

A SPATIAL IMPROMPTU:
GREEN RESISTANCE BY GUERRILLA GARDENING

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ABSTRACT

A SPATIAL IMPROMPTU: GREEN RESISTANCE BY GUERRILLA GARDENING

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The rise of industrial capitalism in 19th century brought pressures of mechanisation, privatisation and urbanisation, which triggered the fall of public life. Therefore, under such pressures, notion of public and, accordingly, perception over concept of publicness and public spaces have changed. Along with that change, ‘space’ has been commodified through being reduced into a physical entity, where merely technocrats are capable of producing it. Thus, individuals have been excluded from processes of production of public spaces and passivised by means of being encouraged to be spectators of their lives.

However, against technocratic and fragmented approaches on production of space, alternative theories and practices spring up which adopt relational and unitary approaches towards production of space. Inspired from them, the concept of ‘spatial impromptu’ is suggested within scope of this thesis. This concept is basically a manifestation towards initiating possibility of social, political, cultural and ecological production of public spaces within flow of everyday life, where inhabitants are

thought to be proactive throughout the whole process. Spatial impromptu, therefore, is considered as an attempt to evoke ‘another publicness’ for ‘another public space’. Thus, this study aims to query how inhabitants reclaim public spaces through manifesting a new publicness.

Along with this aim, the study analyses practice of guerrilla gardening as a spatial impromptu through appropriation, re-definition and reclamation of public spaces by inhabitants. Conducting in depth analysis on guerrilla gardening, a relational approach is developed to seek multiple relations between gardeners, inhabitants, city, authorities and nature. Thus, this relational analysis provides developing final implications of the study, where Guerrilla Gardening is addressed for appearance of new public spaces and regeneration of issues on ‘right to the city’ and ‘town - country dichotomy’.

Keywords: spatial impromptu, public spaces, production of space, everyday life guerrilla gardening

ÖZ

MEKANSAL DOĞAÇLAMA: ‘YEŞİL’ DİRENİŞ OLARAK GERİLLA BAHÇECİLİĞİ

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19. yüzyılda endüstriyel kapitalizmin yükselişiyle birlikte gelişen mekanikleşme, özelleştirme ve kentleşme gibi kavramlar kamusal hayatın çöküşünü tetikletmiştir. Endüstriyel kapitalizmin dayattığı bu baskılamalar ile kamu kavramı ve bununla bağlantılı olarak kamusallık ve kamusal mekan gibi nosyonların algılanma biçimi değişmiştir. Bu değişim, mekanın fiziksel bir oluşuma indirgenerek metalaşmasına yol açmış, salt teknokratlar tarafından tasarlanabilecek bir kavram haline gelmesine neden olmuştur. Böylelikle kent sakinleri kamusal mekan üretim sürecinin dışında tutulmuş ve ‘izleyici’ konumuna getirilerek etkisizleştirilmiştir.

Mekan üretimine yönelik bu teknokratik ve beraberinde parçacıl yaklaşımın aksine ilişkisel ve bütüncül bir yaklaşımı benimseyen alternatif teoriler ve pratikler türemektedir. Bu yaklaşımlardan hareketle bu çalışma kapsamında ‘mekansal doğaçlama’ kavramı geliştirilmektedir. Kavram, kent sakinlerinin etkin rol aldığı bir süreçte mekanın gündelik hayat içerisinde sosyal, politik, kültürel ve ekolojik üretiminin mümkün olduğunu ileri sürmektedir. Çalışma kapsamında, ‘mekansal doğaçlama’ kavramı ‘başka bir kamusal mekan’ için ‘başka bir kamusallığın’ ortaya çıktığı bir deneme olarak yorumlanmaktadır. Buradan hareketle çalışma kent

sakinlerinin yeni bir kamusallık pratiğinde kamusal mekanı nasıl geri kazandığını sorgulamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Bu amaç doğrultusunda, çalışma gerilla bahçeciliğini, kent sakinlerinin kamusal mekanı uygunlaştırması, yeniden tanımlaması ve geri kazanması itibariyle, bir mekansal doğaçlama olarak incelemektedir. Çalışma kapsamında gerilla bahçeciliği derinlemesine incelenerek ilişkisel araştırma yaklaşımı ile bahçeciler, kent sakinleri, kent ve otorite figürleri arasındaki çoklu ilişkiler analiz edilmektedir. Bu ilişkisel yaklaşım sayesinde çalışmanın sonuç çıkarımları gerilla bahçeciliği ile tanımlanan yeni kamusal mekanlar ve hareket ile yeniden gündeme gelen ‘kent hakkı’ ve ‘kent - kır ayrımı’ meseleleri üzerinden ileri sürülmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: mekansal doğaçlama, kamusal mekan, mekan üretimi, gündelik hayat, gerilla bahçeciliği

To the ones who fearlessly struggle for
peace.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

To practice space is thus to repeat the joyful and silent experience of childhood; it is, in a place, to be other and to move toward the other...The childhood experience that determines spatial practices later develops its effects, proliferates, floods private and public spaces, undoes their readable surfaces, and creates within the planned city a “metaphorical” or mobile city, like the one Kandinsky dreamed of: “a great city built according to all the rules of architecture and then suddenly shaken by a force that defies all calculation”.¹

1.1.CANALISING THE PERCEPTION TOWARDS PUBLIC SPACES

Within a broad collection of ideas and approaches towards understanding and perceiving the ‘space, which is the main object of various disciplines like from architecture to sociology, this thesis will deal with and try to open new discussions on ‘public spaces’. This thesis, therefore, is a quest onto the public spaces through tackling them as a ‘spatial impromptu’; a quest to disclose how/why and under what circumstances such spaces are re-defined and re-produced by inhabitants, specifically through practice of guerrilla gardening; and a quest to unfold the publicness the guerrilla gardening, as a spatial impromptu, manifests. With its naive explanation of ‘the quality, condition, or fact of being public’², publicness yet appears as a counter-notion to any form of hegemony or central power. Analyzing its word root, the term is derived from word ‘public’ which is *pubes* (adult) in Latin and basically evokes

¹Michel de Certeau, “Walking in the City” in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, California: University of California Press, 1984, p. 110.

²See <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/publicness>.

terms like everyone, community and commons. Although such connotations cover the idea of ‘being belonged to everybody’, there is an ongoing confusion as to praxis in Turkey which usually considers ‘public’ together with the ‘state’.³ As one of the results of neo-liberal capitalist economy, the balances between ‘state’, ‘private’ and ‘public’ are corrupted against public, since the cooperation between first two weakens it.⁴ On the other hand, because of the restrictions in public life and public as being under control of state authority, the things related with public appear as if they belong to state. These two terms, however, should be approached and discussed separately in a conceptual level in order to understand publicness accurately. In fact, the two terms, public and state, collide as duo antagonistic notions one of which meets all fractions of society horizontally, whereas the other stands for the central authority by providing a vertical order with its repressive apparatuses⁵. Thus, this confusion in meaning and use of public and state leads to misperceptions concerning ‘publicness’, which also effects perception towards publicness of spaces.

For the case of Turkey again, this misperception was broken considerably during Gezi Uprising⁶ where, at heart, people found chance to go beyond rules and

³Dinçer Demirkent, “Kamusallığı Yeniden Düşünmek“ in *EMO Bilimsel Dergi*, 2011, p. 9.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, tr. by Ben Brewster, New York:Monthly Review Press, 1971, pp. 121–76.

⁶Looking back to beginning of the protests, one can surely say that it was, at first, a call for environmental, also urban, action towards expressing an antagonist standing against government’s project of on Gezi Park -one of the ‘precious’ public parks and remaining green spaces located at the center of İstanbul. The project aimed to transform Gezi Park into a shopping mall with replica architecture of Ottoman style. This detrimental, discretionary and hegemonic intervention to urban public space not only damaged publicness, but also the life there; the trees, the homeless, the lovers, the children, the elder, the graffiti-maker, the street artist, the street hawker, the passersby and many others within public life. To realise that project, government started to cut the trees in Gezi Park, but the activist had already occupied the park to protect trees. Afterwards many other activists and ordinary people involved in this struggle for Gezi Park; in few days all important squares and streets turned into spaces of resistance. Therefore, Gezi Park protests initiated with environmental concerns, yet as the revolt had spread throughout the country these initial struggle for environmental concerns evolved into a struggle for right to the city and it ultimately reached to be for right to the life. Here, before concluding this information note on Gezi, I shall refer to Çağla Aykaç’s words, who perfectly articulated her feelings about Gezi: “In Gezi, you first met with yourself. There was a specific moment when you came face to face with who you are and what you fear. Then, you also had to take a look at what you believe in; how you relate to your body, to authority, to justice, to knowledge; and ultimately, of course, to freedom. After this first check-up came the sensations. Feeling Gezi came before thinking it. Sensations ran along the soft core, because it is through bodies - rushing up hills, hidden in staircases and in each breath- that desires stretched into force. Gezi started with a joyful display of real anger against the assemblages of capitalism, urban pillage, environmental destruction, conservative morals, body policing, selective justice, and whirling injustices. Gezi was just the

obligations of the state with the intention of achieving their ‘publicness’ back. As being one of the demonstrators and a critical observer of the uprising by reading it through my profession and *idea*, I should state, without any hesitation, that Gezi provides me to live and share unique moments where, for the first time of my life, I feel myself as a member of a real ‘public’. These were the moments when each person on squares and streets discard their names and identities and just concentrate on resisting together in a sense of being ‘public’. Hereby, I should state that these inexpressible moments encouraged me and triggered me to inquire of this topic as the subject of my master’s thesis.

In Turkey, thanks to Gezi, people experienced what public really is and later practiced publicness bodily, probably for the first time together with a great mass of people.⁷ During and after the uprising, use of public spaces became meaningful in the sense of ‘living’ publicness. What happened in those days is a change and a revival of a public, which resulted in eventuating different ideas towards ongoing praxis, current political and social system, issues like freedom, justice and rights, and as well as cognisance of public spaces. Therefore, perception towards both public and, relatively, publicness changed with active and creative use of public spaces which is, again, a consequence of acting like a public. This sole but striking instance even showed the transition in perception of public regarding whether it is understood together with state or not. Again this sole but striking instance proved how publicness was acquired via attempts to experience it not merely as discoursing it theoretically- or in a form of top-down implementation, but rather by living it practically in a form of bottom-up practice.

Turning back again to publicness and its relation with ‘space’, an explanation of another term, ‘public life’, is necessary to be done towards linking publicness with public spaces. “Public life relates to the (dis)enchantments of urban encounters, in which there are many and diverse ways of how people rub along, or don’t, in the

beginning -the struggle continues. Freedom has a price and a hope its joys.” For the full article where she conveys her experiences/feelings on Gezi, see Çağla Aykaç, “Strong Bodies, Dirty Shoes: An Ode to the Resistance”, 2014, Retrieved 24 January, 2014 from <http://roarmag.org/2014/01/gezi-spirit-poetry-art-resistance/>.

⁷According to The Ministry of Interior, 3.611.208 people participated in Gezi Protests by organising 5532 demonstrations and other activities. However, according to opponent media, almost 7,5 million people got involved in protests.

public spaces of a city”.⁸ “In social research, public life then acquires the normative, ideal type of political character that is attached to places of emerging emancipatory practices.”⁹ Here, both of these explanations of public life show how it describes a kind of societal system where people can get in touch or somehow be in a relation with each other. However, as a contrary concept, ‘private life’ not only protects the personal but can also lead to individualization. By his critical approach towards transformation of public life into private one, Sennett shows how “private life becomes distorted as we of necessity focus more and more on ourselves, on increasingly narcissistic forms of intimacy and self-absorption” because of the changes in public life after emergence of great capital cities of Europe in the 18th century.¹⁰ He also continues explaining his ideas on public life in ‘public realm’:

The most important fact about the public realm is what happens in it. Gathering together strangers enables certain kinds of activities which cannot happen, or do not happen as well, in the intimate private realm. In public, people can access unfamiliar knowledge, expanding horizons of their information. Markets depend on these expanding horizons of information. In public, people can discuss and debate with people who may not share the same assumptions or the same interests. Democratic government depends on such exchanges between strangers.¹¹

Not only tending towards private life as individuals break public life, but also practices of governments which promote privatisation in several areas do so as an authoritential response. Thus, modern societies tried to be isolated from public life which can be a future threat for concrete integrity of central authorities. Giving Gezi as an instance again for the case of Turkey, both government and people witness how people achieve their ‘publicness’ when they act as a ‘public’, which immediately was considered as a trenchant threat against indivisible integrity of state. Even this single example shows the collective power of people fed by the energy coming from public

⁸Sophie Watson, *City publics: The (Dis)Enchantments of Urban Encounters*, London: Routledge, 2006.

⁹Sabine Knierbein, “Public Space as Relational Counter Space: Scholarly Minifield or Epistemological Opportunity?” in Sabine Knierbein and Chiara Tornaghi (ed.), “Relational Public Space” in *Public Space and Relational Perspective: New Challenges for Architecture and Planning*, Oxford: Routledge, 2014, p. 42.

¹⁰Richard Sennett, “The Public Realm” in Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson (ed.) *The Blackwell City Reader*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2010, pp. 261-272.

¹¹*Ibid.*

life. In order to protect its integrity and power and realise its aim towards privatisation of things related with public, central authority first counteracts then annihilates public spaces where public life finds and maintains itself.

As the ground of public life, and the object of disciplines like architecture, planning and sociology, public spaces initiate several debates on public, publicness and public life. These debates reappear within every political, social, physical or theoretical attempt/intervention/restriction towards public spaces. Here, different definitions/explanations have been developed and are still developing to comprehend public spaces deeply. Not only architects, planners or designers, namely the ones responsible for ‘designing’ public spaces, but also philosophers, sociologists and other social scientists has tried to define those spaces, where the later group is further prone to focus on the dialogue between public spaces and society. Analogously, as lying at the core of public life, public spaces are important for both personal or impersonal and societal developments. Also the dual collaboration or contention between public spaces and private spaces motives such developments of persons and societies. As Madanipour states:

The division of space and society into public and private spheres, therefore, affects individuals’ mental states, regulates their behaviour, and superimposes a long-lasting structure onto human societies and the spaces they inhabit.¹²

The participation to public life, which directly affected more from use of public spaces comparing with private spaces, differs regarding cultural, social and political circumstances. Not as a deep analysis of seeking possible reasons of this differentiation in use of public spaces according to different cases, but as making a general interpretation, it can be propounded that this usage, also, changes with every attempt trying to privatise public spaces. A lot of instances, especially from Turkey, can be given herein one of which is the triggering point of Gezi Uprising where Gezi Park was planned to be destroyed and replaced by a replica building functioning as a shopping mall.

¹²Ali Madanipour, *The Private and Public Spaces of the City*, London: Routledge, 2003, Preface.

For further probe on the relation between public spaces and society, public spaces should be analysed with all its complexities and contradictions they contain, from societal urban experience to personal appearance and impressions on and of such spaces. Going forward and thinking public spaces from an upper scale, the urban, such complexities and contradictions can be better divulged, since the urban, itself, is dialectical.¹³ From a nominative perspective, it covers conflicts and contradictions within. With orders and immanent disorders, crowds and killing quietness, presence and absence, possible and impossible, being a container of differences but providing no system of differences, requiring a total reading but itself not being a totality; it is the place of expression but at the same time place of desire. All of those conflicts and contradictions make urban more complex and harder to comprehend. Urban form, with its spatial, social, philosophical, political, and demographical inputs, is complex either. Here, the term 'form' does not correspond what is known as geometrical shape or physical figure, rather it gains a new meaning of which eludes itself from just providing a physical imagery. Lefebvre continues on:

In urban space, something is always happening. Relations change. Differences and contrasts can result in conflict, or are attenuated, erode, or corrode.¹⁴

Thinking of cities and its public spaces embedded in a system of semi-lattice¹⁵, of an abstract structure or relations of rhizomatic¹⁶ interactions, each relation and interaction between persons therein public spaces open new possibility of links being established among people and space. This relations and interactions, in some sort,

¹³Henri Lefebvre, "Levels and Dimensions" in *Urban Revolution*, London: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2003, p.82.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, "Urban Form", p.117.

¹⁵"*The city is not a tree, but a semi-lattice.*" These famous words of Christopher Alexander emphasizes city as complex fabric; the structure of living things, rather than a series of unconnected units included in tree structures. For his further ideas on this subject see, Christopher Alexander, "A City is not a Tree" in *Design*, London: Council of Industrial Design, No. 206, 1966.

¹⁶Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari use the term "rhizome" and "rhizomatic" to describe theory and research that allows for multiple, non-hierarchical entry and exit points in data representation and interpretation. In their book, *A Thousand Plateaus*, they oppose to an arborescent conception of knowledge, which works with dualist categories and binary choices. According to their theory, a rhizome works with planar and trans-species connections, while an arborescent model works with vertical and linear connections. For further information see, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, "A Thousand Plateaus" in *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, Trans. Brian Massumi, University of Minnesota Press, 1980, p.25.

generate public life where differences find possibility to come together in a common ground. Here, public spaces are necessary and important in providing this ground for heterogeneous societies. Besides, public spaces can be understood as ‘interfaces’ where people can show their public side instead of keeping themselves behind their private lives. Therefore, they can be regarded as spaces of possibilities and potentials where people can realise an utopia, represent an ideology, or merely act as a public man/woman. All of such possibilities and potentials render public spaces as ever changing organisms. As Low and Smith explain in their book *The Politics of Public Space*:

“Public space” envelops the palpable tension between place, experienced at all scales in daily life, and the seeming spacelessness of the Internet, popular opinion, and global institutions and economy. It is also not a homogeneous arena: The dimensions and extent of its publicness are highly differentiated from instance to instance.¹⁷

Until here, by pointing out the dialogue between human and space, public spaces are tried to be discussed through different perspectives. Another approach towards public spaces should also be discussed herein to finalize discussing the perception over space: Cartesian Space and Non-Cartesian Space. Conrad’s words are related with that:

The meanings that we attribute to space are inextricably bound with our understanding of the world in which we live. Our basic understanding of the world originates from the sensory spatial relationship between our body and the world. Our understanding of space is directly related to our understanding of the space of our body, which has long been sundered in Western culture by the Cartesian duality. If we do not accept this separation, what is the resultant space?¹⁸

The Cartesian duality, which mentioned above, is based on Descartes’s Cartesian Method which is set up on the separation between *res cogitans* (thinking thing) and *res extensa* (extended thing).¹⁹ The separations and reductions are basic

¹⁷Setha Low and Neil Smith (ed.) , *The Politics of Public Space*, New York: Routledge, 2006.

¹⁸Erik Conrad, “Towards Embodied Spatial Interaction”. Retrieved 25 November 2013 from http://www.pamelajennings.org/CHI06workshop_AboutFace/Final_Papers/Conrad.pdf.

¹⁹René Descartes as cited in Senem Kurtar, “Mekânı Yaşamak: Lefebvre ve Mekânın Diyalektik Oluşumu”, Paper presented at TÜCAUM: VII Coğrafyalar Sempozyumu, Ankara: Ankara University, 2013, p. 350.

determinations of Cartesian Method, where space turns into a ‘thing’ to be commodified, reduced and merely designed. In other words, according to this method, space is just a unification of lines, planes and coordinates, which forces it to have three dimensions by ignoring time-space relation.²⁰

Cartesian Method, on the other hand, is ‘coalescence of reason and perspective’.²¹ This approach, especially in architecture, reduces spatial experience into a mere visuality, which vaporizes the synergy between human and space.²² This approach also tends to view space mainly as a shell or a container, focusing on its physical and material entity. Thereby, it ignores ever-changing structure of space, its contested uses, social conflicts and more generally the fact that space is an outcome of contextual and ongoing dynamics between multiple actors. By ignoring such qualities of spaces, Cartesian approach “treats space as an abstract two or three dimensional object to be sliced into workable pieces”²³, which commodifies it to be in the service of capitalist urban planning and design, as well as consumption.

Being against Cartesian duality, which submits a very rational and strict order that reduces space into a commodity to be sold, Lefebvre considers space as a social production.²⁴

Social space will be revealed in its particularity to the extent that it ceases to be indistinguishable from mental space (as defined by philosophers and mathematicians) on the one hand, and physical space (as defined by practico-sensory activity and the perception of ‘nature’) on the other.²⁵

²⁰Senem Kurtar, “Mekânı Yaşamak: Lefebvre ve Mekânın Diyalektik Oluşumu”, Paper presented at TÜCAUM: VII Coğrafyalar Sempozyumu, Ankara: Ankara University, 2013, p. 351.

²¹Lefebvre uses the word “illusion” for same purpose: “*It is pure illusion to suppose that thought can reach, grasp or define what is in space on the basis of propositions about space and general concepts such as message, code and readability. This illusion, which reduces both matter and space to a representation, is in fact simply a version of spiritualism or idealism -- a version which is surely common to all those who put political power, and hence state power, in brackets, and so see nothing but things.*” See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Maiden: Blackwell Publishing, 1991, p.162.

²²Adile Arslan Avar, “Lefebvre’in Üçlü -Algılanan, Tasarlanan, Yaşanan Mekân- Diyalektiği” in Fehmi Doğan (ed) *Dosya 17: Mimarlık ve Mekan Algısı*, vol. 17, Ankara, 2009, p. 7-16.

²³Sabine Knierbein and Chiara Tornaghi, “Relational Public Space: New Challenges for Architecture and Planning Education”, in Sabine Knierbein and Chiara Tornaghi (Ed.), “Relational Public Space” in *Public Space and Relational Perspective: New Challenges for Architecture and Planning*, Oxford: Routledge, 2014, p. 7.

²⁴Henri Lefebvre, *Op. Cit*, p.26..

²⁵*Ibid*, p.27.

Social space becomes as a link between physical space and mental space; namely the concrete and the abstract. Being a social space, public spaces appear as more complex, where various social interactions are fulfilled by different actors in public life. Thus, public spaces are detached from its physical and material identity and needed to be approached through its socially interacted entity. Hou's ideas can be linked with that:

As places where important historical events tend to unfold, public spaces are imbued with important, collective meanings- both official and unofficial. Serving as a vehicle of social relationships, public discourses, and political expressions, public space is not only a physical boundary and material setting.²⁶

Regarding 'relational approach'²⁷, as an opposing approach to Cartesian Method, public space is tackled as the sphere of life which enables overlappings, juxtapositions, intersections or separations of any kind of living beings and their environment within public spaces. From that perspective, this thesis is developed as an analysis of public spaces through inquiring how such spaces would be re-defined by inhabitants and how they quest, and re-describe, publicness emerged within public spaces.

1.2.AIM AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY: RECLAIMING PUBLIC SPACES THROUGH GUERRILLA GARDENING AS A SPATIAL IMPROMPTU

²⁶Jeffrey Hou, "(Not) Your Everyday Public Space" in Jeffrey Hou (ed.), *Insurgent Public Space*, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010, p.2.

²⁷Knierbein and Tornaghi discussed "relational spaces" in their book *Public Space and Relational Perspectives: New Challenges for Architecture and Planning*. They briefly explained relational space: "...relational space approaches involve concepts that define 'lived spaces' as phenomena which can only be explained by their social, political and cultural context and by the relations between people and objects, both at a given moment in time and in the course of history." See Knierbein and Tornaghi (Ed.), "Relational Public Space" in *Public Space and Relational Perspective: New Challenges for Architecture and Planning*, Oxford: Routledge, 2014.

*We're setting out from a point of extreme isolation, of extreme weakness. An insurrectional process must be build up from the ground up. Nothing happens less likely than an insurrection, but nothing is more necessary.*²⁸

This study is dedicated to 'change' and actions practiced towards it. This can be change of ideas, of words, of approaches, of intentions, of methodologies, of practices or of systems. Here, I can further continue this list with attachment of different matters. However, I shall remain this list as it is, and focus more on subject of 'change' and how I came to this point. Let's discuss change of approaches.

As architects, especially as architects of Turkey, we are perpetually pushed, repressed and even oppressed to be included in the neo-liberal system which is mainly based on 'constructing'. Nothing, but merely 'drawing' plans, sections and details for new 'super-crazy' projects for either government or private sector are expected from architects. Either being a head of architectural office or just a 'worker', architects, somehow, get involved in this endless dream of construction. The architectural quality of these projects, the process that they are produced and the relations between architects and employers constitute major problems for practice of architecture; however, this study focuses on another problem stemmed from same origin with these problems.

Following through capitalism, the neo-liberal system imposes 'space' to be a commodity, where huge profits can be provided upon. Therefore, unfortunately, as architects –intentionally or unintentionally- get involved in this system, their approach towards space has evolved (or forced to be evolved) towards very representation of two dimensionality. This 'technocratic' approach –under the influence of 'power'- mostly concentrates on the 'macro'; desires and merely regards 'mega' image while passing over all 'minors' below. However, the real life continues in very 'micro' level, at the very bottom of everyday life. Thus, it should be agreed that this technocratic approach never considers, even never debates, *lived* time; the

²⁸The Invisible Committee, "The Coming Insurrection", Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2009, p.96.

time that real life flows. Rather, it can only pretend to consider the life as a design input, even where top-down decisions are made for inhabitants.

Here, it should be pointed out that architects are not the only responsables of top-down decision-making processes, yet they merely constitute a small part of the pyramid. However, somehow, they are a part of this system which reduces space into a physical entity, while disregarding and trivialising the factor of life and inhabitants. Nevertheless, new and alternative attitudes towards production of spaces have been sprung, which are against dominant and top-down construction processes of cities, along with private and public spaces. Therefore, this existing technocratic approach should *change*. From my point of view, architects should be a part of this change and adopt ‘alternative’ approaches to be able to think relationally towards designing public and private spaces.

The initial inquiry of this study springs through following the criticism above. Regarding that inquiry, approaches towards production of space should change. Subsequent to the conceptual basis of this research which can be regarded as an endeavour to find an alternative ‘publicness’ within practices of the everyday through utilising different theoretical sources, this thesis aims to query how inhabitants re-define and re-produce public spaces by means of practicing an alternative publicness. Thus, this inquiry is formulated as a criticism over before mentioned Cartesian approaches which consider space as a physical formation and disregard inhabitants’ participation. Therefore, the study aims to manifest alternative ways on production of public spaces which go beyond existing Cartesian and fragmented approach over space and adopt a relational and unitary approach.

Towards seeking alternative approaches towards production of public spaces, here the first assumption of the thesis can be formulated: “Public spaces designed by technocrats are incomplete, not essentially ‘public’, so rather than those ‘planned’ public spaces, real public spaces are needed which are produced through active participation of inhabitants.” Therefore, to figure out such public spaces produced through participation of inhabitants, the concept of ‘spatial impromptu’ is suggested, which is inspired from current alternative approaches towards urbanism.

Along with proposition of spatial impromptu, the objective of this thesis is to focus on social, political, cultural and also environmental production of space and to get attention to everyday production of public spaces by inhabitants. Therefore, a spatial impromptu is a ‘micro’ level intervention on public spaces, where people re-claim, appropriate and re-define public spaces. Thus, it calls for action and encourages bottom-up production of public spaces.

In order to conduct an in-depth research on how and why people re-define and re-produce public spaces, the study focuses on practice of Guerrilla Gardening and considers it as a spatial impromptu. During preliminary surveys on practice of Guerrilla Gardening, it is noticed that there is a lack of academic work on practice and the published works do not mainly concentrate on relations among the practice and space, rather they are oriented towards resolving different characteristics of the practice. Thus, Guerrilla Gardening is decided to be studied within this thesis, as a means of digging the alternative productions of public spaces.

Therefore, through analysing practice of Guerrilla Gardening with its multiple relations, it is aimed to discover how ‘another public space’ can be manifested through ‘another publicness’. Here, the idea of ‘another public space’ corresponds with the idea behind spatial impromptu. Following the manifestations of spatial impromptu, the second assumption of the thesis is formulated: “Another public space, which is apart from well-designed, functionalised and imposed space, can only be achieved through another publicness.” Therefore, the study aims to disclose everyday practices of inhabitants and their public appearances/beings which encourage production of alternative public spaces.

