

MAKING SPACE FOR SPACE IN CONTENTIOUS POLITICS: PLACE CAPITAL OF GEZI PARK

By

ERSAN AVCI

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts

Supervisors: Andreas Dafinger

Jean-Louis Fabiani

Budapest, Hungary

2015

Abstract

This study focuses on the question of how a contentious space (Gezi Park in Istanbul) can affect the making of a collective action (the Gezi Park Protests in Turkey). The thesis will focus on the compelling and engaging conceptualization of the role of contentious spaces. The term “place capital” is coined to elaborate the agency of contentious spaces in transgressive contention. The Gezi Park Protests, which took place in Istanbul, Turkey in the summer of 2013, is the case study through which this thesis conducted a space centric analysis of transgressive contention. To encompass the agency of space, the term “place capital” will be conceptualized, explaining its function in the making of protests. This study offers an enhanced analytical tool to discuss the active role of the space in making of the protest. By doing that, the hope is to answer the question of why Gezi Park triggered huge protests throughout Turkey and beyond. Further, a secondary aim is to provide an analytical relation between the making of the Gezi Commune and the contentious space itself, Gezi Park.

Contents

1 Introduction.....	1
1.1 “ A tree has fallen, a nation has awoken”	1
1.2 Where has the tree fallen?	3
Chapter 2 – Theory in Quest	6
2.1 Space of Contentious Politics	6
2.2 Theoretical Background for Seeing Space as Active Agent	7
2.3 Space in Theory of Contentious Politics	8
2.4 Defining Place Capital.....	8
2.5 Channels of Place Capital	9
2.6 Place capital and New Social Existences	Error! Bookmark not defined.
2.7 Methodology, Limitations and Positionality	11
Chapter 3- Road to Gezi Protests	13
3.1 Unfolding Events through June, 2013	14
3.2 Struggle over public space.....	16
3.3 Kahrolsun bağı şeyler! (Damn something!)	18
Chapter 4 – Constituents of Place Capital	23
4.1 The geographical hierarchy: at the heart of Istanbul.....	24
4.2 Psychical Characteristics of the Park	26
4.2.1 “This was about a bunch of trees...”	26
4.2.2 The Park’s design and its outcomes	28
4.3 The clash of legacies over Gezi Park.....	30
4.3.1 Ottoman Artillery Barracks.....	30
4.3.2 Gezi Park as showcase of Kemalist Modernity	31
4.4 The Left and The neighborhood	32
4.5 Armenian Cemetery: “Stone does not forget”	33
4.6 In the midst of Eeriness: “Çark” in the Gezi Park	35
Chapter 5 The Place Capital and The Gezi Commune	37
5.1 The New Social Existence and Contentions of Space	38
5.2 Living in a not granted but self- built Paradise.....	39

5.3 Inside the Park	40
Conclusion	42

List of Figures

Figure 1:Image of Uprooted Tree..... 2

Figure 2 the map of Occupation..... 29

Figure 3 Lost 11 April Monument

Figure 4 Celebration of 1500th year of Armenian alphabet..... 34

1 Introduction

1.1 “A tree has fallen, a nation has awoken”

Two years ago, I was struggling for writing my thesis about how the “sites of memory” of Modern Turkey were created through transformation of Ottoman relics and construction of monumental buildings. My geographical interest lied in the areas of Maçka, Perpa and Taksim District. Gezi Park was situated in the middle of those three. In those days, no one knew the protest sparked out of Gezi Park would create a ripple effect throughout Turkey and beyond. Neither could I imagine that I would learn about Gezi Park and Taksim, the neighborhood where the park is situated, like the palm of my hand while running away from the riot police in its back streets..

The spark of the protest had ignited on May 27, 2013, with bulldozers entering into the Park and uprooting trees, spread all over social media networks. It marked the beginning of the protest, as one of the famous slogans of Gezi Park Protests says “a tree has fallen, a nation has awoken”.(Figure 1) Taksim Solidarity¹, an “umbrella organization of 128 different professional chambers, labor unions, political parties and a various networks and associations”², had already started a campaign against the demolition. It had also sued the Istanbul Municipality for illegal deconstruction, but those were not enough to stop officials of Istanbul Municipality. In response to demolition of the Park, members of the Solidarity have started a sit-in protest and occupied the Park. Second attempt of the demolition officials were stopped by Sırrı Süreyya Önder, a socialist MP. May 30th was the first day ‘Zabıta’ (metropolitan police in Turkish) attacked peaceful protesters and removed them from the park by using excessive force and then burned down their

¹ “CONSTITUENTS | Taksim Dayanışması,” accessed May 29, 2015, <http://taksimdayanisma.org/bilesenler?lang=en>.

² Ahu Karasulu, “‘If a Leaf Falls, They Blame the Tree’: Scattered Notes on Gezi Resistances, Contention, and Space,” *International Review of Sociology* 24, no. 1 (April 9, 2014): 164–75, doi:10.1080/03906701.2014.894337.

shelter tents. It was also the day the prolonged rage of the people against authoritarian government fulminated. A small scale protest quickly escalated and turned into one of the most crowded protest in the history of the Turkish Republic. The occupiers fled away from the Park and gathered around the Taksim Square and surrounding streets. Simultaneously and unprecedentedly, people organized and thousands of people came to Taksim Square to join the protesters.



Figure 1: May 27, the destruction teams of Istanbul Municipality has started uprooting trees and destroyed the one of the walls of Gezi Park around 10 pm. ³ The image shows the tree referred to in the slogans.

³ “BİR AĞAÇ KESİLDİ, BİR MİLLET UYANDI... | Haberler > GÜNDEM | Ekonomik Durum,” accessed May 29, 2015, <http://www.ekonomikdurum.com/haber/bir-agac-kesildi-bir-millet-uyandi/6470/>.

1.2 Where has the tree fallen?

To prevent bulldozers destroying even more trees, some of the activists climbed on top of them, one photographer hugged a mini-tree and then police kicked and dragged him.⁴ Contrary to what most of the opponents of the Gezi Park protests argued, activists were motivated by the idea to protect the few remaining green spaces in Istanbul.⁵ Activists and protestors are seemingly united “under the canopy of trees”.⁶ One of my interviewees told me repeatedly that protestors, “we” she said, were there for trees at first, but then the protests went beyond the ecological and public space-related struggle. Although protecting the trees was part of her narratives to explain how the protests have began, at some point she stated that:

“Presenting an ecological perspective and saying, I’m here for environmental concerns, does not explain why people have not risen their voice against other crimes committed against public benefit and health. It does not explain Acarkent, or Validebağ events. Moreover, it does not explain why people did not react to the Karadeniz Highway, burning of Dersim Forest nor does it explain why people have not supported the struggle of Sarıkeçeli yoruks or the struggle against gold mining.”

In the context of our interview, the statement above was addressed to prove ecological concerns or protecting trees were not amongst the main motivations of the protestors at the Park. There are another angles in her narrative that should be take into consideration to better analyze her point, but it is intended to underline another implication of her statement. The statement above directs my attention the question of where the tree has fallen. In a more speculative way,

⁴ Ersin Kana, *The Fall of Heaven*, 2014, <https://youtu.be/jMkPlrjp7X0>.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Nilüfer Göle, “Gezi-Anatomy of a Public Square Movement,” *Insight Turkey* 15, no. 3 (2013): 7–14.

could we ask the question in this manner that: how significant is the place of uprooted trees to evoke a national protest?

My initial response to the question above is “Yes, it matters”. However, at this initial level of analysis, my answer is vague and consequently does not have any uniqueness. Firstly, Gezi Park protest should be framed within social movement theory that has insightful tools of analysis to reflect the unique characteristic of the protest. This would also create a space to articulate the active role of the space interacting with the agent shaping collective action. Thus, this paper will use theory of contentious politics (transgressive contention) as the main theoretical background to frame the main concepts.

The conceptual framework will be used to capture the active role of the space of contention. The ways in which collective actions unfold and get shaped are affected by the space of contention.⁷ By analyzing the ethnographical and quantitative data, this paper will attempt to reveal the capacity of the space of contention to shape how collective action unfolds. This argument will also propose that certain spaces have more power to articulate and shape protests than others.

In order to elaborate on the above ideas, this thesis will begin with a descriptive chapter, explaining the historical and political processes in which the Gezi Park protest were born. The chapter will also analyze this major political transformation and its effect in everyday life of Turkey in order to account for the background of the Protests. This will include a clear and detailed description of the events and actors. Chapter Three will elaborate on the conceptual framework and the theoretical background of my analysis, the methodology employed, including

⁷ Walter Nicholls, Byron Miller, and Justin Beamont, “Conceptualizing the Spatialities of Social Movements,” in *Spaces of Contention: Spatialities and Social Movements*, Walter Nicholls, Byron Miller and Justin Beamont (Surrey & Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 1–26.

the methods used to gather data during in person interview, and the limitations of the project. Chapter 4 will delve into the way in which Gezi Park's physical traits and logistical advantages might have played a role in the mobilization of the protests and also I will analyze the history and memory etched on the ground of the Gezi Park , arguing how different legacies and memories surfaced through interactions with the space may have motivated people to join the protest. Chapter 5 deals with the link between the place capital and new social existences by looking overall unique conditions that led to surfacing of potentialities embedded in space. The conclusion will provide a summary of the discussion, clarifying the main argument of the thesis and discussing the theoretical and empirical roots of the research.

