THE DISCLOSURE OF PETRIFIED UNREST:

THE GEZİ PROTESTS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF JEAN-LUC NANCY

AND WALTER BENJAMIN

ÖZGE KELEKÇİ

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2015

THE DISCLOSURE OF PETRIFIED UNREST:

THE GEZİ PROTESTS FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF JEAN-LUC NANCY

AND WALTER BENJAMIN

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Philosophy

by

Özge Kelekçi

Boğaziçi University

2015

The Disclosure of Petrified Unrest:

The Gezi Protests from the Perspective of Jean-Luc Nancy and Walter Benjamin

The thesis of Özge Kelekçi

has been approved by:

Assist. Prof. Yıldız Silier

(Thesis Advisor)

Prof. Murat Baç

Assoc. Prof. Patrick Roney

(External Member)

September 2015

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Özge Kelekçi, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;

- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;

- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature..

Date ....11.12.2015.................................

ABSTRACT

The Disclosure of Petrified Unrest:

The Gezi Protests from the Perspective of Jean-Luc Nancy and Walter Benjamin

Just before and deep down in the Second World War, Walter Benjamin pronounces that progress idea is a conglomeration of catastrophes which always already left traces of who had died, who had been defeated whereas in the illusional idea of progress there exists only the victorious ones. Benjamin manifests that the contradiction of repetitive catastrophes and progress would be revealed only through a dialectical critique which is to read images, objects, commodities, stories of what was historically declared as not having the capacity of juxtaposition. Real History is to start by the help of dialectical critique only and only after the illusion of progress radically halted and the creation of a real state of exception. For Jean-Luc Nancy, relations of human beings, technology and nature that have been agglomerated by the process of globalization is rendered possible only through attribution of an essence to every single being, ever group, every society, every historical period in order to stabilize their place on the earth. Nevertheless, according to Nancy being can never be in an absolutely singular modality, being is always already plural. Humanity is in a prison of globalization that envelops all spacings of freedom. Nancy declares that freedom is to be rendered possible only in the case that they open themselves as singular plurals. In this thesis, Gezi Protests are to be examined by the combining function of Nancy's idea of the conditions under which a creation of the world through spacing of singular plurals is possible and Benjamin's methodology of dialectical montage/juxtaposition.

ÖZET

Dondurulmuş Huzursuzluğun Açılması:

Jean-Luc Nancy ve Walter Benjamin Üzerinden Gezi Protestosu

Walter Benjamin İkinci Dünya Savaşı'nın tam öncesinde ve içinde hakikatin modern algı yanılsamalarının içerisinden ortaya çıkamayacağını söyleyerek tarihin aslının bir bir felaketler toplamı olduğunu dile getirir, ki bu felaketler çoktan ölmüş olanların, yenilmişlerin izlerini hala taşırlar ancak ilerleme fikrinin kendisinde sadece zafer kazananlar yer alır. Benjamin, bu çelişkinin ancak diyalektik eleştirinin ortaya koyabileceğini söyler. Diyalektik eleştiri Benjamin'e göre yanyana gelmeleri tarihsel olarak mümkün görünmeyen resimlerin, maddelerin, metaların, hikayelerin birlikte okunmasıdır. Hakiki tarih ancak ve ancak diyalektik eleştirinin yardımıyla bu ilerlemenin radikal biçimde durdurulması ve gerçek bir olağanüstü halin yaratılması ile başlayabilecektir. Jean-Luc Nancy, küreselleşmenin bir araya getirdiği insan, teknoloji ve doğa ilişkilenmelerinin ancak her varlığa, her gruba, her insan topluluğuna, her tarihsel döneme, maddeye bir öz atfedilerek yerlerinin sabitlenmesi ile mümkün olduğunu söyler. Oysa, Nancy'e göre varlık hiçbir zaman mutlak bir tekil modda olmaz, tekil varlık düşünülemezdir, her zaman çoğul, özsüz ve kökensizdir. İnsanlık mevcut durumda küreselleşmenin tüm özgürlük alanlarını kapatan hapishanesinde tutsaktır. Nancy özgürlüğün ancak varlığın tekil çoğulluklar olarak kendi alanını açmasıyla mümkün olacağının dile getirir. Bu tezde Gezi Protestoları Nancy'nin tekil çoğullarının mekansal bir dünya yaratabilme koşulları fikri ile Benjamin'in diyalektik montaj/yanyana getirme metodolojisinin bir bileşkesi olacak şekilde incelenmektedir.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank Assist. Prof. Yıldız Silier for being with me all along from the very seed of these all thoughts and giving them a form of Thesis, her incredible academic light, her patience of all kind, her unbelievable belief into an idea and to her students and her brilliant contributions of all. I would like to thank Prof. Murat Baç for endlessly proving that it is possible to look another way and for his priceless guidance. I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Patrick Roney for distilling of relevant contributions for my thesis from his immense knowledge. Although we could not walk together for his health conditions, for his incredible contributions to this thesis at the very start, I would like to thank to and also hope the best for Prof. Johannes Fritsche.

I would like to thank TÜBİTAK for their scholarship/grant provided during two years of my graduate life in Boğaziçi University and for the completion of this thesis.

It is not easy to figure out how he is in this thesis, so for all the sentences, hope, anger, courage, satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and for all the letters starting from Aleph, thanks to Metin, these all would be a tabula rasa if he were not out there. To my Galadriel Yıldız, there is nothing to say about how she is in the heart beat of the words that I constantly use. To Burcu for showing how we should keep our emotions "in a jar" in order to keep them alive. Thanks to Meral for never giving up believing in me and believing that together we could create a world. I would like to thank to Zeynel for teaching me that there is a unique spacing for each one of us. Thanks to Ozan, I could understand that we may deal with all kind of dichotomies in our way. Berivan is the power of hope, touching and helping in my life, thanks for

everything we are continuously sharing. I would like to thank to Fırat for letting me a part of his endless search for a road/home. Here are Deniz, Cansu, Olcay, Şenol, Cemre, Sidar, Nazan, Duygu, Baran, Alperen, Fahrettin, Mustafa Emin, Hasibe, Çınar, Sinan, Nesli, Pınar, Sedat, Serkan, Figen, İlden all we have there and in, in order to experience as singularly plural and as carrying the ghosts of our so catastrophic joyfulness. Thanks to Sezgin, although not acknowledged, for introducing me to how to be existed in such an event. If Adile, Seda, Niyazi, Yusuf, Levent, Robin and Alessandro were not there "out" to listen with so much love, enthusiasm about all events, I would not even try to start to write this thesis.

And last but not least to my family, thanks to İlhan, Sedef, Vural and Duru and thanks to my grandma Gülizar and grandfather Hasan for their belief, my sister Simge, my father Haluk and my little university student mom Miyeser, for all their patience during the incredible stressful writing period of this thesis and all their support for all my life.

For Neco and To Pirsus, Şekibe, Ege. . .

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Whether there exists a foundational contradiction in between same and other,

individual and group, subject and society, thought and experience is a question that

haunts all social sciences. Although strongly rejected by postmodern thinking,

dichotomies of all kind is out there simply not only because rejection necessarily

implies what is rejected as a hidden interlocutor but also because human societies,

religious communions, political systems for thousands of years have been based on

these kinds of contradictions accepting one side over another. Even though these act

of choosing between foundational contradictions mostly considered as an innocent

one, consequences had been vital or fatal such as religious authority grounded of god

vs. many, political sovereignty of one nation over another, philosophical base on soul

over body/experience, As a result of these preferences, some others were

slaughtered, humiliated, dehumanized, colonized, ignored or at least silenced.

Nonetheless, Jean-Luc Nancy has a different and radical solution to this

problematique of the same and the other. Nancy, following and in some manner

rebuilding Heideggerian idea of being-with, differentiates himself from postmodern

and poststructuralist tendencies. Being-with is the condition of existence[1] that every

---

[1] Since this thesis is basically a theoretical conversation about the Gezi Protests between Jean-Luc
Nancy (a follower of Heidegger) and Walter Benjamin (a contemporary philosopher with Heidegger
and has him as an interlocutor) nearly every philosophical term so much so less is related with
Heideggerian understanding. One of the most important ones is existence. Existence is for Heidegger,
is the basis of his search of metaphysics that will open/construct/reclaim a tradition after him. It is not
the all encompassing predicate in a Kantian sense of beings in general. It is about "the meaning of
existence" not "the beings of entities" or "inventory of beings". Thus, it is our every relation to "I
am" not starting from "I" but from "am". Existence is not our biological being, not our psychological
being, it cannot be covered under any disciplinary or epistemological knowledge that will be
categorized as a science that will examine "the being". Existence is the horizon of what Heidegger
named as Dasein's ontology: "More radically, it *is* this understanding, or the place where this

ontological distinction collapses in. Nothing exists before "with" of existence. We cannot say even "before" or "nothing" if being-with is not there. This "thereness" of being also, for Nancy, is constituted of sharing as spacing. Being-with (singular plural) shares itself through spacing with other singular plurals:

> However, the singular being, which is not the individual , is the finite being . . . Individuation detaches closed off entities from a formless ground-whereas only communication, contagion, or communion constitute the being of individuals. But singularity does not proceed from such a detaching of clear forms or figures (nor from what is linked to this operation: the scene of form and ground, appearing . . . Singularity perhaps does not proceed from anything. It is not a work resulting from an operation. There is no process of "singularization," and singularity is neither extracted, nor produced , nor derived. Its birth does not take place from out of or as an effect of on the contrary, it provides the measure according to which birth, as such, is neither a production nor a selfpositioning, the measure according to which the infinite birth of finitude is not a process that emerges from a ground (fond or from a fund (fonds) of some kind . The "ground" is itself, through itself and as such, already the finitude of singularities. (Nancy, 1991, p. 27)

An ontology derived from the fact that everything constructed upon same/self and other is principally wrong is full of possibilities for healing our wounds caused by the desire to fix the Other and Same and our imposed essences. If it is possible to create a world[2] in the difference of we (singular plurals) and groups of invariable essences then community is not a dream.

---

understanding of being occurs. Hence "Dasein" means the self *as* the there (*Da*) of being (*Sein*), the place where an understanding of being erupts into being" (Stapleton, 2010, p. 44).

[2] World in this thesis is mostly used connotating the Nancian distinction of *globalization* and *mondialization*. As translators of Creation of The World and Globalization, Francois Raffoul and David Pettigrew exclusively explain: "From the beginning, he [Nancy] emphasizes that the global or globality is a phenomenon that is more abstract than the worldly or world-forming; he refers to globality as a "totality grasped as a whole," an "indistinct totality," while the world, the worldly, world-forming calls to mind rather a "process in expansion," in reference to the world of humans, of culture, and of nations in a differentiated set. In the final analysis, what interests Nancy, in this distinction between "world-forming" and "globalization," is that world-forming maintains a crucial reference to the world's horizon, as a space of human relations, as a space of meaning held in common, a space of significations or of possible significance" (Nancy, 2002, p. 2). World has lost its sense through a representational bondage of transcendentality, it is onto-theologically transcendent since to represent the world is only possible from "outside of the world" but there is no world out of world (Nancy, 2007, p. 4). This representational all-encompassing language is about globalization and what Nancy call us to form is a meaning of world-within-itself-with-ourself, mondialization.

Objects, subjects, individuals, groups, ideas, politics imprisoned and detached

from others in their own attributed essences do not cross of disclosure of singular

plurals in a full sense. Every being separated from sharing its being carries the

unrest. Not only people but also objects, commodities, nature itself may have this

unrest, which is petrified by the denied potential of being-with. Walter Benjamin

talks about this petrified unrest borrowing the term from Blanqui. Petrified unrest for

modern societies is in their real experience turned into a sleep or spell. Benjamin

talks about how societies dream about their lost utopias in their relation with

commodities. Sleeping beauty for Benjamin is everyone of us, who are in relation

with modern societies, this sleep or spell, of course, will end with an awakening but

not only for human beings but also for everything imprisoned in these societies.

Benjamin tells us a story of our awakening which will come true only petrified unrest

to be disclosed as a dialectical image using methodological montage. Montage for

Benjamin is not only a technique for cutting images from their own historicity or

their wholly established story but also a condition for awakening:

> The methodology of "constructing" dialectical images, then, stands at the
> crossroads of a Marxist-inspired insight into the dialectical nature of the
> commodity structure, on the one side, and a notion of montage and its
> implicit revaluation of the world of the devalued material object on the
> other. The materialist critic scavenges the detritus of history for those
> objects that resist incorporation into a triumphal story of capitalism as
> endless progress and that therefore express (in their very quality as trash)
> the frustrated utopian fantasies of a particular generation. . .[Montage]
> removes these objects from the "natural" medium in which they exist –
> the history of endless newness and of endless progress that capitalist
> modernity endlessly deploys. . . The fantasy world of material well-being
> promised by every commodity now is revealed as a Hell of unfulfillment;
> the promise of eternal newness and unlimited progress encoded in the
> imperatives of technological change and the cycles of consumption now
> appear as their opposite, as primal history, the mythic compulsion toward
> endless repetition. (Pensky, 2004, p. 187)
> .

Gezi Protests started with a few people gathered together in order to prevent cutting of the trees by closing off Gezi Park situated in the edge of Taksim Square in 28 May 2013. First three days were comings and goings of hundreds of people and little clashes with police. But on the dawn of 31 May 2013, while a live coverage was being watched by thousands of mostly young people, the police attacked to the people who were sleeping in the park in their tents. In front of live cameras' spectrum, tents were burned down and people were deported from park. Those camera recordings would indicate the start of an uprising which will effect whole country in a few days. These self-created montages, these dialectical images were to be a call for the disclosing of petrified unrests.[3]

In Chapter 1, I will examine how Gezi Protest was materially occurred through investigating different kinds of relations of technology, politics, spatiality, temporality, sensation and signification; I will try to analyze how such a phenomena of protest took place in terms of its materiality. Rhythmical interruptions, musical deconstruction, spacing of protests, mythical opportunities of the newest technologies, objects that lost their proper places and orientation and found others, walls as a form of conversation would possibly be the main spokesmen of this chapter. In Chapter 2, I will relate all these material relations with the ideas of Jean-Luc Nancy's fundamental interruption to philosophical thinking, namely singular being, shared finitude through spacing, inoperative community and the creation of a world. I believe that Nancy's understanding of singular plural will open a way to apprehend how come a protest might turn itself into a world, how spatiality of Gezi Protests should be discussed in terms of sharing, how so believed foundational essence of different groups were disclosed as essenceless non-foundational relations

---

[3] For a whole choronology of events with related news,videos and photos see
http://bianet.org/biamag/insan-haklari/151667-gezi-nin-49-gunu-video-ve-fotograflarla

of community and how intersubjectivity theories cannot cover what Nancian understanding would propose Gezi Protests. Chapter 3 will relate with Walter Benjamin knowing the fact it is impossible to depict a complete picture of his philosophy, so that the chapter maybe thought as introducing a philosophical vocabulary that how Chapter 1 may be (re)read again in Benjaminian terms. Illusion of progress as a myth of modern societies would be a key concept to understand *ur-history* (a Benjaminian understanding of what commodities, myths, allegories having traces of old/lost utopias for justice) of what had been wished by masses during protests and how come protests affected temporal relations of not only protestors but also those who did not participate in it creating a complete state of exception; how spelled and sleeping societies are to be awakened and how their dreams about commodities will help this awakening to emerge will be questioned; how art and technology maybe read dialectically in our age would be analyzed in the light of the Benjaminian idea of allegory and aura.

CHAPTER 2

THE EVERYDAYNESS OF THE GEZİ PROTESTS

2.1 Sounds of Gezi Park

> The voice is the element which ties the subject and the Other together, without belonging to either, just as it formed the tie between body and language without being part of them. (Mladen, 2004, p. 103)

Protestors start to beat iron constructions around them with sticks with an accelerating speed, accelerating until the sound turns into a rhythmic repetition, rhythmic intervention into everyday sounds of the city, until their bodies turn into a synchronized part of beating. Images do not contain any human voice, any slogan, any demand for or against anything; there is neither a visual sign nor a human voice; sounds do not transmit any open message. Only iron constructions and some steel chairs that will be used in barricades later are there; the sticks beating them and the bodies of protestors are synchronized.[4]

> Objectively, for there to be a change, a social group, a class or a caste must intervene by imprinting a rhythm on an era, be it through force or in an insinuating manner. In the course of a crisis, in an critical situation, a group must designate itself as an innovator or producer of meaning. And its acts must inscribe themselves on reality. (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 15)

Sound of spaces including houses, streets, historical places, cities, urban construction areas, rural areas or some historical periods associated with certain locations are being analyzed recently through the work of musicians, sound engineers, anthropologists, and historians.[5] How of urban sounds producing and reproducing

---

[4] See the first 30 seconds of the video https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXJaPwK9eDI
[5] See for an example of sound museum work https://medium.com/@efekerem/mazide-hos-bir-seda-sound-museum-of-istanbul-b058eef0b060)

certain sensory reactions, certain habits, bodily interactions is turned upside down through Gezi Park events by lots of extraordinary examples of sounds and voices and musical motions that "normally" cannot be a part of the city life. What is one of the main backgrounds of urban everydayness is canceled out and reversed; what is heard and listened to have become reverberant in an extremely distinguishable way.

https://soundcloud.com/sedakayim/sounds-of-gezi-the-day-it-all-started; this piece of recorded sounds arises with distant voices of people surrounded by some kind of silence, but just at point 0. 50, sounds of slogans hit the foreground, it simply arrives "Tayyip İstifa" (Tayyip is an abbreviation for Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, slogan says: Resign Tayyip). Recorders cannot avoid themselves to be a part of the crowd, noise coming and shattering their silence and start to scream. After 1.15 not only slogans but also clappings, hoots, air horns, screams and whistles encompass the air just like waves. Hoots give into hitting steels; waves of slogans come and go, up and down, high and low. And as a final point it arrives the common slogan of Gezi Park protest: "Bu daha başlangıç, mücadeleye devam!" (It is only the beginning, go onto struggle!). Lefebvre (2004) explains how rhythm and repetition relation is dependent upon not only repetition as itself but the difference and interruption of it. In Gezi's beginning, repetitive relations had revealed themselves opening up difference from an organized abstract repetition of urban rhythm:

> Is the origin of the procedure that starts with generalities found in abstractions? No! In the field of rhythm, certain very broad concepts nonetheless have specificity: let us immediately cite repetition. No rhythm without repetition in time and in space, without reprise, without retours, in short without measure. But there is no identical absolute repetition, indefinitely. Whence the relation between repetition and difference. When it concerns the everyday, rites, ceremonies, fetes, rules and laws, there is always something new and unforeseen that introduces itself into the repetitive: difference. (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 6)

People, by the shock of gas bombs and water tanks, started to create sounds of all kinds not only slogans, clappings, screams but also used pots and pans in the houses to protests the attacks of the police. Don Ihde (2007) discusses how hearing, listening and language have a secret relation through their 'lost beginning'. Hearing, Ihde says, presupposes meaning since self has to have a distinctive understanding/language of what is heard before he/she hears whatever the sound is (p.116). This meaningful intentionality constructs what may be called as the everydayness of sounds. However, the previous record has given us a different angle here about "lost beginning" of meaning, hearing and listening. Noises, sounds, voices, screams, timbres, resonances moves in an unconventional impetus that hit bodies, go in and through them while affecting them and being affected by them. Lost beginning of meaning in the sound comes alive and is reinvented when the presupposed subject participated in a vocal relation with his/her surrounding. Struggle begins when heard and listened.

Walter Benjamin exemplifies how Marx includes regular motion and temporal relations as a part of the mechanical reproduction of manifactural design in his theory of labour and Benjamin analyzes modern large scale industry through the example of clock used as a material (inter)relation (Benjamin, 1999, p. 695). Clock sound is the rhythmic triggering part of (re)productory forces of modern large scale industry. How bodies of worker were to be incorporated or (cannot be incorporated) into rhythmic interrelations of large scale production is also a part of Charlie Chaplin's criticism in Modern Times:[6]

> Everyday life is modeled on abstract quantitative time, the time of watches and clocks. This time was introduced bit by bit in the West after the invention of watches, in the course of their entry into social practice. This homogeneous and desacralised time has emerged victorious since it

---

[6] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IjarLbD9r30

supplied the measure of time of work. Beginning from this historic moment, it became the time of everydayness, subordinating to the organization of work in space other aspects of the everyday: the hours of sleep and waking, meal-times and the hours of private life, the relations of adults with their children, entertainment and hobbies, relations to the place of dwelling. However, everyday life remains shot through and traversed by great cosmic and vital rhythms: day and night, the months and the seasons, and still more precisely biological rhythms. In the everyday, this results in the perpetual interaction of these rhythms with repetitive processes linked to homogeneous time. (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 73)

Ordinary urban spaces inscribe on us rhythm or arrhythmia in an impositionary sense. Although there exists rhythm or arrhythmia or polyrhythmia in average everydayness (Lefebvre, 2004, p. 67), its meaning comes before its occurrence where any anomy should be located in temporal structured relations of the urban. Examples such as matches, celebrations, festivals cut across and are particularized through their predefined spatial and temporal existences. Regularity, highlights Ihde (2007), comes with "flux and flow that takes place within experience in terms of the background-foreground sounds in rhythm that are part of daily life. . . This kind of *structured* rhythms" is attached to their arrhythmia; if there is a big festival in town then there would obviously be lots of noise and music where this suspension of the usual is determined temporally and spatially (p. 87). But the audial difference of Gezi Protests starts as if they come from nowhere just like gas infiltrating into the air, sounds originate unexpectedly, surprising and capturing bodies of everyone, not only those making them but also the ordinary people who have heard them from a distance or those who have listened to them on videos or records.

Shouting slogans was an unparseable vocal aspect of Gezi Park protests. Human voices, being all around including hoots and screaming, were most perceptible when employed in slogans. It was not unusual to hear hundreds of thousands shouting the same slogans throughout protests not only in Istanbul but also

in other cities. Slogans in Gezi Park protests vary through a range of extremely leftist ones to strong nationalistic and sometimes racist tendencies. However the main inclination of slogans draws close the ones that are against police violence or the ones that are against the government or the ones that highlight solidarity amongst protesters. Whatever the semantic contents of slogans might be, I would like to focus on and differentiate their collective force field and rhythmic breakage. Ihde (2007) argues about the distinction in between monophonic and polyphonic features that are based on "modality of ongoing experience" of hearing and listening (p. 117). Monophonic experience while derived on hearing the World, polyphonic experience includes listening not only others but also myself: "I hear not only the voices of the World, in some sense I 'hear' myself or from myself. There is in polyphony a duet of voices in the doubled modalities of perceptual and imaginative modes" (Ihde, 2007, p. 117). Throughout the experience of slogan chanting, it is possible to say that a polyphonic experience accesses into the monophonic World. Ihde (2007) underlies the "imaginative" mode by virtue of hearing "myself from myself" (p. 117).

