PREFIGURATIVE REALISM:
THE POLITICS OF SPACE-TIME IN THE SQUARE MOVEMENTS

A Doctoral Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of
the Department of Philosophy
Villanova University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Ph.D. in Philosophy

by
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May 2019

Under the Direction of
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VILLANOVA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE STUDIES IN PHILOSOPHY

DISSERTATION APPROVAL PAGE

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DEPARTMENT Philosophy

TITLE "Prefigurative Realism:
The Politics of Space-Time in the Square Movements"

DEGREE Ph.D.

DATE May 1st 2019

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Dedicated to those who have lost their lives in the square movements

while prefiguring a free and equal future

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Abstract

The overarching objective of this dissertation is to explore the link between socio-political practice and historical space-time. Based on denaturalized conceptions of interrelated space and time, this project inquires into the ways in which practices, particularly prefigurative politics in the square movements, produce alternative space-times. Prefigurative politics is a strategy that aims at instantiating future desired forms in the present in order to instigate political and social transformations. The gist of this practice is to experiment with and demonstrate counter-hegemonic ways of living and self-governing in the here-and-now, which subvert structures of domination and initiate transformations toward alternative forms. This dissertation develops a theory of the complex spatio-temporal logics of prefigurative politics and argues that such politics in the square movements produces counter-hegemonic space-times against the globalization of capitalist *abstract spaces* and the enclosure within *presentist* temporal horizons. Overall, this project aims at contributing to an alternative understanding of politics that inserts *the reality of what is deemed unrealistic* by reconfiguring present experience and political imagination through concrete instantiations of new egalitarian political possibilities.

"So we stand with you not just in your attempts to bring down the old but to experiment with the new. We are not protesting. Who is there to protest to? What could we ask them for that they could grant? We are occupying. We are reclaiming those same spaces of public practice that have been commodified, privatized and locked into the hands of faceless bureaucracy, real estate portfolios, and police 'protection'. Hold on to these spaces, nurture them, and let the boundaries of your occupations grow. After all, who built these parks, these plazas, these buildings? Whose labor made them real and livable? Why should it seem so natural that they should be withheld from us, policed and disciplined? Reclaiming these spaces and managing them justly and collectively is proof enough of our legitimacy."

–*Solidarity Letter From Egyptian Protestors to Occupy Wall Street*

"In these "occupations" what is at stake is not a "new" political model, but rather a change in the conversation about what politics means." –Helena Chávez Mac Gregor

Introduction

Space and time are basic categories of human experience and expectation. Yet, their meanings are usually taken for granted. There is a dominant tendency to conceive of space and time as self-evident notions of objective phenomena, and this tends to close off any inquiry regarding these basic categories. Nevertheless, when philosophically scrutinized, the complexities of space and time come to the fore and the myriad layers that constitute these phenomena appear. Such scrutiny is particularly important for critical theory because the presumed objectivity of space and time translates itself into a sense of hegemonic realism naturalizing dominant political experiences and expectations. The task of critical theory adopted in this project is to denaturalize such hegemonic realism and analyze the ways in which space and time are constituted within material practices and historical processes. As

one of the main figures from whom this project draws, geographer David Harvey writes:

> I think it is important to challenge the idea of a single and objective sense of time or space, against which we can measure the diversity of human conceptions and perceptions. I shall not argue for a total dissolution of the objective–subjective distinction, but insist, rather, that we recognize the multiplicity of the objective qualities which space and time can express, and the role of human practices in their construction. Neither time nor space, the physicists now broadly propose, had existence (let alone meaning) before matter; the objective qualities of physical time–space cannot be understood, therefore, independently of the qualities of material processes.[1]

As I will argue extensively in chapters 2 and 3, space and time depend on material practices; hence they are in effect susceptible to transformations through collective practices. Such historicity, however, is often buried under the hegemony that reproduces existing power structures and makes them appear unchangeable. This hegemonic realism is fortified by the fact that there are few practices that counter it, and show that social, economic, and political structures of the *status quo* can be changed for the better. I argue in this dissertation that a particular type of socio-political practice, i.e. prefigurative politics, is one of those practices that open up new experiences of space and time, countering the consensus established around hegemonic realism and freeing the imagination to hope for new and better political possibilities.

The overarching objective of the project is to explore the link between socio-political practice and historical space and time. Contrary to the dominant Euclid/Newtonian conception of objective and naturalized empty templates of space

[1] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*

and time, I argue in this project that these categories are historical because they are susceptible to transformations through human practices. In effect, they occupy relational fields bound to material existence and practices.[2] In that sense, material practices transform space and time as we perceive and experience them. Nevertheless, this relational character of space and time does not mean these categories are not structuring for practices. On the contrary, space and time enable and frame practice by ordering our perceptions of the world and ourselves, enabling and limiting the memory of the past, the experience of the present and the expectation from the future.

Various thinkers investigate this double-bind or, in other words, this *socio-spatiotemporality*,[3] between practice and space and/or time by focusing on a particular practice. Karl Marx in his *Capital* volume 1 explains the ways in which time is socially constructed as measurable labor-time within capitalism that in turn becomes a major propellant of this mode of production.[4] In other words, socio-economic practices of capitalism produce a particular conception of time that

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[2] The opposition between the relational conception of space and time and that of the objective container model can be traced back to philosophical discussions of the eighteenth century. In particular, the famous correspondence between the German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and the English supporter of Newton, Samuel Clarke, reflects this philosophical debate. In this correspondence, Leibniz opposes the Newtonian conception of space and time with his relational understanding. He argues that space and time cannot be conceived as empty templates within which matter is contained, but instead based on the existence and relations of matter, space and time are conceivable and measurable. Ezio Vailati, *Leibniz & Clarke: A Study of Their Correspondence* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). With reference to the outcome of this historic correspondence, Barney Warf writes: "Eventually, for reasons having little to do with inherent intellectual merit and much to do with the emergence of early capitalist modernity, Newton's view triumphed." Barney Warf, *Time-Space Compression: Historical Geographies* (Routledge, 2008), 14.

[3] Instead of saying "double-bind," we can also characterize this relationship with "socio-spatiotemporal dialectic" alluding to Edward Soja's term, "socio-spatial dialectic." See chapter 3 for details on Soja's dialectic. Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (Verso, 1989), 81.

[4] Karl Marx, *Capital Volume 1: A Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Ben Fowkes, Reprint edition (London ; New York, N.Y: Penguin Classics, 1992).

becomes essential in the ways in which this system of practices, capitalism, works.[5] Henri Lefebvre's analysis on urbanization fits into the same *socio-spatiotemporal* framework that focuses on the capitalist processes of urbanization and the ways in which new space-times are produced in urban settings. As I will detail in chapter 3, Lefebvre argues that urban space-time is distinctive from capitalism's abstract space-time and agrarian societies' cyclic and isotopic space-time. He calls such urban spatio-temporality: *differential space-time*.[6] Thereby, Lefebvre's analysis of the urban not only explains the socio-economic dynamics behind urbanization but also theorizes the ways in which human practices transform and are transformed by historical space-times.

François Hartog can be added to this list of thinkers who theorized the same relationship as I do in this dissertation project (historical space-time and practice) by focusing on a different practice. Hartog's focus on historiography attends to the various ways in which distinct societies and periods of time relate to time within the practice of writing history. While such practice is accompanied by certain conceptions of time, ways of writing history also bring about different sensibilities of time. Hartog uses his notion*, regimes of historicity*, to characterize what he defines as "the modalities of self-consciousness that each and every society adopts in its constructions of time and its perceptions."[7] *Regimes of historicity* is a conceptual tool with which to historicize history by enabling an examination of the articulations

[5] Please see chapter 2 for a detailed description of the historical construction of labor time in capitalism and E. P. Thompson's analysis of it. E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (December 1967): 56–97.
[6] Henri Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, 1 edition (Minneapolis: University Of Minnesota Press, 2003), 37.
[7] François Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time* (Columbia University Press, 2015), 9.

between the past, the present, and the future in a given period and geography. In so doing, Hartog examines the role of historical time-spaces on the practice of historiography, while at the same time theorizing the impact of this practice on the conceptions of time and space.

Drawing from this field of inquiry into the relationship between historical time-space and practice, this dissertation focuses on a particular political practice, namely prefigurative politics. I hone in on my research even further and focus on prefigurative politics in the specific context of the square movements (PPSM).[8] Taking PPSM at its focus, this project is far less ambitious and explanatory than the aforementioned theoretical interventions of Marx, Lefebvre, and Hartog. Nevertheless, because of the distinctive ways in which PPSM relates to multi-layered historical space-times,[9] the project aims at moving beyond a mere application of the developed theories of *socio-spatiotemporality* on a contemporary and less-studied practice, offering a theory of the ways in which bottom-up political practices—framed and enabled by the existing layers of historical space-times—produce counter-hegemonic space-times.

To clarify the reasons behind this inquiry into PPSM, let me briefly explain what this politics is, following my offered thesis with regards to this inquiry. *Prefigurative politics* is a political strategy that aims at instantiating future desired forms in the present to instigate a political transformation in society. The gist of the practice is to experiment with and demonstrate alternative ways of living and

[8] PPSM: Prefigurative politics in the square movements.
[9] Various layers of spatiality and temporality structure PPSM, while at the same time, it produces new counter-hegemonic space-times.

governing to current hegemonic modalities and initiate political transformations towards those alternative forms. Prefigurative politics was first theorized relatively recently in the 1970s within Marxist–Anarchist circles by Carl Boggs and practiced widely from civil rights movements to LGBTQ movements, Zapatistas and alter-globalization movements. Most recently, post-2011 public-space-based protest encampments utilized this strategy by instantiating and experimenting with forms of direct democracy, solidarity economies, anti-sexual harassment committees and non-violent direct action. This movement, stretching from Cairo's Tahrir Square to New York's Zuccotti Park to Madrid's Plaza del Sol to Istanbul's Taksim Square is referred to in the social movements literature as *the square movements*.

The main thesis of this project is that *the complex spatio-temporality of prefigurative politics in the square movements produces counter-hegemonic space-times that reconfigure present experience and political imagination in ways that open up new egalitarian political possibilities*. The current hegemony of neoliberalism is such that it posits itself as the only viable socio-economic system, and it closes off political alternatives as utopian and unrealistic. It does so not only by enforcing policies, criminalizing dissent and indebting citizens, but also by limiting the scope of basic human experiences of time and space to their abstract derivatives integrated into the market economy. Historical time is replaced by calculable chronology and equated with money—as in the main sense of time today, that *time is money*. Social space is charted out by consumerism and alienation, and nature has constantly been commodified. The basic human experience of the world and oneself

is thereby mediated through the capitalist abstractions of a monetized space-time that imposes itself as the only reality.

Mark Fisher's term for this imposition of the capitalist reality is "capitalist realism." He defines capitalist realism as "the widespread sense that not only is capitalism the only viable political and economic system, but also that it is now impossible even to imagine a coherent alternative to it."[10] With the prefigurative practices in the square movements, we have however witnessed political experimentations with concrete alternatives on the ground. Protestors on the squares not only prefigure egalitarian forms of social and economic models and direct democratic governance, but also produce counter-spaces amid the power centers that enable experiences of subversive forms of temporality and spatiality. Considering that time and space are basic categories through which we interact with the world and have a sense of reality, PPSM opens up new forms of relating to the world and provides an alternative sense of reality that is not enclosed upon itself with what Henri Lefebvre calls the *abstract space* of capitalism and what François Hartog names *presentism*.

I focus on prefigurative politics and its implementations in the square movements not because I think this practice and social movement are flawless. On the contrary, there are numerous problems and limitations with both of them, and I indicate those issues throughout the thesis to the best of my knowledge. Nevertheless, I am critical of the dismissive view of the square movements that does not try to understand the potentials that these short-spanned movements had to

[10] Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* (Winchester, UK; Washington [D.C.]: Zero Books, 2009), 2.

offer. With regards to prefiguration, besides the egalitarian values I share with its heritage and applications, I chose this practice as the focal point of the project because of its spatio-temporal peculiarities. I think prefigurative politics offers a distinctive case illustrating the relationship between socio-political practice and spatio-temporality. Its basic spatio-temporal structure in instantiating a futural form in the here-and-now constitutes only a stepping-stone for the complexities this practice entails with regards to space and time. When unpacked more thoroughly, spatio-temporal analysis of this practice proves to be revelatory of the ways in which historical space and time frame our political experiences and imaginations, while at the same time political practices transform these historically constructed basic human categories of space and time. Such analysis also sheds light on the curious question about the efficacy of prefigurative politics. As I argue in the final chapter, prefigurative politics is effective in producing new space-times precisely when political goals are not fully achieved. In that sense, prefigurative politics is fruitful even in its seeming failure viewed from the historical perspective of spatio-temporal analysis.

I organize my inquiry around two interrelated questions: (1) What are the spatio-temporal logics of prefigurative politics? (2) What are the ways in which prefigurative politics, proliferated in the square movements, partake in the co-production of space-time in our contemporary conjuncture? I offer my contribution on these two levels: (1) With an analysis of the spatio-temporal logics of prefiguration; (2) with a historical thesis of the production of space-times through the practice of prefiguration in the square movements.

The first question of the spatio-temporal logic of prefiguration is pressing on two levels. On the one hand, it aims at analyzing the complexities of space and time as they structure political practice. There is a general tendency to conceive of space and time as empty homogeneous containers within which political practice takes place. That perspective, I argue, reduces the myriad forms historical spaces and times taken in relation to practice. Such reduction results in sidelining the experiences and potentialities as well as certain limits within these practices. On the other hand, prefigurative politics is a special kind of practice in which temporal and spatial elements play crucial and intertwined roles. Hence, an analysis regarding those elements helps us unpack various dimensions of this practice that are generally left in the dark. In that sense, the project aims at contributing to the theory of prefigurative politics as well from an angle that is rarely adopted.

Regarding the second question of the production of space and time in the square movements, the project inquires into the ways in which prefigurative politics partakes in creating new bases for experience in the present and expectations from the future. The counter-spaces produced in the square movements transform the sense of time and space in ways that challenge the hegemonic presentism of neoliberal capitalism. They provide concrete alternatives to the normative structuring of the dominant abstractions of time and space that limit our experiences and expectations to some form of capitalist realism. While passed-time and encountered-space impose upon us as lost-money or profiteer opportunity, space-times opened up in the square movements retract such modes of experience

and counter them with alternative modes of remembering and immanent utopian imagination.

The Significance of the Project

The significance of examining spatio-temporality with regards to socio-political practices can be understood by considering the philosophical and political function of space and time. Immanuel Kant argued that space and time are *a priori* conditions of the possibility of our experience, meaning our experience is made possible by these two major categories given to us prior to any experience. In that sense, Kant established the philosophical role of space and time with respect to experience, and yet his understanding of the universality of these categories was challenged first by Hegel and then by many contemporary philosophers such as Michel Foucault and Henri Lefebvre, who inform this project throughout.

Foucault historicized the universal *a priori* categories and argued for his notion of an *historical a priori*. He writes in *The Archeology of Knowledge*:

> This [historical] a priori is what, in a given period, delimits in the totality of experience a field of knowledge, defines the mode of being of the objects that appear in that field, provides man's everyday perception with theoretical powers, and defines the conditions in which he can sustain a discourse about things that is recognized to be true.[11]

For Foucault, our experiences are not made possible by transhistorical categories, but rather the very conditions of experiences are historically constructed through what he calls 'discourses' (meaning not only narrations but also social,

[11] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge: And the Discourse on Language* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1982), 172.

economic and political practices). In that sense, even the major categories held to be most universally applicable are constructed within discourses.[12]

If experience in general is made possible by categories of space and time, and if these categories are historical and amenable to transformations through socio-political activities, then there must be certain activities that transform the ways in which we experience. Very much like Herbert Marcuse's description of the transformative power of radical art through what he calls "aesthetic transformation,"[13] there are certain politico-aesthetic activities that change the way we experience the world. I argue in this project that PPSM played such a role.

As a final interlocutor in explaining the significance of this project, Jacques Rancière's theory of the distribution of the sensible helps us understand the political implications of practices that produce novel space-times. For Rancière, politics consists of interventions into what counts (perceived, experienced) as political.[14] Contrary to the established institutions of politics, which he calls the *police*, politics interjects those who are left out of the legitimate political realm as legible political actors. The aesthetics (in its original sense of what is sensible or experienced) of legitimate appearance in the political realm is subject to change with respect to the historical space-time operative in a specific historical conjuncture. In this sense,

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[12] See in particular Foucault's section on "Discursive Formations" in Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*; See also Stuart Hall's expositions on Foucault's notion of discourse. It is very helpful in understanding the connection between the particular power relations and the knowledge-claims that are diffused through discourses. Stuart Hall, "The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power," in *Race and Racialization: Essential Readings*, ed. Tania Das Gupta, Carl E. James, and Chris Andersen, 2nd ed. edition (Canadian Scholars' Press, 2018), 85–95.

[13] Herbert Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward A Critique of Marxist Aesthetics*, trans. Erica Sherover (Boston: Beacon Press, 1979), 9.

[14] Jacques Rancière, *Disagreement: Politics And Philosophy*, trans. Julie Rose, First Printing edition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

practices that produce space-time can be considered similar to political practices, *à la* Rancière, that transform the conditions of perceiving and experiencing legitimate political actors and actions.[15] In this light, the significance of this project can be seen in its examination of the transformation of the *historical a priori* of legible political action through the prefigurative production of space-times in square movements. My working thesis with regards to that exploration argues for prefigurative practices' potential for producing counter-hegemonic space-times that intervene in the given template of politics and changes what is perceived in an historical conjuncture as politically possible. In the square movements, despite their short span and the current triumph of counter-revolutions, I argue that translocal spaces of heterotopia were produced that subvert the dominant ideology of presentism or the end of history, which in turn enables counter-hegemonic political experiences and opens up egalitarian horizons for the future.

The Square Movements and the Literature

The year 2011 was marked by protest encampments in central public spaces against neoliberal austerity regimes and authoritarian governments. The self-immolation of a Tunisian street vendor named Mohammed Bouzizi to protest constant humiliations by local authorities sparked a concatenation of protests in various centers of the Maghreb, the Mashriq and Egypt.[16] On January 25, 2011 thousands of

[15] I detail this similarity and differences between Rancière's politics and the space-time-producing capacity of prefigurative politics in the second part of chapter 1.

[16] In a global and multi-centered movement like this, it is actually almost impossible to pinpoint the initial flame, and it seems this attempt to do so would fail to pay tribute to many others. The common narrative focuses on the self-immolation of a Tunisian street vendor, Mohammed Bouzizi, on December 17, 2010 and the concatenation of the revolutions in North Africa, known as the Arab Spring. But several popular uprisings before 2010 are also crucial to credit here. At the end of 2008,

Egyptian protestors gathered in Tahrir Square to protest against Hosni Mubarak and his 30-odd years of authoritarian rule. Contrary to the usual protests in public spaces, where people gather for a short period of time to voice their grievances and demands, Tahrir protesters started an encampment on the square and refused to leave until Mubarak was ousted. This organizational strategy turned public spaces into political emblems,[17] spreading to other countries such as Bahrain, Yemen, Greece, Spain, Portugal, the UK, the US, Turkey, Hong Kong and others by what is also referred as the "Tahrir effect."[18]

Varying by national context, the purposes of the encampments were questioned across the spectrum by sympathizers and opponents alike. Was the Gezi uprising about protecting the trees in the park, or was it against Erdoğan's conservative authoritarian rule? Did Occupy aim at eliminating the role of financial institutions in US politics, or was it anti-capitalist *tout court*? Were protestors serious political actors, or were they a bunch of good-for-nothing youth looking for some fun and action? With some exceptions, such as Yemen's Manama encampment, after the forcible eviction of the overwhelming majority of these encampments a

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hundreds of thousands marched in the streets protesting the murder of a 15-year-old anarchist, Alexis, by a police officer. Within hours, huge protests emerged all around Greece and spread to other countries from England to Turkey. The movement never completely fizzled, although it lost its initial participation but among the hundreds of assemblies formed, several of them remained and continued to speak out. Then the World Revolution Manifesto was announced on the December 27, 2008. It was one of the calls that stood out and the term "world revolution" was injected into the popular political language once again. Iceland followed on January 20, 2009 with rarely seen protests against their economic crisis. In the meantime, in November 2010 one of the most important government file leaks known as CableGate by Wikileaks happened and the rumor was that Mohammed Bouzizi's self-immolation was related to his knowledge of the cable related to Tunisia.

[17] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Image, Space, Revolution: The Arts of Occupation," *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (September 1, 2012): 8–32, https://doi.org/10.1086/668048.

[18] Mona Abaza, "Post January Revolution Cairo: Urban Wars and the Reshaping of Public Space," *Theory, Culture & Society* 31, no. 7–8 (December 1, 2014): 163, https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276414549264.

quick dismissal and sense of defeatism prevailed. These movements quickly added to the list of failed mobilizations of good-but-naive intentions that seemed only to achieve real-world significance in their translations into party politics, prominently by Syriza, Podemos and Bernie Sanders' campaigns, which all eventually culminated in their own failures.[19]

This reductive mainstream narrative, however, fails to do justice to the full significance of the square movements. Was the efficacy of these movements confined to the sequential institutional effects they have instigated? Was their significance limited to the spaces of central public spaces in their brief cycles ending with abrupt evictions? Can we fully understand them as a periodic upsurge of utopian mobilizations over ephemeral spaces? I maintain that a closer look at the geography and temporality of these movements demonstrates that we need more complex perspectives to fully understand the scope, affects, dynamics and potentials of these movements. This project aims at contributing to attempts to further such perspectives by offering a philosophical investigation of a peculiar aspect of these movements, namely their prefigurative politics. Looking at those practices, I argue,

[19] Michael Hardt, "Multiple Temporalities of the Movements," *TripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society* 15, no. 2 (2017): 390–392 Turkey's Kurdish and left coalition party HDP can be added to Michael Hardt's list, where the Gezi uprising caused a significant burst in the mobilization and electoral success of the party in the June 2015 elections. However, that election day ended up being a final high point in the political mobilization around the coalition party and its success was curbed by overt oppression by the government in the coming years. First, the election results were not enabling a single party government and the current ruling party halted the processes for forming a coalition government and, with the support of the National Movement Party (MHP), they called for the repetition of the election on November 1. In the preparation process for the new election, while there were unlawful hindrances (such as not being represented in state channels) and violent attacks against the political campaign tents of HDP, the main blow was the suicide bombing of a political rally of HDP and labor unions named the "Peace Meeting" on October 10, 2015 resulting in 109 deaths and many more wounded. The new election was held under the shadow of this unimaginable violent suppression of political speech and the terrorization of the political arena, which culminated in the overwhelming victory and reelection of the AKP government.

brings one of the central but less studied aspects of square movements to the front, i.e. the ways in which they transform the political imaginary of the possible.

I use this term "square movements" in keeping with the emergent social movement literature's denoting of contemporary public-space-based social movements.[20] It specifically refers to the protest encampments in central urban public spaces that proliferated between 2011 and 2013. Social movements occupying public spaces for protest purposes are indeed not new phenomena. From the civil rights movement's Resurrection City in Washington, DC (1968), to indigenous protest encampments at the Australian Tent Embassy in Canberra (1972), and from Landless Workers' Movements' (Movement dos Trabalhadores See Terra or MST) encampments on government lawns to the Tekel Labor strike in Ankara, Turkey (2010), protest encampment as a protest practice has been used on many occasions. Nevertheless, between 2011 and 2013, we witnessed a remarkable proliferation of protest encampments that the history of social movements has never seen before.[21] This dissertation project focuses in particular on this conjuncture between 2011 and 2013 as the height of prefigurative protest encampments.

It is also important to note that this organizational strategy did not cease to be performed in 2013. There were many more public-space-based social movements, from Bosnia's Tuzla to France's *Nuit Debout*. However, there was

[20] Marlies Glasius and Geoffrey Pleyers, "The Global Moment of 2011: Democracy, Social Justice and Dignity," *Development and Change* 44, no. 3 (May 2013): 547–67, https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12034; Donatella Della Porta, *Social Movements in Times of Austerity: Bringing Capitalism Back Into Protest Analysis*, 1 edition (Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2015); Hayriye Özen, "Meydan Hareketleri ve 'Eski've 'Yeni'Toplumsal Hareketler," *Mülkiye Dergisi* 39, no. 2 (2015): 11–40.

[21] Anna Feigenbaum, Fabian Frenzel, and Patrick McCurdy, *Protest Camps* (London: Zed Books, 2013).

indeed a significant decrease in the quantity of these mobilizations after 2013. Especially with the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement in the US, 2014 was marked (in the globalized press) by various forms of mobilization (blockading highways, die-ins at shopping malls, etc.).[22]

Leading social movements theorist Donatella Della Porta characterizes the post-2011 movements as the "newest" type of movements, qualitatively differing from the "old" and "new" social movements.[23] In the social movements literature, old social movements are known to be working-class, party and labor union oriented movements. In the 1960s, the rise of civil rights movements as well as feminist, LGBTQ, and ecological movements were characterized as new social movements. Della Porta problematizes the lack of attention to the capitalist economic structures in the new social movements and indicates the resurgence of this attention in the "newest" social movements. Despite various national differences, Della Porta argues, the emergence of a new social class called the *precariat* and its grievances against the neoliberal austerity regimes provide common ground for the uprisings in square movements.[24]

Hayriye Özen also argues that there are significant peculiarities to the square movements that distinguish them from the new and old social movements.[25] Özen points out that there are content-continuities between the new social movements and the square movements around feminist, ecological and race questions as well as

[22] Rojava Revolution on Northern Syria was also made to the international news in 2014.
[23] Della Porta, *Social Movements in Times of Austerity*; See also: Lauren Langman, "Occupy: A New New Social Movement," *Current Sociology* 61, no. 4 (July 1, 2013): 510–24, https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392113479749.
[24] Della Porta, *Social Movements in Times of Austerity*.
[25] Özen, "Meydan Hareketleri ve 'Eski've 'Yeni'Toplumsal Hareketler."

organizational similarities with respect to non-violent direct action and horizontal organization. Nevertheless, square movements differ from the new social movements in the sense that they are not single-issue mobilizations, but rather have broader transformative agendas addressing capitalist relations of exploitation and domination, much like older social movements.[26]

A prominent element in the "newest" square movements was their prefigurative agenda. Especially in the US and Europe, even the protestors in central squares had evoked the term in describing their practices, while, at the same time, a large body of literature on these movements utilized the term as a key strategy in understanding their peculiarities.[27] Besides voicing grievances and demanding certain changes in their specific national contexts, commentators indicate the prefigurative function of the encampments. By virtue of the sedentary nature of the encampments, protestors encountered questions of cohabitation and provided practical answers that partly instantiate their image of the desired future society, such as egalitarian solidarity economies, experiments in direct and participatory forms of self-governance, anti-sexual harassment committees, collective and non-commodified production and distribution of knowledge and arts, and innovative uses of technologies.

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[26] Özen.

[27] Mathijs van de Sande, "The Prefigurative Politics of Tahrir Square–An Alternative Perspective on the 2011 Revolutions," *Res Publica* 19, no. 3 (August 1, 2013): 223–39, https://doi.org/10.1007/s11158-013-9215-9; Luke Yates, "Rethinking Prefiguration: Alternatives, Micropolitics and Goals in Social Movements," *Social Movement Studies* 14, no. 1 (January 2, 2015): 1–21, https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2013.870883; Mona Baker, "The Prefigurative Politics of Translation in Place-Based Movements of Protest," *The Translator* 22, no. 1 (January 2, 2016): 1–21, https://doi.org/10.1080/13556509.2016.1148438; Zhongxuan Lin and Shih-Diing Liu, "Occupation as Prefiguration? The Emergence of a New Political Form in the Occupy Central Movement," *Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations; Kaohsiung* 2, no. 2 (September 2016): 775–94.

There is a growing scholarly interest in these prefigurative practices in the square movements. Most of the literature examines particular contents of the prefigurative practices, such as experimentation with direct and participatory democratic forms of governance,[28] leaderless and horizontal organizing,[29] usage of social media and emergence of networks,[30] artistic practices including poetry and visual arts,[31] and countering sexual violence.[32]

The term and strategy of prefigurative politics are often explicitly evoked by the square movements in the US and Europe. In the American Occupy movement, it was even stated as a principle of the movement on their Facebook page.[33] And yet in other square movements such as Tahrir and Taksim, protestor accounts hardly reflect an explicit attempt to adopt prefigurative strategy. Nevertheless, there is an

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[28] Marianne Maeckelbergh, "Doing Is Believing: Prefiguration as Strategic Practice in the Alterglobalization Movement," *Social Movement Studies* 10, no. 1 (January 2011): 1–20, https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2011.545223; Glasius and Pleyers, "The Global Moment of 2011"; Maple Razsa and Andrej Kurnik, "The Occupy Movement in Žižek's Hometown: Direct Democracy and a Politics of Becoming," *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 2 (2012): 238–58, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2012.01361.x; Ayhan Kaya, "Right to Public Space: Social Movements and Active Citizenship in Turkey," *Research and Policy on Turkey* 2, no. 1 (January 2, 2017): 1–9, https://doi.org/10.1080/23760818.2016.1272273; Daniel Murray, "Prefiguration or Actualization? Radical Democracy and Counter-Institution in the Occupy Movement," Berkeley Journal of Sociology, November 3, 2014, http://berkeleyjournal.org/2014/11/prefiguration-or-actualization-radical-democracy-and-counter-institution-in-the-occupy-movement/.

[29] Marina Sitrin, "Horizontalism and the Occupy Movements," *Dissent* 59, no. 2 (March 22, 2012): 74–75, https://doi.org/10.1353/dss.2012.0052; Lin and Liu, "Occupation as Prefiguration?"

[30] Jeffrey S. Juris, "Reflections on #Occupy Everywhere: Social Media, Public Space, and Emerging Logics of Aggregation," *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 2 (May 1, 2012): 259–79, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2012.01362.x; Guiomar Rovira Sancho, "Networks, Insurgencies, and Prefigurative Politics A Cycle of Global Indignation," *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 20, no. 4 (November 1, 2014): 387–401, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856514541743.

[31] E. Attila Aytekin, "A 'Magic and Poetic' Moment of Dissensus: Aesthetics and Politics in the June 2013 (Gezi Park) Protests in Turkey," *Space and Culture* 20, no. 2 (May 1, 2017): 191–208, https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331217697138; Baker, "The Prefigurative Politics of Translation in Place-Based Movements of Protest."

[32] Mariz Tadros, "Contentious and Prefigurative Politics: Vigilante Groups' Struggle against Sexual Violence in Egypt (2011–2013)," *Development and Change* 46, no. 6 (November 1, 2015): 1345–68, https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12210.

[33] Occupy Everywhere Facebook "Story" page writes "We must live by example, being and creating the change we wish to see in the world."

emergent literature in social movement studies that argues for the existence of prefigurative elements in the Tahrir and Taksim square movements as well.[34]

When the growing literature on prefigurative politics in the square movements is reviewed, it becomes apparent that the logic of this practice is usually set aside. Among the few studies that touch on this logic, the focus is on either conceptualizing the specific features of prefiguration, such as experimentation and distribution of new norms and meanings,[35] or drawing formal continuities or highlighting novelties posed by prefigurative politics in square movements within the history of social movements.[36] Among them, it is rare to see an interest in the spatiality and temporality of prefigurative practices. This is mostly because space and time are taken to be natural givens in the equation of political struggles.

There are a few exceptions to the rule, though. With regards to the temporality of prefiguration, Mathijs van de Sande's article on Tahrir Square is fruitful. He argues that one of the primary features of prefigurative politics is the way it bridges the 'here and now' and the future imaginary.[37] Sande points out the incorporation of the future ends in the means of the present struggle and provides a reading of John Holloway's concept of "cracks"[38] in capitalist society as moments

[34] Sande, "The Prefigurative Politics of Tahrir Square–An Alternative Perspective on the 2011 Revolutions"; Tadros, "Contentious and Prefigurative Politics"; Kaya, "Right to Public Space"; This list can be expanded to other locations such as Hong Kong. Lin and Liu, "Occupation as Prefiguration?"; And South European anti-austerity movements. Della Porta, *Social Movements in Times of Austerity*.
[35] Yates, "Rethinking Prefiguration."
[36] Della Porta, *Social Movements in Times of Austerity*; Lin and Liu, "Occupation as Prefiguration?"
[37] Sande, "The Prefigurative Politics of Tahrir Square–An Alternative Perspective on the 2011 Revolutions."
[38] John Holloway, Wendy Varney, and Richard Gosden, *Change the World Without Taking Power* (London: Pluto Press, 2010).

where "radical change is at once envisioned and actualized."[39] In my view, Sande finely points out the temporal core of prefigurative politics, but does not provide a detailed analysis of the topic. He leaves questions like the following unaddressed: What does that bridging between present and future entail? What happens materially at the intersection between the envisioned and the actualized?

Another article has recently come out in *Social Movement Studies* by Robin Wagner-Pacifici and Colin Ruggero on temporality and Occupy Philadelphia.[40] The authors of this article develop a critical perspective on the exclusionary practices and sectarian tendencies in Occupy Philadelphia based on the temporal mismatches of the participants that jeopardize their coordination. They develop the notion of "temporal blindspots"[41] to denote the problems ingrained in the practices of Occupy Philadelphia, even though those problems often passed unnoticed. Providing an incisive argument and analysis, their focus on the temporality of the Occupy movement concentrates on the incongruencies in the social temporalities of the actors in the movement and does not expand upon the temporal logic of prefigurative politics *per se*.

With regards to space, the square movements resulted in a growing interest in the spatiality of social movements.[42] After the square movements, it is hard to view the role of space as tangential to or a mere container for the mobilizations

[39] Sande, "The Prefigurative Politics of Tahrir Square–An Alternative Perspective on the 2011 Revolutions," 231.
[40] Robin Wagner-Pacifici and E. Colin Ruggero, "Temporal Blindspots in Occupy Philadelphia," *Social Movement Studies* 17, no. 2 (May 29, 2018): 1–22, https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2018.1474096.
[41] Wagner-Pacifici and Ruggero, 2.
[42] Byron Miller, *Spaces of Contention: Spatialities and Social Movements*, ed. Walter Nicholls, 1 edition (Farnham, Surrey: Routledge, 2013).

within those locations.[43] One major characteristic of the newest social movements is the way in which they use central public spaces. Differing from the short-term use of public spaces through protests, square movements base themselves in public spaces and appropriate these locations as core elements in their mobilizations. Arguably, space is a crucial component in all political mobilizations,[44] but in square movements, prominence of space has been increased to such an extent that these movements become identified with the spaces in which they are based.

The emerging political geography studies provide the academic research area for this rising research interest. Byron Miller's edited volume on contentious space,[45] works by Derek Gregory,[46] Sam Halvorsen,[47] and Puneet Dhaliwal[48] are good examples of detailed analyses of the spatial production in the square movements. Nevertheless, these studies are not particularly interested in the prefigurative elements in the square movements. Rather their focus is on the space-making, network-building and performative characteristics of social movements.

Hence, this dissertation project's contribution will not only be to the philosophical discussion on the relationship between spatio-temporality and

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[43] Sam Halvorsen, "Taking Space: Moments of Rupture and Everyday Life in Occupy London," *Antipode* 47, no. 2 (March 2015): 401–17, https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12116.
[44] "Political movements are always about place and asserting the right, against the state, to mass in public space" Neil Smith and Setha Low wrote in 2005 asking "Who can imagine the 1870 commune without Paris? The Russian revolution without the Winter Palace? The civil rights movement without the marches on Washington, Montgomery, and Selma?" Setha Low and Neil Smith, *The Politics of Public Space*, New Edition (New York: Routledge, 2005), 16.
[45] Miller, *Spaces of Contention*.
[46] Derek Gregory, "Tahrir: Politics, Publics and Performances of Space," *Middle East Critique* 22, no. 3 (September 2, 2013): 235–46, https://doi.org/10.1080/19436149.2013.814944.
[47] Sam Halvorsen, "Beyond the Network? Occupy London and the Global Movement," *Social Movement Studies* 11, no. 3–4 (August 2012): 427–33, https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2012.708835; Halvorsen, "Taking Space."
[48] Puneet Dhaliwal, "Public Squares and Resistance: The Politics of Space in the Indignados Movement," *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements* 4, no. 1 (2012): 251–273.

practice, but it will also make a significant addition to the literature on square movements by filling this gap in the literature of the spatio-temporal logic and the production of prefigurative politics in the square movements. In doing so, the project draws from various locations of the square movements, but its focal points are the occupations in Philadelphia and Istanbul. This is because these two locations were the focal points of my research that aims at combining ethnographic and participant observations with social scientific and philosophical literature on the topic. Nevertheless, in focusing on these two sites, I do not intend to make claims that would be generalized across all of the square movements. The discussions I offer about Occupy Philadelphia and Taksim Commune are site-specific and function as concrete examples for the philosophical argument I develop.

Argumentation and Chapter Layout

This project consists of four body chapters, and each chapter has a central sub-thesis. Together they aim at substantiating the main thesis of the project: *the complex spatio-temporality of prefigurative politics in the square movements produces counter-hegemonic space-times that reconfigure present experience and political imagination in ways that open up new egalitarian political possibilities.* Each chapter's sub-thesis is listed below. Although the terminology used in the thesis and sub-theses may not be immediately understandable, and even unnecessarily complex at first, I hope to demonstrate to the reader that such complexity and compound concepts are essential to understanding the multi-layered spatio-temporal logic of prefiguration. Each concept and compound formulation is briefly

explained below the chapter list in this section. They are of course defined in greater detail and substantiated within the body chapters.

1) The anarchist historical lineage of prefigurative politics carries with it an egalitarian normative content that permeates in its distinctive logic of politics and its two sub-logics: *prefigurative ethics* and *spatial prefiguration*.
2) Time is a historical category and prefiguration has a distinctive temporal logic that can be characterized as the *egalitarian memory projection of immanent imagination in kaironic processes for the new present*.
3) Space is a historical category and the spatial logic of prefiguration can be characterized as *the public instantiation of an immanent utopia in an exemplary locality.*
4) Time and space are interconnected categories and the produced space-time in the square movements through prefiguration can be characterized as *translocal heterotopia of subversive presentism*.

The first body chapter starts with an overview of the practice and theory of prefigurative politics, drawing from its main figures in the anarchist and communist traditions, such as Michael Bakunin, Karl Marx, Peter Kropotkin, and others. The chapter argues that prefigurative politics is a complex practice that includes two logics within it and is often conceptualized with a primacy of one of these logics, i.e. *prefigurative ethics*, over against the logic of *spatial prefiguration*. At a cursory level, while prefigurative ethics is centered on the logic of matching the end goals with the

means used to achieve them, spatial prefiguration is a practice of transforming a present locality to exemplify a feasible and desirable alternative socio-political form. The second part of the first chapter focuses on the meaning of politics in prefigurative politics and its counter-space-time producing qualities. The succeeding three chapters follow a logical sequence by focusing on time, space and space-time in this order.

Chapter two makes the claim that time is a historical category and our perception of it is susceptible to changes through practices. Instead of succumbing to the naturalized conception of chronological time, time's many layers should be taken into consideration for a deeper understanding of socio-political practices, specifically of duration, process, opportune time of *Kairos*, as well as temporal modalities of past, present, and future. It offers a reading of PPSM based on several layers of temporality and argues that the temporal logic of prefiguration can be characterized as the *egalitarian memory projection of immanent imagination in kaironic processes for the new present*.

As convoluted as these might sound, every component in this formulation has a specific function in grasping the complexities of the said temporal logic. I explain them in detail in the chapter, but to give a brief sense here, the temporality of prefiguration operates in six juxtaposed temporal layers. The first three are 1) duration, 2) process, and 3) the opportune moment of *kairos/kairon*. The following three are the temporal modalities of 4) past as memory, 5) future as imaginative projection, and 6) present as new present. Prefigurative politics takes place within a measurable duration. It has a beginning and an end in the chronological continuum

of linear time. Nevertheless, this duration is only one among several layers of the practices' temporality. Process is another one. Prefigurative politics not only ignites processes that gradually aim at transforming society but also attends to the very process in which this transformation is achieved. In other words, means utilized to achieve political ends should conform to the latter. This, of course, does not mean remaining fixated in the process. Actors of prefiguration aim at seizing, or often creating, an *opportune moment* within the given political conjuncture that could provide the soil for their intended political transformation.[49] Memory and projection, past and future are two intertwined sides of the same coin where prefiguration projects a future desired form from the historically developed set of past memories. The imagined future is drawn from the past and intended for the present. That present is molded by the past structures' enforcing themselves powerfully. Nevertheless, if imaginative instantiation manages to inscribe the future desired form onto the power-continuum of past and present, the future forms alter the ways in which the given past and anticipated future are conceived. Thereby, changing the temporal experience of the present (new present) opens up new horizons of political possibility.

Chapter three consists of two sections. The first section aims at establishing the connection between space and practice through readings of Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, and David Harvey. It provides a reading of their selected works and indicates that socio-political practice and space are dialectically interrelated in ways

[49] In the logic's compact formulation, I use the term *Kairon* instead of *Kairos*, based on Jason Adam's reformulation of the term denoting subversive character of acting at an opportune moment. Please see chapter 2, section 2.2.3 for details.

that frame and produce each other. In the second section, I move on to an analysis of the spatial logic of prefiguration. I structure that investigation based on David Harvey's grid of spatial practice and approach prefiguration in the square movements from the first three aspects of spatial practice Harvey charted out: accessibility, appropriation, and domination. I argue in this section that the spatial logic of prefiguration can be characterized as a *public instantiation of an immanent utopia in an exemplary locality*.

By this expression, I attempt to denote a tripartite-layered spatial practice that takes place between a present exemplary locality and a projected space of political desire (utopia). Such desire has an immanent character distinguishing prefigurative politics from utopian socialism by reality-checking imagination with present instantiations at exemplary localities. And such instantiation is carried out in public to lead by its example. Hence, prefiguration's spatial logic operates at the layers of immanent utopia, exemplarity locality and publicness.

Chapter four focuses on the practice of producing new space-times in the square movements through prefiguration. It first unpacks Harvey's reading of the production of space in three Lefebvrian layers of experienced space, representation of space (perceived) and space of representation (imagined). It then offers a reading of the space producing practices in the square movements based on these layers. Extrapolating this analysis of the production of space to the production of time and space-time, the chapter makes the case for the inextricable links between space and time. Moreover, it offers a theoretical structure of producing space-times based on a reading of Koselleck's historical times. Finally, the chapter puts forth the thesis that

the space-time produced in the square movements through prefiguration can be characterized as *translocal heterotopia of subversive presentism*.

With the expression *translocal heterotopia of subversive presentism*, I aim to demonstrate the concrete ways space and time are produced together in the square movements. While the term denotes the spatial interconnection of the distant square movements with the term *translocal* and their instantiated utopian character as *heterotopia*, the *subversive presentist* component aims at explaining the ways in which PPSM collectively challenge the hegemonic capitalist realism (subversive) of the never-ending continuation of the present social-political structures (presentism).

All four chapters contribute to the overall project of developing a multi-dimensional theory of PPSM, thereby substantiating my philosophical arguments for the denaturalization of the interrelated space and time, and the dialectical relationship between historical space-time and practice. By providing a material analysis of the underrated aspects of prefigurative politics and the square movements, the chapters overall develop a theory of an alternative way of doing politics and point out its far-reaching philosophical and political implications.

"Imagination is the key to power… It determines the direction of desires… The public do not truly believe in anything new until they have actual experience of it." –*Niccolò Machievelli*

"It's one thing to say, 'Another world is possible'. It's another to experience it, however momentarily." –*David Graeber*

Chapter 1: Prefigurative Politics Past and Present

This chapter consists of two main sections. The first focuses on the notion and practice of prefigurative politics and aims at providing an overview of the historical and conceptual background of this practice. It reviews prefigurative politics' normative relations with anarchism and offers conceptual clarifications with regards to the complex internal logics engrained in this practice. It also reviews and discusses some limitations of this strategy and discusses the applicability of the notion prefiguration to right-wing politics. The second section focuses on the specific sense of politics operative within prefigurative politics. It seeks to demonstrate prefiguration's logic of subversive politics by comparing and contrasting it to that of Rancière's *politics*.

