

BECOMING NON- *BLASÉ*: SLOWNESS VIA URBANISATION

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY
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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE
IN
ARCHITECTURE

FEBRUARY 2014

Approval of the thesis:

BECOMING NON- *BLASÉ*: SLOWNESS VIA URBANISATION

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ABSTRACT

BECOMING NON- *BLASÉ*: SLOWNESS VIA URBANISATION

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September 2013, 95 pages

In accordance with the rise of industrialization and technology, the “urban form” reshapes itself as the production relations and the new modern life find a unique way of transformation simultaneously. One of the factors behind that new urbanism is the time-space compression that accelerates the experience of time and reduces the significance of distance. With the impact of speed, the society develops a reaction, which is no reaction at all, as Georg Simmel defines as *blasé* attitude. In this thesis, a non-*blasé* urbanism that is truly based on the notion of slowness will be investigated with the examples of utopian urbanisms in global context.

Keywords: *blasé* attitude, speed, individualization, collective behavior, utopian urbanism.

ÖZ

KAYITSIZLIĞA DÖNÜŞMEMEK: KENTLEŞME YOLUYLA YAVAŞLAMA

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Yüksek Lisans, Mimarlık Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

September 2013, 95 sayfa

Endüstrileşme ve teknolojinin yükselmesine uygun olarak, üretim ilişkileri ve yeni modern hayatın kendine özgü bir şekilde eş zamanlı dönüşmesiyle “kentsel biçim” yeniden şekillenir. Bu yeni kentleşmenin arkasındaki etkenlerden biri de “zaman” deneyiminin hızlanması ve mesafenin önemini yitirmesi anlamına gelen zaman-mekan sıkışmasıdır. Hızın da etkisiyle toplum, Georg Simmel’in “”kayıtsızlık” yani *blasé* olarak tanımladığı yeni bir tepki geliştirir; ki bu tepki, tepkisizliğin kendisidir. Bu tez kapsamında, tümüyle yavaşlık kavramı ve küresel bağlamda ütopyacı kentsel örnekler üzerinden, “tepkisizleşmeyen” (non-*blasé*) kentleşme incelenecektir.

Keywords: kayıtsızlık, hız, bireyselleşme, kolektif davranış, ütopyacı kentleşme.

*To My Family,
Nedim, Solmaz ve Berker Erdal.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın for his guidance, contributions and patience throughout this study. I would be always grateful for having such a supportive mentor who inspires me intellectually throughout my degree.

I would like to thank the members of the examining committee, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Namık Erkal, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adnan Barlas, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Berin Gür, and Inst. Dr. Haluk Zelef for their valuable suggestions and comments.

I am thankful to all my friends, especially Seda Belen and Uğur Alkım Günaydın, for their continuous encouragement and support through the most difficult times. I would also like to thank Ezgi Can Ozan, who always shared my excitement during the study.

I owe my deepest appreciation and thanks to my family, Solmaz, Nedim and Berker Erdal, for their patience and trust throughout my life. They have always been encouraging for my studies, but especially throughout this study and my degree, I sincerely thank them for their endless support and love.

Finally, I would like to send my biggest longings to my grandparents, Leyla and Selim Erdal, who passed away during my graduate studies.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Definition of the Problem and the Objective of the Study

The path I shall be outlining here is thus bound up with a strategic hypothesis – that is to say, with a long-range theoretical and practical project. Are we talking about a political project? Yes and no. It certainly embodies a politics of space, but at the same time goes beyond politics inasmuch as it presupposes a critical analysis of all spatial politics as of all politics in general. By seeking to point the way towards a different space, towards the space of a different (social) life and of a different mode of production, this project straddles the breach between science and utopia, reality and ideality, conceived and lived. It aspires to surmount these oppositions by exploring the dialectical relationship between “possible” and “impossible”, and thus both objectively and subjectively.¹

As Henri Lefebvre emphasizes in his seminal book “The Production of Space”, “(social) space is a (social) product” and “every processes society produces its own spaces”² through its social evolution under the condition of its particular period in terms of production relations, daily practices, social networks and, above all, the superstructure that regulates the whole of society. Moreover, understanding

¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, UK, 1991, p.60

² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, UK, 1991.

urbanism as shaped by social and political entities becomes crucial in one is to develop a counter urbanism that challenges the capitalist production of space.

Cities are a concrete manifestation of the complex relations that exist between social, economic and political structures. Deciphering these relations in cities requires alternative methodologies to those used for towns, taking into account “production, exchange and consumption, social organization of space”³, as well as the impact of culture on the city under capitalist conditions. In addition, space becomes an instrument of social agents, collectives or individuals, who require a social formation to be able to develop a political body against the domination of the capitalist system. It should be noted, however, that the self-preservation of the metropolitan individual results in an antisocial and depoliticized position that threatens the social structure of society. The rise of the individual dismantles society and its collective behavior since the city is the space of social and political movements, while also being a space of potential urban differences and complexities.

Throughout the thesis, the initial goal is, therefore, to make an analysis of metropolises and all their complexities that result in the indifference of the individual, with the intention being to understand the space as a production of capitalist urbanism that is based on speed. As a political subject affected by the speed of the metropolis and the social, economic, cultural and spatial practices of modern life, the modern citizen and his/her “*blasé* attitude”⁴ will be investigated in accordance with high-speed urbanism. Since the problem is defined as speed in metropolises, the thesis aims to seek out a new urbanism, a non-*blasé* attitude of the subject through the apparatus of space. In order to enhance the discussion, a number of utopian examples will be investigated in terms of their slowness and their impacts on urbanism, as a counter phenomenon to speed. In order to promote “slowness” as a counter urbanism to high-speed metropolises, “dialectical

³ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernism*, Blackwell, 1990.

⁴ Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life”, *The Blackwell City Reader*, ed. By. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, Wiley-Blackwell, UK.

utopianism”⁵ will be discussed. This study aims to develop an interdisciplinary research that takes into account the social, economic and spatio-temporal practices of urban life and culture, in which a re-visit of the dialectic between space and time gains importance in the search for slowness. David Harvey’s *Edilia*, a utopian discursive urban development described in “Spaces of Hope”⁶, will be studied for its ideas on the organization of a social network, production relations and the slowness that it suggests.

The study aims to look into urban theories based on modern capitalist metropolises to investigate the possibility of a new form of urbanism that is shaped by “slowness”. As such, urban space, as the environment of everyday practices, structured upon urban life and its engagements, is discussed in terms of the economy, production relations, the social structure and cultural production in the post-industrial age of capitalism. The main contribution comes from the search for counter urbanism in “dialectical utopianism”, suggested as “non-*blasé*” spaces. In other words, the “*blasé* attitude” defined by Georg Simmel⁷ is discussed to understand metropolises and urban life, so as to develop a search for “non-*blasé* metropolises”. Since Simmel claims that *blasé* is derived from capitalist societies, “slowness” is proposed as a form of urbanism to counter high-speed modern cities.

1.2 Method of Analysis

The significance of the study is in its analysis and explanation of the spatiality of everyday practices and the dialectical relationship between space and temporal processes. The thesis aims to develop a research of space based on speed and its

⁵ David Harvey, *Dialectical Utopianism, Spaces of Hope*, The University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000.

⁶ David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, The University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000.

⁷ Based on Georg Simmel’s discussions in his seminal essay titled “Metropolis and Mental Life”. Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life”, *The Blackwell City Reader*, ed. By. Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, Wiley-Blackwell, UK.

impact on social relations in the urban space, including the complex relationships of individuals and collectives. For the overall research of space and society, the theoretical framework is shaped by critical theories related to the economy, politics, social practices and the everyday routines of metropolitan societies. David Harvey, Georg Simmel, Hartmut Rosa⁸ and John Urry⁹ will be the key sources that will be drawn upon in the analysis of metropolitan life and its effects on space. The analysis of modern cities will provide an anti-thesis for the metropolis. Since the thesis is based on the concept that modern daily practices and the capitalist system trigger a *blasé* attitude and individualism, collective and utopian settlements and discourses will be investigated as non-*blasé* spaces. Through the thesis, the dialectic between space and time, as basis of both speed and slowness, will be emphasized for a counter urbanism. David Harvey's *Edilia* will be investigated as an example of space of hope. The methodology that will be developed will take the form of a discourse analysis, since *Edilia* is a discursive utopian urbanism example. This particular utopia is described in terms of the economy, politics, social network and, most importantly, urban space, as the problem is defined around these concepts in relation to speed in metropolises. Harvey's emphasis on "dialectic utopianism" as an alternative and his discussion on the spatial and social processes of the utopia serve as an alternative, and therefore have potential benefit in the development analysis and in the discussion of the non-*blasé* with respect to the problems based on speed in urbanism.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured in three main parts: the first part is a research of modern cities in terms of their social, economic and spatial structures, deciphering the effects of speed and the triggering of a *blasé* attitude. As a starting point, speed

⁸ Hartmut Rosa, "Social Acceleration: Ethical and Political Consequences of a Disynchronized High-Speed Society", High-Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power and Modernity, ed. by Hartmut Rosa and William E. Scheuerman, The Pennsylvania State University Press, USA, 2009.

⁹ John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Centuries*, Routledge, London, 2000.

will be investigated for its influence on urbanism; in other words, how urban space is affected and shaped by speed in the post-industrialization period. The new “dromocratic revolution” concept defined by Paul Virilio will take a key role in this discussion.

Furthermore, modern and capitalist urban space will be investigated in terms of the production relations resulting from the dominant economic and political system; the labor market, which has been affected by the division of labor; and differentiation. The speed of everyday life and social process is also significant when attempting to understand how urban space is constructed. John Urry and Hartmut Rosa are the key figures mentioned in the analysis of “movement”, or, as defined by Urry, the “fluids” and “mobilities” of society. A further investigation will be made of how collectives or individuals construct their activities in relation to speed and daily practices after entering the high-speed urban life.

To continue, the speed of money, as Simmel emphasizes, is one of the crucial elements in a metropolis. Besides its social interventions, the speed of money flow, production and the technological developments that re-shape the social structure imply also a new urbanism that is constructed according to the economic implications of a particular mode of production. In addition, time-space compression will be emphasized in order to decipher how urbanism is shaped by the capitalist mode of production, which is dependent on speed. Since this means the shrinkage of space with the help of less time, it requires an over changing production of space, capital or commodities. In other words, through “creative destruction”, the “turn-over time” of space is reduced and space is commodified and instrumentalized to control urbanism. In the light of the above discussions, the study will investigate the structure of society and urban practices will be deciphered through an interdisciplinary discussion that takes into account sociology and urban theories so as to understand how speed affects relationships between people, and how they react to act as a collective body of social agents in public.

In the second chapter, the stimuli of images in society and the consumption culture that is based on ephemeral fashions will be investigated, and how they led to the prevalent *blasé* attitude in society. Furthermore, in modern life, society and its engagements with culture will be investigated. “Spectacle”, as Guy Debord¹⁰ states, should be discussed in order to understand the effects of images and the rapidly changing urban culture constructed by external worlds. On the other hand, Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer¹¹ who refer to culture as an industry for a capitalist society, and Walter Benjamin¹², who discusses the external world as a bombardment of images, will be key figures in the discussion. The question will be addressed of how metropolises are under attack from phantasmagoric visions and how the spectacle is shaped by the consumption culture, engaged with commodity fetishism and its spaces. A key discussion will also be raised on the “third revolution”, related to the cyber sphere and technology, with the intention being to understand how urban culture, urban space and the media, such as radio, television and the Internet, are manipulated to depoliticize and dismantle the collectiveness of society. Spectacle, *flaneur* and *blasé*, as the new types of individual in modern metropolises, will be investigated as the actors and agents of the urban culture.

Throughout the third chapter, *blasé* and non-*blasé* spaces will be investigated. The study aims to problematize speed as a concept of metropolises, while also searching for alternatives to urbanism depending on high-speed urban life. David Harvey, discussing alternatives to capitalist spaces, states that a dialectic between space and time should be emphasized, which he refers to “dialectical utopianism.” In this chapter, utopia and its engagements with the economic, social and cultural structures will be analyzed in order to construct “slowness” in metropolises. Why utopias are the only alternatives and how dialectical utopianism is crucial when developing a new alternative will be questioned. To this end, Harvey’s *Edilia* will

¹⁰ Guy Debord, “Culmination of Separation”, *The Society of Spectacle*, Trans. by Ken Knabb, Hobgoblin Press, Canberra, 2002.

¹¹ Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “Enlightenment as Mass Deception”, *The Dialect of Enlightenment*, Trans. by Edmund Jephcott, Ed. by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, Stanford University Press, California, 2002.

¹² Walter Benjamin, “The Work of Art In the Age of Mechanical Reproduction”, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. by Hannah Arendt, Schocken Books, New York, 2007.

be analyzed in order to decipher how slowness can be implemented for the shaping of urban space. Since it is a discursive utopia, describing a new urbanism depending on a spatio-temporal dialectic, it is suggested as a “slow” alternative to speed in metropolises.

CHAPTER 2

TIME AND SPACE IN METROPOLIS: A SEARCH TO INVESTIGATE SPEED

2.1 A Search for Speed in Cities

*Speed turns a point into a line.*¹³

Today, to understand cities as a built environment and as a socio-economic agent for power, one has to analyze it from an interdisciplinary perspective, since spatial planning and urban theories are overlapped with different disciplines. Space becomes an important topic especially after modernity because of its potential as a controlling tool and value as a commodity. I am going to investigate speed as a concept of modernity, how people respond to it and how city reshapes itself according to the particular phenomenon.

In the book titled “Metromarxism”, Andy Merryfield emphasizes that cities are concrete materiality of ideology. After industrial capitalism, the manifestation of dominant ideology appeared in the organization of cities, not towns. According to Merryfield, “towns imply the necessity of administration of municipality, of politics, in general”.¹⁴ Moreover, he interprets Karl Marx and Frederick Engels stating the greatest division of physical and mental labor is the separation of country and town.

¹³ G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *Introduction: Rhizome*, A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. by Brian Massumi, University of Minnesota Press, 1987, p. 2.

¹⁴ Andy Merryfield, “Karl Marx”, *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City*, Routledge, New York and London, 2002, p. 19.

The town already is in actual fact that the concentration of the population, of instruments of production, of capital, of pleasures, of needs, while the country demonstrates just the opposite fact, isolation and separation. The antagonism between town and country can only exist within the framework of private property.¹⁵

In order to understand how spatial organization of cities differs from towns, the economy and its materiality through labor and property should be investigated. At this point, William H. Shaw's discussion of historical materialism is significant to understand the dynamics of social and economical evolution. Shaw investigates the dialectic of the productive forces and relation of production. According to Shaw, relations of production link the productive forces with human agents in the process of material production and can be divided as work and ownership. "The social relations of production shape society generally."¹⁶

Moreover, Ira Katznelson discusses how the differentiation theory and the social enforcements of industrialization are spatialized in capitalist urban developments. After industrialization, large modern or mercantile and political centers were transformed and shaped by the logic of industrial capitalism. According to Katznelson, for the cities which had such dramatic changes, the urban forms have expressed the shift by the fundamental separation of wage work from the home, and, in turn, from the residential community. Furthermore, "[T]he city patterns of daily life were shaped by a new transportation technology and new paths to and from work. by a centralization and demarcated definition of cross-class public space; indeed by the very emergence of class, in both the Marxist and Weberian senses the term, at the workplace and in the residential community, as the building blocks of the urban, industrial, capitalist social structure."¹⁷ From this point, how cities differ from towns play an important role to investigate speed and re-forming urban developments.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

¹⁶ William H. Shaw, "Conclusion", *Marx's Theory of History*, Hutchinson, London, 1978, p. 151.

¹⁷ Ira Katznelson, "Marxism and the City", *Marxism and the City*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994, pp. 14-15.

According to the dictionary definition, metropolis means “a major city of a region or a country”. It is also defined as “any large, busy city”. Being a metropolitan in capitals and big cities, we can easily imagine how a city can be crowded, chaotic, fast and rushing. Today, the most crowded city in the world is Tokyo with 37 millions of population. Dhaka in Bangladesh being the 20th most crowded city in the world, with a population of 15 million people, has the highest density.¹⁸ However, inspite of numbers, the social network and how space is organized according to this network plays an important role to understand metropolis.

In continuation to our discussion on speed, first of all, we should discuss it as a physical phenomenon. The most obvious physical entity of the cities is the transportation network of the metropolis. High ways, large boulevards, underground systems and even high-speed trains between cities are the major elements of urban developments. Cities can be defined as the union of urban spaces and city lands that are connected and brought together by the means of movement arteries. Christine Boyer, in her book titled “Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning”, defines the means of circulation, the distribution and treatment of public spaces and the remaining private lands as the city’s main physical entities.¹⁹

If we have a look at cities around the world, such as well-structured biking routes in Holland or the wide metro networks in London, it would be deficient to relate all transportation policies and decisions as a culture or as a natural consequences of the emerge of industrialization. Being one of the main elements of city structure, the network of all kinds of movement is thus the result of authorities decision Therefore, the determination about these policies, of course, is not wrong; however, transportation infrastructure and mobility networks of cities are not only act as a spatial or sociological element but also political tools to organize cities.²⁰

¹⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_urban_areas_by_population Last accessed on 02.08.2013.

¹⁹ M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming The Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*, (USA: The MIT Press, 1994).

²⁰ Erdal, B., “A Profit-Oriented Instrument of Urban Structure: Transportation (Kent Örgütlenmesinin Rant Aracı Olarak Ulaşım)”, *Ankara Kent Atlası*, Ed. by Güven Arif Sargın, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, Ankara, 2012, pp. 147. Translated by author.