Collective chanting or singing of hundreds of thousands is a radical breakthrough for every single one of them since the everyday relationality that exists in between the speaker and hearer is turned upside down. While there is no obvious hearer or speaker, everybody turns into a listener and a speaker, everybody hears, chants, listens, and sings although there is no single body to embody all these actions. Fred Cummins (2014) criticizes the theoretical ignorance of collective vocal behavior, which accepts selves and minds and subjects as closed and detached, underscoring that many people saying the same thing at the same time usually understood as an multiplication of one human voice by many of them, whereas collective vocal phenomena involves shared value, demand, joy, dissatisfaction and

makes all people participated in these sentiments through their differentiated voice and hearing others as well. Cummins (2014) underlies that all kinds of unison speaking are in relation with the sentiments involved in the shared action whether it is a prayer or a march or a football game. Repetition being a constructive part of joint speaking may make the phrase "accentuate and exaggerate" the rhythmic purposes sometimes turning speech into a song (p. 6). Participators of Gezi Park protests that cannot be categorized under any single title of experience may be punctuated for their revelation and contrivance of their own polyphonic unison speaking not only with slogans but also through the experience of forum style meetings in Gezi Park that occurred again and again during day and night. After settled in the park, for about fifteen days, thousands of people gathered together in different kinds of collective speaking and listening all over.

Slogans resounding as waves in thousands of people were in direct relation with their tempo and rhythm, I claim. Slogans mostly accepted by huge numbers of people were usually not the most politically charged ones. It can be stated that the slogans encapsulating protestors were the ones that came from the previous experience of football fans and leftist groups. One unique example was "Mustafa Kemal'in Askerleriyiz" (We are soldiers of Mustafa Kemal) and this slogan maybe considered as a consequence of the memory and habit of previous nationalist mass actions such as 2007 protests against the AKP government. What was contrasting in Gezi Park protests with that of football matches, leftists marches or nationalist actions was that participators have found themselves thrown into a collection of all voices and sounds ranging from all political, sociological origins and memories. Thus, decision of which sound, rhythm or voice was the sound of Gezi Park was not an instantaneous reaction but was a collective sharing of the moment, creating its

own voice choosing from the repertoire of past memories. "Direne direne kazanacağız" (We will win as we struggle), "Faşizme karşı omuz omuza" (United against fascism), "Hükümet/Tayyip İstifa" (Resign Government/Tayyip) were among the slogans that were shouted by huge numbers of people mostly during the harsh clashes between the police and the protestors. It can be stated that perhaps the only slogan that had been invented by Gezi Park protestors was "Bu daha başlangıç mücadeleye devam" (It is only the beginning, go onto struggle).

> [R]hythm: it is nothing other than the time of time, the vibration of time itself in the stroke of a present that presents it by separating it from itself, freeing its simple *stanza* to make it into *scansion*(rise, raising of the foot that beats) and *cadence* (fall, passage into the pause). Thus rhythm separates the succession of the linearity of the sequence or length of time: it bends time to give it to time itself, and it is in this way that it folds and unfolds a 'self'. (Nancy, 2002, p. 17)

Just like in the case of beating iron construction, there exists a differentiation of rhythmic relations on the basis of songs and music in Gezi Protests. People had participated protests in cities like Ankara, Izmir, Hatay where clashes with police never stopped. But in Istanbul immediately after the clashes ceased to some degree, songs entered into the scene. People who found the opportunity of breathing (because gas bombs were reduced) started to sing songs. (One exception to this might be "Sık Bakalım" song/slogan that was song during some clashes, which emerged during the escalation of physical attacks.) Hakan Vreskala's song produced directly in Gezi Park barricades has a striking relation with beating irons and the difference in the rhythmical relations changed day by day: "*Dağılın Lan*" (Run off, man!).[7] This song was a part of the protest, was produced by protestors and was performed just in the space of protest**.** Conjoining of the rhythmical capacity with meaning, if I may say, occurred after people settled in the park. The only but significant exception of this

---

[7] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cjfoXoz69sw

was "Eyvallah" (Cool, ok). The horizon of musical encounter had been

opened/enlarged by Duman (a popular music group well-known amongst young

people) who produced a song on the very first day of the massive struggle 31th May

2013. By the moment protestors went on the streets, group's song "Eyvallah" was

available online. Sensory rhythm of the song and its language was fully overlapping.

Its rhythmic connotations were effectively correlated with the movement of people in

the street. This is a good example of how an artistic production can smell the air and

if affected enough by the rhythm of what has been occurring, influential artwork

maybe produced. Communication of the incommunicable expressed in and through

timbre of noises, slogans found their meaning in the song of Duman.[8] This song

maybe considered as an example to what Nancy calls timbre that the background of a

musical encounter as it is felt. Timbre, according to Nancy is the condition of

rhythms translated as emotions and senses. Timbre is the infrastructure of rhythmical

relations that lets them open to the meaning:

> Timbre is the resonance of sound: or sound itself. It forms the first
> consistency of sonorous sense as such, under the rhythmic condition that
> makes it resound. . . That is why Wittgenstein, after discussing the
> borderline, or imaginary, experience of hearing a sound separated from
> its timbre, comes to take timbre as a privileged image of what he calls
> "private experience", consequently, experience that is not communicable.
> I would say that timbre is communication of the incommunicable:
> provided it is understood that the incommunicable is nothing other, in a
> perfectly logical way, than communication itself. . .[a]n unfolding, a
> dance, a resonance. Sound in general is first of all communication in this
> sense. At first it communicates nothing –except itself. At its weakest and
> least articulated degree, one would call it noise. (There is noise in the
> attack and extinction of a sound, and there is always noise in sound
> itself.) But all noise also contains timbre. (Nancy, 2002, pp. 40-41)

---

[8] Listen/see in contrast with Kaan Tangöze's –singer of the very same group- Gezi's second
anniversary song as a proof of the rhythmic downfall:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UHnv6tGmIGI

It was very striking to see huge banner of 78'liler Derneği (Association of 78s)[9] saying that "Şarkımızı tamamlamak için" ("In order to complete our song") in Gezi Park. Military coup that destroyed all leftist political movements through brutal state violence has been read as an assault against the music of the people by 78s and they have declared that their lost song, lost beginning might be completed through Gezi Park protests. This was not a simple metaphor; it is the collective affective force field of sounds, voices and songs of Gezi Park protests. Those who felt their voices and joys captured, imprisoned and halted by the state after the coup were perceiving their song as completed by millions of people again in the resistance.[10]

Songs were everywhere during Gezi Protests especially, relations that were previously seen as impossible –for example nationalists and Kurdish people- opened up with halay music played continuously in Kurdish party's stands, accompanied by halay dancing, it was possible to see hundreds of people singing songs in the middle of Taksim Square, in the middle of the night. People produced songs, danced with them, singers produced music with the participation of masses, workshops of rhythm emerged. Professional songs generated or reproduced/adapted by different artists have reached the number of hundreds.[11]

2.2 Spatiality of the Gezi Protests

What is to be defined as a space of interiority and exteriority is mostly discussed in terms of public and private space distinction that again mostly underestimates the force of violence in between public and private dichotomy construction or

---

[9] A union of people that were initiated against 80's coup de etat in Turkey
[10] It is also striking to realize that nearly all of the TV series and most of the films produced in order to depict the coup and events which led to it, had names of different songs and sound related metaphors: Çemberimde Gül Oya, Bu Kalp Seni Unutur mu?, Hatırla Sevgili, Sen Türkülerini Söyle, Ses, Beynelmilel, Bir Ses Böler Geceyi, etc.
[11] https://www.youtube.com/user/GeziParkiSarkilari

indetermination of two. Gezi Protests setting up its own territory by barricades of all kind makes different claims on transitivity between exterior/interior, home/outside, public/private etc. Not only barricades but also different kind of spatial praxis in Gezi Protests manifest the overcoming of dichotomical apprehension of materiality, temporality and declares itself as an opening of space in Nancian terms.

Ernesto L. Francalanci (2012) in his book *Estetica degli oggetti (Aesthetics of Objects)* focusing on the metaphorical and material relationality of doors underlining the fact that there can be only one condition to make a door as a door which is being indeterminated, being unsettled and most importantly as a potential to openness. Francalanci highlights door being in the situation of a decision, before and after of decision, neither open nor closed but suspended (p. 133). Door being as the metaphor of transmission and disclosing of different spatialities maybe read barricades for Gezi Protests. Barricades although having the purpose of preventing the attacks of police, does simply not have the capacity of blocking attacks physically if occurs in full force of police.[12] Its spatial meaning than is nothing but indicating or remarcation of exteriority and interiority. The moment of physical construction of barricades in itself designates the passing of decision and indecision. Whatever the case, under normal urban life conditions, door are always already there, always existent and we do not have the knowledge or relation with the moment of construction; we do not have access to moments of building doors through their own materiality, mostly we do not have the chance of choosing their spatial location; we do not have to decide what to be inside or outside as forces of nature or society. Thereby, we do not relate with the process of practical construction space that includes something and excludes

---

[12] Benjamin quotes from Engels' critique of barricade tactics: "The most that the insurrection can actually implament in the way of tactical practice is the correct construction and defense of a single barricade." But "even in the classic period of street fighting,… the barricade produced more of a moral than a material effect. It was a means of shaking the steadfastness of the military. If it held on until this was attained, then victory was won; if not, there was defeat" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 125).

others. Nevertheless, during Gezi Protests all the protestors by participating in building of barricades create a different kind of relation with their own spatiality that is not an ownership of any private or public space but physically constructing it. Top it all of, this construction of spatiality, or spacing includes a symbolic and corporeal queering of all the material used in barricades.

Figure 1: One of the most commonly circulated photos of barricades from Istanbul near Gümüşsuyu (Retrieved from http://gezite.org/turkiye-solunun-halkla-imtihani/). Photographer unknown.
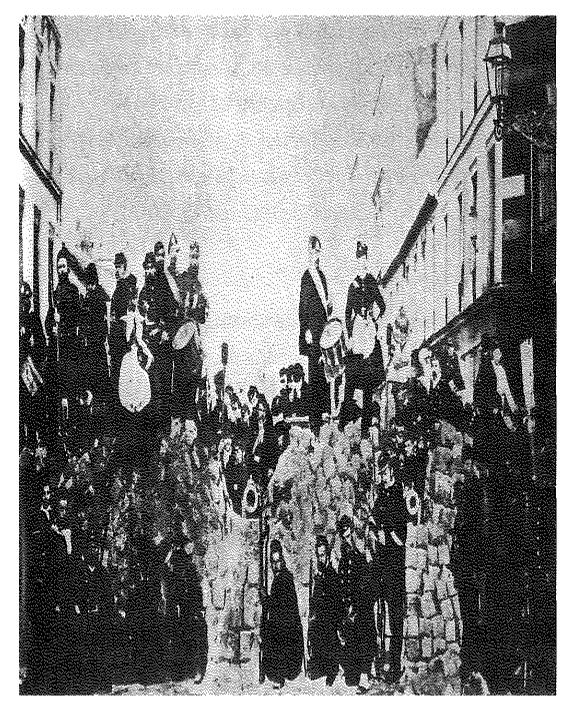
Figure 2: A barricade of the Paris Commune, Rue Basfroi (IIe arrondis Jement), March 18, 1871. Photographer unknown. (Benjamin, 1999, p. 795).

In both images, separated by a two-hundred years of time interval, we witness bodies of people standing upon barricades in order to watch over what is coming towards them. The resemblance of two pictures makes historical constructions of spatiality as if they were frozen in time. The body of protestors, the material paving stones used in building, protestors' claim and indecisive relation with their background and fore indicates how space of insurgency are opening through an act of

17

both violence but also as an act of (in)decision what is to be inside or outside. Walter Benjamin (1999) concentrates on barricades maybe much more than any other material of insurgency since barricades changed Paris as much as World Exhibitions or passages. He emphasizes that reconstruction of Paris by Haussmann after 1848 revolutions was based on the decision of making impossible to reconstruct any kind of barricade. Large streets, wooden pavings and new streets that connect military areas to workers' ghettos were built against emergence of barricades. Nevertheless it has been turned out that it is impossible to prevent the construction of barricades, highlights Benjamin (1999). What had been suppressed returns more powerfully: "The ban is resurrected during the Commune. It is stronger and better secured than ever. It stretches across the great boulevards, often reaching a height of two stories, and shields the trenches behind it" (Benjamin, 1999, pp. 12-13). [13]

Boğaziçi University Jazz Chorus made a song about the Gezi Park protest involving sentences like "people are at the barricades on the road to Taksim".[14] What makes Boğaziçi Jazz Chorus use a "marginal" word such as barricades directly related with war-like situations in such a natural and accepted way? First thing to emphasize on barricades of Gümüşsuyu, Harbiye, Taşkışla roads should be about how they asked questions about the potentialities of spatiality and matter. Ordinary matter that all we are used to employ in their "proper" places and ordinary spaces of urban Gümüşsuyu, Harbiye, Taşkışla were turned upside down in barricades. Traffic signs, buses, stones, cobblestones, all types of construction material that even I do not know their names, steel-constructed beds given by housewives to protestors, police barriers, police vehicles, outside broadcast vehicles of media that were thought

---

[13] Benjamin quotes from G. Pinet as if he was describing Gezi Barricades: "July 27, 1830: Outside the school, men in shirtsleeves were already rolling casks; others brought in paving stones and sand by wheelbarrow; a barricade was begun" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 137).

[14] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a_48C1JiIgo

as employing censorship on protest, lanterns. All were ripped off from their "proper" places and broken down. All were deconstructed by the force and tempo of action and against police attacks. Necessity has been turned upside down through barricades by active engagement with the simultaneous action of destructing and constructing. It is not a coincide that most of the materials used in barricades were from construction sides. This was a protest going on against the monopolistic construction of city and lives and what has been used for preventing it to get inside protest spatiality, which are barricades, were simply construction materials. Throughout Taksim Square and Gezi Park, we had been witnessing an ongoing and continuous re-construction; and with barricades all of these constructions and the material substances of these buildings have radically manifested themselves in a destructed spatiality throughout the temporality of action. Very same point may be mentioned for traffic signs and plagues; the main symbolical aim of barricades is to stop trafficking of police/state (or static, substantial, determinative forces, let's say) into the landscape of change and this was possible for barricades constructed with the traffic materials. Paving stones, as Benjamin gives the number of paving stones carried to barricades during 1830 insurgency (Benjamin, 1999, p.139) were carried one by one, by lining up of protestors on roads.[15]

Barricades indicating a spatial threshold/bracketing maybe discussed in terms of a limit experience that exposes the finitude of Gezi Protests as an opening[16] or

---

[15] See video of people carrying paving stones: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uOZt9cKIzzM

[16] OPENING/DISCLOSEDNESS: Dasein for Heidegger stands out or "stand out within" in its being differently than ontic ones, in its opening, through its opening to existence (Figal, 2010, p. 39). Dasein is thrown into a world that is not a choice that is given to him: "Each and every moment of each and every day my being is something to which I have been delivered over as something already there that must be taken up. And it is this phenomenon that is disclosed by state- of- mind in a way that no amount of thought or conceptualization could accomplish" (Stapleton, 2010, p. 52). Dasein is moreover has to exist in relation to its own existence as a thought. It is the disclosedness of Dasein that gives its existence meaning. Since ontically it is anything amongst others, ontological analysis of Dasein is its opening to the worldhood. Authentic self for Heidegger is only possible to be open for the call of conscience, which is interrupting Dasein's everyday relations with presence of things,

disclosure. Thus, as bracketing it is not imprisoned in itself unlike Husserlian sense, but it opens itself by exposing itself to outside. Protestors understand their finitude through transmission of barricades. Barricades as a limit experience might be thought as the metaphor of linguistically, bodily, audially, spatially and temporally. It might be highlighted that all kind of limit experience in Gezi space were constructed by some kind of barricading, vocal and rhythmic changes indicated where was protest, where was a forum, where was an act of musical encounter; different discourses emerged on the walls, where walls were empty you could understand that is was not a Gezi Space; mothers of the protestors created a embodied barricade by composing a human chain in between police and Gezi Park etc. They disclose the fact that there exists something completely different emerged inside and this inside exposes itself by relating with the indecisive moment of passing through barricades. For example, people had to pass eleven different barricades consecutive of each other in Gümüşsuyu district. On 11 June 2013 there was the cleansing of barricades.[17] Although it was declared by the municipal that protestors would not be removed from Gezi Park. This indicates a radical change in relation with the spatiality of protest. First of all, symbolically state forces were in Taksim Square and this constructed a complete negativity with what had been going on in the park. Second, removal of barricades made all spacing of Gezi Protest as a determinated place, as a proper place by ruining its doors, the possibility of decision/indecision to enter in, the threshold between what is outside and inside. Francalanci (2012) asks how it is possible to have a relation with a complete openness declaring that we cannot hope opening/disclosure of what has been always already open and says that "Already

---

which makes him feel responsible and/or guilty. Interruption of Dasein's everydayness is onto its openness to the call of conscience that authentic self will emerge differently than '*They*' or '*Das Man*'.

[17] http://ohaber.com/arsiv/fotogaleri/taksim-de-barikatlar-kaldirildi-f-17318/7

open makes people overawed, motionless" (p. 150). Thus, removal of barricades makes Gezi Park enclosed, imprisoned by opening it, making communication of inside and outside impossible, since there is no hope of disclosing through a passage. And as Francalanci (2012) highlights (*spatium*) is strictly related with the passage of time, if space is the time to transmission of any space from very start to an end asks Francalanci what is the measure of this temporality (p. 136). According to this view, barricades represent the passage of time in between decision or indecision to enter in a relation with Gezi Park.

Henri Lefebvre (1991) discusses spatiality in terms of a conceptual distinction between three terms. First of them is "*spatial practice*" that includes production and reproduction of spatiality through a process of relative continuity. This continuity, declares Lefebvre, orders every member of that space with a specific competence and a special performance of that space. Secondly, the information, signs and codes implies "*representation of space*" and thirdly at the periphery of society related with the illegal and underground sites of it, there exists "*representational spaces*" (p. 33).[18] This triple analytical distinction of spatiality was collapsed into each other and became inseparable down in Gezi Protests. What was seen as a part of houses were in the barricades, what symbolic connotations of Taksim Square decodified from signifying a defeat to a symbol of victory, (re)production of Gezi space was completely interrelated with its codification, symbolization, what was at the periphery came directly to the middle of the city. Taksim Square and Gezi Park was full and was spilled over. Thus, all the analytical demarcations of Lefebvre coincided, coexisted and collapsed into a unique place. Spatial praxis cannot be differentiated from what had been produced as a new linguistic relation and

---

[18] For a different point of view about the Gezi Barricades and Lefebvre also see: http://www.mekanar.com/tr/yazi/makale/gezi-park%C4%B1-barikatlar%C4%B1-b%C3%B6l%C3%BCm-1-ay%C5%9Fe-g%C3%BCng%C3%B6r.html

codifications of protestors and nothing could be separated from representative space.

Lefebvre (1991) discusses urban space as an abstract space that would be

homogenized, although spatiality resists this abstraction (p. 80). So that we could

conclude that Gezi Protest is the concrete space of social praxis in which all kinds of

singularities, that had been reduced to individuals in the project of abstract space, had

their own space, own ritual, own barricade, own relation with interiority and

exteriority. Lefebvre (1991) defines social space differently than abstract space

dream of urban construction:

> The form of social space is encounter, assembly, simultaneity. But what
> assembles, or what is assembled? The answer is: everything that there is
> *in space,* everything that is produced either by nature or by society, either
> through their co-operation or through their conflicts. Everything: living
> beings, things, objects, works, signs and symbols. Natural space
> juxtaposes — and thus disperses: it puts places and that which occupies
> them side by side. It particularizes. By contrast, social space implies
> actual or potential assembly at a single point, or around that point. It
> implies, therefore, the possibility of accumulation (a possibility that is
> realized under specific conditions). (p. 101)

Here, we should move on how Taksim Square played a role in the spatiality of Gezi

Protests. Is it a single point as Lefebvre (1991) explains through an assembly of

different relations centered around a single point? Taksim Square maybe defined as

the heart of Istanbul both historically and politically. There exists a monument of

Ataturk depicting Independence War of Turkey on the center of Square. Gezi Park is

located just next to the Square. Richard Sennett (2011) while discussing how cities

were emerged in antic Rome mentions that as a place of birth, squares have/had a

mythical power (pp. 94-100). This mythical power turns into the dream of revolution

during 19th century based on the assumption of creation open spaces, multiplying of

empty spaces through increasing their volume (Sennett, 2011, pp. 261-262).

