GEZİ MOVEMENT: AN ANALYSIS IN THE CONTEXT OF PLACE/SPACE,
THE DISCURSIVE PRACTICES AND THE SOCIETY

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ABSTRACT

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THE DISCURSIVE PRACTICES AND THE SOCIETY

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This study aims to analyse the Gezi Movement, emerged in the last days of May 2013 against Taksim Pedestrianization Project which is conceptualized starting in 2007 by İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and spread to whole country in a record time in June 2013 and lasted effectively for a month and continued during and after the research time, in terms of architecture and the society together with the discourses revealed in this process.

The relationships between the society, the place and the places, and the discursive statements were examined to reveal the reasons behind this intense and instant public support and to explore the spatial meaning of the Gezi Movement in detail, which has attracted attention of many disciplines besides architecture, with

starting from a cemetery to the Gezi Park to Taksim Square and then to the rest of İstanbul and to a larger geographical scale. This research focuses on the reinterpretation of the Movement in terms of qualities of "place and "place-making", evaluated as a way of being part of decision-making process about the city for the citizens, and how this social attitude reflects to the place/space. This thesis further aims to reawaken the concept of "Right to the City" and reveal the new kind of identities of citizens, emerged during the Movement.

It was evaluated that the Gezi Park promoted the dissemination of the Movement with its physical properties and increasingly transportation of the similar values and the spirit to the other places which integrated the citizens and made Turkey the place of the Movement. This type of place understanding and the spirit in the Movement helped to create the urban memory as well with the public activities. Furthermore, the babbling, the irony, the self-expression, the words and the images appeared in the walls or the grounds in the demonstration places made the Movement different from the previous demonstrations, which promoted the Movement to be researched in terms of the discursive practices in this study. The method throughout the study was to find tools and examples for the dissemination of the Movement by the help of analysis, reports, written documents and daily media.

On the whole, this thesis is an attempt to substantiate the Gezi as public space as to architecture, place-making and settings. It tries to reveal the citizen rights by analysing the place-based power struggle, the public space, and the daily life experiences within the limits of the Gezi Movement and provides the documentation and the examination of the experiences, the movements which happened before, and the information about the Project, which is required for better awareness of the society.

Keywords: Gezi Movement, Right to the City, place/space, place-making, discursive practices

ÖZ

GEZİ HAREKETİ: YER/MEKAN GERİLİMİ, SÖYLEMSEL PRATİKLER VE TOPLUM İLİŞKİSİ ÜZERİNE BİR ANALİZ

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Bu çalışma 2013 yılının Mayıs ayının son günlerinde İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi tarafından 2007 yılında kavramsallaştırılmaya başlanılan Taksim Yayalaştırma Projesine karşı ortaya çıkan ve Temmuz 2013'te kısa zamanda bütün ülkeye yayılan, yaklaşık bir ay etkili bir şekilde süren ve ve araştırma süresi ve sonrasında da etkisi hala devam eden Gezi Hareketini bu süreçte ortaya çıkan söylemlerle birlikte mimarlık ve toplum açısından analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Toplum, mekan ve mekanlar ile söylemsel pratikler arasındaki ilişki bu yoğun ve ani halk desteğinin arkasındaki sebepleri ortaya çıkarmak ve mimarlık disiplininin yanı sıra bir çok disiplinin ilgisini çeken, mezarlık olarak kullanıldığı zamanlardan başlanarak Gezi Parkı'na oradan Taksim Meydanı'na ve daha sonra

İstanbul'un geri kalanına ve daha geniş kesim ve ölçeklere uzanan Gezi Hareketi'nin mekansal anlamı detaylı bir şekilde keşfetmek için incelenmiştir. Bu araştırma, Hareket'in "yer" ve vatandaşlar için şehirle ilgili karar alma sürecinin parçası olma yolu anlamına gelen "yer oluşturma" kavramları açısından yeniden yorumlanması ve bu toplumsal duruşun yere / mekana nasıl yansıdığı üzerine odaklanmıştır. Bu tez ayrıca "Kent Hakkı" kavramının yeniden uyandırılmasını ve Gezi Hareketi sırasında ortaya çıkan yeni kimlikleri açığa çıkarmayı da amaçlamaktadır.

Gezi Parkı fiziksel özellikleri ve vatandaşları birleştiren ve Türkiye'yi Hareketin Yer'i haline getiren benzer değerleri ve ruhu diğer yerlere giderek artan bir şekilde taşıması ile Hareketin yayılmasını teşvik ettiği düşünülmüştür. Gezi Hareketi'ndeki bu tip yer anlayışı ve ruh, kamusal aktivitelerle de birlikte kentsel belleğin oluşumuna yardım etmiştir. Dahası, gelişigüzel konuşmalar, ironi, kendini ifade etme, gösteri yerlerindeki duvar ve / ya da zeminlerde görünen kelimeler ve görseller, bu Hareketi diğer eylemlerden farklı kılan Hareket'in bu durumu, Gezi Hareketi'nin bu çalışmada söylemsel pratikler açısından araştırılmasını teşvik etmektedir. Çalışma boyunca yöntem, analizler, raporlar, yazılı belgeler ve günlük medyanın yardımıyla Hareket'in yayılmasını gösteren araçlar ve örnekler bulmak olmuştur.

Genel olarak, bu tez Gezi'nin kamusal mekan olduğunu mimarlık, yer oluşturma ve yerleşimler açısından kanıtlama girişimidir. Yer odaklı güç mücadelesini, kamusal mekanı ve Gezi Hareketi çerçevesinde günlük yaşam deneyimlerini analiz ederek kentli haklarını açığa çıkarmaya çalışmaktadır ve toplumun daha iyi bilinçlenmesi için gerekli olan deneyimlerin, daha önce gerçekleşmiş hareketlerin ve Yayalaştırma Projesi'nin belgelendirilmesini ve araştırılmasını sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Gezi Hareketi, Kent Hakkı, yer/mekan, yer oluşturma, söylemsel pratikler

To My Family…

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> "(Social) space is a (social) product."[1]
>
> Henri Lefebvre

1.1 Taksim and the Gezi Park: Opportunity to Observe the Struggle for Urbanite Rights at the Heart of the City

The Gezi Park as a commutation node near Taksim Square in Beyoğlu lies at the heart of the European side of İstanbul. (Figure 1) The place, the most public and the central core of the city, existed in essence ever since the 16th century. This district has always served as a transportation hub, that is, it has the ability to distribute and to recall the citizens for the circulation. It has a long historical background shaped with the social, the cultural and the political accumulations of years through which it gained ground. It has not lost its powerful position both in the physical and the social manner in terms of the accessibility in any period. The most important urban transportation axes coming from different parts of the city coincide at Taksim which made it the transfer node. As it was defined with its physical environment, it became the heart of the social activities of İstanbul which were established through Tarlabaşı, Talimhane, İstiklal, Sıraselviler, Gümüşsuyu, Mete and Cumhuriyet Streets.

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[1] Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space.* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.) Blackwell Publishing, p.26.
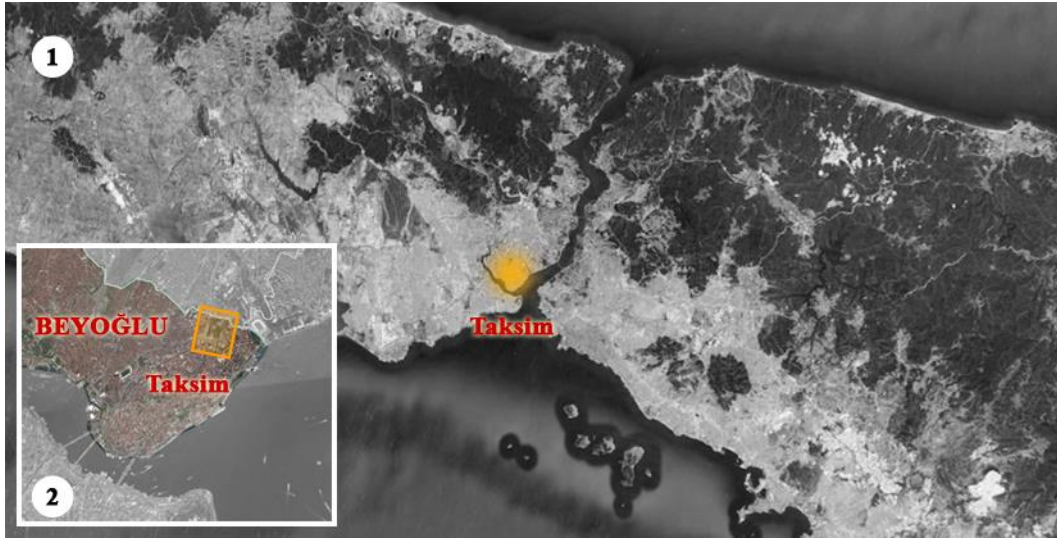
Figure 1: The location of the Taksim Square in İstanbul (1) and Beyoğlu (2) (The images were taken from Google Earth on July 07, 2015)

It has always been a political and social representation space, starting with an Armenian cemetery, giving way to an artillery barracks, supplying a stadium space in the early 20th century in İstanbul, then transformed into a park, which would be forming the initial point of an urban struggle. Taksim and the Gezi Park have always been in a significant position due to this historic, urban modern identity. This identity and this corresponding spirit were created by the power of each era; hence, every time, it has always been the stage of the representation of each corresponding era. At first, it had been the place of the East and the West confrontation; then, it was attempted to be the face of contemporary Republic and reactionary reign align with the proclamation of the Republic. In any case, it has been the platforms of struggle and a powerful symbol of many social and political events. The Taksim Square, in essence, has been the destination of many public events such as political rallies, labour demonstrations, New Year Eve, the Republic Day celebrations, football celebrations with mass screening for a lot of people from any view all the year round.

For the very reason of having a protected and designed future of the centuries old city, modern İstanbul was requested to be planned by Henri Prost, a French architect and an urban planner. He conducted the planning of the city taking into consideration the requirements and forecasting future problems confronting İstanbul between the years of 1936 – 1951. He prepared many plans and regulations about different districts for the development of the city, even though every one of them was not applied. His aim was to connect open spaces, constitute the continuity of urban transportation and claim the historicity of the district and their concentration. The Taksim Square and the Gezi Park became one of the most important nodes with his promenade proposal (1939) which required abolishment of the remains of the Halil Paşa Artillary Barracks.

Transformation of the city is a fact caused by economic and social reasons. That area has also been subjected to many transformation projects with rapidly changing the city itself later on. The last and the current one is the Taksim Pedestrianization Project which is conceptualized starting in 2007 by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The Project proposes that the area surrounded by the Gezi Park, İstiklal Street, Sıraselviler Street, Talimhane Street and AKM (Atatürk Cultural Centre) would be pedestrianized zone in order to integrate the Gezi Park and the Taksim Square without an interruption of the vehicular traffic. (Figure 2, and Figure 3) To be able to establish this new system, the traffic flow around the Taksim Square would be taken to the underground with the construction of new tunnel on Cumhuriyet Street and the public transportation routes would be removed after the completion of Marmaray and Haliç Transition Bridge.[2] This tunnel would be 400 m in the direction of Tarlabaşı – Harbiye and 320 m in the direction of Harbiye – Tarlabaşı.

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[2] 'Taksim Meydanı Yayalaştırma Projesi' Kabul Edildi. (2011, September 16). Retrieved from http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-taksim-meydani-yayalastirma-projesi-kabul-edildi/gundem/gundem detay/16.09.2011/1439440/default.htm.

Figure 2: The location of the Gezi Park and the Taksim Square (The image was taken from Google Earth on June 01, 2015)

Figure 3: Changing of the Taksim Square from the years of 2015, 2013, 2011 and 2005 respectively (The images were taken from Google Earth on June 01, 2015)

According to the announcement of the Municipality, the Square would reach 100.000 m^2 pedestrianized zone in total including green zones, sitting benches and ornamental pools at the end. (Figure 4, Figure 5 and Figure 6) The biggest change in the new plan is performed in Square for the pedestrian access, pedestrian usage

and material selection for this pedestrian zone to change the Square into an alive place. At that time, the project proposes the Gezi Park as a green field.

Figure 4: The Taksim Pedestrianization Project Proposal – site plan
(The image was taken from http://megaprojeleristanbul.com/#taksim-meydani-yayalastirma-projesi)

Figure 5: The Taksim Pedestrianization Project Proposal - The Taksim Square, The replica of the Taksim Military Barracks and the pedestrianized zone (1) and the view from the area before the proposal (2) (Retrieved from (1) http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-R/Pages/Haber.aspx?NewsID=20709#.VZpq5UaLWHc, (2) http://www.arkitera.com/haber/24669/taksim-meydan-duzenlemesi-icin-tarih-verildi)

Figure 6: The Taksim Pedestrianization Project Proposal - The Taksim Square, the entrance of İstiklal Street on the left and the tunnel on Cumhuriyet Street on the right top (1) and the view from the area before the proposal (2)
(Retrieved from (1) http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-R/Pages/Haber.aspx?NewsID=20709 #.VZpq5UaLWHc, (2) https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/TaksimMeydan%C4%B1 #/media/File: Taksim_Square.jpg)

On 16 September 2011, the Municipality decided to construct the replica of the Taksim Military Barracks which was completely demolished in 1940.[3] As a result of a tender in 2012, the first part of the construction started with the closure of Cumhuriyet Street on 05 November 2012.[4] In the first days of 2013, the objections and the issues were blazed out together with the expression of the Regional Control Board of Istanbul Cultural and Natural Heritage which did not give approval for the reconstruction of the Military Barracks due to the fact that the Gezi Park has constituted the urban memory of İstanbul.[5] On the other hand, the High Council of Cultural and Natural Heritage gave approval for the construction of the replica of the Barracks on 28 February 2013.[6] At the beginning of February 2013, the Municipality demolished the pedestrian bridge which was

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[3] Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları.p.95.

[4] *Taksim Meydanı Yayalaştırma Çalışmalarına Başlandı*. (2012, October 31). Retrieved April 23, 2015, from Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality: http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/Pages/Haber.aspx? NewsID=20709#.VV8x5kaLWHc.

[5] Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları.p.95.

[6] Ibid. p.96.

designed by Henri Prost to connect the Gezi Park to the Elmadağ side over Asker Ocağı Street in order to break the physical connection of the Park with its environment.

This project has drawn attention of the citizens from that time. Since 2011, Taksim Solidarity Platform particularly has taken part in this struggle to inform the society about the project. They had arranged a lot of activities, protests and marches. People started to realize what are their rights and responsibilities for their cities. The city and its objects – urbanites – came closer to fight for their places.

Turkey witnessed to the largest and the most mass demonstrations of its history in May and June of 2013. The Gezi Events are spontaneously developed and spread, self-organized mass demonstrations, starting with an environmentalist discourses in approximately 29.550 m^2 area of the Gezi Park in the last days of May 2013 with resistance to the destruction of trees, being lived intensively with a lot of non-violent actions and activities in the streets, squares, schools, universities, and the virtual platforms by spreading to other cities and countries in the first 15 days of June 2013, then transformation of it into a different type of peaceful demonstrations and surviving until today. At night of 27 May of 2013, the messages of several people, who had saw the engineering vehicles of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality destroying the retaining wall of the Park and uprooting the trees, rebounded in the social media. The intervention of the security forces increased the tension between the activists in the Park and the security forces in the evening of 31 May which was the sign of the following 15 days of the Events. In record time, this brutal action of the police turned the environmentalist Movement into a large scale and multi-reasoned demonstrations including the "freedom of assembly", "freedom of expression" and "demands for rights" with reference to the surveys conducted during and after the Gezi Movement.[7] This

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[7] Ibid. p.165-168.

Movement gained a public support instinctively, so the representation of the Movement shifted by the help of technology. The demonstrations went into a decline after the 15th of June 2013.

According to the expressions of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, the demonstrations spread to 79 cities in Turkey in a short time.[8] In the same expression, it was stated that approximately 2.5 million people had participated to the demonstrations, 4900 activists had been taken into custody as the "suspect", and more than 600 police had been injured.[9] In accordance with the data expressed by the Turkish Medical Association on 20 June 2013, 7832 injured activists had applied to the hospitals in 13 cities.[10] 60 people were seriously injured, 101 people had head trauma, 11 people had lost their eyes due to hitting of capsule of tear gas bombs and 8 people died.[11]

These general data verifies that the Gezi Movement was a turning point in the history of our country and it should be examined with its reasons which were researched by eight institutions including KONDA, PEN International, IPSOS, Human Rights Association, Turkey Human Rights Institution, İstanbul Culture University, İstanbul Bilgi University, and Institute of Strategic Thinking in those days. According to these reports, the experiences, the interventions of the police with tear gas bombs, pressurized water, and even bullet, the expressions of the authority and the leading people of opposition reveals that the issues of "human rights violations", "the right of freedom of expression", "freedom of assembly", "right to life", "urban rights", "Right to the City", which are the subjects of architecture at the same time, have become the main topics of the conversations

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[8] Ibid, p.168.
[9] Ibid.
[10] KONDA. (2014). *Gezi Report.* Retrieved May 02, 2015, from http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf, p.4.
[11] Ibid.

about the Gezi Movement.[12] Even though the demonstrations were not hold actively nowadays, the investigations and the judicial process still continue.

In this study, the main aim is to reinterpret the Movement in a spatial manner as to architecture, society and culture to be part of this progressing process; at the same time, the thesis provides the documentation of the experiences and the modes of the Movement, which provides a better awareness to the society.

In this process, the discourses had a large variety of discourses as to the denomination of the Gezi and the participants such as "Gezi Events", "Gezi Protests", "Gezi Demonstrations", "June Movement", "Gezi Resistance" and "Gezi Movement" together with the "demonstrators", "protestors" and "activists". The "Movement" and the "Event" defines different contents in terms of place in this study. The "Movement" involves all the actions or activities both in an active way such as arrangement of a march or a passive way such as silent peaceful acts like sitting independently from location while the "Event" is used when the experiences are directly related with a location. Correspondingly, the "activists" are the people who are involved in all actions or activities in everywhere while the "citizens" are the local people of the cities. On the whole, these definitions will provide an easy pursuit of this thesis in the following parts.

1.1.1 Space and Individuals: Urban Rights

Urban right is a term used with different contents. Indeed, Henri Lefebvre wrote in "Writings on Cities" including the notion of the "Right to the City", *Le droit a la ville,* in 1967. According to him, the classes that have no capital or property and do not gain money from the use values of their space lost their rights on the city. Basically, it is argued that the production of capitalist space is determined by exchange value not use value. Therefore, the users should be organized against the people who make profit from the city and they should take part in the management of urban space and in the control of the city.

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[12] Ibid.

David Harvey, on the other hand, underlines that these rights are not personal. They should be perceived as human rights that are required in the transformation process of the city. He also describes it as follows:

> "The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights."[13]

When looked in a small scale, the Gezi was interpreted as an urban struggle. İlhan Tekeli, a leading Turkish sociologist and urban planner, expressed his ideas about the Movement in terms of the "Right to the City" in the conversation with Hanzade Ünuz in 2013.[14] Referring to him, if you let people participate to the city scale issues, they become the public subject.[15] According to him, this is also the overwhelming request in the Gezi as the right, to be the "public subject".[16]

Along the same line, Tarık Şengül, a leading Turkish sociologist, interpreted the Gezi Movement as "demand for the rights". The Movement put forward a demand to "Right to the City" or "public sphere right", emphasizing the urban space and its practices that represent.[17]

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[13] Harvey, D. (2008, October). The Right to the City. New Left Review (53), p.23.

[14] For reaching the remaining part of the interview, please see: Tekeli, İ. (2013). İzmir'de Gezi Ruhu Var. (H. Ünuz, Interviewer) Retrieved September 21, 2014, from http://www.egedesonsoz.com/roportaj/Izmir-de-Gezi-ruhu-var/322.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] For reaching the remaining part of the interview, please see: Şengül, T. (2013). Direnişin Ardından: Gezi Parkı Başkaldırısı Ertesinde Kent ve Siyaset. Retrieved September 08, 2015, from http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/direnisin-ardindan-gezi-parki-baskaldirisi-ertesinde-kent-ve-siyaset-haberi-77713

In this study, the accumulation of the new movements, namely Occupy Movements (Madrid, New York, London etc.) and Tekel Resistance held in Ankara were thought to form the background for the Gezi Movement in 2013 due to the similarities in terms of properties of the movements and also the content of demands which were the signs of urban rights. They were premises of the spirit of Gezi.

The Occupy Movements were observed starting in 2011 against global neoliberalism; and then, they spread over many countries in the world. The activists very similar to the ones in the Gezi Events redefined their public spaces by living there even though they came together with the demand for rights. They changed the nature and the types of demonstrations that were held up to that time. In fact, they transformed inert spaces into the public spaces. In other words, the squares, which had been a usual gathering node for many ordinary citizens taking their children to these places before, were filled with a lot of people, reading their books in their hammocks and eating the dinners together in the field, sleeping in their shelters. The main role and the function of these types of places were revealed again by the real owner of them, that is, by the citizens. They showed how a place becomes a living space even though it is an inactive space. The parks and the squares under the control of authorities became such places at which people may act independently.

The Tekel Resistance was one of the largest strike actions started on 15 December 2009 and finished on 2 March 2010 in Turkey. Together with the privatization of the tobacco and alcoholic liquid establishments, under the control of state before, all establishments started to be closed. The successful tenderer firm terminated most of the workers' agreements. The workers did not admit and yield to the imposed conditions to them. Therefore, they started to resist at the Abdi İpekçi Park in Ankara on the 15th of December in 2010. They lived in there with their shelters, tents and personal belongings. However, the police attacked them in violence with tear gas bombs and pepper sprays most of the time. Nevertheless,

they gained support nationally and internationally and made their voices heard in the society.[18]

The Gezi Events similarly started as a spatial event and the authority responded with movements in other places such as Sincan in Ankara and Kazlıçeşme in Istanbul, which necessitates the analysis of the Movement as to architecture firstly. In fact, the concept of "place" has found a huge ground in the discussion of place / space and together with time as the matter of many disciplines including architecture after the Movement. Since these words are used very much in our daily lives, even instead of each other most of the time, the interlocked relation of space and place are tried to be made sense in every part of this study by putting the Gezi Movement into the core of the thesis. How this social attitude reflects to the place / space is the main concern of the study as stated previously.

Space is the location with no social attributions; however, place is defined as "humanized space"[19] according to Tuan. It means place is obtained with the attribution of a meaning to this location as John Agnew sees the "place" as "the meaningful location"[20]. Since the definitions of the term has a diverse and comprehensive content for each discipline, the definition should be made deeper by involving the other notions like "identity" which differentiated the place from others and "place-making" which is brought with the definition of "place". The "place-making", a method to get in touch with the place, are included to this study in order to interpret the spatial experiences lived in the Movement and their reasons with architectural manner.

İlhan Tekeli and Tarık Şengül have spatial-oriented approaches related with the reason of the Movement. In an interview with Meral Tamer, İlhan Tekeli stated

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[18] The information about the Resistance was gathered from Yıldırım, Y. (2010, September). TEKEL Direnişi Bir Toplumsal Hareket Miydi? *Tartışma Metinleri*(111). Retrieved May 02, 2015 from http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/dergi/tartisma/2010/sayi111.pdf.

[19] Tuan, Y. F. (1977). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p.54.

[20] Cresswell, T. (2005). *Place: A Short Introduction.* Oxford, MA: Blackwell, p.7.

the properties of the place (the Gezi Park) and of participants jointly gave rise to the Movement.[21] If a public space like the Gezi Park does not exist, this Movement does not take place in Turkey. According to Tekeli, in general, meeting places are not living areas; on the contrary, the activists come to the field, demonstrate and then disband.[22] The activists do not develop new ideas and establish relationships with each other in these meeting places. On the other hand, he stated that the activists were able to manage to live together by setting up tents and organizing their needs collectively in the same area in the Gezi Events.[23]

Tarık Şengül also contributed to the idea that space cannot be thought independent from the society. For him, the reason of the Gezi Events was the accumulation of displeasures in the social platforms.[24] With reference to Şengül, Taksim is the accumulation node of the reactions against the understanding of today which act ruthlessly against the cities, ignoring the history and shaping the city with today's rant.[25]

We observed in 2013 that the Gezi Park embraced the alienated people, alienated to themselves, to other groups and to the space itself, who had been excluded from this urban space and the decision-making processes of the city in the past. These people were drawn to the background and they were not aware of each other. However, in the Movement, the activists, whose cultural identities, religions, political opinions, ages, cities, countries and reasons differs from each other, came together with a discursive statement, namely *"Everywhere is Taksim, Resistance Everywhere"* and contributed to the taking back and transformation of this place.

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[21] For reaching the remaining part of the interview, please see: Tekeli, İ. (2013, June). Yeni 'Gezi deneyimleri' Lazım. (M. Tamer, Interviewer) Retrieved September 21, 2014, from http://www.milliyet.com.tr/tekeli-yeni-gezi-deneyimleri-/ekonomi/ydetay/1724768/default.html.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] For reaching the remaining part of the interview, please see: Şengül, T. (2013, April). Distopya ve Ütopya. (P. Bayraktar, Interviewer) Retrieved September 21, 2014, from http://www.toplumicinsehircilik.org/documant/Tarik_Sengul_Birartibir_pdf.pdf.
[25] Ibid.

This discourse and the like, "Occupy Gezi", "Resist Gezi", "We are not resisting under a political party, we are the public" and the spirit of Gezi were reflected on different kind of spaces and the discourses evolved together with the space itself. The spaces and the discourses correlatively transformed each other according to their characteristics. The social relations established in the Gezi Park and other cities and their efforts together with the discourses contributed to the correlative transformation of the cities and the society. As Lefebvre argues the approach further related with the relation of the space and the society, "Space is generated by the social relations in time with the living reflections of bodies in that space."[26]

Is the expansion of these demonstrations to the different spaces, cities or countries dependent on physical criteria like distance or the discourses stated in the previous paragraph? Obviously, the paths used by the activists to establish a feeling of belonging with the city and the Gezi Park are different from each other. The social relations were not established only in the physical spaces like the Gezi Park, the Kızılay Square in Ankara or the Gündoğdu Square in İzmir, but also in the virtual platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. In fact, the intense days of the Movement started by the help of these platforms in May 2013. According to the surveys, the social media has a flourishing effect on the dissemination of the Movement to the other cities and other countries via videos and images in a very short time. This path provided the activists to organize and to be in solidarity. That is, the physical space was exceeded and all spaces became closer to the each other by the help of technology. Hence, the time-space compression changed the size, the frequency and the intensity of the Movement.

As the opportunities increased and the newly generated activities inspired the other places of the Movement, they managed to organize instinctively in the physical and virtual platforms especially by using internet and the new spatial experiments appeared due to the tensions between characteristics of the activists,

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[26] Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space.* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.) Blackwell Publishing, p.37.

their practices and their discursive statements. It was clearly observed that this type of communication without a hero or an outstanding party which directed the activists reached a result by getting the authority interested in their demands and expectations about the urban space and the citizen rights, which provided the appearance of new kind of identities constituting the real motives of the Movement.

The new identities of the activists provided the development of a commune type life at Gezi Park at last four days of May 2013; they protected their places and their rights against the authority and the interference of the security forces and at the same time they lived in the Park in their shelters. They established a new system which brought a continuous living with supply of basic needs and doing public activities. In the first days of June 2013, this type of communication shifted to the other cities such as Ankara, İzmir, Adana in Turkey and Milano, New York and Berlin from abroad.

The temporary constructed kitchens, the medical rooms, the libraries, the kindergartens, the training centres, the speaker's corner have brought in new ideas and new points of views to the architecture and the fine arts. The sense of place and the scale in the Movement were various, that is, the place of the Movement was sometimes only a person's body such as a "Woman in Red", a "Standing Man", a "Talcid Man" beside the temporary constructions. Moreover, the main requirements of performances do not coincide with each other normally; however, while an activist was reading a book in his hammock, another one was playing ball, other groups were singing songs or giving lessons in the same place at the same time. Even the police and the activists were face to face at another location of the space. The result of this tension reminds one of the key principles of the concept of "heterotopia" which is expressed by Foucault: "Heterotopias have the

power to juxtapose in a single real place several spaces, several emplacements that are in themselves incompatible."[27]

1.1.2 The Literature on the Urban Space, the Space Management and the Local Authority

A public support was observed related with the content of the Movement. The social media was effectively used during the Movement; it provided the awareness of the society and the dissemination of the Movement. It did not encounter a problem as to find advocators due to being independent from any organizations and stabile bodies. Therefore, these platforms gained importance and changed the scale. The movement spread to other countries and activists in Gezi and in Turkey also heard them. The physical place and virtual platforms supported each other. Although media has always been a manipulative power in these kinds of movements and transformation process, this time, they run behind to make news a couple of days. However, instead of them, many journals reported the Movement as news at their cover pages for months. New media like *Gezi Radio, Çapul Tv,* and *Gezi Parkı Tv,* and *Gezi Postası* (daily newspaper) emerged to inform all citizens. By any means, all of them were effective as to announcement and spread the Movement.

