INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

From CONTESTED_CITIES to Global Urban Justice

Stream 5

Article nº 5-010

MAKING THE HETEROTOPIA;
GEZI PARK OCCUPY MOVEMENT

MERIÇ DEMIR KAHRAMAN
BURAK PA
KRIS SCHEERLINCK

MAKING THE HETEROTOPIA; GEZI PARK OCCUPY MOVEMENT

Meriç Demir Kahraman, Ph.D. Candidate
Istanbul Technical University – Department of Urban and Regional Planning
demirme@itu.edu.tr

ABSTRACT

Following the crisis of 2007-2008, the world witnessed civil protests against socio-economic inequality in numerous cities, from Madrid to Tahrir and from New York to Istanbul. These contemporary social movements represented similarities regarding their demands, their claims to the right to the city, as well as the ways in which they occupied the representational spaces in these cities.

Among the cities which gave birth to various Occupy Movements, Istanbul is an important global hub suffering from massive neoliberal urban development projects threatening the natural resources as well as the public spaces of the city (Batuman, 2015). In relation to this context, May 2013 Occupy Gezi Movement was one of the major Occupy protests in the world, emerged as a reaction against the construction of a shopping mall over Gezi Park, one of the few public green spaces left in the heart of the city.

Reflecting structural and semantical development process of Gezi Park, as the main contribution of this paper, we situate Occupy Gezi Movement in the conceptual background of "heterotopia" discussing it from both Foucauldian (1967) and Lefebvrian (1970) perspectives and its relevance as a Heterotopic space for future urban practices about making collective space (Foucault, 1967; Lefebvre, 1970; de Solà-Morales, 1992; Avermaete, 2007: Scheerlinck, 2013).

Based on 1) interviews with spokespeople of the Taksim Solidarity Tayfun Kahraman (UCTEA Chamber of City Planners head of Istanbul Branch) and Derya Karadağ (UCTEA Chamber of Architects assistant secretary and board member of the Istanbul Branch), 2) geographic data, 3) mapping of the network of the structure of Taksim Solidarity's constituents and 4) spatial configuration analyses of its multiple collective spaces, we reveal the spatial and semantical affordances of Gezi Park and Taksim Republican Square as a Heterotopic space.

From Foucauldian and Lefebvrian perspectives, we elaborate on the occupiers' make-shift efforts and how they led to a collectively constructed and autonomous heterotopic space. Furthermore, we question the ways in which these spaces accommodated a unique form of political performance.

In the last part of our study, we discuss the relevance of our findings to the future of urban practices and in particular, their consequences for urban planning and urban design disciplines related to the making of collective spaces.

KEYWORDS: Heterotopia, Occupy Movements, Collective Space, Gezi Park, Taksim Republican Square

Article nº 5-010

1. LEFEBVRE AND FOUCAULT ON HETEROTOPIA

The concept of heterotopia is a medical term that describes a phenomenon occurring in an unusual place or a spatial displacement of normal tissue which does not affect the development or organism as a whole (Sohn, 2008:41; Lax, 1997:115). It is introduced to the social sciences and urban theory for the very first time by French philosopher Michel Foucault, developed in "Des Escapes Autres" (1967) translated to in English as "Of Other Spaces" first in 1986 and as "Different Spaces" in 1998 by Hurley, but he never mentioned this concept in any of his writings (Hetherington, 1997:42, Saldanha, 2008:2082).

"A heterotopia is different from all the emplacements that they reflect or refer to." (Foucault, M., 1998:178). His understanding and interest are embedded into his definition of the term "emplacement". Foucault defines "emplacement" as "the relations of proximity between points or elements", which means "the action of making out a position" (Johnson, 2006:77). As in its English translation, "otherness" rises from this positional logic as it creates the distinction between normal and abnormal (Sandin, 2008:86). Clearly, the "other" is not the "unknown"; it is rather "different". Indeed, Hurley's translation is more successful in giving the meaning of the terms "emplacement" and "otherness".

Foucault was interested in certain emplacements which are both connected with all the others and also contradict with all the others; utopias and heterotopias (Foucault, M., 1998:178). Real and unreal; it is the main distinction between these two terms for Foucault; utopias are either a perfected or reversed form of societies but with no real place whereas heterotopias are of enacted utopias. What is common is that both utopia and heterotopia is a mirror effect. However, utopia is a mirror as being a placeless place whereas heterotopia is a mirror which allows a visibility: "the mirror provides a metathesis of visibility that affects both the space represented in the picture and its nature as representation" (Foucault, M., 1998 [1967]:179, 1966:9).

Foucault attempts to offer a systematic description of heterotopias in six principles as summarized below.

First, Foucault claimed that every culture and human group establishes its own heterotopias, so there is no single and universal form of it, but there are the modern heterotopias of "deviation" like rest homes, psychiatric hospitals and prisons for those whose behavior is "deviant" from the "required" norms in a society.