Squarehood of Taksim may be read as the consequence of these two points, first of

which mythical characterization of death and birth for leftists in Turkey since in 1977 there occurred a police attack in Taksim Square resulted in 34 dead and second Taksim Square as the place of emptiness where crowds may come into contact with each other. It was interesting to witness that how some leftist organizations were attached to the monument and did not move anywhere including Gezi Park. Most of the revolutionary organizations were placed in Taksim Square both for the reason of protecting square against police attack and for the reason of they felt they belonged in the relationality of square to their own historical identity. This behavior might be discussed according to Sara Ahmed (2006) on the basis of orientation. Leftist groups having strong identities declares themselves as orientated; they knew where to be around, where of symbolic for them, their habitual actions of protesting, their continuous facing with state forces had the memory of identification with Taksim Square:

> Perhaps to be orientated around something is what allows us to "hold the center," or even to constitute ourselves as at the center of other things. Insofar as we are at the center of things, then we not only face those things, but those things face us. In other words, to be orientated around something is to make "that thing" binding, or to constitute oneself as that thing. (Ahmed, 2006, p. 116)

Gezi Protests (including leftist or revolutionary organizations) as a community manifests far more different spatiality than the dynamics of the Square. Starting from the construction of barricades, to have Ramadan fast in floor tables what had been built as spatiality in Gezi Protest might be discussed in terms of sharing which the existential ground of spacing for Nancy (2000). Every being is constructed upon the betweenness of the others. But these others cannot be fixed as sames or others, only singular plural beings. This betweenness implies the fact that spatiality is a process of existence. Spatiality of Gezi Protests made impossible to fix other as a complete stranger and complete contradiction. It is continuously against the idea of fascism

that rejects opening of relationalities. Fascistic spaces we could say determine what is their essence and does not give any chance to have multiplicity. Capitalistic spaces on the other hand do not allow sharing to create spaces, as in the relation of globalization it makes impossible to originate a world (Nancy, 2000, 2007) But, Gezi spatiality is neither fascistic nor based on globalization, it allow any kind of relation to occur in its openness to indecisive character. It had the potential to create a world as Gezi, in which attributing essences to groups or individuals as a desire to fix the Other was diminished. The shared spacing of Gezi made the detachment of individuals or groups from each other impossible. The hostile relations that had existed between different groups, such as Kurds and some Turkish neo-nationalists evaporated into air through the solidarity that emerged in barricades or through the musical spatiality that had created a shared sense of rhythm or joy. If there had existed an Othering of religious identities including Islamists, Armenians, Jews when tents were located next to each other, it has become impossible to stay as enemies. It is what Nancy calls touching the limit of each other including themselves, as not fixed identities but as singular plurals that meet in a created world. Oscillation in between decision and indecision, inside and outside, rejection of both the Other and the Same created a generous dining table that welcomed anyone. The fragmentary character of Gezi space did not dissolve groups but in contrast opened up the possibility of coming together. As Francalanci (2012) underlines what makes capitalistic fast food culture is its unrelational essence, detached individualities embedded in their atomistic space predefined by commodity relations (p. 119). Lefebvre (1991) asks about sleep, for example, how come it is possible for cogito to go into sleep (p. 222). It was very interesting to witness during Gezi Protest, everybody, hundreds of people sleeping together in their sleeping bags. Then, we can

conclude that yes, cogito as a thinking thing and a separated being cannot go into

sleep even in itself, but hundreds of people may sink into sleep as they are singular

plurally sharing their finitude. Under normal urban conditions you cannot find

hundreds of people wandering in the street at nights, you cannot see thousands of

people speaking to each other, dancing with each other, chanting slogans, creating

art, discussing the possibility of a revolution, giving long speeches about theoretical

issues at the same time at the same place, but during 15 days all these relations were

made possible. Since Nancy would highlight space of Gezi:

> Articulation does not mean organization. It refers neither to notion of
> instrument nor to that of operation or work. Articulation has nothing to
> do, as such, with an operative system of finalities- although it can no
> doubt always be related to such a system or be integrated into it. By itself
> articulation is only a juncture, or more exactly the play of the juncture:
> what takes place where different pieces touch each other without fusing
> together, where they slide, pivot, or tumble over one another, one at the
> limit of the other –exactly at its limit-where these singular and distinct
> pieces fold or stiffen, flex or tense themselves together and through one
> another, unto one another, without this mutual play, -which always
> remains, at the same time, a play between them- ever forming into the
> substance or the higher power of a Whole. (Nancy, 1991, p. 76)

2.3 Disorientated objects of Gezi

> When we evoke ''energy'', we must immediately note that energy has to
> be deployed within a space. When we evoke 'space', we must
> immediately indicate what occupies that space and how it does so: the
> deployment of energy in relation to 'points' and within a time frame.
> When we evoke 'time', we must immediately say what it is that moves
> or changes therein. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 43)

What was occupying Gezi space? When I thought "those days" I remember mostly

how I felt comfortable there and then. After a collective discussion including football

fan groups, famous artists, academics, teachers, students, youngsters, older ones, in

the middle of Taksim Square, just in front of Ataturk Cultural Center, I was trying to

find a place to sit and eat my meal, finally I found a very comfortable place to sit and

started to look for a place to put my "ayran", when I couldn't find, I became angry

since I was feeling right at my home and desiring the very same comfort. Then

suddenly I realized where I was sitting: in a cylindrical billboard construction

cleaned off broken glass advertisement and opened up. Under 'normal' conditions,

cylindrical billboard constructions are not places for sitting, and I did not think that

they might be comfortable. But the very effect of the collective affects that had been

filling up the air changed everything. The effect of billboard that has been disclosed

on and to me was not as a billboard anymore but my couch.

> The thing poses questions to us, questions about our needs and desires,
> questions above all of action: the thing is our provocation to action and is
> itself the result of our action…it also functions as a promise, as that
> which, in the future, in retrospect, yields a destination or effect, another
> thing. The thing is the precondition of the living and the human, their
> means of survival, and the consequence or product of life and its practical
> needs. (Grosz, 2001, p. 168)

As Elizabeth Grosz underlies when things start to ask questions, it is determined by

the need and desire directed towards the potentialities and promises they impose on

us. But, in ordinary usage of things it is not the case that things ask questions to be

answered. They are always already placed, spatialized and temporalized by the

average everydayness of their relations with modern urban life. But, through this

average everydayness some potentialities are prevented/covered, objects[19] are fixed

in their proper functions, through which our affectedness by object are anchored in

---

[19] Average everydayness and things and objects and presence here are again connotates Heideggerian
tradition. For Heidegger presence-at-hand for a thing is "as an extended thing removed from its
context of use" (Ruin, 2010, p. 186). Whereas for presence-at-had there has to be complete distinction
of subject and object is compulsory which is not possible for Heidegger. Presence-at-hand is the
"secondary and theoretically mediated" or bracketed out for Heidegger (Ruin, 2010, p. 186). Things
and even world exists as "readiness-to-hand" for Dasein's contextual/intentional usage which mostly
we cannot apprehend while we are using them and only when they are broken (unreadiness-to-hand)
we could understand what they are for us.

certain human relations, whereas some specific ones are overused and become a property for these very objects.

> In the bus, on my left side there is a girl with a swimming goggle; on my right side there is a boy with helmet; in front of me people are sitting pots and pans in their hand. And you made me see all these as a normal case. (Anonymous)

Nevertheless, state forces after a while, after Gezi Park had been emptied, whereas weekly protests were going on, declared that swimming goggles and worker helmets were not normal and they started to take people under custody just because they were carrying goggles and helmets in their backpacks presuming carrying these objects signified that those people would participate in clashes with the police.[20] What is legal or illegal, what is ordinary or extraordinary were obviously turned upside down; what is the proper place of objects were changed in a radical way. Grosz (2001) discusses "the thing" as a process/transmutation and emphasizes how the production of "the thing" into a unity has also a plus-energy that may or may not reveal itself (p. 169). But as far as it has been named, defined and determined, this energy is encapsulated in it. The moment of barricades as discussed above, were the moments of revealing these hidden energies in objects and subjects. Both were in their continuously changing relation losing their essence and acquiring a dynamic equality that erased all the dichotomical relation between the perceiver and perceived, nature and human being, artifact and producer:

> The thing and the body are correlates: both are artificial or conventional, pragmatic conceptions, cuttings, disconnections, that create a unity, continuity, and cohesion out of the plethora of interconnections that constitute the world. They mirror each other: the stability of one, the thing, is the guarantee of the stability and ongoing existence or viability of the other, the body. The thing is "made" for the body, made as manipulable for the body's needs. And the body is conceived on the

---

[20] http://www.taraf.com.tr/politika/baret-ve-gozluk-suc-aleti-degil/)

model of the thing, equally knowable and manipulable by another body. (Grosz, 2001, p. 181)

After an analysis of spatiality and strongly related with this issue, it is highly important to discuss what had been filling up and even overflowing in Gezi space; that is, how energy moving in Gezi spatiality was spaced, how objects lost their proper places, lost their proper meanings and gained new ones. This was true not only for objects, but also for human beings. Gezi Park protests, not only through barricades but also through many more objects and structures, reveals the possibility of breaking down the dichotomy of subject and object. Although this was unconsciously felt by the protestors, I think that, what caused such a creative resistance to occur was this fragmentation and interruption of pre-defined dichotomies and meanings attached to them.

Sara Ahmed (2006) describes bodily relations in terms of orientation and disorientation, mostly based on average everydayness of objects and subjects. According to Ahmed (2006), objective relations are produced by continuous repetition; Benjamin would say that some amount of utopia and dream was imprisoned in it by this repetitive character of work. Objects and subjects are oriented towards certain relations, spaces and temporal relations much more than others. Repetitive actions, close potentials of both objects and subjects; "[b]odies tend toward some objects more than others given their tendencies. These tendencies are not originary but instead are effects of the repetition of the 'tending toward' " (Ahmed, 2006, p.58). This kind of repetitive orientation closes things and makes it impossible for them to be otherwise. The very same situation is true for subjects who cannot proximate some things as they did not have a proper relation towards those

objects. But, asks Ahmed (2006), what happens when these certain and determined repetitions are disorientated:

> In order to become orientated, you might suppose that we must first experience disorientation. When we are orientated, we might not even notice that we are orientated: we might not even think "to think" about this point. When we experience disorientation, we might notice orientation as something we do not have. After all, concepts often reveal themselves as things to think "with " when they fail to be translated into being or action. (p. 7)

When gas bombs filled the whole city air, when water was sprayed over thousands of people, it could be said that some kind of disorientation started for Istanbul and Ankara, especially for people who were not accustomed to such behavior of the police towards them. Gas bombs and water created a feeling of unfamiliarity with urban life breaking its ordinary repetitions violently. Walking in the streets of a city, being a very simple action for urban people, started to be impossible. This experience of halting, in which most simple actions were prevented by the police indicated the point of disorientation in Gezi Protests. There were no familiar relations in cities as it had been. Ahmed (2006) conjoins disorientation and getting lost in a way that getting lost may cause not only negative experiences but also very positive ones just because it opens up the potentiality of objects and subjects (p. 7). We can easily conclude that Gezi Protests began when familiar homes of urban citizens had been lost. Ahmed (2006) discusses this loss in terms of migration:

> The disorientation of the sense of home as the "out of place" or "out of line" effect of unsettling arrivals, involves what we could call a migrant orientation. This orientation might be described as the lived experience of facing at least two directions: toward a home that has been lost, and to a place that is not yet home. (p. 10)

Thus, during Gezi Protests people developed two different feelings: they missed their old urban lives which were halted and they found themselves in a relation that is not

yet home. This migration to Gezi Park opened up wholly new orientations and towardness to emerge. Because, as Ahmed (2006) emphasizes migration, apart from negative feelings, produces a break down in the process of perception which is a product of our orientation towards things:

> Perception is a way of facing something. I can perceive an object only insofar as my orientation allows me to see it (it must be near enough to me, which in turn means that I must be near enough to it), and in seeing it, in this way or that, it becomes an 'it', which means I have already taken an orientation toward it. The object is an effect of towardness; it is the thing toward which I am directed and which in being posited as a thing, as being something or another for me, takes me in some directions rather than other. (p. 27)

It was not even imaginable for people to be washed by 'Talcid' before Gezi Protests. This knowledge hidden somewhere (I say hidden, because previously none of the protestors had the knowledge that a stomach medicine mostly named as Talcid would heal the pain of gas bombs, we had heard in Atina protestors use stomach medicines but did not have the chance to try this rumor). Not only Talcid but also lemons and milk were used to prevent the bodily burn of gas. It was swimming goggles that protected eyes from water and gas; it was dusk masks and also gas masks that made possible to breath in an environment in which nobody could see each other. It was worker helmets protecting heads of protestors against capsules of gas bombs, which could be fatal when thrown directly pointing head. Plastic bottles of glass cleansing liquids were used to contain medical solutions including Talcid and milk. People learned what kind of solutions to be used against which kinds of gas bombs. Tables, steel constructions of beds and beds themselves, paving stones, containers, traffic signs were used in barricades. Different kinds of bodily postures also occurred during protests. People started to run and climb everywhere they found. Eating habits and dining tables turned upside down, people started to eat on

grasses and on newspapers continuously. Chairs disappeared or were put into barricades. Pots and pans were used to make sound as a way of protesting. Kardeş Türküler produced a song using pots, pans, glasses etc. Lots of musician generated music using ordinary or extraordinary materials of Gezi Protests.

"I had only put my bottled water and biscuit onto a table next to which I was standing and then suddenly everybody started to put food on" (from an anonymous interrogation with an audience on Açık Radyo).[21] That was how the Revolution Market was born, where whoever had essential stuff brought them, and whoever needed anything, got it, without any payment. Abundance of everything was a radical opening of Gezi Protests. It could be said that nothing was lacked. People brought food, water, medicine, paper to write on, cloth for children and for those who got wet after water tanks were used, sound vehicles, tents, blankets etc. It was not possible to create an inventory of objects since Gezi Park was not only full of people but also objects. People constructed a library with smooth paving stones and there were enough books to start a real small-scaled library. Also a small-scale kitchen garden was planted immediately hours after the clashes stopped. A revolution-museum was located in the only indoor construction of Gezi Park. We could say that a world had been created through the disorientation of bodies. As Benjamin would say an awakening occurred during protests by redirecting the frozen dreams encapsulated in commodities, things and objects.

But awakening was not only through relations of production, it was also about how ruins of the city was seen, how garbage was produced. Taksim was a complete construction site before and after but its dust over and over cleansed, as huge

---

[21] For listening the audio record of programs made during the Gezi Protests named as "Açık Radyo'da Bir Gezi" (A Journey-Gezi- on Açık Radyo): Part I (Direniş: Resistance), Part II (Park Havası-Park Atmosphere) and Part III (Bu Daha Başlangıç-It is Only Beginning) see http://acikradyo.com.tr/default.aspx?_mv=a&aid=31596

skyscrapers, large shopping malls shines through their glass façades everywhere. But in Gezi Protest, after clashes with the police, with the coming and goings of millions of people, for 14 days there existed nothing new, nothing completely shiny or clean, dust was everywhere, decomposition was everywhere, need of toilets was everywhere. It was a different face of relations of production, from that Benjamin (1999) would focus. It was a confrontation of the city with its own oldness. Traces of labor could not be erased from space easily by some unknown worker:

> The object produced often bears traces of the *matériel* and time that have gone into its production - clues to the operations that have modified the raw material used. This makes it possible for us to recon-struct those operations. The fact remains, however, that productive operations tend in the main to cover their tracks; some even have this as their prime goal: polishing, staining, facing, plastering, and so on. When construction is completed, the scaffolding is taken down; likewise, the fate of an author's rough draft is to be torn up and tossed away, while for a painter the distinction between a study and a painting is a very clear one. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 113)

Collecting their own garbage, facing with dusts everywhere made people see how the labor of workers was erased from the life of commodities. They witnessed and participated in the arrivals and departures of commodities, objects and things. Every morning hundreds of people started to collect their own garbage, every morning they began to relate with their own residual matter, every morning they related with their own material arrival and decay, which according to Ahmed (2006) dissolves the problem of omitting backgrounds from labor processes (pp. 37-38). All artistic work was produced 'here and now', people witnessing how they were created. Everything was carried from somewhere to somewhere, from houses to the park, from Square to Park, from one table to another, from one space to another. All people were involved in all kinds of relations with objects. And that made impossible for labor to be erased from commodities.

2.4 Graffiti

> People say there is a graffiti problem. The only problem with graffiti is that there isn't enough of it . . . Imagine a city where graffiti wasn't illegal, a city where everybody could draw wherever they liked. Where every street was awash with a million colors and little phrases. Where standing at a bus stop was never boring. A city that felt like a living breathing thing which belonged to everybody, not just the estate agents and barons of big business." Banksy[22]

Walls are the most common denominators of separation, public from private, a group from another, a house from another one, a room from another one. Starting from the most known Chinese Wall to Berlin Wall, from the streets of Rome to Egypt, walls had been also the places of scratches. Maybe not for us, not for the modern people, but for thousands of years, for millions of people, writing/drawing and walls could not be separated from each other. Long after the invention of paper, writing has been incarcerated on paper and reading has been punished to be at the prison after the bars of books. But, after the invention of computers which expanded much more than books, over the course of much more word pages opened than book covers, our days are witnessing a change just like the days of passing from walls to papyrus.

It is commonly said that Twitter created politically such a world that it is just like screaming from all over the roofs of the world. Spreading of word, maybe, is possible more than ever via social media being a virtual environment that anybody can reach others. Does this enormous expansion of accessibility and spread of word have a mythical connection of wish to say the word of who first resembled an ox's head to A(leph)?

One of the main features which make Gezi protests "Gezi" is surely the spread of words. Metastasis of word should be discussed in terms of incredible variety of what had been written and where and with what these words had been written. It is

---

[22] From a pdf-leaflet see https://archive.org/details/fp_Banksy-Existencilism

impossible to count or make simple categorizations about these slogans, words,

sentences, poets had written. But it is possible to say that the whole walls of Taksim

province were covered with them. Twitter and Facebook entries might also be

discussed in this act of writing, exscription:

> To write: to touch extremity…to touch at the body, to touch the body,
> touch finally—happens all the time in writing …on the border, on the
> limit, at a point, at the extremity of writing, that and nothing else
> happens. Writing has its place on the limit. Nothing happens to writing, if
> something does happen to it, other than touching. More precisely: a
> touching of the body (or rather this or that singular body) with the
> incorporeal of "sense." And in consequence, a making of the incorporeal
> into that which touches, or a making of sense into a touch . . . writing
> touches bodies according to the absolute limit which separates the sense
> of one from the skin and nerves of the other. (cited in James, 2006,
> pp.149-150, from Nancy, Jean-Luc (1992) *Corpus*, Paris: Metaile.)

Ian James (2006) underscores what Nancy focuses on when talk about "speaking

mouth" (*la bouche*) and writing hand in relation. As in the case of *la bouche*, writing

hand is always already in a situation that touching and separation repeatedly expose

themselves in coexistence. Writing hand is always corporeal and it is in the act of

making sense (p. 205). It can be said that writing hand opens up itself towards wall.

Body in its relation with its outside signifies always a limit. And writing hand

exscripts itself on the proximity of impenetrable matter and bodily sense, and

between bodily sense and linguistic signification (James, 2006, p. 149). Of course,

writing or spraying graffiti is different than writing with a pen or writing on a

computer, but anyway it is a different kind of writing as exscription of body to its

outside. And what Mieszkowski emphasizes about vertical surfaces maybe discussed

in terms of how young bodies perceive their body and outside in the resemblance of

walls and computer-based writings:

> Treating graffiti as something essential to vertical surfaces rather than as
> a violation of them, Brassaï proposes that a wall does not truly become a
> wall until we have glimpsed at least a portent of the writing that will

mark it. There is no wall until the writing is on the wall that there will be writing on the wall . . . "[Quoting from Brassaï's book] A word inscribed by hand in huge letters has an impact that no poster can possibly have. Imbued with the emotion and anger of the gesture that made it, it holds forth, barring the way forward" (*Graffiti* 20). (Mieszkowski, 2010)

Perhaps graffiti in Gezi written by mostly young bodies might be understood in their relation with computers as vertical surfaces. As they perceive writable surfaces as vertical surfaces, they may feel themselves more comfortable on walls. And perhaps they read computer games and write as tweets.

Graffiti, although seen mostly as an illegal act in the urban life, is not away from us as it is commonly acknowledged. It is possible to see writings on the walls everywhere and I do not mention advertisements and other legal writings on the street walls. Nevertheless, we could mention that it is possible to witness wallwritings from toilet walls to school desks resembling a habit of scribbling empty papers.

When talked about toilet wall writings, I first recall my high school times when an outrage broke after it was found that one student complaining about sexual assault of one of the main administrators of our school. It was the first time that I thought how writings on the walls of toilets might be used against the traps of everyday life. It was an anonymous call for help; it was the voice of no one writing on the walls of dirty toilets. Hence, common saying of "Walls are for who cannot write books" maybe translated as who cannot write petitions or who cannot find an interlocutor for their problems write on walls.

What had been written on Gezi walls (the easiest way to get an idea of their enormous number and variety is by looking on a website used as a huge wall, namely direnduvar.com) cannot be reported in a healthy way since after the square had been cleansed of protestors one of the very first things that state authorities made was to

clean all the graffiti from the walls. This act, itself shows strongly that wall writings

were accepted as one of the first material challenge that state had to face:

> Thus, some structures may feel threatened by the ideology of this activity
> and the need to 'clean' that discourse becomes a matter of "survival".
> Likewise, to clean the walls means to leave the walls with no messages
> and 'cleanliness' in this case symbolizes the annihilation of an alternative
> discourse that threatens the 'spotlessness' of dominant ideas. Miserably,
> a blank space denotes the absence of debate or the expurgation of facts.
> (Appel, 2006, p. 3)

A street artist, labeled himself as Cins, elucidates about billboards saying that "they

[the system] know the power of the street; we [street artists] are trying to get back

our streets by our work of art."[23] As well as graffiti are fertile/productive and

contagious, as in the case of tweets, they are not so much durable as artworks.

Writing/literature and art, considered in relation with durability, are mostly defined

as a way through immortality with regard to the subjectivity of the writer or artist.

Here, we have a radical breakthrough of both writing experiences and artistic

experiences correlated with streets and walls. Knowing that it is only mundane

ephemeral relation with what is written/drawn and where it has been written/drawn,

subjectivity of the writer/drawer changes irreversibly in graffiti. Although they were

volatile, the act of writing itself indicates the need to write and express feelings. This

need in Gezi walls was more obvious than anywhere. As Appel (2006) mentions

graffiti are for opening a possibility of conversation, "publicly exhibiting a closed

discourse" (p. 3). This need to express feelings created writings as only scratches

signifying nothingness; eggs and plates were used for writing; handouts hanged on

trees. Gezi was the moment of speaking about everything without waiting any

imminent future. It might be concluded that it were a spatial and corporeal rejection

---

[23] For the documentary about graffitis in Turkey see https://vimeo.com/14780675

of proper relations in between peoples and objects that were strongly defined by the public and private spaces or what is to be a proper citizen:

> For the national space is the *public* space par excellence, but it is also a space which defines the *private* identity of its citizens, endows them with a nationality and usually a national language. It marks boundaries, dictating where its citizens belong and do not belong, regulating their movements between the two domains, and intervening in their lives even when they quit its realm of jurisdiction – but itself straddles the public and the private in a manner which curiously contradicts these dual terms' own predication upon borders (West-Pavlov, 2005, p. 12)

We had seen all kinds of graffiti on Gezi spaces, most commonly as simple repetitions of the most liked slogans, which again resembles the behavior of retweeting. Yet, it is interesting to witness that different kinds of discourses had the chance of expressing themselves on the walls. Revolutionary leftist slogans, young-male subculture mostly having a rap culture, computer games, internet usage habits and narratives, TV series, İkinci Yeni[24] poetry etc. It is highly important that Gezi walls disclosed the possibility of all these closed narratives to make a conversation with each other. This conversation was even realized literally in those graffiti that responded to each other. It could be said that all these conversations and relations of graffiti with each other as Mieszkowski (2010) indicates a dream of Walter Benjamin about the walls of Paris, as everybody turned into writers and readers. Although it had been criticized by some participants, the move of feminists' cleaning walls from abusive writings turned into a conversation between Gezi protestors that opened up a general awareness of how abusive language is a complementary part of a sexist society, even there occurred a slogan for this very act of feminists "Resist, Resist, not with slang but stubbornly".[25]

---

[24] A poetic literature strand mostly emerged as a protest of social realism and mostly based on closed meanings and dense signification, most important poets being Ece Ayhan, Cemal Süreya, Turgut Uyar, İlhan Berk.
[25] See http://m.bianet.org/bianet/kadin/147234-kufurle-degil-inatla-diren

CHAPTER 3

JEAN-LUC NANCY

Starting from the last, it would be a principle to follow for Gezi protests that

temporality, spatiality, deed and doer, and also subject and object are amalgamated

with each other and with every other one. Thus, third and fourth chapters are

conceptual tool boxes for the sake of the construction of an argument that are to be

used for constructing a philosophical engagement with Gezi protests; allegory/aura in

a Benjaminian sense, and how Gezi was standing out as a singularized event in

Nancian understanding. Spatiality, subject(ivity), object(ivity), temporality and

experience of urban life and Gezi protests are the main themes of these chapters and

used only for the sake of argument in the strong belief that they cannot and should

not be separated from each other.