Another support is that eight institutions including KONDA, PEN International, IPSOS, Human Rights Association, Turkey Human Rights Institution, İstanbul Culture University, İstanbul Bilgi University, and Institute of Strategic Thinking made researches related with the Movement in June 2013 while the Movement was effective in the streets of İstanbul and other cities. After a long time from these researches, data was announced by the Ministry of Interior Affairs. In general, the gender distribution in the Gezi Park reflected the population of Turkey. The average age of activists in country is 30 years old. 79 cities in Turkey supported the Event. Almost one out of every two people did not participate any

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[27] Foucault, 2008, p.19. The notion of heterotopia will be discussed in order to grasp the Movement; it is not the main subject of the study.

demonstrations before; however, the police brutality substantially became the turning point to participate to the Movement. A major part of the supporters heard about the Gezi Events from the televisions and then the social media.

Moreover, a lot of magazines particularly architectural and political ones beside the comics reserved their one issues for the Movement. Newspapers gave wide publicity to the articles, interviews and approaches related with the Movement for months. Academic studies including 24 master thesis and 3 PhD thesis from the fields of architecture, urban and regional planning, political sciences, journalism, public administration, sociology, communication sciences, public relations and fine arts have been submitted to these departments according to the data of Council of Higher Education, which shows that the comprehensive characteristics of the Movement make it a multi-disciplinary issue.[28] Although the initial support was gained with an environmentalist approach, the main concerns were the lack of freedom and rights and the interference of the authority to the every sphere of life which is the reason of this multiple interests of the fields in a short time. Moreover, during and after the Gezi Movement 119 books and 46 periodicals[29] were published which included photographs and discourses explaining the experiments, and the ideas explaining the reasons of the Movement and the possible predictions about the future movements.

All these information were the evidence that the Movement have been expressed to the society within a large scale differentially. In other words, it is sign of the efforts of the activists to reach and tell the story of the Movement to the people who are living in the farthest place of the country and the world. This study will be in this list in terms of architectural and sociological reading of the Movement.

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[28] The data was obtained from YOK's Thesis Centre.
[29] These sources were shown in the appendix of Gezi Bibliography part in the end of the thesis.

1.2 Aim and Promises of the Thesis

In this thesis, in the light of these assessments, it is intended to interrogate spatial counter of the Gezi Movement, which have attracted attention of a lot of people at every disciplines. The examination of the cases focuses on the relationships between the society, the place and the places, and the discourses based on the notion of "Right to the City". It highlights inversion of discursive practices with the place correlatively. The geographical position of the place is also important issue supposed to be analysed in this process. In other respects, this study further aims to be concerned to understand the Gezi Movement with "place-making", "time-space compression", "heterotopia", the notions of "the production of space" and the "sense of belonging" which helps to reinterpret of the Movement in terms of architecture and environment relationships.

The activists created an urban memory in this ground, always having a political identity. This Movement reveals an emerging new citizen identity based on this public space in the process by the help of voices of alienated citizens. They started to participate in the decision making process of the country which reawakens the concept of "Right to the City".

1.2.1 The Total Movement: The Citizen Right to Appropriate the Lived-in Environment

We live an era at which brutal action is conducted against the cities, which stems from the implementations of the authorities such as urban transformation projects, mass housing projects or making of HES. According to Tarık Şengül, especially after the World War II together with the industrialization, a huge immigration from rural place to the urban places have been lived; in fact, these inhabitants has been used as a labour power.[30] However, after 1980s, the capital has changed its strategy about the industry and invested in the urban; hence, the capital has

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[30] Şengül, T. (2013, April). Distopya ve Ütopya. (P. Bayraktar, Interviewer).

become urbanized according to him.[31] This labour power has remained at the outside part of the cities. The urban place has become a rapid consumed meta by the efforts of the authorities.[32]

The urban has been exposed to a lot of interferences with the urban transformation projects, which the capital and the authority have the right to comment on the issues related with, in a short time. The individuals are isolated as to social praxis by biting them back from urban spaces. They are not visible when looked on a large scale. This culture is a fact of this contemporary life. However, to use spaces of the city and to contribute to remodelling of them is a fundamental right. They have to remember their rights and take responsibilities for their living spaces. The act requires involving of people in this decision-making process, that is, participation of the residents. For instance, arrangement of such social movements and the social platforms about the dispossession may be a method for their struggles and citizenships.

The Gezi Movement shows that the citizens, who had been excluded from the decision-making processes of the urban issues and their cities, turned back to their cities in order to protect their places against the interference of the authorities without their permissions. In order to understand their space approaches and how they relate their spaces and discourses and how they evolve together, the remaining parts of this study will focus on this participation process developed in the Movement.

1.2.2 Sequence of Chapters

To grasp the Gezi Movements requires examination of not only the Gezi Park but also each city in Turkey and abroad to which it jumped. People requested to be part of decisions related with their dwelling place, that is, their cities. Therefore, the thesis starts with a conceptual framework including basically 'Urban Rights:

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

Right to the City' and Occupy Movements as the precedents of the Turkish Gezi. Under the general heading of the term "Right to the City", a descriptive analysis of the term of "place" will be made since the Movement requires a comprehensive research as to architecture, which leads to the concept of "identity", "urban memory" and "sense of place". "Place-making", "time-space compression" and "heterotopia" notions will be analysed in order to understand the dissemination of the Gezi Events to a lot of cities both in Turkey and abroad. This part will end with Lefebvre's space approach especially based on his book, "The Production of Space" where he defines the creation of a real space and discusses the space with all aspects and production process. Then, the new form of demonstrations, in other words the Occupy Movements, will be argued as the base point of the spirit of Gezi with reference to the concept of "empowerment" of the citizens in the second part of this chapter. These new type of demonstrations will show how a movement transforms spaces and directs the politics and the decisions.

The third chapter, "Gezi: The Place and the Modes of the Movement", will be a part of the research of the place of Gezi in three subtitles on a large scale based on the conceptual frames in the second chapter together with the narration of the Movement and it will end with the analysis of the approaches of the authority. It will analyse the place starting from an Armenian Cemetery, giving way to an artillery barracks, supplying a stadium space in the early 20th century in İstanbul, then transformed into a park, which would be forming the initial point of an urban struggle. Then, the Gezi Event will be particularly researched according to its breaking points developed during the process. Graphical analyses derived from the survey reports will help to be understood of the effect and the size and the intensity of the Movement. At the end of this chapter, the approaches of the authority during and after the Movement will be researched referring to Lefebvre's approaches with reference to the term of "illusion", since they affected the direction of the Movement and so its dissemination.

"Ground Zero: The Place and the Places of the Movement" constitutes the following chapter. The spatial diversities and the discursive practices of the Movement are the cores of this part in which the Gezi Park will be analysed again on conceptual frames in the second chapter in a detailed scale. This part will end with the discursive practices showing how a space is continuously changed together with the discourses and the symbols since they changed according to the properties of place. The photographs obtained from the books and the media will help to reveal the experiences in the Movement.

"Dissemination of the Movement and Place/Space: Conclusion" will be the last chapter of the thesis. Since the Gezi Park stays in a senseless position now and the project is not pulled back yet, the process still continues. Moreover, each citizen established a relation over a reason such as environmentalist, urban transformation, urban rights and freedom with this Movement, its effects were numerous, some of which will be enlightened in this study. In fact, the evaluations of David Harvey about these effects will be involved in the appreciations part of the thesis because he observed the Event in place in İstanbul. In other words, this part will be the place of the deduction and the revenge.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THE METHOD OF THE RESEARCH

2.1 Urban Rights: The Right to the City

The "Right to the City" is an effective slogan initially developed by Henri Lefebvre in *La droit a la ville* in 1967 mentioned in the introduction part of this study. He does not directly define the term in the book; on the contrary, he describes the term with different perspectives. Before analysing the term with these perspectives, it is required to understand the process of the creation of an urban and an urban phenomenon as to Lefebvre who in essence expressed his ideas about the phenomenon in his book, "The Urban Revolution", in order to comprehend the notion of "Right to the City" and make a connection with the Gezi Movement.

Lefebvre thinks that it is difficult to understand the urban phenomenon, which is the process of urbanization and not defined yet, with the fragmented ways that is why he is sceptical to any specialized science which is in an effort to grasp it.[33] He generates a total understanding to define this process and especially emphasizes on centrality for the urban phenomenon. For him, the urban is the heart of the network of both production and consumption in the past.[34] The urban

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[33] For further information, please see: Lefebvre, H. (1970). *The Urban Revolution.* (R. Bononno, Trans.) Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota, 2003.

[34] Ibid.

primarily calls for the productive elements to be close to this centre, in other words, to gather, to produce and to consume are the elements of the rational side of the social praxis. Although the node of these activities is supposed to be in the heart of the city, this node is not able to continue with the conglomeration and the concentration, which causes to starting of rupture of the heart of the urban.

> "The essential aspect of the urban phenomenon is its centrality, but a centrality that is understood in conjunction with the dialectical movement that creates or destroys it."[35]

> "Centrality, an aspect of mathematics, is also an aspect of drama. It unites them the way it unites everything, including symbols and signs (including those of union). The signs of the urban are the signs of assembly: the things that promote assembly and the requirements for assembly… The urban is, therefore, pure form: a place of encounter, assembly, simultaneity."[36]

After all, this process creates a new urban phenomenon which is qualified by the segregation of the city into peripheries and the gentrification of the city centres according to Lefebvre.[37] This segregation means the emergence of special zones particular to the inhabitants such as the working class repelled from the centre to live in the peripheries. However, this new urban phenomenon has led urban inhabitants to lose control over the decisions that shape the city according to Lefebvre.[38]

The notion, the "Right to the City", starts to make sense at this point. Lefebvre's term aims the regeneration of the social, the political and the economic relations in the city. These rights are independent from the institutional ones. The "Right to the City" is a political tool for the transformation of the capitalist city.

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[35] Lefebvre, H. (1970). *The Urban Revolution.* (R. Bononno, Trans.) Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota, 2003, p. 116.

[36] Ibid, p. 118.

[37] Ibid, p. 116 – 118.

[38] For another approach for Lefebvre's notion of the Right to the City, please see: Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and Its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant. *GeoJournal*(58), p. 99.

For the urban inhabitants, he defines two different rights, notably the right to participation and the right to appropriation. The right to participation implies that the urban inhabitants should involve in any decision having an effect on the city. The second one contains the right of urban inhabitants about to access and to use the urban space. It also includes the production of urban space to serve to the urban inhabitants. Furthermore, Lefebvre links these rights and the everyday life. The inhabitants are able to manage and arrange their environments according to their everyday life routines. He states:

> "The claim to nature, and the desire to enjoy it displace the right to the city. This latest claim expresses itself indirectly as a tendency to flee the deteriorated and unrenovated city, alienated urban life before at last, 'really' living [...] The *right to the city* cannot be conceived of as a simple visiting right or as a return to traditional cities. It can only be formulated as a transformed and renewed *right to urban life.*"[39]

David Harvey, on the other hand, reinterprets Lefebvre's term. For him, the urban space is far more than a private property, the inhabitants use it collectively, they live in it collectively, and in other words, they own it collectively. He sees the notion as a tool to unify the struggles against the capitalism in the urbanization process including the social exclusion.[40] Moreover, these rights reshape the processes of urbanization. They are hold by a political and economic group and they should be taken back. Beside these rights, the urban spaces should be regained and transformed. The only way to get these rights is to get organized and to struggle against the authority to have these rights.[41]

In recent years, the "Right to the City" has been revived by many academics, politicians and social movements both in our country and the foreign countries. The Tekel Resistance in our country was one of the largest social movements

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[39] Lefebvre, H. (1996). The Right to the City. In E. Kofman, & E. Lebas (Eds.), *Writings on CITIES* (E. Kofman, & E. Lebas, Trans., pp. 147-160). Blackwell Publishers, p. 158.
[40] Harvey, D. (2008, October). The Right to the City. *New Left Review*(53), pp. 23-40.
[41] Ibid.

started on 15 December 2009 and finished on 2 March 2010. The workers together with their families struggled against the privatization of the public factory of Tekel far more than two and a half months. The concerns of the citizens about the ecology and the nature stemmed from the making of HES, the nuclear power, the transformation projects that endanger the nature and historic-cultural-social environments is other reasons of the experiments from our country. The inhabitants from the rural and the local places resisted against these attempts causing the damage in the natural environment and the content of the demands in these experiments were the signs of the urban rights.

The notion has also gained importance in our country within a couple of years especially during and after the Gezi Movement. The experiments stated in the previous paragraph helps to the regeneration of the spirit of Gezi as to demand for rights. The urban inhabitants or the activists involved in the decision-making process about the project, called as Taksim Pedestrianization Project, affecting the whole citizens' lives and their routine, which may be handled with regard to Lefebvre's the right to participation. In this way, they remembered both their rights and responsibilities; and, at the same time, they realized their self-power to become effective on the decisions about the urban spaces. Then, they have gathered and met on the physical platforms like solidarity houses or park forums and the virtual platforms like the network of "dispossession" at which they have been able to create alternative participations to the planning approaches of the government and helped to the increase of awareness of the society.

At first, the activists physically accessed to the urban space; they highlighted the urban as the place of the resistance and the demands for their rights, and get organized against the people who make profit from the city. Since all citizens are supposed to reach potential profits of the cities equally, they struggled against the authority and the process of the social exclusion together. Moreover, they reproduced their urban space to meet their needs and showed how an urban space should be part of the city life which refers to second type of right, the right to

appropriation, defined by Lefebvre. They became the part of the urban space management by this participation. For Lefebvre, "[...] the right to the city is like a cry and a demand."[42] The Gezi Movement is this kind of a cry when examined closely since it was a practice of the urban citizenship. The "Right to the City" was used as a tool for the making of the urban movement. The activists had the awareness of their rights, duties and abilities. They embraced their urban spaces and transformed it into a struggle platform. Moreover, the activists managed to establish a relationship among them to be able to understand the feelings of each other. They discovered that they did not have to abandon their rights and desires about their living spaces due to not being represented by the authority. This new spirit of the citizens is thought to be the real motive of the Movement. Furthermore, the intensity of the Movement and the experiences in the Movement related with the demands have promoted the activists and the solidarity spirit of the Movement in order to gain these rights by giving a confidence to the activists for the possible movements in the future.

On the whole, the Gezi Movement is obviously the sign of the demand of the citizens with regard to more authorization and judgment in both the national politics and the management of city. Since the demands of the citizens is about the urban space in common with the previous movements, the rest of this chapter is established on the conceptual frame of the notion of "place" basically in order to understand the justifications of such a diverse and dense participation. The definitions of place has a diverse content in each discipline, the other notions of "identity" and "place-making", which is a tool or a way to get in touch with the place, are included to this study in order to interpret the reasons of the Movement with the architectural manner. The efforts of the activists since June 2013 are tried to be understood with the "urban memory" which have an impact on the creation of the "identity of the citizens and the places". The new identities of the activists reveal that they have taken the advantages of the developments in technology

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[42] Ibid.

which have been evaluated as the main source and supporter of this Movement in the dissemination of the Movement in record time and the way of the creation of the spirit of the Gezi that is why the concept of "time-space compression" is involved in this study. After all, Henri Lefebvre directs the last part of the conceptual framework in order to general looking to the Gezi Movement for the production of space.

2.1.1 Understanding "Place"

The word, place, is a wide and complex term to be grasped and defined for each discipline. Therefore, the term will be defined in general at first.

The dictionary meaning of the word is (1) a particular position, point, or area in space; a location; (2) a building or area used for a specified purpose or activity; and (3) a person's home.[43] The definitions in the dictionary continue; however, as observed, it has an extensive context and our own academic concern is more related to the in-depth understanding.

Apart from the dictionary meaning, the philosopher Jeff Malpas explains this broad term etymologically in a simple way. It is:

> "(i) a definite but open space, particularly a bounded, open space within a city or town; (ii) a more generalised sense of space, extension, dimensionality or 'room' (and, understood as identical with a certain conception of space, place may, in this sense, be opposed to time); (iii) location or position within some order (whether it be a spatial or some other kind of ordering, hierarchical or not); (iv) a particular locale or environment that has a character of its own; and (v) an abode or that within which something exists or within something exists or within which it dwells."[44]

With reference to the definition of place made by John Agnew who is a political geographer, the place is considered as "a meaningful location" and the

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[43] Information was gathered from Oxford English Dictionary.

[44] Malpas, J. (1999). *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography.* United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, pp.21-22.

understanding of place consists of three aspects; namely, (1) "location" referring to "the simple notion of 'where'"; (2) "locale" implies "the material setting for social relations"; and (3) "sense of place" indicates "the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place".[45]

Agnew's appreciations seem similar to the definition of Malpas with a simple way, which are generally accepted and used definitions. As stated before, the term has a diverse context in different fields. Within these considerations, Edward Relph made a comprehensive definition in his book, "Place and Placelessness", where he develops both an effective conceptual and practical approaches about the place. He states:

> "First, it has been used to refer to the entire surface of the earth, as for instance in the idea of the earth as the place of man. Second, it has been used to refer to a unit of space such as a city, province, or country, in which sense it cannot be clearly differentiated from 'region'. Third, it has been used to refer to a particular and specific part of space and to what may occupy that space, "as when we think of our place of residence as being a particular building or talk of a place of worship or a place of amusement". Finally, place has been used to mean 'location' in the sense of exact position, although strictly location is more specific than place, for "place is made up of a number of things that can be specifically located."[46]

As is suggested by Malpas, Agnew and Relph and the geographer who are not involved in this part, the term has a wide range of approaches and definitions starting from the physical attribution – location and locale - to the emotional ones –sense of place.

The required step is to make in-depth analysis of the term in terms of the Gezi Movement. One of them is related with the definitions of place as to the particular physical or geographical location and the material settings. The place belongs to a

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[45] Cresswell, T. (2005). *Place: A Short Introduction.* Oxford, MA: Blackwell, p.7.
[46] Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness.* London: Pion Limites, pp.3-4.

location with the coordinates on earth. The Gezi Park may be defined by its geographical position. When asked for the place of Taksim or the Gezi Park, it can be described with its physical materialised properties in addition to information about its coordinates. The Gezi Park is a commutation node of in the European side of İstanbul near AKM (Atatürk Cultural Center) across the Republic Monument, established through Tarlabaşı, Talimhane, İstiklal, Sıraselviler, Gümüşsuyu, Mete and Cumhuriyet Streets and combines the most important urban transportation axes coming from the different parts of the city, which makes it the transfer node. (Figure 7)
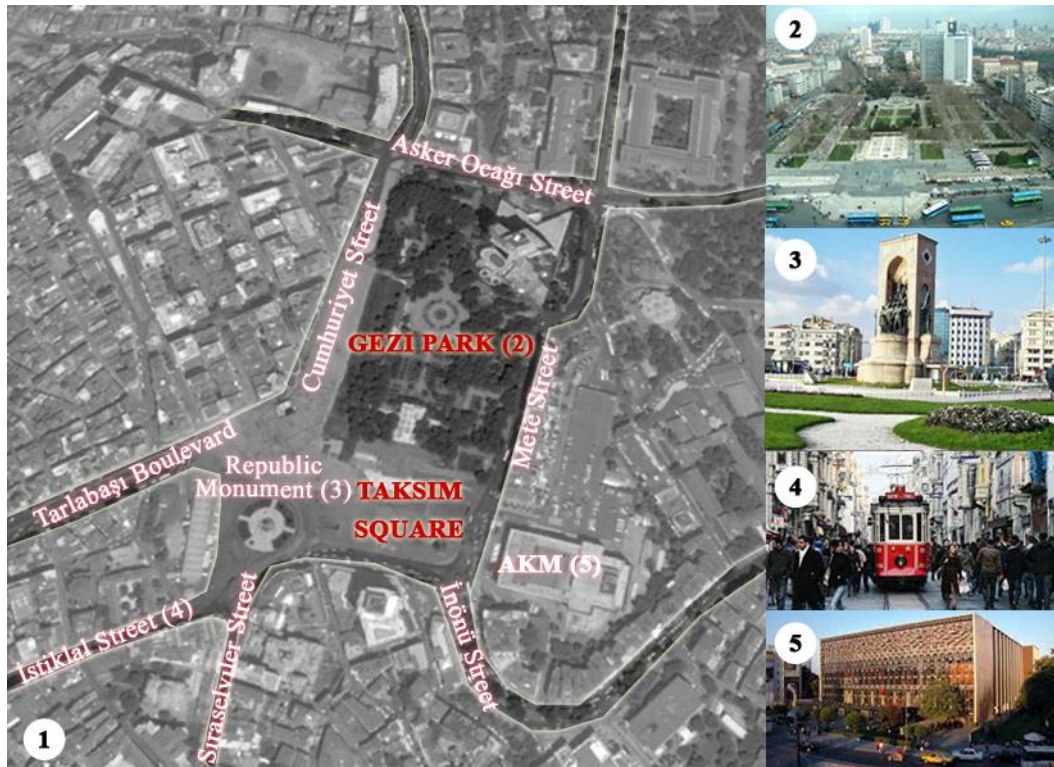
Figure 7: The location of the Gezi Park and the Taksim Square with their surrounding
(Retrieved from (1) Google Earth on June 01, 2015,
(2) http://www.gazetecileronline.com/newsdetails/8917/GazetecilerOnline/taksim 39e-topcu-kislasi39na-koruma-kurulu-engeli
(3) http://www.brandmaillive.com/2010/10/sayi_33/brandart.html
(4) http://tuport.org/istiklal-caddesi-dunyanin-en-pahalilari-arasinda/
(5) http://www.ntv.com.tr/ekonomi/akmnin-gelecegi-ne-olacak,RY9PTo9yHkSKz Dg_-KiuSA)

The materiality of the district makes the place set a connection with the inhabitants which is the sense of place. This emotional attachment of the individuals to a place is related with the human beings. One of the anthropological definitions belongs to Marc Augé. As stated by him:

> "the one occupied by the indigenous inhabitants who live in it, cultivate it, defend it, mark its strong points and keep its frontiers under surveillance"[47].

The properties of the concept of "a sense of place" are argued by David Harvey and Doreen Massey with regard to be static or fluid and dynamic of a place. David Harvey sees the fluidity as a threat to place and says that place had to be secured against the uncontrolled vectors of spatiality in his paper *'From Space to Place and Back Again'.*[48] Doreen Massey, on the contrary, argues about the mobility due to the globalization in her paper *'A Global Sense of Place'*. She refers routes instead of roots. The flow and flux does not have to cause anxiety. For Massey, the notion of "fluid" is the main sign of a sense of place. Traces of all people and the materials (goods) increase the importance of a place.

The Gezi Park and the Taksim Square has been the destination of wide ranges of the activities done by the inhabitants in each period up to 2013. They have had the connections with the Square and its environments such as to entertain, to transport, and to meet with someone, to live in or to show their thoughts; thus, it has a place in their daily routines. When this routine has been interfered by the state, their senses prompted the inhabitants to embrace their place, which reminds the interpretation of Augé. A linear table of the Gezi Park and the Taksim Square in terms of place which had been formed on a line involving start points and its finishing points up to 2013 branched out with the start of demonstrations in the last days of May 2013. The line was not ruptured; however, it has been broken.

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[47] Auge, M. (1995). *Non-places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Super Modernity.* (J. Howe, Trans.) London: London; New York: Verso, p.42.

[48] Harvey, D. (1996). From Space to Place and Back Again. In *Justice, Nature and the Geography of Difference.* Massachusetts : Blackwell Publishers, 1996, p.292.

The Gezi Park started to be identified with the living experiences, activities, and the activists during the process, when examined as to relation with the sense of position and inhabitants. It is both the place and the subject of the Movement. Furthermore, a spatial shift, which gained a new place for the struggle, was experienced in a couple of days after the Movement started; in fact, the name of the place of the Movement was quoted as Taksim instead of Gezi after a while.

As stated before, the most obvious and widespread description is "a meaningful location" for Agnew.[49] Observed as a common characteristic in the Gezi, the activists constructed 'their' meanings within 'that' place. Like a home, kind of place, they live in there. They felt to reflect their attachment with / to space via spatial installations, the words and the activities. They turned the place to such a living area which is the product of everyday life practices. A library, an urban garden, a museum of the Gezi Movement, a kindergarten and a medical room are all components of everyday practices. This self-organization is constituted like a place-making to promote people's physical and psychological situations in the Movement. The feelings of the solidarity and the cooperation are in the ultimate level. This is beyond an ordinary demonstration.

A dynamic life in the Gezi Park and the traces of the activists within the park changed the place and the places of the Movement. While there was only one place which is the Gezi Park at first with a wide variety of activists who were alienated to themselves and to their places, it turned to the multiple places with different people within the duration. The alienated citizens have become visible again in the Gezi Park. The activists were continuously annoyed or kicked out from their platforms whether from park or another space. However, they moved this soul to everywhere. They set the spaces, and relations, again and again. Different spatial experiments were produced. Neither a boundary nor a hierarchy existed in there.

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[49] Cresswell, T. (2005). *Place: A Short Introduction.* Oxford, MA: Blackwell, p.7.

The social behaviour pattern of the activists who demand for their rights and self-identity of the place provided different experiences in the Movement and so it created the urban memory. The role of identity in the definition of place is quite important in the field of geography, architecture, urban planning, and urban design; thus, the bond between the place, the identity and the urban memory will be argued in the following part.

2.1.2 "Identity" and "Urban Memory" and Their Relevance to "Place"

The concept of "identity" has an important position within the debate of "place" notion. Edward Relph concentrates on the people's identity of and with place in his book; "Place and Placelessness" where he expresses the identity of a place is persistent sameness and unity which allows that (place) to be differentiated from others.[50] Furthermore, he involves three aspects of the identity into the definition of the identity: (1) the physical setting; (2) the place's activities, situations, and events; and (3) the individual and group meanings created through people's experiences and intentions in regard to that place.[51]

The Taksim Square and the Gezi Park are always in a critical position in terms of the identity since the place has become ground of identity struggle at each period of its history. Until the first quarter of 20th century, it had been the spatial representation of the East and West as a confrontation which makes it different from other places around it and similar places in the country. After the proclamation of the Republic, this dilemma had turned to the contemporary Republic and reactionary reign. Therefore, every new power had worked in order to embed the characteristics of the Republic into these renovated and newly invented spaces. Within the process, the identity of the place turned to the alternate ground for the struggle by embracing the alienated people, which has always been part of its identity.

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[50] Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness.* London: Pion Limites, p.45.
[51] Seamon, D., & Sowers, J. (2008). Place and Placelessness, Edward Relph. In R. K. P. Hubbard, *Key Texts in Human Geography* (pp. 43-51). London: Sage, p.45.

According to David Harvey, the place is regarded as the 'locus of collective memory'– a site where identity is created through the construction of memories linking a group of people into the past.[52] That applies for the Gezi Park, also where it has been revolved at each demonstration, each coloured stair, and each gas bomb. The urban memory has taken command immediately since the process produced its own identities, symbols, strategies, myths and discourses. For example, 'the woman in red', 'the standing man', 'the talcid man', the Çarşı Group, which is the well-known supporter group of the Beşiktaş Football Club of Turkey, and using of pots and pans as a communication method becomes the evocative members and elements of the Movement. Moreover, the discourses like "Everywhere is Taksim, Resistance Everywhere" which disconnect the real place of the Movement and generalizing it to everywhere, or "Everyday I'm chapulling" which was formed as to react against the label attempt of the Prime Minister primarily helps to the creation of the common urban memory of the citizens. Even if they seem hidden now, they have been revealed in demonstrations, in public speeches and the expressions of the politicians whenever required. As Andreas Huyysen says that the memory composes of mental representations and these are reconstructed in each remembrance process.[53]

The identity of the place had an impact on the discourses of the Movement, in fact, they have evolved together. The examples, the French version of "Poem in the Street written on the entrance door of the French Consulate, and "Nothing is Guarantee" written on the façade of the Garanti (Guarantee) Bank, are related with the definition of place with its identity which is linked to the remembrance process as in the example of the Gezi Park and the Taksim Square.