Second, heterotopias may operate differently in function and meaning in different historical periods like the cemeteries' changing locations after the end of 18th century.

Third, a heterotopia is able to "juxtapose several emplacements in a single real place that are incompatible"; like theaters and cinemas.

Fourth, heterotopias are often linked to slices in time; they operate by means of breaking points in time. Time accumulates and heterotopias either "record" it as in museums and libraries or "periodize" it as in temporal festivals, fairs and trips.

Fifth, a heterotopia always opens and closes due to the systems or rituals that make it both isolated and accessible. "One cannot enter to a heterotopia like a public space"; it requires certain permissions or conditions as in his examples of prisons and Guest Houses in South America.

Finally, a heterotopia is always in relation with the remaining space reflecting them either creating real or illusional spaces; like brothels as illusional spaces or some colonial settlements and ships as real spaces (Foucault, M., 1998 [1967]:180-184).

It is confusing when we consider his specific examples together with his general definition as "different from all the emplacements that they reflect or refer to". This is mainly why there are Foucauldian approaches to the term and also opposing criticisms that we might call Lefebvrian though it is the earliest (1970) and followed by many like Soja (1996) and Harvey (2000).

Soja comments on Foucault's work as "frustratingly incomplete, inconsistent, incoherent and narrowly focused on peculiar micro-geographies, near-sited, deviant and deviously apolitical" (Soja, 1996:162). Harvey also critics him as "banal" due to his approach that positions heterotopias somehow outside the dominant social order and whatever happens in them is acceptable or appropriate in some sense (Harvey, 2000:538). On his foreword to "The Urban Revolution", Neil Smith also mentions that, in contrast to Foucault's randomness, Lefebvre envisaged heterotopias from a political and historical perspective (Smith in Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]:xii).

Lefebvre pictured the idea of heterotopia (1970) in a historical formulation of "marginality" and criticized Foucault as being failed to explore "collective subject" which means also ignoring the politics of social spatiality and Marxian critique of capitalism (Soja, 1996:146; Lefebvre, 1976:116). As Harvey also highlighted, he put focus on "marginality" as "differentiation" saying; "anomic groups construct heterotopic spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis" (Harvey, 2012: xviii; Lefebvre, 2003 [1970]:129).

Lefebvre categorized three "topias" as the conceptual keys to solve complex spaces and explain the dissolution of abstract space; isotopia (analogous place), heterotopia (contrasting place) and utopia (places of what has no place) (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]:163-164-366).

Lefebvre drew a distinction between heterotopia and utopia; utopia is a non-place but it seeks a place of its own and it is everywhere and nowhere hanging in the air in an urban context, embedded in the idea of monumentality. It is real and fiction, present and absent but it is not a realized heterotopia. Here, monumentality is "the fullness of a space beyond its material boundaries"; it is plurality without contradictions so it is here and there within a differential and contradictive reality of urban space as a dream on the unity of differences (Lefebvre, 2003[1970]:38-39-131).

In terms of production of space, Lefebvre defined isotopia as identical places in neighboring order and heterotopia as the other place both excluded and interwoven in distant order. Isotopias refer to "sameness" as being identical, homologous and analogous, alongside them there are different places as heterotopias (Lefebvre, 2003[1970]:128). Considering the sequence of his works, apparently isotopia corresponds to the "dominated" and "abstract space" while heterotopia corresponds to "appropriated" and "differential space" in the capitalist mode of "Production of Space" (1974).

"Dominated Space" is the abstract space that transformed and mediated by technology; construction projects of technocrats; "closed, sterilized and emptied out" (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]: 343, 164-165).

"Appropriation of space" is the modification of natural space in order to "serve the needs and possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group" and it requires the notion of property but "in the sense of possession as a necessary precondition" (Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]:165). He develops the term referring the right to inhabitation; "right to the city" and "right to difference"; in this understanding, appropriation of space occurs in the form of squatting.

For Lefebvre, autogestion lies in the distinction between domination and appropriation of space. He uses the term autogestion to define social struggles as political resistance that transformed from economic concerns and demands into attempts to produce differential spaces (Butler, 2012:99). “Each time a social group refuses to accept and forces itself to master its conditions of existence, autogestion is occurring.” (Lefebvre, 2001 [1979]:779).

Shields draws particular attention to that Lefebvre suggested squatting; slums, favelas, barrios, ranchos as re-appropriation of space; the birth of the tradition of "occupying" key spatial sites and buildings as a mean of protest (Shields, 1999:165: Lefebvre, 1991 [1974]:373-374).

There are two important distinctions between abstract (dominated) and differential (appropriated) space. First, production of abstract space is the production of exchange value whereas production of differential space implies a shift of use value over exchange value. Second, abstract space operates by signs and codes which are attributed to them but differential space operates by experiences and appropriations. Societies that produce differential space reflect their self-representation in it which is a creative and political process.

