International Study Group On New Forms Of Public Agency

Participants and Abstracts

24 February 2017
EHESP Room 13
105 Boulevard Raspail
75006 Paris

Levent Yılmaz (1969) is a Professor of European cultural and intellectual history. He taught at Istanbul Bilgi and Koç universities. His research focuses on the modern historiography and on the historical-legal-political foundations of the modernity in Europe. He worked with Tullio Gregory (SAS, Fondazion San Carlo di Modena) for his MA and with François Hartog for his PhD and received his degree from EHESS (2002) with a dissertation on the Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns (the jury was composed by Roger Chartier, Marcel Gauchet, Quentin Skinner and François Waquet). He also worked as senior editor for various publishers (Actes Sud, YKY etc.). His most recent monograph is Le Temps d, 2004; Metis, 2010; English, Bulgarian, Arabic and Italian translations are forthcoming). He also edited the Turkish version of V’ses Bonnefoy’s Dictionary of Mythologies (2 volumes, Dost Kitabevi, 2000) and published a collective volume on Giambattista Vico and the Basic Concepts of the New Science (Bilgi University Press, 2007). He works on the concept of human nature and sociability in the political writings of Florentine politicians, in the natural law tradition and in historiography with a special emphasis on Giambattista Vico’s work. His most recent publication is an edited volume (with Manuela Sanna): The Vico Road (Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Rome, 2016). He was a Senior Braudel Fellow at European University Institute, Directeur d’études invité at the EHESS, Mellon Fellow at Harvard University’s Villa I Tatti and Fellow of the Paris Institute of Advanced Study. He actually works at the EHESS-CRH as Prestige/Marie Curie Fellow.

Umut Özkirimli is Professor of Political Science at the Center for Middle Eastern Studies (CMES), Lund University. He is also a Visiting Professor at The Middle East Centre (MEC), London School of Economics and The Centre for Advanced International Theory (CAIT), University of Sussex; Honorary Professor in Europe, Nationalism and Globalization at the Center for Modern European Studies (CEMES), University of Copenhagen; and a Senior Fellow at Istanbul Policy Center, Sabanci University. He is the author of Theories of Nationalism: A Critical Introduction (Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); Contemporary Debates on Nationalism: A Critical Engagement (Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Tormented by History: Nationalism in Greece and Turkey (with Spyros A. Sofos, Hurst & Co and Oxford University Press, 2008); and the second revised and extended edition of Theories of Nationalism (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). He is currently editing a book series on “Islam and Nationalism” (with Spyros A. Sofos) for Palgrave Macmillan. His latest book, The Making of a Protest Movement in Turkey: #occupygezi (edited collection), is published by Palgrave Pivot in May 2014. His forthcoming books include the third, revised and expanded, edition of Theories of Nationalism and a monograph called Models Unveiled: Sweden and Turkey as Instantiations of a Global Crisis with Lars Trägårdh, Henrik Berggren and Spyros A. Sofos which will both be published in 2017. Özkirimli’s Theories of Nationalism has been adopted as a textbook in over 80 courses in approximately 30 countries across the world; and his books have been translated into Turkish, Greek, Albanian, Persian, Arabic and Chinese so far. He is also a regular contributor to open democracy, Huffington Post and al-Jazeera.