As a consequence, speed is also a political engagement related to re-form and re-organize metropolis. Beyond the effects on our perception about daily life and built environment, their spatial reflection should be investigated. Jurgen Habermas, in his article titled “Modern and Postmodern Architecture” published in 1981, states that:

Railway stations are the characteristic settings for dense and varied but also anonymous and fleeting contacts, the kinds of over stimulating but interpersonally impoverished interactions that were to characterize the sense of life in the big cities. As freeways, airports, and television transmission towers demonstrate, the development of transportation and communication systems has always provided the impetus for innovations.²¹

At this point, it would be important to discuss the earlier statements where modernity is being discussed in every aspect. The founder of Futurist movement Fillippo Tommaso Marinetti, in his article titled “The New Religion-Morality of Speed”, states in his first manifesto in 1909 that how Christian morality has evolved after “beauty of speed”. According to him, speed is synthesis of every courage in action; aggressive and warlike while slowness is analysis of every stagnant prudence; passive and pacifistic. In addition, while speed is scorn of obstacles, desire for the new and unexplored and modernity is hygiene; slowness is arrest, ecstasy, immobile adoration of obstacles, nostalgia for the already seen, idealization of exhaustion and rest, pessimism about the unexplored. Speed is pure and slowness is unclean.²²

On the other hand, the meaning of speed can be explained in various ways. There are many projections of speed on everyday life. Paul Virilio with his famous book titled “Speed and Politics”²³ explains one of the projections. Virilio introduces “dromology” which is derived from the term dromos originated in Ancient Greek. Dromos means road, walking, running and competing. In addition, another term

²¹ Jurgen Habermas “Modern and Postmodern Architecture”, *Architecture Theory Since 1968*, ed. by K. Michael Hays, The MIT Press, NY, 1998, p.419.

²² Fillippo Tommaso Marinetti, “The New Religion-Morality of Speed”, *High-Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power and Modernity*, ed. by Hartmut Rosa and William E. Scheuerman, The Pennsylvania State University Press, USA, 2009, p.57.

²³ Paul Virilio, *Speed and Politics*, Semiotext(e), USA, 1986.

introduced by Virilio is “dromocratic revolution” which means the road to the revolution against State.²⁴ According to Virilio:

The masses are not a population, a society, but the multitude of passerby. The revolutionary contingent attains its ideal form not in the place of production, but in the street, where for a moment it stops being a cog in the technical machine and itself becomes a motor (machine of attack), in other words a producer of speed.²⁵

In order to understand and analyze the meaning of speed in the cities, the urban everyday life in capitalist metropolis should be investigated in terms of social, economical and physical environment. Speed can be evaluated as one of the major difference between towns and cities. In towns, high-speed is not necessary due to compressed settlement. Money economy is much more dependent on local services and built environment does not need to be developed or extended due to demand. Less people, less complexity, still slowness. Virilio discusses stability and movement in accordance with towns and cities and emphasizes the dromocratic revolution’s origins as the mass transportation:

All through history there has been an unspoken, unrecognized revolutionary wandering, the organization of a first mass transportation – which is nonetheless revolution itself. Thus the old conviction that “every revolution takes place in the city” comes from the city; the expression “dictatorship of the Paris Commune,” used as far back as the event of 1789, should not suggest so much the classic opposition of city to country as that of stasis to circulation.²⁶

In addition, Virilio states that “war” had a revolutionary alteration after the discovery of speed because war is a matter of time. According to him, a soldier stays alive when he runs as fast as he can or an attack is successful if it is fast enough. Virilio states “from now on, general safety can come from the masses in

²⁴ Paul Virilio, *Hız ve Politika: Dromoloji Üzerine Bir Deneme*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul, 1998, s.10. (Translated by the author from the note of translator)

²⁵ Paul Virilio, *Speed and Politics*, Semiotext(e), USA, 1986, p.29.

²⁶ Ibid., p.31.

their entirety reaching speed. Napoleon expresses it clearly: “Aptitude for war is aptitude for movement.”²⁷

In addition, in his article titled “The Overexposed City”, Paul Virilio states that:

Speed, which replaces the distances of space and time, abolishes the notion of physical dimension. Suddenly, speed returns to a primary scale, which resists any kind of measurement, whether it be temporal or spatial. This phenomenon is equivalent to an instant of inertia of the environment. With the intense acceleration of telecommunications, the old city disappears, only to give birth to a new form of concentration: the concentration of residentialization without residence, in which property lines, enclosures and partitions are no longer the result of permanent physical obstacles but of interruptions of an emission or of an electronic shadow zone which mimics sunshine and the shadows of buildings.²⁸

After industrialization and the emergence of modernity, speed becomes a seminal discussion among many theoreticians. “Improving” from small settlements to bigger cities, the ability of movement gains importance. Moreover, it becomes crucial and one of the first necessity to overcome the old and the weak. Either in a war or in a city, the fastest wins since it is one of the symbols of the power. Therefore, speed turns into an apparatus of the power and authority to show its dominance and manipulation via urbanism.

2.2 Speed of Everyday Life and Its Effect on Social Structure

Being a political, social and spatial tool, speed as a fact of modern life has been discussed by not only architects and city planners but also by theoreticians and sociologists. Stated as a war tool by Virilio, another contribution is made by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari.

²⁷ Ibid., p.47. Italic expression belongs to Virilio.

²⁸ Paul Virilio, “The Overexposed City”, *Architecture Theory Since 1968*, ed. by K. Michael Hays, The MIT Press, NY, 1998, p 546.

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari describe “war machine” in their seminal book “A Thousand Plateaus”²⁹. According to the authors, war is not nature of state but an apparatus of State to prevent itself.³⁰ With the analogy of games, they describe State as coded, intrinsic, with determined movements, biunivocal, structural, semiotic and institutionalized. On the other hand, they describe Go against chess as anonymous, collective, non-subjectified, extrinsic and with pure strategy, perpetual without destination and battle lines:

The difference is that chess codes and decodes space, whereas Go proceeds altogether differently, territorializing or deterritorializing it (make the outside a territory in space; consolidate that territory by the construction of a second, adjacent territory; deterritorialize the enemy by shattering his territory from within; deterritorialize oneself by renouncing, by going elsewhere. ..). Another justice, another movement, another space-time.³¹

With this analogy, the authors emphasize movement as the difference between two games. Furthermore, it is possible to read it as a tool for shaping and organizing the rules and their representations as movements in these particular games. All qualities of each game are dependent on their ability to move and the path on which they move. Within their mobility tendencies, every piece has its own path and a way to define its space against counter player. In other words, war between counter sides is constructed by movements and its spatial occupancy.

On the other hand, Deleuze and Guattari introduce “nomadology” in order to understand how masses act and to show the importance of movement to fight against the State. According to them, “a social field is always animated by all kinds of movements of decoding and deterritorialization, affecting “masses” and operating at different speeds and paces, these are not contradictions but escapes.

²⁹ G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *Treatise on Nomadology-The War Machine*, A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. by Brian Massumi, University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

³⁰ G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *Treatise on Nomadology-The War Machine*, A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. by Brian Massumi, University of Minnesota Press, 1987, p. 357

³¹ Ibid., p. 353

At this level, everything is a question of *mass*.³² However, they also clarify the difference between movement and speed as:

It is thus necessary to make a distinction between *speed* and *movement*: a movement may be very fast, but does not give it speed; speed may be very slow, or even immobile, yet it is still speed. Movement is extensive; speed is intensive. Movement designates the relative character of a body considered as “one”, and which goes from point to point; *speed, on the contrary, constitutes the absolute character of a body whose irreducible parts (atoms) occupy or fill a smooth space in the manner of a vortex, with the possibility of springing up at any point.*³³

In order to understand how speed reshapes social network as well as urban form in different scales by means of its qualities and effects, the investigation of everyday life gains utmost importance. With the emergence of industrialization, “movement” or “mobility” is constructed in different scale starting from small urban lands to far geographies. The displacement of goods, money and markets became crucial. The cities are demolished and rebuild or transformed according to the location and network of transportation and accessibility. By no means, this transformation of space and its economical structure altered social dynamics. Moreover, Güven Arif Sargın, in his article titled “Hız, Hareket ve Menzilin Siyaseti Üzerine”, with a reference to Virilio states that the sociology of speed concentrates on “mobility” because mobility depending on its speed is not about just practices of objects themselves or the unity of relations between these objects but also, and more importantly, includes shifts in our perceptive and cognitive world.³⁴

To continue, Hartmut Rosa, discusses speed and social acceleration of modern societies. According to him, “And indeed, as many have observed and empirical

³² G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *Micropolitics and Segmentarity*, A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. by Brian Massumi, University of Minnesota Press, 1987, p. 220

³³ G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, *Treatise on Nomadology–The War Machine*, A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, trans. by Brian Massumi, University of Minnesota Press, 1987, p.381.

³⁴ Paul Virilio, *Speed and Politics*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1986. Güven Arif Sargın, “Hız, Hareket ve Menzilin Siyaseti Üzerine”, Arredamento Mimarlık, İstanbul, 2010, p. 54. (The translation belongs to the author).

evidence clearly suggests, the history of modernity seems to be characterized by a wide-ranging speedup of all kinds of technological, economic, social and cultural processes and by a picking up of the general pace of life. In terms of its structural and cultural impact on modern society, this change in the temporal structures and patterns of modernity appears to be just as pervasive as comparable processes of individualization and rationalization.”³⁵ Discussing about speed as a phenomenon and its effects on structure of society, one of the challenges appear is measuring a physical entity on a social structure. He states that it is impossible to argue that there is only one catalyst. On the contrary, there are also some factors that slow down the movement, such as traffic jam in the traffic. Furthermore, he argues that what happens between acceleration and life is paradoxical. However, we can observe how social, economical, political, spatial and temporal processes accelerate in everyday life. He suggests that it is possible to measure speed in everyday life by analyzing pace of life objectively and subjectively.

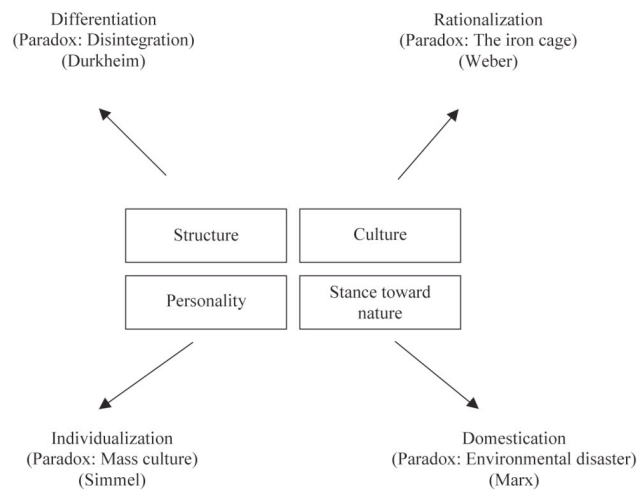


Figure 1. The process of modernization I

Figure 1: Four concepts of the process of modernization, by Hartmut Rosa.³⁶

³⁵ Hartmut Rosa, “*Social Acceleration: Ethical and Political Consequences of a Desynchronized High-Speed Society*”, *High-Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power and Modernity*, ed. by Hartmut Rosa and William E. Scheuerman, The Pennsylvania State University Press, USA, 2009, pp. 77-78.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.79.

On the objective side, an acceleration of the speed of life can be measured in two ways. First, it should lead to a measurable contraction of the time spent on definable episodes or “units” of action like eating, sleeping, going for a walk, playing, talking to one’s family, etc., since acceleration implies that we do more things in less time.³⁷

The second way to objectively explore the acceleration of the pace of life consists of measuring the social tendency to “compress” actions and experiences, that is, to do and experience more things within a given period of time, by reducing the pauses and intervals or by doing more things simultaneously, like cooking, watching TV, and making a phone call.³⁸

John Urry, in his book titled *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobility for the Twenty-first Century*³⁹, discusses how mobilities affect the social structure in the age of globalization whereas “the book concerns itself with the travels of people, ideas, images, objects, messages, waste products and money across international borders, and the implications these mobilities have for the experiences of time, space, dwelling and citizenship.”⁴⁰ In the chapter titled “Travellings”, the author discusses movement in different aspects such as walking, railways, the emergence of car and its social effects. In addition, he discusses the mobility of objects and images with reference to the rise of technology, media and consumer culture. He states that “More generally, the development of these travel scapes create new spatial inequalities, since they both enhance the powers of those organizations who can deploy them, and weaken the powers of those who are excluded from them. What is involved here are new spatializations of social inequality, new configurations of power/knowledge.”⁴¹

Moreover, Urry states different discussions based on “fluids”. According to him, the emphasis of sociology of fluids would be upon heterogeneous, uneven and unpredictable mobilities. Moreover, he states seminal names that discusses

³⁷ Ibid., p. 86.

³⁸ Ibid., p.87.

³⁹ John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Centuries*, Routledge, London, 2000.

⁴⁰ John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Centuries*, Routledge, London, 2000.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.76

mobility and its social impact such as Deleuze and Guattari 1986, 1988; Lefebvre 1991; Mol and Law 1994; MacCannell 1992; Augé 1995; Kaplan 1996; Shields 1997b. They:

- demonstrate no clear point of departure or arrival, just de-territorialized movement or mobility (rhizomatic rather than arboreal)
- are channeled along particular territorial scapes or routeways which can wall them in
- are relational in that they productively effect relations between the spatially varying features of a scape which would otherwise remain functionless
- move in particular directions at certain speeds but with no necessary end-state or purpose
- possess different properties of viscosity and, as with blood, can be thicker or thinner and hence move in different shapes at different speeds
- move according to certain temporalities, over each minute, day, week, year and so on
- do not always keep within the walls – they may move outside or escape like white blood corpuscles through the ‘wall’ of the scape into tinier and tinier capillaries
- power is diffused through these various fluids into very many often minute capillary-like relations of domination/subordination
- power is exercised through the intersection of various fluids working on diverse senses
- different fluids spatially intersect in the ‘empty meeting grounds’ of the non-places of modernity, such as motels, airports, service stations, the Internet, international hotels, cable television, expense account restaurants and so on.⁴²

Talking about “fluids”, one of the main concepts of modern world, communication and technology constructs our daily life. In addition, with these concepts, speed acts as the main medium between people. Media facades, smart phones, Internet and other technologies have become the image of our daily life. With the emergence of social media; the society has a new interface/face between each other as well as their environment. According to Virilio, “the very opposition “intramural”/”extramural” was itself weakened by the revolution in transportation

⁴² Ibid., pp. 38-39.

and the development of communications and telecommunications, which resulted in the nebulous conurbation of an urban fringe.”⁴³

Urry classifies mobilities according to socio-spatial experiences. He starts his investigation with walking. According to him, before late eighteenth century, walking was an act of dangerous “others”. On the other hand, after the introduction of new transport systems like railways in eighteenth century, the perspective against walking has changed. It became an act of freedom, to wander leisurely indicating rebellious behavior against social hierarchy and a new concept, “peripatetic” has emerged. In twentieth century, walking became a cultural exercise rather than everyday life practices. For example in 1930s and 40s in Britain, women and men were required to wear practical and sensible “rambling clothes” to feel more comfortable while “hiking” under every condition.⁴⁴

Moreover, he emphasizes that different pieces of the society has different socio-spatial experiences during walking and “space is performed place.”⁴⁵ For example, according to Diken’s research, Turkish migrants living in Aarhus in Denmark has their own tactical pathways. They are manipulating urban space and making holes in urban pattern according to their goals, memory and interrelations. Another example is Paris is associated with the emergence of *flâneur*. However, Urry states that “*flâneur* both seeks the essence of a place while at the same time consuming it – there is both consumption and subversion.”⁴⁶ In the case of Parisian everyday life, walking refers to another daily practices, which based on appearance in public, gaze at the shops and an attitude, which is mainly based on consumer culture of this particular period.⁴⁷ In other words, even freely walking has an ideology in the streets that is constructed by authorities for different social groups,

⁴³ Paul Virilio, “The Overexposed City”, *Architecture Theory Since 1968*, ed. by K. Michael Hays, The MIT Press, NY, 1998, p 543.

⁴⁴ John Urry, “Travelling”, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Centuries*, Routledge, London, 2000, pp. 51-52.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 53.

⁴⁷ It should be noted that Paris has also a gender-based walking perception in late-nineteenth century. According to Urry, For working-class women in the late-nineteenth-century space of Paris the crowd was full of risks. Such women lived almost literally on the streets and would have been generally presumed to be sexually available as prostitutes. Ibid., p.54.v

for different purposes and for power relations. Moreover the author exemplifies Taj Mahal where we can read walking habits of social groups of different religions, tourist and local peoples. In the case of Taj Mahal, research made by Edensor in 1998 shows that walking is regulated in terms of direction and speed. It has a certain order headed by personnel and has a particular rapid movement, as a result there is a little chance to for a tactical subversion:

By contrast in 'disorganized tourist spaces' backpacker progress is less programmed. Walking may be more improvisational and entails vivid encounters with diverse and disruptive elements. Local people will often seek to interrupt movement through particular spaces and it will be difficult to avoid touching the 'other'. Contact with vehicles and with animals is also unavoidable. The trajectories of visitors will co-exist with, and criss-cross, local pathways. Edensor argues that this engenders less rigid bodily postures and a more casual wandering and lounging, even the deliberate seeking out of risky environments that enhance the possibilities of getting lost.

Muslim visitors stay longer in the Taj than other domestic Indians and linger a long time in the grounds, particularly reading the Quranic script on the building. As they slowly circumambulate around the mausoleum or sit on the marble terrace in silent contemplation, Muslim visitors exhibit a 'reverential gaze'. The movement of Muslim visitors follows a purposive and predictable spatial pattern but one which differs from the directed routes of Western package tourists or the meanderings of western backpackers.⁴⁸

After industrialization rails have been constructed and everyday life had been mechanized and speeded-up. It is clear that railways and trains are the one of the first elements of industrialized cities used to carry goods to new places and to extend hinterland of markets. It became one of the signs of new modern society and the level of developed cities. Speed has fascinated dominant ideology and it became the aim to enhance economies by defining new circulation network. However, its impact is much more bigger on everyday life. According to Urry, it has changed the perception of time and space. Even the gaze at the nature became a scene to gaze under the speed of trains. Time was replaced with a worldwide

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

standardization based upon Greenwich. Moreover, mechanical power of the railway appeared to create its own space linkages connecting different places into ever more complex and extended systems of speeded-up circulation. Railway travel thus became a 'value in and for itself as speeds increased, another country with its own distinctive practices and culture' (Thrift 1996: 267). Particular places became known because of their presence on the way to, or on the way from, somewhere else. Thus 'localities were no longer spatially individual or autonomous: they were points in the circulation of traffic that made them accessible' (Schivelbusch 1986: 197).⁴⁹

The emergence of new transportation means between and inside cities, have changed urban forms and urban culture drastically. As mentioned by Sargın, it has not just altered our practices but also our perceptions of cognitive world. On, before trains become fast as today's transportation technology, a new kind of mobilized technology emerged. Automobiles appeared as a small, fast and free mean of transportation in our modern world. Urry examines motor car as follows:

- as the quintessential *manufactured object* produced by the leading industrial sectors and the iconic firms within twentieth-century capitalism (Ford, GM, Rolls-Royce, Mercedes, Toyota, VW and so on)
- as the industry which has generated key *concepts*, Fordism and Post-Fordism, employed in understanding the development of, and changes within, the trajectory of contemporary capitalism
- as the major item of *individual consumption* which provides status to its owner/user through the sign-values with which it is associated (speed, home, safety, sexual desire, career success, freedom, family, masculinity), as well as being easily anthropomorphised (given names, having rebellious features, seen to age and so on)
- as a *machinic complex* constituted through the car's technical and social inter-linkages with other industries, including car parts and accessories; petrol refining and distribution; road-building and maintenance; hotels, roadside service areas and motels; car sales and repair workshops; suburban house building; new retailing and leisure complexes; advertising and marketing, and so on

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.56.