Explicit objections and anti-capitalist struggles against spatial inequalities do not occur only in the form of squatting evidently, thus, we consider squatting also in the form of Occupy movements. If we picture the act of “squatting” as the birth of “occupying” (Shields, 1999:165), we are able to say that open public spaces might also become heterotopias for a period of time. What is more, as it is seen from Occupy movements that spread even other cities from where it is started, a heterotopia might trigger other heterotopias to be produced and it is beyond the notion of private property. Because the act of “becoming public” or “creating the public opinion” is beyond the physical boundaries and the ownership of a given space which still has the chance of not being eliminated between the distinction capitalism and socialism or communism. Besides, Lefebvre also pictures passes between isotopias and heterotopias which is remarkable that relations and differences and so the “topias” can change as the urban space itself dynamic Lefebvre, 2003 [1974]:129).

Our search for “heterotopia” in the form of Occupy movements, results from a Lefebvrian perspective; we clearly consider them as appropriated (differential) spaces, however, one should notice that Foucault’s definition of “emplacement” and “otherness” as “the action of making out a position” overlaps with Lefebvrian perspective. Foucault’s third principle as “a heterotopia juxtaposes several emplacements in a single real place that are incompatible” might also be re-interpreted from this point of view. Together with the sixth principle of Foucault as “heterotopias are illusional spaces that expose what is real”, his general mirror analogy as “the mirror provides a metathesis of visibility” might also be considered in relation to Lefebvre’s claim on heterotopia as they are produced temporarily. Lefebvre saw the production of heterotopia as a political reaction to the dominant praxis, and so the “mirror effect” can be re-interpreted as where Foucault and Lefebvre were also common. A mirror reflects the reality, but the picture in the mirror is the opposite reflection of the reality which can only be seen as soon as when one (dominant praxis) looks at the mirror, and in this sense, a heterotopia is the place where differences as opposition would be visible.

From this perspective, we will revisit Occupy Gezi and Taksim Republican Square revealing their spatial and semantical affordances and accumulation in their history to bridge “heterotopia” and “occupy movements” in practice.

2. SPATIAL AND SEMANTICAL MAKING OF GEZI PARK

Taksim Republican Square is located in Beyoğlu District of Istanbul on the north of historical peninsula. It is the heart of Istanbul of a 15-million situated at the intersection of major vehicular axis, bus-lines, subway and funicular systems with a major pedestrian axis; Istiklal Avenue. The region has always been attractive for both locals and tourists with a mixed land-use as the center of entertainment, cultural activities and retail.

Fig.1. Location of Taksim in Central Istanbul (on Google Maps)

Taksim experienced a rapid growth mainly after the second half of the 19th century as the western face of Istanbul (Çelik, 1993:36-45). During this period, Taksim was the periphery and the end of the Ottoman city of Istanbul, composed of Greek, Latin Catholic and Protestant, Armenian and Muslim Cemeteries, gardens, orchards and military barracks and training place (today's Talimhane) (Akın, 1998:197, Gülersoy, 1986:6,104).

Fig.3. Taksim on Kauffer's Map in 1786 (left) and on German Blue Maps in 1914 (right)

Until the first decade of 20th century, Taksim was still undeveloped and almost an empty area. The very first building on this area has been "Maksem" which was a water distribution and reservoir facility built in 1732-1733 period giving the region its name "Taksim" meaning "to divide" in Turkish (Gülersoy, 1986:8-15). One of the two other buildings in the region was Topçu Military Barracks and the other is Greek Church of the Holy Trinity, which is completed in 1882 and still in-use (Çelik, 1993: 144).

After the declaration of Turkish Republic in 1923, Taksim was chosen as the location for the "Republic Monument" that was opened in 1928 in dedication to the foundation of the Republic. Taksim was a reflection of a change, a new period; it was a spatial project of the Republic as the new central symbol and ceremonial place of new Republican Istanbul.

Fig.4. Taksim Republican Monumet right after its erection in 1928 **Source:** Gülersoy, 1986:21

After the erection of the monument, as a part of the spatial organization of the square, the stables of Topçu Military Barracks were demolished first (Üzümkesici, 2010:40). Main building of Topçu Military Barracks was built between 1803 and 1806 over the Armenian cemetery side of once. In 1921, the courtyard of Topçu Military Barracks was transformed into a football stadium till its fully demolishment in 1939 according to the design of the square and Inonu Esplanade (Gezi Park) proposed by French urban planner Henri Prost (Kuruyazıcı, 1998 :90-91).

