştırma, doktora tezi ve doktora tezini izleyen bilimsel yayınlarda kullanılacaktır.

Gönüllü Katılım: Bu projeye katılım tamamen gönüllülük temelindedir. Projeden herhangi bir zamanda çekilme hakkınız vardır ve katılımı reddetmek herhangi bir zarara yol açmayacaktır. Böyle bir durumda araştırmacıya çalışmadan çıkmak istediğinizi söylemeniz yeterli olacaktır.

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Bu formda anlatılan araştırmanın etik yönleriyle ilgili soru veya görüşleriniz varsa lütfen Özyeğin Üniversitesi Etik Kurulu ile (216) 564 9846 numaralı telefondan temasa geçiniz.

Yukarıda sözü geçen "Tasarlanan Bakım, Bakım Veren Tasarım: İnsandan Öte Bir İstanbul Kurmak" isimli araştırma projesinin detaylarını okudum ve bu proje ile ilgili sorularım cevaplandı. Bu çalışmaya gönüllü olarak katılıyorum.

_____ _____

İsim Soyadı Tarih

Informed Participation Consent Form in English

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Informed Participation Consent Form (Form B)

Name of the Project:
Tasarlanan Bakım, Bakım Veren Tasarım: İnsandan Öte Bir İstanbul Kurmak
[*Care As Design, Design As Care: Assembling A More-than-human Istanbul*]

Name of Project Leader and Their Contact Information:
Burak Taşdizen
Özyeğin University, Design, Technology and Society PhD Candidate
E-mail: [redacted] Tel: [redacted]

Organizations that support the project by contributing to the project budget and/or in other ways:

The research is carried out as a doctoral thesis project in the Özyeğin University Design, Technology and Society graduate program.

Aim of the Project: This research constructs design and care literature as everyday and intertwined phenomena; and aims to understand care-design entanglements through Istanbul's more-than-human geographies. Caring for street animals in Istanbul is a tradition that has its roots in the practices of the Ottoman Empire and passed on to today's Turkey. However, this tradition is in conflict with the human-centered, street animal-free, modern cityscape of the Global North. Questions about how this care is designed in a landscape that includes the parks and windows of the city despite various non-human material actors, how design is a caring and nurturing practice, are explored within the framework of the dissertation project.

Process: If you agree to participate in the research, you are expected to answer the interview questions. I would like to take an audio and/or video recording of our interview so that I can analyze your answers later. Your permission on this matter is of great importance for my research, as I can carry out my analyses with the help of these audio and/or video recordings. These audio and/or video recordings will be stored and analysed on an encrypted computer and will not be accessible to anyone other than the researcher and (if necessary, thesis advisors and thesis monitoring committee).

Confidentiality: During the interview process, your identity or institution information that I have obtained from you will be kept confidential. Your answers will only be evaluated by the researcher. The research will be used in the dissertation and scientific publications following the doctoral thesis.

ÖZYEĞİN
ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this project is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw from the project at any time and refusing to participate will not cause any harm. In such a case, it will be sufficient to tell the researcher that you want to exit the study.

If you have questions or comments regarding the ethical aspects of the research described in this form, please contact Özyeğin University Ethics Committee at (216) 564 9846.

I read the details of the above-mentioned research project titled "Care As Design, Design As Care: Assembling A More-than-human Istanbul" and my questions about this project were answered. I am participating in this study voluntarily.

_____ _____

Name Surname Date

APPENDIX C. INTERVIEW FORMS

Interview Form for Human Proxies in Turkish

SAHA ARAŞTIRMASI, MÜLAKAT SORULARI SORU SETİ #1:
GÖNÜLLÜ OLARAK BAKIM SUNAN VATANDAŞLAR

(Görüşme başlamadan evvel araştırmacı, aşağıdaki metin ekseninde nitel araştırmanın doğasına dair bir *briefing* yapar.)

> "Araştırmaya katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim. Sorularım açık uçlu; herhangi bir doğru/yanlış yanıt yok. Ben tamamen sizin deneyimlerinizi öğrenmek istiyorum. Başlamadan önce, araştırmaya dair bir sorunuz var mı? Onayınız dahilinde, ses ve/veya video kaydına başlıyorum."

Görüşme Tarihi/Saati: .....
Görüşmeci Adı Soyadı: .....

Blok 1: Giriş
Bu bölüm görüşmeciye ve üstlendiği düzenli sokak kedisi bakımına dair genel bilgi almayı hedefler.

1. Öncelikle kendinizi tanıtır mısınız / kendinizden bahseder misiniz?
2. Sokak kedileriyle nasıl bir ilişkiniz var, anlatır mısınız?
3. Sokak kedileriyle ilk karşılaşmanız / etkileşiminiz nasıl oldu? Hatırladığınız belirgin bir anı var mı?
4. Nasıl bakım sağlıyorsunuz? Nelerden yararlanıyorsunuz?
   a. Bu süreçte kullandığınız kaynaklarınızdan (insan, zaman, beceri, malzeme vs.) bahseder misiniz?

Blok 2: Sokak kedilerinin beslenmesine dair
Bu bölüm görüşmecinin düzenli bakımını üstlendiği sokak kedilerini nasıl, ne sıklıkla ve nerede beslediğini anlamayı ve bu süreçte devreye giren/gelişen beceri setini, malzeme indeksini ve sokak kedisinin diyetini haritalamayı hedefler.

5. Sokak kedilerini beslediğiniz bir günü baştan sona anlatır mısınız?
   a. Neyle besliyorsunuz? (Gıda, ekipman vs.) Neden?
   b. Ne sıklıkla ve nerede besleme yapıyorsunuz? Neden?

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Bu araştırma, Özyeğin Üniversitesi Tasarım, Teknoloji ve Toplum lisansüstü programı doktora adayı Burak Taşdizen'in "Tasarlanan Bakım, Bakım Veren Tasarım: İnsandan Öte Bir İstanbul Kurmak" başlıklı doktora tez araştırması kapsamında yürütülmektedir.

SAHA ARAŞTIRMASI, MÜLAKAT SORULARI SORU SETİ #1:
GÖNÜLLÜ OLARAK BAKIM SUNAN VATANDAŞLAR

   c. Bu süreçte kullandığınız kaynaklarınızdan (insan, zaman, beceri, malzeme vs.) bahseder misiniz?
6. Sizin gibi sokak kedisi besleyen başka kişiler tanıyor musunuz? Bahseder misiniz?
7. Genel olarak sokak kedilerine verilen gıdalar hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?

Blok 3: Sokak kedilerinin barınmasına dair
Bu bölüm görüşmecinin düzenli bakımını üstlendiği sokak kedilerini nasıl ve nerede barındırdığını anlamayı ve bu süreçte devreye giren/gelişen tasarım beceri setini ve malzeme indeksini haritalamayı hedefler.

8. Beslediğiniz/bahsettiğiniz kediler nerede ve nasıl yaşıyor?
9. Kedi evleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
10. Sokak kedilerinin barınması adına yaptıklarınızdan bahseder misiniz?
    a. Nasıl yapıyorsunuz, anlatır mısınız?
    b. Bu süreçte nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz? Neden?
    c. Hangi malzemeleri kullanıyorsunuz? Neden?
11. Mahallenizdeki/Sokağınızdaki/Apartmanınızdaki insanlar sokak kedileri ve kedi evleri hakkında ne düşünüyor? Hatırladığınız belirgin bir anı varsa anlatır mısınız?

Blok 4: Hasta/ölü/yavru/ezilmiş/mahsur kalmış sokak kedileriyle karşılaşmalara dair
Bu bölüm belirli bir aciliyet karşısında (medikal, arama-kurtarma) müdahale gerektirdiği düşünülen sokak kedisi ile olan karşılaşmaları ve bu karşılaşmalar üzerinden veterinerler/ilgili yerel yönetimler/itfaiyelerin sokak kedisi meselesini ele alış şeklini sokak kedisi/vatandaş ölçeğinde anlamayı hedefler.

12. Yaşadığınız çevrede hasta, ölü, yavru, ezilmiş, mahsur kalmış bir kediyle karşılaştığınızda ne yapıyorsunuz? Hatırladığınız belirgin bir anı varsa anlatır mısınız?
    a. Kimlerle (diğer gönüllüler, kurumlar) iletişime geçiyorsunuz? Ne tür destekleri oluyor?

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

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SAHA ARAŞTIRMASI, MÜLAKAT SORULARI SORU SETİ #1:
GÖNÜLLÜ OLARAK BAKIM SUNAN VATANDAŞLAR

b. Kendiniz nasıl tedavi ediyorsunuz? Ediyorsanız kullandığınız ekipmandan, kedinin hastalığını gözetim sürecinizden vs. bahseder misiniz?

Blok 5: Sokak kedisini çevreleyen medya
Bu bölüm sokak kedisinin bakımını etkileyen/teşvik eden ana-akım medya ve sosyal medya etkenlerini merkezine alır ve bu mecraların bakım pratiği açısından özgürleştirici olanaklarını ve kısıtlayıcı yanlarını anlamayı hedefler.

13. Sosyal medya kullanıyorsanız sokak kedilerine dair haberler/sosyal medya paylaşımları bakımınızı nasıl etkiliyor?
14. Sokak kedilerine dair gruplara üyeyseniz, o gruplara dair gözlemlerinizi anlatır mısınız?

Blok 6: Alternatif Gelecekler
Bu bölüm görüşmecinin mevcut sokak hayvanı politikalarına dair düşüncesini/yapıcı eleştirisini anlamayı hedefler ve sokak kedileri özelinde alternatif şehir düşlerini irdeler.

15. Bağlı bulunduğunuz yerel belediyenin ve İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin sokak kedilerine dair politikaları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Barınma, beslenme, tedavi, şiddet vs.
16. Sokak kedilerinin mevcut beslenme, barınma, tedavi koşulları sizce nasıl iyileştirilebilir? Sokak kedilerine dair ne tür bir gündem önerirsiniz?
17. Pandemi, deprem gibi afetler sokak kedilerini nasıl etkiledi/etkiliyor?
   a. Sokağa çıkma yasakları sokak kedilerine bakımınızı nasıl etkiledi?
   b. Neler yapılabilir?
18. 5199 Hayvanları Koruma Kanunu sokaklarda yaşayan hayvanları "sahipsiz" olarak tanımlıyor. İnsan ve evcil hayvan arasında sahiplik ilişkisine dair ne düşünüyorsunuz? Evcil hayvan ve insana dair ideal bir ilişki sizce nasıl olmalı?
19. Kediler insanın dilini konuşabilseydi, bizlerden şehirdeki yaşamlarının iyileştirilmesine dair ne tür talepleri olurdu?

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

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SAHA ARAŞTIRMASI, MÜLAKAT SORULARI SORU SETİ #1:
GÖNÜLLÜ OLARAK BAKIM SUNAN VATANDAŞLAR

Blok 7: Kapanış Soruları
Bu bölüm görüşmeyi toparlar.

20. Eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?
21. Bana sormak istediğiniz bir şey var mı?
22. Son olarak, benim sormadığım/değinmediğim ancak araştırma açısından önemli olduğunu düşündüğünüz bir husus var mı? Paylaşırsanız çok sevinirim.

Araştırmama katıldığınız için tekrar teşekkür ederim.

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

Bu araştırma, Özyeğin Üniversitesi Tasarım, Teknoloji ve Toplum lisansüstü programı doktora adayı Burak Taşdizen'in "Tasarlanan Bakım, Bakım Veren Tasarım: İnsandan Öte Bir İstanbul Kurmak" başlıklı doktora tez araştırması kapsamında yürütülmektedir.

Interview Form for Human Proxies in English

FIELDWORK, INTERVIEW QUESTIONS QUESTION SET #1:
CITIZENS PROVIDING CARE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS

(Before the interview begins, the researcher gives a briefing on the nature of qualitative research based on the following text.)

> "Thank you for participating in the research. My questions are open-ended; there are no right or wrong answers. I want to learn your experiences. Before we begin, do you have any questions about the research? With your consent, I will start audio and/or video recording."

Interview Date/Hour: .....
Participant Name Surname: .....

Part 1: Introduction

This section aims to generate general information about the interview participants and the care they undertake.

1. Could you please introduce yourself?
2. Could you please explain your relationship to street cats?
3. How was your first encounter with street cats? Do you recall any specific memory?
4. How do you provide care? What do you benefit in this process?
   a. Could you please talk about the resources you utilize in this process? (human, time, skills, materials, etc.)

Part 2: On Feeding Street Cats

This section aims to understand how, how often and where the interview participant feeds street cats, and to map the skill set and material index in this process as well as the diet of the animal.

5. Could you please talk me through one of your days where you feed Street cats?
   a. What do you feed them? (Food, equipment, etc.) Why?
   b. How often and where do you feed? Why?

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

This interview is part of the PhD dissertation research titled "Design As Care, Care As Design: Assembling A More-Than-Human Istanbul" of Burak Taşdizen, PhD candidate in the Design, Technology and Society graduate program at Özyeğin University.

FIELDWORK, INTERVIEW QUESTIONS QUESTION SET #1: CITIZENS PROVIDING CARE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS

   c. Could you please explain your resources in this process? (human, time, skills, materials, etc.)
6. Do you know other people who also feed Street cats? Could you elaborate?
7. What do you think of the food provided for Street cats?

Part 3: On Sheltering Street Cats

This section aims to understand how and where the interview participant shelters street cats, and to map the skill set and material index in this process.

8. Where do those cats you care for/feed live?
9. What do you think of cat houses?
10. Could you please explain what you do to shelter Street cats?
    a. How do you do it? Please elaborate.
    b. What do you pay attention to in this process? Why?
    c. Which materials do you use? Why?
11. What do the people in your neighborhood/street/apartment think about street cats and cat houses? Do you recall a specific memory?

Part 4: On Encountering sick/dead/infant/run over/stuck cats

This section aims to understand the emergency encounters with street cats that are considered to require intervention (medical, search and rescue) and the way other stakeholders (veterinarians/municipalities/fire departments) manage the street cat issue.

12. What do you do when you encounter a cat in need in your neighborhood? Could you please explain if you could recall any memory?
    a. Who (other individuals, institutions) do you contact? How do they support you?
    b. How do you tend to an animal in need yourself? If so, could you please explain the process including how you provide care, the equipment you use, etc.?

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

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FIELDWORK, INTERVIEW QUESTIONS QUESTION SET #1: CITIZENS PROVIDING CARE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS

Part 5: On Media Surrounding Street Cats

This part focuses on the mainstream media and social media factors that influence/encourage street cat care and aims to understand the emancipatory possibilities and constraints of these media in terms of care practice.

13. If you use social media, how do news/social media posts about street cats affect your care?
14. If you are a member of social media groups for street cats, could you please explain to me your observations of those groups?

Part 6: Alternative Futures

This part aims to understand the interview participant's opinion/constructive criticism of contemporary street animal policy and examines alternative urban dreams pertaining to street cats.

15. What do you think about the policies of your local municipality and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality regarding street cats? Sheltering, nutrition, treatment, violence, etc.?
16. How do you think the current conditions of street cats can be improved? What kind of an agenda would you propose for street cats?
17. How have disasters such as pandemics and earthquakes affected street cats?
    a. How did the lockdowns impact your care for street cats?
    b. What can be done?
18. 5199 Animal Protection Law defines animals living on the streets as "unclaimed" [*sahipsiz*]. What do you think about the ownership relationship between humans and companion animals? What do you think an ideal relationship between humans and companion animals should look like?
19. If cats could speak the human tongue, what demands would they make of us to improve their lives in the city?

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

This interview is part of the PhD dissertation research titled "Design As Care, Care As Design: Assembling A More-Than-Human Istanbul" of Burak Taşdizen, PhD candidate in the Design, Technology and Society graduate program at Özyeğin University.

FIELDWORK, INTERVIEW QUESTIONS QUESTION SET #1:
CITIZENS PROVIDING CARE ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS

Part 7: Conclusion
This part summarizes the interview.

20. Do you have anything you may want to add?
21. Do you have any questions for me?
22. Finally, is there anything that you think is important for the research that I have not asked/addressed? I would be very grateful if you could share.

Thank you for participating in this research.

ÖZYEĞİN ÜNİVERSİTESİ

This interview is part of the PhD dissertation research titled "Design As Care, Care As Design: Assembling A More-Than-Human Istanbul" of Burak Taşdizen, PhD candidate in the Design, Technology and Society graduate program at Özyeğin University.

Interview Form for Veterinary Practitioners in Turkish

SAHA ARAŞTIRMASI, MÜLAKAT SORULARI SORU SETİ #2:
VETERİNER HEKİMLER

(Görüşme başlamadan evvel araştırmacı, aşağıdaki metin ekseninde nitel araştırmanın doğasına dair bir *briefing* yapar.)

"Araştırmaya katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim. Sorularım açık uçlu; herhangi bir doğru/yanlış yanıt yok. Ben tamamen sizin uzman görüşlerinizi öğrenmek ve deneyimlerinizi dinlemek istiyorum. Başlamadan önce, araştırmaya dair bir sorunuz var mı? Onayınız dahilinde, ses ve/veya video kaydına başlıyorum."

Görüşme Tarihi/Saati: .....
Görüşmeci Adı Soyadı: .....

Blok 1: Giriş

Bu bölüm görüşmeciye ve veterinerlik mesleğine dair genel bilgi alarak görüşmeciyi tanımayı hedefler.

1. Öncelikle kendinizi tanıtır mısınız / mesleğinizden bahseder misiniz?
2. Sizi veterinerliğe (hayvanlar, sokak kedileri) yönlendiren nedir?
   a. Sokak kedileriyle nasıl bir ilişkiniz var, anlatır mısınız?
   b. Sokak kedileriyle ilk karşılaşmanız / etkileşiminiz nasıl oldu? Hatırladığınız belirgin bir anı var mı?

Blok 2: Evcilleş(tir)me Tarihi, Şehirler ve Sokak Hayvanları

Bu bölüm görüşmecinin evcilleş(tir)meye dair düşüncelerini şehirlerde yaşayan sokak hayvanları üzerinden anlamaya çalışır.

3. Tarih boyunca süregelen insan-hayvan bir aradalığı ile ilgili ne düşünüyorsunuz?
   a. Evcil hayvanlar hakkında uzman fikriniz nedir?
4. Şehirlerde kedilerin yaşamasına dair ne düşünüyorsunuz?
   a. Sokakta hasta/yavru veya başıboş herhangi bir kediyle karşılaştığınızda ne yapıyorsunuz?

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SAHA ARAŞTIRMASI, MÜLAKAT SORULARI SORU SETİ #2: VETERİNER HEKİMLER

Blok 3: Sokak Kedileri, Kedi Sağlığı ve Kedi Evleri

Bu bölüm görüşmecinin şehirlerde yaşayan kedilerin beslenmesi, barınması ve üremesine dair uzman görüşlerini almayı hedefler.

5. Sağlıklı bir kedinin diyeti nasıl olmalı?
   a. Şehirde yaşayan kedilerin besinleriyle ilgili gözlemleriniz nedir?
6. Sizce bir kedinin ideal yaşam alanı nasıl olmalı?
   a. Şehirde ideal bir kedi yaşam alanından bahsetmemiz mümkün müdür?
   b. Kedi evleri hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
7. Kediler mevzubahis olduğunda, veterinerlik alanında bilimsel uzlaşının olmadığı konular neler? Anlatır mısınız?
8. Kediler mevzubahis olduğunda, hayvanseverlerin sokak kedilerine olan yaklaşımı konusundaki uzman görüşlerinizi aktarır mısınız?
9. Kısırlaştırma hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Neden?
   a. Kısırlaştırmanın yan etkileri oluyor mu, anlatır mısınız?

Blok 4: Alternatif Gelecekler

Bu bölüm görüşmecinin mevcut sokak hayvanı politikalarına dair düşüncesini/yapıcı eleştirisini anlamayı hedefler ve sokak kedileri özelinde alternatif şehir düşlerini irdeler.

10. Bağlı bulunduğunuz yerel belediyenin ve İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nin sokak kedilerine dair politikaları hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? Barınma, beslenme, tedavi, şiddet vs.
11. Sokak kedilerinin mevcut beslenme, barınma, tedavi koşulları sizce nasıl iyileştirilebilir? Sokak kedilerine dair ne tür bir gündem önerirsiniz?
12. Pandemi, deprem gibi afetler sokak kedilerini nasıl etkiledi/etkiliyor?
    a. Neler yapılabilir?
13. 5199 Hayvanları Koruma Kanunu sokaklarda yaşayan hayvanları "sahipsiz" olarak tanımlıyor.

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İnsan ve evcil hayvan arasında sahiplik ilişkisine dair ne düşünüyorsunuz? Evcil hayvan ve insana dair ideal bir ilişki sizce nasıl olmalı?

14. Kediler insanın dilini konuşabilseydi, bizlerden şehirdeki yaşamlarının iyileştirilmesine dair ne tür talepleri olurdu?

Blok 5: Kapanış Soruları

Bu bölüm görüşmeyi toparlar.

15. Eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?
16. Bana sormak istediğiniz bir şey var mı?
17. Son olarak, benim sormadığım/değinmediğim ancak araştırma açısından önemli olduğunu düşündüğünüz bir husus var mı? Paylaşırsanız çok sevinirim.

Araştırmama katıldığınız için tekrar teşekkür ederim.

.

Interview Form for Veterinary Practitioners in English

FIELDWORK, INTERVIEW QUESTIONS QUESTION SET #2:
VETERINARY PRACTITIONERS

(Before the interview begins, the researcher gives a briefing on the nature of qualitative research based on the following text.)

> "Thank you for participating in the research. My questions are open-ended; there are no right or wrong answers. I want to learn your experiences. Before we begin, do you have any questions about the research? With your consent, I will start audio and/or video recording."

Interview Date/Hour: .....
Participant Name Surname: .....

Part 1: Introduction

This part aims to get to know the interviewee by generating general information about the interview participant and the veterinary profession.

1. Could you please introduce yourself/your profession?
2. What led you to veterinary medicine (animals, street cats)?
   a. Could you please explain your relationship with street cats?
   b. How was your first encounter with Street cats? Do you recall any specific memory?

Part 2: Domestication History, Cities and Liminal Animals

This part aims to understand the interview participant's opinions on domestication by focusing on street animals living in cities.

3. What do you think about human-animal coexistence throughout history?
   a. What is your expert opinion on domestic animals?
4. What do you think about cats living in cities?
   a. What do you do when you encounter a cat in need in the city?

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FIELDWORK, INTERVIEW QUESTIONS QUESTION SET #2: VETERINARY PRACTITIONERS

Part 3: Street Cats, Feline Well Being and Cat Houses

This part aims to gain the interview participant's expert opinion on feeding, housing and breeding of cats living in cities.

5. What should a healthy cat's diet look like?
   a. What are your observations about the diet of cats living in the city?
6. What do you think a cat's ideal living space should look like?
   a. Is it possible to talk about an ideal cat habitat in the city?
   b. What is your opinion on cat houses?
7. Could you please talk about any scientific controversy/lack of consensus on felines in veterinary field?
8. What is your opinion on those who feed/take care of cats?
9. What is your opinion on feline neutering? Why?
   a. Could you please explain the side effects of neutering on felines, if any?

Part 4: Alternative Futures

This part aims to understand the interview participant's opinion/constructive criticism of contemporary street animal policy and examines alternative imaginaries pertaining to street cats.

10. What do you think about the policies of your local municipality and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality regarding street cats? Sheltering, nutrition, treatment, violence, etc.?
11. How do you think the current conditions of street cats can be improved? What kind of an agenda would you propose for street cats?
12. How have disasters such as pandemics and earthquakes affected street cats?
    a. What can be done?