1.1 What is Prefiguration?

The term 'prefiguration' generally defined means to be an early indication or version of something in the future.[50] It is used in a range of contexts from religion to

[50] "Prefigure, v.," in *OED Online* (Oxford University Press), accessed February 22, 2019, http://www.oed.com.ezp1.villanova.edu/view/Entry/150026.

literature, providing the term with specialized meanings in its used fields.[51] In English political vocabulary, prefiguration is a relatively recent term. During the 1970s, the renowned writer on revolutionary strategy, Carl Boggs, coined the term "prefigurative politics" on a particular political strategy discussed within Marxist-Anarchist circles. Carl Boggs defines this strategy as "the embodiment, within the ongoing political practice of a movement, of those forms of social relations, decision making, culture and human experience that are the ultimate goal."[52]

At the center of this definition lies a particular stance in the discussion regarding how to attain a social and political goal, more specifically the goal of revolutionary transformation. The debate generally revolves around questions of whether or not to take state power or organize without overthrowing the existing state; to use violent or non-violent means; to adopt hierarchical or horizontal forms of organization, among others. The prefigurative stance clearly articulates the matching of the desired goal, e.g. horizontally organized egalitarian society, with the means utilized to attain that goal, e.g. participatory councils, solidarity economies and abolishing the hierarchical political organizations.

When Boggs coined the term, he drew from discussions in Marxist anarchist circles that contrast prefigurative strategy with the instrumental one of gaining

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[51] For instance, in literature, prefiguration is used as a literary device that provides an image of a future event earlier in the work. For a literary reading of prefiguration in Greek Tragedies and Plato's Republic, see: George Rudebusch, "Dramatic Prefiguration in Plato's Republic," *Philosophy and Literature* 26, no. 1 (2002): 75–83; The religious usage of the term is along the same lines with that of the literature that indicates an event foreshadowing a future revelation of God's plan, such as the arrival of Christ. Please see Christian Scholl's reading of Augustine's *The City of God*. Christian Scholl, "Prefiguration," in *Keywords for Radicals: The Contested Vocabulary of Late-Capitalist Struggle*, ed. Kelly Fritsch, Clare O'Connor, and A. K. Thompson (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2016), 319–27.

[52] Carl Jr. Boggs, "Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers's Control," *Radical America* 11 and 12, no. 6 and 1 (1978): 100.

political power, and he argues that Marxist movements have been confronted with the dilemma of integrating these two strategies. Boggs writes:

> One of the most troublesome dilemmas encountered by Marxist movements and regimes is how to effectively combine two distinct sets of tasks-the *instrumental*, which includes above all the struggle to conquer and maintain political power, and the *prefigurative*, which expresses the ultimate ends of the revolutionary process itself: popular self-emancipation, collective social and authority relations, socialist democracy.[53]

For Boggs, Marxist movements have historically failed to provide this integration by prioritizing the instrumental aspect of gaining political power and overlooking the prefigurative engagement with the ends. Boggs' case for complementing the instrumental strategy with prefigurative politics can be grouped around two interrelated difficulties resulting from the lack of prefigurative component. They can be called the problem of reproducing the old structures and that of the inability to create radically new ones. Prefigurative politics provides specific amendments to each of these two problems by offering two practical logics for revolutionary politics. Later in this chapter, I will argue that these insertions constitute the two interlaced logics of prefigurative politics, namely prefigurative ethics and spatial prefiguration.

Regarding the first difficulty, Boggs writes: "A central dilemma of Marxism, then, has been how to create a revolutionary praxis that would avoid reproducing in some way the values and institutions of bourgeois society."[54] Boggs directs this criticism particularly at Leninism. It was the problem of carrying over the social and

[53] Carl Boggs Jr., "Revolutionary Process, Political Strategy, and the Dilemma of Power," *Theory and Society* 4, no. 3 (October 1, 1977): 359.
[54] Boggs, 363.

political forms from the capitalist order into the newly built one, even after the revolution. Especially, with regards to bureaucracy and hierarchical organization of the state, he deemed Soviet Russia as a mere continuation of the pre-revolutionary Tsarism. For Boggs, "Bureaucratic centralism was thus neither an historical aberration nor a Stalinist imposition; it was the logical outgrowth of Jacobin strategy. The impetus toward 'modernization' and the administered society could hardly be avoided once the original (Leninist) path was chosen."[55] To put this in other words, the dilemma of not being able to break away from the previous modes of organization results from the means used to achieve the political ends. The Leninist strategy is an end-oriented, consequentialist perspective that justifies the means to achieve a communist society. To achieve the communist society, seizure of the state and the utilization of its apparatuses are warranted.

Whereas prefigurative politics asserts a different ethical stance opposing Leninist consequentialism, it argues that the means should be consistent with the ends, which the movement is trying to achieve. If the objective is to realize a non-hierarchical classless society, then hierarchical structures such as the state cannot be appropriate means to achieve that end. Regardless of the intended goals, the utilized means would determine the end results and hence, to prevent aberrations from movement objectives, end-confirming means should be used. I will talk more about the limitations and advantages of this strategy later in the chapter, but here I would like to foreshadow and point out that this means-ends confirming political ethic is one among the two practical logics of prefigurative politics, which can be

[55] Boggs, 367.

called *prefigurative ethics*, and prefigurative politics tends to be understood with the domination of this logic over against the another, which I offer to call *spatial prefiguration*.

The second problem with which Boggs takes issue leads us to this latter logic of spatial prefiguration. The second trouble with existing Marxist movements according to Boggs is the shortcoming, in his words, "to produce a conception of the transition to socialism that gives *political form* to the theoretically-prescribed goals of human liberation."[56] In another article, he unpacks this problem in the following words: "The transition to socialism assumed a mystical quality: the consciousness, social relations, and political habits necessary to build socialist order would seem to spring from nowhere, with no lengthy and organic process of transformation within civil society to nurture them."[57] The problem is that the political forms of self-ruling do not develop in a capitalist society and if these forms are not experimented with and developed already before the revolution, then these deferred goals hardly attain concrete existence. In that sense, Boggs formulated the prefigurative strategy to complement the shortcomings of Marxist-Leninism in giving a concrete vision of the shape of society and politics that could be radically different after a revolution. To that end, prefiguration is an indispensible component of the revolutionary struggle. It brings those future goals into the present and enables the development of the consciousness, social relations and habits that are aimed at in a socialist world before the revolution. This practice of creating an exemplary space in the present

[56] Boggs, 359.
[57] Boggs, "Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers's Control," 102.

that experiments with the future desired forms, I propose to call spatial prefiguration.

The difference between these two logics of prefiguration may sound subtle, hence the reasons to distinguish them may seem rather oblique at first, but the usage of prefigurative politics without distinguishing them creates certain problems that I will detail later in the chapter. Here, to make the distinction more clear, let me refer to some examples that perform one of these logics in the absence of, and even in contradiction with, another. Let me start with an example of spatial prefiguration that contradicts the logic of prefigurative ethics, i.e. the usage of representative democratic mechanisms in developing direct democratic local councils. To name a recent example, Fatih Mehmet Maçoğlu from the Turkish Communist Party (TKP) won Dersim province during the March 2019 local elections and became the first communist municipal leader of a whole province in Turkey. He had been ruling Ovacık, a town of Dersim, since the last local elections in 2014, and during his leadership he spearheaded several prefigurative projects such as agriculture cooperatives and local participatory assemblies. He promised to expand those proven to be successful local initiatives to the rest of Dersim during his new term.[58]

Many other examples can be given of the usage of elections in gaining political power on the local level and implementing direct democratic mechanisms.[59] They are good examples of spatial prefiguration that instantiate the

[58] Taylor Goel, "Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) Wins Dersim Province in Local Elections," March 31, 2019, https://www.liberationnews.org/communist-party-of-turkey-tkp-wins-dersim-province-in-local-elections/.

[59] Hugo Cháves' rise to power in Venezuela and establishment of local governing bodies called *communes* are another good example. George Ciccariello-Maher, *Building the Commune: Radical Democracy in Venezuela* (London ; New York: Verso, 2016); George Ciccariello-Maher, *We Created*

future desired political forms of local councils in the present. Nevertheless, the way they practice such spatial prefiguration does not conform with the logic of prefigurative ethics. The means they utilize, i.e. running for local elections with political parties, do not fit with the desired end of horizontal self-ruling. Prefigurative ethics would require these agents to utilize the council model in their organization excluding the party and representative mechanisms in their attempts to create spaces of local participatory governance.

We can also cite examples that perform the logic of prefigurative ethics in the absence of that of spatial prefiguration. Fair-trade consumption or veganism exemplifies the utilization of ethical means that match with the desired goals of non-exploitative production/consumption or animal liberation. Nevertheless, many of these practices do not particularly produce spaces that exemplify their ultimate visions of the society. They can instead remain on an individual level and focus on "being the change one wants to see in the world" at a personal level. There are indeed more communitarian applications of veganism that also create vegan spaces, but this does not eliminate the existence of individualist practices as well. Moreover, individual consumption traits do have a spatiality of their own, which connects consumers to various production and distribution networks; nevertheless, they do not necessarily produce a particular space in the fashion spatial prefiguration prescribes.

Chávez: A People's History of the Venezuelan Revolution (Duke University Press, 2013); Also see Finley for a discussion on "communalism" or "municipalism" as a revolutionary strategy. Eleanor Finley, "Reason, Creativity and Freedom: The Communalist Model," ROAR Magazine, February 11, 2017, https://roarmag.org/essays/communalism-bookchin-direct-democracy/.

It is possible to detect these two prefigurative logics in Boggs's account as well, but he does not explicitly formulate them as two distinct practical logics. As Boggs characterized it, there are three basic concerns of prefigurative politics: "1) fear of reproducing hierarchical authority relations under a new ideological rationale; 2) criticism of political parties and trade unions because their centralized forms reproduce the old power relations in a way that undermines revolutionary struggles, and 3) commitment to democratization through local, collective structures that anticipate the future liberated society."[60] The first two concerns clearly fit into the logic of prefigurative ethics, which abstain from reproducing the existing structures by utilizing appropriate means. On the third element though we can detect the logic of spatial prefiguration that creates local structures in the present.

By offering this distinction between the ethics and spatiality of prefiguration, I do not mean to argue that the latter logic is devoid of any normativity. In effect, both logics internal to prefigurative politics have normative baggage that is anti-authoritarian, decentralized, democratic and egalitarian. Such normative content comes from the anarchist heritage from which this politics was practiced and formulated, so much so that the prominent tendency in defining prefigurative politics summons this heritage and the normative aspects of anarchism. To name one, Uri Gordon defines prefigurative politics as "the realization and expression of anarchist values in the movement's own activities and structures."[61] I will delve

[60] Boggs, "Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers's Control," 103.
[61] Uri Gordon, "Anarchism Reloaded," *Journal of Political Ideologies* 12, no. 1 (February 2007): 4–5, https://doi.org/10.1080/13569310601095598.

more fully into the details of various definitions of prefigurative politics and further the discussion on the internal logics of practice operative within it later in the chapter. The prominence of the normative content in prefigurative politics may explain why this politics is usually conceived in terms of its prefigurative ethics at the expense of sidelining spatial prefiguration. Yet, for now, to understand the normative content that comes with prefigurative politics, it is important to look at anarchism as a political ideology and its values, albeit briefly.

1.1.2 The Values of Prefigurative Politics

Anarchism is known not to have a unified body of doctrine and hence, some say, there are as many anarchisms as there are anarchists.[62] To an extent, it is true that a very diverse, even opposing, set of worldviews are grouped under anarchism. From radical individualists, insurrectionists, and anarcho-capitalists to communitarians, ecologists, and anarcho-communists, anarchism has a broad range of social and political perspectives and assumptions within it. Nevertheless, arguably there are also certain principles that provide a common ground for this diversity of doctrines.

Probably the most central two anarchist values are anti-authoritarianism and defense of autonomy. These principles translate themselves into an anti-statist politics, where states are deemed criminal no matter what form and shape they come with. Russian anarchist and geographer Peter Kropotkin blazingly states that "The ultimate aim of society is the reduction of the functions of government to nil-

[62] See, David Miller's point that the definition of anarchism is impossible because there are no core unifying assumptions. David Miller, *Anarchism* (London; Melbourne: Dent J.M., 1984), 3.

that is, to a society without government, to anarchy."[63] Another founding figure of anarchism, Mikhail Bakunin, details it further: "If there is a State, there must be domination of one class by another and, as a result, slavery; the State without slavery is unthinkable—and this is why we are the enemies of the State."[64]

Opposition to states in the anarchist thought comes from various angles. It stretches from a libertarian angle to abolish state regulation of the markets to the defense of egalitarian communitarianism that aims at eliminating the unequal advantages states grant to higher classes. Overall, the principle is a categorical rejection of the hierarchical institutions of authority and a plea for individual and/or communitarian autonomy. At the absence of states or against their current illegitimate presence, anarchists propose forming self-ruling communities. Even though anarchism's Greek etymological root of the absence of *arché* (rule) suggests a total rejection of ruling, anarchism is not against all ruling categorically. It opposes the rule of one over another because this would strip an individual or community from their own capacities of freedom. Instead, it promotes a system of self-rule, which is how the term 'autonomy' is generally defined.[65]

For moral anarchists like Robert Paul Wolff, individual morality is all that it takes to achieve a self-ruling society and in such a society there is no need for states.

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[63] Peter Kropotkin, *Anarchism: A Collection of Revolutionary Writings*, Dover Edition (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2002), 56.
[64] Michael Bakunin, *Bakunin: Statism and Anarchy*, ed. Marshall Shatz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 178, http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139168083.
[65] Defining autonomy as self-rule can be contested based on its etymological root. Nomos in *autonomy (nomos)* might better be translated as *norm* or *law*. In that sense, autonomy could be rendered as *self-legislation*. From this angle, it can be said that anarchist principle is to completely reject ruling (*arche*) as the term itself suggests, but this rejection does not mean praising chaos—as anarchism is often conceived in the mainstream—but a system of order through mechanisms of self-legislation. Nevertheless, I find the generic translation (self-rule) sufficient for the brief presentation here.

He writes: "If all men have a continuing obligation to achieve the highest degree of autonomy possible, then there would appear to be no state whose subjects have a moral obligation to obey its commands."[66] Autonomy for Wolff is in direct conflict with any institution that gives commands to individuals, and hence to preserve and further this human capacity to self-rule, anarchism should prevail.

Autonomy and anti-authoritarianism are central principles that also drive prefigurative politics. In most of the examples of this practice, from anarchist communities like Movement for New Society (Philadelphia) to Zapatistas, a stress on the autonomous organization and anti-authoritarian sentiment can be found. They try to establish the means to sustain themselves socially and economically as well as build horizontal forms of political organization. Prefigurative politics' relation to the state also reflects these principles. Instead of pursuing established mechanisms within the state and demanding certain reforms, the agents of prefigurative politics attempt to directly instantiate their said objectives.

There are other anarchist values in the practice of prefigurative politics. Cooperation, as opposed to competition, is certainly one of them. Humanist anarchist Kropotkin can be named the theoretician of this value. In his work *Mutual Aid,*[67] he argues that human nature is prone to cooperation and such behavior is actually an advantage of the welfare of the entire species. In line with Kropotkin's anarchism, Ruth Kinna argues that a defense of uncomplicated, "natural" life that opposes intermediaries in social and political life is also an important value of

[66] Robert Paul Wolff, "The Conflict of Autonomy and Authority," in *Political Thought*, ed. Michael Rosen and Jonathan Wolff, 1 edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 77.
[67] By Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* (Dover Publications Inc., 2006).

anarchism.[68] This value can be referred to as that of *immediatism*. Instead of relying on the mediaries of political organization (such as bureaucracy and representative democracy), and economic production and distribution (such as industrial mechanisms, the markets), anarchists tend to develop a direct mechanism of self-governing, unmediated mechanisms of solidarity economies and do-it-yourself (DIY) methods of production.

There are indeed many more anarchist values that can be traced in prefigurative politics such as diversity—in terms of plurality[69] and multiplicity of historical and geographical lineages[70]—anti-capitalism as a rejection of exploitation and reformism within the system.[71] But among them, arguably the most constitutive value is *egalitarianism*. Equality is practiced in prefigurative politics that can be traced back to eighteenth-century working-class origins of anarchism. This principle is also a demarcating line between various anarchisms, particularly those between right-wing and left-wing anarchisms. From its early humanist authors and on, left anarchism is a bottom-up interpretation of the principle of equality. Opposed to the abstract liberal implementations of that value—which Todd May interprets as "passive equality"[72]—anarchism adopts *egalitarianism* not as a liberal right but as a radical democratic capacity to collectively self-rule. In developing political forms of consensus-based collective self-ruling, anarchism actively assumes and performs

[68] Ruth Kinna, "What Is Anarchism?" (March 27, 2015).
[69] Marianne Maeckelbergh, "Prefiguration in Contemporary Activism: Video Resources – Critical Perspectives on Citizen Media," 2014, http://citizenmediaseries.org/series-events/prefiguration-in-contemporary-activism/prefiguration-in-contemporary-activism-video-resources/.
[70] Kinna, "What Is Anarchism?"
[71] B. Franks, "Direct Action Ethic," *Anarchist Studies* Volume, no. No. 1 (2003): 13–41.
[72] Todd May, *The Political Thought of Jacques Rancière* (Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 1, https://www.goodreads.com/work/best_book/3361439-the-political-thought-of-jacques-ranci-re.

the equality of all.[73] I will detail the way in which this principle of equality relates to prefigurative politics in chapter two, while explaining the process temporality of this practice. For now, taking a brief look at the practices of prefiguration before the term gained its anarco-communist usage would help in understanding this particular politics.

1.1.3 Prefigurative Politics before the Term Emerges

It is often said that prefigurative politics emerged from the politics of the 1960s, but it was practiced and discussed well before the coinage and popularization of the term. According to Christian Scholl, millenarian visions of New Jerusalem in John's *Revelations* and St. Augustine's *The City of God* demonstrate early prefigurative conceptions in the sense that the actualization of the divine promise was an anticipated future event with glimpses of it realized in the present through devotion.[74] In these early versions, though, prefigurative practice and visions reflect what Reinhart Koselleck calls an *eschatological* temporality as opposed to the modern temporality of the later applications of prefiguration.[75] For Koselleck, until the sixteenth century, the temporal horizon of Christianity dominates Europe and informs historical experiences in line with the constant expectation of the end of world and the pending arrival of judgment day. In this temporal structure, time has

[73] Besides equality, the principle of freedom is at work. Balibar explains the practical implementation of the principles of freedom and equality in his *Equalibery* as a constant negotiation between them. Anarchist tradition arguably is the one that forces the maximum degrees of both at every practical situation. Balibar writes that this negotiation is according to "the degree of equality necessary to the collectivisation of individual freedoms, and the degree of freedom necessary to the collective equality of individuals, the answer being the same every time: the maximum in the given conditions." Étienne Balibar, *Equaliberty: Political Essays* (Duke University Press, 2014), 48.
[74] Scholl, "Prefiguration."
[75] Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 13.

a predetermined culmination point and current experiences gain significance with reference to the anticipation of the inevitable end. Prefiguration in these early Christian experiences is placed within this end-oriented, eschatological temporality in the sense that the present visions and practices of prefiguration are instantiations of the predetermined finality.

Koselleck points to the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) as the turning point in the transformation of the dominant temporal sensibility in Europe from the Christian eschatology to a modern perception of an open temporality of an undetermined future.[76] By 1750, this new temporality [*neuzeit*] completes its predominance in Europe and informs the open-ended notion of history as we use it today. I will dwell more on this temporal transformation and Koselleck's theory of historical time in the second chapter, but here, suffice it to say that the early prefigurative examples that come after the eighteenth-century temporal break reflect this open-ended temporality as in the works of early nineteenth-century utopian socialists such as Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, St. Simon and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who were proponents of the germinal forms of prefigurative politics that aimed at creating alternative institutions in the present to give shape to the undetermined future.

Early forms of prefigurative politics can also be traced back to Mikhail Bakunin's critiques of Marx, even though he does not use the term 'prefiguration' but utilizes the content of this strategy to formulate the politics of what he calls at

[76] Koselleck, 14.

the time "revolutionary socialism."[77] Against the Marxist strategy of seizing political power to transform the socio-economic structures of capitalist society, Bakunin develops the motto that "freedom can only be created by freedom."[78] By that he meant that, after seizing power, the proletariat bears the risk of reproducing the authoritarian structure of the capitalist state and hence it could create the conditions that it attempts to destroy. Therefore, revolutionary movements should not aim at taking over state power but rather should abolish it once and for all, immediately after it becomes victorious in the revolutionary struggle against the capitalist state.

Marianne Maeckelberg points out those more recent examples of prefigurative politics such as the alter-globalization movements of the late 1990s, in which prefiguration was not an explicit term used despite the clear existence of the prefigurative strategy. Arguably, with the applications of horizontalism, direct democracy and other political practices that instantiate the end goal in the present means of the struggle, the alter-globalization movement adopted the prefigurative strategy, such as in their attempts to blockade the G20 and other summits where world leaders and plutocrats meet.[79] This fact that prefigurative politics was applicable to these movements before the coinage of the term is indicative of the prominence of the logic of prefiguration, where groups carrying various political agendas practice it in different contexts.

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[77] Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin, "After the Revolution: Marx Debates Bakunin," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, 2nd Revised & enlarged edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 548.
[78] Marx and Bakunin, 548.
[79] Maeckelbergh, "Prefiguration in Contemporary Activism."

1.1.4 Definitions and Bifurcation of Prefigurative Politics

Prefiguration is a complex term that does not have a single meaning. It has a number of different logics engrained in it and had several significations in its history. In Maeckelbergh's account, prefigurative politics has changed its meaning over time, especially with respect to the notion of political strategy.[80] In the early 1960s and before, prefigurative politics was mostly designated as a *cultural politics* and positioned against the power politics of strategizing. In that sense, prefiguration and political strategy were considered opposite ends in the revolutionary politics. As cultural politics, the accent was on the transformation of personal relationships and individual conduct, without being 'contaminated' by the concerns of reel politics and strategy. Later in the 1960s, with the Port Huron statement and the dissemination of the discourse around participatory democracy, prefigurative politics gained the meaning of a political strategy, a strategy that designates establishing alternative institutions and forms of governance as a means towards attaining larger revolutionary goals. But that did not mean that earlier signification of the term was vanished. In fact, as far as I can tell, the earlier meaning continued to dominate the usage of prefigurative politics.

First, we can see this dual meaning in Boggs's coinage of the term at the end of the 1970s, when he offered prefigurative politics as complementary to the strategic politics of the revolutionary party. His purpose was to formulate a complete and effective revolutionary strategy that would amend the shortcomings of Marxist politics through experimentation with alternative socio-political forms to

[80] Maeckelbergh.

the capitalist regime. In that sense, prefigurative politics was already a strategy for Boggs. Nevertheless, his positioning of prefigurative politics distinct from the instrumental strategic mode of power politics entailed the prefigurative vs. strategic dichotomy.

Sociologist Wini Breines's works on the New Left continued to use and define prefigurative politics within this dichotomy. She is in fact known to have popularized prefigurative politics against questioning of instrumental rationality in politics. In her book, *Community and Organization in the New Left: 1962–1968: The Great Refusal,* she writes regarding The Students for Democratic Society of the 1960s:

> Here is the anti-organizational impulse, stressing the movement before the organization, and an almost existential notion of politics. SDS was identified less as an organization than as a state of action, of risk-taking, of challenge and contestation. In all his statements Calvert argued intensely for politics as an act of resistance, as the creation of community, in which one was morally transformed in collective effort with others. This represented a rejection of politics as students had been socialized and schooled to understand them... This developing prefigurative politics represented, in political sociological terms, a questioning of instrumental rationality.[81]

Concomitant to the existent dichotomy between prefiguration and political strategy, prefigurative politics gradually gained the signification of a political strategy in the late 1960s. Beyond tendencies of living the right life and abstaining from the 'dirty politics of the masters,' the practice was broadened to experiment with novel structures, such as participatory democracy, solidarity economies and artistic interventions that would play a guiding role for the rest of society. It is

[81] Wini Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962-1968: The Great Refusal* (Rutgers University Press, 1989), 50.

debatable whether or not this sense of strategy was a completely new addendum to the existing prefigurative practice, or if it already had this meaning ingrained in it even though it was opposed to a different strategic content, namely that of party politics. Nevertheless, today the concept of prefigurative politics carries with it this dual signification, albeit under a different guise.

Despite the fact that prefigurative politics is perceived and conceptualized as a political strategy by most of its practitioners today, the "uncontaminated," anti-instrumental sense of politics still remains under the ethical logic of prefiguration. As I unpacked earlier, while this logic can be applied to both individualist and communitarian means of a struggle insofar as they are consistent with the designated political ends, the anti-strategic sense fueled with liberal individualism often dominate the ethical conception and the general perception of prefigurative politics *tout court*. This domination results in legitimate concerns regarding "life-style anarchism" directed to all of prefigurative politics, whereas I think it should be thought as a limitation for the individualist application of prefigurative ethics.[82]

Such nuancing would free the discussion around prefigurative politics from what Engler and Engler archetypically stated as "Should we fight the system or be the change?"[83] and help posit the right question of how to fight the system more effectively and create the change we would like to see in our near future. I thereby offer here that the distinction between the two logics of prefigurative politics helps pave the way for a more fruitful strategy debate and enables us to appreciate the

[82] Please see section on the limitations of prefigurative ethics.
[83] Mark Engler and Paul Engler, "Should We Fight the System or Be the Change?," New Internationalist, June 4, 2014, https://newint.org/features/web-exclusive/2014/06/04/fight-system-or-be-the-change/.

overlooked potentials of prefigurative politics due to the dominance of the ethical logic over that of spatial prefiguration, i.e. the space-time producing potential of spatial prefiguration that I will detail in the following chapters.

I must caution that I do not offer these dual internal logics of prefiguration because they theoretically make sense,[84] but rather because they are both actually practiced in movements as prefigurative politics in general often without their conceptual separation. Moreover, I am not the only one that detects such dual operation in prefigurative politics. In fact, several definitions of this practice tacitly entail this duality and very few writers make it explicit in other terms.

Christian Scholl is one of these few who detect a bifurcation in the historical development of prefiguration.[85] He argues that, on the one hand, there is the ethical approach that the means used in political action should be coherent with the desired ends. In this approach, he states, the priority is on the symbolic value of guiding by example. On the other hand, there is the approach of creating counter-institutions that focuses on alternative forms developed in attempts at self-governance. Scholl criticizes ethical prefiguration as a "pedagogically conceived exodus"[86] that fails to take part in challenging power relations, and side with creating alternative institutions as a politically viable strategy. To me, prefigurative ethics does have this danger, particularly in its individualist applications, and it is important to salvage prefigurative politics from its unspoken domination.

[84] That would have been falling into what Bourdieu warned as the objectivist danger of the theoretician that constructs a consistent theory with the expense of the complexities of reality. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, 1 edition (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990), 90.
[85] Scholl, "Prefiguration," 319.
[86] Scholl, 321.

A brief look at some of the more recent definitions of prefigurative politics makes my claim that the ethical logic of prefiguration is dominating the conception of this practice more apparent. To start with, Darcy Leach's entry in *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, he defines prefigurative politics as:

> A political orientation based on the premise that the ends a social movement achieves are fundamentally shaped by the means it employs and that movements should therefore do their best to choose means that embody or 'prefigure' the kind of society they want to bring about.[87]

Here we see the ethical aspect standing out in the definition that emphasizes the coherence between means and ends. David Graeber's definition of "direct action" is also another example of a similar formulation of prefigurative politics. He writes, direct action is "a form of action in which means and ends become, effectively, indistinguishable; a way of actively engaging with the world to bring about change, in which the form of the action—or at least, the organization of the action—is itself a model for the change one wishes to bring about."[88]

A more explicit ethical definition can be found in Cindy Milstein's book on anarchism. Milstein writes:

> For Anarchists, this [innovations that indicate the potentialities for social transformation] boils down to engaging in prefigurative politics: the idea that there should be an ethically consistent relationship between means and ends. Means and ends aren't the same, but anarchists utilize the means that point in the direction of their ends. They chose actions or projects that based on how these fit into longer-term aims. Anarchists participate in the present in the ways that they

[87] Darcy K Leach, "Prefigurative Politics," in *Wiley: The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements - David A. Snow, Donatella Della Porta, Bert Klandermans, et Al* (Blackwell, Oxford, February 2013), 1004, http://www.wiley.com/WileyCDA/WileyTitle/productCd-1405197730.html.
[88] David Graeber, *Direct Action: An Ethnography* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2009), 210.

> would like to participate, much more fully and with much more self-determination, in the future- and encourage others to do so as well. Prefigurative politics thus aligns one's values to one's practice and practices the new society before it is fully in place.[89]

In these archetypical definitions of prefigurative politics, we can see the prominence of prefigurative ethics and a close alliance between the ethical approach to prefiguration and what Max Weber called "value-rational" logic of action, in which political action is guided by moral values.[90] But as Darcy Leach insightfully points out:

> Prefigurative orientation is motivated by more than a commitment to moral action in its own right; it has been pursued as an alternative to both vanguardist and structural-reformist strategies for social change. Rather than looking to a revolutionary vanguard to seize existing power structures and implement revolutionary change on behalf of the masses or to trade unions or political parties to leverage reforms within the existing system, a prefigurative approach seeks to create the new society 'in the shell of the old' by developing counter-hegemonic institutions and modes of interaction that embody the desired transformation.[91]

Leach provides this caveat, but his definition of prefigurative politics is still determined by an ethical conception of prefiguration. In that sense, Leach's perspective is a paradigmatic one that takes the ethical aspect at its center and gives

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[89] Cindy Milstein, *Anarchism and Its Aspirations* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2010), 68.
[90] Weber defines "value-rational" action as a type of social action that is "determined by a conscious belief in the value for its own sake of some ethical, aesthetic, religious, or other form of behavior, independently of its prospectus of success." Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 1978), 23–24 Weber points out that from the perspective of instrumental action, value action can be seen irrational in cases when values that are guiding the action are taken as absolutes and action is performed irrespective of its consequences (26). In *Ethics*, this discussion is reminiscent of the debate between consequentialists and deontologists. I bracket this fruitful question in this dissertation because prefigurative ethics is not the focal point of this project. Nevertheless, I offered a comparison of prefigurative ethics with consequentialist and deontological approaches elsewhere, in a presentation at the Practical Philosophy series of Bogazici University, Philosophy Department in April 2019. .
[91] Leach, "Wiley," 1004.

some room to the creative part on the side. But there are other definitions of this political practice.

Rare as they are, there are other definitions of prefigurative politics that focuses on the creative dimension. Marina Sitrin's emphasis on the temporal aspect of prefigurative action offers one. She defines prefigurative politics as "creating the future in present social relationships… [where] social change isn't deferred to a later date by demanding reforms from the state, or by taking state power and eventually, instituting these reforms."[92] On its face, these definitions formulate the same strategy of political action, but underneath there are a number of elements operative in these definitions and one task in theorizing prefigurative politics for this project is the contribution to their clarification.

To offer my contribution, I propose making two distinctions. The first is between two elements within prefigurative politics discussed above, namely, *prefigurative ethics* and for reasons to be more specific in denoting the creative aspect, what I propose to call *spatial prefiguration*. The second distinction is between *prefigurative politics* and *prefigurative practice*. To start with the latter, I use the term *prefigurative practice* as an umbrella term that entails all practices that instantiate a form that belongs to the future in the present imaginary. This entails practices across a wide spectrum from specifics of prefigurative politics (such as creating liberated, non-violent, non-hierarchical relationship in the present) to modeling Mars colonies in space research labs. The prefigurative practice also entails representation of future desired forms in humanities, arts or sciences. In that

[92] Marina Sitrin, ed., *Horizontalism: Voices of Popular Power in Argentina* (Edinburgh, Scotland ; Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006), 4.

sense, representations of the future political imaginary such as Charles Fourier's utopian drawings of a liberated society as well as NASA's space-time bending light-speed-exceeding space ship designs can be considered within practices of prefiguration.[93]

The term *prefigurative politics* is delimited in this project as a political strategy of instantiating elements of a future political imaginary in the present to instigate socio-political transformation. The emphasis here is on the political intention to instigate that transformation. Prefigurative politics has two interrelated modes that I offer to call *prefigurative ethics* and *spatial prefiguration*. In the actual practices of prefigurative politics, both of these modes can be operative, but they have different modalities. As I exemplified in the beginning of this chapter, these logics can also be practiced exclusively to each other even to the extent that practicing of one contradicts the other's logic. On the one hand, *prefigurative ethics* is concerned with matching the means with the ends, which those means are utilized in achieving. As it is practiced, it can take the form of rejecting representative politics or seizure of state and focus on transforming the self and the immediate social relations in accordance with the future goals by practicing certain norms consistent with the goals to instigate social transformations. The immediate concern of *prefigurative ethics* is often to shape the actors of prefigurative practice. It focuses on the ways in which individuals live their lives and partake in the broader mechanisms of oppression or liberation as individuals. By changing the

[93] Caitlin Schmidt, "NASA Physicist Imagines a Warp-Speed Starship," CNN, 2014, http://www.cnn.com/2014/06/12/tech/innovation/warp-speed-spaceship/index.html.

individual and making the normative case for certain lifestyles, it aims at proliferating its principles and practices.

On the other hand, *spatial prefiguration* is the practice of instantiating future political imaginaries in the present in particular localities with an emphasis on the ways in which those places partake in the broader societal power relations and exemplify emancipatory forms to the larger public. Spatial prefiguration places the accent of political transformation not on the individual but on the ways in which created spaces instantiate the future imaginary and takes part in demonstrating desired social-political structures. I think an emphasis on the spatial character of prefiguration is more encompassing than the creation of institutions as Scholl describes it because many of the prefigurative examples including those in the square movements involve transforming their spaces, instead of establishing durable institutions. This word choice, however, is not prescriptive, but rather it is descriptive, in the sense that durable institutions would actually be more preferable, but unfortunately, it is often not the case on the ground.

Establishing these distinctions is important for this project on many fronts. First, it clarifies the diverse logics of practice operative within what is known as prefigurative politics. In most examples, from anarchist collectives to cooperative movements, the coherence of means and ends in political action as well as attempts to spatialize future imaginaries go hand in hand. Nevertheless, this does not mean that these two logics should be merged. A principled non-violent protest can be prefigurative without producing a durable space, such as Martin Luther King's lunch-counter sit-ins, while the production of a future desire oriented autonomous

space can adopt different means from the desired ends, such as the military Zapatista uprisings in Chiapas.

Furthermore, prefigurative logics can also be detected in practices that are not necessarily connected to the historical coinage of prefigurative politics. Even though it is developed and practiced mostly within anarcho-communist politics, and associated with the emergence of the New Left in the 1960s, it is practiced by various groups along the diverse political spectrum before and after the formulation of prefigurative politics. Finally, prefigurative logic has seemingly apolitical applications as well in arts, sciences, and religion that broaden the theory of prefiguration in different fields.

1.1.5 Critiques and Limitations

The limitations of prefigurative politics are usually discussed as a unified phenomenon that evaluates the weaker sides of this politics without having an eye on diverse logics operative within prefigurative politics. Generally, critiques against prefigurative politics are centered on its lack of efficacy and they are formulated in conjunction with other supposedly ineffective political qualifications. These qualifications can be grouped under three subheadings: spontaneity, utopianism, and councilism. I would like to first discuss these three as they relate to prefigurative politics. Then, I will demonstrate an alternative angle to reflect on prefigurative politics when its moral and spatial dimensions are treated separately. Namely, I will be showing the moralist and "lifestyle anarchist" dangers within prefigurative ethics, and indicating the temporal paradoxes and spatial confinements within the spatial prefiguration.

1.1.5.3 Spontaneity

One line of critique against prefigurative politics is its lack of planning and organization. Critiques argue that it does not have the necessary guidance by the theory and party organization, which would sustain its durability and effectiveness. Such ineffectiveness is because prefiguration is a spontaneous form of politics that receives its drive from revolutionary upsurges, but tends to remain short-spanned.

In its historical examples from anarchist collectives in the Spanish civil war to 1956 Hungarian uprisings, alter-globalization to Occupy movements the lack of durability is beyond contestation. However, it is a question whether or not the fact that those movements had short life spans was because of their prefigurative character. In almost every case, where these movements died before achieving their set goals, there are instances of external military/police intervention to disperse and crash these movements, whether from the fascist forces of Franco to the Russian invasion, or the FBI's joint coordination to the crackdown on the US occupy movement.[94] Nevertheless, it can be argued that these movements even in their heyday could not develop organizations that would defend them from external hostilities.[95]

Spontaneity in itself is deemed to be a weaker, premature form of mobilization within Orthodox Marxism. In particular, Lenin's criticisms of spontaneity are widely influential. He argues against spontaneity in the bulk of his

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[94] Naomi Wolf, "Revealed: How the FBI Coordinated the Crackdown on Occupy," *The Guardian*, December 29, 2012, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/dec/29/fbi-coordinated-crackdown-occupy.

[95] See, for instance, David Harvey's reading of the anarchists' shortcomings in organizing against Franco in the Spanish civil war. David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, 1 edition (Verso, 2013).

book, *What is to be Done?* that he equates with workers' sabotages in the workplaces and trade unionism. For Lenin, such sabotages—what he also calls "primitive methods"—as well as trade unionism reflect a lower level of workers' consciousness that needs the guidance of socialist theory and organization.[96] When it comes to prefiguration, Lenin's critiques of "Left-Wing Communism" have prominence.[97] In his work, Lenin groups anarcho-communist, international socialist and critiques such as De Lionist's into the category of Left Communism, who were against participating in the bourgeois parliamentary system and take part in conservative trade unions—even for purposes of raising consciousness. This current argued for building autonomous workers' institutions without taking part in the established capitalist system.

This tendency to act independently of the establishment and build needed services and political organizations directly within the movement are known as "direct action" in the anarchist literature. It promulgates immediacy in addressing the needs and demands of the subjugated classes and values the direct agency of the movements in creating the social–political forms that are aimed at. Prefigurative politics is sometimes used interchangeably with this tactic of direct action,[98] and in

[96] Vladimir Lenin, *Essential Works of Lenin* (BN Publishing, 2009); Lenin's description of these different stages of consciousness and its development reflects Marx and Engel's description of the "various stages of development" of the proletariat that begins with the sabotages of the individual laborers and aims at the "instruments of production" not "bourgeois conditions of production." The formation of unions carries the struggle one step further in organization and enhances the communication between workers for Marx and Engels, but it is still confined to the victories of the enhancement of the worker's conditions. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, 2nd Revised & enlarged edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 481–82.
[97] Vladimir Lenin, *"Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder* (Resistance Books, 1999).
[98] Graeber, *Direct Action*.

other cases, their close connection is widely acknowledged.[99] While proponents see the rejection of intermediaries and the direct institution of the desired forms as an advantage, critiques argue that it remains an inadequate, short-sighted and vulnerable method of socio-political transformation. When confronted with institutions like state and corporations, the small islands of egalitarian self-governing can easily be defeated and dispersed. Hence, it is argued, instead of channeling the efforts in direct action upon establishing local institutions of prefiguration, it is politically wiser to organize within party politics and take over the state apparatus.

1.1.5.4 Utopianism

Another line of critique against prefigurative politics explains its deficiencies by reference to its utopian character. The concept of utopia has a dual meaning. On the one hand, it means a nonexistent place, a no-where, *u-topia* in its ancient Greek origins. On the other hand, it means a good place, a place to be, *eu-topia*, a happy place.[100] In its political usage, this double meaning is carried over and "utopian" is used both as a critical qualification that denotes an unrealistic politics that wastes the inspirations and efforts of a movement. Also, it is used positively in a sense that it gives direction to a distant desirable place to be, a kind of heuristic beacon.[101]

Karl Marx is known to have raised a prominent critique against utopianism, most famously in his work with Frederic Engels, *The Communist Manifesto*. They

[99] Franks, "Direct Action Ethic."
[100] Fátima Vieira, "The Concept of Utopia," in *The Cambridge Companion to Utopian Literature*, ed. Gregory Claeys, 1 edition (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3–27.
[101] Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope, Vol. 1*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice, and Paul Knight, Reprint edition (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1995).

critiqued nineteenth-century socialists like Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen as “utopian socialists” on the grounds that in their efforts to envision perfect societies they failed to acknowledge the current class contradictions of the society and, at the end of the day, their work lined up with the interests of the higher classes. They formulate what is called “scientific socialism” against the utopian tendencies that analyze the existing dynamics within which real transformation occurs. The task for Marx and Engels is not to inspire for an “ideal” utopia and waste revolutionary energies on the way, but to strive for analyzing the contradictory dynamics of the existing society, which drive society towards an attainable future.

Prefigurative politics is widely viewed as a naïve attempt to realize utopian visions. As a transformative political strategy, prefiguration aims at instantiating certain future visions here and now. In its attempt to realize the ‘ideal” in the present, it poses an alternative strategy to dialectical Marxism and utopian socialism. Nevertheless, ideals and utopian visions are still the driving force behind the attempts to construct in the present. In that sense, a certain utopianism is arguably operative within prefigurative politics. As opposed to working to deepen the contradictions in existing society like in Marxist accelerationism, it attempts to present a radical solution to those here-and-now contradictions. This is viewed, for some, as an amelioration of the problems inherent to the system. To give an example, for the aim of universal accommodation, prefigurative action directly provides housing to homeless people by having them squat in empty buildings and offering shelter to those who need. When remaining only as a service, this would not

necessarily address or resolve the problems behind homelessness. Nevertheless, prefigurative housing, in effect, makes the case for the easy applicability of universal housing when the problem is approached not from a capitalist logic of preserving housing prices and punishing of those "who did not make it" in the system, but from an egalitarian perspective of there being a universal right to housing.

1.1.5.5 Councilism

Many instances of prefigurative politics show councilist tendencies in their political organization. From early examples of post-WWI Soviets, Italian and German council communists to alter-globalization movements' forums and Occupy movements' general assemblies, councils play a major role in decision-making and pose an alternative to hierarchical organizations like political parties. Especially after the New Left, when prefigurative politics is formulated more clearly, councils are indicated as prefiguring future desired forms of horizontal political organization. But even as early as 1871, Marx commented on the Paris Commune that it is the political form of communism that is finally developed on the ground.[102] This indicates the prominence of councils in early prefigurative examples.

The close alliance between prefigurative politics and councilism carries over the problems in the latter to the former. Carl Boggs in his article "Marxism, prefigurative communism, and the problem of workers' control" evaluates three historical reasons behind the collapse of council movements. First, he indicates the danger of cooptation by Jacobinism pointing out the early Soviets' experience in

[102] Karl Marx and Vladimir I. Lenin, *The Civil War in France: The Paris Commune* (International Publishers, 1988).

Russia. He argued that the lack of coordination among the Soviet councils led them to their demise and wrote, "Without political unity, prefigurative politics was bound to disintegrate on its own or succumb to the logic of Jacobinism."[103] The conflict that arose between Soviets and the Bolshevik party resulted in the party's favor and assemblies were co-opted to become party organs. For Boggs, this historical experience indicates an internal danger within councilism that tends to organize in dispersed autonomous formations without effective inter-council coordination.

The second example Boggs addresses is the 1918–20 periods of factory occupations and councils in Italy (also known as Biennio Rosso – The Red Two Years). It was a period that witnessed the collapse of the Italian economy and political institutions after defeat in the First World War. Especially in Northern Italy, workers' upsurges were widespread, which resulted in Piedmont general strike with the mobilization of more than 500,000 workers as well as tens of thousands of members in factory councils. It was the time when *L'Ordine Nuovo* started to get published by leading figures like Antonio Gramsci. Yet, despite the prominence of such theorists, who formulated an alternative form of transition to socialism different from Leninism and social democracy, the council movement in Italy died prematurely. Boggs sums up this collapse by reference to the "limits of spontaneity" and writes:

> The factory council movement won great victories in Turin, but lacked the strategic thrust and resources to sustain them. The organs of workers control that galvanized the entire Piedmont proletariat one moment vanished the next. The masses that had so resolutely detached themselves from bourgeois institutions were just as completely reintegrated into them, and the initiative soon passed back

[103] Boggs, "Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers's Control," 107.

> into the hands of the bourgeoisie. This sequence of events seemed inevitable, owing to the ideological and political weakness of the factory councils themselves.[104]

In that sense, Boggs share the concerns against spontaneity mentioned earlier that despite its bursts and unexpected accomplishments, they tend to fade away unless they manage to organize themselves in more sustainable forms. Here it might help to remember that for Boggs, prefiguration by itself is not a viable solution to political transformation. He is, instead, a proponent of the combination of what he calls strategic party politics and the prefigurative element.

The third danger councilism face according to Boggs is corporatism. He visits 1917–19 Germany, citing factory councils (*Arbeiterraete*) as its historical example. Similar to the Italian case, the crisis in German society after defeat in the First World War led to workers' movements and the emergence of hundreds of councils around the country. Boggs points out the existence of two types of councils within this period, one that focused on the expansion of direct proletarian democracy with stresses on mass insurrection, in which Rosa Luxemburg was a leading figure. Another pursued workers' interests within the existing managerial structure in the factories. This divide also reflected the revolutionary and social-democratic forces in the German worker's movement. The demise of the council movement came, for Boggs, from the takeover of the factories by trade unions, which were corporatively organized to provincialize workers' control. These unions kept the division of labor in the factories intact and institutionalized the division of mental and physical labor by merely replacing the managerial structure. This absorbed the control of workers

[104] Boggs, 114.

in the factories acquired by factory councils and transferred it to unions' bureaucracy.