Chapter 2 – Theory in Quest

Occupying public spaces, especially recreational areas like parks and other green spaces, have become a prevalent form of protest in recent years. From Zuccoti Park in New York to Tahrir Square, occupying is a recurring phenomenon. In June, 2013, Gezi Park, a recreational center near Taksim Square in Istanbul, was occupied by protesters trying to prevent the Pedestrianisation Project of the Istanbul Municipality. The Project envisages the demolition of Gezi Park to replace it with a shopping mall and would involve uprooting more than 600 trees. The spark of the protest was ignited after the police used excessive force and successive protests stormed Turkey throughout the summer of 2013. During protests, and especially during the occupation of Gezi Park, unusual levels of co-operation and collaboration among diverse and socio-politically isolated groups were observed. Somehow, Park turned into a commune in which chores were collectively handled. Everything in the park was free and open to collective usage. The aim of this research is to explore significance of Gezi Park, as active agency of protests, and more precisely to show how a specific space affected the scope, forms and limitations of the protests.

While the theory of contentious politics will provide the theoretical backbone to this thesis, it will utilize different theoretical approaches to form a multi-layered analysis about the particular role of Gezi Park in the formation and escalation of the protest. Drawing from the theory of contentious politics, this thesis will approach Gezi Resistance by putting the space of the protest (the Park itself) in the center of its analysis. The main argument can be summarized as the agency of a particular space in the making and escalation of the Gezi Protests in summer of 2013 in Turkey.

2.1 Space of Contentious Politics

During the Gezi Protests, a considerable number of new forms of protest emerged and lasted for more than one month. In social movement theories, the contentious politics provides strong analytical tools to assess the newly emerging forms of protests. What makes politics contentious is “its episodic, public, collective interactions among makers of claims and their

objects.”⁸ There are two types of contentious politics: contained and transgressive. Transgressive contention includes ‘newly self-identified political actors’ and uses innovative means of collective action.⁹ Humor, occupation, communal life can be credit as new repertoires of action. In this sense, Gezi Park protests can be evaluated as a transgressive contention. S. Tarrow argues that cycles of contention occur because of the tension that pushes the limits social systems. It is characterized by the accelerated diffusion of the collective action from one sector to another, the formulation of new and/or the transformation of older *collective action frames*, the unorganized and organized participation, interaction and information-exchange between clashing parties.¹⁰ The characteristics of cycles of contention juxtaposed in Tarrow’s definition also describe the events of the protest. Quick escalation of protest throughout Turkey, mass participation of unorganized crowds and flow of information and the re-invention of older repertoire of action are indeed characteristic of Gezi protest. Considering these characteristics, the transgressive contention is indeed an effective analytical tool to capture the spatial dimension of the Gezi Protests.¹¹ However to encapsulate the active agency of space we need an even more engaging and compelling understanding of the space. To support that point, this thesis will look at relevant anthropological research, which takes space as their central subject of analysis.

2.2 Theoretical Background for Seeing Space as Active Agent

This section will exemplify a series of anthropological studies to show that space has agency in the social structure. Andreas Dafinger, in his study in Western Bisaland, explains that fundamentals of social order are inscribed on the space and maintained through the space as well.¹² Another interesting example comes from Maurice Bloch. In his article, Bloch articulates how changes in the landscape affect social belonging.¹³ Peter Gow’s study with native people of

⁸ Charles Tilly, S. Tarrow, and D. McAdam, “What Are They Shouting About?,” in *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 5.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Sydney Tarrow, “Cycles of Contention,” in *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 141–60.

¹¹ Karasulu, “If a Leaf Falls, They Blame the Tree.”

¹² Andreas Dafinger, “An Anthropological Case Study on the Relation of Space, Language, and Social Order: The Bisa of Burkina Faso,” *Environment and Planning A* 33, no. 12 (2001): 2189–2203, doi:10.1068/a345.

¹³ Maurice Bloch, “People into Places: Zafimaniry Concepts of Clarity,” in *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space*, E. Hirsch & M. O’Hanlon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 69–83.

Bajo Urubamba in Santa Clara, Peru is another important ethnography that points to the role of the landscape in producing and reproducing social relations based on kinship. The notion of kinship is central in their relations and it is maintained by stories told by elders. Elders of the village tell these stories while making garden and in order to understand the stories, says Gow, one has to be implicated in the land.¹⁴ As mentioned, stories related to the garden (or embedded in space) is told (or revealed) by an elderly. These stories are about previous owners of the garden whom are dead or relocated to somewhere else. By listening to them, the younger generations learn about their kinship, on which social relations depend in Santa Clara. In a way, the human agent (elderly) and space as an agent (garden) interact together to produce and reproduce the kinship. These works cited above point to seeing the space as active agent in social relations and interactions.

2.3 Space in Theory of Contentious Politics

Analyzing the Gezi Protests as a transgressive contention allows us to comprehend the unique nature of the protest. But more importantly, it allows us to analyze the protest with a spatial dimension. Tilly argues that transgressive contention takes place on space and it disrupts the existing social order¹⁵. As Karasulu stated, “space and place enter the DOC (Dynamic of Contention) analysis, through ‘spatially situated social sites’”¹⁶. In the contentious politics theory, space appears as a “stage” of happenings. The argument of this thesis is that space is an active and interacting agent and plays a significant role in shaping forms and limitations of social movements. To elaborate on this point as part of the theory of contentious politics, however, a more engaging concept that gives further insight into the role of space as active agent is needed. I offer term of “place capital” to capture the agency of space in contentious politics

2.4 Defining Place Capital

According to P. Bourdieu, every agent has capitals that determine capacity and ability of agents in different fields.¹⁷ Thus, by thinking the space as an agent implies that space has capital.

¹⁴ Peter Gow, “Land, People, and Paper in Western Amazonia,” in *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space*, E. Hirsch & M. O’Hanlon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 43–62.

¹⁵ Charles Tilly, “Spaces of Contention,” *Mobilization: An International Journal* 5, no. 2 (2000): 135–59.

¹⁶ Karasulu, “If a Leaf Falls, They Blame the Tree.” p. 170

¹⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, “Outline of a Theory of Practice” (Cambridge University Press, 1977).

In this thesis' argumentation, *Place capital* can be construed as capacity of the space to be an active agent and stems from four different channels: history, memory, geographical hierarchy and physical traits. The combination of these four elements makes up *place capital*. The more a space has *place capital*, the more it has potentiality and more effectively can it interact with more human agents. So to speak, Gezi Protests rapidly become a national phenomenon not only because of structural economic problems, authoritarian conservative politics of ruling party, but also because Gezi Park's *place capital*.

2.5 Channels of Place Capital

The place capital of a space consists of four channels according to this research: history and histories of the space, collective memory, geographical hierarchy and the psychical characteristics of the space. Histories of space refer to the historical significance of the space for diverse groups. Mostly, this manifests itself as a clash of legacies over symbolically charged spaces. The second component of place capital is collective memory. The contested and dialectical relations between memory and history¹⁸ leads to seemingly similar, yet actually very distinct sources of place capital. The significance of certain spaces in the collective memory of oppressed groups, such as minorities, increases the place capital of contentious spaces. Collective memories contain personal memories as well, since memory is a realm which is shaped socially even if it may seem entirely personal. The third component, geographical hierarchy is related to the familiarity and accessibility of the place. These two pillars determine the rank of the place within the geographical hierarchy of the city. Last but not least, the physical characteristics of the Park involves all quantitative traits of the space, from its trees to its design.

¹⁸ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24.

2 Place capital and New Social Existences

Contentious spaces can produce new social existences, going beyond claim-making. For two weeks in Gezi Park people established and experienced a commune life. The agency of the space accorded with its place capital, showing strong links in the making of new life and place capital. Yet, to capture the unique conditions of the Gezi commune, another layer of theoretical framing is needed. Borrowing Eric Hirsch's *foreground actuality* and *background potentiality*, one can utilize an elaborated framing to encompass the unique conditions under which the Gezi commune came together and the precise role of place capital in this process. The *background potentiality* of a new social existence is embedded in the space¹⁹ and that embedded *potentiality* –or *potentialities*– in the space reveals itself through levels of interactions. The place capital seems to cover the first level of these interactions and without complementary factors like effective tension between the foreground banality and background potentiality and relative isolation, the occurrence of the Gezi Commune remains unexplained.

By offering the concept of *place capital*, this thesis aims to achieve a more insightful analysis of Gezi Park as an object, and more significantly as an agent of the protest. The focus on *place capital* will enable us to understand Gezi Park's articulation capacity with the other actors of protests. This statement also implies that, since new social existences embedded in the spaces (background potentialities) may become more prone to be translated in reality in relation with its *place capital*; certain spaces will also appear more valuable to those in power. The space is a dialectical and historical phenomenon, which renders its potentiality (or its *place capital*) relational and negotiable. Therefore, this thesis does not try to approach *place capital* in a

¹⁹ Eric Hirsch, "Landscape: Between Place and Space," in *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space*, E. Hirsch & M. O'Hanlon (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), Introduction.

deterministic way of understanding a social movement, rather it analyzes the historical and dialectical moment of the space in interaction with other actors.

2.7 Methodology, Limitations and Positionality

For the research component of this thesis, the technique of face-to-face interview methods was used and intensive interviews were conducted with six people. This thesis will not use their real names to respect their privacy. The group of interviewees consist of people who have very different backgrounds and to a large extent represent the diversity of the Park. The list includes a Kemalist-former soldier, an Alewi student, an ethnic Kurdish, an LGBT-marxist, a union member and a Greenpeace activist. Unfortunately, two additional interviews got canceled without any warning whose contribution would have rendered this research more comprehensive. In addition to interviews, material gathered from blogs and newspapers were used to support findings from the field. These materials were also used to make up for the missing interviews.