Boyan Znepoleki is Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Sofia “St. Kliment Ohridski” (Bulgaria). His recent publications include: Unveiling the religious motives in radical social critique (forthcoming) (Philosophy and social criticism, SAGE, 2017); How to Criticize Our Societies Today? Part I: Pragmatic Sociology and Pragmatic Social Theory as a Social Critique (Dialogue and Universalism, Vol, XXVI, No 2/2016); Bulgarian Student Occupations in the Focus of Two Rationalities (Critique and Humanism, Vol. 46, 2/2016); Au tour des débats sur les fondements des sciences sociales et de la critique sociale (Divinatio/39-40, spring-summer 2015). His academic interests are in the spheres of: social theory, the contemporary modes of social critique, the new protest movements, the public and academic debates around the concept of “identity”. He is member of the editorial board of Critique and Humanism Journal.
**Gökçe Tuncel** is a PhD student in sociology at EHESS. She holds an MA degree on Alternative Media Studies and Collective Action from the University of Paris 8. She is interested in social movements, public sphere, media studies and political agency. Her co-authored book *Mobilisations numériques: Politiques du conflit et technologies médiatiques* (Presses de Mines) and her article on the politization process of the ultras in the Gezi movement will be published in 2017. She is currently working on an empirical study of the Gezi movement for her PhD thesis. She is working as a research assistant in PublicDemoS Project.

**Dr. Baran Alp Uncu** is a lecturer at Marmara University. After receiving his M.A. degree at McGill University, he completed his PhD in sociology at the London School of Economics. His main fields of interest are social movements, civil society, and globalization. He has carried out research on environmental movements, politics of climate change and more recently Gezi protests in Turkey.

**Buket Türkmen** holds an MA degree and a PhD of EHESS on sociology. Her thesis is concentrated on reconstruction of the secular public space by college students who are members of Islamic foundations and Kemalist associations. She teaches in the Sociology department of Galatasaray University since 1997. She is the author of diverse articles on young Islamists, transformation of the public space, redefinition of secularism and Gezi movement as well as the editor of the volume entitled « Laïcités et religiosités » published on 2010 by L’Harmattan. Since 2011, she is an associate professor.

**Konstantinos Eleftheriadis** is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the Centre d’études des mouvements sociaux (CEMS/IMM) at the Ecole des hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS), in Paris on an individual project on the diffusion of counter-publics after the January 2015 (Charlie Hebdo) terrorist attacks in France. He defended his thesis ‘Queer festivals and their transnational counterpublics’ in 2014 at the European University Institute in Florence. The book will be soon published by Amsterdam University press. He has published extensively in Social Movement studies, International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society, ACME and L’Homme et la Société and has contributed in collective volumes. He has worked as fellow in European funded projects (Mobilizing for Democracy; KNOW RESET). Finally, he has been teaching since 2012 sociology and political science courses in various academic institutions in Europe.
Tom Junes is a historian and holds a Ph.D. from the KU Leuven (Belgium). He is a member of the Human and Social Studies Foundation in Sofia and currently a Visiting Fellow at the European University Institute in Florence. As a postdoctoral researcher he has held fellowships in Warsaw, Vienna, Budapest, Helsinki, Potsdam, Jena and Sofia. His research interests cover Eastern European history, Cold War history, and the history of youth and student movements. He is the author of *Student Politics in Communist Poland: Generations of Consent and Dissent* and has published widely on topics relating to student protest in Eastern Europe.

Born in Barcelona, Spain, Pablo Ouziel is Assistant Professor of Political Science at COMSATS Institute of Information Technology in Islamabad, Pakistan. By standing within the tradition of public philosophy, the core of his work is centered on excavating networks of individuals governing themselves in numerous ways that supersede our current structures of representative government. He is the author of (Forthcoming) ‘Nonviolent communion versus medieval ships of fools: Engaged-citizenry alternatives to Europe’s war on refugees’ in *Cruel and Unusual: Studies on the Meaning of Punishment in the 21st Century*, New York: Routledge (in preparation) and (2016) ‘in dialogue with Simon Tormey’’s the end of representative politics’, in *the end of representative politics*, Disch, L., Ouziel, P., Lawson, N. et al., European Political Science.