Referring to Kimmelman who is an architecture critic, there is a strong link between the creation of the place, identity and the memory. He states:

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[52] Cresswell, T. (2005). *Place: A Short Introduction.* Oxford, MA: Blackwell, p.61.
[53] Yılmaz, A. (2014). Cumhuriyet'ten Gündoğdu'ya: Yer'in Belleği ve Değişen Protesto Pratikleri. *Dosya 33, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi*(1), p.54.

"Besides all these, again we know today, the memory resides not only in mind, but also in place. The place provides basis to the memory for its rooting; but, at the same time, its own identity is accepted with these roots and even constructed in some cases. This relation interlocks the identity and mental representations".[54]

The memories settled into the base of the place which reveals in the definition of a place. Apart from the identity of a place, the identity of the citizens has also gained importance in the description of the place and so the creation of the urban memory. The recent developments shows that each citizen pursuits on the new identities which provides them to be independent and to have the rights to be effective on the nation-scale decisions. They have been organized in the public places under the leadership of non-governmental organizations which have been generated and turned into the social networks of "dispossession" in recent years. Moreover, they have tried to put their attempts in writing as possible in order to protect their common memories as in the example of the Gezi Movement. Furthermore, the intensity of the Movement and the living experiences of the activists and the created urban memory reveal that the new identities of the citizens are started to be memorialized together with the place and the Movement. In other words, the identity of the citizens became the parts of the definition of the place of the Movement.

Increasing in the information technologies requires re-definition of the identity and re-invention of construction of the relation between the place and the identity. As Massey says things are speeding up, and spreading out.[55] As the days goes on, the relation of the place and the identity gets complex and changeable; because, the place itself is variable as to its virtual values. That means not only the places

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[54] Ibid. Translated into English by the author of the thesis: "Tüm bunların yanısıra, yine bugün biliyoruzki, bellek sadece zihinde değil, yerde de ikame eder. Yer belleğe köklenmesi için zemin sağlar, fakat aynı zamanda kendi kimliği bu köklerle kabul görür ve hatta bazı durumlarda inşa olur. Bu ilişki yerin kimliğini belleğin sonsuz temsilleri ile içiçe geçirir.".

[55] Massey, D. (1994). A Global Sense of Place. In *Space, Place and Gender*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p.146.

but also the identities are multiple and moveable. Massey promotes this idea and says: "If it is now recognized that people have multiple identities then the same point can be made in relation to places."[56]

Within these considerations, the definition of place with refers to the concept of "urban memory" and "identity" which involves the identity of place and identity of the activists reveals the genealogy of conceptual frame. The following concept is to be "place-making" which is a tool or a way to get in touch with the place. The spatial experiences revealed during the Gezi Movement and the reasons behind them will be interpreted in an architectural manner by this way.

2.1.3   "Place-Making" as a Tool to Touch with the Place

> "If what we see and experience, if our country, does not become real in imagination, then it never can become real to us, and we are forever divided from it… imagination is a particularizing and a local force, native to the ground underfoot." [57]

The poet Wendell Berry has supported the idea of place-making which is a tool or a way to get in touch with the place. In order to correlate with the place – a room, a home, a city, or a country- you have to touch it in his/her own way. Otherwise, it turns to such a place that you just have to live in without feeling it.

On the other hand, the "place-making" inspires the citizens to use the place together and provides them to feel as a part of their urban places since it takes care of all identities who desire to personalize their places to reflect who they are.

Geographers and theorists have studied on "place" and "place-making" grasps. Doreen Massey and Edward Relph especially direct the issue in this part of the study. Massey sees places as bundles, connecting it to ideas of politics as

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[56] Massey, D. (1994). A Global Sense of Place. In *Space, Place and Gender.* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p.153.

[57] Berry, W. (2010). *Imagination in Place.* Counterpoint, p.32.

productive of socio-spatial contestations and competing place-frames.[58] For Relph, on the other hand, "the 'meaning' of a place is one of the main factors of the notion that completes the definition as to integrity".[59] The others are physical settings and activities. The identity of a place is constituted by this way.[60] In his paper, Modernity and the Reclamation of Place, he says:

> "A place is a whole phenomenon, consisting of the three intertwined elements of a specific landscape with both built and natural elements, a pattern of social activities that should be adapted to the advantages or virtues of a particular location, and a set of personal and shared meanings."[61]

The Gezi Park is such a place that produced itself with the existential protest and that was reproduced by the society again and again. The place itself is both the production and the producer. As if a designer or an architect makes a project for the society in order to develop their participation and commitment to this place. Instead of an isolated place from the society, the Gezi Park became an integrated place with the community involvement which is reasoned by Edward Relph as the following:

> "What I am suggesting is that there must be as much community involvement in place-making as possible. In the developed world, this participation is necessary for the very practical reason that, as population growth declines, the major design problems will be those of redeveloping and reclaiming placeless environments and their communities… There is also a conceptual reason for community involvement in place design because the essential characteristics of place derive precisely from such involvement."[62]

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[58] Massey, D. (1994). A Global Sense of Place. In *Space, Place and Gender.* Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, p.153.

[59] Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness.* London: Pion Limites, p.3.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

There were manifold examples of this community involvement on June 2013. The Park seemed as if it required some certain activities to come into existence during the protests unlike the conventional ones. A cost – free markets called as "The Gezi Park Necessity Wall" including food like bread, bagel, cookies, water, milk, vinegar, and medicine and general materials like napkin, wet wipe, and trash bag served to the public. The people who tried to show their answers reacted via their abilities. "Child Gezi Studio" is constructed on 7 June 2013. "Boğaziçi Jazz Choir" showed its performances by changing the words of different songs. There were also acrobatics and tango shows. Moreover, "Pera Art Shelter", "Gezi Tisko", "Art Corner" were established. In addition, "Gezi Martyr's Memorial" was constructed beside the movable museums. A TV channel, namely "Çapul TV", was established and started to broadcast on 6 June 2013 beside newspaper. Another alteration example is that the activists practiced yoga at the Gezi Park. It became a home where they live in.

Since it became the product of everyday practices, the people felt attachments. Each person found a trace from himself/herself from his/her everyday routines; thus, it became familiar by this way. A library, an urban garden, a Gezi Museum, a kindergarten and medical rooms were all components of the everyday practices for most of the people. This self-organization was constituted like a place-making to promote people's physical and psychological situations during the Movement. Hence, this shared meaning and created familiarity revealed the energy or the soul due to the emergence of these activities instinctively; that is, this kind of life revealed the spirit of Gezi.

The concept of "place-making" gives rise to notion of "genius loci", a Roman term. It is a commonly used term in place-based debates as to "create meaningful

places"[63]. Howett explains as: "spiritual presence or energy in a particular place that is antecedent to human awareness and responsive place-making."[64]

Tim Cresswell interprets David Harvey's thoughts and says that places do not just exist but that they are always and continually being socially constructed by powerful institutional forces in society.[65] As Harvey implies, the Gezi Movement is the confrontation of the society and the institutional forces, both of which tried to embed their own meanings to this place. The power used the Taksim Pedestrianization Project while the citizens wanted to see the place as green field and a real urban place for themselves. They protected the values of their places, which is implicit and kept as hidden in normal conditions, with their souls, their bodies and their discourses; in other words, they developed sensitivity to the spirit of place.[66]

The new identities of the activists coming from the demand for struggle for their places reveal that they have taken the advantages of the developments in technology which have been evaluated as the main source and supporter of this Movement in the dissemination of the Movement in record time and the way of the creation of the spirit of the Gezi that is why the concept of "time-space compression" is involved in this study, which will be examined in the following part.

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[63] Norberg-Schulz, C. (1980). *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture.* New York: Rizzoli, p.5.

[64] Howett, C. (1993). 'If The Doors of Perception were Cleansed': Toward an Experiental Aesthetics for the designed Landscape. In D. Seamon (Ed.), *Dwelling, Seeing, and Designing: Toward a Phenomenological Ecology.* Albany: State University of New York Press, p.69.

[65] Cresswett, T. (2005). *Place: A Short Introduction.* Oxford, MA: Blackwell, p.57.

[66] Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness.* London: Pion Limites, p.26.

2.1.4 Conceptualizing Time and Space in the Context of Gezi

Time – space compression, which is a term especially developed by David Harvey, is used for the acceleration of the social life and simultaneously diminishment of importance of the place which is caused by the development in capitalism. The time and the space are the members of the social praxis which shapes the lives of people and their experiences.

We are living in an era which has undergone a transformation together with the developments in technology and the acceleration of reaching to the information. Change is the keyword in this globalization process in which the boundaries between the cultures, the communities, the districts or the places become blurred or disappeared. That is, an event in a part of the world affects other unrelated parts of it and creates many consequences for the people in many areas in the world like a butterfly effect. For instance, the virtual platforms like Twitter, Facebook or internet forums the technological communication ways like Skype, Line and the new technologies in our mobile devices makes us closer to the people in the farthest place of the world than our next-door neighbour. According to theorist Paul Virilio:

> "Today we are entering a space which is speed-space... This new other time is that of electronic transmission, of high-tech machines, and therefore, man is present in this sort of time, not via his physical presence, but via programming"[67]

In the Gezi movement, virtual platforms like Twitter, Facebook and other type of forums primarily changed the scale of the movement and provided its dissemination to the other cities and other countries. These platforms have ability to accommodate with the rapid alterations; therefore, they helped to the dissemination of the Movement. For instance, once activists hear information about the aid materials or the place of the interference of the security forces, they communicated on these platforms at which they established their own networks.

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[67] Decron, C. (2001). *Interview 4: Speed Space.* (J. Armitage, Ed.) London: London: Sage, p.71.

By the help of them, almost one out of every five people heard the news via social media according to the researches of KONDA.[68] The supporters used tweeter intensely, approximately 3000 tweets were observed in one minute according to the data of SMaPP.[69] The number of people and their tweets reveals that the users strained away for the dissemination of the news about the Movement. Moreover, the 15 percent of these tweets came from the foreign countries according to these data. In other words, the social media has a great impact on the Movement.

The word, accessibility, has gained importance during the Movement. Since the Movement was able to expand as long as it is possible to access to the digital platforms, the government sometimes chose the prevention of the access to the Gezi Events via internet.

This concept of "time – space compression" provides that many different spaces may exist in the same space in the same time. At that moment, this reminds Michel Foucault and his "heterotopia" notion. It has a wide range of context, defined by him in "The Order of Things" in 1966, then "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias" in 1967. He says:

> "There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places-places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society - which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."[70]

He implies that the confluence of the incompatibilities in the place creates a counter-site which is represented, contested and inverted, which helps to the evaluation of the experiences in the Gezi Movement. It is observed that the Park was inverted in terms of the users and the ruler. Before, alienated citizens were

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[68] For further information, please see the report of KONDA.

[69] *Gezi Parkı için 24 saatte 2 milyon tweet*. (2013, June 03). Retrieved from NTV: http://www.ntv.com.tr/arsiv/id/25446852/.

[70] Foucault, M. (1967, March). Des Espaces Autres (Of Other Spaces, Heterotopias). *Architecture /Mouvement/ Continuité 5, October*, 46-49.

staying out of this place and they were able to use this place as far as the ruler let them use it, in other words, the authority was the ruler of the place in general. However, during the Events, the citizens purified the place from the rules of the authority and the authority cannot go into the place. They used the place as if it is a living place, a breakfast and dining hall, a library, a sport hall, a performance hall, an exhibition hall, a kindergarten, and a school. The place was regained and transformed by the alienated citizens from different ages, ideas, and cultures.

That is, there existed only a single real space including a lot of spaces, thoughts, and cultures simultaneously. These spaces, viable independently separate from each other, were juxtaposed or superimposed. Then, when the ideas changed or the rejections appeared among the users or the authority, they were able to leave easily from each other. They were able to come together as well as they stood on individually since these places which created the totality of the Park were possible to observe and felt separately in many times. As Foucault states, the heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible.[71]

Existence of multiple spaces in the Gezi Movement requires the classification of them to understand by looking on a large scale. In this part, the classification of these spaces will be interpreted based on Henri Lefebvre who forms the space in three dimensions – spatial space, representations of space, representational space - dialectically interconnected in his book, "The Production of Space", where he describes the creation of a real space by reinterpreting these three items and discusses the space and its production process with all aspects.

The first one is "spatial space". This refers to the practice of a physical space, that is, perceived space which is syntagmatic. It is related with the daily life experiences including the production and the reproduction. What is more, this perception is not just a personal thing. It is an act, providing tangible productions.

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[71] Ibid.

When looked to the Gezi Events, the daily life ran its course up to the announcement of the Taksim Pedestrianization Project in 2007. Then, the initial attempts of the Municipality for implementation of the Project and the reaction of the Taksim Solidarity Platform started to involve in this routine between the years of 2007 - 2013. However, in the last days of May 2013, the power started to uproot trees and changed the physical conditions of the place.

The second one is "representations of space" which is mental and so paradigmatic. Referring to Lefebvre, representations of space 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.[72] It refers to confrontation process related with the institutions. It is an abstract space of technocrats in contrast to the spatial space. Therefore, the ideology, the ruler and the knowledge are situated in this category. Politicians, architects, planners and urbanists also take part of this class. With regard to the Gezi Movement, the ideological changes have been made with the help of the many transformation projects in İstanbul in years in order not to get reaction instantly. At first, they had affected the citizens mentally by providing different ways of lives with new experiences at Taksim. Then, they showed the potential uses of that area to the society instead of a park. At the end, they declared the Taksim Pedestrianization Project as the most concrete sanctions of the ruler. That is, an architectural project was used to pursue an ideology, going back again to Ottoman period.

"Representational space" is the last one of this triad classification. It is a social space, refers to the symbolic meaning. Quoting from Lefebvre, it embodies complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than as a code of representational spaces.).[73] In

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[72] Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space.* (D. Nicholson-Smith, Trans.) Blackwell Publishing, p.33.
[73] Ibid.

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the Movement, the citizens were able to design their places by protecting their places, their lives and their rights by developing a solidarity spirit which gave inspirations to the other people from other cities and the countries. As time passes, this Movement which started in a spatial manner to protect the green field has turned to the platform of struggle against the authority for "demand for rights" and "demand for freedom" and become a symbol of the solidarity and the revolt. Moreover, the icons such as the "Woman in Red", the "Standing Man", the "Talcid Man", the activities of Çarşı Group, the people with the pots and the pans became the symbol of this struggle and the peace against the violence of the security forces existing in the first days of the Movement. This kind of solidarity and the spirit of the Gezi removed the boundaries between the public and private, and so the meaning of the squares, the parks, the streets and the homes became same for the activists. In other words, the Gezi Park has been departed from the physical phase since the established relationship with the space and the act of response were something over the spatial space. The space which had been suppressed by the power and the capital has been taken back and transformed into a place of the citizens.

When this classification is examined, it will be observed that the Turkish Gezi had similar spatial properties with the social movements appeared in the recent year around the world although the Movement is a unique case in Turkey. The most famous word, "Occupy" used in these social movements was also the director of Gezi Movements in the social media and the discursive statements. Hence, the Occupy Movements having a constitutive role in politics both in Turkey and the other countries will be analysed with reference to the concept of "empowerment" and "governance".

2.2 Premises of the Spirit of Gezi: Occupy Movements as Precedents of the Turkish Gezi

In recent years, the concept of "empowerment" has gained importance which is generally thought as a process of giving voice to poor people and increasing their capacity to influence and make choices about their lives[74] although it has very different context and interpretations.

According to a non-governmental organization, namely "Open society foundations", the definition of legal empowerment is:

> "Legal empowerment is about strengthening the capacity of all people to exercise their rights, either as individuals or as members of a community. Legal empowerment is about grass root justice, about ensuring that law is not confined to books or courtrooms, but rather is available and meaningful to ordinary people."[75]

This term is related with another concept, notably "governance", which is a broad theoretical term referring to the processes of interaction and the decision-making among the actors involved in a collective problem that leads to the creation, the reinforcement, or the reproduction of social norms and institutions, thereby creating norms, rules, and institutions; this is what governance is about.[76] The process can be formal, informal, vertical or horizontal. Moreover, it can be observed in societies in any time in any space.

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[74] Banik, D. (2009). Legal Empowerment as a Conceptual and Operational Tool in Poverty Eradication. *Hague Journal on the Rule of Law, 1*, p.127.

[75] *What is Legal Empowerment?* . (n.d.). Retrieved April 23, 2015, from Open Society Foundations: http://www.opensocietyfoundations.org/projects/legal-empowerment.

[76] Hufty, M. (2011). Investigating Policy Processes: The Governance Analytical Framework (GAF). In U. Wiesmann, & H. Hurni (Eds.), *Research for Sustainable Development: Foundations, Experiences, and Perspectives* (pp. 403-424). Geographica Bernensia, Bern, Switzerland, 2011, p.405.

The social norms and institutions stated above are observed and existed naturally in social life; thus, these concepts allow citizens to live, and to move together and to organize, even without an authority.

These terms have been used and interpreted by many different theorists, academics, politicians, and organizations due to the increase of the social and the economic inequalities, and state's strategies including the privatizations and the urban transformation projects bringing about the emergence of social movements called as the Occupy Movements.

The Occupy Movements, started in 2011 against global neoliberalism, have spread over many countries in Africa, America, Asia, Europe and Oceania. Although the aim of these protests was related with demand for rights, in the same time, it has shown examples of how the public space of the cities should be.[77] These movements increased their effects on decisions about their urban life. The citizens improved and transformed their social, economic and political situations with this process which is empowerment of the self.

The activists redefined the term of public space. They came to the streets, the squares, and the parks and they turned them into the living spaces. In fact, they transformed inert spaces into public spaces. Parks and squares, under the control of authorities, became such places at which people were able to act independently.

The Occupy Movements were observed such as in Madrid, New York, and London. These movements was tried to be turned to the global revolution. The local media of these countries did not give publicity to the news about the movements and they were spread by the help of social media as in the Gezi Movement. Since the style of the movements in these countries was similar to the Gezi Park, they are evaluated as the precedents of the Turkish Gezi.

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[77] Bayhan, B. (2013, June 13). *Gezi Cumhuriyeti'ne Hoşgeldiniz!* Retrieved February 02, 2015, from Arkitera-Türkiye'nin Mimarlık Yayını: http://www.arkitera.com/haber/14984/gezi-cumhuriyetine-hosgeldiniz.

2.2.1 Occupy Puerta del Sol Square (Madrid)

Following the 2011 crisis, the citizens started an 'Occupy' movement at Puerta del Sol Square in Madrid. Their complaints and problems included several issues such as to afford living in more healthy and upgraded housing zones (difficulties to reaching to livable housing zones), lack of confidence in the parliament system, breach in work security.[78] They turned the Square into a camp with shelters, beds, medical rooms, pharmacies and workshops. The series of demonstrations inspired and instigated other cities in Spain as in the example of Gezi.

2.2.2 Occupy Wall Street (New York)

Starting on September the 17 of 2011, in Zuccoti Park on Wall Street, financial district of New York was occupied by the citizens.[79] 15.000 people were gathered on 5 October 2011. The demonstrators expressed difficulties related with social and economic inequalities, greed and corruption. Their slogan was 'We are the 99%', referring to the inequality percentage. They lived in the park for months like activists in Madrid and in Istanbul.

2.2.3 Occupy London

The two-year Occupy movement was started in 2011 due to the social and economic inequalities.[80] The activists occupied the area around St. Paul's Cathedral and next to Paternoster Square based on the solidarity with the Occupy Wall Street.

2.3 Methodological Outlook: Tools and Materials

Within these considerations and the conceptual framework, the Gezi Movement will be interpreted in terms of qualities of "place", "place-making" and the concepts like "to defend place" and "Right to the City" in essence.

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[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.

The Gezi Movement will be analysed in two different scales with the following chapters in general in the third chapter examining the modes of the Movement together with the narration of it and in detail in the fourth chapter involving the place and the places of the Movement based on the place classifications. In each part, the conceptual frameworks will be used as a tool to read the place in general and in detail.

Harvey's paper, "The Right to the City" developed the context of this study together with Lefebvre's "Right to the City" written in 1967. Under the general heading of this term, a relation between the concepts of "space", "place", "identity", "urban memory", "place-making", "time-space compression" and the Gezi Movement is established. In that respect, the initial step is to make descriptive analysis of the term of "place" since it has wide and complex meanings for different disciplines. The thesis aims to understand the spatial justifications of this diverse and dense participation by the interpretation of the "place" in terms of architecture.

The ideas of Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Edward Relph and Doreen Massey mainly are used as a map of the conceptual frames with their books in the second chapter. "The Production of Space" and "Urban Revolution", which are the books of Henri Lefebvre, on the other hand, are used as a tool to understand the depth of the Movement, variety of spaces emerged during the Movement and classification of them and approaches of the authority. Harvey's articles in the name of "Time-Space Compression and the Postmodern Condition" and "From Space to Place and Back Again" are helpful in the understanding of "place" which is defined as the locus of collective memory by him, "urban memory" having an impact on the creation and the alteration of the identities, "place-making" and "time-space compression" which is evaluated as the main tool of the dissemination of the Movement and appearance of the solidarity spirit in a short time. The book, namely "Place and Placelessness" written by Edward Relph, is in the forefront in the examination of the concepts of "place", "identity" and "place-making".

Doreen Massey's paper, "Politics and Space/Time", was used as to understand the "time-space compression" together with David Harvey's "The Condition of Postmodernity".

To grasp the place and the places and the reasons of the Gezi Movement, the study will be analysed starting from its history and reaching to the Gezi Movement. In this process, the book, "From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936-1951)", and the periodical of NTV History will be used as the primary sources of the historical analysis of the Gezi Park.

The comprehensive thoughts of Turkish sociologists and planners like İlhan Tekeli, Tarık Şengül and Bülent Batuman will help to interpret the local examples of the Gezi Movement and to form the base of especially the third and the fourth chapter called as "Gezi: The Place and the Modes of the Movement" and "Ground Zero: The Place and the Places of the Movement" respectively. Since the Movement indigenous to the place and culture, the conversations with these professionals gain importance during the research and the evaluation process of the thesis. In addition, Local Administrations, Urbanization and Democracy Symposium held in İstanbul on January 2014 was analysed in the period.

In the last chapter, David Harvey's evaluations expressed in the conversation with Beril Eski[81] will be involved in the appreciations part of the thesis since he directly observed the Movement in İstanbul during the Movement.

Within the process of this study, 119 books and 46 periodicals[82], written during and after the Movement, the local and foreign presses, the comics, and the reports of eight institutions including KONDA, PEN International, IPSOS, Human Rights Association, Turkey Human Rights Institution, İstanbul Culture University,

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[81] Harvey, D. (2014, April 10). Prof. Harvey'le 'Kent Ayaklanmaları' Üzerine. (B. Eski, Interviewer).

[82] These sources were shown in the appendix of Gezi Bibliography part in the end of the thesis.

İstanbul Bilgi University, and Institute of Strategic Thinking, and the Ministry of Interior Affairs and the conversations of professionals with the journalists were used as the materials to show the magnitude, the frequency, the intensity, the content and the effects of the Movement. Moreover, the ideas of the participants in the competitions and the studios arranged by the institutions such as Architects' Association 1927[83], Turkish Free Architects' Association[84] will be also helpful to trace of the Movement in different fields. Since 2013, 24 master thesis and 3 PhD thesis from the fields of architecture, urban and regional planning, political sciences, journalism, public administration, sociology, communication sciences, public relations and fine arts have been completed according to the data of Council of Higher Education. These sources were examined and they will be involved in the thesis as the graphical analysis and digital data especially in the third and the fourth chapters.

Among these 119 books, the main source of this study was "Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi" written by Emre Kongar and Aykut Küçükkaya in 2013. The books comprises of two parts; the first part belonging to Kongar is analysis of the movement with its background and the second part written by Küçükkaya shows time-line of the Movement day by day which helps to narrate the Movement in the third chapter and to collect examples for the fourth chapter in terms of photograph and the discourses which were also collected from the newspapers and the social media.

The magazines, especially the architectural and the political ones such as XXI, Yapı, Arradamento and Birikim which reserved their one issues for the Gezi Movement, and analysed its background, reasons, participants, ideas, and the new type of approaches were used in essence to understand the Movement and evaluate it in the fourth and the fifth chapters.

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[83] Mimarlıkta Eleştirel Okumalar 5: Uzlaşma/Çatışma Zemini Olarak Mekan/Yer.
[84] S.O.S İstanbul Mimarlık Öğrencilerine Açık Fikir Projesi Yarışması: "Taksim Bölgesi için Alternatif Öneriler".

The data of KONDA were collected on June 6 - 8, 2013 with 4411 participants in the Gezi Park. Field survey, on the other respect, was conducted on July 6-7, 2013 with 2629 participants in 28 provinces. The report includes the depth analysis of the profiles of the protestors and the society, their similarities and differences, their perceptions about the Gezi Movement and Turkey, the reasons behind the Movement, the protestors' perceptions and evaluations about the things in the Movement such as the police brutality, the social media, use of the technologies, the newspapers, approaches of the authority and so on. While doing this, the report provides the data including comparisons of the Gezi Park, İstanbul and Turkey. At the end, the report assemblies all data under the heading of evaluations; thus, it reaches the deeper analyses which were used in this study to improve the readers' perceptions about the Movement.

The report of the Human Rights Association containing the information such as the number of people and cities involved, the number of injured or murdered people, the tools and the materials used during the Movement and the speeches of the outstanding politicians was one of the most comprehensive reports which help to collect examples for classification of spaces in the Movement and to evaluate approaches of the authority and other politicians observed in the process of the Movement. On the whole, the report of KONDA and Human Rights Association were primarily used for the analysis of the Movement.

CHAPTER 3

GEZİ: THE PLACE AND THE MODES OF THE MOVEMENT

3.1 A Short History: From the Armenian Cemetery to the Park of the Republican Promenade

> "The document, then, is no longer for history an inert material through which it tries to reconstitute what men have done or said, the events of which only the trace remains; history is now trying to define within the documentary material itself unities, totalities, series, relations."[85]

One of the primary aims of this study is to write and enlighten the Gezi Park with the critical points in its history in order to reach the totality of the Gezi Park to be able to read the Events; thus, the history should be examined to understand the properties of the place.[86]

Taksim, on the ridge of the Galata, is the place at the end of Beyoğlu called as Pera previously, especially developed in the Ottoman Period. (Figure 8) Since the population of the place increased, the first Mahmut (I.Mahmut) got a water

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[85] Foucault, M. (1969). *The Archaeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language.* (A. S. Smith, Trans.) Pantheon Books, New York, p.7.