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FIELDWORK, INTERVIEW QUESTIONS QUESTION SET #2: VETERINARY PRACTITIONERS

13. 5199 Animal Protection Law defines animals living on the streets as "unclaimed" [*sahipsiz*]. What do you think about the ownership relationship between humans and companion animals? What do you think an ideal relationship between humans and companion animals should look like?
14. If cats could speak the human tongue, what demands would they make of us to improve their lives in the city?

Part 5: Conclusion

This part summarizes the interview.

15. Do you have anything you may want to add?
16. Do you have any questions for me?
17. Finally, is there anything that you think is important for the research that I have not asked/addressed? I would be very grateful if you could share.

Thank you for participating in this research.

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APPENDIX D. TURKISH ORIGINALS OF PARTICIPANT QUOTES

4. Human Proxies in Feline Interventionist Arena

[1] Ege: Bu bence hani yaşam hakkını korumaya çalışan, kimi zaman feragat eden bazı şeylerden yaşam hakkına karşı şey, belki özgürlüğün bazı yerlerde feragat eden ... Dünyevi olanın içerisinde bir yol arama gibi bir şey diyeyim. Koşulların arasında bir yol arama gibi bir şey görüyorum.

[2] Mert: Çünkü hani Avrupa'daki gibi bir kedi şeyi olmamış, ne derler, katliam mı diyeyim ya da "arındırması." Böyle bir şey olmadığı için hani kedilerle yaşayan bir şehir.

[3] Aybike: Benim kafem de vardı. Ben oraya gelen müşterilerden de biliyorum. Benim kafeme de bir sürü kedi gelir, takılırdı. Sırf kafenin içinde kediler olduğu için müşteri gelir otururdu, fotoğraf çektirirdi. Yani ciddi şekilde, "Kedilere bir şeyler alırsınız," diye ekstradan para veren çok olmuştur yabancılardan.

[4] Koray: Bu tür konularda bence daha istekli ve bilinçlilermiş gibi geliyor bana. Benim algım bu şekilde. Özellikle hani İstanbul'da biraz daha böyle diyebilirim. Ya ben hayatım boyunca 3 yerde yaşadım. Adana, İstanbul ve Konya olmak üzere. En çok vakti ya aslında hemen öyle hepsini aynı zaman geçirdim diyebilirim işte 8-8-6 yıl gibi şeklinde düşünebilirsiniz. Ya da 8-8-7 yıl gibi. Benim gözlemlerim en çok İstanbul'da hani bu bilincin ve hayvanlara özellikle olan herhangi bir aktivitenin daha yüksek olduğuna dair. En az ise Konya'da gözlemledim zaten, Konya'daki haberleri de biliyorsunuz, özellikle hani çok yakın zamanda değildi ama bu barınaktı, kürek mürek muhabbeti.

[5] Ege: Ama hani *no*! Biliyorum o şeyleri hani çok çok böyle 5 dakika önce tanıştığım ve 5 dakika sonra ölüsüyle veterinere yürüdüğüm hayvan tecrübem var. Hani orası burası değil yani, orası İstanbul değil, orası Ankara değil.

[6] Arda: Ee yani, sokakta hep birlikte işte yaşayabileceğimiz alanlar bulmamız lazım. Ama bunun için de işte doğrudan kent planlaması falan komple böyle şey yapıyor, işin içine giriyor. Çünkü yani gerçekten her yer beton, işte yani hem bizlerin hem hayvanların böyle daha rahat edebileceği yeşil alanlar inanılmaz sıkıntılı. Ee, bir taraftan da işte yani barınma, işte beslenme sorunu. Ee, yani bizim de kısmen yaşadığımız (Gülüyor) ama sokak hayvanları için gerçekten büyük problem olan.

[7] Rıdvan: Onun haricinde kedilerin alanı yok, yani kedi, ne bileyim. Tamam apartman arasında falan yaşamaya uyumlanmış ama bir park gibi güvenli alanlar da lazım hani. Yol bağlantısı olmayan daha geniş şeyler lazım. Ne bileyim, bir, atıyorum işte, eski bir köşkün geniş bahçeleri olur ya İstanbul'da hani, bazen öyle yerlerde yaşayan kediler de var ve o oralar daha güvenli kediler için. Öyle, ona benzer, aynı maddi koşullarda olan yerlerin çok fazla olmasını isterdim ya da öyle olmalı diyeyim. … Yaşam alanı ya, kedinin yaşam alanı. Ona da bir yaşam alanı. Oldukça boğazına çökmüş gibiyiz yani. Kedinin, köpeğin fark

etmiyor. Hiç alan bırakmamışız ona. Her şey, her taraf bizim şu anda. Arabalar, evler, apartman içleri, ondan sonra bahçe de dahil kedi istememe şeyleri, örnekleri, hani birçok yönünde şey yapıyorum. Hakikaten şikâyet görüşleri "Sitemde kedi beslenmesine izin vermiyorlar. Ne yapmalıyım?" gibi soru soruyorlar. Buna dair de şey yapıyoruz.

[8] Alp: Şurada yemek veriyorsun … Kafenin sahibi diyor. Hani kediler içeri girmesin diye [kedileri] ittiriyor... Saçma sapan hareketler. Çok denk geldim burada, kavga ettiğim de çok oldu.

[9] Esin: Kedinin doğası vs. Kedi doğada yaşamıyor burada, kedi yaşamaya çalışıyor. Bugün bir kedi öldü kapı önünde, dün bir kedi öldü. Bu hayvanlar bir yaşını falan zor görüyor, görmüyor. Arabalar altında kalıyorlar falan filan. Sokakta doğan yavrular ya bir arabanın kaportasına giriyor ya arabanın altında kalıyor. Bir tane yaşarsa yaşıyor. Yıllardır doğuran kedim var, daha hiçbir yavrusunun büyüdüğünü görmedim. Birincisi, açıkçası çok üzülüyorum bunlara.

[10] Kuzey: Biz her yaz köye giderdik Giresun'a. Giresun'a gittiğimizde 3 ay yaz tatilinde, üç ay, dört ay, iki ay civarı orada kalıyorduk. Orada da yani bakılan daha çok inek ya da dana, o tarz hayvanlarla bir içli dışlı olma durumumuz söz konusuydu. Bir de köydeki kedilerle; doğum yapan kediler, anne kediler veya kapıdaki kediler. Köyde de bu arada çok az hayvan olurdu ama benim asıl iletişimim inek ve danaylaydı. Çocukluğum onlarla vakit geçirmekle geçti. Yani ilk teması, ilk duygusal ve ciddi, istekli, gerçekçi teması onlarla sağladım. Onlarla bir bağım oluştu. İstanbul'a dönmeden önce gider onlarla vedalaşırdım. Onlarla vakit geçirmekten hoşlanırdım. Bunlar ilgimi çekerdi, severdim. Ya o sırada hayvanları tanımaya daha çok başladım diyebilirim.

[11] Arda: Çocukluğumdan böyle başlayan bir şey var. Çünkü ben köyde doğdum. İzmir'de merkeze yakın bir köydeydim ve yani o zaman çocukluğumuz zaten sürekli şeyde ya sokakta, dışarıda, bahçede bir şekilde geçti. O şeylerin, ee, işte dedemlerin koyunları vesaire vardı. Biz ev yani ben çok küçüklüğümden bu yana, ee, işte bahçeli bir evdeydik. İşte bir köpekle birlikte yaşıyorduk zaten. Ee, yani ben çok küçükken, işte öyle o tam çocuk aklıyla, işte alıp getir çocuklardan işte biriydim falan eve. Ee ama bir yandan da şey de vardı yani. Çok fazla yani farklı farklı hayvanlarla, işte koç, koyun, kuzu, keçiler, tekeler, işte at var, eşek var bir yandan. Ee, orada, işte, kediler ve köpekler tabii ki, işte, en çok var yani işte çocukluğum böyle bir şeyde ee köyde geçti veya daha sonraki işte benim hayvanlarla olan ilişkimi bence hem güçlendiren hem de bir taraftan böyle o şeyleri daha keskin, mm, hayvanlara karşı olan tavrı filan da daha keskin alanlarda gördüğüm için, biraz da böyle şey, ee, o vicdani bir yük, sorumluluk, ee, gibi de daha sonralarında daha fazla da hissettim.

[12] Mira: Ya şöyle aslında. Benim anneannem çok, şey... Yani, bu dindar kadınlarda falan da biraz çoktur. Yani, her hayvanı sevmez, işte her hayvanı ev almak istemez falan ama çok huysuz, inanılmaz huysuz bir kadın olmasına rağmen –Allah rahmet eylesin, öyleydi– ama buna rağmen ben anneannemin hep bu yumuşak tavrını şeyde görürdüm. Bir gün hatta bir koltuğunun altına sız gelmiş bir şekilde köy evi olduğu için girmiş galiba kedi de koltuğunun altında

yavrulamış işte hani. Onlarla böyle çok ilgileniyordu falan. İşte sürekli zaten, evine her gittiğimde, başka bir sefer bir kedi olurdu yani.

[13] Asya: Geçmişimde de hep hayvanlı evlerde büyüdüm. Doğduğum ev de müstakil bir evdi. Babamın da hem köpeği hem kedisi vardı. Çok küçük yaştan itibaren onun dışında da bahçe hem bahçede hem de sokakta kedileri ve köpekleri besliyorduk birlikte. Kendimi hatırladığım andan beri neredeyse yani. Hatta ilk anılarımda bile hep dışarıda… Hatta ilk çocukluk anılarımdan biri, sıkışmış bir kediye tereyağı veriyordu babam, onu hatırlıyorum.

[14] Deniz: Hayvanlarla haşır neşirliğim ilk etapta Bilgi Üniversitesi'ne aslında gitmem aracılığıyla oldu. ... Okulumuz işte Alibeyköy, Eyüp'te, büyük bir kampüs olduğu için kediler, köpekler bir sürü aslında farklı çeşit hayvanlar da var. Kuşların olduğu, işte kirpi, kaplumbağa gibi şeylerin de olduğu bir yer aslında orası.

[15] Özge: Ailemle yaşadığım Yalova'da çok fazla sokak kedisi besleme kültürü yoktu. Dediğim gibi ben 18 yaşında İstanbul'a geldim. O zaman da üniversitemizin bahçesinde kediler olurdu ve onları beslerdik. Üniversitemizde baktığımız kediler vardı.

[16] Bulut: Ben ODTÜ'de okuyordum. ODTÜ'de zaten bir sürü kediler var falan. Onlar böyle şey gibi, sahibi gibiydiler falan çoğu yerin de böyle. İşte, yemekhanede, Çatı diye bir yemek verilen yer var, orada falan. O yüzden, hani, çok aşina olduğumuz bir şeydi. İşte çarşıda, üniversite öğrencileri çok beslediği için, işte sınıfların içerisinde, her yerde kediler vardı.

[17] Mert: Genelde hep şeydi ama en büyük kırılma benim lisansta tanıştığım arkadaşlarım oldu.

[18] Mert: Ama bilinçli olarak yani hayvanlarla nasıl iletişim kurulduğunu, bunlara dair okumalar yapmam hep Güzel Sanatlar Fakültesi'nde başladı. Burada tanıştığım insanlarla başladı. Burada küçük bir, işte, vegan grupla tanıştım. Zaten, hani, hayvanlara olan sevgim falan, hani, çok fazlaydı. Hani, bununla ilgili şeyim zaten vardı, ilgim, ama yani bu veganlık, beslenme konusuna karşı böyle, hani, ciddi önyargılarım vardı. Ama tanıştığım arkadaşlarım sayesinde, hani, bunun aslında böyle olması gereken bir şey olduğunu gördüm. Ve hani, lisansta 4 yıl kadar birlikte yaşadığım arkadaşım, işte, bir arkadaşlarımız vardı. Bir kolektif, bir oluşum, işte, bunlar böyle vegan insanlardı. Bunlarla daha böyle hayvanlara yönelik daha böyle okumalar yaptım.

[19] Kuzey: Daha sonra başkan olduktan sonra benden daha deneyimli arkadaşlar işleri öğretirken pandemi başladı. Pandemi nedeniyle herkes memleketine gitti. Kimse kalmadı. Bizim, benim asıl derinlemesine oluşan hikayem o dönemdi, çünkü ne şehirde ne okulda hiç kimse yok. Herkes evlerinde ve ben buna yasaklar bile başlamamışken bir otobüsün içine tek başıma binip beni Ümraniye'den Kadıköy'e sadece beni götürmek için gittiğini net hatırladığım günler oldu. Biz o dönemlerde bir de resmi izinlerimizi alıp yasaklı olduğu dönemlerde de çıktık ve hayvanlar ciddi derecede vakit geçirmeye başladık. Çünkü bir eğitim hayatı sekteye uğramış durumda. Çalışma hayatı aynı

şekilde, büyük bir vakit boşluğu var aynı zamanda ve biz bu tüm vakti hayvanlara ayırabildik. 3-5 kişi diyebileceğim bir biz. Çünkü İstanbul'da çok fazla insan kalmamıştı. Göztepe kampüsündeki hayvanlarla ilgileniyorduk. Göztepe Kampüsü'nde 300 ila 500 arası kedi popülasyonu söz konusuydu. Biz bu dönemde tabii onların refahını nasıl arttırabiliriz, onlar için daha ne yapabiliriz gibi ciddi düşüncelere oturup daldığımızda çeşit çeşit şeyler tabii ki de karşımıza çıktı ve buna ciddi derecede vakit ayırabildiğimiz için daha önce yapılamamış şeyleri yapma fırsatımız oldu. Niye? Çünkü daha önce öğrencilerin eğitim hayatı söz konusu, diğer birçok dertleri söz konusu ama böyle bir dönemde eğitimden bir nebze feragat etme durumunuz var. Niye? Çünkü ders diye bir şey yok. Online dersler var, devam ediliyor, edilmiyor, çok karışık, karmaşık bir durum, ya dünya tamamen durma noktasına geldiği için ya tamamen o noktaya vaktinizi ayırabiliyorsunuz. Bu kısmı detaylıca anlatmak istiyorum ki -ya o oluşan ciddi boşlukta onlara tutunduğumuz yani onlara vakit ayırdığımızı yani insanlar ya da siz size anlatabileyim. O benim için önemli çünkü.

[20] Özge: Ama galiba evdeydik sürekli ve o kedilerle uğraşmak bizim için bir meşgale haline gelmişti. O yüzden o işi devretmek istemedik yani. Onu kendimize iş edinip, her gün dışarı çıkmak için bahaneye dönmüştü. İşte neredeler, bir yere mi gittiler, ne yapıyorlar onu takip etmek bize iyi geldi yani. O yüzden onu bırakmadık, devam ettik.

[21] Ege: Ben ondan önce yine Ortaköy'de zemin katta yaşıyordum. Belki sizin çalışmanızda da çok sık karşılaşıyorsunuzdur. Zemin kat hayvan karşılaşmaları için çok müsait bir yer ve çoğu besleyicinin de hani belki hikayesi orada başlıyor.

[22] Bulut: Sokak hayvanlarıyla da hep bir ilişkim oldu. Özellikle Ankara'dayken o zaman evim zemin kattaydı, Yüzüncüyıl'da otururken. Orada mesela çok sayıda hayvan besliyordum. Yani böyle bir şey gibiydim, mahalledeki bütün kedileri besliyor gibi bir şeyim vardı. Ee bir tane komşum da köpek besliyordu. Böyle o köpekleri, ben kedileri besliyormuşum gibi bir şey vardı. Böyle şey gibiydi, ben işten geldiğimde bütün kediler, ee şey yapardı, gelirlerdi. O zaman benim de bir tane kedim vardı ve böyle şey gibi komik bir zevkim vardı o zaman yaptığım. Böyle sosis alıyordum birkaç kutu ve böyle eve gidip balkona çıkıp atıyordum falan böyle sosisleri. (Gülüyor) Kediler de toplayıp alıp gidiyorlardı, alıp gidiyorlardı. Yavrular falan onlar da götürüyordu falan. Öyle bir ufak bir zevkim vardı o dönemde.

[23] Uzay: Şey çok enteresan geliyor bana. Şişli civarında bütün alçak zeminler veya işte giriş katının altı böyle ufacık penceresi olan katlar vardır ya, yürürken altta televizyon izlendiği. Şişli'de mesela bu katlarda lubunyalar çok oturuyor. Birkaç kişiyi biliyorum ama böyle bir yandan da bu böyle bu bir gullüm olarak anlatılagelen bir şey. Yani her bodrum katta oturan lubunyanın beslediği sokakta iki kedi mutlaka vardır. Pencereye gelirler, pencereden beslenir, isimleri olur onların. Ee bana mesela çok enteresan geliyor Şişli'deki bütün kedilerin lubunyaların elinden yemek yemiş olması gerçeği mesela.

[24] Özge: Bahçede bir tane kedinin yavrulamış olduğunu gördük. Kedi yavrularından bir tanesinin gözleri kapanmıştı iltihaptan dolayı. Otoparktan gelirken ona rastladık ve çok üzüldük gerçekten. Ne yapabileceğimizi düşündük falan. Sonra eczaneye gittik, ilaçları aldık. Kedinin gözüne pansuman yapmaya başladık. Çok küçüktü, annesini bulamadık. İşte şırıngayla süt verdik. Böyle birkaç gün onu takip ettik. Sonra başka biri alıp onu evinde beslemeye başladı ama bizim böyle kedilere karşı bakışımız değişti. Bu sefer bahçedekilerle ilgilenmemiz gerekiyormuşuz gibi hissettik. Diğer yavruların peşinde koşmaya başladık bu sefer ne yapıyorlar, ne ediyorlar. Bir tane yavrunun da öldüğüne şahit olduk. Daha da böyle içimiz parçalandı. Bu sefer kalan yavruları daha da hassaslaşıp onlar işte mamalarını yiyor mu vs. diye böyle bunu kendimize iş edindik.

[25] Esin: Apartmanımızda yavrulayan bir kedi ve yavrularının zor durumuyla yavaş yavaş mama vermeye başladım. Ofisin orada, Bebek'te de üst kattan bir yavru kedinin bahçemize düşmesiyle beraber şu an çok büyük bir şey, maddi manevi bir emek içerisindeyim, öyle söyleyeyim.

[26] Özge: Ya da kedilerde bir sıkıntı gördükleri zaman gelip bize söylüyorlardı. İşte "O kedinin gözü iyileşti mi?" ya da "Şu kedi ne zamandır ortada yok, gördünüz mü?" falan. Sanki vasileri bizmişiz gibi. Bir sıkıntı gördüklerinde gelip bize söylüyorlardı. En azından olumsuz bir tavır yoktu. Zaten apartmanın çoğunda kendileri hayvan besliyorlardı. O yüzden olumluydu. ... Onun sanki hakları bize ait, sorumlulukları bizdeymiş gibi. Kedinin gözünde bir sıkıntı var, gelip bize söylüyorsun. İyi de ben neysem sen de osun aslında kedi için. Kendileri bu sorumluluğu almayıp "Onunla ilgilenen biri var, hemen gidip ona söyleyelim." Ya da başka bir kedi görüyorlar, bahçeye gelmiş oluyor. İşte bir yerinde bir sıkıntı varsa gelip bize söylüyorlar. "Gördünüz mü? Bir kedi gelmiş, durumu çok kötü." Ya tamam da sen onun için endişeleniyorsan, sen de bir şey yapabilirsin. Gelip bize müracaat ediyorlar diyelim.

[27] Gönül: Ve bütün mahallede, iş yerimin orada, herkes bir kediye bir şey olduğunda direkt beni arar bulur. Hemen koşarlar, "Gönül Hanım, hemen ne yapabiliriz?"

[28] Ege: O motorun başında böyle iki saat falan durdum. İki üç gündür oradaymış, bir komşu "Ah çıkaramadın mı?" falan böyle. Yani üç gündür orada miyavlayan bir kediyle ilgisi buydu, "Çıktı mı, çıkmadı mı?" falan. Aslında ölmek üzere yani artık.

[29] Asya: Bir de bir hayvanın hasta olup olmadığını anlamak da bence önemli, yardıma ihtiyacı olup olmadığını anlamak da önemli. Onun da hani hiç farkında olmayan sadece "Geçer, hayvan bu," yani pis olmasını mesela normal karşılayan ki normalde kediler çok pis canlılar değillerdir, kendilerini temizlerler. Hastalık belirtilerinin belki bir tık daha görünür olanların da farkında olmak.

[30] Ada: Böyle yapmam gereken bir şeymiş gibi hissediyorum. Yani Fatih'te bulduğum bir kedi vardı. Böyle burnunda kocaman bir plaka sümük enfeksiyon karışımı bir şey oluşmuş. Ya ben görüyorum onu. Ben onu görüyorken nasıl elimden gelebiliyorsa ya da zorlayınca elimden getirmeyi sağlıyorsam, ben ona

nasıl yardım etmeye çalışamam ki! Yani bilmiyorum. Yapmam gereken bir şeymiş gibi.

[31] Bulut: Ben bir kedi gördüğüm zaman, etrafta bir su veren, mama veren veyahut da kap var mı? Çünkü genellikle çevresinde oluyorlar zaten; eğer yoksa mesela hani ben direkt fiziksel olarak karınlarını yokluyorum genellikle. Eğer doluysa mesela hani belli bu şey yapıyor zaten.

[32] Asya: Fatih'te yaşarken yine orada da ufak bir besleme alanımız vardı. Eve yakın böyle mahalledekilerle birlikte oluşturduğumuz. O gelip giden kediler oluyordu arada bakıyorduk durumları nasıl diye. Bir gün besleme yaparken koyduğumuz kartonlardan birinde kış vaktiydi, çok kötü bir koku geldiğini fark ettik. İçinde de kedi var. Kedinin öldüğünü düşüneceğim kadar kötü bir kokuydu. Kediye elimizi uzattık, baktık, tepki verdi, elimizi ısırmaya çalıştı. Sonra aniden karton içinden kaçtı, hayvan yaşıyormuş ama hayvanın bacağının biri muhtemelen ezilmiş ya da bir şey olmuş, çok ciddi açık, enfekte, kokan korkunç bir yarası vardı. Ona rağmen kedi koşabiliyordu. Ve bir arabanın altına saklandı. Oraya eğildik, oradan almaya çalıştık, oradan diye arabanın altına saklandı gibi. O zaman evliydim. Eski eşimle birlikte, muhtemelen gece saatlerindeydi, 23.00'te falan başladık. Gece 01.30, 02.00'ye kadar arabaların altına yatarak sürünerek birinden birine, birinden öbürüne, sopayla biri bir taraftan korkuturken diğeri yakalamaya çalışırken böyle rahat iki buçuk saat uğraştığımız hayvana en son hırka ipinden ağ yaparak zar zor yakaladığımız, elimize aldıktan sonra benim her yerimi tırmalamış parçalamıştı. Box'a koyana kadar da çok zorlanmıştık. Oldukça zordu yani iki buçuk saate yakın belki de yerde süründük ama onu gözümden kaçırmamak için de. Çünkü ölüme yatmıştı muhtemelen, ölmeye çalışıyordu. O yüzden bırakmak da istemedik. Çok zordu. Unutmuyorum baya yerde sürünmüştük. Gelen giden deli miyiz diye bakıyordu.

[33] Bulut: Yani şey ee ben mesela kendim böyle özellikle hani bu kadar insanlar tarafından zarar görürken çoğu hayvan, hani sorumlu hissediyorum. Böyle şey gibi özellikle evcil hayvanlar, evcilleştirdiğimiz hayvanların şu anda böyle eziyet görmeleri, kötü şartlarda olması ve çeşitli çeşitli bir sürü şeyden dolayı, vicdani olarak kendime yapmak zorunda gibi hissediyorum böyle bir şeyi.