Fig.5. Topçu Military Barracks before (left) and after (right) its demolishment **Source**: Baykan & Hatuka, 2010: 55-57

Prost was invited to Istanbul in 1936 to prepare a master plan and projects for the city until 1952, and many of them were implemented in years (Akpınar, 2010:107-108). Even, invitation of a foreign professional itself shows us the westernization project of the new republic. In this process, open public spaces were considered as the main elements of the modernization, they were the representational spaces of a modern social life and individuals. Indeed, Inonu Esplanade (Gezi Park) was implemented with a few changes and opened in 1942 ending on the north-eastern corner of the park and with a pedestrian bridge connecting Gezi Park with Park No.2.

Fig.6. Taksim on Pervititich Fire Insurance Maps of 1925 (left) and 1943 (right)

Gezi Park was the starting point of a 1500-meter long and approximately 30-hectare green zone called as Park No.2 in the Master Plan of Beyoğlu and Reference Plan of Istanbul proposed by H. Prost in 1937-1941. Park No. 2 was considered as the lungs of the new surrounding residential area; this "Boulogne Woods" of Taksim would be the recreation center for the European side of the city. After the addition of Dolmabahçe (Inonu) Stadium, Sports and Exhibition Hall and the Amphitheather to the first design proposal of 1938, plan of Park No.2 was revised in 1940 and its implementation was mostly completed by the end of 1948 (Pinon & Bilsel, 2010:353-371).

Fig.7. Taksim and Park No.2 in Reference Plan of Istanbul of 1937 by Prost **Source:** Baysan, 1999:36

Fig.8. Gezi Park (1) and Pedestrian Bridge (2) in Revision Plan of Park No.2 of 1940 by Prost **Source:** Baysan, 1999:35

Another symbolic and iconic implementation project towards modernization was the Istanbul Palace of Culture at the western side of the square. The Palace of Culture was first opened on 12 April 1969. However, a fire disaster seriously damaged the building on 27 November 1970. 8 years after for repair, it was opened for the second time as Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM) on 6 October 1978. AKM was operated for 30 years until its close for renovation on 31 May 2008 (Derviş, 2014).

After long objections and discussions, renovation project started in May 2012. According to the announcement of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, the project has been stopped on 24 May 2013 due to the static condition of the building and safety reasons. Since then, AKM stands as an abandoned building except that its use as a police station for more than a year following Gezi Park Occupy Movement (Vardar, 2015).

Fig.9. Atatürk Cultural Center and Taksim Republican Square in 1980s **Source:** Yılmaz, 2007

Beyond its spatial development, actual production of Taksim Republican Square rests on the social movements and civil demonstrations that it has been staged in its history.

Hosting the occasions like national holidays or state visits Taksim has been a political and representational focus for state-sponsored ceremonies laying a wreath to pay tribute to the monument and so the state.

Fig.10. Gezi Park and its Surrounding Today

In terms of civil demonstrations, Taksim was a reaching point until the end of 1960s. Political youth were rather gathering at Beyazıt Square which is close to Istanbul University to hold rallies and to march to Taksim Republican Square (Batuman, 2015:11). "Taksim'e Çıkmak" meaning "Heading to Taksim" in Turkish became an idiom since then. Taksim has always been the stage for both the official/national ceremonies and as well as the civil protests creating its own collective memory in time with full of public tragedies and traumas.

The first tragedy was at the end of the route from Beyazıt to Taksim on 16 February 1969 known as "Bloody Sunday". During a university students' rally, students were attacked when they reached Taksim by an unknown group against them; two students died and more than one hundred were wounded (Batuman, 2015:12). Later one is known as "Taksim Square Massacre" on 1 May 1977, Labour Day celebration. It was a crowd of approximately 4 million people who were attacked when they reached the square by also unknown assailants with guns shots; 34 people were died and uncountable people were wounded (Baykan & Hatuka, 2010: 58-63).

Fig.10. Taksim Republican Sqaure on 1 May 1977 **Source:** Gülersoy, 1986:59

Taksim Repulican Square was targeted then for all the mass protests by working class and youth but Taksim, Beyazıt, Sultanahmet, Şişli, and Beşiktaş Squares were closed to all meetings on 31 March 1978 by the government. Especially, Taksim was banned for the celebration of Labour Day until the return of May 1 as an official holiday under the name of "Labor and Solidarity Day" in 2009 (Law No. 5892, 2009).

After 32 years, Taksim was allowed for the celebration of May 1 in 2010. Between 2010 and 2012 celebrations were held in peace however, in 2013, Taksim was again banned for security reasons due to the construction works of the new pedestrianization project declared in 2011 together with a shopping mall project. Although pedestrianization part of the project was completed on September 2013 rerouting traffic underground via tunnels, Taksim Republican Square is still banned for all the mass demonstrations and celebrations.

Accumulative meanings and social experiences in Taksim created its square quality as a space for public to gather. Creating its collective memory, the square became more than what it has been codded to it; more than a designed space that represents modernism, nationalism and the state itself.