1.3. METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Following abovementioned objectives, a relational approach is adopted to uncover various relations that Guerrilla Gardening initiates and encourages. Therefore, qualitative analysis methods are applied throughout the research, which provides a phenomenological perspective over study and enables researcher to observe, analyse

and evaluate situations. With this respect, the research is basically conducted in two parts. In the first part, characteristics of practice of Guerrilla Gardening will be resolved through content analysis of different mediums and open-ended questionnaires where 6 guerrilla gardeners from different parts of the world were involved in. The second part of the study is focused on analysing and releasing multiple relations of Guerrilla Gardening with inhabitants, authority figures, city and nature. Therefore, in order to get a multifaceted and detailed data for such an analysis, case studies will be developed, where in-depth interview is used as a research technique. All interviews were done in August 2015 in İstanbul and Ankara and with 7 gardeners.

The thesis is structured in two main parts: In the first part a historical review will be done; therefore starting from industrial capitalism's spread in 19th century, the evolution of public life and relatively public spaces will be discussed throughout the first subchapter. Furthermore, in second subchapter, theoretical framework of the thesis will be constituted in order to discuss alternative theories and practices on production of space. Therefore, firstly Lefebvre's theories on lived space and appropriation will be given to clarify ideas behind social production of spaces. Secondly, *avant-garde* ideas of the Situationists will be discussed, where they criticise modern capitalist societies and; therefore, suggest experimental ways to create 'situations' within everyday life. Thirdly, theories on everyday life will be visited through referring De Certeau and *Strangely Familiar*. These theories given in second subchapter are not enough to discuss alternative ways of production of public spaces. Therefore, in order to be able to follow a relational and unitary approach, the theories on nature should be visited. Thus, within this subchapter, Boockhin's theory of 'social ecology' and concept of 'urban political ecology' will be discussed. Referring the ideas discussed in theoretical part of the study, in the last subchapter, the concept of spatial impromptu will be developed together with inspired theoretical and practical work.

In the second part of the thesis, practice of Guerrilla Gardening will be discussed profoundly. Therefore, the chapter will start with a retrospective review over practice's history. Following that, the research on Guerrilla Gardening and general attitudes towards research will be explained. Furthermore, within third subchapter of

that part, general characteristics of practice of Guerrilla Gardening will be discussed. In fourth subchapter, the case studies will be developed in order to do an elaborated analysis on practice and its various relations. Thus, “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*” (100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden) in 100. Yıl, Ankara; “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” (Şenay and Gülsüman People’s Garden) in Küçük Armutlu, İstanbul; and “*Yalıncak Bostanı*” (Yalıncak Garden) in METU Campus, Ankara will be discussed throughout fourth subchapter. Finally, in last subchapter, conclusions of case studies will be analysed under major themes derived from two phases of qualitative analysis.

CHAPTER 2

RE-PRODUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACES BY INHABITANTS: THE SPATIAL IMPROMPTU

2.1.TRANSFORMATION IN PERCEPTION OF PUBLIC SPACES AFTER 19TH CENTURY

Public spaces, as one of the key components of public life, have been developing through an analogue direction with the context they belong to. Here, what is meant by context is both the geography they locate in and the social, political and economical situation that they have been exposed to in that particular geography. As in previous discussions on resolving the multiple relations from public to publicness, public life and, yet, to public space, it can be asserted here that public spaces are highly affected from variant trajectories and circumstances in their distinct geographies, which is an expected consequence of people's changing perception over concepts related with 'public'. This argument, therefore, constitutes one of the basic assumptions of this thesis, which approaches public space as a dynamic ground contingent upon different circumstances in societies.

In understanding the evolution of public spaces throughout centuries, a historical review based on a critical re-reading is necessary to be done. From a retrospective analysis on notion of public and what 'public life/space' have remained from the changing perspectives over that notion, it is crystal clear that concept of public, and public space accordingly, has undergone different circumstances and processes triggered by social, political economical, and cultural developments. Therefore, since Greek *agora* and Roman *forums*, public spaces have evolved with every rise and decline of public life. Each strike, movement, disaster, war, innovation or discover

has changed the way people approach and use public spaces, since they have been concurrently changed through publicness. Coming towards late history, privatisation appeared as a major beat and threat against entity and sustainability of publicness, since it led to death of public life while providing rise of ‘intimate society’²⁹ created through personalisation, which conduced societies to “move from something like an other-directed condition to an inner-directed condition”³⁰. This shift from public to private was, surely, not a sudden change that happened overnight; on the contrary, it was due to a successive accumulation of consequences.

Among such consequences, industrial capitalism that rose in 19th century has the most determinant and significative role in the shift from public to private, which has reflected itself not only on economic environment but also on society itself. Along with the change in mode of production, industrial capitalism submitted new meanings and formations to life itself; new classes emerged according to hierarchical patterns, new working methods were developed to gain more profit, new habits and life styles were encouraged to control everyday life and many other parts of life were changed basically under one apparent reason: To enlarge the sphere of influence that capitalism should reach. Spreading this sphere adjusted patterns of everyday life both for proletariat and bourgeoisie through enouncing mechanisation and automobilisation in every aspect; either for work or for leisure. Being standardised, mechanised and controlled by an assembly line in factories, even the leisure time of workers, besides bourgeoisie class’, have been decided, organized and; therefore, again controlled by the system.

²⁹In his book *The Fall of Public Man*, Richard Sennett explains how 19th Century laid the groundwork for our present-day problems by means of developing a concept of “intimate society.” “In an intimate society, all social phenomena, no matter how impersonal in structure, are converted into matters of personality in order to have a meaning.” For him, personality and individualism that had injected to public realm prepared a found for the rise of intimate society. In resolving this intimate society, he propounds two principles which organize it: Narcissism and destructive gemeinschaft. Narcissism is based on gratification of self itself within a sort of “enlightened self-interest.” The other principle, destructive gemeinschaft basically is “a society with a very low of interaction between its members, dominated by ideas of individual, unstable personality.” From his broad critiques on intimate society, the fall of publicness can be interpreted through rise of this intimate society which found its emergence ground through pressures of industrial capitalism. For more information on “intimate society” see Richard Sennett, *The Fall of Public Man*, New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992, pp. 219-239.

³⁰*Ibid*, p.5.

To uncover the ‘system’ and how it affected and manipulated lives from work to leisure; apparels to habits; choices to demands; and daily lives from private to public, here, a brief overview towards industrial capitalism is necessary to be done. In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Hegel points out the industrial capitalism’s process towards change in mode of production into capitalist mass production:

The feudal system of industry, in which industrial production was monopolised by closed guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place...Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacturer no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry; the place of the industrial middle class by industrial millionaires, the leaders of the whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.³¹

Considering individual as a product of its capitalist mode of production, industrial capitalism further triggered standardisation in individual scale as well as in products it has released. Homogeneity, therefore, is preferred instead of heterogeneity provided by ‘others’; the desire was to create a typical individual and inhabitant as the products launched on assembly line. Thus, the industrial capitalist idea appears to obtain the uniform ‘image’ regarding different entities of the society through reducing social relations into material ones. Here, the emphasis on ‘image’ is quite necessary, since it also describes the importance attributed to material beings. Marx called this as ‘commodity fetishism’ emerged as a result of mass production within industrial capitalism which considers social relations of people as economic relations among objects, material appearances. As it is discussed in Sennett’s intimate society, commodity fetishism is based on “homogeneity of appearance, investing in material things of attributes and associations of intimate personality.”³² Marx further explains it in *Capital*:

...There the products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own, which enter into relations both with each other and with the human race. So it is in the world of commodities with the

³¹Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, “Chapter I: Bourgeois and Proletarians” in *The Communist Manifesto*, tr. Samuel Moore, 1848, Retrieved 26 July, 2015 from <https://www.marxists.org>.

³²Richard Sennett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 20.

products of men's hands. I call this the fetishism which attaches itself to the products of labour as soon as they are produced as commodities, and is therefore inseparable from the production of commodities.³³

Turning back to the uniform image tried to be achieved by industrial capitalism, the mass production not only releases standard products, but it also aspires to create homogenised societies in different respects. In such modern capitalist society, every part of life, thereby public life is highly organized and defined towards providing homogeneity to ease control mechanisms by means of hidden manipulations and orientations of the 'system'. What remains as society, therefore, is an ordered life of dominated/oppressed individuals under covered forces of capitalist mode of production, which has herewith revealed itself on public life. This restricting approach towards life is not a direct intervention; rather it's a sort of subliminal and hidden series of interventions where public life has been reduced into material particularities. According to Sennett "industrial capitalism was equally and directly at work on the material life of the public realm itself."³⁴ He asserts that the 'machine' brought homogenization of public, where social differences and strangers became hidden and mysterious.³⁵

This typification process over public; therefore, has affected public life as the different and the other have been excluded out of the system and has got marginalised regarding norms brought by capitalism. Furthermore, as well as mass production, influence of automobilisation has constituted a significant threat over public life, as another pressure of industrial capitalism. The very initial trigger behind automobilisation is Fordism which can be considered as one of the major production systems of capitalist mode of production. Firstly used in the book section *Americanism and Fordism* written by Antonio Gramsci, Fordism can be explained as "the production of large quantities of goods to a standardized design, the concentration of the whole production cycle in a single plant, the mechanisation of assembly (parts moving on belts or chains), a high degree of division of labour and

³³Karl Marx, *Capital Volume I*, tr. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, 1887, Retrieved 26 July, 2015 from <https://www.marxists.org>.

³⁴Richard Sennett, *Op. Cit.*

³⁵*Ibid.*

the reduction of the worker's movements and tasks to a simple routine"³⁶. From the point where Gramsci criticises features of new capitalism, Fordism did not merely launch economic changes but it also changed life styles through political, cultural and social aspects. According to him, Fordism, like Taylorist rationalization, "simplified necessary operations, eliminated others and radically routinised, deskilled, and intensified labour."³⁷ Thus, as the major consequence of Fordism, automobilisation emerged, which dominated/controlled/touched both private and public lives within economic, political, cultural and social contents. The highly promoted incentive over possessing an own car, later on, prepared a convenient basis and ground for car-dependent society as system had already built substructure of such. This automobilised society, therefore, can be associated with intimate society, since intimacy of people accelerated with the incentive of possessing an automobile, which, in a broader perspective, minimised the interaction of people with city and among each other³⁸ and increased personal concerns.

An inquiry on 'personal' is necessary in terms of consequences of automobilisation, since the pressure of privatisation over publicness primed the death of public life and, accordingly, public spaces. Surrounded by their own cars, highly privatised lives behind gated houses and merely personal benefits, people have been withdrawn from public life. Therefore, as they limit and control themselves within their private lives, people have gone away from the idea of being a part of the public. Isolation of inhabitants from the city and public life, thereby, becomes inevitable in that case. Here, the result is that the public space turns into "an area to move through, not to be in."³⁹ Furthermore, Sennett further explains how private automobiles changed the perception of public spaces:

The private motorcar is the logical instrument for exercising that right, and the effect on public space, especially the space of the urban street, is that the space becomes meaningless or even maddening unless it can be

³⁶David Forgacs (ed.), "Americanism and Fordism" in *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*, New York: New York University Press, 2000.

³⁷*Ibid.*

³⁸Deniz Altay, *Urban Spaces Re-defined in Daily Practices: The Case of Minibar, Ankara* (Unpublished Master Thesis), Ankara: Middle East Technical University, 2004.

³⁹Richard Sennett, *Op. Cit.*, p.10.

subordinated to free movement. The technology of modern motion replaces being in the street with a desire to erase constraints of geography.⁴⁰

Thus, with automobilisation living becomes more organised and planned; so, encounters and spontaneity that public life includes become less occurred. Broad highways, more motor-dominant transportation systems and less pedestrian zones in cities reduce pedestrian activities and experiences within urban spaces. However, as De Certeau mentioned; “space is a practiced place; the street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers.”⁴¹ Therefore, with the impediment of people from being pedestrians, “human interaction and liveliness”⁴², as Jacobs asserts insistently, would not be provided. Regarding her interpretation, “cities and citiness play an integral, inescapable role in human life and human history.”⁴³ She also defines citiness as rich, diverse fabric of interactions between people and place settled within the street ballet- the typical daily and weekly actions, events, and situations of residents, workers, visitors, and passers- by intertwining regularly in a singular urban place spreading a particular ambience, character and style of human attachment within run of daily life.⁴⁴

By bringing about lack of dense pedestrian movement which provides twofold interaction of people among themselves and of people and public spaces, automobilisation, besides, led to emergence of suburbs in outer parts of cities. Constituted mostly with housings, private houses or gated communities, such suburbanised parts of cities show much more ‘private’ characteristics comparing with urban public spaces. Thus, such comparison of parts of the city as ‘suburbs’ and ‘urban’ accompanied different classifications and attributions over those parts; such as, ‘inner city-outer city’, ‘down town-city center’, or ‘periphery (edge)-center’. Such designations of parts of cities not only show spatial differences, but they also point out differences in terms of social interactions among inhabitants, which directly

⁴⁰Richard Sennett, *Op. Cit.*, p. 14.

⁴¹Michel de Certeau, *Op. Cit.*, p. 117.

⁴²Jane Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, New York and Toronto: Random House, 1993.

⁴³David Seamon, “A jumping, joyous urban jumble”: Jane Jacobs’s *Death and Life of Great American Cities* as a phenomenology of urban place” in *The Journal of Space Syntax*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2012, p. 139.

⁴⁴Jane Jacobs, *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 1992, p. 365.

affect the subsistence and liveliness of public life. Settled afar from city, such suburbs have been pushed both from center and public life, which resulted in uneven access to 'public' facilities that city reserves.

As it is reviewed throughout this subchapter, since 19th century, the industrial capitalism has shown itself in different aspects of life by means of its side-effects such as mechanisation, Fordism, individualisation, privatisation and suburbanisation. Thus, as a result of them, all matters related with 'public' have suffered a dramatic change through social, political, economic, cultural and spatial transformations. Intimate relations, individual benefits, mostly personal concerns and inward daily lives make people to forget that they, indeed, belong to a 'public' which is constituted by their participation. If people do not claim their public manifest, there would be neither publicness nor public life to be spoken of and the decline of public space would become inevitable and estimated. Yet, as it is discussed in previous chapter, the notion of 'public' can easily be withdrawn from society, started to be commemorated together with state/power and; therefore, can be rendered meaningless. This results with questioning necessity of public spaces in their 'real' meaning. With decline of public life and public spaces, as continuing side-effects of industrial capitalism, the importance attributed to 'public' have considered as secondary concern, while the fetishism over representations; namely, the 'image' has still appeared as the primary one. The death of public life and accordingly public spaces accelerated the rise of 'image', which reduce public space, like other aspects of life, into a material being by ignoring social, political and cultural dimensions of it.

Here, at the point that the image comes to the forefront regarding envisaging and defining space, I should refer Lefebvre by mentioning his significant interpretations as 'representations of space' and 'representational space'.⁴⁵ During aforementioned transformations realised by industrial capitalism, the perception over space changed, which basically resulted with considering space as the Cartesian one that is

⁴⁵See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, tr. Donald Nicholson-Smith, Maiden, Oxford and Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 1991.

physically measurable, commodified and merchantable. In Lefebvrian classification this space corresponds with representations of spaces; the conceived one. As it can also be understood from the term itself, representations of space deals with the visual expression, what the image submits. Thus, space becomes a subject of representation which is produced by technocrats by means of plans, maps and other technical mediums.⁴⁶ However, throughout this research, what is questioned, epitomised and approached is the representational space; the lived one, where inhabitants come into play and where spatial embodiments, personal or collective experiences, social, political and cultural actions; thereby, mainly habiting⁴⁷ and being on space are more important than representations/images. Thus, in this approach space is considered as representational/differential through social practices of inhabitants and emerging concepts on production of space, which will be discussed along this research by associating public spaces with the autonomy of everyday life and its potentials.

2.2. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, CULTURAL AND ECOLOGICAL THEORIES BEHIND PRODUCTION OF SPACE/NATURE

In previous subchapter, I try to follow a historical set of consequences of industrial capitalism in order to figure out how notion of public and; therefore, other related concepts like public life, public space and publicness had changed accordingly. Although it was already mentioned before, here it should be pointed out once again that such changes resulted with fall of public life; hence, with death of public spaces.

⁴⁶Bülent Batuman, “Gezi’nin Söz Hali: Mekan, Temsil, Dil” in *Dosya* 33, vol. 33, 2014, p. 47.

⁴⁷Henri Lefebvre discussed “habiting” in his book *The Urban Revolution* where he explained his interpretation under the chapter called Levels and Dimensions.” In his interpretation on levels of urban phenomena, among other levels of global level and mixed level, the private level is attributed to have more importance since it’s the level of “habiting.” The term is often confused with “habitat” which is a basic formal frame that reduces human being into simple life acts like eating, sleeping and reproducing. However, on the other hand, “habiting” is more than physical boundaries or a collection of simple habits. It rather includes lived experiences of a human being, her/his being and acts on public sphere, her/his resistances against and reactions to pressure, and her/his being in on the everyday. Therefore, habiting covers the revolutionary potential within. For more information on habiting, see Henri Lefebvre, “Levels and Dimensions” in *The Urban Revolution*, tr. Robert Bononno, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.

No matter how effective and detrimental changes were forced, at least to be more optimistic in the course of more 'liveable' lives within private or public spaces, in this subchapter I try to dig out alternative theories and practices on/for 'space'. By 'alternative', what is meant here is other possible inquires towards manifesting new theories/practices on/for space which are against mainstream and imposed implementations of capitalism. The very reason behind these inquires on production of space/urban is proliferating ideas of industrial capitalism which brought mechanisation, standardisation and massification of both production systems and lives. Privatisation as a follow-through consequence of capitalist mode of production, therefore, directly prevailed over notion of public, which evoked the death of public life and public space. The production of space, hence, remained as an abstract production where space merely reduced into an 'image', namely a 'representation', through subtracting 'life' factor away.

However, this research as an inquiry towards 'another public space' with 'another publicness' seeks for other productions of space which will provide inclusive, participatory and; therefore, emancipatory public spaces that calls for another publicness. Towards that very objective and desire of that research, this mentioned 'another public space with another publicness' try to be achieved by a new concept of 'spatial impromptu' which is fed with the theories/practices on/for space and it will be indicated within this chapter. Yet, these considerations about space are not enough for framing the theoretical basis for concept of 'spatial impromptu.' In order to achieve a 'unitary' approach towards that concept, not only concerns on space but also problematic of 'nature' should be included to this collection of alternative theories and practices. Therefore, like alternative discussions on production of space, that of nature will also find its very place in this subchapter.

2.2.1. Theories and Practices on 'Space'

... It is primarily with the transition to capitalism and the rapid urbanisation that it drove that the various contemporary strands of thinking about an emancipatory city emerge. As [Raymond] Williams notes, "the city as a really distinctive order of settlement, implying a whole different way of life, is not fully established, with its modern implications, until early

19th century”, when *the* city became an abstraction distinct from particular cities or forms of settlement.⁴⁸

Along with the fragmentation of the cities emanated by consequences of industrial capitalism, not only cities themselves but also everyday life, private life, work, leisure and relations have been fragmented. This fragmentation creates a contradictory comprehension over cities. In Marx’s social theory, the city played twofold role: It is either “a fragmented material space created by capitalism and serving to discipline the working class for the purpose of making profit” or it is “the seat and symbol of historical progress.”⁴⁹ For the former description, the urban life in cities can be associated with alienation, isolation and fragmentation, which can be asserted as an expected consequence of the intimate society. However, for the later, urban spaces can be considered as a historical production which is “a medium and outcome of social being.”⁵⁰ This twofold relation which Marx points out among cities resembles twofold and contradictory sides of the ‘urban’ that Lefebvre propounded. Therefore, for him, the urban is dialectical. Lefebvre asserts that something is always happening in urban space:

Virtually, anything can happen everywhere. A crowd can gather, objects can pile up, a festival unfold, an event- terrifying of pleasant- can occur. This is why urban space is so fascinating: centrality is always possible. At the same time, this space can empty itself, expel its content, become a place of pure scarcity or power.⁵¹

To provide much more focus on dialectics of urban, I shall continue: The ‘urban’ has to face with two conflicting possibilities. Firstly, it could be a place of ‘separation’ or ‘segregation’, where a totalitarian order is desired and space like other aspects of life serves for the dominant through breaking ingrained relationships. For this sense, the urban space could be regarded as an ‘isotopy’; the place of state or the control centre of state, where the space is regarded merely as ‘emptiness’ or ‘void’. For the second

⁴⁸Loretta Lees, “The Emancipatory City: Urban (Re)Visions” in Loretta Lees (ed.) , *The Emancipatory City?*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004, p. 5.

⁴⁹*Ibid*, p.8.

⁵⁰Ian Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell and Alicia Pavaro, “Things, Flows, Filters, Tactics” in Ian Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell and Alicia Pavaro (ed.), *The Unknown City*, Massachusetts and London: The MIT Press, 2001, p. 34.

⁵¹*Ibid*, “Urban Form”.

possibility, the urban can be regarded as the place of ‘difference’. By difference, here, twofold relations and proximities can be understood. Therefore, the urban space takes a stand against homogeneity; it is for differences that heterogeneity brings by means of intersections, juxtapositions, and superimpositions of relations and forms. Hence, the urban can be perceived as a ‘heterotopy’; the space of other, spaces of otherness; spaces of/for the interwoven. This urban space is for no one, for no special group, for no particular ideology. This urban space, on the contrary to conceived space (representations of space), hosts the unexpected, the spontaneous, and the immediate. These provocative expressions about urban space resemble how Raymond Williams defined the city: For him, the city is a “spree of vitality, an instantaneous and transitory world of feverish joys”.⁵² There, Williams cited Baudelaire, that he narrates city where soul “gives itself utterly, with all its poetry and charity, to the unexpectedly emergent, to the passing unknown.”⁵³

Turning back to heterotopies, they are the spaces that cannot be utilized through conventional type of property regulations; yet they cannot be limited within borders of physical dimensions. Therefore, these spaces cannot be reduced into a physical space; rather, they can be what Lefebvre called as ‘lived spaces’ which engage with social interactions and daily experiences. Here, Lefebvre’s analytical classification over the space is necessary to be referred. In *The Production of Space*, he categorizes space into three aspects which underlie different formulations in production of space: The first is the perceived space (spatial practices) deals with concerns through reproduction and production of material life; therefore, it’s the space which is empirically observed and perceived with its apparent and functional forms.⁵⁴ The second is the conceived space (representations of space) which can basically be defined as the designed space, space of technocrats. In this approach, the space is considered as set of images (representations); of plans, maps, and calculations. By means of these technocratic mediums, space is organized/functionalized/conceived, where it is pretended to suppose a ‘life’ in such spatial designs. Representations of space are, therefore, totally abstract and life-less. Among the other classifications of

⁵²Raymond Williams, *The Country and The City*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

⁵³*Ibid.*

⁵⁴Ian Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell and Alicia Pavaro, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 35-36.

spaces regarding Lefebvre's triad, the lived space (representational space) is the immeasurable one; a space that directly interacts with limitless borders of imagination, experience, personal and collective memory, practice and expression. Thus, it calls for an action towards a criticism over dominance and a change through social practice. It is, therefore, not just a passive stage on which social life unfolds, but represents a constituent element of social life.⁵⁵ Regarding the notion of lived spaces, the space "is not a theatre or setting but a social production, a concrete abstraction—simultaneously mental and material, work and product—such that social relations have no real existence except in and through space" where people make places and places make people in a sort of dialectics.⁵⁶ Touching upon interactions of space with such aforementioned concepts, Lefebvre points out the necessary interactivity of inhabitants with space by means of appropriation:

...Appropriation itself implies time (or times), rhythm (or rhythms), symbols, and a practice. The more space is functionalized –the more completely it falls under the sway of those "agents" that have manipulated it so as to render it unfunctional- the less susceptible it becomes to appropriation. Why? Because in this way it is removed from the sphere of *lived* time, from the time of its "users", which is a diverse and complex time.⁵⁷

Here, appropriation, and accordingly re-claiming and re-definition of urban public spaces consider time "as lived time and it integrates the analysis of different times and rhythms of practices in public space in order to overcome the one-sided functional time conception implicit in capitalist urban development."⁵⁸ Therefore, appropriation regrets what capitalist mode of production desires cities to become, rather, it includes an inclusive and participatory, therefore, emancipatory production of public spaces while capitalist strategy regulates top-down and functionalist implications over development of cities.

Following the inspirations of what Lefebvre propounded on the urban, different theories and practices have been developed which suggests and advocates the production of social space, the lived one, on the contrary to technocratic production

⁵⁵Henri Lefebvre, *Op. Cit.*, 1991, p. 33.

⁵⁶Ian Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell and Alicia Pavao, *Op. Cit.*, p. 34.

⁵⁷Henri Lefebvre, *Op. Cit.*, 1991, p. 356.

⁵⁸Sabine Knierbein, *Op. Cit.* p. 50.

of space. Such alternative theories and practices not only depart from the inspiration derived from social production of space but they also question and seek political, cultural and ecological possibilities in production of space.

Among these alternative theories/practices, The Situationists manifested one of the most influential and critical ideas on capitalist city and modern societies. Before discussing the interpretations, criticisms and manifestations of Situationist International (SI), I shall start with a quotation of Guy Debord, the acknowledged founding member of SI:

In societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation.⁵⁹

Grounding their concepts and actions on a desire of practicing a new way of everydayness and social life, SI suggests developing theories on building ‘situations’.⁶⁰ Their creation of situations is basically because of the idea that the world must be changed, which is possible by means of perfect actions according to them. Following the critiques of Marx and Lefebvre, they criticise ‘society of spectacle’ where, in capitalist everyday life, individuals are exposed to be a spectator of their lives, not an actor. Therefore, the modern capitalist society is characterised as an organization of spectacles: “a frozen moment of history in which it is impossible to experience real life or actively participate in the construction of new world.”⁶¹ This brings non-inclusive and non-participatory way of living and also production of the space against this society of spectacle, SI develops a critique of urbanism in the level of everyday; their interventions are directly on the everyday; the real life, real people and real time. Therefore, the Situationist concentration on urbanism is focused on experimental behaviour of inhabitants, which is shaped according to their

⁵⁹Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, Detroit: Black and Red, 1970, p.2.

⁶⁰Jan D. Matthews, Ken Knabb, Guy Debord, Guy Bodson and Bill Brown, *Sitüasyonist Enternasyonal*, Kadıköy: Altıkırkbeş Yayın, 2008, p. 8.

⁶¹Sadie Plant, *The Most Radical Gesture: The Situationis International in a Postmodern Age*, London and New York: Routledge, 1992, p.1.

understanding on practice of inhabiting and operations in dominated space, through contesting the organization of society of spectacle itself.⁶²

As Lefebvre, SI also believes that production of space is a social practice which cannot be instrumentalised, despite the spectacle's hegemonic power.⁶³ Towards an ideal of a change, a revolution of everyday life, they proposed and practiced new actions and operations on space. As an *avant-garde* practice of approach, SI refused classical methods and actions on space; rather they manifested new, experimental and psycho-geographical tools and methods. Therefore, the theory of *derive* was developed as a practice of re-appropriation of public space, which is an attempt to "change the meaning of the city through changing the way it inhabited."⁶⁴ It is, for Debord, an experimental mode of behaviour linked to the conditions of urban society; a technique for hastily passing through varied environments. The objective behind this practice is to "construct a more collective space whose potentialities remained open-ended for all participants."⁶⁵

The other contribution of SI as a critique of capitalist cities is their theory called 'unitary urbanism'. Again being a follow-through Lefebvre's critique on urban phenomena, in unitary urbanism SI criticises the fragmentary and specialized approaches towards societies. Marx asserts that the capitalist class society is dependent on mental and physical division of labour in order to control each part of the life.⁶⁶ Therefore, capitalist system creates new specialists like architects, planners, sociologists, and psychologists, to maintain itself more durably.⁶⁷ The Situationists also affirm that a critique on theory of specialization is basically a critique on class societies and capitalist system. Unitary urbanism, thereby, was developed over a theory of combining the use of art and technology leading to the integrated construction of an environment dynamically linked to the behavioural experiments.⁶⁸ It is against fragmented approaches on development of cities and

⁶²Thomas McDonough, "Situationist Space" in *October*, vol. 67, 1994, pp. 58-77.