Prefigurative politics taken as a unified political strategy comes with several limitations and it is possible to trace these problems in its generic historical and contemporary examples. Nevertheless, when its internal logic is unpacked into two, some additional issues become visible. Prefigurative ethics and spatial prefiguration both come with their own limitations.

1.1.5.6 Limitations of Prefigurative Ethics

Prefigurative ethics follows the logic that the means of political action conform to the ends in pursuit. The main venue in which this principle is raised and applied was the question of proletarian dictatorship, which anarchists opposed on the basis that an authoritarian means would not achieve an egalitarian end of classless society. After the 1960s with the advent of the New Left and the proliferation of prefigurative politics, this logic was also broadened to include the motto "be the change you want to see," in the sense that the means utilized to achieve certain goals are not only external tools to use or opt not to use, but also the lifestyle and moral character of the agents of change. "To start from one's life" was (and still is) a popular method in trying to instigate social–political change. The idea is that by changing one's lifestyle in line with the principle of the future desired society one can lead by example. Veganism, fair-trade and conscious consumption are prominent examples of the practices of moral prefiguration.

Even though consumption traits have significant influence on production and distribution, and principled moral acts can have enormous potential in political

transformations, this strategy comes with its own limitations. Murray Bookchin criticized this conduct as "lifestyle anarchism" that limits political activity to one's own life and surrounding without significant involvement with the macrostructures.[105] The small scale and individual focus of this moral logic bring the first line of limitation. It tends to isolate agents and narrows their realm of influence. In certain cases, the moralist tendencies that make agents look down upon the rest of society enhances this isolation not only from the rest of society but also among the other actors of political activism. Colin Ruggero's ethnographic research on Philadelphia's Occupy movement indicates the limitations of such moralist attitudes resulting from prefigurative ethics. He argues that actors who claim to prefigure the liberated society claim moral superiority over other parties in the political networks and result in the severing of political alliances.[106]

1.1.5.7 Limitations of Spatial Prefiguration

Honing in on the spatial creative dimension of prefigurative politics enables us to isolate some of the problems that emerge from this internal logic of the practice. The first can be called *spatial confinement*. Prefigurative acts in their attempt to realize their future imaginary produce a counter-space amid a hegemonic spatial regime. Most occupy encampments established their solidarity economies at the center of capitalist downtowns. This indeed was intended to challenge existing regimes and demonstrate alternative ways of organizing political and social life. Nevertheless,

[105] Murray Bookchin, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* (Edinburgh, Scotland ; San Francisco, CA: AK Press, 1995).
[106] E. C. Ruggero, "Moralism and Utopian Difference: An Ethnography of Talk and Discourse in Occupy Philadelphia and Philadelphia's Radical-DIY Scene." (New School for Social Research, 2017).

this practice comes with its significant drawbacks. Those spaces are where the mechanisms of control and domination are most potent, and setting up prefigurative spaces in the midst of such controlled spaces confine these mobilizations. Acting under heavy surveillance and police control not only pose a danger to the members of these movements but also diminishes their say over their claimed space and limits their possible actions.

To mention another closely connected limitation, I would like to offer the term *temporal paradox*. What I mean by this term is an internal temporal tension within the logic of spatial prefiguration. In trying to spatialize the future state of things in the present, prefigurative action attempts to make a temporal leap to the future, a leap that cannot be crossed in chronological time. Nevertheless, in social or historical time, future and present are not as distinct. Future is in the present not only through projection and imagination but also through a constant becoming, transformation. But that becoming does not happen homogeneously. It is subjected to geographical and societal differences. A political strategy that sets its goal to bring the future state of things into the present encounters these historical limitations. Even a successful instantiation of the future form can be a drop in the ocean. The structures of the present do not change in one day when a segment of society brings a better alternative that belongs to their future imaginary. I will elaborate this paradox further in chapter 4 when I unpack the production of historical time and peculiarities of the prefigurative logic as it opens up historical temporalities in its attempt to realize impossible transformations ahead.

To conclude this section, besides its promises and strengths, prefigurative politics has several limitations and is subjected to critiques from various angles. While spontaneity, utopianism, and councilism are three main tenets of these critiques that are commonly raised against prefigurative politics in general, there are also other limitations that become apparent when its double logic is considered. Prefigurative ethics comes with issues of isolation and sectarianism, and spatial prefiguration encounters difficulties of spatial confinement and temporal impasses.

1.1.6 Application: The Case of Right-Wing Politics

Prefigurative politics did not remain an anarchist-only strategy, and several other movements picked it up. The term gained broader political usage and was adopted by various segments of the political spectrum, such as civil rights movements,[107] LGBTQ movements,[108] Zapatista and alter-globalization movements,[109] and more recently by the square movements. If we approach prefigurative politics as a certain logic of practice, then the question arises, what about right-wing movements that perform similar strategies of political transformation? Would they be considered prefigurative? Considering the radical left lineage of the formulated and practiced strategy, that seems to be a big stretch. And even if it is possible, wouldn't it be a cooptation of the leftist strategy by the right, a hollowing out of the progressive content of this particular politics, or worse, redefining it in terms that serve

[107] M. Lowe, "'Sowing the Seeds of Discontent': Tougaloo College's Social Science Forums as a Prefigurative Movement Free Space, 1952-1964," *Journal of Black Studies* 39, no. 6 (July 1, 2009): 865–87, https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934707305401.
[108] Sine Anahita, "Nestled into Niches: Prefigurative Communities on Lesbian Land," *Journal of Homosexuality* 56, no. 6 (July 31, 2009): 719–37, https://doi.org/10.1080/00918360903054186.
[109] Thomas Nail, *Returning to Revolution: Deleuze, Guattari and Zapatismo*, 1 edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

neoliberal and even racist and sexist ends? These are questions to struggle with, but the categories of prefigurative practice, prefigurative politics and its double internal logics of prefigurative ethics and spatial prefiguration do not seem to categorically exclude this expansion of the strategy towards the right end of the political spectrum.

A prominent commentator on prefigurative ethics, Benjamin Franks, takes issue with the same question. Franks gives Andrew Macdonald's *The Turner Diaries* as an example of a far-right espousal of the prefigurative strategy. Macdonald claims that individual acts of violence against people of color are forms of prefiguration of the desired end point of white domination over other races.[110] Franks argues that such right-wing actions differ from prefigurative politics on two fronts. First and most obviously, their goals radically differ from the anti-hierarchical, egalitarian ones of prefigurative politics. Their means may match their ends as in their violent efforts to bring a race elite to domination, but such goals could never come together with egalitarian anti-authoritarian politics. Secondly, he points out that the agents who carry out the prefigurative strategy significantly diverge in their right-wing applications from the anarchist versions. Despite the ubiquitous claims of the right-wing regarding their oppressed status—for instance, the fear of white genocide—these groups tend to be from the socio-economic elites of the society and attempt to mobilize working-class whites in their efforts to reinstate/reify white elitism.

Beside these more or less obvious reasons why a right-wing application of prefigurative politics is inconceivable, I would like to offer another, one that is not

[110] Franks, "Direct Action Ethic," 29 Franks' other examples are Welles' Petrol Boycott campaigners and Scottish Rural Rebels.

based on the normative baggage or agential demographics of prefigurative politics, but on the temporal structure of prefiguration. To make this point, first I need to detail what right and left politics actually mean, as I understand them.

According to the Polish writer Leszek Kolakowski, right and left are not absolute positions within which certain agents are entrenched. Rather, they are political attitudes. Right politics is characterized by an affirmation of existing conditions. He writes that the right seeks to preserve the conditions and gain more power within it. While the left is a force of negation, it strives to change the conditions based on certain, for him necessarily, utopian visions.[111]

David Graeber provides a somewhat parallel distinction. For him, right and left politics are based on different assumptions of power. While right politics is based on what he calls "the ontology of violence," meaning that power is defined in terms of the forces of destruction, the left is based on "the ontology of imagination," which defines power as a creative force to bring new forms into the world.[112] The right has a claim on being realistic and natural and aims at reinstating the natural order. The left acts on the imaginative possibilities of moving beyond the set limits of reality and impositions of forces of destruction.

If these definitions of right and left are accurate, then it is harder to conceive of a right prefigurative politics. After all, prefigurative politics is a strategy for changing society by instantiating forms of the future desired society. If Graeber is correct, the right-wing shying away from imaginative projections and claims

[111] Leszek Kolakowski, "The Concept of the Left," in *The New Left Reader*, ed. Carl Oglesby (Grove Press, 1969).
[112] David Graeber, *Revolutions in Reverse: Essays on Politics, Violence, Art, and Imagination* (London: Autonomedia, 2011).

towards being grounded in the reality/ *reel politics* of violent forces would keep it at an arm's length from prefigurative agendas. If we take Kolakowski's definition seriously, then right-wing politics would not want to change the current *status quo* anyway. They would instead preserve the current state of things and oppose emergences of prefigurative spaces in the established regimes of socio-political spatiality.

What, though, about instances when right politics do actually want to change the existing *status quo*? After all, even the Trump regime was established on the promise of changing the political liberal *status quo* that allowed immigrants to flood into the states and steal the jobs of God-loving "real Americans." To this point, I think it is important to recover a textbook aspect of the conservative ideology. It doesn't necessarily ask for no-change at all, but rather aims at changing current society into an originary, past state of things. To be more precise, conservatism tends to have an image of the originary, more natural, orderly state of things that is projected as a mythical "golden age" (for instance, take Trump's campaign slogan "make America great again"). In that sense, even though some of the tenets of prefigurative politics can be applicable to right-wing politics, such as projecting a desired form and attempting to instantiate that form in the present, the character of projection, for the most part, belongs not to the future, but to the past. This is an additional, specifically temporal bulwark in talking about a right-wing prefigurative politics.

1.2 What is Politics: A Comparison with Rancière's *Politics*

Having a section on prefiguration in a thesis on prefigurative politics needs no explanation. But a section on politics calls for justification because the contents of this term are usually taken for granted. In this project, it is important to specify the meaning of politics because prefigurative politics counters not only the established hierarchical contents of politics and but reconfigures the very way in which politics is practiced. With this reflection on the politics in prefigurative politics, I do not mean to repeat an Arendtian gesture that theoretically draws insurmountable-looking boundaries between what is and is not politics. Rather, I would like to clarify its alternative logic of politics that is under-conceptualized and often overlooked.

To begin, Andrew Heywood provides the textbook definition of politics, well… in his textbook *Politics*, as the following:

> Politics, in its broadest sense, is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live… Politics is … inextricably linked to the phenomena of **conflict** and **cooperation**. On the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live. On the other hand, people recognize that, in order to influence these rules or ensure that they are upheld, they must work with others… This is why the heart of politics is often portrayed as a process of conflict resolution, in which rival views or competing interests are reconciled with one another. However, politics in this broad sense is better thought of as a search for conflict resolution than as its achievement, as not all conflicts are, or can be, resolved.[113]

Despite its purchase of grasping various major elements of politics such as participation, self-rule, conflict, and cooperation, Heywood's broadest sense of

[113] Andrew Heywood, *Politics*, 2nd Edition (Houndmills; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 4.

politics is one that is spatio-temporally limited to the practice of politics in liberal democratic settings. Politics is also defined and practiced in other senses, which Heywood recognizes later in his entry, as "the exercise of power, the exercise of authority, the making of collective decisions, the allocation of scarce resources, the practice of deception and manipulation, and so on."[114]

The referenced works and movements in this project might have used or assumed politics in one or many of the senses mentioned above. But what politics distinctively entails with regards to the spatio-temporality of prefiguration (as it produces counter-hegemonic space-times and is structured by the existing layers of space-time) is only approximated with Jacques Rancière's understanding of the term. At its core, politics, for Rancière, is the reconfiguration of who counts as legitimate political actors. The mechanisms that are usually called politics, such as power relations, legislation and enforcement of rules, negotiations for conflict resolution all are based on certain *aesthetic* (sensible) regimes that structure the "order of the visible and the sayable that sees a particular activity is visible and another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise."[115] There is always a system of distribution of these sensible regimes and mechanisms of legitimation of that aesthetic regime underlying the practices that are generally called politics. Rancière does not view these mechanisms of ordering the visible and invisible, legitimate and illegitimate as politics proper. Instead, he calls them *the police*, in the fashion of policing this established regime of the distribution of the sensible. He writes, exemplifying the police order:

[114] Heywood, 4.
[115] Rancière, *Disagreement*, 29.

> If there is someone you do not wish to recognize as a political being, you begin by not seeing him as the bearer of signs of politicity, by not understanding what he says, by not hearing what issues from his mouth as discourse. And the same goes for the easily invoked opposition between, on the one hand, the obscurity of domestic and private life and, on the other, the radiant luminosity of the public life of equals. Traditionally, in order to deny the political quality of a category - workers, women and so on - all that was required was to assert that they belonged to a 'domestic' space that was separated from public life, one from which only groans or cries expressing suffering, hunger or anger could emerge, but not actual speech demonstrating a shared *aisthesis*.[116]

Politics, on the other hand, are activities that counter the established police orders by inserting the politicity of—what he calls elsewhere—"the part of those who have no part."[117] The above passage continues:

> And the political aspect of these categories always consists in re-qualifying these spaces, in getting them to be seen as the places of a community; it involves these categories making themselves seen or heard as speaking subjects (if only in the form of litigation) - in short, as participants in a common *aisthesis*. It consists in making what was unseen visible; in making what was audible as mere noise heard as speech and in demonstrating that what appeared as a mere expression of pleasure and pain is a shared feeling of a good or an evil.[118]

The aesthetic regime of the politically legible, imposing itself as natural and transhistorical, is itself historical and can be transformed through practices. Taking Rancière's own example, public–private divides, public spaces, and their legitimate actors have been changing over time through the struggles of workers, women, people of color, LGBTQ, ethnic minorities, immigrants, and others. A political act, for

[116] Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus on Politics and Aesthetics*, trans. Steve Corcoran (London; New York: Continuum, 2010), 38, http://public.eblib.com/choice/publicfullrecord.aspx?p=601526.
[117] Rancière, *Disagreement*, 30.
[118] Rancière, *Dissensus on Politics and Aesthetics*, 38.

Rancière, shows the contingency of the established mechanisms of exclusion and inserts new ways of seeing based on the principle of equality. He unpacks:

> Spectacular or otherwise, political activity is always a mode of expression that undoes the perceptible divisions of the police order by implementing a basically heterogenous assumption, that of a part of those who have no part, an assumption that, at the end of the day, itself demonstrates the sheer contingency of the order, the equality of any speaking being with any other speaking being. Politics occurs when there is a place and a way for two heterogenous processes to meet. The first is the police process in the sense we have tried to define. The second is the process of equality.[119]

Examples of prefiguration tend to be political in the sense Rancière describes, but not all acts that reconfigure the regime of the politically visible are prefigurative. An act of instantiating an egalitarian future desired form intervenes in the established past–present continuum of the aesthetic regime from a similar double heterogeneous process. It brings the established regime in conflict with the futural egalitarian forms. For instance, in the square movements, when people gathered in a square and talked to each other in horizontally organized assemblies, they not only express their demands, grievances, strategies, and opinions but also performatively instantiate an alternative way of doing politics based on the principle of equality. As opposed to the police regime that constantly interpellates—using an Althusserian notion that Rancière opposes but I think captures the relationship here successfully—protestors of the legible system of the established order by (magnanimously!) inviting them to apply for park permits, delegating City Hall liaisons, and presenting "realistic" set of reformist demands, square movements posit themselves as a mind-blow to the police order by establishing their alternative

[119] Rancière, *Disagreement*, 30.

ways of doing politics and giving voice to the part that has no part in the establishment.

Rancière's description of the essence of politics as dissensus, as opposed to the consensus undergirding the police order, makes this similarity between prefigurative politics and Rancière's politics more clear. He writes, and I quote him at length for the last time:

> What characterizes the mainstream fiction of the police order is that it passes itself off as the real, that it feigns to draw a clear-cut line between what belongs to the self-evidence of the real and what belongs to the field of appearances, representations, opinions and utopias. Consensus means precisely that the sensory is given as univocal. Political and artistic fictions introduce dissensus by hollowing out that 'real' and multiplying it in a polemical way. The practice of fiction undoes, and then re-articulates, connections between signs and images, images and times, and signs and spaces, framing a given sense of reality, a given 'commonsense'. It is a practice that invents new trajectories between what can be seen, what can be said and what can be done.[120]

Prefigurative politics introduces dissensus against the established consensus of what is realistic, what is expected and experienced as legitimate political speech and signification. In that sense, Rancière's conception of politics is an important starting point for my understanding of politics, but politics in prefigurative politics goes a step further. It not only gives an intermittent flash of counter-political visibility and inserts the politicity of the part of those who have no part in the police order but it also produces new counter-hegemonic space-times that rewire the memory of the past, the experience of the present, and the expectation from the future.

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[120] Rancière, *Dissensus on Politics and Aesthetics*, 148–49.

Prefigurative politics inserts *the reality of what is not realistic* by countering the capitalist hegemonic realism with concrete examples of functioning egalitarian alternatives. It not only lets the silent speak but also, by producing concrete space-times within which that speech is already significant, it transforms the present experience of the disenfranchised in such a way that the hoped-for egalitarian forms are already here-and-now. This reconfiguration of the real empowers the prefigurative actors by not only making them remember the egalitarian possibilities but also inscribing their imaginative projections to the new space-time to be remembered.

1.3 Conclusion

This chapter's main purpose was to unpack the notion and practice of prefigurative politics from a number of angles. It first traced the normative contents engrained in the practice with a view of its anarchist roots. It then offered basic distinctions that clarify the complex logic of prefigurative politics. It also reviewed the critiques and certain limitations pertaining to this practice. By providing an overview of prefigurative politics, the chapter not only prepared the building blocks of the larger project through these concepts but also offered and developed two major arguments. The first one was that the concept and practice of prefigurative politics today is dominated by one of its two internal logics, namely prefigurative ethics. This results in overshadowing a very significant element of prefigurative politics, namely spatial prefiguration, which is a capacity to produce new counter-hegemonic space-times. The second argument was that prefigurative politics is based on a revolutionary logic of politics that does not seek amendments within the given order

of “realistic” experiences and expectations but instead produces novel space-times that reconfigure the politically memorable, real, and possible.

"Time is no longer simply the medium in which histories take place; it gains a historical quality." –Reinhart Koselleck

"Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just as they seem to be occupied with revolutionizing themselves and things, creating something that did not exist before, precisely in such epochs of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service, borrowing from them names, battle slogans, and costumes in order to present this new scene in world history in time-honored disguise and borrowed language." –Karl Marx

Chapter 2: The Temporal Logic of Prefiguration

Time and space are essential components of prefiguration. To fully analyze the logic of this practice, temporal and spatial components have to be treated in depth. There are two interrelated components of the spatiality and temporality of prefiguration. The first component pertains to the internal spatial and temporal logics of this practice. That focuses on the ways in which prefiguration is temporally and spatially structured. The second component is about the production of time and space this practice instigates. The focal point of this component is the kinds of time and space produced by the prefiguration.

The current chapter is devoted to the temporal logic of the first component, which is the temporal logic of the internal structure of prefiguration. It first aims at demonstrating the multidimensional and historical character of time. It then offers a six-legged structure of the temporal logic of spatial prefiguration focusing on temporal elements of 1) duration, 2) process, 3) *kairos* as the opportune moment, 4)

the past *qua* memory, 5) the future *qua* immanent imagination, and 6) the present *qua* the new present. The question of the spatial logic of prefiguration will be taken up in the third chapter. And the second component of the produced temporality and spatiality through prefiguration in the square movements will be the focus of the fourth chapter.

2.1 Time

Speaking of a spatial and temporal logic of practice may seem redundant to many. "What is there to discuss regarding such an obvious matter?" one may ask. The space of practice is about where on the map it happens and the time is all about when in the time of the day, the day of the calendar it takes place. So the matter should be left to the annalists and geo taggers. However abundant this view is, it assumes one conception of time and space among others that reduce the complexity of these phenomena. When we dig deeper into these notions, time and space lose their self-evident status. The following section is devoted to a deeper philosophical understanding of time. The chapter will then offer an analysis of the temporal logic of prefiguration through this philosophical lens.

It is only fitting to start a philosophical consideration on time with Saint Augustine, who went deeper in his inquiry on time than many other philosophers and had an enormous impact on the philosophical discourse on time after him. St. Augustine begins his arguably most influential passage on time in his *Confessions* by sharing his perplexity with regards to this notion. He states that the more he thinks about time, the more difficult the issue becomes. We speak of time in terms of past, present, and future, but we have no direct access to past or future. It is always

through the mediation of the present that we remember and expect. Hence, time, if we are going to be sure of its existence, can be known only by the present moment. Augustine writes:

> What now is clear and plain is, that neither things to come nor past are. Nor is it properly said 'there be three times, past, present, and to come:' yet perchance it might be properly said 'there be three times; a present of things past, a present of things present, and a present of things future.' For these three do exist in some sort, in the soul, but otherwhere do I not see them; present of things past, memory; present of things present, sight; present of things future, expectation.[121]

In Augustine's passage, germinal forms of the two main approaches to time become apparent that have been dominant in philosophical discourses on the topic. On the one hand, Augustine asserts the interior presence of the temporal clauses, past, present, and future. They all exist in the eternal soul, albeit present being the primary clause. On the other hand, he questions the existence of these clauses outside the self, complaining that it is not possible to see them anywhere else besides his inner soul. From the perspective of what Norbert Elias defines as the two main perspectives on time, Augustine regards time as a subjective phenomenon and denies its objective presence.

Norbert Elias's study on time reflects Augustine's inquiry on the issue. Elias argues that because there is no object, time, that we can study externally, its ontological position is unclear.[122] Nevertheless, he does not conclude, like Augustine, that time exists only internally, nor does he ascribe an eternal position for time in the metaphysical soul. Elias asserts these perspectives as two opposite

[121] Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. E B Pusey (Kessinger Publishing, 1999), 266–67.
[122] Norbert Elias, *An Essay on Time*, ed. Steven Loyal and Stephen Mennell, trans. Edmund Jephcott, 2nd Revised edition (Dublin, Ireland: University College Dublin Press, 2007), 12.

philosophical positions with regards to time: the objectivist conception that takes time as a physical occurrence of the universe independent of a human presence; and the subjectivist conception that understands time as a synoptic view in human consciousness that gives an order to the sequence of events. The prime example and theorist of the former is Isaac Newton, for whom time is the fourth physical dimension besides those of three-dimensional space. For the latter perspective, Elias recalls Immanuel Kant's transcendentalism where time precedes all human experience and provides the condition of possibility of such experience as *a priori* synthesis. For Kant, time is an internal pure intuition that provides the form for experiencing not only the internal but also the external world; hence it cannot be a property of the objects themselves. It exists only as a mental intuition in the subject.

For Elias, despite the opposing characteristics of the objective and subjective positions on time, they have a common ground. He argues that both of these perspectives assume that time is a fact of nature, be it as a predicate to external objects or a capacity of our mind. Elias proposes an alternative perspective that rejects the subject–object distinction. In his words, we should look at the time of "people in nature" considering that people are part of nature and time is neither external nor exclusively internal to them.[123] In his view, instead of assuming a transhistorical natural conception, time should be considered in relation to societies and the ways in which they make sense of the sequences of events. He writes:

> The expression 'time' therefore refers to this relating together of positions or segments within two or more continuously moving sequences of events. The sequences themselves are perceptible. The relation between them results from the elaboration of perceptions by

[123] Elias, 8.

> human beings possessing knowledge. It finds expression in a communicable social symbol, the concept of 'time', which within a certain society can transmit from one person to another a memory picture which can be experienced, but not perceived through senses.[124]

For Elias, comparing and juxtaposing sequential events is a need in human societies, and the current dominant conception of time emerges out of the modern time measurements that emerged as a response. Today he writes, "What the clock communicates by the symbols on the clockface is what we call time."[125] This conception emerged and transformed with the changing tasks of society and the ways in which people relate to sequences of events. From the cyclical conception of time of the Ancients to the linear progressive conception, time has been transformed over the course of history with respect to historical conditions. In this sense, we cannot conceive of a natural time that is applicable to all people, but this does not mean complete relativism with respect to time. It is not up to individuals to pick and choose a conception of time based on their preferences. Time, very much like language, is a symbolic communication medium in society and individuals socialize within these conceptions. Individuals are structured within society and gain what Elias calls a "temporal conscience"[126] through their socialization. They learn this conscience, constrain and direct themselves within this time frame and

[124] Elias, 10.
[125] Elias, 15.
[126] Elias, 11.

transfer it to later generations. In this sense, to use Pierre Bourdieu's notion, time as a social construct is a *structuring structure.*[127]

Reinhart Koselleck develops a perspective on time that is similar to Elias's, emphasizing the historical character of time, but he develops this in a different direction. He points to the period running from 1750 to 1850 as the major transformation in the idea of time in history.[128] Until this period, time was conceived in a cyclical repletion where the future is constantly derived from the past. Hence, the study of the past was conceived of as the solution to problems that emerge in the present and as shedding light on future events. Until this transformation, the eschatological time of the Church and the idea that history is the great teacher of life, *historia magistra vitae*, informed studies trying to make sense of the future. After the 1750s, the linear conception of time, which we take for granted now, emerged. Future and indeterminacy that cannot be explained or predicted by the projections of the past gained prominence. The notion of progress was introduced and ordered this experience. Koselleck calls this transformed experience of time, the "new time" or *Neuzeit.*[129]

The emergence of such new time, for Koselleck, does not indicate a sea change in the conception of time. Time and its experience are not unitary phenomena where one mode completely replaces the other. Various conceptions of time exist simultaneously. Time is itself a temporal phenomenon and there are always multiple times at the same time. Hence, Koselleck introduces his notion of

[127] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice, 1st Edition (Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
[128] Koselleck, *Futures Past*.
[129] Koselleck, 222.

historical time(s) in plural as opposed to the unitary and overarching conception of chronological time.

For Koselleck, historical time should be clearly distinguished from chronological time. The latter is an auxiliary temporality based on calculations over physical–astronomical planetary movements. Historical time, on the other hand, is distinctly bound up with social and political actions, and with concrete human agents and their organizations. It is not a calculable time as in chronology, but instead, a lived and experienced time. As demonstrated in his generic example, it is in the wrinkles on an old man's face, besides the number of planetary years he has been on earth.[130]

Koselleck details the temporal structure of the production of historical time by pointing out basic human experiences of experience and expectation. I will unpack this structure further in the chapter on the production of time and space, but it suffices here to mention that what is central to historical time is that it is produced through the material practices of human societies. Changes in the material world, such as new modes of production, technological and scientific inventions, and political structures, have an impact on the ways humans perceive the world, have direct experience with it and anticipate unfamiliar things coming into their lives. In societies that encounter rapid changes, relation to the future differs from that relation in relatively stagnant societies. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, changes in the economic, social and political arenas induced a different sense of time that has emerged from the tensions between present experiences and

[130] Koselleck, 1.

indefinite future expectations. The progressive sense of historical time emerged during that period and was juxtaposed with other senses of time present in society.

When we consider time as multiple temporal phenomena that are bound up with history, social and political practices, we can then make sense of the changing conceptions of time, its various experiences and the crucial role that economic, social and political practices play in the ways that transform our relation to time. To flesh this point out, let me consult studies on industrial capitalism and the dominance of clock time. Historian E. P. Thompson's study of the development of labor time under industrial capitalism demonstrates the changing perception of time over history. Thompson focuses on 1300 to 1650 as the period in which clock-time was introduced and dominated the apprehension of time in Europe. He particularly indicates the transformation in the mode of production where independent peasants were proletarianized and became wage laborers as the process in which clock-time become ubiquities and internalized. The shift, according to Thompson, occurs with the pressing demands of synchronization in work time imposed by employers. At a time when most work was performed by independent craftsmen and peasants, the perception of time, particularly work time, was what he calls "task oriented."[131] Task-oriented temporal notations tend either to be based on human activities such as a cooking time, a credos time, or sets the measure according to natural phenomena, such as dusk and dawn. Yet such notations and naturally appearing work rhythms had become inconvenient when employers wanted to measure and control the labor time of the workers. Especially when the

[131] Thompson, "Time, Work Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," 61.

manufacturing industry grew to larger scales in textile and engineering workshops, the demand for synchronization grew and workers were increasingly subjected to abstract clock-time, instead of the time of task-orientation.

This transformation accompanied the erection of the ecclesiastical and secular clocks in the town squares, while clocks entered the private lives of individuals in the form of chain watches. To everyone's surprise, Thompson writes, the possession of personal "grandfather clocks" had become a matter of prestige and investment that even lower classes tried to acquire with their limited savings. The introduction and spread of clocks and subjection to labor time changed workers' apprehension of time gradually and condemned task-oriented time as wasteful and less urgent. Within this transformation, Thompson writes, workers internalized and learned to fight within this new conception of time:

> The first generation of factory workers were taught by their masters the importance of time; the second generation formed their short-time committees in the ten-hour movement; the third generation struck for overtime or time-and-a-half. They had accepted the categories of their employers and learned to fight back within them. They had learned their lesson, that time is money, only too well.[132]

Time is a materially based phenomenon that is susceptible to socio-economic structures and historical practices. It is also a multifaceted phenomenon that has various dimensions and features. So far, my discussion has aimed at demonstrating that chronological time is not a natural phenomenon and time has, in fact, a historical aspect to it. Nevertheless, time is also a multi-layered phenomenon. The duality between historical and chronological time is not adequate for grasping the

[132] Thompson, 86.

complexity of time, because time sensibilities are not only historically constructed, but also are perceived in myriad layers.[133] Time is not merely chronology, but it is also more than sequences of events, aging, and task-oriented durations. Depending on the scale and historically codified perception, it also entails movement, directionality, opportunity, and process as well as memory and anticipation. These features of time are important in analyzing the temporal logic of practice, in particular our interest in prefigurative practice and its subcategory of spatial prefiguration, because these practices involve several senses of temporality at the same time. The analysis I will offer here with respect to the temporality of PPSM focuses on six layers of temporality. It starts with 1) duration, 2) process and 3) opportune movement, and moves on to the temporal clauses of 4) the past *qua* memory, 5) the future *qua* immanent imagination, and 6) the present as the *new present*.

[133] Sociologist Barbara Adam, for instance, provides seven structural features of time. But it is important to keep in mind that these structural features of time are themselves historical and they are not meant to designate transhistorical features of temporality. In that sense, despite the high level of abstraction on which Adam bases her analysis, they are not meant to be read as elements of universal time. For Adam, the first structural feature of time is its boundedness, in the sense that it indicates moments of beginning and end as well as certain scales and units. It lends itself to the measurement of chronological and task-oriented times. The second feature is time's process character. It denotes changes, aging, and directionality. This also implies a feature of irreversibility. The third feature is synchronization where it entails the element of coordination and an appropriate time or opportune time of the Ancient Greeks (Kairos). The fourth feature is movement, which denotes pace, rhythm, and velocity. The fifth element is duration in the sense of extent and distance in time that also entails instantaneity. Penultimately, time has the feature of sequentiality. One thing follows another, a succession that accompanies a sense of priority as well as simultaneity. Finally, there are the temporal modalities of past, present, and future, which bring in the sense of memory, dependency and expectations, as well as certain emotions such as hope and fear. Barbara Adam, "Of Timespaces, Futurescapes and Timeprints" (June 17, 2008), http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/socsi/futures/conf_ba_lueneberg170608.pdf.

2.1.2 Duration

Discussions of prefigurative politics often center on the question of duration. How long does the practice last? Was it short-spanned or lasted for longer periods? These questions are asked mostly in connection with the question of efficacy that I have reviewed in the previous chapter on the limitations of prefigurative politics. Most examples of prefigurative politics were short-spanned. Particularly in the square movements, with the exception of a few such as Yemen's Change Square in Sana, which was an occupation that lasted a year and a half. Most squares were evicted shortly after encampments' inceptions. This premature dissolution of encampments was mostly viewed as the failure of the square movements and longer duration was viewed as a criterion of success.

Time *qua* duration viewed as success or failure was a source of anxiety and debate within the square movements as well. Kamilla Petrich in her considerations of the temporal aspects of prefigurative politics indicates the question of durability within movements. She refers to Naomi Klein's speech to Occupy Wall Street on October 6, 2011, which exemplifies this debate clearly. Klein states in her speech at the encampment:

> Being horizontal and deeply democratic is wonderful (…) But these principles are compatible with the hard work of building structures and institutions that are sturdy enough to weather the storms ahead…this is not group therapy – we also want to change the world. This movement has to create democratic structures. It just can't

> happen overnight, but I beg you not to fetishize not having a structure. We made that mistake, and it destroyed our movement.[134]

Petrick criticizes Occupy as neglecting to create durable structures and indicates similar traits during the preceding movement of alter-globalization. However, there are also sides that argue against viewing the efficacy of square movements with respect to the durations for which they have stayed in their encampments. Very much like the concatenation of 1848 revolutionary movements paving the way for twentieth-century revolutions, 2011 and onward might be viewed as a part of successful revolutionary movements stretching over several decades.[135]

2.1.3 Process

Process is another pivotal element within the practice of prefigurative politics. With respect to time as process, prefigurative ethics encroaches upon spatial prefiguration and complicates it with its process-oriented temporality. In fact, both of these modalities of prefigurative politics rely on a process in their different but interrelated ways, but prefigurative ethics has a particular emphasis on process. Spatial prefiguration's process temporality is quite straightforward. By instantiating the future desired form in the present, spatial prefiguration operates within a process temporality of gradually establishing the imaginary form in the present locality and will it to spread across society through example. Spatial prefiguration

[134] Kamilla Petrick, "Occupy and the Temporal Politics of Prefigurative Democracy," *TripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society* 15, no. 2 (May 29, 2017): 501, https://doi.org/10.31269/triplec.v15i2.766.
[135] Perry Anderson, "On the Concatenation in the Arab World," *New Left Review*, II, no. 68 (2011): 5–15.

aims at pollinating its surrounding by demonstrating the desirability and applicability of its experimented forms. In that sense, spatial prefiguration relies on time as process both in its initial instantiations and in its political intentions to change society.

Prefigurative ethics, on the other hand, has a much more intricate process temporality, one that is tied up with *egalitarianism*. It attends to the ways in which a goal is achieved and by doing so, it reckons on time as process that would bring the ends with the right means. The process through which a political goal is attained is as important as the goal itself, if not more so. Kamilla Petrick identifies this as the "temporal ethos of prefigurative politics." She writes:

> The prefigurative ethos stresses the importance of the process by which the decisions are made collectively, rather than or in addition to the outcomes of such deliberations. In contradistinction to the orthodox socialist *telos* that sees revolution as a future event, prefigurative politics seeks to enact desired social changes in the present moment.[136]

This collective decision process, which is essential for prefigurative politics, assumes the equality (and freedom) of participants. The practice of self-ruling and collective decision themselves operate on the assumptions that people can properly rule themselves and each and every person in a group is capable of meaningfully participating in the mechanisms of self-governance. In the fashion in which Jacques Rancière argues for the equality of intelligences,[137] the principle of egalitarianism is constantly assumed and actively defended in anarchist self-governing practices.[138]

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[136] Petrick, "Occupy and the Temporal Politics of Prefigurative Democracy," 497.
[137] Jacques Rancière, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster: Five Lessons in Intellectual Emancipation* (Stanford University Press, 1991), https://www.amazon.com/Ignorant-Schoolmaster-Lessons-Intellectual-

This egalitarian process indeed comes with certain difficulties. The consensus model often results in internal discrepancies in a movement as well as criticisms that it is slowing down, if not obstructing, the effectiveness of the mobilizations. Petrick refers to this as the temporal disadvantage of consensus-building in prefigurative politics, because it requires and assumes lots of time—time often a movement does not have.[139]

Patrick indicates that such temporality of extended process results in paving the way for what Jo Freeman famously argued was the tyranny of the structureless.[140] In social movements, particularly the Occupy movement in Toronto, Patrick points out, people who had fewer external commitments had the opportunity to spend more time in the encampments and this resulted in a gradual emergence of informal leadership, but a leadership that is not elected, but rather self-selected by virtue of the effort and time they put into the occupations. This put people with larger external commitments, particularly working people and caretakers, in a disadvantageous position at having little say in the decisions and internal proceedings of the movements.

In a recent article by Robin Wagner-Pacifici and Colin Ruggero, the prolonged process orientation of the occupy movement, this time in Philadelphia, was criticized in terms of what the authors call "temporal blindspots."[141] For Wagner-

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Emancipation/dp/0804719691/ref=sr_1_1?crid=3PC119EG0YJUX&keywords=ranciere+ignorant+schoolmaster&qid=1551451025&s=gateway&sprefix=ranciere+igno%2Caps%2C268&sr=8-1.

[138] Todd May's reading of Rancière's radical democracy as inherently anarchist is worth considering here. May, *The Political Thought of Jacques Rancière*.

[139] Petrick, "Occupy and the Temporal Politics of Prefigurative Democracy," 498.

[140] Jo Freeman, "The Tyranny of Structurelessness," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 1 (1973 1972): 151–64.

[141] Wagner-Pacifici and Ruggero, "Temporal Blindspots in Occupy Philadelphia."

Pacifici and Ruggero, Occupy Philadelphia was a site of contestation between groups and individuals, whose temporal mismatch threatened their coordination. Besides the issue of divergent work rhythms and commitments, they focus on disjunctions of what they call "temporal dimensions of strategy."[142] These dimensions include people's approaches to spontaneity, non-violence, the police presence and relations involving the means used to attain particular ends. The authors demonstrate a detailed ethnographic analysis on the contestations and incongruities happened in Occupy Philadelphia, which they argue was troubled by problems emerging from the temporality of the process.

2.1.4 Kairos/Kairon

Kairos is an Ancient Greek term indicating time together with its more familiar counterpart *Kronos*. Even though both terms denote time, they mean completely different senses of time. While Kronos is the measurable flow of time as in chronological time, Kairos is usually translated in English as "opportune moment." The term is mobilized by radical democratic thinkers such as Antonio Negri,[143] Cornelius Castoriadis,[144] and Georgia Agamben[145] as well as, in resembling forms, by Hannah Arendt[146] and Walter Benjamin.[147] Jason Adams provides in his book *Occupy Time: Technoculture, Immediacy, and Resistance after Occupy Wall Street* a detailed

[142] Wagner-Pacifici and Ruggero, 16.
[143] Antonio Negri, *Time for Revolution* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).
[144] Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Rising Tide of Insignificance: The Big Sleep*, trans. Translated from the French and edited anonymously as a public service. (Electronic Publication Anonymous, 2003).
[145] Giorgio Agamben, *The Time That Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans* (Stanford University Press, 2005).
[146] Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future*, ed. Jerome Kohn, Revised edition (New York: Penguin Classics, 2006).
[147] Walter Benjamin, "On the Concept of History," trans. Dennis Redmond, 2005, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/benjamin/1940/history.htm.

condensation of the term drawing from these thinkers. Here I base my reading of Kairos on that of Adams and trace his creative reinterpretation of the term *Kairon*.

The term was used in Ancient Greece as the proper time for something to occur in the right amount. Plato used the term in Laws as the heterosexual virtue of restraining oneself to know when to engage in homosexual activity in the appropriate amount.[148] Christian institutions currently use the term as the right moment when someone should transition from singlehood to marriage.[149] Adams points out that in these usages of the term, there is a sense of transcendentally set appropriate times of events with which actors may or may not comply. And yet, in his reading of the politicization of the term, *Kairos* gained an imminent meaning of "now-time," Benjamin's *Jetztzeit*, also translated as "here-and-now."[150] Benjamin writes in his thesis on history XIV that "History is the object of a construction whose place is formed not in homogenous and empty time, but in that which is fulfilled by the here-and-now [*Jetztzeit*]."[151] For Benjamin, *Jetztzeit*, or in Adams' rendering, *Kairos*, is the time of the constitution of history. It is a bottom-up interjection of the now-time of mobilization into the supposedly objective time of homogenized *Kronos*.

Kairos as the historical (not transcendental) opportune time of political action is one of the central temporalities of prefiguration. In acting to create future desired forms in the present, prefiguration aims at transforming the present into an

[148] Jason M. Adams, *Occupy Time: Technoculture, Immediacy, and Resistance After Occupy Wall Street* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 4.
[149] Adams, 4.
[150] Benjamin, "On the Concept of History."
[151] Benjamin.

opportune moment of changing the course of given history. Against the criticism that time is not ripe for a particular action, in line with Martin Luther King's response to the clergymen who demanded that King wait and not agitate the current *status quo* in Alabama, direct action logic pursues the motto "The time is always ripe to do right."[152] Prefiguration reclaims the moment as the opportune time to introduce a he preferable form into society despite strategic calculations to wait or work to prepare the conditions for that form to be developed.

Such immediatism of now-time, for Adams, is double-edged. While it is also the bottom-up time of the mobilization that makes history, it is also the time of technocultural, digital capitalism and new forms of control. The acceleration in and fluidity of financial capitalism, what Adams calls "constant capitalism," also bases itself in an immediatism of *now-time*.[153] It is the time of immediate communication and the collapse of the material conditions that led Marx to posit the divide between constant and variable capital. While Marx was making a clear distinction between the variable capital of living beings and the constant capital of the technologies that are dependent on the former, Adams argue that with the current conditions of capitalism,[154] variable capital developed a dependency on the technologies and hence constant capital as technocultural capitalism became the dominant mode.

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[152] Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from A Birmingham Jail, April 16, 1963," in *Dissent in America: The Voices That Shaped a Nation*, ed. Ralph F. Young, 1st ed. (Longman, 2006), 557.
[153] Adams, *Occupy Time*, 46.
[154] Analyzed in detail by writers such as Yann Moulier-Boutang as cognitive capitalism. Yann Moulier-Boutang, *Cognitive Capitalism*, 1 edition (Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2012); See also Jodi Dean's communicative capitalism: Jodi Dean, *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies: Communicative Capitalism and Left Politics* (Duke University Press, 2009); And Negri and Hardt's cognitive capitalism: Antonio Negri, Michael Hardt, and Danilo Zolo, *Reflections on Empire* (Polity, 2008).

In this context, for Adams, *Kairos* as now-time should not be valued by itself without making critical distinctions within that temporality. He proposes a distinction between *Kairos* and *Kairon*, in accordance with which he defines the latter as "wrong moment" as opposed to the opportune/right moment.[155] *Kairon* is the wrong moment from the perspective of the authorities that demand the passivity and preservation of the *status quo*. The moment of mobilization in the squares demonstrates a wrong moment, a moment in which neoliberal capitalism would rather not be disturbed by those who are suffering underneath. In that sense, Adams argues, protesters in Tahrir Square and later Occupy movements acted at a wrong moment/*Kairon* that was contrary to the expectations of the authorities.

I take Adams's modification of the term Kairos as a timely one considering the dangers that presentist capitalism poses today. I offer my position in the final chapter in analyzing the temporal production of prefiguration in the square movements as a Trojan horse of subversive presentism that ironically is nurtured by the presentism of constant capitalism while at the same time sows the seeds of its revolutionary transformation. Here though as a temporal element of prefiguration, I find *Kairon* to be an on -target component that entails the opportune moment of *Kairos* of the bottom-up mobilizations that pose a challenge to the *status quo* always at a misplaced, disrupting time.

[155] Adams, *Occupy Time*, 5; See, also: Rancière's notion of "wrong" as political disagreement creating political subjectivities. Rancière, *Disagreement*.

2.1.5 Past as Memory

In the generic definitions of prefigurative politics, the past does not seem to have a significant bearing on this practice. Nevertheless, projecting a future desired form and instantiating it in the present both relate to the past and particularly to memory in three distinct ways. First, the imagination that projects the desired future structure is carried from the past and has "memorized" limitations in its desire. Very much like what social movement theorist Charles Tilly famously argues, that social movements tend to repeat learned behavior and miss opportunities,[156] a future-oriented, imaginative political practice can be bound up with the habits of the past in its present actions. Such memories do not always have to be limiting, though. Past can also be liberatory in the Benjaminian sense that the buried potentials of the past by the present authorities can be emancipated by action and drive the movements to the fore.[157] Prefiguration can remind people of particular future possibilities that are yet to be realized. In presenting a figurative version of the desired future in the present and exemplifying the possible realization of that particular future structure, prefiguration can unleash past potentials that were defeated once. Kristin Ross, for instance, writes in her book *Communal Luxury* that there are moments when an event or struggle enters into the figurability of the present and the Paris Commune of 1871 is vividly in the living memory of the post-2011 mobilizations.[158] Such a distant memory or more recent ones like the alter-globalization movement can provide fruitful forms for present mobilizations, as

[156] Charles Tilly, *The Contentious French* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1989).
[157] Benjamin, "On the Concept of History."
[158] Kristin Ross, *Communal Luxury: The Political Imaginary of the Paris Commune* (London: Verso, 2015), 2.

exemplified by Occupy's practicing of the consensus decision-making model used and developed in the alter-globalization movement.

