



Research Paper

Critical theories for Social Changes: A Brief Proposal

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Abstract: While the academia is producing critical theories and students and scholars are receiving and applying them in analyses of texts, a grave concern emerges at least for two reasons: whether these critical theories are committed to social changes and whether these critical theories gets applied in the struggle for social justice. This article examines the recent trajectories, trends, and tendencies of critical theories in academia and suggests what kind of critical theories can be adopted for social changes.

Keywords: Critical Theories; Social Justice; dialectic; spatiotemporal

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I. Critical Theories for Social changes

“Philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world in various ways; the point is to change it”—writes Karl Marx (1845). Marxist and non-Marxist interpreters in American Studies, Ethnic Studies, Cultural Studies and others, however, would be arguing that they are interpreting the world for making positive changes. Some would contend that Marx’s binary between interpretation and change is simply deterministic. It does not represent their work. Therefore, its application to evaluate their efforts is irrelevant and pointless, to say the least. Others will explain and defend their work. “We help all to recognize the value of equality for social justice”—they would retort. Nancy Fraser, a Marxist-feminist thinker might intervene and argue with disciples of Axel Honneth, a Frankfurt School thinker. Fraser would emphatically explain: mere recognition is not enough. Redistribution is also required, as reflected in the debate between Fraser and Honneth (2013).

In response, some Cultural Studies expert may confirm, “I am in the charge of recognition job. Let others see the redistribution part.” Another would explain: “Recognition First. Then Redistribution.” Possibilities of exchanges like this and others are not unlikely. It is important to see through all of the ideological stances and perspectives. Outright rejection to any of the viewpoints is not the proper way to any critical dialogue. However, sometimes our questions tell us more about ourselves than our best explanations can. What kind of queries do our interpretations make? How could I reframe those to maintain a dialectical relation between recognition and redistribution? Between my urge to interpret and my desire for change? Does my appreciation for a slogan on a billboard sign fetishize resistance or do I take some time to explain how it has inspired solidarity, organized efforts and policy changes?¹ When I talk about global issues, what is the idea of global I am pursuing? Is it mere an aggregative global, a mathematical assemblage or a spatiotemporally imagined complex system? Does my suggested tactic for diasporic communities turn out to be mere assimilative?² Do they reinforce the vicious yet seductive web of privilege at the expense of discrimination to others? How to find the revolutionary praxis if revolution is not mere an affair of reason? Are critical theories and approaches still Eurocentric? Do they require any internal decolonization?

While one cannot just rebuff or simply sidestep queries like these, critical theory (CT) within the 21st century twenty humanities and social sciences is fast reconfiguring its queries and methodologies to meet the requirement of an increasingly ‘shrunk’ and ‘complex’ world. In the late 20th century, we, for one thing, have witnessed that even discourses of social justice and rights have been shamelessly colonized by both conservative and liberal forces.³ Jasbir Puar, Sara Ahmed, Jin Haritaworn and others, for example, have shown how concerns for the rights for queers have been misused to pave the way not only for homonationalism, pinkwashing, racism, and Islamophobia but also for war, maiming, violence and death (Haritaworn, Kuntsman, & Posocco, 2014). As we argue for recognition of the rights of the disabled people in the global North, disability has been strategically imposed on the innocent civilians of Palestine (Puar, 2015). Along with recognizing the rights of disabled in the US, how American foreign policies get complicit with maiming of those Palestinians has been a relevant query for now.

II. Critical Theories in Interdisciplinary Studies: Why dialectics now?

Facilitating more intense queries in and through CT not only decolonizes dominant justice and rights discourses of the 21st century. To facilitate the decolonization itself, it also helps understand the pitfalls, inconsistencies, and contradictions in which some academic scholars inadvertently invest. To identify these contradictions and limitations, some ontological and epistemological concepts need to be focused on. Some theoretical concerns must also be addressed. Towards this objective, I will explain some conceptual dyads and address some questions: what is the difference between the analytical and the dialectical? Can there be any dialectical analysis? What is spatiotemporality? How is it different but integral to the rhythm-analytical? Questions and queries like this, as the chapter argues, will help us revitalize our need to embrace CT committed to social justice in the 21st century.

Analytical inquires foreground constituents and explain how those constituents form any object, concept or construct—the whole. It is often driven by the inductive-deductive mechanism of explaining logic. ‘Diversity’ in this context would be mere assemblage and aggression of some ethno-racial categories, for example. The ‘global’ will similarly be an aggregative total of different nation-states and their features: distinctive cultures, peoples, costume, cuisine, concerns and confusions. Disparate single units add up to the total. $1+1=2$. Analytical logic identifies and connects things: ‘A is A. If A is B and B is C, then A is C.’⁴

This kind of logic is helpful for practical purposes. It helps to count money and maintain balances. It, however, conceals networks of labor that make money. Neither does it care to trace distribution of profit. Irrespective of place and time, this logic stands as always truth. An equation, for example, $(a + b)^2 = a^2 + 2ab + b^2$ is true in Baltimore, Brazil, and Bangladesh or even in space. If some people migrate from one country to another, it affects demography numerically in both ends but the total number of people on earth in a given time remain the same. So, $a^2 + b^2 = (a + b)^2 - 2ab$. This is mathematical logic, quite scientific and true.