⁶³*Ibid.*

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶Jan D. Matthews, Ken Knabb, Guy Debord, Guy Bodson and Bill Brown, *Op. Cit.*, p. 66.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸Guy Debord, "Theory of the Derive", 1958, Retrieved 3 August, 2015 from <http://www.arts.ucsb.edu/classes/ART22W06/situtexts.html>.

methods associated with dominant forms of urbanism, where each specialization has its own medium/method/decision in designing/planning cities. Constant Nieuwenhuys further explains their ultimate concentration on unitary urbanism:

We require adventure. Not finding it any longer on earth, there are those who want to look for it on the moon. We opt first to create situations here, new situations. We intend to break the laws that prevent the development of meaningful activities in life and culture. We find ourselves at the dawn of a new era, and we are already trying to outline the image of a happier life and a unitary urbanism – urbanism made to please.⁶⁹

“Another city, for another life.”⁷⁰: Constant’s motto uncomplicatedly articulates the twofold relation between city and life. It also touches upon the relation between the urban and the everyday, the public space and the public life. Unitary urbanism suggests a critique not only on cities but also on people’s life there: “Unitary urbanism is opposed to the temporal fixation of cities. It leads instead to the advocacy of a permanent transformation, an accelerated movement of the abandonment and reconstruction of the city in temporal and at times spatial terms.”⁷¹ Together with that, it is also against fixation of people at certain points of city; rather, it proposes to seek for alternatives and endless possibilities embedded within the city. As in other operations and actions theorised and practiced by the Situationists, unitary urbanism besides tries to disclose the potentialities of everyday life. It is, therefore, “to challenge and transform dominant forms of urbanism and their frozen qualities through the invention of new games of an essentially new type.”⁷² Contrary to fixed functions and living patterns that capitalist city offers, unitary urbanism is for social production of space by experiencing everyday life and resolving it in the course of discovering and creating new actions/tools/tactics to change capitalist trajectory which reduces everyday into a spectacle.

⁶⁹Constant Nieuwenhuys, “Another City for Another Life”, 1958, Retrieved 3 August, 2015 from <http://www.notbored.org/another-city.html>.

⁷⁰The title of Constant Nieuwenhuys’ article which was published in in *Internationale Situationniste* #2 in December 1958.

⁷¹“Unitary Urbanism at the End of the 1950s”, 1959, Retrieved 3 August, 2015 from <http://www.notbored.org/UU.html>

⁷²David Pinder, “Inventing New Games: Unitary Urbanism and the Politics of Space”, in Loretta Lees (ed), *The Emancipatory City?*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004, p.109.

Theories and practices of Situationist International are situated on an ideal of a struggle for freedom and a radical change which requires the overturning of repressive political, social and spatial relations through social and political production of space and way of living. This production should fulfil potentialities which currently lie within the everyday.⁷³ Thus, this ideal clarifies Situationists' insistent stress on everyday life. Therefore, to base this research on a complete and integrated theoretical background, theories on 'everyday life' is necessary to be studied.

The everyday, like the urban, is dialectical; it is also as ever-changing, as unpredictable and as provocative as urban is. That's the reason why it, and also urban, cannot be restricted within limits of design rules or conceptions. Here, the irony comes: Almost everything in the everyday life is, somehow, designed; streets, parks, signs, buildings, fountains, benches and also non-material things like functions and divisions. In his article on tactics and everyday life, Jamer Hunt asserts from a broader perspective that, the everyday can neither be envisaged nor planned, which means designers are incapable of designing the everyday. Although that does not correspond the idea that designers are unable or untalented; the everyday is not convenient to be designed since it is a phenomenon and it is inaccessible to the design process.⁷⁴ "Design can, only, approach it, asymptotically, but it will never reach it."⁷⁵ One and possibly the major reason for this is that as designers start to approach towards the everyday, it vaporizes.⁷⁶ It is , to mention again, ever-changing, unpredictable, and; thus, temporal. Therefore, like for urban, it's hard to comprehend the everyday since it appears with all its dialectical struggles it holds. According to Hunt, in her overview of Lefebvre's work, Mary McLeod points out that:

While it (everyday life) is the object of philosophy, it is inherently nonphilosophical; while conveying an image of stability and immutability, it is transitory and uncertain; while governed by the repetitive march of linear

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Jamer Hunt, "Just Re-Do It: Tactical Formlessness and Everyday Consumption" in Andrew Blauvelt (ed.) *Strangely Familiar: Design and Everyday Life*, Minnesota: Walker Art Center, 2003, p.58.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.59.

time, it is redeemed by the renewal of nature's cyclical time; while unbearable in its monotony and routine, it is festive and playful; and while controlled by technocratic rationalism and capitalism, it stands outside of them.⁷⁷

From the point that McLeod emphasizes, the everyday cannot be controlled as technocratic rationalism and capitalism desire it to be; however, for the case that it is attempted to be controlled, the everyday would prompt its immediate reaction and resist for that control. Even that reaction will be unpredictable, temporal and also provocative. Thence, the everyday, on any ground, keeps an embedded accumulation of potentials which are standby to manifest or to outcrop. The manifestation the everyday presents can either be in a form of uprising or revolt, or as a breaking point of everyday rhythm, which can result with a resistance or disobedience through using means of everyday practices. As for the former, what happened- or is still happening- in Ferguson, in Athens, in Hong Kong, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in Kobanê and during Gezi protests -it is intentionally not referred as Taksim or İstanbul, since it's also Ankara, Eskişehir, Hatay, İzmir and almost all other cities of Turkey- are transformations of everyday practices into a relatively mass practice of uprisings and revolts. For the latter, practices like reclaiming the streets, guerrilla gardening, standing men/women⁷⁸, 'earth tables'⁷⁹, KÜF project in Ankara⁸⁰, Saturday Mothers

⁷⁷*Ibid.*

⁷⁸In June 2013, during Gezi Park protests, after police blockaded Gezi Park and attacked its occupiers, many different forms of protest against this brutality and violence were emerged throughout Turkey. One of them is "standing man/ woman" protests which were initiated by Erdem Gündüz, a performing artist. Following Gurbüz, many people differs from men to women, young to elder "stood" straight and manifested a new alternative way of protesting.

⁷⁹Earth tables were first organized during Ramadan 2013 after Gezi Park protest in İstiklal Street by a leftist religious group called "Anticapitalist Muslims". During the event those Anticapitalist Muslims called different groups of people to come and eat their dinner together on street and in front of police who were waiting to "protect" Taksim Square and Gezi Park from those people. After first earth tables were set in İstiklal Street, many others were laid in different streets/parks of Turkey.

⁸⁰KÜF Project is a collective guerrilla street art movement, who practiced their actions and art mainly in Ankara and then in İstanbul and Konya. Their practice can be attributed to *detournement* developed by Letterist International and adopted by Situationist International. In their manifesto, the group maintains that, "what people see when they go out where we live is just buildings, pavements, signposts, roads and street lights. Not only does this greyness move people away from visual intelligence, but it also creates a monotonous perspective in the human mind. People who use the streets to commute only look at their steps." Therefore, the aim of the project is "to destroy this monotony, to make people look around and be aware. It is a riot." KÜF Project does not want "to pollute the streets," but "to colour them with dormant energy." For more information on KÜF Project, see <http://www.behance.net/kufproject> (Retrieved August 3, 2015)

in İstiklal Street⁸¹, and Tekel Workers Resistance in Sakarya⁸² emerged within everyday life of the urban and use means and potentials of the everyday to make a sound against injustice, to resist against pressure or to take an attention towards corruption over cities, peoples and rights. The common point of all these practices is that they use both everyday life and public spaces either as subjects or as objects of their actions by means of tactics they produced dependent on each particular action.

Through discovery of everyday life and its relations with inhabitants and tactics, Michel de Certeau also questioned social production of space. In his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, he approaches space as a place that is operated by inhabitants. For him, "space is composed of intersections of mobile elements" and it is not a place that "geometrically defined by an urban planning".⁸³ Using space is not passive and guided by established rules; on the contrary, he described space as a practiced place.⁸⁴ Therefore, space gains its meaning when it could be manipulated, transformed and re-produced in the hands of the inhabitants⁸⁵ after technocrats and authorities conceive it by means of plans, maps and reports. By practicing the space, acting, making, doing, drawing on a sidewalk with a chalk, planting things on a street, protesting or even celebrating a day; therefore, basically 'operating' on space can be understood. Hence, everyday practice should no more be comprehended "as merely the obscure background of social activity"; rather, it's important to "penetrate this obscurity" and to articulate everyday life by means of theoretical questions,

⁸¹Like Mothers of Plaza del Mayo Saturday Mothers in İstiklal Street (İstanbul) have demanded perpetrators and responsables of disappearance of their children who were under police custody due to their political actions. In order to show their demand on space as a public protest, they started sit-in acts in 27 May 1995 and continued until 13 March 1999. After a long break without sit-in but with some background organizations to find their disappeared, Saturday Mothers started sit-ins again in İstiklal Street in 31 January 2009 and they have still met every Saturday in front of Galatasaray High School in İstiklal Street.

⁸²In 15th December 2010, despite the severe cold, poor conditions of the street-life, and brutal assaults of the ruling AKP government and its leader Tayyip Erdogan, the workers' of TEKEL (the recently privatized public enterprise producing cigarettes, tobacco, alcohol and spirits) had taken the streets of the main district of Ankara as the center of resistance. The workers have been taking turns in shifts in their tents of resistance day and night, and receive tremendous support from all over Turkey -ordinary citizens, university students, workers from all other unions." See Erinç Yeldan, "TEKEL Workers' Resistance: Re-Awakening of the Proletariat in Turkey", 2010, Retrieved August 3, 2015 from <http://www.sendika1.org/2010/01/tekel-workers-resistance-re-awakening-of-the-proletariat-in-turkey-erinc-yeldan/>

⁸³Michel de Certeau, *Op. Cit.*

⁸⁴*Ibid.*

⁸⁵Deniz Altay, *Op. Cit.*, p.126.

methods, categories and perspectives.⁸⁶ This evokes the idea of recognizing everyday practice not as a passive set of routines, but as an active ground and possibility for emerging actions. The everyday practice, according to De Certeau, does not directly merge with individuality or subjects, rather it concerns modes of operation or schema of action; a precisely operational logic.⁸⁷ This operational approach includes numerous practices through re-appropriation of space by inhabitants in a sort of socio-cultural production.⁸⁸ Here, such mentioned practices constitute devices, actions and procedures that inhabitants use within the everyday in order to subvert dominant powers. At that point, like Lefebvre, De Certeau catches the revolutionary potential of everyday practices where inhabitants deflect the technocratic structures through discovering ‘tactics’ articulated in details of everyday life. Tactics, therefore, appear as a bottom-up means of the very micro level of everyday life and stand against strategies developed by authorities and power. Furthermore, De Certeau defines ‘tactic’ as such:

A tactic is a calculated action, determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of the other.⁸⁹

Following De Certeau’s interpretation on tactics, it can be asserted that these bottom-up means belong to the subordinated; the other. Therefore, using tactics is seeking for alternative ways to operate/act/practice on space within everyday life. It can be further expounded that tactics, therefore, are moment-specific and at the same time site-specific. Thus, they are both temporal and spatial in characteristics. Through tactics, inhabitants manifest their ability in finding other alternative and possible solutions in times of struggle and conflict as well as in everyday life to break the routines of it, which resembles the ‘lived’ ideal behind representational spaces and revolutionary potential embedded therein.

2.2.2. Theories on ‘Nature’

⁸⁶Michel de Certeau, *Op. Cit.*, p. XI.

⁸⁷Michel de Certeau, *Op. Cit.*, p.37.

⁸⁸Michel de Certeau, *Op. Cit.*, p. IV.

⁸⁹*Ibid.* pp. 46-47.

Throughout the discussions maintained in previous subchapter, theories and practices on social, political and cultural production of space, such aspects of the ‘urban’ also, are reviewed by predicating distinguished scholars on mentioned subjects. These alternative theories and practices basically seek what really ‘urban’ is and they question, consequently, how relational and emancipatory perspectives can be spread for more humane, participatory and ‘lived’ public spaces to eliminate pressures of capitalism rooted in every part of life. Regarding pressures of capitalist mode of production and its destructive effects on life itself, not only space but also nature has been under domination of capitalism. As capitalist system achieved its success by producing spaces for its own ideology and using space as a sort of apparatus to spread its power, besides, it manipulates nature by means of transforming it in a way that it merely remains as a greenbackground or a beautiful vista. As successive processes started with sprawl of industrial capitalism to fall of public life/space, an analogue set of processes had realised also for nature, which was again triggered by capitalist dominancy.

Before analysing pressures of industrial capitalism on nature, here, it is needed to refer Murray Bookchin who asserts that “the *idea* of dominating nature has its primary source in the domination of human by human and in the structuring of the natural world into a hierarchical chain of being.”⁹⁰ He further continues that “the idea of dominating nature has a history that is almost as old as that of hierarchy itself.”⁹¹ Following his argument, it’s no doubt clear that ever since there appears a hierarchical pattern, domination over nature by human beings would become inevitable. In Ancient times to mediaeval times, and now in modern periods, it has continued as such. Yet no historical example can be compared with human’s despoilment and destruction of nature in the days of industrial capitalism, especially since the end of Second World War. Ancient examples of human parasitism

⁹⁰Murray Bookchin, “What is Social Ecology?” in *Social Ecology and Communalism*, Oakland and Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007, p.38.

⁹¹Ibid., p.39.

remained limited with local scope whereas modern human's despoilment and destruction of environment is global.⁹²

This change in despoliation of nature from local scope to global is one of the consequences that industrial capitalism brought about. However, revealing this change is not enough to expound fall/reduction of nature. Here, the dichotomy between town and country needs to be emphasized in order to completely analyse background of the process. Marx attributes great importance to dichotomy between town and country by attaching it as the major consideration of economic history of society:

The foundation of every division of labor which has attained a certain degree of development, and has been brought about by the exchange of commodities, is the separation of town from country. One might well say that the whole economic history of society is summed up in the movement of this antithesis.⁹³

Rewording Marx, separation of town-country settles in the center of problems originated from division of labour and transition to capitalism which is succeeded with urbanisation. Industrial capitalism, besides urbanisation, generated not only a massive shift of human and material sources towards urban concentrations, but also dominance over countryside through leaving it as 'ruralised'. Therefore, being a center of all sorts of production once, countryside turned into 'agriculture'; separate industry for food and raw materials, whereas towns became to appear as the center of capital.⁹⁴ This separation of town and country is not the only dichotomy eventuated by pressures of industrial capitalism; as it is discussed before, because of mechanisation/standardisation/privatisation labour was segregated from human beings, as they were separated from society. However, not only human beings but also 'nature' was separated from society by means of urbanisation. Margaret FitzSimmons puts it forward:

⁹²Murray Bookchin, "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought" in *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*, Montreal and Buffalo: Black Rose Books, 1986, p. 81.

⁹³Ross Wolfe, "The Antithesis of Town and Country", 2013, Retrieved 6 August, 2015 from <http://www.audacity.org/RW-series-ATC-01.htm>.

⁹⁴John Merrington, "Town and Country in Transition to Capitalism" in *New Left Review*, September-October 1975, Retrieved 6 August, 2015 from http://newleftreview.org/I/93/john-merrington-town-and-country-in-the-transition-to-capitalism#_edn3.

Urbanisation as a process has constituted the city and the countryside, society and nature, a “unity of opposites” constructed from the integrated, lived world of human social experience.⁹⁵

From hereafter, fall of nature of can be mentioned as it was separated from society and social life. Besides, reduction in meaning of nature should be mentioned too, since as local and global forms of capitalism penetrate towards social life, powerful tendencies become to emerge to externalise nature. Yet, intricate and vulnerable dependence of capital accumulation on nature has continued deeply and widely.⁹⁶ Within that process, in modern society, what remains as nature is merely a ‘greenery’; a passive structure that constitutes a joyful background for leisure and recreational activities or a beautiful vista o to fall into a reverie. It is no longer associated with production, an active involvement; rather, it is also consumed, functionalised and thus commodified like ‘space’ is processed so. Bookchin further points out commodification of nature:

Owing to its inherently competitive nature, bourgeois society not only pits humans against each other, it also pits the mass of humanity against the natural world. Just as men are converted into commodities, so every aspect of nature is converted into a commodity, a resource to be manufactured and merchandised wantonly.⁹⁷

This commodification process created ‘imitations’ of nature, which clarifies how new ‘urban natures’ of new urban social and environmental conditions emerged under realms of power.⁹⁸ Under that effect of power, nature in its subordinated form of greenery, therefore, is adapted to an ideological aspect through being functionalised by authorities, which engenders the concept of recreational spaces as a new urban nature.⁹⁹ The vision behind those spaces of imitation nature which

⁹⁵Margaret FitzSimmons, “The Matter of Nature” in *Antipode*, Vol. 21, 1989, p. 108 cited in Nik Heynen, Maria Kaika and Erik Swyngedouw (ed.) “Urban Political Ecology” in *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism*, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006, p.1.

⁹⁶Nik Heynen, Maria Kaika and Erik Swyngedouw (ed.) “Urban Political Ecology” in *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism*, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2006, p.2.

⁹⁷Murray Bookchin, “Ecology and Revolutionary Thought”, *Op. Cit.*, p.85.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, p.4.

⁹⁹Bülent Batuman and Tonguç Akış, “Kentsel Mekan Olarak Doğa” in *Mimarlık*, Vol. 291, 2000, p. 23.

promotes good feelings among inhabitants has attracted some social reformers' attention and; therefore, social control over people become such an insistent urge by means of those recreational spaces.¹⁰⁰

Despite aforementioned processes of 'nature' that it has been exposed by pressures of capitalism, it should be claimed that like space, nature/environment is a social product. Accordingly, issues on environment and nature cannot be separated from social ones. At that point, the meanings and approaches that Bookchin attributes to environment and nature are quite remarkable for further discussions which consider nature as a social product. Therefore, his concept of 'social ecology' appears as a manifestation on necessary substructure and political background for such ecology movement, rather than narrating merely romantic aspirations to green.¹⁰¹

His propositions on ecological thought find it substantially revolutionary and reconstructive. Through 'social ecology', he also criticises conventional environmental politics and views which regret to treat ecological issues with social respect. Therefore, social ecology approaches environmental issues as they are also social issues, since problems on nature initiated with idea of dominating nature, which is a common consequence of social hierarchy. "This hierarchical mentality and system has been extended out from the social domination of people — particularly the young, women, people of colour, and yes, males generally as workers and subjects — into the realm of non-human nature."¹⁰²

Contrast to this hierarchical system, what social ecology suggests is a differential, diversified, balanced and harmonised eco-community which adopts a non-hierarchical society. Therefore, it promotes a directly democratic politics which aspires to re-harmonize society with natural world through celebrating diversity,

¹⁰⁰Roy Rosenzweig, "Middle-Class Parks and Working-Class Play: The Struggle over Recreational Space in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1870-1910" in *Radical History Review*, vol.21, 1979, p. 31.

¹⁰¹Güven Arif Sargın, "Dosya Ekobaşkalaşım Önsöz: Kent ve Kır'a İlişkin Söylemler", in *Mimarlık*, Vol. 291, 2000, p. 7.

¹⁰²Murray Bookchin, "Anthropocentrism versus Biocentrism – A False Dichotomy", 2001, Retrieved 6 August, 2015 from <http://climateandcapitalism.com/2012/02/15/anthropocentrism-versus-biocentrism-notes-on-a-false-dichotomy/>.

creativity and freedom¹⁰³. For Bookchin, ecology is an integrative and reconstructive science; therefore, those aspects of ecological approach directly relate with anarchic areas of social thought, which propose concepts of balanced community, face-to-face democracy, humanistic technology and decentralised society.¹⁰⁴ Insisting on creation of an ecological society, Bookchin continues:

We must create an ecological society - not merely because such a society is desirable but because it is direly necessary. We must begin to live in order to survive. Such a society involves a fundamental reversal of all the trends that mark the historic development of capitalist technology and bourgeois society the minute specialization of machines and labor, the concentration of resources and people in gigantic industrial enterprises and urban entities, the stratification and bureaucratization of life, the divorce of town from country, the objectification of nature and human beings.¹⁰⁵

This ideal of an ecological society not only propounds emancipatory thoughts for nature, but also introduces new aspects for a real democratic society. Against capitalism's simplification, social ecology calls for diversity; the external, the different and the other are conceived as a part of complexity.¹⁰⁶ At that point, Bookchin goes one step further and claims that "individuals will finally, for the first time in history, be in a position to realise their potentialities as members of the human community and the natural world."¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, unlike standardisation brought by capitalism, social ecology includes social spontaneity where individuals find a chance to release their potentialities and creativity.

A group of scholars, also having the idea that urbanisation is a socio-environmental change, developed concept of 'urban political ecology' to provide re-entry of concerns on nature to urban theory, since it is crucial both in urban analysis and urban political activism.¹⁰⁸ Their central critique has a twofold overview on current theories on urban and environment. For them, most environmental theories substantially ignore urbanisation as a main driving force behind many environmental

¹⁰³*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴Murray Bookchin, "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought", *Op. Cit.*, pp.80-89.

¹⁰⁵Murray Bookchin, *Toward an Ecological Society*, Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1980, p.68.

¹⁰⁶Murray Bookchin, "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought", *Op. Cit.*, p. 104.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸Nik Heynen, Maria Kaika and Erik Swyngedouw (ed.), *Op. Cit.*

problems and issues.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, urban theories do not include environmental considerations. However, both social and environmental problems have their roots within effects of (capitalist) urbanisation. Also Raymond Williams in *The Country and The City* points out that “transformation of nature and the social relations inscribed therein are inextricably connected to the process of urbanisation.”¹¹⁰

Like social ecology does, urban political ecology also includes an emancipatory approach that it purposes to formulate radically democratic political projects to organise production processes of environments where humans and non-humans inhabit.¹¹¹ For that matter, urban political ecology gives a particular attention to social and political power relations which are to provide ultimate decisions about who will never access or be excluded from resources and other components of environment, while at the same time to control over the ones who are designated to have the access. Here, yet again, the objective of urban political ecology should be underlined: “It provides an integrated and relational approach that helps untangle the interconnected economic, political, social and ecological processes that together form highly uneven urban socio-physical landscapes.”¹¹² Within first chapter of *In the Nature of Cities: Urban Political Ecology and the Politics of Urban Metabolism*, Nik Heynen, Maria Kaika and Erik Swyngedouw articulated a ten-point manifesto to clear up the principles and arguments on urban political ecology which they discussed throughout that particular chapter. As a sort of summary of that manifesto, they argue a co-determination of environmental and social changes, both of which depend on social, cultural, political and economic circumstances and configurations that are shaped through social and political power relations. Therefore, within their manifestation, the socio-ecological sustainability and democracy can be reached by socio-environmental re-production which maintains an inclusive mode of production of nature, as well as space.¹¹³

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*

¹¹⁰Raymond Williams, *Op. Cit.*

¹¹¹Nik Heynen, Maria Kaika and Erik Swyngedouw (ed.), *Op. Cit.*

¹¹²Nik Heynen, Maria Kaika and Erik Swyngedouw (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p. 15

¹¹³For full text “manifesto” see, Nik Heynen, Maria Kaika and Erik Swyngedouw (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11-12.

To formulate a concluding note on both social ecology and urban political ecology, it is common for both of these theories that environmental/natural world is a developmental process; it is dialectical rather than instrumental. Similar to aforementioned discussions about theories on ‘urban’ and production of space, nature is also socially, and politically, produced, which requires a certain way of thinking to understand the complex mix of contexts created by political, social and economic processes.¹¹⁴

2.3. RECLAIMING PUBLICNESS THROUGH TEMPORARY PLACEMAKING: ‘THE SPATIAL IMPROMPTU’

A place of encounters, focus of communication, and information, the urban becomes what it always was; place of desire, permanent disequilibrium, seat of the dissolution of normalities and constraints, the moment of play and unpredictable.¹¹⁵

Following previous subchapter, where alternative theories and practices both on space and nature are tackled, this very subchapter is dedicated to an inquiry towards the ideal of ‘another public space with another publicness’ and also to a seeking for a new definition and edition for notion of publicness through which the public space is re-meant. Here, by re-meaning, what is intended is victory of public space through regaining its fundamental ‘meaning’- being public- which withered under pressures of capitalism. Along with those purposes of another public space and notion of publicness, the concept of ‘spatial impromptu’ will tried to be figured out as a relational and unitary approach towards production of public spaces, rather than inventing a new idea. In order to further develop the concept of spatial impromptu, inspirations from current practices on alternative urbanisms and spatializations will also be provided within this chapter.

¹¹⁴Henri Lefebvre, *The Survival of Capitalism: Reproduction of the Relations of Production*. London: Allison and Busby, 1976.

¹¹⁵Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (ed., tr.), Oxford and Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1996, p. 129.

Before discussing spatial impromptu, an analysis towards roots of the word is necessary here. According to Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the word impromptu has two meanings; as a noun and as an adjective. Its meaning as a noun corresponds to “a musical composition suggesting improvisation.”¹¹⁶ The second meaning as an adjective, which is more relevant with this study’s subject, signifies “made, done, or formed on or as if on the spur of the moment” and has synonyms like “extemporary, improvisational, unplanned, unpremeditated, unrehearsed.”¹¹⁷ As a starting note, even these synonyms give some clues about the concept of spatial impromptu. All of them resemble a manifestation towards a flexible, adaptive and first hand implementations and interventions. The term impromptu, thus, keeps a continuous obscurity of actions, yet discovery of moments, that it renders to be attractive and provocative.

So, how does the term impromptu relate with space? An approach towards understanding and resolving the everyday life along with an interrelation of space and time by thinking them together, not separately, is the basic answer to that question. Following a Lefebvrian way of thinking where he configures production of space as a differential and developmental process, the concept of spatial impromptu emerges on a basis of this space-time correlation to uncover potentialities and possibilities of everyday life which can find and reflect itself on space in changing rhythms of time.¹¹⁸ Therefore, the spatial orientations created under concept of spatial impromptu remain as alternative ways of placemaking comparing with plans and decisions made by authorities which are lack of matters of life and context (time-space-nature with human and non-human).

Regarding this issue on alternative ways of production of space, especially in these recent years, apparently considerable thoughts and ideas appear to emerge through a variety of creative and different practices on space. The common approach behind

¹¹⁶See, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/impromptu>.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*

¹¹⁸Lefebvre introduced a set of multiple temporalities which composes everyday life: The cyclical rhythms consists of nature like day and night; the linear is defined by rational processes like schedules of work and leisure and most importantly the discontinuous and spontaneous moments emphasise daily experience like feeling sensations of love. See, John. L. Chase, Margaret Crawford and John Kaliski (ed.), “Introduction” in *Everyday Urbanism*, New York: The Monacelli Press, 2008, p. 9.

those practices is that they somehow re-unite theory with practice¹¹⁹ where new ideas and discoveries become possible to pop-up. Furthermore, they also have the idea that in this ever-changing world of developing digital technologies, new information systems, transportation mediums and mobilisations, public spaces should also be that ever-changing by having a responsive manner towards public needs and desires. Suggesting the idea of spatial impromptu is also influenced and inspired by that call for ‘change’; change in thoughts, in actions, in styles, in manners, in systems, in trajectories and so on. Things are changing, whether in a bad or good way, yet people are questioning the existing, the ordinary, the accepted and the proper. So, why should public spaces –as a very part of everyday life and as a means of publicness– remain static?

In finding relevant answers to that question and to improve the concept of spatial impromptu, some books on alternative ways of production of public spaces inspire the theoretical and practical development of it. Among a growing body of both published and digital literature on the subject, *The Temporary Space*¹²⁰ written by Peter Bishop and Lesley Williams; *Temporary Urban Spaces*¹²¹ edited by Florian Haydn and Robert Temel; *Everyday Urbanism*¹²² edited by John. L. Chase, Margaret Crawford and John Kaliski; *Urban Catalyst*¹²³ edited by Phillip Oswalt, Klaus Overmeyer and Philipp Misselwitz; and *Insurgent Public Space*¹²⁴ edited by Jeffrey Hou have been source of great inspiration.