[86] The aim of the study is not to analyse whole history. However in order to interpret "the place", the properties and the relations of the place in history should be given. For further information about the history of Taksim and Gezi Park, please see: #historyrecordedlive - The Gezi Resistance and a History of Civil Commotion. (2013). *NTV History*(54). Retrieved February 02, 2015, from http://www.yasarkenyazilantarih.com/.

reservoir built in order to meet water requirement. This water was distributed to districts of Galata, Tophane and Kasımpaşa which is the reason why this place was called as Taksim, which means "distribution" in English.[87]
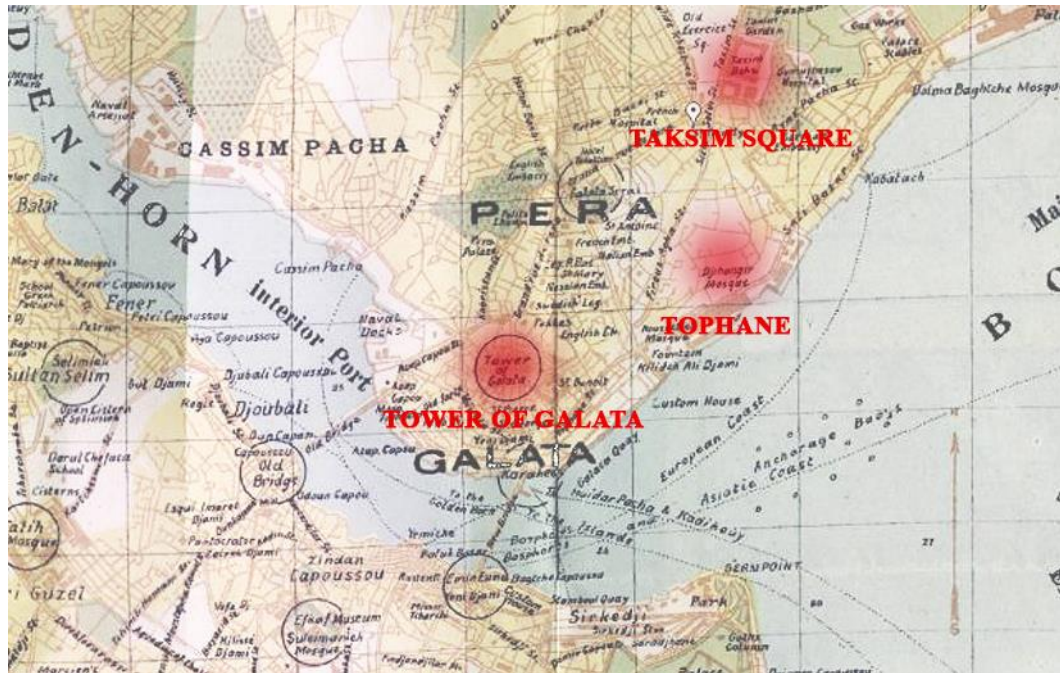
Figure 8: The map of Beyoğlu (Pera) District
(Retrieved on June 02, 2015, from https://bizansconstantin.wordpress.com/ category/haritalar/)

The settlement, called as Beyoğlu after the 16th century, was shaped around a street, Cadde-i Kebir, known as İstiklal Street now, which was the main street of that time. At the end of this street towards to Ayazpaşa and Elmadağ, there were enormous cemeteries of Galata and Beyoğlu districts which belonged to Muslims and Armenians apart from the settlements. (Figure 9)   The history of the Armenian cemetery called as Surp Agop Cemetery or Pangaltı Armenian Cemetery started with an epidemic of plague in 1560. (Figure 10) The burial was

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[87] Information gathered from Oxford English Dictionary.

prohibited after the epidemic of cholera in 1865 since the place of the cemetery did not remain out of the city anymore.[88]

Figure 9: The key scene of the cemeteries and the Taksim Military Barracks (The image was re-arranged by Nezih Başgelen in the Archive of the Archaeology and Art Publications. Retrieved on June 02, 2015, from http://www.degisti.com/index.php/archives/5658)

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[88] The history of Surp Agop Cemetery started in 16th century. The chef Manuk Karaseferyan revealed a conspiracy prepared for Suleiman the Magnificent. He desired to award his chef. He demanded a cemetery for Armenians. Suleiman gave this huge area to the Armenians. This land gained importance day by day and so everybody tried to capture it since 19th century. For further information, please see: #historyrecordedlive - The Gezi Resistance and a History of Civil Commotion. (2013). *NTV History*(54). Retrieved February 02, 2015, from http://www.yasarkenyazilantarih.com/.

Figure 10: The Surp Agop Cemetery in 1930
(Retrieved on June 02, 2015, from http://www.norzartonk.org/?p=9818)

Between the cemeteries of Muslims and Armenians, there was a huge recreation area which is the place of the Taksim Garden which was in the responsibility of the Ottoman gardeners. It became a recreation area along with the construction of coffeehouses for the people who wanted to spend time far from the eyes.[89]

The development which changed the atmosphere of this place was the construction of the Taksim Military Barracks or Halil Pasha Artillery Barracks, bearing traces of Ottoman, Russian and Indian Architecture, next to the Taksim Square in 1806. Although it was devastated in 1807 in Kabakçı Mustafa Rebellion which was the first severe damage of the Barrack, it was repaired several times. After the second severe damage occurred during the events in 13 – 24 April 1909, known as 31 March Incident, it was not repaired properly again. (Figure 11)

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[89] Ibid, p.17.

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Figure 11: Taksim Military Barracks
(Retrieved on May 03, 2015, from http://www.ensonhaber.com/topcu-kislasinin-tarihi-onemi-2013-06-03.html)

The internal courtyard of the Artillary Barracks was transformed into Taksim Stadium in 1922 due to losing its function and importance. (Figure 12) The national team played its first game in this stadium in 1923. At that place, there were arranged bicycle and motor cycle games, weight lifting, boxing, fencing, horse riding, wrestling, baseball, hockey game, rugby, athletics and gymnastics races beside football games.[90] The stadium was also used by many teams in the city. However, it was closed in 1939 by Lütfi Kırdar, the Governor of that time, according to the planning activities of Henri Prost.[91]

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[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid, p.18.

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Figure 12: The Taksim Stadium and the Square
(Retrieved on June 02, 2015, from https://derinstrateji.wordpress.com/2014/02/20/
turizm-dosyasi-tarihinden-direnisine-taksim-meydaninin-22-adi-mda-oykusu/)

Up to this point of the history of the place, it is clearly observed that the district
and the Square always protected its social, cultural and historical importance
within the historic, urban modern identity of İstanbul. According to Uğur Tanyeli,
an architectural historian, İstanbul started to lose its importance in terms of social,
economic, cultural, political, artistic, architectural, and symbolic meaning together
with the proclamation of the Republic and acclaim of Ankara as the capital of the
country.[92] It was also deduced from his opinions that the question of how a
modern city of Turkey should be was the main concern for the power after the
proclamation of Republic to show its ideology. Due to lost the significance of
İstanbul when compared to Ankara, the production of a modern city, for sure with
the social and the spatial transformation of the urban spaces had a vital

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[92] Tanyeli, U. (2002). Türkiye'de Metropol Kavrayışı: İstanbul Üzerinden Bir Oku(ya)ma(ma)
Denemesi. *Arredamento Mimarlık*(2002/10), p.89.

importance for the whole city. The idea of creating this modern city and its environment means the re-interpretation of the relationship between the spaces and functions in the city. This aim required a total, comprehensive and huge planning activity which was an attempt to transform the urban scene.

3.2 Attempt to Transform the Urban Scene from the Stadium to an Esplanade: The First Plans for Taksim and Gezi

The modern city brings together the properties of a contemporary urban life including housing, urban life, transportation, production, healthcare, education and other services which are supposed to be in the city in a planned and sustainable way. This city was aimed to be realized with İstanbul in 1930s. The initial attempt was to invite the specialists in their fields for the city planning of İstanbul.

Henri Prost, an urbanist, was charged with the Master Plan of İstanbul between the years 1936 – 1951 due to the deepest and the comprehensive thoughts of him[93] in his field. He made investigations about the transportation, the public transport, the traffic density and the routes, the districts of the settlement, the land use and the green areas, the historic city and the monuments together with his team. The main problems were determined as the traffic congestion around the Galata District, the public transport, the lack of green areas and the lack of modern textures. Therefore, the general aim was to modernise the city and to arrange the traffic. Although he prepared a lot of plans, regulations and arrangements for the total transformation of the city, some of them were not applied. He aimed to "protect and preserve the unique topography, fabric and architectural monuments

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[93] The words belong to Ali Cengizkan. For further information, please see: Cengizkan, A. (2011). İmparatorluk Başkentinden Cumhuriyetin Modern Kentine: Henri Prost'un İstanbul Planlaması (1936-1951). *Mimarlık Dergisi* (357). Retrieved from http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm ?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=371&RecID=2618.

for the city, while striving to introduce harmonic solutions to a number of problems such as furnishing the city with the modern infrastructure that it had long been deprived of, providing the necessary conditions of hygiene, alleviating traffic, creating recreational areas, and bringing to fore structures of historic/cultural importance."[94]

The Taksim Republican Square and İnönü Esplanade was one of the applied works of Prost. (Figure 13 and Figure 14) The aim was expressed by Cana Bilsel in the catalogue, *From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of İstanbul (1936 – 1951),* prepared for the exhibition with the same name.

> "A terrace opening up to Taksim Square and an esplanade in its continuation were designed in the large space that emerged after Taksim Barracks was demolished. The steps at the Taksim Square entrance of İnönü Esplanade, as well as the wide terrace rising above the steps were designed to offer a view of the ceremonies held at the square and to create a monumental entrance to the park.
>
> Following an entrance terrace rising on tribune-like steps towards Taksim, the Park continued with a geometrically designed esplanade and ended with Taksim garden."[95]

The Taksim Square and the Gezi Park became one of the most important nodes of this promenade proposal which promoted the Park and provide the citizens to use it and to live in it. This kind of large area which was a part of the green axis offered a breathing place for the citizens in a crowded and a built-up city. Moreover, the plan seemed coherent in terms of the monumentality and the identity of the place.

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[94] There is not enough information about this period. The collection book of Cana Bilsel and Pierre Pinon is quite comprehensive about the period, the architect and his studies. Bilsel, F., & Pinon, P. (Eds.). (2010). *From the imperial capital to the republican modern city: Henri Post's planning of Istanbul, (1936- 1951).* İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010, p.9.
[95] Ibid. pp.357 – 359.

This offer of 1939 required abolishment of the remaining part of the Halil Paşa Artillary Barracks whose internal courtyard was transformed into stadium in 1922. Within the years until 1967, the closed spaces like cafeterias, art gallery and stores were added towards to Cumhuriyet Street by taking the advantages of level differences in topography.[96]

As it was before, the most important urban transportation axes coming from different parts of the city coincide at Taksim which made it the transfer node of the European side of the city. As it was defined with its physical environment, it became the heart of the social activities. The Taksim Square was always associated with a lot of public events such as political rallies, labour demonstrations, New Year Eve, the Republic Day celebrations, other formal ceremonies and football celebrations. Besides the importance of geographical position, its powerful historical layers provide it to be a heart of the city as well in this period. (Figure 15)

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[96] #historyrecordedlive - The Gezi Resistance and a History of Civil Commotion. (2013). *NTV History*(54). Retrieved February 02, 2015, from http://www.yasarkenyazilantarih.com/, p.18.
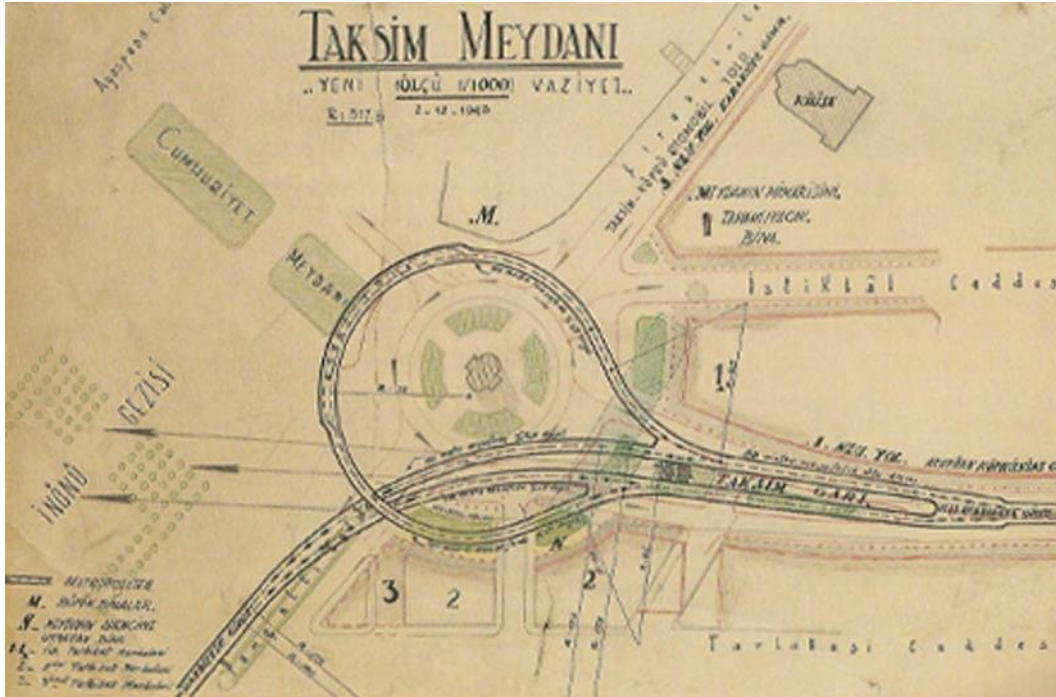
Figure 13: The Taksim Square plan, dated 2 December 1941 [97]
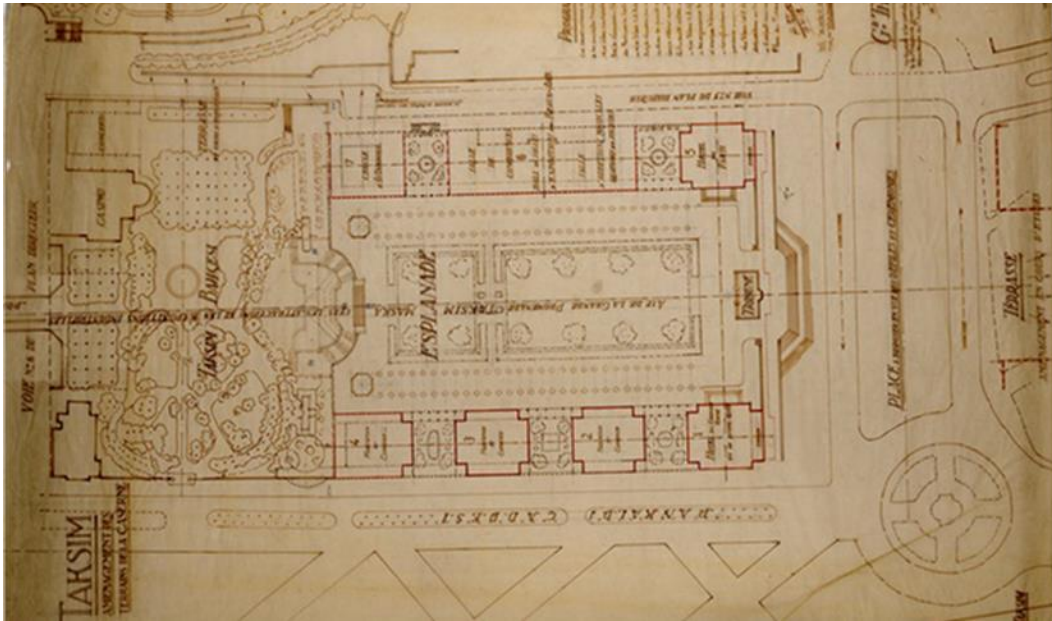
Figure 14: The project for Taksim İnönü Esplanade. Plan of Henri Prost. 17 November 1939 [98]

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[97] The image was taken from Bilsel, F., & Pinon, P. (Eds.). (2010). *From the imperial capital to the republican modern city: Henri Post's planning of Istanbul, (1936- 1951).* İstanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2010, p.229.

Figure 15: A formal ceremony in the Taksim Square after the Rearrangement [99]

3.3 The Process of the Movement

The transformation projects of the city and the Gezi Park continued after the Prost period. The last and the current one is the Taksim Pedestrianization Project which is conceptualized starting in 2007. The process accelerated with the explanation of the Project in 2011 contrary to general belief of the Events raised in the last days of May of 2013 and ended in June 2013. However, the preparation of the Events was not a result of only one phase in May 2013; on the contrary, it composed of several phases like the Gezi Park before 2011, the Gezi Park shaped in the Hands of Specialist between the years 2011 – 2013, the emergence of the Spirit of the Gezi in the last days of May 2013, the Gezi Park in the peak point in the first fifteen days of June 2013 and the Gezi Park after 15 June 2013.

3.3.1 The Gezi Park between the Years of 2011 – 2013

The urban transformation plans, offering the change of one of the biggest and the non-commercialized open space in the city, was put into practice for the Taksim Square together with the Gezi Park, next to it, in 2011. It would affect almost two million citizens passing through the Square and the Park in their daily routines. That is, the project was supposed to be appropriate to the citizens and their lives firstly.

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[98] Ibid, p.375.
[99] Ibid, p.358.

In 2007, the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality announced that the area between İstiklal Street and the Gezi Park would be pedestrianized zone to integrate the Gezi Park and the Taksim Square without an interruption.[100] In the same explanation, it was stated that the traffic flow around the Square would be taken to underground to be nonstop and the bus stops and the traffic flow around the Monument in the Square would be removed.[101] 38 bus routes and transit 16 routes, the indicator of being the transportation hub, would be removed after the completion of Marmaray and Haliç Metro Transition Bridge.[102] (Figure 16) The figure shows the area of pedestrianized zone (the yellow core) according to the announced project. This area, which is 36.000 m^2 approximately[103] (only the Square), would reach an excessive amount of dimensions which would cause Taksim to lose its control and identity. The people of all ages have the connections with the Square and its environments such as to entertain, to transport, and to meet with someone, to live in or to show their thoughts; thus, it has a place in their daily lives. Moreover, it would be impossible to reach the Square by walking in contrast to the announced aim of the Project; however, the main property of a square is supposed to be accessible first of all. Breaking off the pedestrians from the Square would constitute a paradox with the fundamental property of an urban space. The limitation is contrarian to the "citizen rights" as well.

On 16 September 2011, the Municipality decided to reconstruction of the Taksim Military Barracks, or Halil Pasha Artillery Barracks, completely demolished in

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[100] *Taksim Meydanı Meydana Çıkıyor*. (2007, August 21). Retrieved April 23, 2015, from İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality: http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/Haberler/Pages/Haber.aspx?NewsID=149 03.

[101] Ibid.

[102] 'Taksim Meydanı Yayalaştırma Projesi' Kabul Edildi. (2011, September 16). Retrieved from http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-taksim-meydani-yayalastirma-projesi-kabul-edildi/gundem/gundem detay/16.09.2011/1439440/default.htm.

[103] The information gathered from Taksim Meydanı 1 Mayıs mitingi için yetersiz mi? (2009, April 24). *Mimdap*. Retrieved from http://www.mimdap.org/?p=18429.

1940.[104] As a result of a tender in 2012, the first part of construction started with the closure of roads on 31 October 2012.[105] There were several reasons of these discussions. First of all, the Gezi Park would be decimated in case of implementation of the Project; however, the Park was one of the last green areas in the core of the city. Beside this environmentalist approach, the new shopping mall would harm the tradesmen in that area.[106] Moreover, the utilization of the remaining part of the Gezi Park by the citizens would be blocked which would be

Figure 16: The map of the Gezi Park and its surrounding
(The image was taken from Google Earth on June 01, 2015)

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[104] Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları.p.95.

[105] *Taksim Meydanı Yayalaştırma Çalışmalarına Başlandı*. (2012, October 31). Retrieved April 23, 2015, from Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality: http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/Pages/Haber.aspx?NewsID=20709#.VV8x5kaLWHc.

[106] The function of the new military barracks was not obviosly declared at that time. The possibilities were to be a shopping mall, a hotel, a residence, a mosque or a city museum.

a contradiction to the "urban rights". These objections increasingly continued until 17th of January 2013 when the Regional Control Board of Istanbul Cultural and Natural Heritage expressed that they did not give approval for the reconstruction.[107] The reason was that the Gezi Park was the urban memory of Istanbul itself. However, this decision was not agreed by the High Council of Cultural and Natural Heritage and the reconstruction of the artillery barrack was approved on 28 February 2013.[108]

By the way, the pedestrian bridge designed by Henri Prost and connected the Gezi Park to the other side (Elmadağ) over Asker Ocağı Street was demolished by the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality at the beginning of February which was the first action of the authority to break the physical connection of the Park with its environment. (Figure 17)

Figure 17: The pedestrian bridge designed by Henri Prost
(Retrieved from http://bianet.org/bianet/kent/144303-gezi-parki-nin-70-yillik-koprusunu-yiktilar)

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[107] Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları.p.95.
[108] Ibid. p.96.

This new plans activated the citizens so readily due to the social and economic reasons. Especially, the Taksim Solidarity Platform has taken part in the struggle and the process since 2011. They had arranged a lot of activities, protests and marches. Moreover, on 6 June 2012, the Platform issued a press statement fundamentally indicated that the Project envisaging the demolishment of public spaces forming the identities and the urban memories of the cities should not be implemented and the Gezi Park should not be concreated.[109] After that, in November 2012, a lot of people, primarily the platform, announced that they would be on guard in the Taksim Square against the concretion of the Gezi Park. Then, the platform made a petition against the demolishment of the Park on 2 March 2013[110] and approximately 50.000 signatures which was almost one fifth of the inhabitants of Beyoğlu were collected.[111] 'The First Taksim Gezi Park Festival' was arranged to protest the transformation of the Park into the Artillary Barracks on 13 April 2013 by the Taksim Gezi Park Protection and Beautification Association.[112] On the other hand, on 1 May, the Labour Day was not allowed to be implemented in the Taksim Square and the access to the Square was blocked.[113] The Taksim Square became the place of limitation again.

While the discussions were increasingly continued with these consecutive developments, the largest and the most mass demonstrations of our country was experienced in May and June of 2013. The Gezi Events were spontaneously developed and spread, self-organized mass demonstrations, starting with an environmentalist discourses in approximately 29.550 m^2 area of the Gezi Park in the last days of May 2013 with resistance to destruction of trees, being lived

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[109] 'Yayalaştırma acil olarak durdurulmalı'. (2012, June 06). Retrieved from Radikal Newspaper: http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/yayalastirma_acil_olarak_durdurulmali-1090312.
[110] "Beton değil park". (2013, March 02). Retrieved from CNNturk: http://www.cnnturk.com/2013/guncel/03/02/beton.degil.park/698538.0/index.html.
[111] Mutlukent 2013: Geçirdiğimiz Olağandışı Bir Yılın Kentsel Hikayesi. (2013). Retrieved from http://dunyalilar.org/mutlukent-2013-gecirdigimiz-olagandisi-bir-yilin-kentsel-hikayesi.html.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.

intensively with a lot of non-violent actions and activities in the streets, squares, schools, universities, and the virtual platforms by spreading to the other cities and the countries in the first fifteen days of June 2013, then transformation of it into a different type of peaceful demonstrations and surviving until today. The Events, started as the "struggle for the citizen rights" at first, was transformed into an "urban revolution"[114].

3.3.2 The Emergence of the Spirit of the Gezi, 27 May – 31 May

The experiences observed in the foreign countries as the Occupy Movements, the attempts in our country with the demonstrations such as making of HES and the transformation projects and resistances like Tekel Resistance in Ankara, the experiences after the announcement of the Taksim Pedestrianization Project and the struggle of the Taksim Solidarity Platform, which were observed between the years of 2011 and 2013, created the Gezi spirit in a while as if the citizens were waiting for a spark to gather. This accumulation of displeasures among the society as to social and economic reasons activated the citizens to embrace their place and show their desires and created the spirit of Gezi.

When we reached in May 2013, an intense mobility were started to be experienced. On 27 May, the engineering vehicles of the Municipality destroyed the retaining wall of the park, facing the direction of Elmadağ.[115] (Figure 18) Five trees were uprooted. Together with the spread of news, the members of Taksim Solidarity Platform and the activist youths started to gather around the Park at that night and defend their place in the following days with the rotation. This platform helped to the emergence of the awareness expeditiously in the first days of the Events.

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[114] The term belongs to Henri Lefebvre.
[115] Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları.p.99.

The architect Korhan Gümüş, one of the founders of the Platform, made a remark about the losing structures in his interview with Billur Özgür. He said:

> "The first garden of the Municipality built in Ottoman period does not exist anymore. The elegant pedestrian bridge also does not exist. Trees and the wall in front of Divan Hotel were removed without a decision of Cultural and Natural Heritage. The original walls were demolished. Balustrades and walls towards Cumhuriyet Street, built in Prost period, were annihilated."[116]

Figure 18: The first act of the Municipality to uproot trees which got reaction from the citizens on May 27, 2013 (Retrieved from http://www.taraf.com.tr/guncel-haber/gezi-direnisi-iki-yasinda-poma-penguen-biber-gazi-oley/)

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[116] Gümüş, K. (2013). Gezi Parkı'nın Orijinal Duvarları Koruma Kararı Olmaksızın Yıkıldı. (B. Özgür, Interviewer) Retrieved March 5, 2015, from http://www.baskahaber.org/2013/07/mimar-korhan-gumus-gezi-parknn-orijinal.html. Translated into English by the author of the thesis: "Osmanlı döneminde yapılan ilk belediye bahçesi girişi artık yok. Yaya Köprüsü artık yok. Askerocağı Caddesi üzerinden Taksim ile Elmadağ'ı bağlayan zarif yaya köprüsü artık yok. Mart 2013 tarihinde Koruma Kurulu Kararı olmaksızın yıkıldı. Divan Oteli'nin önündeki duvarlar ve ağaçlar artık yok. Mayıs 2013 tarihinde Koruma Kurulu kararı olmaksızın Gezi'nin orijinal duvarları yok edildi. Gezi'nin Cumhuriyet Caddesi'ne bakan kısmı artık yok. Prost zamanında yapılmış balüstradlar, duvarlar yok edildi."

Even though, the Municipality announced that these five trees would be transported to another place, the activists planted trees instead of them and showed their reactions on 28 May. A lot of politicians not only from the proponent of the activists but also from the opponents made expressions and objected to the destruction of this huge green open space. For instance, Gürsel Tekin and Sırrı Süreyya Önder supported the Events by coming to the Park and Ertuğrul Günay showed his support on twitter.[117]

The first slogans started to be shaped in a possessive approach towards the city like "Taksim is ours, İstanbul is ours" and "Everywhere is Taksim, Resistance Everywhere". The activists settled to the Park with their shelters in the following day. However, the expressions made by the government did not calm down the society, and the reactions reached to its peak point due to the dawn raids on 30 May and 31 May. On 31 May, a lot of citizens from Ankara, İzmir, Antalya, Eskişehir, Mersin, Zonguldak, Adana, Tunceli, İzmit, Bodrum, and Nicosia were on the streets and squares in order to make government heard their desires and become visible in their urban again. Moreover, the supporters used tweeter intensely, approximately 3000 tweets were observed in one minute according to the data of SMaPP.[118] (Figure 19) They desired freedom and to determine the futures of their cities by showing their citizen rights supported by the surveys of KONDA. According to this survey, the "demand for freedom" and the "demands for rights" were the primary reasons to participate to the Movement for every other person. (Figure 20)

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[117] Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları.p.100.

[118] *Gezi Parkı için 24 saatte 2 milyon tweet.* (2013, June 03). Retrieved from NTV: http://www.ntv.com.tr/arsiv/id/25446852/.
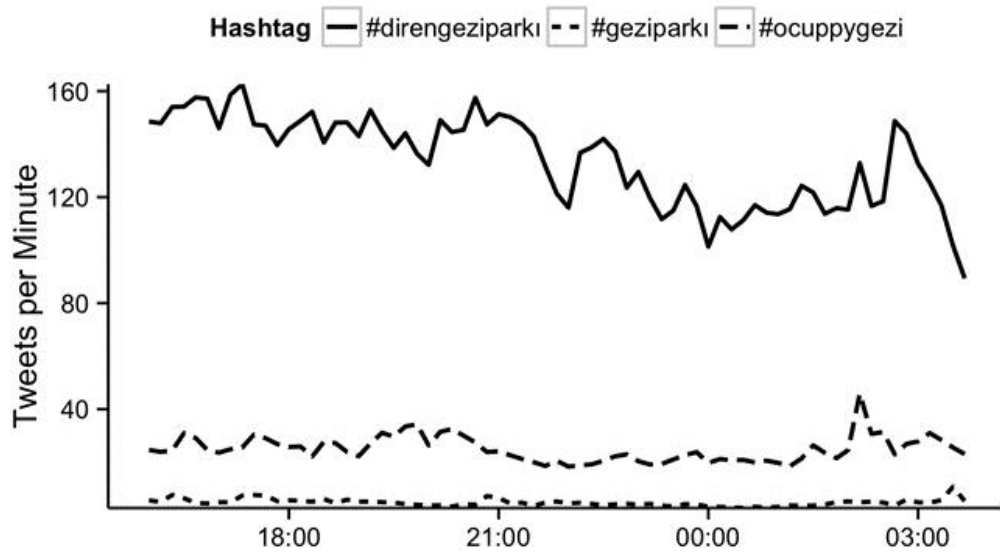
Figure 19: The graphic shows the tweets intensity on May 31, 2013
(Retrieved from http://www.ntv.com.tr/arsiv/id/25446852/)
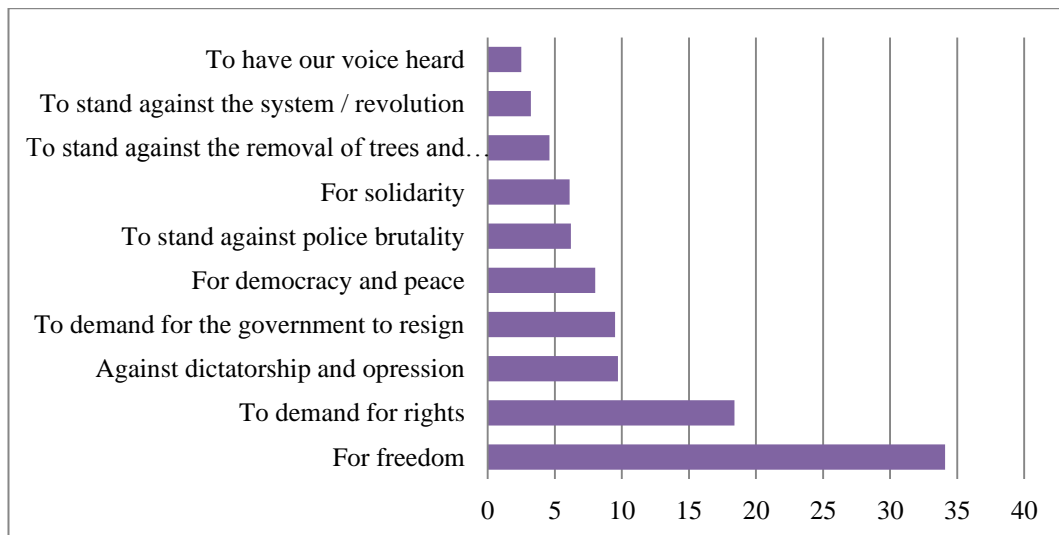
Figure 20: The graphic shows the reason of participations of the activists
(The data was taken from the report of KONDA)

In the same day, the stay of execution was decided by the Istanbul the 6th Administrative Court.[119] However, the European Council and Amnesty International criticised and reacted to the severe intervention.[120] The Movement started to worry the Turkish Government and be famous in the world politics.