From the very beginning of the protests, I was there to defend the Park and remember the Park and the protestors. Although I always worried about the situation, that the Gezi Park Protests could actually cloud others' experiences. In order to overcome this situation, I decided to conduct un-structured interviews. By doing this, I hoped not to intervene the way interviewees chose to present their stories. In addition, limitations of the project also stem from the ethnographical data gathered, because I could make it much more diverse if I could anticipate what would happen in the field. Further, a second limitation, as mentioned above, is my position as an active participant that may have influenced the analysis

Chapter 3- Road to Gezi Protests

Development and Justice Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP), the ruling party since 2002, is stemmed from a conservative/Islamist political tradition that was repressed and stigmatized by the secular Kemalist state. That Erdoğan's conservative agenda (social interventionist²⁰) aligned with neo-liberal market politics has led to extreme urban development projects as financial and ideological tools.^{21 22} Thus, these projects served to retaliate against the Kemalist repression over the Islamists conservatives. From this perspective, the plan to demolish Gezi Park and attempt to reconstruct an Ottoman Relic, Artillery Barracks, and a shopping mall epitomizes the alignment between neo-liberal market politics and socially interventionist agenda of the government, as Efe Can Gürcan and Efe Perker propose.²³ Rent-seeking urban projects are led by the autonomous institution called TOKI (Mass Housing Administration). TOKI has legal privileges over local authorities and works directly under the Prime Ministry. In theory, it supposed to provide housing to the poor with reasonable prices, yet it works like a *second privatization agency*, privatizing the real estate of the state and building mega-projects for rent-seekers associated with the ruling party.²⁴ Urban renewal and reorganization projects, especially in major cities like Istanbul and Ankara are one of the main drivers of the ruling party's economic success. With renewal and reorganization of the urban spaces, the rent seekers, or new bourgeoisie gets

²¹Göle, "Gezi-Anatomy of a Public Square Movement."

²² Efe Can Gürcan and Efe Peker, "Turkey's Gezi Park Demonstrations of 2013: A Marxian Analysis of the Political Moment," *Socialism and Democracy* 28, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 70–89, doi:10.1080/08854300.2013.869872.

*Check website of the organization to see the list of constituents: <http://taksimdayanisma.org/bilesenler?lang=en>

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ "Turkey's Second Privatization Agency: TOKI | Reflections Turkey," accessed December 26, 2014, <http://www.reflectionsturkey.com/?p=489>.

burgeoned and nourished. The AKP has utilized these tools of the pro-capital state redistribution to strengthen its green capital base by growing the construction sector.

3.1 Unfolding Events through June, 2013

Subsequent to the declaration of the ‘Pedestrianisation Project of Taksim Square’ on May 16, 2011, *Taksim Solidarity* (Taksim Dayanışması) has founded “as umbrella organization of 128* different professional chambers, labor unions, political parties and a various networks and associations.”²⁵ In the full package of the issued construction plan, Taksim would be refashioned. Previous to those developments, the ruling party had already closed down another symbolically important building called Ataturk Cultural Center (Ataturk Kültür Merkezi-AKM)²⁶ and alluded to the prolonged ambition of the right/conservative wing of Turkish politics: building a mosque in Taksim Square²⁷. These developments had already caused discontentment and concern among considerable number of groups. Struggle and mild conflict concerning the space was already there and was beginning to worsen. This struggle over the space can be, and should be, read as the struggle over the collective memory through configuration and reconfiguration of public spaces.

Without exaggeration, The Gezi Park resistance can be read as one of the most important social phenomena in the history of the Turkish Republic. The spark of this colossal phenomenon was ignited on May 27, 2013 when bulldozers entered the Park. By this point the Taksim Solidarity group had already started a campaign against the demolition and sued the Istanbul Municipality for pursuing an illegal deconstruction. But these were not sufficient to stop Istanbul Municipality’s officers. In response to the start of demolitions, members of the Solidarity started

²⁵ Karasulu, “‘If a Leaf Falls, They Blame the Tree.’” p.166

²⁶ Murat Gül, John Dee, and Cahide Nur Cünük, “Istanbul’s Taksim Square and Gezi Park: The Place of Protest and the Ideology of Place,” *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism* 38, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 63–72, doi:10.3846/20297955.2014.902185.

²⁷ Gürcan and Peker, “Turkey’s Gezi Park Demonstrations of 2013.”

a sit-in and have occupied the Park. Second attempt of officials was stopped by Sırrı Süreyya Önder, socialist MP. May 30 was the day the Zabita (City Polict in Turkish) attacked peaceful protesters, removed them from the park using excessive force and then burned down their shelter tents. It was also the day the prolonged rage of the people against authoritarian government fulminated

The police closed down the Park and used tons of pepper gas and water cannons to disperse the crowd. Then the riot police barricaded the streets that lead to Taksim Square. As such, people rushed to the streets and clashed with the riot police. From May 31 to June 2 , clashes between the riot police located at the Square and the protesters surrounding the square continued until the police forces withdrew from the Park and the Square. That marked another cornerstone of the protest. After the withdrawal of the police forces, the protesters occupied Gezi Park and Taksim Square. The streets were barricaded by protesters to prevent further police intervention, and in so many words, the occupation of Gezi was completed. As such, the occupation turned into a re-defining- re-appropriating, de-commodification of the lived space. Within that space, people were free express their ideas and enjoyed a communal life in which different identities were not oppressed.²⁸ During the occupation phase of the protest, collaboration of different people/isolated political groups and their conviction to live side by side become more apparent. Even if the occupation did not last more than two weeks, an active kitchen ran by occupiers provided victuals, dishes were cooked and served collectively, a library, a warehouse, a miniature mosque, TV and radios, infirmery etc were founded and served the people free of charge as matter of principle. Everything was free and open to collective usage. At

²⁸ "Direnme, Dayanışma, Kendi Kimlikleriyle Ortak Yaşam: Gezi Direnişi – Faysal Özçift," *Sendika.Org*, accessed December 26, 2015, <http://www.sendika.org/2013/06/direnme-dayanisma-kendi-kimlikleriyle-ortak-yasam-gezi-direnisi-faysal-ozcift/>.

some point, a garden to raise organic vegetables was prepared and seeds were sowed. İlay R. Örs describes the lively environment of the communal life in the Park as such:

Taksim and Gezi were claimed by the ever-growing population of protesters as a venue for displaying an alternative democracy. In the decorating of public buildings, statues, trees and walls with banners, posters and flags, the square and the park were reflecting the colorful multiplicity of the protesters. The initial sit-in expanded in the face of brutal police suppression and grew strongly to a very well-organized park featuring a vast tent city, an infirmary, a playground, an organic vegetable farm, a botanical garden, a mobile transmitter for free wi-fi connection, a speaker's corner, a performance stage, a fire station, a free library, a revolution museum, open lectures, a wish tree, and many more components of a self-sufficient commune life. Food, drink, blankets, medicine, gas masks, yoga mats, books, phone chargers and other essentials of livelihood were brought in and shared, exchanged, distributed for free. Slogans expressed an amazing creativity of political humor, disseminated fast through the effective use of social media, and were instantly chanted into songs that people sang along and danced to. Committees were formed to make sure that this idyllic, peaceful, happy union of freedom and solidarity was not disturbed. Yet there were no instances of theft, fighting, harassment or even bullying reported during the Gezi weeks, forming a striking contrast to the earlier days of the park where any of these unpleasant occurrences would be far from surprising. One of the slogans posted on a tree was summative of the entire experience: 'Here at Gezi we live in the smurfs' village. Happily ever after in our mushroom houses, we are waiting for the arrival of Gargamel!²⁹

On June 15, the riot police attacked Taksim square and Gezi Park and forced occupiers to leave .

Then The Square and the Park were cleansed and barricades removed. That was the end of the occupation process, yet the protest continued throughout June and July.

3.2 Struggle over public space

The pedestrianisation project of Taksim Square is one of the rent-seeking urban renewal plans that also conforms to the ideological traits of the ruling party. Taksim and its environments

²⁹ I. R. Ors, "Genie in the Bottle: Gezi Park, Taksim Square, and the Realignment of Democracy and Space in Turkey," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 40, no. 4–5 (May 1, 2014): 489–98, doi:10.1177/0191453714525390. p.495

is the center for entertainment, artistic production and also a politically alive and heterogeneous milieu within which marginalized groups can raise their voices. Thereby, the intervention on Taksim's environment can be interpreted as an ideological intervention of the government that threatens alternative life styles and endeavors to erase the symbolic significance of that space for rival ideologies.

“It goes without saying that AKP's Taksim Project is closely related to the conservative elimination of Taksim's historic urban fabric as the center of entertainment, leisure and alcohol consumption.”³⁰

It suffices to say, The Pedestrianisation project of Taksim Square is the re-appropriation of Taksim that is in line with the conservative and neo-liberal agendas of the government. The re-conquest of urban spaces by the mechanisms of the neo-liberal and Islamic-conservative capitalism is also apparent in the ambition to reconstruct Ottoman relics in a space renown for its secular/libertarian/artistic values. The Pedestrianisation project of Taksim square epitomizes this. As mentioned above, the reconstruction of Artillery Barracks dated to nineteenth century as a shopping mall to replace the Park was envisaged in the official plans of the Istanbul Municipality. From 2002 until now, the redevelopment projects are the mainstay of economical achievement of the AK party.³¹ And it is also an effective ideological apparatus to re-appropriate contentious spaces and thus reconstruct the collective memory inscribed in the space. Thereby, one can argue that in the last ten years, public spaces have been shrunk down and re-organized as

³⁰ Gürcan and Peker, “Turkey's Gezi Park Demonstrations of 2013.” p. 78

³¹ Ibid.

commercial spaces that are also conducive to Islamic conservative values and inimical to secular/socialist/marginalized values.