Rewording the current mobility in production of public spaces, there appears an apparent intention and desire in creation of bottom-up alternating public spaces which are more inclusive, participatory and emancipatory than top-down designs.

¹¹⁹Following the Marxist idea, The Situationist criticised capitalism’s idea of separation of theory from practice, which resulted with immobilisation of the theory. This critique can further be supported by Marx’s famous words on change-the practice: “The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it.” See, Karl Marx, *Theses on Feuerbach*, W. Lough tr, 1845, Retrieved 8 August, 2015 from <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1845/theses/theses.htm>.

¹²⁰Peter Bishop and Lesley Williams, *The Temporary Space*, London and New York: Routledge, 2012

¹²¹Florian Haydn and Robert Temel (ed.), *Temporary Urban Spaces*, Basel: Birkhauser, 2006.

¹²²John. L. Chase, Margaret Crawford and John Kaliski (ed.), *Everyday Urbanism*, *Op. Cit.*

¹²³Phillip Oswalt, Klaus Overmeyer and Philipp Misselwitz (ed.), *Urban Catalyst*, Berlin: DOM Publishers, 2013.

¹²⁴Jeffrey Hou (ed.), *Insurgent Public Space*, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010.

Searching for the drivers of that attempt, it's obvious that changes in life standards affected such process. In *The Temporary Space*, Bishop and Williams referred Polish sociologist Zygmunt Bauman who argues that within these 40-50 years, people have been exposed to a shift from 'solid' modernity phase to 'liquid' modernity phase.¹²⁵ By 'solid' modernity, he points out 'fully rational perfect world' where providing enough information, knowledge and technical skills can construct the perfect world without any change. As it is also discussed in previous subchapters of this thesis, like forces of capitalist mode of production, solid modernity creates a control over nature, hierarchical bureaucracy, rules and regulations. However, in the 'liquid' phase of modernity, an idea that a state of perfection can no longer be achieved, even there is no need for this, is adopted. Change is everywhere as 'a permanent condition of human life.' Therefore, liquid modernity encourages people to take risk and confront with uncertainty and series of new challenges. Yet it previses people to be ready to change tactics at short notice.

Spatial impromptu, therefore, is touched with this call for a change. This change is needed in terms of adopting new methodologies and ways of thinking to produce public spaces. For this reason, spatial impromptu regrets old-fashioned planning methods which are still being implemented in designing spaces of cities. Therefore, it deals with the moment of its context; time and space of its everyday life, where new, creative and challenging ideas can become possible to realise. In this sense, it has a reactionary side which responses the needs and desires of the locals by observing the city lived and focusing on problems of it. Such reactionary aspect is followed by the revolutionary and provocative side where radical changes can be adopted through finding out creative possibilities of everyday life which will break "the dominations of routines and allow for the expression of new forms of identity and ways of being."¹²⁶ Discovering these creative possibilities lies in the experiences that gained from 'lived' moments, inhabitants' social, political and cultural beings on space. In

¹²⁵Peter Bishop and Lesley Williams, "Temporary urbanism: drivers and conditions", *Op. Cit*, p.21.

¹²⁶Loretta Lees (ed.) , "Emancipatory Practices", *The Emancipatory City?*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004, p. 13.

other words, “the expressive, affective and perceptual powers of the body make possible the enactment of different ways of being in the world.”¹²⁷

Spatial impromptu can be considered as an attempt for space activism. Its activist approach comes from the desire of social, political, cultural and ecological change and the ‘tactical’ operation towards production of public spaces. Here, any actor as a tactician gains a great importance for the maintenance of the process. Most especially for the case of a spontaneous action, the tactician should use her/his experiences obtained from ‘lived’ experiences of everyday life. Therefore, s/he is “always on the move, whereas the strategist sits at his desk, observing through the window perhaps- and from a distance- the places where s/he works.”¹²⁸ These moves of tactician within everyday life make her/his practice as an operation for the micro-level. What is meant by ‘micro’ is an absolute antagonism of the ‘macro’; the top-down, the totalitarian and the formal. The micro level operation directly addresses socio-spatial practices of everyday life. Thus, unlike permanent forms of macro-level decisions, the micro-level operation of spatial impromptu points out temporal solutions which can be adopted to any alteration according to needs, desires and changing everyday practices. For that matter, it also covers mobile and flexible interventions.

Spatial impromptu, is an intentional phase of appropriating and producing public spaces. It calls for a participatory and inclusive practice that any people can be a part and an active ‘actor’ of the process of production of public spaces. Therefore, the inhabitant will no more be a ‘spectator’ of her/his life, yet s/he will no more merely consume the life but, on the contrary, produce it through a direct action. Here, the term ‘inhabitant’ gains much more importance and it should be clarified: As other alternative theories/practices suggested for production of public spaces, concept of spatial impromptu also puts forward a realization of a bottom-up praxis where ‘all’ have right to express an opinion, participate in decision processes and take a role in action. In this respect, spatial impromptu ensures a face-to-face communication

¹²⁷Quentin Stevens, “Urban Escapades: Play in Melbourne's Public Spaces” in Loretta Lees (ed.), *The Emancipatory City?*, London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2004, p. 139.

¹²⁸Peter Arlt, “Urban Planning and Interim Use” in Florian Haydn and Robert Temel (ed.), *Temporary Urban Spaces*, Basel: Birkhauser, 2006, p. 46.

between all different actors. However, this does not mean that professionals like architects, planners or designers have to be excluded from the process. As a part of this 'all', they should also participate in such alternative processes which will provide each participant to express and manifest their capabilities and creativities. Including, somehow, anarchic ideas within its discourse, concept of spatial impromptu releases "potentialities of society and humanity, of giving free and unfettered rein to the creativity of people."¹²⁹ Here comes the more anarchic thought of spatial impromptu: The organizational aspect of production of public spaces should provide a non-hierarchical, yet horizontal, model of operation. Only then the desired emancipatory and democratic public spaces and lives will be achieved by implementing direct democracy.

As it is tried to explain until that point, the concept of spatial impromptu opens a relational approach in production of space. This relational approach not only covers approaches towards space but also nature. In order to fulfil the necessities of 'unitary' attitude towards 'life', nature as well as space should be tackled as part of this 'another' production. Therefore, all diversities that nature holds should be considered and the factor of nature should be re-entered to theories and practices regarding space.

Turning back to objective of this subchapter, the inquiry towards the ideal of 'another public space with another publicness', particularities of an alternative way of production of space is depicted thus far. This 'other' production should be one that everyday life, 'as a screen to read the essence of society', should no more be treated as a programmed consumption, but a medium of elaborated relations. It ought to be a production as a critique of modern urbanism, where ordinary people are going to realise themselves as subjects again by realising their authentic needs. Hence, this other production should encourage and trigger bottom-up interventions for public spaces in real time and real space, with real actors. Spatial impromptu, as an alternative approach, corresponds such 'other' production by suggesting its processes and actions. Contrary to spaces produced under pressures and impositions of

¹²⁹Murray Bookchin, "Ecology and Revolutionary Thought", *Op. Cit.*, p. 99.

industrial capitalism that have gradually interfered in people's realm of freedom and living, spatial impromptu is for enabling new realms for freedom and living. Thus, ultimately, it manifests 'another publicness' where public take its 'public' aspect back.

Before concluding this chapter, I shall give a list of current practices on alternative urbanisms and spatializations which problematize space and nature as social, political, cultural and ecological production and explain some of them briefly. 'Do-it-yourself urbanism', 'hands on urbanism', 'tactical urbanism', 'everyday urbanism', 'pop up urbanism', 'guerrilla urbanism', 'temporary urban spaces', 'self-made urban spaces', 'flash mob spaces', 'loose spaces'¹³⁰, 'pop up cities'¹³¹, 'urban tactics', 'freezoning' and 'performative landscapes' are some of the contemporary concepts widely used by architects, planners, designers, activists and other practitioners.

Among those practices of *avant-garde* motivations, the idea of 'hands-on urbanism' was come up within an exhibition curated by Prof. Dr. Elke Krasny from Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. The exhibition entitled *Hands-On Urbanism: How to Make A Difference* initially created for *Architekturzentrum Wien* and devoted to a history of ideas of appropriating land in urban space and reveals potential for initiatives by citizens willing to take action in crisis situations. The presentation is based upon a critical history of ideas about the politics of space.¹³² Therefore, the exhibition and the succeeded book entitled *The Right to Green: Hands-On Urbanism 1850-2012*¹³³ demonstrate how urban development from below leads to an informal and self-organised production of the city. It specifically focuses on urban gardening from "the lens of informal settlements, collective urban actions and the politics of space."¹³⁴ The exhibition has been on display in different cities including biennales and it is assisted by several lectures and symposiums.

¹³⁰Karen Franck and Quentin Stevens, *Loose Space: Possibilities and Diversity in Urban Life*, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2007.

¹³¹See <http://popupcity.net/>.

¹³²See <http://www.urbanspacegallery.ca/exhibits/hands-urbanism-how-make-difference>.

¹³³Elke Krasny *The Right to Green: Hands-On Urbanism 1850-2012*, Hong Kong: MCM Creations, 2014.

¹³⁴See <http://www.elkekrasny.at/archives/tag/hands-on-urbanism>.

‘Tactical urbanism’, another alternative way of practicing urbanism, firstly used by The Street Plans Collaborative which is a Miami based urban planning, design and research-advocacy firm. The group published a book called *Tactical Urbanism: Short Term Action for Long Term Change*¹³⁵ where they introduced ‘tactical urbanism’ as a substantial means for quick, low-cost and creative community-based projects. According to their interpretation, tactical urbanism features five characteristics which are “a deliberate, phased approach to instigating change, the offering of local solutions for local planning challenges, short-term commitment and realistic expectations, low risks with a possibly a high reward and the development of social capital between citizens and the building of organizational capacity between public-private institutions, non-profits and their constitutions.”¹³⁶

‘Pop up urbanism’ is initiated and spread by Melendrez which is a Los Angeles based urban planning and landscape architecture firm. They interpret the concept as a set of multiple innovative mediums which provides to test potential urban design movements. Pop up urbanism, therefore, varies from temporary installations to more intensive studies. The group categorised pop up urbanism into four types: planning workshop or activity, pop up day or pop up event, guerrilla urbanism and temporary people space.¹³⁷ Here, ‘guerrilla urbanism’ covers any action which is performed without a need to have approval or permitting from authorities with a purpose of fixing an urban problem or making an urban statement. It can also include spontaneous activities in public spaces like open parties, yoga lessons or a bike ride.¹³⁸

‘Urban tactics’ is a concept initiated by *atelier d’architecture autogérée (aaa)* -studio of self-managed architecture- which is a collective platform based in Paris and conducts actions and researches on urban mutations and cultural, social and political emerging practices in the contemporary city. Idea of ‘urban tactics’ has an

¹³⁵Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia, *Tactical Urbanism: Short Term Action for Long Term Change*, Island Press, 2015.

¹³⁶For more information, see http://issuu.com/streetplanscollaborative/docs/tactical_urbanism_vol.1, http://issuu.com/streetplanscollaborative/docs/tactical_urbanism_vol_2_final.

¹³⁷For more information, see <http://www.popupurbanism.org/>.

¹³⁸For more information see <http://www.popupurbanism.org/guerilla-urbanism> and <http://www.citylab.com/topics/guerilla-urbanism/>.

overlapping extent with the main objective of the platform: “to encourage the participation of inhabitants at the self-management of disused urban spaces, overpass contradictions and stereotypes by proposing nomad and reversible projects, initiate interstitial practices which explore the potential of contemporary city (in terms of population, mobility, temporality).”¹³⁹ Therefore, through providing a sort of micro-political acting on space, urban tactics demands for more ecological and more democratic cities which will be less dependent to top-down processes, but will be more available to its inhabitants.

As a last point on alternative theories and practices on urbanism and production of space, concept of ‘freezoning’ is propounded by the group Urban Unlimited established in Rotterdam. The group has conducted many researches on urban issues, one of which is freezoning. Describing the historical importance, the group argued that ‘freezones’ appear as places in which dissenters and free-thinkers have founded place to shelter.¹⁴⁰ They position concept as a non-plan against plan and contra-net against net, through mentioning uncontrolled areas as essential places in life. Therefore, the idea behind freezoning is giving “particular importance for the origins of urban culture, the expansion of state, the protection of minorities and the renewal of the city” where formal, regulatory, ossifying and territorially based urban policies turn to be informal, pioneering, elusive and network based freezone issues.¹⁴¹

With reference to these abovementioned *avant-garde* ideas through which cities and public spaces are approached and practiced in an alternative manner, the concept of spatial impromptu finds its ground for action to reclaim publicness and yet public spaces for ‘public.’ Through infiltrating in very flow of everyday life, spatial impromptu breaks the routines and monotony of everyday life and uncovers the inciting and procreative particularities of it by intervening in public space and, therefore, redefining it by means of an inclusive, participatory and emancipatory practice with various actors including inhabitants. To bring the inquiry of this research to a further step, the practice of Guerrilla Gardening, as a case for spatial

¹³⁹For more information, see <http://www.urbantactics.org/>.

¹⁴⁰Peter Bishop and Lesley Williams, *Op. Cit*, p. 31.

¹⁴¹*Ibid*.

impromptu, will be analysed in following chapter with its spatial, social, political and ecological concerns, different sites and changing scales of action which ultimately expresses and presents ‘another public space with another publicness’.

CHAPTER 3

GUERRILLA GARDENING AS A SPATIAL IMPROMPTU

3.1.GREEN GUERILLAS AND GUERRILLA GARDENING IN RETROSPECT

As accentuated up to this chapter, the inquiry of this thesis is formed around searching public spaces which are produced through relational and alternative approaches which re-defines a new publicness. In the scope of these relational and alternative approaches, under the motto ‘another public space with another publicness’, the concept of spatial impromptu was described and discussed in previous chapter. Here, in this chapter, Guerrilla Gardening will be analysed through approaching it as a spatial impromptu which appears with different motivations of social, political, ecological and spatial concerns. Through these varied groups of motivations and mode of operations, in scope of this thesis, Guerrilla Gardening is considered as a manifestation/expression through a new publicness. Therefore, practice of Guerrilla Gardening is analysed by counting different variables –actors, concerns, sites, scale, and structure- in research.

Before leading in analysis and discussions on Guerrilla Gardening, a scan over word meanings of the term and a retrospective review over the concept should be done. Firstly, the term ‘guerrilla’ needs to be explained. In the online Oxford Dictionary, ‘guerrilla’ is defined as such: “A member of a small independent group taking part in irregular fighting, typically against larger regular forces.”¹⁴² Besides, the

¹⁴²See, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/guerrilla>.

secondary definition comes: “Referring to actions or activities performed in an impromptu way, often without authorization.”¹⁴³ As the first definition of the term further matches with the conventional use of ‘guerrilla’ through resembling a meaning attributed with military and warfare, the second definition expresses the term in a more similar way as it gains through Guerrilla Gardening. Therefore, it totally matches up with the idea behind Guerrilla Gardening by summarizing it in three words: action, impromptu and autonomy. Although the secondary definition better corresponds with scope of Guerrilla Gardening, it should not be underestimated that ‘guerrilla’, with its main definition, is known as the origin of positioning against a regular and systematic power.

To concentrate on its roots, the term guerrilla has its origins in Spanish, which means ‘little war’- informal fighters make irregular attacks rather than maintaining conventional methods within strategies of a regular army. The term first used in 18th century, when Napoleon Bonaparte’s army invaded Spanish lands. During this war of six years, Spanish fighters, constituted by ordinary civil people aspired to defend their lands, attacked the imperial French army with the tactics of little war. These civil fighters called themselves as ‘guerrillas’. Apart from fighting in a way that militaries do, guerrillas’ ideal on ‘fight’ is differentiated: It’s more about changing society. Therefore, unlike regular soldiers forced to be non-political, guerrillas position themselves as unbound, free from bureaucracy and filled with common sense, while implementing tactics to change existing trajectory and, yet the system.¹⁴⁴

Thereafter, the term guerrilla has been associated with informal group of fighters who fights against great army forces in order to change social system as also being a social reformer. However, today the term not only correlates with fighting literally; rather, regarding its contemporary everyday use, the term guerrilla is associated with actions happens as an unauthorised operation through implementing minor tactics. Thus, adopting the very idea behind guerrillas, in early 1970s, a group in New York

¹⁴³*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴The information on use of term ‘guerrilla’ is taken from Richard Reynold’s book on Guerrilla Gardening. See Richard Reynolds, *On Guerrilla Gardening*, New York: Bloomsbury, 2008, pp.16-17.

appropriated the term and called themselves as ‘Green Guerrillas’ to describe their illegal gardening in vacant lands of Lower East Side.¹⁴⁵ The story behind their appearance and their ‘green’ actions is worth telling here, since the main reason for them to be a green guerrilla has parallels with the discussions conducted in previous chapter which focuses on pressures of capitalism that has led to multiple severe consequences.

Bowery, a neighbourhood in Lower East New York, was an agricultural land in 1600s, even its name means ‘farm’. After the end of the century, under rush of urbanisation, farms were covered with city streets and many tenement apartments were built to squeeze in more renters. The neighbourhood turned to be a settlement for immigrants and a ground for gangs. By the 1970s, the apartment buildings were falling down by leaving their debris and garbage behind. As a resident of the neighbourhood, an artist Liz Christy and her activist friends already had some concerns about the future of the life in their environment while it was collapsing among rise and fall of concrete blocks. Therefore, they started to throw ‘seed green-aids’ –currently called ‘seed bombs’ over the fences of vacant lots of the neighbourhood. Their objective there was to do something and take the action against the urban decay they saw every day.¹⁴⁶

In 1973, a vacant lot located at the corner of Bowery and East Houston streets attracted Liz Christy, when she saw a little boy playing in the garbage and pile of debris. Therefore, Liz Christy and her friends –who called themselves Green Guerrillas-, assembled and first, cleaned up the lot and then after several operations on land, they turned this abandoned lot into a community garden called Bowery Houston Community Farm Garden.¹⁴⁷ (Figure 3.1) Despite neighbours’ sceptical approach on participating in gardening there early on, after few months they started to grow their food in the community garden. Even though city officials became less

¹⁴⁵Ibid, p. 19.

¹⁴⁶The information about Bowery Neighbourhood and emergence of Bowery Houston Community Farm Garden was taken from <http://www.ecotippingpoints.org/our-stories/indepth/usa-new-york-community-garden-urban-renewal.html>.

¹⁴⁷In 1986, after death of Liz Christy, the garden dedicated Liz Christy Bowery-Houston Garden, in memory of its founder. See, <http://www.lizchristygarden.us/>.

enthused about the garden and tried to clear out the horticultural trespassers, Green Guerrillas continued struggle and this movement of reclaiming urban land and creating community gardens spread beyond the city, where urban decay reversed itself. However, the spread of movement has not remained limited to New York; it sprawled to the country and even to world under the term of ‘guerrilla gardening’.¹⁴⁸ It should be indicated here that the use of ‘guerrilla’ in denomination of the concept is neither a coincidence nor a random choice. Apart from integrating the idea of impromptu operations practiced without having any permission, the term guerrilla also includes ‘ecological’ concerns within. Many guerrillas in the world have been struggling not only for social or political victory, but also for right to land and for more equitable distribution of agricultural land through encouraging green production.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, an ‘ecological revolution’ becomes inevitable to realise towards a more equal, democratic and liveable life, which resembles ideas of ‘social ecology’ discussed in previous chapter.



Figure 3.1: Liz Christy Bowery-Houston Garden; Left: Green Guerillas cultivating the vacant lot, 1973; Right: Green Guerillas and neighbour gardeners of formerly Bowery Houston Community Farm Garden, 1974 (Source: <http://www.lizchristygarden.us>)

¹⁴⁸The information about Bowery Houston Community Farm Garden was taken from <http://www.ecotippingpoints.org/our-stories/indepth/usa-new-york-community-garden-urban-renewal.html> and <http://www.lizchristygarden.us/>.

¹⁴⁹See Che’s motivations for guerrilla warfare in Cuba which were about access and right to land. Similarly Emiliano Zapata fought for more equal distribution of agricultural land. Richard Reynolds, *Op. Cit.*, p.20.

Turning back to Green Guerillas, today there are more than 600 community gardens in New York City, where inhabitants grow food for their family and neighbours. These community gardens not only serve as a ground for growing food, but they also provide a social space for inhabitants to be in touch with each other and for children to be connected to the earth. Therefore, 'Green Guerillas' now becomes a non-profit resource center for helping community gardeners through organizing workshops, meetings and youth programmes.¹⁵⁰ Although Green Guerillas continue their struggle in a more structurally organized way by conducting various programmes for gardeners, there are many green guerrillas around the world who are practicing gardening without any permission –as original band of Green Guerillas did- and, therefore, maintaining guerrilla gardening practices.¹⁵¹

Doing a research on Guerrilla Gardening, one will face that an increasing interest is given to practice in media and other digital/online sources. However, there is a noticeable lack regarding an academic work or in depth analysis of the concept. The other conflict encountered in a research on Guerrilla Gardening is that it is often confused with other gardening practices like 'community gardening', 'urban

¹⁵⁰For more information, see <http://www.greenguerillas.org/>.

¹⁵¹Although the first denotation of 'guerrilla gardening' was used by Green Guerillas to denominate their illicit cultivation, the roots of practice of illegal gardening have its origins from 1649s. After the English Civil War of 1649 resulted in political and social unrest and upheaval led to emergence of set of radical ideas suggesting alternative forms of government to replace the old order. In such a context, the group of radical peasant called themselves as The Diggers published a pamphlet. Their ideal envisioned in ecological relationship between human and nature, where the leader of the group William Everard declared: "True freedom lies where a man receives his nourishment and preservation, and that is in the use of the earth." Therefore, The Diggers used the earth to reclaim the freedom that they felt had been by cultivating the land and owning it 'in common'. They were opposed to the use of force and believed that they could create a classless society simply through seizing land and holding it in the 'common good'. This ideal also makes them to be considered as one of the forerunners of modern anarchism and agrarian socialism. (The group also called themselves as True Levellers by referring to coetaneous group of radical idealists in England, who believes that all humans are equal, so the land should belong to all people as a right.) For more information on The Diggers and also on The Levellers, see "1642-1652: The Diggers and the Levellers", 2006, Retrieved 15 August, 2015 from <https://libcom.org/history/1642-1652-diggers-levellers> and Lewis H. Berens, *The Digger Movement In The Days Of The Commonwealth*, London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, & Co. Ltd., 1906.

Here, another reference to more contemporary version of The Diggers is needed to be given. Since 1984, The Landless Workers' Movement (*MST*) in Brazil occupies large landed estates and struggles for accessing to land for poor workers, realizing a land reform in Brazil and manifesting that another life is possible through social and political activism which deals with problems originally stemmed from property issues such as hierarchy, unequal distribution of income, racism, sexism and media monopolies. For more information on MST, see <http://www.mstbrazil.org/> (Retrieved 9 August, 2015).

gardening', 'urban farming' or 'urban agriculture'. The common misunderstanding behind these confusions is that any gardening activity within city is attempted to be called *guerrilla* gardening, even permission has been granted for those places.¹⁵²

In that case, how guerrilla gardening can be defined? According to Richard Reynolds, a distinguished guerrilla gardener and founder of guerrillagardening.org - the largest Guerrilla Gardening community in the world-, Guerrilla Gardening is 'the illicit cultivation of someone else's land'.¹⁵³ Here, the emphasis on 'illicit' is necessary to be reviewed. In his definition, community ecologist and author David Tracey mentions Guerrilla Gardening as 'gardening in public space with or without permission'.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, in his consideration, having landowner's permit cannot be counted as a criterion for any gardening project to be considered as Guerrilla Gardening. Without being obsessed with whether permission is provided, he deals with Guerrilla Gardening in a way that it enhances public spaces, which can be counted as a public right.¹⁵⁵ However, Reynolds is absolutely insistent on issue of permission. For him, Tracey's definition covers nothing about 'guerrilla' action. Therefore, for him Guerrilla Gardening has to be illicit, definitely be illegal.¹⁵⁶ He continues:

I do not wait for permission to become a gardener, but dig wherever I see horticultural potential. I do not just tend existing gardens but create them for neglected space. I, and thousands of people like me, step out from home to garden land we do not own.¹⁵⁷

As Reynolds does, philosopher Isis Brook points out the unauthorised characteristic of Guerrilla Gardening:

The new style acts of guerrilla gardening are usually small and take place in built up areas to try to bring something of nature into the space. This could

¹⁵²Richard Reynolds, *Op. Cit.*, p.23.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁵⁴David Tracey, "Introduction" in *Guerrilla Gardening: A Manual*, Gabriola Island: New Society Publishers, 2007, pp. 4-6.

¹⁵⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶Olly Zanetti, *Guerrilla Gardening-Geographers and Gardeners, Actors and Networks: Reconsidering Urban Public Space*, (Unpublished Master Thesis), 2007.

¹⁵⁷Richard Reynolds, *Op. Cit.*, p. 14.

be through planting up road verges or traffic islands. The planting is done surreptitiously and often a mini garden is established and appreciated before anyone with authority over the land notices. Even sites where there is no access have been turned into havens of wildflowers by creating seed grenades with water-filled balloons.¹⁵⁸

At that point, Guerrilla Gardening differs from other gardening activities, since through virtue of its name and practice; it is associated with transgression and intervention¹⁵⁹ by evoking anarchic practices. Unlike other gardening projects, Guerrilla Gardening uses space in a different way through provoking questions on property rights and right to use of public space, which leads up highly political associations. Considering its relation with term ‘guerrilla’, Guerrilla Gardening can be connotated as a battle which is against scarcity, environmental abuse and wasted opportunities. Besides, it’s a battle where a struggle is maintained for freedom of expression and for community cohesion and in which bullets are replaced with flowers.¹⁶⁰

The battle metaphor also emphasizes and recalls another ‘guerrilla’ side of the practice: Like guerrillas, the objective of guerrilla gardeners is not just breaking convention, but about breaking rules.¹⁶¹ Therefore, the practice of Guerrilla Gardening highly motivates with desire of change. This change can be social, political or environmental, or it can be an assemblage of them according to gardeners’ concerns. However, no matter what sort of alteration towards life is desired, Guerrilla Gardening can be considered as an expression of breaking the normalities and existing circumstances. Therefore, Michael Hardman –an academic conducting researches on Guerrilla Gardening and illegal food cultivations- associates Guerrilla Gardening with social movements, since it aims for change and

¹⁵⁸Shane J. Rolston, “It Takes a Garden Project” in *Ethics and The Environment*, vol. 16, 2011, Retrieved 19 August, 2015 from <http://sites.psu.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/9354/2013/12/ItTakesGardenProject-SRalston.pdf>.

¹⁵⁹Annie Crane, *Intervening with Agriculture: A Participatory Action Case Study of Guerrilla Gardening*, (Unpublished Master Thesis), Belfast: Queen’s University, 2011.

¹⁶⁰Richard Reynolds, *Op. Cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁶¹Richard Reynolds, *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.

“majority of guerrillas are going against the norm of present-day society; challenging the mundane and creating eye-catching spaces.”¹⁶²

On the way to desired change, Guerrilla Gardening directly implements on public space in an unadministered way through cultivating, gardening, planting or other forms of action which are much more related with street art interventions. Regardless of its form of practice, Guerrilla Gardening, thus, challenges use of public spaces through questioning about “how space is used and who is allowed to frame and give it meaning.”¹⁶³ Thus, it can be asserted that Guerrilla Gardening evokes a strong connection between everyday action and public space. Here, the main point that Guerrilla Gardening intersects with the inquiry of this thesis appears: Within this research, the emphasis on Guerrilla Gardening will be placed on the importance of loosening the control over who can produce public space and through which ways the public space can be produced. Therefore, how Guerrilla Gardening attributes a new way of publicness towards production of space and nature will be analysed and discussed deeply in this chapter.