3.1 Singularly plural Gezi

Twenty first century has been witnessing how subjectivity is again and again on the

table of philosophy, history, sociology and of course psychology. It is easy to

determine a kind of obsession with the issue. Individuality and subjectivity is the

main sign of discussions in politics. Subjectivity and intersubjectivity based on it are

over and over fulfilling their tasks in sociology. And the ghosts of subject and object

distinction, body and mind dichotomy are haunting philosophy everywhere. If it is

not subject or Subject, it is agency as a group or as individuals, either being

oppressed or non-represented ones. Thus, critiques of subjectivity including the ones

which advances communitarian ideas are mostly based on the age old antagonism of

society vs. individual, at best highlighting the possibility of intersubjectivity. Overcoming of society vs. individual dichotomy is to be destined as to define the best target as of any political, sociological attempt.

What Jean-Luc Nancy (1991, 1993, 2000, 2002 and 2007) repeatedly constructs his theory of "subjectivity" is against all these back or foreground, rather all grounds in essence. And also what it has been witnessed/experienced in and during Gezi Protests are the vivacious proof of what Nancy has been overtly and covertly searching for. Is it possible to attribute to or determine in any subjectivity of Gezi Protest, any organization that can take up all the responsibility, any planned orientation or intention, any most or more/least or less important group or individual, any moment that may change everything? But, of course, it is not because of the harshness of the problem of determination that we cannot ascribe subject and object relations, (inter)subjectivity. It is just because the emergence of its impossibility as itself, as an unwork of (inter)subjectivity or identity based politics, as interruption of myth. Gezi subjectivity defined on any attempt to credit any essential relation or substantial permanence is simply denied by its own impossibility. I will try to base my argument here on Nancian understanding and rejection of (inter)/subjectivity, society, mythical relations and globalization. In other words, I would try to theorize Gezi Protests as the unfolding of the world by rendering transcendency and immanence and as the capacity of creating a world based on itself by itself.

"Who did all these?" is an unanswerable question for Gezi protests, not only because it is impossible to quantitatively calculate who the protestors were but also because Gezi protests made all the ones who are included change their identity relations, individual attributes or socially based agencies. But, it is still philosophically important to be able to ask this very question in relation with all

39

analysis of Gezi protests. Subjectivities emerged through and in Gezi protests, subjectivities changed in and during Gezi protests, subjectivities lost and found, subjectivities constructed and reconstructed and deconstructed in and via Gezi protests. This makes the theme of subject and subjectivity one of the main interlocutors of any philosophical attempt to understand Gezi. But it is also important to underline that it is not a historical or sociological analysis that will focus on how subjects are turned into agents who are responsible for their actions, or that will concentrate on how different historical engagements made possible for different subaltern identities to speak in Gezi protests. It is about a question, very modern, or literally very post-postmodern question, is it possible to speak about a subject, either as an agent or as an intersubjectively constructed one:

> Just think of the numerous circumstances of ordinary discourse in which this order is imposed on us: first the individual, then the group; first the one, then the others; first the rights-bearing subject; then real relationships; first "individual psychology," then "collective psychology"; and above all, first a "subject," then "intersubjectivity"—as they astonishingly persist in saying. (Nancy, 2000, p. 44)

Nancy (2000) does not deny the privilege of subjectivity in sociology or history, but also the metaphysical importance that has been attributed to it exists even in philosophical attempt to overcome this privilege. Nancian understanding of ontological relations is about thinking on a first philosophy or philosophy as a thought over and over thinking about its own beginning or its own ground as a non-ground. Nancy's view cannot be separated from his radical understanding (rejection) of transcendence and radical repudiation of any immanence, in his attempt of interrogation through Kantian understanding of transcendental unity of imagination, mostly defined as schematism, Heidegger's Dasein's philosophical loneliness, and impossibility of *Ergo Sum*.

Here, I would like to stop a bit and discuss what is singular plural, which will take the place of subjectivity and intersubjective realm afterwards in this thesis. Although I will try to explain as a first attempt, as he mentions above, it should be highlighted that singular plural being is ontological being that cannot be the first step, it cannot be presupposed as the ground(lessness) of existence. Nancy declaring that any claim of Being first of all must recognize its impossibility makes a strong point against the whole tradition of metaphysics of presence and metaphysics of subjectivity. Even in the language/text of ergo sum there is no possibility of grounding an indivisible individual being asserting its own existence. Being for Nancy is neither singular nor plural but both: singularly plural and plurally singular:

> In a general way, indeed in an absolutely general way, the primordial requirement of ontology or first philosophy must now be that Being not be presupposed in any way or in any respect, and, more precisely, that every presupposition of Being must consist in its nonpresupposition. Being cannot be pre-sup-posed [pré-sup-posé] if it is only the Being of what exists, and is not itself some other existence that is previous or subjacent to existence by which existence exists. For existence exists in the plural, singularly plural. As a result, the most formal and fundamental requirement [of ontology] is that "Being" cannot even be assumed to be the simple singular that the name seems to indicate. Its being singular is plural in its very Being. (Nancy, 2000, p. 56)

Nancy starts the discussion of singular plural by pointing out that it is not some kind of attribute of any being. It is not a predication of Being. It is not some kind of essential feature of Being without which Being cannot be. It is not the ground of Substance. On the contrary, declares Nancy "the singular plural constitutes the essence of Being, a constitution that undoes or dislocates every single, substantial essence of Being itself. This is not just a way of speaking, because there is no prior substance that would be dissolved" (Nancy, 2000, p. 28). If we talk about being in a Nancian sense we cannot indicate any other Being before or after singular plural. Preexistence of any singularity is the ontological privilege that Nancy would like to

strike out: "Being absolutely does not preexist; nothing preexists; only what exists exists" (Nancy, 2000, p. 28). Coexistence for Nancy prevails any kind of existential relation, any discussion of transcendental or immanent Being, any relation of language, any possible existence thought simply because there is no existence before or after coexistence. This may be defined as the core idea of being singular plural:

> Being singular plural means the essence of Being is only as coessence. In turn, coessence, or being-with (being-with-many), designates the essence of the co-, or even more so, the co- (the cum) itself in the position or guise of an essence. In fact, coessentiality cannot consist in an assemblage of essences, where the essence of this assemblage as such remains to be determined. In relation to such an assemblage, the assembled essences would become [mere] accidents. Coessentiality signifies the essential sharing of essentiality, sharing in the guise of assembling, as it were. This could also be put in the following way: if Being is being-with, then it is, in its being-with, the "with" that constitutes Being; the with is not simply an addition. This operates in the same way as a collective [collégial] power: power is neither exterior to the members of the collective [collège] nor interior to each one of them, but rather consists in the collectivity [collégialité] as such. (Nancy, 2000. p. 30)

These sentences reveal the fact that why intersubjectivity cannot encapsulate singular plural being, or subjectivity in Gezi Protests. Since intersubjectivity proclaims and procures indivisible individuals –atoms- as having essences and identities in themselves, their relation is only about two substances communicating or affecting each other, either in the position of Other or same, that for those who do not take subjects as atoms I will analyze at the end of this chapter. Nancy, from the beginning of his understanding, rules out the possibility of this separate identification process, individuals having their own attributes in themselves and intersubjectivity as the realm of realizing each other's pre-established existence. Although intersubjectivity accepts the idea of non-permanence of substances, it does not or cannot indicate Being-with as the existential condition of separated subjects. Coessentiality should be discussed carefully, though. Since the term itself may imply a dual or triple

relation in between beings that create a commonality, an identity or an essence. But,

it is not the case for Nancy. Singular plural beings coessentially exist each time.

Every existential attribute of world makes possible an existence of coessentiality.

Every touch, every word, every thought, every *partes extra partes* create themselves

coessentially. This coessentiality occurring in every single ontological relation is

named by Nancy as compearance. Compearance is not juxtaposition of one being

next to each other, or is not simultaneous but separate appearing, or is not occurrence

of the same identity/subjectivity in different beings. Rather compearance is the

sharing of being, exposition of being to being where even language cannot penetrate

wholly, being-with or singular for Nancy "present themselves, and appear only to the

extent that they compear . . . they are exposed, presented . . . to one another. This

compearance is not something added on to their being; rather, their being comes into

being in it" (Nancy, 1991, p. 58). Singular plural occurring as compearance is the

answer of Nancy that what comes out of withdrawal of being, withdrawal of the

possibility of common essence (Nancy, 1993, p. 68):

> Being-with or compearance of singularities recapitulated as singular
> plural is against the idea of a separate adjective or predicate as of with.
> This with, as compeared, also is against the idea of negativity in a
> Hegelian sense: "'With' is neither mediate nor immediate. The meaning
> that we understand, insofar as we understand it, is not the product of a
> negation of Being, a negation destined to represent itself to us as
> meaning, nor is it the pure and simple ecstatic affirmation of its presence.
> 'With' neither goes from the same to the other, nor from the same to the
> same, nor from the other to the other. (Nancy, 2000, p. 98)

Coexistence is not only the definition of singular plural, but indicates what is the

meaning of the world as disclosure, as an opening. Simple, atomistic, indivisible

individual has neither the capacity to relate with other beings nor the capacity of

creating a meaning. But Nancy's understanding of being singular plural is a constant

oscillation between sensation (both in the sense of "making sense" and in the sense

of "experience in itself") and its representation (in the sense of linguistic representation of any kind) as meaning; sensation being:

> . . . felt non-consciously and exhibits itself in moments such as being moved to tears by music, doubled over by laughter or, at a more benign level, a basic 'awareness' that largely goes unnoticed. Contrastingly, signification is that which applies meaning to an entity in the world – the analysis of that piece of music, the explanation of the joke or merely the recognition and acknowledgement of sensing something else. (Urry, 2014, p. 29)

Urry (2014) underlines that Nancy's definition of corporeality and bodily relations is strongly inclined to be an attachment to the affiliation with their surroundings. Nancy concludes that embodiment of beings is always already projected-toward a world: "It is the facilitation of the production of the space of our world. As spatially ecstatic beings we are the production of our world and we produce ourselves (our spatiality) through sensing" (Urry, 2014, p. 29).

Gezi as a manifestation of singular plural represent a relationality on which there exists no prior foundation, as the opening of a space that could not be fulfilled by mythical affiliations of subjectivity or society. Politics emerged in Gezi on the basis of singular plural, on the basis of the possibility of freedom that is not grounded in myth of subjectivity. Myth of subjectivity interrupted in Gezi. Detached individuals are disclosed by the power of musical relations, tonality of sounds and slogans, through exscription of their sensation and giving them collective meaning. When exposed to gas bombs, singular plural witnessed its own death and other's deaths, when the tents were burned by police the complete destruction of we, emerged as a complete destruction of all possible 'we's. Most importantly, during Gezi Protests every participant understood that she is not alone, she does not have the capacity of surviving as an atom, she does not have the capacity of being alone. So, Gezi was the proof of our existence in how Nancy would have proven it. We felt it, it

has been lived, it has been experienced, it has been spatialized, temporalized, it is lived and thought by us. It made us. We made us. We made our impossibility of singular loneliness, we proved it is impossible to be alone if we create world. I am not alone, we said. We are not alone, I said. It is all the way around of, a way through the understanding, comprehension, embodiment of the phrase "we are not alone", not only through birth and life but also through death. We are not alone. Gezi made all singular plural to realize this and realizing this very truth ineffable in itself, we all felt after Gezi whatever less than Gezi is just like hell. Because as maybe Benjamin would tell it was all after our own history come to an end in Gezi through a real state of exception and it was all our post-apocalyptic scenario afterwards.

3.2 Spacing as sharing

What I recall immediately when Western individuality is mentioned anywhere is a little story told by an immigrant friend who had migrated to Britain more than twenty five years ago. She expressed her feelings of strangeness, alienation and differance through one of her first encounters with Western individual space. At the very first day of an orientation class, her teacher gets up from her table and stands in the middle of the class, opens her arms, swivels around herself and strongly declares that "it is my personal space, do not even try to pass this border unless indicated otherwise".

I will not propose against this kind of understanding of personal space, that all bodies should collapse into each, which according to Nancy, is one of the foremost features of fascistic myth. Yet, I could reject the idea of individual or societal space which manifests itself as indivisible, detached and closed in terms of what Gezi Protests has shown to us. Separation of bodies with the violence of individualistic

understanding or integration of bodies into each other forcefully is both against what Nancy defines as spacing/sharing and what Gezi manifests in itself.

First I would like to focus what spatiality maybe read in terms of the relations of bodies in Gezi Protests as embodied sharing. Singular plural shares what, if not their essences? Nancy although rejecting the idea of immanence believes in sharing but in a radically different way. Nancy's sharing is the partake of withdrawal of being,[26] is the sharing of finitude of being. Every singularity, if we may say so, partes extra partes, against collapsing into each other and through their birth and death shares their finite existence. Finitude comes from the comprehension of death and birth but also it is in the every thought. Sharing is related with spacing for Nancy. What discloses withdrawal of being, non-essential being is its "with", this sharing is spacing. Spacing should be understood differentially from space, since it does not exist in itself too, it is the betweenness of beings' disclosure. Nancy asserts that presence of being is shared amongst all, under only this condition is meaning/sense possible. Meaning comes from the fact that division of presence, finitude, makes itself obvious. This finitude, apartness or separateness is the limit experience of singular plural that makes its own being possible through spacing. On this spacing singular plural exists (Nancy, 2000, p. 2):

> From one singular to another, there is contiguity but not continuity. There is proximity, but only to the extent that extreme closeness emphasizes the distancing it opens up. All of being is in touch with all of being, but the law of touching is separation; moreover, it is the heterogeneity of surfaces that touch each other. *Contact* is beyond fullness and emptiness, beyond connection and disconnection. If "to come into contact" is to begin to make sense of one another, then this "coming" penetrates nothing; there is no intermediate and mediating "milieu". (Nancy, 2000, p. 5)

---

[26] A Hedegerrian term Nancy uses for indicating the groundlessnes of being, that is while being is openning itself it finds no ground in itself or for itself to be constructed upon as a permanent substance. Through this disclosure being starts to exists as singular plural in relation with other singular plural's simultaneous openning.

James (2006) discusses how Nancy ruled out with logic of transcendence and immanence through his understanding of spatial relations. First of all, singular plurality is about creation of intelligible space of its own: "it exists always as an arrival, passage, or movement-to upon which 'presencing' occurs" (p. 103). Morrey (2008) explains Nancian space in terms of bodies, bodies open up spaces, make it spacious that makes existence possible. Body for Nancy is the occurrence of space as spacing and sharing of its coexistence (p. 11). Each shared existence, but for Nancy, simply coming from their own impossibility of alone, comes from multiplicity of their origins. If being-with according to Nancy is the only possible way of being and existence, it creates a space not only during its relation to itself but its relation with other bodies:

> "With" is the sharing of time-space; it is the at-the-same-time-in-the-same-place as itself, in itself, shattered. It is the instant scaling back the principle of identity: being is at the same time in the same place only on the condition of the spacing of an indefinite plurality of singularities. Being is with being; it does not ever recover itself, but it is near to itself, beside itself, in touch with itself, its very self, in the paradox of that proximity where distancing and strangeness are revealed. (Nancy, 2000, p. 35)

Being-towards is always already a passion of sharing, a transmission of its existence, an excess that creates spacing of singularity. Acknowledging of being as "me and those like me" indicates the passion of singular plural to this likelihood (Nancy, 1991, p. 33). Opening of space, but for Nancy is not an origin or foundation as it is defined in terms of withdrawal of being at its limits. This limit is an experience of time and space that relate with the world or rather create a world of singular plural. Singularities thrown into existence without any foundation open up in spacing or in their shared finitude:

> The opening is neither the foundation nor the origin. Nor is the opening any longer a sort of receptacle or an extension prior to things of the

world. The opening of the world is what opens along such things and among them, that which separates them in their profuse singularity and which relates them to each other in their coexistence. The open or the "nothing" weaves the coappearance of existences without referring them to some other originary or foundational unity. (Nancy, 2007, p. 70)

According to Nancy, compearance of singular plurality or we is differentiated from exclusionary identities of different subjectivities; we is also against the idea of compositionary unity of intersubjectivity. Question of we, as spacing, cannot be related to a universal space or time, but it exists though on the basis of co-appearance of shared finitudes without any self-grounding process:

> However, the "we" is not nothing; it is "someone" each time, just as "each one" is someone. Moreover, this is why there is no universal "we": on the one hand, "we" is said each time of some configuration, group, or network, however small or large; on the other hand, "we" say "we" for "everyone," for the coexistence of the entire universe of things, animals, and people that is mute and without "us." "We" neither says the "One" nor does it say the adding together of "ones" and "others"; rather, "we" says "one" in a way that is singular plural, one by one and one with one. Nothing can really be thought about this situation unless the one, in general, is first thought in terms of with-one-another. Yet, it is here that our ontology fails, since we are "amongst us" ["entre nous"] and since "Being" comes down to just that — if I can say it like this. (Nancy, 2000, pp. 75-76)

Sorial (2004) explores Nancian spacing in terms of touching to other, touching me, touching you, touching we, but strictly not collapsing into each other or strictly not definitely separated from each other (p. 220). As Sorial (2004) goes on to explain spacing based on touch, namely on corporeal relations is a suspension of the essential understanding of differentiated identity that cannot be known, this kind of spacing destructs the logic of categorizing sames and others, attributing identities to bodies an identity that renders her body either meaningful or worthless. Touching, for Nancy, is about the limit in between two singular plural existence; it is about the understanding of how limit works; as a working out of this limit it is the sensation,

making sense of how bodies are singularized, how compearance is radically based on bodies and it is touch for Nancy that creates a border in between what is to be done in an ethical way or not because it is where the threshold of openness of another singular plural is revealed to me:

> To touch the other, in both a tangible and intangible sense, is to gain access to her specificity, to be exposed to it, to be affected by it and to respond to it, but not to subsume it or annihilate it. . . In this way, the figure of the touch, because it opens me up to the strangeness of the other, her alterity or singularity, also creates a space for ethical obligation. (Sorial, 2004, pp. 220-221)

Every opening of singular plural radicalizes the sociological or psychological definition of capitalized Other. If I define/fix other as Other, I made her as an detached being that cannot be reachable, touchable, as incapitated of exposing itself to me, if I cannot relate with its death and birth and so its existence, it is not a being for me such that I can annihilate both our possibilities of being; since there is no spacing for our being-with. But if I define other as Same then I create a myth of communion, an idea that Nancy will oppose strongly. My ethical obligation, for Nancy, is acceptance of other beings' finitude as well as mine and this finitude is shared on and through our spacing towards each other each and every time.

The undifferentiated relation of spacing and sharing makes itself manifest obviously in Gezi Protests. disclosure of space produced an effect of unbelievable sharing which in turn produced other possibilities of opening of space that dreams up a field up attraction for everyone. Especially for Istanbul, where clashes between the protestors and the police were non-existent for days, millions of people filled up province of Taksim, beside of Gezi Park. It is strongly possible that the ones who are now completely against Gezi Protests visited it during its occurrence. This reality changes the horizon of space radically and enabled a process of non-essential we's

emerging each time and each space over and over again. Through barricades, tents, infirmaries, dining tables what exposes itself was the possibility of coexistence. Spacing as sharing and we were so much saturated and dense every kind of activity found its place. Tables, dinners, sleeping tents, medical operations, traumas, joy, pain, suffering as ways of touching each other caused opening of new spaces again and again and as a result sharing of what previously cannot be shared is spaced during Gezi Protests.

3.3 Community: Everywhere Taksim, everywhere resistance

What was Gezi? From the very start of protests, 28 May 2013, proliferating of definitions about Gezi protests is enormously much not only in terms of the predications about political base but also in terms of how to name the protests. Although I have chosen Gezi Protests mostly as a consequence of habit and convenience maybe much more Nancian naming would be Gezi World or Gezi Community or unavowable community just because everybody participated in it or not named it differently; Gezi Resistance, Gezi Rebellion, June Rebellion, Gezi Insurgency, Gezi Commune, June Resistance, Gezi Movement being most common ones. This impossibility of a common denomination, but, gives a different aspect about Gezi Protests that may be made sense by looking into Nancian interpretation of community.

Whether there exists a continuous negativity permanently and substantially preserved during Gezi Protests may open a way of determining its inoperative community. But, it is also important to underline that Gezi Protests throughout Turkey ascertained a resistance to stabilize indwelling identities of groups or individuals. Although mostly marked as anti-government protests, it is not possible

to represent one single Other of the protestors. Even the most joint denominator of oppositionary position of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was an open question for Gezi Protests and it was possible to make negotiations with him. Nancy in his rejection of originary foundation of community underscores that singular plural foremost resembles each other, in which likelihood is not the Same or the capitalized Other. Singular plural is not a negativity but multiple sharing of lack of originary foundation. Being by withdrawal resembles each other through death and birth of each other:

> The like is not the same. I do not rediscover myself, nor do I recognize myself in the other: I experience the other's alterity, or I experience alterity in the other together with the alteration that 'in me' sets my singularity outside me and infinitely delimits it. Community is that singular ontological order in which the other and the same are alike: that is to say, in the sharing of identity. (Nancy, 1991, pp. 33-34)

Shared finitude according to Nancy is predicated upon multiplicity of our origin that makes us out into presence, foundation of community is possible only "through and for an infinite resistance to every appropriation of the essence, collective or individual, of its sharing, or of its foundation" (Nancy, 1993, p. 95). Because Nancian apprehension of community is in extreme contradiction with totalitarianism defined as immanentism, in which societies have the belief of having a stable essence for themselves and for their own society (Nancy, 1991, p. 3).