- as the single most important *environmental* issue resulting from the exceptional range and scale of resources used in the manufacture of cars, roads and car only environments, and in coping with the material, air quality, medical, social, ozone, visual, noise and other consequences of automobility
- as the predominant form of ‘quasi-private’ *mobility* which subordinates other ‘public’ mobilities of walking, cycling, travelling by rail and so on, and reorganizes how people negotiate the opportunities for, and constraints upon, work, family life, leisure and pleasure
- as the dominant *culture* that organizes and legitimates socialities across different genders, classes, ages and so on. It sustains major discourses of what constitutes the good life and it provides potent literary and artistic images and symbols. Literary contributions include Forster’s evocation in *Howard’s End* of how cars generate a ‘sense of flux’ (1931: 191), and Ballard’s *Crash* which uses the car ‘as a total metaphor for man’s life in modern society’ (1995: 6). According to Barthes the car is ‘consumed in image if not in usage by the whole population ... [it is] the exact equivalent of the great Gothic cathedrals’ (1972: 88; see Graves-Brown 1997).⁵⁰

As examined above, it is important to note that the use of cars have a huge impact on economy and social structure in terms of production, consumption, environment, social classes, urban culture and ownership. Motorcar has brought a new kind of production system sponsored by Ford. It should be noted that Fordism and its effects of social classes would be discussed in Chapter 3. However, in order to understand the impact of car, daily practices based on speed and the use of automobiles should be investigated as modern city culture and a capitalist consuming machine because besides being a luxurious possession, it creates a new space perception as well as spatial and temporal compression.

2.3 Speed of Capital and Its Effect on Urbanism

The modern capitalist cities are entirely shaped by the dependency on money and its movement according to the tension between time and space and the high-speed circulation of things between the production and the distribution forms the space.

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 57-58.

Moreover, the city becomes the habitat of capitalism where it finds out itself as the spatial presence of classes and production relations. With the emergence of assembly line and division of labor, the mediation between the things and the humans, loses its characteristics, in other words, “alienation” appears as described by Karl Marx⁵¹. The “social relation” becomes abstract and fails to occur as a reality in the materialist production modes.

In the late-capitalist period, new class relations and social relations of production are developed. The flexibility of the market imposed a different social structure that depends on more flexible and easy-changing conditions of the labor class. This situation implies more decentralized and disorganized financial and labor market structure, which yields a more hegemonic labor control, difficult collective action and the rise of individualism of the labor class.

David Harvey makes a similar interpretation for the late-capitalist societies in his book titled “Spaces of Global Capitalism”. According to Harvey, the commodification of land, money, labor and the capital accumulation has been imposed as fictions and abstractions to social structure after transformation of market economy was completed.

Since the “new kind of man” and new social structure affect social and daily practices as well as its concrete presence as space, the everyday life of social characters should be re-investigated. In order to analyze and understand the structure and practices of modern and capitalist society and social life, Henri Lefebvre proposes a set of points to criticize the everyday life, which are: “(a) individuality (private consciousness); (b) of mystifications (mystified consciousness); (c) of money (fetishism and economic alienation); (d) of needs (psychological and moral alienation); (e) of work (alienation of the worker); and (f) of freedom (the power over nature and human nature).”⁵² To be able to decipher city as space of political subject, these points suggest that everyday life

⁵¹ Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy Vol.1*, Ed. by Frederick Engels, International Publishers, New York, 1974.

⁵² David Harvey, “Notes Towards A Theory Of Uneven Geographical Development”, *Spaces of Global Capitalism*, Verso, 2006, p.85-86.

is affected not only social practices but also economical structure emphasizing the abstractions caused by money economy. In addition, he criticizes everyday life, which is imposing psychological and moral alienation and individual action of the political subject.

According to Harvey, Karl Polanyi describes the society more self-preserved after the rise of market economy (the great transformation) by stating that individuals and collectivities inevitably seek to protect themselves and others from the destructions. The active defense of environments, of social relations, of processes of social reproduction, of collective memories and cultural traditions then follows.⁵³ The social practices of everyday routines and space in metropolitan life also reduce the political body. Harvey describes this development as the fragmentation of the possibility of a coherent political life and communal political project. He also introduces Gramsci's "common sense" by defining as:

The conception of the world which is uncritically absorbed by the various social and cultural environments in which the moral individuality of the average man is developed. Common sense is not a single unique conception, identical in time and space... It is most fundamental characteristic is that it is a conception which, even in the brain of one individual, is fragmentary, incoherent and inconsequential, in conformity with the social and cultural position of those masses whose philosophy it is.⁵⁴

The tendency of capitalist system is to legitimize its own logic by forcefully shaping the society. In other words, by triggering individualism against collective actions and creating a common sense, capitalism produces its own self-preservation. The restructuring and rescheduling itself are influential to social practices and social relations, in the first hand. Not only changing everyday life practices or class relations; but also imposing a psychological alteration is an apparatus of the system.

⁵³ Ibid., p.114.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp.83-84.

In addition, another interpretation is made by Georg Simmel, a German socialist, that the metropolitan life with all of its differences and changing structures form “the sensory foundations of mental life and the awareness”⁵⁵. This conscious and awareness of shifts of the external world create a perception that the man cannot even follow and adapt, as a consequence it triggers a reaction, which is no reaction at all, through social and daily practices which can be named as a self-preservation of the individual. Simmel defines this attitude as an indifferent position, *blasé* attitude, to the external world and he also states that the metropolitan is exposed to many modifications and the metropolitan individual develops “a protective organ for itself against the profound disruption with which the fluctuations and discontinuities of external milieu threaten it”.⁵⁶

In order to analyze the metropolitan urbanism, time-space compression appears as a key concept. To be able to understand the effects of time-space compression over city, speed becomes a significant phenomenon. After industrialization, the search for new sources and the delivery of commodities became available with the emergence of transportation over new geographies.

Being a geographer and social theorist, David Harvey also contributes to urban studies by understanding econo-political structure of the cities via Marxist theory. He discusses modern and postmodern urban culture in different aspects. In the thesis, his main statements based on time and space will be investigated. Since he discusses speed in terms of capitalist mode of productions and its social and economical impacts, his understanding of speed will be analyzed with reference to his time-space discussions. In his book titled “The Condition of Postmodernity”, he explains other seminal theoretician’s opinions about modernity by stating that modernity as a new logic is based on the experience and concepts of time and space. Moreover, he continues with Bell’s discussion:

⁵⁵ Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life”, *The Blackwell City Reader*, Ed. By Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, Wiley-Blackwell, UK, p.103.

⁵⁶ Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life”, *The Blackwell City Reader*, Ed. By Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, Wiley-Blackwell, UK, p.104.

He suggests, furthermore, that the organization of space has 'become the primary aesthetic problem of mid-twentieth century culture as the problem of time (in Bergson, Proust, and Joyce) was the primary aesthetic problem of the first decades of this century.' Frederic Jameson (1984b) attributes the postmodern shift to a crisis in our experience of space and time, a crisis in which spatial categories come to dominate those of time, while themselves undergoing such a mutation that we cannot keep pace.⁵⁷

According to Harvey, besides their physical conceptions, time and space are constructed to create a common sense upon modern societies and their materialist processes are produced to reproduce social life. Both concepts are represented and constructed not only according to capitalism but also social life, individual life and power relations. In relation to this, Harvey discusses space and time as “nexus of social power”. He further discusses the movement of money and commodities and the speed of these movements in terms of “turnover time”, “time-space compression”, “flexible accumulation” and its impact over geographies and “creative destruction” in urban context and argues that speed as a matter of time and space becomes an important issue in today’s dominant ideology by stating:

Efficiency of spatial organization and movement is therefore an important issue for all capitalists. The time of production together with the time of circulation of exchange make up the concept of 'the turnover time of capital.' This, too, is an extremely important magnitude. The faster the capital launched into circulation can be recuperated, the greater the profit will be. The definitions of 'efficient spatial organization' and of 'socially necessary turnover time' are fundamental norms against which the search for profit is measured. And both are subject to change.⁵⁸

The economical effects take power from speed, since it is engaged strongly with social structure. Becoming a crucial instrument of capital, space also supplies and holds the potentials of the dominance of the capitalist relations. In other words, the dominance of capitalism takes power from its engagements to social structure. Creating new social relations with reference to the emerging economical relations,

⁵⁷ David Harvey, The Experience of Time and Space, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, 1990, p.201

⁵⁸ David Harvey, Time and Space as Sources of Social Power, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, 1990, p.229

translated into a powerful tool to dominate urban space. Moreover, Time-space compression, triggers this particular system, which destructs and re-produce overchangingly. Therefore, it gets more powerful with high-speed spatial production that constructs our daily life and social structure.

2.4 Spatial Fix and Creative Destruction

Harvey states that, according to Marx, capitalism is necessarily characterized by a perpetual striving to overcome all spatial barriers and ‘annihilate space with time’.⁵⁹ Moreover, he states that these can be achieved not only by the production of fixed and immobile spatial configurations but also by innovations in transport and communication systems and in the context of productive forces of capitalism.⁶⁰ He continues by explaining the mobility of capital to annihilate space with time. According to him, the cost and time of money movement is low due to credit systems and telecommunications because if an industry depends on more fixed and immobile capital, it gets harder to handle devaluation. “These differential capacities for geographical mobility of capital in different states within the overall circulation process of capital introduces all kinds of tensions *within* that circulation process in space.”⁶¹ This flexible space performance extended over geographies for gathering capital is also necessary for labor power of capitalists. Although it is important to point that it also needs a fixed infrastructure to maintain. For example, a factory and railway structure are needed to sustain production and distribution. Besides that fixed infrastructures, as suggested by Harvey, the capital leans to fix itself to the space

⁵⁹ Karl Marx, *Grundrisse*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, p.539. David Harvey, “The Geopolitics of Capitalism”, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*, Routledge, New York, 2001, p.327.

⁶⁰ David Harvey, “The Geopolitics of Capitalism”, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*, Routledge, New York, 2001, p.328.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p.330.

Lefebvre, clearly discusses how space evolved from a mathematical concept and emptiness to a social space and states that “To speak of ‘producing space’ sounds bizarre, so great is the sway still held by the idea that empty space is prior to whatever ends up filling it.”⁶² Moreover, his contribution is important because we can see how space turns into a commodity that constitute its social, economic and political engagements. Lefebvre clarifies that space is not just a physical thing but also a social and mental concept that includes relations of production, reproduction and representations as well as spatial practices of these social relations. This point of view, extend importance to how space is produced because it is also significant to understand how space is “constructed” and filled. When Harvey discusses “spatial fix”, he establishes money and space relation clearly. Harvey, with reference to Marx’s key concepts value, use value and exchange value⁶³, states that “everything that pertains to exchange value lies, in the first instance, in relative space-time because exchange entails movements of commodities, money, capital labour power and people over time and space. It is the circulation, the perpetual motion, that counts.”⁶⁴

To make an explanation about spatial fix, we should understand Harvey’s definition. He explains spatial fix, as one of the initial need of capitalism to overcome over accumulation through expanding new spaces. “I note, for example, that capitalism has to fix space (in immovable structures of transport and communication nets, as well as in built environments of factories, roads, houses, water supplies, and other physical infrastructures) in order to overcome space (achieve a liberty of movement through low transport and communication costs). This lead to one of the central contradictions of capital: that it has to build a fixed space (or “landscape”) necessary for its own functioning at a certain point in its history have to destroy that space (and devalue much of the capital invested

⁶² Henri Lefebvre, “Plan of the Present Work”, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, UK, 1991, p.15.

⁶³ Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy Vol.1*, Ed. by Frederick Engels, International Publishers, New York, 1974.

⁶⁴ David Harvey, “Spacetime and the World”, *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of the Freedom*, Columbia University Press, New York, 2009, p.149.

therein) at a later point in order to make new way for a new “spatial fix” (openings for fresh accumulation in new spaces and territories) at a later point in its history.”⁶⁵ What is important about spatial fix, it not only uses space as a commodity but also expand territory of capital to overcome over accumulation. Therefore, the expansion requires new connections and speeded-up transportations between new markets or fixed environments. Since it uses space as a new environment for capital, it re-uses its fixity to change the motion of any commodity. Any factory or infrastructure can be given as an example. Even terminal stations as airports, train stations have a dilemma that has a fixed space to provide motion and speed.

This situation also causes a turn-over time of space related with its required economical, political and social context. In other words, it destructs and re-builds particular fixed spaces. The increase in speed also affects built environment since the capitalist production leans to fix itself to space. The over-changing space with the help of “creative destruction” and the neo-liberal production of new spaces, the turnover time of city compresses as a parallel concept of time-space compression. Harvey states that the current situation of capitalism is becoming tightly organized through dispersal, geographical mobility, and flexible responses in labor markets, labor processes, and consumer markets, all accompanied by hefty doses of institutional product and technological innovation.⁶⁶

2.5 Flexible Accumulation and Division of Labor

The autonomy of individual can be discussed in terms of class relations. Introduced in 1914, Fordism was “his explicit recognition that mass production meant mass consumption, a new system of the reproduction of labor power, a new politics of labor control and management, a new aesthetic and psychology, in

⁶⁵ David Harvey, Globalization and the “Spatial Fix”, *geographische revue*, 2/2001, p.25.

⁶⁶ David Harvey, “From Fordism to Flexible Accumulation”, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, 1989, p.159

short, a new kind of rationalized, modernist and populist democratic society”.⁶⁷ However, Fordism could not survive with its rigid structure that can discipline the labor according to routine practices and its base that keeps the labor class organized. In the post-war crisis, Fordism, in other words is the capitalist system of that particular period, had a radical transformation, destructed the logic of particular period and flexible accumulation was constructed as a new economical and social structure. Harvey describes flexible accumulation as:

Flexible accumulation is marked by a direct confrontation with the rigidities of Fordism. It rests of flexibility with respect to labor processes, labor markets, products, and patterns of consumption. It is characterized by the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets, and, above all, greatly intensified rates of commercial, technological, and organizational innovation.⁶⁸

In addition to the labor patterns of flexible accumulation, division of labor and differentiation created a disorganized class structure of the society. Division of labor can be described as the specialization of labor in specific parts of the production line. On the other hand, the key principles of differentiation theory are enumerated by Tilly as:

1. ‘Society’ is thing apart; the world as a whole divides into distinct ‘societies’, each having its more or less autonomous culture, government, economy and solidarity.
2. Social behavior results from individual mental events, which are conditioned by life in society. Explanations of social behavior therefore concern the impact of society on individual minds.
3. ‘Social change’ is a coherent general phenomenon, explicable *en bloc*.
4. The main processes of large-scale social change take distinct societies through a succession of standard stages, each more advanced than previous stage.
5. Differentiation forms dominant, inevitable logic of large-scale social change; differentiation leads to advancement.

⁶⁷ David Harvey, “Fordism”, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, 1989, p.125

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.147

6. The state of social order depends on the balance between processes of differentiation and processes of integration or control; rapid or excessive differentiation produces disorder.

7. A wide variety of disapproved behavior- including madness, murder, drunkenness, crime, suicide, and rebellion, results from the strain produced by excessively rapid social change.⁶⁹

As mentioned above, Tilly describes differentiation as a key concept that not only restructures societies but also present itself as a dominant phenomenon that operates a social change in the role of political subject by imposing individualism. To understand that particular theory it is crucial to develop an analysis, to decipher social network between individuals and collectives.

Since Lefebvre states that (social) space is a (social) product⁷⁰, it is possible to read the city in terms of its social structure and class relations as if it is a mere reflection of the society. With the impact of differentiation theory, the urban space is differentiated by internalization of the social relations. The city became the generative force for the change and a dependent entity and a marker of the division of labor.⁷¹ In order to understand how dominant ideology uses space, it is important to understand Henri Lefebvre's statements in his seminal book "The Production of Space".

According to Lefebvre, social space contains appropriate places to *the social relations of reproduction* and *the relations of production* which are bound up with each other. To clarify this phenomenon, he exemplifies the two set of relations as the formal bio-physiological relations between sexes and between age groups, along with the specific organization of the family and for the latter the division of labor and its organization in the form of hierarchical social functions. However, 'modern' neocapitalism constructs a more complex structure between three interrelated levels of *biological reproduction* (the family), *the reproduction of*

⁶⁹ Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States: AD 990-1990*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1990. Ira Katznelson, "Marxism and the City?", *Marxism and the City*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994, p.18.

⁷⁰ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, UK, 1991.

⁷¹ Ira Katznelson, "Marxism and the City?", *Marxism and the City*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994, p.97.

labor power (the working class *per se*) and *the reproduction of social relations of production* where space embraces and contains these levels.⁷² Therefore, with reference to the milieu of social relations, it becomes important to understand space since it is produced according to these three interrelated levels emerged via capitalism and modern world. From this point, what Lefebvre suggests is a triad to “read” space as a social product naming as “spatial practices, representations of space and representational space.”⁷³

We believe that at this very moment the above mentioned discussions should be further discussed to understand how they reflect themselves on space. In this regard, Katznelson states Harvey’s interpretations that ‘It is industrial capitalism that is creating space for us- hence the frequently expressed sense of alienation with respected to created space.’ He also continues with Harvey stating “We the possibilities immanent in the present. Many hopeful and utopian things have been written about the city throughout the history. We now have the opportunity to live many of these things provided we can seize upon the present possibilities. We have the opportunity to create space, to harness creatively the forces making for urban differentiation. But in order to seize these opportunities we have to confront the forces that create cities as alien environments that push urbanization in directions alien to our individual or collective purpose.”⁷⁴

⁷² Henri Lefebvre, “Plan of the Present Work”, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, UK, 1991, p.32.