3.2.A RESEARCH ON GUERRILLA GARDENING

Towards the inquiry of this thesis, a relational and unitary approach is followed to understand alternative ways for production of public spaces, which is led by social, political and cultural processes. Here, the argument of this thesis is formed through the idea that the alternative production of public space can become possible by means of ‘another publicness’ where inhabitants -as actors, not spectators- actively get involved in such production. Regarding that argument, the concept of spatial impromptu is suggested as a relational and unitary approach towards public spaces, which re-considers space and nature together with inhabitants’ involvement to everyday life, to very micro-spaces of it. Here, Guerrilla Gardening is considered as a

¹⁶²Michael Hardman, *Understanding Guerrilla Gardening: An Exploration of Illegal Cultivation in the UK*, Centre for Environment & Society Research Working Paper Series, Birmingham: Birmingham City University, 2011, p. 10.

¹⁶³Annie Crane, *Op. Cit.*, p. 19.

spatial impromptu, where guerrilla gardeners as active inhabitants reclaim publicness and, therefore, redefine realm of public space along with challenging spatial, social, political and environmental limitations of public spaces. Therefore, Guerrilla Gardening should be analysed profoundly in order to be able to figure out how it manifests another public space with ‘another publicness’.

Within that scope, the research mainly focuses on two steps. The first one concentrates on Guerrilla Gardening as an everyday practice and the research objective sets up on resolving the multiple characteristics of the practice. Therefore, within the scope of such research objective, the characteristics of Guerrilla Gardening are not approached as well-defined given particularities, instead the practice is tried to be analysed through its multiple relations with space, nature, guerrilla gardeners, inhabitants, everyday life, authorities, and other actors. The reciprocal and other interwoven relationships of such mentioned parties are also considered within this research. Thus, this first step of the research provides multifaceted data for being achieved to analyse Guerrilla Gardening.

The second step of the research objective centers upon seeking the answers of how Guerrilla Gardening reveals ‘another publicness’ and how it reclaims public space. Resolving the practice of Guerrilla Gardening to find answers to such research questions, there are some important points to be noticed here. To grasp and disclose the relation between Guerrilla Gardening and public space, the practice is analysed as a process together with exploring actions, appropriations, operations and manifestations it covers. Along with the data obtained from first step of the research, the second phase concentrates Guerrilla Gardening as an everyday practice for alternative production of public spaces. Therefore, to analyse Guerrilla Gardening, it is necessary to uncover relations, tensions, resistances, struggles and acts of people against power motives. As a final objective, this research aims to further analyse Guerrilla Gardening through how guerrilla gardeners as actors of everyday life reclaim space and nature and take back the publicness from where it is kept hidden under pressures of capitalist mode of production.

With reference to such research purposes, detailed data is needed to analyse Guerrilla Gardening from a wide spectrum of reasons, relations and triggers. Therefore, to

reach appropriate data, qualitative research methodologies are adopted and followed throughout the research. Society and Culture Association explains qualitative research methodologies as such:

...Involves a phenomenological perspective whereby researchers aim to understand, report and evaluate the meaning of events for people in particular situations, that is, how their social world is structured by the participants in it. The focus of qualitative methodologies is the way in which participants (rather than the researcher) interpret their experiences and construct reality. Some examples are, an unstructured interview, focus group, open ended questionnaire and participant observation.¹⁶⁴

Within qualitative research methodologies, after scanning related literature and setting up the theoretical background and arguments for the research, different methodological techniques are used which depend on researcher's accessibility to field and the data needed. Therefore, for the first step of the research, content analysis technique and open-ended questionnaires are used to obtain information about Guerrilla Gardening.

Qualitative content analysis “comprises a searching-out of underlying themes in the materials being analysed”¹⁶⁵ and it is done through searching various websites, blogs and social media sources -which guerrilla gardeners established to publish their objectives, gardens and future projects- and other media sources like newspapers, articles and videos on guerrilla gardening and gardeners. Among these different sources, the newspaper articles which contain interviews with gardeners and the blogs launched by solo gardeners or gardener groups have been used and referred during the research to get more accurate data. Throughout the content analysis of mentioned sources, some keywords are used before and after scanning the media contents. These keywords can be listed as ‘guerrilla gardening’, ‘guerrilla gardener’, ‘green guerrillas’ ‘*gerilla bahçeciliği*’ and ‘*gerilla bahçeleri*’.

¹⁶⁴See http://www.hsc.csu.edu.au/society_culture/glossary/2309/index.htm.

¹⁶⁵Alan Bryman as cited in, Florian Kohlbacher, “The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research, 2006, Retrieved 12 October, 2015 from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/75/153#g42>.

As another technique, open-ended questionnaire is prepared for obtaining more specified and detailed information about practice of Guerrilla Gardening and gardeners. Here, the reason why open-ended questionnaire as a qualitative methodology technique is preferred should be explained. Guerrilla Gardening is not a region or country specific practice; therefore, there are many guerrilla gardeners practicing this throughout the world. Since the first research objective of this thesis is to gain general practical and conceptual information on Guerrilla Gardening and gardeners, the information provided from different guerrilla gardeners from different parts of the world is thought as valuable and important for research. Therefore, in order to contact with guerrilla gardeners, firstly blogs of guerrilla gardener groups were accessed via using Google search. Secondly, guerrilla gardener groups and organisations were searched via Facebook and Twitter. The keyword ‘guerrilla gardening’ was used while searching gardener groups within both of these mentioned sources.

Thus, 30 gardener groups were reached via blogs, Facebook and Twitter and e-mails and Facebook messages were sent to all of them to ask them to participate in the research. Finally, 6 gardeners from UK, France, USA, Italy, Romania and Indonesia returned positive to e-mails and messages. At that point, the limitations of the research were faced, since not every guerrilla gardener group replied e-mails and messages. After having positive replies, the open-ended questionnaire was sent to those guerrilla gardener groups via e-mail and filled answers were gained back likewise. All questionnaires were provided in August 2015. The questions cover topics such as personal engagement to Guerrilla Gardening with motivations behind; experiences and encountered situations during digs –selection of site, scale of operation, structure of the group and passerby reactions- and observations/influences after digs.¹⁶⁶

For the second phase of the study, case studies are developed to be able to further analyse Guerrilla Gardening through its multiple relations with inhabitants, authorities, city and nature in order to provide a re-reading of the practice as

¹⁶⁶For questions of the open-ended questionnaire, see Appendix A.

‘another’ production of public space and a revisiting of practice as an assembly of nature-space-human correlation. These case studies are selected from Turkey. This is a purposeful preference since concept of Guerrilla Gardening is intended to be figured out also within the Turkish case, where the researcher finds the opportunity to observe the case in situ. Therefore, the ‘green’ attempts to public spaces in Turkey are intended to be analysed around discussions of Guerrilla Gardening.

For this phase, all of the community-initiated/self-initiated gardening projects in Turkey were scanned via Google search and listed accordingly. Totally 12 gardens were determined in İstanbul and Ankara, most of which were initiated after Gezi Uprising. As a next step of the phase, the case studies were designated among these gardening projects. At that point, former personal connections of the researcher eased the selection of the cases, since suggestions of personal connections of the researcher, who practices illegal gardening in different contexts, contributed in determination of case studies. Thus, the case studies are based on “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*” (100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden) in 100.Yıl, Ankara; “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” (Şenay and Gülsüman People’s Garden) in Küçük Armutlu, İstanbul; and “*Yalıncak Bostanı*” (Yalıncak Garden) in METU Campus, Ankara.

Within these case studies, in-depth interview methodology technique is used to obtain information. This technique provides to find out more data which is unobservable or embedded. Thus, “each personal data increases the richness of data on case and gives us the possibility to hear from different perspectives and find out what is commonly shared.”¹⁶⁷ In selection of interviewees, ‘snowball sampling’ was used where first personal connections from different social circles of the researcher refer gardeners to be interviewed. “Snowball sampling may be defined as a technique for gathering research subjects through the identification of an initial subject who is used to provide the names of other actors. These actors may themselves open possibilities for an expanding web of contact and inquiry.”¹⁶⁸ Therefore, individual

¹⁶⁷Deniz Altay, *Op. Cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁶⁸Rowland Atkinson, John Flint, “Snowball Sampling”, Retrieved 12 October, 2015 from <https://srmo.sagepub.com/view/the-sage-encyclopedia-of-social-science-research-methods/n931.xml>.

and group interviews have been done with 7 gardeners from Istanbul and Ankara. All interviews were done in August 2015 and they lasted between 30 to 60 minutes.¹⁶⁹

3.3. ANALYSING GUERRILLA GARDENING: THE CHARACTERISTICS

*Armed with trowels, seeds, and vision, the idea is to garden everywhere. Anywhere.*¹⁷⁰

Although all guerrilla gardeners practice an unauthorised and illicit operation through gardening, not every Guerrilla Gardening practice has the same characteristics. Neither there are defined rules and techniques for it, nor does it have a common accepted norm to be labelled as guerrilla gardening. Therefore, Guerrilla Gardening can be considered as a practice of heterogeneity which welcomes variety of differences dependent on gardeners' creativity, interpretation and expression. Within such heterogeneity, Guerrilla Gardening includes a group of various characteristics. According to the analyses through the information gained from before mentioned qualitative methodology techniques, the characteristics of Guerrilla Gardening practice is categorised into four parts: Motivations of guerrilla gardeners for such an involvement, particularities of the land gardened, changing scales of the gardening operation and organizational/operational structure of the guerrilla gardeners.

3.3.1. Motivations

Guerrilla Gardening is not a stereotype practice, neither it does not include common and determined set of methods for operation. Since it is a 'tactical' practice, by virtue of its name, guerrilla gardening has its very inspiration from gardeners' expression and vision which provides an influential way of communication with others within flow of everyday life. Therefore, how guerrilla gardeners appropriate public space and express their manifestation directly relates with motivations they adopt. In this

¹⁶⁹For questions of interviews, see Appendix B.

¹⁷⁰See [http://artactivism.members.gn.apc.org/allpdfs/150-\[DA\]Guerrilla%20Gardening.pdf](http://artactivism.members.gn.apc.org/allpdfs/150-[DA]Guerrilla%20Gardening.pdf).

respect, according to Reynolds, there are two groups of guerrilla gardeners: the ones who acts for beautifying space and the ones who aim to grow crops in it.¹⁷¹ However such classification over guerrilla gardeners according to their ultimate motivations behind their acts on public space is too narrow to analyse multiple objectives and achievements of gardeners. Hardman further contributed to that classification through a broader grouping. He points out that guerrilla gardeners vary in their aims and he illustrates this range of aims by means of a linear schema which starts with the gardeners who act for fun and ends with the gardeners who adopt serious political aims.¹⁷² Here, as a further interpretation of Hardman's illustration, I suggest various motivations which trigger guerrilla gardeners to act within such practice. These motivations can be sorted as political objectives, social aims including building a community, involvement in city and everyday life, beautification of public space, environmental concerns, providing food and also reasons for fun. However, it should be noted here that whatever reason they have, guerrilla gardeners have a main reason behind: To change things. As it is mentioned before in the beginning of this chapter, "Guerrilla Gardening highly motivates with desire of change." This change can be a political, social, environmental or spatial and it can also be prompted by interwoven reasons.

For a respectable number of guerrilla gardeners, the reason for practicing Guerrilla Gardening has roots of aspiration towards political expression and involvement. These roots fed by desire to change existing trajectories and rejection of any kind of authorities to get permission to garden. These two facts are common for all actions of guerrilla gardening. Therefore, it can be asserted that every single act of guerrilla gardening, somehow, –no matter how deeply and primarily considered- involves a political concern. Richard overtly explains such 'political' dimension of Guerrilla Gardening:

For a few it (guerrilla gardening) has an explicit political objective, and their gardening tends to be more short lived. For some it has a social objective (tends to be for those who garden in groups more regularly). It has an

¹⁷¹Richard Reynolds, *Op. Cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁷²Michael Hardman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

implicit political message for all, whether intentional or not, which is a belief in our ability to change things by doing more than just voting or protesting but through definite action.¹⁷³

Following the matter that Richard is pointed out; Guerrilla Gardening is an alternative way of protesting and resisting for those who aim to manifest a political statement. Besides participating in marches and demonstrations; or political titling and posting; or sit-in acts and press releases, guerrilla gardening presents a new form of protest and political appearance. This new form also manifests an alternative realm for struggle and political activism, which challenges conventional type of protests and revolts. Regarding that, a guerrilla gardener Lindsay describes Guerrilla Gardening as a “quieter way to make a statement”, where she explains practice as “a subtle way of protesting.”¹⁷⁴

A group of guerrilla gardeners from Tbilisi, Georgia used guerrilla gardening as a medium to protest against local government who tried to demolish the greatest park of the city –Vake Park- to build a hotel. Therefore, guerrilla gardeners took the action, occupied the park and planted a flowerbed. This way of protesting was considered as a ‘new’ type even for the authorities, since “unlike with large, politically-motivated demonstrations, Georgian authorities couldn’t seem to figure out how to deal with the Vake Park group.”¹⁷⁵ Once more in Georgia, again guerrilla gardeners protested transformation of Tbilisi into a city for cars, not for people. Therefore, they reclaimed sidewalks with used tires filled with earth and flowers and make this part of street free for people again:

Parking is not allowed in this area, and yet they [cars] are still parked here. We tried to impose a nice partisan order.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³Richard Reynolds, Questionnaire, August 2015.

¹⁷⁴Lloyd Alter, “Guerrilla Gardeners: Resistance is Fertile”, 2007, Retrieved 18 August, 2015 from <http://www.treehugger.com/lawn-garden/guerilla-gardeners-resistance-is-fertile.html>.

¹⁷⁵“Georgia's 'guerrilla gardeners' defend a city park — and introduce people”, 2014, Retrieved 18 August 2015 from <http://www.pri.org/stories/2014-03-19/georgias-guerrilla-gardeners-defend-city-park-and-introduce-people-power>.

¹⁷⁶“Georgian Youth Reclaim Tbilisi Sidewalks for Pedestrians”, 2015, Retrieved 18 August, 2015 from <http://georgiatoday.ge/news/563/Georgian-Youth-Reclaim-Tbilisi-Sidewalks-for-Pedestrians>.

As a new form of political manifestation and activism, Guerrilla Gardening is also a medium of free expression. At that point, guerrilla gardeners use different flowers, trees and other plants to reveal a political statement, to resist against injustice or to draw attention into an unfair condition. Paul Harfleet is one of such guerrilla gardeners who uses act of planting to express his opposition. Therefore, he has been planting pansies for nine years to notify and raise awareness on the homophobic violence in UK cities.¹⁷⁷ Without seeking for permission, he plants pansies to scenes of homophobic abuse and photographed his intervention together with the scene, where selection of the site becomes quite important and has a symbolic meaning within his project. Harfleet further explains his experience:

As soon as someone shouts at you, you're outed in really public way and you're forced to react. Sometimes I might shout something back, but generally now I look around for somewhere I can plant later. It's become an internal mechanism to deal with that experience.¹⁷⁸

Although the project started with UK cities, thereafter planting pansies against sexism and homophobia has spread worldwide from Berlin to New York, Hong Kong and even to İstanbul where a guerrilla gardener/activist planted a pansy, showed in Figure 3.2, to remind State Minister Aliye Kavaf's homophobic words.

Another group of guerrilla gardeners with political motivations maintain illegal gardening against consumerism; therefore, they encourage producing through guerrilla gardening. Their objective is formed through a criticism of consumerist society which has been promoted by capitalist system to make individuals to be integrated into cycle of consuming. Being against to be involved in such system, Carly, a guerrilla gardener from Toronto, explains her reason behind her actions within guerrilla gardening:

We're conditioned to think we have to spend money to hang out with each other. Instead of consuming, you're producing something.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷For more information on project, see <http://www.thepansyproject.com/>.

¹⁷⁸ Ben Schiller, "A Single Flower To Mark Each Spot Of Homophobic Abuse", 2013, Retrived 20 August 2015, from <http://www.fastcoexist.com/1681765/a-single-flower-to-mark-each-spot-of-homophobic-abuse>.

¹⁷⁹Lloyd Alter, *Op. Cit.*

Dave, also a guerrilla gardener from Toronto, continues likewise:

Give a little thought to clandestine cultivation. You could be growing crops right in the heart of consumer landscape of burger bars, chain stores and supermarkets.¹⁸⁰



Figure 3.2: The Pansy Project; Left: “State Minister Selma Aliye Kavaf ; “I believe homosexuality is a biological disorder, a disease. It needs to be treated”, Pera House, Istanbul”, Right: "Ibne!" Taksim Square, Istanbul, for Mehmet Sander (Source: <http://www.thepansyproject.com>)

For some of the guerrilla gardeners, social motivations appear as a priority in their practice of illicit gardening. For those, building a green community where inhabitants actively engage with production of a social network within city trigger them to do guerrilla gardening. Therefore, they keep planting in public spaces both to activate a sense of community and to socialise with other people and also with passersby. Richard underlines the same point while explaining his reason behind doing guerrilla gardening:

Not having a garden of my own. Seeing the neglected public space very near where I live. After doing it I also discovered it was a great conversation starter with passersby and a potentially social activity if I invited help.¹⁸¹

Gabe, a guerrilla gardener from France explains his involvement in Guerrilla Gardening as an opportunity to meet with other people: “I mainly convey the

¹⁸⁰James Cowan, “Garden rebels say sod it to neglect”, n.d., Retrieved 18 August, 2015 from <http://www.publicspace.ca/gardeners-post.htm>.

¹⁸¹Richard Reynolds, Questionnaire,,*Op. Cit.*

experiences I've had. I communicate on the actions with other people doing the actions; I lay in contacts of people who want to meet and take action together in France.”¹⁸² From his point of view, public space is “a place of expression, a kind of playground, where people collide, a social network in real time, a place where we can communicate.”¹⁸³ Therefore, he considers the intervention towards public space as a medium for public expression of thoughts and possibility for social interaction with others:

The pleasure of gardening, the desire to express themselves and come together with other people are the three pillars that motivate people to do various and varied actions, more or less original.¹⁸⁴

Another guerrilla gardener Emily from Canada occupied the undeveloped and abandoned meadow in Montreal and started to garden the area with her neighbours and friends. The project basically sets up on the idea of providing a relationship between people and along with residents of Montreal and the city through stimulating citizen engagement and underlining the importance of commons. Finally, their gardening project evokes concepts of public space, citizen participation, and the open city.¹⁸⁵ Here, Emily's word on project is remarkable to refer:

It's not yours and it's not going to be there forever. Working in a public space, there's always the risk of the garden being trampled and destroyed...This is about coming together with other people, of connecting with the land, of being proactive in your community.¹⁸⁶

Engaged with both political and social concerns, some of the guerrilla gardeners are motivated by their desire to involve in development of their cities. The motivation for such involvement basically stems from the critique that public spaces belong to people less and less and local governments remain incapable to maintain public spaces. Therefore, those guerrilla gardeners no more want to be 'spectators', but

¹⁸²Gabe, Questionnaire, August 2015.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵“Roerich Garden Project”, n.d., Retrieved 22 August, 2015 from <http://www.emilyroseemichaud.com/albums/the-roerich-garden-project>.

¹⁸⁶“Guerrilla Gardeners” in *Montreal Gazette*, 2008, Retrieved 22 August 2015, from <http://www.canada.com/mobile/iphone/story.html?id=beab0cc5-677e-4fda-9806-04c10c308b61>.

rather ‘actors’ of their lives. Needless to get any kind of authorisation or permission, they become active participants in cities and, consequently, actors who are finally able to decide for future of public spaces. Thus, Guerrilla Gardening promotes civic involvement and community building through active participation, which is so important in the development of a broader movement of grassroots.¹⁸⁷ Tracey also points out same matter on active participation:

Remember after 9/11 when we were told that our lives would soon be back to normal if we just kept going out and buying stuff? No. Your purpose in life is not shopping for trinkets. You were not born to maintain the status quo in a world, where on the same awful day, 35.600 children died for starvation.

When you’re a guerrilla gardener, you’re an active participant in the living environment. You’re no longer content to merely react to what happens to the spaces around you. You’re a player, which means *you* help determine how those spaces get used. And when you’re in tune like this, every plan counts.¹⁸⁸

One of the other reasons behind guerrilla gardening is beautification of public spaces. “Where has never been colour a guerrilla gardener finds a way to bring into the environment, seeing potential where others saw blank, barren boredom. A bare yard, a dull street, a bald roundabout and a derelict lot of all offer opportunity.”¹⁸⁹ Such a desire towards beautification of public spaces is emanated from appropriation of public spaces, where inhabitants observe their environment, realise its problems and become keen on changing it. Here, guerrilla gardening appears as an opportunity and possibility to change a previously neglected space into a beautiful garden, where inhabitants feel themselves as a part of their neighbourhood in the end. Theresa, a guerrilla gardener from Washington D.C., is the one who adopts guerrilla gardening as an opportunity and possibility:

¹⁸⁷“Guerrilla Gardening”, 2012, <http://www.permanentculturenow.com/guerrilla-gardening/>.

¹⁸⁸David Tracey, “The Big Idea”, *Op. Cit.*, p.32.

¹⁸⁹Richard Reynolds, *On Guerrilla Gardening*, *Op.Cit.*p.30.

For me, this is what gardening is about: It is opportunity and possibility... Each seed carries the potential to turn a corner of my world into something green and climbing.¹⁹⁰

She continues:

When you live in the city and you see a space that's yucky, you can make it more beautiful.¹⁹¹

Environmental concerns are the prior motivations of some of the guerrilla gardeners throughout the world. Since urbanisation spreads to transform every single undeveloped area into concrete blocks, the possibility for sustainability of 'natural' and 'green' spaces in cities decreases seriously. Therefore, an 'urban' society has been constructed which is alienated from nature and dependent on various activities within those concrete blocks. At that point, guerrilla gardening is applied out of a necessity for whom struggle for right to green in their neighbourhoods and cities. The objective of those guerrilla gardeners is very basic and, yet, legitimate: If local governments and city councils are not capable of taking the responsibility to protect and sustain environments, the inhabitants who are tired of downtrodden appearance of environment could take the action and occupy public spaces to reclaim nature. Motivated with same concern, Erin, a guerrilla gardener from Toronto, complains about lack of spaces to garden in city:

Living in Toronto, you don't really get much of an opportunity to garden. I don't live in a place where I have tend to garden on. So this is kind of a nice way to still be able to garden while living in the city.¹⁹²

Another guerrilla gardener, based in Manchester, was tired of local government's scratchiness towards unloved and untended areas of the city. Therefore, unlike other locals who merely moan about this issue, she decided to take action for the environment and occupied an abandoned land nearby the railways which is originally

¹⁹⁰“Guerrilla Confidential: Why I Love to Garden”, 2010, Retrieved 18 August 2015 from <http://dcguerillagardeners.blogspot.com.tr/2010/04/guerilla-confidential-why-i-love-to.html>.

¹⁹¹Emily Wax, “Guerrilla gardeners’ spread seeds of social change”, 2012, Retrieved 18 August, 2015 from https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/2012/04/14/gIQA6HT_story.html.

¹⁹²James Cowan, *Op. Cit.*

belong to Standish Line to transform it into a lively garden. Furthermore, she explains her attempt with few words:

By shifting rubbish, clearing waste ground and planting plants trees I can proactively improve the surrounding area and do my little bit for the environment.¹⁹³

Besides political, social and environmental motivations, for some of the guerrilla gardeners right to reach food constitutes the major reason for guerrilla gardening. Especially in cities where people suffer from economic depression and starvation, people occupy lands to grow their own food. Therefore, whereas guerrilla gardening usually means an act of political protest against industrialized food production or lack of green spaces, in Africa and South American illegal way of gardening appears for survival.¹⁹⁴ However, people grow edible crops not only to cope with starvation, but especially in economically developed countries, guerrilla gardeners grow food for self-sufficiency and idealism.¹⁹⁵ For those, the main concentration is to demonstrate the reducing dependency on large supermarkets and to show other people that one can grow her/his own food without being subjected to ‘system’; that shopping malls and supermarkets are not the only choices. The other ideal for them is to reach organic and healthy food which they know.

Although the motivations behind guerrilla gardening are not intended to be sorted through a gradual listing from most serious (political) to most loose (fun)¹⁹⁶, here, the last reason why people do guerrilla gardening can be indicated as having fun with friends and other people. Before closing that subchapter, it should be pointed out here that guerrilla gardeners do not have to state a single reason about their illegal gardening. On the contrary, for some of the gardeners, these reasons are interwoven, where more than one motivation can trigger them to act.

¹⁹³See <http://www.guerillagardeners.wn6.co.uk/about-2/>.

¹⁹⁴Chris Arsenault, “Guerrilla gardening takes root in hunger-hit Mali”, Retrieved 18 August, 2015 from <http://news.yahoo.com/guerrilla-gardening-takes-root-hunger-hit-mali-102858719.html>.

¹⁹⁵Richard Reynolds, *Op.Cit.* pp.38-41.

¹⁹⁶See again Hardman’s spectrum on guerrilla gardeners’ aims; Michael Hardman, *Op. Cit.*

3.3.2. Sites

Analysing characteristics of Guerrilla Gardening, besides motivations, the sites where guerrilla gardeners occupy to garden also vary by their particularities. Guerrilla gardeners mostly struggle for the land where they plant or cultivate, since the sites of guerrilla gardening have always been at risk of being demolished by authorities. Within a scarcity of land, guerrilla gardeners mostly operate on orphaned/unloved land, littered land, wilderness, lawns, roads/roadsides, tree pits and any nook and cranny depends on gardeners' creativity and vision.¹⁹⁷ Selection of land depends on guerrilla gardeners' motivation, their accessibility to site and also style of guerrilla gardening. As Gabe points out, "the chosen locations can be varied (wall, gaps, wasteland, floor lamp, small / medium / large, visible / discreet ...); all depends on the kind of action. If it is 'just' to garden at the foot of a tree with children; to street art; to claim something."¹⁹⁸

For the ones engaged with a highly political or social endeavour to give message through Guerrilla Gardening, the selection of site is relatively more important. As it is such in Paul Harfleet's act –the Pansy Project–, location of site is not accidental, it's rather determined since the project has a direct message against homophobia where the context of homophobic incident is somehow recorded. Also some guerrilla gardeners prefer to cultivate land and plant edible crops or trees; therefore, for their case the land should be appropriate for those particular plants in terms of soil and daylight. Richard explains his preference for site as follows:

Ideally close to home so it's convenient to tend. Ideally there's some evidence of growth there already so I know it's fertile, or it's practical to add extra soil to it (e.g. build a raised bed). And then of course I need to see it's potential as a beautiful place. Sometimes it's also based on the need to find a place suitable for an amazing plant I've been donated, for example I recently got given a nectarine tree and needed to find a suitable sheltered sunny space for it with deep soil.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷Richard Reynolds, *Op.Cit.*, p.71.

¹⁹⁸Gabe, *Op. Cit.*

¹⁹⁹Richard Reynolds, Questionnaire, *Op. Cit.*

Furthermore, there are some guerrilla gardeners who interpret gardening together with street art. Besides intervening to earth and land, those guerrilla gardeners use pavements, fences, benches, walls, stairs, phone boxes and other urban furniture to express themselves. Therefore, for those visibility of the place they intervene in becomes as an important factor. The implementations in Figure 3.3 show some examples which use different forms of ‘green’ with urban elements are used to enable guerrilla action.



Figure 3.3: Guerrilla Gardening as street art (Source: Left: <http://www.streetartutopia.com/>, Right: http://myrthevtol.blogspot.com.tr/2011_10_01_archive.html)

As it is shown in examples below, Guerrilla Gardening does not require a specific or defined site. Although some guerrilla gardeners seek for a particular land because of some horticultural necessities, often any site can be a ground for operations within illegal gardening. Any land that seems neglected and barren to people might be a perfect site for a guerrilla gardener to transform it into a space for resistance, for expression of ideas, for representation of a message or for manifestation of a public existence.

3.3.3. Scale

As another characteristic of practice of Guerrilla Gardening, the scale of operation and, accordingly, the resulted guerrilla gardens show differences. Depending on motivations of guerrilla gardeners and also particularities of land, scale of gardens can be as small as a green intervention on a pothole or it can cover a relatively large piece of land such as in illegal community gardens. However, the scale does not affect impression of guerrilla gardens in way that the largest garden gets the most attention. As it is mentioned before, such impression contingents upon gardener's objective, creativity and vision.