In accordance, Taksim became the stage of the search for a dominant identity. Only 12 days after the "Taksim Square Massacre", on 13 May 1977, the government of the period made a formal application to the High Council of Immovable Monuments and Antiquities to approve a concept project of the Taksim Mosque (Ekinci, 1997:14). Beginning from this date, a Mosque Project on Taksim Republican Square came into the agenda of following governments. Very last attempt was in December 2012 when architect Professor Ahmet Vefik Alp was commissioned to design a mosque by the Taksim Mosque Culture and Arts Foundation which was actually established on 5 November 1991 to provide financial support for the construction (Ekinci, 1997:26).

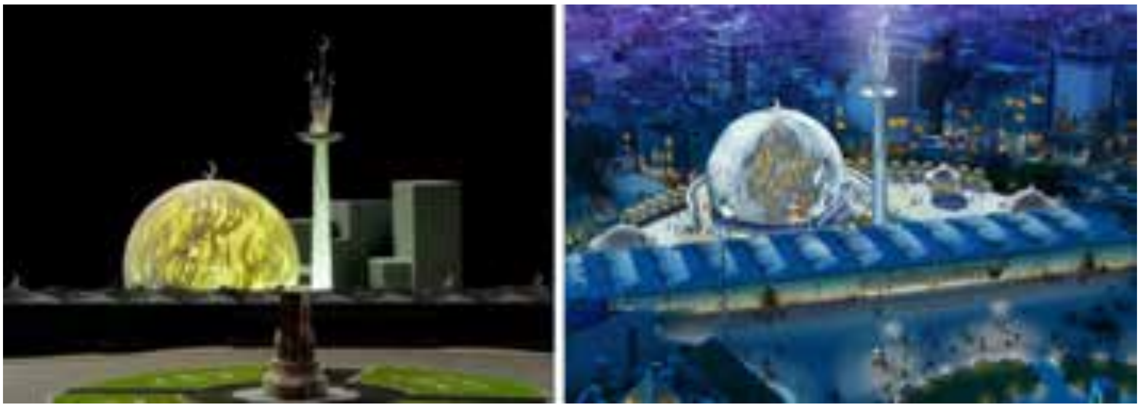

Fig.11. "Taksim Mosque of Republic and Museum of Religious" Designed by Ahmet Vefik Alp
Source: Alp, 2012

Synchronously, Park No.2 has been the subject of privatization suffering since the late 1950s. The first privatization example was approved by the construction of Hilton Hotel in Park No.2. Despite the objections the construction was completed in 1954 (Baysan, 1999:34). This was the first step on turning Park No.2 and Taksim into the hotels region that accelerated by the rising neoliberal urban development policies since the late 1970s. The first construction was followed by the other hotels, luxury residences and a mall (Göğüş, 2014, Özsavaşçı, 1999).