Another sense in which prefiguration relates to the past as memory is that the very prefigurative practice inserts itself in space and history to be remembered in the future. Mobilizations become events in the historical continuum of time and inscribe themselves into the place memory. The "failed" square movements are important benchmarks in the present debates, so much so that these moments are referred to widely as historical reference points.[159] Such place memory is so significant and often enormously threatening to authorities that the sites of those mobilizations are in many cases reconstructed, as to what Eyal Weizman puts it, to exorcize the spirit of those revolutionary mobilizations.[160] At the most extreme of these reconstructions lies Bahrain's Manama Roundabout where authorities demolished the symbolic monument and the entire site of the protest to pave it with a barren crossroad.

[159] For instance, according to the political scientist Cihan Tuğal, the Gezi uprisings and the way the government reacted to it were a turning point in the fall of the Turkish model that was pampered by the US as a moderate Islamic buffer zone and so-called bridge between Europe and Middle East. Cihan Tugal, *The Fall of the Turkish Model: How the Arab Uprisings Brought Down Islamic Liberalism* (London ; New York: Verso, 2016).
[160] Eyal Weizman, *Critical Spatial Practice 6. The Roundabout Revolutions*, ed. Nikolaus Hirsch and Markus Miessen (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2015).

Figure 1: Pearl Roundabout during the square movements. Description in Wikimedia Commons: "Thousands of protesters gathering in Pearl roundabout 2 days before crackdown. This is the day GCC troops entered Bahrain." Used under CC BY-SA 3.0 license. Date: 14 March 2011.[161]

Figure 2: Pearl Roundabout destroyed, reconstructed as a junction, and renamed as Al Farooq Junction. Used under CC BY-SA 3.0 license. Date: 29 March 2011.[162]

2.1.6 Future as Immanent Imagination

Prefigurative politics is a future-oriented practice. It aims at realizing future desired forms in the present in exemplary forms, which might transform society towards that future goal. It would be misleading to conceive of future here in an Aristotelian fashion of sequential nows that succeed the present moment, future as not-yet-now. That would be a chronological reduction of the temporality of this practice, a conception within Benjamin's "empty time." Instead, future in prefiguration is a more unitary phenomenon with other modalities of time. It is projected at the

[161] bahrain.viewbook.com, *Thousands of protesters gathering in Pearl roundabout 2 days before crackdown*, Digital image, Source: Wikimedia.org, March 14, 2011. Used under CC BY-SA 3.0 license. Available from: Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thousands_of_protesters_gathering_in_Pearl_roundabout_2_days_before_crackdown.jpg (accessed April 14, 2019).

[162] bahrain.viewbook.com, Al Farooq Junction under construction at former site of Pearl Roundabout, Digital image, Source: Wikimedia.org, March 29, 2011. Used under CC BY-SA 3.0 license. Available from: Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Al_Farooq_Junction_under_construction_at_former_site_of_Pearl_Roundabout.jpg (accessed April 14, 2019).

present from the past and that projection has encroached upon the present practice as a heuristic image.

This structure reminds us of Heidegger's understanding of future and temporality in general, but it doesn't necessarily have the future priority that Heidegger ascribes to this tense. For Heidegger, past, present, and future as well as chronological time are all made possible by an originary temporality of *Dasein*. This temporality is articulated through Dasein's futural being, which is its being-towards-death that opens up in anticipation of this finitude. Death, however, is not a futural event in the sense of "not-yet-now," but a future–present element in one's own being-there. Such a future of outmost finitude sends Dasein to its past as thrownness (its personal, cultural position) and through appropriating this past by decision, what Heidegger calls resoluteness, Dasein frees itself from the idleness and conformism of the given, inauthentic existence (they-self).[163]

Heidegger's temporal structure of Dasein resonates with that of prefiguration, in the sense that the temporal clauses of past, present, and future are interwoven in this practice as they are with Dasein's temporality. A prefigurative act initiates partly in response to a future projection, this time that of the desired future form. It also reacts to the past and present as a negation of the existing *status quo*. In attempting to instantiate the future desired form to transform the present, prefiguration draws from the present and past resources, while at the same time is resisted by them. But if that resistance is broken, even in miniature, the present is transformed in such a way that it opens up a new future and resuscitates a new past.

[163] Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time: A Revised Edition of the Stambaugh Translation*, trans. Joan Stambaugh, Revised edition (Albany: SUNY Press, 2010).

A detailed Heideggerian reading of prefigurative practice might be possible and interesting, but my purpose here is not to ontologize this political practice. I do not subscribe to the view that an overarching transhistorical structure can be drawn for this historical practice, which is what Heidegger does in his existential analytic, as far as I am concerned. Instead, I am after the logic of this prefigurative practice that can be abstracted and applied to various examples of this activity, and yet is itself tied up with historical actors, political movements, and their past practices. Temporal modalities in the logic of prefiguration resemble the interconnection of the past, present, and future of Heidegger's temporality, but none of these modalities could claim a prior status. Future is not prior to the prefigurative logic of practice; it goes along with the past and the present. Future encroaches upon the present as much as past does the future. And present appropriates the past as much as it projects upon the future.

Despite not having an ontologically prior status, the future is a crucial element in the temporality of prefiguration. My contention is that David Graeber's concept of "immanent imagination" is what best describes this element. Graeber makes a distinction between two kinds of imagination. One is what he calls "the transcendent notion of the imagination" that entails a sharp distinction with reality.[164] Here imagination means "that which we can think, but has no reality," such as unicorns and imaginary worlds. He traces this notion of imagination back to Descartes as the first author who uses this notion as "anything that is not real."[165] Before Descartes, however, the term was used in another sense, namely as a passage

[164] Graeber, *Revolutions in Reverse*, 52.
[165] Graeber, 52.

between reality and reason. In this meaning, imagination is tied up with reality in a way that perceptions are first received by it before they are ordered and conceived in their significance by reason. The way Graeber uses the term "imagination" is much more similar to this pre-Cartesian meaning of imagination. He names it "immanent imagination," which "is in no sense static and free-floating, but entirely caught up in projects of action that aim to have real effects on the material world, and as such, always changing and adapting."[166] It is the kind of imagination that is not detached from reality, but on the contrary aims at transforming that very reality in actual ways.

The temporal modality of the future in prefiguration functions in the fashion of Graeber's immanent imagination. It entails a projection towards what a future society, or a particular form in it, should or could look like, and attempts to instantiate that form in the here and now. This aspect of present practice inevitably ties the imagination to reality enabling prefiguration to even attempt to realize that form in miniature. Furthermore, the political intention of changing society toward that future form requires imagination to project in ways that are in close connection to reality, even if it is in radically negating forms. Yet, the futural projection through the immanent imagination cannot be ascribed a prior role in practice, because the very projection itself is bound up with past practices and the memory from which it is carried. The condition of the very projection of the future from the past is a negation in the present that takes the form of discontent with present social and

[166] Graeber, 52–53.

political structures. In that sense, past, present, and future are all intertwined in the immanent projection of imagination.

Marx and Engels criticized nineteenth-century figures such as Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Robert Owen in their attempts to envision and realize utopian visions as critical–utopian socialists, who entail a critical element in their attack in existing society but drastically fail to contribute to the actual revolutionary struggle. In *The Communist Manifesto*, they wrote: "They still dream of experimental realization of their social Utopias, of founding isolated 'phalanstès', of establishing 'Home Colonies', of setting up a 'Little Icaria'—duodecimo editions of the New Jerusalem—and to realize all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois."[167] I agree with Marx and Engels in their critique of isolationist utopian attempts to create safe heavens, but prefigurative politics is not a retreat to a protected rainbow community. It is a resolute attempt to develop realistic egalitarian forms and revolutionize the world accordingly. The immanent imagination is not a flight from reality to that of ecstatic phantasmagorias, but diligent work to find incisive acts that would initiate processes to transform the world towards egalitarian ends.

2.1.7 Present as New Present

Prefigurative politics hinges on the present moment in trying to transform the present locality, the here-and-now, in line with the future immanent imaginary carried from the past. In its attempt to change present society, this practice insists on the time of action as the present and opposes strategic assessments that order

[167] Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (London: Penguin, 2004), 48.

waiting for a more fitting moment. But in and through action, the present itself does not remain in its given state. According to Thomas Nail, based on his reading of Deleuze and Guattari, the present transformed through prefigurative action can be called a "new present" that creates a new space-time. He writes, "What I am proposing instead is a concept of the future anterior that functions as a new present moment within and alongside the other processes of political and temporal representation. This new present moment is not an infinitely split time but a productive one that both projects a new future and retrojects a new past. It is, as Deleuze says, the creation of a whole new space-time."[168]

In prefigurative politics, the invitation of the future form projected from the past into the present transforms the present moment to the past of the future. This temporal character, Nail denotes as the future anterior, the *will have been*, is a new, futural present. And such intervention into the constitution of the present changes time in all its modalities. It produces a new space-time, which modifies the way we relate to the past and the future. Nail details this structure as the following:

> Once this 'moment' emerges it reconditions not only the political situation of the new present but also that of a new past and future. Revolution is thus not an opposition nor an ex nihilo insurrection, it is a prefiguration in the sense that it creates a new world parallel to the old one. This prefiguration takes place in the future anterior in the sense that it does not assume a pre-given past which it opposes or a merely possible future which it hopes to attain. Revolutionary prefiguration is instead future anterior insofar as it creates, as Deleuze says, an entirely new space-time of its own … It creates the past and future it wants to see in the present.[169]

[168] Nail, *Returning to Revolution*, 89–90.
[169] Nail, 90.

While a political intervention in the future anterior can be an Orwellian one of rewriting history to dominate the future, as the famous quote from his novel *1984* reads "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past",[170] it can also be a liberatory one of producing counter-hegemonic spatio-temporalities in the present. The parallel new world prefiguration instantiates in the present, changes the way we relate to the past and the future. It can unearth buried potentials of the past and open up new political possibilities that are closed off by the hegemonic realism and its presentist repetition of the same.

The new present created in parallel to the old is not an *ex nihilo* creation of what Graeber calls "the transcendent notion of imagination." Instead, it is produced through an immanent imagination in which political action traces the structures of the given reality, draws from the memory of the past struggles and is subjected to the processes in which new forms are gradually instantiated to realize the intended interventions for making an actual change.

Creation of a new space-time and transformation of the future and past in political practice will be referred to later in the project as the production of space-time. Particularly with a focus on the produced spatio-temporality in the square movements, later chapters will argue that prefiguration produces a temporality that I propose calling *subversive presentism* and a spatiality that will be referred as *translocal heterotopia*.

[170] George Orwell, *1984* (Barcelona: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1984), 35.

2.2 The Temporal Logic of Prefiguration

After indicating the historical boundedness of our senses of time and temporality's multiple elements, I think it is time to offer a synthesis with regards to the temporal logic of prefiguration. I propose the following formulation: *Egalitarian memory projection of immanent imagination in kaironic processes for the new present*. To unpack this lengthy formulation, prefiguration projects an immanent futural form in the imagination from the past as egalitarian memory—an active assumption of equality. This projection aims at seizing an opportune moment countering the authorities to begin a process of transformation in the present. This prefigurative projection transforms the present experience of the past and the future in ways that remembers lost potentialities and opens up new horizons for real political possibilities. Such a transformation in the present can be characterized as the production of the new present. In other words, prefiguration produces a new dimension of time that it rends from the hegemonic (capitalist) temporality. This new time anticipates liberating political possibilities, while at the same time resuscitating potentials buried under the hegemonic time.

If it was possible to condense this logic into a single word that would briefly express it as an activity, I would need to neologize and call it *fore-memoration*, alluding to the collective practice of commemoration. Such a term might have been fitting based on two main reasons. First, I note the term's mnemonic connotations, which relates to prefiguration in a dual sense. On the one hand, prefigurative practices remind us of particular future possibilities. They present a figurative version of the desired future in the present and exemplify the possible realization of

that particular future structure. On the other hand, the very prefigurative practice inserts itself in history to be remembered in the future. Prefigurative practices become events in the historical continuum of time and inscribe themselves into collective memory. The second reason would be owing to the term's innate tension between the past and the future, which relates to prefiguration, again in a dual sense. On the one hand, it points to a core paradox in prefiguration: in its attempt to instantiate the future in the present, its presentation is bound up by its past and present, which makes it almost impossible to accomplish its aims. On the other hand, the imagination that projects the desired future structure is carried from the past and has "memorized" limitations in its desire.

Nevertheless, this awkward term would be able to express neither the immanent imaginative aspect of the future projection nor the *kaironic* moment of countering the authorities in the opportune-wrong moment. It would also exclude the new present produced through this practice and the process character of this production. Hence, the term would not be comprehensive for denoting the temporality of prefiguration.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter attempted to offer an analysis of the temporal logic of prefiguration through the philosophical lens of historical time. Being aware of these multi-layered temporalities can help conceptualize the complexities of these practices and the distinct but interrelated forces that are operative in the constitution of their action. Such an understanding would pave the way for a theory of political experience whose condition of possibility as time and space are themselves temporal. The

denaturalization of time is particularly important here because the historical character of time allows us to think of prefigurative politics as a practice of creating novel times.

"Not only has capitalism laid hold of pre-existing space, of the Earth, but it also tends to produce a space of its own. How can this be? The answer is: through and by means of urbanization, under the pressure of the world market; and, in accordance with the law of the reproducible and the repetitive, by abolishing spatial and temporal differences, by destroying nature and nature's time. Is there not a danger that the economic sphere, fetishized as the world market, along with the space that it determines, and the political sphere made absolute, might destroy their own foundation - namely land, space, town and country - and thus in effect self-destruct?"

–Henri Lefebvre

Chapter 3: The Spatial Logic of Prefiguration

Space, very much like time, is often taken as a natural phenomenon that leaves little to inquire into regarding the notion itself. What is deemed to be interesting is what happens within space, not space itself. However, just as in the case of time, space proves to be a complex category when it is approached with a philosophical lens. In this chapter, my aim is first to denaturalize this notion to reveal the temporal and socially constructed character of space. In so doing, I will trace the belated (in relation to studies of temporality) materialist and constructivist approaches to space, and what is known as the "spatial turn" in social theory, with a primary focus on Henri Lefebvre and Michael Foucault. I will then offer a multi-layered understanding of space that paves the way for a more complex understanding of the spatiality of practice. Finally, I will focus on the spatial logic of prefiguration and offer various spatial configurations that lie in the constitution of this practice, particularly as they relate to square movements.

3.1 Space and Practice

The recognition that space is a crucial component of social theory today is a relatively recent phenomenon. Despite certain exceptions such as Walter Benjamin, until what is known as the "spatial turn,"[171] space was considered mostly to be a given template on which social and political dynamics were playing out. Time in its temporalized conception, on the contrary, was prioritized and regarded as a central dimension upon which social analysis can be built. Foucault in an interview published as "Question of Geography" said, "A critique could be carried out of this devaluation of space that has prevailed for generations. Did it start with Bergson, or before? Space was treated as the dead, the fixed, the undialectical, the immobile. Time, on the contrary, was richness, fecundity, life, dialectic."[172] With the spatial turn, space is acknowledged as a significant component that helps in understanding questions of social theory. Neil Smith sums up the novelty of the spatial turn as the "recognition of the connection between space and power,"[173] which for him made the spatial turn and questions of spatiality appealing to social theorists. This realization, prominently through French theory by Henri Lefebvre, Michael Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu, as well as by the German critical theory tradition, opened up a whole milieu of research on the ways in which space is not simply a container but a crucial medium in historical practices. Their work revealed, in Edward Soja's words, "how space can be made to hide consequences from us, how relations of power and discipline are inscribed into the apparently innocent

[171] Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*.
[172] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 80.
[173] Low and Smith, *The Politics of Public Space*, 63.

spatiality of social life, how human geographies become filled with politics and ideology."[174] Since then, critical works of political geography, urban planning, and architecture have charted out this relationship of socio-political practice and space extensively.

3.1.2 Lefebvre and the Production of Space

The key intervention of Henri Lefebvre in his theorization of the production of space is the argument that space is not a given, natural entity, but rather it is produced in history through social forces. Lefebvre argues that the dominant conception of space in the history of (Western) thought hides more than it reveals. Space is predominantly conceived as a static entity that merely contains social relations. This container model underlies the conception of space from Euclid to Newton and defines the main spatial imaginary. According to this model, social forces resemble celestial bodies moving in an empty space that does not relate to the bodies in motion besides hosting them in a neutral manner. In effect, the relationship between space and human forces operates more in the fashion Einstein described, which is that the celestial bodies and their gravitational forces are in direct influence over space, bending and forming space-time. Lefebvre writes on the domination of the abstraction of homogeneous space:

> Philosophers have themselves helped bring about the schism with which we are concerned by developing abstract (metaphysical) representations of space, among them the Cartesian notion of space as absolute, infinite *res extensa*, a divine property which may be grasped in a single act of intuition because of its homogeneous (isotropic) character. This is all the more regrettable in view of the fact that the beginnings of philosophy were closely bound up with

[174] Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*, 6.

> the 'real' space of the Greek city. This connection was severed later in philosophy's development. Not that we can have no recourse to philosophy, to its concepts or conceptions.[175]

Lefebvre theorizes within and against philosophy. He ruthlessly criticizes Cartesian and idealist tendencies of rationalist abstractions and aims at reinstating a concrete sense of space in its place-bound, historical conditions with respect to the material forces that partake in the production of spaces. He takes issue with the ways in which thought gets detached from the material dynamics that give birth to certain ways of thinking, not through a return to the Ancient Greeks—a foundation moment as in a Heideggerian gesture—but rather through an analysis of the material conditions of actually existing society. He adopts a Marxist approach in analyzing "the unique forms of existing reality the true reality as its norm and final goal,"[176] but by focusing on and asserting the significance of space—that infamously left unaddressed before the "spatial-turn"—he goes a step further than Marx's attempt to develop a critical theory of the existing reality. Nigel Thrift summarizes this methodological development: "The turn to space is best understood as part of a more general struggle to produce a material thinking that has preoccupied social theory over the last 20 years or so."[177] Thrift refers to the 1970s and the spatial turn, but the attempts to develop *material thinking* dates back to Marx's materialist methodology.

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[175] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, 1 edition (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), 14.
[176] Karl Marx, "For a Ruthless Criticism of Everything Existing," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, 2nd Revised & enlarged edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 14.
[177] N. Thrift, "Space," *Theory, Culture & Society* 23, no. 2–3 (May 1, 2006): 139, https://doi.org/10.1177/0263276406063780.

The Lefebvrian program is particularly significant in understanding the relationship between space and socio-political practices, owing to its emphasis on the production side of the forces that participate in the making of space. Space, Lefebvre argues, along with other commodities claiming an abstract reality such as money and capital, appears to have factual qualities of its own. While it is predominantly conceived as a natural dimension of the world, it hides concrete social processes in its very production. This covering up, for Lefebvre, is an effect of ideology that inherently furthers certain class interests. Production for Lefebvre is the key human capacity to materialize labor in the world, shape the world, which in turn shapes human beings within it. Drawing from Marx's notion of production, Lefebvre focuses on the production mechanisms of the elements of the social world that are usually considered to be given, namely the production of space. Nevertheless, while he is borrowing the term from Marx, he notes that the term signifies more than how it generally is used as the economic production of goods and services. Lefebvre indicates early Marx as the address he picks up the term with its broader connotations from. He writes:

> The term *production* acquires a more forceful and a wider significance, when interpreted according to Marx's early works (though still bearing *Das Kapital* in mind); production is not merely the making of products: the term signifies on the one hand 'spiritual' production, that is to say creations (including social time and space), and on the other material production or the making of things; it also signifies the self-production of a 'human being' in the process of historical self-development, which involves the production of social relations. Finally, taken in its fullest sense, the term embraces *re-production*, not only biological (which is the province of demography), but the material reproduction of the tools of

> production, of technical in-struments and of social relations into the bargain...[178]

According to Stuart Elden, Lefebvre's usage of "production" reveals elements in his thought that not only go beyond a "crude understanding of economic determinist"[179] from within Marx but also indicates his approximation to Nietzsche's understanding of creation. Elden writes:

> By production therefore Lefebvre means both the strictly economic production of things—goods and products, but also the larger philosophical concept, 'the production of oeuvres, the production of knowledge, of institutions, of all that constitutes society'. This is the dual understanding found in Marx, deriving from his reading of Hegel, and comes close to Nietzsche's sense of creation.[180]

Understanding this dual sense of production helps us appreciate Lefebvre's contribution to the Marxist tradition and its struggle to develop material thinking in analyzing social and economic reality. While amending the lack of attention to space in Marxist social theory by analyzing the political role of space in the formation of social relations, Lefebvre also makes the case for the social production of that seemingly natural category. And he does that through a multi-layered approach that not only focuses on the production of the material structures that partake in the production of space, but also on representations, ideas, imaginations, affects, and lived experiences. Lefebvre systematizes this multi-layered production of space in his famous tripartite structure of *experienced*, *perceived* and *lived* spaces. In

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[178] Henri Lefebvre, *Everday Life in the Modern World*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, 1971), 30–31.
[179] Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible* (London, New York: Continuum, 2004), 43.
[180] Elden, 44.

developing this tripartite method, he draws from another figure, namely Ernst Cassirer.

In theorizing the ways in which space is produced in three distinct but interlaced layers, Lefebvre draws from Cassirer's taxonomy of spaces, which are the organic, perceived and symbolic experience of spaces. For Cassirer, the organic level is the immediate sense experience of the space, and the perceived one is about the way we process information of the given sensory experience in the brain. Symbolic space is an abstract conception of space, the meanings spaces acquire in the human mind.[181]

Influenced by Cassirer's philosophy of space, Lefebvre develops a tripartite structure that explains the multilayered constitution of space, which he denotes in totality as the production of space. The first dimension, corresponding to Cassirer's organic space, is *spatial practice*, which entails the material, sense-perceived dimensions of a space. Lefebvre also calls this dimension: *experienced space*. Spatial practice pertains to the relations of production, the division of labor, and the material reproduction of social life, the built environment, and infrastructure. The second dimension is the *representation of space*, which comprises the conceptions, plans, maps, pictures, and discourses regarding a particular space, also called by Lefebvre *perceived space*. The third dimension is *representational space*, which denotes the lived experiences, imaginations, emotions, social and political meanings and symbolism of space, also named *lived or imagined space*. Material formations, as much as representations and affective engagements with a particular locality, play

[181] Ernst Cassirer, *An Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture* (Yale University Press, 1944).

an elemental part in the production of space, which Lefebvre equates with s*ocial space*. In pluralizing the approach to space and rejecting the idea that space can be conceived in a single dimension, Lefebvre offers various historical types of produced space. Abstract and differential spaces are the two most pertinent ones for understanding the spatiality of the contemporary square movements.

Abstract space is exclusively a product of capitalism, more specifically of the homogenizing and quantifying forces of commodification. Indebted to Karl Marx's notion of *abstract labor*, i.e. the commodification of labor and the leveling of activities of concrete labor down to the abstraction of labor time, abstract space is a reified space of exchange relations whereby its qualitative differences are reduced to the abstraction of a commodity. Referring to Marx's analysis of the town and country distinction in *The German Ideology*, Lefebvre writes:

> It was during this time [when the historical town of the West, along with the countryside was under its (town's) control] that productive activity (labour) became no longer one with the process of reproduction which perpetuated social life; but, in becoming independent of that process, labour fell prey to abstraction, whence abstract social labour - and *abstract space.* [182]

Abstract spaces are antithetical to lived spaces of habitation due to habitation's inherent resistance to commodified homogenization. Yet, the capitalist mode of production and its politics of space constantly expand and produce abstract spaces that endanger lived spaces. He writes, following the previously referred passage, and it is worth quoting here at length:

[182] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 49.

> This abstract space took over from historical space, which nevertheless lived on, though gradually losing its force, as substratum or underpinning of representational spaces. Abstract space functions 'objectally', as a set of things/signs and their formal relationships: glass and stone, concrete and steel, angles and curves, full and empty. Formal and quantitative, it erases distinctions, as much those which derive from nature and (historical) time as those which originate in the body (age, sex, ethnicity). The signification of this ensemble refers back to a sort of super-signification which escapes meaning's net: the functioning of capitalism, which contrives to be blatant and covert at one and the same time. The dominant form of space, that of the centres of wealth and power, endeavours to mould the spaces it dominates (i.e. peripheral spaces), and it seeks, often by violent means, to reduce the obstacles and resistance it encounters there. Differences, for their part, are forced into the symbolic forms of an art that is itself abstract. A symbolism derived from that mis-taking of sensory, sensual and sexual which is intrinsic to the things/signs of abstract space finds objective expression in derivative ways.[183]

Lefebvre points out that abstract space erases distinctions in nature, historical space as well as the body. Differences become flattened and expressed only as insignificant symbols. The central powers and wealth expand their controlling tentacles to the peripheries and transform the differential qualities into a blatant surface. David Harvey will later explain this constant expansion of capitalism as the "spatial fix"[184] that allows the sustenance of capitalism despite its contradictions through colonizing external spaces and including them within the market. Lefebvre's main examples of abstract spaces are highways, shopping malls, and airports, which multiply a space of sameness through consumption and

[183] Lefebvre, 49.
[184] David Harvey, "Globalization and the 'Spatial Fix,'" *Geographische* 2 (2001): 23–30.

increased circulation.[185] Yet, proximate to these power centers, contradictions within an abstract space unwittingly make room for its transformation. Lefebvre points to urbanscapes and the differential spaces produced within these as kernels of transformation.

Among the myriad spaces of habitation, urban space has a special significance for Lefebvre. Contrary to the cyclical and monotonous passage of time in agrarian space, urban space opens up an emancipatory milieu of differentiation. Even though it emerges along with the forces of capitalist urbanization, i.e. the accumulation of capital that concentrates wealth in cities over the countryside, urban dynamics are potent enough to produce a counter-space from within the contradictions of the dominating abstract space. The Lefebvrian term for such spaces is *differential spaces*.[186] Such spaces enable particularities, bodily and experiential differences, to flourish. Urban spaces are also praised by Lefebvre as spaces of *jouissance*, of enjoyment and excitement.

Lefebvre also refers to these spaces as *heterotopias*, but instead of developing the concept further as in Michel Foucault's engagement with this notion,[187] Lefebvre moves on to use the distinction between *dominated* and *appropriated spaces*, which

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[185] Marc Augé's notion of "non-space" furthers Lefebvre's analysis of abstract space taking these examples of shopping malls, airports and highways at its center. Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, trans. John Howe, 1st Edition (London: Verso Books, 1995).
[186] Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, 37.
[187] Very much like the spaces he advocates, Lefebvre's writing is festive, explosive and, as Andy Merrifield attests, often ambiguous. Andy Merrifield, "Henri Lefebvre: A Socialist in Space," in *Thinking Space*, ed. Mike Crang Thrift, Nigel (London: Routledge, 2000), 167–82; Hence, it is not uncommon for commentators to express frustration with the lack of clarity in his conceptual frameworks. Harvey Molotch, "The Space of Lefebvre," *Theory and Society* 22, no. 6 (1993): 887–895; Foucault in "Of Other Spaces" gives an analysis of the scope and implications of this term, and today in political geography, the term "heterotopia" is usually utilized in its Foucaultian sense. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," ed. Jay Miskowiec, *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (April 1, 1986): 22–27, https://doi.org/10.2307/464648.

he argues is a more pertinent distinction.[188] Lefebvre defines *dominated space* as a "space transformed—and mediated—by technology,"[189] and elaborates, "dominant space is invariably the realization of a master's project. . . . In order to dominate space, technology introduces a new form into a preexisting space—generally a rectilinear or rectangular form such as a meshwork or chequerwork."[190] Dominated space is usually closed, sterilized, emptied out and hence reminiscent of abstract space yet not limited to it because dominated space includes non-capitalist examples of domination such as concentration camps.[191]

Contrary to such dominated spaces, there is what Lefebvre calls *appropriated space*s. He defines such a space as "a natural space modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group. . . . An appropriated space resembles a work of art, which is not to say that it is in any sense an imitation work of art. Often such a space is a structure—a monument or building—but this is not always the case: a site, a square or a street may also be legitimately described as an appropriated space."[192] This non-proprietary appropriation organically connects a space to the needs and aspirations of the people appropriating it, and hence offers an alternative relationship between space and power to that involved in dominated spaces. While in dominated spaces there is a top-to-bottom exercise of power in the configuration of space, which can also be referred to as *power over*, in appropriated spaces power is exercised from the

[188] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 164.
[189] Lefebvre, 164.
[190] Lefebvre, 165.
[191] This is not Lefebvre's example, but my own addition.
[192] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 165.

bottom up, almost like a site of what Enriqué Dussel calls *potentia*, i.e. pre-institutionalized concentrations of political power in the people.[193]

While spaces are produced through social and political engagement, they also are determinative of the ways in which socio-political activity is possible. As they facilitate certain modalities of action, they take part in the making of durable power structures and social control. Power relations configure spaces and, in turn, those spaces act upon and shape the actors effective in those relations. This mutual relationship between space and power mirrors what Edward Soja coins, drawing from Henri Lefebvre's assertion in *Urban Revolution*, a "socio-spatial dialectic."[194] Lefebvre writes, "Space and the political organization of space express social relations but also react back upon them."[195] Soja conceptualizes this relationship as the dialectical interrelation of space and social relations in which space is socially constructed while simultaneously constructing the social. Power relations in society—e.g. capitalist forms of accumulation, operations of the state apparatus as well as the practices of resistance—inscribe themselves into space, shape and produce spaces that in turn shape and produce/reproduce relations of power. I draw from Soja's formulation of the dialectical relationship between space and social relations and expanded it as the *socio-spatiotemporal dialectic* encompassing the space-time interconnectedness I will be expanding upon in chapter 4.

[193] Enriqué Dussel, *Twenty Theses on Politics*, trans. George Ciccariello-Maher (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2008).
[194] Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*, 81.
[195] Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, 25.

3.1.3 Foucault and the Disciplinary Power of Space

Michael Foucault's seminal analysis of prisons is an important benchmark in understanding the role of space in socio-political practices. In his work, *Discipline and Punish*, he established the intricate connection between the architectural configuration of space and socio-political domination and formation of particular human subjectivities. The book opens with an analysis of the transformation of punitive practices in Europe. He argues that from the medieval period to the modern age, there is a categorical change from these practices that reflects the emergence of a novel form of power that permeates the social–political scene in modern times. The transition, in short, is from what he calls a crude exercise of power to a subtler but no less effective form: *disciplinary power*.

The pre-modern form of power involves practices of direct physical damage to the body of the punished, such as beating, mutilation, torture, and decapitation. Crime is defined as a violation of the body of the sovereign and thought to deserve a mutual response to the body of the violator. The punishments mostly took the form of public displays, exercising the bodily mutilation, torture and killing at public sites with the participation of large crowds. In this form, the sovereign establishes and sustains his power over his subjects by the infliction of crude force. This form of power relates to the specific actions of the individuals. It intervenes in cases where the subject's actions disturb the sovereign's order or leaves them be, so far as they don't violate his rules.

The modern form of power, in contrast, opens more channels of intervention to subjects, albeit in subtle ways. Instead of public displays of torture and execution,

power is exercised in “correctional” forms to shape the individual to conform. This happens not only as a direct response to the specific violations of the established order, but also diffuses in the daily life of “normal, law-abiding citizens.” Foucault singles out the practices of state control and regulation during the plague, where isolation and stringent recording of each and every individual entered into the operations of the state.

The modern punitive mechanisms of surveillance and control were archetypical sites of this novel form of power. The practices of regulating daily life took an extreme form in experimented methods of modern punishment. Foucault indicates Bentham’s prison model *panopticon* as the architectural model of this newly emerging disciplinary power. Bentham designed a specific circular architecture for a correctional prison, where each prisoner is locked in a single cell located at the perimeters of the circular building. Cells are well lit with windows open to the center of the building. At the very center, there is a guard tower that can effortlessly view the interiors of each cell. Bentham points out that this architectural structure would allow the guard to surveil prisoners all the time, which in turn prevents disorderly conduct and facilitates control over prisoners.

Figure 3: A Panopticon prison. Wikimedia Commons' description: "Photograph of the Central Jail at Junagadh in Gujarat, taken by F. Nelson in the 1890s from the Lee-Warner Collection: 'Photographs of Junagadh'. This is a view of the jail from the main gate looking down into the central compound. The design of the jail is a version of the panopticon system proposed for prisons in 1791 by the English philosopher Jeremy Bentham. Cells are arranged in concentric rings around watchtower from which prisoners could be observed. In late 19th-century India this was considered a modern form of construction and was used for new prisons in Gujarat and other states." Used from the public domain.[196]

Foucault makes a minor but significant modification on that prison design while drawing from it as the spatial model of disciplinary power. He adds that when the lights of the guard tower are off, it would create a one-directional view only on the side of the guard. Prisoners would know that they are visible to the guard; however, they cannot specifically point out when the guard is in the tower looking at them. This indeterminacy of constant surveillance makes prisoners conscious of their behavior in the cell, and hence adds a second level of surveillance, i.e. self-surveillance. This second layer is crucial for understanding Foucault's notion of disciplinary power, for it operates not only from the center of the authority but also

[196] Nelson, F. *View of the Central Jail, Junagadh*. Source: British Library Website, 1890. Used from the public domain. Available from: Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:View_of_the_Central_Jail,_Junagadh,_from_the_main_gate_looking_down_into_the_central_compound_with_a_watchtower_in_the_middle.jpg (accessed April 7, 2019).

is diffused to each and every subject under control. The architectural model isolates and controls individuals not only externally but this spatial configuration also transforms individuals internally, by producing them as subjects that behave in conformity with the authority without the crude exercise of power. Violators are not necessarily harmed physically; they are instead subjectified into what Foucault calls "docile bodies."[197] Modern institutions are kernels of disciplinary power and they are not limited to those of punishment. For Foucault, this form of power is effective in various other forms such as psychiatric hospitals, medical hospitals, military barracks, and modern schools. Foucault sums up the task of criticizing institutions as follows:

> It seems to me the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them.[198]

Modern institutions are not neutral mechanisms of state service in society; instead, they are subtle mechanisms within which disciplinary power is diffused and creates subjects of control. Focusing on the mechanisms of these institutions and the power relations they reproduce in the society opens a window onto the ways in which society is governed by disciplinary power. In that sense, the task is not merely to understand these institutions, but to analyze and change the ways in which these

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[197] Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, 2nd edition (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 135; Like Foucault, Bourdieu argued that the socio-spatial ordering of everyday life naturalizes social control such that it becomes perceived as social reality. Such a space of control pervades what he calls habitus, which reproduces the structures of social control through habitative practices. Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*.
[198] Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon, 1984), 6.

institutions are operational in the reproduction of unequal power relations in the society.

Foucault's analysis of modern institutions and disciplinary power are particularly important for understanding the relationship between power and space because he focuses on the ways in which seemingly neutral spaces partake in the power relations that obtain in society as a whole. The panopticon and the modern institutions that adopted this technology of disciplinary power are not only effective over the individuals subjected by penal, military, educational or medical institutions. Rather, such institutions were sites of experiments in the development of this modern form of power that gradually permeates all of society. Hence, Foucault in a later interview titled "Questions on Geography" reflects back on his work on the model of the panopticon and writes, "By the term 'Panoptism', I have in mind an ensemble of mechanisms brought into play in all the clusters of procedures used by power. Panoptism was a technological invention in the order of power, comparable with the steam engine in the order of production. This invention had the peculiarity of being utilized, first of all, on a local level, in schools, barracks and hospitals. This was where the experiment of integral surveillance was carried out."[199] This integral surveillance, or self-surveillance, then diffuses to become a major mechanism of control constituting disciplinary society.

[199] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, 71.

3.1.4 Harvey and the Grid of Spatial Practice

"We owe the idea that command over space is a fundamental and all pervasive source of social power in and over everyday life to the persistent voice of Henri Lefebvre," writes David Harvey in his *The Condition of Postmodernism*.[200] Harvey furthers this investigation on the relationship between space and social power by not only building upon the theoretical tools he draws from Lefebvre but also cementing the cracks in these theoretical constructions, rendering them stronger. Lefebvre's tripartite analysis of the production of space is one of those, initially shaky, building blocks. Harvey is explicit about the vague aspects of Lefevbre's tripartite analysis of the production of space:

> Lefebvre characterizes these three dimensions as the experienced, the perceived, and the imagined. He regards the dialectical relations between them as the fulcrum of a dramatic tension through which the history of spatial practices can be read. The spaces of represent- ation, therefore, have the potential not only to affect representation of space but also to act as a material productive force with respect to spatial practices. But to argue that the relations between the experienced, the perceived, and the imagined are dialectically rather than causally determined leaves things much too vague.[201]

To complicate as well as clarify the layers and relations of space, Harvey offers a grid of spatial practice that is based on Lefebvre's triangle. Harvey justifies his grid with the following words:

> Spatial and temporal practices, in any society, abound in subtleties and complexities. Since they are so closely implicated in processes of reproduction and transformation of social relations, some way has to be found to depict them and generalize about their use. The history of social change is in part captured by the history of the conceptions of space and time, and the ideological uses to which those conceptions might be put. Furthermore, any project to transform society must

[200] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 226.
[201] Harvey, 219.

> grasp the complex nettle of the transformation of spatial and temporal conceptions and practices. I shall try to capture some of the complexity through construction of a 'grid' of spatial practices."[202]

Harvey's grid facilitates a comprehensive analysis of spatial practice, and hence it is helpful in my attempted analysis of spatial prefiguration. Hereafter, I briefly demonstrate the main contours of Harvey's grid, but it will become more concrete when I unpack and apply the elements of this grid to the square movements in section 3.4, "Spatiality of Prefiguration in the Square Movements."

To Lefebvre's experienced, perceived and imagined categories of the production of space, Harvey adds four subcategories that qualify each of these tripartite layers.[203] He draws these subcategories from commonsense conceptions of spatial practice as well as Lefebvre's categories of appropriated and dominated space. The first subcategory is what Harvey calls "accessibility and distanciation." It pertains to the role that distance plays in human affairs. Distance can prevent social interaction and pose a defense against it. It results in transaction costs in production and reproduction. Harvey also calls these roles of spatial distance, 'friction of distance,' meaning the difficulties that emerge from distances.[204] Harvey defines distanciation with reference to Anthony Giddens's term *space-time distanciation* in his *Outline of the Theory of Structuration*[205] as "simply a measure of the degree to

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[202] Harvey, 218.
[203] The below explanations of these four categories are my paraphrasing of the charts and explanations Harvey provided in *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 219–222. However, some passages may reflect his wording without always putting them in quotation marks to provide a more smooth reading.
[204] Harvey, 219.
[205] Giddens use this term as "the stretching of social relations across time-space." In that sense, his usage of distanciation is directly linked to the root of the term as expansion of distances in social

which the friction of space has been overcome to accommodate social interaction."[206] In that sense, I take this term not to denote systems and practices that expand social relations to space-time (*à la* Giddens), but to denote measures with which to overcome the friction of distances for social interaction. As it relates to Lefebvre's experienced, perceived and imagined spaces, accessibility and distanciation entails the following. First, flows of goods, money, people, labor power, and information as wells as transportation and communication are the material spatial practices of accessibility and distanciation. Secondly, social, psychological and physical measures of distance, maps, and theories of friction of distance such as the principle of least effort and social physics belong to the representation of space (perceived). Finally, attraction/repulsion, distance/desire, access/denial are modes of imagined space (spaces of representation) pertaining to accessibility and distanciation. Overall, this category explains practice's relationship to distance and the ways in which such distance poses limitations and enable possibilities in human actions.

The second element in Harvey's grid is "appropriation and use of space." In this category, Harvey examines the occupation of spaces by objects, activities, individuals, classes and other groupings. The building of a house, usage of land for agriculture and other purposes are all ways of appropriating space. He adds certain kinds of appropriation, particularly systematized and institutional forms entail the production of "territorially bounded forms of social solidarity." At the experienced

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relations. Harvey, though, ascribes another meaning to the term. Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1986), 259.

[206] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 222.

space level, appropriation and use of space are particular uses of land and built environment, social spaces, and networks of communication as well as mutual aid. As for representation of space, appropriation is the practice in personal spaces, mental maps of occupied spaces, spatial hierarchies, symbolic representation of spaces and spatial discourses. At the layer of imagination, feeling of familiarity and home, openness of places, popular spectacles as squares, streets, markets, as wells as iconography, graffiti and advertisements are ways of appropriating space.

The third aspect of spatial practice Harvey includes in his grid is domination and control of space. This is a certain relation to space by powerful individuals or groups that dominate and control the organization and appropriation of space by themselves or for others. Domination happens in material spatial practices in forms of private property, state and administrative organizations of space, exclusion of individuals, communities, and districts as well as policing and surveillance. On the level of representation, domination takes the form of 'territorial imperatives,' forbidden spaces, national ideologies, geopolitical representations and reproductions of dominated space. On the level of lived or imagined spatial practice, domination mobilizes feelings of unfamiliarity, fear, the drives of possession and property. Harvey includes monumentality and constructed spaces of ritual, symbolic barriers and symbolic capital in this category.

Harvey returns to Lefebvre's production of space as the fourth and final element in his grid. His stress is on the production of new systems of land use, transport, communications, and territorial organizations as well as new modes of representations such as information technologies, design and computerized

mapping. As in Lefebvre's characterization, here the production of space takes place in experienced, perceived and imagined modes. The production of physical infrastructures, or territorial organizations, is the material aspect of spatial practice. Producing new systems of mapping, visual representations, communications, artistic and architectural discourses, and semiotics are practices that produce space at the level of representation. Utopian plans, imaginary landscapes, science fiction, artistic sketches, mythologies and poetics of space are imagined modes of producing space.

Harvey emphasizes that these categories cannot be understood as independent of each other. Accessibility and distanciation pose challenges in appropriation and domination of space, while the latter practices transform, ease or harden the friction of space for one's own or other groups. The production of space also changes the way people appropriate, dominate and manage distances in various ways. The purchase of this grid, for Harvey, is to provide an entry point for discussing the shifting experience of space, particularly in the contexts of modernism and postmodernism.[207] This discussion has to be contextualized in social practices to make sense of the multiple modes of spatial practice, the way they constitute our experience of space. My purpose here is to utilize Harvey's grid as a tool kit for understanding the complex logic of PPSM.

3.2 Spatial Logic of Prefiguration

Space and socio-political practice have an intricate connection that goes beyond what the container conception of space enables. Space is not merely a static site

[207] Harvey, 222.

within which practices occur, but instead it is produced and acts upon the practices that partake in its production. In the remainder of the chapter, I focus on a particular practice and offer an analysis of the spatial logic of prefiguration.

Spatial prefiguration is a mode of prefigurative politics that instantiate the future imaginary in a particular locality in order to instigate socio-political transformation.[208] It takes place at a particular geo-location and at a specific chronological time, but the mere coordinates and chronology are not sufficient to explain its spatio-temporal structure, not only because the practice itself transforms the 'here-and-now,' but also because the various layers of spatiality and temporality with which the practice is interacting cannot be reduced to chronology or geography. Very much like the temporal logic of prefiguration that is constituted by multiple layers of temporality as explained in the previous chapter, the spatial logic of prefiguration has a complex constitution. Here, I offer an analysis of the latter's logic first by focusing on the internal structure of this practice, and then using the theoretical tools provided by Harvey's grid of spatial practice, I unpack the offered logic and its dimensions tracing the spatiality of my two cases in the square movements: Occupy Philadelphia and Taksim Commune.

Spatial prefiguration takes place between a particular material locality and an imagined future utopia. The practice overlays these two spatialities onto each other in a way that overcomes the real and imaginary dichotomy. The spatial practice functions in such a way that the instantiated imaginary partakes in the

[208] Locality here should be understood as a relational concept that indicates the material space of the site of practice, and not merely as a return to the abstract notion of space and its geographical coordinates.

production of the present locality. This happens partly because of the "immanent" character of imagination, which I borrowed from David Graeber in the previous chapter. The imaginary projection of the future utopia is not one that has no ties to current reality; on the contrary, it is tied up with the present spatiality and aims at having actual effects by its transformation. Another reason such a dichotomy is not explanatory for spatial prefiguration is the instantiating logic of prefiguration. For the practice to exercise prefiguration, the imagined future projection has to be realizable, at least in miniature, in the here-and-now. In that sense, the imagined utopia is not "utopian" as an unrealistic non-existing place of desire, but rather is a present heuristic space that gives forms to the actual practice.