As an example of a 'small' scale, a guerrilla gardener from New York City planted pansies on potholes in her neighbourhood to protest local government's irresponsible attitude which had remained potholes unpatched. Her action was soon noticed by city authorities and recovered afterwards. Her words about the action are valuable and coincide with what is asserted above: "You can make something small, but make big difference." ²⁰⁰

Another small scale guerrilla gardening was practiced by a guerrilla activist group *Luzinterruptus*²⁰¹ based on Madrid. The intervention entitled 'Implanted Nature' involved planting and protection of 50 small ecosystems which survive in harshest and greyest parts of Madrid. The main objective of this guerrilla intervention is to "draw attention to lack of unusable green spaces in the center of Madrid."²⁰² Therefore, they installed mini-ecosystems shown in Figure 3.4 to add more green life to city streets and to pay homage to insignificant weeds which spring up in unexpected places. The mini-ecosystems were installed at night and, hopefully, had not been damaged, so they were noticed throughout next morning.²⁰³

²⁰⁰“Woman Protests Unpatched Potholes By Planting Pansies” [Video], 2015, Retrieved 23 August, 2015 from <http://www.nbcnews.com/watch/nbc-news-channel/woman-protests-unpatched-potholes-by-planting-pansies-429114947586>.

²⁰¹*Luzinterruptus* is an anonymous artistic group, who carries out urban interventions in public spaces. For more information about the group, see <http://www.luzinterruptus.com/>.

²⁰²Guerrilla Gardening: Mini Ecosystem Installations On the Streets Of Madrid Take Root”, 2011, Retrieved 18 August, 2015 from <http://inhabitat.com/guerrilla-gardening-mini-ecosystem-installations-on-the-streets-of-madrid-take-root/>.

²⁰³*Ibid.*



Figure 3.4: A green installation called 'Implanted Nature' by *Luzinterrupts*, 2011 (Source: <http://inhabitat.com/guerrilla-gardening-mini-ecosystem-installations-on-the-streets-of-madrid-take-root/>)

The last example of this part is a community garden in Berlin; Garten Rosa Rose²⁰⁴ (Figure 3.5). Contrary to before mentioned examples of guerrilla gardens in relatively small scales, Garten Rosa Rose -covers 2000 m²- can be considered as a big scale transformation through guerrilla gardening. Before the intervention, the area was full of waste and rubbish in Friedrichshain, a district of Berlin that really lacks green areas. Therefore, residents of the neighbourhood removed the rubbish and hauled several tons of clean soil to set up a community garden. The reasons triggered them to transform this neglected area into a green space is lack of common spaces to provide social network within the neighbourhood and increased number of commercialised public spaces:

The public area is becoming increasingly commercialized... As a consequence people that do not cope with the pressure of consumption, become isolated... In city centers everywhere, there are fewer places that are close to residential areas where people can meet and get to know each other without having to pay money for the privilege. The neighbourhood garden on the open space tries to counteract the effects of this development. To the residents, the garden offers the possibility of actively participating almost without financial expenditures in a joint, intergenerative project, to get to

²⁰⁴For more information on Garten Rosa Rose, see <http://www.rosarose-garten.net>.

know other people, and to experiment with and develop skills involving handcrafts, gardening, or artistic activities.²⁰⁵



Figure 3.5: *Garten Rosa Rose* in Berlin, Friedrichshain, 2009-2014 (Source: Left: <https://urbanegaertenbarcelona.wordpress.com>, Right: <http://www.studiojoostvandijk.nl/collectieve-tuinen-berlijn/>)

Through these aforementioned examples, practices of guerrilla gardening are distributed; from scale of street to neighbourhood. Although field of application changes in quantitative sense, the sphere of influence for guerrilla gardens cannot be considered as directly proportional with scale, since qualitative factors, such as motivations, relation with city and people and impacts on public life, have to be regarded. Therefore, guerrilla gardens should be analysed together with multiple relations through paying attention to what it affects and is affected from.

3.3.4. Structure

The last characteristic determined in analysing Guerrilla Gardening is the structure of guerrilla gardener groups. Here, what is meant by structure is the organisational pattern of the groups. According to Hardman's spectrum of guerrilla gardener groups, structure of those groups varied regarding a linear schema which changes

²⁰⁵“One Community Garden is growing up”, n.d., Retrieved 23 August, 2015 from <http://www.rosarose-garten.net/en/history>.

gradually from authoritarian to anarchist.²⁰⁶ Therefore, in authoritarian groups hierarchical order appears with a sort of leader; whereas in anarchist groups horizontal development is adopted, where each gardener has equal position in group. However, for the case of authoritarian groups, subject of ‘leadership’ should not be considered as a totalitarian approach; it is mostly guidance, where one gardener – often the most experienced person or the founder of group- directs others for how to be organised throughout the dig.

Here, in addition to Hardman’s spectrum on organisational patterns of guerrilla gardener groups, I shall take one step back and firstly categorise guerrilla gardeners into two main groups: Solo gardeners and gardener groups. Then, as Hardman do, I divide gardener groups into two: Anarchist groups and authoritarian groups. Thus, along with this categorisation solo gardeners can be considered too, where their actions are also very much influential and noticed by inhabitants and authorities. As an example, Maurice Maggi²⁰⁷ is a solo guerrilla gardener from Zurich, who had sought for alternative ways to protest authorities. Therefore, he filled his bag with flower seeds and started guerrilla gardening by planting ‘hibiscus’ seeds in different parts of the city. After ‘hibiscuses’ had reached more than a meter height, they started to be recognised by both passersby and authorities, which resulted with demolishment of flowers by authorities to hinder this ‘illegal’ action. However, afterwards inhabitants launched a campaign against the approach of local government. Finally, the campaign succeeded and hibiscuses became safe again.²⁰⁸

3.4. IN-DEPTH RESEARCH ON GUERRILLA GARDENING: CASE STUDIES FROM TURKEY

In the previous subchapter, general characteristics of Guerrilla Gardening is outlined as a result of the research developed through content analysis of digital and pressed

²⁰⁶Michael Hardman, *Op. Cit.*

²⁰⁷For more information on Maurice Maggi, see <http://www.maurice-maggi.ch/news/>.

²⁰⁸“Zürih’te Açan Ebegümeçi”, 2015, Retrieved 18 August, 2015 from <http://xxi.com.tr/5469/zurihte-acan-ebegumeci/>.

documents on Guerrilla Gardening and open-ended questionnaires filled out by guerrilla gardeners from different countries. The analysis towards resolving characteristics of Guerrilla Gardening provides a general overview about the subject and it is limited with unidirectional information gained by means of aforementioned methodological techniques. However, within scope of this thesis, such unidirectional information is not satisfactory to develop a relational and unitary approach towards Guerrilla Gardening. Therefore, in order to be able to develop a more in-depth analysis, case studies are conducted and all of them are selected from Turkey, so that the research managed to examine and observe cases on-site and make in-depth interviews with gardeners. Thus, a relational approach can be conducted throughout the final analysis of the study, where multiple relations among gardeners, locals, city, power/authority and nature are taken into consideration.

Within the scope of case studies, three gardening projects is analysed in terms a qualitative research. These projects are selected from İstanbul and Ankara, and all of them have different contexts in terms of their background and motivations of gardeners; social, political and spatial particularities of site; and structure and characteristics of the groups. As it is mentioned before, these case studies focus on projects of “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*” (100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden) in 100. Yıl, Ankara; “*“Halk Bahçesi”*” (People’s Gardens) in Küçük Armutlu, İstanbul; and the guerrilla garden as part of “METU Yalıncak Alternatif Living Project” in METU Campus, Ankara.

Here, it has to be noted that except than the gardening project in METU Campus, none of other groups entitle their gardening projects as ‘Guerrilla Gardening’. Therefore, throughout the in-depth interviews with gardener groups, it is tried to be figured out whether these projects can be considered as a guerrilla garden. During interviews, it is noticed that gardener groups had difficulty to position their project under a certain category such as community gardening, urban gardening or guerrilla gardening. Within interviews, gardeners explain that they don’t have enough information about guerrilla gardening; so they did not define their practice as such. However, the gardeners’ motivations, their approach towards power relations and authorities, their illicit cultivation in public land and their encouragement towards

public use of gardens without demanding any fee from residents make these projects to be regarded as guerrilla gardens.

As a researcher, regarding my studies on Guerrilla Gardening in Turkey, I almost found no cases directly considered as guerrilla gardening. Although the movement has been practiced especially in North America and Europe for decades, it is still thought as a new practice in Turkey. Like the condition that gardeners of “*Halk Bahçesi*” and *100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı* do not assume their projects as guerrilla gardening, there are also some other illegal gardening mobilities in Turkey which have been maintained without being announced as guerrilla gardening. Therefore, before going into case studies, herein, I shall continue with how those illegal gardening mobilities sprung up in Turkey.

In June 2013, Turkey had chance to face with a revolutionary breaking point in existing trajectory. It was Gezi Uprising²⁰⁹ which inspired and still inspires masses to resist against authority; to desire change; to act for change; to be proactive as a part of ‘public’; to reclaim social, political and environmental rights. Therefore, Gezi is the resistance and revival of the ‘public’, where people have struggled for freedom, democracy and equality; basically for a better life where they can ‘breathe’ again.²¹⁰ Within that atmosphere seeking for ‘another life’ for better days, alternative resistance forms were evoked under the influence of heterogeneity of thoughts that Gezi brought up. Being in search of alternative forms of resistance, people occupied parks to take publicness back and continue struggle in different fields of action. Thus, not only Gezi Park but also other parks in İstanbul, Ankara, Eskişehir, Antakya, İzmir and other cities were occupied and ‘park forums’²¹¹ were set up in neighbourhoods to provide a common space for locals, where they can meet with

²⁰⁹See Footnote 6.

²¹⁰“We want to breathe again!”; this was one of the slogans often used during Gezi Uprising, but what makes it more special is that it was one of the last posts shared by Ali İsmail Korkmaz who was killed during Gezi protests and cannot survive after being in coma for a month.

²¹¹Park forums emerged after violent evacuation of Gezi Park on 15th of June, where occupiers of the park –even children- moved away by police. Against that brutal blockade over Gezi Park, people started to occupy other parks to continue resistance and they set up an online platform where different initiatives of parks provided connection each other. See, <http://parklarbizim.blogspot.com.tr/>.

other neighbours, listen each other , discuss their problems and take action against authoritarian system.

Within actions and organised activities of these park forums, ‘neighbourhood gardens’ were created by inhabitants, where they finally find an opportunity to have a green ‘public’ space in their neighbourhoods. Therefore, inspired from “*Gezi Bostanı*” (Gezi Garden- Figure 3.6) many gardening projects sprung up throughout the country and most of them practiced illegal cultivation of public land to act against authorities, to go beyond existing consumerist system, to produce for alternative life, to re-define commons, to build social relations again and to demonstrate possibility of acting/living/being together.



Figure 3.6: *Gezi Bostanı*, June 2013 (Source: Images are taken from social media account of “Gezi Bostanı”)

In the very first days of occupation of Gezi Park, some ecological activists, who struggle for ecological revolution- decided to create an garden in park.²¹² The idea behind creating a garden in park was to extend struggle through different fields of resistance. Here, activist and ecologist Timur Daniş’s words are worth to be referred:

²¹²“Gezi Parkı’nın Bostanı” [Radio Interview], 2013, Retrieved 24 August, 2015 from http://acikradyo.com.tr/default.aspx?_mv=a&aid=31662.

While we were planting there, planting tomatoes and other vegetables, we actually defined a new area for resistance there.²¹³

Motivated from *Gezi Bostanı*, many park forums started their gardening projects through occupying public spaces in neighbourhoods. *Moda Gezi Bostanı* in Kadıköy-İstanbul, *Avcılar Gezi Bostanı* in Avcılar-İstanbul, *İmrahor Bostanı* in Üsküdar-İstanbul, *Roma Bostanı* in Cihangir-İstanbul and *100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı* in Yüzüncü Yıl-Ankara are some of those gardening projects where inhabitants practice illicit cultivation in their neighbourhoods.

In the following days of Gezi, when Gezi spirit still influenced people in different fields of resistance and struggle, another incident broke out: Mayorship of Ankara cut trees in METU Forest²¹⁴ to build an eight-lane road which goes through the periphery of METU Forest and crosses *100. Yıl* and *Çiğdem* neighbourhoods. Therefore, protests and demonstrations were organised against Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara to prevent destruction of forest and neighbourhoods. Although many students, academics, locals and NGOs resisted against that construction, mayorship cut thousands of trees overnight. However this was not the end of resistance; soon people assembled again to plant trees to former forest, later construction area. Soon METU Road²¹⁵ protests got support throughout the country and this form of protesting through planting trees spread to other cities and practiced by protestors there. (Figure 3.7)

²¹³Radio interview with Timur Daniş was transcribed by the author. For radio interview, see “Gezi Parkı’nın Bostanı” [Radio Interview], *Op. Cit.*

²¹⁴METU Forest is the greatest green area of Ankara with almost 3100 hectares. The forest was declared as Natural and Archaeological Protected Area in 1995 since it hosts several types of flora and fauna. For more information, see https://biragacsizdenbirormanbizden.org.tr/tr/page/odtu_ormani.html.

²¹⁵The road crosses METU Forest and 100. Yıl and Çiğdem Neighbourhoods colloquially called as “METU Road.”



Figure 3.7: METU Road support protests, October 2013 Left: Protesters in İstanbul carrying saplings to be planted as a part of the protest; Right: Protestors in İzmir were planting trees in front of AKP party building (Source: Left: <http://www.demotix.com/news/3046880/metu-forest-protest-gets-support-throughout-istanbul#media-3046903>, Right: <http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/evrensel-akp-binasi-onune-fidan-diktiler/>)

The revolts started with Gezi Park protests and continued with METU Road demonstrations have changed norms and forms embedded in political culture of Turkey. Although the issue of how and why those changes were realised are not within the scope of this thesis, herein, it is important and necessary to note that through such changes in political culture, forms of resistance and struggle also evolved into alternative ways of protesting. Even though protestors did not mention it as ‘guerrilla gardening’, during both of these revolts different types of illicit cultivation and planting were practiced as one of the alternative forms of protest. Through either creating a sort of illegal community garden in a neighbourhood or merely planting a single tree, insurgent inhabitants practiced guerrilla gardening as a political protest to stand against authority, to resist for desired change and to give life where they claim lives. In the following parts of this sub-chapter, three different cases of illegal cultivation and gardening in Turkey will be studied regarding their relation with inhabitants, city, authority figures and nature.

3.4.1. “100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı”²¹⁶ (100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden) in 100. Yıl, Ankara

²¹⁶The garden is dedicated to Berkin Elvan, 15 years old boy who was killed during Gezi Park protests by a police who shot pepper gas capsule towards him while he was on the way to bakery to buy bread.

The first case study from Turkey is on “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*” (100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden) in 100. Yıl, Ankara. The garden was laid out in March 2014 by 100. Yıl Initiative which is an autonomous community consists of neighbourhood residents. Throughout content researches on the garden, no statements were encountered related with guerrilla gardening. However, the in depth-interviews with gardeners provide some related information which can engage with guerrilla gardening. Although members of the Initiative did not call their action as guerrilla gardening, there are several reasons which make “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*” to be considered as a guerrilla gardening project.

Before analysing history and characteristics of “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*”, which enables a possible correlation with guerrilla gardening, it is necessary to provide a brief information about 100. Yıl neighbourhood and the Initiative. 100. Yıl neighbourhood is one of the oldest settlements of Ankara, which is located nearby Middle East Technical University Campus. In 1970s, the neighbourhood was constructed by a cooperative system for working class, where they were provided to dwell in low-cost housing.²¹⁷ Therefore, formerly most of the residents in neighbourhood were working class families. However, throughout the following years, the resident profile has changed and especially the number of students has increased because of neighbourhood’s location. Yet, nowadays its location lead to some other changes which are planned by government. As one of these changes, before mentioned METU Road crosses the neighbourhood, which increase the possibility of rent-based constructions there. Therefore, from the broader perspective, the intention behind this road construction is to take an initial step for prospective urban transformation projects that will be conducted in 100. Yıl neighbourhood.

Under threat of possible urban transformation projects, 100. Yıl district residents organised to act against brutal decisions and implementations during Gezi Park protests. Therefore, with involvement of neighbourhood residents and university students, 100. Yıl Initiative was established to provide a platform for neighbours to

²¹⁷“Bilgilendirme Toplantısı; 100. Yıl İşçi Blokları Mahallesi”, 2015, Retrieved 27 August, 2015 from <http://ankara.spo.org.tr>.

meet each other and discuss contemporary problems of both country and their neighbourhood. Tolga, a university student and a member of the Initiative, conveys the formation process of the Initiative:

Here, in this district, people needed something like in old times, when neighbours know each other and have sincere relationships. Maybe these kinds of relations are better in 100. Yıl comparing with other neighbourhoods, but even so, as people needed this, they started to assemble to discuss about both country's agenda and neighbourhood's agenda.²¹⁸

Within one of the forum meetings held in parks of 100. Yıl district, some of the residents came with the idea of creating a public garden in neighbourhood. Afterwards, together with some other residents, members of the Initiative noticed a derelict land in neighbourhood and occupied it to create a garden. (Figure 3.8) There are different objectives behind this attempt; varied from social to ecological reasons.

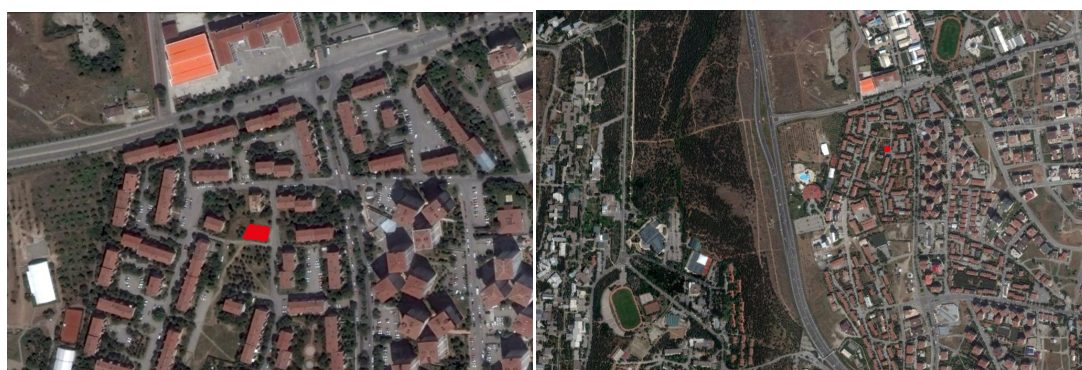


Figure 3.8: Aerial maps of 100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden

One of the objectives behind creating a garden is to provide a common public space for neighbours, where they can set up new social networks and relations while involving in productions within the garden. Here, the concentration on 'production' is significant, since it is manifested through a criticism on today's consumerist society where people become alienated each other and isolated from public life. Elif,

²¹⁸Tolga, Interview, August 2015.

a resident of 100. Yıl neighbourhood, explains the social reasons triggered them to lay out an garden:

The primary objective is to work together with neighbours and to go into collective production where perpetual relations between residents can be provided rather than having merely temporary relations which set up during other daily activities or protests.²¹⁹

Therefore, this social motivation behind the idea of creating a garden mainly concentrates on stimulating the sharing among neighbours and submitting a common ground for new acquaintances in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, the practice on 'production' enables the continuity of these sharing and social networks through requiring regular responsibility.

Other objective of 100. Yıl Initiative behind creating "*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*" also has ecological motivations. Members of the Initiative noticed that young generation are uninformed and ignorant about agricultural production; they do not know how vegetables, fruits and crops are produced, whether in a factory or somewhere else. Tolga conveys how their critique over today's system for production and consumption evolved into an idea of growing their own food:

We assemble every week in forums and discuss. In one of these forums, we thought about creating an garden; not to meet all needs but to see how we can grow healthy food. We know that the food we buy from supermarkets have chemicals inside; they are unhealthy. Therefore, we decided to experience to grow organic food.²²⁰

Towards realising those objectives, members of 100. Yıl Initiative tried to find an appropriate land for creating the garden. Regarding that, they have an important criterion which was to occupy a central land to take more attention from neighbours and passersby. Therefore, they found a derelict land which formerly was a site of a central heating system service building and decided to use this space without taking permission from any authority. Along with contributions of members of the Initiative, residents and also passersby, they cleaned up the land from debris and

²¹⁹Elif, Interview, August 2015.

²²⁰Tolga, *Op. Cit.*.

garbage; and soon started to cultivate the land. (Figure 3.9) For 2 years, they have continued growing vegetables, fruits and other crops in different seasons and within these two years not only members of 100. Yıl Initiative but also inhabitants from their neighbourhood and even from other close neighbourhoods participated in cultivation and maintenance of the garden.²²¹



Figure 3.9: Cultivation in “100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı”(Source: Tolga’s personal archive)

Besides agricultural production, “100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı” hosts many other social activities and events organised by the Initiative. Public picnics, planting and harvest festivals, activities and workshops for children have been organised accordingly. Owing both to agricultural and social activities, “100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı” addresses different people who have never participated in any other events, remained aloof or uninformed about the activities in neighbourhood.²²² Therefore, Tolga mentioned that they achieved their objects:

I think, we reach our goals here. People appropriate and look after this place. If we cannot irrigate garden, there is always somebody who does. Even sometimes we intentionally did not irrigate garden but when we came, we saw that people had already watered it.²²³

²²¹*Ibid.*

²²²*Ibid.*

²²³*Ibid.*

As 100. Yıl Initiative adopts a system of direct democracy throughout decision-making processes in forums; they also maintain same approach in organization of the garden and pay regard to any idea, contribution and suggestion. Besides, at every turn, the Initiative express that this garden belongs to all, it is public and common, where there is no landlordism and anybody –even the ones who has never contributed to the process- can participate in or pick the crops.

Therefore, by means of such inclusive approach where everybody is welcomed and encouraged to use the garden within their daily lives, “100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı” (Figure 3.10) becomes a common space for 100. Yıl district, where children, elder people, students and many other people have possibility to encounter, set up new relations and produce together. Overall, reclaiming a public life within neighbourhood, creating a common space for residents to establishment of possible social networks and engaging everyday life with agricultural production in the city are the main ideas behind creation of “100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı”. Along with those significant ideas which focus on ‘changing’ existing trajectory, realising all these ideas without thinking of taking any permission from local government or any authority makes “100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı” to be regarded as a guerrilla gardening.



Figure 3.10: “100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı”, 2015 (Source: Author’s own archive)

3.4.2. “Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi” (Şenay and Gülsüman People’s Garden) in Küçük Armutlu, İstanbul

The second case study is about “*Halk Bahçesi*” (People’s Garden) in Küçük Armutlu, İstanbul. As it is in the case of “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*”, the gardener group of “*Halk Bahçesi*” do not consider their project as a guerrilla gardening; however, there are number of legitimate reasons which make “*Halk Bahçesi*” to be assumed as guerrilla gardening. Before concentrating on these reasons and characteristics of “*Halk Bahçesi*”, the context of the garden has to be pointed out starting with political and spatial position of Küçük Armutlu neighbourhood.

Küçük Armutlu is one of the squatter settlements of İstanbul European side. The neighbourhood was set up in 1987 with voluntary helps and contributions of revolutionist engineers. These revolutionist engineers organised people there, divided land into parcels and distribute them to migrant families who moved to İstanbul from different cities of eastern and middle Anatolia. Most of the families living there are workers and from the first days of settlement of the neighbourhood, the residents have been included and have maintained an organisational structure with a sort of political engagement which is initiated by these revolutionist engineers. Therefore, unlike many other poor squatter settlements in İstanbul and Turkey, formation of Küçük Armutlu presents differences in terms of its political background and organisational structure, which still keeps itself on.²²⁴

Today, as many other squatter settlements and poor neighbourhoods located in city centers are subjected to face, ‘urban transformation’ projects conducted by government threat existence of these neighbourhoods. Because of their location which makes their land more ‘precious’ day by day, rent-based politics of government desires to develop a physical transformation process where former inhabitants of neighbourhoods are forced to live in peripheries of cities. Therefore,

²²⁴The information on history of Küçük Armutlu is taken from webpage of the alternative architecture competition staged for Küçük Armutlu neighbourhood. For more information, see <http://www.kucukarmutluyarisma.com/tarihce.html>.

these so-called ‘urban transformation’ projects are merely conducted as a distribution of rent gained from land, where right to life and right to the city are ignored.

Küçük Armutlu neighbourhood is also under threat of this urban transformation projects. However, owing to organisational structure in the neighbourhood, for years, the residents have resisted and struggled against this top-down intervention towards their lives. Therefore, besides protesting authorities and government by means of conventional forms of resistance, the residents of Küçük Armutlu have developed alternative ways to show their resistance. Decided in “*Halk Meclisi*”²²⁵ (People’s Assembly) and implemented with technical support of “*Halkın Mühendis Mimarları*”²²⁶ (People’s Engineers and Architects), some alternative projects have been conducted in the neighbourhood such as “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*”²²⁷ (Şenay Gülsüman People’s Garden); Hasan Ferit Gedik Wind Tribune; Hüsni İşeri Library; Sevcan Yavuz Playground and Küçük Armutlu *Cemevi* and Cultural Center. Through these projects, people try to manifest that an alternative life can be maintained without being dependent to what system imposes.²²⁸ Cem, an architect and member of *Halkın Mühendis Mimarları*, briefly explains the idea behind development of these projects:

We, somehow, try to set off the material conditions for people to live in this neighbourhood. We think that urban transformation should develop social, cultural and economic aspects of human lives as a whole, while at the same time it changes the physical conditions of life. Therefore, the title of this is not transformation, it is betterment. We can say that it is remediation on site. Accordingly, we try to implement projects for this.²²⁹

Within scope of this objective to sustain an alternative life in the neighbourhood, “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” was laid out in 2014 by *HMM*²³⁰ and residents

²²⁵“*Halk Meclisi*” (People’s Assembly) is an autonomous decision making body of Küçük Armutlu, where residents take their own decision for their lives and environment, without consulting authorities.

²²⁶“*Halkın Mühendis Mimarları*” is a group of engineers and architects who refuse to conduct projects for the ‘system’ and ‘capital’, but devote themselves to develop projects for people’s good.

²²⁷The Halk Bahçesi (People’s Garden) was dedicated to two residents of Küçük Armutlu, who was killed during a police attack.

²²⁸Nesli, Interview, August 2015 (translated by author).

²²⁹Cem, Interview, August 2015 (translated by author).

²³⁰Abbreviation of “*Halkın Mühendis Mimarları*”.

of Küçük Armutlu. As part of the projects against urban transformation, in one of the meetings of “*Halk Meclisi*”, engineers, architects and residents of the neighbourhood decided to occupy an abandoned land in Küçük Armutlu and transform it into a public garden/garden for use of neighbours. (Figure 3.11) Before this transformation, the land was neglected with full of debris, a squatter house in ruins and elongated stems. Therefore, neighbourhood residents and *HMM* cleaned the land and it was covered by cultivable clean earth, trays were built and soon people started cultivation. (Figure 3.12)



Figure 3.11: Aerial maps of Şenay and Gülsüman People's Garden



Figure 3.12: Cultivation in “Şenay Gülsüman ‘Halk Bahçesi’”, 2014
(Source: <https://plus.google.com/102278159275562343450/posts/BZRMGbekeAW>)

The goal of the project, above all, is to sustain an alternative life there, without being dependent to capitalist cycle and consumerist society. To prove this, people define

their public land to grow edible crops and vegetables in the middle of the city, where each resident has right to involve in cultivation, to use garden or to pick up harvest according to their need. Cem further explains the objective of “*Halk Bahçesi*”:

The main idea here is to show people that they can get more healthy food comparing with vegetables and fruits they buy from supermarkets. So that they can survive here without spending money for food.²³¹

For *HMM*, the food obtained from single garden cannot suffice all residents of the neighbourhood; yet this is not within the scopes of the project. However, the ultimate goal of the project is to spread this idea of “*Halk Bahçesi*” throughout Küçük Armutlu and even to other neighbourhoods of İstanbul, where each resident will create a garden for all. Nesli was really excited when she was describing their ultimate objective:

Here, we started out with the idea that there will be no uncultivated land remained in Küçük Armutlu, even in İstanbul. These are all goals, depending on our politics here.²³²

Their politics about cultivating land for all people has worked; people started to cultivate other lands in the neighbourhood and turned wasteland in their gardens into “*Halk Bahçesi*”. As Cem mentioned during the interview, before “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” was laid out, there were no practice of cultivation in Küçük Armutlu; people even did not grow food in their own gardens, since they have become wholly absorbed in consumerist society. Hüseyin, a resident of Küçük Armutlu since 1990, expresses how “*Halk Bahçesi*” contributed to their neighbourhood:

This beauty in our neighbourhood revives the forgotten habits and knowledge of people. People remember their old gardens, gardens and appropriate this land. They share their local knowledge with others... “*Halk*

²³¹Cem, *Op. Cit.*

²³²Nesli, *Op. Cit.*

Bahçesi” encourages people to protect their land, neighbourhood and houses; in this way it is a struggle against urban transformation.²³³

Here, with reference to Hüseyin, the issue of ‘appropriation’ should be underlined. As all decisions for neighbourhood are taken in an assembly where all residents could involve in, future practices for “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” are also decided in this assembly, where people become able to act through their bottom-up decisions. Nesli also focuses on how residents’ approaches shape the garden:

Here there is no limitation for creativity. There is no limit for people’s creativity. The important thing is their desires and needs.²³⁴

Besides its political and ecological contributions, “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” also evokes social relationships in neighbourhood. Since there is lack of common spaces in the neighbourhood, the garden spontaneously turns into a place where neighbours meet, spend time and even deal with their personal assignments.