But this truth is linear and can get dangerously simple, too. Economists may adopt this as instrumental reason to convince the world about the trickledown effect of the free market economy. Politicians may reinforce this assumption when they mobilize anti-migration rhetoric and xenophobia. They, for example, routinely explain how Asians or Mexicans are taking away jobs from Americans and why those job snatchers must be prevented. A large segment of their supporters and non-supporters—all American citizens—concerned about recession and low wages find this kind of logic quite right and convincing. So, they can count their money and their jobs which they find decreasing in number, but they cannot trace the production and distribution of either jobs or money.

But what about humanities and social science scholars? What about researchers and experts in Ethnic Studies and migration, for example? They would immediately identify the problems of analytical logic. It lacks historicity. It does not consider the dimension of space, time, motion, and rhythm. It is rather narrow and limited. It does not help explain diverse changes, effects, and influences integral to human complexities. Thus, they would transcend the analytical logic and mobilize the dialectical and the rhythm-analytical.

Dialectic inquires focus on something different. It questions our common-sense understanding. It doubts and transcends the analytical. Hegel, for example, would question the Kantian analytical understanding of the world and argue that Kant’s recognition of the finite as knowable and the infinite as unknowable overlooks contradictions between the relations across the finite and the absolute in the first place. Hence, for Hegel, we must consider contradictions between things.⁵ Marx (1873), however, finds Hegel’s dialectic as idealistic and proposes a materialistic version:

My dialectic is method is not only different from the Hegelian, but its direct opposite. To Hegel, [...] the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of “the idea.” With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought. (para. 22)

While Marx moves towards dialectical materialism in explaining patterns of historical changes in the social and the political, Lefebvre (1991) brings dimensions of space and time to develop a spatiotemporal dialectic to understand the social and the process of change theorized by Marx. Lefebvre (2004) also introduces the concept of ‘rhythm’ to explain changes of different scales ranging from those in everyday life and in the cycles of history. In both contexts, Lefebvre explains spiral motions and its syncopated variations (Edensor, 2010) that evolve across paradigms of thoughts. While Foucault (1973) brings ‘episteme’ to locate patterns of dominant thoughts in a particular age, Lefebvre’s insights into rhythm embrace complexity theory’s understanding of synergistic relations between constituents (Raymond, Horsfall, & Lee, 1997). In such relations, the total is not mere aggregative collection of its constituents, it is something new and ‘complex.’ Everyday life, for example, is not the sum total of people’s activities. It is not all about temporality. It is rather about spatiotemporal imprint (Edensor, 2010) of power to devise multiple flows that stand out as lived realities. It is about individuals’ cycle of receiving-performing in the operation of power. This insight is useful to go beyond the active/passive binary in conceiving agents and to embrace the idea of emergent properties for social change as resultant of individual interactions (Raymond et al., 1997). Thus, the relation between the singular and the

collective, between the micro and the macro becomes finally synergistic. These synergistic relations underlie the theory of complexity according to which the 'systemic' is more than a 'total' or collection of parts:

The world cannot be understood through taking apart the bits and understanding them separately. Factors work together synergistically, that is, the whole is different from the sum of its parts. We live as parts of patterns of relationships. (Boulton, J. G., Allen P.M., & Bowman, C., 2015, p.8)

I argue that if this theoretical understanding of the analytical, the dialectical, the spatiotemporal, the rhythm-analytical and the complex can be applied to understand the process of social change, a revolutionary praxis for everyday life can be developed. This is a much-required necessity when we witness the rise of cultural politics and politics of representation replacing materialistic praxis for social change. Within the rising trends in area studies and Cultural Studies, a recurring tendency among scholars and critics is discovering and promoting the cultural innovations as the "neo-political." I propose the term "neo-political" to indicate cultural experts' politics of culture as means for social change. These cultural experts get inspired by subaltern scholars (Chibber, 2013) who in turn are inspired by poststructuralist thinkers (May, 1997) arguing for the micropolitics, the rhizomes and networks, and the technology of the self as locations of counter-power. This, however, is a terribly brief glimpse of what really has happened to critical theories, to their concept and means of accomplishing social change. The reality is much complex than that. Frankfurt School's initial commitment for ideology critique and critical theory has morphed into Axel Honneth's arguments for recognition, for one thing. Invested in postmodern politics of differences, critical theory experts in North American Cultural Studies (NACS) would find Honneth more convincing. Their emphasis on the politics of differences and the identity politics have already helped shifted focus from the political economy to a boring display of the intersectional—of race, class, sex, gender, ability, and other additional vectors. In a different yet parallel route, British Cultural Studies' (BCS) earlier emphasis on political economy has, in its later phase, faded into what is known as politics of culture which is now gets inherited, restored and revitalized within the North American Cultural Studies (NACS).