⁷³ Henri Lefebvre, “Plan of the Present Work”, *The Production of Space*, Blackwell, UK, 1991, p.33.

To extend, Lefebvre explains these triad as:

1. *Spatial practice*, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristics of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society’s relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance*.

2. *Representations of space*, which are tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to ‘frontal’ relations.

3. *Representational space*, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space that as a code of representational space).

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.100.

However, in the post-industrial period, since technology rises, the faster transportation opportunities gained its importance to provide cheaper ways to commute labor and materials, for growth. A crucial point is stated by Harvey to overcome over accumulation as time and space displacement. According to Harvey, while “temporal displacement entails either a switch of resources from meeting current needs to exploring future uses, or an acceleration in turnover time so that speed-up this year absorbs excess capacity from last year”; “spatial displacement entails the absorption of excess capital and labor in geographical expansion”⁷⁵. The shrinkage of turnover time and the spatial displacement of capital need to provide a particular speed.

2.6 Time-Space Displacement

On the other hand, since time-space compression is discussed in the late-capitalist period, it can be evaluated as a concept that stresses the flexibility of the system. In other words, the highest the speed, the more distance the capital moves, consequently, the wider hinterland you have, the more profit you gain. flexible capitalism thus provide an opportunity to overcome this crisis. Harvey explains the behavior of capitalism to overcome over accumulation as:

1. Devaluation of commodities
2. Macro-economic control
3. Absorption of over accumulation

- a. Temporal displacement

Temporal displacement entails either a switch of resources from meeting current needs to exploring future uses, or an acceleration in turnover time so that speed-up of this year absorbs excess capacity from last year.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, 1989, pp.182-183.

⁷⁶ David Harvey, “Fordism”, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, 1989, pp.182.

The concept of turnover time is significant in terms of the speed of money transformation. Since Shaw explains the last phase of capitalism as money-money cycle, Merryfield points out the issue with the interpretation of Marx as “The movement of money, and the movement of money begetting more money (i.e., money transformed into capital) is really the movement of commodities... [M]oney in process, money circulating commodities, money as a universal measure of labor time in those commodities, is for him the “starting point of capital”, money “bringing forth a living offspring, or at least laying golden eggs”.⁷⁷ The turnover time of commodities can be exemplified as fashion, since it is a quick-changing phenomenon of commodity. With the help of technology and speed of culture, the replacement of old version of anything shrinks temporally. Consequently, the capital reproduces itself with new fashion repeatedly. Money becomes money and profit becomes capital with the growth.

b. Spatial displacement

Spatial displacement entails the absorption of excess capital and labor in geographical expansion. Harvey explains the significance of space for capitalism stating that “this ‘spatial fix’ is for over accumulation problem which entails the production of new spaces within which capitalist production can proceed, the growth of trade and direct investments, and the exploration of new possibilities for the exploitation of labor power”.

Another discussion is developed by Merryfield stating as:

“Only for a moment does the mature Marx of Capital reflect upon the link between capital accumulation and the urban process: “the greater the concentration of the means of production, the greater is the corresponding concentration of workers within a given space; and therefore the more quickly capitalist accumulation takes place, the more miserable the housing situation of the working class.”⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Andy Merryfield, “Karl Marx”, *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City*, Routledge, New York and London, 2002, p. 28.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 29.

Harvey also points that the capital deconstructs social power by reshaping geographical bases to overcome the accumulation, and he states with reference to Deleuze and Guattari that this is “why capitalism is continually reterritorializing with one hand what it was deterritorializing with other⁷⁹”.

c. Time-space displacement

Time-space displacement has “double power” with respect to absorption of the over accumulation problem, and in practice, and particularly to the degree that fictitious capital formation is essential to both temporal and spatial displacement.⁸⁰ In addition, in his book titled “Limits to Capital”, Harvey states that “Location is socially produced. The production of spatial configurations can then be treated as an “active moment” within the overall dynamics of accumulation and social production.”⁸¹

Moreover, capitalism reproduces itself to generate and overcome crisis. As capitalism exists in its own spatial forms, it reproduces and alters itself within the city with its urban spatial presence. In a dialectic manner, the society also reproduces itself with the city. The over-changing practice of urban construction and dependency of high-speed urban life create an “abstract space” founded on the vast network of banks, business centers and major productive entities, as also on motorways, airports and information lattices.⁸² In metropolitan cities, the decentralization of the city, the creation of suburbs and other spaces as gated communities dismantles the society and its collective behavior and imposes individualism. The society develops a position that preserves itself from other people who look different or have different social class. The fragmentation of the

⁷⁹Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, London, 1984.

⁸⁰ David Harvey, “Fordism”, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, 1989, pp.182,184.

⁸¹ David Harvey, *Limits to Capital*, 374; Ira Katznelson, “Towards a Respatialized Marxism”, *Marxism and the City*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1994, p.108.

⁸² “Abstract space” is introduced by Henri Lefebvre. He defines abstract space where capitalism and neocapitalism produces itself and its logic, stated as: “Capitalism and neocapitalism have produced abstract space, which includes the ‘world of commodities’, its ‘logic’ and its worldwide strategies, as well as the power of money and that of the political state. Henri Lefebvre, “Plan of the Present Work”, *The Production of Space*, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell, UK, 1991, 53.

society reflects itself to the space as well as to everyday life. In addition to social practices, space appears as an apparatus for the power. By dismantling the city and creating spaces of social practices according to their common sense affect the society.

As the new needs are created, new spaces are opened up for capitalist growth to explore new sources and new markets. By creating the new fashions, the capitalism re-structures and re-schedules itself:

Capitalism is a process and not a thing. It is a process of reproduction of social life through commodity production, in which all of us in the advanced capitalist world are heavily implicated. Its internalized rules of operation are such as to ensure that it is a dynamic and revolutionary mode of social organization, restlessly and ceaselessly transforming the society within which it is embedded. The process masks and fetishizes, achieves growth through creative destruction, creates new wants and needs, exploits the capacity of human labor and desire, transforms spaces, and speeds up the pace of life.⁸³

In addition to economical and spatial changes in urban life, urban culture also reproduces itself accordingly. The dynamism of urban life and new fashions appear as an ephemeral practices and over-load society with the images. In addition to quick transformation of city context, fetish images and phantasmagoric world of capitalism also trigger *blasé* attitude with its dominant role over society.

⁸³ David Harvey, "Fordism", *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, 1989, p. 343.

CHAPTER 3

BLASÉ: EXPOSED CAPITALIST CULTURAL PRODUCTION

Throughout the second chapter, speed as one of the fundamentals of metropolis life has been investigated in terms of daily practices and movement and one of the apparatus of dominant ideology over money-economy and its reflections on urban life. After modernity, we can also decipher how urban life and urban culture is shaped around our daily practices, which have been manipulated by many social, economical and political engagements. When urban culture is considered as a process of modernity, it is thus important to criticize late capitalist urban culture. One of the seminal works, used to develop the criticism, is written by Guy Debord, which is used to understand the society of modern life, and the “spectacle” that is created under the dominant mode of production, in other words, capitalism. According to Debord, “[T]he spectacle is not a collection of images; it is a social relation between people that is mediated by images.”⁸⁴ In this chapter, the social relations as a part of urban life and images of urban culture will be investigated in order to understand how urban fashions changes and how it is affect the space. In addition, in order to understand speed as a urban phenomenon, consumer culture and turn-over time of commodity and commodification of urban space as an over-changing practice will be analyzed

Jean Baudrillard questions the real, hyperreal and imaginary world in his seminal book titled “Simulacra and Simulation”. Baudrillard explains image phases as:

These would be the successive phases of the image:

⁸⁴ Guy Debord, “Culmination of Separation”, *The Society of Spectacle*, Trans. by Ken Knabb, Hobgoblin Press, Canberra, 2002, p. 7.

1. It is the reflection of a basic reality.
2. It masks and perverts a basic reality.
3. It masks the *absence* of a basic reality.
4. It bears no relation to any reality whatever: it is its own pure simulacrum.

In the first case, the image is a *good* appearance: the representation is of the order of sacrament. In the second, it is an *evil* appearance: of the order of malefice. In the third, it *plays at being* an appearance: it is of the order of sorcery. In the fourth, it is no longer in the order of appearance at all, but of simulation.⁸⁵

In metropolises, the perception of images can be investigated in plentiful means. One of the reasons of this bombardment can be revealed as the technological development of modern life. By the means of technological revolution and commodification of cultural production, the society is surrounded by repeated and moving images. In order to understand how this image world is constructed and affects our daily life, it is significant to decipher our daily practices and how capitalism uses speed to shape habits, sphere and society via consumer culture, mass media and technology.

3.1 Phantasmagoria and Image Stimuli

Another important figure of Frankfurt School is Walter Benjamin who discusses capitalism and phantasmagoria⁸⁶ in terms of fetishized and commodified images that is being produced by modern and capital life. Moreover, according to Hetherington, “For Benjamin, everything in an industrial capitalist (and thereby also a consumer) society presented a new, fashionable, and desirable –as progressive- reveals the ever-same character of the commodity form. One fashion

⁸⁵ Jean Baudrillard, “Simulacra and Simulations”, *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Ed. and Intro. by Mark Poster, Stanford University Press, UK, 2002, p. 170.

⁸⁶ The term “phantasmagoria” is used as a reference to Marx definition to be able to explain the illusionary (fantastic) relation between the things. The space of phantasmagoria is a space in which truth and reality are thrown into doubt and require resolution through the actions of of the subject interpellated as a consuming object. Kevin Hetherington, “Phantasmagoria and the Fetish”, *Capitalism’s Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, New York-London, 2007, p.67.

replaces the next in a seemingly endless succession of the new coming into being for the first time.”⁸⁷ The reason that Benjamin’s discussions gain its importance is that not only he emphasizes images, which become commodities in the capitalist system, are ephemeral but also they are fetishized and consumed rapidly. In other words, the impact of the images produced in industrial capitalism loses its connection with the social subjects and they develop a self-preservation of the individual, since he/she is triggered continually by the stimuli of the images.

The discussion above takes us back to Karl Marx’s terms phantasmagoria and commodity fetishism. Kevin Hetherington explains the term as “it is a theory of fetishism that positions subjects and objects (commodities) in a particular way, reading the commodity and commodified culture as an illusory representation of the world of production; something that seemingly involves consumers in the worship of the misleading figural or signifying qualities of material culture.”⁸⁸ Moreover, in order to decipher how visual sphere is constructed by means of commodity fetishism, first, the term phantasmagoria⁸⁹ should be understood. It plays a key concept to see the images as “a true picture of a false reality.”⁹⁰ In addition, Hetherington makes an interpretation of Benjamin’s image-space and time discussion stating “What he seeks through the image-space of Kairos is an awakening from this temporal phantasmagoria/spectacle that the commodity displays through the creation of disruptive images that open up a new form of experience in which the moment ceases to just be a fragment of dislocated, fetishized, modern experience. (*Erlebnis*).”⁹¹

⁸⁷ Kevin Hetherington, “Memories of Capitalism”, *Capitalism’s Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, New York-London, 2007, p.88.

⁸⁸ Kevin Hetherington, “Phantasmagoria and the Fetish”, *Capitalism’s Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, New York-London, 2007, p.57

⁸⁹ “The original phantasmagoria was a form of popular spectacle that emphasized the principle of deception or concealment, in its mode of display, particularly through its association with the presentation of the figure of ghost.” Ibid., p.61.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.57.

⁹¹ Kevin Hetherington, “The Time of Entrepreneurial City: Museum, Heritage and Kairos”, *Consuming The Entrepreneurial City: Image, Memory, Spectacle*, Ed. by Anne M. Cronin and Kevin Hetherington, Routledge, London and New York, 2008, p. 280.

Being an early cinema method, phantasmagoric visions provide a new reality which is constructed by images as well as a new society that as Debord prefer to call spectacle. With reference to cinematography, what Marx and Frankfurt School try to seek is to decipher the illusion of modern life that surround us and triggers the spectacle to consume images and spaces. In metropolises, amusement parks can be given as an example for ideological practice. Disneyland, for example, is one of the best examples of phantasmagoric public spaces or in a Baudrillardian term: simulation. According to Baudrillard:

Disneyland is a perfect model of all the entangled orders of simulation. To begin with it is a play of illusions and phantasms: pirates, the frontier, future world, etc. This imaginary world is supposed to be what makes the operation successful. But, what draws the crowds is undoubtedly much more the social microcosm, the miniaturized and *religious* revealing in real America, in its delights and drawbacks. You park outside, queue up inside, and are totally abandoned at the exit. In this imaginary world the only phantasmagoria is in the inherent warmth and affection of the crowd, and in that sufficiently excessive number of gadgets used there to specifically maintain the multitudinous affect.⁹²

The examples can be extended from early industrial period to present. For example, the first world fair in London can be counted as the first event that creates its own spectacle and phantasmagoria. Great Exhibition in 1851 was an organization that has been visited by over six millions of people. The content of the fair was loaded with the objects of material culture of capitalism including machines, appliances, gadgets as well as decorative arts and sculptures.⁹³ Today, we can find more examples of this kind, since industrial capitalism replaced by late capitalism and neoliberalism. In addition, new technological development and its compressed turn-over time creates a modern spectacle that has to adapt to unreal/imaginary images and its rhythm.

⁹² Jean Baudrillard, "Simulacra and Simulations", *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Ed. and Intro. by Mark Poster, Stanford University Press, UK, 2002, p. 175.

⁹³ Kevin Hetherington, "Relations of Production Under Glass", *Capitalism's Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, New York-London, 2007, p.3-4.

To give current examples, of course, shopping malls, can be regarded as a current example being a different scale entities but equivalent to fairs in terms of its content. It can be emphasized that shopping or more generally consuming become a daily practice. The late-capitalist urban culture is started to be shaped around consuming commodities, art, spaces, etc. which becomes an essential part of modern world and its urban culture. Baudrillard states that:

The cultural center becomes, then, an integral part of the shopping mall. This is not to say that culture is here “prostituted”; that is too simple. It is *culturalized*. Consequently, the commodity (clothing, food, restaurant, etc.) is also culturalized, since it is transformed into a distinctive and idle substance, a luxury and an item, among others, in the general displace of consumables.⁹⁴

Moreover, with the rise of computers and mobile devices, people can reach dense information more easily. The high-speed access to extensive information, generally provided by loaded images, also causes detachment from the fact that how the information is produces, served and accessed. Most of social media platforms can be exemplified for the issue such as blogs, microblogs, visual blogs, etc. Guy Debord states that “The fetishism of the commodity — the domination of society by “intangible as well as tangible things” — attains its ultimate fulfillment in the spectacle, where the real world is replaced by a selection of images which are projected above it, yet which at the same time succeed in making themselves regarded as the epitome of reality.”⁹⁵ Pinterest as a micro visual blog provides a wide range of information represented by images. Depending on your device, you can reach over fifteen images at the same time.

⁹⁴ Jean Baudrillard, “Consumer Society”, *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Ed. and Intro. by Mark Poster, Stanford University Press, UK, 2002, p. 32.

⁹⁵ Guy Debord, “Culmination of Separation”, *The Society of Spectacle*, Trans. by Ken Knabb, Hobgoblin Press, Canberra, 2002, p. 12.

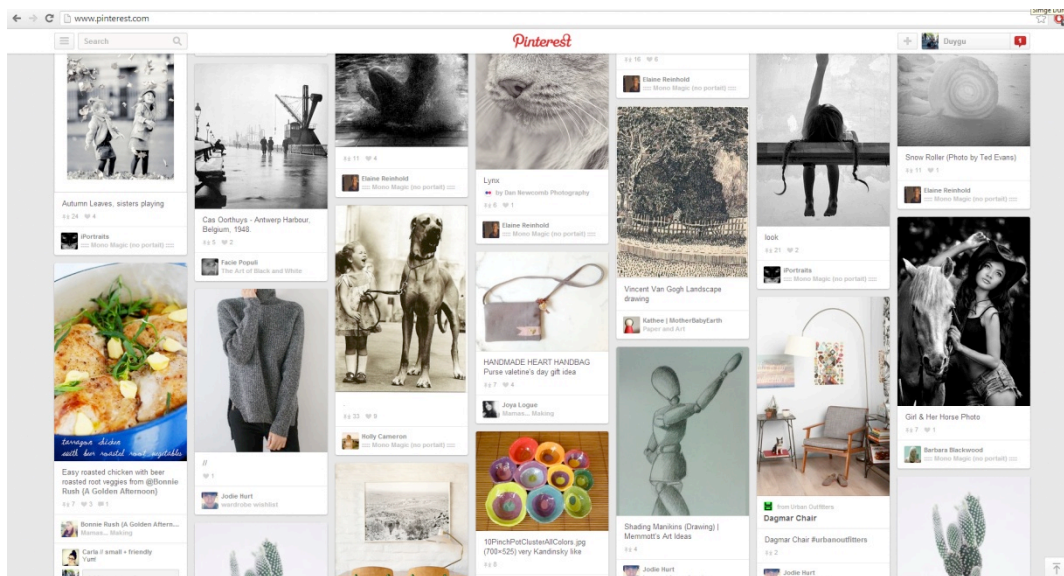


Figure 2: A screenshot from Pinterest

Under the bombardment of images of phantasmagoria, commodity fetishism, the spectacle should be discussed to understand how these images are consumed, how society is affected and how space is instrumentalized to impose these images. Another contribution is also made by Jonathan Crary to understand society, spectacle and culture in modern urban life in his book titled “Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture”. With reference and appreciation to Debord’s work, Crary states that:

Debord’s work is often associated with the more facile meaning of the book’s title, disregarding an essential characterization of the society of the spectacle: rather than emphasizing the effects of mass media and visual imagery. Debord insists that spectacle is... the development of a technology of separation. It is the inevitable consequence of capitalism’s “restructuring of society without community.”....Spectacle is not primarily concerned with a *looking at* images but rather with the construction of conditions that individuate, immobilize and separate subjects, even within a world in which mobility and circulation are ubiquitous. In this way attention becomes key to the operation of non-coercive forms of power....