It is not possible to overemphasize this point of the actuality of immanent utopian projection, because this is one of the core features of prefigurative politics that distinguishes it from idealistic utopian tendencies. By definition, prefigurative politics has to rely on present structures and constantly reality-check its projections if it is to instantiate any desirable form. This realistic kernel forces prefigurative actors to think and plan critically with respect to the actually existing mechanisms of society. They need to constantly revise their tactics on the ground not only to find ways to instantiate futural forms amid hostile present structures and proliferate these forms in society, but also to experiment to develop better and more realistic forms for the future.

When we consider the political intentions of transforming society towards the imagined utopian forms and the actual realization of these forms in miniature, the relation between material spatial practices and the imagined utopia can be

characterized as being at an *exemplary scale.*[209] The scale of the imagined utopia can be as big as universal, but the instantiated form is always particular to a locality. The size of the local of spatial prefiguration can vary; nevertheless, with respect to the imagined scale, it always remains at the level of an example of the projected totality.

To realize the political intent of the spatial prefiguration, the sample that is instantiated in the present has to assume the spatiality of *publicness*. It needs to be visible to a public broader than the one that is partaking in that practice. Indeed, immanent utopian spaces can be instantiated in private spaces as well, but that would not carry the intent or effect of socio-political transformation and could not be counted as spatial prefiguration or prefigurative politics in general.[210]

The publicness here should be distinguished from what Jürgen Habermas calls the public sphere. For Habermas, the public sphere is a realm of opinion formation through deliberation that is open to all citizens in a polity.[211] Even though public space and the public sphere are often used interchangeably, in effect the latter has little to do with space. Setha Low and Neil Smith write in their *The Politics*

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[209] Alternatively, it can be called sampling scale or synecdochic action. Benjamin Franks uses the latter term "synecdochic action" as a feature of direct action and writes: "Direct action is... synecdochic; it contains elements of the object it is representing. It stands both as a practical response to a given situation, but also as a symbol of the larger vision of societal change." Franks, "Direct Action Ethic," 20.

[210] This point about the necessity of publicness for prefigurative politics is open to debate. Aren't there non-public examples of prefigurative politics? From squat houses to closed collectives, several prefigurative examples, in fact, choose not to publicize their experimented forms primarily due to security concerns. But how would they promote their forms to the broader society if they were not public? Wouldn't such private practices devolve into isolationist attempts to form safe-havens amid the negated reality? My answer to this is that they would, and hence I see publicness as an indispensable element in the spatial logic of prefiguration. The only exception I can think of for a private critical prefigurative politics is based on the transformations of the agents in those spaces, who are not distracted by the luxuries of those liberated spaces and engage in parallel political activities in society. Nevertheless, such private prefiguration would be limited to political pedagogy and would have only an indirect impact on the broader structures of society.

[211] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (MIT press, 1991).

of Public Space: "The public sphere is rarely if ever spatialized. In Habermas's account, for example, the ideal public sphere is deemed universal and thereby, in any meaningful sense, spatially undifferentiated."[212] The publicness in spatial prefiguration, in contrast, is particular to local-to-local relationships and is far from universal. Public space is spatially bounded and is produced with respect to particular qualities, which I will detail in the following section.

One of those qualities, inclusiveness, is another demarcating point between publicness and the Habermasian public sphere. The public sphere is a sphere of opinion formation that represents itself as universal, but in effect it is exclusive first to the citizens of the polity, and second to those who have a legitimate license of entry to that deliberative sphere. Nancy Fraser criticizes Habermas on this point regarding the bourgeois public sphere, where despite its all-inclusive outlook it in fact carries with it mechanisms of exclusion based on class, gender and race.[213]

To condense the elements given above, I propose calling this spatial logic *the public instantiation of an immanent utopia in an exemplary locality* (let me refer to this compound hereafter as PUEL for reasons of convenience). To reiterate its meaning, spatial prefiguration overlays the immanent utopian imaginary onto the present locality by instantiating an exemplary form of that utopia in public. Nevertheless, the task in theorizing the spatial logic of prefiguration is hardly

[212] Low and Smith, *The Politics of Public Space*, 5.
[213] Hence, Fraser proposes rethinking the public sphere with an emphasis on alternative publics. Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text*, no. 25/26 (January 1, 1990): 56–80, https://doi.org/10.2307/466240; See also Bickford's reading of Fraser's alternative publics and her critique of the public sphere that is more attentive to material public spaces. Susan Bickford, "Constructing Inequality: City Spaces and the Architecture of Citizenship," *Political Theory* 28, no. 3 (2000): 355–76.

complete. This logic is always practiced in relation to a broader matrix of spatial practice, which is charted out by David Harvey's grid of spatial practice.

Every spatial prefiguration is subjected to what Harvey calls the 'friction of distance' in basic senses of how people transport themselves to the practiced locality, how the goods and tools used to reproduce life in those practices are brought to the site. Spatial prefiguration appropriates or dominates a space through the logic of PUEL and it produces space (in fact, space-times, which will be focused on in the next chapter). All of these spatial practices take place at all three levels of Lefebvrian experienced, perceived and lived space. However, a mere list does not explain anything. In fact, as Harvey writes, "The grid of spatial practices can tell us nothing important by itself. To suppose so would be to accept the idea that there is some universal spatial language independent of social practices. Spatial practices derive their efficacy in social life only through the structure of social relations within which they come into play."[214]

To make sense of the theorized logic of spatial prefiguration and further the analysis of the square movements, I focus on the social relations performed in square movements, particularly those of Occupy Philadelphia and Taksim Commune. To do so, first I unpack the notion of public space that these mobilizations reclaim, reproduce and supersede. I then organize the rest of the chapter in line with Harvey's grid of spatial practice and treat my cases in the order of the four categories he posited. I will treat the fourth category, the production of space, in the following chapter. It is important to note that Harvey's four categories

[214] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 222–23.

have three Lefebvrian levels of spatial practice (experienced, perceived, imagined) and that I have organized the subsections accordingly.

3.3 Public Space

Public space is often confused with open spaces. An open space in the urban environment is an undeveloped area that is either waiting to be developed or preserved to maintain the surrounding property values. Don Mitchell points out that such open spaces are increasingly embraced to preserve ecologically sensitive areas and maintain property values by establishing undevelopable greenbelts. Nevertheless, such growth in open spaces does not necessarily equate to creating public spaces.[215] Simply having open spaces in urban centers does not constitute having public spaces. Properly speaking, public spaces provide general access and allow for social appropriation of space. Widespread neoliberal urban transformations that have occurred over the last four decades has endangered public spaces, a phenomenon that has been referred to as the 'end' of public space as is posited as the "end of public space thesis."[216]

Public space is usually defined in contrast to private space and qualified with general access over against the exclusion of private space. Nick Blomley offers a generic definition in *The Dictionary of Human Geography*: "Space to which all citizens have a right of access."[217] He then adds: "Public space must be juxtaposed

[215] Don Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85, no. 1 (March 1, 1995): 121.
[216] M. Sorkin, ed., *Variationson a Theme Park: The New American Cityand the End of Public Space* (New York: Hilland Wang, 1992); Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?"
[217] Nick Blomley, "The Dictionary of Human Geography," ed. Derek Gregory et al. (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 602, https://www.amazon.com/Dictionary-Human-Geography-Derek-Gregory-

with private space, or space over which private property rules are in operation. Central to those rules is the right of owners to exclude others from the use and enjoyment of a space. Public space, conversely, is presumptively open to all. The archetypical public space is the plaza, street or park, the 'traditional public forum' characterized by the US Supreme Court as those places that have immemorially been used for public assembly, debate, and informed dissent."[218] This generic definition comes, however, with limitations. First, it limits access to the citizens of a given country, immediately excluding non-citizens—immigrants, temporary residents, and visitors alike. This raises a question: Would a space to which non-citizens have no right of access be a public space? Secondly, this definition remains too broad to qualify what exactly a public space is without pointing to its opposite (private space) or to particular examples (plazas, streets, etc.). Do all spaces to which every citizen has a right to access constitute public space? For instance, unregulated open spaces are technically accessible to all, but can we consider them public spaces? Thirdly, are spaces that are generic examples of public spaces really accessible to all? Taking Blomley's own example, does the US Supreme Court validate this criterion of accessibility to all citizens? Fourthly, is there really a clear dichotomy between private and public spaces? Would not such a mutually exclusive approach ascribe to them a static understanding of space, as if these two types of space are detached from human practices?

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ebook/dp/B005UNVGT6/ref=sr_1_2?ie=UTF8&qid=1539796418&sr=8-2&keywords=gregory+human+geography.

[218] Blomley, 602.

Such considerations not only indicate the limitations of Blomley's definition but also underscore the difficulty of defining public space. Despite its widespread usage, the term "public space" is often used ambiguously and even in contradictory ways. David Carr, Mark Francis, and Leanne Rivlin in their book *Public Space* provide a more incisive definition. They argue that there are five criteria by which to judge public spaces as properly public. Public spaces must 1) be accessible to all, which grants people the right to enter and remain in that space; 2) provide freedom of action that allows users to conduct activities within them; 3) be claimable so that people can take over such spaces and their resources; 4) be transformable, so that people can modify these spaces; and 5) not be privately owned.[219]

All of these criteria denote certain potential spatial practices. Combining such potentialities makes a space a properly public space. Characterizing public spaces based on *potential spatial practices* offers two major utilities for the theorization of these spaces. First, it introduces the distinction between potential and actual into spatial practices that involve making spaces. The significance of this distinction will appear more clearly in the later section on commons, where I argue that the full realization of these potentials in public spaces in effect changes the character of public space into that of a commons. Secondly, it provides a praxis-oriented definition of public space, as opposed to a static one that ascribes the qualities of publicness and its dual opposite privateness into certain spaces without considering the practices that constitute publicness and privateness.

[219] Stephen Carr et al., *Public Space* (Cambridge England ; New York, NY, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1993): 50.

This second methodological point is keenly argued by Ted Kilian in his "Public and Private, Power and Space."[220] Kilian criticizes the existing literature on public space as being unable to locate the object of analysis, because of the static version of space underlying their work. Kilian identifies a tendency to reify spaces as public or private, which does not work precisely on the ground because every space has both a private and a public element. In effect, any space can be turned into, or produced as, public or private space, and the appropriate method in understanding this relationship is to see publicity and privacy as power relations.[221] Kilian calls the power relation underlying privacy as the "power of exclusion" that enables one group to deprive another of a space.[222] Privacy also functions in ways that privilege one group over another. He cites Business Improvement Districts (BIDs) in NYC and Disneyland as sanitized public spaces that in effect exclude "undesirables" and function like a private space for certain groups. His term for the power relation that enhances publicity is "power of access."[223] It enables certain groups to make spaces accessible that were previously not within their reach. Returning to one of this project's earlier examples, increased usage by the lower classes or women of a park or square square movement sites is an exercise of the power of access that makes a space more public for groups that are usually excluded.

[220] Ted Kilian, "Public and Private, Power and Space," in *Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space*, ed. Andrew Light (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997), 115–27.
[221] Kilian, 115–16.
[222] Kilian, 126.
[223] Kilian, 126.

Kilian's power relations–centered analysis of public space is helpful in unearthing the complexities buried under the public and private dichotomy and exemplifies the purchases of a praxis-oriented approach to public spaces. Nevertheless, understanding public space solely in terms of the spatial practice of access overlooks other spatial practices that operate within the production of public spaces. Besides questions of whether or not it is possible for people to access and remain in a space, there are also other elements that make public spaces. In that sense, Carr et al.'s criteria are again suggestive. Can people freely conduct activities in a space to which they have access? Can they claim that space for their collective use and transform it in the process?

These questions all indicate certain spatial practices that fall into three groups, based on Harvey's grid of spatial practice. They are, as I covered them in Chapter 3: accessibility, appropriation, and production. These three categories of spatial practices help expand Kilian's praxis-oriented approach to public spaces in ways that include the elements of spatial appropriation and production in the formation of public spaces.

The first element of his grid is the spatial practice of accessibility and distanciation. It concerns the question of material, representational and imagined/lived distances and the ways in which people respond to these distances through practices. The spatial practice of accessibility and distanciation plays a crucial role in the making of public spaces that indicate the ways in which space is more or less distant, with all its Lefebvrian undertones. The more accessible a space is physically—by way of transportability and the material design that allows

access—the more public a space is. But mere material accessibility is not always enough for people to actually arrive and remain at a place. Some enclosed spaces feature signs that say, in one way or another, “no access,” which usually is enough for that space to be exclusionary. Moreover, a space should also be inviting, proximate in the imagination even when there are no representations banning access to it or no physical barriers. On all these levels, the publicness of a space can be evaluated based on the practice of accessibility and distanciation.

The second spatial practice that makes a space public is that of appropriation. The more freely a space allows people to conduct their activities and claim it for their public usage, the more it can be counted as a public space. It is the often case that spaces that are deemed public are managed in such a way that state or private entities limit activities in these sites to those who befit their approval and/or those who would further their monetary or other interests. Devising an inclusive definition of public space would, however, include groups whose activities would be unnecessary for the state and private authorities or even antagonistic to them. Homeless people’s usage of parks, streets, plazas, and squares offer a pivotal example of appropriation of space and the backlash that attempts to prevent such appropriation by the authorities. Public space, in its full potential, is socially valuable in part is because it can entail all the elements of a given society, including the various socio-economic classes, genders, races and subgroups. They can be significant meeting locations for conflicting interests and their presence can enable

disenfranchised groups to have visibility in the political arena.[224] Appropriation is one key spatial practice in the ways these contending visions and interests come together because in this practice the needs and preferences of a group become most apparent and—if we are going to use this popular political science terminology—clashes of interests surface most conspicuously. And hence, public spaces can potentially be restless, uncanny, and even dangerous due to the existing dynamics and conflicts within society. In a class-based society, they tend to be places where higher classes feel uneasy and threatened. In a patriarchal society, women and non-gender-conforming groups tend to be harassed and put in danger. That is why commentators argue that the dynamics of public spaces open a crucial window into power relations in society.[225] They make visible the inequalities, contradictions, and injustices in a society, which is one main reason they are often reconstructed and tightly managed by the authorities.

The third spatial practice that constitutes public space is the production of new spaces. A space should be transformable materially, representationally and imaginatively to be properly called a public space. This, of course, should be put on a scale. Modifications can be small in scale, from setting up a tarp for sleeping to building an entire tent city as in the square movements. The important element here is the transformability of space that allows for the needed modifications. This requires hands-off management by the authorities and/or self-management in the fashion the square movements have exemplified. Again the question is one of

[224] Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (New York: Guilford Press, 2003):33.
[225] R. Van Deusen, "Public Space Design as Class Warfare: Urban Design, the 'right to the City' and the Production of Clinton Square, Syracuse, NY," *GeoJournal* 58, no. 2/3 (January 1, 2002): 157.

potentiality. If a space is legally and managerially closed to certain modifications and the production of new spaces from within the dynamism of the used parties, then it is harder to consider that space a truly public space. Once its full potential is actualized, as in the square movements, then the space in effect acquires a new character, which I will offer to call *the commons* in the section on the appropriation and use of spatial prefiguration.

3.4 Spatiality of Prefiguration in the Square Movements

3.4.2 Accessibility and Distanciation in Spatial Prefiguration

Spatial prefiguration takes place at a specific location and the material distances pertaining to that location facilitate or obstruct this practice. In the square movements, occupations overwhelmingly take place in central city locations and the proximity to highly populated areas was a physical convenience for the assembly of protestors. This convenience reflected, on the one hand, the ease of transportation to those squares. In medium-size cities such as Philadelphia, the centrally located protest site was more or less within walking distance to the bulk of the city. This brings an advantage to the prefigurative movement at Dilworth Plaza, because of the low costs of accessing the place and the lack of mediation in transportation in case the authorities were to halt those services.

In a city as large as Istanbul, size and geomorphologic features created a disadvantage for the transportation of protestors. Because the protest sites of Gezi Park and Taksim Square (situated next to each other) were not within walking distance from most of the city's neighborhoods, people had to use public transport

to access the sites. Some also had to cross the Bosporus on ferries or using bridges. This dependency on public transport worked to the advantage of the authorities who were trying to prevent assembly. Ferry, bus, and metro transportation were canceled by the city government during the protests to stop additional protestors from joining their fellows' ranks. This state intervention, however, had unintended consequences that favored the mobilization. Protestors who were denied access to public transportation on the Anatolian side of the city (Asia) gathered in spectacular numbers and marched for several hours across he Istanbul Bridge (now renamed the 15th July Bridge after the coup attempt in 2016) to the European side. This moment was seen as a local 'salt march' of the mobilization and represented a qualitative leap in the power and visibility of Gezi Park protests.[226] Putting this in Harvey's terminology, the increased friction of distance imposed by the authorities was distanciated through spectacular political action and the unilateral change in the rules of the game by the authorities resulted in unintended consequences for them.[227]

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[226] Revolvy, "'Timeline of the Gezi Park Protests' on Revolvy.Com," 2013, https://www.revolvy.com/page/Timeline-of-the-Gezi-Park-protests?smv=4456778; Similar unintended consequence was reported in Tahrir Square mobilization. One of the first interventions of the state to the protestors in Egypt was to cut the internet connection of the area. A protestor conveys that such reaction from the state made them realize that what they are doing is not useless and in fact state feels threatened by their actions. This according to her was what makes things in the square more real and fueled their protest energy. Noam Cohen, "Egyptian Internet Blackout Pushed Protests to Streets," *The New York Times*, February 20, 2011, sec. Media, https://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/21/business/media/21link.html.

[227] Harvey writes regarding the set rules by the authorities and their potential outcomes: "Those who define the material practices, forms, and meanings of money, time, or space fix certain basic rules of the social game. I do not wish to imply by this that those who define the rules always win any contest that may ensue. There are too many examples of unintended consequences (in which those in power define rules that undermine their own power base), and of oppositional groups learning and using the rules to overwhelm those who devised them, for such a simple equation to be credible." Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 226.

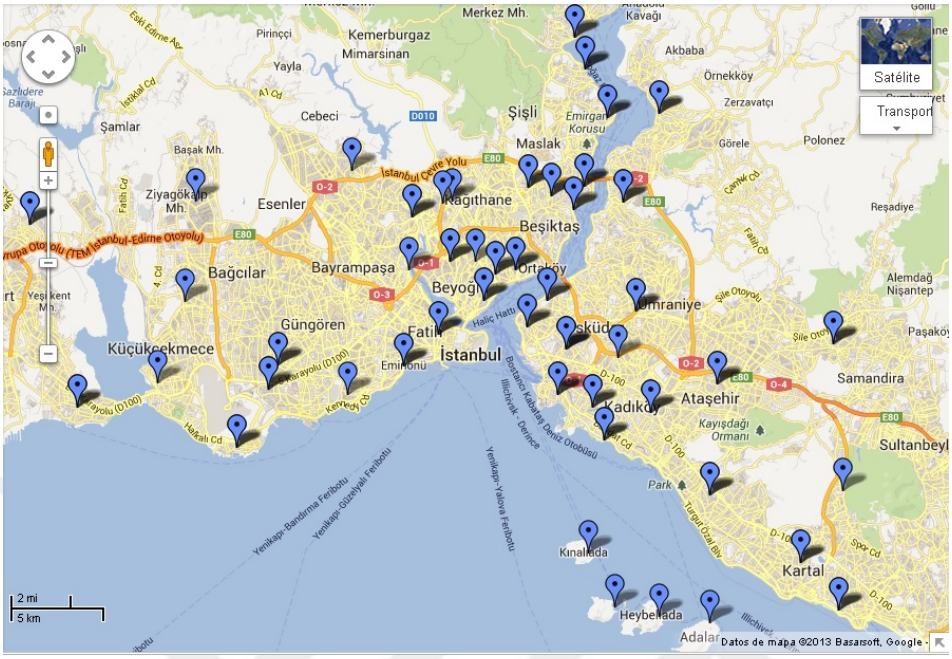

Figure 4: Map of forums in Istanbul during the Gezi movement. From Historical Atlas of Gezi Park by Postvirtual. 2013. Used under the CC BY-NC-SA license.[228]

City spaces and the physical features of a city have direct consequences for social mobilizations happening within. Eric Hobsbawm argues that cities and revolutionary mobilizations have close connections, for in cities rich and poor, ruled and ruler coexist.[229] In this sense, cities are more amenable spaces for revolutions as power centers are more vulnerable structurally and lower classes find easier venues in which to mobilize. Despite his positing this general revolution-susceptibility of cities, Hobsbawm's distinctive analysis comes with a taxonomy of geopolitical topographies that categorize some cities as more inclined to revolution than others. He lists three questions: How easy is it to mobilize for working classes? How vulnerable are the power centers? And how is the actual topography of the city? If

[228] Postvirtual. *Popular Forums in Istanbul*. Digital image. Source: postvirtual.wordpress.com. 2013. Used under CC BY-NC-SA license. Available from: https://postvirtual.wordpress.com/2013/06/27/historical-atlas-of-gezi-park/ (accessed April 7, 2019.)

[229] E. J Hobsbawm, "Cities and Insurrection," in *Revolutionaries* (New York: New Press, 2001), 220–33.

working class neighborhoods are not divided and if they are densely populated, it is easier for class mobilization. If there is physical proximity of the power centers (parliaments, military barracks, etc.) greater to working-class neighborhoods, it is more likely for a revolution to occur. And if the city were not divided by rivers, straits and other bodies of water, it would be easier for revolutionary movements to distanciate the friction of distance.

At the level of representation of space, accessibility and distanciation also play a significant role in the square movements. First, the choice of sites made by the square movements was already mediated through a perception of socio-political significance and strategic convenience. In Occupy Philadelphia, before the settlement at the Dilworth Plaza was established, there were several strategic debates at the First Universalist Church over the choice of an occupation site. At the second of those meetings, there was a collective vote between the three prominent options (Rittenhouse Square, Independence National Historical Park, and Dilworth Plaza) from which Dilworth Plaza was selected, owing not only to its political and social centrality being on the North West apron of City Hall but also because that space was a relatively "dead space,"[230] being mostly a place for passing through, drawing relatively less security attention and pressure by the authorities. Dilworth

[230] A notion Richard Sennett uses in his *The Fall of Public Man*. Sennett explains his notion with an example from New York City: "One of the first pure International School skyscrapers built after World War II was Gordon Bunshaft's Lever House on Park Avenue in New York. The ground floor of Lever House is an open-air square, a courtyard with a tower rising on the north side, and, one story above the ground, a low structure surrounding the other three sides. But one passes from the street underneath this low horseshoe to penetrate to the courtyard; the street level itself is dead space. No diversity of activity takes place on the groundfloor; it is only a means of passage to the interior. The form of this International-type skyscraper is at odds with its function, for a miniature public square revivified is declared in form, but the function destroys the nature of a public square, which is to intermix persons and diverse activities." Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, Reissue edition (New York ; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), 12.

Plaza was perceived to be an abandoned, even hostile space for the general population that was occupied by skateboarders and homeless people. The renovation project designed to turn the plaza into the state-funded Dilworth Park was prefaced by the project developer Paul Levy on the same premises.[231] With the occupy movement this view quickly gained additional meanings, transforming from a hippie space of festivity to a utopian space of direct democratic experimentation.

Figure 5: Philadelphia Center City Map with major landmarks and avenues by Urban. July 14, 2007. Used from the public domain.[232]

The cases of Gezi Park and Taksim Square have interesting similarities to and differences with the representations of Dilworth Plaza. The similarity obtains because Gezi Park was not a highly populated, "family-friendly" type of park before the protests. It was constructed over the demolished Ottoman Barracks (which was built over an Armenian cemetery) and even though it was one of the few green areas in the cultural and political central district of Beyoğlu, it was not represented as a pleasant go-to location. Taksim Square, in

[231] Solomon D. Leach, "Dilworth Plaza Makeover Gets Final Approval," *Metro New York* (blog), accessed May 12, 2014, http://www.metro.us/philadelphia/news/local/2011/07/14/dilworth-plaza-makeover-gets-final-approval/.
[232] Urban. *Map of Philadelphia*. Digital Image. Source: Wikimedia.org. July 14, 2007. Used from the public domain. Available from: Wikimedia, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Philadelphia_map2.png (accessed April 20, 2019).

contrast, has been a place of social and political gatherings. Before the invention of cell phones, the Republic Monument around which the square is organized was the location at which people would agree to find each other for their meetings.

Figure 6: Taksim Square in the 1960s, when it used to be a green roundabout. Description: "İstanbul ve güzellikleri. Kemali Söylemezoğlu kartpostal arşivinin bir parçasıdır - Istanbul and its beautyes. It is a part of Kemali Söylemezoğlu Postcard Archive"[233]

Utku Balaban's spatial analysis that compares the sites and their transformation in the Tekel strike (2010) and the Gezi uprisings (2013) is helpful for understanding the spatial dynamics that bring Gezi and Dilworth together. He focuses on the spatial differences in the urban centers of Ankara and Istanbul where these mobilizations erupted and seeks to answer why they began in relatively insignificant sections of the center compared with the politically fraught centers of Kızılay and Taksim Squares. Both Tekel and Gezi began at places that were adjacent

[233] *Atatürk Kültür Merkezi'nden Taksim Meydanı'nın görünümü, İstanbul - A view of Taksim Square from Atatürk Kültür Merkezi*, *İstanbul*. Source: SALT Research. 1960. Used under open access license. Available from: SALT Research, https://archives.saltresearch.org/handle/123456789/118269 (accessed April 7, 2019).

to the main squares of their cities, Bayındır Street and Gezi Park, respectively. These spots had not been significant sites of political mobilizations before the said events. Instead, the main squares of Kızılay and Taksim were nodal points for political rallies of the authorities and opposing forces. Balaban draws from Lefebvre's categories of differential space in providing an explanation of this phenomenon. Lefebvre in *The Urban Revolution* characterizes urban kernels of a city that bring together qualitative differences as differential spaces, as opposed to the capitalist dynamics of spatial homogenization through what he calls abstract space. Lefebvre groups the properties of differential space into three subcategories: isotopy, heterotopy, and utopia.[234] Isotopy, for Lefebvre, is a place of sameness and identity within a differential space. Heterotopy is a space of difference that can entail a stark contrast or even conflict within. Utopia is characterized by verticality and sublime affections. It is a real place that is a referent for "an elsewhere, the non-place that has no place and seeks a place of its own."[235]

According to Balaban, Taksim and Kızılay Squares were constructed to become utopian places, "marking the ideal of the Republican regime."[236] Balaban denotes the unfinished character of such utopian projects as "experimental utopias."[237] Gezi Park and Bayındır Street, however, were isotopies that were generally used only to pass through—that is, until the Tekel and Gezi mobilizations. Balaban raises two arguments. First, these isotopic, relatively insignificant places

[234] Lefebvre, *The Urban Revolution*, 37.
[235] Lefebvre, 38.
[236] Utku Balaban, "Vernacular Utopias: Mimetic Performances as Humour in Gezi Park and on Bayındır Street," in *Creativity and Humour in Occupy Movements*, ed. Altug Yalcintas (Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 51.
[237] Balaban, 51.

were advantageous places for mobilizations because of relatively low police intervention and the advantages of having a clean slate of political signification. Second, after protestors occupied these spaces and erected their tents, their isotopic character was transformed initially into heterotopia (a space of difference and conflict) and then into what he calls "vernacular utopias" through performances of vernacular language and humor that performatively represent their ideals.[238]

Dilworth Plaza before the occupation lends itself to a similar characterization as an isotopia. Despite its central location and proximity to City Hall, it was neither regarded as a politically significant space nor used often for purposes other than passing through. After the occupation, Dilworth was transformed into a space of heterotopia—in the Lefebvrian sense of a place where differences in society are highlighted and politically pushed towards conflict. With the tent city erected at the plaza representing the ideals of the protestors, the space could be characterized as a vernacular utopia *à la* Balaban, because the representational (imagined) distanciation occurs with respect to the psychological distance users/non-users experienced from the dead spaces of Dilworth Plaza and Gezi Park. While the urban structuring of these sites, neighboring utopian spaces and commercial centers turned them into physically proximate but psychologically distant sites, prefigurative activities helped to shrink those distances and turned these places into desirable sites. In other words, the repulsion that constitutes the representational space of these locations was transformed into a feeling of attraction . . . well, that is, at least for some.

[238] Balaban, 52.

Despite the innovative uses of Balaban's vernacular utopias for understanding the sites of the square movements, I think the need to explain a transformation of the site from heterotopia to some other notion of space comes from the limitations of the Lefebvrian conceptualization of heterotopia. Lefebvre defines heterotopia in a very limited sense related to the presence of difference as opposed to the identity space of an isotopia. In so doing, he delegates the spatio-temporal functions of subversion to utopias. In consulting Foucault's analysis of heterotopia—in the following chapter—I will however demonstrate that heterotopic spaces do, in fact, entail this element of subversion among several others that are explanatory for PPSM sites. They are, in effect, more subversive than utopian spaces, and hence I prefer to characterize the sites of the square movement by reference to Foucault's heterotopia.

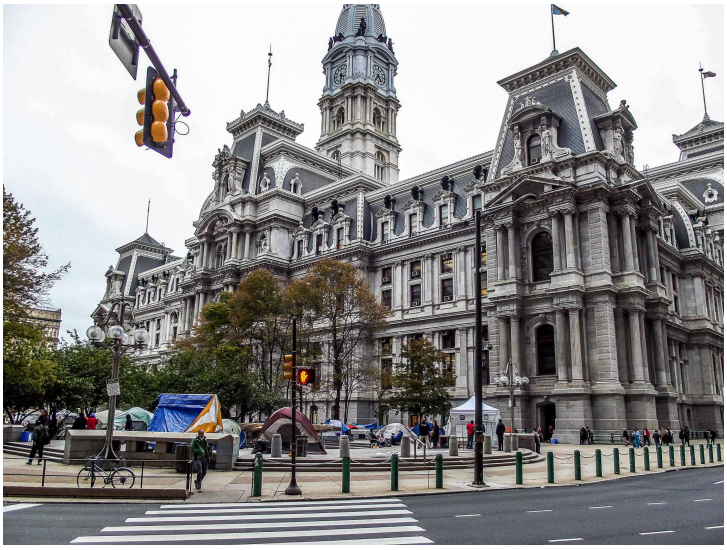

Figure 7: Occupy Philly at Dilworth Plaza at the north apron of the City Hall. Photo taken by Emre Çetin Gürer. 2011.

Before elaborating on the aspect of representational space (lived and imagined), however, it is important to point out one more element of representation regarding the friction of distance in square movements. This element concerns the distanciation of the physical distances between protest sites. Very much like the two cases from which I draw my examples, Dilworth Plaza and

Gezi Park, most sites at the square movements are extremely far from each other. Nevertheless, spatial prefiguration in these distant sites has created a curious interconnection that distanciates these sites. I will argue in the next chapter that this interconnection can be best explained by reference to the transformed experience of time-space that are similar to Harvey's conception of "time-space compression" and viewed as having a *translocal* common ground. Here, on the question of distanciation, it is important to point out the representations of solidarity that contribute to bringing faraway distances closer.

If we consider some of the slogans and headlines of progressive magazines during the Gezi uprising, it would demonstrate the changed understanding of faraway sites in collective representation. For instance, one of the most common mottos of the Gezi protestors, "Everywhere is Taksim, everywhere is resistance,"[239] indicates a change in understanding of the locality of spatial prefiguration that proliferates not only to other neighborhoods of Istanbul and all around the country (protests in 79 out of 81 provinces in Turkey),[240] but also to other protest sites around the world. Headlines such as "World is Watching" the police crackdown in Gezi Park gained worldwide press coverage. Similar headlines included "Tahrir in solidarity," when the solidarity protests occurred in Tahrir for Taksim; "Gezi in Brazil," when similar protests against bus fare increases began in Brazil; and "Occupy Taksim," alluding to Occupy Wall Street. These headlines all reflect a

[239] Bülent Batuman, "'Everywhere Is Taksim': The Politics of Public Space from Nation-Building to Neoliberal Islamism and Beyond," *Journal of Urban History* 41, no. 5 (September 2015): 881–907, https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144214566966.
[240] Balaban, "Vernacular Utopias: Mimetic Performances as Humour in Gezi Park and on Bayındır Street."

change in the signification of distant places gaining a sense of connection and proximity.

Visualizations such as online maps are also key representations that change the way distant spaces are conceived. To name two, *The Guardian*'s "Occupy Protest Mapped around the World" highlights locations of square movements (albeit not exhaustively) that create a representation of earth space with respect to the occupations.[241] There are also time-lapse videos of protests over time, which include the element of time within the equation and create a representation of space and time that indicates the proliferation of protests after 2011.[242] Another example, similar to the map published in *The Guardian*, is the Occupy Directory. I am able to present a screenshot of that site here as they provide their resources for open access.[243] The map shown in Figure 8 entails 1,518 locations clustered around the North Atlantic. Their data are limited to the 2011 cases and do not include the Gezi movement or the numerous encampments that proliferated within and outside Turkey in 2013. The dot representing Istanbul marks the solidarity protests of the 2011 square movements called "Ayaklan Istanbul"(Occupy Istanbul).

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[241] Simon Rogers, "Occupy Protests Mapped around the World," *The Guardian*, October 18, 2011, sec. News, http://www.theguardian.com/news/datablog/interactive/2011/oct/18/occupy-protests-map-world.

[242] Sagacious News Network, "Time-Lapse Map Of Worldwide Protests Since 1979 Shows Major Increase In Global Social Unrest," September 1, 2013, https://www.sagaciousnewsnetwork.com/time-lapse-map-of-worldwide-protests-since-1979-shows-major-increase-in-global-social-unrest/.

[243] Occupy Directory Facebook page writes "The Directory aims to be a service layer upon which anyone can build other apps. All our data is FREE and PUBLIC in a variety of formats." OccupyDirectory, "Occupy Directory," 2011, https://www.facebook.com/OccupyDirectory/.

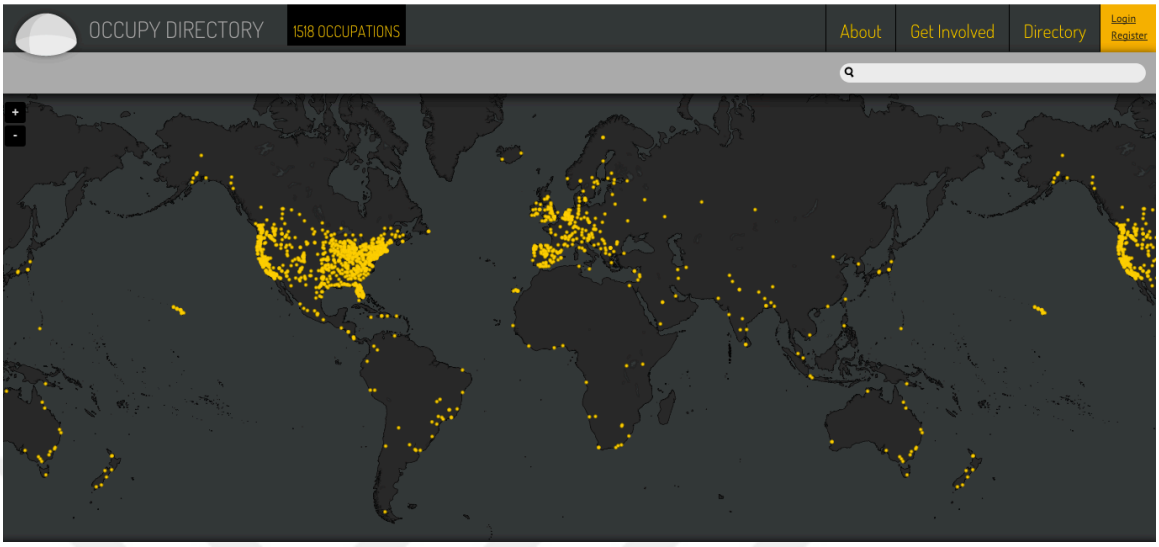

Figure 8: Global map of square movement sites with 1518 protest camp locations.[244]

The abovementioned maps and the one I present as a visual all use a similar digital world map template and visualize their data on top of it. The spatial logic behind these templates are Euclidian, where the world is geometrically charted as a hemisphere and projected on a two-dimensional space. The way this projection is calculated and realized highlights points of contention. The Mercator projection, which was developed in the sixteenth century but still is widely used, is criticized for its Eurocentric interpretative decisions. In every projection of a three-dimensional space onto a two-dimensional space, certain distortions occur. The Flemish geographer Gerardus Mercator's 1569 projection of the world distorts the world image in favor of Europe, making the continent proportionally larger than it really is while shrinking larger lands such as Africa and South America. Because of this distortion, Africa and Greenland look more or less the same size, while in reality

[244] *Occupy Directory 1518 Occupations*. Source: Occupy Directory. Used from public domain. Available from http://directory.occupy.net/ (accessed February 4, 2019).

Africa is 14 times larger than the latter.[245] As an alternative, Dr. Arno Peters developed another projection model through which he created the world map known as the Gall-Peters Projection. This map distributes the distortions resulting from the said projection regionally and prevents any single region from gaining prominence by keeping the sizes of the continents correctly proportional to each other.

In addition to this issue of projection and the political decisions behind such technical choices, representation of the world by Euclidian geometry poses other problems. I reviewed Lefebvre's criticisms towards this conception of space as a neutral homogeneous space that disregards human practices that produce spatiality earlier in this chapter. When it comes to demonstrating the proximity between square movement sites through acts and affects of solidarity, such Euclidian representation is subject to severe limitations. On the map of which I included a screenshot above, the visualized data provide us with precise coordinates of the specific square movements around the world. It marks these yellow data points on the terrain independently without consideration of the intricate ways in which these square movements relate to each other. In terms of their relationality, only the clusters of yellow dots give us a hint about their potential connectedness by showing the geographical concentration of the movements. However, with regards to the approximation and arguably "space-time compression" occurring between these sites, such maps fail to represent power. Visualization of such relational space is indeed a challenge, but it may not be one that is impossible to meet. There are

[245] Nick Stockton, "Get to Know a Projection: Mercator," *Wired*, July 29, 2013, https://www.wired.com/2013/07/projection-mercator/.

geographical visualizations of warped spaces in accordance with technological interconnectedness and travel times. For instance, the geographers and visual artists Nick Lally and Luke Bergman's visualizations through what they call "geographical imaginative systems" provide maps that grasp the space-time compression of faraway spaces through technology.

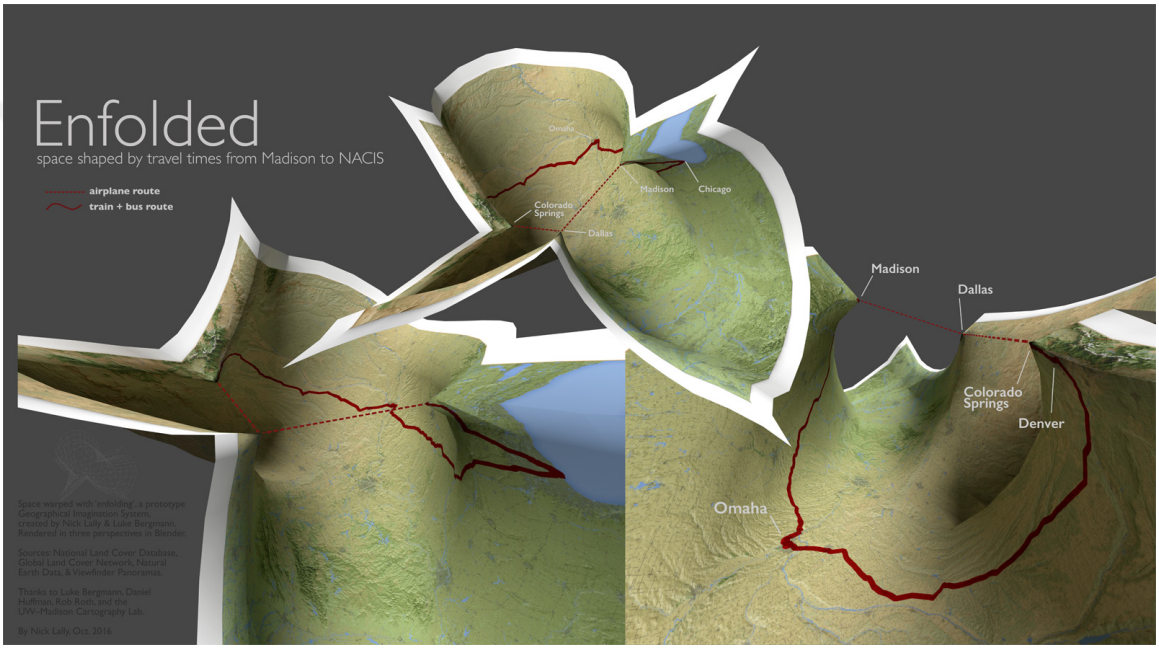

Figure 9: Enfolded space shaped by travel times from Madison to NACIS. Map by Nick Lally and Luke Bergman (Lally 2016). Used with permission of the authors.[246]

Figure 9 shows Lally and Bergman's enfolded map according to the travel times between Madison, Wisconsin and the North American Cartographic Information Society's meeting location in 2016. Figure 10 shows another one of their maps that visualizes the warped space between military drone control centers in the Nevada desert and the first known US drone bombing site in Pakistan. Using their Geographical Imaginative Systems software, which is a program they co-coded, Lally

[246] Nick Lally and Luke Bergman. *Enfolded: Space shaped by travel times from Madison to NACIS*. Nick Lally // Art, Geography, Software (blog), 2016. Available from http://www.nicklally.com/nacis-2016-maps/ (accessed February 9, 2019).

and Bergman map the compressed space-time and provide an alternative visualization of relational geospace. Similar visualizations would be possible for relational space compressed between the square movements using this software.[247]

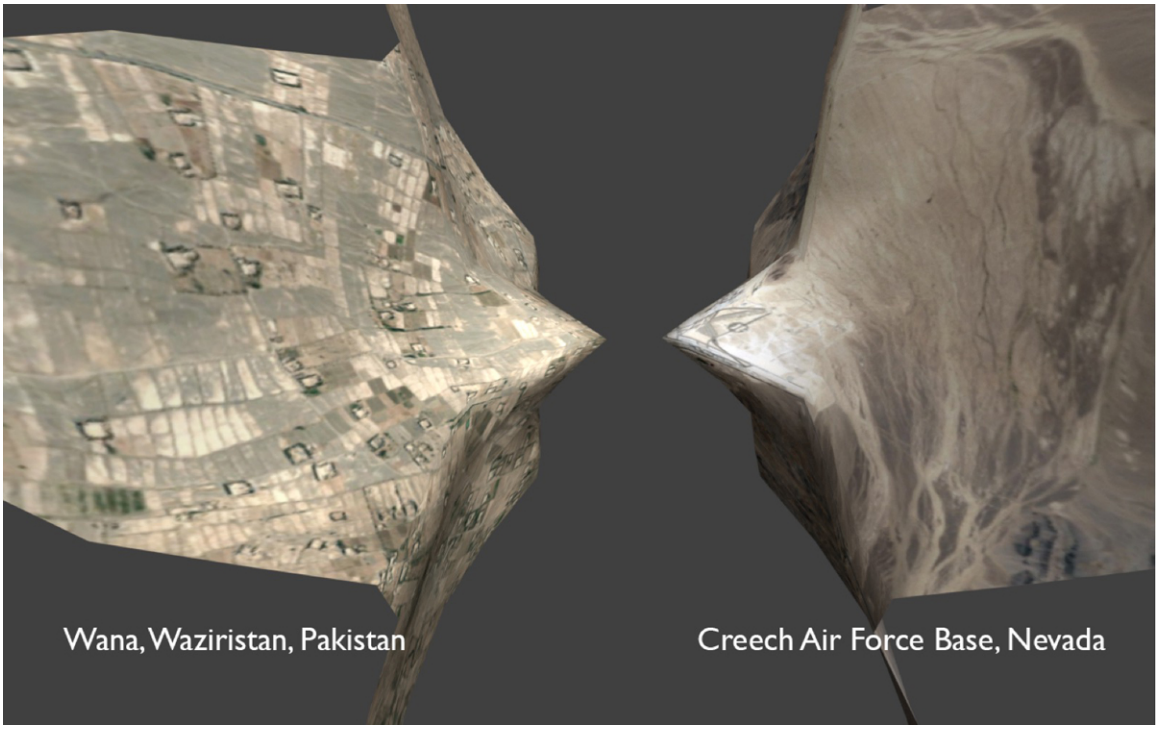

Figure 10: Wormhole between the drone control center at Nevada desert and the first known US drone strike location in Pakistan.[248] Used with permission of the authors.