At that point, it is important to add that within the context of Turkish politics, the word secular resonates with one political group known as Kemalists (followers of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk), yet in here it is used in a broader sense to underline the clash of ideologies between the sovereign powers and others. However, it is necessary to say that the Gezi protest cannot be reduced to a Kemalist secular uprising. Rather, it was a multi-vocal mix of political, apolitical, and anti-political groups. Yet it is safe to say that the growing Islamic authoritarianism of Erdoğan's government increased the number of people who perceived a threat against the secular way of life.³² Thus, the heterogeneous structure of the protest was precisely the outcome of the heterogeneous scale of the protestors. Although the Taksim Solidarity Group seems like the umbrella organization of the protest, it does not represent the whole people. Except one major demand, to leave Gezi Park as it is, there was no common agenda or a mutually agreed list of demands from protestors. The demands made by the Taksim Solidarity, which were basically immediate withdrawal of the Pedestrianisation project and release of the protestors taken into custody,³³ appeared as goals shared by the protestors at the very beginning of the protest. However, subsequent developments such as a communal lifestyle in the park tell us another story.

3.3 Kahrolsun bağızı şeyler! (Damn something!)

'Kahrolsun Bağzı Şeyler' was one of the most famous slogans inscribed on walls and pavements during the Gezi resistance, demonstrating effectively that those in the streets do not

³² Çağlar Keyder, "First Singular Person," *LRB Blog*, accessed December 26, 2014, <http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2013/06/03/caglar-keyder/first-person-singular/>.

³³ "Bianet : Taksim Dayanışması Taleplerini Açıkladı," *Bianet - Bağımsız İletişim Ağı*, accessed December 27, 2015, <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/yasam/147189-taksim-dayanismasi-taleplerini-acikladi>.

have a clear, shared political agenda. The resistance occurred simultaneously and molded into a form as the vivid dynamics of the events unfolded. Not having a clear agenda with specific demands nor a plethora of demands showing all the colors of the political spectrum is reminiscent of another occupation movement from around the world, from London to Zuccotti Park in New York. Lois Beckett cites the reporter, Patrick Kingsley who had the chance to observe the occupation movement in London to mark a critical point.

“Patrick Kingsley, concluded that lack of demands may be part of the point: “If anything, the camp itself is their demand, and their solution: the stab at an alternative society that at least aims to operate without hierarchy, and with full, participatory democracy.”³⁴

With the occupation of the Park, potentiality of a new social order was expressed and exercised for a short time period. The occupiers in Gezi Park and those in Zuccotti Park in New York are in effect victims of the same problem called neo-liberalism.

“The panorama of urban neoliberalism clearly dominated the field of political potentiality when Occupy Wall Street anchored itself to Zuccotti Park in the fall of 2011. Yet what I discovered upon arriving in the park was a movement that troubled these competing neoliberal orders and their received modalities of corporate citizen subjectivity and atomized political identity.”³⁵

Under the iron fist of neo-liberal market politics and its comprador “political-cultural fix”, and in the case of Turkey, Islamic authoritarianism, people, especially the young middle-class have been frustrated and suffocated. While the physical public spaces are shrinking down

³⁴ Lois Beckett ProPublica et al., “Globalizing Occupy Wall Street: From Chile to Israel, Protests Erupt,” *ProPublica*, accessed December 27, 2014, <http://www.propublica.org/article/putting-the-global-occupy-movement-in-context>.

³⁵ Chris Garces, “People’s Mic and Democratic Charisma: Occupy Wall Street’s Frontier Assemblies,” *Focaal* 2013, no. 66 (June 1, 2013): 88–102, doi:10.3167/fcl.2013.660109. p. 94

through state sponsored commodification and privatization , the private sphere of people increasingly also become more and more of a public concern. With this, the realm of the public has clashed into the realm of the private. The socially interventionist politics of the government concerted personally by the former prime minister and current president R.T Erdoğan. His remarks about the abortion, c-section and drinking alcohol are critical to understand the extent to which government intervenes into the private sphere of the citizens. On May 25, 2013, R.T Erdoğan condemned abortion as murder and added that he is also against cesarean sections.³⁶ He argued that abortion and cesarean sections should only be applied under extreme circumstances. He went on to declare the government's intention to issue laws restricting abortions.³⁷ Moreover, another MP of ruling party and the Head of General Information on the Human Rights Inquiry Committee of Grand National Assembly argued that the rape-victims who get pregnant should not get abortion either³⁸. At around the same time, the government also began a campaign against alcohol consumption. The campaign stigmatized alcohol consumption and labeled people who drink socially as 'drunkards' regardless of the amount of alcohol consumed. This was carried out in part by Erdogan himself.³⁹ One of his most famous remarks is about the number of children a family must have. He formulated that each family should at least have three children to overcome the aging the demographics of Turkey.⁴⁰ It is safe to say that issues presented above are just the tip of the iceberg of AKP's socially interventionist politics. Generally, these

³⁶ "Erdoğan: Kürtaj Cinayettir - Siyaset - Ntvmsnbc.com," accessed December 27, 2014, <http://www.ntv.com.tr/arsiv/id/25352507/>.

³⁷ "Erdoğan: Kürtaj Yasasını Çıkartacağız - #Politika," *Radikal*, accessed December 27, 2014 http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/erdogan_kurtaj_yasasini_cikartacagiz-1089484.

³⁸ "Tecavüze Uğrayan Da Kürtaj Yaptırmamalı - Akşam," *Aksam.com.tr*, accessed December 27, 2014, <http://www.aksam.com.tr/guncel/tecavuze-ugrayan-da-kurtaj-yaptirmamali--118800h/haber-118800>.

³⁹ "Erdoğan: İçki İçen Alkoliktir - Milliyet Haber," December 27, 2014, 2015, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-icki-icen-alkoliktir/siyaset/detay/1717637/default.htm>.

⁴⁰ "POLITICS - Turkish PM Erdoğan Reiterates His Call for Three Children," December 27, 2014, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-pm-erdogan-reiterates-his-call-for-three-children.aspx?pageID=238&nid=38235>.

examples used to explain Turkish people's growing grievances , which in part was channeled through the Gezi Protest. Apart from that, these examples should be read as examples of the clash of the public over the private. Thereby, the occupation of Gezi Park could also be understood as the readjustment or reorganization of the public and private realms through reclaiming and reorganizing the physical space.

With the AKP government, Turkish economy was effectively annexed to global markets. The government applied neo-liberal market politics aggressively. The construction sector appeared as the motor power of the economical success story of the government, as mentioned above. Rent-seeking and the construction sector became synonymous. To sustain the economical growth and the construction sector, it became essential to obtain rents through urban redevelopment projects. The way these rent-seeking projects appear is shaped by the privatization policy of state own real estates and other public spaces. In the last ten years, public spaces were commodified increasingly and turned into commercial spaces. The decreases in the availability of public spaces in return, render streets more desolate, since the possibilities of being outside freely are minimized. More and more, socialization activities become intertwined with consumerism, where non-commercial socialization becomes unavailable.

Another example of the annexation of public spaces is a recent development in Galata, a popular region of Istanbul near Taksim. With time, the small courtyard of the Galata Tower became a popular meeting point for people who spend time in Taksim and reside in Galata. After a while, the Municipality turned the small courtyard into a café and prevented people from

spending time there freely, liberally and without charge.⁴¹ The commodification of every possible space for rent-seeking, such as the example mentioned above, explains one of the motivations behind occupation activities: saving public spaces from the grid of commodification. Occupying is a very specific form political activism. It entails the physical-bodily presence of the protestors on the physical space and helps reveal the potentiality of creating alternative social orders, just as it happened during the ‘commune living’ phase of the Gezi Park protests. In the Park space, “citizens, coming from a diverse array of backgrounds (gays, environmentalists, feminists, Armenians, socialists, anarchists, Turkish and Kurdish nationalists, and atheists)”⁴² met and attempted to resist to the neo-liberal and authoritarian politics of the government, that devours the public space together by re-claiming the Park.

In Gezi protests, as A. Karasulu puts it, “the Park and the Square served as a broker to align different sites of protests and the different claims.”⁴³ Then thanks to the escalation of the protest throughout Turkey, the “sprit of Gezi” has transcended its physical boundaries and became a national, and eventually international, matter of affairs. Gezi protests stormed Turkey through the summer, after which the momentum of the protest diffused. Still, the protests associated with the “Gezi Spirit” occur episodically in Turkey, like in the case of the Validebağ Park Protests, METU Road construction protests etc..

⁴¹ “Galata Kulesi Meydanı’nda ‘BELTUR’ İşgali,” *Sendika.Org*, accessed December 27, 2014, <http://www.sendika.org/2014/06/galata-kulesi-meydaninda-beltur-iskali/>.

⁴² Gürçan and Peker, “Turkey’s Gezi Park Demonstrations of 2013.” p.83

⁴³ Karasulu, ““If a Leaf Falls, They Blame the Tree.”” p.168

Chapter 4 – Constituents of Place Capital

Taksim square and its surroundings have been crashed under the fist of urbanization and pedestrianisation projects initiated by the Istanbul municipality. Now Gezi Park, as one of the rare green spaces in Taksim, shines in the middle of the sea of concrete that have flooded the square. The place called ‘Gezi Park’ is next to Taksim Square of Istanbul.. For most of my interviewees, the Gezi Park is considered as an “eerie” place because of its “infamous” night-time visitors. Yet the Park is still used as a place of gathering for public statements, concerts, and commemorations. In comparison to Taksim Square, the Park is less relevant to the people and stays in the background of the urban scene. The heart of modern Istanbul beats at Taksim Square. It is one of most the popular night-life destinations, cultural activities and every kind of political protest. And it also contains the main transportation hub and thus represents perfectly the “foreground actuality” of daily life in Istanbul. If you climb the altar-like stairs of Gezi Park’s main entrance, you can see entire square, rush of daily life, the Monument of the Republic, Istiklal Street, Siraselviler, Tarlabaşı and Gümüşsuyu.