The evening of 31 May was the sign of the following fifteen days of the Movement. In the second part, the initial reason to support the Movement was exceeded and turned to wide scale social movement against to the authority to demand their rights and freedom for most of the advocators with reference to the surveys. By the help of technology, people got awareness swiftly and gathered at the public spaces in their cities to react against the authority. In other words, the representation of the Movement shifted via the technology.

3.3.2.1 Involvement of the Activists from the Social Media

The analysis of tweeter usages shows the sudden interests of people to the Events especially in the first week of June which was parallel to the number of protestors participated to the Movement by coming to the places. Moreover, the relation between the number of people who tweet and the number of tweets reveals that a user tweeted more than one time, that is, the users made an endeavour to spread the news about the Events. (Figure 21) Another important analysis is the dissemination of these tweets. In conjunction with Turkey had an intense usage of the virtual platform (%85), the foreign countries run the Events' course, followed closely and supported the Movement via tweeter (%15) which was shown in the diagrams below. (Figure 22 and Figure 23)

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[119] Ibid. p.105.
[120] Ibid. p.106.
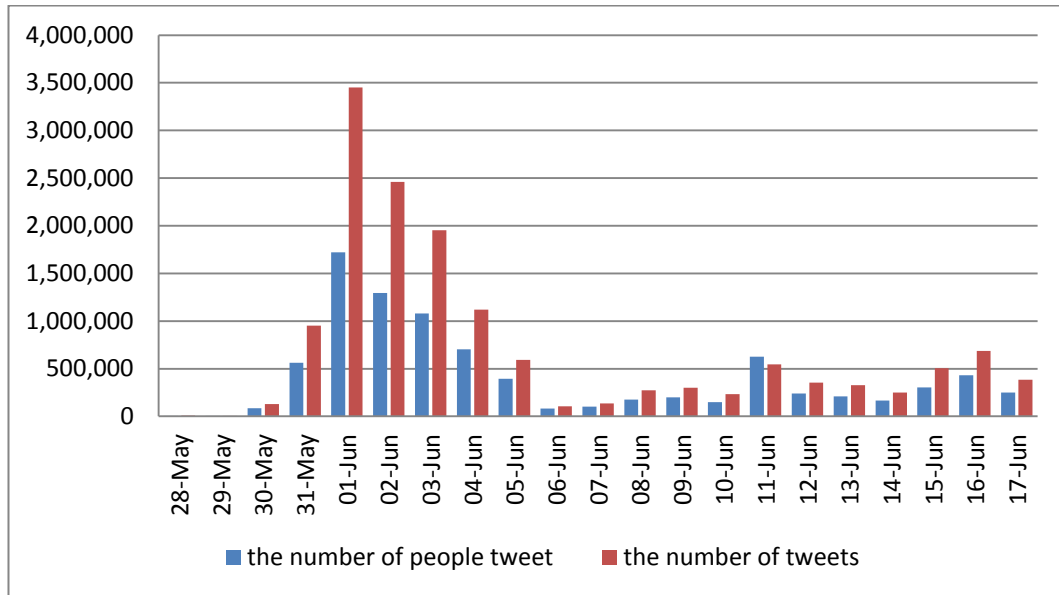
Figure 21: The graphic shows the internet usage (tweeter) of the citizens between 28 May – 17 June of 2013 (The data was taken from the study of Reha Başoğul)
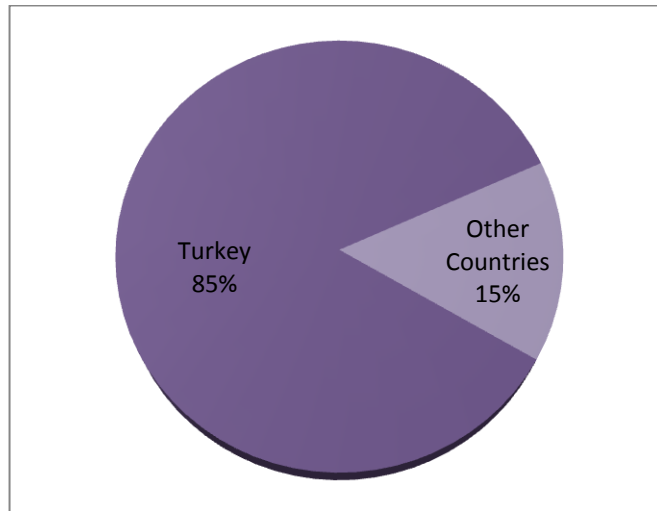
Figure 22: The graphic shows the dissemination of the Movements in terms of the tweets[121]

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[121] Retrieved from http://onedio.com/haber/twitter-dan-istatistiklerle-gezi-parki-eylemi-117447. The data was pulled from twitter via Topsy Pro.
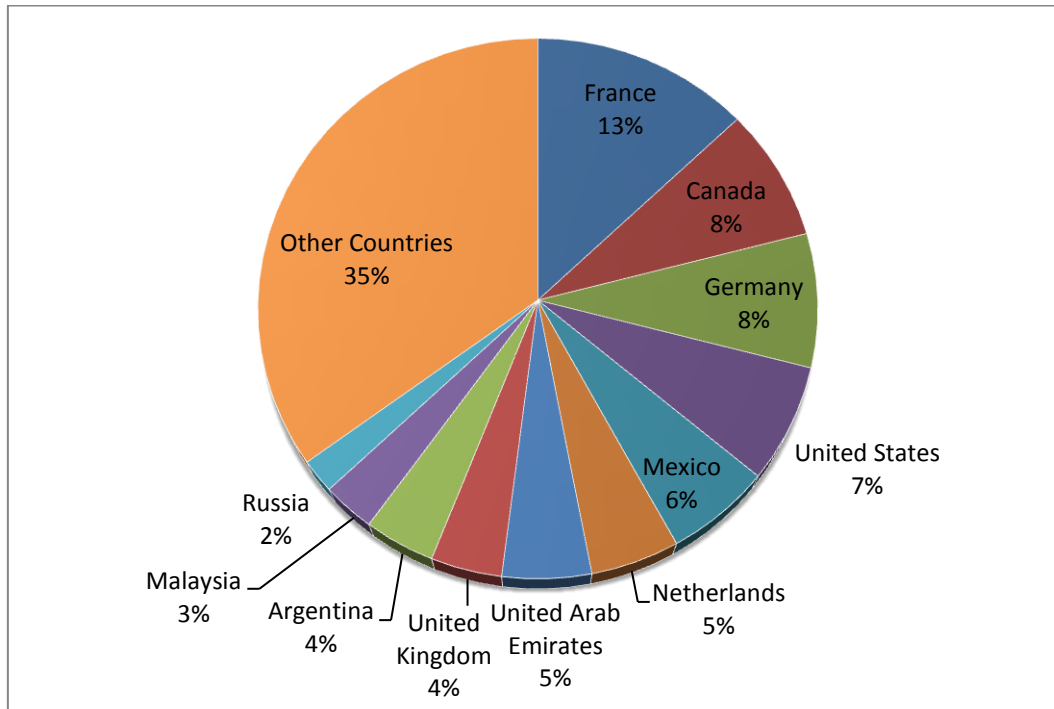
Figure 23: The graphic shows the distribution of the 15% in terms of the tweet demonstrated in the previous graphic[122]

3.3.3 The Gezi Park in the Peak Point, 1 June – 15 June

The first day of June, Turkey witnessed to the broadest participation of the Event which was the signal that the demonstrations would increasingly continue. Some media institutions started to interest in the issue after a couple of days. This brought forward the idea that the press was not free again. The movement also took the interest of the world press which increased starting on 30 May 2013. Particularly, the first week of June, the interest of local press was behind the world press according to the survey of Reha Başoğul. It was also deduced from the graphic that the world followed the Events closely at least as much as the citizens in Turkey. (Figure 24)

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[122] Ibid.

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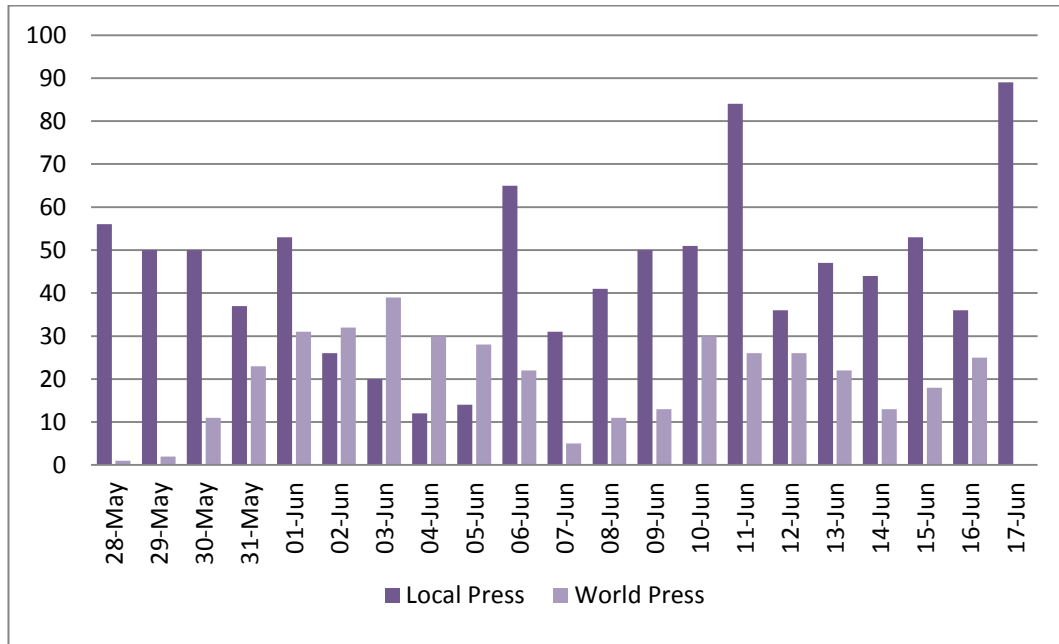
Figure 24: The graphic shows the difference of the interests of the local media and the world press (The data was taken from survey of Reha Başoğul)

Especially, the first day of June was the date of one of the most different kind of protests throughout the whole country. According to the researches, after police brutality against initial activists, this protest quickly evolved into a nation-wide political demonstration against the policies government. (Figure 25) 200.000 people participated to the Events merely in the Taksim Square in İstanbul according to the report of İstanbul General Directorate of Security.[123]

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[123] *Gezi Eylemlerine Katılım Bilançosu Çıkarıldı*. (2013, June 27). Retrieved from Zaman Newspaper: http://www.zaman.com.tr/gundem_gezi-eylemlerine-katilim-bilancosu-cikarildi_2104697.html.
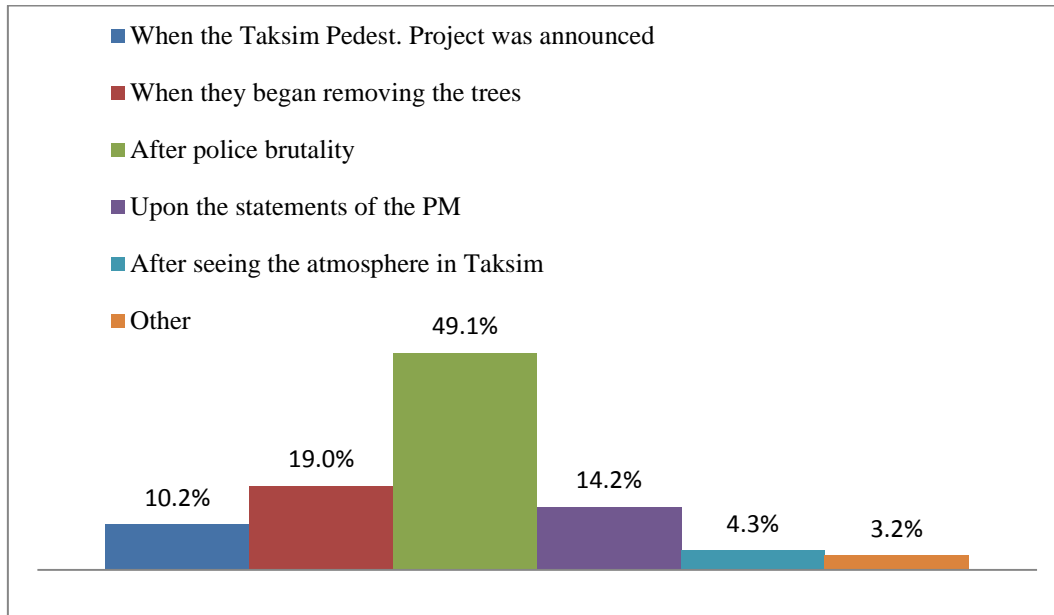
Figure 25: The graphic shows the time of decision of the activists to participate to the protests (The data was taken from the report of KONDA)

On 1 June, the activists in the Taksim Square damaged to one of the outside broadcast vehicle of NTV since this media institution did not give enough place to the Gezi Movements in its broadcasts. Moreover, thousands of people gathered in front of the building of Doğuş Media Group in order to protest them about their approaches in the following days.

A movement of about 1000 activists[124] who passed from the Bosphorus Bridge was experienced for supporting the protests in the same day, which was the representation of the spirit of the Gezi. The limitation to access to the Park and the Square remained ineffective since the place was really in the heart of the city and citizens.

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[124] *Göstericiler Boğaz Köprüsü`nü Kapattı*. (2013, June 01). Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper: http://www.milliyet.com.tr/gostericiler-bogaz-koprusu-nu/gundem/detay/1717111/default.htm.

A surprising decision came from the opposition party, CHP again on 1 June. They went to the Taksim Square by cancelling their meeting at Kadıköy.[125] This replacement prevented a possible division of citizens; in fact, these changed the direction of the protests.

Abdullah Gül, the President of that time, had rather a calmer and more moderate approach to the Event. He made an expression in the same day and stated that the security forces should be more careful than ever and paid attention to their interventions while performing their duties and they should not allow the emergence of sad events.[126] These types of statements decreased the tension in the protests. The activists made an inference that the reasons of this huge revolt were understood and they became visible in the decisions about their cities. Then, the police started to fall back.

The label, Çapulcu, was emerged by the Prime Minister of that time on 2 June 2013 in the program of Fatih Altaylı.[127] The attitude in here including the intervention to the rights of individuals and their freedoms, and the offensive statements increased the tension within the society again. After this expression, each activist instantly admitted themselves as "Çapulcu" and continued their activities in the real or virtual platforms. Being "Çapulcu" became an act for the activists and they did not perceive this label as a bad discourse. Moreover, the label took place in the dictionaries and it was used as the name of books published

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[125] *CHP mitingi iptal etti, Taksim'e yürüyor*. (2013, June 01). Retrieved from Radikal Newspaper: http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/chp_mitingi_iptal_etti_taksime_yuruyecek-1135863.

[126] Cumhurbaşkanı: Polis Üzücü Görüntülere Sebep Olmamalı. (2013, June 01). Retrieved from http://web.archive.org/web/20131203051311/http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/cumhurbaskani_polis_uzucu_goruntulere_sebep_olmamali-1135870.

[127] *Başbakan'dan Gezi direnişçilerine; 'Birkaç çapulcudan izin alacak değilim'*. (2013, June 02). Retrieved from Yurt Newspaper: http://www.yurtgazetesi.com.tr/gundem/basbakandan-gezi-direniscilerine-birkac-capulcudan-izin-alacak-degilim-h35925.html.

during and after the peak point of the Event and 25 recovery songs.[128] This sarcastic perception changed the direction of the Event as well.

On 5 June, the agencies of the Taksim Solidarity Platform met with Bülent Arınç, the Deputy Prime Minister, in order to submit their demands about the Gezi Park itself, the reconstruction of Artillary Barrack, the responsible people in the Movement, the usage of gas bombs, the detentions and the freedom of expression. While Arınç offered referendum for the Gezi Park, the Platform objected to this offer and said that scientific truths would not be changed via referendum.[129] These issues articulated by the Taksim Solidarity Platform were the summary of the reasons for this kind of large scale participation.

A lot of explanations were made during the Movement day by day, by the hour. These words came from not only the politicians but also the local and the foreign artists, the important people of the foreign countries. Nevertheless, the Gezi Park was evacuated by the police intervention on 15th of June.[130] AKP, on the other hand, arranged meetings, called as 'Respect to National Will', at several places including Ankara, İstanbul, Kayseri, Samsun and Erzurum. The most outstanding meetings were the ones at Sincan (Ankara) on 15 June and at Kazlıçeşme (İstanbul) on 16 June since the broadest reactions about the "urban rights" and "freedom of expression" had come to the authority from these cities.[131] The authority responded to the spatial action with another spatial event in order to show the rights of the other people who were the proponent of them.

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[128] This numeric data was collected from different sources.

[129] For the whole text, please see: Taksim Platformu Bülent Arınç'a 7 Talep İletti. (2013, June 05). Retrieved from http://www.bugun.com.tr/gundem/taksim-platformu-bulent-arinca-7-talep-iletti-haberi/653188.

[130] *Timeline of Gezi Park Protests* . (2013, June 06). Retrieved from Hurriyet Daily News: http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/timeline-of-gezi-park-protests-.aspx?pageID=238&nID=48321&NewsCatID=341.

[131] Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları.p.168.

A lot of people injured due to tear gas bombs, pepper sprays, water cannons, the beatings and the bullets - losing their eyes, broken of their diverse bones, the heart attack and so on. Many people died. Further materials like the chemical mixed pressurized water were used by the security forces to interfere in the demonstrations which were near the hospitals or houses even. The information about these interferes and other analyses of the Event were expressed in the report of the Ministry of Interior Affairs. The Gezi Events shifted to 79 cities in Turkey in a very short time according to this expression.[132] Moreover, it was stated that approximately 2.5 million people had participated to the Movement; 4900 activists had been taken into custody as the "suspect", and more than 600 police had been injured.[133] Furthermore, 7832 had applied to the hospitals as injured in 13 cities with reference to the data expressed by Turkish Medical Association on 20 June 2013.[134] It was also stated that 60 people had been seriously injured, 101 people had head trauma, 11 people had lost their eyes due to hitting of capsule of tear gas bombs and 8 people died.[135] The police and the community were encountered in their common areas. These numbers were the signal of the intervention to the urbanite rights which should not have been in such a peaceful demonstration type.

These realities and problems continued after 15 June 2013. Neither the power nor the oppositions changed their approaches. The increased police intervention caused a lot of injuries and deaths while the types of demonstrations were changed. The Gezi Park changed the relationships of the politicians, the citizens, the police, and the employee – owner, and their approaches to the place. The place did not belong to the others; on the contrary, it was a living area for all citizens to

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[132] Ibid, pp.165-168.
[133] Ibid, p.168.
[134] KONDA. (2014). *Gezi Report.* Retrieved May 02, 2015, from http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/KONDA_GeziRaporu2014.pdf, p.4.
[135] Ibid.

live in it, to defend it, in general, to own it. Henceforward, each person was aware of primarily being citizen and his/her rights about the management of the city.

3.3.4 The Gezi Park after 15 June 2013

After 15 June 2013, the police brutality increased day by day. The number of the injured people also increased. 130 sudden attacks were arranged in İstanbul and Ankara and 64 people from İstanbul and 26 people from Ankara were taken into custody on 18 June 2013.[136] These detentions included the voluntary health personnel, the lawyers and the journalists. Moreover, the police intervened to the shelters in İstanbul, Eskişehir, Ankara and İzmir to terminate the Gezi Events and to prevent gathering in these places.

The demonstrations were continued in a lot of cities although the number of people participated to the Movement started to decline. Nonetheless, the small groups changed the type of the Movement and gathered in the neighbourhood houses or the solidarity houses which are meeting places to exchange ideas for the people who are aware of their citizen rights.

After months, in September 2013, two citizens living close to the Gezi Park painted the steep stairs of Salıpazarı Hill which have 145 steps rising from Fındıklı to Cihangir into the colour of rainbow in four days with 40 kg paint to make the citizens smile.[137] When the social media made news about them, it revolved the common memories from the Event again. It turned to a monument visited by a lot of people in a short time. Although the Beyoğlu Municipality painted it into grey again, this activity spread to other parts of the city and the other cities. In fact, some municipalities gave cost-free paint to the voluntary citizens. Now, whenever colours of rainbow are seen at a place, the days of resistance come to the memories.

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[136] Ibid, p.173.
[137] *Bir Gecede Gri Bir Gecede Renkli Oldu*. (2013, September 01). Retrieved from Hürriyet Newspaper: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/24616754.asp.

In fact, the Gezi Movement sometimes reached the crime levels, which caused the Movement memorialized as "revolt" although the activists stopped in this level. From the Ground Zero, the activists developed a self-control mechanism among themselves by warning each other against the revolt activities including crime such as harming to the public and private properties, throwing stones, fighting with the security forces and other activists in the field, and dirty cracks. However, the attempts of the security forces by using the pressurized water (sometimes chemical attacked pressurized water) and tear gas bombs together with the bullets caused the activists to resist against the police attacks by throwing stones or bottles or any kind of material towards to them, burning the urban furniture or capturing the public properties such as the municipality buses and harming to these properties. These experiences are the sign of the revolt including the traces of crimes which was not the aim and the context of the Movement.

On the whole, the process still continues; even in small scale events, it has been revived again and again. The Gezi Park has become a symbol of solidarity and revolt, so it has been departed from the physical phase. The event has created a common urban memory. In demonstrations, the citizens, in public meetings of parties, politicians still mentions about the reasons, the properties or the conclusions of the Event. For instance, Fatih Altaylı made expressions about the increased tensions of the Event and the mood of the Prime Minister of that time in his program which was held on 02 June 2013 in an interview on 20 May 2015 with Hazal Özvarış. Moreover, Hüseyin Avni Mutlu mentioned about the strong language that had been used in the Event in a panel discussion on May 2015. According to him, the period between 27 May and 01 June seemed to have an environmentalist approach. The required step after this period is to adopt a convincing behaviour towards to the activists by dialogs, explanations, description of the project and even changing some part of the project with the citizens.[138] That

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[138] *Hüseyin Avni Mutlu: Gezi'de ikna edici dil kullanılsaydı daha rahat geçebilirdi.* (2015, May 16). Retrieved from Hürriyet Newspaper: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/29021306.asp.

is to say that the citizens, the politicians, and the specialists in their fields were caught unprepared during the Gezi Event and so the Event has been reinterpreted within the process due to the change of the perceptions. In fact, it seems that these types of social movements will continue to be arranged. According to David Harvey, there emerged a rebel city tradition in Turkey and we will see further revolts imitating Gezi in the following days.[139]

To interpret the spirit and the spaces of the Movement, it will be analysed according to the conceptual frames in a detailed way together with the discursive practices and symbols of the Movement evolving correlatively with space itself in the following chapter. The place and the places of the Movement, the properties of these places, and the way of the demonstrations used by the activists will be argued and supported by the photographs with reference to the social media and the books. Moreover, the babbling, the irony and the discourses in the Movement which made it different from other movements in Turkey will be analysed in terms of its relations with architecture and the society since the thesis supported the idea that the place, the discourse and the society affect each other and they evolve together.

3.4   Approaches of the Authority about the Movement

Politic is related with all fields in our lives and the space experiences. Hence, the ideas, the implementations, and the studies should be argued for development and enlightenment of the city, it cannot be excluded from the planning process of the places. The attitudes of the authority and other politicians toward the problems emerged during this process affect the perceptions of them by the society.

Lefebvre focuses on urbanism and urban praxis according to the urbanists in his book, "The Urban Revolution". He claims that urbanism is serviced differently by

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[139] Harvey, D. (2014, April 10). Prof. Harvey'le 'Kent Ayaklanmaları' Üzerine. (B. Eski, Interviewer).

each group such as humanists, developers, state and technocrats.[140] While the urbanism of humanists proposes utopias, the developer sells urbanism.[141] On the other hand, the state and its technocrats are in division process between the activity of state, institutions, and ideologies according to Lefebvre.[142] However, the urbanism, provided by the state itself, does not provide a unitary and a coherent result because of a pressure. Like he said, urbanism idea has not an ability to control the complex process of industrialization to urbanization due to the lack of an appropriate methodology.[143] In recent, the state has been realized this urban problematic which has caused to the emergence of illusion.

Lefebvre states about two kinds of illusion, namely the philosophical illusion and the state illusion. The philosophical illusion is the systematized means of understanding; thus, the full definition of the truth. According to him, the philosophers assume and believe that a unitary system, having ability to solve whole problems in the world, includes everything due to being based on precedent.[144] Furthermore, it competed with the art and infinite precious and unique character of the entire corpus. However, there is always more than that perfect system assumption. Although new things are tried to be found for a better system continuously, it turns to a vicious cycle, which means an illusion. According to Lefebvre:

> "From the moment the idea of the indefinite perfectibility of systemization comes into conflict with the idea of immanent perfection of the system as such, philosophical illusion enters consciousness."[145]

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[140] Lefebvre, H. (1970). *The Urban Revolution.* (R. Bononno, Trans.) Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota, 2003, p. 151.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid, p.152.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.

The second illusion belongs to the state, or the power, or the ruler. For Lefebvre, the power assumes and believes that the state manages all things and subjects of million people as being the impersonation of the God for the urbanism. The state will be the centre of everything including consciousness and it has a lot of projects belonging to the politicians and their technocrats. However, Lefebvre thinks that all the assumptions will be poured immediately, once the power is declined or the project is disfavoured since this kind of things is an illusion.[146] Then, the state will begin to collapse from that moment.

For Lefebvre, urbanism is also desire to be systematic and to have a new totality by verifying the utopian thought of technocrats and being justified by the liberal humanism. [147] The definition of urbanism has some voids when considered with the ideologies. It is possible to define urbanism with the replacement urban practice. However, according to urbanists this practice is not the work of urbanists and urban praxis is exactly a blind field. This term is defined based on the biological meaning:

> "Blind fields are not merely dark and uncertain, poorly explored, but blind in the sense that there is blind spot on the retina, the center – and negation – of vision. A paradox. The eye does not see; it needs a mirror. The center of vision doesn't see and doesn't know it is blind. Do these paradoxes extend to thought, to awareness, to knowledge?"[148]

Lefebvre's term, the blind field, is used as a tool to interpret the process of the Gezi Movement. During the process of the Movement in the peak point, the inputs and outputs were certain; however, interludes were unknown and uncertain. Each politician, sociologist, urban planner and architect tried to define and denominate this blind field; however, each one of them re-entered to this blind field. They just knew that the country had been passing through a critical phase and they had lived in it. The state did not grasp the size of the Movement since they presumed that

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[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid, p.153.
[148] Ibid, p.29.

they had the ability to manage all cities and all citizens according to its own ideologies. However, the facts were different from this assumption. They did not admit the things which were proposed by the state with pressure. As the citizens did not support the Taksim Pedestrianization Project due to the prevention of their urban rights, they also did not support the practices of the state related with the notions of "citizen rights", "human rights", "freedom of expression" and "fundamental rights and freedoms". In other words, the state had not the ability to manage the country and the people as it assumed. The politicians have been living in illusion or in the blind field since the illusion and blind field have an interwoven relationship. The illusion may stem from the blind field or vice versa.