Substantiating the interconnections between square movements with tangible evidence is a challenge. Nevertheless, it is not an insurmountable task. Despite its limitations, Twitter networks recorded during mobilizations are useful in providing the needed data. They are limited because not all protestors use Twitter, or any social media for that matter. Hence, the data that can be mined from these networks would be limited to what Twitter users post and could show significant deficits at sites that do not have many users. Nevertheless, Twitter maps are useful

[247] Nick Lally was generous enough to offer their software and know-how with me for a visualization of the space-time compression between the square movements. This is currently a work in progress.
[248] Nick Lally and Luke Bergman, *NACIS 2016 Maps*, Nick Lally // Art, Geography, Software (blog), 2016, http://www.nicklally.com/nacis-2016-maps/.

indicators of the social–political connections that develop through social movements. Consider the one presented below, by Marc Smith. It visualizes connections between users who tweeted the word "occupywallstreet" within a 26-minute window on November 15, 2011.

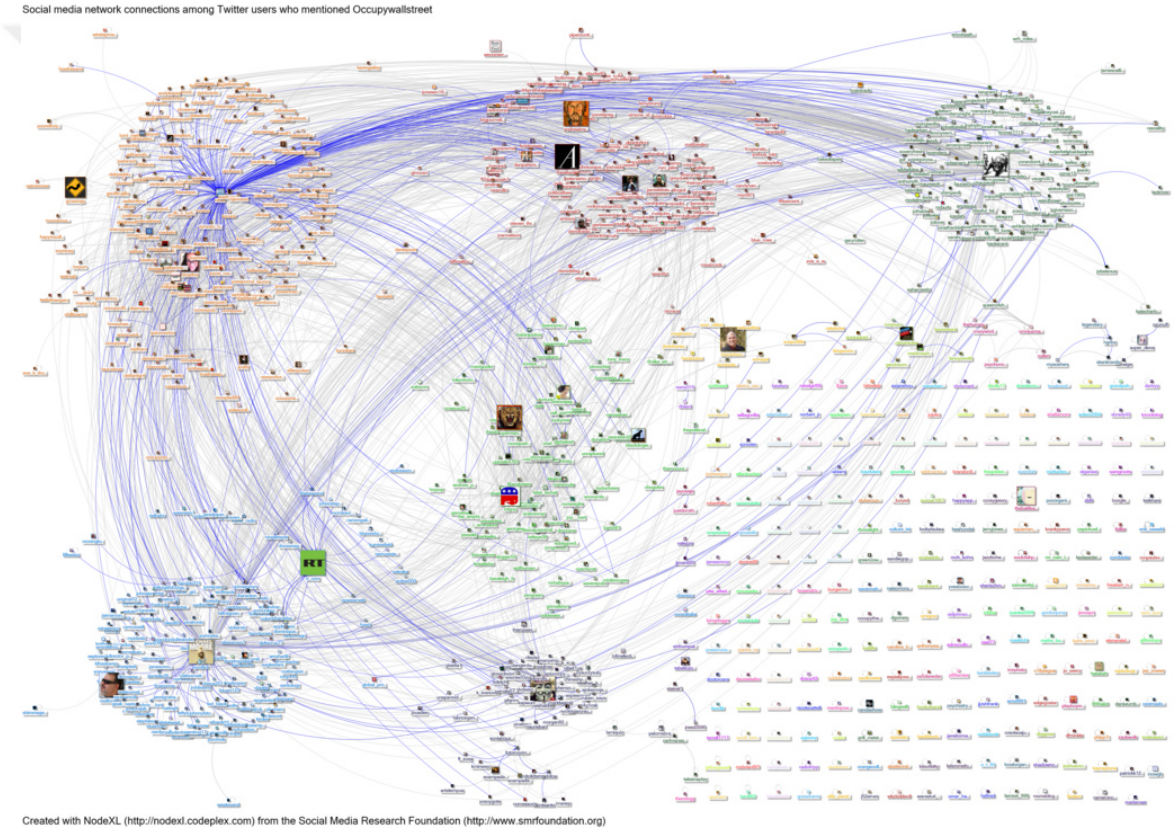

Figure 11:Twitter-occupywallstreet network mentions and reply edges highlighted with labels. Map by Marc Smith (2011). Used under the CC BY 2.0 license.[249]

The Figure 11 map marks connections based on replies, mentions and follows. While relies and mentions are highlighted in blue, follows are shown as grey

[249] Marc Smith. *Social media network connections among Twitter users who mention Occupywallstreet*. Digital Image. Source: Flickr. 2011. Used under the CC BY 2.0 license. Available from Flickr, https://www.flickr.com/photos/marc_smith/6351818421/in/photolist-aFhJjH-au83fm-auGME8-auKsa7-auMtHv (accessed February 7, 2019).

connections. The map includes three main clusters coded blue, orange and green, which are grouped according to relatively higher numbers of connections to accounts at their vertexes than to accounts that are left out of the clustered group. At the vertex of the orange cluster, there is the New York Civil Liberties Union's account @NYClu; the blue cluster includes Michael Moore's account @mmflint, and the green one includes the Occupy Wall Street account @occupywallst. With this map, Smith's selected Twitter data reveal individual affiliations with these centers in groups and groups' connections to each other. Given that all these groups were located in New York City, this map does not tell us much about social mobilization connections across distance. Nevertheless, it is possible to map a different data set and show clusters at one location that are tightly connected to another. This also makes it possible to demonstrate the increased political interaction that occurs during social mobilizations between distant protest sites. Such a Twitter map would look quite similar to the one above but with different content. But if we were to attempt to map the social space that emerged out of these interactions, it would require an unconventional Global Information System (GIS) approach very much like the ones Lally and Bergman used in their Geographical Imaginative Systems. Such maps would need to visualize warped time-space, bringing distant square movement sites closer to each other. Such visualizations may not be available for now, but I think this situation may soon change as we broaden our conceptions of time and space and view socio-political practices from renewed spatio-temporal perspectives.

Regarding the final level of the spatial practice of accessibility and distanciation, the question of representational space (which pertains to lived experiences, feelings, imaginations, and symbolism) relates to the practice of spatial prefiguration with regards to affective transformations. With respect to emotions, the sites of spatial prefiguration overwhelmingly gain a sense of attraction and desire. In many cases, that sense replaced the previous feelings of distance and repulsion with respect to these sites, as I mentioned in connection with the cases of Dilworth Plaza and Gezi Park. These accompany a sense of welcoming and inclusion. One of the main features, at least at the level of intention, of the occupations was their inclusivity. Occupiers at Gezi Park as well as at Dilworth Plaza prided themselves of creating spaces of inclusion that welcome everybody. This, however, was not completely true. There were several dynamics of inclusion and exclusion operative within those protests sites and their internal organizations. For instance, the racial divide in Occupy Philadelphia and the underrepresentation of the people of color disproportional to the demographics of the city was a clear sign of the lack of inclusion at the protest site. Temporal and class exclusions were also at play. The "temporal blindspots" I discussed in the previous chapter worked as an exclusionary dynamic in Occupy Philadelphia that disadvantages working people and those in the lower classes.[250] Nevertheless, compared with other political mobilizations along the entire political spectrum from left to right, Occupy movements were more

[250] Wagner-Pacifici and Ruggero, "Temporal Blindspots in Occupy Philadelphia."

successful at providing spaces open to participation and accessible mechanisms of co-habitation and self-ruling.[251]

Similarly, in Gezi, the representational space was imbued with feelings of inclusion, based on people's experiences of encountering distant social, economic and political constituencies in society. Nevertheless, this did not mean complete inclusivity, considering that the same temporal, social and class dynamics as well as what I call inter-organizational decision-making structures, as opposed to trans-organizational structures of general assemblies, were involved. Let me explain this point further. In Occupy movements, the decision-making body was the general assembly that was ruled with a consensus model. The assemblies were open to everyone regardless of organizational ties and decisions were reached collectively. In contrast, until the last days of the Gezi occupation, there were two assemblies consisting of representatives of recognized social and political organizations. One was called "siyasetler toplantısı" ("political meeting" in plural) and the other was "kordinasyon komitesi" ("coordination committee"). While the first involved a series of cumbersome meetings with speeches by organization representatives taking turns, the other was a decision-making body concerning the internal affairs of the Taksim Commune that was again composed of organization representatives. Several days before the eviction of the park, seven forums were organized to include more people in decision-making processes, but because of the processes characterizing these forums (operating very much like the "open-mics" of the Occupy movements), there were no recognizable decisions made in these assemblies. Such drawbacks did

[251] See, for instance Occupy awareness campaigns to make the space more accessible: "Occupy On Wheels:Awareness, Inclusion, Solidarity," June 23, 2012, http://occupyonwheels.tumblr.com/?og=1.

result in internal distress and created a sense of exclusion and dissonance among several occupiers who referred to themselves as "independents." This case demonstrates the multiple layers of representational space with regards to accessibility that stacks spaces of inclusion and exclusion on top of each other.

3.4.3 Appropriation and Use in Spatial Prefiguration

Harvey defines the appropriation and use of spatial practice using a broader generalization than that of Lefebvre. For Harvey, spatial practice pertains to all objects and humans occupying a space. In that sense, squares and parks are themselves appropriated spaces. For Lefebvre, the term indicates a more bottom-up usage of a space, which is "modified in order to serve the needs and possibilities of a group."[252] This meaning permeates Harvey's usage as well when he qualifies the category with "the production of territorially bounded forms of social solidarity."[253] Here I use the term in a way more like that of the Lefebvrian signification and first approach the material spatial practice as it relates to the square movements.

Square movements appropriate their sites and their built environments. By gathering, staying for extended periods of time and establishing on-site services that reproduce life in their locations, protestors make these spaces their own. Yet, this ownership does not create the kind of private property that is based on a principle of exclusion. Instead, the spatiality of the appropriation in the square movements can be designated as actively created *commons*.

[252] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 165.
[253] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 222.

The generic definition of the commons associates it with resources shared by all. The commons entails resources that are neither controlled by the state nor owned by private persons. Rather, they are open to the use of all without state or market mediation. The idea of the commons usually designates geographical entities such as fields, forests, village greens and physical attributes such as air, water, and minerals. Two names frame the mainstream discussion on the commons, Gerret Hardin and Elinor Ostrom. They take the commons in this definition based on shared resources, albeit in two completely opposing directions. Hardin, in his famous work, *Tragedy of the Commons,*[254] argues that commons are doomed to failure because self-interested individuals would take advantage of limited common resources to the point of eliminating those resources.[255]

Elinor Ostrom in her study, *Governing the Commons*,[256] opposes Hardin's thesis on the tragedy of the commons. She argues that the assumption of self-interested individuals seeking to increase their profit in a prisoner's dilemma setting overlooks the potential of collectivities to reorganize the settings they are occupying. Individuals in real-life situations are not restricted in the way in which a prison would place them and they would be endowed with capacities to redefine

[254] Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science*, New Series, 162, no. 3859 (December 13, 1968): 1243–48.
[255] His main example is cattle herding in a meadow maintained by a number of owners. He argues that cattle owners would try to maximize their profits gained from the meadow and increase the number of their cattle. Even if they would try to be responsible and restrain from taking extra profits, they would find themselves in a prisoner's dilemma where others will most likely harm their share with extra gains unless they act first. This results in an increase in the number of cattle up to the point where the resources of the meadow are diminished and all parties to the shared economy would fail to make even their initial gains. This formula would repeat, according to Hardin, in every instance when shared resources are open to all. Hence, the commons would always result in a tragedy, the total collapse of its own production.
[256] Originally published in 1990. Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*, Reissue edition (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

how they interact and collaborate. Hence, the prisoner's dilemma theory is not tenable with respect to managing what it is usually regarded as a "common pool resources," and the forms of collective management of the commons would prevent the potential tragedies Hardin describes. Individuals can communicate and decide on self-imposed restrictions to manage shared resources more effectively and sustainably.

Another strong current in the commons literature takes a practice-centered approach and argues that commons cannot be conceived without the social, political and economic activities that create, reclaim and sustain them. David Harvey, for one, in *Rebel Cities*, argues that commons emerge when people resort to political action and appropriate public goods and space. He writes: "Commons is not something . . . that existed once upon a time that has been lost, but something that is, like the urban commons, continuously produced."[257] Paul Chatteron also stresses that a commons cannot be taken as a static entity since it is more of a verb than a noun denoting complex and relational spatial practices.[258] This relational and process-oriented understanding of the commons is helpful in conceptualizing urban commons created in the square movements, considering that urban commons have to be continuously produced amid the concentrated forces of private property and state control. I previously detailed the constitutive elements of public spaces as particular potentials. Realizing in particular the potential of site-transformability, reclamation of space and freedom of action on a site, the square movements not only perform

[257] Harvey, *Rebel Cities*, 77.
[258] Paul Chatterton, "Seeking the Urban Common: Furthering the Debate on Spatial Justice," *City* 14, no. 6 (December 2010): 625–28, https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2010.525304.

these sites as proper public spaces, but also reclaim their sites as commons. By doing so, they, in a way, supersede public spaces and establish an alternative—a commons—way of co-habitation and self-governing on these sites. This happens despite the restrictive property regimes to which these sites are subjected.

Harvey points out that even though cities are the largest environments produced by human labor, they are sites subjected to property regimes at their most extreme. There is almost no single acre of land that is not regulated by property laws that assign the use of that land to a private person or state control. In that sense, it is hard to access the commons in the city. Nevertheless, the city is produced through the collective labor of the inhabitants and in that sense is itself a commons. The question is then of a struggle to claim/reclaim what has already belonged to the inhabitants in the first place. In that sense, the appropriation of public spaces by the square movements is not an act of exclusion but rather a reclamation of the collectively produced commons of the city that make them available for its inhabitants.

This point becomes particularly apparent when we consider that several of the sites occupied by protesters in the square movements are privatized pseudo-public spaces that are made public during the occupations. Authors such as Don Mitchell and Anna Minton have extensively pointed out this phenomenon of the privatization of public spaces that they argue are in danger of extinction through economic neoliberalization.[259] The implementation of neoliberal policies after the

[259] Mitchell, *The Right to the City*; Anna Minton, "The Privatisation of Public Space: What Kind of World Are We Building?" (London: Royal Institute of Chartered Surveyors, 2006), http://mall.lampnet.org/index.php/filemanager/download/582/UKpublic_space_BID.pdf.

1980s involved shrinking the public sector and services through rapid privatization. Urban spaces were highly affected by these policies, not only in forms of property speculation and gentrification but also with respect to ownership, management, and the structuring of public spaces. The privatization of public spaces has taken various forms, from selling these spaces to private persons to contracting their management to private companies.

Anna Minton's work is especially concerned with the mechanisms through which this privatization occurs.[260] She calls the post-1980 policies in the UK a silent revolution (alluding to Gramsci's notion), where existing public spaces are gradually turned into private spaces and the urban regime reverts to the Victorian era of explicit elite domination. She addresses the issue of the most common form of private management of public spaces through the emergence of Business Improvement Districts (BIDs), in which property owners in a certain district establish a private entity to take over public services. The property owners in a specific district fund them and they contract with other private companies to carry out public duties such as street cleaning and security. Minton refers to the concept of "malls without walls"[261] to describe the shopping mall-like aesthetics and management of public spaces by BIDs. As those spaces, Minton argues, lose their public status; they are transformed into spaces of consumption where urban life is defined as exclusionary for consumers—pushing "unfit" elements in society away from urban centers. The private management of public spaces seeks to profit from

[260] Minton, "The Privatisation of Public Space: What Kind of World Are We Building?"
[261] Minton, 3–4.

their usage and turn their districts into “hot spots” in urban centers with high property values while depriving less affluent districts of services.

Most famously, Occupy Wall Street’s site Zuccotti Park is a privately owned pseudo-public space that was made common during the occupation. Occupy Philadelphia’s site at Dilworth Plaza was enclosed for construction after Occupy’s eviction in November 2011 and the newly constructed and renamed space, Dilworth Park, is a privately managed park by a BID.[262] This brings us to the question of dominated spaces created by responses of authorities to communized spaces of public squares. However, before examining that aspect of spatial practice, the dimensions of representation of space and spatial representation are yet to be explored.

Appropriation of public squares by the square movements happens also in and through the dimension of representation. Slogans and on-site distributed maps are two ways in which locations were appropriated by the square movements. To give one prominent example from Spain, Álvaro Sevilla Buitrago writes: "The most striking aspect of the #spanishrevolution has been its ability to occupy public space and eradicate the mercantilization and alienation of the city’s central places for a prolonged length of time. The recurring slogan chanted during the concentrations, ‘this square is our home!’ expresses this aspect."[263] This slogan, very much like others, such as “This square is ours!” and “Whose streets? Our streets!” indicates the appropriation of public sites at the discursive level.

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[262] To be precise, the BID is called the Center City District Philadelphia. Philadelphia CCD, “Center City District,” accessed February 27, 2019, http://centercityphila.org//.
[263] Álvaro Sevilla Buitrago, “‘This Square Is Our Home!’: The Organisation of Urban Space in the Spanish 15M Movement,” *Progressive Planning*, no. 189 (2011): 46.

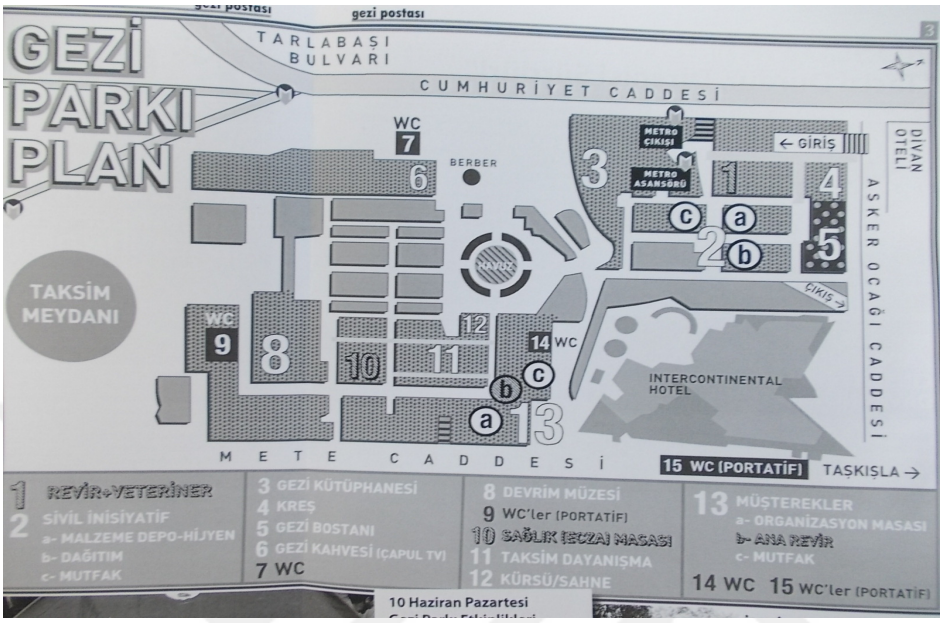

Figure 12: The map of Gezi Park distributed by Gezi Postası on site. Date: June 10th, 2013. The map shows on-site services such as the medic corner, veterinary, kitchen, WC, library, urban garden, childcare corner and more. Used from the public domain.[264]

Another practice of representation is the maps of the occupied squares. Mapping the whereabouts of basic infrastructure has been a common practice at almost every Occupy site, addressing an immediate need for navigation by newcomers. In these maps, locations of tents, general assemblies, toilets, kitchens, medical tents, and other infrastructure were marked to show where people should go to satisfy their personal needs and participate in political mechanisms. With these maps, participants were provided with bird's-eyes views of the basic structures on the sites and this facilitated the usage of the spaces. Such facilitation helps newcomers navigate within the often-confusing layout in protest sites and enables participants to make the spaces their own through their usage.

[264] *Gezi Park Plan*. June 10, 2013, used from the public domain, In *Gezi Postası* (Istanbul): 3.

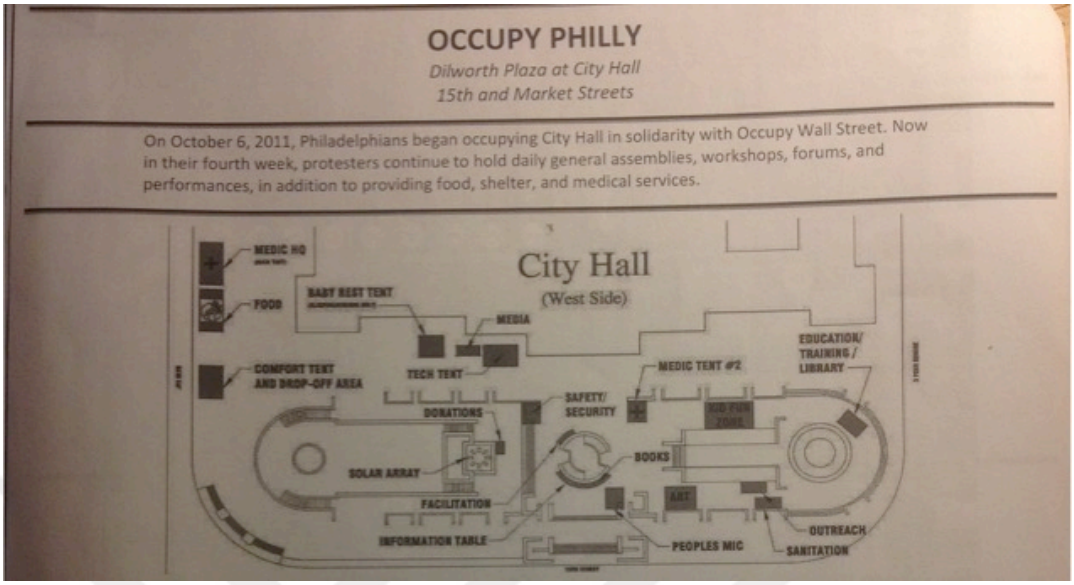

Figure 13: Dilworth Plaza map during Occupy Philly. 2011. Distributed on site in a pamphlet. Used from the public domain.[265]

These maps also served the purpose of providing a visual of the organization of these prefigurative sites to the general public. They helped counter the government and mainstream media narratives that portrayed these mobilizations as disorderly, and even chaotic. Such portrayals aimed at constructing a perception of impermeability and inaccessibility to these sites for outsiders. Such maps visually made the case for the internal organization and habitability of these sites.

In addition to maps that were distributed onsite, several digital and hand-drawn maps of these sites were made, charting out the life and services of the communal life on the squares. For instance, a geographer who goes by the nickname Postvirtual made hand-drawn maps of Gezi Park that demonstrated several layers of social and political life on the site (See figures 14 and 15). While the first map

[265] *Occupy Philly: Dilworth Plaza at City Hall*, 2011. Source: unidentified pamphlet distributed at the Occupy Philly site. Used from the public domain.

pinpoints the services available in the park, the second map indicates where various political groups tend to gather and have their tents set up.

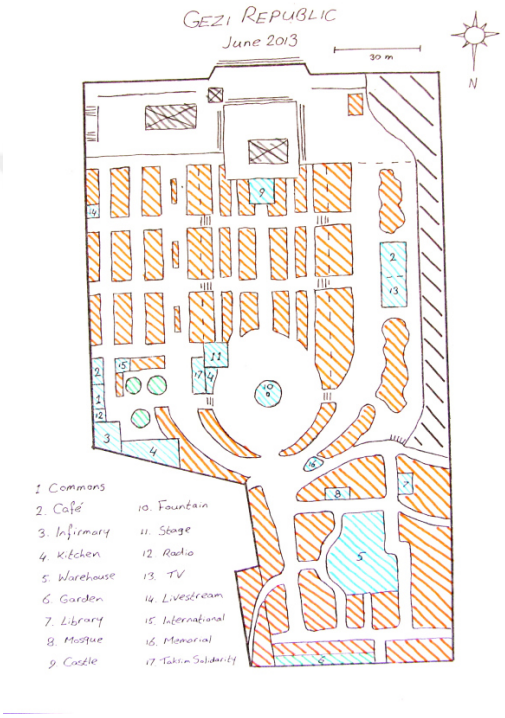

Figure 14: Gezi Park map From Historical Atlas of Gezi Park by Postvirtual. 2013. Used under CC BY-NC-SA license.[266]

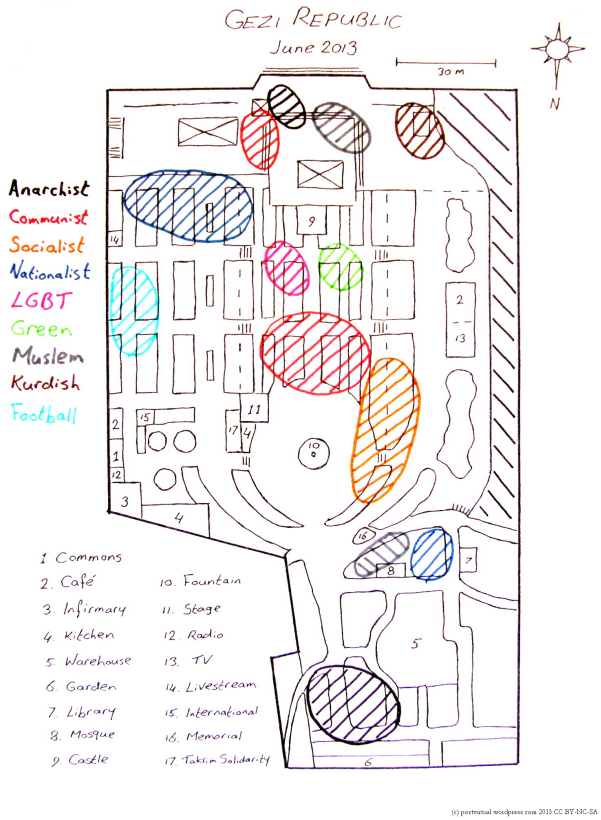

Figure 15: Political map of Gezi Park demonstrating the political fractions co-exiting in the park by Postvirtual. Used under CC BY-NC-SA license.[267]

[266] Postvirtual, *Gezi Republic*, Digital Image, Source: postvirtual.wordprss.com, 2013. Used under CC BY-NC-SA license. Available from https://postvirtual.wordpress.com/2013/06/27/historical-atlas-of-gezi-park/ (accessed March 20, 2019).

[267] Postvirtual, *Gezi Neighborhoods*, Digital Image, Source: postvirtual.wordprss.com, 2013. Used under CC BY-NC-SA license. Available from https://postvirtual.wordpress.com/2013/06/27/historical-atlas-of-gezi-park/ (accessed March 20, 2019).

Figure 16: Republic Monument with flags and banners installed during the Gezi protest. Photo taken by Emre Çetin Gürer. Date: 06.06.2013.

Within the dimension of representational space, appropriation is made explicit through affective identification with the place and political symbolism. Most of the square movements have taken place in spaces that have symbolic political value. Taksim Square, a prominent example, is a central site of the symbols of the modern republic and its national rituals. The Republic Monument and Ataturk Cultural Center were two main symbolic spaces that were constructed to symbolize the modern values and the developed status of the republic in line with its European counterparts.[268] During the Gezi uprisings, protestors using flags, banners, and graffiti appropriated these two monumental spaces. Normally serving as locations

[268] The founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, is often quoted to indicate the objective of the nation: "muhasır medeniyetler seviyesi" ("to be at the level of developed civilizations").

where even climbing and sitting were seen as sacrilegious and immediately prevented or punished by the authorities, they were now occupied by protestors who were posing for cameras holding their flags, expressing the joy of transgression and the appropriation of "the heart of the republic" as their own. These representational interventions, together with other activities and modifications in the built environment, paved the way for the re-symbolization of Taksim Square. The allusions to the bloody 1971 Mayday celebration in the square were particularly telling. The killing of over 30 people on the square by police-coordinated right-wing nationalists was often commemorated and the liberation of the square was dedicated to their memories as the consummation of their struggles.[269]

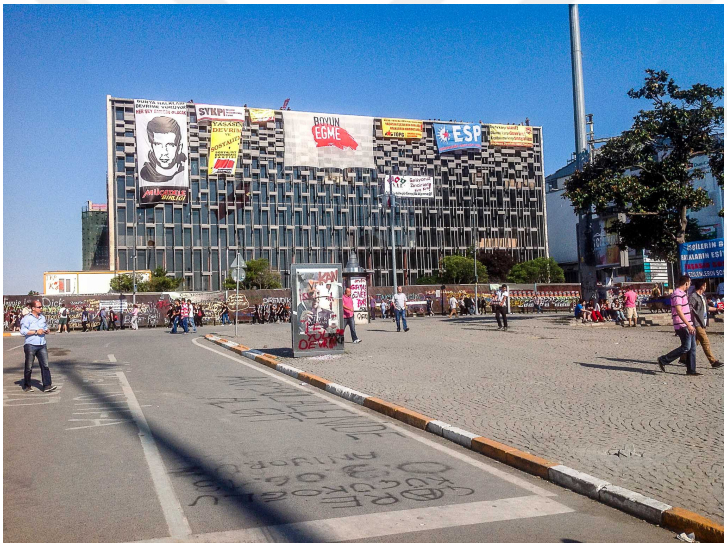

Figure 17: Atatürk Cultural Center at Taksim Square with banners at the early days of the Gezi uprising. Photo taken by Emre Çetin Gürer. Date: 06.03.2013.

[269] Sinan Ikinci, "Turkey's Bloody 1977 May Day Still Clouded in Mystery," World Socialist Web Site, May 1, 2003, https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2003/05/turk-m01.html.

3.4.4 Domination and Control in Spatial Prefiguration

Harvey points out that the appropriation of a space can also mean its domination, as is the case with gang territory. In the case of spatial appropriation in the square movements, however, their principles of inclusion and equality would make it harder to ascribe such a practice to them. Domination, however, was an important material aspect for the square movements when we consider the architectural design of the occupied squares and the responses by the authorities to the occupiers. Let me focus on the site of Occupy Philadelphia in tracing the spatial practice of domination and control, even though Gezi Park case certainly is not free of such practices.

Dilworth Plaza/Park is located at the geometrical center of Philadelphia's city center, at the intersection of Market and Broad Streets. It was planned by William Penn in 1683 as the central open space for the Philadelphia grid system and initially used for public executions, religious gatherings, and water distribution. Since the end of the nineteenth century, the construction of City Hall has marked the open space as the political center of local governance. City Hall prompted the construction of the Broad Street Station, which in turn centralized the railroad transformation of the region. Later, in the twentieth century, the main train station was relocated to 30th Street and in the 1960s Dilworth Plaza was constructed in the space opened by the train station's demolition.

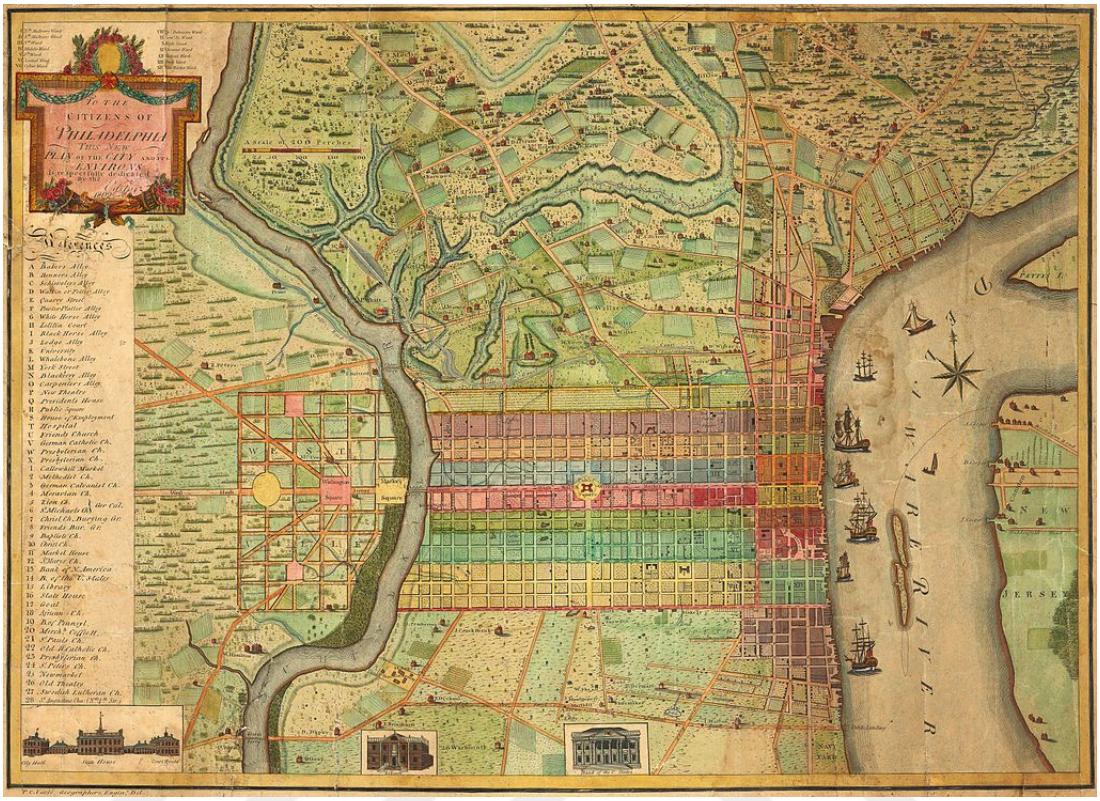

Figure 18: Philadelphia's urban planning grid with City Hall at the center. *Philadelphia Street Map, 1802* by P. C. Varte. Used from the public domain.[270]

Dilworth Plaza's location is particularly important both owing to the political history of the plaza-centered urban planning grid and its connection to Philadelphia's major boulevard, Benjamin Franklin Parkway. The city planning grid is acknowledged to be an architectural form that facilitates state control and enhances bureaucratic legibility.[271] Lefebvre and Harvey explicitly define these as dominated spaces. From its origins in Mesopotamian and Mesoamerican civilizations to European and colonial examples, the conglomeration point of the

[270] P. C. Varte, *Philadelphia Street Map*, 1802. Digital Image, Source: Wikimedia Commons. Used from the public domain. Available from https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Philadelphia_Street_Map,_1802.jpg (accessed April 5, 2019).
[271] James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

Figure 19: Benjamin Franklin Parkway. View from the tower of City Hall. Photo taken by Emre Çetin Gürer Date: 10.16.2015.

central plaza is held to be a sacred and political kernel in city life.[272] It has therefore been subjected to extensive discussions and hegemonic struggles over its formation and use. Construction of City Hall was a hallmark of the debates around this symbolic core that had continued with the construction and reconstruction of Dilworth Plaza/Park. The symbolic significance of such central locations can be crucial for politics, argues David Harvey, considering that a significant portion of politics is carried out on the symbolic level.[273] Construction of monumental spaces in central urban locations is one widespread mechanism for establishing state authority in public life. The monumentality of Dilworth's location, its dominated space, has to be thought together with the attached major city boulevard, Benjamin Franklin Parkway.

The parkway was designed in 1917 by the French architect Jacques Gréber to emulate Haussmannian Paris boulevards, specifically the Champs-Élysées. It

[272] The mainstream history of architecture locates grid structures' origins in Hippodamus's plans for Miletus around 400 BC, and hence regard it as exclusively a European/Western form. However, architectural historians challenge this view by citing prior examples in Egypt and Mesopotamia as well as Mesoamerican grid-planned cities. Setha M. Low argues that the plaza-centered-grid-urban-plan is actually a syncretical spatial form that did not simply originate in Europe for application in the new world, but had its origins in Mesoamerica as much as old world civilizations. Cities such as Tenochititlan had utilized this form in 1300 BC well before the famous European examples, prominently French bastides. Tenochititlan was destroyed by Spanish conquistadors and superimposed on by today's Mexico City. Yet, in destroying it, Low argues, they adopted its plaza-centered grid form and established their political and religious dominance by architecturally superimposing the sacred center with Spanish political and religious monuments. Setha M. Low, *On the Plaza: The Politics of Public Space and Culture*, 1st edition (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 133.

[273] Harvey, *Rebel Cities*.

stretches between City Hall and the Philadelphia Art Museum and resides in various neo-classical buildings between, such as the Benjamin Franklin Institute, the Rodin Museum, the Free Library of Philadelphia and Logan Square. It was constructed to measure up to the modernist urban planning standards that revive classical forms and expand in scale. Paris is famously considered to be the capital of this architectural modernity.[274] Napoleon III's main architect and Paris' Prefect, Georges-Eugène Haussmann's urban transformations in mid-nineteenth-century Paris permeated the urban renewals of many European and non-European centers.[275] The parkway was Philadelphia's primary milieu for this Parisian mimicry of creating the exemplar modernist urban center.

Walter Benjamin enumerates the social and political implications of Haussmann's urban transformation in its 1) facilitation of military/police control over social mobilization (especially after the 1848 revolutions), 2) mega-construction-based rejuvenation of the economy, and 3) displacement of the poor from city centers.[276] For Benjamin, the Haussmannian transformation of Paris was meant to structurally reconfigure the city to prevent working-class mobilization while establishing the hegemony of the French bourgeoisie by the production of phantasmogoric effects through monumental boulevards. Philadelphia's initial grid structure already provides a favorable context for state/military control of the city, but the construction of the Parkway as well as the public spaces along and at the

[274] David Harvey, *Paris, Capital of Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
[275] Mona Abaza's account on the Parisian transformation of Cairo and Tahrir Square is also particularly interesting and lends itself to a fruitful comparison not only with "Western" centers such as Philadelphia, but also with Istanbul and its urban modernization kernel Taksim Square. Abaza, "Post January Revolution Cairo."
[276] Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2002).

terminus of the Parkway serve the establishment of ideological superiority and renewed economy through Keynesian state-sponsored constructions.

The Dilworth Park construction was a project of the Center City District (CCD), which is a non-profit private BID. BIDs are US-originated policy instruments that are entitled to collect taxes from local property owners and privatize municipal services ranging from street cleaning to security. They are formed in well-off centers with high property values and enable property owners to insulate their wealth in their own districts, rather than diffusing their surplus to the city in general, which would subsidize poorer neighborhoods. Critiques of BID applications in the UK such as Anna Minton's point out that they lead to the homogenization of urban centers, the erosion of local democratic mechanisms—their boards are not elected—and the displacement of social problems to neighboring areas.[277] They are likened to shopping malls and referred to as "malls without walls" in their operations and structuring due to their overt practices designed to displace 'undesirable' elements and provide a comfortable zone of consumption for the middle and upper classes.[278]

Dilworth Plaza/Park is currently leased to the CCD for 30 years and, in the architecture critic Inga Saffron's words, "effectively privatized."[279] CCD announced that Dilworth's transformation was their "most ambitious project to date,"[280] and they are currently managing it with on-site around-the-clock private security.

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[277] Minton, "The Privatisation of Public Space: What Kind of World Are We Building?," 10.
[278] Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin, *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition*, First Printing edition (London ; New York: Routledge, 2001), 261–62.
[279] Inga Saffron, "New Dilworth Plaza Space Combines Park, Architecture," Philly.com, August 21, 2014, http://articles.philly.com/2014-08-21/news/53034690_1_ice-rink-new-dilworth-plaza-bryant-park.
[280] CCD, "Center City District Parks – About CCD Parks," accessed May 12, 2014, http://www.ccdparks.org/about-cccd-parks.

Considering that Dilworth Plaza was one of the most prominent locations for the homeless, featuring skateboarding and protest encampments prior to construction, the current state of the park has dramatically altered the demographics of its users and serviced it to the enjoyment of then middle classes and corporate employees.

Briefly mentioning the spatial practices of domination and control on the levels of representation and representational spaces, the "territorial imperatives," such as the signs on the fences around the Dilworth Park construction that ban entry to the site, would be a start. Current signs that regulate the usage of the park, such as bans on smoking and loitering and signs that regulate temporary closures of the park for private events such as weddings and corporate meetings can be cited as practices of control on the site. Along the dimension of representational space, fear dominates, especially seen in the police evictions of the squares. The midnight raid of Occupy Philadelphia by mounted police forces shows that this emotion was indeed not unwarranted. Fifty-two protestors were arrested and goods and infrastructure on the site were trashed. The space deemed home by many protesters was blemished by dramatic fear and anger.[281] Nevertheless, it would be wrong to argue that fear was introduced to the site on the eviction night. The domineering and controlling practices of the authorities date back to the inception of the occupation. From the first day on, the eviction card was constantly on the table and this was used to pressure the general assembly to decide on whether to apply to the

[281] Miriam Hill, Melissa Dribben, and Troy Graham, "Police Clear Occupy Encampment, 52 Arrested," https://www.philly.com, November 30, 2011, https://www.philly.com/philly/news/breaking/20111130_Police_order_Occupy_Philly_to_leave_Dilworth_Plaza.html.

city for a permit to use the park.[282] While such a permit should not be necessary to access a public space, at Dilworth Plaza protestors were allowed to stay only on the premises of the permit given after the formal application. The permit had an expiration date of November 20 and, soon after that, not only did the authorities threaten the protestors with forceful eviction, but also some conservative columnists suggested the Mayor Nutter send tough guys from Philly neighborhoods to ensure the eviction of the protest sites.[283]

3.5 Conclusion

Among the aspects of spatial practice, I leave the analysis of the production of space to the following chapter, in which I argue that spatial prefiguration in the square movements produced a space-time that can be called a *translocal heterotopia of subversive presentism*. Here in this chapter, I have aimed at making two major points. First, I have demonstrated the close connection between space and socio-political power relations. That space is not a neutral container for politics, but in fact is itself political. The second point I wanted to put forward was that such socio-political and historical spaces can be understood in their multi-layered dimensions and aspects to pay due attention to their complexities. I have drawn on David Harvey's grid of spatial practice to understand this multi-layered character of spatial practice and offered my analysis of the spatial logic of spatial prefiguration. Then I delved into the ways in which the elements in Harvey's grid of spatial practice have a bearing on

[282] Julie Xie et al., "Occupy Philadelphia Protest Completes First Day," October 6, 2011, https://www.thedp.com/article/2011/10/occupy_philly_protest_kicks_off.
[283] Paul Davies, "Occupy Philly Has Overstayed Its Welcome," *Philadelphia Magazine* (blog), November 23, 2011, https://www.phillymag.com/news/2011/11/23/occupy-philly-overstayed/.

the particularities of the square movements, specifically of those in Philadelphia and Istanbul. In so doing, I first focused on the topographies of these cities and evaluated how accessibility and distanciation play out in the spatial practices of Occupy Philadelphia and the Gezi uprising. Secondly, I offered the term “commons” to characterize the distinctive way in which protestors appropriate their public spaces and manage them collectively. Thirdly, I tackled the spatial practices of domination with a view of urban planning and the privatization of public spaces in Philadelphia. I also expanded upon the activities of police forces against protestors in the square movements as a practice of domination on these sites.

"Encounter with the fictitious world restructures consciousness and gives sensual representation to a counter-societal experience."
–Herbert Marcuse

"A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space - though its impact need not occur at the same rate, or with equal force, in each of these areas."
–Henri Lefebvre

Chapter 4: The Production of Space-Time in the Square Movements

In this project, as outlined previously, the spatiality and temporality of prefiguration are analyzed at two different levels. The first level involves the internal spatial and temporal logics of prefiguration. The second involves the production of space and time through prefiguration. The purpose of this chapter is to focus on this second level and explain the production of space and time by the prefigurative politics in the square movements (PPSM). I will first explain the notion, 'the production of space,' with reference to Lefebvre and Harvey's grid of spatial practice. Then, I will extrapolate from this analysis to the notion of 'temporality,' indicating the inextricable links between spatiality and temporality. Finally, I will provide an analysis of the spatial and temporal production in the square movements through prefiguration. My overall thesis is that the produced space-time of the square movements through prefiguration can be characterized as a *translocal heterotopia of subversive presentism*.

4.1 The Production of Space through Prefiguration

In the previous chapter, I approached the spatiality of prefiguration in the square movements using Harvey's grid of spatial practice and structured my analysis based on his layers of accessibility, appropriation, and domination. The fourth aspect of Harvey's grid of spatial practice, the production of space, will be examined in this chapter. Similar to the previous three aspects, the production of space takes place in three Lefebvrian dimensions: *spatial practice* (experienced space), *representation of space* (perceived space), and *spaces of representation* (imagined space).

Regarding the dimension *spatial practice*, 'the production of space' pertains to the production of new physical infrastructures, such as transport and communication infrastructures, as well as to the production of built environments and land clearances. I have already pointed out the physical modifications to the built environment in the protest encampments in the earlier sections. It is worth detailing them again here. Protest camps transform their physical environment with ephemeral structures, such as tents, tarps, banners, tables and so forth. Protestors settle down on a square, and use and modify it for their purposes. In this sense, the way they appropriate space produces space simultaneously through spatial practice.

Figure 20: Tents in Gezi Park. Photo taken by Emre Çetin Gürer. Date: 06.06.2013.

One could argue that these ephemeral structures do not count as producing new space, as they are not meant to be durable. In fact, in a number of examples, the purpose of the protest camp was initially to stop the production of a durable space. In Gezi Park, for example, the purpose was to stop the construction of a shopping mall on top of the park. Nevertheless, in resisting attempts to produce a new commercial space on the park, protestors appropriated the space, and in order to stay for longer periods of time in the park, they modified its built environment for their use. Tents enabled the protestors to stay overnight and to establish basic services, such as food courts, medic tents, and educational spaces. As I understand it, the production of space, then, does not have durability as a criterion; it is the spatial practice of establishing new forms of habitation and communication through social relations, often with specific physical modifications. Protest camps, in this sense, are spatial practices of producing new spaces that prefigure an alternative sociality.