As mentioned in the theoretical part, this paper understands space as it is attributed by the Bourdieuan sense agency, articulating the active role of contentious space in collective action. Attributing agency to space means that space has capital, referring to the “place capital” idea by which the active and relational role of a space in the making of social movements and protest can be captured. The agency of space accords with its “place capital”. The “place capital” in this argumentation is the articulation power of the space. It means, in the aftermath of attempted destruction of the Park, the way the protests developed were in part affected by the peculiarity of the space. In this research, “place capital” of the Park consists of the history of the space, the

collective memories, physical traits of the Park and its geographical position. The channels of “place capital” will be discussed and explained further.

4.1 The geographical hierarchy: at the heart of Istanbul

Gezi Park is located in the neighborhood of Taksim. The neighborhood has become the center of Istanbul since 1800s. As point of attraction in Istanbul, the neighborhood is visited by thousands of people daily and it is densely populated. Taksim is one of the main transportation hubs of Istanbul. Enhanced logistical conditions of Taksim increase its familiarity and accessibility. In the vibrant daily-life of Taksim, the centrality of space plays a very important role. The social and political gatherings usually take place there to take advantage of this centrality of the space and easy access opportunities.

When the destruction of the Park started at 10 pm On May 27, 2013, people immediately reacted and stopped the bulldozer. Then Taksim Solidarity Group issued a call to mobilize people for preventing the destruction of the Park and people responded with a sit-in inside the Park. Although the situation described above does not just epitomize the organizational and operational skills of the Taksim Solidarity, it also marks how the geographical position of this contentious space can affect mobilization of the people. There are two parameters of geographical hierarchy: accessibility and familiarity. One can easily access Gezi Park and most of Istanbul’s residents are familiar with the place. When asked Ebru whether any parks or spaces could trigger similar reaction like Gezi Park did, she referred to the current conflict over another park called Validebağ, and stated that: “Most of the people do not know where Validebağ is, yet they all know where Gezi Park is, where is Taksim and they can easily arrive there.” The same question was asked to all other interviewees. Greenpeace activists, Esra, responded as below:

“People gathered there, because it is right in the middle of the city. Those who live in Kartal and those who live Sultanbeyli and those who lives in Cihangir, they all know where Taksim is and where Gezi Park is.”

The familiarity is the second pillar of the geographical hierarchy. Due to its location, Gezi Park is known by most of Istanbul’s residents, as well as those who do not reside in Istanbul. The accessibility of the Park, along with its familiarity, enabled the researcher to formulate a more consistent argument about the geographical position of the contentious space, Gezi Park. During our interview, to point out the significance of the Park’s location for the people, Fahri states that “Taksim is one of the first places people visits when they visit Istanbul. The familiarity with the square goes beyond the borders of Istanbul, even Turkey.” Although we were talking about the Gezi Park, Fahri referred to it as ‘Taksim’. Similar to other interviewees, he is tended to conflate the square and the Park as one when talking about the location of the Park. One should not interpret this as a mistake; it seems to be a deliberate choice to emphasize that Taksim Square and Gezi Park constitute a whole. Following his previous sentence, he added,

“ The construction of the Third Bosphorus Bridge and construction of the Third Airport have caused people to react and those are the places people actually do not visit. It is legitimate to ask how many people in Istanbul know where Garipçe is. But somehow we all know where Gezi Park is. Therefore, although thousands of trees were cut down in the Northern Forests of Istanbul to built Third Bosphorus Bridge, the extirpation of few trees in Gezi Park led to a burst of huge protests.”

To prevent the construction of the Third Bosphorus Bridge and the Third Airport, NGOs have endeavored to organize protests. Yet, in comparison to Gezi Protests, they failed. Depending on the familiarity and accessibility of the contentious space, interviewees introduce

the privileged position of the Gezi Park as a crucial element in the mobilization of people. Next interviewee, Turan, agrees with the main idea about the logistical advantage of the Park. In addition, he says

“In classical Turkish films, you can find a scene shot at the Park that shows those who live Istanbul and first time visitors Istanbul spending leisurely time in Gezi Park. Moreover, in one of Kemal Sunal’s films, he occupies Gezi Park and lives there as a homeless man.”

The discussion about the geographical position of the park was the first step of the place capital discussion. The peculiar logistics of the Park increased the articulation power of the Park through the protests and facilitated participation. By assessing the role of the location, the intention is to improve the understanding of the agency of contentious spaces. However, one should not undermine the complicated dynamics of collective action to geographical determinism.

4.2 Psychological Characteristics of the Park

4.2.1 “This was about a bunch of trees...”

In the aftermath of the protests, the government claimed that Gezi Protests were in fact plotted by enemies of the state, both foreign and domestic, to propel a coup.. Then Prime Minister R.T Erdoğan condemned the protesters as “thugs”, who does not care about the trees nor green spaces. The initial motive of the protesters were actually saving the trees. Greenpeace activist, Esra, argues that “at first, it was ecological struggle”. Fahri also added that he witnessed people hugging trees.⁴⁴ “Defending a few trees in Istanbul’s Gezi Park is not merely a pretext for

⁴⁴ “[BIAMAG] : Ağaca Sarıl, Şimdi Tam Zamanı...,” *Bianet - Bağımsız İletişim Ağı*, accessed May 25, 2015, <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/genclik/147057-agaca-saril-simdi-tam-zamani>.

political contestation.”⁴⁵ Gole argues that defending few trees should be construed as unique way of resisting the neo-liberal market politics, especially considering the way the consumerist society and capitalism manifested itself in Turkey: “In Turkey, capitalism has taken a material form, incarnated in the shopping mall, a new and concrete symbol of global financial capitalism.”⁴⁶ Yücel’s statement, union member interviewee, supports Göle’s argument:

“First of all, we were struggling to defend the trees, yet we are also doing more than that. Therefore, after a while, the protest was not just for protecting the nature, it has also other dynamics. We did not forget our first motive, but then we all knew we were struggling for more than that, now.”

⁴⁵ Göle, “Gezi-Anatomy of a Public Square Movement.” p. 4

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.4

4.2.2 The Park's design and its outcomes

In 1940s, the Park was planned as a recreational center. The design of the park and facilities surrounding the park were adjusted to create an ideal recreational center where people could spend time and enjoy cultural activities. After sixty years, Gezi Park has changed more than once over. Lastly, the interior design of the Park was renovated in 1992. As one of the interviewees, Tanju stated, “Gezi Park does not seem like part of Taksim Square. Because of elevation difference between the Square and the Park and its walls, it was almost isolated from its surroundings.” In the Taksim Entrance of the Park, the altar-like stairs shields the Park from the vibrant and noisy daily life of the Square. Tanju adds that “The elevation difference and the walls may be used as a way of creating a pristine space secluded from the noise of the city, yet it seems to me, they also killed the Park as an attraction point.” His point remarks the importance of design and organization of a recreational center to become an attraction point.

Moreover, interviewees also remarked that the organization of occupation was also impacted by the design of the Park. The Park is consisted of streets, small squares, café, fountain and several entrances. The places densely populated by trees were usually employed as camping sites, as Esra stated. Former café place became medical center, below that, the library of the Park was situated. The Gezi Bostan (garden) was founded on the place covered with soil. Upper-woodland of the Park was mostly populated by people who had no political affiliations, at the lower-level of the Park (more flat and stable), there were political parties and NGOs, according to information Esra provided. The Park was divided into domains where people lived and where people gathered. Thus, NGOs like Taksim Solidarity and other groups chose to camp in little squares inside the Park. Although, Esra insists that the organization was random, the data she provided hints that the design of the Park directly or indirectly affected the organization of the

occupation.



Figure 2 the map of Occupation

The Figure demonstrates the tendency of groups to occupy the place that has room for gathering and closer the center. In the center of Park, Taksim Solidarity as main organizer of the protest chose to stand and organized forums, public services and order in the Park. To enhance the participation of the decision-making process, the Park was divided into regions and small assemblies.

4.3 The clash of legacies over Gezi Park

4.3.1 Ottoman Artillery Barracks

According to government, the aim of the project was the revival of a historical monument. Artillery Barrack would be rebuilt and the building would serve as mall, concert hall etc. Artillery Barrack was built in 1806 by Selim III to reform the military. In the 1900s, the Artillery was abandoned and in 1920-30s its wide yard was used as a football stadium. Apart from football, the Artillery hosted athletics, and wrestling and boxing matches.⁴⁷ In 1940s, Artillery barracks was destroyed and the İnönü Promenade replaced it. Supporters of the government and opponents of the Kemalist modernism has claimed that the Artillery Barracks was a monumental building and represented the Ottoman legacy. Kemalist republic destroyed the Barracks to erase the Ottoman Legacy from the fabric of neighborhood. During WWII, people were eating chums because of scarcity, but they built Gezi Park.⁴⁸ Mustafa Armağan, author of popular history books, argues that, “Before the destruction of Artillery Barracks, a Muslim cemetery located in Ayaspaşa was also destroyed. Thus the secularization of Taksim Square was completed”.⁴⁹ The motive the supporters of the government employed to legitimize their argument renders visible the clash of legacies over the Park. The idea of glorifying the Ottoman and Muslim pasts by reviving an Ottoman landmarks highlights the way in which the historical layers of a space can be used to claim-making. However, the Park contains more than one layer and to capture its agency, we should discuss all of the aspects.

⁴⁷ BİRGE YILDIRIM, “TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SQUARES OF ISTANBUL BETWEEN 1938-1949,” accessed June 9, 2015, <http://www.fau.usp.br/iphs/abstractsAndPapersFiles/Sessions/10/YILDIRIM.pdf..pdf>.