[34] Güneş: Yani aslında bizim lütfumuz değil, yani sorumluluğumuz bu hayvanlara sokakta ya da evde bakmak. Yani bu şekilde düşünüyorum.

[35] Öykü: O zaman Bakırköy'de oturuyorduk. O zamanlar tabii bu kadar kedi bakılmıyordu herhalde. Kaç yaşındaydım? Herhalde, bilmiyorum, yedi sekiz yaşındaydım. Veteriner yoktu. Hani kedi çok bakılmıyordu böyle. Hani devamlı mamalar öyle bir konsept yoktu ve bizim apartmanda yıllarca kırık ayakla gezen bir kedi vardı. Mesela şimdi düşünüyorum, niye kimse onu veterinere götürmemiş? Ben ona yemek verdiğimi falan hiç hatırlamıyorum ama o kediyi hatırlıyorum.

[36] Aybike: Benim mesela şu an kör olan kedime ben köyde kapıma geldi. Hâlbuki o kedi köyde gezip duruyormuş yavruyken. Herkes görmüş, daha gözü tam kör olmadan, kapanmadan. İki damla damlatsalar o kedinin gözü açılacak

ama millet o oraya itelemiş, bu buraya itelemiş. Bir şekilde ben besliyorum diye hayvan kalabalığın arasında benim evimin önüne kadar geldi.

[37] Alp: Hani ne bileyim, o yavru kediler orada ciyak ciyak bağırıyor ve bizden başka yine kimse gören olmuyor. Bakıyorlar, duyuyorlar sesi ama kimsenin umurunda değil. O çok sıkıntı verici bir durum benim için. Ünlü yazar mazar, sanatçı falan da var o binada ama hiçbirinden bir şey görmüyorsun. Kediler üzerine kitap yazan biri var mesela bir kere gelip inip arka tarafa şey yapmadı kadın, mama vermedi. Evinde iki tane kedisi var onlara alıyor en pahalısından. Çok saçma bir durum anladın mı yani.

[38] Aybike: Ben hiçbir zaman yanıma mama almadan çıkmam evden çıkarken. Muhakkak bir torba mama alırım yanıma.

[39] Asya: Mesela yani su konusunda da çok karşılaşıyorum. Genelde mama bırakan insan sayısı daha fazla ama suya, temiz suya ihtiyacı olduğunu hayvanların, kedilerin aynı şekilde, insanlar nedense düşünemeyebiliyorlar. Su hani ulaşılabilir bir şey olarak görüyorlar. Doğada olan bir şey olarak görüyorlar. Onu da orada su kaynakları genellikle temiz olmuyor ve bu hayvanların temiz suya da ihtiyacı var. Mesela örneğin bunu bile bilmeyen çok fazla insan var.

[40] Mira: Ya da işte bir ara kendi gözüm için de vardı, sonra devamlı taşımaya başladım. Birtakım böyle göz ilaçları falan taşıyorum. Hani yolda gördüğümde eğer sürekli orada olabilecekse ki bu önceden işte belki bahsetmişimdir. Moda'daki o bostanın orasıydı. Hani oradaki kediler genelde orada da olurdu ya da işte orada bir şekilde esnafla falan filan iletişim kurarak işte o küçük tedaviler gibi diyeyim. Öyle bir şey yapmaya çalışıyorum.

[41] Aybike: Ve ciddi bir şekilde bunları artık burada özel veterinere, yani bir kaza geçirmiş bir hayvan olduğu zaman, özel şeye götürüyoruz, veterinere götürüyoruz, taksit yapıyoruz falan.

[42] Mira: Hepsinde işte böyle biraz daha, sokak hayvanı olsun ya da işte evde bizlerle yaşayan hayvan olsun, biraz daha böyle "Biz iyi bakıyoruz" motivasyonunda "Bu çocuk. Adı ne? Kaydı var mı? Hemen oluşturalım. Adı neydi?" falan. Direkt böyle şey yaparken buluyorum kendimi. Daha yeni karşılaşmışım hayvanla falan. "Ne isim koyacağız buna?" Bir an önce ama yani kendi çocuğuma isim koyuyormuşum gibi uzun uzun düşünmemem lazım. Çünkü çocuğun hemen tedaviye girmesi lazım falan gibi şeyler oluyordu.

[43] Aybike: Şimdi benim çok güvendiğim iki tane veterinerim var. Birisi Bursa'da, birisi burada. Ben özellikle mesela gözle ilgili mesela, gözde anormallik var; akıntı değil de kırmızılık var vs. bir şey için onun elli tane fotoğrafını çekip iki veterinerime de yolluyorum. Ya da burnu aktığında yolluyorum. Mesela çok gözü de akıyor, burnu da akıyor, ağzından bir şey akıyor mesela. Dişlerini açıyorum, fotoğrafını çekip yolluyorum. Onlar bana bilgi veriyorlar "Şunu şunu kullan, şey yap," gibi ama aynı şekilde tekrarlayan şeyler olduğu zaman onları bir daha sormama gerek kalmıyor. Muhakkak veteriner tabi ki, bu ilaçlar sayesinde zaten yaptık yani.

[44] Asya: Kediyi aynen zar zor box'a sokup veterinere götürdük. Tedavi başladı ama kedi zaten çok yabani olduğu için yaklaştırmak istemediği için tedavi sürecinde de bizim evde bir odaya kapattık ve orada da her pansumanı için yine aynı şekilde hırka gibi bir şeyden ağ yapıp hayvanı tamamen hareketsiz pozisyonuna biri alıyordu. Diğeri arka bacağını, ıslak pansumanını değiştiriyordu ve bu süreçte yine her seferinde ısırılıyorduk, parçalanıyorduk, yaralanıyorduk. Bu böyle bir buçuk aya yakın eziyet dolu çığlıklar, kıyametlerle geçen bir tedavi süreci oldu.

[45] Umay: Bazı sahiplendirmelerimiz çok iyi oluyor. Mesela onlar da beni çok mutlu ediyor. Yani gerçekten çok iyi bir aileye gitmiş oluyor. Hayvan işte buranın bir köyünde sokakta yaşarken işte İngilterelere falan giden var. Oralar da ailesiyle yaşayanlar var falan böyle hani. İnanılmaz hayatlar sürüyorlar. Kimisi işte dünyayı geziyor köpeği ile beraber. Onları gördükçe gerçekten çok mutlu oluyorum. Yani bir hayvanın hayatını bu kadar değiştirebildiğimiz için bu şekilde.

[46] Koray: Yaklaşık on yıl önce kadar, apartmanının bodrumunda bir kedi yavrulamıştı ve bu kedinin beş tane falan yavrusu olmuştu. Yavrulardan bir tanesi öldü. Onu ben gömdüm falan. Bu süreçte ben üzüldüğümü ve etkilendiğimi ve kediyle bayağı ilgilendiğimi hatırlıyorum.

[47] Gönül: Bir kediyle aramda bir bağ kurmuştum. Yavrusunu veterinere vermiştim, yavrusu öldü belediyenin veterinerliğinde. Ben o kediye çok üzülüyordum. Bir arkadaşım geldi bir gün. İşte dedi ki "Dükkâna kedi sokuyorsun," dedi. "Bu kediyle ilgilendiğin kadar kimseyle ilgilenmiyorsun," dedi. Kediye çıkarttı ayakkabısını fırlattı. Ben o arkadaşımla görüşmeyi kestim. "Bir daha," dedim "sakın buradan geçme. Geçersen de polis çağıracağım gerçek anlamda." Erkek bir arkadaş, o da esnaflık yapan birisiydi. Günlerce o kediyi tekrar dükkâna çekmek için çaba sarf ettim. Bu da anılarımdan bir tanesi.

[48] Arda: En çok böyle kaygılandığımız işte şey oradaki hayvanların bir hafta sonu yok olması ki böyle şeylerle de karşılaştık. Ne olduğunu, nereden, yani öyle bir şey ki yani kim götürdü, onu bilmiyoruz. Ne oldu bilmiyoruz. Sütlaç vardı yani ben gittiğimde oradaydı ve 3-5 yıldır da oradaymış. Yani bir bayram tatili zamanında biz geriye döndüğümüzde Sütlaç yoktu. Sonra nereye gitti, ne oldu, yani onunla ilgili birilerine soruyoruz, kimse bir şey söylemiyor filan. Bir yerden bir haber geldi, işte Hadımköy'de işte sanayiye götürüp bıraktırmışlar falan gibi böyle bir şeyler dolaştı. Kim götürdü, kim bunu şey yaptı, söyledi götürülmesini falan bunlara da ulaşamıyoruz falan böyle bir orada belirsizlik var. En herhalde kaygılandığımız şey bu oluyor. Yani kaynağını da çünkü tam anlamıyla bulamıyoruz.

[49] Esin: Çünkü bir ilan görüyorum, kötü bir şey, kendimi sorumlu hissediyorum. "Bir şey yapabilir miydim?" "Niye yapmadım?" vs. gibi.

[50] Esin: Şimdi benim bir gelecek hayalim var. Bunu konuşuyorum da. Ama bu şey değil, işte evleneyim, evim olsun, şu arabayı kullanayım, şöyle bir işim olsun vs. gibi değil. Benim gelecekteki hayalim tamamen hayvanlarla ilgili. Hiçbir zaman çok para kazanayım vs. derdim olmadı. Hiçbir zaman öyle bir

kaygım olmadı. Ama bazen düşünüyorum. Çünkü çok dışarıdan biraz fazla iş geliyor, hiçbirini yapmıyorum. Çünkü hafta sonu çalışmak istemiyorum. Akşam çalışmak istemiyorum. Acaba yapsam da böyle bir para tutsam da belki gene sokak hayvanları için, hasta hayvanlar için, bir şey yapabilir miyim?

[51] Ege: Kötü bir şey ya zor, yani hiç iyi andığım şey değil. Benim hani böyle belki bazı görüşmecileriniz vardır, yani "Beslemeye çıkıyorum. Kendimi işte…" "Yüce Rabb'im onlara verdiği sağlık..." hiç öyle bir şey değil benim için. Hayvan beslemeye çıkmak benim için "Ha [küfür]" gibi bir şey yani ya şuradan bir tane hayvan çıkarsa ve çok kötü bir durumda olursa ben ve saat gece 1 ise ne yaparım diye böyle hani kaygıyla yaklaştığım bir şey. O yüzden mola vermiştim.

[52] Ege: Ha bir de deminki o insanın arasındaki fark deyince aklıma şey geldi ilk başta mama veriyor olmak mutlu ediyordu, bu öğün doydu. Şimdi mama verdiğinde şey oluyor "Bir öğün doysa ne olur?" falan gibi bir şey oluyor. Yani mamayla geziyorum. Hani görebildiğim yani ama mesela mahallemde besleyebilirim ama bugün kalkıp Bahçelievler'e Kızılay'a bir yere gittiğimde bir kedi gördüm, bir öğün besleyeceğim ve onun için bir öğün doymuş olması beni tatmin etmiyor.

[53] Ege: Benim benimse birisi bir yıkıntıydı. Yani benzer ben hani bu hikâye başladıktan sonra her şey çaresizlik, ezik olmak ama benim için hikayem, o hayvanlarla tanışmakla oldu yani o yıkılma, vegan olmak falan.

[54] Güneş: "Oo ben daha işte Kiki'den sonra bir sürü hayvan için yaparım bunu," falan gibi geliyordu ama Kiki'nin tedavisinden sonra ben çöktüm psikolojik olarak. Çünkü yani aslında o sırada çok yorulmuşum yani farkında değildim. Hani Kiki iyileştikten sonra ben rahatladım ve rahatlamadan sonra da "Yok," dedim, "Galiba artık bunu şu an yapacak bir gücüm yok," oldum.

[55] Umay: Ya bizde tetikleyici olmayan durum yok. Sürekli yaşandığı için artık, hani, "Bundan tetikleniyorum" falan gibi ya bize lüks oluyor, öyle söyleyeyim. Çünkü çok fazla acıyı uzun süre yaşama fırsatımız olmuyor. Geride bakım bekleyen bir sürü başka hayvan olduğu için hani, ben birkaç gün kendimi kapatayım, yataktan çıkmayayım, falan öyle şeyler yapamıyoruz. Çok üzülsek de devam etmek zorunda kalıyoruz.

[56] Alp: Şimdi ben sana şöyle bir şey söyleyeyim. Şeker hastası olup yaşaması var, bir de ölmesi var açlıktan yani. Ben bir kedi olsaydım, beni bu yemek şeker hastası mı edecek diye düşünmezdim açıkçası açlıktan ölme pozisyonunda kalacaksam eğer. Çöplüğe bile ulaşamıyor oradaki kediler.

[57] Ege: Yani işte çöpün kenarına mama koymaya başlayarak hani orada çok garip bir şey yapıyorsunuz, matematik yapıyorsunuz, şey gibi, mamayı sağlarken. Yani kendi evinizdekilere böyle protein oranları falan böyle şeylere bakıyorsun, veterinere söylüyorsun falan. Oraya da şey yapıyorsun, 15 kilo o zaman ucuzdu, 75 liraya alabilirdim falan. Diyordum böyle hani "15 kilo alsam ne kadar götürür?" falan.

[58] Umay: Çünkü zaten çok kaliteli mama da veremiyoruz çok sayıda oldukları için. Hani bir tane kediniz olur, onu en iyisi ile beslersiniz, okey. Ama tabi çok popülasyon olunca mecburen ekonomik olana gidiyoruz. Ya onun da tabii ki kendince yarattığı sıkıntılar oluyordur hayvanın sağlığına dair ama hani şu ilk öncelik aç kalmamaları hani bir şekilde doymaları olduğu için en kolay nasıl, hani bizim ulaşabileceğimiz maddi anlamda ne varsa onu şey yapmaya çalışıyoruz, nasıl diyeyim, vermeye çalışıyoruz diyeyim.

[59] Aslı: Yaşadım birkaç, birden fazla kez. Bir tanesi üniversitedeyken yolda çok ölmek üzere olan bir kedi gördüm ve veterinere ilk en yakındaki veterinere götürdüm. Onu da nasıl bulduğumu hatırlamıyorum; çünkü, bence o zaman akıllı telefonum falan yoktu benim, belki hafızamdan ilk yere götürdüm. Bakmadılar ve benim yine param yoktu gerçekten. Öğrenciydim ve gerçekten yoktu. İkinci yere götürdüm ve yine bakmadılar. Üçüncü yere götürdüm. Yine para talep ettiler ve şey annemi arayıp para istedim. Kediye baktırmak için. Sonra bu arada öldü. Böyle bir saat içinde falan. ... Şeyi hatırlıyorum ya da belki de öleceğini anladıkları için mi bakmadılar? Ama para talep edildiğini hatırlıyorum ve para yüzünden dolandığımı hatırlıyorum.

Burak: Kedi öldü mü sonra?

Aslı: Öldü. Üçüncü veterinerdeyken işte, bir saat içinde falan öldü zaten.

[60] Ege: Bu bence hani yaşam hakkını korumaya çalışan, kimi zaman feragat eden bazı şeylerden yaşam hakkına karşı, şey, belki özgürlüğün bazı yerlerde feragat eden. Dünyevi olanın içerisinde bir yol arama gibi bir şey diyeyim. Koşulların arasında bir yol arama gibi bir şey görüyorum.

[61] Asya: Birçok insanın bu destek mekanizmasına da sahip olmadığı için biraz daha ajite ve reaktif olduklarını düşünüyorum.

[62] Asya: Ama daha yalnız, daha ailesi tarafından anlaşılmayan, belki evine giren çıkan insan sayısı oldukça az olan, yaptığı şeyden dolayı aşağılanan, alçak görülen bir sürü hayvansever de var.

[63] Alp: Gönüllü olarak kimseden yardım almadan.

[64] Alp: Kesinlikle. Hem mental yoruyor hem fiziksel yoruyor dediğin gibi ama paylaşım yok yani. Anlatıyorsun, dışarda anlatıyorum insanlara, diyorum ki, “Bak böyle şeyler oluyor.” Kimseden bir hareket göremiyorum. Evinde kedisi var birçok insanın ama sokaktaki canlıya dönüp bakmıyor. Sıkıntılı bir durum.

[65] Meltem: Daha kötüsü bu iyiliği yaptığımız tüm hayvanseverler hiçbiri bile arkamızda durmadı. Yani bir kişi sadece şunu yazacaktı. Veteriner hekim odasına gidip mail atacaktı. Yani “Buradaki popülasyon yüksek, yapmayın,” diye. Ya da işte ne bileyim kendi aralarında imza toplayıp hani böyle bir tepki verebilirlerdi. Yapmadılar. Çünkü biz onların işlerini görmüş olduk. Ucuza ameliyat ettirmiş oldular.

[66] Mert: Hatta bunların böyle veteriner masraflarıyla da ilgilenmeye çalışıyorduk öğrenci halimizle.

[67] Ada: Ama en çok en büyük destek farkında olmasa da annem. O bilmiyordu ama ondan aldığım parayı oraya aktarıyordum. Sonra tabi öğrendi tabi hastane vesilesiyle.

Burak: Ne tepki verdiler?

Ada: Kadın çok şok oldu gerçekten.

[68] Arda: Ve ben de aynı dönemlerde işe girmiştim. Bu sefer yani kısmi olarak ee şeylere başladım. Okuldaki, üniversitenin çevresinde bir sürü kedi var. Köpekler çok az, o tarafa gelmiyor. Bazen nadiren gördüğüm oluyor. Ama böyle düzenli olarak gelen kediler vardı. Bir tane bizim fakültenin içinde dolaşan vardı. Ve onlara hep mama, su vs. bazı araştırma görevlileri önceden sanırım başlamıştı bir şey yani onlara mama vesaire yapma. Sonra biz bunu ortaklaştırmaya başladık.

Burak: Ortaklaştırmak dediğin, birlikte yapmak gibi mi?

Arda: Evet, yani bunun maddi şeyini birlikte karşılayalım ee yükünü birlikte karşılayalım; başka işte bu yani birlikte yaşadığımız, aynı mahallede yaşadığımız kişilerle yardımlaşıyoruz. Veterinere götürmek için belirli yerler para topluyoruz, topluyoruz işte. Masraf çok olduğu zaman; işte herkes ufak tefek kendince, ufak tefek de değil aslında, 100 lira, 200 lira, 50 lira gibi bir para verip çok ciddi bir bütçe oluşturup; En sonda MR çektirdik, yarısını ben ödedim. Yarısını ilk kurtaran abla iletişime geçtiğim, ondan teslim aldım, abla ödedi. Bir dönem artık kadının bütçesi de para olarak da hiçbir şekilde destek olamadığı için… Hayvan hasta, bana söylüyordu mesela. Çok acayip şeyler yaşadım orada ya.

[69] Umay: Genelde özel kliniklerde kısırlaşıyorlar. Hani, sağ olsun, veteriner hekim arkadaşlarımız var, hani sokak hayvanı olduğu için bayağı bir inisiyatif kullanarak çok daha düşük hani fiyatlarla yapmaya çalışıyorlar bize. İşte kendi aramızda bir şekilde döndürüyoruz vesaire. O şekilde halletmeye çalışıyoruz.

[70] Alp: Ya kimsenin üzerine yapışmaz aslına bakarsan. Bir kutu mama verseler, o da onlardan kedilere bir armağan olur ama… Kullandığım beceriler...

Burak: Ya işte bu kaynakları mobilize etmeler, bir şekilde bakma, etme, tedavi etme falan gibi çok genel.

Alp: Sağduyu yani aslında bakarsan, sadece sağduyu hani, ne bileyim sonuçta.

Burak: Bir beceri gerektirmiyor aslında?

Alp: Bence hiçbir özel beceri gerektirdiğini düşünmüyorum yani. Biraz gözlemleyebilecek herkes benim yaptığım şeyi yapar yani. Sanki çok zor bir şeymiş gibi ya hani belki de o yüzden insanlar buna bir adım atmıyor ama halbuki bir adım atınca.

[71] Asya: Yani ben bunların hepsinden çok azadeyim yani. Öyle bir yani belki bunları üstüme alınacak, huzursuzluk duyduğum, belki gerçekten yalnız kalmış

olsaydım, belki gerçekten ailem tarafında bir tık daha bu nedenden dolayı ötekileştirilmiş olsaydım, belki ben de aynı süreçlerden geçecektim. Ben şanslı olarak addediyorum kendimi. ... Benim kız kardeşim de hayvansever erkek kardeşim de. Biz sadece kedi değil, kuş bulduğumuz zaman da karga bulduğumuz zaman da sahip çıkan bir ailede büyüdük. Benim annem de aynı görüşte, benim maddi olarak sıkıştığım zaman destek olacak ve bunu mantıklı bulan anne babam var.

[72] Umay: Evet. Şöyle, ben ailemle yaşıyorum zaten, anne ve babamla. En büyük desteklerim onlar, sağ olsunlar. Hani bu kadar hayvana bakmama da hani maddi, manevi onlar destek verdiği için mümkün oldu zaten. Kendi başıma yapamazdım. Hani onun dışında bu derneği kurduk ama işte derneği kurarken de yine yakın çevrem sağ olsun maddi, manevi çok destek oldu. Yani düzenli destek olan insanlar sayesinde, çevremdeki insanlar sayesinde açıkçası yapmaya devam edebiliyoruz.

[73] Asya: Arkadaş çevrem var. Sürekli birbirimizi anlayan, birbirimizin acılarını paylaşan, gördüğümüz kötü, yani çıkardığımız bir kedinin durumuyla ilgili birlikte ağlayabileceğim insanlar var etrafımda.

[74] Ada: Arkadaşlarım da şey diyor zaten "Alma artık," "Alma artık," "Lütfen alma."

[75] Can: Şöyle yani, bir bağ oluştu aramda hani doğumunu görmesem de o küçücük halinden büyüyüşünü izledik. Nasıl desem ilk defa hıçkırık tuttuğu anı gördünüz. Şimdi atıyorum su içerken o çıkardığı sesler, işte mamayı yerken vesaire, bu insanda bir bağ oluşturuyor, ister istemez. Ben de dayanamadım.

[76] Özge: Özellikle o ilk gözünü tedavi ettiğimiz kedi sonra büyüdü, şimdi bir yaşını doldurdu. Afacan bir şey oldu ve o kediyle biz o kadar uğraştık ki. Asla dokundurmuyordu kendine. Sürekli kaçıyordu. Mama koyuyoruz, mamaya gelmiyordu bile. O kadar ürkekti ki ya böyle arkadan falan dolanıp yakalamaya çalışıyorduk ilaç verebilmek için. Ve sonra iyileştikten sonra, büyüdükten sonra peşimizden ayrılmamaya başladı. Üstümüze, tepemize çıkıyor böyle. İnanılmaz bir keyif ya, gerçekten. Ona olan bağım elimde büyüdü falan gibi hissediyorum. (Gülüyor) O benim için apayrı gerçekten. Hepsi bir kenara, o bir kenara.