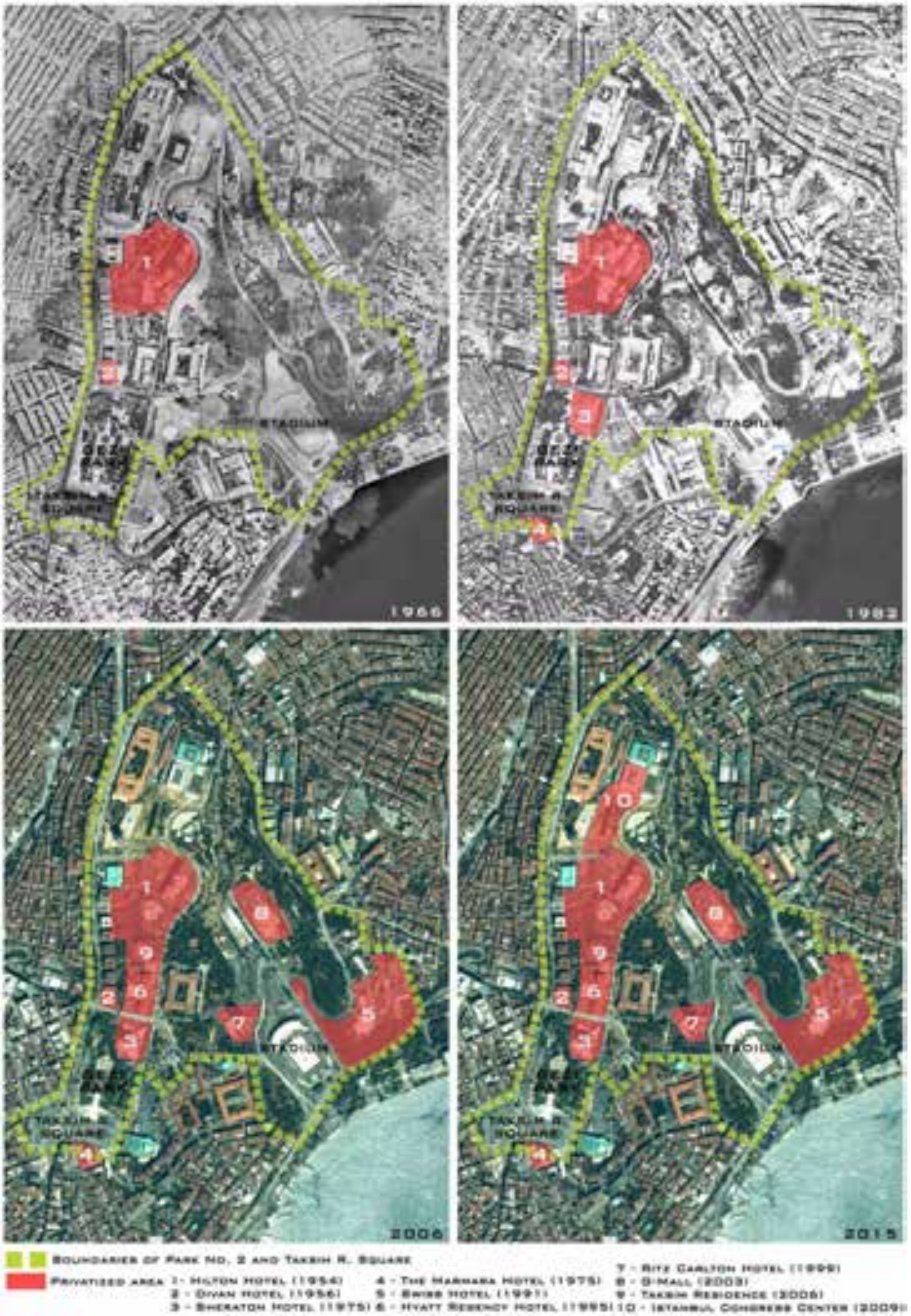

Fig.12. Privatization of Park No.2 **Source:**by the author after Göğüş, 2014[i]

Taksim Republican Square and Gezi Park, was declared as an "urban site" in.1993 by the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board No.1 of Istanbul. Although the conservation decisions are ignored in implementation process evidently, there is even no conversation decision on Park No.2. The area has also lost its spatial integrity; even the pedestrian bridge, connecting Gezi Park with Park No.2, has been left demolished unreasonably since the implementation of pedestrianization project of Taksim in 2013 (Bianet, 2013).

Obviously, Taksim Republican Square, together with Gezi Park and Park No.2 have been through a process of rapid change in favour of selling what is common to private interests. It has been under pressure of both neoliberal urban development policies and also the search for spatially breaking its semantical making. However, this process was accompanied by a rising attention through a social solidarity process that accumulated in years. Establishment of several local district associations and other social foundations, innumerable continuous lawsuits and protests that are filed and organized by professionals, also the crowds trying to head to Taksim for other celebrations or demonstrations have been the first signs of this social accumulation process. This social tension have been also nourished by the general oppressive and discriminative socio-political conjuncture, however, it is consolidated bringing together the crowds under "Taksim Solidarity" in May 2013 during "Gezi Park Occupy Movement" for 19 days spreading all over the country and resounding on an international scale. This double process can be defined from Lefebvrian perspective; domination called for appropriation making the heterotopia.

3. MAKING THE HETEROTOPIA

As briefly mentioned, on 6 June 2011, Turkish government declared a pedestrianization project including the construction of a shopping mall re-constructing Topçu Military Barracks over Gezi Park. Just after the project was announced to the public with a few digital renders, a civil organization established called "Taksim Platform" starting a petition for the cancellation of the project.

Fig.13. Renders of the Taksim Project by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality

Source: Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, 2012

It was an environmentalist reaction and an ecological movement defending that the project would both damage the nature and the collective memory of the square. The reaction was also against privatization of a public space, in other words, people were reclaiming their rights to the city (Taksim Platform, 2012).

Taksim Platform, composed of only 18 civil society organizations including local associations, environmentalist foundations, artist unions and professionals' chambers, turned into a larger movement called "Taksim Solidarity" in 2013 with 125 constituents eventually. In a 2-year period, Taksim Platform, with also individual supporters, organized protests and declarations to public opinion, repeating their objection. Istanbul Branches of Chamber of City Planners, Chamber of Architects and Chamber of Landscape Architects filed a lawsuit applying for the revocation of the project and stay of execution. Simultaneously, construction works for the pedestrianization part of the project were begun by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality regardless the lawsuit and court's decision as the stay of execution.


İnsansızlaştırılacak

Gezi betonlaşacak

Taksim yok edilecek

Duvarlar yükselecek

Tepki çeken Taksim Yayalaştırma Projesi'ne karşı imza kampanyası başlatıldı

Fig.14. Starting of the Petition on 5 February 2012 **Source:** Güvemli, 2012

Bulldozers were in Gezi Park on the night of 27 May 2013, people who have been actively speaking out started gathering in Gezi Park. Next morning, still, there were not more than hundred people trying to stop the bulldozers with a peaceful sit-in protest. However, they have been attacked by police using excessive force with tear gas and pepper spray, and the news were spread rapidly. By the noon, hundreds of people gathered for a sit-in protest in the square but the police violence intensified. However, protestors held their ground staying in Gezi Park with their tents despite the police force to dislodge them.