⁴⁸ “Millet Hayvan Yemi Yerken Gezi Parkı’nı Yaptılar!,” (They built Gezi park, while people were eating chums) *Internethaber*, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://www.internethaber.com/millet-hayvan-yemi-yerken-gezi-parkini-yaptilar-541433h.htm>.

⁴⁹ “Topçu Kışlası Neden Yıkıldı?,” (Why were Artillery Barracks Destroyed?” *Kanal A Haber*, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://www.kanalahaber.com/haber/gundem/topcu-kislasi-neden-yikildi-132065/>.

4.3.2 Gezi Park as showcase of Kemalist Modernity

In 1933, Henri Prost, internationally renowned French urbanist-architect, was invited to Istanbul for a restricted project. Then in 1935 he was invited to direct Istanbul's planning work. In 1936, Prost and the Istanbul municipality signed a contract and Prost began to prepare his plans for Istanbul's urbanization. Prost's emphasis on free spaces (*les espaces libres*) in his plans of Istanbul led to the occurrence of large parks. He mentioned them as "Park No.1" and "Park No.2". According to Prost, the parks are "recreational centers".⁵⁰

Gezi Park was built as part of "Park no. 2". To build the Park, Henri Prost suggested the destruction of Artillery Barracks. Prost designed a terrace opening onto Taksim Square; the elevation difference mentioned above was probably the result of this decision. The terrace was the entrance to a promenade. Nowadays, the Park is known as Gezi Park, yet originally, it was called Inonu Promenade to honour the national hero and the second president of Turkey, İsmet İnönü. The Project contains Gezi Park, the Municipality Garden, Taksim Entertainment Club, an open-air theatre, a sport palace, exhibition halls and the İnönü Stadium. Thus, the Park should be considered as a significant part of the young Republic's urban transformation project to create public spaces for the new secular, modern and enlightened "Turkish citizens".⁵¹ In other words, ideological connotations are imbued to very physicality of the space. The situation explained above adds another layer to the contested history of the Park. To Kemalist groups, the destruction of the Parks symbolizes the government's determination to erase the marks of Kemalism in the Taksim neighborhood. Before The Park, AKM (Atatürk Cultural Center) was closed down and the government declared they intend to build a mosque in the center of

⁵⁰ Cana Bilsel, "'Les Transformations d'Istanbul': Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951)," *ITU A/Z Mimarlık Dergisi* 8, no. 1 (2011).

⁵¹ Gürcan and Peker, "Turkey's Gezi Park Demonstrations of 2013."

Taksim., which made the Gezi Park more significant. In a very interesting article, Umut Başar Gezgin declared that defending Gezi means defending Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and defending Adnan Menderes*.⁵² Yusuf explained the tensions between the Kemalists and conservatives by giving the example of building a mosque in Taksim. According to him, interventions to Taksim and Gezi Park are the result of Kemalist oppression over the conservative people. Building Mosque and building the Artillery Barracks is a way of saying “we exist”.

4.4 The Left and The neighborhood

The legacies collided over the Park and memories of the different groups were etched on the stones. Former soldier, Mahir characterizes these efforts committed by the government as taking revenge from rival groups. The first two examples are related to the most vocal groups of the society, but the memories of minorities and outcasts of the society are also engraved in the grounds of the Gezi Park. The transformations of the public spaces, according to Esra, are attempts to eradicate the histories and memories of the space, and they aim to consolidate a certain group’s history by silencing others’. She epitomizes the Massacre of May 1, 1977:

“They do not care how many people get killed on May 1, 1977 on there, they pushed us to the outskirts of the city. They want us to gather in isolated places that have no memory, history or any other characteristic. By doing that the state wants to destroy the things we share. In this sense, building the Artillery Barracks is an operation against our collective memory.”

The Square and the Park also become one of the important symbolically charged spaces of the leftist ideology in Turkey. Since 1960s and 1970s, labor movements and socialist ideologies

⁵² “[BIAMAG] : ULAŞ BAŞAR GEZGİN’İN KALEMİNDEN: Gezi Parkı’nı Savunmak, Mustafa Kemal’i ve Menderes’i Savunmaktır,” *Bianet - Bagimsiz Iletisim Agi*, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://www.bianet.org/biamag/kent/147574-gezi-parki-ni-savunmak-mustafa-kemal-i-ve-menderes-i-savunmaktır>.

staged their political rallies in Taksim Square. Especially after May 1, 1977, the Labor Day on which 34 people were killed in the stampede caused by an unknown gunfire came from surrounding buildings; “strong physiological link between Taksim and leftist ideology in Turkey” were reinforced.

As argued above, the way in which the space interacts with human agents affected the nature of the protest. The capacity and success of the interaction between the space and the human agents depend on the place capital of the space along with many other factors. Esra’s statement about the May 1 massacre exemplifies how the process of interaction works. In addition it shows how the place capital of the contentious space unfolds during the interaction between human-agents and the space. She came to the Park for trees and protect the memory of the working classes. But an Armenian, as Ebru stated, has a special affiliation with the Park, because the Park has a special place in the collective memory of the Armenian community in Istanbul.

4.5 Armenian Cemetery: “Stone does not forget”⁵³

During the demolition of the shops surrounding Gezi Park, tombstones belonging to Armenian graves were found buried⁵⁴. The tombstones were remains of the Armenian Cemetery Sourp Hagop. In 1931, to build the Gezi Park, Istanbul municipality confiscated the cemetery. The tombstones from the graveyard were used to build the stairs of Taksim entrance of the Park.⁵⁵ Another claim about the cemetery is the presence of a monument dedicated to Armenian intelligentsia who was killed in 1915. An 11 April monument was erected in 1919 and it stayed

⁵³ “Gazi to Gezi - A Stones Throw Away,” accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.filmsforaction.org/watch/gazi-to-gezi-a-stones-throw-away/>.

⁵⁴ “Gezi Parkı ‘Taksim Bahçesi’ yken Beyoğlu’nda Ermeniler,” *Agos*, accessed June 10, 2015, <http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/5461/gezi-parki-taksim-bahcesiyken-beyoglunda-ermeniler>.

⁵⁵ Michael Kimmelman, “In Istanbul’s Taksim Square, an Achilles’ Heel,” *The New York Times*, June 7, 2013, <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/08/world/europe/in-istanbuls-taksim-square-an-achilles-heel.html>.

at the cemetery until 1922. After which point the monument disappears. 11 April is the equivalent of 24 April in Rumi calendar.⁵⁶ The monument increased the significance of the cemetery in the collective memory of the Armenian Community, precisely because it shows that the Ottoman government accepted the charges committed against Armenians, an important step in the way to the recognition of the Armenian Genocide.

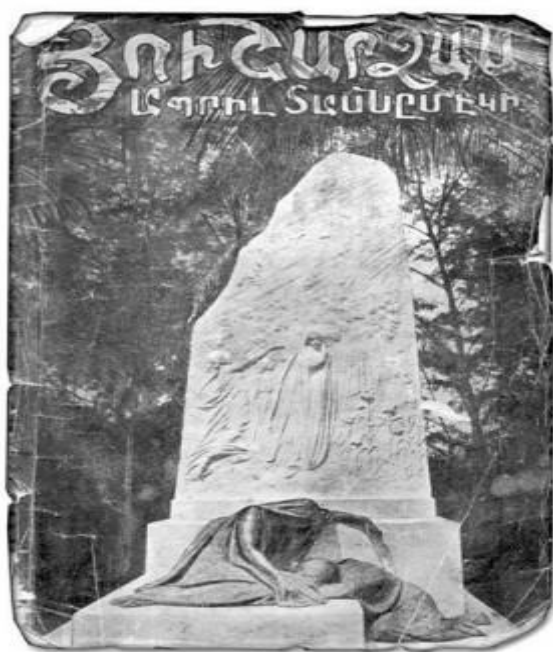


Figure 3 Lost 11 April Monument



Figure 4 Celebration of 1500th year of Armenian alphabet

Figure 3 shows that, Armenian community had gathered in Gezi Park to celebrate the 1500th anniversary of the Armenian alphabet in 1913. Gezi Park was imbued with tragedies and glories of the Armenian Community. To prevent the destruction of the Park, Armenian protestors joined the protest and claimed the Park for themselves.

⁵⁶ "İstanbul Taksim Gezi Parkı, Ermeni Mezarlığı ve 11 Nisan Anıtı," *Bati Ermenistan Ve Bati Ermenileri Sorunlari Araştırmalar Merkezi*, accessed June 9, 2015, <http://akunq.net/tr/?p=23841>.

4.6 In the midst of Eeriness: “Çark” in the Gezi Park

Except for Mahir, all my interviewees said, although they have spend time in the Gezi Park, the Park was considered an unsafe place because it is mostly populated by drunkards, dealers and prostitutes. However, Lubunya member, Ebru revealed a very different angle of the Park by explaining that the Gezi Park functions as a safe living space for LGBTs. Ebru has a connection with an organization called Lubunya. First time she joined the Protest, she was with people from Lubunya. According to her, the discussion about the destruction of the Park has started within Lubunya long before the Gezi Park Protest, because Gezi Park is a well-known “çark” - place of LGBTİ people. “Çark” Place means somewhere gay, transsexuals and sex workers can “freely” hang out and also can find customers in queer slang. So they were well-aware of what they would lose if the park were destroyed. The word “free” in this sentence is tricky. The Gezi Park was am eerie and unsafe place in which danger of death was imminent. Nevertheless, LGBT people were determined not to lose their living space, because in the Park, they could at least embrace their sexual identity and behave freely. The price of this freedom is facing the risk of being killing by someone. The park also made it possible to find one-night stands. It is called “kolileşmek” in queer slang.