NACS's celebration of both consumers and individuals as active audience—as NACS inherits this from BCS—has ironically been morphed into cultural populism. This, interestingly, is a reaction to the alleged cultural elitism of Frankfurt School (FS) but has gone too much toward the opposite pitfall (Kellner, 2002).

Towards the Integrational: Insights of Rhythm and Dialectical Dance

Following the stigmatization of Marxism within the post-structural politics of differences, there is a silent yet dominant censoring and suppression of thoughts and ideas of political thinkers and philosophers who tend to think in the macropolitical terms and still have faith in the (im) possibility of revolutions. What they all miss in their mutual divergence is the vision of a rhythm-analyst (Lefebvre, 2004). A rhythm-analyst would move all cultural innovations within NACS to revolutionary surges by adding the spatiotemporal insights in their projects of counter-power. They would clarify contradictions, explain forms of recuperation and thus pave the way for effective forms of resistance. Therefore, among the critical theory scholars, the subaltern scholars and the structural thinkers a form of dialogue can be initiated with the scope of rhythm-analysis as a platform for communication and mutual understanding.

While a spatiotemporal dialectic in theorizing revolution as attempted by David Harvey, Frederic Jameson, Alex Callinicos, and others (Ollman & Smith, 2008) would have shown a set of limitations of cultural politics, a Lefebvrian rhythm-analysis can advance both the neo-political and the spatiotemporal understanding of cultural politics towards a praxis in which lived realities of people struggling within the necropolitical 'nested sovereignty' (Simpson, 2014, p.10) across the differentiated matrix of power are considered.

While Doreen Massey's power-geography (Massey, 1993) emphasizes 'space', Edward Soja reinserts 'space' in critical social theories (1989), and Sarah Sharma argues for power-chronography as she foregrounds 'time,' (Sharma, 2014, p. 14) I would like to focus on 'being' as the receiving-participating-transforming end of power configurations. The reassertion of 'being' this way helps us provide scope for rhythm-analysis which examines the interaction of 'being' with 'spatial' and 'temporal' axes of power.

I would like to argue that a rhythm-analysis doesn't discover or interpret the 'logical' or the 'structural' in a system. Nor does it find the underlying contradictions as any set of hidden consistencies as the functional principles within the 'dialectical.' It rather exposes the rhythm of the conflicts and contradictions between the 'abstract' and 'concrete' spaces, between linear and cyclical times in the spatiotemporal components of both the 'structural' and the 'dialectical' approaches to understanding any system.

If a woman, for example, gets tattoos all over her body—as the book *Covered in Ink* (2015) by Beverly Yuen Thompson reveals—as a form of protest, as a symbolic reclaiming of her female body from the disciplinary techniques of the patriarchal-capitalist system, a rhythm-analyst would immediately reveal the conflicts and contradictions in the followings ways: (a) this act may not be 'illogical,' but 'abstract' and 'absolute,' (b) this act may be a symbolic subversion but not 'material' and 'concrete,' and (c) this act is confined to 'linear time' and doesn't materially communicate to the 'cyclical time'. A spatiotemporal dialectic between absolute, relative, and relational would have opened for collective and material approaches to

resistance, but a rhythm analytical approach would provide insight into the rhythm between two geopolitical modes of resistance, between the heavily tattooed bodies of women in North American countries and the pink sari-clad bodies of the *Gulabi* (Pink) Gang in South Asia (Fontanella-Khan, 2014).

A rhythm analysis exposes the syntagmatic and paradigmatic, the absolute and the related aspects of power and resistance, dynamics embedded within situated, local, and lived experiences of women in two distant parts of the world. But more importantly, it reveals the relational links: not only how diverse heteropatriarchal aggressions colonize women's freedom, but also how a rethinking of the reasons of all these diverse aggressions may transform our ideas of freedom in the first place. A rhythm analyst would also reveal: the consumerist recuperation of tattooed bodies must be prevented by ushering in demands for redistributive justice from the *Gulabi Gang* while both are being fetishized and celebrated in the fragmentary and identitarian modes of politics gradually occupying academia.

As a response to such occupation, I would argue for a pedagogical moment, an awareness of relational dynamics in time, pace, and rhythm, a rhythm analytical insight into things. Theoretically, it is an interventional move through which the images of clock and chronograph give way to the image of the gyroscope.

A clock basically informs about absolute time and a chronograph related time whereas a gyroscope reveals the integrational, the rhythmic relations, relations between time, pace, and rhythm that maintain the movement of the gyroscope itself. The conservation of the angular momentum achieved in a specific distribution of time, pace, and rhythm makes the gyroscope move. Similarly, an uninterrupted participation, living, contributing in the differential dialectic of time, pace, and rhythm makes any dominant sociopolitical paradigm run. Understanding these rhythmic (in) consistencies is the first step towards pedagogical moment. But it is not just recognizing lived realities; it also demands an external torque to the gyroscopic momentum, to time, pace, and rhythm in lived realities. This torque, however, is neither a random violent force nor any micropolitical calibration and transformation. It is rather a cyclical process towards revolution.