[77] Alp: 6 aylık değil böyle onunla tanıştığımızda. Götürdüm hani, böyle bir şey süreci oldu, veteriner süreci oldu. Hatta veteriner de "Yaşamaz bu muhtemelen," falan. Hatta o zaman söylemiştim hani "Yaşı küçük ama yine de kısırlaştır," falan diye. Öyle bir süreçti. Sonra onu öyle ben sahiplendim. Bu süreçten sonra çok bırakamadım, alıştım. Ondan sonra işte o gençlik hastalığına yakalandı. Onun tedavisi. "Ölecek," dediler. Bayağı uğraştım. Tedavi ettirmeyi de falan o şekilde bir kere kaybetme korkusuyla herhalde daha da bir bağlılık duydum. Ee son Pipet 3 kere öldü. Hayvan öldü yani gerçekten. Hareket edemiyordu. Kız arkadaşımın göğsünde. Ve ben böyle hasta bir hayvanı tutamıyorum psikolojik olarak. Hayvan hareket edemiyor, dedim ki İrem ölecek yani, uyandırdım onu. Ben gün gün bakıyordum kediye, o [İrem] daha buradaydı. Aldı göğsüne, kucağına tuttu, sabaha kadar öyle uyumadan bekledik. Hayvan zor nefes alıyordu. Sonra sabah aradım hemen veterineri. Açtık

veterineri. Götürdük işte bir tomar işlem, operasyon. Hayvan bir şekilde toparladı. Bunun tek başına yaşadığım 3 gün oldu üst üste. Düşünsene sıkıntıyı. Ama bir şekilde sonra ayakta tuttuk, hayvan yaşamaya başladı. Nasıl vereceksin birine? Bir de veremezsin onu yani. Çocuğun gibi senin artık, senden bir parça.

[78] Ada: Ve yanlarında olmak iyi hissettiriyor. Böyle saf bir sevgi, böyle sevildiğimi hissediyorum.

[79] Umay: Ama tabi genel olarak mutluluk veriyor. Hani onlar çünkü sizi çok fazla sevdikleri için. Hani gördükleri zaman bile heyecanlanıyorlar. En ufak bir hani sizinle 5 dakika geçirmek için heyecan duyuyorlar, öyle söyleyeyim.

[80] Aybike: "Tamam, olur," diyorum. Bir şey demiyorum ben, yine bildiğimi okuyorum. Tartışmıyorum ben, çünkü sinirlerim bozuluyor. Sonu yok. Zamanında tartıştım tabi ki. Hiç kimse dediğinden vazgeçmiyor.

[81] Mira: Ve bunu alay etmek ve işte *trolllemek* için var ya bir yerden sonra mesela şey diyorum "Ya bu bence çok verimsiz bir tartışma. Anlaşamayacağız gibi. Başka şeylerden konuşalım." Çünkü biz birbirimizi yenmeceye çalışıyoruz. Bu yenmece hayvana bir katkısı olmayacak ve ben bunun için hayvan hakları savunmuyorum gibi bir şey geliyor. Aslında kastettiğim birazcık bu, bilmiyorum, anlatabildim mi?

[82] Kuzey: Daha sonra tabii İstanbul'un çeşitli yerlerinde yine kısmen devam ettik ama daha çok azalarak oldu. Çünkü Fikirtepe gibi bir yer gerçekten insandan çok şey alabilen bir yer. O öyle bir yerden sonra aynı tempo ya biz şöyle de bir şey grafik ciddi manada yükseliyor, bir anda Fikirtepe'de çünkü gecemizi gündüzümüzü geçirdiğimiz bir yer. Sabah akşam oradayız. Gecenin ikisi oradayız. Sabahladığımız günler oldu ve akşam saati olduğu andan itibaren ışık yok, zifiri karanlık. Çeşitli insanlar var ama kim olduğunu bile bilmiyorsunuz binada, atıyorum.

[83] Uzay: Mahallemden dediğim gibi haftada üç dört gece kedileri besleyen biri geçiyor. Zaman zaman acaba gidip onla iletişim kursam mı diyorum ama kurmuyorum. Neden? Birincisi kurduğum zaman sanki önlenemez bir sorumluluk alacakmışım gibi hissediyorum. Yani onunla konuşup onunla böyle muhabbet edip tanış olduğum zaman sanki ben kedi yuvalarını daima ve düzenli olarak yapmak zorunda olacakmışım gibi hissediyorum. Çünkü bu arada tespit ettim. Yani sadece bir kişi geçmiyor. Haftada üç gün. İki kişiler bunlar. İkisi pazar çantasıyla geçiyor ve kedi köpek besliyor. Her şey, her şeyi besliyorlar. Hepsinden ayrı mamalar çıkıyor ve bu bir iki saat falan süren bir ritüele dönüşüyor. Ve onlar böyle mahallede şey diye tanınıyorlar işte kedileri köpekleri besleyen kişiler diye tanınıyorlar. Uzaktan görünce parmakla gösterilebiliyor artık herkesin hafızasını… Ya o sorumluluktan çekiniyorum. Korkuyorum galiba. Ee hatta bir yerde sanki o kedi ve köpekleri beslemek benim sorumluluğum bile olabilirmiş o kişiler bu mahallede artık olmadıkları zaman ya öldükleri ya da buradan taşındıkları zaman. Çünkü ikisi de çok yaşlı insanlar var. O yüzden sanırım ona girmiyorum.

[84] Özge: İlgiliyimdir belki. İlgiliyim, öyle söyleyebilirim yani. Dediğim gibi doğrudan bir sorumluluk hissettiğimi söyleyemem, yani o kedilerin arkasını benim toparlamam gerekiyormuş gibi hissetmiyorum. Ama o kedilerin ne durumda olduğuna karşı endişe duyuyorum ve bu durumla ilgileniyorum. İyileştirebileceğim bir durum varsa yapmak istiyorum. Ama komple onların sorumluluğunu almak istemiyorum. O da biraz ürkütücü.

[85] Dicle: Hani böyle benim gibi daha hani belli bir sınır içerisinde tutmaya çalışan insanlar daha çok çevremde çok. Yani ben hayatımı çok engelleyebilecek şekilde o işe girişmedim. Hani bu konuda vicdan azabı çekmeli miyim çekmemeli miyim bilmiyorum ama o şeyi elimden geleni yapmaya çalışıyorum.

[86] Ege: O yüzden de bana şey gibi geliyor yani hani, o acıdan, o zorlanmadan, o peki o kadrodan az bir elin hani parmağını geçmeyecek kadrodan çıkıyorum ve kendimi o hani korunaklı alanda tutuyorum. Onlarsa orada hani cebelleşmeye devam ediyor gibi. Çünkü ben onu gördüm. Yani ben oraya değdim ve o gerçekten haberim var. Şimdi böyle Acun'un programına bağlanıp bağış yapan ünlü gibi hissediyorum yani hani.

[87] Alp: Diyorum ki işte "Şu bir paket mamayı koyar mısın?" Bir kere söyledim, akşam geldim eve, mamayı koymamış. Aradım, "Ya," dedim, "Abi, sen nasıl mamayı koymadın? Tek istediğim şey. Senden bir şey istiyorum kırk yılda bir, 'Mamayı koy,' dedim. Ya çok mu büyük bir şey?" "Unuttum ben, beyefendi," diyor. Arkada 30 tane can onu bekliyor, o onu unutuyor.

[88] Esin: Ama bu adada tek ben olmasaydım, herkes biraz bu konuda olsaydı, bu bakış açısında olsaydı, ne ben bu kadar ödeme yapardım, para öderdim, ne ee...

[89] Umay: Çok hasta hayvan çıktığı için karşımıza ama hani "Bu hasta," "Bu engelli, bunu uyutalım," falan gibi bir şey kesinlikle değil. Yani hani artık o hastalığın son aşaması, hayvan sabahı göremeyecek ve çok ciddi bir hani bilinci gitmiş, işte hiçbir şeyin farkında değil zaten, çok büyük acı ve ağrı hani içerisinde. Öyle bir durumdayken hekimle beraber o kararı vermek zorunda kaldığımız oldu maalesef.

[90] Defne: Bazı insanlar mesela hastanede nöbet tutarken okulda, yani bırakıp kaçıyorlardı. Mesela hayvana araba çarpmış, bırakıp kaçıyorlardı. Senin inisiyatifine kalıyordu. Hatta ben bir tanesini, öğretmen, öğretmen demezsin, hocalar uyutmamı isterken ben dedim "Şey yapmak istiyorum, devam etmek istiyorum." Bağırsakları dışarı çıkmış bir hayvanı gerçekten bekledik, felç oldu, vesaire derken, rehabilitasyon bir gün sokak gezdirirken kliniğin bahçesinde, kendi kendine kaçtı, yürüdü yani.

[91] Asya: Bir süre sonra bulunduğum mahallede Fatih'te hayvanları beslemeye başladım. Tedavilerini yaptırmaya başladım ve işte onlara kulübeler, mama odakları, alanlarının temizlenmesi, genelde hayvanların daha öbek durduğu yerlerin insanlar çok fazla ev yemeği bıraktığı için enfeksiyon kaynağı oluyorlar, hem hayvanlar tüketmiyor, kurtlanıyor vesaire temizliğe de başladım.

[92] Esin: Şimdi bir de bizim kargalarımız var, sadece kediler değil. Mezarlık olduğu için işte yanda imalathane profiterol artıklarını koyuyor, ... yapan dünden kalmış şeyleri koyuyor kedi mamaları, kargalar da tanıyor, bekliyor vs. Bir de karga grubu var dediğim gibi. Mesela çok güzel, iyi niyetle yapıyor. Kuru ekmek, ekmek, kocaman ekmeği, kedi mamasının mesela üstüne koyuyor ya da pırasa döküyor ya da bulgur pilavı döküyor. Böyle saçma sapan şeyler. Ben onu temizlemekle uğraşıyorum ve söyleniyorum açıkçası. İşte kargalara somun ekmek. Kargalar oradan onu yiyor, bunu yiyor, ekmekler orada küfleniyor bilmem ne. Belki iyi niyetle yapıyor, belki düşüncesizce yapıyor, bilmiyorum ama şey bu tür şeyler oluyor. Alıp çöpe atmak gibi bir şey olmuyor. Ama bütün yemek artığını oraya dökmek bu sefer de... Bunlar çöp demek oluyor, çöp, sinek vs. Ama dediğim gibi iyi niyetle yapıyorlar herhalde.

[93] Aybike: Yani işte ne bileyim bir hayvan, bir hayvansever görmüş de ona bakmamış da şöyle yapmış da böyle yapmış da ya da bir başkasının yardımına muhalefette bulunan çok oluyor. İşte "Öyle yapmamanız gerekiyordu," da "Şöyle yapmanız gerekiyordu" da... O kadar çok duydum ki.

[94] Özge: Ve o apartmandaki amcayla ufak tefek çatışmalar yaşamaya başladık. O bizim onları beslememizden çok hoşnut değildi. Yani ne yapsak yaranamıyorduk amcaya.

Burak: Neden?

Özge: İşte "Az koyuyorsun." "Az koyuyorsunuz," demiyordu da "Çok koyuyorsunuz." O böyle özel cam kaplar indirmiş aşağıya, ben de evdeki plastik kapları koyuyordum. Sonra o cam kaplara da koymaya başladık. Hani onlar da dolsun diye. Mesela "Onlar benim kabım, onlara yaş mama koymayın," dedi. Ondan sonra kediye işte gözü için pomad aldığımız zaman "Hangi pomadı kullanıyorsunuz? Benim verdiğim daha iyi, siz bundan kullanmayın." Hani biz de sorarak aldık. Sanki orada bir iktidar çatışmamız oldu gibi hissediyorum. Hatta amcanın saatlerine denk gelmemeye çalışıyorduk. Onun çıktığı saatte biz çıkmıyoruz, onu görüyorsak biz hiç ortada dolaşmıyoruz falan. Çünkü bizim oradaki varlığımızdan çok hoşnut değildi böyle. Baya surat yapıyor bize. Sonra yıldı. Bahçenin kedileri bize kaldı. Sonra o aşağıya inmemeye başladı. İlk önce böyle "Ay ne güzel siz de veriyorsunuz, ben tatile gittiğimde aklım kalıyordu, artık birileri var," falan diyordu. Ama bizim istikrarımız onu endişelendirdi. Bir süre sonra da olay bize kaldı gibi bir şey oldu. ... Dediğim gibi ona göre mamayı da yanlış veriyoruz, kedilerin gözüne de yanlış ilaç sürüyoruz. İşte kedilerin başında beklememiz doğru değil. Koyduğumuz kaplar doğru değil. Yani ne yapsak yaranamıyorduk. Her şey yanlıştı. O yüzden her yaptığımızı eleştiriyordu.

[95] Ege: Bayağı böyle o zaman hiçbir şeye kafam basmıyor. Hani köpek almayı falan satın almayı falan düşünüyorum.

[96] Asya: İstifçilik de olabilir. Evine ben kedi kurtarıyorum deyip 50 tane kedi alıp doğru düzgün bakımlarını yapmayan, kısırlaştırmalarını yapmayan en temelden. Bir arada erkek ve dişi kediler birlikte yaşamasına rağmen ve onlara

gereken hayatı sunmamasına rağmen orada bir şekilde kilitli tutan hayvanseverler de var.

[97] Dicle: Ne bileyim istifçilik seviyesine gelen var. Hani mesela Umay kalabalık bir evde yaşıyor ama onun ki istifçilik olarak görmüyorum. Çünkü o engelli hayvan alıyor sadece ve hani hayvanların hijyenine işte sağlığını tehlikeye atacak bir noktada değil ama hani hayvanların sağlığını tehlikeye atacak derecede pis koşullarda yaşatan istifçiler var. Hayvan refahından ziyade biraz herhalde zihinsel bir problem olarak hani uzmanlık alanım değil ama, çok sağlıklı bir davranış şekli olarak görmüyorum.

[98] Meltem: Teyzenin babadan kalma malikanesi var. Yani nispeten korunaklı, neticede çatısı duvarları olan bir yer. Kadın sokakta ne kadar kediyi yakalıyorsa, çöpün kenarında, orada, burada, şurada, işte "Sokakta kalmış bu, yazık," diye... Ya zaten sokak hayvanı, sokakta yaşayacak, bunu doğasından kopartma! Alıyor çitle çevrilmiş, tellerle çevrilmiş bahçesine götürüyor. Hayvana burada bakıyor. Ya zaten teyzenin bahçesi hastalık kaynıyor, bütün hayvanlar hasta. Yani gençlik hastalığı olan var, korona olan var. Ki düzeltemiyorsun bir saatten sonra ipin ucu kaçıyor, anlatabildim mi? Kedilerde ve köpeklerde hastalıklar, dışkı yoluyla umumiyetle bulaşıyor. E ne yapıyor, kakasını yapıyor hayvan, onun her ne kadar toprakla kapatsa da zaman içerisinde o toprak açılıp başka bir kedi onun üstüne gelip basıp elini yaladığında geçmiş olsun. Ve bu böyle yayılıyor.

[99] Ada: Niye kötü? Çünkü onların da belirli bir alana ihtiyacı var. Onlara sağlayabildiğim temizliğe ihtiyaçları var. Onlara verdiğin ilgiye ihtiyaçları var. Yani bir de ben normal şey almıyorum sağlıklı şey, hani çok ilgilenilmesi gereken yani üç dört saatte bir göz damlası yapılması gereken bir kedi vardı mesela. Bir de artık bir tanesine taksiyle gidiyorduk işte, günde 2 kere veterinere gidip, böbrek hastasıydı, artık bir sefer bir gidişim gece dörtte falan oluyordu güne sığdıramadığım için. Hani yapıyordum ama son zamanları, başta dengeliyordum, ama kedi sayısı arttırdıkça, dört beş gayet iyi dengeliyordum, kedi sayısını da arttırdıkça son zamanlarda, son bir iki hafta gerçekten çok kötüydü. Yani temizlik açısından şey açısından ben *bare minimum* tutmaya çalışıyordum hâlâ. Ama patladı yani, patladı yani, ben her şeyi sonlandırmak istedim.

[100] Ada: İstif objelere yapılan bir şey aslında. Yani hayvanı objeleştirmek istemiyoruz bence.

5. Managing Feline Population in the City

[1] Olcay: Evet, içgüdüleri var, yaradılışları var, sokak tehlikeli ama sokağı seviyorlar. ... Ben bilmiyor muyum sokağı sevdiğini, belki kolu kırılmasaydı eve hiç girmeyecekti. Kolu kırıldığı için eve girdi. Kolu kırıldığı için zaten bir yuva arıyoruz, sokağa tekrar döndüğünde eksik olmasın, işte dayak yemesin, şu olmasın, bu olmasın, daha hastalıklar başına gelmesin diye. ... [A]ma ne [sağlamcı küfür] insanlar var, eve kediyi hapsetmiş sonra da ona yer arıyor da denmez hani.

[2] Dicle: Hani nihai amacımız nihai arzum bu değil, yani nihai arzum, sokakta hayvan kalmayacak seviyede hepsinin yani nüfus kontrolü altında yuvaları olması, yani ben şehir hayatının hayvanlar için uygun olmadığını düşünüyorum.

[3] Umay: Bir ev bulamadığımız için. Ev olsa tabii ki bu çok güzel olur. Her zaman önceliğimiz mutlaka hani sahiplenilme olursa oraya verelim. Hayatında bütün hayvanlar için dilediğiniz şey bu. (Gülüyor) Ama maalesef ütopya oluyor o.

[4] Olcay: Ama ne kadar mesela, bazı arkadaşlarım var; ne kadar sokaktaki yaşayışlarına ve herkes bizim gibi davranmadığı için söylüyorum, tepikleyen de var, kolunu bacağını kesen de var. o yüzden ne kadarı sokaktan kurtulursa o kadar iyi gözüyle bakan da var.

[5] Aybike: Tabi. Öncelikle sakat hayvanlar, zaten öncelikle sakat hayvanları, onlar birinci sırada. Çok kötü durumda olanları, onlara zaten özel sayfalar var. Benim kendi kör kedim, sayfada Facebook'ta, Instagram'da mesela sayfalarım var. Sakat hayvanlar tabi ki daha öncelikte. En öncelikle de kör olan hayvanlar tabi ki. Üçayaklı olanlar sokakta yaşıyor belki ama kör olan asla yaşayamaz. Onlar için çok yükleniyoruz hani Facebook, Instagram hayvan sayfalarında; hayvan severleri sahiplendirme sayfaları vs. oralarda çok sahiplendirmeye çalışıyoruz. Sahiplendiremediklerimize de kendimiz bakıyoruz zaten.

[6] Olcay: Ben o zaman patisi sakat olduğu için ve gittiği zaman sokağa -1'de olacağını düşündüğüm için.

[7] Olcay: Kolu kırıldığı için zaten bir yuva arıyoruz, sokağa tekrar döndüğünde eksik olmasın, işte eee dayak yemesin, şu olmasın, bu olmasın, daha hastalıklar başına gelmesin diye.

[8] Mert: Yani şeydir, dışarıda çok perişan haldedir hani, şey yapamıyordur, yani beslenemiyordur, hastadır, işte ya da belli bir dezavantajı vardır, bir kolu yoktur, kördür, falan gibi bu gibi kediler.

[9] Ege: Sonra da işte #EngelliKedi, işte #EngelliCanlaraÖzelÖncelik falan öyle hashtag'lare baktım. Tesadüfen zaten benim de çok dramatik olarak yaralayan bir hikâye vardı, yoldan dönmüştüm, gidememiştim o gün. Konya'dan hayvan barınağından işkence haberleri kamuoyuna çok yansımıştı falan. O boşaltan grubun oraya gitmek istiyordum. Gidememiştim o zaman böyle ulaşım kısıtlılığı sebebiyle. Lokum da orada işte bir bacağı olmayan öyle barınaktan alınmış, çıkarılmış o zaman ve birkaç aydır da Ankara'da geçici yuvada duran bir bebişmiş. Onu da öyle sahiplendim.

[10] Umay: Ya çok küçükken bulmuş oluyoruz, hani annesiz kalmış oluyor vesaire hiçbir şekilde büyütüyorsunuz ya çok hasta oluyor, hastalıktan çıkıyor hayvan uzun süre veterinerde kalıyor, evde bakıyoruz vesaire vesaire. Yani böyle 3-5 ay, 6 ay evde baktıktan sonra o hayvanı sokağa salma şansınız olmuyor kesinlikle. Çünkü alışmış oluyor ve aşırı bocalıyor hiç alışık olmadığı için. Yani terk edilmiş oluyor bu durumda. E tabi yuva arıyoruz.

[11] Esin: İkincisi hep şöyle bir şey var aklımda. Bir daha umarım bir hayvan alırsam, umarım çok daha uzun yıllar yaşar ama kaybedersem, muhtemelen sakat bir kedi alacağım. Kimsenin istemeyeceği vs. ya da kör. Sahiplendirme yoluna giderken sokakta yaşayamayacak kadar küçükse, sakatsa vs. onlar için özellikle uğraşıyorum ben. Ya da öyleleri denk geliyor. Ya da çok yaramazsa. Bazısı çok yaramaz oluyor, ne sağına soluna bakıyor, ağzı havada falan, araba çarpıyor vs. gibi... Biraz aslında ihtiyacı olanları korumaya almak.

[12] Mira: Bir de ben de evime bir kediyi aldım ama çok da seviyorum gerçekten ama ben de onu zorunluluktan aldım yani. Mesela işte bir arkadaş yine başka arkadaş işte atıyorum Konya'daki barınaktan kurtarılmış işte engel sakat kedileri alanlar var, işte kör kedileri alanlar var işte, ne bileyim, işte çok korktuğu için sürekli arabaların motoruna giren ve çok yavru olan dolayısıyla hayatından endişe ettirdiği için ev, yani yine genelde zaten hep çevremde dediklerimi sahiplendirmeye çalışıyor, çalışıyor, çalışıyor, sahiplenemiyor. Kedi de yaşamaya yaşama tutunuyor ve o kişi günün sonunda o hayvanla baş başa kalıyor. Benim çevremdeki çoğu hikâye böyle aslında.

[13] Ege: Sonra işte onu çıkardım. Dernekte çalışıyorum demiştim ya işte ben bunu bulurum falan dedim ya benim Ankara'da çevrem genişledi, bir sürü lubunya tanıyorum işte. Derneğe Instagram sayfasından ilan açmıştım. Yani o kadar bütün imkanlarımı kullandım. Hani yeni bir şey yaptık falan gibi böyle bir "Yeni bir çalışanımız var" böyle şirinlik yapıyorum, çünkü hayvan sahiplendirmeye böyle acındırmadan ya da aşırı *cute* bir şey yapmadan sahiplendiremiyorsunuz artık. Herkesin eli çok dolu çünkü herkesin evini taşıyor hayvanlar. Bana kaldı klasik.

[14] Esin: Sahiplenmeye kavram olarak bakarsak beslediğimiz, yuva yaptığımız hayvanları sahipleniyoruz tabi ki. Ben hepsini takip ediyorum, hepsini tanıyorum. Nerelerde gezdiklerini de biliyorum. Hatta gördüğüm zaman "senin ne işin var burada?" diye fırça da atıyorum. (Gülüyor) Sahiplendirmek aslında bir aileye katmak, sahiplendirmek aidiyet değil de belki aidiyet de olabilir. Ben sıcak bir yuva bulmak anlamında şey yapıyorum.

[15] Kuzey: Ve çoğunlukla tabii ki de hepsinin bir evi, bir sıcak yuvası olmalı. Çünkü biz hayvanlara dair kronik geçmeyecek sorunlarla karşılaştığımızda, onları aştığımızı onlar eve gittiğinde gördük. Yani bir hayvan aidiyet hissettiğinde, dış faktörlerden arındığında, güvende hissettiğinde, ciddi manada yaşadığı çoğu sorundan arınabiliyor ve bunlar kronik hastalıklar da olabiliyor. Stres seviyesi vesaire düştüğünde, bir eve ait hissettiğinde, hayvanda da ciddi bir gelişme, yani sağlık açısından gelişme oluyor.