As stated by Tarık Şengül, while the ruling party has made everyday life and spaces resemble to their norms quickly in a revanchist mood, they has confiscated the public sphere's of the people declared as the enemy due to not resembling themselves, and they have aimed to symbolic destruction by pushing out to those spaces.[149]

The first couple of days of the Movement was the time of the deepest blind field experiences. In fact, local media institutions did not interest in the issue, which caused the emergence of idea that the press was not free. The state did not put emphasis on the demontsrations up to the first day of June since it did not grasp the size, the frequency and the reasons of the Movement. This blind field was tried to be overcame with the interferences to the activists by the security forces initially. Then, the leading politicians and the activists made reciprocal expressions about the course of the Movement.

The approaches of the authority followed a fluctuating course during the Movement. They had a dynamic strategy changing their mission, their target and

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[149] For further information, please see: Şengül, T. (2013). Direnişin Ardından: Gezi Parkı Başkaldırısı Ertesinde Kent ve Siyaset. Retrieved September 08, 2015, from http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/direnisin-ardindan-gezi-parki-baskaldirisi-ertesinde-kent-ve-siyaset-haberi-77713

their discourses according to the developments. When the demonstrations were in environmentalist phase yet, the Prime Minister of that time explained his project and actions in the field of environmentalism and ignore the main problems and the demands of the citizens.

There were important differences between the authority, the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the President Abdullah Gül in terms of their languages and the tones of their speeches. While the President had calmer and moderate approaches to the Movement and the activists and warn the security forces about their interference to be more careful, the Prime Minister had an offensive and resisting approach and had lashed out at the activists by stating that they would not ask a couple of "çapulcu". Although the expressions made by the President on 1 June 2013 decreased the tension and caused the activists to think the reasons behind this huge public movement was understood, the statements of the Prime Minister in the program of Fatih Altaylı[150], which was the breaking point in terms of increasing the tension of the Movement's on 2 June 2013 showed that the state still continued to live in an illusion. The attitude including intervention to the individuals' rights and freedom and offensive statements continued and the pressure of the state intervening in every sphere of life was not admitted by the citizens.

The Deputy Prime Minister of that time, Bülent Arınç, had also calmer and moderate approaches about the Movement and experiences in his expression on 1 June before the expressions of the Prime Minister which increased the tension. Arınç stated that convincing studies for the citizens by the expression of the Project would be more useful instead of using tear gas bombs for the activists, the Municipality and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs had owned this expression to the

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[150] The new explanation about the program and the tension at that time was made by Fatih Altaylı on May 20, 2015. Please see: Altaylı, F. (2015, May). (H. Özvarış, Interviewer) Retrieved from http://t24.com.tr/haber/fatih-altayli-30-40-bin-lira-civari-maas-aliyorum-yarisi-hayatimizin-icine-sicilmasinin-karsiligi,297184.

citizens.[151] Furthermore, he remarked the social peace although he mentioned about the provocative people besides the activists who attended to the Movement with their sincere ideas.[152] In the same moderate attitude, on 5 June 2013, he offered referendum across the demands of the agencies of the Taksim Solidarity Platform including demands about the Gezi Park itself, the reconstruction of Artillary Barrack, the responsible people in the Movement, the usage of gas bombs, the detentions and the freedom of expression. However, this offer was objected by showing reason that the scientific truths would not be changed via referendum.

The several leading politicians admitted that they made a perception mistake and the local issue increased, spread to nation-wide scale and gained international essence. According to Beşir Atalay, Deputy Prime Minister, they saw that the protests with environmentalist approaches and embracing the Park were very precious and they did not approve the behaviour of the security units at all.[153] These moderate attitudes except the Prime Minister were not enough to deflation of the Movement since it partly includes offensive statements which were the sign that they were not able to see their illusion. They could not manage to be one of the citizens living in the city; they were still the person of the state as the politicians.

Besides the expressions, the ruling party, AKP, arranged meetings, called as 'Respect to National Will', at several places including Ankara, İstanbul, Kayseri, Samsun and Erzurum against the demonstrations starting as the spatial manner. Since the maximum reactions about the "urban rights" and "freedom of expression" had come to the authority from Ankara and İstanbul, the ruling party arranged the most outstanding meetings at Sincan in Ankara on 15 June and at

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[151] *Bülent Arınç'tan 'Gezi Parkı' Açıklaması*. (2013, June 01). Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper: http://www.milliyet.com.tr/bulent-arinc-tan-gezi-parki-/siyaset/detay/1717157/default.htm.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Gezi'den Gerekli Dersleri Aldık. (2013, June 15). *Internet News*. Retrieved May 26, 2015, from http://www.internethaber.com/geziden-gerekli-dersleri-aldik-547828h.htm.

Kazlıçeşme in İstanbul on 16 June. The authority responded to the spatial action with another spatial event in order to show the rights of the other people who were the proponent of them.

This Movement conceived a common urban memory. These memories, expressions, labels and photographs come to the minds in each demonstration. Moreover, in public meetings of parties, politicians has still mentioned about the characteristics, the reasons and the effects of the Movement. For instance, the retrospective expressions about the increased tensions of the Event and the mood of the Prime Minister of that time in his program which was held on 02 June 2013 were made by Fatih Altaylı in an interview on 20 May 2015 with Hazal Özvarış. Furthermore, Hüseyin Avni Mutlu made an expression about the strong language which had been used during the Movement by the state in a panel discussion on May 2015. He had a moderate statement parallel to expressions of Bülent Arınç at that time and he had admitted their mistakes by interfering to the activists without listening their demands instead of adoption a convincing behaviour towards to the activists by dialogs, explanations, description of the project and even changing some part of the project with the citizens. According to Egemen Bağış, the Gezi Movement affected the results of 2015 elections. This means that the Movement still maintains to create stories. They tried to overcome the blind field by reinterpreting the process, the reactions of them and their discourses.

The article of Bekir Ağırdır, Gezi Parkı Hakkında Hâlâ Anlaşılamayanlar, also supported the idea of blind field of Lefebvre. Obviously, there were things in black box that cannot be seen. He states:

> "Even in 17 days, the meaning, size, actors, dynamics of the matter changed this much, the whole process can be neither grasped nor managed from the definition and positions in the first days."[154]

[154] Ağırdır, B. (2013, June 14). Gezi Parkı Hakkında Hâlâ Anlaşılamayanlar. *T24 - Independent Internet Newspaper*. Retrieved from http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/bekir-agirdir/gezi-parki-hakkinda-

The ruler created its own "view of truth".[155] As it lost its capacity of criticism and left from the daily life, it was captured to the illusion. The lack of the required instruments to enlighten the Movement and the lack of knowledge caused a chaos during the Movement.

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hala-anlasilamayanlar,6891. Translated into English by the author of the thesis: "17 Günde bile meselenin anlamı, boyutu, aktörleri, dinamikleri bu kadar değişmişken ilk günkü tanım ve pozisyonlardan tüm bir süreç ne anlaşılabilir ne de yönetilebilir.".

[155] The term belongs to Michel Foucault.

CHAPTER 4

GROUND ZERO: THE PLACE AND THE PLACES OF THE MOVEMENT

4.1   The Places of the Movement

As it is well-known, the initial place of the Event was the Taksim Square and the Gezi Park next to it. However, the place of the activities spread to 79 cities[156] in Turkey with some differences in terms of the implemented activities at those places. The demonstrations were implemented at all cities except Bingöl and Bayburt according to the expressions of the Ministry of Interior Affairs.[157]

More than fifteen countries supported the Gezi Events as well.[158] They marched and protested the Movement and the police brutality. They helped to be heard of the Movement by the larger masses by forwarding messages, uploading videos or photographs. Moreover, the academicians living in abroad gathered under the name of "Academics for Gezi" and published a manifesto which emphasized the transformation of the Movement into a struggle for the "human rights", the "freedom of expression", and the "pluralistic democracy" with the increased

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[156] Human Rights Association. (2013). *Gezi Parkı Direnişi ve Sonrasında Yaşananlara İlişkin Değerlendirme   Raporu.*   Retrieved   from   http://www.insanhaklaridernegi.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/rapor_gezivesonrasi_17temmuz.pdf.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Information about these countries was collected from Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları.

police brutality.[159] This manifesto was signed by about 1700 Turkish academicians and more than 1500 foreign scientists.[160]

The table below shows the cities and the main demonstration places from Turkey and foreign countries. (Figure 26) These examples are selected according to the intensity, the frequency and the continuity of the Events in these places. For instance, the most outstanding supportive cities were Ankara, İzmir, Adana, Hatay and Eskişehir where the demonstrations has a parallel course as to size of the Events and time passing in the fields about a month with the Gezi Park and the Taksim Square and the activities were held in a continuous order in contrasts to Bodrum which has a sporadic characteristic.

Moreover, the sense of belonging of the activists was different from place to place. Although the Gezi Park was in the forefront for most of the activists in each place, their attachments with their places were different. That is, the reasons of the activists who took part in the Movement were stemmed from the environmentalist approach, the approach of "urban rights" and "citizen rights", and the constitutional rights. However, the citizens established different relations with their places apart from these approaches. For instance, the citizens of Ankara had close relations with the power since they were able to observe the approach and the enforcement of the power in place and they had been exposed to similar projects and demonstrations such as the Tekel Resistance held in 2009. Hence, they protested not only the Project of the Gezi Park but also other projects such as Atatürk Forest Farm and mass housing projects implemented for Ankara. On the other hand, the citizens of Hatay were in the demonstration places due to their identities which had seen as minority in the country. The birth places of the people who died during the Movement were Hatay, and so they owned their

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[159] *Yurtdışındaki Akademisyenlerden Gezi Parkı'na Destek*. (2013, June 16). Retrieved September 08, 2015, from Hürriyet Newspaper: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/planet/23514715.asp.
[160] Ibid.

citizens in the Events. In any case, the demonstrations in these places created huge impressions in the country and all over the world. (Figure 27)

İstanbul	Taksim, Cihangir, Dolmabahçe, Beşiktaş, Şişli, Kadıköy
Ankara	Kuğulu Park, Güven Park / Kızılay, Dikmen Street, Tuzluçayır
İzmir	Kıbrıs Şehitleri Street, Konak Square, Gündoğdu Square
Adana	Atatürk Park, Atatürk Street, Ziya Paşa and Gazi Paşa Boulevard
Hatay	Antakya, Armutlu District and Uğur Mumcu Area
Eskişehir	University Street
Antalya	Cumhuriyet Square
Mersin	Independent Child Park
Tunceli	Art Street
İzmit	Cumhuriyet Park
Konya	Atatürk Monument Area
Manisa	Manolya Square
Balıkesir	Atatürk Park
Rize	Belediye Park
Muğla	Marmaris (Atatürk Park), Bodrum
Supports from the Abroad	Nicosia, Sophia (Bulgaria), Berlin (Germany), Amsterdam (Holland), Milano (Italy), Brussels (Belgium), Lyon (France), San Marco Square (Venice), Boston, Chicago, New York (USA), Sydney (Australia), Buenos Aires (Argentina), Tel Aviv (Israel), Cairo (Egypt), Tunis (Tunisia), Tokyo (Japan), Baku (Azerbaijan)

Figure 26: The main places of the Gezi Events[161]

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[161] Information about these countries was collected from Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları.

Figure 27: The places of the Movement in Turkey and abroad
(Retrieved from https://pagedesuie.wordpress.com/2013/06/01/mais-que-se-passe-t-il-en-turquie/)

As is seen, the Movement extended to the larger geographical scale and lasted about a month. Ankara was one of the first severe supporters of the Movement. There were not commune type demonstrations - like in the Gezi Park - in Ankara due to the fact that the power did not let activists occupy a public space. The places of the movement - Kızılay Square, Güven Park, Meşrutiyet Street, Sakarya Street, Ziya Gökalp Street, and Kuğulu Park - are so close to the Prime Minister's Office that caused a security problem.[162] The police violence was in the ultimate

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[162] Kelekçi, Ö. (2013). *Ankara: Unutmanın ve Hatırlamanın Radikalliği.* Retrieved March 25, 2015, from http://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/149276-ankara-unutmanin-ve-hatirlamanin-radikalligi.

level when compared to the other cities due to the power's observation of Tekel Resistance well at Sakarya Street in 2009. If the activists occupied and live in the squares or the streets, it showed to the world that the reason of this mass demonstration was not just the Gezi Park. Therefore, the police had to wait in prepared position for any kind of movements of the activists and most of the time they severely interfered to the activities in the Movement without waiting for increasing of the tension.

The police was able to enter among the activists with the water cannons due to the large streets, so this property of the places of Ankara made easier for the police to interfere to the activists. (Figure 28) The Movements in Ankara sometimes reached the criminal level but it stopped in there. Although the activists warned each other against the criminal activities such as harming to the public and private properties, throwing stones, fighting with the police or other activists in the fields and dirty cracks, the activists threw stone, bottle and every possible thing that they get toward to the police when the police used tear gas bombs and pressurized water for the activists running away towards the side streets. Sometimes, they burned the urban furniture or they captured the public properties like the municipality buses and damaged to them. (Figure 29) In any case, the Movement arrived to the level of "revolt" which includes the traces of the crimes not only in Ankara but also in other cities in Turkey although this level was out of the aim and context of the Movement.

Figure 28: The police interference to the activists in Kızılay Square
(Retrieved from http://www.haberler.com/kizilay-meydaninda-gezi-parki-eylemcilerine-4702 840-haberi/)

Figure 29: The view from Meşrutiyet Street in Kızılay which shows the criminal level of the Movement
(Retrieved from http://www.manisainternethaber.com/haber/7181/protestolar_artarak_devam_ediyor%E2%80%A6.html)

Another city which supported the on-going Movement across the country was İzmir. Kıbrıs Şehitleri Street, Konak Square and Gündoğdu Square were the main places of the Movement. (Figure 30) Approximately 10.000 citizens organized in the social media and gathered in Alsancak to protest the interference to the Gezi Park on 31 May 2013.[163] In the following days, the approach of the Governor Mustafa Toprak who stated that the police would not use tear gas bombs and commit violence as long as the activities would be appropriate to the laws because the citizens had the "right to assembly and demonstration"[164], prevented the increase of the tension between the police and the activists. The events in İzmir were experienced like a festival although the police interfered in the activists too.

Figure 30: The reflection of the Gezi Park at Alsancak in İzmir
(Retrieved from http://www.memurlar.net/haber/381302/)

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[163] *Ankara ve İzmir'deki Gezi Parkı Eylemlerine Gazlı Müdahale*. (2013, May 31). Retrieved from Radikal Newspaper: http://web.archive.org/web/20130927072749/http://www.radikal.com.tr:80/turkiye/ankara_ve_izmirdeki_gezi_parki_eylemlerine_gazli_mudahale-1135813.
[164] *İzmir'de Gezi Parkı Eylemi Sessiz Geçiyor*. (2013, June 02). Retrieved from http://www.yerelgundem.com/haberler/585326/izmirde_gezi_parki_eylemi_sessiz_geciyor.html.

Eskişehir was the other city that supported the Movement with its citizens and tradesmen. The activists closed the University Street, settled a living area with approximately 300 shelters[165] and renamed it as the "Resistance Square". (Figure 31) They spent their times with reading in the mobile library and playing games as long as the police did not interfere in their living area. They lived in there with the help of the tradesmen and other citizens who brought food and other type of basic materials.

Figure 31: The Gezi Events in Eskişehir
(Retrieved from http://haberciniz.biz/eskisehirde-gezi-parki-protestolari-209982 26h.htm)

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[165] *Eskişehir'de "Gezi Parkı" Protestoları*. (2013, June 12). Retrieved from http://haberciniz.biz /eskisehirde-gezi-parki-protestolari-2098226h.htm.

Hatay was one of the cities which were supposed to the severe police brutality. The main places were Antakya, Armutlu District and Uğur Mumcu Area. The activists generally arranged the demonstrations of march in these places at night in general which was different from the other places which caused the involvement of the military police and the police together at intervals with severe attacks.

It was observed that the Movement in these cities were implemented with different spatial experiments by living in the squares or the parks besides walking, playing the pots and pans similar to the Occupy Movements in New York, Madrid and London which were evaluated as the premises of the Turkish Gezi. In other cities like Konya, Manisa, Balıkesir and Rize continued their supports and struggles by walking, playing the pots and pans and chanting slogans in the well-known streets or squares in each city up to the last days of June.

The sense of place and the scale in the Movement were various as well. In other words, the place of the Movement was sometimes only a person's body or sometimes a building or a temporarily constructed library or a medical room. The Movement was shaped with the human body and its movements according to Murat Çetin.[166] Therefore, there was a moveable/mobile space perception different from the old space notion, the static one. He says:

> "The pattern of the Gezi Park was shaped with the human body and its movements, the growing tents every day, these new emerging dynamics, smooth and self –organized way, in the public space regardless of architectural materials foreshadows of a "flexible and variable" urban-spatial case."[167]

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[166] Çetin, M. (2013). Piyonla Şah-Mat Mümkün mü?; Neo-liberal Küresel Mekan Stratejisi Karşısında Direncin Mekansal Ölçeği Olarak Beden. *Dosya 32, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi*(2013/2), pp.10.

[167] Ibid. Translated into English by the author of the thesis: "Gezi Parkı'nın insan bedeni ve hareketleriyle biçimlenen örüntüsel yapısı, her gün artan çadırlarla, mimari malzemelerden bağımsız olarak, sorunsuz biçimde yeniden ve kendiliğinden organize olan kamusal mekandaki bu yeni oluşan dinamikler daha "esnek ve değişken" bir kent-mekansal olgunun habercisi olmuştur.".

The human body and its movements reproduced and redefined the sequence of temporary places in the Movement. Different behaviours and motions of the inhabitants created different places which provided distinctive experiences to the activists in the demonstrations. First of all, the physical place of the Gezi Park was changed and then the social and the spatial relations of the place were transformed in the process. The inhabitants realized that they did not have to comply with the existing planning activities. They lived in the cities in an alternative way for almost one month. The table of the Gezi Movement in the sense of spatial perceptions which ranged from a body at the Park to the spatial scales at the cities in the farthest line of Turkey, is made in four items, namely on human body, basic needs, the public activities and the re-use of the places.

4.1.1 On Human Body

The notion of demonstrations in Turkey mostly implies an active movement like arrangement of a march and a resistance to the authority or the security forces as a group of citizens. However, the Gezi Events started with the resistance of a human body of the politician against the engineering vehicles in the Gezi Park on 28 May 2013 which was a passive stand, more powerful than any kind of active demonstrations. By the help of this stand, the demonstration gained corporeality and tangibility and provided awareness to the citizens which posed a threat to the authority. The similar passive demonstrations were observed during the process which would have an important function in the Movement.

On 28 May, the police used tear gas on the activists and academician Ceyda Sungur stood as if nothing happened instead of running away. This dull stand was photographed by the reporter of Reuters and she became the symbol of the struggle as the "Woman in Red". (Figure 32) One of the activists laid in front of the engineering vehicle to prevent the destructions on 30 May and he displayed a peaceful demonstration against the violence. The "Woman in Black", Kate Cullen, at this time, stood against water cannon (TOMA) at Sıraselviler on 1 June and she became another symbol of the struggle in a passive way.

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Figure 32: The Woman in Red, the photograph of the dull stand
(Retrieved from http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/161777/Kirmizili_
kadin__Elinde_silah_olsaydi....html)

The "Standing Man", Erdem Gündüz, appeared on 17 June 2013. (Figure 33) A
man implemented a passive protest by standing in front of the Atatürk Cultural
Centre (AKM) at which the posters of Atatürk and the Turkish Flags were hanged
in the face of. He became a symbol of the peace with a silent resistance. This kind
of demonstration expanded to the other places and inspired other activists; thus,
this standing man stopped the whole country. The same activists were seen at
Madımak Hotel, Haydarpaşa Train Station, the building of NTV and Sabah
Newspaper. The "standing men" started to read books at the same time on 22
June. Another version of this kind of reaction was experienced on 20 June.
Haldun Dormen, one of the most famous theatre players, promoted this activity
with their students by coming to the Gündoğdu Square in İzmir.

Figure 33: The Standing Man
(Retrieved from http://www.farklibirbakis.com/duran-adama-almanyadan-yilin-medya-odulu/)

A woman wearing bikini, on the other hand, came to the Taksim Square on 20 June.[168] However, this did not gain supports like the previous one. The other example was observed in Konya. Some women supported the protests by closing one of their eyes with bandage and pasted their mouths with the black plasters, which was not repeated either.

The super hero, the "Talcid Man", was revealed as the enemy of the tear gas in the Movement.[169] The face of the hero was not seen due to the mask on his/her face; however, s/he was ready all the time to help the activists affected from the tear gas of the police which promoted the activists and the solidarity spirit of the Movement by giving a confidence to the activists.

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[168] Kongar, E., & Küçükkaya, A. (2013). *Türkiye'yi Sarsan Otuz Gün, Gezi Direnişi.* Cumhuriyet Kitapları, p.178.
[169] "Talcid" is an anti-acid medicine benefit to the stomach in normal conditions; however it was used as a healing material together with "rennie" against the effects of tear gas in the Movement.

The Çarşı Group, the well-known supporter group of the Beşiktaş Football Club of Turkey, were in the streets as the major mobilizing force in the Gezi Movement. This people known with their rebel characters supported the Movement and resisted to the police and the violence. In fact, they chased one of the water cannons of the security forces and an excavator which became the symbol of the Gezi Movement although these actions shifted the Movement towards to the level of the crime. They distributed bagels to the police and the activists in the holy night on 6 June 2013.[170] A couple of members of the Çarşı Group were conducted an investigation about their relations with the Gezi Events and encouragement of the citizens to the antagonism and hate on 18 June 2013.[171] This operation got reaction from the activists and approximately 400 people[172] came together in the Abbasağa Park to discuss how to help the Çarşı Group.

Another part of the activists supported the Movements preferred to use the pots and pans together with the light on/off at every day at 21.00 at each city including Ankara, İzmir, Antalya, Hatay, Adana. (Figure 34) Going out the balcony at homes or gathering in their neighbourhoods with their pots and pans were enough to take part in this kind of demonstration. It became a communication method for the society in their district to evoke other citizens. Although the Government and the Prime Minister made negative expressions related with this 'noise', the Movement continued to be realized extensionally by this way.

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[170] *Gezi Parkı'nda Kandil'li Eylem*. (2013, June 06). Retrieved from Radikal Newspaper: http://web.archive.org/web/20131016215043/http://www.radikal.com.tr:80/turkiye/gezi_parkinda_ kandilli_eylem-1136463.

[171] *Çarşı Grubu'na 'Zello' operasyonu*. (2013, June 18). Retrieved from Radikal Newspaper: Çarşı Grubu'na 'Zello' operasyonu.

[172] *Halk Eylemleri Bugün de Devam Ediyor*. (2013, June 18). Retrieved from Sol Newspaper: http://haber.sol.org.tr/devlet-ve-siyaset/halk-eylemleri-bugun-de-devam-ediyor-0352-haberi-74880.

Figure 34: A view from the demonstrations with pots and pans (Retrieved from http://haberciniz.biz/tencere-tavali-gezi-parki-eylemi-2900914h.htm)

Starting from a single body and repetition of them not only in İstanbul but also in the rest of the country, the alienated people became visible again. They embraced their places with their souls, their bodies and their discourses. On the other hand, association of thousands of individuals and the increased involvement of the citizens implied the emergence of the basic needs in the Park and other demonstration places. To embrace a place and defend it meant a settlement or a communal life. Hence, the activists solved their problems by themselves with their own methods.

4.1.2 Basic Needs of the Movement

Together with the transformation of the Park into a continuous living place, different necessities emerged and the activists created their own solutions by supporting their experiences with the plan diagram constituted according to the functions. (Figure 35)

This plan diagram shows that the Gezi Park provides almost all services which meet the necessities of the citizens like a city. The food and beverage, the medical rooms and restrooms were distributed to a couple of place to serve to the rest of the Park. It is deduced that medical, food and beverage areas were settled closer to the main entrances of the Park. The shelters were located to the places (T-1, T-2, T-3, T-4) at which trees were densely existed in order to take advantages of the shadow. Obviously, the plant came into prominence with its function besides using as an ornament. Coordination units (C-1, C-2) were settled up in the centre part of the Park and closer to the intersection of the entrances towards to Cumhuriyet Street. The trees, the soft ground and the hard ground determined the domain of the places besides the relations of the needs with each other and within the Park. Moreover, it is apparent that the senses and the consciousness of the citizens about entrance and exit to a place and circulation of a place increased.

Apart from the basic needs, the places for the social activities like studios and some performances were implemented especially central places around the pool. The activists protected their fields against the interference of the security forces within the day and night. This planning implies the commune life as many writers said. The money that governs people and their relationships was ignored in this life. The minimal life and the maximum solidarity were experienced during the Event.

Figure 35: The plan of the Gezi Park during the Event

Emergence of the basic needs brought with a commune type life and a new type of space understanding. For instance, they constructed temporary cost – free markets called as "The Gezi Park Necessity Wall" including food like bread, bagel, cookies, water, milk, vinegar, and medicine and general materials like napkin, wet wipe, and trash bag and served to the public. (Figure 36 and Figure 37) The activists brought many things mentioned above and put them to the cost-free markets and distributed them to the other activists. Then, they started to maintain their lives by barter. If someone needed a tea, s/he got tea from the shelter next to him/her, and s/he gave another thing to them instead of tea. Moreover, people put some materials like gas mask and talcid in front of their doors and windows for the activists running away due to the attacks of the security forces. The collection of the garbage and the general cleaning of the place were also provided by the activists and the dogs, which show that the Park became a living place for the activists. (Figure 38) The life at park started with the breakfast in the morning and continued with reading of newspapers after cleaning of the place. As the part of new daily life routine which became a tool to remember the Movement easily.

The owner of "Çapulcu Café" also mentioned about this communal life and said that after the lists of the rapid needs were constituted for the commune shelters, these lists were provided by publishing them in the social media.[173]

Semi-open areas were created for the medical room and vet which shows the violence committed during the Movement at that time. The doctors went to the injured people in contrast to the existing system in the country. These new system did not exist just in the Gezi Park, possible also in other cores of the Movement like Ankara and Eskişehir. On 1 June, the activists set a barricade at the corner of Karanfil Street and Yüksel Street in Ankara. The volunteer students of medical faculties responded to the injured people in the streets.

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[173] Gezi Parkı'nda Komünal Yaşam Var. (2013, June 09). Retrieved from http://www.yuksekovahaber.com/haber/gezi-parkinda-komunal-yasam-var-103417.htm.

Figure 36: The Gezi Park necessity wall
(Retrieved from http://t24.com.tr/haber/gezi-parkinda-yiyecek-duvari,231164)

Figure 37: Commune life at the Park
(Retrieved from http://www.worldarchitecture.org/authors-links/pgvhg/the-city-of-resistance.html)

Figure 38: Cleaning of the place of the Event by the activists
(Retrieved from http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/gezi_parkinda_bahar_temizligi
-1135976)

The other example from the life at the Movement is shelters. The shelters were available during the whole Movement between May and August in Gezi. In fact, they put names for their areas like "Resistance Site" or "Çapulcu Village".[174] (Figure 39) However, other cities except Kuğulu Park in Ankara, University Street in Eskişehir, Alsancak in İzmir and Cumhuriyet Square in Antalya cannot go deeper and reduces their places to this scale.

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[174] Translated into English by the author of the thesis: Direniş Sitesi, Çapulcu Köyü.

Figure 39: The place of the Event, the Gezi Park
(Retrieved from http://www.haber7.com/guncel/haber/1038929-gezi-parki-tek-cadir-altinda-birlesiyor)

This kind of system worked like a factory without the additional forces in the Events. The process developed spontaneously by the inherent solidarity spirit of the citizens. They designed social lives in the urban spaces. They were organized instinctively in the physical platform and virtual platform. There was not any hero among themselves or any kind of outstanding figures. The relationship between them was not set with any kind of regulations. Each activist was in the same level and had the right to say something about the following steps that should be implemented for the Movement. Therefore, this communication liberated the activists and their thoughts. This social space served as a model to the other cities and countries. A lot of activists brought out of their shells according to their connection with the places and other activists.

4.1.3 The Public Activities of the Movement

To gather, to produce and to consume are the rational side of the social praxis. After satisfying the basic needs used as a tool by the activists to show their reactions by living together – abolishment of alienation, they used their abilities as

the part of new alternative type of living and they manipulated other citizens, which created the urban memory.

The activists used the public space for the self-expression during the Movement. Each of them tried to show their answers via their abilities. These were mostly art-oriented reactions like singing a song, dancing, graffiti in the parks and the squares. Increasing of the number of the users in these places and their diversities turned the places into festival areas.