As opposed to such cyclical process, cultural experts emphasize recognition of diverse lived experiences as attempts for transformation, attempts which are linear, repetitive, and atonal and—as Lefebvre would have said—arrhythmical. Recognizing the claim for diversity of heavily tattooed women and claims for equal rights of women in India leaves us with the level of recognition only. The symbolic meaning of heavily tattooed bodies must be read within the context of symbolic violence of the bamboo sticks carried by the *Gulabi* (pink) Gang. A rhythm analyst doesn't glorify one over another, nor does she or he fetishize any but simply exposes the interconnections otherwise ignored.

To exemplify such ignorance, Sarah Sharma theorizes 'lived time' (Sharma, 2014, p.18) as differentiated lived experience. She explains how a business traveler and a taxi driver have two different lived times. She also recognizes material inequalities in their lived times. A rhythm analyst would have revealed more: the business traveler and the taxi driver within their lived realities and struggles also produce different yet mutually calibrated time, pace, and rhythm. This calibration is mechanically formed through systemic violence but it runs consistently anyway. Creating inconsistency or cacophony is not a question of mere choice either of the taxi driver or the business traveler. This is rather a question of viability. This viability depends on a collective understanding of the pedagogical momentum, a gradual process towards revolution.

To take another example, within the necrocapitalist and 'nested sovereignty' (Simpson, 2014, p. 10) working for race or class privilege is the sole praxis motivating everyday acts. Even non-whites, for instance, re-circuit the networks of privilege while pushing themselves in them instead of negating forms of privileges. They participate in the performing-becoming privileged to avoid forms of systemic discriminations. Lived experiences of discrimination would not necessarily force them to work against sources of discrimination. They tend to reproduce and reinforce discrimination instead by protecting themselves and leaving the system of discrimination victimizing new others. This insight has larger implication about transformative politics across the world.

In contrast, a rhythm analytical understanding of the pedagogical moment may inspire avenues for a qualitatively different rhythmic pattern of time and pace. Inequalities within communities, between countries, and across the world, for example, would reveal the fallacy of the gradual trickledown effect the neoliberal promises. Against the neoliberals and the speed theorists' persuasion for speeding up for progress, a rhythm analytical social justice would demand the qualitative reconfigurations of the policies first. For the rhythm analyst, these reconfigured policies would collectively prioritize people over profit, sustainability over environmental damage, life over death, democracy over sovereignty, peace over war, and so on.

To pave the way for rhythm means several things. NACS should embrace ideology critique, CT, and political economy and find means for transcending the earlier pitfalls, those of FS and BCS: cultural elitism and cultural populism. Change in bits and pieces only to find a temporary fix would not be enough. We must demand the impossible. The neoliberal capitalistic phase has reached its tipping point. It is an integration of our thoughts, ideas and actions that would decide if we would collectively usher in revolutionary changes or must

resort in the vicious cycles of temporary fixes. In the latter, the dark age of neoliberal manipulation would persist more.

III. Approaching Micropolitics/Macropolitics and other Conceptual Dyads

This section deploys insights of dialectics and Lefebvrian rhythmanalysis to critique some dominant trends and conceptual dyads within interdisciplinary studies: American Studies, Ethnic Studies, Cultural Studies, Queer Studies, Sociology and other interdisciplinary studies within humanities and social sciences. Since a neoliberal culturalist misappropriation of these dyads has helped colonize emancipatory politics of CT, questioning the misappropriation itself would be an initial step towards decolonization of CT. The last dyad would propose an internal decolonization of CT, too. But let us move following some sort of order. Below is a list—though not an exhaustive one—of some ideas and conceptual dyads:

- (a) Local/global,
- (b) Micro/ macro,
- (c) Border/intersection,
- (d) Neoliberalism/necrocapitalism
- (e) Symbolical/political
- (f) Individual/collective
- (g) Structural/ Dialectical
- (h) Recognition/redistribution
- (i) Academia/activism
- (j) Now/later

Insights into these dyads and concepts can be pivotal for developing the revolutionary praxis for everyday life, for initiating any participatory democratic process and for organizing social movements for that matter.

a) Local/Global:

It is important to bring a theoretical intervention into the dominant framing of the local/global boundaries. Such an intervention would complicate two dominant representational tropes within Cultural Studies, Ethnic Studies and Queer studies: subalterns in the global South are working for their rights through diverse cultural politics, as argued by Lowe and Lloyd (1997) and brown queers are moving from zones of ‘barbarism’ to those of ‘progress’ as they seek asylum in the ‘queer-friendly’ and hence ‘progressive’ Western countries, a trope critiqued by Sharif (2015).