[16] Aybike: Çok güzel fotoğraf çek… Fotoğraf çekmek çok önemli bir hayvanı sahiplendirirken. Yani onu böyle güzel pozlarda, göbüşünü, göbeğini açmış, yüzünün güzel göründüğü şey yaptığı.

[17] Aybike: Sokaktakilerin hiçbiri cins değil tabi. Alt üst tekir yani. Ama işte kabartıyorsun buradaki tüylerini falan, işte vaşak kırması gelmiş buraya dağdan inmiş falan deyince insanların dikkatini çekiyor tabi. O şekilde çok sahiplendirme yapmışımdır. ... Ve biraz şey, nasıl diyeyim Norveç orman kedisi

modeli, kırması, Sibirya bilmem ne kedisi hani böyle bir sıfat ekleyince kediye sahiplendirmek daha kolay oluyor.

[18] Aybike: Verirken de sakat bir kedi diye söylüyorsun. Sakatlığını zaten görecek edecek. Ama hani genelde yavrular oyuncu olduğu için, huysuz muysuz olmuyor. Hepsi sevimli. Biraz sevimliyse çok sevimli diye pazarlıyoruz. (Gülüyor)

[19] Umay: Yani çok yuvalandırdığım hayvan da var, kedi de köpek de ama o da artık çok zorlaştı. Hani işte o ekonomik şartlar yine çok etkili, çok masraflı olmaya başladığı için insanlar da çekiniyorlar artık hayvana sahiplenmeye.

[20] Dicle: Ve ekonomik kriz sebebiyle sahiplendirme işi zor oldu. Çok çok zor şu anda yani. Hani böyle yavru bayağı hani tatlı diyebileceğin güzellik standartların da hayvanlara bile yuva bulmak neredeyse imkânsız şu an.

[21] Mira: Sadece hani güvenli bir alan aslında ihtiyacından dolayı mama ve kum masraflarına ortak olunacağına dair bir şeyler oluyor.

[22] Esin: Bir kedi sahiplendirdim iki sene önce tanımadığım birine bir arkadaşın vesilesiyle ve çok takip etmedim. Bir tane kedi Kumbaracı Yokuşu'ndan bu sefer. Kumbaracı Yokuşu'nda da bir arkadaşım var, o bana söyledi, tesadüfen yanında biri vardı, kediyi istedi, verdik. Gittik, kedi ikinci gün öldü. Sonra gittim onun kardeşini verdim, hastalığı vardır vs. diye. Kardeşi vardı bir tane, onu verdik, işte bir hafta sonra fotoğraf geldi bilmem ne. Çocuk da hiçbir şey demediği için ona soruyorum. Sonra fark ettim ki üç ay geçmiş, kedi ortada yok, hiç fotoğraf yok, bir şey yok, sürekli böyle "Bilgi vereceğim," "Bilgi vereceğim," falan diye.

[23] Aybike: Hatta Suriyeli bir kızcağız, doktor. Sahiplenmişti kediyi. İki hafta sonra kediden haber alamadık. Polise gittim. Önce kıza ulaşmaya çalıştık. Polise gittim, polis dedi ki ne yapacak dedi yani, her yer kedi dolu. Senin tekir kedini ne yapacak? Dedim ben kediden haber almak istiyorum. Yiyecek mi dedi? Sonra bir baktık, Suriyeliler savaş zamanında aç kaldıklarında yemişler kediyi. Yemişler dedim yani. (Gülüyor) Tamam dedi. Siz bana kızın telefonunu, şeyini bulun. Artık bana deli diye mi baktı, oradan bir sonuç çıkmayınca ben sosyal medyaya yüklendim. Kızla beraber bir fotoğrafını çekmiştim. Bir de kedinin fotoğraflarını da çekiyorum vermeden önce. Bir yayınladım Facebook, Instagram'da kızın fotoğraflarını. Kediyi kaybetti, haber alamıyorum. İkinci aşaması tabi daha kötü olacaktı. Tanıyan varsa bana bildirsin falan diye. Hemen üç saat sonra bana haber geldi. Kız telefon numarasını değiştirmiş, kedi çok iyiymiş. Hemen arka arkaya videolar falan. Öyle bırakmayıp takip de ediyoruz yani.

[24] Asya: Bunların dışında eğer bunlarla ilgili bir olumsuzluk yoksa, kişiye kediyle alakalı oldukça zorlayıcı şeyler soruyorum. Atıyorum "Sabah uyandığınız, yatağınızda kakasını yaptığınızı gördünüz. Ne yaparsınız?" "Üstünüze işediği zaman ne yaparsınız?" gibi olabilecek en korkunç senaryolar ya da "En sevdiğiniz belki kıyafetini bu parçaladı" gibi sorular sorarak verdiği tepkilerden hani hem zihninde bir şey oluşmasını istiyorum. Bunların hepsini

hayvan yapabilir. Çünkü neticede bu bir hayvan. Bunlara hazırlıklı mı diye ölçüyorum, hem de karşı taraftan tepkisini öğrenmiş oluyorum.

[25] Kuzey: Bize ulaşan kişilere kabaca uzunca bir metinle sorular soruyoruz, onlara yanıtlar veriyorlar. Tabi bunlar onları tanımaya yönelik ve onların hayvana nasıl imkânlar sunacağına yönelik sorular oluyor. Örneğin file taktırabilecek misiniz? Beslenme konusunda nasıl bir yol izleyeceksiniz? Kısırlaştırma konusundaki fikriniz ne gibi? Daha sonra telefonla uzunca bir görüşme yapıyoruz.

[26] Mira: Benim bir İzmir'e dönmem gerekti bir süre için ben de bir arkadaşıma bıraktım kediyi yine. Yani iyi bir arkadaşımdı ama çok da iyi bakmamış galiba kediye. Bu kediyi bulan diğer arkadaş da onu evinde ziyaret etmiş kediyi ne yapıyor, nasıl bakıyor diye. Sonra işte hani kumunun biraz kötü olduğunu, ara ara yani kedinin kaçtığını, dikkat etmediklerini, apartmanda falan. Ya o da biraz fazla titiz bir insandır bu arada bu konularda; neyse sonra dedi ki "Sen ne yapıyorsun? Gel artık. Bu kediye şey yapamayacağız. Bak!" Sonra kediyle biz bir daha karşılaştık. Ya bende bile varmış herhalde. Şimdi kedi biraz bir ayda tabi yavru olunca bir ayda çok büyüyor, çok değişiyor. Ay bir güzelleşmiş, ben de böyle bakınca şey oldum. Tamam, ben nasıl bıraktım bu hayvanı falan. Sonra o günden beri birlikteyiz.

[27] Dicle: Ama hayvan sahiplendirme işine çok girmemeye çalışıyorum. Çünkü çok büyük sorumluluk. Yani engelli değilse ve sokakta yapamayacak bir hayvan değilse, sahiplendirme işine girmiyorum çünkü bazen hani öyle evler oluyor ki keşke hiç sahiplendirmesem dediğim çok oldu.

[28] Kuzey: Dişi yıl içinde bir yıl içinde iki üç defa doğurabiliyor. Erkek sürekli çiftleşebiliyor. Dişi için tabii ki de bu ciddi bir besin kaybı. Besin deposu kaynağı sürekli doğurduğu için sürekli veriyor. Hamilelik süreci, doğum, doğum sonrası yavruları besleme, onun için oldukça ağır süreçler. Tabii bu tüm bu süreçler bağışıklığı düşürebilen süreçler. Bağışıklığın düşmesi demek bir hayvan için en büyük tehlike, çünkü zaten çok sayıda oldukları için çok sayıda hastalık da var. Hastalıklara karşı sokakta bir tık bile savunmasız hale gelseler, onlar için ciddi bir sorun oluşuyor.

[29] Kuzey: Erkek için de başta tuttuğu sistem üreme sistemi olduğu için yani üremek olduğu için yeteri kadar beslenmiyor. Yeteri kadar dinlenmiyor, kendiyle yeteri kadar ilgilenmiyor. Haliyle bağışıklık yine erkekte de düşüyor. Buna bağlı olarak kronik rahatsızlıklar yaşayabiliyorlar.

[30] Umay: Çünkü hani kızgınlık davranışları çok farklı; agresif oluyorlar, birbirleriyle çok kavga ediyorlar, dişileri çok kovalıyorlar. Yani bayağı hani yakalayana kadar böyle caddeler boyunca falan. Bu tabi trafik kazalarına sebep oluyor, işte sağdan soldan atlarken, düşmelere, sakatlanmalara. Veya erkekler birbiri arasında hani dişi kavgası yapıyorlar ve birbirlerinin gözünü falan oyuyorlar yani. Hani o davranışların da o aşırı agresyonun bitmesi için de erkeğin kısırlaşması da tabii ki çok önemli.

[31] Arda: Kısırlaştırma bir zorunluluk. Ama yani, şey olarak, ben teorik olarak yanlış buluyorum. Ama yani, şey olarak da pratikte de bir zorunluluk olarak görüyorum o yüzden. Yani şey, ya, o bedene müdahale etmenin de bir şeyi var, hiyerarşik bir tarafı var. Bu yüzden ee ne yazık ki diyorum. Yani şey olarak arkasında durmasam da pratik olarak onun hayatının esenliğini arttırabilmek için ee her an böyle bir de o yavruların böyle ne olacağını kaygılanmamak için de bir anda. Ee işte böyle bir zorunluluk oluyor.

[32] Rıdvan: Daha bugün bir tanesini yakaladım. Yani kedi, bir sorunu olan bir kedi var, o kediyi bir de yakalamak var tabii ki. Ben de bu sürede yakalama şeylerimi bayağı gelişiyor. … Ee, benim taktiğim…. Eğer kedi tabii ki box'tan korkan kediler için diyorum hani yakalanması zor kedi için, box'ın kapağını yarı aralık şekilde duvara yaklaştırırım. 15 santimlik bir pay bırakırım arada. En dibe birazcık yaş mama dökerim. Bir de buna duvarla box arasına birazcık mama dökerim. Sonra arka tarafa geçip uzaklaşıp biraz kediyi yemlerim. Salam atarım yavaş yavaş, kuş gibi. Box'ın o tarafa doğru ilgisini çekerim. O tarafa doğru yaklaşır. İçerideki mamayı görür. İçerideki mamaya girdikten sonra -bu arada ben uzakta kalmalıyım, çünkü kedi yakınlaşmamı istemiyor- Yakınında box'ın, direkt duvara kapatırım yani.

[33] Aybike: Zaten hani o da çok, hani artık o kadar kısırlaşmaya önem verdik ki. Çok ender. Mesela yakalayamadığımız, sürekli üretim yapan bir anne kedi var, mümkün değil yakalamam. Senede dört beş kere doğuruyor. Daha geçen yine hamileydi filan. O mesela sürekli doğurup doğurup getiriyor buraya. Sonra birileri görüyor, alıyorlar mı? Arabaların içinde sonra biz, iki üç tanesi arabanın bagajına girmiş aşağı mahalleye inmiş falan, oralarda peşinde koştuk falan.

[34] Kuzey: Bir vaka olduğunda kısırlaştırma veya hasta oluğunda öncelikle gidip gözlem yapıyoruz. Öncesinde de ondan öncesinde gönüllüden nasıl bir kedi, nasıl davranıyor, huyu suyu nedir bunları öğrenmeye çalışıyoruz. Çünkü her kedinin karakteri ve buna bağlı olarak davranışları bir değil. Bazıları sesten çok etkilenirken, bazıları görüntüden çok etkilenebiliyor. Kiminin çok tepki verdiği şeye kimi vermiyor. Bunları gözlemleyip buna göre hareket etmek gerekiyor bizler için.

[35] Kuzey: Fileyi kullanan arkadaşta yani ben hayvanın arka kısmından yani kafasının arka hizası kuyruk hizasının hayvanın görmeyeceği şekilde ve sessiz yaklaşarak hayvanı o yöne bakmıyorken, yine fileyi üstüne kapatarak yakalar. Bu anlattığım çok kolay gibi gelebiliyor ama kediler refleksleri çok kuvvetli hayvanlar tepki süreleri çok kısa. Hayvanlar en ufak bir ses, bir çıtırtı, bir anlık harekete çok hızlı şekilde tepki verebiliyorlar ve bunu görmeseler de yani siz onu arkasından bir anda bir şey yapmaya kalksanız bunlar çok kolay kaçabilir. Ya bu konuda çok titiz davranmak gerekebiliyor. Ben bunları yaparken bir iki üç ay öncesinde GoPro aldım ve GoPro ile kaydetmeye de başladım. Mesela o kayıtlardan birini izleseniz gayet basit gelebilecek bir şey. Çünkü bu yorumu kendim de yapabiliyorum ama onun dışında o anı yaşasanız maalesef o an yaptığınız en küçük bir hareket, ani hareket bir çıtırtı ya da onun istemeyeceği, hoşlanmayacağı bir şey hayvanı o an o noktadan tamamen uzak bir noktaya götürebilir.

[36] Kuzey: Ama gönüllü o anki görüntüden aslında hoşlanmıyor, file atılıyor ve hayvan başlıyor. Çırpınmaya kaçmaya çalışıyor, kaçamıyor, biri onu tutuyor, o şekilde ve kutuya koyuyor. Bu görüntüyü görmek istemiyorlar. Bu görüntünün hayvanı aşırı stres ettiğini, hayvana aşırı kötü geldiğini düşünüyorlar. Bu nedenle fileyi kullanmayı tercih etmeyebiliyorlar veya fileye karşı olumsuz şeyleri var.

[37] Kuzey: Veya bir oda kadar kapan düşünelim, içinde yiyecekler var, kapısı var. Kocaman bir kulübe kadar kapan, yiyecek için 10 tane kedi girdi. Kapısını kapattık. Tamam, ya istediğimiz belki 3 kedi birden yakalandı ve file kullanılmadı ama böyle bir şey burada çok mümkün değil. Bu şehir hayatında da mümkün değil, imkanlar kısıtlı, vakit kısıtlı. Bu tarz şeyleri yapmak oldukça zorlu uzun süreçler çoğu yer özel mülk, özel mülklere öyle şeyler yapmanız pek mümkün değil. Öyle bir şey taşımanız mümkün değil. Yani bu devlet veya devlete bağlı bir birimin izni veya yönlendirmesi olmadan çok da mümkün olmayan bir şey.

[38] Kuzey: Yani şu şöyle izah edebilirim, bir doktorun bir cerrahın ameliyat yapması için bir yerinizi kesmesi gerekir. Bunu yapmak zorunda yoksa sizi ameliyat edemez. Bu durumla bir kediye yardım etmek için yani yabani bir kediye yardım etmek için onu alır koymak ve onu istemeyeceği şeylere maruz bırakmak aynı şey. Çünkü yabani ve vahşi bir hayvanı başka türlü ona yardım etmeye ya da ona dokunma ihtimaliniz yok veya dokunmaya, ona erişmeye, ona yardım etmeye çalışırken onu çok da strese sokmayalım onu çok da etkilememeye çalışalım gibi bir durum çok da söz konusu değil.

[39] Kuzey: Onu da şöyle ifade edebilirim, hayvanı yalnızca fileye almanıza gerek yok zaten bir kutuya da koysanız, bir kapana da kapatsanız zaten o an orada olmak istemeyeceğinden benzer hareketleri yine yapıyor. Bu bir çocuğu sünnet ederken çocuğun ağlaması çocuğun çırpınması veya astım hastası olan bir çocuğa hastaneye götürürken ağlaması ya da bir çocuğun iğne olmamak için ağlaması ya da iğneden korkan birinin o esnada bayılması bunlarla eşdeğer şeyler, farklı şeyler değil.

[40] Meltem: Normalde bir kısırlaştırma ameliyatı dişi kedide maksimum hiçbir şekilde komplikasyonun gelişmediği ve sen preanestezisini, anestezisini yaptın hayvanın, hayvanı masaya yerleştirdin. Artık operasyona başlayacaksın. Operasyona başladığın andan itibaren maksimum 20 dakikadır. Hani kesisini attım. En son iç dış dikişini attım, çıktın, geçmiş olsun 20 dakikadır. Sonrasında bu hayvanı küveze alırsın. Normal oksijen seviyesi ve vücut ısısın normale çekersin, hayvan ayılır. … Ondan sonra hayvan ilk çişini yapar. Karaciğerden anestezisini atar. Beklersin ikinci çişini de yapsın. Bu esnada dişi kedilere muhakkak bir şeyi öneririz. Elizabeth'i takın. Çünkü bazı kediler o dikişlerden rahatsız olup onları sökmeye kalkar. Bu hani banko önerdiğiniz bir şey, çünkü o hayvanı o şekilde kontrol edemezsin.

[41] Meltem: Hele ki erkek kedide, erkek kedi ameliyatları çok basit oluyor. Erkek kedi ameliyatları, anestezisi bilmem ne falan her şey dahil ki erkeklerde biz dikiş atmıyorduk bile. Çünkü erkeklerdeki testis keseleri kendi kendini çok güzel, boşaldığı zaman içi pıt diye kapat şey gibi. Küstüm çiçeği gibi oluyorlar.

Dokunduğun anda kapatıyor kendini, yapışıyor birbirine deri, hızlı bir şekilde iyileşiyor zaten. Antibiyotik bir spreyler var. Onu sıktıktan sonra… Bir de erkek kedi dönüp kendisiyle uğraşıp bir durmadan kendini temizleyen bir yaratık da değil dişiler kadar, ona da güveniyorsun bir noktada.

6. Designing Zoöpolis

[1] Asya: Şöyle yapıyoruz, kabaca. Genelde orada karşı taraftaki insana haklılığını verip, mümkünse çok da şey yapmadan, karşı tarafı ajite etmeden, hayvanı kısa sürede, hayvanın da iyiliği için oradan hızlıca uzaklaştırmak, genelde verdiğimiz ilk tepki oluyor. İnsanlarla bunun çok fazla şeyine girmiyoruz, çünkü ben genel olarak bireysel olarak da yani mahalledeki kedilere verilen mamalarla ilgili de aynı tutumu sergiliyorum. Bir yere bir mama konmasından rahatsızsa, "Ay, haklısın ablacığım, buraya fare geliyordur" deyip alıp başka yere koyuyorum. (Gülüyor) Çünkü genel olarak insanlara verilen tepkilerin dolaylı olarak hayvanlara zarar verdiğini düşünüyorum. Çünkü onlar sonra sinirlerini benden değil, muhtemelen ben arkamı döndükten sonra gördükleri ilk kediden çıkaracakları için, onun riskini almak istemiyorum. O konuda da açıkçası üzerimde bir yükümlülük hissediyorum. O yüzden genelde insanlara hak verip, eğer çok yani zarar verici, şiddet boyutunda bir şeyse, tabii ki yani kanunen bir yaptırımı olan bir şey yapmışsa ve bunu kanıtlayabilecek isem, sadece yaptıysa değil, eğer kanıtlanabilecek bir şeyse, peşine düşüyorum ama eğer kanıtlayabileceğim bir şey yoksa, o an için uzatmadan, "Çok haklısın" deyip hayvanı kaçırıyorum. İzlediğim yöntem bu.

[2] Olcay: Barınaklardaki hekimleri bilmiyorum, mesela. Burada operasyon yapmıyorlar, Bakırköy'de öyle söylediler yani. İç-dış parazit uygulaması yapıyorlar, iğnesini yapıyorlar, onun haricinde bir operasyon yapmıyorlar. Ufak tefek demeyeyim de operasyon harici tedavi varsa yapıyorlar.

[3] Aybike: Ondan ötesinde, biz yaralı bir hayvan gördüğümüz zaman nereye götüreceğimizi bilemiyoruz; kaza geçirmiş bir hayvanı. Belediyeden geldikleri zaman hayvanı, ben kaç defa belediyeye ilk başlarda yolladım. Sadece topallayarak yürüyen hayvanı, iç kanama geçirdi diyerek öldü dediler. Üç dört tane kedimi o şekilde kaybettim. Bir daha da belediyeye yollamadım.

[4] Esin: Belediyelerin yaptığı tek şey, bütün belediyelerin, alıp ortama atmak, bilmem nereye atmak...

[5] Umay: Belediye noktası biraz karmaşık olabiliyor. Yani belediyenin gelip dediği yakalaması falan zaten zahmetli bir iş. Hani biz yakalayabildiğimiz anda götürüyoruz, genellikle özel klinikte oluyor. Tabii bu çünkü her belediyenin işleyişi farklı. Kimisi "Siz getirmeyin, biz gelip alacağız" falan diyor. Kediyi de hani o an onların geleceği gün yakalayamazsak sıkıntı. Gidemiyor falan.

[6] Olcay: Mesela kısırlaştırılması lazım dediler, ben cesaret edemiyorum. Önce Bakırköy belediyesini arayacağım, onlar gelecekler alacaklar kediyi, gönderecekler onlar büyükşehir belediyesine, post operasyon orada olacak.

Belki burada bir iki gün kalacak dediler. O arada hastalık kapar mı, kapabilir. Yine çünkü başka kediler de var aynı yerde.

[7] Aslı: Ama Merdivenköy'de bir tane daha Kadıköy Belediyesi'nin hayvan polikliniği varmış. Oraya kendim götürebiliyorum. Ama mesela muayene sürecinde, eğer orada kalması gerekiyorsa, duramıyorum; bırakıp çıkmam gerekiyor. Ben de o şey, böyle bir sürü şehir efsanesi mi, değil mi, bilmiyorum ama götürülen ve hasta olan kedilerin uyutulduğuna dair şeyler var ya, işte, içime sinmedi. Veterinere de, işte, o arada, iki gün sonra iyileşmese götürecektim bir şekilde ama iyileşti zaten.

[8] Arda: Çünkü yani, barınaklar dedikleri yerler tamamen ölüm kampları, ee yani çok korkunç koşullarda.

[9] Ege: Mesela, onun o ve bir köpeği asla belediyeye vermem asla yani vermem; kucağımda ölsün diye beklerim, arka bahçede ölsün diye beklerim, hiç olmazsa sevgiyle öldü derim yani, karnı tok öldü derim.

[10] Rıdvan: Ben, insanların birçoğunda, yüzde yetmiş, sekseninde bu şeyi görüyorum, kediyle haşır neşir olanların arasında. "Belediye'yle iş yapılmaz. Özelde yaptır." Yani, böyle bir bakış açısı var belediyeye. "Kaptırmayın oraya kedileri, orada kedi bırakmayın, ameliyat sonrası bakımlarında.

[11] Olcay: Belediye hizmetlerinin ne kadar aslında yani… Pandemi evet var ve ulaşamıyoruz. Ama götürürsek hani onlar gelemiyorlar ya da geldikleri zaman süreçler uzuyor. Mesela, daha önce de ishal kediler vardı, onu haber verdiğimde "Kedi buraya gelirse ölür" diye yanıt almıştım ben. Hani "Çok fazla burada hasta kedi var. Ee, bakabiliyorsanız siz haşlanmış tavuk vs. öyle bakın" demişlerdi. Ama oraya gidince, en azından hani iç-dış parazit uygulaması yapabildiklerini gördüm.

[12] Olcay: Her gittiğimizde mesela Kemerburgaz'a kısırlaştırma operasyonunda oluyorlardı. Yani, yüzlerce oraya kedi geliyor ve bir sürü operasyon gerçekten yapıyorlar. Kurtulabilecek, mesela operasyonsuz kurtulacak kedi varsa, ona belki de öyle çözüm buluyorlardı. Her bir operasyon demek, bunun bir post-operasyonu, onun konaklanması demek. O kadar alanlarımız var mı, o kadar ilgilenecek hekimimiz var mı alanlarda, bilmiyorum ama kesinlikle, ben bir şekilde onlar da yardım etmeye çalışıyorlar.