Spectacle is not an optics of power but an architecture.⁹⁶

Crary emphasize that with modern life and its effects on culture creates a new kind of men, a new society that has been detached from others and its body, being a community. Moreover, this image that the world is constructed by capitalism is not an imaginary/unreal world but since it is constructed, we see its impacts on urban space and also space as a tool to construct this image stimuli.

According to Baudrillard, advertisements as a concept for individuals provide phantasms. They are ideological and they have the power to persuade persons directly. Furthermore, he states that “This could possibly be a definition of the specific form of contemporary alienation: in the process of consumption internal conflicts or “deep drives” are mobilized and alienated in the same way as labour power is in the process of production.”⁹⁷

The alienation of individuals as a person from their collective body takes us to Simmel’s term, blasé. Seeking the foundation of sociology in the age of modernity, Simmel analyzes metropolises in terms of movement of money, commodity, culture as well as their representation and how it affects the society. Supporting Baudrillard’s discussion, Simmel also defines the modern society as individualized, which is moving like individuals and images. Frisby interprets Simmel’s discussion on modernity and metropolis as:

The modern metropolis is the site of intensification or concentration of modernity (with the mature money economy as the site of its extensification, whilst *also* having its focal point in the modern metropolis). Rather than the mode of production or the industrial capitalist enterprise, the economic focus is upon the sphere of circulation, exchange and consumption in both sites of modernity. With regard to the metropolis, emphasis is placed upon the circulation of individuals, groups and commodities and their forms of interaction and modes of representation. The image of the metropolis is that of a complex web of criss-crossing

⁹⁶ Jonathan Crary, “Modernity and the Problem of Attention”, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle and Modern Culture*, MIT Press, USA, 2002, p.73-75. (emphasis in original)

⁹⁷ Jean Baudrillard, “The System of Objects”, *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Ed. and Intro. by Mark Poster, Stanford University Press, UK, 2002, p. 19.

interactions and a site of myriad intersections of social circles or networks and their social boundaries.⁹⁸

Since we have discussed advertisement as a tool of capitalism in modern metropolises, this can be another topic needs to be discussed with reference to the urban culture. As Baudrillard states, collective function of advertisements is to convert the society via the code determined by the ideology according to social and economical levels.⁹⁹ Furthermore, how advertisements are imposed is based on consumer culture. In modern metropolises, we consume as an everyday practice. As discussed at the beginning of the chapter, Walter Benjamin seeks Paris arcades to decipher phantasmagoria. *The Arcade Project* of Benjamin becomes seminal in terms of comprehending capitalism and its spatial and social engagements on the streets. Moreover, Paris as “the capital of modernity” provides us experiences and sections of urban life related to space, economy, society and culture.

3.2 Consumer Culture

“as I walk into a drugstore to buy toothpaste, rubbers, photographs of frogs, a copy of the latest Consumer Reports (50 cents) for I consume and am consumed and would like to know on this blue evening”¹⁰⁰

Georg Simmel begins his seminal essay titled as “The Metropolis and Mental Life” stating:

The deepest problems of modern life derive from the claim of the individual to preserve the autonomy and individuality of his existence in

⁹⁸ David Frisby, “Metropolitan Modernity”, *Key Sociologist Series: Georg Simmel*, Ed. by Peter Hamilton, UK and New York, Routledge, 2002, p.31.

⁹⁹ Jean Baudrillard, “The System of Objects”, *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Ed. and Intro. by Mark Poster, Stanford University Press, UK, 2002, p. 18.

¹⁰⁰ Charles Bukowski, “A Report Upon Consumption of Myself”, <http://dareen.tumblr.com/post/192296391/i-am-a-panther-shut-up-and-bellowing-in-cement> (Last accessed: 04.01.2014)

the face of overwhelming social forces, of historical heritage, of external culture, and of the technique of life.¹⁰¹

In order to understand and analyze the problems mentioned by Simmel, the modern life should be deciphered on the basis of these problems. Since the city and social environment have dynamism with relation to different aspects of modern life, the effects of these various changes and the way they transform should be investigated. In this part, external culture and technique of life will be investigated based on consumer culture. One of the seminal works is made by Baudrillard about consumption and its social reflection. He explains consumption as one of the consequences of modern life and capitalism. According to him, “Consumption is *the virtual totality of all objects and messages presently constituted in a more or less coherent discourse*. Consumption, in so far as it is meaningful, is *a systematic act of the manipulation of signs*”.¹⁰²

According to Kevin Hetherington, during the nineteenth century, social space is defined by spectacle with The Great Exhibition imposing the mass consumer culture of industrial capitalism. He also states his main criticism as:

the work of (Guy) Debord (1977), was that the totalizing theory that has developed around his term and been applied to consumer culture treats consumers not merely as isolated subjects but as cultural dopes who engage in consumption in passive, distracted, and thereby seemingly asocial manner.¹⁰³

Starting from industrialization, more generally after the rise of capitalism, market and, the society, as consumers become target, to be able to exchange commodities. One of the main ideas behind exchange and profit lay behind the increase in consuming more. The discussion about Fordism also emphasizes that this particular mode of production aims to create a new labor class, which also produces and consumes. Therefore, consumption appears as a goal imposed by

¹⁰¹ Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life”, *The Blackwell City Reader*, Ed. by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, Wiley-Blackwell, UK, p.103.

¹⁰² Jean Baudrillard, “Consumer Society”, *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Ed. and Intro. by Mark Poster, Stanford University Press, UK, 2002, p. 22. (emphasis in original)

¹⁰³ Kevin Hetherington, “Phantasmagoria and the Fetish”, *Capitalism’s Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, New York-London, 2007, p.51.

capitalist authorities. Moreover, in modern times, leisure and consumption occurred not just a practice but also an urban culture that the spectacle is imposed and formed accordingly.

As an interpretation of Marx, Hetherington states that “fetishism in relation to production and the abstraction of labor power, commodity fetishism”¹⁰⁴ subsequently came to be applied more widely to consumer relations and consumer culture in general and ultimately with all forms of experience, consciousness, and rationality within capitalism as a whole.”¹⁰⁵ As a consequence, space become an apparatus to raise the consciousness/ unconsciousness on consumption. Harvey explains this in his seminal book “Paris: Capital of Modernity” by analyzing Paris as one of the first “capital” that has been shaped by “capital”. According to him, “Spectacle, even that of the city itself, has always been fundamental to urban life, and its political aspects have long played an important role in the construction of legitimacy and social control.”¹⁰⁶ Another interpretation is made by Baudrillard on consumer society and its reflection on cities and urban life:

We have reached the point where “consumption” has grasped the whole of life; where all activities are sequenced in the same combinatorial mode; where the schedule of gratification is outlined in advance, one hour at a time; and where the "environment" is complete, completely climatized, furnished, and culturalized. In the phenomenology of consumption, the general climatization of life, of goods, objects, services, behaviors, and social relations represents the perfected, "consummated," stage of evolution which, through articulated networks of objects, ascends from pure and simple abundance to a complete conditioning of action and time, and finally to the systematic organization of ambiance, which is characteristic

¹⁰⁴ Hetherington concludes his chapter with defining commodity fetishism as: “Commodity fetishism, for Marx, an alienated object of subjective activity that confronts the subjects as a thing with image-like qualities- images of a particular ghost- the ghost of subjective activity that went into producing an object’s value... [I]t is a subject that that produces the object-world through sensuous and figural understanding via the communicative world of consumption and exchange.” He also states that “For Marx, in a capitalist society, the real social relations that operate between people are replaced by imaginary ones that appear to occur between things.” Kevin Hetherington, *Capitalism’s Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, New York-London, 2007.

¹⁰⁵ Kevin Hetherington, “Memories of Capitalism”, *Capitalism’s Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, New York-London, p.73.

¹⁰⁶ David Harvey, Consumerism, Spectacle and Leisure, *Paris: Capital of Modernity*, Routledge, London and New York, 2003, p. 218.

of the drugstores, the shopping malls, or the modern airports in our futuristic cities.¹⁰⁷

When consumption is considered, we need to visit key concepts that capitalism introduced in our daily life and urban culture as discussed above. Commodity fetishism, phantasmagoria, commodification, advertisement, leisure, spectacle and so on are involved as significant discussions in modern cities. To be able to discuss their spatial reflection, earlier examples of modern cities can be analyzed how these concepts are used to re-shape or construct urban culture in order to promote consumption. Harvey's work on Paris is considerably worthy to picture early modern cities and its practices. He explains in details Parisien urban life and Haussmannization period. Harvey describes Paris as:

Haussmann worked at all these levels simultaneously. The new boulevards created their own forms of spectacle, through the hustle and bustle of carts and public conveyances over newly macadamized surfaces (which some radicals thought were designed to prevent them from converting cobblestones into barricades). The arrival of the new department stores and cafés, both of which spilled out onto the sidewalks of the new boulevards, made the boundary between public and private spaces porous.

The proliferation of cabarets, circuses, concerts and theaters, and popular opera houses produced a frenzy of popular entertainment (the frivolity of Second Empire culture was strongly associated with Offenbach's popular spoofs on Italian opera in the form of the opera bouffe). The transformation of parks like the Bois de Boulogne, Monceau, and even squares like that at the Temple into places of sociality and leisure likewise helped to emphasize an extrovert form of urbanization that emphasized public show of private opulence. The sociality of the masses of people drawn to the boulevards was now as much controlled by the imperatives of commerce as by police power.¹⁰⁸

Behind spatial structure of the city, the practice of consumption also shaped itself. Since street life and public/private space has shifted with modernity as well as the

¹⁰⁷ Jean Baudrillard, "Consumer Society", *Jean Baudrillard Selected Writings*, Ed. and Intro. by Mark Poster, Stanford University Press, UK, 2002, p. 33.

¹⁰⁸ David Harvey, *Consumerism, Spectacle and Leisure, Paris: Capital of Modernity*, Routledge, London and New York, 2003, p. 207.

display of commodities, the action of shopping, more generally consumption, evolved into becoming *flaneur* in the streets. Moreover, Harvey puts it as “displaying itself” or “spectacle became spectacle”. He describes Parisien shopping habits as “And while the role of bourgeois women was in some ways enhanced by this progression from the arcades to the department stores¹⁰⁹, there is still lot, to be exploited, though this time as consumers rather than as managers of the household. It became a fashionable necessity for them to stroll the boulevards, window-shop, buy, and display their acquisitions in the public space rather than squirrel them away in the home or in the boudoir. They, too, became a part of the spectacle (particularly when the fashion turned to enormous crinoline dresses) that fed upon itself and defined public spaces as exhibition sites for commodities and commerce overlain with an aura of sexual desire and sexual exchange.”¹¹⁰ Moreover, consuming art also became another type of practice. To participate in cultural activities such as opera, theatre, exhibitions and so on appeared as a new way of displaying themselves. Since art became commodified, it also started to be consumed by means of everyday practices of capitalist urban culture.

On the other hand, the consumption as a political action breaks the relationship between consumer and the commodity. As defined by Marx, alienation becomes crucial in the sense of consuming or, in other words, phantasmagoria and commodity fetishism also rupture the reality of consumption. Hetherington states, “The commodity fetish is, for Marx, an alienated object of subjective action that confronts the subject as a thing with image-like qualities –images of a particular

¹⁰⁹ If we research cities in Turkey, the current situation differs slightly from Parisian modern city culture. Today, the most popular way of shopping is shopping malls that has been spread widely all around the cities. To speak with numbers, there are 267 shopping malls in Turkey, 127 of which are in the biggest three cities including the capital Ankara. (Serdar Erişen, “Reading Ankara With/Through Shopping Malls”, *Shopping Malls in Ankara as the New “Non-Places”*, Faculty of Architecture, Department of Architecture, METU, Ankara, 2010, p.102) Since shopping malls have a different layout and spatial structure, it develops separate actions and practices. Generally located at the periphery of the city, provided by enormous parking lots, the access to the shopping mall is via private automobiles. Isolated from outside world with minimum openings, the closed space is organized to make consumers walk all the shop windows. These malls are also designed correlatively with food courts and cultural events such as cinema, amusement areas, etc. The pack of consumption and leisure is constructed via space and since things are commodified in shopping windows, the practice of consumption and leisure is also normalized as everyday practices.

¹¹⁰ David Harvey, *Consumerism, Spectacle and Leisure, Paris: Capital of Modernity*, Routledge, London and New York, 2003, p. 212.

ghost- the ghost of subjective activity that went into producing an object's value".¹¹¹ Although consumption appears as a public activity, which gets more importance than production; because of alienation, it turns to be a subjective as well as individual action. Imposed by capitalism, it is a tool to split the society firstly class by class and secondly person by person. Therefore, consumers appear as agents. Becoming spectacle or *flâneur* as a consumer triggers individualization. As Simmel defines it as "homogeneous, flat and grey color", the practice develops a *blasé* on the agents where they become passive and apolitical actors of the society.

In the case of Haussmannized Paris, "nice" boulevards were the space of bourgeois where the poor cannot find a space for themselves. Harvey states "The mass of workers, condemned for the most part to live on miserable wages and faced with notoriously unstable conditions of employment, had to live and consume somewhere else."¹¹² And he continues to defining Parisien practices, as "The café may have become the most stable and accessible space in many a worker's existence." And women and families were by no means excluded—many marriages took place in cafés (with the owner acting as witness). The café or wine shop therefore performed an institutional as well as a political and social role in working-class life. Workers "who frequently changed dwellings often stayed in the same neighborhood and continued to patronize the same café."¹¹³

Interpreting Sennett's statement, Harvey emphasizes:

But I suspect that Sennett has it roughly right when he argues that presentation of self in the public sphere came to substitute for representation, and that the presentation of self was more and more reduced to a matter of commodification and spectacle. The public sphere became, as a result, more and more mystified. In the spectacle few people play an active role. While, therefore, the public persona was a participant in the

¹¹¹ Kevin Hetherington, "Phantasmagoria and the Fetish", *Capitalism's Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, 2007, New York-London, p.70.

¹¹² David Harvey, Consumerism, Spectacle and Leisure, *Paris: Capital of Modernity*, Routledge, London and New York, 2003, p. 216.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 216.

sense that individuals became bearers of the spectacle (if only as the walking mannequins of fashion), they were passive in the sense that it was what they were bearers of (i.e., commodities) which mattered, rather than what they might stand for politically or socially.¹¹⁴

As a consumer, an individual bearer of the spectacle or a *flaneur*, the society is divided into sections. People are compelled to consume by many exterior forces. However, they are also compelled to use spaces where they can afford: neighborhood for workers, boulevards for bourgeois. Furthermore, the division of society and the action of consuming as a matter of fact have drawn passive individuals and depoliticized public action.

Consuming cannot be restricted as shopping. In the age of globalization and high-tech world, what Virilio name as “Information Bomb”¹¹⁵, we are exposed to many information and images surrounding us. There are billboards, signs, advertisements, screens, media facades, shop windows, announcements, posters, lights, blogs, photographs, reproductions, newspapers, entries as well as building and re-building the built environment and city image, so on. It is clear that one of the significant factors behind the image bombardment is cyber network and mass media that reproduce itself again and again to manipulate as well as legitimize itself. Mass media and social media starting from communication technologies such as telephone and telegraph could extend to radio, television, cinema and computers till the millennium age. Before looking closer to what Virilio defines as “third revolution”¹¹⁶, the main contribution is made by Adorno and Horkheimer as “culture industry”¹¹⁷ to understand the production and consumption of information and art in the modernity project under capitalist system and its cultural impact.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 216.

¹¹⁵ Virilio, Paul, *The Information Bomb*. London-New York: Verso, 2006.

¹¹⁶ Paul Virilio, Future War: A Discussion with Paul Virilio, *Dialogues*, interviewed by James Der Derian. <http://www.infopeace.org/vy2k/futurewar.cfm> (Last accessed: 10.01.2014)

¹¹⁷ Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “Culture Industry”, *The Dialect of Enlightenment*, Trans. by Edmund Jephcott, Ed. by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, Stanford University Press, California, 2002.

“The speed of production enables consumption faster.”¹¹⁸ And the circulation of the goods depends on how they are commercialized. With the help of new social and economical supports and technology, fashions appear as a fact of capitalist system to shorten turn over time of commodities. Hetherington states that:

For Benjamin, everything in an industrial capitalist (and thereby also a consumer) society presented as new, fashionable, and desirable –as progressive– reveals the ever-same character of the commodity form. One fashion replaces the next in a seemingly endless succession of the new coming into being for the first time. Yet what is new one day becomes outmoded the next, though its material detritus has the tendency to linger on discarded and disregarded as a ghostly trace. For Benjamin, this fantasy of the new and fashionable as an expression of progress reveals the inevitable betrayal of the dreams of happiness of consumers encouraged to endlessly pursue, in a futile manner, what is deemed to be desirable and fashionable.¹¹⁹

Beside the labor market, with the emergence of flexible accumulation, competition and consumption becomes instrument of capitalism. They have imposed quick-changing fashions and the mobilization of all artifices of need induces in cultural transformation. The competition between companies based on production triggers the production process to be faster while turn over time to be less. Therefore, the commodities are presented in a fashionable way to attract the society. However, this situation is not just related with its economical background but also social structure. The fashions and turn over time also speeds up the social life and increases the ephemerality of things. According to John Urry “There is the production and transmission of rapidly changing media images and the increased availability of techniques of simulating buildings and physical landscapes from different periods or places. And new technologies of information and

¹¹⁸ For example, we can take the case of iPhone as being one of the popular smartphone around the world. The first iPhone is released on 29 June 2007. Moreover, iPhone 3G is released on 11 July 2009 while 3GS is released on 19 June 2009, iPhone 4 on 24 June 2010, iPhone 4S on 14 October 2011 and finally iPhone 5 on 21 September 2012. As you can see, the time period between two models are almost one year where the design and content of the phones have slightly changed. (<http://www.timetoast.com/timelines/history-of-the-iphone--6> (Last accessed: 10.01.2014))

¹¹⁹ Kevin Hetherington, “Memories of Capitalism”, *Capitalism's Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, 2007, pp. 88-89.

communication instantaneously transcend space at the speed of nanoseconds.”¹²⁰

Exposed to images of fashion in a short turnover time and being bombarded by consumption stimuli, the society misses the narrative of its social practices and gains an indifferent attitude against the modern life that capitalism generates. Since the individual is detached from the reality with the impact of phantasmagoric image-world, she/he develops a position that requires isolation due to all the fetishism and commodification of consumer culture. In addition, the competition to make more profits, fashions are developed so that turn over time of commodities is reduced. The speed of circulation causes an over-changing market and social acceleration creates a position for individuals that are forced to consume. On the other hand, the adaptation to new fashions increases the ephemerality of everyday life.