One of the groups in the activists was the children. The "Child Gezi Studio" was constructed on 7 June 2013 beside a kindergarten that shows the existence of an established system which provided the children to indicate their urban rights. The children always identify with the parks; however, they do not come to their fields in a demonstration time. This time, on the contrary, they sat down on a tarp and a couple of people gave the children papers and paints during the Event. (Figure 40)

Beside the children, the mothers of the activists came to the Taksim Square as a reaction to the expressions of the Governor Hüseyin Avni Mutlu who warned the mothers to withdraw their children from the Park on 13 June 2013. The mothers respected to movements of them and embraced their children, which shows that the new system, that was not only a demonstration platform but also a living area for the citizens, embraced all people without noticing their ages.

Figure 40: The "Child Gezi Studio" at the Gezi Park
(Retrieved from http://www.wsj.com.tr/articles/SB100014240527023033185045 79593920126552320#19)

The Gezi Park Open-Air Library which provided information sharing was constructed by using the basic materials by the activists who brought their books, magazines, or publishing and donated them. A citizen had a chance to take a book from there and to read it on the hammock; thus, spend their times at the park. In other words, the Park met the needs of the citizens in a real manner. Moreover, the publications were presented to the citizens; hence, reaching to information became easier. The very similar libraries were also set in the public spaces of other cities like Ankara, İzmir, Eskişehir and Antalya. (Figure 41 and Figure 42) Beside the libraries, a course named as "Çapulcu Training Centre" were constructed in the Park for the activists children preparing to the student selection examination.[175]

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[175] *Taksim Gezi Parkı Şimdiden Müzelik!* (2013, June 07). Retrieved from Radikal Newspaper: http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/taksim_gezi_parki_simdiden_muzelik-1136577.

Figure 41: The Gezi Park Open-Air Library
(Retrieved from http://www.sabitfikir.com/soylesi/biz-istanbullular-kurduk-bu-kutuphaneyi-buraya)

Figure 42: The examples of the libraries from İstanbul (1), İzmir (2) and Eskişehir (3) (Retrieved from (1) http://www.farklibirbakis.com/gezi-parkina-avm-degil-kutuphane-kuruldu/ (2)http://www.radikal.com.tr/hayat/izmirin_de_capulcu_kutuphanesi_var-136635 (3) http://haberciniz.biz/eskisehirde-gezi-parki-protestolari-2098226h.htm)

A TV channel, "Çapul TV", was established and started to the broadcast on 6 June 2013 beside newspaper. The public assemblies were founded at the parks in order to negotiate the public necessities and people's desires. These publications and the new televisions were important to transmission of the knowledge and awakening of the society.

Boğaziçi Jazz Choir showed its performances by changing the words of different songs. There were also acrobatics and tango shows. All Karatune team danced on 6 June. Moreover, Pera Art Shelter, Gezi Tisko, Art Corner were established. Fazıl Say played 'pan' in his concert at Adnan Saygun Art Centre on 5 June. Davide Martello, coming from Sicili, supported the event by playing piano in the Taksim Square on 13 June. These performances which were realized in the public spaces did not need any closed places to be implemented and they were the sign of freedom which was an important issue and the main reason for most of the activists to take part in the Movement. (Figure 43, Figure 44 and Figure 45)

Figure 43: A view from a performance of a group in the Gezi Park
(Retrieved from http://www.radikal.com.tr/hayat/best_of_gezi-1137184)

Figure 44: A view from the performance of Davide Martello in the Square
(Retrieved from http://t24.com.tr/haber/taksim-meydaninda-piyano-resitali,2318
94)

Figure 45: Tango performances of the activists
(Retrieved from http://showdiscontent.com/archive/gezi-parki/2013-06-
08/img/0608-taksim-tango-gosterisi-1.jpg)

The colourful stairs which has 145 steps and belongs to Salıpazarı Hill in Cihangir were painted by two citizens in four days in September 2013. (Figure 46) These steep stairs in the colour of rainbow became a monument and spread to other cities in a short time by the help of technology. People came to those places and took photographs which supported the creation of the common urban memories. Whenever colourful urban furniture is seen in the city, the peaceful days of the Movement including various kinds of activities which relaxed the citizens come to the minds again.

Figure 46: The colourful public spaces from İstanbul (1), Ankara (2), Diyarbakır (3) (Retrieved from http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/rengarek-basamaklarin-degeri/Blog /?BlogNo=427964)

Based on Halbwach's concept of the "collective memory" and social frameworks discussed in his book, La Mémoire collective (The Collective Memory), this part of the study can be evaluated. For him, a society can have a collective memory which is directly related with a group in the society.[176] According to him, it is not possible to mention about solely an individual memory because a group memory exists beyond this individual memory as well. The reconstruction of the past of the individuals depends on this group's understanding.[177]

The memories are transmitted by the objects in the space as in the case of the Turkish Gezi such as the memorials, the postures, the songs, or the ceremonies which were the instruments for the remembrance process of the Movement. Moreover, the spatial practices were the stimulator of this memory and helped to continuous reconstruction of the collective memory. With reference to the statements of David Harvey, the place is regarded as the 'locus of the collective memory'.[178] The understanding of the past is directly linked with the place at which this memory occurred.

The following step after this object-based place understanding in the Movement such as establishment of studios for the children, establishment of a TV channel, a radio, rewriting the famous songs or the dance shows for creating the memory is to define the "place" and its function again by the users of these places.

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[176] Halbwach, M. (1992). *On Collective Memory.* (L. A. Coser, Trans.) University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Cresswell, T. (2005). *Place: A Short Introduction.* Oxford, MA: Blackwell, p.61.

4.1.4 Re-use of the Places during the Movement

During the whole Movement, it was observed that the existing places had been revitalized or re-used by the activists and the police by changing their functions to integrate the needs of the society and the nature whenever required. That shows the users had the ability to reshape their environments according to their needs notwithstanding to the original relations.

The police changed the sports hall in the police department of Ankara into a place of detainees due to the lack of such a big place. The detainees stayed in there for hours.

The activists had to turn some places into medical rooms due to the sudden attack of the police with tear gas bombs even though these places were not suitable for the medical interventions in terms of the equipment or the sterilization. On 3 June 2013, the people injured at the police attack refuged to the Valide Sultan Mosque at Dolmabahçe in İstanbul. Then, a group involving 55 voluntary health personnel helped to the injured people, some of which were carried on the barriers turned to stretchers, in a temporary place.[179] The Chamber of Architects, a café, and Nazım Hikmet Cultural Centre in Ankara served as a medical room like the Valide Sultan Mosque in İstanbul in the intervention situations.

During the Events, the public space was used for different purposes which were not experienced before. For instance, the activists practiced yoga at the Gezi Park. A Friday prayer was performed at the Park. Moreover, Quran was read at holy night on which the birth of Prophet Mohammad is marked at the Gezi Park on 5 June. A place designed as a park was used for both a sport activity and a religious activity. (Figure 47) On 9th of July 2013, the iftar was arranged in the huge tables called as "Earth Meals" starting from İstiklal Street to the Square and the Gezi Park. They just put a sheet on ground and brought breads, bagels, waters and

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[179] *Cami Revir Gibiydi*. (2013, June 04). Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper: http://www.milliyet.com.tr/cami-revir-gibiydi/gundem/detay/1718279/default.htm.

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some food in practical plates; they did not need of any sitting material or chair. This is the sign that the citizens wanted to share their feelings with each other and experienced this spirit. (Figure 48)

Figure 47: The yoga activity (1) and the Friday Prayer (2)
(Retrieved from (1) http://www.worldarchitecture.org/authors-links/pgvhg/the-city-of-resistance.html (2) http://www.radikal.com.tr/fotogaleri/turkiye/gezi_parkinda_cuma_namazi-1136664-7)

Figure 48: The "Earth Meals" in İstiklal Street (1-2) and in the Gezi Park (3) (Retrieved from (1) http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-yeryuzu-iftari-tartisma-yaratti/gundem/detay/1735065/default.htm (2) http://www.kanalistanbul.com.tr/ yeryuzu-sofralari-dun-istiklaldeydi/ (3) http://www.nediyor.com)

One of the prefabricated structures in Taksim which was used as a restroom was cleaned by the activists and turned into a "Revolution Museum" including photographs, comics, graffiti and various objects collected from the demonstrations like gas mask and barriers. The museum used the walls of the structure for hanging the photographs or the papers on which the reactions of the activists were written. The objects gathered from the demonstrations were put on ground. In other words, the curator of this museum was the activists. (Figure 49 and Figure 50)

Figure 49: The "Revolution Museum" in the Gezi Park
(Retrieved from http://static.euronews.com/articles/227334/1200x630_227334_taksimde-devrim-muzesi.jpg?1370521572)

Figure 50: Inside of the Revolution Museum in the Gezi Park
(Retrieved from http://www.halkinhabercisi.com/eylemin-13-gununde-gezi-parki)

One of the professors of the Ege University gave accounting lesson at Gündoğdu Square on 6 June. Prof. Dr. Ali Nesin gave the mathematic lesson by using the green area like a grass amphitheatre on 10 June in the Gezi Park.[180] (Figure 51) The difference of these lessons from the "Çapulcu Training Centre" is that the training centre was a self-organization of the children whose ages were about 18. They used the centre individually like a library and they did not have teachers. However the support coming from the professors of the universities had the traces of the mass demonstrations. The time and the place of the lesson were announced to the students as the Gezi Park.
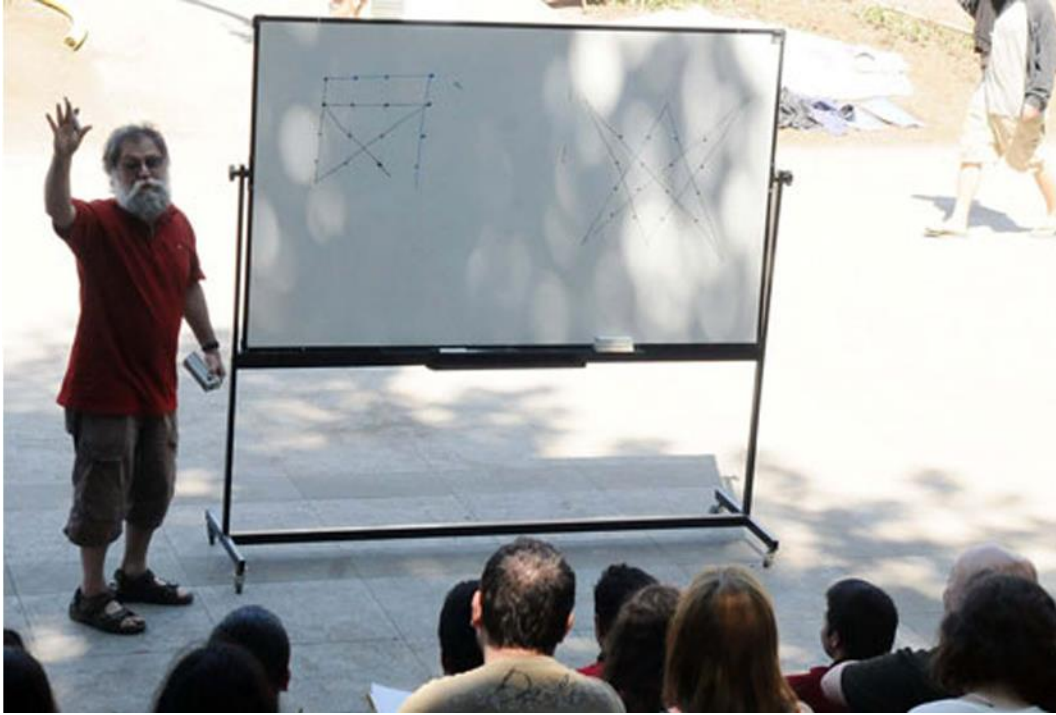
Figure 51: A view from the lesson of Prof. Dr. Ali Nesin in the Gezi Park (Retrieved from http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/gezi_parkinda_profesor_ali_ nesinden_matematik_dersi-1137022)

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[180] *Gezi Parkı'nda Profesör Ali Nesin´den Matematik Dersi* . (2013, June 10). Retrieved from Radikal Newspaper: http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/gezi_parkinda_profesor_ali_nesinden_ matematik_dersi-1137022

The speaker's corner at which there is no filter or limitations satisfied the needs of the activists in terms of the political participation. It was the place of sharing the ideas about their demands for rights, districts or their cities. The speaker's corners were built with the waste materials existing in the field in the Gezi Event. (Figure 52) In the following days, an evolution was observed from the corner to the park forums. Not only the Gezi Park, but also the Abbasağa Park and the Yoğurtçu Park had similar properties in this sense. (Figure 53) These forums arranged in the public spaces were the source of new kind of democratic experiences which helped to development of the practices in the decision-making process. The park forums starting in the Gezi Park with the Event organized in 33 places in İstanbul and 12 places in Ankara.[181] Moreover, similar forums were arranged in Antalya, Bodrum, Edirne, Kocaeli, İzmir, Eskişehir and Adana. These local forums deal with different issues such as the ecological problems of the urban or the urban rights.
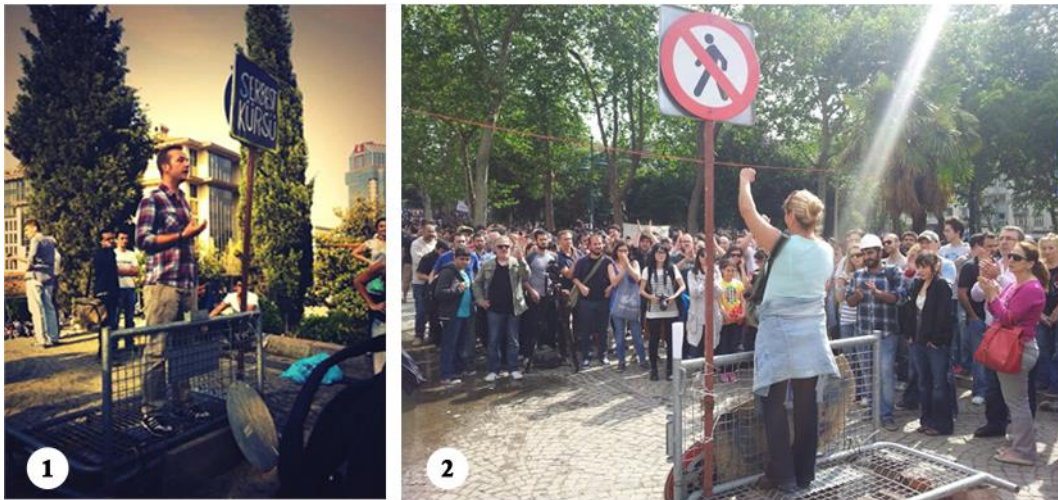
Figure 52: The speaker's corner in the Gezi Park
(Retrieved from (1) http://www.turkeyforum.com/satforum/showthread.php?t=714067&page=33#.VXbGdUaLWHc (2) http://nobonnobon.blogspot.com.tr/2013/06/gezi-mimarlg-uzerine.html)

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[181] Information about these forums were collected from: http://parklarbizim.blogspot.com.tr/2013/06/park-forumlar-iletisim-bilgileri.html?showComment=1372001558550

Figure 53: A view from the Park Forum in Abbasağa Park
(Retrieved from http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/park-forumlari/)

The neighbourhood houses or the solidarity houses are another example. The inert constructions or buildings in the district were taken hold and transformed by the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. They brought many staffs to there. After a while, it became a haunt for the dwellers. They started to arrange meetings for the idea exchange.

The common platform of the activists for solidarity is not only the Gezi Park or the Taksim Square. All streets, all homes and offices settled in the physical line of the Gezi Park helped to the activists who were running away from the attacks of the security forces. This kind of solidarity removed the borders between the public and the private, that is, the square, the street and the homes had the same meaning for the activists. In fact, even the façade of AKM which hold the corner of the Taksim Square in years became public by hanging of different flags and posters. (Figure 54)

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Figure 54: The façade of AKM during the Gezi Events
(Retrieved from http://www.wsj.com.tr/articles/SB100014240527023033185045
79593920126552320#30)

These examples remind the statement of Relph which is there must be as much community involvement in place-making as possible.[182] Observation of the community involvement in the Gezi Movement in the maximum degree shows that place-making is a way of being part of decision-making process about the city for the citizens. Established relationship with the space, the act of response is something over the spatial space. In this process, the space suppressed by the power and the capital has been taken back and transformed into a real public space. Apart from the place and the society, the discourses were the third factors affecting this transformation. The widely embraced discursive statements were very effective just as the activities in various places and changed the scale of the Movement.

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[182] Relph, E. (1976). *Place and Placelessness.* London: Pion Limites, p.3.

4.2   The Discursive Practices of the Movement

"Only equals may laugh."[183]

Humour is a kind of resistance mode against all determined rules, arrangements and hierarchies for Russian philosopher Bakhtin. It became one of the most powerful weapons of the impotent against the narrow-minded, strict people in the authorities.   As Hannah Arendt notices, "The greatest enemy of authority, therefore, is contempt, and the surest way to undermine it is *laughter*."[184]

The slogans, posters, graffiti against the dignity of the authority were in the public space during the Gezi Movement. These discourses turned authorities' position inside out in terms of hierarchy by making the authorities close and familiar to the society. The society started not to be afraid of them; because, they were able to laugh to them. A temporary world, at which there were no pressures or inequalities, was managed to be created in essence during the Movement.

In the Movement, the process produced its own places, symbols, discourses and the tactics. It was clearly observed how widely embraced discursive statements changed the scale of the Gezi Events continuously. For instance, the graffiti, "I want the storm created in Kızılay caused by butterfly fluttering in the Gezi Park",[185] summarizes the dissemination of the Movement and the notion of "time-space compression". The spirit emerged in the Gezi Park instantly affected the other citizens in İstanbul, in other cities and in other countries. This spirit was perceived and reflected in the public spaces in the farthest node from the Gezi Park in a real manner. (Figure 55)

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[183] Bakhtin, M. M. (1968). Rabelais and His World. (H. Iswolsky, Trans.) Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, p.116.

[184] Arendt, H. (1970). *On Violence.* Harcourt Brace Javanovich, New York, p.45.

[185] Translated into English by the author of the thesis: "Ben Gezi Parkı'nda kanat çırpan kelebeğin Kızılay'da yarattığı fırtınayı istiyorum.".

Figure 55: One of the most effective graffiti from the Movement
(Retrieved from http://www.sokaktahareket.com/2015/05/gezi-direnisi-duvar-yazlar.html)

First of all, the activists, whose cultural identities, religions, political opinions, ages, cities, countries and reasons for participation to the Movement differs from each other, had come together with a discursive statement, namely "Everywhere is Taksim, Resistance Everywhere" and contributed to the transformation of this space. This discourse became the initial step for the dissemination of the Movement into different kinds of spaces and so it was turned into the spatial discourse by this way.

Bülent Batuman analysed the discursive statements in his article, Gezi'nin Söz Hali: Mekan, Temsil, Dil. He stated that the slogan, "Everywhere is Taksim, Resistance Everywhere" made the tangible physical space unimportant by emphasizing plural meaning of the activity.[186] This also both connected the activity to the urban space by emphasizing the Taksim Square and disconnected

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[186] Batuman, B. (2014). Gezi'nin Söz Hali: Mekan, Temsil, Dil. *Dosya 33, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi*(1), p.49.

the activity from the real space by generalizing the space to everywhere.[187] The Taksim Square became a representation space which was known in the national scale.

As was expressed before, "Çapulcu" is the label given by the Prime Minister on 2 June.[188] The activists admitted themselves as "Çapulcu" and continued their activities and their lives instead of revolt against the Prime Minister and increasing the tone of the discussion. They turned the words of the song - Everyday I'm shuffling into "Everyday I'm chapulling". This label embraced all kinds of desires, and activities for justice in the event. This is not a description, it is an act. There were many foreign supports about this label. For instance, "I am also a 'çapulcu' in solidarity" was written in a poster in the video of Noam Chomsky.[189]. The label also took place in the dictionaries immediately.[190] After all, the "Çapulcu" became the subject of more than 40 songs[191], the words of which was changed by taking from the existing songs and it was used in the name of about 6 books[192]. The books were published such as "Çapulcunun Gezi Rehberi" by Eylem Aydın, "Çapulcuların Sosyal Medya Paylaşımları" by Hasan Kargı, and "Çapulcu" by Bekir Öztürk.[193] Moreover, 3 political party establishment attempts were observed in the name of "Çapulcular Party",

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[187] Ibid.

[188] *Başbakan'dan Gezi direnişçilerine; 'Birkaç çapulcudan izin alacak değilim'*. (2013, June 02). Retrieved from Yurt Newspaper: http://www.yurtgazetesi.com.tr/gundem/basbakandan-gezi-direniscilerine-birkac-capulcudan-izin-alacak-degilim-h35925.html.

[189] http://www.aksam.com.tr/dunya/chomskyden-capulcu-destegi/haber-212842.

[190] For further information please see:
http://tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_gts&arama=gts&guid=TDK.GTS.55fd6df7518e06.85757 691, http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=chapulling,
http://www.collinsdictionary.com/submission/11400/Chapulling,
http://www2.zargan.com/tr/q/chapulling-ceviri-nedir

[191] *Best of Gezi!* (2013, June 12). Retrieved from Radikal Newspaper: http://www.radikal.com.tr/hayat/best_of_gezi-1137184.

[192] Ak, C. (2013, May 31). *Gezi Kitaplığı: Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi*. Retrieved June 01, 2015, from Bianet: http://www.bianet.org/biamag/kitap/156072-gezi-kitapligi-bir-bibliyografya-denemesi.

[193] These sources were shown in the appendix of Gezi Bibliography part in the end of the thesis.

"Çapulcu Halk Party" and "Türkiye Çapulcu Party". A temporary library in Adana was named as "Çapulcu Library".[194]

On the other hand, the discourses changed according to the properties of place.[195] For instance, the French version of 'Poem in the Street' was written to the entrance door of the French Consulate which linked the Event to previous movements in Turkey. 'Nothing is Guarantee' was written to the façade of the Garanti (Guarantee) Bank to protest them due to the owners' approaches to the Movement and the activists. Another example is that 'Yes! The Fully Independent Coffee Store Mister Mehmet' was written to window of a coffee maker in Beşiktaş which was the reaction of the protestors against the capitalism.

On the whole, this babbling, the irony, the self-expression, the words and the images, which made the Movement different from the previous demonstrations and provided the research of the Movement in terms of the discursive practices, filled surfaces of the buildings or the streets and the barricades turning to wish trees in the Movement throughout the whole country. Based on the discussion of Batuman about the urban space with reference to the political events related with the Gezi Park, "the social existence of political struggle is not only dependent to space and language separately, but also the spatial representations produced through the interaction of these two components."[196]

The experiences revealed that the urban centre became pedestrianized in a real manner. The people became aware about the circulation and the importance of entrance and exit together with the placement of the functions in a building or in a place. The effective and potential usages of surfaces of the façade, window, wall,

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[194] *Adana'da 'Çapulcu Kütüphanesi'.* (2013, June 05). Retrieved from Bugün Newspaper: http://www.bugun.com.tr/son-dakika/adanada-capulcu-kutuphanesi-haberi/653706.

[195] Çolak, E. B. (2014). Gezi Parkı Eylemleri Özelinde Toplumsal Muhalefet ve Estetik Politik Eylem. In D. Fırat, *Sokağın Belleği - 1 Mayıs 1977'den Gezi Direnişi'ne Toplumsal Hareketler ve Kent Mekanı.* Dipnot Yayınları: Ankara, p.359.

[196] Batuman, B. (2014). Gezi'nin Söz Hali: Mekan, Temsil, Dil. *Dosya 33, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi*(1), p.51.

and the ground were observed. Moreover, the colour, light and material usages which are the essential elements of a place in a design have gained importance. Shortly, the society transformed the place with all these in-situ experiences.

Within these examples and considerations, the Gezi Movement indicates that the place, the discourse and the society affect each other and they evolve together. When the struggle tool of the society failed to satisfy against the authority, the people started to change their methods by transforming their languages. Humour was used as a tool to resist against all strict rules, arrangements and the leading people in this Movement and provided courage which was contagious like fear to the society. However, humour defeated the fear and it has become one of the most effective and powerful weapon in the Movement to fight against the authority and the hierarchy. It also helped to create of an urban memory which has provided a quick gathering and awareness to the citizens for any social movements.

In fact, the "resistance" discourses and the humour appeared in the Gezi Movement still continue and they are very effective much more than estimated. In any demonstration or any political expression involves in a trace from the Gezi Movement as to both in an imperative practices and connotative practices. Obviously, this mindscape has been repeated since it reached fruition as to affect the power and the society. Moreover, the citizens have discovered the importance of the place and the connection of place with different fields such as architecture, economy and politics. According to the politicians, it was also affected the local elections in 2014 and general elections in 2015 and changed the direction of the country in terms of politics, economy and urban planning. The character of the Movement, which was independent from any institution or political parties, provided a dense participation and the diverse spatial experiences. On the whole, whatever the names of the Movement is memorialized, "June Movement", "Gezi Movement", "Gezi Events", "Gezi Resistance", it has been an anonymous movement and it has illuminated more than meets the eye in a month, which will be evaluated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

DISSEMINATION OF THE GEZİ MOVEMENT AND PLACE/SPACE: CONCLUSION

5.1 Richness of the Understanding of the Gezi

On the whole, this study has been developed around the Gezi Park and the Gezi Movement involved in our lives since 2007 together with the announcement of the Taksim Pedestrianization Project which was the most famous transformation projects of the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and the government. A struggle for the urban space was initiated in spatial manner in 2007. Then, this struggle started to take attentions of the citizens since 2011. At the end, between the last days of May and the mid of the June 2013, a pragmatic experience started with the environmentalist approach then evolved into citizen right issues and freedoms was lived in an elementary level. Although the speed of the movement started to decline after 15 June 2013, the experiences have still continued to be lived or revived and so it has affected the current time.

In order to understand the Movement, the reasons, the experiences and the consequences of it should be examined and argued with its all aspects. This study contributes to this enlightenment process by proposing to make of an analysis of the Gezi Movement with respect to architecture, society and culture. The relationships between the society, the place and the places, and the discursive statements were examined to reveal the reasons behind this intense and instant

public support and to explore the spatial meaning of the Gezi Movement in detail, which has attracted attention of many disciplines besides architecture, with starting from a cemetery to the Gezi Park to Taksim Square and then to the rest of İstanbul and to a larger geographical scale.

Beside the architecture, the Gezi Movement has leached into different disciplines such as politics, economics, journalism, city planning and law since 2013. Each citizen from these fields has attempted to examine the Movement and come through consequences about the Movement. The institutions such as Architects' Association 1927[197], Turkish Free Architects' Association[198] have arranged competitions and studios. Even though the main topic of these arrangements was not the Gezi Movement, the ideas of the participants were observed to be shaped on the Gezi. During and after the Gezi Movement 119 books and 46 periodicals[199] were published, which is the evidence of an effort to reach and tell the story of the implementations to the people living in the farthest place in the country for creating an urban memory. Furthermore, the Movement has gained a seat in not only politics but also the academic studies. Since 2013, 24 master thesis and 3 PhD thesis from the fields of architecture, urban and regional planning, political sciences, journalism, public administration, sociology, communication sciences, public relations and fine arts have been completed according to the data of Council of Higher Education. This data is the sign that the Gezi Movement has a comprehensive characteristic and it is deeply related with all disciplines. Although the initial support was gained with an environmentalist approach, the main concerns were the lack of freedom and rights and the interference of the authority to the every sphere of life which is the reason of this multiple interests of the fields in a short time.

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[197] Mimarlıkta Eleştirel Okumalar 5: Uzlaşma/Çatışma Zemini Olarak Mekan/Yer.

[198] S.O.S İstanbul Mimarlık Öğrencilerine Açık Fikir Projesi Yarışması: "Taksim Bölgesi için Alternatif Öneriler".

[199] These sources were shown in the Appendix A as Gezi Bibliography in the end of the thesis.

As stated before, the surveys conducted by the institutions including KONDA, PEN International, IPSOS, Human Rights Association, Turkey Human Rights Institution, İstanbul Culture University, İstanbul Bilgi University, and Institute of Strategic Thinking related with the Event in June 2013 while the Movement was being performed in an effective way in the streets of İstanbul and other cities shows that the Movement gained a support from different perspectives. This kind of public support related with the content of the Movement has been caused by the anonymous property of the Movement. The Movement did not encounter a problem as to find the advocators due to being independent from any organizations and the stabile bodies. Moreover, the Movement encountered with the deep interests of more than 15 countries in terms of the politics and the journalism which was shown and argued in the fourth chapter.