Nancy refuses or more precisely interrupts/interferes the idea of essential society manifests that being is possible under the condition of sharing of non-essence, foundational character. But the attempt to have a fixed identity as the basis of existence or as the ground of society is not innocent as it may seem. Because the desire to fix the other as capitalized Other in its own essence and identity means attributing pure immanence to societies that might even lead to murder of the Other,

or as Nancy underscored sacrifice of the Same who cannot satisfy the condition of pure immanence:

> [Immanence] would instantly suppress community, or communication, as such. Death is not only the example of this, it is its truth . . . if one forgets what makes it always irreducibly singular, there is no longer any community or communication: there is only the continuous identity of atoms. This is why political or collective enterprises dominated by a will to absolute immanence have as their truth the truth of death. Immanence, communal fusion, contains no other logic than that of the suicide of the community that is governed by it. Thus the logic of Nazi Germany is not only that of the extermination of the other, of the subhuman deemed exterior to the communion of blood and soil, but also, effectively, the logic of sacrifice aimed at all those in the "Aryan" community who did not satisfy the criteria of pure immanence, so much so that-it being obviously impossible to set a limit on such criteria -the suicide of the German nation itself might have represented a plausible extrapolation of the process: moreover, it would not be false to say that this really took place, with regard to certain aspects of the spiritual reality of this nation. (Nancy, 1991, p. 12)

Communion of society, represented in fascistic tendencies, is fetishistic obsession with immanence, solidification of essence in atoms as individuals: "Fascism was the grotesque or abject resurgence of an obsession with communion; it crystallized the motif of its supposed loss and the nostalgia for its images of fusion" (Nancy, 1991, p. 15). This fusion is made possible for myth according to both Bataille and Nancy, which mostly concentrates the figures of mystical and mythical powers through a language of dictation of values and what would be shared amongst the individuals of society. Although fascism being the most extreme case of this attempt to fix myth or immanence, all societies, declares Nancy, have this kind of mythical discourses that relates with its own foundation or communion. Ian James (2006) explains Nancian apprehension of myth as not a determinative force or cause of every single event in a society but as a foundational power of discourse and sense that will be distributed amongst the members of that society (p. 197).

James (2006) differentiates two distinct mythical relations of society, first

being the traditional assemblage founded on the discursive field of mythical essence

and second, as the resistance of community in this very society which is "a shared

finitude which cannot be subsumed into any work of identity or project (and which is

therefore always without foundation)" (p. 198). James (2006) insists on that Nancy

constructs his theory of community on the foundational tension in between two kind

of moments, non-foundational community, the second, always already interfering the

first one, namely myth interrupted or in Blanchot's terms unavowable community, in

terms of which communion of society, fusion of atoms are interrupted (p. 198):

> Nancy's account of myth implies, therefore, the constant interruption of
> myth and ceaseless instability within the experience of community. The
> affirmation of community as shared identity is constantly interrupted by
> its existence as shared finitude. This would imply that the relation
> between the political and politics is always multiple and unstable and that
> one term is never entirely reducible to the other. (James, 2006, p. 198)

How this interruption occurs in Nancian terms maybe understood by the fact that

compearance is the non-foundational ground, nihil of creation or withdrawal of

being. Through interruption of myth community reveals its resistance to be

centralized, reveals the fact that it is definitively related with multiplicity of origins.

Compearance as the constitutive field of existence makes singular beings appear to

each other, communicate with each other: "It is a contact, it is a contagion: a

touching, the transmission of a trembling at the edge of being, the communication of

a passion that makes us fellows, or the communication of the passion to be fellows,

to be in common" (Nancy, 1991, pp. 60-61). According to Nancy there exists no

negativity in the relation of myth and its interruption since there is no "myth of

absence of myth"; but it is a transmission or towardness disclosed by compearance,

in which experience of community is always already emerges on the limit, a limit

that goes into relation of outside of singularities, an edge of being where exposition

of compearance occurs: "On this edge, destined to this edge and called forth by it,

born of interruption, !here is a passion. This is, if you will, what remains of myth, or

rather, it is itself the interruption of myth" (Nancy, 1991, p. 61). This experience of a

threshold, but maintains Nancy, does not indicate a transcendental beyondness of

singularities or community, through constant interruption of myth community

"decides on its law and its transgression it decides its law and its transgression,

having in sum already transgressed the law before setting it, making it exist without

essence, transcendent without a transcendent immanence" (Nancy, 1993, p. 85).

Myth interrupted evokes another notion of community, again connoted from

Blanchot, community as unwork which declares the impossibility of completion of

community, highlights the importance of its fragmentary and multiple character and

community's suspension. Community makes itself as it is interrupted, as unworked,

as singularities suspended. Operational character of myth production is differentiated

from the unwork of singular beings' fragmentary limit experience: "Communication

is the unworking of work that is social, economic, technical and institutional"

(Nancy, 1991, p. 31). Individualistic view of subjectivity, then, is in direct relation

with myth interruption and unwork of community, it is the residual matter of

unwrapping of community, the tension occurring in between myth and its

interruption, if myth overcomes its interruption, as in the case of most of our

societies, creates individual as detached, in a sense alienated atom of subjectivity in

configuring its essence as immanence (Nancy, 1991, p. 3):

> This is why the question of community is so markedly absent from the
> metaphysics of the subject, that is to say, from the metaphysics of the
> absolute for-itself- be it in the form of the individual or the total State-
> which means also the metaphysics of the absolute in general, of being as
> ab-solute, as perfectly detached, distinct, and closed: being without
> relation . . . It undoes the absoluteness of the absolute. The relation (the

community) is, if it is, nothing other than what undoes, in its very principle-and at its closure or on its limit- the autarchy of absolute immanence. (Nancy, 1991, p. 4)

Society according to Nancy is not to be constructed upon the residue of community. Its occurrence is related with a process of loss of communication, erasure of coexistence (Nancy, 1991, p. 11). But as every singular plural, every shared finitude has the capacity of reopening its spacing, disclosing its relation with other singularities community resists in society:

> Community is, in a sense, resistance itself: namely, resistance to immanence. Consequently, community is transcendence: but 'transcendence', which no longer has any 'sacred' meaning, signifying precisely a resistance to immanence (resistance to the communion of everyone or to the exclusive passion of one or several: to all the forms and all the violences of subjectivity). (Nancy, 1991, p. 35)

Unavowable community of Gezi is predicated upon community of compearance, which do not have any myth of communion. On the contrary, it is structured by the force of interruption of any myth, including nationalistic ones, including sexist ones, including myths about Kurds, LGBTs, and football fans. While Other has lost its sociological meaning during Gezi Protests being as the withdrawal of being and its originary non-foundation manifested itself through every kind of practices. Dichotomical relations are dissolved. Protestors even started to read books and offer food to police forces in order to create a communication with them. All mythical speeches ceased to produce meaning and the power of compearance opened up new possibilities of communication. All previously established societies melted into a Gezi community by the force of their foundational myths' interruption. But, it must be reminded that after Gezi protests ended, all societal forces have returned to their field even in terms of how Gezi would be defined. Loss of essence, disappearance of pure immanence gave way to acknowledging of multiplicity of origins. Gezi

moments, in this perspective, were an unwork of Turkey's mythological society, realizing the fact that it is always already fragmented, multiple and interrupted. Let Nancy answer the question of whether there existed a myth of Gezi apart from what has been produced afterwards:

> Does the unavowable have a myth? By definition, it does not. The absence of avowal produces neither speech nor narrative. But if community is inseparable from myth, must there not be, according to a paradoxical law, a myth of the unavowable community? But this is impossible. Let me repeat: the unavowable community, the withdrawal of communion or communitarian ecstasy, are revealed in the interruption of myth. And the interruption is not a myth: 'It is impossible to contest the absence of myth' wrote Bataille. (Nancy, 1991, p. 58)

3.4 Creation of Gezi world

That Gezi Protests that have been demarcated by excess and abundance of everything is a fact that is related with its own being, its own spacing, its own opening as a world. Gas was excessive during protests, so was solidarity. Food was abundantly much in Gezi Park, so was graffiti. Youth was extremely there, so were music and slogans. Spacing, although encapsulated in barricades, was always ample, so was time. In try to explain this excessive and abundant relationality of Gezi Protests, I believe Nancian notion of creation of the world will be very much valuable.

Nancy in his book The Creation of the World or Globalization (2007) creates a distinctive understanding of what is a/the world or what is global. Globalization is a term that has been chosen to highlight how meaning, essence, existence, subject and object relation is closed onto each other. Globalization through mostly urban life and technological expansion of modern society makes impossible to form a world in it. Nancy declares that our world cannot form a world; this loss of capacity to form a world implicates an epoch that totalitarian unity is highly possible to be contagious.

This means, for Nancy, as a death drive that soon would have nothing else to destroy than the world itself (Nancy, 2007, p. 34).

The lost experienced in urban life is not something that may be easily overcome or bypassed since it is a loss of horizon of experience, human relationality, space and time that have been simultaneously created passing of the groundlessness of singular plural (Nancy, 2007, p. 28). Losing the capacity of forming the world is the loss of opening, not only for subject to subject relation but also for technology to subject/object relation, urban to rural relation. Disclosure of worlds is blocked by the process of globalization.

Below, relatively long quotation strongly emphasizes how globalization encompasses urban network, how agglomeration has created inequality and injustice, how urban essences are fixed through space and time of urban life but it is important to quote this much long since this paragraph may be read for Istanbul as well as Cairo, Paris, New York, Beijing. Thus, it is the universal transcendental character of globalization that makes unimaginable of an alternative way of relating to urban life:

> The city spreads and extends all the way to the point where, while it tends to cover the entire orb of the planet, it loses its properties as a city, and, of course with them, those properties that would allow it to be distinguished from a "country." That which extends in this way is no longer properly "urban"—either from the perspective of urbanism or from that of urbanity— but megapolitical, metropolitan, or co-urbational, or else caught in the loose net of what is called the "urban network." In such a network, the city crowds, the hyperbolic accumulation of construction projects (with their concomitant demolition) and of exchanges (of movements, products, and information) spread, and the inequality and apartheid concerning the access to the urban milieu (assuming that it is a dwelling, comfort, and culture), or these exclusions from the city that for a long time has produced its own rejections and outcasts, accumulate proportionally. The result can only be understood in terms of what is called an *agglomeration,* with its senses of conglomeration, of piling up, with the sense of accumulation that, on the one hand, simply concentrates (in a few neighborhoods, in a few houses, sometimes in a few protected mini-cities) the well-being that used to be urban or civil, while on the other hand, proliferates what bears the quite simple and unmerciful name of misery. (Nancy, 2007, p. 33)

This misery of agglomeration is predicated upon commodity relations on which

exponential growth of globalization is proclaimed by the circulation of everything in

the form of commodity (Nancy, 2007, p. 37). As in the case of Istanbul, construction

projects create spaces, materiality and commodity that are to be circulate and

dominate all urban areas, everywhere is under construction; exchange of information,

exchange of images, exchange of technology, in a way that certain exclusion of

oppressed ones are inevitable makes impossible to form a world in which equality

and justice are prevailed.

The misery of globalization, but for Nancy, faces a resistance always already

there, although being about to lose its capacity, world in the form of community, in

the form of groundless inoperative community it resists. It resists in the form of

world, in the formation of the world, in the creation of the world. Nancy first

explains what he means by world and world-forming appealing to totality of meaning

but this totality is very much different than the totalitarian myth of society based on

one assumption of essence. Nancy sustains totality as:

> . . . to which a certain meaningful content or a certain value system
> properly belongs in the order of knowledge or thought as well as in that
> of affectivity and participation. Belonging to such a totality consists in
> sharing this content and this tonality in the sense of 'being familiar with
> it' as one says; that is to say, of apprehending its codes and texts,
> precisely when their reference points, signs, codes, and texts are neither
> explicit nor exposed as such. A world: one finds oneself in it . . . and one
> is familiar with it . . . one can be in it with "everyone". . . as we say in
> French. A world is precisely that in which there is room for everyone: but
> a genuine place, one in which things can genuinely *take place* (in this
> world). Otherwise, this is not a "world": it is a "globe" or a "glome," it is
> a "land of exile" and a "vale of tears". (Nancy, 2007, pp. 41-42)

Our exile to globalization, urban based agglomeration through preventing its Other

coming towards it, through circulation of codes or texts mystified and unified as

unreadable for Someone, through forcefully losing the capacity of sharing a value or contend is here and now challenged by the idea of the creation of the world, in which everyone single one of beings can take place, can tuned with its rhythm or change it or grasps its codes and shares its values. It is the opening or formation of world. Resonance, underlines Nancy, is the capacity of spacing accordance with a tonality: "But that tonality is nothing other than the totality of resonances that the elements, the moments, and the places of this world echo, modulate, and modalize (Nancy, 2007, p. 42). In addition to tonality Nancy explains world in terms of spatiality and inhabitation. A world is holding presences of singular plurals making their existence possible through continuous opening of space (Nancy, 2007, p. 42). World opens itself against its groundlessness, its lack of foundational identity, its lack of negativity as the desire to fix other or its lack of origin. World opens itself by the act of coexistence, coessentiality, compearance of singular plural. World opens itself against staking out an originary or foundational unity or myth that cannot be interrupted by disclosure (Nancy, 2007, p. 70).

Nancy relatedly with his idea of community and freedom that has been defined as the only possible form of experience, as the limit experience, as shared finitude declares that creation of the world as disclosure of any each one of struggle for world without any deferral (Nancy, 2007, p. 54), which denotes the opening of the possibility of different resistances against agglomeration, against sovereign transcendent determination of globe:

> Once again, to create as a struggle, which while struggling—
> consequently, by seeking power, by finding forces—does not seek the
> exercise of power—nor property—whether collective or individual, but
> seeks itself and its agitation, itself and the effervescence of its thought in
> act, itself and its creation of forms and signs, itself and its contagious
> communication as propagation of an enjoyment that, in turn, would not
> be a satisfaction acquired in a signification of the world, but the

insatiable and infinitely finite exercise that is the being in act of meaning brought forth in the world [*mis an monde*]. (Nancy, 2007, p. 55)

As a last point for the creation of the world, Nancy explores ecotechnics countering the agglomeration of technological commodification of all relations. Ian James (2006) underlines that differently from Heideggerian notion of ready-to-hand how Nancy deals with objects in which they should be understood not in terms of instruments or tools but in terms of bodies that the sense emerging with, as disclosing of the world of objects as spacing:

> What Nancy is trying to think here is the manner in which the relation of bodily intentionality or sense to technical apparatus profoundly shapes the way the world appears to us as meaningful. In this sense when I drive a car, speak into a mobile phone, or type into a laptop computer I am not just "using" technical apparatus; I am connected or "plugged into" them in a way which more fundamentally reveals a certain manner of being or existence and a certain experience or constitution of world-hood. (James, 2006, p. 145)

Ecotechnics should be explored as a relation to world-opening in and through and with objects not as ends in themselves but a multiple sharing, connection, and interconnection of bodies and apparatus, ecotechnics does not function as a ground or foundation (James, 2006, p. 145):

> Since they are corporeal and related with the corporeality of singular plural technical material "such as "peasants' shoes, or paintbrush, a mobile phone, mass spectrometer, or electron microscope would all be connected to bodies and would all articulate a fundamental bodily intentionality or orientation of sense through which the world can be encountered as meaningful in the first instance (through which the world is "created"). (James, 2006, p.147)

Gezi protests including lots of technical apparatus like mobile phones, gas masks, tables, chairs, trees, milks, bottles of water, food of all kind, wood of barricades, burnt buses photographed enthusiastically, stones as parts of hands, mosques as spaces of medical healing, AKM as the interruption of a myth etc. revealed

themselves as ecotechnical ones which resists as being a part of bodies. Excess and abundance of every possible object, every possible artistic work, space/time, people is strongly related with the reality of a creation of a world as an opening as a disclosure to everyone and everything. Creativity occurring in Gezi Protests maybe summarized in Nancy's words: "the world of the proper freedom and singularity of each and of all without claim to a world beyond-the-world or to a surplus-property (in another capital)" (Nancy, 2007, p. 38).

3.5 Commensurability of intersubjective realm

I have started this chapter implying that intersubjectivity theories cannot grasp the point of departure that Jean-Luc Nancy is proposing for the position of metaphysics of subjectivity. After investigating main notions of Nancy, now, I would like to look deep into intersubjectivity theories' claims and how Nancian understanding would give us a drastically distinguished understanding of what had happened in Gezi Park Protests in the name of "inter-subjectivity". In order to carefully examine how intersubjectivity at best may focus on subjectivity as a non-identical, difference based non-unity I will look Jessica Benjamin's (1994) influential article "*The Shadow of The Other*" about how self and other distinction is or should be analyzed. It is important to highlight that since it is mainly a psychoanalytical article there need a change in the language of highly Heideggerian ontological discourse of Nancy that I will try to convert into each other.

Jessica Benjamin's intersubjectivity theory maybe described as an attempt to survive after the death of subject or the unanswered question of what comes after subject being destructed, since nearly all contemporary social sciences accepts or deals with the problems of subjectivity losing its existential pillars not only

psychological ones but also political implications/effects and its philosophical basis. Benjamin (1994) differentiates her theory of intersubjectivity at the very start from different deconstruction of subjectivity theories that are implicate that self cannot separate his/herself from the other since it has no capacity to reproduce itself after its breakdown with the other and must look for an identification relation. She proposes her understanding of "the other" against the acception of uncontrollability that is to be destined to left as a trace on the self. For Benjamin (1994) self is the space of what will survive after its relational capacity is ameliorated, although it is not full as an identity or not a self-fulfilling agent. For her, subject is the space of recognition and negation relation will emerge as the other will intervene into the sphere of self and agency is the intersubjective relations will occur as the sum total of self-subject distinction. Thus, Benjamin (1994) declares first subject has constructed by its negation by the other and then the self emerges as a non-identical, non-unitary one. The change in the order of construction here, I think, is important. Benjamin (1994) does not start with the self but with its negation as a subject by its Other or its others:

> It is reciprocally constituted in relation to the other, depending on the other's recognition, which it cannot have without being negated, acted on by the other, in a way that changes the self, making it non-identical. While both ideas reveal self's dependency on the other, only the second takes the intersubjective view of the other as more than the self's object. (Benjamin, 1994, p. 231)

Benjamin (1994) rejects in her theory existence of the other will necessarily create an uncontrollable, indeterminable process as a fear of the self either in the form of identification or submission. She mentions that self and other can/should survive after their reciprocal but not symmetrical relation in the form of intersubjective relations. Proposed self of Benjamin is capable of constructing an "inbetween"ness

with a "concrete other" without absorbing or denying the other's differences into a whole identity (Benjamin, 1994, p. 231)

One of the most important points in Benjamin's (1994) theory of intersubjectivity is her claim on self. She declares very boldly that we do not a self-identical, self-unificatory, self-based, immanent self anymore in the age of intersubjectivity. It is not important simply because of the psychoanalytical outcome that will be achieved but also because the sociality of the self must include how it will relate with the lack that haunts him/her from the very beginning (Lacanian lack, let's say) but also how it will relate with the difference that comes from every relationality that the self is to recognize or reject. Intersubjectivity theory, according to Benjamin (1994), puts forward a self that is not identical to itself in return of which may create an intersubjective realm of postulating itself as a relational being. Benjamin focuses on how the notions of splitted self and splitting self may an actual play on the ground, where splitted self is the outcome of Lacanian subjectivity and splitting self is the active acknowledging of the relationality in between self and the world and self's capacity to divide the world (Benjamin, 1994, p. 235):

> The ability to split may be seen as endemic, innate, a pre-given property of the mind like to ability to use language. Indeed, splitting in that sense is not defensive but organizing; by setting boundaries and discrimination what confronts it. Unlike the 'split subject' that takes unity as its mirror opposite- relying on its binary Other to generate its oppositional truth – the notion of splitting does not require that we posit a pre-existing unity, or an ideal of unity to which splitting gives the lie. (Benjamin, 1994, p. 236)

Split subject, according to Benjamin (1994), creates abjects that will be eliminated for the sake of one's own subjectivity; sublime Others that will cover all differences. But although sociologically this kind of relations is still possible in order to destruct all the differences and reduce them all into abstract unities such as Male Subject, the

Big Nation etc. Benjamin (1994) offers us a different solution with the answer of the concrete other of mothering in order to respect differences (p. 234). Although the existence of abject relations, complete destruction of the other is still possible; although identifications of good and evil, love and hate, negligence and sublimation is still possible, there exists a point to be highlighted in the act of splitting:

> . . . to link omnipotence with the act of splitting as the ego's defensive act; not to say the subject is split, rather that the subject splits, that is, engages in the activity of splitting. The notion of splitting as an active, ongoing process of psychic defense performed by the self sets up the question of the subject differently than the notion of a split subject or identity constituted by discourse, language, normative practice, or any other structures that render the subject an 'effect' ". (Benjamin, 1994, p. 235)

Benjamin, then, is not focused on how subject or self is wounded, disrupted, destructed (since every one of the selves and subjects may experience this wound, destruction, negation or recognition is to experience it differently from each other) but on how to survive after this negation (act of splitting the world) occurred. She proposes here a radical solution to the problem by defining the concrete other as mother and child relation in her theory of intersubjectivity. She maintains that it is not about the search of control onto self or loss of identity but how relational capacity of humanity will emerge in an intersubjective realm. She poses the relation of mother and child not in the pre-discursive, un-analyzable level but in the very history of self itself in order to underline the fact that intersubjective relation will start with the recognition of the externality of the other: "Unlike Lacanian theory which locates this relationship in the unknowable, pre-lingual domain outside history, intersubjective theory begins with the possibility and necessity of this relationship in the (partially knowable) history of the self" (Benjamin, 1994, p. 236).

Jessica Benjamin (1994) in her theory of intersubjectivity clearly focuses on the importance of recognition and negation processes in both psychoanalytical and social realm. Benjamin does not talk about recognition and negation distinction as distinctive processes but underlines the importance of recognition of negation. Since self has the capacity to divide as its own characteristics what it divides should survive after this destruction in order to be recognized. Negation and recognition is a dynamic relationship that mutually constructs the world of intersubjective relations. If survival after negation is not possible, says Benjamin, this dynamic relationship will be broken as irreparable and "survival of the other for the self, of self for other, is definitively over" (Benjamin, 1994, p. 241). Thus, non-identical and non-unitary self is only possible in the intersubjective realm, Benjamin proposes that only after destruction, survival may open a way to recognition of the other as external and it is true for both side of the equation:

> Only the externality of the other that survives destruction allows a representation of the other as simultaneously outside control and non-threatening –a form of negation that social relations of domination enforced by violence aloneness, or the merger with those like-self beings, creating an identity that demands the destructive denial of the different. (Benjamin, 1994, p. 241)

Recognition of negation, according to Benjamin (1994), will falsify the promised outcome of the self-enclosed, self-identical, self-healing subject but will propose non-identical, interchangeable self open to relation with a world that will be negated and recognized respectively: "Splitting itself is not the problem, but only its rigid congelation into indissoluble complementarity, which structures the subject and his other as mirror opposites (good/bad, excluded/included etc.)" (Benjamin, 1994, p. 242).