Warda Hadjab obtained her M.A in Department of History & Civilizations at Toulouse II Le Mirail University (2005). Her master’s thesis deals with the emergence of Youth French-Muslim Organizations in the late of twentieth century which contributes to new articulations between French citizenship issues, Religion and Social Participation. She works as intercultural educator (2005-2009) in a French territorial institution. She teaches History & Geography in different Public High School in Parisian Suburbs (2009-2011). She is currently pursuing her doctoral studies in Sociology at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, under the supervision of Nilüfer Göle. Her PhD dissertation focuses on Love and Marriage practices amongst French-Muslims, especially those with Arabic Background. From 2011 to 2014, Warda Hadjab was part of the *EuroPublicIslam* research team as a research and editorial assistant. In 2016, she joined the Public Space Democracy team as research-assistant. She published “Scenography oh Halal love in Europe”, in Nilüfer Gole (ed), Enquête de l’islam européen, Halfa, Perpignan, 2015) and « *Algiers-Paris Round trips: Diasporic Pathways of a Public Civil Dissidence* », (Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies, 2016).

Zeynep Ugur is a PhD student of political science in CESPRA, EHESS. Her thesis is supervised by Nilüfer Göle and concentrates on elite transformation in Turkey with regard to the cultural production after 2000s. After graduating from International Relations department of Galatasaray University on 2014, she had her MA degree from Political Science department of EHESS. Gezi movement constitutes a parallel axis in her research. She is currently working as research assistant in PublicDemoS.
Abstracts

Levent Yilmaz, Prestige & Marie Curie Fellow, EHESS, Paris, Full Professor, Koç University, History Department

Notes towards a pre-history of the concept of place

In this paper, I’ll try to lay an emphasis on the pre-history of the concept of “place”. A place, like a garden, is not a natural phenomenon. Throughout the examples taken from the history of human societies, I would like to make the connection between the creation of the “place” and “decision making”. How deliberations were made? How assemblies were formed, for what kind of questions will be my main concerns. The place in this sense is strongly linked to the political power.

Umut Ozkirimli, Professor of Political Science at CMES, Lund University, Sweden

From Protest to Politics: Mapping the Conceptual Terrain

The aim of this contribution is i. to offer a genealogy of social movement theories, ii. to make a case for a constructionist approach to social movements based on a framing perspective in general, Gamson's work on collective action frames in particular, iii. to consider some of the limitations of the proposed approach in the context the challenges faced by social movements, of all hues. I will identify and reflect on four issues that bedevil the theory and practice of social movements: the issue of durability, institutionalization and leadership; the (role of the) state; the question of agency and collective identity; and the need for distinguishing between individual protests and social movements.

Boyan Zenopolski, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Sofia University

What theory for the new “protest movements”?

The paper aims to study the political and philosophical theories, which pay a special attention to the recent protest movements of the public space and try to think them in a more global and unified perspective. The authors who are in the focus of the analysis are Chantale Mouffe, Judith Butler, Slavoj Zizek, among others. The main research interest is, on the one hand, to what extent these theories could really help us to understand better the protest movements and, on the other hand, to what extent the protest movements could constitute an occasion for the contemporary political and philosophical theories to reinvent themselves. Thus, the main distinction should be drawn between the theories, which have a rather instrumental approach to the protests incorporating them into their pregiven conceptual framework, and the theories, which allow to be provoked and influenced by what they consider original and valuable in the protest movements of the public space. The first part of the working paper discusses the theoretical perspectives of Chantale Mouffe and Slavoj Zizek.

Baran Uncu, Teaching Assistant, Marmara University

Embedding the prefigurations of Gezi Protests: the rhizomatic spread of new subjectivities and politicized identities