3.3 Culture Industry

In this part of the thesis, the discussions about speed , distribution and transformation of information will be developed. We have discussed the factors behind capitalism that lean to travel over distances and how it is instrumentalized to overcome economical and social networks. Culture is another topic related with capitalism, modernity and everyday life; it appears as a dominant driver that has an impact significantly. Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, who are two of the leading members of Frankfurt School, analyze culture as an industry to understand how it is instrumentalized. First they start to understand how culture is commodified with the aim of fetishism and also claim that it is also consumed by the means of use and exchange value in the social structure. They state that:

¹²⁰ John Urry, “Speeding Up and Slowing Down”, *High-Speed Society: Social Acceleration, Power and Modernity*, ed. by Hartmut Rosa and William E. Scheuerman, The Pennsylvania State University Press, USA, 2009, p.199.

Everything has value only in so far it can be exchanged, not in so far as it is something in itself. For consumers the use value of art, its essence, is a fetish, and the fetish –the social valuation which they mistake for the merit of works of art- becomes its only use value, the only quality they enjoy. In this way the commodity character of art disintegrates just as it is fully realized. Art becomes a species of commodity, worked up and adapted to industrial production, saleable and exchangeable; but art as the species of commodity which exists in order to be sold yet not for sale becomes something hypocritically unsalable as soon as the business transaction is no longer merely its intention but its sole principle.¹²¹

The biggest factor behind their claim is based on commodification of culture. This is the most influential reason why they call modern time's culture as "industry". In other words, culture has been commodified in the capitalist system. The production of art becomes a part of this particular mode of production. For this respect, it can be claimed that art, or culture, has been also alienated and fetishized. Another discussion is made by Walter Benjamin in his seminal essay titled "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction". In his essay, Benjamin tries to understand how art evolved after capitalism and industrialization. With the emergence of the particular mode of production, art also has been commodified and it enabled the reproduction of cultural production. He states that "In principle a work of art has always been reproducible. Man-made artifacts could always be imitated by men."¹²² Moreover, in addition to cult value and exchange value of an artistic production, this created the discussion based on authenticity and aura. Benjamin claims that "the view" is also important as much as "the existence" of a piece. That's why he discusses exhibition value.

He further investigates how culture differs technically, contextually and socially. He states that film represents the reality for contemporary men as compared to painting, with the help of mechanical equipment as well as mass distribution. Consequently, it also attracts masses and imparts a critical awareness in them

¹²¹ Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "Enlightenment as Mass Deception", *The Dialect of Enlightenment*, Trans. by Edmund Jephcott, Ed. by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, Stanford University Press, California, 2002, p128.

¹²² Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art In the Age of Mechanical Reproduction", *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, ed. by. Hannah Arendt, Schocken Books, New York, 2007, p.218.

According to him, “With regard to the screen, the critical and the receptive attitudes of the public coincide. The decisive reason for this is that individual reactions are predetermined by the mass audience response they are about to produce, and this is nowhere more pronounced than in the film”.¹²³

Moreover, the mechanical reproduction and technological developments enable to access masses. Adorno and Horkheimer approach mass media starting from telephone as a tool to spreading information.

The step from telephone to radio has clearly distinguished the roles. The former liberally permitted the participant to play the role of subject. The latter democratically makes everyone equally into listeners, in order to expose them in authoritarian fashion to the same programs put out by different stations. No mechanism of reply has been developed, and private transmissions are condemned to unfreedom.¹²⁴

Interpreting Adorno and Horkheimer, it can be concluded that they also admits the power of mass media to depoliticize the agents of the society, this is similar to what Benjamin has already narrated. At this point, it is appropriate to recall Louis Althusser’s ideological state apparatuses. French philosopher designated culture as one of the apparatuses of the state and superstructure to manipulate the structure.¹²⁵ Beside consuming cultural productions as a commodity and everyday practices, it spreads and visits people from the point they stand, it becomes a leisure activity as well as a passive consumption that makes the society get used to passive and indifferent position. Adorno and Horkheimer draw a wide frame to understand culture industry, technology and its production and consumption relations in their seminal book “The Dialectic of Enlightenment”. According to them:

The power of industrial society is imprinted on people once and for all. The products of the culture industry are such that they can be alertly consumed even in a state of distraction. But each one is a model of the gigantic

¹²³ Ibid., p.234.

¹²⁴ Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “Enlightenment as Mass Deception”, *The Dialect of Enlightenment*, Trans. by Edmund Jephcott, Ed. by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, Stanford University Press, California, 2002, pp.95-96.

¹²⁵ Louis Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, New York, Routledge, 2006.

economic machinery, which, from the first, keeps everyone on their toes, both at work and in the leisure time which resembles it. In any sound film or any radio broadcast something is discernible which cannot be attributed as a social effect to any one of them, but to all together. Each single manifestation of the culture industry inescapably reproduces human beings as what the whole has made them. And all its agents, from the producer to the women's organizations, are on the alert to ensure that the simple reproduction of mind does not lead on to the expansion of mind.¹²⁶

The modernity theoreticians emphasize that capitalist relations are not primarily concentrated on production, but social relations of capitalism extended in to the consumption and popular entertainment:

Individuals, for Adorno, have become isolated from their class while at the same time becoming part of a broad mass audience through the facility of technology (film and radio) and are no longer capable of appreciating autonomous art of challenging the fetish character of popular consumer culture through their reception of its products.¹²⁷

We discussed the leisure culture of modern cities in the case of Paris as a capital of modernity that has been Haussmannized, in other words, that has been initially re-shaped with the capitalism and ideology. Adorno and Horkheimer also make a similar interpretation. According to authors, culture industry is an entertainment business and it re-positions structure the working power of the society, so that they re-locate themselves in their relations with the production, in other words, alienation appears. They state "Entertainment is the prolongation of work under late capitalism. It is sought by those who want to escape the mechanized labor process so that they can cope with it again. At the same time, however, mechanization has such control over leisure and its happiness, thoroughly

¹²⁶ Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, "Enlightenment as Mass Deception", *The Dialect of Enlightenment*, Trans. by Edmund Jephcott, Ed. by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, Stanford University Press, California, 2002, p.100.

¹²⁷ Kevin Hetherington, "Memories of Capitalism", *Capitalism's Eye: Cultural Spaces of Commodity*, Routledge, 2007, p.80.

determines the fabrication of entertainment commodities that the off-duty worker can experience nothing but after-images of the work process itself.”¹²⁸

In the age of technology, the communicational developments and high-tech devices and their cultural engagements also should be discussed to investigate *blasé* as social agents of the society. Technological development's one of the inevitable apriority is the speed. Day by day, the digital and cyber world develops itself in accordance with the speed they provide to users. In addition, they have the impact of “time-space compression” as Harvey discusses. With the help of high-speed technologies, mass culture and mass media approaches a wider audience all around the world. Paul Virilio is one of the leading theoreticians who discuss the cyber environment and its effect on the social and political structures. He explains the three industrial revolutions as:

There have been three industrial revolutions. The first important revolution on the technical plane is that of transportation, which favors an equipping of the territory with railroads, airports, highways, electric lines, cables, etc. It has a geopolitical element. The second revolution, which is almost concomitant, is the transmissions revolution, including Marconi, Edison, radio, television. From this point on, technology is set loose. It becomes immaterial and electromagnetic. The third revolution, which it seems to me we are on the verge of, is the revolution of transplantations. All these technologies of telecommunication which had been employed in aviation and missiles, favor nano-technology, the possibility of miniaturizing technology to the point of introducing it into the human body, to achieve what the futurists wished for: to sustain the human body through "technology" and not just through "chemistry."¹²⁹

Before discussing the politics on agents and their individual and collective bodies, the third revolution defines a new time and space perception. In the first chapter, we have discussed time-space compression that Harvey suggests in the age of high-speed technologies. This compression creates a shift in temporal and spatial

¹²⁸ Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, “Enlightenment as Mass Deception”, *The Dialect of Enlightenment*, Trans. by Edmund Jephcott, Ed. by Gunzelin Schmid Noerr, Stanford University Press, California, 2002, p.109.

¹²⁹ Paul Virilio, Future War: A Discussion with Paul Virilio, *Dialogues*, interviewed by James Der Derian. <http://www.infopeace.org/vy2k/futurewar.cfm> (Last accessed: 10.01.2014)

perception in everyday life. Michel de Certeau analyzes everyday practices and states that these practices are narrative and “every story is a travel story- a spatial practice. For this reason, practices concern everyday tactics, are part of them, from the alphabet of spatial indication ("It's to the right," "Take a left"), the beginning of a story the rest of which is written by footsteps, to the daily "news" ("Guess who I met at the bakery?"), television news reports ("Teheran: Khomeini is becoming increasingly isolated . . . "), legends (Cinderellas living in hovels), and stories that are told (memories and fiction of foreign lands or more or less distant times in the past).¹³⁰ With reference to de Certeau's statement, every day practices should be investigated. We have discussed temporal paradox of acceleration of everyday life. Hartmut Rosa suggests that with the high-speed and social acceleration, people have to slow down their daily lives so they can gain more free time. However, it doesn't work in the technological era. People lean to organize their activities according to their temporal patterns and compress their time with the existence of the high-speed potentials. Moreover, this situation causes an acceleration of the pace of life.

We could also give the same example for high-speed telecommunication and transportation technologies. For example, a well-design transportation infrastructure may reduce the time spent for travelling so that free time can be maximized for people. However, also due to the impact of the social acceleration, people may prefer higher speed for their travel to catch up schedule and this creates breaks in their temporal and spatial perceptions.

Another topic related with the third revolution is that, people in their daily lives, prefer to lean to private and public spaces according to their connection with cyber world. Adrian Mackenzie, in his chapter titled “Stars, Meshes, Grids: Urban Network-Images and the Embodiment of Wireless Infrastructures”, analyzes how cities are shaped in relation to wireless connections. Interpreting Sennett's statement, he states that:

¹³⁰ Michel de Certeau, *Spatial Stories, The Practice of Everyday Life*, Trans. By Steven Rendall, University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1984, p. 115-116.

Sennett describes how people's experiences of their own bodies organize not only the form of cities (layouts, plans, designs, spaces, etc.) but the physicality of the city, the material textures and concreteness, sensed as light, sound, smell, and movement.¹³¹

With the experience of space, technological tools change the experience. According to Mackenzie, billboards and large screens advertising phones and other gadgets, shop display-windows, internet cafés and wireless hotspots, etc. alters the perception of the person. Since these tools create an over-changing image repertoire, the spatial perception differs. According to him, "City dwellers develop image repertoires as internal psychosocial constructs or maps that allow them to associate with or accommodate diverse others by quickly filtering them according to categories. Typically, an image repertoire helps an individual city dweller walking down a crowded street to know who to steer clear of, who to smile at (if anyone) and who to push past. Image repertoires picture nothing. They process relations. They collectively contract perception and trigger movements, gestures, and feelings."¹³²

On the other hand, besides its impacts on perception, Mackenzie suggests that wireless networks cut the architectural space and create an inside and outside differentiation. Although it provides a freedom to choose space for the users, in the larger perspective it divides spaces. He states that:

Wireless networks are difficult to link to either private pleasure or its opposite—public life. Rather than simply intensifying private pleasures (in the form of web-surfing, game-playing, emailing, or downloading music or video files), wireless networks contribute to the mobilization of private pleasure and the encapsulation of private media consumption in public locations.¹³³

The technological developments influence our daily practices. The connection networks not only re-shape urban space but also create personal spaces for

¹³¹ Adrian Mackenzie, *Stars, Meshes, Grids: Urban Network-Images and the Embodiment of Wireless Infrastructures*, "Consuming Entrepreneurial City", Ed. By Anne M. Cronin and Kevin Hetherington, Routledge, New York and London, 2008, p. 87.

¹³² Ibid., p. 88.

¹³³ Ibid., pp. 93-94.

individuals. The speed of everyday life patterns and the availability of body experience in relation with cyber world enable the society to isolate from urban life and self-preservation. Looking at digital images in large scales or personal devices, changes the image memory of the public since they are not capable of perceiving their “social space”. The bodily experience alters with the changes in urban life and the adaptation to over-changing images.

At the beginning of this chapter, it is discussed how cultural production is affected by industrialism and its engagements with urban culture. The dominant ideology operates culture as an apparatus of superstructure used to regulate the society by imposing fashions of consumption and fetishism in order to develop an in-between position of the individual. Adorno and Horkheimer emphasize the impact of media and other mediums such as radio, cinema etc. that spreads over other geographies and develops cultural common sense through social practices. In addition, the political subject becomes indifferent, by losing its position with the help of mass culture, imposed by technological and rapid developments since he/she has difficulties to participate to a collective political body as an individual via capitalist cultural products. Moreover, with the emergence of third revolution as cyber sphere created by high-speed technologies and the possibilities to connect an outer world beside the space, the isolated and individualistic attitude of the person, in other words *blasé*, is proliferated. Therefore, the speed affects everyday life patterns in terms of spatial and temporal structures.

CHAPTER 4

FROM *BLASÉ* TO NON- *BLASÉ* SPACES: *EDILIA*

4.1 Blasé Attitude

*Space and time are basic categories of human existence.*¹³⁴

Speed and its relation with urbanism engaged to economical, social, cultural and political structures have been discussed so far. With criticism to modern life in the early beginning of 20th century, Simmel, as a sociologist, defines a position as *blasé* attitude.

Blasé attitude is first described by Georg Simmel to define a new kind of man of the modern life. Going through the meanings in the dictionary, *blasé* attitude can be described in three different positions, which are uninterested because of frequent exposure or indulgence; unconcerned, nonchalant and very sophisticated.¹³⁵ In his seminal essay, Simmel defines *blasé* attitude as a position that the individual of metropolitan holds, caused by money economy, capitalism, and its rapid changing fashions. He states that:

Combined with this physiological source of the *blasé* metropolitan attitude there is another, which derives from a money economy. The essence of the *blasé* attitude is indifference toward the distinctions between things. Not in the sense that they are not perceived, as in the case of mental dullness, but rather that the meaning and the value of the distinctions between things,

¹³⁴ David Harvey, The Experience of Time and Space, *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Blackwell, 1990, p.201

¹³⁵ <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/blas%C3%A9> (Last accessed on 22.05.2012)

and therewith of the things themselves, are experienced as meaningless. They appear to the *blasé* person in a homogeneous, flat and grey color with no one of them worthy of being preferred to another.¹³⁶

The conditions of capitalist metropolitan life practices results in a self-protective organ of the society as well as indifferent position. Adorno explains the condition of the metropolitan as “Yet the city housing projects designed to perpetuate the individual as a supposedly independent unit in a small hygienic dwelling make him all the more subservient to his adversary – the absolute power of capitalism. Because the inhabitants, as producers and as consumers, are drawn into the center in search of work and pleasure, all the living units crystallize into well-organized complexes.”¹³⁷ Within that particular context exposure of all external stimuli of modern life should be investigated in terms of space which we perceive narrating not only bombardment of images but also the rapid movement of the transformation of everyday life practices with respect to space and social process. In the modern cities, which reproduce itself as the generator of economical, political and social relations of capitalism, speed plays a crucial role to comprehend these relations on the basis of space.

Beside the movement of capital over other geographies, the high-speed displacement in space gains utmost importance. Since the speed increases, the time and the perception of space decreases according to laws of physics. In other words, the space appears as “homogeneous, flat and grey”. With the developments of technology, the high-speed transportation, the dependency and the proliferation of automobile, highways, aviation etc. has dominated the everyday practices of movement as well as consumption, the mobilities over mass media and culture. Moreover, they transformed the perception of urban space, urban culture and the society into individuals. As a consequence, speed in urban life triggers *blasé* to stay unconcerned and nonreactive to the space and its transformation.

¹³⁶ Georg Simmel, “The Metropolis and Mental Life”, *The Blackwell City Reader*, Ed. by Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, Wiley-Blackwell, UK, p.106.

¹³⁷ <http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/adorno/1944/culture-industry.htm> (Last accessed: 25.05.2012)

4.2 Becoming Non-Blasé: The Case of Edilia

*The more speed increases, the faster freedom decreases.*¹³⁸

The word “utopia” has appeared in the book titled “Utopia” written by Thomas More in 1516. The linguistic analysis of the word reveals its meanings as “no-place” since Greek “topos” meaning “place”; and Greek “ou-” meaning “not”. In his book, More moulded our cognitive world in a way that a “no-place” has changed the way we see our physical environment. In addition, the word utopia can be read as “eutopia” which means “good place”. These double meanings also contribute to describe it as a desired place.

Since More moulded our cognitive world in an irreversible way in 1516, many people work on their utopian perspectives to increase hope for the future world. H. G. Wells, as one of the utopian writer, also published a book titled “A Modern Utopia” in 1905. He explains his intention as “In this present book I have tried to settle accounts with a number of issues left over or opened up by its two predecessors, to correct them in some particulars, and to give the general picture of a Utopia that has grown up in my mind during the course of these speculations as a state of affairs at once possible and more desirable than the world in which I live.”¹³⁹ Since he published his work at the beginning of 20th century when industrialization was experiencing its splendid time, he also creates a place including travels by means of possible ways. And he describes his utopia capable of free movement:

In the Modern Utopia travel must be in the common texture of life....
These may be double railways or monorails or what not—we are no

¹³⁸ Paul Virilio, *Speed and Politics: An Essay on Dromology*, trans. Mark Polizzotti, Semiotext(e), New York, 1986, p.142.