Benjamin (1994) declares that mother and child as survivals from each other's other relation constructs an external-outsider (p. 237). Here, the other should recognize the singularity of the other as a complete outsider and "yet able to have decisive impact on the self" (p. 237). This survival process is the positive creation of a world that will emerge out of what Benjamin defines as a necessary negation:

> Here again the necessity of a being external and given to the subject: only thus can we make a distinction between locating the other as a disowned part of the self in a binary or complementary opposition and recognizing the "real" concrete other/mother who has preceded us, whom we require. (Benjamin, 1994, p. 240)

Shadow of the other then is not the wound that we should get rid of or surrender but the constructive part of our relation to the world, as our relation takes part in intersubjective realm. In this realm, difference that mostly feminist critiques focus on will be maintained and also the selves will be in a relation of changing each other not by subliming or subsuming into each other (Benjamin, 1994, pp. 240-241):

> If we are to go beyond a conception of a self-enclosed self, if we want to recuperate difference and respect for otherness along with agency, we have to account for the impact of the other on the self –a negation that is at once indeterminate and irreducible to the subject's own mental world, thus not the subject's own constructed Other, even though related and interdependent with it. (Benjamin, 1994, p. 239)

Now, we can turn how intersubjectivity theories may be differentiated from other feminist critiques of subjectivity and identity. As Benjamin by focusing on Butler's and Benhabib's claim on identity and agency, poststructuralist feminist theory criticizes and deconstructs subjectivity and identity of feminine in the realm of social conditions that sublimates some identities, fragments oppressed ones, non-represents the other and gives full representation of the Other. So the question of what comes after the subject turns into a question of what comes after we destruct the big Other, in any form, either as Male, as Father or as the State. But says Jessica Benjamin, in

and through intersubjective mode of subjectivity there exists a way outside without frozen identity claims and agencies. She proposes an intersubjective realm that will not eliminate the other but a dynamic relationship that will open a non-harmonious reconciliation of recognition of negation. This recognition of negation, according to Benjamin, solves the problem of Judith Butler's identity search without other[27] and Seyla Benhabib's autonomous subject[28] without split; since because intersubjectivity theory puts forward that self splits from the very start, subject is dispersed through negation and intersubjective realm may have the opportunity to have an identity with the shadow of the other as recognition of negation, as the concrete other, as mother to the child. Jessica Benjamin declares that full recognition in an Hegelian sense will presuppose full openness to each other, full transparency, full knowledge of the other and she mentions that intersubjectivity theory is "the struggle to try to know the other while still recognizing the other's radical alterity and unknowability has to be formulated not only as one between different identities, but as disagreement and contradiction within identities" (J. Benjamin, 1994, p. 245).

3.6 Is Gezi intersubjective or singular plural?

> . . . generally speaking, freedom can in no way take the form of a
> property, since it is only from freedom that there can be appropriation of
> anything –even of 'oneself' if this has any meaning….freedom is here
> precisely what must be substituted for every dialectic (and for every
> 'ecstatic' understood in the sense suggested above), since it is not the

---

[27] "Butler's main assertion in Gender Trouble that there is no gender identity "behind" expressions of gender is clarifying, reminding us that gendered positions are multiple, non-identical. But identity is not self. Since self is, in any event, a category, we can say that a self can be non-identical, and yet contain a state, express a feeling, identify with or assume a position. The critique of identity does not prevent us from postulating a psychic subjectivity that takes up these positions through identification, a kind of "identifier behind the identification". The discursively produced dichotomy that Butler (see Bodies That Matter) postulates between a world of subjects and abjects obscures the fact that both groups are selves, both deploy identifications. Again, the political position of subject or abject must be understood in tension with the notion of a self who may take up either or both positions" (Benjamin, 1994, p. 235).

[28] Autonomous subject is a discursive ideal, as Butler criticizes and Benjamin accepts (Benjamin, 1994, p. 233).

struggle for recognition and self-mastery of a subjectivity. It is, from
birth until death –the last birth of singularity-what throws the subject into
the space of the sharing of being. Freedom is the specific logic of the
access to the self outside of itself in a spacing, each time singular, of
being….Ontological sharing, or the singularity of being, opens the space
that only freedom is able, not to 'fill' but properly to space. (Nancy,
1993, p. 70)

I have discussed that Nancian understanding on singular plural as an ontological

claim on our being and its implication through Gezi Protest. Now, I will try to make

it clear that how it is incommensurable to see subjects, selves or identities or

agencies and also intersubjects in the realm of singular plural. In the age of global

identities that are sublimating all others like capitalism over refugee workers (who do

not have any official paper to claim their nationality or their work conditions), like

patriarchy over women (who do not have any power to overcome the visible or

invisible violence exposed over them), like homophobia over gay people (who do not

have the right to reclaim their citizenship as equals) etc., in the age of global all-

empowering identities, some identities should be underlined/highlighted/reclaimed,

we could close the discussion of subjectivity or agency for the sake of oppressed

ones' good. If oppressed subjectivities and agencies took the world as a concrete

other, that will affect them but different from them; then they could assume a

position in such a world. Jessica Benjamin proposes the full acception of the radical

alterity of others and their right to have existence, only through this acceptance she

says there is an exit through which the destruction of subjectivity will be "healed".

Only through recognition of negation as a universally given, all oppressed subjects

and selfs (although categorically different) will be represented in the realm of

intersubjectivity. Only through a relation with a concrete other that is not me, I can

exist after me witnessing me or my other's negation. Nancy will clearly oppose the

idea of negation either in the sense of construction of intersubjective realm or in the

sense of creating a worldhood since negativity would/cannot assume "being-with",

recognition of negation, in a sense is an absolute impossibility for Nancy since

negation itself as an operation should be affirmed in itself:

> Moreover, whether they are aware of it or not, all the different ways of thinking negativity lead to the same point (they at least pass through it, even if they refuse to stop there). It is that point where the negative itself, in order to be the negative (in order to be the *nihil negativum* and not just the *nihil privatum)* must avoid its own operation and be affirmed in itself, with no remainder; or else, on the contrary, it must be affirmed as the absolute remainder that cannot be captured in a concatenation of procedure or operation. (It is the critical, suspended, inoperative point at the heart of the dialectic). Self-presupposition interrupts itself; there is a syncopation in the process and in its thinking, a syncopation and instant conversion of supposition into dis-position. Dis-position is the same thing as supposition: in one sense, it is absolute antecedence, where the "with" is always already given; in another sense, it does not "underlie" or preexist the different positions; it is their simultaneity. (Nancy, 2000, pp. 91-92)

Thus, for intersubjectivity theories it turns all about how to survive after split and

negation, most troubled example would be the complete physical death of the other

or the self. I think Nancian understanding of singular plural will oppose here boldly.

I cannot survive after the other's complete death. A radically singular being cannot

survive after so called absolute negation. A Self cannot heal itself, although

accepting his/her non-identical or non-unitary, after negation. A Subject cannot

reflect onto the intersubjective realm as a representation of itself seeing the other's

radical alterity. Survival and death is not the issue of psychoanalytical

intersubjectivity or identity theories or agency claims. Survival/(or birth) and death is

the very issue of our ontological being. Nancian understanding of singular plural

explores our survival after death of sense all over the earth. If the community, shared

finitude of being is hinged upon one or two identity, one or two gender, multiple

nations then singular plural cannot find a sense in the globality of senselessness. It

collapses into multiple, diversed, dispersed presences amongst others. This idea may

permit totalitarianism, communion of identities, subjectivities would be the lack that cannot be survived after. Subject, intersubjective realm, or self/ego, that is every single entity that closes upon itself, cannot survive or resist against the background of what has been described as negativity. But in Nancian understanding, it is not negativity that constructs singular plural, death is not the absolute negation neither birth is not the absolute recognition**:**

> It follows that one is never born alone, and one never dies alone; or rather, it follows that the solitude of birth/death, this solitude which is no longer even solitude, is the exact reverse of its sharing. If it is true, as Heidegger says, that I cannot die in place of the other, then it is also true, and true in the same way, that the other dies insofar as the other is with me and that we are born and die to one another, exposing ourselves to one another and, each time, exposing the inexposable singularity of the origin. . .”Death,” therefore, is not negativity, and language does not know or practice negativity (or logic). Negativity is the operation that wants to depose Being in order to make it be: the sacrifice, the absent object of desire, the eclipse of consciousness, alienation— and, as a result, it is never death or birth, but only the assumption of an infinite supposition. (Nancy, 2000, p. 89)

So, survival for singular plural is not temporally after its' any kind of relation. It is always a survival of the non-groundless of existence, withdrawal of being. In its opening to the world, singular plural does not witness anyone's death (or negation) it survives through the withdrawal of being, let's say. This death will not create a lack, a loss. Since all singular plural what is left for us, it is the survival in plural. It is our community of survival after continuous interruption of myth (including mother-child relation). Survival as a species being that has the capacity to create world. But if we take survival in and through a closed relationship of any kind, it is again a myth, it is again an only individual presence.

Intersubjectivity should find an other that will show/prove its possibility of intersubjectivity in its radical alterity, since it cannot deal with the issue of death on "its own", since splitting self has only the shadow of the other not its shared finitude.

Intersubjectivities' subject always in try to find another subject that it is lacking. But Nancian understanding of singular plural is not about a lack/a shadow or a possibility that has been lost. It is about the withdrawal of being and its sharing/compearance. This sharing does not lack anything as a cause or as a result. Compearance of singular plurality is the ground of letting be but not in the sense of recognition, by the very fact that being cannot exist without compearance, being cannot be free without appearing together to each other. So singular plural does not need a multidimensional analytics of selfhood, ego, subject or agency. It is at the beginning, it always begins with the condition of compearance to each other. Singular plural exists through compearance to one by one, plurally. Any singularity cannot live (even exist) without compearing with another singularity, neither in the form of individuality, nor in the form of experience of all kind. All possible relations and combinations of existence is about com-pearance: "Being in common means that singular beings are, present themselves, and appear only to the extent that they compear, to the extent that they are exposed, presented, or offered to one another. This compearance is not something added on to their being; rather, their being comes into being in it" (Nancy, 1991, p. 58).

In order to have a singular plural you have to have a world. All intersubjectivity and identity theories accept that we have a world at the beginning, from the very start, established more or less firmly, either to play/change on or accept/deny of. Because in Nancian understanding world is the capacity to think on freedom as being free, it cannot be established on a basis that exists before it is performed. Intersubjectivity cannot start with "creation of the world" since it accepts the existence of the world outside as it does with the other. In the intersubjective realm, there exists a world to be understood or to be explored or to be changed as

meaning or as relation or as sense. However, in Nancian understanding world is the creation of sense by the existence of singular plural, just as in the case of objects I have looked into in Chapter 1. Intersubjectivity theories gives us a meaning that have already existed outside, an identity to be revealed onto this meaning, a (inter)subjectivity that have already will point to the meaning in the acceptance of the other's radical alterity.

Does intersubjectivity give us a "we" in the form of mother and child for example? It is only and only possible to have this relationship just only after we gave a sense to the Mother and the Child. So it is only an "mythical or communal we" that will emerge from intersubjectivity, it can be known in itself after only we define the identities that will be constructed through concrete other and the non-identical self. Intersubjective theories may maintain that we gave money a common value because it is commonly given, money does not have any value in its ontic being, let's say. But this kind of understanding cannot open a relationship of sense. This so called intersubjectively given or accepted meaning or sense in money, for example, have strong relations with our mythic relation with market relations, our positions in the market, our debts, our home mortgage. Mutual recognition of motherhood or mutual recognition of money is not the world what Nancy talks about. Nancian understanding of singular plural points at the sense that has been lost in our globality. Through our history, through our historical relation with our earth, through agglomeration of all kinds of subjectivities in/onto each other we have lost something that cannot be recognized or reconciled nowhere. This is the sense of the world, world itself. According to Nancy, world is our creation in our singular plurality against the background of agglomeration of fixed identities. It is our very

freedom to think on our very existence, as Ian James[29] discussed about the strategic use of the word "*creation*" and "*ex nihilo*":

> This is why what is called "the creation of the world" is not the production of a pure something from nothing—which would not, at the same time, implode into the nothing out of which it could never have come—but is the explosion of presence in the original multiplicity of its division. It is the explosion of *nothing,* in fact, it is the spacing of meaning, spacing *as* meaning and circulation. The *nihil* of creation is the *truth* of meaning, but meaning is the originary sharing of this truth. It could be expressed in the following way: Being cannot *be* anything but being-with-one-another, circulating in the *with* and as the *with* of this singularly plural coexistence. (Nancy, 2000, p. 2)

In the intersubjective realm, it makes "sense" to talk about totalitarian or mythical apprehension of motherhood, fatherhood, nation, gender etc., since they have a realm of exposing/imposing themselves in the communion of societies. Commonly grounded meanings may very well be imposed on the relations of human beings and in some societies they may very well be declared as healthy, as evil, as good or bad. Intersubjectivity is about our survival in the face of decomposed unity, decomposed being. It is about ameliorating our relation with our communion, although in some cases we should question what is unified under communion and change it. Because intersubjective understanding relates to the society on the basis of how it is separated, multiplied or fragmented as splitting subjects and asks for a multiple worlds living together in peace without collapsing onto each other. Closure of being or subjectivity is much related with our everyday life, such as closure as a citizen, closure as a state, as a nation, closure as a sovereign being etc. But it is obvious that all of these closures can give a transcendental encompassing identity to our very

---

[29] "It emerges also as a post-Nietzschean affirmation of active production as opposed to any reactive nostalgia for a lost ground or godhead, or a negative thinking of the absence of foundation as that which needs to be mourned or lamented. In this respect the use of the term creation . . . is provisional and strategic. It is a term bequeathed to Nancy by the tradition which, in an intensification of its meaning, allows him to interrogate the spatial-temporal arrival of the world in terms of a more radical "nothing of origin," and in terms of a production of the new or the unknown." (James, 2006, p. 234).

existence. All identities that emerged through historical, religious, scientific, social or ontological investigations turned out to be non-transcendental. Any closure coming from transcendence could not and cannot save us from our sins of existence as myths of communion could not. It is in the continuous interruption of myth of transcendence that a world may open, declares Nancy. World is a *sacred* word for Nancy but not in the religious sense, that cannot be transcended but only opened by creating it, creating it *ex nihilo*; creating world is the disclosure of the possibility of genuine experience, freedom; it is the sense that we all left and we all have to create. If there is no sense in the transcendental unity of universe, then world must be created as sense. In Nancian terms, freedom is about the intermittent arrival of unknown, the new as a limit experience. World is about to emerge in singular plurally limit experience of thought on and through the disclosure of spacing of new meanings, new encounters. Intersubjectivity promises freedom but singular plural does not even start to exist without freedom without creating a world, a spacing for its own existence:

> This means the spacing of a time, the time that opens at this moment, in the passage from one epoch to another or from one instant to the next, that is, in the passage or transfer of existence, which succeeds itself and differs in its essence, opening and reopening the spacious temporality in accordance with which exists: the opening of time, the first schema, the first drawing without figure of the very rhythm of existing, the transcendental schematism itself no longer as a 'surprise attack' on the secret dissimulated in a 'nature', but as the freedom with which the existent surprises the world and itself prior to every determination of existence. (Nancy, 1993, p. 19)

Intersubjectivity cannot hold onto "nothingness" of transcendence but singular plural is only about the "*pirating*" common nothingness that is singularized. If there is no securing identity, if there is no transcendental relation that will guarantee our existence, if there is no subjectivity or intersubjectivity that *we* will relax/heal *us* in

or outside, if there is no negativity or affirmation or recognition that will save us from our very existence. These terrible consequences of Nancian understanding of transcendence and existence will bring a radically optimistic view of freedom as the ground of our non-foundational existence. It is the freedom of our compearance or more concretely our appearance as singular plurality as freedom, which I think, the best way to look into the eyes of Gezi Protestors. In and during Gezi Protests, freedom of appearing to each other, in every form of arrival is to be opened, in every protestor was in the point of decision to enter into the act of creating a world, in every position they took they posited a limit experience, a threshold as Ian James declares about Nancy:

> This is important insofar as it indicates that, in untying the interrelated questions of decision and judgment from established criteria or universal norms, Nancy does not aim to endorse any form of arbitrariness or relativism, nor to promote decisions made for or in the name of this or that particular against the notion of the universal. Rather he is aiming to think the event of judgment, the judgment of ends or of desired outcomes, as that which engages the instance of void (the "nothing of origin") from whence a world emerges or arrives. Judgment here engages the creation of the world and of a sense of the world in the absence of any prior model or already established end. In this sense the absence of criteria or norms upon which judgment **as** judgment occurs is not simple arbitrariness or relativism, but rather the "nothing" from which the world emerges as the singular-plural arrival of sense. Thus what is engaged is not this or that particular determination but rather the shared world of finitude as such, the event of this sharing and the spacing of all those singular-plural instances of sense which are, or make, the world. It is in this sense that the "universal" for Nancy is not presupposed but "made," since a judgment is itself made on the basis of, and as a necessary engagement with, nontotalizable totality of singular plurality as such. This absence or void is that before which judgment is placed. It is the absence of any originary intuition which might guide judgment according to a rule or law, or what Nancy also calls an "inconstructible". (James, 2006, pp. 235-236)

World-opening capacity through art, protests, music, meeting, discursive relations, wall writings, conversations of all kind, dancing, being-together of all kind is created a world on the basis of freedom. Gezi Protests stand out as a singularized event

against the background of losing sense, against the background of losing the capacity

to create a world, against the background of subjectivity enclosed onto itself and

opened up a new horizon as a limit experience in Nancian understanding. Freedom in

Gezi Protests did not emerged from an intersubjective realm or public space that

were created on codes, rules, recognition of negation but freedom happened in and

through those protests as it was a beginning:

> Freedom arises from nothing, with thinking and like thinking, which is existence delivered to the 'there is' of a world. It is from the outset the limit of thinking –thinking as limit, which is not the limit of comprehension, but which, according to the logic of the limit, is the il-limitation of the prodigality of being. (Nancy, 1993, p. 55)

CHAPTER 4

WALTER BENJAMIN

To start with theoretically analyzing Walter Benjamin, one should accept passing

onto another vocabulary not only for philosophical thinking but also for all worldy

interrelations including temporality, space, subjects, objects, history etc. Since all the

ventures capturing Walter Benjamin in a disciplinary formation are to be destined as

being a failure, I would not try to engage only one side of his theory but will try to

sustain a vocabulary on how Benjaminian critique of Gezi Protests would be

constructed. Although politically situated in opposite poles, having Heidegger as his

hidden interlocutor, Benjamin thus is not far away from Jean-Luc Nancy's way of

comprehension. It may be said that they could be read as complementary with each

other or having a conversation with each other. But, anyway Walter Benjamin will

talk in a different language than Jean-Luc Nancy's, with his overwhelmed emphasis

on arcades, world exhibitions, flaneurs, gamblers, prostitutes, barricades, mirrors,

sidewalks, paving stones, boulevards etc. Benjamin's communication maybe

summarized as a speak of within objects and outside of subjectivities. Mundane

commodities separately speak as if they were human beings but not single subjects.

Characters like flaneur, gambler, and prostitute are objectified as a group of

commodities and mythical consciousness petrified in their relations to modern world.

In this chapter, I will try to construct a Benjaminian philosophical vocabulary in

terms of Gezi Protests.

4.1 Linear understanding of history

Idea of progress intrinsically located in all our theoretical engagement with not only history but also nature is one of the main objections that Walter Benjamin had centered his claims about historicity and temporality of 'modern life'. Although having strong relations with Marxist interpretation of dialectics, his readings and involvement with Jewish theology marks his way of looking into how temporality of human experience should be evaluated. Putting forward an intense dissent against the idea of progress, Benjamin would prove himself to be an extraordinary Marxist (Löwy, 2005, p. 8). Michael Löwy (2005) describes his attempt to reveal how history is contaminated with the idea of evolution as some kind of 'gothic' effort (p. 11) a term that can be easily followed back into his close relation with German Romantics. However this was a gothic effort, it is composed of mundane, intraventricular details of everyday life that had been catastrophically repeated itself throughout all human history. Although mostly evaluated in *Theses on the Philosophy of History*, all texts that had been produced by Benjamin contain a fragmentary but a pulsated way of rejecting the idea of progress and linear understanding of temporality. For example, The Arcades Project, Benjamin's unfinished life-project (1999), is itself a product of his attempt to construct a historical materialist resistance against philosophical linearity of temporality, The Arcades Project tells not so much in a theoretical totality comprised of quotes of innumerous treatises, fragmentary notes. Nevertheless it is his method in The Arcades Project that rejects the idea of linear history and idea of progress through surrealism and montage technique. Benjamin declares this rejection and materialist historians' responsibility maybe in an exceptional way for Arcades Project: "'It may be considered one of the methodological objectives of this work to demonstrate a historical materialism which has annihilated within itself the

idea of progress. Just here, historical materialism has every reason to distinguish itself sharply from bourgeois habits of thought" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 460).

Benjamin in the face of German fascism witnesses how idea of progress might be turned into a way of massacring not only millions of people but also all historical relations of humanity, thus he is in try to criticize what kind of understanding of human relations and modernity cause to fascism occur. Fascism is not a consequence of what is defined as social incapacity of pre-modern tribes, it is not that what comes out of technological insufficiency, on the contrary it is illusion of progress, desire to achieve historical linearity and privilege what creates fascism (Löwy, 2005, pp. 59-60). Unlike most of economic deterministic view of Marxism, Benjamin does not evaluate redemption or revolution as an unavoidable consequence of confliction that are to be created in between base and superstructure of societies of relations of production against forces of production. He manifests this contradiction as a mystified progress that will lead to many catastrophes if it is not halted by a radical interruption.