[13] Rıdvan: Ama kimse şey değil. "Bu işi nasıl bir yerinden düzeltebiliriz?" fikrinde değil. Sadece şu şey var: "Belediye bu işleri yapamıyor, beceremiyor. [Kedi] yollama, gönderme."

[14] Alp: Kaç defa şeyi çağırdık belediyeyi. Ne belediye geldi… Geldiklerinde bir tane kedi evini getirdiler zorla. Onda da iki tane getireceklerdi, biz psikolojik baskı kurarak getirttik o evi. Kedi evinin içi örümcek ağı. Beklemiş, kim bilir iki yıl mı bekledi, üç yıl mı bekledi, neyse. Toz içinde duruyor yani. Niye o bir garajda dursun ya da belediyenin bilmem neresinde dursun? Koy sokağa ya da işte bir bahçeye…

[15] Esin: Mesela, Şişli Belediyesi'ni arıyorsunuz, şey diyorlar: "Çok yoğunuz," "Çok yoğunuz, çok müdahale ediyoruz" falan filan, sürekli böyle.

[16] Aybike: Harun Kolçak Kedi Parkı vardı. Sadece kedi parkı olması için orayı bağışlamış kendisi. Fakat, orayı bir türlü kedi parkı yapmadılar. Orası böyle âtıl vaziyette duruyordu. Onu yaptırmak için çok uğraştık, belediyeye çok gittik geldik. En sonunda yapıldı orası.

[17] Olcay: Bence bak, şeye inanmıyorum; belki vardır. Tanıdık, ilk mesela bu kediyi götürdüğümüzde, tanıdık hekime denk gelmediysek, yani tanıdık hekimle oraya gitmesek, belki oraya ulaşma imkânımız yoktu. Yönlendirildiğimiz için birtakım yerlere ulaşmamız daha kolay oldu.

[18] Aybike: Hayvan kartlarımız var, yerel hayvan görevlisi kartları. O kartlarla, hani bir sorun olduğunda, onu gösterebiliyorsun. Ama bir sıkıntı olmadı yani. Hemen çıkıp besleme yaptım, sokağa çıkma yasağı olan günlerde.

Burak: O zaman sizin de yerel hayvan görevlisi kartınız var?

Aybike: Hı hı.

Burak: Peki sağladığı bir şey oluyor mu size, bir avantaj diyeyim?

Aybike: Yoo, hayır.

Burak: Sıradan vatandaşa nazaran? Olmuyor.

Aybike: Birisi derse, "Burada neden besleme yapıyorsun?" diye, "Ben görevliyim" falan diyebiliyorsun.

Burak: Anladım. Peki, onu kim şey yapıyor? Siz mi başvuruyorsunuz? Size biri mi?

Aybike: Onu şimdi, kurs gibi bir şey var. O kursa gittik işte. Sana verebiliyorlar o kartı. İstersen göstereyim sana.

(Kartı gösteriyor)

Aybike: Orman Su İşleri Bakanlığı'nın şeysiymiş bu.

Burak: Bir aylık falan bir kurs mu?

Aybike: Yok yok. İki üç gün. Şöyle bir şey. Orman Su İşleri Bakanlığı Bölge Müdürlüğü, İstanbul Şube Müdürlüğü.

Burak: Peki şeyi sorayım. O kurs dediniz. O kursun içeriği ne mesela yani? Ne öğretiyorlar onu merak ediyorum.

Aybike: Orada işte hayvan düştü, ilk başta ne yapman lazım.

Burak: İlk yardım gibi.

Aybike: İlk yardım gibi. Nereye başvurabilirsin herhangi bir sorunda vesairede. Onun gibi yani genel anlamdaki şeyler. Aslında bizim amacımız, "Belediyeler böyle bakanlık bir şey yaptı. Biraz mama alabilir miyiz?" şeyindeydik yani. (Gülüyor)

[19] Rıdvan: Bir de, zaten dediğim gibi, belediyenin bu işi yapacak yegâne güç olduğunu düşünüyorum. Ve yani, bunun daha da iyi bir hale getirmek için çabalanması taraftarıyım.

[20] Rıdvan: Ben de, işte gönüllü, yani bir şekilde gönüllü oldum ve sonra da kendimi durduramadım. Şu anda organizasyonu daha iyi bir hale getirmek için elimden geleni yapıyorum. Böyle bir şey.

[21] Aslı: Aslında bir an, böyle çok hassas bir konu ya; barınakların çok kötü olması ve bu köpeklerin barınağa kapatılmasının ölüme terk edecek olması. Aslında böyle barınaklara şey gibi bakılıyor biraz. Sanki kader böyle, sanki barınaklar kötü olmak zorunda. Barınaklar iyi olamaz, o yüzden buna bir çözüm bulmak yerine, hiçbir şey söylemeyelim, saldırgan, sokak rehabilite edilmesi gereken sokak köpekleri hakkında gibi. O var yani. Birilerinin şeye bakmasını isterim. Barınak diye bir seçenek var. Barınaklar böyle olmak zorunda değil.

[22] Rıdvan: Bence birebir ilişkiler şey yapıyor. "İnsan güvendikten, cehenneme bile gider ya" diye bir söz vardır ya, onun gibi bir şey; hani insana bakıyor, ki yaptığınız işe falan bakmıyor mesela, çok çoğunlukla insanlar. Eğer de iyi bir iletişim oluyorsa ve sizin sözünüze güveniyorsa, bence o iş bitmiştir. Ama onun dışında hani maddi koşullar nasıl ilerliyor falan diye düşündüğümüzde illaki depoya geliyor görüyor. Bizim nasıl WhatsApp'ta çabaladığımızı görüyor. O yaptığımız uyarıları görüyor, işte temiz olmasını istiyoruz falan vesaire. İBB'den gelen cevapları sunma şeklimiz de etkili oluyor bence. ... O kedi, kısırlaştırmaya gönderdiğimiz kedi hakkında. O kedinin şeyini İBB'nin yazısını birebir tırnak içerisinde kullanıp kopyalık yapıştırıyoruz ve artık bunu gönüllüler de görüyor ... İBB'nin nasıl bir açıklama yaptığını ... nasıl baktığını şey yapmış oluyor. Zaten onlar kediler geldikten sonra dikişlerini kontrol ediyor. Tüylerinin çok fazla kesilmesinden rahatsızlar. Bunu bize, biz bunları İBB'ye iletiyoruz. İBB'den cevap geliyor. Biz onlara sonra söylüyoruz işte … kullandıklarından falan bahsettiler. Ameliyat sırasında tüylerin yara, o şey dikiş açılan yara kaçmaması için sonrasında enfeksiyon çıkmaması için bu kadar geniş açıldığından falan bahsettiler. Böyle böyle karşılıklı şeyleri postalıyoruz. Yani postacı gibi çalışıyoruz arada.

[23] Aslı: Aslında hayvan var ama hayvanların hepsi kendine bir yer seçmiş hayvanlar.

Burak: Anladım.

Aslı: Benim dışımda dükkânların da hepsinin değil ama bir kısmının da şeyi var, gelip giden kedileri.

[24] Asya: Evet, o zaman müdahale ediyorum. O zaman onun iradesini hiçe sayarak diyeyim. (Gülüyor) Eğer yakalamam gerekiyorsa yakalayarak, o an

sıkıştırmam gerekiyorsa sıkıştırarak bir şekilde alıp veterinere götürüyorum. O an yardıma ihtiyacı varsa da evet. Yani mutlaka zaten box'ım oluyor arabada, onlardan biriyle alıp götürüyorum.

[25] Mert: Hani kedi de size şey yapıyor. Hani sadece baskın bir kedi olarak görüp böyle size itaat eden bir şey değil. Gerçekten hani size bir sevgisi varsa onu gösteriyor ama kedice gösteriyor. Hani onu kedileri gözlemlediğinizde çok net bir şekilde görebiliyorsunuz.

[26] Mert: Ben evde tutmak istesem de dışarı çıkmak istiyor. Kapının önünde miyavlıyor, beni dışarı çıkar falan diye ben hani gözlemlediğimde böyle.

[27] Mert: Hani gelenler şaşırıyor dediğim nokta şu. Kapıya çıkıyorum. Etrafta benim bahçeye bırakıyorum onu, gidiyor, "Bubbles" diye bağırdığımda isminde, geliyor. Her defasında geliyor. Bir iki kere "Bubbles" diye bağırdığımda, hani böyle şey, bir çocuğunu insan çağırır ya böyle gel falan diye, bağırdığında geliyor böyle, yemeğini veriyorum, şey yaptım, seviyorum falan. Çıkmak istediğinde tekrar miyavlıyor hani. ... Tuvaleti geldiğinde miyavlıyor, çıkarıyorum. İşte yapıyor tuvaletini, biraz orada dışarıda takılıyor. Ama her çağırdığımda geliyor yani, hiç sekmez, çok tuhaftır mesela.

[28] Mert: Çünkü hani gerçekten onların diliyle şey yaptığınızda falan sizinle iletişim kuran sizle şey yapan şeyler ve onların da farklı bir sosyal şeyi var. Hani ondan insan gibi size yaklaşması beklenmesi çok saçma oluyor hani tepkileri. O yüzden hani sarılıp böyle çok öpmeler onların rızası olmadan falan, onun vücut hareketlerine göre hareket ettiğinizde çok daha farklı iletişim kurduğunuzu görüyorsunuz yani.

[29] Mert: Ama bu şey de yani kedilerin o bağırması şey yapması gerçekten bu istemiyorum demek aslında. Bir yönüyle kediyi sıkıştırmış oluyorsun.

[30] Asya: Mümkün olduğunca hayvanın kontrolüne bırakıyorum. Öyle söyleyeyim, bu konuda ben çok şeyim, kendi iradesinde o ne yapmak istiyorsa onu sağlayan birisiyim.

[31] Asya: Öncelikle dışarıda bir kedi gördüğüm zaman kediye bulaşmıyorum. (Gülümsüyor) Özgür bir şekilde hayatına devam eden, iradesi olan bir canlı, onun benimle kesişme gibi bir niyeti varsa eğer bir aşamada bana doğru geliyorsa, benimle bir iletişim başlatırsa ancak ben de onunla iletişim başlatıyorum. Kolay kolay dışarıda gördüğüm bir kediyle ben iletişim başlatmıyorum.

[32] Ege: Şey gibi bir şey hissediyorum ben, yani bir hayvanlar kümesinin olmadığını, hani hepsine ihtiyaçlarının... Hepsini sevemeyeceğimi… Mesela beni sevmediğim kediler var arkadaşlarımın, iyi anlaşmıyoruz yani. Hani temasa imkân, insanların temasa imkân vermesini talep edeceklerini düşünüyorum. Böyle herkese, her hayvana aynı reçeteden, aynı şekilde "onlar evde durmalı" mesela ya da tam tersi "onlar sokağı sever." … Mesela Tire sokağı çok sever belki, ama bu mülakatın altını oyabilecek şekilde, belki sokaktan nefret edecek bir kedidir de. Eğer o gün, belki o gün onun o motora girme hikayesi… Belki

kapalı alanı çok seviyordur, yani o yüzdendir? İnsan olarak böyle hepsinin biricikliğine, o tanışmaya izin vermemizi talep ederlerdi gibi hissediyorum.

[33] Arda: Ama şu konjonktürde herhalde, ee, şey olurdu yani, işte, barınma, beslenme ve şey ee hayatları, yani, hisseden, iletişim kurabilen bir varlık olarak tanımlanmayı isteyebilirlerdi diye düşünüyorum.

[34] Arda: Açıkçası tek ve net bir şekilde hukuksal olarak eşya değil bir canlı statüsünde olması isterlerdi ondan eminim.

[35] Arda: Hani bir de insanlarda maalesef şey var. Kedilerle köpekleri çok karşılaştırıyorlar ve bu konuyla alakalı çok fazla ön yargı var işte. Kediler nankördür vesaire aslında insanların olan bir özelliğini biz kedilere yüklüyoruz. Açıkçası konuşabilselerdi ben bunları anlatacaklarını düşünüyorum.

[36] Asya: Diğer hayvanlarla da vakit geçirdiğim için, kanatlılar olsun, köpekler olsun; kedilerin bir tık daha aslında izole, yalnız ve hani "Mamamı ver ve uza" gibi hani çok fazla bizimle muhatap olmak isteyeceklerini düşünmüyorum. "Beni rahat bırak" diyebilirler.

[37] Kuzey: Rahat bırakın derdim yani bir bırakın da yaşayalım çünkü. Aslında kendi başlarına bir kedi, kendi başına yaşayabilecek bir hayvan. Yani o an orada olan diğer varlıklarla rahatça yaşayabilir. Hani köydeki bir kedi köye gelen giden 3 aylık gelen giden kişiyle bile bir yaşam sürdürebilir aslında ya da sokakta ya o binada yaşayanlarla yine aynı şekilde iletişim kurarak sürdürebilir ya da bir ormanda diğer kedilerle birlikte yine yaşamını sürdürebilir. Kendi başına huzur, objektif baktığımızda evet kediler harika fevkalade iyi ki tanıyoruz, iyi ki varlar ama biz olmasak ne yaparlardı diye baktığımızda kötü şeyler yaşayanları da düşündüğümüzde aslında biz olmasak belki de çok daha huzurlu, çok daha iyi bir hayatlara da olabilirdi. Bizi rahat bırakın cümlesine insanlar olsun ya da olmasın diye bir şeyim yok. Ama onlar üstünde kötü etkisi olanlar adına söylüyorum bunu.

[38] Ege: Keşke çıksalar, keşke çıksalar, istiyorlarsa gelseler.

[39] Ege: Tam öyle bir hayaldi benim için, çok kısa bir dönem iki sene yaşanan, hayvanların girip çıktığı aslında sokağa da çıkıyor ama bir şekilde sokak hayvanı öğrenmiş yani onun güvenlik meselesini. Çok uzun sürmedi işte. Dediğim gibi oradan taşındık. Çünkü Kadıköy'dü orası buna imkân da vardı.

[40] Ege: Ondan bağımsız olarak da bir hayal kursanız öyle bir hayal kurardım. Kedilerin, köpeklerin girip çıktığı bir ev kurardım. Ve Anıl da hani o hayalin böyle en kusursuz yani "yap bunu, bir şey çiz" deseniz, "bir huy çiz, nasıl bir kedi olurdu?" deseniz falan onun şey yani ete kemiğe bürünmüş haliydi. Başka bir ihtimal gibi bir şey Anıl, hani tüm o sokak hayvanlarıyla ilgili korkunç, sadece sokak hayvanlarıyla ilgili de değil, hayvanların meta olduğu işte öldürüldüğü, sömürüldüğü bu dünyevi hayatta böyle bir şey, bir kurgu gibi bir şey. Yani bir aklı akla gelebilecek bir fikir gibi aynen en fazla akıldan geçebilecek bir fikir gibi bir şeydi. O yüzden ona bağlılığım çok fazlaydı.

[41] Can: Ha şöyle, biz yapmadık. Fatih Belediyesi'nden 3 tane mahallemize konuldu. Onları da açıkçası çevremdeki insanlar anladığım kadarıyla muhtarlıktan istemişler. O da belediyeden gelmiş bir tane de anladığım kadarıyla şimdi şeyi de bilmiyorum.

[42] Esin: Bir de mesela belediyenin dağıttığı şeyler var, hazır. Onların da açılan yerleri var. Onları da gördüğüm yerde tekrar bantlayarak şey yapmaya çalışıyorum.

[43] Arda: Sonrasında da işte hem daha işte sağlam olsun. Ee işte bizim yaptıklarımız böyle şey ee çabuk dağılabiliyor işte hava şartlarından filan. Biraz daha böyle sağlam olsun, hem de işte şey ee daha rahat sağa sola işte şey yapabiliriz yerinden oynattığınızda parçalanmasın.

[44] Özge: Ya ilk, daha önce şey denemiştik. Evdeki mukavvalardan yavru gördüğümüz zaman koyup orada, onların sığınabileceği bir yer yaratmayı ama o çok dayanıksız ve bir süre sonra çöpe dönüşüyor. O arada bu sosyal medyada şeye rastlamıştık, ADORE mobilyanın bir kampanyası vardı. İşte sen o kedi evini satın alıp, aslında kedi evi için ekstra bir para ödemiyorsun ama sadece kargo bedelini karşılıyorsun. Onlar da sana aslında mobilyalardan arta kalmış suntaları gönderiyorlar. Uygun ebatlarda kesilmiş. Sen onun montajını evde yapabiliyorsun. Şey hoşumuza gitti, montajını kendimiz yapıyor olmak da çok hoşumuza gitti. Gidip petshop'tan oradan bir şey satın almak yerine. Böyle iki ev seti almıştık.

[45] Aslı: Petshop'ta gördüm. Petshop galiba şey asmıştı, "MUKAVVA KEDİ EVİ BULUNUR" gibi bir yazısı vardı, girdim baktım. İşte şeyleri sordum, ıslanıp ıslanmayacağını, bir şeylere dayanıklı olup olmadığını. Sonra aldım ve parça parçaydı. Sonra monte ettim.

[46] Mira: Bir de yerden birazcık yüksekti. Hani böyle hem direk soğuğu olmaz hem bir yağmur birazcık oluştuğunda daha temiz bir alanda olur falan gibi. Böyle şeylere dikkat ediyordum. Daha çok sanırım şey, evet yağmur beni yağmur kar yağmurdan biraz endişeleniyordum.

[47] Olcay: Dolayısı ile o Rivanollu suya batırdığım şey baya böyle alçı gibi düşünün, sargılanmış bir patisi vardı ve ben sürekli ıslatıyordum. Islak şekilde eğer ventonikli bir kuma eşelemeye çalışsaydı, çünkü refleks olarak bunu yapıyor, o yapışacaktı oraya ya da katılaşacaktı ya da bir şekilde… sürekli hijyenik olması yani hijyenik değil ama bir şekilde sürekli şey olması gereken eee sargıyı ben bu sefer sürekli o kumdan temizlemek zorunda kalacaktım. Ve işte eee, deforme olacaktı. Üç günde bir değişiyordu çünkü o şey, sargı.

[48] Olcay: Bu arada tabi başka çevremden, hee sen çam peleti mi kullanıyorsun kedide. Nasıl oldu? Biz normal şeyden biraz bıktık diyorlar. Evet ama işte bak tersine işliyor. O zaman belki de elekli bir şey almanız gerek gibi ben insanlara çözüm önerileri ile yani… şunu yaparsanız, onu kullanacaksanız bunu kullanın tuvalet olarak gibi şeylerle gitmeye başladım.

[49] Esin: Bir ara yaş mama yapmaya çalıştım bir ara nüfus artınca, yavru kediler vs., o zaman da en ucuz yapabileceğim şey şeydi. Tavuk sakatatları satılıyor. Tavuk ciğeri, tavuk yüreği. Onlar işte tabak halinde. Onların indirimlerini takip ediyordum. Bir paketinden baya bir şey çıkıyordu yani. Onlardan mesela mama tarifleri araştırmıştım. İşte biraz patates, biraz brokoli varsa, biraz havuç, pirinç falan böyle kaynatıp onu baya çekip ondan veriyordum mesela. O da baya böyle bereketli bir şey oluyordu. Dondurup dondurup sonra sıcak suyla… ama ondan da korktum, çünkü herkes bir şey söylüyor.

[50] Esin: Ama bütçe ayıramayan bir sürü insan var. Mesela Ayla Hanım var, bizim adanın diğer köşesinde. O da bir kasaptan ucuz kemik falan alıyor bildiğim kadarıyla, ya da işte tavuk derisi. Bunları kaynatıyor, bir tavuk suyu ortaya çıkıyor. Bu çok lezzetli ve sağlıklı bir şey. Özellikle kışın, o soğukta hayvanlar için ciddi bir koruyucu. O mesela ufacık tavuğu alıyor ... o tavuk suyuyla bunu ekmeklerle çoğaltıyor ve kediler seve seve yiyor. İşte herkes kendi çapında yapmaya çalışıyor.

[51] Ege: Ya da işte hayvan daha büyük hayvanlar için makarna yağ böyle hani kışın hangisi hem çok hem bol hem de doyurucu kalabilecek şeyleri gibi araştırıp baktığımız bir süreç oluyordu en başlarda.

[52] Uzay: Beslemekten vazgeçtim. Ee eskiden besliyordum. Evimin yanında bir market var. Meşhur Market var, yani fiyatlar daha orta karar. Bir de Uğurlar var, fiyatlar daha pahalı. İkisinde farklı kalitelerde kedi maması bulabiliyorum. İlk önce ee şeyle başladım. Meşhur'dan böyle ucuz kedi mamaları almakla başladım. Beğenmedi kediler. Sokaktaki bütün kedilere veriyordum falan yani yesinler diye bekliyorum. Hiçbiri oralı olmuyordu. Sonra dedim ki herhalde ben çok uyduruk bir şey alıyorum, buradaki kediler alışmışlar, havalı mahalle çünkü. Gittim, Uğurlar'dan aldım, böyle havalı ıslak mama, onu da beğenmediler. Dedim en son "Ne yapıyorsanız yapın. Ben artık sizi beslemem." … Ya haftada üç dört gün gezen iki kişi var. Onlar tavuk ciğeri falan pişirip veriyorlar sanırım. Ee çünkü onların bıraktığı şeye bütün mahallenin kedileri gömülüyor.

[53] Esin: Az önce bahsettiğim şey, işte yemek artığı, soğanlı, bilmem neli, yenmeyecek yani, bir şey kedinin yemeyeceği, onlar artık "çöpe dökmeyeyim de kedilere vereyim" şeyi. Mesela hiç besleme yapmayan bir arkadaşıma şunu söylemiştim. Tabi ki yapmak zorunda değil öyle bir şey de. Bunlar gerçekten emek istiyor, biraz zor yani. Uykunuzu etkiliyor, çok acayip vicdan azabına dönüşüyor vs. ciddi bir ağırlık. Ona şey demiştim sadece. "Çöpe atarken sadece yemekleri temiz bir poşede koy" demiştim. Çünkü çöpten yemek yiyen hayvanlar var. Mesela o öyle bir şey yapmış, onun da ciddi etkisi oluyor. İşte izmarit girmiyor yemeğin içine. Çünkü aç kalan bir hayvan, konteynıra gitmiyorsa bile çöp boşaltım yerlerinde bile bir sürü hayvan var, en azından izmaritle, başka pis malzemelerle falan karışmamış yemeğe bir şekilde ulaşıyor. Çünkü aç kalınca gerçekten her şeyi yiyorlar.

[54] Aslı: Onun dışında apartman kapısı açıldığında giriyorlar. İki tanesi apartmanda dolaşabiliyor. Ve bazen işte dışarıda olduklarında da Handan Hanım sepet sarkıtıyor balkonundan. Mamaları falan onun içine koyuyor, öyle besleniyorlar.

[55] Aybike: Sonra giderken bakıyorum kuytu köşelerde kedi gördüğümde; ben hiçbir zaman yanıma mama almadan çıkmam evden çıkarken. Muhakkak bir torba mama alırım yanıma. Onu böyle dağıta dağıta gördüğü yerlere, özellikle yağmur kar olduğu zaman çok onu yapmaya çalışıyorum ama şimdi böyle havalarda bile cebimde çantamda mama vardır. Onu da dağıta dağıta giderim.