LGBTİ members actively participated in the clash with the police, during which the “flag of rainbow” was always in the front of the crowd. In the collective memory of the LGBTİ people, Gezi Park is the place where they manifest their sexual identity. In the aftermath of the protests, it is a place where they get accepted by all parts of society. As Fahri stated, pride parade of 2013 was the most crowded parade in Turkey. Gezi Park as contentious space achieved to access a wide range of people, due its peculiar position in history and memory of the diverse groups. This strong sense of belonging to the space was targeted by the state to eliminate the ties

between memory, history and identities.. Ebru condemns the government's efforts as tactics to "dissect" Taksim and neighborhood,implying that the historical and memory-based ties people have to Gezi Park could be broken.

What Tanju said about memory and the space (Gezi Park) completes statements above and explains why the state targets those spaces. He points out that "any intervention to any public space is upsetting, yet Taksim and Gezi Park hold privileged positions, because my memory is molded by that space." The ability of contentious space to mobilize people should be articulated by looking at the relationship between the space and the human agents of collective action. In Tanju's case, the effect of the space in shaping the memory is clear, and this effect constitutes the place capital of the space and increased articulation power of the space.

Chapter 5 The Place Capital and The Gezi Commune

In the previous chapter, the components of the place of capital is discussed and explained. As argued above, the place capital determines the capacity of the space to interact with human-agents of the collective action. Gezi Park as a contentious space was able to interact with people from every social group. The repercussions of these interaction requires the close examination. As transgressive contentions, Gezi protests produce new repertoire of contention and mobilized new actors. Yet the most important result of the Protests was the Gezi Commune. Protestors organized an alternative life at the heart of Istanbul, and the Park as a recreational center played an important role in the making of new social existences. The link between place capital and the organization of alternative social existences is tangible when we look at the diversity of protestors and their shared objectives.

Protestors were mobilized as the result of sociological and political situations. In this research, the role of the space is explained in mobilizing people without undermining other reasons or without isolating the role of the space from other reasons. By keeping in mind these facts, this chapter will explain why the presence of people from different background should be considered as a result of the place capital of the space. People united around a contentious space and started the Gezi Commune by claiming the Park. The claiming of the Park by various groups and the people may have triggered the organization of a new life in which highly isolated political groups of people achieved to stand together. The second level of interaction, between human-agents of the protest in a contentious space, can interpreted as a repercussions of the first level of interaction between the space and the human-agents.

However, place capital and interactions between various groups of people in the contentious space does not provide a satisfactory explanation as to why new social existences seemed to be possible in the Park. Although it explains why Gezi Park ignited huge protests, to explain the Gezi commune requires looking at the way in which the Park was rendered as a potential-recreational center. The dialectical relation between Gezi Park and Taksim Square is the key to understand why new social existences embedded in the space is revealed in the Park. For the interviewees, Gezi Park was always in the background of Taksim Square. Even so, this does not necessarily mean they do not affiliate with the Park. It means that the Gezi Park was like an island in middle of the busiest neighborhood of Istanbul. As Yusuf stated “Gezi Park was passage to Taksim Square when we celebrate May 1.” Esra adds that “whenever I got tired of the crowd in the Square during commemorations, marches or political gatherings, I go to rest under the trees in Gezi Park”. Yet, for many people like the interviewees, the Park is an important platform to raise your voice or to calm yourself down.

5.1 The New Social Existence and Contentions of Space

Eric Hirsch defines landscape as a process of a relationship between foreground actuality of everyday life and the background potentiality of a new social existence.⁵⁷ By applying this definition to the urban spaces like parks and recreational centers, the organization of the Gezi Commune inside Gezi Park can be explained. Its terrace and walls have isolated Gezi Park from the foreground banality and actuality of daily life in Taksim, and the Park stands in the background of Taksim square with all of its picturesque qualities. The Park enjoys the advantages of being in the center of the city. In addition to that, the Park’s relative isolation makes it suitable to combining the foreground actuality with the background potentiality of

⁵⁷ Hirsch, “Landscape: Between Place and Space.”

establishing a new life. Another moment of uniqueness in the case of Gezi Park was that it was intentionally left alone. Those in power designs and sustain the recreational centers in an effort to produce the proper citizen. As Esra stated “actually all those well-envisaged parks are symbols of domination”. The power holders have to sustain the order in these recreational centers⁵⁸, but in the case of Gezi Park, those in power actually left the Park alone. As Tanju stated, they were applying one of better known strategies of gentrification: making the space eerie. After the space becomes infamous as unsafe and eerie, the mechanisms of gentrification devour the space without facing considerable resistance. However, this strategy backfired in the case of Gezi Park. Tensions between the foreground banality and the background potentiality produced a new social existence rendering the Park a space of contention. As one can see, the organization of new life or ‘the Gezi Commune’ was the result of unique conditions aggravated in the same space and time.

In the aftermath of the Gezi Commune, all evidence of the protesters were erased, the plants and flowers planted by the protestors were destroyed and replaced with ‘proper’ flowers. According to Esra, the immediate eradication of all marks of the protestors, and especially the destruction of the flowers demonstrates that “the most frightening thing for them was us organizing a new life in which money does not exist; you can get health care and food without paying money.”

5.2 Living in a not granted but self- built Paradise

Ebru, as an active participant of the protest and the occupation, uses allegory of a Paradise to describe the commune phase of the Gezi Park. She especiallt emphasized that white-collared people were actually sleeps only four hours to spend more time in Gezi Park. The stories about

58

the frustration of white-colored people and their eager participation to protest and commune life resonance with Fahri' interpretation of how financilazation devour the life of urbanite in post-80s age. Ebru explains what the commune means to her as such:

“We were like living in paradise and best thing about this paradise; it was not granted, we built it. To build a paradise, we worked continuously, we were very productive. Carrying stones, writing slogans or playing with children, everyone was doing something without anyone giving orders. At once, I was walking to the square and somebody shouts for help to carry water and everyone immediately responds and gets organized.”

Inside the Park, the commune type of life lasted for two weeks. Fahri describes the commune phase the Gezi Protest: “Gezi Park was a place where we were all understood and not judged each other; love was in the air.... Another life was possible, we saw it in the middle of Istanbul and all of us created a life where we could all breathe freely.” There were people from different classes, ethnicities and political views, added Fahri. The combination of various groups and people actually produced a diverse and colorful environment within the Gezi Commune. Everyone contributed to the life in the Park in a way they could and “anyone who had something to say raised their voice.”

5.3 Inside the Park

The very complex organization of the commune shows highly refined structuration of the life in the Park. The commune life-style is a direct challenge to existing social order and by analyzing the organized space of the Gezi Commune, one can say the protestors achieved an alternative life in which each protester had a public and private sphere.

“The park is divided into three. Uptown is made up of the main platform facing Taksim square. It housed almost exclusively political stands and a Kurdish corner. Midtown features a central rectangle, like a bath tub, flanked by an elevated East and West side. The Central Park was a mix of residential zones and socio-political stands. It’s characterized by the big square with the Fountain and the children’s Castle. ..The East Side is mainly residential. ..This area, the Lower East Side, was the core of the park, both logistically and politically. It housed the Commons, the Infirmary, the Kitchen, the Çapulçu Cafe and the Radio. It was also home to the Stage, which was controlled by Taksim Solidarity.”⁵⁹

The potentialities of new social existences embedded in spaces like Gezi Park reveal themselves when unique conditions come together. The diversity of human-agents and isolated state of the Park successfully combined to create an alternative. The agency of the space in making of protests and formation of new life bring about the role of the space in contentious politics without undermining it to mere state.

⁵⁹ “Inside Gezi Commune | Linksunten.indymedia.org,” accessed June 9, 2015, <https://linksunten.indymedia.org/de/node/89818>.

Conclusion

After two years the Gezi Park Protest started, the Gezi Resistance is still one of the most contested topics of Turkish politics. While writing this thesis, the pro-Kurdish Party, HDP (People's Democratic Party) passed the electoral threshold (10%) and became the fourth party in the Turkish Assembly. People are tended to read the success of HDP as a result of the tolerance and desire to live together, notions that were established during the Gezi Protests. Popularity of this topic comes from its uniqueness in the history of Turkey. This thesis aimed to understand the uniqueness of the Gezi Park and explore how the issue of space of contention propelled collective action.

The agency of space in transgressive contention should be analyzed with more compelling and engaging concepts, through which particularities of the space can be represented and discussed. The term “place capital” is coined to address the void in the theory of contentious politics regarding the agency of space. To improve our understanding, the channels of place capital were defined as history, collective memory, geographical hierarchy and physical traits of the space. During the interactions between the space and human-agents, place capital unfolds and accords the agency of space to mobilize people. There is no schema of these interactions but the ethnographical research used in this thesis supports that it happened relationally and dialectically. By capturing the mechanisms that produce articulation of the power space possesses, one can answer the question of how contentious space affects the contention.

In this thesis, Gezi Park was in the middle of this contention. Moreover Gezi Park was the contention. Claiming Gezi Park for the sake of Istanbul residents triggered the conflict. During the conflict, unexpected forms of claim-making and contention appeared. Most

significant of them was the Gezi Commune. This thesis' "place capital" analysis also provides a possible explanation to the occurrence of Gezi Commune by combining insightful theoretical concepts of Eric Hirsch and an analysis of the Park's conditions.

Gezi Park, now, is the one of the significant sites of Turkey. As Ebru remarked at the end of the interview, even one beat of a bulldozer to Gezi Park can trigger the mass protest. In the aftermath of the Gezi Protest, the agency of the Park to interact with human agents and capacity of evoking a collective action has increased as the protest become national uprising.