¹³⁹ H. G. Wells, “A Note to the Reader”, *A Modern Utopia*, The Floating Press, 2009, p.5.

engineers to judge between such devices—but by means of them the Utopian will travel about the earth from one chief point to another at a speed of two or three hundred miles or more an hour. That will abolish the greater distances....¹⁴⁰

On the other hand, Fredric Jameson describes his utopia as a system that is constructed against capitalism. According to him, on the social level, since they make us more aware of our mental and ideological imprisonment, the best utopias are the ones, which fail the most comprehensively.¹⁴¹ Moreover, he tries to conceptualize the theory of utopias. According to him:

What does this interesting picture of social differentiation have to offer a theory of Utopian production? I believe we can begin from the proposition that Utopian space is an imaginary enclave within real social space, in other words, that the very possibility of Utopian space itself as a result of spatial and social differentiation.¹⁴²

David Harvey makes one of the significant contributions about utopia in his seminal book titled “Spaces of Hope”. In the book Harvey tries to articulate the capital, history and ideology with space, urbanism and everyday life. He states “The overall effect is division and fragmentation of the metropolitan space, a loss of sociality across diversity, and a localized defensive posture towards the rest of the city that becomes politically fractious if not downright dysfunctional.”¹⁴³

Further to the discussion, in the chapter titled “The Spaces of Utopia”, he searches for an alternative to neoliberal utopias as we go through in these particular times. Recalling Ernst Bloch’s opinion “a loss of hope and without hole alternative politics becomes impossible”, he questions if the revitalization to utopias with hope opens new real alternatives.¹⁴⁴ Stressing the utopia of neoliberal ideology, he

¹⁴⁰ H. G. Wells, “Concerning Freedoms”, *A Modern Utopia*, The Floating Press, 2009, pp. 55-56.

¹⁴¹ Fredric Jameson, “Introduction: Utopia Now”, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia*, Verso, London-New York, p. xiii.

¹⁴² Fredric Jameson, “The Utopian Enclave”, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia*, Verso, London-New York, p. 15

¹⁴³ David Harvey, “The Spaces of Utopia”, *Spaces of Hope*, The University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000, p. 152.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

emphasizes the importance of space against Thatcher's "There is no alternative" claim. According to him, "[T]hose who have the money power are free to choose among name-brand commodities (including prestigious locations, properly secured, gated, and serviced) but citizenry as a whole is denied any collective choice of political system, of ways of social relating, or of modes of production, consumption, and exchange.... We the people have no right to choose what kind of city we shall inhabit."¹⁴⁵

Therefore, space gains become important in order to discuss "utopia" as an alternative. Since speed is constructed on space and time and social processes are shaped by space and time, therefore we can say it is the speed that shapes up the social process. To propose an alternative it is thus become significant to read and analyze the current urbanism. Throughout the thesis, speed has been investigated as a particular problem of capitalist metropolises as urban space. In this part of the thesis, utopias will be investigated to develop an alternative to high-speed urbanism. However, to be able to construct a utopianism, space and time as the constituents of speed and their dialectical relation should be analyzed. Harvey calls this attitude as "dialectical utopianism".

For Harvey, "Utopia is an artificially created island which functions as an isolated, coherently organized, and largely closed-space economy (though closely monitored relations with the outside world are posited). The internal spatial ordering of the island strictly regulates a stabilized and unchanging social process. Put crudely, spatial form controls temporality, an imagined geography controls the possibility of social change and history."¹⁴⁶ He also criticizes More's utopia due to the fact that it requires a stability and harmony based on a "spatial play". However, since More's *Utopia* suggests a fixed spatial form and a particular moral order, social relations and political economic system, Harvey and the names he mentions as Robert Park and Louis Marin criticize More's *Utopia*. From this point, Harvey

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 154.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 160.

points out that for utopias, space is not enough to provide an alternative. Also with reference to Hegel's "dialectic", he states that:

Whereas More gives us the spatial form but not the process, Hegel and Marx give us their distinctive versions of the temporal process, but not the ultimate spatial form.¹⁴⁷

In the chapter titled "Dialectical Utopianism", Harvey seeks to understand a utopianism, which combines both spatial form and temporal process, in other words, spatiotemporal utopianism. According to him, "[F]rom the former, the idea of imaginative spatial play to achieve specific social and moral goals can be converted into the idea of potentially endlessly open experimentation with the possibilities of spatial forms. This permits the exploration of a wide range of human potentialities (different modes of collective living, of gender relations, of production-consumption styles, in the relation of nature, etc.)".¹⁴⁸

At this point, Harvey extends the discussion from Lefebvre to Foucault to contribute to "dialectical utopianism" with other alternative discussions. According to him, while Lefebvre discusses production of space as an endlessly open process against authoritarian traditional utopias, Foucault describes "heterotopia" which he can develop an escape from "no place" to "placeful" as well as a process that includes an alternative social orderings for others.

Harvey truly affirms heterotopia as an alternative with its potentials because it comprises "others". Therefore, it encourages social diversities, choices and differences, in other words, heterogeneity. Moreover, according to the author, Foucault shows us how and in what ways spatial forms (cemeteries, colonies, prisons, jazz clubs, communal gardens and so on) might connect to different social process. However, Harvey does not approve the concept of heterotopia for an alternative. Harvey states that:

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁴⁸ David Harvey, "Dialectical Utopianism", *Spaces of Hope*, The University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000, p. 182.

The presumption is that power/knowledge is or can be dispersed and fragmented into spaces of difference. It presumes that whatever happens in such spaces of 'Otherness' is of interest and even some sense 'acceptable', or 'appropriate.'... The concept of 'heteretopia' has the virtue of insisting upon a better understanding of the heterogeneity of space but it gives no clue as to what a more spatiotemporal utopianism might look like.¹⁴⁹

On the other hand, Harvey discusses Roberto Unger's approach. He finds Unger's focus quite strong since he suggests an alternative that concentrates on social processes and institutional/personal transformations. The objective of the approach is an empowered political system that is both liberatory and transformative. He states that:

As we collectively produce our cities, so we collectively produce ourselves. Projects concerning what we want our cities to be are, therefore, projects concerning human possibilities, who we want, or, perhaps even more pertinently, who we do not want to become. Every single one of us has something to think, say and do about that. How our individual and collective imagination works is, therefore, crucial to defining the labor of our urbanization. Critical reflection on our imaginaries entails, however, both confronting the hidden utopianism and resurrecting it in order to act as conscious architects of our fates rather than as "helpless puppets" of the institutional and imaginative worlds we inhabit. If, as Unger (1987b, 8) puts it, we accept that "society is made and imagined," then we can also believe that it can be "remade and reimagined."¹⁵⁰

Although as mentioned above, social agents, individually or collectively, have the power to choose the space they want to live, Unger focuses on the construction of social and institutional space. However, what is misleading about this particular idea is that Unger does not suggest any spatial form related with the society. In other words, space does not exist in the dialectics of spatiotemporal utopia.

As we discussed above how Harvey analyzes different approaches, he seeks to define an alternative to neoliberal utopia of dominant ideology. Since "*utopia*" originates etymologically "space", he tries to construct "both-and" dialectic based

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 185.

¹⁵⁰ David Harvey, "Spaces of Utopia", *Spaces of Hope*, The University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000, p. 159.

on space and time. By discussing time, Harvey also extends “time” as also social process in present, past as well as future. To be able to define an alternative utopianism, the spatiotemporal utopianism, in other words, dialectical utopianism, gains importance. As it is analyzed throughout the study, speed as a force to shape everyday life practices, social processes and urban space, a counter alternative to high-speed urban life and culture should be shaped around a dialectical utopianism similarly to what Harvey investigates in his book. As he sees this “both-and” dialectic more powerful than “either-or” dialectic, he clarifies what has been discussed so far in his words as “[C]onversely we find that fragmentation and dispersal cannot work, and that the bitter struggle of the ‘either-or’ perpetually interferes with the gentler and more harmonious dialectic of ‘both-and’ when it comes to socio-ecological forces.... The task is then to define an alternative, not in terms of some static spatial form or even of some perfected emancipatory process. The task is to pull together a spatiotemporal utopianism – a dialectical utopianism – that is rooted in our present possibilities at the same time as it points towards different trajectories for human uneven geographical developments.”¹⁵¹

In order to discuss a new urbanism – a dialectical utopianism –, it is important to analyze *blasé* attitude in terms of speed and its presence over urban space, economical and social structure of metropolis. In this thesis, towards a non-*blasé* urbanism, such a utopian urbanism constructed on slowness and collective structure will be investigated to develop a new approach to modern life. In the light of Jameson’s Utopian discussions stated as:

Laws, labor, marriage, industrial and institutional organization, trade and exchange, even subjective raw material such as characterological formations, habits of practice, talents, gender attitudes; all become, at one point or another in the story of utopias, grist for the Utopian mill and substances out of which the Utopian construction can be fashioned.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ David Harvey, “Dialectical Utopianism”, *Spaces of Hope*, The University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000, p. 196.

¹⁵² Fredric Jameson, “The Utopian Enclave”, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia*, Verso, London-New York, p. 13.

In his seminal book “Spaces of Hope”, David Harvey describes a collective society and its spatial presence called *Edilia*. This particular utopia is created by Harvey himself as a discursive example to frame an alternative where there is no dialectical utopia as he suggests. The story of the utopia starts with a collapse in 2013. According to the timeline, the world starts to fall globally in terms of economically, socially, politically and ecologically where all the governments collapse, markets go bankrupt and money becomes worthless. In 2014, military takes the control with religious powers and the violence starts. People are coded electronically; therefore they can be chased all the time. However, this situation starts a resistance, first on local basis. Afterwards, small movements come together as a collective structure in 2019 and collective uprising begins. “[T]he authorities viewed this as collective madness.”¹⁵³ At the end, military and religious power begins to collapse.

This new movement with cultural revolution attracts many people even scientists, doctors and technicians who support militarized authority. Harvey describes this as:

While religious authority self-destructed and the hierarchical powers of an absolutist militarized science fell apart, the two most powerful forces with which humans are endowed, those of spiritual commitments and scientific enquiry, merged to found a humanized and politically aware scientific sensibility that was to be the cornerstone of political revolution.¹⁵⁴

It is a disarmed movement. In addition, it is with feminized proletariat who were the majority of the labor. As the prominent agents of the transformation were women, a group called “The Mothers of Those Yet to be Born” starts to collect all the weapon to eliminate the violence because it is a non-violent movement with passive resistance and mass action. By 2020, the world was disarmed, liberated and the society becomes open to discussions for alternative visions. So far, Harvey describes how the society is provoked by financial crises and militarized

¹⁵³ David Harvey, “Appendix: Edilia or ‘Make of What You Will’”, *Spaces of Hope*, The University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000, p. 261.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 262.

theocracies; therefore, a cultural, social and economical transformation has started with the uprising. The movement stops when world reaches a disarmed, stabilized and liberated level. The social transformation also results in a spatial organization. Harvey explains how space is constructed by the emergence of the new world.

4.2.1 Units

It is an experimental community that aims a bioregion of human habitation to be self-sufficient as practicable. It has a pattern that shows how space is organized both hierarchically and collectively. There are *hearts*, *neighborhoods*, *edilias*, *regionas* and above all *nationas*. The basic unit of habitation is called *heart*. It consists twenty and thirty adults who are parenting collectives with children. The collectives compromised of parents and children are called *pradashas*. The bigger composition above *hearts* is called *negihborhoods*. A *neighborhood* consists ten or more hearts. A larger organizational unit is called *edilia* and it is compromised two hundred or more *hearts* with sixty thousand people. Twenty and more *edilias* are organized in *regionas* and this political unit is called *regiona*. And finally, there is *nationa* which is the federation of *regionas*. Harvey explains that;

The statutes of federation are periodically renegotiated and *regionas* sometimes shift from one *nationa* to another as they see fit. Furthermore, new *nationas* can form at will while others dissolve so there is no fixed scale of population nor even ant fixed political organization beyond the statutes of federation. ...As a consequence, the degrees of racial, ethnics, and cultural mixing (already much jumbled up during the revolutionary period) make any kind of definition of *nationa* along ancient lines of race, ethnicity, or even common cultural heritage quite meaningless.¹⁵⁵

Regionas are organized with free flow of goods and people for a standard living. Moreover, *nationa* does not imply an archaic meaning and it does not include any racial, ethnic and cultural diversification. According to Harvey, this dynamic and

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 263-264.

changeable characteristic of *nationas* and *regionas* do not imply homogenization. On the other hand, *hearts* and *neighborhoods* achieve a high degree of self-sufficiency and they centers for the creation of diversity in the cultural and lifestyle where free expression is encouraged.

4.2.2 Spatial Organization

Furthermore, he continues with the spatial features of this spatiotemporal utopia. Since it requires a collective body and practices, the physical environment is also designed according to the goal. In the *Edilia*, city blocks have been converted and provided a continuous unit with habitation by a structure to link them. Larger spaces created as common kitchens and eating hall, while private rooms have been provided for free use. Moreover, numbers of *hearts* are linked where *neighborhoods*, are at the center. The welfare functions such as educational and health care centers as well as social focal points and entertainment facilities are placed in the *neighborhood*. Old city patterns are also adapted to the new organization, especially high-storey buildings.

The ecological production of food and energy supply become important to provide a self-sufficient environment. Open and green spaces are also re-organized. Urban agriculture and gardening as an economical activity turns into a social interaction between people where they can develop ‘spirit talk’. Moreover, solar panels, wind sails and batteries to store energy are planted for a clean local sufficiency.

4.2.3 Economical Structure and Its Reflection of Everyday Life

One of the features which makes this utopia a dialectical utopianism and present itself as an alternative is the composition of power relations, mode of production,

the social process it requires and its transformation on spatial organization. The non-capitalist new structure of *Edilia* also reflects itself on *hearts* and *neighborhoods* where everyday life takes place. Harvey also describes *Edilia* in terms of production relations and its economy in detail.

First of all, the economy is based on exchange. Although individual private budget is available for limited exchange of goods and services, *Edilia* also suggests an economy based on truck and barter. Exchange between individuals is only allowed between collectible goods and objects. With 'flea markets' and informal markets, all sorts of items can be exchanged in *Edilia* and besides the economical side of the trade, it is seen as a social contact and opportunity of conversation. Exchange principle is the main mechanism of the utopia where you cannot just barter commodities but also labor. Harvey explains this as:

Labor is exchanged among the *hearts*. For example, major construction of renovation projects within the *neighborhoods* are undertaken by workers of different skills from various *hearts*, though in some instances labor from other *neighborhoods* is 'imported' in exchange for reciprocal engagements at some later date.¹⁵⁶

Hearts as the basic unit of habitation are the center of everyday life where they accommodate and work. Since *Edilia* requires a collective urban life, the daily tasks are shared among people. While people partake of the domestic activities within *hearts*, every neighborhood owns a technical group of people trained for physical and electronical structures. Moreover, each *heart* specializes in a kind of production (baking, brewing, sewing, dress and shirt-making, pasta-making, sauces, conserves, etc.) where they can exchanges with other *hearts* by minimizing waste and optimizing efficiency of work and surplus. Harvey continues as:

Particular *hearts* often use their labor credits to build a specialized stock of raw materials (dried beans, rice, flour, sugar, coffee, cloth, and threat, whatever) which can be traded to other *hearts* for other produce. A collective store of surplus produce is dispersed among the *hearts* so that the

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 266.

edilia is well stocked with several months of basic non-perishable provisions.¹⁵⁷

The half of the collective labor is organized in activities in return to needed materials, rights, and services; the other half is given to other activities for exchange services between other *hearts*. A labor market arises depended on exchanging between *edilias*, *regionas*, and *hearts*, on a monthly basis.

In *Edilia*, Harvey tries to define another labor concept that works in a pleasant way. Firstly it depends on an exchangeable system where labor can be exchange and reduced/increased according to the service, number of people and product and secondly the shared nature of work, the author suggests that the system provides a pleasurable production where the boundary between work and play diminishes. According to him, people could choose their hobbies as work since *hearts* plays the pivotal role for organizing projects for amusement and self-betterment such as cultural experimentations or cooking, gardening, carpentry and so on. Moreover, children are also gets educated with reduces school-time and *hearts* supported practical education

4.2.4 Mobility and Speed

One of the significant aspects of the *edilia* is its transportation structure it offers. Free transportation is available for everyone. While small electric cars (designed not to travel more than twenty miles and to move no faster than twenty miles an hour) and bicycles service available locally at the edge of every *neighborhood*, efficient and ecologically sound transportation is provided for exchange and movement around the world. According to him:

This also illustrates another important feature of the society. It has generally slowed down rather than speeded up. It has also become notably

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 266.

much quieter: the violent levels of noise population that were such a bane in your time have largely disappeared.¹⁵⁸

The social, economical and spatial features of *Edilia* mentioned above are indicatives of an urbanism that is shape with slowness and the collective behavior of a society, which can also be evaluated as a spatio-temporal construction. With the structure of production relations, spatial organization, the transportation composition and social network of *Edilia* provide a counter urbanism of particular metropolises in capitalist system, in other words, a non-*blasé* urbanism. The speed of everyday life and other external entities of metropolis are reduced to a “slower” social and spatial structure in order to develop a collective society and consciousness of a political body against capitalist enforcements. When Harvey’s “dialectical utopianism” is considered, *Edilia* fits what he offers as an alternative of spatio-temporal utopias. It should be also emphasized that slowness against speed in metropolises cannot be limited as the physical speed in the veins of a city. Although transportation and mobility in urban space implies a certain level of high-speed, slowness discussion should be done in accordance with what Harvey tries to describe with “dialectical utopianism.” Therefore, this particular utopia is a successful example of slowness comprising social, economical, cultural and political process with a spatial support in the scale of housing to countries.

4.3 Epilogue

Speed has been discussed as the phenomenon of metropolises that triggers *blasé* attitude of the individual. As an architect, similarly also urban planners and other disciplines, which are interested in space as their field, I lean to problematize space as the first place. The situation about the speed has been also analyzed in this study specifically based on urban space. On the other hand, I believe that speed is more about time than space, without rejecting their link. The question how we measure

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 270.

speed and social acceleration is an important issue. The only parameter appears as how we manage time in our everyday practices or historical processes. Moreover, it should be noted that the discussion about “slowness” is also related with time. How we slow down and construct urbanism via slowness depends on temporal processes since the spatial structure is built upon social processes.