Overall, “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” (Figure 3.13) is a self-organized gardening project the idea of which was initiated by *HMM* and developed by residents of Küçük Armutlu. As other properties in the neighbourhood, the gardening project is also an illegal practice. Being a part of a broader ideal to struggle against governmental forces which aims to conduct an urban transformation project in the neighbourhood, “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” is a ‘green’ form of resistance, where inhabitants take the action and set up their autonomous system through producing alternatives against main stream. Therefore, the abovementioned characteristics of “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” in Küçük Armutlu make it to be considered as a practice of guerrilla gardening, which also provides the intersection of the case with this study.

²³³“Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi Emekçilerinden Hüseyin Polat ile Röportaj” in *Halk için Mühendislik Mimarlık*, İstanbul, Vol. 2, pp. 40-42.

²³⁴Nesli, *Op. Cit.*



Figure 3.13: “Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi”, 2015 (Source: Author’s own archive)

3.4.3. “Yalıncak Bostanı” (Yalıncak Garden) in METU Campus

The last case study of this study is “Yalıncak Bostanı” (Yalıncak Garden) in Middle East Technical University Campus. The gardeners neither call it as “Yalıncak Bostanı” (Yalıncak Garden), nor use another name for their garden; however, within this study, it is preferred to refer garden as Yalıncak Garden to ease mentioning.

Throughout my research on Guerrilla Gardening in Turkey, I face with scarcity of finding related practice and cases to study within my thesis. As I mentioned before, although Guerrilla Gardening has been practicing since decades and its ideal has spread worldwide, it is still an emerging concept for case of Turkey. However there are some activists, mostly engaged with a political culture, are aware of this concept. Through different circles of friends, I had chance to meet some of those people who practiced guerrilla gardening. All of which these guerrilla gardens were realised in different parts of METU Campus.

Yalıncak Garden is one of those guerrilla gardens in METU Campus. The garden was created in 2014 by a group of students of METU, who are also members of different student clubs like METU Mountaineering and Winter Sports Club, METU Environment Club and METU Birdwatching Club. As distinct from two other case studies, the gardeners of Yalıncak Garden were much more motivated as a guerrilla gardener, where they called their action as guerrilla gardening.

Since it is done for previous cases, before focusing on Yalincak Garden, it'd be better to convey brief information about Yalincak and METU Campus. As it is mentioned within METU Road protests, METU Campus area has the greatest green space in Ankara. METU Forest, which is almost 3100 hectares today, is a result of a forestation project held since 1960s.²³⁵ Therefore, today it hosts many different types of plants and animals. Furthermore, Yalincak was a small village within the boundaries of METU Campus and it is also an archaeological site. The archaeological excavations were conducted from 1962 to 1964 and in 1995 the village and its vicinity was declared as Archaeological Preserved Area.²³⁶ Today, there are many walking trails in Yalincak, where people have an opportunity for outdoor sports.

In 2014, the idea of creating a garden in Yalincak was suggested by a member of METU Mountaineering and Winter Sports Club, during a friends' hangout. He was really impressed when he heard from his sister that once people cultivated lands in METU Campus and in cafeteria food were cooked with crops obtained from those cultivated lands. Therefore, he came up with the idea of creating their own garden in campus, since they were tired of being exposed to unhealthy food sold in supermarkets. Soon a group of friends assembled and started to find an appropriate place for their garden. After having some explorations around, they found an appropriate land in Yalincak village. While selecting site, they considered its distance with the closest source of water. Thus, they started cultivations there without taking any permission from rectorship. (Figure 3.14) Meanwhile, they decided to get permission and applied to rectorship, but their proposal on creating a garden in Yalincak was rejected.

Thereafter started guerrilla gardening: One of the gardeners conveys their reaction after rectorship had not given permission for their garden:

We submitted a petition. Then they gave negative response. But we had already arranged the site. We assembled again and cultivated the land. I

²³⁵For more information, see <https://biragacsizdenbirormanbizden.org.tr>.

²³⁶"ODTÜ Arazisinin Korunmasını Gerektiren Nedenler", n.d., Retrieved 28 August, 2015 from <http://www.okgt.metu.edu.tr/odtunundogasi/dosyalar/odtuarazisinininkorumasinigerektirennedenler.pdf>.

brought some seeds from Malatya, some strawberry and blackberry seeds. We sowed them, and also onion, tomato and others.²³⁷



Figure 3.14: The illicit cultivation in Yalıncağ Garden (Source: Participant 1's own archive)

The illicit cultivation had continued for a time, and then gardeners faced with a destructive attempt towards their garden, where all crops were detached by watchmen. After this attack, gardeners asked rectorship for responsables, but they were again given the same response that it is forbidden to cultivate within campus. Therefore, gardeners changed tactic and occupied a more hidden land again Yalıncağ:

A top-down order was given. They said it is prohibited. Then we thought that we would do it again. This time we found a hidden land and started to dig the earth... For several times we went there and they did not notice us.²³⁸ It is like guerrilla gardening. Our thing was hiddenness. The garden was hidden and it can only be observed from among trees and bushes.²³⁹

Their cultivation in second site continued for a while but then watchmen realised the garden again and asked whether gardeners have permission. Therefore, they developed new tactics and dodged watchmen's questions through pretending like they applied for permission and were waiting for response. Those tactics and efforts

²³⁷Participant 1, Interview, August 2015.

²³⁸*Ibid.*

²³⁹Participant 2, Personal Communication, August 2015.

to persuade watchmen repeated for several times and in the end watchmen changed their ideas and did not take off after the garden. Thus, the group maintained cultivation and irrigation in Yalincak Garden without being inhibited by watchmen.

However, after a while they left off gardening there, since they became involved in other gardening project called METU Garden, which has a larger land to garden and is allowed by rectorship:

That garden (the one in Yalincak) has a difficulty. We were few people because it's hard to go Yalincak. And we cannot make a waterway. We did not buy a hose and cannot steal one (!) Then things were getting harder. When we heard that option (METU Garden) we thought this would be better for us.²⁴⁰

Comparing with Yalincak Garden, METU Garden project is relatively professional in terms of its organisational structure and gardening system. Without dealing with details of that METU Garden, some particularities of it should be given in order to analyse gardeners' changing approach towards that project. Firstly, the project is authorised by rectorship and it is supported by an association which develops projects for ideal of ecological society. Therefore, since they support the garden, the association started to demand from gardeners to use garden for some fee-paying training courses and workshops, but it is denied by gardeners since they don't want garden to be a medium for any kind of activity where 'money' is somehow engaged in:

They (association) made some requests for few times. I don't like those requests; neither do our friends (the gardener group of Yalincak Garden). It's like remaining due. So it turns to be a situation that they helped us so we could not say them no.²⁴¹

Therefore, she spontaneously compares their garden with METU Garden:

It (Yalincak Garden) is something different. It was more ours and this is it... We don't have any financial expectation. So, the other was more beautiful.²⁴²

²⁴⁰Participant 1, *Op. Cit.*

²⁴¹*Ibid.*

²⁴²*Ibid.*

The second difference is about the gardening system. As mentioned before, in METU Garden more technical way of gardening has been conducted and the number of people in the gardening group has also increased, where gardeners are not needed to be involved in as much as in Yalincak garden:

The other one needs more effort. We have to walk, sometimes at night, even when there were dogs everywhere... The work there was different. We all know all the people there, so it was different. Maybe we'll go there again; this (METU Garden) does not satisfy us.

...I remember something from that garden (in Yalincak): Now in this garden (METU Garden) when we suggest waking up early and having our breakfast in garden, people grumbles for not to wake up early. But in Yalincak we were almost 10-15 people who went garden early in the morning to have breakfast and looked after garden. It was really good.²⁴³

The illegal gardening in Yalincak, which turned to be a 'guerrilla gardening' afterwards, provides a corresponding case within this study. Apart from being the only case which can completely be considered as a guerrilla action, the case also enables to re-read relations between gardeners and authority, which is not that apparent in other cases. Besides, gardener's comparison between Yalincak Garden and METU Garden shows how appropriation of space and place attachment changes depending on relations with authority and structure of the group.

3.5. A MANIFESTATION TOWARDS SPATIAL IMPROMPTU: GUERRILLA GARDENING

*It's useless to wait- for a breakthrough, for the revolution, the nuclear apocalypse or a social movement. To go on waiting is madness. The catastrophe is not coming, it's here. We are already situated within the collapse of a civilization. It is within this reality that we must choose sides.*²⁴⁴

²⁴³*Ibid.*

²⁴⁴The Invisible Committee, *Op. Cit.*, Back cover.

Within this study, it is manifested for several times- often apparently, yet sometimes covertly: If you want to change something, from very minor to quite major matters-, you have to act for it; you have to practice and struggle for change. Therefore, from the beginning of previous chapter – since the discussions on concept of Spatial Impromptu – and within objective of this thesis, how public spaces are redefined and reproduced by inhabitants through a bottom-up practice have been studied. Therein, the study assumes that inhabitants should take an action to reclaim public spaces – which has been fallen under several pressures of capitalism- and such an action reproduces ‘another publicness’ where inhabitants become proactive in production of public spaces. Thus, finally, the ideal of the study has to be evoked, which is ‘another public spaces with another publicness’.

Through the inquiry towards ‘another public spaces with another publicness’, the practices within Guerrilla Gardening have been studied, where guerrilla gardeners desire to change the existing (public space, politics, trajectory, social relations, food production, etc.) and act for it. Therefore, different characteristics of Guerrilla Gardening practices were analysed to obtain multifaceted data on the practice through considering it as a dynamic action where multiple relations of practice enables it to be regarded beyond definite patterns and models. Therefore, within the study, Guerrilla Gardening –by definition- is assumed to be a body of unforeseen and unexpected actions where “there is no one meaning or interpretation of a particular guerrilla gardening group of project. Instead, it’s highly contextual with some overriding themes based on goals and emerging conceptual understanding of guerrilla gardening.”²⁴⁵

Besides resolving characteristics of Guerrilla Gardening, a relational and unitary approach have been adopted and conducted to understand multiple relationships of Guerrilla Gardening with various actors, which are manifested within everyday life. Therefore, at that point, the research focuses on three different case studies from Turkey. Although two of them are not mentioned as a guerrilla gardening by gardeners, their illicit gardening in a public space, various motivations to change an

²⁴⁵Olly Zanetti, *Op. Cit.*

existing circumstance and their inclusive approach towards both participating in gardening and use of gardens, which address ‘all’ without demanding any provision, make those practices to be considered as Guerrilla Gardening. Thus, the research also aims to disclose what remains unknown, yet embedded in gardening practices of these case studies. Within the scope of abovementioned relational approach, practice of Guerrilla Gardening can be analysed through these case studies in terms of four major themes of their relation with inhabitants, authority, city and nature.

First of all, the relations set up with inhabitants can be considered as one of the important manifestations of Guerrilla Gardening. Through such a practice where inhabitants get involved in production of public spaces, re-define them by means of a hands-on experience and be able to take decisions of everyday level for use of public spaces, there comes reclamation and appropriation of public spaces. Therefore, rather than public spaces which are functionalised and certainly defined by technocrats, public spaces re-defined and re-produced by inhabitants are more responsive for appropriation. As Lefebvre asserts, the more functionalised the space, the less susceptible it becomes to appropriation, since the former ignores *lived* time; time of inhabitants.²⁴⁶

Following Lefebvre, it can be propounded that Guerrilla Gardening manifests a *lived* space (social space) which addresses time of inhabitants and enables them to set up new complex relationships each other. Therefore, new social experiences are lived through re-production and appropriation of public spaces, where “human interaction and liveliness”²⁴⁷ are provided as Jacobs mentioned. Cem conveys how “*Şenay ve Gülsümen Halk Bahçesi*” provides a common space for residents of Küçük Armutlu: “The garden turns to be a social space. Especially in Sundays, people assemble there, it becomes crowded.”²⁴⁸ Similarly, Tolga also underlines how “*Yüzüncüyıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*” conduces towards new relationships in neighbourhood:

²⁴⁶Henri Lefebvre, *Op. Cit.*, 1991, p. 356.

²⁴⁷Jane Jacobs, *Op. Cit.*

²⁴⁸Cem, *Op. Cit.*

The garden is one of the spaces that make people socialise. For example, normally elders don't like people appear as I do, with long hair. But now here, we can have a seat together and chats, then they thank us or so.²⁴⁹

Manifesting lived spaces, Guerrilla Gardening encourages inhabitants to be included in production of public spaces. Therefore, since they start to feel themselves to be active participants²⁵⁰ through contributing in production of gardens, inhabitants spontaneously protect them from any attack or possible damage. At that point, Tolga and Elif concentrate on how "*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*" becomes a 'public' space where inhabitants both try to protect from any destructive intervention:

Local government or other authorities did not carry out any concrete attack... Only for few times officers from ASKİ²⁵¹ came for a control. Apart from these, there was nothing happened. Anyway, if somebody tried to interfere in garden, neighbours would withstand before us.²⁵²

Someday I was walking towards the garden and some women got out the window and said "The hedges were broken, damned, who did this?" But in real, it was just the wind. So, there are many neighbours around, who think and act like watchman of the garden.²⁵³

Besides, people also involve in rearrangement of the garden according to their needs:

Last year one day we came and saw a women hoeing earth barefoot. She came from countryside to take care of her grandchild. She was grateful for us to provide her touching earth in the middle of the city.

...These benches were made by a young man. Before this was installed, everybody just sit on ground; he saw that situation and made this. People also want to build a pergola.²⁵⁴

The second theme in analysing Guerrilla Gardening is possible relations with authority figures; local governments, police, watchmen or any administrative bodies. As it has been reworded for several times within this study, one of the most significant and distinctive particularity of Guerrilla Gardening practices is that they

²⁴⁹Tolga, *Op. Cit.*

²⁵⁰Jane Jacobs, *Op. Cit.*

²⁵¹Tolga, *Op. Cit.*

²⁵²A governmental institution in Ankara, which provides service for city water and sewage.

²⁵³Elif, *Op. Cit.*

²⁵⁴Elif, *Op. Cit.*

are illegal operations, which means gardeners do not find it necessary to take permission from any authority. Therefore, such illegal gardening in public spaces often resulted with attacks of authority figures, where a sort of conflict over power relations can be likely to happen, which recalls Gramscian account of hegemonic relations between the power-bloc (dominant) and the people (subordinate).²⁵⁵ For Gramsci, “the power struggle is a continuing feature of any society in which different ideologies (dominant and subordinate) closely stay together.”²⁵⁶

Following Gramsci, practice of Guerrilla Gardening can be considered as spaces of conflict where power struggles come forward. The case study on Yalincak Garden shows repetitive tensions occurred between gardeners (subordinate) and rectorship-watchmen (dominant). In that case, although rectorship did not give permission for gardening and watchmen reported gardeners and for several times, the gardeners did not give up and kept their resistant approach. Here, one of the gardener’s words properly expresses their insistency on continue gardening:

The rectorship did not allow. But we said we would do it. Even he scatters it; we said we would do it somewhere else again. Yes, we were going to do.²⁵⁷

Throughout their struggle with authority figures to continue cultivation in Yalincak garden, gardeners apply to use tactics to subvert dominant power. As De Certeau asserts, tactics appear as a bottom-up means of the very micro level of everyday life, which stand against strategies developed by authorities. Gardeners of Yalincak Garden were obliged to develop new tactics as a reaction to authority’s several attacks on their practice. Therefore, after first attack –when watchmen reported them to rectorship- they changed their site and occupied a more hidden one. Furthermore, when watchmen attacked for second time and perpetually harassed for whether they

²⁵⁵Güven Arif Sargin, “Myth, Ideology, and Hegemony: The Political Syntax of American Environmental Design Tradition”, in *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, vol.17, 1997, p.29

²⁵⁶Antonio Gramsci, as cited in Güven Arif Sargin, “Myth, Ideology, and Hegemony: The Political Syntax of American Environmental Design Tradition”, in *METU Journal of Faculty of Architecture*, vol.17, 1997, p.29.

²⁵⁷Participant 1, *Op. Cit.*

have permission, gardeners tried to stall them through several excuses and reasons. Thus, they save more time to attend to their garden.

As in the case of Yalıncağ Garden, through conflict and struggle, practice of Guerrilla Gardening manifests itself as practice for resistance, which encourages bottom-up praxis to act and stand against power. Richard Reynolds explains how his point of view towards authorities changed after he had started to practice guerrilla gardening:

I've become more confident of how big a difference one can make without having to ask and without much resources, and also more disappointed by the lack of care and professionalism in designing and tending much of our public spaces in the UK. I'm even less confident in the authorities and more confident in grassroots ability to achieve change.²⁵⁸

Considering Guerrilla Gardening as a practice for resistance, therefore, the public space it occupies becomes a space for resistance. Besides resistance of Yalıncağ Garden's gardeners, residents of Küçük Armutlu neighbourhood struggle against power, where another form of space for resistance is revealed. As mentioned before, the neighbourhood is under threat of urban transformation projects which aims to demolish all squatters and build, mostly, high rise residential blocks for high income people. The pretext of government behind applying urban transformation projects is to recover unhealthy and irregular settlements in such neighbourhoods. Therefore, residents of Küçük Armutlu resist through re-definition and re-production of public spaces of neighbourhood to show the 'life' there. "*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*" is one of these public spaces which become a space for resistance. Yet, an irony appears within the case of Küçük Armutlu: The authority (the government) threatens residents of Küçük Armutlu by means of using 'space' as a medium of top-down regulations, whereas those residents react authority through alternative 'spaces' they produced as a very bottom-up praxis.

The third theme to analyse Guerrilla Gardening is relations with the city. Practicing Guerrilla Gardening has different engagements with city, regarding challenging

²⁵⁸ Richard Reynolds, Questionnaire, *Op. Cit.*

everyday life, communications with passersby and defining new public spaces for city. Therefore, Guerrilla Gardening can be considered as a direct intervention everyday life. As Lefebvre points out, the character of the everyday has always been repetitive, which appears as a great problem of monotony.²⁵⁹ Therefore, Guerrilla Gardening evokes the unknown, the embedded and the potentially revolutionary within everyday life, through breaking monotony within and revealing inner potentials of it. It questions normalities of everyday life. Thus, its practice can be regarded as anomalous and unaccustomed within the monotony of everyday life, yet, indeed, it challenges such monotony through providing an alternative public space. This alternative public space, as Gabe conveys, “is a place of expression, a kind of playground, where people collide; a social network in real time, a place where people can communicate.”²⁶⁰

Therefore, as Gabe underlined, the matter of communication becomes important for guerrilla gardeners regarding reactions of passersby. In order to make any communication possible, unlike most of the guerrilla gardeners do, Gabe prefers practicing in daylight:

(We did our interventions) In places where we are not expected, if possible in daylight so as not to hide and have a maximum interaction with people to make them our message because we often say this ‘communication through action’.²⁶¹

Here, ‘communication through action’ needs to be more emphasised, since by means of communicating with passersby during a practice of guerrilla gardening, gardeners claim a space for manifesting their public appearance, where they enlarge their ‘bubble of personal space’²⁶² towards the public one. Annie Crane, a researcher and a guerrilla gardener, explains relations with passersby within her experience:

²⁵⁹Henri Lefebvre and Christine Levich, “Everday and Everydayness” in *Yale French Studies*, No: 73, 1987, pp. 7-11.

²⁶⁰Gabe, *Op. Cit.*

²⁶¹*Ibid.*

²⁶²The concept of *proxemics*, propounded by Edward Hall, proposes that “individuals are surrounded by a bubble of personal space the size of which varies according to social relationship and setting.” For more information on *proxemics*, see Edward T. Hall, “Proxemics” in Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (ed.), *Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, Malden, Oxford, Carlton and Berlin:Blackwell Publishing, 2003, pp. 51-73.

Along with the conversations with passersby, it was a sign that someone noticed our work and felt compelled to contribute, thus resonating with the group's goals of getting the public to feel comfortable and engaged with the planters.²⁶³

The dialogue between gardeners and passersby, therefore, creates micro-scalar intersections within everyday life, where gardens become focal point for new public encounters. "Through this, it is clear that while there is no one given meaning for a particular guerrilla gardening project it has the potential to produce new spaces of critique and engagement for gardeners and passersby alike."²⁶⁴

Regarding relations with city, practice of Guerrilla Gardening submits new public spaces for urban life. Some of the guerrilla gardening projects initiated through an objective of bringing in new public spaces for cities. For instance, before mentioned The Roerich Garden Project was come off with the idea of "draw attention to city's plans and provoke dialogue, reclaim commons and activate unused urban space."²⁶⁵ Similarly, "100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı" and "Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi" provides new public spaces for residents of neighbourhood, where unused, neglected sites were transformed into common spaces.

Lastly, the relations of Guerrilla Gardening with nature should be mentioned as a final analysis of Guerrilla Gardening. As discussed before, Guerrilla Gardening suggests a new meaning to 'space', where it is no longer exposed to be produced merely by technocratic approaches of top-down decisions. Rather, Guerrilla Gardening proves how public spaces can be produced alternatively by inhabitants; therefore the practice emancipates 'space' from being functionalised and commodified by top-down decision makers. Here, through practices of Guerrilla Gardening, an analogue approach is developed for 'nature'. As discussed in previous chapter, like space, nature is also commodified and alienated from public life by means of being definitely functionalised. Thus, nature has become a beautiful 'scene' for leisure activities. As Bookchin asserts, new imitated 'urban natures' have been

²⁶³Annie Crane, *Op. Cit.*

²⁶⁴*Ibid.*

²⁶⁵"Roerich Garden Project", *Op. Cit.*

infiltrated towards cities by means of realms of power. Therefore, nature is suspended from everyday life.²⁶⁶

Through Guerrilla Gardening, 'nature' re-enters everyday life, where guerrilla gardeners exhibit a bottom-up endeavour to touch green and produce green. Therefore, nature is no longer considered as a 'green background', but people produce it within cities to express themselves as a part of public, to protest against any power, to socialise with others or to grow their own food. Whatever motivation they adopt, these people use nature, as well as space, as a medium for expressing themselves publicly towards desiring to change an existing situation. Thus, in each case, Guerrilla Gardening reclaims nature and brings it together with people. For instance, for children of 100. Yıl –who were born and have grown in a city- “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*” is an uncharted and different place, since some of them even don't know where most used vegetables or fruits are grown. Therefore, the garden arouses especially their interest. Elif conveys children's and their families' interest in the garden:

Children ask questions about the garden. Sometimes their families bring them here, so that they can see a garden and play with earth. We plant seedlings together. We organise special activities for children. For example, in planting festival, all children come here and we plant seedlings from hand to hand, together. We especially want children to be here.²⁶⁷

Another point to be focused on relation between Guerrilla Gardening and nature is that gardeners produce nature without attempting to dominate it. At that point, I shall refer Bookchin again, since he asserts that the idea of dominating nature is a consequence of social hierarchies.²⁶⁸ Being authority free, structure of guerrilla gardening groups eliminates problems stemmed from social hierarchy, which enables them to adopt same approach towards nature. Therefore, gardeners play with nature, rather than controlling it. Here, the words of one of the gardeners of Yalıncağ Garden are worth to be quoted:

²⁶⁶Murray Bookchin, “Ecology and Revolutionary Thought”, *Op. Cit.*, p.85.

²⁶⁷Elif, *Op. Cit.*

²⁶⁸Murray Bookchin, “Anthropocentrism versus Biocentrism – A False Dichotomy”, *Op. Cit.*

Weeding, even weeding together, was a really precious activity for us. We did not have any equipment except than first day, but anyway, even if we had gotten some instruments, we would have plowed earth with our hands. The feeling of touching earth, being exhausted to make life green, becoming muddy for that was really precious.²⁶⁹

Considering multiple relations of Guerrilla Gardening with inhabitants, authority figures, city and nature; and the analysis developed through these relations, Guerrilla Gardening can be asserted as a spatial impromptu which is propounded in previous chapter. Revealing the idea behind the concept of spatial impromptu once, every single attempt towards space -or more basically every 'being' on space- is social, political or cultural; or even ecological; or any hybrid of these. In other words, by 'being' on space, one produces it socially, politically, culturally and etc. Spatial impromptu embraces this idea and suggests a relational and unitary approach towards production of public spaces, where alternative thoughts on public spaces are given chance to be practiced. It is also touched with desire of change in terms of manifesting new various actions on space. Besides, it is an intentional phase of appropriation of public spaces, since it covers a participatory attitude where each inhabitant has right to be involved in.

With reference to these particularities, Guerrilla Gardening can be approved as a spatial impromptu owing to actions of guerrilla gardens, their motivations, the process they have during operations and, ultimately the gardens that they created. Therefore, the practice proposes another public space -which is out of ordinary, challenges conventional and requires further way of thinking- with 'another publicness'.

²⁶⁹Participant 2, *Op. Cit.*

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION:

DISCUSSIONS (RE)GENERATED BY GUERRILLA GARDENING

*We're setting out from a point of extreme isolation, of extreme weakness. An insurrectional process must be build up from the ground up. Nothing happens less likely than an insurrection, but nothing is more necessary.*²⁷⁰

Referring the Invisible Committee again, I shall reword here that this study is dedicated to 'change' and actions practiced towards it. Before starting research, current approaches on production of spaces have been reviewed critically. The top-down and technocratic implementations on space disregard *lived* time and space of inhabitants and therefore reduces space into physical form by ignoring social, political and cultural aspects of it.

The inquiry of this study, therefore, was to come up through a criticism over this current approach towards 'space' designed as a result of this. In the light of this mentioned critique, the study aims to concentrate on seeking alternative ways of production of spaces, which break out of the system/order, propose new methodologies and are based on more experimental implementations. Within such alternative approaches, production of public spaces constitutes the main focus problem of the research, since there have been remarkable discussions -which take part in both literature and praxis- about who has the right to produce and use public spaces. Towards seeking alternative approaches towards production of public space, the main assumption of the thesis has been formulated: "Public spaces designed by

²⁷⁰The Invisible Committee, *Op. Cit.*, p.96.

technocrats are incomplete, not essentially 'public', so rather than those 'planned' public spaces, real public spaces are needed which are produced through active participation of inhabitants." Following that, the second assumption of the study evokes: "Another public space, which is apart from well-designed, functionalised and imposed space, can only be achieved through another publicness."