On November 19, 2014, news about entering of bulldozer the Park triggered a short term panic. According to posts storm the social network, the destruction of the Park has began again. Until the situation explained by the Municipality, people marched to the Park and get rid of bulldozer. A small hole at outskirts of the Gezi Park was closed by people. Later, Istanbul Municipality explained the reason of the construction: The bus stop near the Park would carried one meter inside and the small scale construction was already announced. Although it seems ridiculous, the situation described above perfectly exemplify how the place capital is dynamic and open to affects.

In conclusion, this thesis the Gezi Protest analyzed with space-centric approach based on data gathered from interviewees, blogs and newspapers. The attempt to develop a concept to capture the agency of the space should be seen as a minor step forward in forming a well-developed field of contentious politics. The space is a dialectical and historical phenomenon, which renders its potentiality (or its *place capital*) relational and negotiable. Therefore, this thesis does not try to approach *place capital* in a deterministic way of understanding a social

movement, rather it analyzes the historical and dialectical moment of the space in its interaction with other actors.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “[BIAMAG] : Ağaca Sarıl, Şimdi Tam Zamanı...” *Bianet - Bağımsız İletişim Ağı*. Accessed May 27, 2015. <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/genclik/147057-agaca-saril-simdi-tam-zamani>.
- “[BIAMAG] : ULAŞ BAŞAR GEZGİN’İN KALEMİNDEN: Gezi Parkı’nı Savunmak, Mustafa Kemal’i ve Menderes’i Savunmaktır.” *Bianet - Bağımsız İletişim Ağı*. Accessed June 9, 2015. <http://www.bianet.org/biamag/kent/147574-gezi-parki-ni-savunmak-mustafa-kemal-i-ve-menderes-i-savunmaktır>.
- “Bianet : Taksim Dayanışması Taleplerini Açıkladı.” *Bianet - Bağımsız İletişim Ağı*. Accessed January 3, 2015. <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/yasam/147189-taksim-dayanismasi-taleplerini-acikladi>.
- Bilsel, Cana. “‘Les Transformations d’Istanbul’: Henri Prost’s Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951).” *ITU A/Z Mimarlık Dergisi* 8, no. 1 (2011).
- “BİR AĞAÇ KESİLDİ, BİR MİLLET UYANDI... | Haberler > GÜNDEM | Ekonomik Durum.” Accessed June 2, 2015. <http://www.ekonomikdurum.com/haber/bir-agac-kesildi-bir-millet-uyandi/6470/>.
- Bloch, Maurice. “People into Places: Zafimaniry Concepts of Clarity.” In *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space*, E. Hirsch & M. O’Hanlon., 69–83. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. “Outline of a Theory of Practice.” Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- “CONSTITUENTS | Taksim Dayanışması.” Accessed June 3, 2015. <http://taksimdayanisma.org/bilesenler?lang=en>.

- Dafinger, Andreas. “An Anthropological Case Study on the Relation of Space, Language, and Social Order: The Bisa of Burkina Faso.” *Environment and Planning A* 33, no. 12 (2001): 2189–2203. doi:10.1068/a345.
- “Direnme, Dayanışma, Kendi Kimlikleriyle Ortak Yaşam: Gezi Direnişi – Faysal Özçift.” *Sendika.Org*. Accessed January 2, 2015. <http://www.sendika.org/2013/06/direnme-dayanisma-kendi-kimlikleriyle-ortak-yasam-gezi-direnisi-faysal-ozcift/>.
- “Erdoğan: Kürtaj Cinayettir - Siyaset - Ntvmsnbc.com.” Accessed January 3, 2015. <http://www.ntv.com.tr/arsiv/id/25352507/>.
- “Erdoğan: Kürtaj Yasasını Çıkartacağız - #Politika.” *Radikal*. Accessed January 3, 2015. http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/erdogan_kurtaj_yasasini_cikartacagiz-1089484.
- “Galata Kulesi Meydanı’nda ‘BELTUR’ İşgali.” *Sendika.Org*. Accessed January 3, 2015. <http://www.sendika.org/2014/06/galata-kulesi-meydaninda-beltur-isgali/>.
- Garces, Chris. “People’s Mic and Democratic Charisma: Occupy Wall Street’s Frontier Assemblies.” *Focaal* 2013, no. 66 (June 1, 2013): 88–102. doi:10.3167/fcl.2013.660109.
- “Gazi to Gezi - A Stones Throw Away.” Accessed June 10, 2015. <http://www.filmsforaction.org/watch/gazi-to-gezi-a-stones-throw-away/>.
- “Gezi Parkı ‘Taksim Bahçesi’yken Beyoğlu’nda Ermeniler.” *Agos*. Accessed June 10, 2015. <http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/5461/gezi-parki-taksim-bahcesiyken-beyoglunda-ermeniler>.
- Göle, Nilüfer. “Gezi-Anatomy of a Public Square Movement.” *Insight Turkey* 15, no. 3 (2013): 7–14.
- Gow, Peter. “Land, People, and Paper in Western Amazonia.” In *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space*, E. Hirsch & M. O’Hanlon., 43–62. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

Gül, Murat, John Dee, and Cahide Nur Cünük. "İstanbul's Taksim Square and Gezi Park: The Place of Protest and the Ideology of Place." *Journal of Architecture and Urbanism* 38, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 63–72. doi:10.3846/20297955.2014.902185.

Gürçan, Efe Can, and Efe Peker. "Turkey's Gezi Park Demonstrations of 2013: A Marxian Analysis of the Political Moment." *Socialism and Democracy* 28, no. 1 (January 2, 2014): 70–89. doi:10.1080/08854300.2013.869872.

Hirsch, Eric. "Landscape: Between Place and Space." In *The Anthropology of Landscape. Perspectives on Place and Space*, E. Hirsch & M. O'Hanlon., Introduction. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.

"Inside Gezi Commune | Linksunten.indymedia.org." Accessed June 9, 2015.
<https://linksunten.indymedia.org/de/node/89818>.

"İstanbul Taksim Gezi Parkı, Ermeni Mezarlığı ve 11 Nisan Anıtı." *Bati Ermenistan Ve Bati Ermenileri Sorunlari Araştırmalar Merkezi*. Accessed June 9, 2015.
<http://akunq.net/tr/?p=23841>.

Kana, Ersin. *The Fall of Heaven*, 2014. <https://youtu.be/jMkPIrjp7X0>.

Karasulu, Ahu. "'If a Leaf Falls, They Blame the Tree': Scattered Notes on Gezi Resistances, Contention, and Space." *International Review of Sociology* 24, no. 1 (April 9, 2014): 164–75. doi:10.1080/03906701.2014.894337.

Keyder, Çağlar. "First Singular Person." *LRB Blog*. Accessed December 26, 2014.
<http://www.lrb.co.uk/blog/2013/06/03/caglar-keyder/first-person-singular/>.

Kimmelman, Michael. "In Istanbul's Taksim Square, an Achilles' Heel." *The New York Times*, June 7, 2013. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/08/world/europe/in-istanbuls-taksim-square-an-achilles-heel.html>.

“Millet Hayvan Yemi Yerken Gezi Parkı’nı Yaptılar!” *Internethaber*. Accessed June 9, 2015.

<http://www.internethaber.com/millet-hayvan-yemi-yerken-gezi-parkini-yaptilar-541433h.htm>.

Nicholls, Walter, Byron Miller, and Justin Beamont. “Conceptualizing the Spatialities of Social Movements.” In *Spaces of Contention: Spatialities and Social Movements*, Walter Nicholls, Byron Miller and Justin Beamont., 1–26. Surrey & Burlington: Ashgate, 2013.

Nora, Pierre. “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire.” *Representations*, no. 26 (1989): 7–24.

Ors, I. R. “Genie in the Bottle: Gezi Park, Taksim Square, and the Realignment of Democracy and Space in Turkey.” *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 40, no. 4–5 (May 1, 2014): 489–98. doi:10.1177/0191453714525390.

“POLITICS - Turkish PM Erdoğan Reiterates His Call for Three Children.” Accessed January 3, 2015. <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkish-pm-erdogan-reiterates-his-call-for-three-children.aspx?pageID=238&nid=38235>.

ProPublica, Lois Beckett, Oct 25, 2011, and 10:27 A.m. “Globalizing Occupy Wall Street: From Chile to Israel, Protests Erupt.” *ProPublica*. Accessed December 30, 2014. <http://www.propublica.org/article/putting-the-global-occupy-movement-in-context>.

Tarrow, Sydney. “Cycles of Contention.” In *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action, and Politics*, 141–60. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

“Tecavüze Uğrayan Da Kürtaj Yaptırmamalı - Akşam.” *Aksam.com.tr*. Accessed January 3, 2015. <http://www.aksam.com.tr/guncel/tecavuze-ugrayan-da-kurtaj-yaptirmamali--118800h/haber-118800>.

Tilly, Charles. “Spaces of Contention.” *Mobilization: An International Journal* 5, no. 2 (2000): 135–59.

Tilly, Charles, S. Tarrow, and D. McAdam. “What Are They Shouting About?” In *Dynamics of Contention*, 5. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

“Topçu Kışlası Neden Yıkıldı?” *Kanal A Haber*. Accessed June 9, 2015.

<http://www.kanalahaber.com/haber/gundem/topcu-kislasi-neden-yikildi-132065/>.

“Turkey’s Second Privatization Agency: TOKI | Reflections Turkey.” Accessed January 1, 2015.

<http://www.reflectionsturkey.com/?p=489>.

YILDIRIM, BİRGE. “TRANSFORMATION OF PUBLIC SQUARES OF ISTANBUL

BETWEEN 1938-1949.” Accessed June 9, 2015.

<http://www.fau.usp.br/iphs/abstractsAndPapersFiles/Sessions/10/YILDIRIM.pdf..pdf>.