Even though dissent arises from certain structural causes, social movements are not automatic reflections of social categories or traits. Rather, activists continuously (re-)construct their collective identities by negotiating, deliberating, exchanging, and generating views, ideas and meanings, sharing affections, and building networks of trust and solidarity. Yet, the effects of social, economic and political conditions that social movements are embedded in as well as the past and present movement cultures on the overall process of identity construction cannot be denied. Under neoliberalism, these conditions some of which include the commodification of commons, emergence of the precariat, worsening of inequalities, growing ecological
crisis and deepening of exclusion from decision-making processes have led to a new wave of protest in the form of square/occupy movements. Square movements signify the formation of a new subjectivity and an alternative politicization, which borrows, yet transforms aspects of previous protest waves. Mobilized over a rejection of insecurities, exclusions, and inequalities imposed by the governmentality model of neoliberalism, square movements combine new social movements’ demands for liberty, autonomy, self-expression and authenticity with economic and political justice concerns, particularly those expressed by the Global Justice Movement. They have formed inclusive, participatory, decentralized and leaderless protest camps where a plurality of individuals express their indignation and prefigure alternative networks of trust and solidarity through performative practices while preserving diversity. This paper analyzes processes of identity construction and frame building in the ‘free space’ of the Gezi Protest. Based on 65 in-depth interviews and 30 months of participant observation, I argue that alternative networks building on cognitive, emotional, and relational transformations at the Gezi encampment continue to exist in the aftermath of the protests. I show that even though the Gezi Protest itself phased out, the new subjectivity and politicized identities have not vanished, but rather have become embodied in the post-Gezi protests and everyday life practices such as food collectives, city gardens, citizen initiatives and issue specific movement networks.

Gökçe Tunçel, PhD student, EHESS

*From Stadium to the Streets: Çarşı as a Spearhead in Gezi*

This paper aims to discuss the public agency of Çarşı (the ultra-fan group of the Istanbul football club Beşiktaş) in the Gezi movement by examining its interactions with other actors of Gezi. Çarşı, a group also known for promoting and developing welfare projects besides their vehement support for their football team, was a central figure in Gezi. Although the group clearly displays leftist tendencies, they do not adhere to a particular political agenda. In Gezi, they found themselves in the middle of the protests, clashing with the police; yet, Çarşı was not only a “muscle” in the movement that engaged in physical conflict; it was also an actor that orchestrated less experienced protesters as well as those coming for the first time. Equally important, with their cheerful and energetic songs, imported directly from the stadium to the Gezi Park, they helped to vitalize those who grew tired and demoralized after violent clashes with the police. Instead of focusing on the *networking paradigm* (Castells, 2004) and the *de-territorialised power of subjectivities* (Hardt and Negri, 2000) that undermines the importance of locality and physical public spaces, I borrow the category of *public square movement* from Nilüfer Göle (2013, 2014) and propose to look at the *process of mobilization* of a public square movement in order to analyze Çarşı’s public agency in Gezi. My main argument is that, the implication of Çarşı in Gezi movement, as a politically conscious civic organization who have the know-how in channeling passion and excitement into specific sets of actions publicly performed (fans in stadium or activists in Gezi park) demonstrates the importance of the physical public space of Gezi Park where spatially dispersed and socially diverse actors find a stage for interaction and performativity with the work of choreographers of assembly (such as Çarşı).

Buket Türkmen, Associate Professor, Université Galatasaray

*Les acteurs des veilles de la démocratie en Turquie: Vers une construction non-publique de l’espace?*

Depuis 2010, nous assistons à un nouvel ère dans lequel les nouveaux types d’activismes traversent les diverses sociétés, en suggérant une nouvelle imaginaire sociale basée sur l’utilisation commune des richesses, l’occupation des places publics et la réalisation dans ces places occupées un système autonome décentralisé et basé sur les organisations horizontales. Le point commun de ces nouvelles mobilités sociales est la défense de la subjectivité sociale contre la domination de l’expertisme et de l’authoritarisme politiques qui se nourrissent de la légitimation des pouvoirs politiques de leur intégration à l’économie globale néo-libérale. Dans la littérature, ces activismes héritiers des forums sociaux sont qualifiés d’”alter-activisme” pour les distinguer des anciens mouvements sociaux. Mais ces nouveaux activismes, dès qu’ils sont apparus dans l’histoire des sociétés, ont confronté la réémergence des mouvements conservateurs qui les mettaient au défi par la suggestion d’un retour vers une société hiérarchique, la réinstrumentalistion des valeurs traditionnelles et la fétichisation des leaders charismatiques, à travers une organisation hiérarchique des mouvements. Pour la Turquie aussi c’était de même. Après la tentative du Coup d’Etat en juillet 2016, on voit l’émergence des
masses dans les espaces publics des villes: les gens sortis de chez eux par la vue des chars dans les rues, avec des slogans Allahu Ekber, ont résisté aux militaires avec le soutien du gouvernement. On assiste dans ce processus à une déssubjectivation des acteurs qui sont réduits au statut de porteurs des discours du gouvernement. On va essayer donc de comprendre la signification sociologique de ce processus de déssubjectivation qui a eu lieu dans la période post-Gezi en Turquie.