As is seen, an intense public support to make all people conscious by sharing information and putting the information in written situation. These efforts and approaches enforce the claims of David Harvey about the liberation of a space:

> "You can liberate a particular space for a while. However, you will always see that if you do not enter a further liberation process, the space that you have liberated will be absorbed again, seized by the dominant practice after a while."[200]

This means that the Gezi Park and the citizens were liberated in June 2013; however, this liberation should not be stayed at that time. The precautions should be taken in order not to be absorbed by the authority again. The place of the Movement should be shifted to the other platforms instead of forgetting the experiences. To be part of this process, this thesis provides the documentation and the examination of the experiences, the movements which happened before, and

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[200] Kutlu, Z., & Tonak, A. (2012, August 08). David Harvey'in Değeri. Retrieved May 10, 2015, from http://www.sendika.org/2012/08/david-harveyin-degeri-u-zumray-kutlu-e-ahmet-tonak/ Translated into English by the author of the thesis: "Belirli bir mekanı, bildiğiniz üzere, bir süreliğine özgürleştirebilirsiniz, ancak burada her zaman şunu göreceksiniz, eğer daha ileri bir özgürleştirme sürecine girmezseniz, özgürleştirmiş olduğunuz mekan, bir süre sonra dominant pratik tarafından tekrar absorbe edilir, ele geçirilir.".

the information about the Project, which is required for better awareness of the society although the thesis has both differences and similarities with the analysis of other people from diverse disciplines emerged in this process.

In order to grasp this transformation and the Movement with all aspects, the analysis and the findings of the thesis are examined in three parts as to the appreciations of the Movement in terms of the conceptual frames, the appreciations of the experiences in the Movement after the June 2013 together with the present situation and the appreciations of the Gezi Movement with space/place discussion at the end.

5.1.1 Appreciations of the Movement within the Conceptual Frame

All these discussions prompt the thesis to propose a conceptual framework starting with the understanding the "place" and exploring the identity of both the place and the citizens, the concept of "urban memory", the "place-making" and the "time-space compression" in the second chapter of the thesis, titled as "Conceptual Framework and the Method of the Research" in order to interpret the Movement focusing on the relationships between the society, the place and the places, and the discourses based on the notion of "Right to the City".

Within this frame, the definition of the term by different theorists from philosophy and human geography are made in this part of the thesis. The thesis aims to examine the properties of the place of the Movement, the Gezi Park, and the places of the Movement with referring to the definition of the philosopher Jeff Malpas within the context of (1) a definite but open space within a city or town, (2) a more generalised sense of space or "room" (3) a particular locale that has a character of its own.[201] As is seen, a place is defined with the geographical properties, the sense of space and the identity, which motives the discourses of this thesis by nominating the demonstrations. That is, the Movement and the

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[201] Malpas, J. (1999). *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography.* United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, pp.21-22.

Event defines different contents in terms of place in this study. The Movement involves all the actions or activities independently from location while the Event is used when the experiences directly related with a location.

The second above-mentioned meaning of the place is being a room which means the contribution of subjectivity that the user of that place makes a connection with the place by touching it with his/her own way. The concept of "place-making", which is a tool or a way to get in touch with the place, involves in this study with this approach. The discussion is extended by the "community involvement in place-making" belonging to Edward Relph in order to interpret the Gezi Movement whose one of the initial reasons was the demand of the citizens to transform their urban spaces into their spaces. Moreover, the study infers that the urban memory has an essential position in the definition of the place with reference to David Harvey's definition of place which is regarded as the "locus of collective memory". These memories have an impact on the creation of the identity of a place. The efforts of the citizen to protect the memories of the Movement both in virtual and the physical manner, stems from their desire to protect the identity of the place and the citizens. The developments in technology were the basic source and supporter of this Movement and still it helps to citizens to connect with each other in a very short time in case of any problems, which involved the concept of "time-space compression" to the thesis for the expression of the dissemination of the Movement and the spirit of the Gezi to the other cities in record time.

First of all, the Gezi Movement proved that the geographical properties are the main factors contributing to the successive mass protests. The Taksim Square and the Gezi Park next to the Square is the core of the historic and urbanized modern İstanbul, which are expressed in detail in the third chapter, named as "Gezi: The Place and the Modes of the Movement". The activists were able to reach to the Square and the Park by walking in spite of the physical preventions during and after the Event such as the closing of the roads reaching to these places and the

removal of the buses which worked for in this route by the Municipality. They arrived to the main area by using the crossroads and prevented the passages of the vehicles as in the case of Bosphorus Bridge. In fact, the narrow streets connecting to the Square affected the time of the Event since the water cannons were not able to enter to the streets due to their sizes; therefore, the activists were able to gather in the Square again after the withdrawal of the water cannons. In other words, this urban space is easily accessible and in a walkable and dispersible distance as it always has been in each historical period.

The aims of the Project expressed by the Municipality including the pedestrianization of the area between İstiklal Street and the Gezi Park to integrate these place without an interruption and demolishment of the pedestrian bridge as one of the first attempt of the state to break the physical link of the park with its environment constitutes a paradox with the fundamental property of an urban space since the main property of a square is supposed to be accessible at first. However, if the Project would be implemented, it would be impossible to reach the Square by walking in contrast to the announced aim of the Project. This limitation against the citizens is contrarian to the "citizen rights" as well. Moreover, the area would reach 36.000 m^2 together with the addition of pedestrianization area in case of the implementation of the Project and this excessive amount of dimensions would cause the Square to lose its control and identity. Another reason which would cause to loss of the identity of the Square would be the removal of this transportation hub of the city and taking the traffic flow around the Square to the underground which is the commutation node of the heart of the European side of İstanbul, which has 38 bus routes and transit 16 routes. It would be more appropriate to ask the ideas about this district and the Park to the real users of them, in other words, to the citizens. They have had the connections with the Square and its environments such as to entertain, to transport, and to meet with someone, to live in or to show their thoughts; thus, it

has a place in their daily lives. They did not admit the things and facts enforced by the state which had not the ability to manage the citizens as the state assumed.

When these disadvantages of the Project combined with the displeasures among the society about the freedoms and human rights, the alienated people who thought that their ideas were not involved in the decisions of the power managed to come together especially by the help of the social media. The surveys show that the social media has a flourishing effect on dissemination of the Movement. The new pace of life which is quick and multi-dimensional and technology are quite different from the past; therefore, these developments provide the sharing and the spread of information in a very short time. Obviously, the users made an endeavour to spread the news about the Movement and the foreign countries followed the developments in our country closely via videos and images on the virtual platforms like Twitter and Facebook. These platforms helped to people to organize and to be in solidarity. The users of these platform noticed that they were able to change the direction of the course of the demonstrations. This time-space compression affects the size, the frequency and the intensity of the demonstrations. Now, they continue to use the power of the technology in other movements all over the world.

Coming together of the city and the citizens reveals that another city and cities are possible with the involvement of the citizens to the issues related with the cities. In the Movement, the citizens managed to design their places by protecting their places, their lives and their rights. The process was developed spontaneously by the inherent solidarity spirit of the citizens. They designed a social life in the urban spaces and these gave inspirations to the other cities in our country and in other countries. They were organized instinctively in the physical platforms and in the virtual platforms. There was not any hero among themselves or any kind of outstanding figures. This communication liberated the activists and their thoughts. The citizens saw that they were able to come together without the leadership of any institutions or groups and it is possible to reach a result by making the

authority heard their demands and expectations about the urban space and the citizen rights involving the freedoms with this type of organizations.

Moreover, they managed to understand the feelings of each other. They noticed that they should not leave off their rights and demands due to not being represented by the authority. This new kind of identities of the citizens constituted the base of the spirit of the Gezi is evaluated as the real motives of the Movement within the each chapter of this study. The democratic representations, the democratic rights and the demands have gained importance and it would seem that these people will not return to the former states again after the experiences in the Movement, which were among the most important results of the Movement.

It is the obvious demand of the citizens with regard to more authorization and judgment in both the national politics and the management of city. The ideas of David Harvey, İlhan Tekeli and Tarık Şengül directs to this study in order to understand the justifications of such a diverse and dense participation. Their common shared thoughts which constitute the initial point of this thesis focus on the relationship between the urban space and the citizen rights which help to the transformations of the capitalist city as a political tool. The citizens desired to be part of decision-making process in the transformation of their cities, which was in the Gezi Park at first, and then sprawl to the other parts of the country and other countries. This desire is not a new issue if so the Movement would not spread to other cities. The previous movements stemmed from the concerns of the citizens about the ecology and the environment such as making of HES, the nuclear power, the transformation projects which had been nonissuable as to the authority were the reasons of emergence of the Gezi Movement. The Tekel Resistance and the Occupy Movements also helps to generation of the spirit of Gezi due to the similarities in terms of properties of the movements and also the content of demands which were the signs of urban rights.

The spirit of the Gezi and the new life constituted in the public spaces such as in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana brought a commune type life and a new kind of space understanding, which are expressed in detail in the fourth chapter, titled as "Ground Zero: The Place and the Places of the Movement", with the classification of the places of the Movement. The solidarity and the cooperation were in the ultimate level that means the society was aware of the deficiency of these properties among themselves and they desired to be in this kind of relation. The sense of place and the scale in the Movement were various, that is, the place of the Movement was sometimes only a person's body or sometimes a building or a temporarily constructed library or a medical room. The bodies such as the "Woman in Red", the "Standing Man", the "Talcid Man", the activities of Çarşı Group, the people with the pots and the pans became the symbol of struggle and peace against the violence of the security forces existing in the first days of the Movement which was the main reason for almost half of the activists according to the report of KONDA, obviously increased the tension and the participation, and it also directed the attention of the society causing them to act with the conscientious reflex according to the surveys of the above-mentioned institution. The civil disobedience actions such as sit-in, arranging concerts or performances without permission and arranging forums in the public spaces were more effective to show reaction to the authority and participate to the decision-making process. In this peaceful way, it is possible get expected answers from the authority. In other words, the Gezi Movement changed the ways of the reactions in the demonstrations to make the authority heard.

In the same chapter, it is followed by the examination of the places constructed for the basic needs, the examination of the public activities in the places and the re-use of the places. The temporary constructed kitchens, the medical rooms, the libraries, the kindergartens, the training centres, the speaker's corner have brought in new ideas and new points of views to the architecture and the fine arts. The indication of these experiences is that these are the demands of the citizens, so the

first thing that should be in the design processes is to understand the demands of the users not only in architecture but also in politics. The indicator of the discourse on a wall, "Don't be afraid. We are the public.", is that the community and its desires are required to come firstly in the projects in order to satisfy the needs of the community.

We observed the reflection of the "community involvement in place-making" attitude to the places like solidarity houses or urban forums which were also revitalized by the citizens organized by the idea of "Right to the City". They came to light after the peak point of the Movement were the precursor of another type of place understanding and the discussion places of the urban rights and the demands.

Apart from the place and the society, the discourses and slogans were the third factors affecting the course of the Movement analysed in the fourth chapter. The widely embraced discursive statements were very effective just as the activities in various places and changed the scale of the Event. The process produced its own places, symbols, discourses and the tactics. By the help of them, the society has made the authorities close and familiar to itself. The society started not to be afraid of them; because, they were able to laugh to them. This humoristic approach has been continued to be held after June 2013.

The label, "Çapulcu", still embraces all kinds of desires and activities in the society. This is also used as a tool to keep alive the urban memory, but still the citizens do not want to be alienated or branded with discourses like "marginal groups", or "pawn of several illegal organizations" as in the Gezi Movement. They just desired to be visible in their cities again. The Movement shows that these types of brands draw reactions and bond the citizens against the authority. This attitude has been still maintained in case of any labels used by the authority.

The spatial analysis and the observations show that the relation between the spatial space, representation of space and representational space were not stable and the context of them was continuously changed. The Park is the platform of the struggle in the first couple of days; however, it transferred its place to the Taksim Square. This spatial shift was reasoned by Bülent Batuman that the Gezi Park has no longer a tangible, described topic and it cannot bear to the weight of this content.[202] Moreover, the slogan, "Everywhere is Taksim, Resistance Everywhere" made the tangible physical space unimportant and connected the activity to the urban space by emphasizing the Taksim Square and disconnected the activity from the real space by generalizing it to everywhere. Therefore, the representation of the Movement also shifted. After the highly-charged times of the Movement, the Gezi Park became a symbol of solidarity and revolt, so it was departed from the physical phase.

The authority was primarily at the forefront as responsible for increasing of the tension among the citizens in the whole process on condition that before and after the Gezi Movement especially analysed in the third chapter. The language and the approaches of the authority were very effective in the course of the demonstrations. As was observed in the Movement, the language of the politicians changed well, that is, the humour became one of the most effective and powerful weapon in the Movement to fight against the authority and the hierarchy, which also provided the easy remembrance and alive of the memories. They have attached importance of the memories and found ways to collect them during and after the Gezi Movement. These memories provide a quick gathering and awareness to the citizens in case of any other social movements.

All in all, the discussion of "place" involves in many multi-disciplinary terms that is why this Movement is the topic of many fields. When the Gezi Movement is analysed with reference to these terms stated above in architectural manner, the

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[202] Batuman, B. (2014). Gezi'nin Söz Hali: Mekan, Temsil, Dil. *Dosya 33, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi*(1), p.48.

place and the places of the Movement are shaped with the community involvement demanding the citizen rights provided by "place-making" which is a way of being part of decision-making process about the city for the citizens. This type of place understanding in the Movement helped to create the urban memory as well with the public activities such as establishment of studios for the children, establishment of a TV channel, a radio, rewriting the famous songs or the dance shows. Moreover, re-use of the places by changing of their functions by the users helped to understand and interpret the experiences lived in the Movement in terms of the concept of "place. Furthermore, the babbling, the irony, the self-expression, the words and the images made the Movement different from the previous demonstrations, which promote the Movement to be researched in terms of the discursive practices in this study. Shortly, the thesis reveals the citizen rights by analysing the place-based power struggle, the public space, and the daily life experiences within the limits of the Gezi Movement.

5.1.2 Appreciations on the Experiences in the Movement after the June 2013 and the Present Situation

The Movement held in June 2013 stopped the interference to the Gezi Park itself at that time; however, after the Movement, no action has been taken back about the Project and the applications which had been performed up to the Gezi Movement. The decisions about the Pedestrianization have not been retreated yet; however, at the same time, the transportation hub has still maintained its duty. In other words, the bus stops were not removed and the traffic route around the Square is still in aboveground. Meanwhile, the Park has remained so purposeless that the present inertia of the authority and the Park creates a suspicious perception as to the citizens as if the authority interferes to the Park and the Square as soon as it finds a chance.

The political developments after June 2013 show that this inertia will continue for a while since the citizens and the politicians have been witness to the irresistible power of the Gezi even if the anti-propagandas have been made. The discourses

have not lost their effects yet and their effects are more powerful more than estimated. Therefore, the steps related with the Project were temporarily suspended by the authority in order not to contribute this immense power of the Gezi Movement.

In recent times, it is explicitly seen that the illusion of the authority, which was analysed in the third chapter, titled as "Approaches of the Authority about the Movement" with referring to Lefebvre's ideas, has not been overcome yet even if the view of truth which is generated by the authority has undergone a change. To clarify the situation of the authority and the society with Lefebvre's terms, we are living in a blind field and the state illusion which belongs to the ruler who assumes that the ruler manages everything in citizens' lives in a proper and regular manner continues for now. The politicians and the people from other disciplines have still made an effort to give a meaning to the Gezi Movement in order to overcome the blind field. Although, it is unknown as to what the meaning of the Gezi Movement, it is widely admitted that the Gezi Movement involves the issues much more than an environmental reactions.

In this respect, the Movement obviously changed the direction of the politics which was analysed in the same chapter. The politicians made retrospective expressions, which mean that they also aware of the reasons which caused the emergence of this mass protests and its consequences. It is clear that the present experiences and the local and general elections were still affected from the Movement, which was supported by the expressions of Hüseyin Avni Mutlu and Egemen Bağış in 2015. The effort of the Gezi Movement to take place in the political stages with 3 political party establishment attempts was stemmed from this reason, the Movement still has a strong support throughout the country and this may be transformed into a chance according to the activists.

These expressions and the inertia about the Project and the applications which continued to be performed in the country indicate that the expectations of the

citizens have not been satisfied yet. However, the order and satisfaction is completely an illusion for the urban as long as the issues seen as the problems as to the citizens are ignored.

On the other hand, there is an analyses based on the survey of KONDA which shows that the problems of the citizens should not be ignored. The survey indicates that almost half of the activists did not participate any protest or marches before. If the half of the participants of the Movement constitutes from the non-participated citizens, this means that there is an accumulation of displeasures among the citizens. In other words, they want alterations in the applications of the authority. Tarık Şengül has the same idea about this accumulation of displeasures regarded as the reason of the Movement by him. The common demands of these participants in order to find solutions for the displeasures collected the heterogeneous identities.

All in all, in most of the countries including Turkey, it is an unavoidable fact that the political power tends to destroy the citizens' rights about their living places and disregard them from the decision-making process of the cities. The most drastic effect of the power is observed in public spaces expected to embrace all people from different countries, cities, cultures and politics. It always desires to change these places in order to embed its ideology. The Taksim Pedestrianization Project is this kind of desire having a pseudo increasing the efficiency of the pedestrian; however in reality, the authority can show its power and intervene to the demonstrators in this place because the identity of this place obstruct to the authority.

The intensity of the Movement and the experiences in the Movement have promoted the activists and the solidarity spirit of the Movement by giving a confidence to the activists for the possible movements in the future. They try to maintain to protect the urban memory which has been created since the highly-charged days of the Movement. Furthermore, the citizens has started to be

organized in the social networks which reveal the issues related with "dispossession" and generated in recent years. These social networks own its success and fame to the spirit of Gezi since they have gained importance after the Gezi Movement.

The Movement and these kinds of organizations provide reawaken of the concept of "empowerment" and "governance" as mentioned in the second chapter and regarded as the premises of the spirit of Gezi. The citizens strengthen their capacities and transformed their social, economic, and political situations with this process by exercising their rights, that is, empowerment of the self. These terms have started to be part of the studies especially after the Gezi Movement and interpreted by different theorists, academics, politicians, and organizations due to the increase of the social and economic inequalities, and state's strategies including the privatizations and the urban transformation projects.

In these respects, this new praxis and the developments in 2014 and 2015 related with the construction of the Presidential Palace, 3rd airport and the 3rd bridge seems to constitute the consecutive movements of the Gezi Movement since the authority has used this space as a new tool to show its power. They have got reactions of the citizens as well and they tried to be organized in the social networks to state their demands and reactions about these projects for now.

By taking into account all these efforts of the citizens in order not to forget the experiences which are stated above and the developments after June 2013 related with the construction of the Presidential Palace, 3rd airport and the 3rd bridge, the thesis says that this Movement in the elementary level constitutes the premise of the possible movements growingly in the following years. The citizens explored a new type of demonstration and they wanted to develop their thoughts and actions. Once again, the city and the citizens will come together in the urban spaces. This finding of the study coincides with the idea of David Harvey who had the chance to observe the movement in-situ in June 2013. He stated that a tradition of

city rebellion has been created in Turkey and the continuation of these rebellions would not surprise him.[203] In other words, the struggle will continue in different platforms even if the way of the demonstrations is changed.

The thesis reveals that although the Gezi Movement is the turning point of our country with its specific properties due to being the first with its many properties within these kinds of demonstrations, the reasons based on the conceptual issues expressed in every part of the thesis are not specific to the Gezi Movement. This is because the Movement has been tried to be defined and denominated by the politicians, sociologists, urban planners, architects and etc. On the whole, the thesis which handles the whole process of the Gezi Movement in terms of architecture proposes that future analysis about the Movement will be very effective to comprehend the architecture and the society and to overcome this blind field.

5.1.3 Appreciations of the Gezi Movement with Space/Place

On the whole, the relation of the concepts of place and space have undergone continues changes throughout the history and they have been located very much in the agenda in recent times. With reference to the definition of place made by John Agnew in the second chapter, place is considered as "a meaningful location" and the understanding of place consists of three aspects; namely, (1) "location" referring to "the simple notion of 'where'"; (2) "locale" implies "the material setting for social relations"; and (3) "sense of place" indicates "the subjective and emotional attachment people have to place".[204] On the other hand, space is just the location with no social attributions and it is abstract for both Tuan and Harvey. Place is defined as "humanized space"[205] according to Yi Fu Tuan. In other words, space consists of a physical property while place is obtained with the

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[203] Harvey, D. (2014, April 10). Prof. Harvey'le 'Kent Ayaklanmaları' Üzerine. (B. Eski, Interviewer).

[204] Cresswell, T. (2005). *Place: A Short Introduction.* Oxford, MA: Blackwell, p.7.

[205] Tuan, Y. F. (1977). *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, p.54.

attribution of a meaning to this physical property. That is, space and place are not separate concepts; on the contrary, they are an inseparable whole. Moreover, this link implies that place produces the social relations within the society and organizes the daily life stemmed from the humanized characteristics. The concerns of denotation the Gezi as Movement, Resistance, or Events throughout the thesis and the reinterpretation of the Movement are stemmed from the tension of space / place.
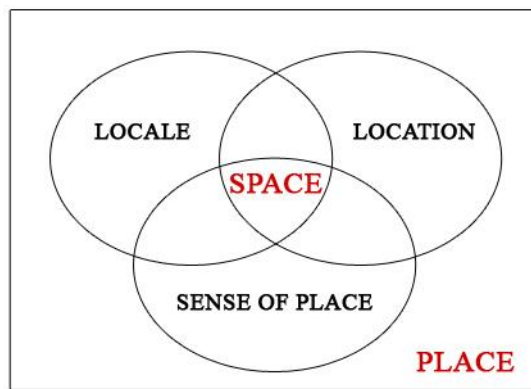
Figure 56: Illustration showing space / place in relation to the consideration of Agnew

The illustration (Figure 56), which is obtained from the definition of place and space of Agnew and consideration of other definitions belonging to Tuan, and Harvey, shows the interlocking relation of space and place; in fact, it says that these terms are just one thing. As the human factors are included to space, it turns to place; however, place still indicates the space. If the Gezi Park is thought as space before the time of conflicts, it will be seen that the Park found its meaning with this conflict. When the historical and the social values attributed to this space before were remembered by the citizens, which carried the Movement to the peak points in June 2013, the material settings and the emotional attachments started to be seen and it turned to a place including a space. Moreover, the number of

locations of the Gezi Movement would not be spread to 79 cities in Turkey and more than fifteen countries in abroad if these values, sensibilities and conflicts were not so similar to each other.

How the tension of place / space is shaped with the Gezi example and effects of it on the interaction networks turned the direction of the thesis to the time – space compression. The relationship of space and time is very clearly expressed by Tuan:

> "The notion of 'distance' involves not only 'near' and 'far' but also the time notions of past, present and future. Distance is a spatio-temporal intuition. 'Here' is 'now', 'there' is 'then'. And just as 'here' is not merely a point in space, so 'now' is not merely a point in time... Both space and time are oriented and structured by the purposeful being."[206]

Relph looks to the concepts and the relation of space and time from a same perspective with Tuan. Relph does not separate space and place concepts and maintain the relationship between them. Moreover, human intentions and human experiences, that is, social attributions designates the eligibility of place. According to David Seamon and Jacob Sowers who studied on the book of Relph, Place and Placelessness:

> "So space and place are dialectically structured in human environmental experience, since our understanding of space is related to the places we inhabit, which in turn derive meaning from their spatial context".[207]

For Harvey, space is abstract as stated in the previous paragraphs and it is constructed by capital. Place, on the other hand, is a conditional form of 'permanence' in the flow of space and time according to Cresswell who

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[206] Tuan, Y. F. (1979). Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective. In *Philosophy in Geography* (Vol. 20, pp. 387-427). D.Reidel Publishing Company, p.390.

[207] Seamon, D., & Sowers, J. (2008). Place and Placelessness, Edward Relph. In R. K. P. Hubbard, *Key Texts in Human Geography*, p.44.

interpreted the ideas of Harvey.[208] Harvey focused on the 'political economy of place construction under capitalism'[209]. That is, capital has reshaped the place and time again since the capital is mobile and place is fixed. Tim Cresswell analyses his attention and says that: "Harvey argues that people tend to think more about the security of their particular place in the world. The threat to place posed by the global economy makes us more aware of what we value in the places we live and work."[210]

An implicit value system peculiar to a place exists in normal conditions of peaceful times. That is, the people do not mention about the values of a place every day; however, in time of clash or in time of conflicts, the known values are come to light and they protected their place. The Turkish Gezi is evaluated as the movement of conservation of these values. The Gezi Park and its environment have always been valuable for not only citizens but also whole country. The materiality of the district makes the place set a connection with the inhabitants which is the sense of place. This emotional attachment of the individuals to a place and the materiality has enhanced its position in our lives.

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[208] Cresswell, T. (2005). *Place: A Short Introduction.* Oxford, MA: Blackwell, p.57.
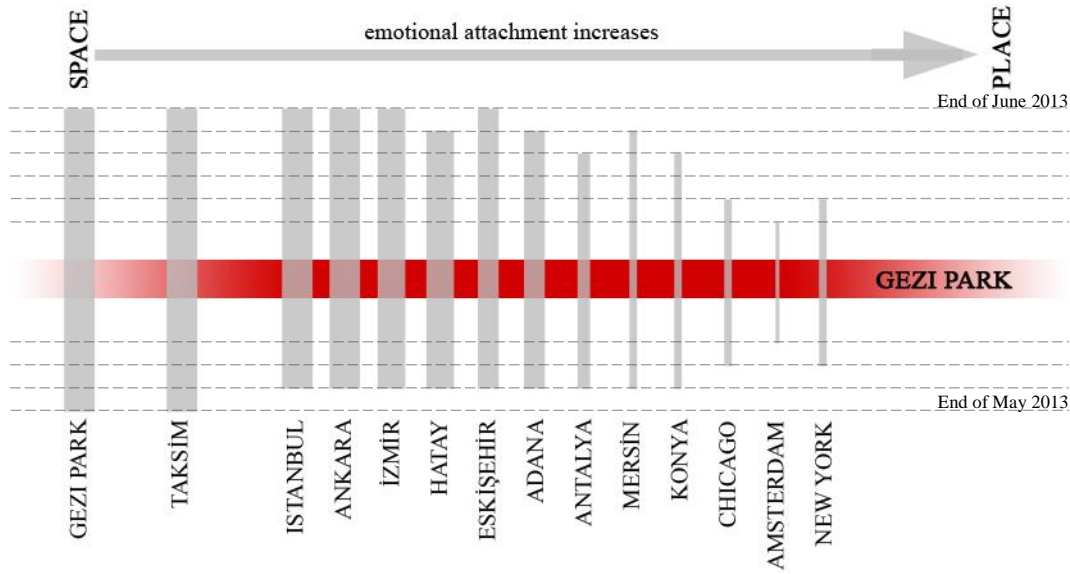[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid, p.58.

Figure 57: Illustration showing the relation of the place and places of the Movement with time

The illustration (Figure 57) designates the interlocking relation of the Gezi Movement with space, place and time. This diagram is obtained by the deduction from the thesis which was set on the readings about the Movement and the reports of the institutions. The red line always indicates the space / place as the Gezi Park. The vertical lines which were attached to this red line are the demonstration places of the Movement. However, while the thickness of these vertical lines shows the intensity of the Movement and the number of demonstration locations in that place, the length of the lines indicates the duration of the Movement in that place. The maximum length symbolizes one month of the Movement in the peak point in 2013. The initial and the end of the red line was shown as gradient from red to white; because the intensity in these times are not same with the experiences in the peak point of June 2013 which was shown as deep red.

At first, the Gezi Park confronted to us as a location where the citizens passes through the day and night in their daily lives. It seemed like there was no social and emotional connection with the space in its peaceful times. When the power

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interfered to the space, they remembered their connections and experiences and realized its value. The citizens interrogated the space / place, urban space, the problems related to space and their relationships with the space together with these values. In time, the space turned to place with the involvement of the citizens and the Gezi gave its place to Taksim which involves the Gezi as to location, Taksim and other values like freedom and urban rights and citizen rights. Then, the dissemination of the Movement to the larger scale in Turkey and abroad shows continues interlocking places. In other words, the demonstration places in other cities like Ankara and İzmir both embraced the properties of the Gezi and Taksim and reflects its own properties and values at the same time. Furthermore, by the help of technology, the virtual spaces and the physical owned the values of their places and produced an alternative movement. The space, the Gezi Park, always constitutes the base of the Movement; in fact, it promoted the dissemination of the Movement and increasingly transportation of the values to the other places. Within the frame of these two illustrations, each space represents the concerns of the Gezi Park as well as the values and concerns of its own space. Similar emotional attachments integrated the citizens and the events and made Turkey the place of the Movement.

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