The first trope fetishizes and adds the diverse sites of the local to imagine an aggregative transnational and global. Such a mathematical logic ushers in an epistemic violence: mobilizing the rise of the cultural as the neo-political for the 21st century. As Lowe and Lloyd (1997) have shown that subalterns in the global South: in India, China, Philippines, Colombia, and many other countries are practicing diverse forms of cultural politics and, hence, the class based struggle is a myth and will remain a Marxian utopian project at best. I argue that in the first trope Lowe and Lloyd (1997) have misrecognized Gramsci’s “Dual consciousness,” (Gramsci, 1971, p. 333) and thus deny any possibility that workers and subalterns would get organized when they would find favorable condition to do so. Instead, they have misinterpreted Gramsci’s politics of culture and promote it as a dead end fetishization. Thus, they, like other cultural experts, follow the lead of the poststructural diversity—which is summative and aggregative diversity—a highly marketable product among the neoliberal ideologues in the education industry.

In the second representational trope, brown queers are seeking progress in the queer-friendly countries. This trope foregrounds a linear notion of progress, a notion I have critiqued in the chapter four and chapter five of this dissertation.

Rejecting this particular trope, it is important to understand that challenges for queers depend on the geopolitical contexts they are struggling within. Brown queers, for example, conceal their sexual orientation in their home countries. They fear that they would face diverse challenges ranging from ridicule to threat to social isolation to physical torture. But when they get asylum in the global North, they confront other challenges: neoliberal violence, social abandonment due to racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia, homophobia, transphobia, and so on. Instead of analyzing these multifaceted challenges, the binary configurations of progress/degeneration relies on the summative logic: since brown queers are moving towards the West in huge numbers, it proves that the ‘local’ in the West is at least better than the ‘local’ in the East. But what is happening in case of brown queers is much more interesting than what the linear and summative logic would allow us to think. Rhythmanalytical insights would reveal something different. Brown queers are leaving one rhythmic everyday life. They are trying to embrace another rhythmic everyday life. The first pattern is different from the second and, they are eventually compelled to accept a third pattern, some syncopated lived realities in which many of them become victims of hate-violence and some of them commit suicide.

So, the second trope conceals politics of homonationalism and Islamophobia as it provides ‘global’ solution to the supposedly ‘local’ problem of the brown queers. Beyond such local/global framings of

transnational locations, we would do a better job if we investigate the nested or interweaved sovereignty of the homo-neoliberal and necrocapital forces. Such a move would queer the comfort of locating problem elsewhere and finding solutions right here, right now. This insight would destabilize some other representation tropes: native agents' exotic and misrepresenting portrayal of the distant and always foreign 'local' and the popular and dominant idea that refugees and immigrants are overburdening Western countries and taking away jobs from citizens of those countries, for example.

Beyond the here/there and the local/global binaries of spacetime, there is something else: interweaving of lived temporalities within the same geopolitical boundary, for example. Following these interweaved spacetimes, migrants, refugees and queers from the global South meet the poor and the homeless in the global North. Thus, the micro-rhythmic lived temporalities of the former get syncopated with those of the latter and reveal evolving variations. This explains the reception of necro-power through a compulsive mode of performing-becoming in the 21st century. In addition, such a theoretical intervention would provide fresh interpretations to abandonment of African Americans in Hurricane Katrina, suicide of queer immigrants in Canada and the U.S. and indifference to the poor and homeless everywhere. Thus, a move from the dominant understanding of the local/global spacetime will help us embrace something more complex: the syncopation of interweaved spatiality and temporality. It will also help us imagine forms of collective resistance to the sovereign and the necropolitical.

b) Micro-macro:

In American Studies and Cultural Studies, the macro-micro dyad is also get conceptualized and promoted within the logic of summation: if we participate in millions of small acts of resistances, we would overcome our problems someday. $1+1=2$. $1+10000000000=10000000001$. This is mathematically true. Our small acts of resistance seem very promising from a scientific angle. This particular angle of thinking, however, paves the way for dead end politics and fetishization of small and 'hidden' acts of resistance. This is exactly what happened to Certeau and Scott (Sharif, 2015 a). This is also what Cultural Studies experts resurrect and present in new forms in American Studies. But the operation of power-counter power, unfortunately, is much more complex than mathematics. Resistance, unless creates a rhythmic intervention—as explained by Badiou (2012) and produces a new rhythm—would fail, it would reproduce domination within the existing system. Insights into rhythm and complexity would also inform the critical race theoreticians that racism is a complex adaptive system. It may get changed from the Jim Crow racism but it will appear as colorblind racism, with different rhythms, different everyday life, with different challenges altogether.

c) Border/Intersection:

Intersectionality has been helpful to recognize the interlocked systems or racism, sexism, classism, and ableism in the last three decades. It has been particularly helpful to provide quick epiphany to our undergraduates. They have successfully recognized that people have diverse struggles, challenges and risks at intersections of race, class, sex, gender, ability, and so on. I would, however, transcend this 'statically adding up approach' to intersectionality and develop frames of spatiotemporal intersectionality. This is what I call a much-required shift from the 'Venn diagram intersectionality to the 'Traffic Signal Intersectionality.'