Regarding the dimension *representation of space*, Harvey charts out that the production of space occurs through new systems of mapping, including visual representations and communications, as well as through new artistic and

architectural discourses.[284] The usage of social media in the square movements was one central aspect of how the representation of space was crucial to the square movements. In fact, for the Occupy movement in the US, the inception of the Wall Street occupation was due to the online magazine Adbusters' call to occupy on September 17. The usage of Twitter, Facebook, and numerous other Internet websites was critical for organizing and advertising the mobilization,[285] so much so that it opened up questions about whether Occupy was essentially a virtual revolution.[286] The prominence of virtual organizing was a source of debate that influenced writers like Michael Kimmelman to assert the power of actual places.[287] For Kimmelman, it was the occupations of actual public spaces that made these movements powerful and remarkable, not the novel digital tools they were using. Nevertheless, the virtual representations and online communication methods were formidable tools and abundantly used by the square

Figure 21: Protestor writing a banner in Gezi Park. The banner includes a Turkish translation of the famous Gilles Deleuze quote: "Life becomes resistance to power when power takes life as its object." Photo taken by Emre Çetin Gürer. Date: 06.03.2013.

[284] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 221.
[285] Paul Mason, *Why It's Kicking off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions*, 2012.
[286] Shelley Walia, "Virtual Revolution," *Frontline*, July 11, 2014, https://frontline.thehindu.com/books/virtual-revolution/article6144923.ece.
[287] Michael Kimmelman, "Wall Street Protest Shows Power of Place," *The New York Times*, October 15, 2011, sec. Sunday Review, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/16/sunday-review/wall-street-protest-shows-power-of-place.html.

movements. Even though the technologies had been around for some time, such a level and intensity of social media usage was quite novel for a political movement. In that sense alone, the production of novelty in the squares can be traced to the dimension *representation of space*.

Figure 22: Carnivalesque politics in Gezi Park. Photo taken by Emre Çetin Gürer. Date: 06.04.2013.

Moreover, square movements were extremely fruitful in their artistic creativity. From graffiti, poster, and banner making to drum circles, poetry readings[288] and comics,[289] the squares in their heydays of occupations were bourgeoning with artistic representations.[290] These sites were in many ways the embodiment of

[288] Pam Annas, "Poems from the Occupy Movement," *Radical Teacher*, no. 96 (March 22, 2013): 21, https://doi.org/10.5195/rt.2013.20.
[289] Alan Moore et al., *Occupy Comics*, ed. Matt Pizzolo (Black Mask Comics, 2014).
[290] Michele Elam, "How Art Propels Occupy Wall Street," CNN, November 4, 2011, https://www.cnn.com/2011/11/01/opinion/elam-occupy-art/index.html.

Lefebvrian *jouissance* and presented a carnivalesque politics at their sites.[291] If we were to talk about the documentaries, artistic photography and videography that were distributed from the sites and produced after the events, the representations of spaces in the square movements could constitute a thesis of its own.[292]

Regarding the final dimension *spaces of representation*, Harvey includes utopian plans, imaginary landscapes, science fiction ontologies and spaces, mythologies of space and place, poetics of space, and spaces of desire. Spatial practice occurs at this imaginative level as well whereever people engage in the production of space through their projections of un-alienated sociality, just economies, and desired forms of social and political life. Prefigurative politics, especially in the square movements, fed on this imaginative space making that invited projections of future desired forms into the present and let people experiment with the instantiations of these "utopian" projections. As explained in the previous chapters, such projections are never merely future projections that people are thinking about in their minds and hence unequipped in their

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[291] Meyda Yeğenoğlu, "Democratic Sensibilities and Carnivalesque Politics in Turkey," *Radical Philosophy*, no. 182 (December 2013): 1–4.

[292] For a few documentary examples from 2012, please see: Nick Shimkin and Media Education Foundation, *MIC check documentary shorts from the Occupy movement.* (Northampton, MA: Media Education Foundation, 2012); Christos Georgiou, *Children of the Riots*, 2012, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2299405/; Jon Alpert and Matthew O'Neill, *In Tahrir Square: 18 Days of Egypt's Unfinished Revolution*, Documentary, Short, Adventure, History, News, N/A; Phillip Montgomery, *#ReGeneration*, 2012, https://www.amazon.com/ReGeneration-Ryan-Gosling/dp/B007ZYJR9O/ref=sr_1_1?ie=UTF8&qid=1549269836&sr=8-1&keywords=occupy+movement+art+video; There are numerous scholarly works on artistic production in the square movements. Peter Weibel's edited volume 'Global activism: art and conflict in the 21st century' is a great collection on artistic production in the square movements and art as a form of activism. Peter Weibel, ed., *Global Activism: Art and Conflict in the 21st Century*, A ZKM Book (Karlsruhe: ZKM, Center for Art and Media Karlsruhe, 2015); Marilyn DeLaure et al.'s edited volume makes the case for the efficacy of artistic activism and covers critical examples of the subversive artistic interventions during the square movements. Marilyn DeLaure and Moritz Fink, eds., *Culture Jamming: Activism and the Art of Cultural Resistance* (New York: New York University Press, 2017).

experimentation. In effect, the memories of social struggles are informative not only of the projections of the future desired forms but also of the particular implementations of these instantiations.

To take one example among many others, general assemblies in the Occupy movements were visionary experimentations of direct democracy, a type of democracy that most people participating had no experience with. It was an entirely novel political framework for many, but a small number of activists, drawing from their experiences of the alter-globalization movement and the anarchist decision-making bodies of other similar organizations, helped to bring about such practices in the Occupy movements. The assemblies were based on a decision-making model known as the consensus model with certain modifications for a larger crowd. In consensus decision-making, agreement is sought mostly without voting, while in the general assemblies there was a well-structured voting system in place.[293]

Figure 23: Abbasaga Forum in Istanbul. People cheering silently with hand signals to a speaker. Photo taken by Emre Çetin Gürer. 06.27.2013.

[293] Andrew Cornell, "Occupy Wall Street and Consensus Decision Making: Historicizing the Preoccupation With Process," Is This What Democracy Looks Like?, 2012, /occupy-wall-street-and-consensus-decision-making-historicizing-the-preoccupation-with-process/.

The idea behind the general assemblies was to demonstrate a real alternative to the representative democracies that are overwhelmingly controlled by the plutarchs. The driving slogan and primary objective of the occupy movements, as it was articulated in the initial call to occupy Wall Street by the Adbusters Magazine, was to banish money from politics and hence eliminate the influence of corporations in the American political system.[294] The general assemblies had this prefigurative articulation of a desired future that shows a participatory, inclusive and direct form of democratic decision-making.[295] This vision and the actual practice of assemblies helped to produce the representational space of occupy movements, which were both imagined and actual. The immanent imagination (I draw from David Graeber's notion of immanent imagination in the second chapter) constitutes a futural element in the temporal logic of prefiguration, which overrides the dichotomy between imagination and reality. To reiterate, it is a kind of imagination that is action-oriented, aiming to transform the existing reality and under constant reality-check.

[294] Its advertisement was here, but currently the link seems to be broken. "#occupywallstreet | Adbusters," accessed December 25, 2014, https://www.adbusters.org/blogs/adbusters-blog/occupywallstreet.html; For a reference to Adbusters' link that explains the add and is currently accessible, see: Nathan Schneider, "Who Will Occupy Wall Street on September 17?," *Huffington Post* (blog), September 14, 2011, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/nathan-schneider/occupy-wall-street_b_961374.html.

[295] I do not mean to suggest that general assemblies and their processes were devoid of problems. In fact, there are numerous issues that arose due to this model's cumbersome, partly exclusionary, and time-consuming practices. The model tended to sideline the questions of gender, race, and class and assumed an abstract equality of individuals. In effect, the situation on the ground allowed for the domination of white, well-educated males and tended to reproduce existent inequalities, unless addressed directly. That said, it would be unfair to say that the Occupy movements did not try to address these problems. For an argument from the LGBTQ perspective, see: Karen Ocamb, "The Occupy Movement & Why LGBTs Should Care," Bilerico Report / LGBTQ Nation, October 31, 2011, http://www.bilerico.com/2011/10/the_occupy_movement_why_lgbts_should_care.php.

The production of space is one way in which the temporal and spatial logic of prefiguration come together in the square movements. Spatially, prefigurative logic entails the public instantiation of an immanent utopia in an exemplary locality (PUEL)[296] where political practice produces a new space in various dimensions: It transforms the physicality of the space to pave the way for the realization of the immanent utopia, and it creates representations in order to publicize the practice and its political agendas and to to make that space a home. The prefigurative practice also draws from the existing representations, utopian visions in their spatial practice while at the same time they produce a space of hope and desire.

Temporally, prefiguration projects a future imagination in action, carried from the past (*qua* memory), to seize an opportune moment of transformation to produce a new present. The present that is altered through prefiguration is a futural present which transforms the way that we engage with the past and the future. However, the temporality of prefiguration is not merely temporal but is also spatial: The memory of the past is also the memory of a place, the projection of the future is also the projection of a utopia, and the present that the desired form is instantiated in is not only a "now" but is also always a "here-and-now."

The occupy movements and Gezi Park achieve their prefigurative agenda of instantiating direct democratic solidarity economies using memories of past struggles from Paris Commune to Zapatistas, alter-globalization movements and Tekel Strikes. In this sense, they do not only invoke dates of 1871, 1994, 1999 and 2010, but they also summon Montmartre, Chiapas, Seattle, and Kızılay Square. These

[296] Please see the Chapter 3 for the argumentation of this spatial logic.

movements, in their attempts to publicize alternatives, are not only subject to the spatiality of an exclusionary or inclusive public but also attempt to take advantage of opportune moments in order to be heard and to resonate their message with the public. In all these senses, if not more, space and time intertwine with each other, and the production of space through prefiguration operates not only at the spatial level but also on the temporal level. In order to unpack this point, let me first turn to the discussions on the inextricability of space and time.

4.2 Space and Time as Space-Time

So far I have mostly discussed time and space as distinct phenomena. Nevertheless, such division bears the risks of carrying with it a historical dichotomy between these categories. Doreen Massey warns that this bifurcation of time and space tends to define one at the expense of the other. With respect to politics, it also tends to result in the ascription of a static notion to space and a dynamic one to time. Massey writes with regard to time and space the following:

> For within this kind of conceptualization, only one of the terms (A) is defined positively. The other term (not- A) is conceived only in relation to A, and as lacking in A. A fairly thorough reading of some of the recent literature which uses the terminology of space and time, and which employs this form of conceptualization, leaves no doubt that it is time which is conceived of as in the position of 'A', and space which is 'not-A.'[297]

The trouble with this binary definition becomes even clearer when the cultural significance of space and time is unpacked.

Time, Massey points out, is associated with "History, Progress, Civilization, Science, Politics and Reason, portentous things with gravitas and capital letters." She

[297] Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 256.

goes on to say, “With space, on the other hand, are aligned the other poles of these concepts: stasis, ('simple') reproduction, nostalgia, emotion, aesthetics, the body.”[298] The cultural contents of this space and time binary are not coincidental: They at the same time overlap with other dominant binaries in society, especially the gender binaries. There is a tendency to define the male as rational, dynamic, active, and political, while the female is conceived of mostly in terms of the opposites: as irrational, passive, apolitical, pertaining to body, and so forth. For Massey, the space and time binary reproduces the existing gender binaries in society and offers a skewed lens for understanding the spatio-temporal dynamics of politics.

Against these dangers, Massey proposes that it is important to recognize the fact that “the spatial is integral to the production of history, and thus to the possibility of politics, just as the temporal is to geography. Another way is to insist on the inseparability of time and space, on their joint constitution through the interrelations between phenomena; on the necessity of thinking in terms of space-time.”[299] Hence, to avoid reproducing the binary of space and time, this project conceives of these categories according to their interrelation and joint constitution, that is as space-time.

Massey may be one that provides one of the best articulations of this methodological novelty, but she was not the first one to offer it. After Einsteinian physics established that time and space are not completely distinct phenomena and that they should be conceptualized as *space-time*, particular terms developed to conceptualize the spatio-temporality of events. Geographer Ian Gregory says that

[298] Massey, 257.
[299] Massey, 269.

physicist Hermann Minkowski's 'future and past light cones' are a prime example of thinking of space and time as intertwined. Minkowski developed light cones to measure the limits of an event's effect due to the fact that nothing can go faster than light, according to Einstein. The four-dimensional cones spread through space-time, starting from the event's origin and setting the ultimate limit of its impact.[300] Gregory explains that in the humanities there have also been theories that implement this spatio-temporal perspective such as those of John Keells. He replaces light speed with "causal propagation" and analyzes the impact of social events with a view to their space-time limitations.[301]

In the field of political geography, the joint consideration of time and space is widely used and defended by major figures, such as Nagel Thrift,[302] Derek Gregory[303] and David Harvey.[304] In his analysis of the space-time of global capitalism, Harvey sets forth his argument for "time-space compression." He argues that the acceleration of capital annihilates space through time (originally an argument Marx put forward in *Grundrisse*[305]), and that the social-economic processes of capital transform the experience of time and space, which he characterizes as a "sense of compression of our spatial and temporal worlds."[306]

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[300] Ian N. Gregory, "Exploiting Time and Space : A Challenge for GIS in the Digital Humanities.," in *The Spatial Humanities: GIS and the Future of Humanities Scholarship.*, ed. David J. Bodenhamer, John Corrigan, and Trevor M. Harris (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 2010), 62, http://eprints.lancs.ac.uk/19904/.
[301] Gregory, 62.
[302] N. J. Thrift, *An Introduction to Time-Geography* (Geo Abstracts, University of East Anglia, 1977).
[303] Gregory Derek, *Geographical Imaginations* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1994).
[304] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*.
[305] Karl Marx, *Grundrisse: Foundations of the Critique of Political Economy*, trans. Martin Nicolaus, Reprint edition (Penguin Classics, 1993).
[306] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 240.

The generic example given of space-time compression is the way the world has been shrinking over time due to the increased travel speed allowed by current transportation technologies. Until 1850, the maximum speed humans were able to travel on earth was 16km/h on wagon and sail ships. With the invention of steam engines, locomotives were able to reach a speed of 100km/h. In the 1950s with the invention of propeller aircraft, the maximum speed reached was 640km/h and that increased to 1120km/h with the invention of jet propeller aircraft. As travel speed increased and travel time decreased, the world was perceived to be a smaller and more accessible.

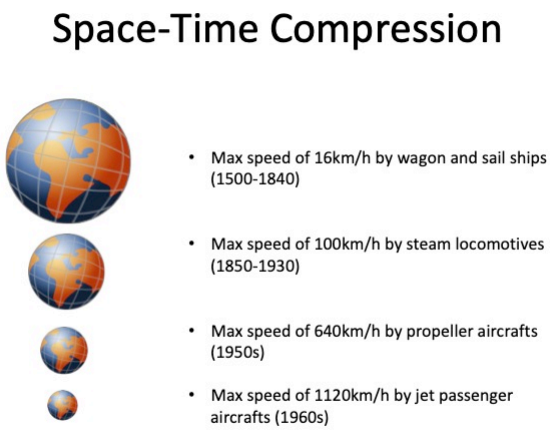

Figure 24: Shrinking World through Space-Time Compression. Visual made by Emre Çetin Gürer using public domain images based on information taken from Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernism*.[307]

This, however, does not apply to the entire population of the earth. While the world has shrunk to "have your breakfast in Paris and dinner in New York" for the "jet society" and government elites, most of the world's population are not able to travel outside of their towns or, worse, are locked into their ghettoized areas in

[307] Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, 241.

megacities. For instance, in Istanbul alone, there are thousands of inhabitants who have never seen the Bosporus[308]—the strait that goes through the entire city. Doreen Massey adjusted this unequal aspect of Harvey's space-time compression using what she calls *power geometries of space-time*.[309] Space-time compression is not a homogeneous phenomenon, promulgated through technological inventions and acceleration. Rather, social and political power dynamics distribute space-time compression unevenly.

Similarly to Barney Warf, space-time compression should be understood as partially comprised of social processes that go beyond technological developments and acceleration. Barney Warf writes the following:

> Time-space compression broadly defined is about change—rapid and slow, voluntary and involuntary, external and internal, qualitative and quantitative, evolutionary and revolutionary, continuous and discontinuous—in people's understandings of the world and their interactions over the earth's surface, not simply one of measuring time or conquering distance. The process is a lens through which social orders and transformations can be understood, i.e., as changing the ways in which human beings have produced and restructured time and space.[310]

On Warf's account, it is possible to conceive of space-time compression with regard to other developments that alter our perception of time and space, including historical events such as the square movements. The distant public spaces of the square movements were perceived closer to each other due to interconnected

[308] Ayfer Bartu Candan and Cenk Özbay, eds., *Yeni İstanbul Çalışmaları: Sınırlar, Mücadeleler, Açılımlar* (İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık, 2014), 14, http://www.idefix.com/Kitap/Yeni-Istanbul-Calismalari/Arastirma-Tarih/Sosyoloji/urunno=0000000619430.
[309] Doreen Massey, *Power-Geometries and the Politics of Space-Time* (University of Heidelberg, 1999).
[310] Warf, *Time-Space Compression*, 6.

mobilizations that, as I will argue in the following sections, brought them into a common spatio-temporality of *the translocal heterotopia of subversive presentism*.

This reinterpretation of space-time compression, though, should also be taken with a critical view in terms of power geometries and maybe additionally in terms of affiliation. While distances between square movement sites are compressed for the participants of these protests and their sympathizers, such compression might not occur at all for groups hostile or indifferent to these mobilizations. In most cases like that of Gezi Park, mobilization sites appeared distant to populations who may be living close by but who perceived the movement as an attempt to vandalize public property and damage the governing party.

In such considerations of space-time compression, though, there seems to be a methodological difficulty: Does thinking of space and time as intertwined imply that time and space are a unified phenomenon with no distinctions, or can they have distinct features that are better conceived of according to their interrelation?

Harvey's usage of the term "time-space" models the second option. According to this notion, time and space are not one single phenomenon but are intertwined through the material processes that they come to shape. Capitalist acceleration and transportation and communication technologies change our sense of time in such a way that space shrinks into the so-called "global village." Massey articulates an answer to this methodological question most clearly in her *For Space*:

> Time and space must be thought together: that this is not some mere rhetorical flourish, but that it influences how we think of both terms; that thinking of time and space together does not mean they are identical (for instance in some undifferentiated four-dimensionality,) rather it means that the imagination of one will have repercussions (not always followed through) for the imagination of the other and

> that space and time are implicated in each other; that it opens up some problems which have heretofore seemed (logically, intractably) insoluble; and that it has reverberations for thinking about politics and the spatial. Thinking about history and temporality necessarily has implications (whether we recognize them or not) for how we imagine the spatial. The counter positional labelling of phenomena as temporal or spatial, and entailing all the baggage of the reduction of space to the a-political sphere of causal closure or the reactionary redoubts of established power, continues to this day.[311]

In this conceptualizing of the production of space-time, a similar methodology to Harvey's time-space is used. Space-time is a joint phenomenon with two distinct but interrelated components, and we should not define them as opposed to each other or overlook the peculiarities of each component. Such a methodological approach allows us to trace the production of time and space in the joint formulation of the production of space-time in the square movements.

4.3 The Production of Historical Time or Space-Time

Prefiguration's spatial and temporal logics collide in producing a new "here-and-now." In instantiating a futural utopia in an exemplary locality, prefiguration transforms space and time. It transforms space by appropriating and producing a new space in the present. It transforms time by creating an alternative historical time and altering the apprehension of temporality in the present. This alteration happens, as I talked about in the second chapter with reference to Thomas Nail, through the creation of a "new present," which changes the way one relates to the past and future. Here, though, a deeper analysis regarding the emergence of new

[311] Doreen B. Massey, *For Space*, 1 edition (London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications, 2005), 18.

times is warranted in order to unpack the mechanisms of producing new times or space-times.

Reinhart Koselleck's theory of historical times is helpful when conceptualizing the production of time, even though he would not use the terminology of 'production.' Koselleck argues that there are two basic anthropological categories of experience and expectation which constitute the conditions for possible histories. "Experience," as defined by Koselleck, "is present past, whose events have been incorporated and can be remembered."[312] In other words, it is our relationship to the past as it is still present. "Expectation," on the other hand, "is future made present; it directs itself to the not-yet, to the nonexperienced, to that which is to be revealed."[313] In other words, it is the way we relate to the future from the present—what we can foresee and await. Koselleck relates these two basic human categories to the metahistorical ones of "space of experience" and "horizon of expectation." These are the two dimensions that each culture and historical period must have. He writes that one must use spatial terminology when talking about time (an issue Bergson struggled with throughout his philosophy), but the terms 'space' and 'horizon' denote successfully the fields that experience draws from its content and expectation has its reach at a given period.

To explain this Koselleck gives a cursory example of the peasant world that used to comprise most of Europe before the 18th century. Peasants live in the cyclical time of nature where their life and work rhythm follow the course of natural

[312] Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 259.
[313] Koselleck, 256.

events: dusk, dawn, seasonal change, good or bad harvests, and so forth. In this traditional world, the skills that were necessary to cope and cultivate were directly handed down by past generations and changes happened slowly and did not result in ruptures. The expectations on people were to match current experiences and the past, hence no major changes were foreseen. In such a world, there is not really a discrepancy between the space of experience and the horizon of expectation. Life is expected to continue as it currently is, within the grasp of people's experiences.

This was so, according to Koselleck, until the period of radical change, first starting with the political transformations due to the Crusades and later with the Copernican revolution. The Renaissance and the Reformation also thoroughly changed people's sense of continuity. People began to realize that they would have to cope with new occurrences that their past experiences did not equip them to handle. Most significantly, when the period of 1750-1850 has come, a major shift occurred that the past experiences ceased to shed light on the future happenings. Radical changes to the political and economic structures and new technical inventions and the new intellectual mindsets that went along with them transformed daily life and people's expectations for the future. This created tension between the space of experience and the horizon of expectation, which is what opened up a new sense of time. Koselleck writes:

> When they are fulfilled, expectations that are founded upon experience may no longer involve any degree of surprise. Only the unexpected has the power to surprise, and this surprise involves a new experience. The penetration of the horizon of expectation, therefore, is creative of new experience. The gain in experience exceeds the limitation of the possible future presupposed by previous experience. The way in which expectations are temporally exceeded thus reorders our two dimensions with respect to one another.

> In brief: it is the tension between experience and expectation which, in ever-changing patterns, brings about new resolutions and through this generates historical time.[314]

The emergence of historical time, a time that is temporal itself and is open to the past and future, is characteristic of the sense of time Koselleck called *Neuzeit*: a new sense of time that is radically different from the cyclical flow of repetitive experiences. Koselleck writes, "The difference between experience and expectation has increasingly expanded; more precisely, that *Neuzeit* is first understood as a *neue Zeit* from the time that expectations have distanced themselves evermore from all previous experience."[315]

This stretch between the space of experience and the horizon of expectation in the *Neuzeit* created "a gap," writes Koselleck in the fashion Hannah Arendt wrote in the 1950s, "between past and future."[316] This gap had to be "bridged to enable one to live and act."[317] The Enlightenment's idea of progress provided that bridge by establishing the belief that the inevitable changes to come were improvements. However, the historical time that was opened up during that period was not comprised of a unitary layer of temporality which could be bridged once and for all. In fact, time in its temporalized sense is not one time but many, stacked one on top of the other. Historical time, or 'historical times' more precisely, exist simultaneously and are subject to different tempos, flows, and apperceptions. Progressive time accompanied the time of industrial capitalism, the time of the

[314] Koselleck, 262.
[315] Koselleck, 263.
[316] Koselleck, 270.
[317] Koselleck, 270.

celestial bodies, the personal times of life and death, and the time of a newly married couple and that of an occupied factory on a strike. All these times and more exist simultaneously, and contradictory historical times are constantly being produced.[318]

This, of course, is only a sketch of Koselleck's theory of historical time; nevertheless, it provides three main insights for the production of time through socio-political practice. First of all, changes in material practices induce transformations in people's perception of time. Time flows differently and shows different characteristics in a society that does not witness radical changes to their daily lives. In a society where there are significant breaks in material practices—modes of production, technological developments, political revolutions—the perception of time acquires new sensations. Secondly, these changes to our temporal sensations are not arbitrary; they depend on basic anthropological categories of experience and expectation. Moments when the space of experience and the horizon of expectation are in tension are productive moments of transformation with respect to the creation of historical times. What happened in the 18th and 19th centuries with the emergence of the *Neuzeit* is peculiar to that historical period, but the conditions that brought it about are not unique to these centuries. In fact, they are grounded in anthropological relations to the past and the future as they encroach upon the present. Thirdly, time is not a unitary phenomenon that is natural or mono-historical, as several layers of historical time always exist simultaneously.

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[318] Koselleck briefly talks about this issue of the simultaneity of the nonsimultaneous in Koselleck, 237. He discusses it further in Reinhart Koselleck and C Meier, *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historische Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland. Band 2* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1975), 391–402.

From these insights, two conclusions can be extrapolated relevant to the production of time through PPSM. Firstly, if time is not just a container of socio-political practice but the material changes of these practices alter and create different historical times, then there must be certain practices that induce this transformation. Macro practices that create a tension between the space of experience and the horizon of expectation—those which structure the mode of production and the proliferation of new technologies—produce historical times. Smaller scale prefigurative practices that induce similar temporal structures may also create historical times, albeit in smaller scales. By 'small scale' I mean affecting smaller groups of people but not just a single individual. The creation of historical time cannot depend on the idiosyncratic experience of a single individual but necessarily depends on a collective interaction. In this sense, collective practices that stretch the congruity of the space of experience and the horizon of expectation can produce historical time. Prefigurative politics, I argue, is one of these practices.

Prefigurative politics instantiates a future desired form in the present in order to bring about socio-political transformation. It begins with an experience of discontent and then acts upon it to negate the present and to summon the positive alternative that is accessible within the horizon of expectation. In political practice, agents of prefigurative politics act to close the gap between the particular experience (for instance, of socio-economic inequality in the society) and the expected form (for instance, of a classless society). In doing so, these agents operate within the historical time of potential progression, where experiences may come to match the desired future. However, within that historical progressive time, the

agents are both subjected to a tension and create a tension between experience and expectation. This struggle is what creates new historical times (and spaces).

The contents of the spatio-temporal logic of prefiguration are always subject to the particulars of the historical practice, but its logics of practice remain the same across cases. I argued in chapter 2 that the temporal logic of prefiguration is the *egalitarian memory projection of immanent imagination in kaironic processes for the new present* (EMPIKNP). This temporal logic should be considered together with its spatial counterpart, as they are interwoven and simultaneously in co-operation. For spatial logic, I proposed the theory of *public instantiation of utopian imaginary in an exemplary locality*. Prefigurative politics creates a tension between the current space of expectation and the horizon of expectation by producing a new space-time that negates present structures with immanent imaginative utopias and publicly demonstrates concrete egalitarian alternatives. Such an instantiation of egalitarian forms in an exemplary locality counters the hegemonic presentist closure of temporal horizons and opens up new egalitarian possibilities. Prefigurative spatio-temporality enables such broadening of the horizon, even when the prefigurative movement fails to achieve its set goals.

Considering the anthropo-temporal, tension-driven structure of historical times, prefigurative politics creates historical times not because it succeeds in matching the experience to the expectation but because it fails in doing so. I reviewed the limitations of prefigurative politics in the first chapter and how historically strategies of prefigurative politics often fall short of their set objectives. The term I offered in that review regarding the temporal limitation of prefiguration

was *temporal paradox*: an attempt to realize a future form in the present that cannot be fully realized due to the present conditions within which such future projection had occurred. This political inability, however, becomes an advantage of the practice *temporally*, leading to the intensification of the tension between experience and expectation in which historical times are born.

To explain this point further with examples from the square movements, the commons at the movement sites were produced amid a temporal closure of hegemonic capitalist realism that asserts the continuation of the present socio-political space of experience *tout court*. The only legitimate political voice heard under such conditions are minor demands to reform the "post-ideological," naturalized *status-quo*. Square movements in their prefigurative instantiations, though, went beyond the specific demands from their respective authorities; they attempted to realize a future liberated society in the present. By doing so, they negated the socio-political space of experience and expanded the contents of the horizon of expectation towards egalitarian possibilities. The intended collapse of the space of experience and the horizon of expectation into each other was severed by the prefigurative negation and projection. Nevertheless, these movements were not completely successful in creating the future desired society in the present (which would again overlap the horizon of expectation and the space of experience, albeit with different egalitarian contents). The failure to do so kept the tension alive between these metahistorical categories and allowed for a new temporality, one that continues to negate present experience, despite falling short of the emergent

contents of the horizon of expectation. Such temporality, which is particular to the square movements, I will denote as subversive presentism in the following sections.

The second conclusion I would like to offer for the production of time due to prefiguration is that the emergence of historical times caused by socio-political practices have more in common with the production of spaces than they may appear to at first. A practice that stretches the difference between experience and expectation, like prefigurative politics, produces spaces while creating a new present that alters the relation to the past and future. Such creation happens on various layers of temporal practice, tantamount to the layers of spatial practice. It operates on the level of materiality, which provides specific contents to the experience, and on the level of representation, which entails memories of past experience or the conveyed knowledge of what Koselleck calls "alien experience."[319] On the level of representation, imagination draws the boundaries of expectation. Given these layers, I find it plausible to use the term 'production' for the creation of historical times through social and political practice.

To add a final point, when we consider the inextricable links between space and time, the production of space and time through practice can be thought to coincide. Particular to prefiguration, the production of a new present and an exemplary locality cannot be separated, as they are simultaneously occurring with a close connection to each other as the "here-and-now." The spatial logic of prefiguration publicly instantiates an immanent utopia that attempts to make present a futural form projected from the past. The temporal logic of prefiguration

[319] Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 259.

projects egalitarian memory through immanent imagination in order to seize an opportune moment to transform a present locality into an exemplary form of the immanent utopia. Time and space are entangled in the practice of prefiguration in its internal operating structures as well as in the simultaneous outcome prefiguration produces. The produced space has a particular historical time accompanying it while the historical time has its own spatiality. What then are the specifics of the produced space-time in the square movements? The following section contains a concrete proposal.

4.4 The Produced Space-Times in the Square Movements

The practice of PPSM transforms the materiality, representation, and representational aspects of the spaces they occupy, and due to the tension between the experience and expectation, produce historical times. These produced times and spaces should be thought to coincide as space-times in order to give due attention to their interconnection. In this section, I explore the kinds of space-times produced in the square movements through prefiguration. My hypothesis is that we can characterize these space-times as *translocal heterotopia of subversive presentism*. I first treat the spatial component of translocal heterotopia and then move on to the temporal aspect of subversive presentism.

4.4.2 The Produced Spatiality of Translocal Heterotopia

4.4.2.3 Heterotopias

In "Of Other Spaces," Michel Foucault develops the concept of *heterotopia* as a type of external space. In contrast to internal spaces, which are imbued with fantasies

and personal qualities as described by Gaston Bachelard[320], outer spaces, as Foucault explains, are the surrounding set of relations we take our bearings. Foucault writes:

> The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and knaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space. In other words, we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another.[321]

Like internal spaces, external spaces are not interchangeable (homogenious), and they are formative in the ways in which individuals relate to each other, use, and perceive the world and become subjects as agents in the world. People who are subjectified in an external space of panopticon, internalize these forms and become "docile bodies."[322] There are, though, external spaces that do not necessarily impose their confined, self-surveilled mentality on their inhabitants. Among these external spaces, Foucault characterizes two types that have a peculiar relationship with the rest of lived, heterogeneous spatiality. They contradict other spaces, in such a way that they "neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, reflect."[323] They are *utopian* and *heterotopian* spaces.

Foucault defines 'utopian spaces in line with one of the etymological roots of the term to mean 'not having a real place: u-topia.'[324] Utopias do not exist as

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[320] Gaston Bachelard, *The poetics of space*, trans. M Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994).
[321] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 23.
[322] Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 135.
[323] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 24.
[324] Remember that the second etymological root of the term utopia is 'eu-topia,' which literally means 'a happy place,' or 'a place of desire.'

material places in society but have an analogical relationship with the real spaces of society in a direct or inverted form. They have this relationship in virtue of being elements of an imagination that projects current societies in their perfected forms or their complete inversions. However, Foucault is more interested in spaces that fulfill a similar function by also having a real presence in society. These spaces are the second type of external space. Foucault calls them *heterotopias*.

Heterotopias are real counter-sites that enact utopias in ways that contest and invert real spaces. These spaces can be pointed out in society, that is they have specific locations, but they are, in Foucault's words, "outside of all places."[325] In the constitution of normalcy in society, heterotopias are liminal areas where the outside is delimited. These spaces exist in two general forms. First, there are the *heterotopias of crisis*. Foucault writes, in the so-called primitive societies, heterotopias of crisis "are privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis: adolescents, menstruating women, pregnant women, the elderly, etc."[326] In modern societies, such spaces take the form of military service or boarding school, but today they are being replaced by the second type.

The second type is the *heterotopias of deviation,* which are "those [heterotopias] in which individuals whose behavior is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm are placed." Foucault explains in the same passage that "Cases of this type are rest homes and psychiatric hospitals, and of course prisons;

[325] Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 24.
[326] Foucault, 24.

and one should perhaps add retirement homes."[327] These heterotopias, which are common to modern societies, function in ways that allow societies to externalize anomalies in their socio-political institutionalization of the societal norms.

Foucault lists five principles with regard to heterotopias. First, each and every culture and human group have heterotopias, even though there is no single universal form of heterotopia. Second, each heterotopia has a particular function in society and this function can be changed over time. Foucault gives the example of the cemetery and the changing meaning of these sites between societies that have a grounded belief in the eternality of the soul and secular societies that do not have common practices grounded in such beliefs. Third, a heterotopia is a site that is capable of bringing contradictory spaces together. One of his examples is the theater where on the stage various contradictory enactments of space are juxtaposed. Forth, heterotopias are linked to slices of time; Foucault calls them *heterochronies*. His examples are heterotopias of indefinitely accumulated time such as museums or libraries, as well as fleeting, temporal heterotopias such as fairgrounds. Fifth, these sites always assume a certain system of entering and closing which makes them inaccessible or penetrable in some way. Generally, Foucault points out, heterotopias are different from public spaces: they regulate the way in which they are open to newcomers.

The leading scholar on Foucault's theory of heterotopia, Peter Johnson, states that Foucault never fully developed a coherent theory, rather Foucault presented a

[327] Foucault, 25.

number of thumbnail sketches on the topic.[328] I summarized Foucault's views, but in doing so, my purpose was to lay down the main counters to Foucault's conception of heterotopia, which I think is a helpful theoretical tool for characterizing the space produced in the square movements. Foucault himself does not include protest spaces or squats as heterotopias in his analysis, but I argue that spaces produced through prefiguration fulfill a similar function to these liminal spaces.

Spaces produced through PPSM are real spaces that publicly enact immanent utopian projections in the present. By doing so, they contest and invert the space of society towards a political agenda. They are not perfect utopian spaces where society is reflected in a perfected form. Instead, in their imperfect, faulty instantiations of utopian ideals and future desired forms, prefigurative spaces[329] show similar traits to heterotopias. When we consider Foucault's listed principles, this may become clearer.

Prefigurative spaces emerge in conflict with the normalcy of the established regime and fulfill a particular function of critique and experimentation with forms of liberation.[330] Consider the Gezi uprising in Istanbul. The space often referred to as the Taksim Commune was initially a protest to resist the planned construction of a shopping mall by the city, but it continued to be a space of protest not only of neoliberal construction regimes and their effects but also of other pressing social

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[328] Peter Johnson, "Heterotopian Studies – Michel Foucault's Ideas on Heterotopia," 2018, http://www.heterotopiastudies.com/.

[329] Here on, I will call the *produced spaces through spatial prefiguration* 'prefigurative space' for convenience.

[330] This double function of prefigurative space, critique and liberation, are reminiscent of Herbert Marcuse's theory of the political role of seemingly apolitical artworks, where in isolation from the immediate issues of the society, they build up a realm that experiments with liberated forms and negate the existing establishment. Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension*.

and political issues. The Gezi uprising had a wider purpose than to merely protest. In the public park it occupied, it prefigured liberated forms of a solidarity economy, of free education, and of autonomy. The space produced in the Taksim Commune inverted and contradicted the neoliberal urban regime with its built alternative. It constituted a real counter-space outside, radically challenging the space of society. In these ways, prefigurative space shows characteristics of a heterotopia. But there is more.

Prefigurative space is itself a heterogonous construction that juxtaposes layers of contradicting space onto each other. It brings a form of future desired sociality on top of a space of contestation. The space of Taksim Commune prefigured a land of peace among social and political groups generally hostile to each other and opened up a new space in which these conflicting groups could cohabit and collaborate. It constituted a progressive space of conservation in the park, which was counter to the developmental plans of the city. In doing so, it sides with the ecological protection of one of the last green spaces in the city center, which was built on top of an Armenian cemetery. It stacks spaces of ecological struggle with spaces of mourning and takes part both in the erasure of past tragedies and in their remembrance.

Prefigurative space is also a *heterochronie* that brings slices of time from the future and past into the present. It marks societal forms that are at the future horizon of progressive politics while inscribing memory into place both in the sense of unearthing past happenings and in the sense of becoming memorable for the future comers. Taksim Square is a politically symbolic site for the Republic as much

as for workers' struggles in the country. The reclamation of the square by leftist groups, labor unions, and progressive youths commemorates the maydays celebrated prior to Bloody Sunday in 1971 and enlivens people's memories, so that they are against the closure of the square to political gatherings.

With regard to the accessibility of the site, prefigurative space has similarities to those of heterotopia. Gezi Park is in principle a public space that is open to all, but in reality, youths and women rarely used it prior to the occupation. With the establishment of the commune, the park was open to a broader public than it used to be. Nevertheless, the liminal constitution of the heterotopic space is not easily accessible to all. While the space is that of hope and desire for certain segments of society, for others it is one of disorderly dissent from the rule of the elected government. In this sense of dubious accessibility, the commons produced in the square movements show the characteristics of heterotopia more than do generic public spaces – that is defined by free access of all.

Considering all the criteria of Foucaultian heterotopia—realized utopia, critique and experimentation, heterogeneity, *heterochronie* and porous accessibility—prefigurative spaces can be characterized as heterotopia, despite Foucault's exclusion of protest spaces. Yet, heterotopia is not sufficient by itself to explain the interconnected spatiality produced in the square movements. In order to explain this peculiarity, another concept, *translocality*, is required.

4.4.2.4 Translocality

I argue in this section that the spaces produced in the square movements have a *translocal* character. This element of prefigurative spatiality helps to explain the curious proximity between the occupations. Despite being extremely distant in their geographic localities, there is a peculiar *distanciation* between the square movements. Distanciation is experienced, perceived, and lived as a proximity between movements. For example, the physical distance between Gezi Park, Brazil's Paulista Avenue, New York's Zuccotti Park, Cairo's Tahrir, Athens' Syntagma Square, and Yerevan's Mashtots Park do not prevent the movements associated with these locations from sharing a common global political ground. The sense of space-time between these locations is, in a way, similar to what Harvey describes as "compressed": the distances are perceived smaller with a sense of solidarity.

Such proximity between the sites of the square movements is usually discussed with respect to the commonalities and differences among these movements. As I perceive it, there are two approaches with regard to the connectivity between the square movements. First, there is the tendency to overemphasize the global connectivity of these movements, not only by listing their similarities, cross-fertilizations, and interconnections but also by explaining these political struggles using a single denominator derived from one of the myriad characteristics of these uprisings. Subsuming the overall square movements under one single movement, the Occupy Movement, is an example of this.

Second, there is the tendency to overemphasize the particularities of the local movements and to react against a reductive global perspective by stressing the

uniqueness of each and every mobilization. According to this view, each mobilization is so unique that any proximity or common basis for comparison cannot legitimately be sustained. Hence, for this perspective, attempts to assert interconnectivity inevitably reduces the particularities of local movements.

In this section, I would like to suggest an alternative approach to understanding this conjecture of locally bound interconnected movements positioned around the world. I think that we should not limit our perspective to the above-mentioned choices. Rather, for a proper approach to the square movements, I think we need to grant the singularities while acknowledging the interconnections. I hold that an analysis of the produced spatiality of the square movements can help us to appreciate such connectivity without reducing the particularities of these movements. The term needed to denote this spatiality is *translocality*; it captures the local-to-local relations and their spatial interconnectivity.

Before explaining the details of this concept, I would like to engage with the current approaches regarding the interconnectivity of particular localities, especially those in the square movements, to chart out the landscape and to draw out theoretical tools for my proposal. I do so, drawing from the following three scholars and their ideas: 1) geographer and philosopher Doreen Massey and her conception of the "global sense of place;"[331] 2) philosopher of images William John

[331] Doreen Massey, "A Global Sense of Place," in *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 146–56.

Thomas Mitchell and his understanding of the foundational spaces of the political;[332] and 3) urban sociologist Saskia Sassen and her idea of the "global street."[333]

Dorien Massey, in her essay "A Global Sense of Place," undertakes the task of developing, in her words, "a progressive sense of place" against a "reactionary notion of place."[334] The latter considers place as a single, essential identity belonging to a homogeneous community. The conservative aspiration for the preservation or reinstatement of the romanticized essence of a particular bounded place, through the elimination of external influences, illustrate this latter notion. For Massey, places "can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings… where a large proportion of those relations, experiences, and understandings are constructed on a far larger scale than what we happen to define for that moment as the place itself."[335] The progressive sense of place does not hinge on a static essence; it does not counter-pose an outside to define a homogeneous identity of the inside, and neither does it blend the particularities of that specific place in the broader networks in a way that would gloss over its singularities. Instead, it appreciates the uniqueness of a place with a view on the mixture of broader and local social relations. This progressive sense of place, Massey sums up, entails an approach to the local through a global lens.

Massey's perspective is helpful for understanding the protest space of a particular location in its broader connectivity. First of all, a protest space that

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[332] Mitchell, "Image, Space, Revolution."
[333] Saskia Sassen, "The Global Street: Making the Political," *Globalizations* 8, no. 5 (October 2011): 573–79, https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2011.622458.
[334] Massey, "A Global Sense of Place," 152.
[335] Massey, 154.

emerges by reclaiming public space, such as Gezi Park, is already a place of interconnectedness, heterogeneity, and exteriority. It is a protest space afterall, and this by definition refers and appeals to external authorities in opposition. The protest is constituted by various social and political segments of the society with political aims that go beyond the boundaries of the particular protest space.

Even with regard to the immediate issues relating to such a space, for instance, the demolition of Gezi Park and the planned erecting of a shopping mall, the emergent space cannot be considered without the broader urban regime of gentrifying—catering it to the use of the upper classes and rich tourists. For example, Gezi Park cannot be isolated from the construction led economy of Turkey and the mushrooming shopping malls or from other mega projects, some crazier than others.[336] Moreover, Gezi's *commoning*, to use Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's term,[337] cannot be detached from previous political efforts of the Taksim Solidarity Platform to stop Istanbul Municipalities' top-down, profit-oriented projects, and neither can it be severed from other political movements in Istanbul—ecological, feminist, socialist, anarchist, LGBTI, and Kurdish.

So much is evident. However, besides this general connectivity of protest space to the broader social and political nodes, especially in the specific cases of the contemporary square movements, these spaces have translocal connectedness to the mobilizations abroad. For instance, at Gezi tents and facilities similar to those

[336] There is a construction project to open up a second strait parallel to Istanbul's Bosporus, which is referred to in the press commonly as the Çılgın Proje [Crazy project]. See, Sam Jones' article for details: Sam Jones, "Istanbul's New Bosphorus Canal 'to Surpass Suez or Panama,'" *The Guardian*, April 27, 2011, sec. World news, https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/apr/27/istanbul-new-bosphorus-canal.
[337] Michæl Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Declaration* (New York? Argo-Navis, 2012), 89.

used in the Occupy movement, Indignados, and the so-called 'Arab Spring' emerged in explicit reference to those preceding movements and in reference to those movements happening simultaneously as well (such as the Brazilian uprisings over the transportation costs). The solidarity letters, tweets and social media connections among them, solidarity networks and visits from the participants of other movements, all attest to the interconnectedness of Gezi to broader mobilizations.