**Konstantinos ElefthiariDis**, Postdoctoral fellow at Ecole des Hautes en Sciences Sociales, Centre d'Etudes des Mouvements Sociaux/Institut Marcel Mauss (CEMS/IMM)

‘Je ne suis pas Charlie’: Disidentification as a form of public agency

The paper suggests to examine “Je ne suis pas Charlie” as a form of an active way that actors use to escape from dominant identity categories which circulate in the public sphere. This process can be problematized around the term disidentification, utilized by Jose Munoz to describe the active process by which actors neither assimilate nor oppose the public sphere (1999, 11). Does “I am not Charlie” function therefore as a slogan capable of producing "counterpublics", these publics inventing and diffusing "counter-discourses enabling them to formulate interpretations of their identities, interests and needs" (Fraser, 1990)? "Counterpublics" are publics conscious of their subordinate status, which enter in conflict with the dominant public sphere by challenging its discourses, its discursive genres and its styles of communication. The paper draws upon an analysis of interventions of various political, religious, and activist actors in the daily Le Monde and the news website Médiapart, while it is accompanied by interviews conducted with school teachers and journalists. This analysis allows us to highlight two preliminary observations: i) ‘Je ne suis pas Charlie’’s discursive construction of oppositional identities is sociologically heterogeneous; ii) there is an incapacity of the slogan to translate into mobilization in the physical space.

**Tom Junes**, Visiting Researcher, Warsaw University, and Visiting Lecturer in Polish history, KU Leuven, Belgium

New public agency versus historical continuities in protest repertoires: the case of Ukraine and Poland

In recent years the post-communist region of Europe has seen a revival of mass protests. In most cases, these protests have been framed within the so-called ‘global wave of protest’ with reference to a phenomenon of diffusion of similar protest repertoires from national context to national context. This paper aims to provide a broader historical reflection to the rise of new public agency in the region through two cases: the Euromaidan and the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine, and the still ongoing anti-government protests in Poland. The paper will first highlight two points: the significance of domestic traditions of protest and the importance of the role of youth. Subsequently, it will gauge the extent to which 'new' aspects of agency or repertoires can be identified and reflect on their significance.

**Pablo Ouziel**, Activist and freelance writer based in Spain

Collective Presences1 and Representative Governance: Transmutating civic power-with horizontality into civil power-over verticality

In public squares around the globe groups of people seem to be calling for, and enacting, power-with modes of shared governance. These people no longer feel represented nor want to be represented; and instead have chosen to participate collectively. These collective presences are expressing that as human beings we can be agents of change in a power-with manner. Rather than competing with each other in the struggle of the survival of the fittest (Darwin), thus needing a Leviathan to keep us alive and in harmony via power-over vertical means (Hobbes). We can instead collaborate with each other via mutual aid, to help each other survive in a power-with and horizontal manner (Kropotkin). Yet, as these collective presences enact this mode of being with each other, they face a challenge from defenders of the vertical powerover status quo of civil institutional representation. Studying this challenge might offer worthwhile clues into how, and for what reasons, the power-with civic horizontality of the collective presences is rejected.