Gradual progress implicitly located in the idea of evolutionary understanding of history has the determinative force of accumulation of victories or gains, more desire for rationality, more civilization is the main motivation for only who had been victorious. But, Benjamin would like to propose a different optical angle to history, that is the view of oppressed, non-represented ones, ignored ones as being defeated (Löwy, 2005, p. 39). Benjamin in all his works looks in deep of historical relations that makes reading of history possible as a dialectical relation of progress and barbarity existing together, in which history of oppressed erased by the victorious ones (Löwy, 2005, p. 51). It is the mission of historical materialist to discover traces of these defeats, to make ghosts of massacred revealed through rejection of the idea

of progress. If there is something called continuity in history or persistence in temporality it is "of domination, and the automatism of history merely reproduces this ('the rule'). The only moments of freedom are interruptions, discontinuities, when the oppressed rise up and attempt to free themselves" (Löwy, 2005, p. 86).

Benjamin in order to reveal the illusion of progress uses a Paul Klee painting, maybe as an optical move to displace optimistic understanding of oppresseds, *Angelus Novus* or Angel of History as Benjamin named it. Angel is in horrible shock, fixated eyes of it unwraps the terror that she is witnessing. Benjamin understands Angelus Novus as thrown out of modernity by the inevitable force of progress wind and when she looks into history only thing that she might get awareness of catastrophes (Löwy, 2005, p. 62). History is the repetition of catastrophes over and over again, it is hell what has been going under the name of modernity, reiteration of the same time and time again:

> [H]ell is not something that awaits us, but *this life here and now*. In what sense? For Benjamin, in *The Arcades Project*, the quintessence of Hell is the eternal repetition of the same, the most fearful paradigm of which is to be found not in Christian theology, but in Greek mythology: Sisyphus and Tantalus, condemned to the eternal return of the same punishment. In this context, Benjamin quotes a passage from Engels, comparing the worker's interminable torture - compelled, as he is, endlessly to repeat the same mechanical movement - with the infernal punishment of Sisyphus. But this is not just something that afflicts the worker: the whole of modem society, dominated by commodities, is subject to repetition, to the *Immergleich* (always the same), disguised as novelty and fashion: in the realm of commodities, 'Humanity figures . . . as damned'. (Löwy, 2005, pp. 63-64)

Benjamin opposing the idea of progress, uncovering its repetitive illusion related with an apprehension of catastrophe opens a way that would end this eternal return of the same, he mentions that what is revolutionary action is an emergency break in a train that creates an deception of moving forward. This is a real state of exception for history, the real condition that will stop history on the side of defeateds, ghosts/traces

of lost possibilities of objects and subjects. Although he is so discreet about how it is possible to ring emergency break or make history stop, he continuously highlights how materialist historian would look into these catastrophes of lost potentialities. These potentialities are injected into not only human beings but also images, technological apparatuses, fashion, media even in metaphors and allegorical relations. Thus, *Angelus Novus* as materialist historian should be seeing into the deep mundane relations that had been separated from each other under the illusion of progress, and explains them through a methodology of montage. But as a Messianic interruption, emergency break or freezing of time during the real state of exception might cause redemption of lost potentialities of all.

Gezi protests' temporality although having no messianic involvement of redemption maybe read as a freezing of time, since all the relationality that occurred before and afterwards of Gezi Protests over and over again (re)produces the illusion of progress. But, as Benjamin declares what came in the scene of history during Gezi is possible only as a radical interruption, radical caesura of temporality, a radical intervention into the linearity of history. Gezi protestors maintained the fact there exists no beyond of this point, there is no progress either after or before Gezi, and they were and will be only catastrophic reiterations. All protestors felt that there is no place to go in history, here and now is the only possibility of existence. They all remember Gezi as if it is one single day.

If a historical materialist wandered in Gezi Park would see the every kind of catastrophes remembered as if they happened at the same time, although one is about Armenian Genocide of 1915 (staircases of Gezi Park were constructed with the stones of Armenian graves that had been there as a cemetery prior to genocide.), one is about Roboski that happened in 2011, one is about Reyhanlı that happened in

2013, one is about 1980 coup, one is about Taksim May 1 massacre that happened in 1977, one is about independence of war of Turkey that ended in 1919, one is about LGBT people that were killed in Eryaman during 1990s. At the start of the protests all the trees that were being protected from cutting off were labeled with the names of children who had been killed in the lesson of state. Afterwards, any new group added into protests came with their own remembrance of their own death, own defeated, own lost.

History revealed as a repetitive totality of massacres turned everyone in Gezi into *Angelus Novus*, in shock and terror what she had seen when she looked into the eye of the illusion of progress. But, something different happened in Gezi as here and now opened with its enormous potentialities. In this opening there were space and time to hear the stories of not only defeated, lost ones but also every un-actualized struggle against modern society. total state of exception turned into total disclosure of any petrified unrest in linear history previously ignored. Here and now of Gezi protests concluded as a highly dense experience which previously destructed by modern urban life. Thus, reference points of Gezi Protests are opened up in itself that is why every Gezi Protest was radically different from each other, not same, not alike such as Hatay, Istanbul, Ankara, Mersin or Dersim. Every protest space disclosed its own here and now. This here and now, yet, made possible what had been defined as impossible under the conditions of modernity. Even, Gezi Protests created their own calendar founded upon the starting day of protests, memorial days of who had died, which would be considered as temporal manifestation of revolution for Benjamin (Löwy, 2005, p.89) since calendar change implies the fact that there existed an event of radical interruption, freezing of time.

4.2 Dreaming society, awakening of commodity

Were Gezi Protests a dream, what about before and afterwards? Although most people participated in Gezi Protests reminds "those days" as if they were in a dream situation and waking up from this dream made them thrown into a nightmare, Walter Benjamin would claim otherwise. Benjamin's modern society critique maybe read as a seal of approval what Descartes had been rejected about reality of the world, namely the question of what if we were all brains in vats, the question of worldly relations as dreaming. Although, Benjamin did not directly points Descartes' reasonable doubt, assertion of dreaming society is very much related with that a modern society's relation to its reality.

What does society dream about? About commodities, declares Benjamin, but according to him commodities are not conspiracy theories that have been produced under powerful controllers of capitalism. Society dreams about machines, buildings, mirrors, shopping malls, construction sites, world exhibitions, myth of commodity substitutes the relations of human beings:

> Corresponding to the form of the new means of production, which in the beginning is still ruled by the form of the old (Marx), are, in the social superstructure, wish images in which the new and the old interpenetrate in fantastic fashion. This interpenetration derives its fantastic character, above all, from the fact that what is old in the current of social development never clearly stands out from what is new, while the latter, in an effort to disengage from the antiquated, regenerates archaic, primordial elements. The utopian images which accompany the emergence of the new always, at the same time, reach back to the primal past. In the dream in which each epoch entertains images of its successor, the appears wedded to elements of primal history. The reflections of the base to the superstructure are therefore inadequate, not because they will have been continuously falsified by the ideologues of the ruling class, but because the new, in order to take the form of an image, constantly unites its elements with those of the classless society. The collective unconscious has a greater share in them than that consciousness of the collective. From the former come the images of utopia that have left their traces in a thousand configurations from buildings to fashions.
> (Benjamin, 1999, p. 894)

Benjamin (1999) says that the industrial exhibitions in which all countries shows their own capacity to product but also displays their cultural phantasmagoria of technological relations were firstly have the aim of amusing working class (p. 180). All productions and reproduction of modern world has been created for being a commodity but according to Benjamin their destination is to be placed in the dream world, as in the case of fashion. Benjamin (1999) defines dialectics as awakening from this dream world by its relation with its own past because commodification processes are based on ur-histories of objects, based on old dreams of masses. Modern phantasmagoria of masses make process of commodification frozen in wish images, that kind of petrified nature of commodities indicates the spell of the sleeping beauty which cannot be awaken in the linearity of history:

> But this fetishized nature, too, is transitory. The other side of mass culture's hellish repetition of "the new" is the mortification of matter which is fashionable no longer. The gods grow out of date, their idols disintegrate, their cult places—the arcades themselves—decay. (Buck-Morss, 1989, p. 159)

Continuous dialectical relation of commodification is about the mythical character of modern society. Nature's mythical claim is about the potentiality that has not been actualized but consciousness of masses wonders in the old as mythic because they realize that their past desires could not be satisfied. Buck-Morss (1989) underlines that "collective imagination mobilizes its powers for a revolutionary break from the recent past by evoking a cultural memory reservoir of myths and utopian symbols from a more distant ur-past (p. 117). Ur-history and ur-phenomena cannot be erased from materiality of the world of products although masses are enchanted by them, their ur-history have the potential to be revealed in the moments of awakening. This imaginationary power of masses reflects itself in the image of an archaic utopia for social equality, requiring an interruption of linear history:

> Each time, what sets the tone is without doubt the newest, but only where it emerges in the medium of the oldest, the longest past, the most ingrained. This spectacle, the unique self-construction of the newest in the medium of what has been, makes for the true dialectical theater of fashion. …..that the collective dream energy of a society has taken refuge with redoubled vehemence in the mute impenetrable nebula of fashion, where the understanding cannot follow. Fashion is the predecessor-no, the eternal deputy- of Surrealism. (Benjamin, 1999, p. 64)

Buck-Morss (1989) explains that Benjaminian potential of classless society does not lie in the future; it is immanently petrified in here and now, by a process of proliferation of past utopias. But, says Buck-Morss a dream image is not an actualization of wish or utopia, it is not dialectical in that sense (p. 115). This is the case of not-yet-consciousness of what-has-been which only through a dialectical intervention make it exploded as a revolutionary state of exception, awakening or illumination. Dialectical intervention needed for awakening of society is in the realm of montage, fragmentation and intervention. Benjaminian redemption is possible through new and ur-past, catastrophic and utopian, progress and suspension is juxtaposed with each other, in order to actualize what society unconsciously wishes as what has been. Benjamin borrowing surrealist method of montage goes deep into the mundane details of capitalist modernity, as he explains in Arcades Projects objects does not needed to be a part of big picture in order to explain what is the mythical forces. Power of montage is, "to assemble large-scale constructions out of the small individual moment the crystal of the total event. And therefore to break with vulgar historical naturalism" (Benjamin,1999, p. 461).

Commodity fetishism is thought by Benjamin radically different than other Marxist thinkers classified as economical determinists, he talks within these fetishes, make them talk in characters of different subjectivities such as flaneur, gambler, prostitute, archive-man, collector, and writer. Commodities of Benjamin can talk as

if they were humans. Cities can talk, paving stones can walk, boulevards can think. And they all tell a similar catastrophic story which cannot be heard by linear history. But their story also contains phantasmagoria of a utopia, fetish character of all masses which would exemplify their collective wishes. What is fetishism is a question of not only production or reproduction of commodities but it is strictly about mythic, unsatisfied, unfulfilled dreams of masses. What this phantasmagoria uncovers that commodities are not only used by people but also compresses the wishful thinking of societies. Awakening from this wishful thinking is made possible in two distinct ways, first one is the methodology of montage as mentioned above and second one is the immanent critique of tools of capitalism by using its own technology. Benjamin does not reject technology for the sake of utopia; on the contrary he is after the redemption of technology by using/dialectically criticizing it. Mundane details of everyday life, for Benjamin, are full of potentialities because every object or every commodity are miniaturized and condensed form of experiences of modern life, under which all history can be read or made intelligible. But the intelligibility or legibility comes under the fact of illuminatory moments that would reveal the mythical wishes encapsulated in objects. Traces of what has been lost, forgotten is in the objects waits for the materialist historian to read them. Modern life, for Benjamin, is also a production of residues, continuously trying to renew itself by polishing all objects over and over again. Pursuing these residual matters, ruins is the potential to discover what is old in the new as ur-history and petrified unrest.

Although objects in Gezi Protests did not lose their commodity character, it is obvious that labor encapsulated in them is revealed in a radical way; their relations of circulation and distribution is made obvious and interfered by all the participants of

protests. But, most importantly, they exposed their imaginative/utopian character. All protestors learn how to make a commodity queer by changing their optical and physical relation to them, including tables, paving stones, bottles of water, fire, dust, garbage etc. It is because what has been imprisoned in different technological tools had opened themselves when protestors saw them in a montage-like situation. Dialectics created by Gezi protests might be summarized as the methodological intervention of montage, radical juxtaposition of different objects disclosing their multiple ur-histories as a utopia. Affects, which were disposed of their strong attachment with commodities, expanded into spatiality of Gezi Protests. what we witnessed in Gezi were not relations of commodities as petrified unrest but opening of a space of human relations saved from their emotional tie to what-has-been imprisoned in commodity relations. So that, what had been unconsciously conjoined with internet as a phantasmagoria/need/utopia of social communication, became actualized in human relations during protests. All memories, all objects and stories were under investigation of how community might change it and make them a communal object for Gezi Protests. through queering of objects what was declared as old and new has been changed. Dreams of society were made actualized through dialectical montage of them. So, Benjamin methodologically was in Gezi Protests. Awakening of ruins, awakening of dust, awakening of garbage is a methodology for redemption. Sleeping beauty of modern society was saved from its spell for fifteen days by their own residual matter, by their own old utopias imprisoned in them.

4.3 Aura

> Even the most perfect reproduction of a work of art is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be. (Benjamin, 2007, p. 220)

Performance artist Marina Abramovic in her show named *The Artist is Present* makes herself present in the performance physically in the room of Museum of Modern Art, while her previous works are replicated by other artists in other rooms, she sits on a chair and looks into eyes of her viewers. During this show she does not move, does not speak only sits and looks. Some viewers start to cry when they come into eye contact with Abramovic, some tries to perform their own art. This show is striking because in common art forms, even in performance art, we do not face with the real artist; she always located in the background of her artwork, never in the foreground, particularly never as herself.

During Gezi Protest, we have witnessed a transformation of artistic relations by not only artwork is everywhere as different forms of musical activity, dance, painting but also by huge participation of artists as protestors. But, as an addition to street art, graffiti, communal artistic performances, spontaneous forms of creating art, artistic work aimed education of children, we might say that all ruins and buildings of Gezi space turned into an artistic work. This was obviously a Benjaminian intervention to art, which grounded on the term of aura and its decline in modern artistic work. Aura defined as the distance in front of an artwork has been caused by its uniqueness. Thus, reproduction of artwork diminishes its potential to create an aura in itself. Benjamin points that decline of aura is related with the loss of authority in artistic work and the viewer of it. Viewer through photography and cinematic work lose her capacity to participate in art. This is a consequence of reproduction of art enormously by the progress of technology, starting from lithography ending with cinematic

technology artistic work is made deprived of its aura. As a consequence, decline of

aura make both artist and her viewer detached, apolitical and alienated from the

sense of art, meaning created by it.

> One might subsume the eliminated element in the term 'aura' and go on
> to say: that which withers in the age of mechanical reproduction is the
> aura of the work of art. This is a symptomatic process whose significance
> points beyond the realm of art. One might generalize by saying: the
> technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the
> domain of tradition. By making many reproductions it substitutes a
> plurality of copies for a unique existence. And in permitting the
> reproduction to meet the beholder or listener in his own particular
> situation, it reactivates the object reproduced. These two processes lead
> to a tremendous shattering of tradition which is the obverse of the
> contemporary crisis and renewal of mankind. Both processes are
> intimately connected with the contemporary mass movements. Their
> most powerful agent is the film. Its social significance, particularly in its
> most positive form, is inconceivable without its destructive, cathartic
> aspect, that is, the liquidation of the traditional value of the cultural
> heritage. This phenomenon is most palpable in the great historical films.
> It extends to ever new positions. (Benjamin, 2007, p. 221)

Richard Wolin (1982) defines aura of an object manifesting their own uniqueness

rather than a petrified and fossilized image of itself: "For this reason photography

clearly proves destructive of the aura of objects, whereas painting, on the other hand,

would preserve its traces most faith-fully. For photography tends to fix the image of

a thing at a given moment in time, it consciously freezes its associations" (p. 35).

Thus, we can discuss Gezi as the reversal of decline of aura that has been created

through mostly digitalized images of art and technological speed. Thereby, it is the

awakening of a mass body enchanted by technological form of art or images,

reemergence of aura with the process of being a part of it, nearly being an agent of it.

Here and now of Gezi Protests originates an auratic image in its uniqueness, that

cannot be reproduced again as itself. This may be seen in the photos of burnt buses or

photos of barricades that more or less emerges as an attraction point for all of the

participants of Gezi Protest. They can be seen as paintings that were hanged on the walls of a museum, which visiting them occurred as a religious ritual.

Considered as a whole, if it is possible, one could claim that Gezi protests were not a doing but how the deed is represented through images via social media. Since, apart from active clashes, all protests, all actions were photographed and (re)distributed on social media, mostly including Twitter, Instagram and Facebook. Whatever occurred during Gezi Protests were multiplied on images. But, we can say, this enormous sharing of images did not result in the decline of aura of Gezi Protests. Not only images but also dates of remembrance, musical productions, and dance performances even graffiti saved their uniqueness and unrepeatability. Gezi protests as a unique event is desired to be repeated but cannot. This desire makes protests gained a distance to its own in an imminent sense. It may be said that everyone desires a new Gezi but encapsulated in the old one. So that, aura of Gezi Protests and its artistic are not declined although its volume enlarged, its images circulated again and again.

4.4 Storytelling and allegory

> In Blanqui's view of the world, petrified unrest becomes the status of the cosmos itself. The course of the world appears, accordingly, as one great allegory. (Benjamin, 1999, p. 329)

Richard Wolin (1982) diagnoses that Walter Benjamin in his early works destruction of experience, dissolution of meaning condensated in experience, traces of past traditional society thus utopian the belief incarnated in theological relations are secularized in modern times and this abyss of meaningful reading of modern versus traditional:

> Not only does he fear the loss of past experience, but also the serious impairment of the present-day capacity to assimilate experience

altogether. The implacable advance of the forces of production in the modern age, rapidly rendering all remnants of tradition obsolete, eventually comes to penetrate all aspects of existence, so that ultimately even the human faculty of perception itself is diminished. Consequently, not only has the quality of experience deteriorated in modern life to an unprecedented degree, but the subjective capacity to detect this development, and thus possibly redress it, has likewise been seriously eroded. (Wolin, 1982, p. 19)

Benjamin focuses on immediate experience (*Erlebnis*) as a form of how memory of lost traditions, defeated ones, stories of personal relations might be saved. He highlights that form of *Erlebnis* changes through time, exemplified in different categorizations of relations to the world, as fate, as adventure, as catharsis, as progress, sometimes as religion. Loss of meaning is dependent on loss of experience as *Erlebnis*:

> Although experience is probably one of the most elusive concepts in Western philosophy, for Benjamin, experience does not simply mean a passive reception and comprehension of the world as an already existing entity. Instead, what people perceive through their senses and register by way of their imagination and memory *is* the world. But experience is neither completely random nor purely subjective—it is conditioned by a socially shaped *mode of experience*, the objectivity of which overlaps with, but is distinct from, that of economic conditions. (Son, 2013, p. 616)

In his famous article Storyteller, Benjamin (2007) emphasizes that legibility of traditional traces in modern life is in continuous is reduced by knowledge imprisoned in information, stories turned into novels and "the art of storytelling is reaching its end because the epic side of truth, wisdom is dying out (p. 87). We are fulfilled with information about global events but in lack of knowledge and create of a story of our own because information is always already occupied by explanatory forces of everyday news just opposed to stories we hear are open to our rediscovery of experience as truth:

> The gift for listening is lost and the community of listeners disappears. For storytelling is always the art of repeating stories and this art is lost when the stories are no longer retained. It is lost because there is no more weaving and spinning to go on while they are being listened to. (Benjamin, 2007, p. 91)

Allegorical understanding of world in Benjamin maybe read as his dialectical intervention to loss of traditional experience and what commodification made out of knowledge. Traces of storytelling might be found in allegorical repetitions of words, images, religious phrases, cursing: "The allegories stand for that which the commodity makes of the experiences people have in this century" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 328). Mieszkowski (2004) explains allegory in terms of its etymological origin as 'speaking otherwise than one seems to speak', which clearly manifest the fact that allegories may say a point yet signifies another: "they call attention to the ways in which their meanings are produced as much as to what those meanings may be" (p. 45). Allegory is in the realm of thought what ruins are in the realm of things (Buck-Morss, 1989, p. 165). So that allegorical phrases[30] might be read as signifying loss of a meaning and its redemptive powers. Allegorical relations may be defined as the mode of argumentation, how truths are made true in linguistic realm. Benjamin for example focuses on how allegorical usages of advertisement changed our relation with language of argumentation, what is to be accepted as true is defined in terms of advertisement technologies.

Gezi Protests witnessed a blasting of stories including graffiti, conversation of individuals with each other, stories told in forums, even during night watch of barricades people started to tell each other their own stories. Those were untold, unshared experiences of past, neither true nor false. Listeners were free to rediscover

---

[30] Benjamin lists Baudelaire's alegories: "Art, Love, Pleasure, Repentance, *Ennui*, Destruction, the Now, Time, Death, Pear, Sorrow, Evil, Truth, Hope, Vengeance, Hate, Respect, Jealousy, Thoughts" (Benjamin, 1999, p. 328).

the wisdom in them; sometimes they were so irrelevant that listeners forced themselves to discover a meaning in them. Stories of survival through police attacks, stories of individual exposure to violence, stories of matches, stories of families, stories of previous protests were circulating in an enormous velocity. Rediscovery of storytelling in Gezi Protests made communication possible in society. So that, the capacity of experience has increased due to the fact that their truth has gained the power of to be listened. Mode of experience, against the background of modern life, changed in telling stories of ur-histories of collective imagination.

New allegorical language in Gezi Protests was produced mostly by youngsters through graffiti and Twitter messages. They were commonly based on computer games, internet technologies or TV series. This kind of allegories created an environment that previous relations cannot achieve, for example the untouchable character of Atatürk is deconstructed by not leftist slogans against it but by youngsters' declaring themselves as Mustafa Keser's soldiers, as previously mentioned. Resurrection of İkinci Yeni poetry, Oğuz Atay, Sabahattin Ali novels indicated the literary capacity of allegories in Gezi Protests. All these implied the fact that argumentative force of new (youngsters) has the capacity to change petrified relations of past.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, I have tried to (re)read mundane details of Gezi Protests as they were, as they were embodied, not as politically represented, not as sociologically examined but as they were emerged as a surprise, as a state of exception that broke a spell, as an interruption of myth, as a creation of a world. Everydayness of Gezi was not an everyday relation in urban life but not a complete negation of it. It was constructed as an interruption, fragmentation of queering/disorientating of all relations that had been previously thought that everybody had been suffering alone, everybody had been surviving on its own. Survival with sharing of a space; sharing of rhythmical effects; witnessing that all the objects previously categorized in capitalistic relations of production, turned into different ones; witnessing images as a destructive force of so believed regularities; the walls spoke as an exscription of each one; the individuals transmissed as "we" were what made Gezi. Whatever called as Gezi Spirit was not something apart singular plural of existence of all people in Gezi, not concentrating on creating a solid identity against an enemy, but an action based on sharing, creating potentials to be together in a common spatiality. What illuminated in flashes, in point of musical remembrances, in allegories used on walls are the lost possibilities of redemption. What create itself as an aura, as here and now, as a distance that makes potentials to be actualized.