Nevertheless, this connectedness does not make Gezi a mere branch of the Occupy movement nor the Arab/Turkish Spring in Istanbul. Despite the continuities, Gezi had dynamics separate from these movements in the US, North Africa, and Southern Europe. Beside the radical differences between the socio-economical and political backgrounds of Istanbul's inhabitants and their history of social struggle, the central resistance to the neoliberal urban transformation taking place in the city is not reducible to those of dominance and crisis of financial institutions (OWS), or to opposition against authoritarian regimes (Arab Spring). Nevertheless, the uniqueness of the Gezi resistance, I think, should not make us fall into what Massey calls a reactionary sense of place so that we fail to acknowledge the urban, national and translocal interconnectedness of the emergent protest place. Instead, it is important to appreciate the linkages at a deeper level in order to comprehend the unique political setup of the Gezi protest place. An approach to the *locally bound but interrelated* spatiality of the square movements can help us to accomplish this.

Regarding the transcontinental interconnectedness between the Occupy Movement and the Arab Spring, William Mitchell argues that these movements are

linked to each other through the foundational space they create and take part in. He writes:

> The aim [of these movements are] not to seize power but to manifest the latent power of refusal and to create the foundational space of the political as such, what Hannah Arendt calls "the space of appearance" that is created when people assemble to speak and act together as equals. This space is foundational because it is prior to politics in the usual sense, constituting a potentially revolutionary and constitutive site of assembly, speech, and action.[338]

Arendt develops the concept "space of appearance" in *The Human Condition.* She understand it as the *in-between space* that emerges between actors/spectators through concerted political action. She writes:

> Action and speech create a space between the participants which can find its proper location almost any time and anywhere. It is the space of appearance in the widest sense of the word, namely the space where I appear to others as others appear to me. . . The space of appearance comes into being wherever men [read human] are together in the manner of speech and action, and therefore pre-dates and precedes all formal constitution of the public realm.[339]

In the square movements, especially at the general assemblies and forums practicing direct democracy, an Arendtian space of appearance can, arguably, be detected. Protestors coming together in the squares formed assemblies where they collectively decided on issues by means of certain mechanisms of deliberation. Nevertheless, the formation of such spaces was not limited to the Arendtian scale of immediate participants. Protestors' actions were connected and visible at national and global scales too, in the fashion Mitchell argues.

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[338] Mitchell, "Image, Space, Revolution," 11.
[339] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition, 2nd Edition*, ed. Margaret Canovan, 2nd edition (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 178–79.

For Mitchell, the particular spaces of appearance in the square movements constitute a common ground that connects these movements to each other in a foundational space. Mitchell's emphasis on the foundational is true to Arendt's ontology of the political, which has its roots in Heidegger's philosophy. To put it in very simple terms, for Arendt appearance constitutes being and the political is the space *par excellence* for appearance. In this sense, for Arendt, the political has a foundational ontological priority in the human condition. Nevertheless, such a foundational ontological approach to public space has been highly criticized due to tendencies to generalize particular (often white-male-bourgeois) experiences and forms of public space to be the generic one.[340]

Saskia Sassen provides a more concrete name for such a space of interconnection. Known for her analysis of globalization and global cities, Sassen argues that the square movements share a common space of what she calls the "global street."[341] The global street, for Sassen, entails specific empirical cases of social mobilization, while at the same time going beyond those particular examples by denoting a global space of dissent and action. She offers this concept as an alternative to the traditional European public spaces of boulevards and piazzas that

[340] For such critiques of the bourgeois public sphere, see: Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere"; And also: Susan Bickford, "Constructing Inequality: City Spaces and the Architecture of Citizenship," *Political Theory* 28, no. 3 (2000): 355–376; Nevertheless, there are non-ontologizing readings of Arendtian politics. For one, Judith Butler in her recent book on the performative theory of assembly provides a performative reading of the Arendtian theory of action. In Notes Towards A Performative Theory of Assembly, Butler writes, "When bodies assemble on the street, in the square, or in other first of public space (including virtual ones) they are exercising a plural and performative right to appear, one that asserts and instates the body in the midst of the political field, and which, in its expressive and signifying function, delivers a bodily demand for a more livable set of economic, social and political conditions no longer afflicted by induced forms of precarity." Judith Butler, *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), 11.

[341] Sassen, "The Global Street."

she characterizes as spaces of ritual. The global street offers a space for the powerless to appear in public and thereby gain visibility and political power. By virtue of such public spaces, powerless segments of society acquire the spatial possibility to remake the political and ultimately make history.

The notion *street*, for Sassen, entails city squares and available open spaces that are not ritualized and left, in her words, relatively raw—less controlled or codified compared to the ritualized European spaces, so that they allow the critical assemblage of powerless masses. They are, though, exclusively urban spaces, because, for Sassen, rural or suburban spaces do not have the political potential of the urban ones. In fact, people who have been excluded and/or oppressed by established political institutions, subjected to structural mechanisms of control and discrimination, are still better off in urban spaces, according to Sassen. She calls them "powerless" but also argues that powerlessness is not impotency. There is still a certain degree of empowerment that urban spaces provide for their inhabitants, albeit it can be at a limited degree. She uses radical examples of remaining potency in extreme situations of disempowerment to make her case.

Sassen points out that during the military occupations of Gaza and Baghdad, occupying forces of Israel and the US, respectively, were not able to pulverize these cities—not only due to the physics of the urban environment but also due to what Sassen calls an "informal global court of public opinion."[342] In a rural setting, however, a complete defeat might have been possible, both physically and due to the lack of visibility. Hence, even in such extreme situations, people in cities retain a

[342] Sassen, 577.

certain degree of power. In more micro cases of disempowerment, due to structural power relations of class, gender, and race, the urban environment and its public spaces provide a potential for visibility for disenfranchised people.

Sassen's global street converges with Mitchell's spaces of the political around the radical political potentials of spatial visibility. They both denote the spatiality of constitutive politics that precedes the structural and institutionalized concentrations of political power. They lay out the condition of possibility for politics as the claim of the powerless to assemble and assert themselves in public arenas that exist within an institutionalized and structured political landscape. Even though such condition of politics is at the origin of what is already set up in a polity, it remains dormant until the reclamation of such space by the people tacitly constituting it. Therefore, this condition is buried as a potential until it is asserted and actively performed to be realized.

With the square movements, we see such performances of reasserting a political space by people refusing to collaborate with the institutionalized powers. Through appropriation of the actual streets (read squares, parks, open public spaces) by critical masses around the globe, participants create a common space of interconnection, visibility, and cross-pollinated action. In characterizing this interconnected production of space, Derek Gregory writes the following about one of the square movement's prominent sites: "Tahrir became the instantiation of what Doreen Massey once called 'a global sense of place,' an intricate and intrinsically mobile constellation of the local and the global."[343]

[343] Gregory, "Tahrir," 243.

In characterizing particular locations of the square movements and their interconnectedness, I prefer to use the term *translocal* instead of *global* due to two reasons. First, these movements weren't happening around the entire globe; they were mostly concentrated in the global north. Second, *global* and *globalism* are terms that carry strong connotations of the interconnectedness and mobility of capital in particular. I think it is important to avoid the term *international* too, because it is limited to a regime of nation states and dominated by connotations from within international relations.

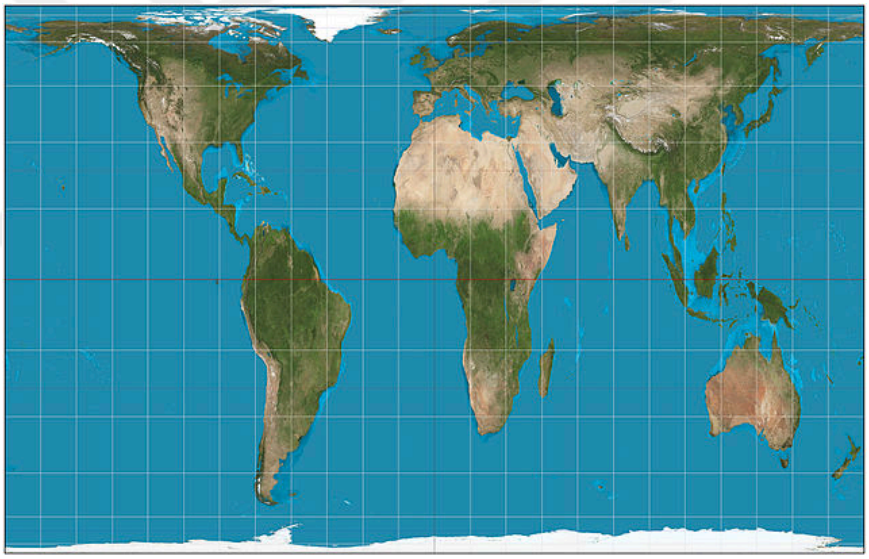

Figure 25: Gall-Peters World Map Projection by Strebe. Wikipedia description: "The world on Gall–Peters projection. 15° graticule. Imagery is a derivative of NASA's Blue Marble summer month composite with oceans lightened to enhance legibility and contrast. Image created with the Geocart map projection software." Used under the CC BY-SA 3.0 license.[344]

On the Occupy Directory map, presented in figure 8, it is visible that the square movement locations are concentrated around the North Atlantic. Even

[344] Strebe, *The Gall-Peters projection of the world map*, August 15, 2011. Digital image. Source: Wikipedia. Used under CC BY-SA 3.0 license. Available from Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gall%E2%80%93Peters_projection#/media/File:Gall%E2%80%93Peters_projection_SW.jpg (accessed April 15, 2019).

though there are locations around the globe, it would be a stretch to call the square movement a global movement. The tendency to make that generalization, however, is understandable when looking at the map. It looks as if the yellow dots are covering half of the earth's surface. This visual illusion is due to the Mercator map projection. Using the Gall-Peters projection to overlay the same 1518 square movement locations would change this perception considerably. The Gall-Peters projection is geographically accurate, but with regards to the social impact and political significance of the square movement, it would result in another distortion—it would lead us to believe that the movement was of little significance.

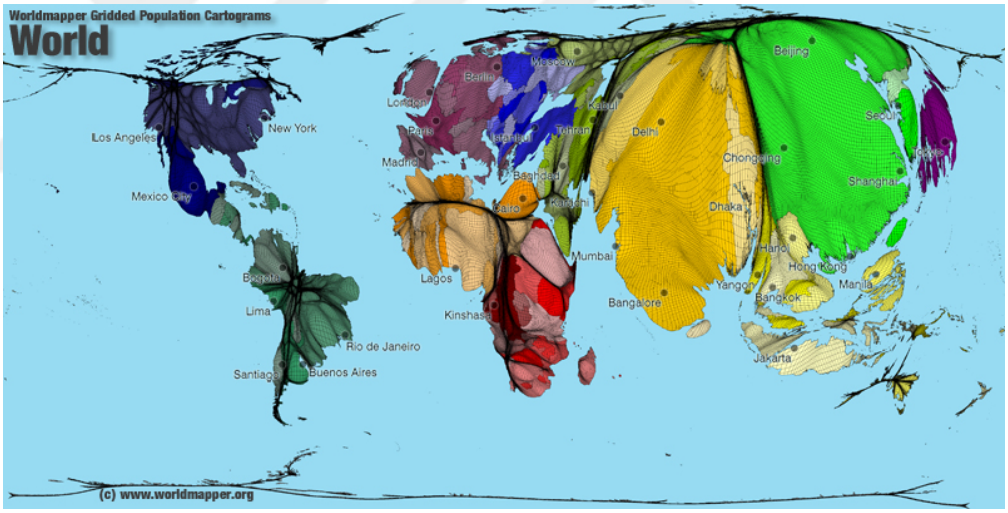

Figure 26: World Population Cartogram. Image description: "This image is part of the World Population Atlas. For more information on Worldmapper visit worldmapper.org. All Worldmapper maps are licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution - Non Commercial - ShareAlike 4.0 International license."[345]

To have a more nuanced representation, we can project the same data on a world population cartogram (a map that sets the sizes of the countries to be correlated with their populations). If we did so, the square-movement-

[345] worldmapper.org, *Worldmapper Gridded Population Cartograms: World*. Digital Image. Used under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license. Available from worldpopulationatlas.org, http://www.worldpopulationatlas.org/carto_world.htm (accessed April 20, 2019).

concentrated-areas would still be smaller than the one on the Mercator projection, but bigger than when using Gall-Peters. The map in figure 26 could be used for this purpose, but because it takes nations as its basic units, it still would not give an accurate estimate. The square movements were overwhelmingly urban movements, so a world population cartogram based on cities would be better. It would help to demonstrate the limitation of the nation-state boundaries with respect to the movement, but it still would not be enough to characterize the movement as global.

After omitting *global* and *international* as possible options for describing the space of interconnection of the square movements, there is also the option of *transnational*—a highly debated term, especially in sociology by scholars such as Thomas Faist and Nina Glick Schiller, indicating the connectivity of domestic struggles to broader networks and to each other.[346] However, this notion may not be adequate either. First, it is widely criticized on the bases that it is not a complete departure from the national framework. Clemens Greiner and Patrick Sakdapolrak write: "Although transnationalism is clearly an attempt to overcome the limitations of methodological nationalism… the primary concern still rests on the transgression of and exchange beyond national borders."[347] Secondly, it is criticized on the bases that term does not fulfill its initial promises and has been co-opted by neoliberalism.[348] Thirdly, it is criticized on the bases that 'transnationalism' does not

[346] Nina Glick Schiller and Thomas Faist, eds., *Migration, Development, and Transnationalization: A Critical Stance*, 1 edition (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010).
[347] Clemens Greiner and Patrick Sakdapolrak, "Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives," *Geography Compass* 7, no. 5 (May 1, 2013): 374, https://doi.org/10.1111/gec3.12048.
[348] Inderpal Grewal, "Transnational America: Race, Gender and Citizenship after 9/11," *Social Identities* 9, no. 4 (December 2003): 535–61, https://doi.org/10.1080/1350463032000174669;

capture the importance of the specific *local* issues, demands, and dynamics of the movements. To do this, we need a term that indicates the proximity between various localities that is not framed in terms of the globalization or the inter/ trans-nationalism of nation states. To that end, the term *translocality* is superior.

Clemens Greiner and Patrick Sakdapolrak, in their review of the emerging literature on translocality, capture the significance and accuracy of this term. They write:

> Freitag and von Oppen … use translocality as a descriptive tool that refers to the "sum of phenomena which result from a multitude of circulations and transfers." As such, they use this perspective to challenge the regional limitations often implicit in area studies and emphasize that the world is constituted through processes that transgress boundaries on different scales, which results in the production and reproduction of spatial differences. A translocal perspective enables research into these processes in a more open and less linear way and captures the diverse and contradictory effects of interconnectedness between places, institutions and actors. It overcomes the "limitations of nationalist historiographies" and facilitates a non-Eurocentric understanding of global history as constituted by processes of 'entanglement and interconnectedness'"[349]

The concept 'translocality' helps to explain the local-to-local relations without bringing the baggage of the international or Global North-centrality into the analysis. When we think about the produced spatiality in the square movements, such a perspective seems to be the most accurate. The sites of the square movements emerged in concatenation to each other with specific inter-references. Tahrir Square became a site of prefigurative politics with reference to the preceding uprisings in the Maghreb, most prominently the Tunisian revolts. Occupy Wall

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Inderpal Grewal, "Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 02 (May 2006): 433–35, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021911806000921.

[349] Greiner and Sakdapolrak, "Translocality," 375.

Street aimed to bring Tahrir to the financial center of the US. Indignados, the Syntagma occupations, and the other square movements in Europe emerged in reference to OWS and to the so-called 'Arab Spring.' Taksim Commune was built on the wave that was carried from these previous struggles. These sites cross-pollinated each other, transcending not only their national boundaries but also their site-specific characteristics.

The proximity between the square movement sites can be understood on the basis of their common spatiality and the space-time compression distanciating their geographical spans. Translocality captures this local-to-local spatial interconnectedness, and hence it is an important component, besides heterotopia, in the constitution of the spatiality produced by the PPSM.[350] Yet, PPSM does not only produce new spatialities but also new temporalities. Towards their joint formulation of the produced space-times, the following section focuses on the produced temporality of what I offer to call *subversive presentism*.

4.4.3 The Produced Temporality of Subversive Presentism

This section argues that *subversive presentism* is the temporal component of the produced space-time by PPSM. It denotes the counter-hegemonic temporality of the new present that challenges perceptions of the dominant political imaginary. My contention is that presentism is the dominant temporality of the *status-quo,* within which the square movements emerged and new temporalities produced through prefigurative practices have a subversive relationship with the existing presentism. My argument is that the present orientation of prefigurative practice plays a

[350] A reminder that this is the abbreviation of "the prefigurative politics in the square movements."

distinctive role that can figuratively be named a *Trojan Horse in the age of presentism*. This practice separates from the Marxist revolutionary practice of working towards a long-term future end without the immediate instantiation of the desired structures. In this way, prefiguration is closer to the presentist sentiment of valorization of the present. Nevertheless, it also subverts the dominant presentism by projecting socio-political imaginaries that are radically different from the dominant liberal democratic, capitalist ones, and creates concrete translocal heterotopias in the 'here and now' that challenge hegemonic presentism.

4.4.3.3 Presentism

I borrow the notion 'presentism' from François Hartog. In his essay, "Time's Authority," Hartog defines the temporal horizon that we live in today as "presentist."[351] He describes this development as a crisis in time and writes that "The main feature of this crisis seems to be a growth in power to the category of present, as if the present had become its own horizon, as if there was nothing left but the present, without past or future, or perhaps fabricating the past and future that it needs each day: an encompassing and omnipresent present."[352] He comes to this conclusion through a discussion on "time's authority," or what I think could also be called 'authority's time,' that investigates the temporal sources of authority.

[351] François Hartog, *The Western Time of Ancient History: Historiographical Encounters with the Greek and Roman Pasts*, ed. Alexandra Lianeri, 1 edition (Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 47.
[352] Hartog, 46.

Hartog reinterprets Hannah Arendt's question on the source of authority and expands the scope of her discussion. In "What is Authority?"[353] Arendt traces the etymological roots of the term 'authority' to the Latin word *auctoritas*: to augment or to re-found as the constituent source of authority. She argues that the original source of authority came from the past particularly with the founding of Rome. In the modern age, however, the source of authority is different. In fact, she claims that the original source of authority, the founding political experience of Rome, is "entirely lost and forgotten."[354] From this point on, Arendt does not make a claim with regard to the current source of authority. Instead, for Arendt, authority is no longer grounded and has lost its power over the political life in the West.

Hartog, however, takes Arendt' discussion to another level and explores the current sources of authority with respect to other temporal clauses, that are the future and the present. In the modern age, Hartog argues, the source of authority shifted from the past to the future. The emergence of the secular conception of history—the idea that humans make history—opened up an era in which humans hold themselves responsible for perfecting the world.[355] In the modern age, various visions for the perfectibility of the world emerged and "transferred" authority "to the future."[356] Drawing from Koselleck, Hartog gives Louis-Sébastien Mercier's *The Year 2440* (published in 1771) as the point at which the source of authority changed. It is this work that temporalized the utopian vision, which was initially conceived of

[353] Hannah Arendt, "What Is Authority?," in *Between Past and Future: Eight Exercises in Political Thought* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 91–141.
[354] Arendt, 136.
[355] Hartog, *The Western Time of Ancient History*, 40.
[356] Hartog, 44.

only spatially, like in Thomas More's *Utopia*, and projected it to the future. This opened up an understanding of a perfect world to come. Hartog articulates this futural temporality with Saint Simon's words: "The golden age of humankind is by no means behind us, it is ahead, it is in the perfection of social order: Our fathers have not seen it, our children will reach it one day: it is up to us to pave the way for them."[357] This is the progressive linear sense of historical time opened up with modernity that had been dominant until the reign of presentism in the 1970s.

With regards to the ways such futural authority function, Hartog writes that "In this economy of time the present is invited to outdo itself, to reform and eliminate itself, and all this more and more quickly, measuring itself against the yardstick of the future that has not yet arrived, but from which the light shines and authority floods in."[358] In other words, the future and the promises of the progressive anticipated forms had a claim on the present that is authoritative and which informed the relations of authority in the present.

The future was the source of authority until about the 1970s. Then, a new temporal era began, where the present constitutes its own source of authority. What occurred with presentism was a closure of horizon, in Koselleck's terminology, a collapse of the space of experience over the horizon of expectation. In a more recent work, Hartog describes this era with the same terminology as follows:

> Has a somewhat different configuration not taken over since then [modern time until the 1970s], in which the distance between the space of experience and the horizon of expectation has been stretched to its limit, to breaking point? With the result that the production of historical time seems to be suspended. Perhaps this is what generates

[357] Hartog, 43.
[358] Hartog, 43.

> today's sense of a permanent, elusive, and almost immobile present, which nevertheless attempts to create its own historical time. It is as though there were nothing but the present, like an immense stretch of water restlessly rippling. So should we talk of an end of, or an exit from, modernity, from that particular temporal structure we call the modern regime of historicity? It is too early to tell. But we can certainly talk of a crisis. "Presentism" is the name I have given to this moment and to today's experience of time.[359]

This presentist experience of time can also be seen in the hegemonic political discourses. Conservative, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's political motto "There is no Alternative" (TINA) is an important benchmark. In defense of the neoliberal policies Thatcher implemented in the UK and imposed elsewhere, she argued that a market economy is the only viable way to produce and distribute goods and services, and that discussions regarding non-market alternatives were over. With the end of the Cold War and the emergence of the unipolar dominance of the North Atlantic, this presentist defense of capitalism and neoliberal ideology more generally became hegemonic. Thatcher's economic presentism was accompanied by Francis Fukuyama's political presentism, famously articulated in his "End of History" thesis. He argues that liberal democracy is humanity's final form of government and "the end point in mankind's ideological evolution."[360] According to Thatcher and Fukuyama, no structural change could be expected except the ones

[359] Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity*, 17–18.
[360] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, Reissue edition (New York: Free Press, 2006), ix; Daniel Bells' assertion of the end of ideology is worthy of mention here. Daniel Bell's reasoning behind his thesis of the end of ideology was that people want to achieve things immediately rather than working for an end that may not arrive. This character of human nature for Bell is what brought the ideological struggles to an end and achieved its final socio-political form in the liberal democracy. Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties, with "The Resumption of History in the New Century,"* 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2000).

that may occur in the peripheries so that developing countries may reach the most developed stage of history *qua* liberal democracy and neoliberal capitalism.[361]

Such political presentism informed public and international policies, and in a self-actualizing prophecy, forcefully eliminated material alternatives to capitalism and liberal democracy. It is within this presentist hegemony that the square movements mobilized millions around the globe and countered the hegemonic temporality with searches, demands, and experimentations of an alternative future. For example, the Spanish protesters demanded "Democracia Real Ya—Real Democracy Now."[362] Even though spoken only temporally, the Spanish demand on "now" entails a "here-and-now," similar to the spatio-temporal structure it is countering. Presentism, in that sense, is not just a temporality, but it is in effect a spatio-temporality that can be called the *presentist space*.

4.4.3.4 Presentist Space

Our contemporary temporal horizon is dominated by presentism, which assumes the repetition of similar present structures in the future. Such a horizon, or rather collapse of future horizon onto the present, can also be detected in the concrete spaces we live in. Our sense of time and space are intertwined and the production of a particular kind of space accompanies a re/production of apperceptions of time. In

[361] It is possible to read Foucault's assertion that our epoch is that of space instead of time to mean that the future horizon is closed off to progress and geographical expansion is what remains. He writes, "The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through than that of a network that connects points and intersects with." Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 22.

[362] Georgina Blakeley, "Los Indignados: A Movement That Is Here to Stay," openDemocracy, October 5, 2012, http://www.opendemocracy.net/georgina-blakeley/los-indignados-movement-that-is-here-to-stay.

fact, Hartog, while explaining his notion of presentism, resorts to spatial examples that induce presentist experience. It is worth quoting him here in length. He writes:

> People in search of a presentist experience need only look around them at certain cityscapes, replicated across the globe, for which the Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas has invented the concept "Generic City," associated with the notion of "Junkspace." This is where presentism is really at home, eating up space and reducing or banishing time. The Generic City, freed from its enslavement to the center, is without history, even if it goes to great lengths to advertise its pseudo-historical district, where history is a service provided, complete with quaint trains and horse-drawn carriages. And if, despite every thing, a center survives, it has to be at once "the most old and the most new," "the most fixed and the most dynamic." As the product of "an encounter between escalator and air-conditioning, conceived in an incubator of Sheetrock," Junkspace never ages: it knows only self-destruction and on-site rebuilding or else almost instantaneous dilapidation. Airports, completed or (constantly) under construction (the ubiquitous "Work in progress. We apologize for the temporary inconvenience caused") have become emblematic of the Generic City. They are forever transforming and mutating, while imposing ever more complex trajectories on their temporary inhabitants. As bubbles of expanding, transformable space, they epitomize Junkspace, and are its principle producers. Such space leaves no trace in our memories, because "its refusal to freeze ensures instant amnesia." But can one actually live in a presentist city?[363]

The Generic City that Hartog refers to is also called in the political geography literature a "post-modern city."[364] Koolhaas famously argues that "postmodernism would be the style of the generic city."[365] Similar to the transition from an industrial economy to a post-industrial or knowledge-based economy, Minton explains that a new city-form has emerged and has become the dominant shape of urbanism. She

[363] Hartog, *Regimes of Historicity*, xviii–xix.
[364] Minton, "The Privatisation of Public Space: What Kind of World Are We Building?," 7.
[365] Rem Koolhaas and Nathan Gardels, "Opinion | Rem Koolhaas: The Digital City Will Lead to 'Total Conformity,'" *Washington Post*, July 9, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/theworldpost/wp/2018/07/09/rem-koolhaas/.

enumerates four characteristics of post-modern cities, which are marked by the principles of *anywhere*, *unreality*, *inauthenticity*, and *control*. Informed by the sociologist Marc Augé's description of malls and airports as "non-places,"[366] Minton emphasizes that these new urban landscape architectures are driven by the same economic demands and technologies that subjugate those spaces into homogeneous market-driven non-places.[367] They demonstrate an unreal sensibility, also known as a 'theme park atmosphere,' devoted to entertainment and shopping. In their homogeneity, such sites at the same time assert a claim to local authentic forms by constructing the inauthentic parodies of these traditional places and imitating their memory. Finally, they compose spaces of surveillance and are intolerant of the non-consumerist 'others.' The archetypical examples of post-modern cities were Los Angeles and Las Vegas[368] until they ceded the crown, at least to a considerable extent, to the United Arab Emirates' Dubai.[369]

Koolhaas states in a recent interview that this generic post-modern city, especially the archetype, Los Angeles, provides the model for the future of urbanization, and that this model proliferates around the world.[370] With it, the space that is dominated by senses of unreality, sameness, inauthenticity, and control are becoming the generic experience of urban life. In my view, this proliferation deserves to be called 'presentist' due to two of its aspects. First, it is the one model of urbanization that is becoming hegemonic around the world due to the structure

[366] Augé, *Non-Places*.
[367] Minton, "The Privatisation of Public Space: What Kind of World Are We Building?," 14.
[368] Mike Davis, *City of Quartz : Excavating the Future in Los Angeles /*, 1st Vintage Books ed. (Vintage Books, 1992); Soja, *Postmodern Geographies*.
[369] Minton, "The Privatisation of Public Space: What Kind of World Are We Building?," 7.
[370] Koolhaas and Gardels, "Opinion | Rem Koolhaas."

of global capitalism and supporting neo-colonialism. As capitalism expands to new territories and receives what Harvey calls its "spatial fix"—which is the condition of possibility for continuing a self-destructive socio-economic system,[371]—it exports the present structures of the centers of wealth[372] to different geographies. The present of the global North's centers of wealth is becoming the future for the rest of the world. Viewed from the developmental discourse of globalism, the developing nations are catching up to the developed ones by implementing the structures of the 'developed nations' as if there is no alternative.[373]

The second aspect of the presentism of the post-modern city is about the way the space of such cities are structured. It produces a space that can be called presentist, because the space induces an experience of time that is severed from the past as memory and from the future as qualitative leaps in the given structures. Instead, it promulgates a sense of repeating present without what Dolores Hayden calls "the power of place"[374] invoking place memory, or Habermas calls "utopian energy."[375] The presentism of the postmodern city does not mean that the urban space is preserved. In contrast, the space is constantly under construction, made

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[371] Harvey, "Globalization and the 'Spatial Fix.'"
[372] "The global cities" using Saskia Sassen's terminology. Saskia Sassen, "The Global City: Introducing a Concept," *Brown J. World Aff.* 11 (2004), http://heinonlinebackup.com/hol-cgi-bin/get_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/brownjwa11&section=33.
[373] Thomas Friedman's observations in Egypt in 2000 are a good example of how this developmental discourse views the world and positions the non-globalized, yet-to-be opened to markets geographies on a progressive time scale, where people still living in (sic) 2000BC are confronted with and resist the millennial ways of the so-called west. Thomas L. Friedman, "Foreign Affairs; One Country, Two Worlds," *The New York Times*, January 28, 2000, sec. Opinion, https://www.nytimes.com/2000/01/28/opinion/foreign-affairs-one-country-two-worlds.html.
[374] Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, Fourth Printing (The MIT Press, 1997).
[375] Habermas uses this term in his article along with its negative. He clarifies the absence and exhaustion of utopian energies. Jürgen Habermas, "The New Obscurity: The Crisis of the Welfare State and the Exhaustion of Utopian Energies," in *The New Conservatism: Cultural Criticism and the Historians' Debate* (MIT Press, 1991), 48–70.

and remade again, with new features constantly added to the space. This ongoing transformation is made within a capitalist logic of commodification, and hence changes are made in order to render space more profitable. Even the historical centers of the cities are refurbished to meet the needs of the tourism industry and "Disneyfied," to use Sorkin's vocabulary, so that the usage of the space is carefully controlled and directed towards consumerist purposes.[376]

To understand this kind of space, in which I argue presentism is its temporal horizon, it would help to compare it to Henri Lefebvre's notion of abstract space, because abstract space is also determined by the commodification of space. I pointed out this notion in the previous chapter but now it is worth dealing with it in more in detail. Presentism, I should note here, is the temporality of late capitalism, and in this sense that commodification of space precedes this temporal closure. Nevertheless, presentist space itself is based on the commodified homogenization of space that Lefebvre analyzed as abstract space.

4.4.3.4.4 Abstract Space

Abstract space is the invention of 18th century capitalism in Western Europe. Already in the 12th century what Lefebvre calls the "space of accumulation" had emerged with the mercantilist economies that gradually lead European colonialism.[377] Later in the 16th century, the separation of town and country was

[376] Michael Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space*, 1 edition (New York: Hill and Wang, 1992).
[377] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 263.

developed and towns became the main "subjects" of capitalist accumulation.[378] Yet, when it comes to the 18th century, with the advent of industrial capitalism, a new space that Lefebvre calls "abstract space" emerged.[379] Lefebvre puts it like this:

> Capitalism and neocapitalism have produced abstract space, which includes the 'world of commodities', its 'logic' and its worldwide strategies as well as the power of money and that of the political state. This space is founded on the vast network of banks, business centres and major productive entities, as also on motorways, airports and information lattices.[380]

According to Edward Dimendberg, there are three defining characteristics of the Lefebvrian abstract space. First of all, it is a space mediated through mass production, commodification, and exchange.[381] 'Mediation' here means the human relationship to space that is produced and used as a commodity. Commodification is the process in which goods, services, ideas, and even human beings are turned into entities of exchange in the market and rendered interchangeable. The values of such beings are stripped from their intrinsic statuses, what Kant would have called "ends in themselves"—exclusively to human beings—or object's "use values" *à la* Marx. Marx has extensively charted out the separation of exchange and use values in capitalism and the way in which exchange value takes prominence over use value. While real value is produced by labor, its products are measured in exchange relationships by using money. The value ascribed in the specific exchange relationships to products appears to constitute the real value of the product, erasing

[378] Lefebvre, 271.
[379] Lefebvre, 285.
[380] Lefebvre, 53.
[381] Edward Dimendberg, "Henri Lefebvre on Abstract Space," in *Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space*, ed. Andrew Light (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1997), 32.

the differences in each product. This erasure is the key feature of abstract space, as the commodity relations take over the particularities of the spaces and flatten them out with the abstraction of commodification. Very much like commodity fetishism—where things in their commodity form appear to have a social relationship eradicating real social relationships and the real, concrete labor that produces real value—abstract space is an erasure of social space and its real production.

This brings us to the second feature of abstract space. Dimendberg writes that abstract space is simultaneously homogeneous and fragmented. It is structured like the pulverized space of computer data bits gathered to constitute the homogeneous legibility of information.[382] The exchange value of the commodity is a homogenizing force that equates differences on the level of monetary exchange. While homogenizing, it pulverizes the space into calculable and marketable piece meals. The acres of land and the feet squares of apartments are measurable units that correspond to certain monetary values with respect to the markets in which they are exchanged. The representation of the concrete spaces through their Euclidean abstraction, takes precedence over the experienced and lived space of those venues and perceived through their mere market value.

The third feature of abstract space is that it is prone to violence. The representation of space as a homogeneous abstract makes it easier to control and overlook the social bulwarks against violence. Given a lack of appreciation for social relationships, it is more conceivable to bulldoze and rebuild or evict and exchange an abstract space. Using a similar argument extensively charted out by Karl Polanyi,

[382] Dimendberg, 30.

which points to the agency of states in the institution of "free" markets,[383] Lefebvre points out the role of the state in the institution of abstract space through violence and war.

> As a product of violence and war, it is political; instituted by a state, it is institutional. On first inspection it appears homogeneous; and indeed it serves those forces which make a *tabula rasa* of whatever stands in their way, of whatever threatens them - in short, of differences. These forces seem to grind down and crush everything before them, with space performing the function of a plane, a bulldozer or a tank. The notion of the instrumental homogeneity of space, however, is illusory - though empirical descriptions of space reinforce the illusion - because it uncritically takes the instrumental as a given.[384]

Abstract space in this sense is the space of the state and markets, a space that eradicates differences and renders its object homogeneous. Such a perception of space brings about certain practices of surveillance, control, and reconstruction with the aim to enhance profits and the domination by the state.

Presentist space is similar to Lefebvre's abstract space in a number of ways. It is produced by the corporate-state alliance in order to maximize profits and is perceived as a commodity. The lived aspects of a space, its symbolism, and the personal and collective memories pertaining to it are either ignored, in cases where such aspects are not profitable or resistant to said alliance, or incorporated within the marketable representation of the space to make the "commodity" more price worthy. The differences underlying a space are eradicated through the homogenization of abstract space and forms that are interchangeable with other

[383] Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, 2 edition (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001).
[384] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 285.

spaces are inscribed. Presentist space is also a space of control and violence that is often built upon bulldozed social spaces to create spaces of consumption catered to those who can afford it. As a highly securitized space, it is under constant surveillance by security cameras and private security to actively keep "undesirables" out.

Presentist space is different from abstract space. It is a product of neoliberalism and late-capitalism, where Fordist production is pushed to the geographies where labor is cheapest, mostly South East Asia, and the centers of wealth are moved to the production model of Post-Fordism. In this model, there is a shift from industrial production to service industries and a flexible labor market. Also, it is the period when neoliberal ideology is developed (primarily by economists known as the Chicago Boys) and forcefully implemented around the world using military coups, for instance, in countries such as Chile (1973) and Turkey (1980), to break social states and the resistance of workers. As this ideology neoliberalism dictates, the private sector should be expanded and state involvement, including state-owned assets should be diminished through privatization. Privatization includes state services in the municipalities, from gathering trash to managing and constructing public spaces. The privatization of public spaces poses a particularly important case for the production of presentist spaces, because of the prominence of public spaces for the social imaginary and collective memory of a society.

The key component of presentist space that distinguishes it from abstract space is its spatio-temporality. It is the space-time instantiation of Thatcher's TINA:

that history is going to repeat the given socio-economic structures of the present. The design, private management, and production of public spaces reflect this motto. Space is constructed for consumption and consumer entertainment, and hence leaves out those elements that benefit the lower classes. This invites a desire to change the structures that oppress certain groups systematically. The past is selectively represented in spaces that are either commercialized for tourism purposes, or it invokes the glory of the *status quo*. The square movements not only physically occupied such presentist spaces but also subverted their temporal character by demonstrating in action what an alternative looks like.

4.4.3.5 Subversive Presentism

I argue that prefigurative practices in the square movements that transform public spaces into commons subvert the hegemonic presentism of capitalism and liberal democracy, both in their political discourses and in their spatial practices. Prefigurative politics' particular attention to the 'here and now' arguably takes a share in the hegemonic valorization of the present and distinguishes these practices from the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary practice of strategic planning for the conditions ripe to take state power and instigate desired transformations.[385] In this sense, the prefigurative strategy stands closer to a presentist horizon than to a Marxist-Leninist form of revolutionary struggle, which demands a change right here and right now without waiting for the right conditions. As I suggested, the

[385] Uri Gordon gives a description of this characteristic in relation to the Anarchist movement: "[A]narchists have come to transpose their notion of social revolution to the present-tense. Non-hierarchical, anarchic modes of interaction are no longer seen as features on which to model a future society, but rather as an everpresent potential of social interaction here and now—a 'revolution in everyday life.'" Gordon, "Anarchism Reloaded," 36.

prefigurative politics' valorization of present action is like the Trojan Horse: although it entails a similar discourse of the here-and-now to the consumerist culture of presentism, it provides radical negations and significant alternatives to the spatio-temporal regimes of capitalist hegemony.

PPSM revolts against the presentist closure of the horizon of expectation, which hegemonically argues that the future is going to repeat the contents of the current space of experience however unjust they might be. Naturalizing its historical structures with an ideology of, what Mark Fischer calls, "capitalist realism," the current establishment closes off the conditions within which historical time is produced.[386] Prefigurative politics, in stark contrast, intensifies the discrepancy between the space of experience and the horizon of expectation by demonstrating in action not only that the current experiences are indicative of a crumbling social, economic, and political system but also that viable alternatives should be sought after for the future. In so doing, prefiguration produces a historical time, albeit in its micro scale, that subverts the hegemonic presentism of neoliberal plutocracy.

Such subversion becomes clearer when we focus on the specific subversive presentism of PPSM. As I argued earlier, time and space should be considered to be intertwined. Thereby, the temporality of presentism is never only a time—or rather the collapse of historical time—but is also a certain homogenization of space, i.e. presentist space. PPSM produces its historical *translocal heterotopia of subversive presentism* contrary to the entire hegemonic space-time. While the heterotopian character of this space counters the regime of commodified/homogenized presentist

[386] Fisher, *Capitalist Realism*.

space through the insertion of equality and qualitiative differences, its translocal character negates the abstract globalism of late capitalism. It compresses space-time not by the flow of capital but by making use of political solidarity. While they are both elements of a practice for producing new spatialities, they are also temporal spaces not only in the sense that they are historical and bound by time but also because, in their constitution, they concentrate memory and projection, and process and duration. They are heterogeneous stacks of time and space that resist the leveling out of capitalist abstractions. They resist in a very active way too: by becoming new categories of space-time, upon which reconfigured egalitarian political experiences and expectations are made possible.

"Beautiful belongs to the imagery of liberation." –Herbert Marcuse

"Producing the space of the human species - the collective (generic) work of the species - on the model of what used to be called "art."... [The production of] a planet-wide space as the social foundation of a transformed everyday life ... such is the dawn now beginning to break on the far horizon." –Henri Lefebvre

Conclusion

This project has aimed at strengthening our philosophical grasp of the relationship between socio-political practice and historical space and time. It approached what I called the socio-spatiotemporal relationship between historical space-time and human practices by focusing on a specific practice: prefigurative politics in the square movements. With the theorization of the historicity of space-time and their socio-political production, I aimed at denaturalizing these basic categories of human experience and demonstrating their dependency on material practices. In doing so, I aimed at revealing that these naturalized categories are in effect historically constructed and hence they can be transformed through socio-political practices.

Overall, I organized this dissertation around this over-arching thesis: *the complex spatio-temporality of prefigurative politics in the square movements produces counter-hegemonic space-times that reconfigure present experience and political imagination in ways that open up new egalitarian political possibilities*. With this claim, I intended to formulate why I chose to focus on prefigurative politics to explore the link between historical space-time and socio-political practice. Prefigurative politics has a distinctive spatio-temporality that requires us to approach space and time from a multi-layered historical perspective. It is productive

even in its seeming shortcomings when viewed from this spatio-temporal perspective: it enables novel senses of space and time that negate the given framework of experiences and opens up new political possibilities.

To substantiate this main thesis, I structured four main chapters around four sub-theses. The first sub-thesis was the following: *The anarchist historical lineage of prefigurative politics carries with it an egalitarian normative content that permeates in its distinctive logic of politics and its two sub-logics: prefigurative ethics and spatial prefiguration*. In this chapter, I first gave an overview of the practice and theory of prefigurative politics. Then, I located two diverse logics within the praxis of prefigurative politics and named them prefigurative ethics and spatial prefiguration. With the former, I meant the logic of matching the goals with the means of achieving them, while the latter denoted the spatial transformation of instantiating the future desired goals. I argued in this chapter that prefigurative politics and its diverse logics carry with them a rich normative content of egalitarian anarcho-communist ethico-politics. I further argued that an implementation of prefigurative politics devoid of such normative content is not possible. I then explained the distinctive political logic of prefigurative politics not only by showing how it resembles Rancière's politics (as opposed to *the police*) but also by showing how it differs from it due to its production of counter-hegemonic space-times.

The second sub-thesis argued that *time is a historical category and prefiguration has a distinctive temporal logic that can be characterized as the egalitarian memory projection of immanent imagination in kaironic processes for the new present.* I began the chapter with an exposition of the historical approaches to

time and charted out six layers of temporality that constitute the temporal logic of prefiguration: duration, process, *Kairon*, past, present, and future. From these layers, I offered my interpretation of the temporal logic of prefiguration as a practice of projecting immanent socio-political forms onto a desired future drawn from memories of past struggles and based on the active assumption of egalitarianism. In doing so, prefiguration aims at acting at an opportune moment to begin processes of socio-political transformation in the present. The miniature transformations that aim towards macro changes enable alterations in the perceptions of past and future that I offered to denote as the production of the new present.

The third sub-thesis tackled with the question of spatiality. It argued that *space is a historical category and the spatial logic of prefiguration can be characterized as the public instantiation of an immanent utopia in an exemplary locality.* The chapter begins with reviewing the works of three thinkers, Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and David Harvey, in order to make the case for the relationship between space and societal power relations. I then expanded on the components of the spatial logic of prefiguration: publicness, immanent utopia, and exemplary locality. Finally, I offered a reading of the spatial practices in the square movements based on this prefigurative logic and Harvey's grid of spatial practices.

The fourth and final sub-thesis argued for the interrelation of space and time, and demonstrated this interconnection in the produced space-times of the square movements. The thesis reads as follows: *Time and space are interconnected categories and the produced space-time in the square movements through prefiguration can be characterized as a translocal heterotopia of subversive*

presentism. In this chapter, I first focused on the production of space in the square movements and on its diverse levels (experienced, perceived, imagined) and modalities (accessibility, appropriation, and domination). Then, I made the case for the interconnectedness of space and time, drawing from physicists and geographers alike, and made a methodological leap in the project from treating space and time separately to combining them into an interrelated phenomenon. Here, I offered my model of producing space-times based on Koselleck's theory of historical times and demonstrated applications of this production in the square movements as the production of *translocal heterotopia of subversive presentism*. This space-time, I argued, is the common ground that brings diverse square movement sites together in their collective subversion of the hegemonic spatio-temporalities.

The square movements have not achieved their set goals of an egalitarian, direct democratic world revolution yet. However, they did assert a new space-time against the temporal closures of neoliberal presentism. The full structural implications of this novel space-time, the new experiences and horizons opened up by this movement, may take many more years to show. In a way, they already succeeded in shaking the hypocritical legitimations of neoliberal global capitalism, even though we are still subjected to its injustices in blatantly unjustifiable ways.

Today, thanks to the square movements, neoliberal presentism is widely challenged. However, we are still witnessing a closure in the potentials of human experience through the propagation of an abstract *space–time* in our one-dimensional societies. The advent of populist neoliberal authoritarianism destructive of basic liberties and nature proves that it is urgently necessary to find

alternative modes of living and governing. The square movements through their prefigurative practices experimented with egalitarian alternatives and attempted to change the world for the better.

In their heyday, these square movements received much attention, both from enthusiastic sympathizers and from staunch critics. The movements ignited great hopes for egalitarian political transformation as well as fears of destabilization. Today, some years after their first wave, we live in a counter-revolutionary era of forgetting and dismissal. Nevertheless, the prefigurative torch is still being carried by emerging movements, such as the Yellow Vests, and, at a smaller scale, by cooperatives, communes, and autonomous regions, by anarchist, feminist, LGBTQ, and artist collectives, and by progressive municipalities, squats, progressive NGOs, and worker-owned workplaces. The remembered egalitarian expectations are still on our horizon, and I sincerely hope the contributions to the theory of prefigurative politics developed in this project will be of service to future egalitarian liberations.

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