Such a frame will provide fresh insights from theories of space, time, motion and rhythm to Kimberlé Crenshaw's model of intersectionality (1991). My proposed frame not only explains interlocked miseries; it exposes how inequality and hierarchy get reproduced. It explains how dominant patterns of inter-racial and inter-ethnic rivalries pave the way for non-whites' participation in the post-racial performances in everyday life. Also, often we bring place-bound intersectionality to understand the identities of migrants, refugees, and asylees. But these subjects move and evolve in a radically different pace than people within Crenshaw's ethno-racial and intersectionality frames: Asian Americans, white feminists, black transgender, and so on. Words like 'immigrant' and 'emigrant' still locate migrants within a here/there binary in the place-bound imagination. This is inadequate to understand the multifaceted challenges refugees, migrants, asylees go through: unemployment, underemployment, xenophobia, loss of political rights, inaccessibility to social welfare programs, and so on. Thus, a theoretical intervention is a much-required necessity within the contexts of the emerging kinopolitics, movements of people, refugees, and asylum seekers, on the one hand, and a ceaseless thriving of necropolitics, the constant threat of physical death and social death across spaces and times on the other.

In other words, 'time' is highly ignored in Crenshaw's frame. Contrarily, in a traffic signal intersectionality the dimension of 'time' explains racism as a complex adaptive system, to borrow a concept from theories of complexity. It connects Bonilla-Silva's colorblind racism in the post-racial USA to the Jim Crow racism and explains the post-racial racism as a much contested zone of syncopated spacetime within a nested sovereignty in Mbembe's necropolitical domination. It would explain non-whites' participation in reproduction of racism as they tend to re-circuit the network of privilege instead of negating privilege in their everyday life racial and cultural performances. Ethno-racial categories thus become much more 'fluid' than

Crenshaw's frame would allow. I would argue that though these post-racial colorblind performances whites and non-whites are ushering in the Tri-racial order Bonilla-Silva has already indicated.

While Mbembe (2003) can explain the operation of the sovereign power with his explanation of necropower vis-à-vis Foucault's biopower, the geopolitical manufacturing of consent—across different spacetimes, among whites and non-whites and among have-somes and have-nots in the global North and the global South—reveals some particular rhythmic ordering of time and space which neither Foucault nor Mbembe have explained. I contend that observing details and analyzing manifestations of these orderings to perceive their inflections, projections, and progression will help us go beyond the simple and aggregative intersectionality to spatiotemporally dynamic intersectionality. Such a shift would illuminate not only the operation of necropower but its reception in everyday life within the complex and syncopated spacetime. By implication, it also provides fresh insights to understand the rise and fall of social movements in the 21st century. Transnationally, it would help decolonize dominant human rights and social justice discourses and protect them from getting misappropriated and colonized by both conservative and liberal forces.

In the context of the post-racial and cultural performances, it would be far more interesting to consider Bhabha's theory of hybridity as a progress towards 'third space' (Bhabha, 2004, p. 28). In chapter three, I have shown how the micropolitics suggested by Bhabha eventually get complicit within capitalistic aggression. I have argued that his 'third space'—in the name of deconstructing binaries between the global South and the global North—imagine stasis in the global South and offers multiple tactics of assimilation that mobilize non-whites' participation in the reproduction of discrimination and white privileges. Within an assimilationist move for Gaining (in) visibility within the hierarchy of race and class, Bhabha's theory of hybridity (Bhabha, 2004) energizes a centripetal force toward the empire, the sovereign.

d) Neoliberalism/Necrocapitalism:

To set control, discipline and domination, mere convincing through a promise of good life or setting biopolitical grids on life chances has been appeared as inadequate in the 21st century. The domination has also imposed threats of physical death and social death on people to manipulate and make them work for the sovereign. Participation in social movements has been much more dangerous than ever. Reproduction of manipulation and injustice has been the norm. People are made convinced to accept and fetishize quick fixes and temporary solution instead of practicing or cultivating virtues for demanding accountability. This is what I call new necro-normalcy⁶ in our time. It is important to challenge 'differentiation of death' and 'fragmentation within' as two recurrently used apparatuses in the necrocapital domination though death. In chapter six, I have explained these apparatuses and analyzed how the neoliberal states themselves have appropriated tactics of resistance—tactics they are using in combination with their strategies of domination.

e) Symbolical/Political:

Because of the rise of the necropower organizing social movements has been dangerous. Relying on slogans, stickers, memes, graffiti and billboards has been increasingly popular. Whereas social movements got revitalized though use of this guerrilla semiotics earlier, now the application of memes and billboards has become a dead-end project without integrating the symbolical with some more concrete means, with efforts of organizing. Meshed up with static intersectionality and identity politics, on the one hand, and the rise of the necropower and necronomalcy, it is no wonder that the symbolical, identity politics and cultural politics would gain new popularity. But this new liberation is shortsighted and we must be more ambitious than that.