[56] Can: Şimdi o kedinin hani rahatça yiyebileceği bir yer bulmaya çalışıyorum. Bir kenar köşe veyahut atıyorum mesela. Genellikle Eskişehir'de işte doğalgaz kutularının kenarlarına falan koyduğum oluyor veyahut da onlara ayrı mesela sokak içerisinde bir tas bir şey varsa oraya koyuyorum. Kendi evimin önünde mesela ayrı bir alan var, bir kedi evi bulunuyor yanlarında işte su kapları var 3 tane, 4 tane onlara su koyuyorum, Bir tane kedi, plastik bir kedi mama kaplığı aldım. Onlara koyuyorum. Eğer hani yanımda mama varsa mesela çevremde böyle şeyler var mı hani kullanabileceğim şeyler var mı diye yoksa atıyorum bir peçete üzerine mama koyduğum oluyor. Gazete kağıttır odur budur. Hani ne bulabiliyorsam öyle söyleyeyim, en kötü ihtimalle yere bir avuç koyuyorum yesin diye. Ama, hayır, her yerde aynı.

[57] Esin: Herkes bireysel yapıyor, iletişim haline geçtiklerimiz oldu. Ama bizim aramızda da aslında benim dışında, benim karşı komşumla tatildeyken bir şeyler olmuş. Bir gerilimler oldu ve bölgelere ayırdık, ayırmak zorunda kaldık. (Gülüyor) Komşum sen bizim sokağa girme demiş falan mesela. O belli yerleri... Mesela ben bir köşeyi tuttum ama, ben aslında diğer koyduğum yerler daha sote yerler. Hani apartman önleri falan değil.

[58] Arda: Ee şeyleri de ee mama kaplarını hep şeye koyuyoruz. Hemen yani mesela benim odanın zaten şöyle kot var, kot farkından -2'de bizim odamız. Ve diğer araştırma görevlilerinden de bazılarının işte bu ortak bakım verdiğimiz. Şeylerin, pervazların önüne, iki tane işte şey odanın şeyine ee ne denir? Camın önündeki ee hemen mermerin üstüne şeyleri mama ve su kaplarını koyuyoruz. Hem yani biz oradayken en azından şey ee yani bitti mi, hem onun kontrolünü de daha rahat ee işte yapmak, hem de işte ya atılıyor falan bazen çünkü, şey kantinci de geliyor oraları temizliyor sözde. Sonradan işte konuşup bunu şey yaptık ama oradaki mama kaplarını da toplayıp atıyor yani. İşte o yüzden genelde hep camın önüne ee koyuyoruz.

[59] Mert: Yani, çünkü şu oluyor, hani aynı yere bırakınca hepsi bahçede toplanınca böyle güçlü kediler çok daha çok yiyor. Böyle yiyemeyen kediler oluyor böyle. Hani dövüyor onları diğer kediler. Onu yapmamak için şeyde sokağımdaki belli yerler var. Kimin nereye geldiğini artık biliyorum böyle. Oralara döküyorum, öyle besliyorum.

[60] Özge: İlk bakmaya başladığımızda o yavrular arabaların altına saklanıyorlardı. Çok ürkeklerdi ve kuru mama yiyemeyecek kadar küçüklerdi. Biz onlara her gün yaş mama almaya başladık. O yaş mamayı veriyorduk ve yediklerini görene kadar da ayrılmıyorduk yani. Diğer kedileri kovalıyorduk sadece yavrular yesin diye, başlarında bekliyorduk.

[61] Koray: Hadi, genelde evet. %90 oralarda oluyor, yani yerleri var, gerçekten de hani oturmuş çünkü mesela o kedinin genelde o taraflara koyuluyorlar. Ya da

işte apartmanın belki bahçesi var sonralarda oluyor. Dediğim gibi tam şu an benim karşımda bir tane işte yarı müstakil bir apartman var. Onun etrafında birkaç yer var. Evin birazcık daha ilerisinde yine aynı şekilde kedilere bakılan daha böyle kedi evi denilen bu şeyler var ya işte yine aslında kutu yapılan ama daha böyle fazla odalı, onlardan falan da var. Genelde o tür yerlerde besleme yapılıyor.

[62] Uzay: Komşuların laf etmeyeceği yerler. Yani mesela en çok herhalde bundan muzdarip olanlar zemin katta oturan komşular, mahalleliler ve benim hemen evin karşısındaki yerde görüyorum. İşte kedi yuvalarının olduğu yer çiş kokuyor. Yakında mamanın bırakıldığı yerde o kadar çok mama bırakılmış ki böyle mantarlar falan çıkmış böyle enteresan sci-fi canlılar var üzerinde. Eee oradaki zemin katta oturan hemen bitişiğinde zemin katta oturan kişi bence kesin rahatsız oluyordur. Ee belli ki şikâyet etmemiş. Çünkü uzun süredir kaldırılmıyor orası ama kesin rahatsız oluyordur. Yani şikâyet edip orayı temizletmesi an meselesi.

[63] Asya: Bir de aslında mamalarıyla kulübelerini çok yakın yerlere koymanın da mantıklı olmadığını tahmin ediyorum. Çünkü aslında mamaların yanında yatmak istemiyorlar. Çünkü başka hayvanları da oraya çektiği için aslında huzursuzluk verici bir şey, buna da çok dikkat edilmiyor. Bunun aslında çok tercih etmiyorlar ve mümkün olduğunca biraz daha seyrek dağılımlı benim en azından tasarımına bir şekilde katkıda bulunduğum alanlarda, buralar yani kaç metrekarede şu an, biri gözümün önünde çünkü, şöyle bir bakıyorum, yani belki kırka yakın bir metrekareden bahsediyorum alan olarak ama çok fazla değil, daha daha seyrek yerleştirir mümkünse.

[64] Mert: Bunun gibi sebeplerden de birazcık soğuktan koruyabilmek, şey yapabilmek adına hani. Çünkü hepsini ev almak mümkün olmuyor. Tüm kedileri. Bu şekilde bir çözüm şey yapmıştık hani yani daha önce de görmüştük bunu. “Aa kedi evleri yapılıyor, ne kadar güzel” falan “İnsanlar yapıyor” falan. Acaba bunu nasıl böyle şey yapabiliriz, bunun üstüne nasıl düşünebiliriz, bunu nasıl yaygınlaştırabiliriz diye düşünmüştük.

[65] Dicle: Bu noktada hepsine yuva bulmak imkânsız olduğuna göre hani kedi evi yaparak, onların en azından sokakta sığınabilecek bir yerleri olmasını istiyorum.

[66] Cansu: E çünkü her ne kadar onların fizyolojisi bunu elverse de yine de hani soğuklar, soğuklarda onlar da kötü oluyor, hastalanıyorlar ya o yüzden hastalanmasının önüne geçebilmek amacıyla.

[67] Ege: O yüzden ilk yapılanlar biraz şey gibi bir şey. Hani “Bu kış ben bu vicdan azabından nasıl kurtulurum?” gibi bir şey oluyor bence.

[68] Uzay: Bugün bunu düşündüm. Biraz geriye gitmeye çalıştım. Hatta telefonuma fotoğraflara bakıp tarihleri anlamaya çalıştım. Pek bir şey bulamasam da aklımda kaldığı kadarıyla depremden sonra başladı. Bu 6 Şubat depremlerinden sonra. Ben çok bir işin ucundan tutmadım deprem sonrasında. Hem anksiyetik bir dönemdi, bir şeyler de yapmak istedim ama neden

yapmadığımı bilmiyorum da yani. Bir şekilde bir şey yapmadım pek fazla. Ee belki sosyal anksiyete beni alıkoydu bu bir şeylere. İşte okulların alt katlarında toplanıyordu ya ne deniyor yardımlaşma buluşmaları falan. Bir şekilde (…) kadar gidip eve döndüm. Ondan sonra olduğunu hatırlıyorum. Bir süre sonra ee madem bir şey yapamıyorum şu an yani… Sanırım eksikliğini hissettiğim, yerini dolduramadığım bir Mesih kompleksim vardı ve onu doldurmam gerektiğini düşündüm.

Burak: Ne kompleksi? Kurtarıcı kompleksi?

Uzay: Yani bir şekilde birilerini kurtarıyor veya birilerine yardım ediyor olmam lazım. Benden şu an beklenen bu. Çünkü herkesin yaptığı veya yaptığını söylediği veya yaptığını beklediği şey bu. Bir şekilde benim de o kurtarıcı kompleksini Mesih kompleksimi bir şekilde telafi ediyor olmam gerekiyordu sanırım. Bunlar tabii geriye dönüp bakınca düşündüğüm şeyler. O an bunları çok farkında değildim.

[69] Güneş: Bu şu an oturduğum yerde de bir iki ay önce mi ne havalar biraz soğuk olmuştu. Bir ay önce falan galiba. Yani bu mahallede de yani herkes birbirinin yaptığına katkıda bulunuyor. Yani buraya taşınalı aslında ne kadar oldu? Şu an oturduğum eve taşınalı bir sene oldu. İnanılmaz kedileri seven bir apartmanda oturuyorum Üsküdar'da. İşte her sabah apartmanımda, işte kediler besleniyor, işte bir ev kötü, bir karton kötü olursa hemen bir bakıyorum başkası indirmiş. Benim pijamamın yanına bir pijama daha koymuşlar pofuduk yumuşak içine işte.

[70] Rıdvan: Komşum, üstten açılabilir bir şey olsun ki hani, "Benim dizlerim falan ağrıyor temizlerken, aşağı inmek için," uyarısında bulunmuştu. Böyle sandıklar olur ya eski sandıklar, [onlardaki] gibi bir kapak yaptım.

[71] Uzay: Komşuların laf etmeyeceği yerler. Yani mesela en çok herhalde bundan mustarip olanlar zemin katta oturan komşular, mahalleliler ve benim hemen evin karşısındaki yerde görüyorum. İşte kedi yuvalarının olduğu yer çiş kokuyor. Yakında mamanın bırakıldığı yerde o kadar çok mama bırakılmış ki böyle mantarlar falan çıkmış böyle enteresan *sci-fi* canlılar var üzerinde. Ee oradaki zemin katta oturan hemen bitişiğinde zemin katta oturan kişi bence kesin rahatsız oluyordur. Ee belli ki şikâyet etmemiş. Çünkü uzun süredir kaldırılmıyor orası ama kesin rahatsız oluyordur. Yani şikâyet edip orayı temizletmesi an meselesi.

[72] Esin: Sonra ben karşımda bir tane şirket binasının ... cephesi var. Kimsenin kapısının önü olmadığı için artık öyle bir çözüm buldum. Deneye deneye gittim, karşıda Eski Rum Mezarlığı var. Artık komşular ufak tefek uyarılar, yok efendim bura ... ama böyle yani kedilerle hiç alakası olmayan tepkiler ala ala sabit bir yer buldum.

[73] Kuzey: Şimdi bizim alanımız yani kampüs oldukça geniş ve tabi kedilerin içeriye yani hastanenin içine girmesi, çıkması. Evet ciddi enfeksiyon kaynağı hayvan var, bu doğru. O yüzden o zaten ilk amacımız aslında o hayvanları biraz hastanenin dışına almaktı ama hastanenin içine girmelerinin sebeplerine

baktığımızda da zaten hayvanları, ısıya ya da hastane içinde insan olduğu için, onlara mama verildiği için, birileri görüp sevdiği için oraya girdiklerini fark edip, hastanenin otopark alanının bir tık daha yine hastane kampüsünün içerisinde, sınırları içerisinde, ama hastane binasından ve girişinden aslında oldukça uzak ve biraz daha ters bir tarafta kalan bir alanda konuşlandırdık. Böylece aslında bunu yapmamızdaki amaç, hem o dediğiniz enfeksiyon riskini de ortadan kaldırmak. Çünkü aslında siz o kedilere alternatif bir alan sunduğunuzda ve onlar orada doyduklarında, orada yatabildiklerinde ve oraya gelip giden onlarla ilgilenen insanlar oldukça da orada vakit geçirip oynadıkça aslında hastanenin içine girme ihtimalleri ve hastalarla temas etme ihtimalleri oldukça düşüyor. Doğal olarak zaten aslında o alanın yani yönetim olarak da hani, insanların bu enfeksiyonla ilgili kaygıları açısından da olumlu bir sonuca bağlandığını düşünüyorum. Yani kabaca öyle söyleyeyim. Yani aslen aslında o alan hayvanların hastanede barınmasının önüne geçecek bir alan olarak oluşturuldu.

[74] Asya: Kedilere özel oluşturulan alan gibi bir şey de bir fantezi de başladı. Böyle işte parklarda vesaire bir yer yani aslında yeşil alanın olduğu ama kedilerin bir yere böyle öbeklendirilmesi için yerleştirilmiş şeyler oluyor. Onların da çok mantıklı olduğunu düşünmüyorum. Yine aynı sebepten. Çünkü kediler bir arada yaşayan hayvanlar değil. Onlarda stres oluşturduğunu düşünüyorum bu durumun.

[75] Umay: “Burası tamam, çok yeşillikli bir yer, çok güzel bir yer, burada şu kadar hayvan yaşar”, o öyle olmuyor. Yani o belli sayıda hayvana bir şekilde yaymak lazım. O zaman daha rahat olur.

[76] Asya: Onun yerine daha birbirinden uzak mümkünse, birbirine mesafeleri olan, tek odalı yani tek bir kedinin alanı olacak şekilde çok büyük olmayan ufak parçalar halinde kedi evlerini daha mantıklı buluyorum.

[77] Esin: Hepsinin kapısının ayrı olması lazım.

Burak: Neden ayrı olması gerekiyor, onu merak ettim.

Esin: Hem birbirlerini rahatsız etmemeleri için hem de birbirlerinin koku... Bu benim kendi fikrim tabi. Mesela aynı yerden girsin çıksın istemedim. Sadece sırtını mesela duvar tarafına verdim. Daha kendine ... kediler biraz öyle çünkü. ... Kendi kokularını bırakıyorlar. O yüzden hepsinin girişini farklı yerlere koydum. Bir tane yanda var, bir tane ... İki katlı bu arada. Büyük, ön cephede, sol tarafta, atıyorum, sağ tarafta başka bir yer var, bir yanında başka bir giriş var vs. Koku bıraktıklarında çünkü başka bir kedi gelip koku bıraktığı zaman girmeyebiliyorlar. Mesela şu an sokakta başka bir kedi öyle. Kedi girmiş, yatmış, kokusunu bırakmış diye girmiyor.

[78] Aybike: Sizin geldiğiniz zaman yine yuva yapmışlardı oraya. Ben de pet şişeleri ağaca sardım ki kediler ağaca çıkamasın, kargayı yakalamasınlar diye. O pet şişeleri kestim, ağaç kaygan olsun yukarı çıkamasınlar diye ama karga daha akıllılık yaptı. En uç dallara çıkardı yuvayı, bu sefer en uca yaptım. Zaten kedi oraya çıkamaz yani ama benim şeyler yine duruyor ağaçta.

[79] Aybike: Av yapan bir komşumuz vardı, Aybars diye. Av tüfeği falan vardı, dağa çıkıp zeytinlerin arasında avcılık; kuş avlıyorlar, domuz avlıyorlar falan. Tövbe etti. Şimdi benden daha fazla bir hayvan sever. Tüfeğini falan da verdi.

[80] Aybike: Biraz da birbirinden etkilenmesiyle. Bakıyor komşusu koymuş bir kap su, bir kap su da ben koyayım, mama koyayım. Sonra bakıyor iyi geliyor ona, psikolojik olarak rahatlatıyor, kendini. Bir zaman içinde… Mesela Cihangir'de de bu kadar yoktu, şimdi bizim sokakta bir tek ben besliyordum mesela. Şimdi bakıyorum iki apartmandan birinin önünde kap var. Yani insanlar da baya bir ee, ne bileyim artık yemeğini en azından şey yapıyor, koyuyorlar. Tabi salata koyan da var mesela. Geçen lahana koymuş birisi, hani "KEDİLER LAHANA YEMEZ" diye yazdım ben de oraya. Ama sağ olsun düşünmüş, koymuş. Öyle öyle başlarlar. (Gülüyor)

[81] Esin: Ama bunların hepsi gerilimlerle oldu. Kendi sokağımda da artık herkes benimsedi. Kendileri de ufak tefek yardımlarda bulunuyor. Yardım derken, ben eğer tatildeysem birine emanet ediyorum. Kendi aralarında kavga, gürültü bir şekilde yapmaya çalışıyorlar.

[82] Alp: Önce mamayı kovaya koyuyorum büyük 15 kiloluk gelen mamaları. Büyük bir kova, çöp kovası gibi. O beyaz olan kova. Onunla indiriyorum işte merdivenlerden.

[83] Uzay: Bir de son madde olarak, mama koyulacak bir yüzey olması lazım ama bu yüzeyin bir ahşap değil, bir toprak, çimen değil, suyu veya bakteriyi içinde tutup da emmeyecek bir şey olması lazım. Belki beton olabilir ama beton da yani bir bakteriye ee türemesi için güzel bir zemin yaratabilir. Bilmiyorum, bir plastik bir şey olabilir. Mesela, bir elektrik kutusu gibi bir şey olursa, ee o çok isabetli oluyor. Üzerinde çünkü kolay kolay onun bakteri tutmuyor ve türemiyor. Bunlar geldi aklıma.

[84] Mert: Yok, aslında şu, yani hep ben işlevsel davrandım. Bunun estetiğine yönelik bir şey düşünmedim. Herhangi bir yoğurt kabuğu bile olabiliyordu bu. Buluyordum, onu bir şeye dönüştürüyordum.

[85] Esin: Asıl mama koyduğum yerde bir yazı var, sanki ben kendi evimde orayı kamerayla izliyormuşum gibi, artık öyle bir şey yapmak zorunda kaldım. (Gülüyor) "YASAL YOLLARA BAŞVURULACAKTIR" diye.

[86] Mira: Aslında su meselesi var, her şeyden önce su. Öncelikle sudan korumak.

[87] Uzay: Bir yandan bu kedi evlerini çöple yapıyorum. Evimde çöp değil ama henüz işlevini bulmamış malzemeyle de yapıyorum. Bu çöp olabilir ya da böyle *spare* malzeme olabilir. Ekstra ne olduğunu bilmediğim malzemeler olabilir. Pek çöp demek istemiyorum onlara. O yüzden, ha, o yüzden bu malzemelerin ölçüleri önemli; yani evimden hiç köpeği sığdırabileceğim bir malzeme çıkmıyor. Ki sokak köpekleri genelde iri köpekler oluyorlar. Ufak köpekler olmuyorlar. Ee, evimde bulduğum hiçbir çöp malzemeyle herhalde köpeği içerisine alabilecek kadar bir şey yapamam.

[88] Uzay: Benim şeffaf yapma nedenim de hani camdan baktığımda evin yanındaki parkın içerisinde kullanılıyor mu, görebileyim diyeydi. ... Bir de hani etrafında tehdit edecek bir köpektir, kuştur vesaire varsa ee, onlardan onları görebilsin istemiştim ama bilakis kapalı kalmak ve görünmek istemiyormuş kediler. ... Ahşap çıtalarla PVC'yi denedim. Yani işte ahşap çıtalardan bir iskelet yaptım. Duvarları olmak zorunda değil. Çünkü zaten üzerine PVC gerdim sonra. Yalnız mesela işte şeffaf PVC. Dolayısıyla ben bunu bir avantaj olduğunu düşündüm. Kediler işte etraftan bir tehdit geldiğinde bunu görebilecekler diye düşündüm. Ama kimse işte içine girmedi, hiçbir kedi. İki üç hafta oluyor galiba.

[89] Mira: Oralarda işte daha çok straforun çok kullanıldığı falan. İşte ama mesela kutu çok kullanılıyor, karton ya da bazen suntamsı şeyler kullanılıyor. Şimdi kar, kış olduğunda da bunlar suyu çok geçirebilir bu çok aslında hastalığa hem sebep olabilir gibi düşünmüştüm hem de işte suyu geçirir endişesi çok vardı. O yüzden o daha çok büyük çöp poşetleriyle falan etrafını kapatma gibi şeyler yapmaya çalıştık.

[90] Özge: Evde ayrıca tadilatlardan kalan böyle kalın muşamba gibi naylon şeyler vardı, *sheet*'ler vardı. Onunla dört tarafını tamamen sardık, hiç yağmur almayacak şekilde. Onları da yine çivilerle çaktık etrafını.

[91] Uzay: Bir kedi yuvası yaparken işte onu mesela mutlaka yerden yukarı kaldırıyorum. Ya ayaklarla ya da halihazırda bir taş bulursam onun üzerine koyuyorum ki yağmur suyu içeri girmesin diye. Bir de altındaki yüzeyi, eğer kediyi evi yuvasının altını kâğıttan ya da kontrplak gibi su emen bir şeyden yaptıysam, onun yukarıda durması şart. Altının da şey sabit kalması gerekiyor, bu *intact* kalması gerekiyor. Bu sefer çite asarak yaptım. Yani yerden yükseltmiş oldum aslında. Bunu devam ettirmek istiyorum.

[92] Uzay: Ya bir kere her canlının korunaklılık ya da bir her canlıyı içinde barındırabilecek bir barınak için gerekli iki şartım var. Kuru kalmalı, bir de sıcak kalmalı. Yani bu bana böyle mimarlık okulunda birinci sınıfta başıma kakıla kakıla öğretilmiş ilk şeydi. Bir yapının iki endişesi vardır: Suyu dışarıda tutmak, soğuğu dışarıda tutmak diye. Onu muhtemelen sanırım ilk madde olarak şiar ediniyorum. O pusula her zaman o. Bir kedi soğukta kalmamalı ve ıslak olmamalı.

[93] Uzay: Rüzgâra ve yağmura korunaklı olmalı. Bunu not düştüm çünkü geçenlerde bıraktığım kedi evinin nereye bırakacağım konusunda belirleyici olan tek şey rüzgardı. Çünkü zaten etrafı çevrili ve korunaklı bir yer bulmuştum ama ee yaptığım şeyin çatısı tek eğimliydi. Dolayısıyla rüzgâr bir yerden vurduğu zaman onu kaldırıp götürebilecek gibi bir formu vardı. Bir yandan da rüzgarla yağmurun ilişkisi de önemli. Rüzgâr nereden geliyorsa, hava akımı nereden geliyorsa, su da o tarafa düşüyor. Nereye gidiyorsa, su oraya düşüyor. Dolayısıyla kapısını oraya yani kedilerin giriş yaptığı tarafı boşluğu rüzgâra ve yağmura çevirmek istemedim. Ee ama günün sonunda yine diğer insanların da kedi yuvası bıraktığı köşeye bıraktım. Çünkü orada belli ki bir hani öğrenilmiş ve tekrar edilen, devam ettirilen bir şey vardı.

[94] Alp: Ondan sonra bir hafta içerisinde kapıcıya attırdılar hepsini.

Burak: Neden?

Alp: Çöp oluyor falan diye. Bahçede olduğu halde yani çöp oluyor falan diye işte kediler pislik yapıyor falan demişler ki oraya pislik yapsa bile kediler hani herhangi birinin gör… Görüyor yani sadece arka balkondan en fazla.

Burak: Kullanmıyorlar?

Alp: Kullanılmayan bir alan tabi. Orman gibi bir alan işte. Neyse…

[95] Esin: Herkes çok büyük tepkiler gösterdiği için saçma sapan nedenlerden. Ve işte erkekler çiftleştiği zaman kokulu idrar yaptıkları için, "Burası çiş kokuyor", kokar! Hortum şey yaparsın, değil mi? Çok basit şeyler.