The position of *Edilia*, therefore, is important due to the reasons it suggests about temporal and/or social processes. Slowness appears as a metaphor throughout the thesis since it criticizes a particular system that has roots in economical, social and political as well as spatial structures. By slowness, a new alternative is sought to find an “either/or” rather than “both/and” dialectic in order to provide a change economically, politically and socially. What *Edilia* does is to create a new structure from a crisis of the world system. It keeps the potentials of “either/or” dialectic or the potentials of the struggles. That appears as another reason to choose utopias for investigation of slowness. Utopias, more specifically dialectical utopias, provide the conflict between time and space. Compared to classical utopias, such as More’s *Utopia*, dialectical utopias do not freeze the temporal processes. Therefore, what is meant by slowness is not to “slow down” literally and physically but is a continuous search and revolutionary potentials of urbanism in relation to temporal and/or social and its spaces.

I believe that slowness via urbanism is possible only if it over comes uneven geographical developments. The crucial point is that slowing down a metropolis itself is not possible since capitalism and dominant ideologies force a global political repression. Therefore, a spatial play of metropolises is not enough to what is meant by slowness and therefore, a social process including economical and political change should be emphasized. The impossibility of global anti-capitalist movement forces collectives to look for an alternative and with dialectic between time and space, utopian dreams appear as an alternative as *Edilia* does. It suggests a geographical “slowness” as Marxist theory dreams worldwide class emancipation. To reduce slowness as a spatial utopia or a temporal process

weakens its revolutionary power since as Harvey states “utopias are omnipresent”¹⁵⁹ and “slowness” should be “everywhere”.

¹⁵⁹ David Harvey, “Dialectical Utopianism”, *Spaces of Hope*, The University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2000, p. 195.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Throughout the thesis, the main issue that has been raised is how we can build slowness; and to this end, the first discussion has been on how speed re-shapes the urban structure. In order to investigate this particular form of high-speed urbanism, it is necessary to discuss the practices of everyday life to understand its effects on the social structure and spatial-temporal habits of society. Speed is understood in this study not just as a physical phenomenon that enables rapid change, but rather as an ideological apparatus that shapes social, political, economic and spatial structures: and capitalist cities or metropolises are concrete reflections of all of these structures in a complex relationship. This thesis delves into the subject of speed in metropolises in order to develop a new understanding of capitalist cities, and to seek out means of slowness in urbanism by following three key issues: To begin with, the relationship between speed and society has been examined; after which, the role of capital and how it constructs space under speed has been investigated. Finally, image and cultural production and their relationship with speed have been investigated to understand their effects on urban practices. These discussions are made with the aim of developing an understanding of slowness as a means of counter urbanism, and to understand how social actors have been influenced by the ideology of speed.

The thesis is influenced by the works of such key figures as Georg Simmel, Paul Virilio, David Harvey, John Urry and Hartmut Rosa, and theoreticians of the Frankfurt School, Walter Benjamin, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno. From this point, slowness can be seen as a “war machine”, as Deleuze and Guattari

suggest, taking up a position against dominant ideologies. In the investigation of space and urban practices, Lefebvre is the key figure for understanding everyday life and the relationship between capitalism and space. In this way, the structure of thesis has three main bodies; namely: Chapter 2: “Time and Space in Metropolis: A Search to Investigate Speed”; Chapter 3: “Blasé: Exposed to Capitalist Cultural Production”; and Chapter 4: From *Blasé* to Non-*Blasé* Spaces: *Edilia*.

This study attempts to reveal how speed has been installed and how practices and space can be interrelated following the changes in the industrialized capitalist metropolises. To this end, urban theories have been analyzed to decipher the complex relationships that exist in the urban space. On the other hand, time, or process, as a key entity, has been investigated. In order to develop further discussions on high-speed urbanism, economic, social, cultural and spatio-temporal analyses have been taken as main considerations in the thesis, given that speed can be considered as an ideological apparatus.

In the first chapter, the “mobilities” of social, spatial and economical structures have been discussed. Since these factors shape daily practices and influence urban life, they offer an indication of how speed alters and transforms both society and space. From walking to railways, and with the help of automobiles, the whole world has constructed a new perception of urbanism and time and space following industrialization. Harvey, Urry and Rosa have generated the main discussions on speed and its impact on everyday life; however, in the age of the capitalist mode of production, society and structures have also changed. From Fordism to flexible accumulation, the relationship between labor and production has led to new urban relations. It should be noted that speed, as a factor in modern metropolises, marks and erases them socially, economically and spatially, so fast that the people of metropolises develop a self-preservation and no-reaction that depoliticizes actors, which is what Simmel defines as a “*blasé* attitude”.

On the other hand, what happens in the urban space, as mentioned above, is discussed on the basis of urban culture and cultural production of modern societies. While the constant stimulation from images results in phantasmagoric

externalities, the turn-over time of cultural life through consumption creates spectacles that society turns into passive actors that are mediated by the images and their commodification. This discussion is based on modernity, as well as the rapid technological advances that Virilio refers to as the “third revolution”. Accordingly, the mass media, cyber technologies and telecommunication infrastructures are investigated to understand their spatio-temporal impact, and to see how a *blasé* attitude is triggered in the cultural sphere and in the external world that surrounds and constructs new relations.

Slowness as an attempt to counter urbanism in metropolises is suggested in Chapter Four, with capitalist cities criticized in terms of high-speed urban life and its effects on social actors, their collective body, individual and collective practices, and how urban space has been destroyed and altered as a result of these changes. Slowness can be considered as one of the basic means of re-shaping a city after high-speed. One of the leading movements in modern times is the Slow City, *Cittaslow*, movement, started by Paolo Saturnini, the former mayor of Greve in Chiati, Tuscany, Italy in 1999.

After being launched in a small settlement of Tuscany, the idea grew to have an impact all over the world. According to organization’s manifesto, the initial idea is to “enlarge the philosophy of Slow Food to local communities and to government of towns, applying the concepts of eco-gastronomy in the practice of everyday life”.¹⁶⁰ To date, 28 countries and 188 cities have been involved in the Cittaslow movement, with Italy leading the field with 75 enrolled cities. Italy is followed by Germany, with 13 settlements; Poland, with 12; and South Korea, with 11. Turkey ranks fourth, with nine settlements, being: Akyaka, Gökçeada, Halfeti, Perşembe, Seferihisar, Vize, Taraklı, Yalvaç and Yenipazar.

In their manifesto, the organization states their philosophy as:

Living slow means being slowly hasty; “*festina lente*” latins used to say, seeking everyday the “modern times counterpart” in other words looking

¹⁶⁰ <http://www.cittaslow.org/section/association> (Last accessed: 15.01.2014)

for the best of the knowledge of the past and enjoying it thanks to the best possibilities of the present and of the future. All of this will result in technological opportunities, modern solutions in communication, transportation, incoming, production and selling.

The Slow Cities movement promotes the use of technology oriented to improving the quality of the environment and of the urban fabric, and in addition the safe-guarding of the production of unique foods and wine contribute to the character of the region. In addition, Slow Cities seek to promote dialog and communication between local producers and consumers. With the overarching ideas of environmental conservation, the promotion of sustainable development, and the improvement of the urban life, Slow Cities provide incentives to food production using natural and environmentally-friendly techniques.¹⁶¹

An analysis of slow cities reveals that most are small settlements that are based on local production and a regional distribution of food. It may also be stated that Slow Cities concept grew out of the Slow Food movement, and on the official page of *Cittaslow*, they emphasize the importance of regional food production techniques. An examination of Seferihisar can provide a further direction for discussion. According to the official website of Seferihisar: “the strategy is to emphasize the importance of these places and to protect what makes them special. It aims to make inhabitants and visitors to live in a speed that they enjoy city fabric, color, music and story.”¹⁶² Bülent Köstem, on the other hand, emphasizes that the *Cittaslow* movement appeared after the Slow Food movement as a means of protecting cities from globalization and its standardizing effects.

The Slow City movement has emerged as the one of the most well-known solutions to counteracting high-speed urban life, As the organization states in its

¹⁶¹ Ibid. (Last accessed: 15.01.2014)

¹⁶² Bülent Köstem, What is Cittaslow?, published on April 23, 2010. http://www.cittaslowseferihisar.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=55&Itemid=62 (Last accessed: 15.01.2014)

manifesto, the *Cittaslow* movement seeks to develop a new understanding of urban life in terms of slowing down every day and production practices, focusing on the regional values of these settlements. For example, Seferihisar, as Turkey's first slow city, located in İzmir, has a population of 28,603 and ranks 61 out of 872 districts in the country in terms of level of development. According to a report of the İzmir Development Agency, the district is home to only 3,071 workers, as the economy is based rather on agriculture and industries are forbidden due to prevalence of natural protected areas.¹⁶³

Moreover, Bra in Italy shares the same Slow City features as Seferihisar. According to the *Cittaslow* organization, it has a population of 29,000 and is an important region of wine-producing and gastronomy, while also being a major center of Piedmontese Baroque Art, where principal artists of the period created works of great cultural and religious significance.¹⁶⁴

It would be fair to say that these districts are fairly small when compared to larger high-speed metropolises. In the discussion of this study, metropolises are defined as being part of the global economic, social and political structure. Although these settlements slow down production processes and encourage slowness by suggesting regional agricultural production and relations, the high-speed daily practices, cultural production, transportation infrastructure and consumer cultures of the inhabitants or tourists do not merit constant comparison with metropolises. In other words, slow cities are always slow, and do not fulfill the conditions of the high-speed and urbanized life discussed above.

The thesis aims to discuss slowness among urban utopias, since the dominant ideology has taken hold of metropolises as a concrete presence. That said, utopias still provide hope for social actors in the building of a new understanding of both urbanism and social relations. Accordingly, Harvey's *Edilia* has been taken as an example of urban utopia to analyze how we can build a new life, a new urbanism and a new ideology to confront all impositions through dialectic between space

¹⁶³ http://www.izmiriplanliyorum.org/static/upload/file/ilceozetrapor_seferihisar.pdf (Last accessed: 20.01.2014)

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.cittaslow.org/network/location/175> (Last accessed: 20.01.2014)

and time. *Edilia* has been selected as a discursive utopia in order to develop an alternative as a counter argument to “there is no alternative”. Harvey emphasizes that “dialectical utopianism” is the crucial point in suggesting a new concept. Exemplifying past utopias, he claims that any utopia without dialectic between space and time cannot be sufficient for picturing an alternative. As such, he describes a dialectical utopia where social, financial and spatial relations are shaped in reaction to modern metropolises, and names it *Edilia*.

Throughout the study, speed has been central to defining the problem of metropolises, and with this in mind, a correlative analysis has been developed between urbanism and the society. It is emphasized that speed is an apparatus of capitalist and neoliberal urbanism in the hands of the authority, maintained by means of certain structures that can be named as economic, social and political; however, this thesis goes further to reveal other substructures that are interrelated with space and everyday life. Believing in the interdisciplinary composition of architecture and urban theories, social sciences and cultural studies are also drawn upon in the thesis to address the problem and for the analyses. On the other hand, being also a physical phenomenon, speed and slowness may also be investigated in terms of movement, displacement and the perception of physical space. That said, the physical feature of speed can also be instrumentalized to re-shape urban space as a social product, as described by Lefebvre; and Hetherington makes a similar interpretation, referencing other seminal names that have been discussed in this study:

We make sense of the cities we live in selectively through complex understandings based on our own experiences, memories and associations, as well as through recognition of broader stories of city, region and nation. Urbanists have long known this, often celebrating the ways in which the little stories, the lived experiences, family lives, the half-forgotten places, subaltern position and the overlooked character of the ordinary life of cities is often more important than the grander, more planned versions of history (see, for example Jacobs, 1961; Ward, 1977; de Certeau,

1984; Benjamin, 2002; Coverley, 2006). They have known too that that experience in the modern metropolis is fragmented and distracted (see Simmel, 1971; Benjamin, 1973a; 1985a; Clark, 1984; Frisby, 1985; Agamben, 1993) and that that impacts on how people relate to their environment.

The relationship between lived space, memory, and the representation of history is, then, a complex one played out across these convoluted layers of the city (see Benjamin, 1973b; 1999; 2002; Lefebvre, 1991; Huyssen, 1995; 2003). But this is more than a matter of saying that there are different ways of seeing the space of the city through the prism of history; those holes in the wall cast their mark on the experience of time itself.¹⁶⁵

In this study, on the other hand, the social structure created by agents and collectives is problematized in terms of space and speed as a transformative and destructive force. Simmel makes a significant discussion of the “*blasé* attitude”, claiming that the indifferent, self-protective attitude of the individual appears as an agent of this new “becoming”, whereby the collectivity and political body are destroyed. Destructing and transforming our daily lives via many ideological apparatus, society loses its attention and reaction to the social sphere, which is discussed in terms of cities or metropolises in this study.

This thesis brings to light and combines urban theories related to speed and social theories related to spatial issues. Today, no argument about everyday life or urban practices can be separated from speed. From walking to high-speed trains, shops to amusement parks, radio to smart phones, the individual is exposed to many external forces. In the age of globalization and technology, speed will be raised as a topic for the analysis of the consequences on society, and this thesis aims to provide an interdisciplinary study for further analysis. There are a number of

¹⁶⁵ Kevin Hetherington, “The Time of Entrepreneurial City: Museum, Heritage and Kairos”, *Consuming The Entrepreneurial City: Image, Memory, Spectacle*, Ed. by Anne M. Cronin and Kevin Hetherington, Routledge, London and New York, 2008, p. 274.

precognitions about modern metropolises that, although not mentioned as suggestions of a particular urbanism, are still appreciated today due to the thoughts of some seminal names. With the emergence of technology, the perception of the world is changing extremely fast, making it difficult to estimate the next stages of high-speed life. However, it should be noted that analyzing today's urban space is still necessary for understanding the relationship between orthodox urban theories and the future development of cities.

As the author of the thesis, I do not believe that complete slowness in any metropolises can be achieved by changing only one or a few of the discussions above. Since capitalism and its apparatuses are criticized by many seminal names, especially Marxist urban theoreticians, an overall transformation should be made through a dialectic that takes into account space and time, as described by Harvey in his utopia. Space as an instrument cannot be excluded, and therefore, destruction and construction are unstoppable processes that are engaged completely with urban life and culture. Since slowness discussions are not sufficient for the development or envisaging of a new perspective to present urbanism scenarios, arguments about slowness are kept at the level of utopias in this study, where they can offer a wide range of visions about space and time, as well as an alternative that is not a reformist but a revolutionary vision.

Future studies related to this thesis may include the analysis of cases to understand how cities or metropolises have evolved in synchronization with speed. To begin with, early industrial cities that emerged with the arrival of railways can be compared to cities from the age of neoliberal urbanism, which are the same in terms of evolution. A further study may be developed around other movements that have taken up a radical position against modern life and its impositions, such as Situationist, Futurist or Metabolist, in order to analyze how cities and society may reflect on speed in terms of architecture and culture.

Architectural and urban theories indicate clearly that ideology uses space as a tool to impose its roots deeply into our lives, while speed is also instrumentalized, being a composition of space and time. The dialectical relationship between space

and time is a factor of the modern world in which social collectives and agents lose their links. The significance of space is increasing day by day as all spaces, from parks to houses, become commodities and a tool for the control and manipulation of the masses by means of their representation, perception and process.

Edilia is examined to investigate slowness via urbanism and as an alternative to non-*blasé* spaces, from which it can be understood that an urban revolution against “speed” is possible only when constructing a dialectic that takes into account space and time. As Harvey puts it, “dialectical utopianism”; “slowness”, as a new form of urbanism against capitalist and modern industrialized metropolises; and temporal processes, including social struggles and class emancipation, should be made a priority. Since speed is more related with time, historical and social processes gain the utmost importance in the development of anti-capitalist urbanism. The reason communism is seen as a utopia is the belief that it is impossible to construct a new global alternative to capitalism. However, spatio-temporal alternatives have the potential to suggest something new, in this case, “slowness” in place of “speed-up metropolises”, since it is nourished by the potentials of the struggles between its agents and the authority. Slowness should be captured not in a way that is sudden or as a *deus ex machine*, as it happens with *Cittaslow*, but should be constructed as a global phenomenon, as it is described rather as “dialectical utopianism”, where utopias are still spaces of hope.

This thesis criticizes high-speed urban life in the second and third chapters in order to develop a non-*blasé* attitude of the individual through utopias. However, the importance of these spaces, as examined in *Edilia*, is developed through the dialectic of space and time. It should be noted that how we perceive speed in our daily lives is based on time; and how we manage to deal with speed is shaped by how we arrange it according to “time”. Moreover, on a global scale, speed or slowness can be perceived in terms of social and economic processes; however, in the study, the spaces of urban life and space as an instrument of daily practices are discussed so as to develop non-*blasé* spaces. The main goal of this thesis is to decipher the effects of speed through spatial and temporal constructions in order to discuss “slowness” and the possibility of a non-*blasé* attitude.

Since *blasé* is described as an indifferent position of the individual, it can be said that the particular urban life of metropolises dismantles the collective and political body of society. As such, analyzing the *blasé* attitude gains importance for the construction of non-*blasé* spaces, which is the main contribution of this study. The discussions made throughout the study provide a wide perspective of urban life and culture; however, claiming slowness as a counter urban arrangement to capitalist metropolises is only possible with a dialectic that takes into account time and space, and an urbanism that is constructed upon collectiveness. As agents of society, people learn to criticize “speed” in every aspect; however, the big picture about slowness, although its existence is based on speed, is related to uneven geographical developments. As such, slowness should be discussed at different scales, from everyday life to global systems. I believe slowness should be the only alternative to metropolitan life, as a revolutionary effort, and non-*blasé* spaces are the concrete responses to capitalist urbanism.

Additionally, this study aims to emphasize the importance of the dialectic between space and time, since both “slowness” and “speed” are constructed based on these notions. How capitalism constructs its own environment also depends on space and time, and so the dialectic between these is the emancipatory force behind the *blasé* attitude. *Edilia* does not lead to ultimate “slowness”, however its contribution to changing our cognitive perception of slowness and speed, as well as its position about collectiveness, provides a strong influence. Moreover, its strength comes from its interpretation of spatial and temporal processes and worldwide emancipation. To conclude, the overall study takes up a critical position against capitalism, its speed over time and space, and the social changes that occur as a result of *blasé* attitudes. Accordingly, through its investigations, it aims to contribute to, and emphasize, non-*blasé* spaces through dialectical utopianism to attain slowness.

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