f) Individual/Collective:

Neoliberal capitalism makes individuals responsible—to make socioeconomic progress through their distinctive efforts. It colonizes and misguides the politics of difference. While the politics of differences apparently empowers individuals—at intersections of race, class, sex, gender, and ability, among others, — at philosophical and ethical planes, however, neoliberalism neo-colonizes and enslaves individuals as they find them struggling within a systemic unevenness at material intersections: capitalism, heterosexualism, patriarchy, and racism. Therefore, it is important to decolonize the politics of differences by liberating it from the colonization within neoliberalism. It is important to acknowledge that neoliberalism and the politics of differences are practically two different projects while in their current co-existence, the earlier has colonized the latter. Also, neoliberal capitalist idea of individualistic attempt for progress maintains a double standard: while corporate leaders, businessmen, and political leaders invest in collectivity, in their powerhouse institutions: IMF, World Bank, and NATO, among others—they disparage collectivity for individuals, unionization for workers, and solidarity among the oppressed. Free market apologist scholars are careful to conceal this double standard as they keep suggesting temporary solutions for miseries instead of demanding radical changes in big policies. Cultural experts are quick to propagandize the death of class and, hence, either the unnecessary or improbability of class struggle while workers in the global South are reorganizing for a new class struggle (Ness, 2015). In

performing these duties, cultural experts try to derail emancipatory politics towards fetishization of resistance and identity politics. They function like some recruited scientists whose research would keep proving the claim of global warming totally baseless.

Therefore, it is important to recognize what is at stake in the debate between individualism and collectivity. Biohackers and whistleblowers are leaving institutions whereas Occupiers are looking for collectivity. Other agents looking for collectivity are corporate think tanks, political leaders and workers, the new subalterns in the global South. Why do they want to be organized? What about common people? Why are they made to accept individuality in the name of liberalism and progress? When to embrace separation and when to attempt for collectivity?

It is important to recognize that social problems cannot be addressed with individualist solutions. Solutions are too many and none of them working.

g) Structure/Rhythm

Evolution is spiral. It is complex. To make changes in a system, nothing less than a dialectic approach is required. At a given time, society is static and structured but it also moves towards changes. To interrupt in the existing pace and direction of a system, mere micro attempts will not suffice. A dialectic between the macro and the micro would provide the right rhythm for revolution.

While we talk about revolution, we are not talking about mere smashing things to replace them with new set of same things. We are talking about substantial changes in human thoughts on the best practices, practices that would establish equality for all. Within the complex adaptive system called racism, for example, it is not the best practice to participate in white privilege with the expectation that one's participation in it will save the participants. Bhabha's micropolitics that promotes tactics of resistance: sly civility, mimicry, hybridity and others (Bhabha, 2004) are based on this naïve and suicidal logic. Seeking protection from a discriminatory system through constant cultural performances and cultural assimilation and thus reinforcing the system itself is not emancipatory. It is enslaving.

h) Recognition/Redistribution:

Instead of rehearsing the debate between proponents of recognition and those of redistribution (Fraser and Honneth, 2003), it is more important to understand that without economic justice, potentials for an ethically sound universe do not even arise. In other words, we have pursued the lead of the recognition experts in Ethnic Studies and Queer Studies for a significant amount of time. Though it has been a wrong move from the very beginning as it provides solution in bits and pieces, it is time we moved towards the redistribution. Hence, a dialectical relation between recognition and redistribution should be established in the 21st century social activism. We must raise questions like the following ones:

- Pushing for recognition is like seeking talking cure. Taking cure is what Ethnic Studies is doing in the last four decades. Does it work? For whom it works?
- Silencing about class questions is the gateway of bewildering mazes of intertwined problems.
- Cutting off "class" from "sexuality" is doing sex under surveillance and you must fake orgasm to announce your happiness to yourself and others. Queer Politics without class questions must end up with dead end identity politics, for example.

i) Academia/Activism:

Mere education is not enough. No deep knowledge of racial discrimination would convince someone to work against it unless material benefits of racism can be abolished. Therefore, striving for big policy changes and participating in social movements that demand these changes is important. Academicians must share this insight in their scholarly work and teaching. To combat the pervasive necro-normalcy, which has already occupied imagination of individuals across the world, this is highly required.

j) Reformation now / revolution later

Given the spiral motion of history, social changes occur within a complex adaptive system. An interplay of transition and rupture constitute the rhythm of revolution. Going beyond the popular sequential conceptualization of reform and revolution, I argue for non-linear dynamic changes that move towards ruptures and tipping points ushering in revolution, a paradigm shift that would redefine material relations, intensify urge and demand for equality for a far better world than one conceived in the paradigm preceding it (Sharif, 2015 a). In chapter seven, I have explained how all micropolitical moves need to be guided towards a dialect struggle, an approach that maintains a balance between micropolitics and macropolitics

k) Eurocentrism/universalism

A common allegation against CT is its silence about colonialization and hence its supposed affiliation with colonialist Eurocentrism and imperialist universalism. Said (1994), for example, argues:

Frankfurt School critical theory, despite its seminal insights into the relationships between domination, modern society, and the opportunities for redemption through art as critique, is stunningly silent on racist theory, anti-imperialist resistance, and oppositional practice in the empire.” (p. 276)

This allegation of silence on racism and colonialism is further reemphasized by Amy Allen (2016) as she believes that what Said alleged twenty years ago remains still valid as no contemporary thinker associated with Frankfurt School has contributed to anti-racism and decolonization.

To initiate the process, Allen (2016) wants CT to embrace a radical contextualism, which can also be called a contextual universalism. Within the frame of radical contextualism, Eurocentrism and universalism would be different in the sense that while the former is a self-proclaimed monolith, the latter may have multiple geographical and geopolitical centers and priorities depending on contexts of socio-political domination. Whereas Eurocentrism pretends to be solely universalistic and thus have caused epistemic and colonial violence, contextual universalism ushers in multiple perspectives and stances within identity politics, not to render them into the ‘ethics of storytelling’ (Žižek cited in Henwood, D., Schalit, J., & Bertsch, C., 2002, p. 82) but to find a radical praxis for an integrational social movement. Therefore, to mobilize the frame of contextual universalism, the ethics of storytelling, politics of tolerance, and politics of respectability to others are to be marked and immediately be avoided as liberal gambits so that radical praxis for integrational social movements can emerge. Still the ghost of Eurocentric rationality may haunt us all. To prevent this, a dialectic between critical and metacritical rational endeavors should be accepted as a methodology for queries within CT for the 21st century. At metacritical levels, this methodology would problematize genealogy. It would explain the fact that all normative commitments are entangled with power relations in an episteme. It in turn would usher in a radical openness within inquisition at critical levels. This double movement between the critical and the metacritical is the key for a much-required internal decolonization of CT as Allen (2016) explains.

While I acknowledge the necessity of the double movement between the critical and the metacritical levels of inquires as this is what Adorno himself would have appreciated (Allen 2016), Allen’s emphasis on context may inspire regionalism and relativism though she would have denied any such possibility as she wants to propose a dialectic between the local and the global. However, I propose Harvey’s spatiotemporal dialectic (Sharif, 2015 a) as a much better way of conceptualizing integrations across the local and the global. In this dialectic, spaces and times get perceived in the absolute, the relative, and the relational. To get a proper estimate of economic inequality, for example, economic interrelations and exchanges in the national (absolute), the transnational (relative) and the global (relational) purviews should simultaneously be considered. In this way, the spatiotemporal dialectic would provide a better way to approaching contextual universalism. Secondly, while Allen (2016) proposes the double movement between the critical and the metacritical, I promote a dynamism across the analytical, the dialectical, the spatiotemporal and the rhythm analytical in this project.

Cerebral exercise can be an objective of any strategic video game. Similarly, expanding the cognitive horizon though application of experimental ideas is important on its own right. Equally important yet often overlooked aspect of GenCT is mobilizing ideas and actions for emancipatory politics. The urge for embracing emancipatory politics would necessitate CT and take us on a different plane of approaching changes. We would acknowledge that changes in video games and social changes through de-reification and dis-alienation occur quite differently. Radical transformations neither occur in bits and pieces nor do they follow the rules and regulations of an existing system. It requires a different game altogether. That game is a dialectic one. It is more like a futuristic dance. With this game and with this dance, a rhythmic organization of masses has always made revolution. GenCT and identity politics inspire separate movements for separate agenda and thus reinforce systems of manipulation. In contrast, an integrational movement connecting all forms of injustice must be synchronized to transform society. For this, CT must be more adventurous and more ambitious. At the same time, CT must embrace the double movement between the critical and the metacritical as CT believes in social conditioning of reason and as the social is now increasingly glocal, a dynamism that thrives on the syncopation of space and time that in turn reinforce necropolitical disciplining of agency everywhere.

To conclude, commitment for social justice must be the objective of CT. Beyond the analytical and the mathematical, CT must deploy the dialectical, the spatiotemporal, and the rhythm analytical. Such a deployment would expose how GenCT, for example, has derailed the emancipatory politics of Frankfurt School. In retrospect, the journey from Frankfurt to Birmingham to Disneyland has convinced us that we need to return to Frankfurt again. This return, however, is not any linear U-turn. The return is both critical and metacritical, one enriched with the experience we have gained from the entire journey. This return would combat the pervasive necrocapitalist control in the 21st century. This return would get the global North and the global South synergistically engaged to form integrational social movements and radical desire for substantive changes in all spheres of life.

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