[96] Arda: Ben daha önce bir an böyle bir iki kere normalde zaten betonun üstüne vesaire bir yere yani kediler çişini, kakasını yapmıyor yani. Onlar da böyle birazcık şey ee söylemler oluyor genelde ee yani. Çok hoşlanmıyorlar ve o yüzden etrafı pisletiyorlar falan diye yani. Ben bir kere falan gördüm. Ee o da şey olmuş. Ee girmiş bir tane sınıfın içine, sınıfı da kilitlemişler, ee ertesi sabah açtıklarında oraya pislemiş.

[97] Deniz: Veya işte hayvanları değil de biraz insanları sevin diyerek bir argümanla gelirse çözüm odaklı olmaktan çok daha problem odaklı kişiler karşınıza mutlaka geliyor.

[98] Asya: Daha önce ortak bir alanda baktığımız sorumluluğunu ve mamasını vs. üstlendiğim bir kedi grubunun da yaşadığı eski iş yerinde bir alan vardı. Orada ilgilenen hayvanseverlerden biri biraz ajite bir karaktere sahipti ve aslında kişisel husumetlerden dolayı oradaki güvenliklerin zaman içerisinde hayvanlara davranışlarının değiştiğini gözlemledim.

[99] Aybike: Hayvan sevmeyen insanlar var etrafımızda, "Ay, bu kadar pisliği var, bunların piresi var, kakası var," bilmem ne. "Sen de haklısın," diyorum. "Korkuyorum," diyor. "Sen de haklısın," diyorum, korkma diyemem ki. "Sevmek zorundasın," diyemem ki, böyle bir hakkım yok. Karışmasınlar, hayvanları kakıp tekmelemesinler yeter yani. Sevmesinler de hiç, o kadar önemli değil yani. Ama herkes birbirine saygı göstersin.

[100] Asya: Şöyle yapıyoruz kabaca. Genelde orada karşı taraftaki insana haklılığını verip mümkünse çok da şey yapmadan karşı taraf insanı ajite etmeden, hayvanı kısa sürede hayvanın da iyiliği için oradan hızlıca uzaklaştırmak genelde verdiğimiz ilk tepki oluyor. İnsanlarla bunun çok fazla şeyine girmiyoruz çünkü ben genel olarak bireysel olarak da yani mahalledeki kedilere verilen mamalarla ilgili de aynı tutumu sergiliyorum. Bir yere bir mama konmasından rahatsızsa "Ayy, haklısın ablacığım, buraya fare geliyordur" deyip alıp başka yere koyuyorum. (Gülüyor) Çünkü genel olarak insanlara verilen tepkilerin dolaylı olarak hayvanlara zarar verdiğini düşünüyorum. Çünkü onlar sonra sinirlerini benden değil, muhtemelen ben arkamı döndükten sonra gördükleri ilk kediden çıkaracakları için onun riskini almak istemiyorum. O konuda da açıkçası üzerimde bir yükümlülük hissediyorum. O yüzden genelde insanlara hak verip eğer çok yani zarar verici, şiddet boyutunda bir şeyse, tabii

ki yani kanunen bir yaptırımı olan bir şey yapmış ise ve bunu kanıtlayabilecek isem, sadece yaptıysa değil eğer kanıtlanabilecek bir şeyse, peşine düşüyorum ama eğer kanıtlayabileceğim bir şey yoksa o an için uzatmadan çok haklısın deyip hayvanı kaçırıyorum. İzlediğim yöntem bu.

[101] Esin: Sokakta bir kedi doğum yaptı, kediyi tanımıyorum, ona başta leğende koli yaptım. Bizim işte bir pastane imalatçısı var, onun arka bahçesinde biz bunları barındırdık. Sonra onlar orayı pisleyince falan Sağlık Bakanlığı işte pasta imalathanesi vs. olduğu için işte leğenlerden gene etrafı korumalı kutu. Burada bir parka götürdüm, parkta kesinlikle izin vermiyorlardı, parkı da kilitliyorlardı. Parkın bekçisiyle vs. ile konuştum, güzel bir yer ayarladım. Her akşam da kontrole gidiyordum. Bir gün ama onların da parçalandığını gördüm, yani üzerine basılmış vs. yavrulardan biri kayıp. Neyse yavruları falan topladım, eve getirdim, işte yavruları sahiplendirdim, annesini kısırlaştırdım. Bu sefer barınacak yer lazım ... Bebeği götürdüm, yalnız bebekte ... Bahçemiz var, önde de arkada da. Merdiven altında bir boşluk vardı, orada marangoz arkadaşıma altı yedi kedilik bir şey yaptırdım, bir yapı. Kış şartlarında ... korunaklı koruyalım diye.

[102] Gönül: Mesela dükkâna gelip "Ay, kediden korkuyorum," diyen tipler oluyor. Ben de direkt şey diyorum. "Asıl onlar sizden korkuyor. Küçücük kedi sana ne yapabilir ki?" Ya asıl onlar, onlardan kaçıyor. İlk lafım bu oluyor.

[103] Gönül: Çok hayvan sevmeyenler tarafından bir de onlarla mücadele ediyorum. Orada bir isyan ediyorum. İşte dükkâna gelenler, "Ay, dükkâna neden kedi sokuyorsun" da "Tüy oluyor," da falan filan. Ee, ben hemen direkt işin manevi boyutundan giriyorum. İşte, "Bu kediler bize emanet, onlar da birer can ve en az bizim kadar bu gezegende yemeye içmeye hakları var." İki saat ezile büzüle bir de bunu yapıyorum ya, ona sinir oluyorum.

[104] Aybike: İşte bunları da ben Hz. Muhammed'in kedisinin olduğu, hatta kedi seccadede uyurken o tarafında Muhammed'in namaz kılmadığını falan anlatıyorsun. Her şekilde her telden almaya çalışıyoruz.

[105] Aslı: Şey gibi böyle biraz, şey yapılaşma gibi, gecekondu. Düzensiz ve pis bir şey.

(Gülüyor) Bir standardı yok. Çarpık yapılaşma kedilerin.

[106] Alp: Beş altı tane bantladık önce, sonra dışını da işte estetik, daha doğrusu estetik olmadığını falan söylüyorlar ya, dışını da güzel bir defter kabıyla falan kapladık, kitap kaplarıyla. O bile güzel görünüyordu yani aslında. Yılbaşı için aldığımız defter kapları gibi kaplarla kapladık üstünü mesela.

[107] Mert: Ama kedi evi yaparken o dediğim hani şey ben. Biraz o dediğiniz şey kaygıda bulunuyordum. Birkaç böyle şey de. Şu an hatırlamaya çalışıyorum da yıl kaçtı? 2018'de özellikle böyle şey workshoplar gibi bir şey yapıyorduk. Böyle insanlara böyle açık çağrı yapıyorduk. Yanlış hatırlamıyorsam Woodstock'ta, Kadıköy'de. Orada işte toplanıyorduk böyle, straforlarla birleştirip böyle yani kedi evi nasıl yapılıyor, onları insanlara da öğretiyorduk.

Kedi evleri yapıyorduk. Ben de işte hatta bunu zevkli şeye çevirmelerini gösterecek böyle bazı işte biraz dekoratif şeyler de gösteriyordum hani kedi evlerini falan tatlı. Mahallenin peyzajına da hani şey güzel bir tat katacak böyle şeyler de gösteriyordum. Hani o hoşlarına da gidiyordu ekstra. Bir de hani insanlara katlı böyle güzel kedi evlerini görünce falan şey gibi olmayan. Çünkü hani bildiğimiz anlamda strafor üzerine poşet giyilmiş şey, böyle üst üste yığılmış şeyler kötü durabiliyor. Ama bunu biraz böyle güzel gösterince hani "Uf, bu çirkinlik ne," diyen, şey, insanlar bile şey diyor, "Tatlı olmuş," diyebiliyor. Hani bunları boyayınca, şey yapınca falan.

[108] Esin: İnsanlar biliyorlar, iki üç defa çalanları yakaladım. Özellikle pandemi döneminde.

Burak: Mamayı mı çalıyorlar?

Esin: Evet. Mamaları çalıyorlar. İnsanlar bir dönem şey oldu ya, pandeminin başında, her şey bir belirsiz oldu, işte evlere geçtik, iş olacak mı olmayacak mı, o günlerde her gün mama çalındı. Her gün. Ve anında nasıl oluyor bilmiyorum yani. Koyuyorum, 3. Katta oturuyorum, kata çıktığımda bir bakıyorum yok yerinde. 2 defa yakaladım. Bir tane tek bir kadın yakaladım, bir tane de iki tane kadın Güneydoğu bölgesine ait kıyafetlerle dolaşıyorlar. Muhtemelen besliyorlar, ama iş vs. para olmadığından dolayı hani bir şey yapamıyorlar, hani evinde de belki paylaşacak bir şeyi yok. Mamayı alıyorlar. İyi niyetli gibi olabilir, görünebilir ama neticede ben de bir para veriyorum. Başlarda şey yapıyordum. Yakaladıklarıma da mama verdim bu arada. Onları almayın, 3. zile basın, ben size mama vereceğim falan da dedim. Ama önüne geçemedim. Çünkü ben de bir para veriyorum. Pandemi vs. işte hiçbir şey belli değil. Emek harcıyorum. Hırsızlık da kötü bir şey yani.

Burak: Bu mamayı alıp başka bir yere [mi] koyuyorlar?

Esin: Şöyle, mamayı poşete dolduruyor, mama kabını bırakıyor. Alıp götürüyor mamayı.

Burak: Satıyor mu sonra mamayı?

Esin: Zannetmiyorum, çünkü mamayı yaş mamayla karıştırıyorum. Ya evindeki kedisine götürüyor. Ya sokakta kedi besleyecek ona götürüyor. Hepsi vicdanlı, iyi insanlar falan ama, o hırsızlık. Neticede ben de belediyeden almıyorum. Ama mesela belediyeden destek isteyen arkadaşlarım vs. de var bu konularda. Beşiktaş Belediyesi bu konularda bayağı iyi.

[109] Özge: Kediler bence özgür olabilmeyi seviyorlar. Kendi iradelerine sahip olmayı yani. Kediyi zorlayamıyorsun. Sen kedi evi yapıyorsun ya, bak o kedi evi için o kadar uğraştık yok işte sıcak olsun, içi yumuşak olsun, su almasın bilmem ne. Yani o bir yıl içinde, hatta biz daha önce kedi evi koymuştuk, kaç kere içinde kedi yattığını gördün dersen yani iki üç falan içinde kediye denk gelmişizdir. Yatmıyor hayvan. Yani senin istediğini yapmıyor, kendi istediğini yapıyor. Sen oraya şato gibi ev koyuyorsun, o gidiyor işte bankın üzerinde yatıyor falan.

[110] Umay: Mesela Fenerbahçe Parkı. Mesela Cihangir'de küçük park var, orası falan. Yani buraların besleme gönüllüleri ile konuşursanız, emin olun, çok serzenişte bulunacaklardır. Başka insanların getirip sürekli kedi bırakmasından dolayı.

[111] Umay: Ya sokak hayvanı aşılı olmuyor. Hani aşılasanız bile aşının bir yıl koruyuculuğu var biliyorsunuz. Ve zaten hani Corona falan var kedilerde biliyorsunuzdur hani kedi baktığınız için ve bu hani FIP'e çeviriyor, öldürücü oluyor vesaire. Koronanın zaten aşısı yok ve hani kedilerin yüzde doksanı bunu taşıyor. E bunun dışında Herpes virüs var, ... bunlar üst solunum yol hastalıkları. Yani hayvan aynı yerde yatıp kalktıkça işte salya sümük ki zaten burun akıntısı, göz akıntısı falan çok yapıyor. … Bir silkeleniyor, her yere bulaştırıyor vesaire. Hani birbirleriyle yan yana gelmeseler bile hani bir hayvanın girip çıktığı ortamdan diğer hayvan da girip çıktıkça bu virüsleri kapıyor. Yani sokakta tabii şartlar daha şey hani kışın sert geçiyor vesaire daha kolay hani soğuk tetikliyor bu hastalığı, hayvanı daha zor duruma getiriyor, ölümler de dolayısıyla artıyor.

[112] Ege: Bence hayvanları çok yani kedi evi yapmak istediğimiz hayvanın çok tanımadığınız ya da kedi evi yapmak istediğiniz bölgeyi çok tanımadığınızda kedi evi yapmak bir tür Instagram'da aşağıya kaydırırken "Kedi evi yapılabiliyormuş ve hava çok soğuk. Haydi haçen biz de bir kedi yapalım" gibi bir şeyden öteye gitmiyor.

[113] Rıdvan: Onları da sık sık temizlemeye çalışıyoruz. Ama yani sokaktaki bir kedi yuvasının kirlenmesi çok hızlı oluyor. Bütün kediler içerisine girip çıkıyor. İşte hastalığı kolayca yayması için.

[114] Asya: Alanlarının temizlenmesi, genelde hayvanların daha öbek durduğu yerlerin insanlar çok fazla ev yemeği bıraktığı için enfeksiyon kaynağı oluyorlar, hem hayvanlar tüketmiyor, kurtlanıyor vesaire temizliğe de başladım.

[115] Rıdvan: Böyle bir kopuklarda hani daha böyle pratik bir köpükten kartondan yuvalar yapılıyor ya öyle yapılabilir yani sokaktaki kediler için ama dayanıklı bir kedi evi yapılmasına biraz karşıyım artık.

[116] Uzay: Geçen kış depremden sonra yaptıklarım bu arada kaldırılmışlar. Bu arada isabet olmuş. Çünkü ee artık bir süre sonra dışındaki *waterproof* katman ee aradan yırtılmış, etmiş ve içine su girmiş. Onlar çökmüşler. Ee paramparça olmuş altları falan. Yani ben bunu görmüştüm en son ama ben alıp atmadım. Birileri alıp kaldırmışlar. O küçük parka birkaç bitki budanmış herhalde o sırada o budayan kişiler alıp atmıştır diye düşünüyorum. Eee onları tamir etmek gibi bir niyetim yoktu ama onları alıp çöpe kaldırıp yerine bir tane koymak gibi niyetim vardı. Benden önce biri davranıp ee aldırmış. Keza işte son birkaç haftadır da onların yerini doldurmuş oldum.

[117] Olcay: Başka benim yaptığım vardı kartondan. O mesaisini tamamladı. O baya büyüktü. Yavru kediler ve büyük bir kediyi alabilmesi için büyük bir şey yapmıştım ben. Straforu bir süre zaten tırmalama duvarı olarak kullanıyorlar. Ve gidiyor yani. O öyle mesaisini tamamladı.

[118] Özge: Yine Göztepe'deyiz. Birkaç sokak yukarıya taşınmış olduk. Burası da eski aslında apartmanımızla aynı profil. Çok yeni bir apartman değil. 1990'ların sonunda, 2000'lerin başında yapılmış bir apartman. Yine bahçeli, yeşillik, ağaçlar içinde ama burası ile orası arasında taban tabana şöyle bir fark var; biz burayı tutacağımız zaman da bahçede ilk önce şey dikkatimizi çekmişti. Çok düzenli bir bahçe, çok temiz ama hiç kedi evi yok. Ve belki yadırgamıştık. Hatta [kedi] sevmiyor olabilirler mi? Hatta su kapları görüp sevinmiştik. Böyle işte beş litrelik pet şişelerden kesilmiş. Bir böyle tutacağız evi çok beğendik ama acaba apartmandakilerle nasıl anlaşacağız diye şüphe, bildiğin kedi evlerini görmediğimiz için ortaya çıktı. Bizim apartmana geldiğinde işte bahçenin bir kenarında üç dört tane ayrı kedi evi var. Onların kapları var vs. Her tarafında kediler yatıyor. Hepsinin ayrı köşeleri var. Ama bunu orada görmediğimiz için yadırgadık. Onu söyleyebilirim.

[119] Bulut: Bir de dediğim gibi bir şey yani asıl önemli olan bence ee kedi evi yapmak değil ama kedi evi yapma fikrinin oluşması.

[120] Bulut: O yüzden şey dedim ya baştan beri aslında kedi evinin fonksiyon olarak çok anlamı olmayabilir ama fikri olarak bir anlamı var yani aslında.

Burak: Nedir fikri olarak anlamı?

Bulut: Hayvanseverlik yani. Burada hayvanların değeri var demek yani. Orayı şey gibi, bir yeri, burası kedilerin yeri demek gibi bir şey aslında.

[121] Uzay: Bir tane dikkat çeksin diye yaptığım bir şey vardı. Böyle içerisinden ne çıktığını hatırlamıyorum. Bir şey almışım ve köpük içerisinde gelmiş. O köpükleri işte yan yana koydum, etrafını kapadım bir şekilde. Önce onu bir zaten o kedi yuvalarının bırakıldığı yerde bırakılmış bir raf vardı. O rafın içerisine tam sığacak şekilde yaptım. Ee içine kayarak giren bir çekmece gibi yaptım ve ön tarafını da ön cephesini de neoklasik bir yapı gibi süsledim yani. Ne bu zamanında Unkapanı'nda böyle çöp olarak bulduğum şey var, ne deniyor, perdelik? Perdelikti o, süpürgelik değil. Ya böyle bir frez gibi bir şeydi ve onunla ondan taktım böyle, altın parlıyor varaklı falan böyle. Ondan sonra kenarına işte eski bir küllüğün kırılmış parçası vardı. Böyle üzerinde bir Eros heykeli, onu yapıştırdım. Burada tamamen niyetim Instagram. İnsanlar gelip Instagram'a fotoğraf çeksinler ve çekerken de kediyi görsünler, beslesinler.

[122] Uzay: Bir de çite değen yüzeyini şeffaf yapmaya özen gösterdim ki dışarıdan gelen geçen… Bu arada insanların Mesih komplekslerini işte şey yapıyorum, onlara *aim* ediyorum, onları hedefliyorum. Ee bu kediyi görsünler, "Ay, ne şekermiş, ben bunu besleyeyim ve Instagram'a bir fotoğraf koyayım," desinler istiyorum. O yüzden o yüzeyi özellikle sokağa bakan yüzeyi şeffaf yaptım ki gelenlerin vicdan azaplarından faydalanabileyim diye.

[123] Ege: Ben bir mahalleye taşınıyor olsam ve evet kedi evleri o olduğunu görsem, kedi evleri olduğunu ve ertesi gün de olduğunu ve ertesi gün de olduğunu görsem şey yaparım, "*Yes*, burası bir hani sokak hayvanlarının varlığını tanıyan bir yer," derim.

[124] Ege: Şimdi o yüzden hani benim için bu mesaj şey açısından başka insanlar var açısından bir mesaj veriyor ama. Onları o sokakta istemeyen hayvanların elini ne kadar kuvvetli olduğuyla ilgili o kadar mesaj vermiyor.

APPENDIX E. CURRICULUM VITAE

Name-Surname: Burak Taşdizen

Education:

BID: Middle East Technical University (METU), Industrial Design, 2014

MSc: Middle East Technical University (METU), Industrial Design, 2017

PhD: Özyeğin University, Design, Technology and Society, 2024

Work Experience:

Research Assistant, Özyeğin University, 2016-2020

Research Fellow and Project Coordinator [*Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter*], in "Knowledge Unbound: Internationalisation, Networking, Innovation in and by the Max Weber Stiftung", funded by German Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF Project no. 01UG1903), Orient-Institut Istanbul, Max Weber Foundation, 2020-2022

Doctoral Researcher in "Online Crowdfunding in Arts, Culture, and Media Industries: A Toolkit for Producers", funded by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK Project no. 122G078), Koç University, 2022-2025

Awards and Scholarships:

TÜBİTAK 2250 - Performance-Based Scholarships Program for PhD and Post-Doc Scholars (₺44.950,00), TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye), 2024

Conference Full Registration Waiver ($200), European Association for the Study of Science and Technology (EASST) & Society for Social Studies of Science (4S), 2020

MADaraştırma Research Grant (₺5.000,00), Center for Spatial Justice [*Mekânda Adalet Derneği*], 2019

Summer School Participation Waiver (€3.750,00), Expeditions – Research in Applied Anthropology, 2019

Course Performance Award, Middle East Technical University (METU) Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences, 2015

HSK Scholarship (€1.075,00), German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), 2013

Scientific Publications:

Taşdizen, B. (2024). Interspecies Liminality on the Edge of Life: Human-Animal Companionship in Madame (1989). *REFLEKTIF Journal of Social Sciences*, *5*(2), 307-329. https://doi.org/10.47613/reflektif.2024.161

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Scientific Presentations:

Taşdizen, B. (2024, March 26). *Aalto-Koç University Mini Colloquium on More-Than-Human Design* [Colloquium presentation]. Aalto University and Koç University, Virtual event.

Taşdizen, B. (2023, December 14). *Together At The Same Table: An Exercise On A More-Than-Human Design Research* [Seminar presentation]. Working with Nonhumans in Design | Insights From The Field, Koç University KUAR, İstanbul, Türkiye, Hybrid event.

İleri, E., & Taşdizen, B. (2022, May 25). *Masculinities and/as Design: Exploring the Space Suit Designs of Commercial Space Travel* [Symposium presentation]. Masculinities in Design: Objects, Identities and Practices, University of Applied Arts Vienna Design History and Theory, Virtual event.

Taşdizen, B. (2022, March 28). *Assembling A More-Than-Human Istanbul: A Methodological Reflection* [Workshop presentation]. The Urban Ecologies Workshop Series: Workshop One, Methodological Expositions, University of Cambridge Urban Ecologies Research Cluster, Virtual event.

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Taşdizen, B. (2021, August 28). *Tasarım-Bakım Dolanıklıkları: Alanyazının Konuştukları / Tasarımı İnsan Olmayanlara Açmak: Sahanın Söyledikleri* [Keynote address]. Gelecek Çalışmaları, Poedat, Muğla, Türkiye.

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Taşdizen, B. (2021, January 12). *Care as Design: Urban Cats and Affordance Assemblages of Istanbul* [Guest lecture]. Contemporary Issues in Design, Istanbul Technical University Department of Industrial Design, Virtual event.

Şahinol, M., & Taşdizen, B. (2020, April 1). *Cartography of Hair:y_less Masculinities: An Introduction* [Colloquium presentation]. Orient-Institut Istanbul Research Colloquia, Virtual event.

Taşdizen, B. (2020, January 21). *Posthuman Feminist Theory: Body Modification and Empowerment* [Workshop presentation]. Technology and the Body: Care, Empowerment and the Fluidity of Bodies, İstanbul, Türkiye.

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Taşdizen, B. (2018). *Politics of the Knitting Pattern: Ethnography of Knitting Practice and a Women's Knitting Community* [Guest lecture]. Research Methods, Özyeğin University Design, Technology and Society Graduate Program, İstanbul, Türkiye.

Taşdizen, B. (2017, October 26). *Örgü Örneğinin Politikası: Örgü Pratiğinin ve bir Kadın Örgü Grubunun Etnografisi* [Guest lecture]. Design Research and Theory, Istanbul Medipol University Department of Industrial Design, İstanbul, Türkiye.

Taşdizen, B., & Kaygan, H. (2016, May 9-10). *Between Open-Source and Commerce: Micropolitics of Authorship and Originality in a Knitting Community* [Conference presentation]. 15th Annual STS Conference: Critical Issues in Science, Technology and Society Studies, Graz, Austria.

Taşdizen, B. (2016, April 9). *Social Media in a Knitting Community in Ankara, Turkey* [Workshop presentation]. Social Media in Turkey: Uses and Impacts in Social and Political Life, Ankara, Türkiye.

Taşdizen, B., & Kaygan, H. (2015, May 14-15). *Immoral Objects: A Psychogeography of Gentrification in Ulus* [Conference presentation]. 4T: Design in Times of Turmoil, İzmir, Türkiye.