But as a conclusion, I would like to focus on the issue of death just not because it was so important for Gezi Protesters exposing themselves as singular plurals but

also death is the point of juncture that all the social demarcations that were to be

made about Gezi Protests would be understood.

Just 2 years ago, I thought that #Gezi were a useless demand while there existed such ecological massacres of poverty and HES [Hydroelectric Stations]. I couldn't grasp it yet. Just two years before this day, it was a middle class caprice, for me. "How naive I was. Two years ago this day, everything would about to change for me and never would be the same again. Women in Red made myself tear apart. Why? She was wearing a dress. She had an armchair. It was so obvious that she was not there for clashing with police forces…She had an intention to be there. But, what shaken me essentially were two men. First was a man who was crying in the middle of gas clouds, sunken through a tree, and mumbling "what is all this rage for. I saw the other man while trying to escape from police's hands. I thought that he was escaping from arrestment. He went and hugged a tree. Police took him again. My daughter was 2 years old then. I felt that if I had not done anything, I couldn't have looked into my daughter's eye again. I said farewell to my wife and went out. While going outside there was one thing in my mind; to share what was happening to those outside. I was going to share the suffering. I took up a friend from Gayrettepe. Everybody was on the roads…Pots, pans, flags…obviously they were from the neighborhood. Arrived at Sıraselviler, we saw some other friends. There was a barricade upside. Everywhere was bursting at the seams. I even could not recognize the road that I everyday walk through. Barricades etc. it was a big organization. It could not be spontaneous. I was trying to figure out, absolutely there must have an organized thing in it. There were youngsters waiting in front of the barricade. Gas smell, too bad. I could not bear so much. Asking, who they are, nobody knew. Soon, police threw gas at the barricade, folk went down running. In minutes, a new group of people were gathering together at the barricade. Somebody should have been organizing them, but I couldn't see who. Soon, again gas bombs, barricades were empty again. Come on, it is empty again! That time I was the one went to the barricade as if hypnotized. What am I doing in front of a barricade? I had not seen a barricade in my lifetime before. What will happen? I had not been taken under custody before. Whatever happens, it is ok. Soon, again gas bombs. What a gas (then it seemed like such a gas). I could not see my front line, while I was trying to escape. I cannot breathe. While I was trying to run away a hand stopped me on my shoulder, when I looked up he sprayed something in my eye. What is happening? What is happening? I became relaxed in a second. I have to say something. 'Thank you'. 'What is that you are spraying?' He patted on my back; I took the order and went. After a while, I looked up the boy again. Such a slimy, long boy. In the middle of the gas clouds, he sprays everyone coming and going. I do not know who that masked boy is. I feel now as if he were my brother. Everyone in the Gezi was like brothers and sisters but for me I felt this for him for the first time. There was no organized, no political party etc., I figured it out then. There was a mass that was organizing without any organizing

spontaneously and I was a part of them instinctly. That kind of organization feeling would come to me when Gezi Park was occupied. There were youngsters who were cleaning the park systematically. Sometimes in twos, sometimes alone they were collecting garbage. Come on, who are they? Are they from some ecological group or something? One morning when I woke up at the park, there was there my little cousin. 18 years old. Collecting garbage. She was so little and spoiled her mom picks her up from bus stop every evening. What was she doing at the park? I am asking about the organization of garbage collecting. She says there is no organization, this it I can do for the park. But embarrassed asking and proud of my cousin. There are lots of to tell about. Maybe I can tell again but #gezi's magic was solidarity. At the park, both resistance and life was constructed with solidarity. Health, working, financial issues, food…Everything happened with solidarity. There constructed a utopian life. While there was no State we slept and woke up there. I had not felt myself so safe anywhere before. I had thousands of brothers and sisters. And I felt that my city was belonged to me. It was just like after drowned in rent payments for years to have your own home. Nothing would be same again. I opened a twitter account soon later. I had started to read in social sciences… I knew that there was something against injustice. I did not remain silent at the work anymore. Soon, they fired me of course. I quitted… With the friend that I took up from Gayrettepe, we build up a little company…But most importantly, I can look in the eyes of my daughter. And I am aware that how capable of I am. I am not afraid anymore. Now, we do not remember each other but I know that there exist thousands of brothers and sisters of me. What else I can expect…As a cliché for Gezi narrative, I am crying now. Old age, you know. Sometimes, they say 'do not forget Gezi' etc. it is bizarre for me to hear that. How is it forgotten? It is more suitable to say that "abstain yourself remembering". As I said, nothing may be same again. For all of us and for all of our country's history, Gezi is a one way ticket rupture. I know you are out there somewhere. Take care of yourselves my brothers and sister. [31]

The moment of leaving his home, the thought of how he was going to look into his daughter, the feeling that he should write off his debt (helalleşmek is a word in Turkish strongly underlines that one is going in a situation that death is a high possibility, a phrase while leaving one is in the strong belief that he will not see

---

[31] Here, this long citation from a twitter user is a capturing of all discussed in this theses, on the issue of sharing, finitude, solidarity etc. I did not want to cut his words although only the parts relevant for this section is the one about how he went out at the beginning, all the quotation is just a like a summary of what had been during protests. It is directly quoted from a flood of the twitter user (@ilkimlifecoach) twitted at the second anniversary of Gezi Protests starting from this tweet: https://twitter.com/ilkimlifecoach/status/603784470920110080. See Appendix for the entire tweet flood in Turkish.

others again), the participation in others suffering, sharing of what had been done to others. I think all these statements should be read as a proof of what the masses were feeling just before they went into the protests for first 3 days of Gezi Protests after 31 May 2013. They felt that something must have been done against what had been going on the streets; even the outcome would be dead. They must have shared what all society had been gone through, suffering. They saw a possible death of all, which would then erase all the individualistic demarcations in the society. There occurred seven civilian deaths in and after Gezi Protests. Mehmet Ayvalıtaş died after a car went into directly to the walking protestors. Abdullah Cömert claimed to be dead after a gas bomb capsule hit him on his head. Ethem Sarısülük died with a police bullet, as well Medeni Yıldırım. Ali İsmail Korkmaz was beaten by civilians to death. Ahmet Atakan lost his life supposedly by a gas bomb capsule. Berkin Elvan at the age of 14 died because of a gas capsule hit his head again.

Ian James (2006) highlights Nancy's apprehension of death is different than Heidegger's since Heidegger's Dasein although captures its being-towards-death as it sees others' death, it is any case its own death it relates (p. 178). Death of others cannot be same with my own death. But, as James (2006) mentions Nancy understands death in relation with community and how it is radically communicated as a shared finitude in community (p. 178):

> [Literature][32] inscribes us as exposed to one another and to our respective deaths in which we reach one another –in passing to the limit-mutually. To reach one another –in passing to the limit- is not to commune, which is to accede to another total body where everyone melts together. But to reach one another, to touch one another, is to touch the limit where being itself, where being-in-common conceals us one from the other, and, in concealing us, in withdrawing us from the other before the other, exposes us to him or her. (Nancy, 1991, p. 66)

---

[32] In here, we could say that instead of literature, there were twitter messages, facebook entries, videos and online capturing of events and images.

What respective (possible) deaths of ours revealed in Gezi Protests is although indicating a community but not its completion. Just because every death occurred in and after protests does not make people to return their homes and mourn for the lost ones. Instead they again and again were in Gezi. They did not take death as a stop to think about lost past, lost dream but move on to struggle. It was not a closure onto themselves. It was not a case of collecting memories of dead one and creating an essence for the community of Gezi in order to make it a myth. For example, through the death of Medeni Yıldırım, who killed in a protest against the construction of police station in a Kurdish town, although his protest was not related to Gezi, made people to capture what might be going on in Kurdish areas of Turkey. Nancy (2000) distinguishes singular plural's death from individuated/singularized ones since if there exists a detached alienated being it would die in a negative relation with the living ones or to life but death or birth of singular plurals is through their shared existence, experienced a sharing:

> We say in French "mourir à" ["dead to"]—to the world, to life—as well as "naître à" ["born to"]. Death is *to* life, which is something other than being the negativity through which life would pass in order to be resuscitated. To put it very precisely: death as fertile negativity is that of a single subject (either individual or generic). Death *to* life, exposition *as such* (the ex-posed as ex-posed = that which turns toward the world, in the world, the very *nihil* of its creation) can only be being-with, singular plural. (Nancy, 2000, p. 89)

Death of Ali İsmail is radically different than other ones, since his death occurred in a situation that he was not been participating in protests, beaten up by complete strange ones, he died not in the place of protests, near his home, where death is a part of protests, where death is always a possibility on the struggle, since everybody who were targeted by gas bombs might die just like Ahmet Atakan or Abdullah Cömert. Ali İsmail, for masses, for our shared existence died alone; we could not and

possibility of our sharing would not be a case for his death. He was left alone, dragged into darkness, alone in the darkness of death. So that his death gave people a different sensation than others, Abdullah Cömert, Mehmet Ayvalıtaş or Ethem Sarısülük who died in front of us, through our witnessing, just like us. So, Korkmaz "achieved" some kind of innocence through his death, turned into a sacrifice for Gezi Protests. All other protestors would face with death just like others, but they could not have the potential to die like Ali İsmail. They could not share his death through a sharing. So his death pointed a demarcation in Gezi Protests where community started to feel as if some other's dying instead of them, for the sake of their redemption. Sacrifice in Battaille's terms as James (2006) explains started to play in between the completion of community through a society before Ali İsmail it was not possible since everyone has a possible relation with death (p. 180). Death of innocent one started a process of creating a myth differently than its interruption.

Berkin Elvan's death was shocking for everyone. He survived for 269 days after he had been shot by a gas bomb capsule during the clashes in Okmeydanı protesting against the draining away of Gezi Park. Anybody participated in Gezi Protests watched his survival struggle for 269 days. But, he died on 11 March 2014. Nearly a million people gathered in his funeral in Istanbul. It could be said that it was the last scene that all Gezi protestors gathered together just like in Gezi but this time mourning in an incredible way. Because after protests were over, every Gezi protestor wished something resembling Gezi Protests to emerge again. But there was all a mimicking of the lost past of Gezi in a partial way. For example, it turned into a habit to go to Taksim and clash with police a little bit every Saturday from June to October. Everybody started to talk about how Gezi Spirit was and how they could not find it anywhere or anything. This lost spirit was Berkin Elvan. He might be seen

as the ghost of Gezi Protests haunting everyone in a Benjaminian sense, the defeated

ones of their lost paradise.

APPENDIX

THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE GEZİ PROTESTS

"Tam 2 sene önce, yoksulluk ve HES gibi ekolojik katliamlar varken #Gezi yi gereksiz bir talep zannetmiştim. Anlayamamıştım henüz. Tam 2 sene önce bugün #Gezi bana kalsa orta sınıf şımarıklığıydı hatta. Ne kadar safmışım. 2 sene önce yarın benim için işler değişecek ve bir daha asla eskisi gibi olmayacaktı. Kırmızılı kadın içimi cız ettirdi. Neden? Kırmızılı kadın bir elbise giymişti. Kol çantası vardı. Çatışmak için orada olmadığı o kadar belliydi ki…Bir meramı vardı. Ama beni esas sarsan iki adam olmuştu. Birincisi onca gazın arasında ağacın dibine çöküp "bu neyin öfkesi" diye ağlayan bir adamdı. Diğer adamı polislerin elinden kurtulmaya çalışırken gördüm. Gözaltından kaçıyor zannettim. Gitti bir ağaca sarıldı. Polisler geri aldı (cennetten düşüş belgeselindeki çocuk). Kızım o zaman iki yaşında. Bir şey yapmazsam kızımın gözüne bakamayacağımı hissettim. Hanımla vedalaştım helalleşir gibi ve çıktım. Yola çıkarken kafamdaki tek mevzu oradaki insanlara ne yapılıyorsa ortak olmaktı. Eziyete ortak olmaya gidiyordum. Gayrettepe'den bir arkadaşı aldım. Millet yollarda. Tencereler, tavalar, bayraklar…belli ki mahalleli. Sıraselviler'e geldik. Arkadaşları gördük. Yukarıda bir barikat. Ortalık ana baba günü. Bin kere geçtiğim caddeyi tanıyamıyorum. Barikat falan büyük organizasyon. Çözmeye çalışıyorum, kesin örgütlülük olmalı. Spontan olmaz bu iş. Barikatın başında gençler var. Gaz kokusu fena. Bu kadarına alışık değilim. Kim bunlar diye soruyorum, kimse bilmiyor. Çok geçmeden barikat gazlanıyor, millet koşarak aşağı iniyor. Kendi küçük ve güvenli hayatımda tam bir dehşet manzarası. Dakikalar için yeni bir grup üçer beşer barikat başına toplanıyor. Birileri organize ediyor olmalı

ama bir türlü göremiyorum. Bir süre sonra yine gaz, barikat yine boş. Lan barikat boş kaldı yine!Bu sefer ben de hipnotize olmuş gibi barikatın başına gidenlerdenim. Benim barikat başında ne işim var? Hayatım boyunca barikat bile görmemişim. Ne olacak? Hiç gözaltım yok. (neden gözaltına iyelik takısı takarız ki?) ne olacaksa olsun canına yandığımın. Derken bizi de gazlıyorlar. Ama ne gaz (o zaman bana öyle geliyor). Geri dönüp kaçmaya başlıyorum, önümü göremiyorum. Nefes alamıyorum. Yokuş aşağı öğüre tıksıra inerken bir el omuzumdan tutuyor. Kafayı kaldırmamla gözüme bir şey sıkıyor. Nooluyo? Saniye içinde rahatlıyorum. Bir şey söylemem lazım. 'Sağol'. 'O sıktığın nedir'…Mal mal bakarken sırtıma pat diye vuruyor, komutu aldım. İnmeye devam ediyorum. Biraz daha inip tekrar çocuğa bakıyorum. Zargana gibi sıska, uzun bir oğlan. Gazın ortasında durmuş, inenlere solusyon sıkıyor. O maskeli oğlan kimdir necidir bilmem. Halen kardeşimmiş gibi hissederim. Alandaki herkes için öyle ama ilk o anda yaşadım bu duyguyu. Örgütlülük falan yok, artık anlamıştım. Örgütsüz ve spontan biçimde organize olan bir kitle var ve ben de içgüdüsel biçimde bir parçasıydım. Bu örgütlülük düşüncesine bir kere daha park alınınca kapılacaktım. Parkı sistematik biçimde temizleyen gençler var. Bazen yalnız bazen iki kişi halinde çöpleri topluyorlar. Kim lan bunlar? Çevre örgütleri falan mı? Ertesi sabah parkta uyanınca bir baktım benim küçük kuzen. 18 yaşında. Çöp topluyor. Kuzen öyle bir minnoş ki akşam okul çıkışı annesi minibüs caddesinde karşılıyor. Kozyatağı'na beraber çıkıyorlar. Ne işi var parkta? Çöp işinin organizyonunu soruyorum. Kız organizasyon yok, benim de elimden bu geliyor diyor. hem utanıyorum sorduğuma hem de gurur duyuyorum. Antlatılacakç ok şey var. Yine anlatırım belki ama #gezi nin büyüsü dayanışmasındaydı. Direniş de yaşam da dayanışmayla kuruldu parkta. Sağlık, istihdam, finans, beslenme…Her şey dayanışma ile gerçekleşti. Ütopik bir yaşam kuruldu orada. Devlet hiç yokken parkta

yatıp kalktık. Kendimi hiç o kadar güvende hissetmemiştim. Binlerce kardeşim vardı. Bir de yaşadığım kentin aslında bana ait olduğunu hissettim. Kiradan yıllarca bunaldıktan sonra kendi evine çıkmak gibi. Bir daha hiçbir şey eskisi gibi olmayacaktı. Hemen bir twitter hesabı açtım. Okuma alanım sosyal bilimlere kaydı…Haksızlığa karşı her daim elimden bir şey gelebileceğini biliyordum artık. Çalıştığım çöplükte kimsenin ezilmesine sesiz kalmadım bir daha. Sonra da defterimi dürdüler elbette, memuriyetten istifa ettim. Gayrettepe'den aldığım o arkadaşla ortak iş kurduk…Ama en önemlisi kızımın yüzüne bakabiliyorum. Bir de gücümün nelere yetebileceğinin farkındayım. Artık korkmuyorum. Şimdi birbirimizi hatırlamıyor olsak da şu cangılda binlerce kardeşimin olduğunu biliyorum. Daha ne olsun…Bir Gezi hatırası anlatısı standartı olarak da şunları yazarken ağlıyorum. Yaşlılık işte. bazen Gezi'yi unutma falan yazıyorlar ya. Bana garip geliyor. Nasıl unutulur ki? Hatırlamaktan imtina etme deseler daha makul sanki. Dediğim gibi bir daha hiçbir şey eskisi gibi olamaz. Hepimizin ve ülkenin tarihi için geri dönüşsüz bir kırılmadır Gezi. Biliyorum oralarda bir yerlerdesiniz. Sağlıcakla kalın kardeşlerim…"

REFERENCES

Ahmed, S. (2006). *Queer phenomenology: Orientations, objects and others*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Appel, V. (2006). *Ghetto art: A thousand voices in the city*. Retrieved from www.edit-revue.com/index.php?Article=98.

Benjamin, J. (1994). The shadow of the other (subject): Intersubjectivity and feminist theory. *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory, 1*(2), 231-254. Retrieved from http://www.constellationsjournal.org/

Benjamin, W. (2007). *Illuminations:Essays and reflections* (H. Zohn, Trans.). New York, NY: Schocken Books (Original work published 1955).

Benjamin, W. (1999). *The Arcades Project* (H. Eiland & K. McLaughlin, Trans.). Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press (Original work published 1982).

Buck-Morss, S. (1989). *The dialectics of seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Cummins, F. (2014, 18 July). Voice, (inter-)Subjectivity, and Real Time Recurrent Interaction. *Frontiers in Psychology*. Advance online publication. doi: 10.3389/fpsyg.2014.00760

Davis, B. W. (2010). Introduction: Key concepts in Heidegger's thinking of being. In B. W. Davis (Ed.), *Martin Heidegger: Key concepts* (pp. 1-16). Durham, England: Acumen Publishing.

Francalanci, E. L. (2012). *Nesnelerin estetiği* (D. Kundakçı, Trans.). Istanbul, Türkiye: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları.

Figal, G. (2010). Phenomenology: Heidegger after Husserl and the Greeks. In B. W. Davis (Ed.), *Martin Heidegger: Key concepts* (pp. 33-43). Durham, England: Acumen Publishing.

Grosz, E. (2001). *Architecture from the outside: Essays on virtual and real space*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Ihde, D. (2007). *Listening and voice: Phenomenologies of sound* (2nd ed.). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

James, Ian (2006). *Fragmentary demand: An introduction to the philosophy of Jean-Luc Nancy*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kisiel, T. (2010). Hermeneutics of facticity. In B. W. Davis (Ed.), *Martin Heidegger: Key concepts* (pp. 17-32). Durham, England: Acumen Publishing.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.). Oxford, England: Blackwell Publishing (Original work published 1974).

Lefebvre, H. (2004). *Rhythmanalysis: Space, time and everyday life* (S. Elden & G. Moore, Trans.). New York, NY: Continuum Press.(Original work published 1972).

Löwy, M. (2005). *Fire alarm: Reading Walter Benjamin's 'on the concept of history'* (C. Turner, Trans.). New York, NY: Verso Publishing (Original work published 2001).

Mieszkowski, Jan (2004). Art Forms. In D. S. Ferris (Ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Walter Benjamin* (pp. 35-53). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Mieszkowski, J. (2010). The writing is on the wall. *Postmodern Culture*, *21*(1), 7-20. Retrieved from http://www.pomoculture.org

Mladen, D. (2006). *A voice and nothing more*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Morrey, D. (2008). Open wounds: Body and image in Jean-Luc Nancy and Claire Dennis, *Film-Philosopy*, *12*(1) 10-30. Retrived from http://www.film-philosophy.com/index.php/f-p

Nancy, J. (1991). *Inoperative community* (P. Connor, L. Garbus, M. Holland & S. Sawhney, Trans.). Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press (Original work published 1986).

Nancy, J. (1993). *The experience of freedom* (B. McDonald, Trans.). Stanford, CA: Standford University Press (Original work published 1988).

Nancy, J. (2000). *Being singular plural* (R. D. Richardson & A. E. O'Byrne, Trans.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press (Original work published 1996).

Nancy, J. (2002). *Listening* (C. Mandell, Trans.). New York, NY: Tordham University Press (Original work published 2002).

Nancy, J. (2007). *The creation of the world or globalization* (F. Raffoul & D. Pettigrew, Trans.). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Pensky, Max (2004). Method and time: Benjamin's dialectical image. In D. S. Ferris (Ed.), *The Cambridge companion to Walter Benjamin* (pp. 177-198). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Ruin, H. (2010). Ge-Stell: Enframing as the essence of techonology. In B. W. Davis (Ed.), *Martin Heidegger: Key concepts* (pp. 183-194). Durham, England: Acumen Publishing.

Sennett, R. (2011). *Ten ve taş: Batı uygarlığında beden ve şehir* (4th ed.) (T. Birkan, Trans.) Istanbul, Turkey: Metis Yayınları.

Son, K.-M. (2013). Walter Benjamin's politics of experience. *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical & Democratic Theory, 20*(4)*,* 615-629. doi: 10.1111/1467-8675.12061

Sorial, S. (2004). Heidegger, Jean-Luc Nancy and the question of Dasein's embodiment: An ethics of touch and spacing. *Philosophy Today, 48*(2) 216-230. Retrieved from https://www.pdcnet.org/philtoday

Stapleton, T. (2010). Dasein as being-in-the-world. In B. W. Davis (Ed.), *Martin Heidegger: Key concepts* (pp. 44-56). Durham, England: Acumen Publishing.

Urry, G. (2014). Neither presencing nor absencing: The stagnation of sensing-towards-presence in the call centre. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *39*(1) 26–37. doi: 10.1111/tran.12005

West-Pavlov, R. (2005). *Transcultural graffiti: Diasporic writing and the teaching of literary studies*. New York, NY: Rodopi.

Wolin, R. (1982). Benjamin's materialist theory of experience. *Theory and Society*, *11*(1) 17-42. Retrieved from http://0-ww.jstor.org.seyhan.library.boun.edu.tr/stable/657284