On 29 May, government declared that the project will be implemented, "no matter what the protestors do". Indeed, at dawn on 30 May, all the tents were burned down in Gezi Park. Burning down the tents attracted more attention from all the country; protestors made a call through social media to #Occupy Gezi Park. It was getting crowded each day; it was a heterogeneous crowd of people regardless their nationalities, ideologies, religions, sexualities, income or education level and age, acting in the form of a multiple leadership, collaboratively. By 31 May, the movement was already spread all over the city and the country; thousands of people gathered on Anatolian side of Istanbul marched to Taksim passing Bosphorus Bridge on foot, closing the vehicle traffic on 1 June.

Fig.15. Taksim Republican Square on 31 May 2013 **Source:** Kılıç,2013

Anadolu yakasından sabaha karşı yola çıkıp desteğe geldiler

Kıtaları aştılar

İSTANBUL UYUMADI

Fig.16. Protestors Passing the Bosphorus Bridge on 1 June **Source:** İstanbul Haber Servisi, 2013

Since it was a grassroots movement, protestors developed their makeshift practices; they made solidarity tables; Gezi Park and the Taksim Republican Square were transformed into a place for political expression, representing a wide range of actors and diverse forms of living (Pak, 2016). While some occupiers built a library in the park using found materials, other protesters built barricades on every artery leading to the Gezi Park to avoid the police cars and water cannons. Other makeshift spaces included a wishing tree out of the leftover construction materials, free cell phone charging stations, art and photo galleries, collective vegetable gardens, an infirmary and a veterinary clinic, an art workshop for children, memorials and murals, an open-air hotel and a live stream TV-media center. Social events like open yoga classes, concerts, dance and other theatrical performances also took place in Gezi Park.

Fig.17. Makeshift Practices during Gezi Park Occupy Movement **Source:** Hattam, 2013

People who are in their home joined the protests banging their pans and turning their lights off and on synchronously or drowning out the sound of car horns. People with a regular job attended to the protests after or before their work. Even, supporters of Turkey's rival "Big Three" football clubs marched together to Taksim Republican Square (Erhart, 2014) on 8 June 2013. All differences were erased and people got united saying; "United we stand, divided we fall". 8th of June was the most crowded night of the movement; thousands of people were at Taksim and there were no police force able against such a crowd.

Fig.18. Crowds Protesting at Taksim on 8 June 2013 (left) Front Façade of AKM Covered with Flags and Banners (right) **Source:** Anonym

Actual occupation of park ended on 15 June, when police used its force at most with tear gas, water cannons, and plastic bullets to empty out the occupied park and prevent protestors from re-entering. However, different types of demonstrations were held until the end of the August. According to the Ministry of the Interior reports almost 2,5 million people were participated in protests in 79 province of 81; 12 people died between age 15 and 88, many people were wounded losing their eyes and having brain traumas from being hit by tear gas cartridges, 4,900 people had been taken into custody for various periods of time (Amnesty International, 2013), however, what is called "Gezi Spirit" survived and public forums are established in almost every park all-around of Istanbul and other provinces.

Turkish people and the world faced an ecological movement turning into a political call for direct democracy within 19 days. Taksim Republican Square and Gezi Park have been appropriated by diverse groups from various ideological backgrounds against domination of neoliberal urban policies, but it was a massive objection not only to these policies but also all the current oppressive socio-political structure ignoring the demands of people.

Fig.19. Demands of Taksim Solidarity **Source:** Boynudelik, et al., 2014

Objective demands unified the people; 2 years after the declaration of the project, constituents of Taksim Solidarity reached to 125 in number during the Occupy movement. Although there were also a substantial amount of individual protestors, distribution of the constituents offers an idea about the distinct diversity of the protestors. Based on the official list of Taksim Solidarity, we have grouped the constituents under six main categories to map the network considering also their formality as in the graph below.