Regarding these main assumptions, the significance of the study is shaped as a development of a multi-dimensional analysis through connecting theoretical discussion with information gained from field by means of observations, evaluations and discussions to understand how inhabitants re-produce public spaces. Thus, the contribution of the study to field of architecture is to revisit interdisciplinary aspect of architecture by means of tackling its subject, space, as a social, political and cultural entity. At that point, the study asserts that each 'being' on public space has a social, political and cultural manifestation. Therefore, the concept of Spatial Impromptu has an original contribution to field of architecture, where it shows that rather than designing public spaces through a technocratic approach, another production of public spaces is possible, where architects have face-to-face relation with inhabitants and space. This another production that concept of Spatial Impromptu conveys the idea that even 'well-designed' public spaces have been re-defined by inhabitants; therefore, the concept calls all architects to be involved in this space-activism and to realise another possibilities of designing public spaces.

Furthermore, the actual case of the study, Guerrilla Gardening, makes the study more significant, since, tackling the practice as a spatial impromptu, the study shows how another publicness in public spaces can be possible. The 'otherness' it manifests underlies the idea that publicness should be more than passively using public spaces, rather the propounded new publicness should be an 'active' publicness, where inhabitants can re-define and re-produce public spaces. Another original contribution of the study is that in the limited literature on Guerrilla Gardening where there is a lack of academic work, the study tackles the issue through an approach that considers it as a means of production of new public spaces, where different relations of it have been visited.

From that point, through following Lefebvrian thinking, the study is primarily based on the idea that public spaces cannot reach its ultimate formation, in other words they remain 'incomplete', without being used, lived and re-defined by inhabitants; therefore, public spaces should be produced through inclusive, participatory and emancipatory approaches where inhabitants can get involved in. To come to this point of view, a preliminary survey on evolution of public spaces was done. Therefore, in the first chapter, an informative introduction was submitted, which is a sort of prologue for resolving different concepts to understand public space. Starting from notion of 'public' and then 'public life', concept of public spaces were discussed by means of different approaches towards production of space. Thus, Cartesian method -which considers space as a 'thing' to be divided, commodified and designed- and Lefebvre's triad -where he proposes space as a social product- were explained through comparison of these two approaches.

In second chapter, a retrospective survey on evolution of public spaces was done, which show how perception over public spaces, and relatively notion of public-public life-publicness, has changed since 19th century. Here, the industrial capitalism, which has influenced world's trajectory since 19th century, is considered as the major cause behind decline of public life. The pressures of mechanisation, standardisation, urbanisation and privatisation, which were initiated through objectives of industrial capitalism, triggered the fall of public life. Thus, the fall of public spaces came concurrently, where inhabitants were pushed to live behind private spaces or privatised public spaces.

However, public spaces should be regarded as essentials of everyday life, where spontaneous encounters, various social interactions and different public appearances of different bodies can happen. Therefore, public spaces manifest a common ground for inhabitants, where they feel themselves as part of the 'public'. Accordingly, the existing perception over public spaces -imposed by industrial capitalism- should *change*. Within second chapter, a relational and unitary approach was suggested towards encouraging the change in perception of public spaces. Therefore, the concept of 'spatial impromptu' was propounded, which motivates 'another' production of public spaces and manifests 'another publicness' where public take its 'public' aspect back. Through concept of spatial impromptu, the idea that any

attempt towards public spaces has social, political or cultural characteristics is conveyed. No need to make any attempt, even 'being' there can be social, political or cultural; no need to make any physical attempt, people produce space perpetually.

As mentioned before, spatial impromptu calls for change to produce bottom-up 'public' spaces and, therefore, it also calls people for action to reclaim/appropriate/re-define public spaces. Therefore, it aims to evoke 'public' aspect of public spaces, where inhabitants feel themselves as part of the 'public' again. Spatial impromptu desires to infiltrate towards very 'micro' level of everyday life and finds appropriate time and space to pop-up. Thus, it reveals the potentials of everyday life and emancipates it from monotony.

Towards suggesting spatial impromptu as a relational and unitary method for production of 'alternative' public spaces, distinguished theories and practices on space and 'urban' have significantly inspired intellectual process of the study. The literature review started with Lefebvre's ideas on lived (social) space and appropriation of spaces, where he criticises functionalist space designed by technocrats who disregard diversity and complexity of life and detach inhabitants from space. Therefore, he focuses on necessary and inevitable interactivity among urban spaces and inhabitants.²⁷¹

Furthermore, the avant-garde ideas of Situationists have also inspired theoretical basis of spatial impromptu. Criticising modern society, which has turned into a 'society of spectacle' where life evolves into a 'spectacle' and inhabitants become 'spectators', the Situationist suggested creation of 'situations to change the trajectory, to subvert the system.'²⁷² They thought that modern capitalist society is formed through organisation of spectacles, so to overthrow this society of spectacle; they proposed direct actions towards everyday life through "changing the meaning of the city through changing the way it inhabited."²⁷³

²⁷¹Henri Lefebvre, "Toward an Urban Strategy", *Op. Cit.*, p. 356.

²⁷²Guy Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, *Op. Cit.*

²⁷³Thomas McDonough, "Situationist Space", *Op. Cit.*

Within literature survey, theories on everyday life have also reviewed. Thus, Jamer Hunt was referred as he asserts the idea that the everyday can neither be envisaged nor planned, which means designers are incapable of designing the everyday.²⁷⁴ Therefore, his interpretation reveals the idea that technocratic rationalism and capitalism cannot control everyday life; also the possibilities, unknowns, spontaneities and encounters embedded within it. Similarly, De Certeau evokes the idea that recognizing everyday practice not as a passive set of routines, but as an active ground for emerging actions. The everyday practice, according to De Certeau, is engaged with modes of operation or schema of action, where inhabitants apply various ‘tactics’ to subvert strategies of power that attempt to dominate everyday life.²⁷⁵

As all mentioned above, the concept of Spatial Impromptu engages with different theoretical inspirations on space, urban and everyday life; however, in order to achieve a ‘relational and unitary’ approach towards production of public spaces, theories on ‘nature’ should also be visited. Therefore, as a last part of literature survey, firstly Bookchin’s concept of ‘social ecology’ was reviewed, where he asserts that problems with nature are also social problems. Thus, he reaches to the point that the idea of domination stemmed from domination of human by human. According to him, social problems can only be overcome through ecological revolution which eliminates hierarchy and domination.²⁷⁶ Another theory on nature, urban political ecology, provides an integrated and relational approach which manifests that socio-ecological sustainability and democracy can be reached by socio-environmental (re)production which maintains an inclusive mode of production of nature, as well as space.²⁷⁷

Through questioning how mentioned ‘another’ public space is produced by ‘another publicness’, the study analyses Guerrilla Gardening as a spatial impromptu. Accordingly, in third chapter, firstly history of the practice was reviewed through

²⁷⁴Jamer Hunt, “Just Re-Do It: Tactical Formlessness and Everyday Consumption”, *Op. Cit.*

²⁷⁵Michel de Certeau, *Op. Cit.*

²⁷⁶Murray Bookchin, “Anthropocentrism versus Biocentrism – A False Dichotomy”, *Op. Cit.*

²⁷⁷Nik Heynen, Maria Kaika and Erik Swyngedouw (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, pp. 11-12.

conveying how the concept of guerrilla gardening emerged. This brief introduction has provided a preliminary look over the practice. Thus, in following subchapters, the practice of Guerrilla Gardening has been analysed by means of a relational and multi-dimensional perspective. To be able to provide elaborated data on guerrilla gardening, where multiple relations and multifaceted dimensions of the practice can be resolved, qualitative analysis methods have been applied during research. As it is mentioned in second subchapter, the research on guerrilla gardening has mainly conducted in two parts.

During the first part, content analysis from related published work, thesis, media sources and blogs has been done to be able to sort out multiple characteristics of the practice. However, since it is aimed to get an elaborated data, open-ended questionnaires were sent to guerrilla gardeners from different parts of the world to obtain more detailed information. Questions were asked to understand gardeners' motivations behind; experiences during and before digs and observations after digs.

Therefore, regarding this first step analysis, the characteristics of Guerrilla Gardening have resolved in four parts: Motivations, site, scale and structure. To explain briefly; gardeners adopt various motivations to practice guerrilla gardening. These were sorted as political reasons for protesting and expressing the message in an unconventional way; social reasons for creating new communities and social networks; desire to be involved in development of cities, where local governments remain incapable to maintain public spaces; beautifying public spaces; environmental reasons to make public spaces more green; and lastly, necessity to grow food. Regarding sites for the operation, gardeners prefer different sites according to their motivations; orphaned/unloved land, littered land, wilderness, lawns, roads/roadsides, tree pits or even any nook and cranny can be a site for guerrilla gardening. For the scales of the operation, guerrilla gardening is practiced in any scale; it can either be applied on a pothole or be built as a community scale garden. Lastly, the structure of the guerrilla gardeners differ mainly in two respects: A gardener can practice guerrilla gardening by her/himself or within a group of gardeners. Furthermore, gardener groups were sorted in two parts: Anarchic groups with no leader figure and horizontal organisation and relatively authoritarian groups oriented by a group leader.

Analysing the characteristics of guerrilla gardening, first-phase implications of the study can be noted down here. Firstly, as mentioned above, Guerrilla Gardening is a complex practice which correlates with political, social, environmental, economical and spatial concerns. A guerrilla gardening practice can engage either with one of these concerns or an interwoven set of concerns. Secondly, guerrilla gardening does not have any typical defined means or method for practice. It can be operated anywhere and anyhow. Therefore, it fully depends on gardener's vision, motivation and creativity; and also the context. The third implication is that every guerrilla gardening action has two common points: desire to *change* and practice this change illegally without being authorised or paid. Thus, whatever motivation they have adopted, basically gardeners aspire to change an existing situation and they apply this without needing any permission. Therefore, it can be implied that every guerrilla gardening practice has political roots behind.²⁷⁸ The fourth implication is that since guerrilla gardeners use 'space' as a medium for realising 'change', public spaces have been appropriated, re-defined and re-produced through each guerrilla gardening action. Reminding theoretical background of the study, the space becomes as a means for 'public' expression by means of a practical operation, where inhabitants manifest their resistances, struggles, desires and viewpoints. Hence, through guerrilla gardening, public spaces achieve its ultimate meaning of being 'public', which is one of the main assumptions of the thesis.

The second part of the research on Guerrilla Gardening is focused more on in-depth analysis of the practice. Within this part, a relational approach has been embraced during analysis, where multi-dimensional information was obtained to be able to resolve multiple relations of the practice with inhabitants, authorities, city and nature. Therefore, the main objective of the study has been tried to be achieved through this part of research: To manifest how 'another public space' has been produced by means of 'another publicness'.

In this respect, three case studies from Turkey have been analysed to get relational and detailed information. Therefore, in-depth interview research technique was used

²⁷⁸Richard Reynolds, Interview, *Op. Cit.*

as a qualitative analysis method. The selected case studies were based on “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*” (100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden) in 100.Yıl, Ankara; “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” (Şenay and Gülsüman People’s Garden) in Küçük Armutlu, İstanbul; and “*Yalıncak Bostanı*” (Yalıncak Garden) in METU Campus, Ankara.

Here, it should be noted once more that apart from gardeners of Yalıncak Garden, the gardeners of other gardens do not manifest their practice as guerrilla gardening. However, since they have maintained an illegal cultivation to change an established situation, manifest a resistance through gardens and practice gardening voluntarily without demanding any provision, both of them considered as guerrilla gardening within this study.

To start with, “*100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı*” (100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden) was laid out in Ankara, after Gezi Uprising where people occupied different parks and other public spaces to reclaim their publicness. Therefore, they were the days when people started to be conscious about their ‘public’ sides and they appropriated public spaces. 100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden is one of the consequences of Gezi, where 100. Yıl Initiative –a neighbourhood community- occupied a derelict land in their neighbourhood to turn it into a common garden that all neighbours can use. The first objective behind that attempt is to provide a common space in neighbourhood where different people can meet and establish new social networks. Besides, their second aim is to grow organic food and show neighbours that cultivation even in the middle of the city is possible.

The second case study, “*Şenay ve Gülsüman Halk Bahçesi*” (Şenay and Gülsüman People’s Garden) is located in Küçük Armutlu, one of the squatter settlements of İstanbul. The neighbourhood has been under threat of government’s urban transformation projects, for years. Therefore, residents of neighbourhood have organised together with contribution of “*Halkın Mühendis Mimarları*” (People’s Engineers and Architects) to produce alternative projects against government’s top-down and brutal implementations. Şenay and Gülsüman People’s Garden is one of these attempts which aims to prove that an alternative life -without being dependent

to capitalist system- can be sustained. Besides agricultural production, garden has also turned into a public space where neighbours assemble there.

The last case study is the only garden which is entitled as a ‘guerrilla garden’ by its gardeners. Yalincak Garden was laid out in Yalincak village, by group of METU students who were tired of consuming and desire to produce their own food. Therefore, they occupied an unused land in village and started cultivation; however, watchmen reported them to rectorship of METU. Although rectorship did not give them permission, they insisted on continuing cultivation and occupied a more hidden land for the second attempt. Under watchmen’s disturbances, they continued cultivation for a while, but when they heard that a larger garden (METU Garden) was going to be laid out, they get involved there. However, this ‘permitted’ and relatively more professionally equipped garden did not satisfy them, which makes gardeners to make a comparison between two gardens.

The case studies which have been discussed in detail during third chapter, has provided multifaceted information for conducting a relational analysis on Guerrilla Gardening and public spaces. Within third chapter, through the information obtained from case studies, as second-phase implications, practice of guerrilla gardening has been analysed in terms of four major themes: Relations between inhabitants, authority figures, city and nature.

Firstly, Guerrilla Gardening manifests a new relationship between inhabitants (gardeners) and public spaces. Through practicing Guerrilla Gardening, inhabitants actively get involved in everyday life, since they re-define public spaces by means of a hands-on experience. Therefore, it can be asserted that such involvement is one step ahead of reclamation and appropriation of public spaces. Realising that they can ‘change’ public spaces through their personal or collective attempts and considering their endeavour in transformation process of a derelict land to a garden, inhabitants display inherent behaviours towards gardens. They have attempted to protect gardens as if they are their private spaces. Here, Tolga’s words can be referred again: “Anyway, if somebody tried to interfere in garden (100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden),

neighbours would withstand before us.”²⁷⁹ Similarly, after such an operation, their use of public spaces has changed in a way that they continue producing them through setting up new social interactions.

Secondly, Guerrilla Gardening challenges the relationship between inhabitants and authority figures, through public spaces. By means of guerrilla gardening practice, a power relation of dominant-subordinate has been likely to be established between gardeners and authorities. Thus, spaces that are operated via Guerrilla Gardening turn into spaces of conflict where struggle continues perpetually. As struggle goes on, gardeners have been obliged to develop tactics to overcome authority’s strategies. Therefore, the tactics used by gardeners have to be re-developed with every attack of the power; so that they can manage to continue struggle. The case of Yalıncağ Garden apparently manifests struggle of gardeners against university administration. Therefore, they had to change tactics to continue their illegal cultivation in Yalıncağ, where space of conflict overlaps with space of tactics.²⁸⁰

Thirdly, Guerrilla Gardening plays with flow of everyday life, through its relation with city. Within the monotony of everyday life, where sequences have been repeating frequently, Guerrilla Gardening practice appears as a break of these repetitive sequences. Guerrilla gardening seeks for ‘other’ spaces to operate, which can be an unknown, unloved or unused piece of land. Therefore, unexpected public spaces emerge in cities as a result of the practice, which destroy the monotony of everyday. With this respect, Guerrilla Gardening evokes different relations between city and passersby. Firstly, these unexpected gardens within cities can catch passersby’s attention and make them look around and be aware of the city, rather than merely drifting in streets. Secondly, gardeners can communicate with passersby through guerrilla gardening action, which increases possibility of new public encounters within everyday life.

Lastly, Guerrilla Gardening makes ‘nature’ to re-enter in cities. Unlike ‘imitated’ natures promoted by local governments, guerrilla gardeners re-produce nature and

²⁷⁹Tolga, *Op. Cit.*

²⁸⁰Michel de Certeau, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 46-47.

actively become part of it. They also challenge to maintain gardens in the middle of the cities and, somehow, re-unit nature and cities again, where inhabitants of cities have possibility to touch green and produce green. Therefore, by means of Guerrilla Gardening, public spaces are re-defined and re-produced with 'nature'. However, it should be noted down again that this re-definition and re-production do not attempt to dominate nature, rather gardeners set up inherent relations with nature.

As a result of the relational analysis developed on Guerrilla Gardening, various relations of the practice have been resolved and submitted as second-phase implications of the study. Through these multiple relations of Guerrilla Gardening, one last implication can be noted down here within second-phase: Practice of Guerrilla Gardening destroys the existing and accepted approaches towards public spaces. Firstly, it *changes* the conventional meanings attributed to public spaces. Although there are no written or official set of rules, there are unmentioned but appropriated manners for public spaces, which determine what can be done or what cannot be done in public environments. At that point, Guerrilla Gardening practices challenge these manners and define different 'public' appearances. Accordingly, rather than established and defined 'public' activities, Guerrilla Gardening encourages 'marginal' actions. Therefore, inhabitants can perform an alternative publicness and use public spaces through alternative operations. As a follow-through of abovementioned implication, secondly, Guerrilla Gardening *changes* the limitations designated for public spaces. Besides defined urban spaces like squares, streets, alleys and parks, it submits new types of public spaces where its practice has been operated. Finally, it can be asserted that Guerrilla Gardening extends the content and scope of public spaces into a more alternative approach.

To that point, a profound analysis has been developed on how 'another public spaces' are produced by Guerrilla Gardening. So, here, how can 'another publicness' be defined, which engages with practice of Guerrilla Gardening? How does Guerrilla Gardening evoke another publicness?

Before giving answers to these questions, I shall briefly refer Lefebvre again, where he criticised 'organised passivity' imposed by capitalist system. The system divides everyday life into defined sectors of social life: work, family, private life and leisure.

“These sectors, though distinct as forms, are imposed upon in their practice by a structure allowing us to discover what they share: organized passivity.”²⁸¹

This means, in leisure activities, the passivity of the spectator faced with images and landscapes; in the workplace, it means passivity when faced with decisions in which the worker takes no part; in private life, it means the imposition of consumption, since the available choices are directed and the needs of the consumer created by advertising and market studies.²⁸²

Returning back to the questions above, within this ‘organised passivity’ imposed by the ‘system’, guerrilla gardeners manifest ‘another publicness’ to eliminate such passiveness and find new ways to be proactive within everyday life. Therefore, ‘another publicness’ can be described as alternative ways of public-being on space, within everyday life; sweeping spectator passiveness away and, therefore, calling for activism; subverting system/trajectory/order to build a micro-level praxis from bottom to up.

Thus, ‘another publicness’ is *activist*, calls for direct action:

How you do it is very straightforward: you go out and do it. If you want a more free and democratic society, you go out and do it.²⁸³

It is also *autonomous*; operates for finding and realising T.A.Z.²⁸⁴ ∴

The T.A.Z. is like an uprising which does not engage directly with the State, a guerrilla operation which liberates an area (a land, of time, of imagination) and then dissolves itself to re-form elsewhere/elsewhen, before the State can crush it.²⁸⁵

It is also *transgressive*; pushes limits, then exceeds beyond them:

Transgression is an action which involves the limit, the narrow zone of a line where it displays the flash of its passage, but perhaps also its entire trajectory, even its origin; it likely that transgression has its entire space in the line it crosses. The play of limits and transgression seems to be regulated

²⁸¹Henri Lefebvre and Christine Levich, *Op. Cit.*

²⁸²*Ibid.*

²⁸³Noam Chomsky interviewed by Tom Morello, “On Democracy”, 1996, Retrieved 30 August, 2015 from <http://www.chomsky.info/interviews/1996summer.htm>.

²⁸⁴Temporary Autonomous Zone.

²⁸⁵Hakim Bey, T. A. Z. The Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism, 1985, p. 55, Retrieved 30 August 2015 from http://hermetic.com/bey/taz_cont.html.

by a simple obstinacy: transgression incessantly crosses and recrosses a line which closes up behind it in a wave of extremely short duration, and thus it is made to return once more right to the horizon of the uncrossable.²⁸⁶

It is also *occupant*; it occupies wherever necessary:

The most exciting aspect of the Occupy movement is the construction of the linkages that are taking place all over. If they can be sustained and expanded, Occupy can lead to dedicated efforts to set society on a more humane course.²⁸⁷

So, this ‘another publicness’ is *insurgent*; insurrection can be everywhere:

From now on, to materially organize for survival is to materially organize for attack. Everywhere, a new idea of communism is to be elaborated. In the shadows of bar rooms, in print shops, squats, farms, occupied gymnasiums, new complicities are to born.²⁸⁸

Oriented towards a ‘*change*’, guerrilla gardeners manifest ‘another publicness’, characteristics of which are compelled above by referring distinguished books and authors. Through this otherness, Guerrilla Gardening achieves to be an inclusive, participatory and emancipatory practice, which is also aimed with concept of spatial impromptu.

In conclusion, as further implications of the study, discussions re-generated by guerrilla gardening should be mentioned. With this respect, Lefebvre’s idea of ‘right to the city’ re-generated through actions of Guerrilla Gardening. Lefebvre’s ‘right to the city’ is neither “a suggestion for reform, nor does it envision a fragmented, tactical, or piecemeal resistance.”²⁸⁹ Rather, he follows a unitary approach where he calls for a radical restructuring of social, political and economic relations. The right to the city reframes the arena of decision-making in cities: It reorients decision-making away from the state and toward the production of urban space, where all

²⁸⁶Michel Foucault, “A Preface to Transgression”, in *Language Counter-memory Practice Selected Essays and Interviews*, Donald F. Bouchard (ed.), New York: Cornell University Press, 1977, pp. 33-34.

²⁸⁷Noam Chomsky, “After Thirty Years of Class War”, in *Occupy*, London: Penguin Books, 2012, p. 53.

²⁸⁸The Invisible Committee, *Op. Cit.*.

²⁸⁹Mark Purcell, “Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant” in *GeoJournal*, vol. 58, 2002, p. 101.

inhabitants can get involve.²⁹⁰ Therefore, each Guerrilla Gardening action –which is both illegal and occupant-, is a manifestation towards “right to the city” where inhabitants attempt to re-build city. During each action, inwardly or outwardly, guerrilla gardeners push the limits to reclaim their rights to get involved in city either by means of using or producing it. This also explains the ‘illegal’ and ‘guerrilla’ operation of the practice: As inhabitants of cities, they have the right to re-shape places that they are living. Reminding the case study in Küçük Armutlu, the struggle of neighbour residents against government’s urban transformation is a resistance for right to the city. Therefore, right to city should not be considered merely as right to urban sources, but right to *change* city according to inhabitant’s thoughts and needs. Harvey also points out the same issue:

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 urbanisation. 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.

Adopting and implementing a transgressive, autonomous, activist and; therefore, insurgent publicness, guerrilla gardeners revive right to the city through actively organising attempts to change city. As a further discussion, the idea of right to the city evolves into ideas of right to the nature and right to green. Here, the previous discussion on town-country dichotomy should be re-visited, since the idea of right to the nature engages with re-unification of city and nature. As it has been discussed in detail during second chapter, by means of urbanisation, nature has been isolated and separated from cities and everyday life, since town was extracted from city. However, within these urbanisation processes, ‘imitated’ natures have sprung up, which “are counterfeited and traded in, are destroyed by commercialized, industrialized and institutionally organised leisure pursuits.”²⁹¹ Therefore, through ‘green’ attempts to produce nature within everyday life, Guerrilla Gardening revives

²⁹⁰*Ibid.*

²⁹¹Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 158.

town-country dichotomy. Thus, inhabitants question right to the nature not only to reach natural sources but also to produce nature collectively towards right to green, where they attempt to *change* existing perception on nature and turn it into an ‘active’ component of everyday life.

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APPENDIX A

OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE

I.

1. How was your first encounter with concept of Guerrilla Gardening?
2. How would you describe your involvement in Guerrilla Gardening?
3. How would you define Guerrilla Gardening?
4. Do you have any previous experience in gardening?
5. What triggers you to do Guerrilla Gardening? What are your reasons behind?
6. How long have you done guerrilla gardening?
7. Do you have any experience/interest in intervening space?
 - 7.1. How did the idea of intervening space initiate? Why?
 - 7.2. How much time/effort/energy do you commit to it?
 - 7.3. When and for where did you do interventions?

II.

8. How do you select the site for Guerrilla Gardening?
9. What preparations do you do before the operation? What does Guerrilla Gardening require for the intervention?
10. Did you face with any problems or barriers during the operation(s)? How did you overcome?
11. Do you ever do Guerrilla Gardening where people can see you? If yes, how do people react?
12. Can you describe the importance of scale in Guerrilla Gardening? How does it matter to intervene in a space next to a pavement or a in a yard?
13. What is the process after first digging? How do you look after the gardens?

14. Are there any other types for Guerrilla Gardening rather than classical digging and planting? Types that can be combined with any art or other subjects?
15. Do you do Guerrilla Gardening by yourself or within a group?
16. In your experience, do most guerrilla gardeners belong to a specific age group or social background?
17. Can you tell some keywords that briefly describe Guerrilla Gardening from your point of view??

III.

18. How do you think others perceive the site after the operation? The locals, police forces, authorities, etc.?
19. Has your perception and approach over space changed after participating in Guerrilla Gardening? How?
20. Did you have any changes in your way of thinking towards life/society/nature after participating in Guerrilla Gardening?
21. Do you think that Guerrilla Gardening has a social or political meaning/objective?
22. Would you participate in a similar intervention/operation again?
23. Would you prefer to involve in a collective intervention or start up your own intervention/guerrilla garden?

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS

I. 100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Garden

1. When and how did 100 Yıl Initiative decide to lay out a garden in 100. Yıl district?
2. Why did the Initiative come up with the idea to lay out a garden; what are your aims to be reached through creating a garden in the neighbourhood?
3. How was the establishment of the garden initiated?
4. How did the Initiative select the site for the garden?
5. What was the condition of the site before the Initiative occupied it?
6. Did the Initiative take any permission from any authority?
7. Which user groups participated in process of creating the garden?
8. How was the reaction of residents of the neighbourhood towards the garden?
9. How was the maintenance of the garden provided?
10. Can anyone participate in gardening or is there any criterion?
11. How was the reaction of authority figures (local government, police, etc.)?
12. Did anybody attempt to destroy the garden?
13. Did any other community groups or residents of other neighbourhoods contribute to gardening?
14. Does the Initiative or any other group organise any events in garden?
15. Did you personally participate in any gardening event before?
16. Did you participate in any action towards intervening in public space?
17. Did you hear about Guerrilla Gardening before?

II. Şenay and Gülsüman People's Garden

1. How was the decision of creating a 'People's Garden' in Küçük Armutlu neighbourhood came up?
2. When and how was the gardening started?
3. How did *HMM* select the site for the garden?
4. What was the condition of the site before it was transformed into 'People's Garden'?
5. What is the idea behind 'People's Garden'?
6. Are there any the social and political objectives behind creating a garden in the neighbourhood?
7. What makes 'People's Garden' differs from other community gardening projects?
8. Who were involved in the process of gardening (the decision and implementation phase)?
9. How do the residents of the neighbourhood contribute to the process?
10. Were there any gardening projects initiated in the neighbourhood before?
11. Did *HMM* initiate 'People's Garden' in other neighbourhoods?
12. Can the project of 'People's Garden' be regarded as an individual project of gardening or is it a part of a broader project for alternative life?
13. How was the reaction of authority figures (local government, police, etc.) to 'People's Garden', were there any destructive attempts?

III. Yalincak Garden

1. How did you motivated to do a guerrilla gardening in METU Campus?
2. Do you have any information about Guerrilla Gardening before?
3. Did you practice gardening before?
4. Did you have any experience in intervening to public space?
5. Can you describe your gardener group (age, sex, occupation, etc.)?
6. How did you select the site for intervention?
7. What are your motivations behind creating a guerrilla garden, what triggered you?
8. Did you face with any problems during and after your intervention/gardening?
9. How was the reaction of university administration?

10. How were your reactions shaped after any external attempts to the garden?
11. Do you have any decision to practice guerrilla gardening elsewhere?
12. Did you have any changes in your way of thinking towards life/society/nature after participating in Guerrilla Gardening?
13. Has your perception and approach over nature and space changed after participating in Guerrilla Gardening? How?
14. Would you participate in a similar intervention/operation again?