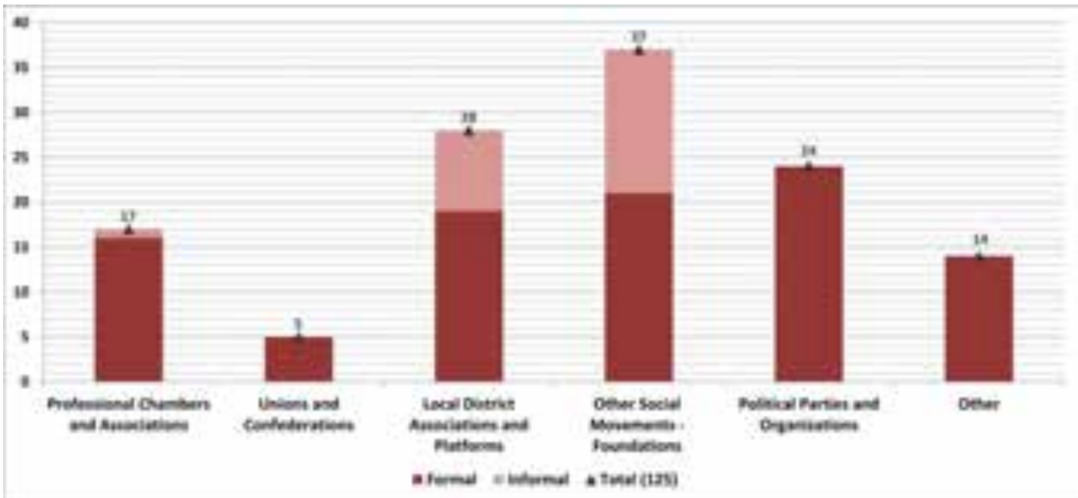

Fig.20. Distribution of Taksim Solidarity's Constituents

Source: by the author based on Taksim Dayanışması, 2013

This distribution indicates two important things. First, we see that only 26 constituents of 125 were informal organizations, considering the amount of the protestors, we might see that individuals preferred represent themselves in person. Second, considering the number of "Political Parties and Organizations" as 24 of 125, we might question the role of opposition in democracy in Turkey.

However, the list of constituents and its network structure still does not offer an answer for the way that the protestors developed their makeshift practices and the way that they manage the process spatially. From the in-depth interviews with Tayfun Kahraman and Derya Karadağ as the spokespeople of the Taksim Solidarity we have searched for the insights of making a heterotopia.

4. INSIGHTS FROM OCCUPY GEZI PARK

The role of making announcements on behalf of the Taksim Solidarity was assigned to two different organizations that took charge of the affairs of the secretariat and later taken over by four other organizations that provided assistance to these organizations. The first two organizations were the Istanbul Branches of Chamber of Urban Planners and Chamber of Architects and the other four were Istanbul Chamber of Medical Doctors, Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects (TMMOB), Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK), Confederation of Public Employees Trade Unions (KESK). Upon this, we have conducted in-depth interviews with Tayfun Kahraman and Derya Karadağ as the representatives of these first two organizations.

In our search for the insights of the movement to interpret it as a heterotopia, we have asked seven open-ended questions to interviewees as follows;

- Comparing with other massive urban intervention projects in Turkey, what were the conditions to achieve such a widespread public support for Gezi Park Occupy Movement?
- What sort of path did you follow as the Taksim Solidarity during the movement?
- How was the Occupy Movement managed spatially?
- What are your observations on makeshift practices?
- Do you think that all the constituents of Taksim Solidarity and individual protestors were represented equally?
- Were there any operational problems in the process and if they were, would you explain them?
- What sort of experience did Gezi Park Occupy Movement provide for other urban movements to learn from?

Both of the interviewees mentioned that there were three main reasons in achieving a widespread public support. First, **location**; since Taksim has a massive circulation of people and hugely important in the daily lives of the citizens, attempts to this location were met with such intense protests. Second, the **unique character** of the square; its political identity and that is the fact that it has become the venue for demonstrations by politicians and the existence of an opposition based on the idea that any event in such a location would have a political reaction. Third one is the **police violence**. Tayfun Kahraman especially states that "The police violence experienced in Gezi Park touched a very sensitive spot in public conscience. The aim was not only to object to the project but also to give a political message. Therefore, this civil movement turned completely political after May 31."

The keyword that both the interviewees used to define the path that Taksim Solidarity followed is **"self-initiative"**. Kahraman says; "Taksim Solidarity actually organized all Gezi Park-related activities until the evening of May 31. This completely changed after that date, because it turned into a movement where millions of people took to the streets, making it impossible to organize or coordinate; that's why it would be correct to divide that period into two; before and after May 31." Derya Karadağ also refers the same; "Everyone started taking initiative and did something in the park after May 31." Kahraman also explains the process after May 31 further; "What Taksim Solidarity did was not to coordinate but to facilitate. We took on facilitative roles including the arrangement of this area, anticipating potential problems and responding to them. Solidarity did not possess any power or ability to coordinate and, from a certain point of view, there was no need for this. Because this was a completely civil movement and the public realized this out of their own initiatives and they did not need a shepherd taking care of them. Solidarity existed solely to facilitate the process and to make necessary announcements after bringing people's ideas together as a single common statement."

In terms of spatiality of the movement, interviewees emphasized **"spontaneity"**. Karadağ summarizes it as; "This is all realized as a result of quite different organizations' and individuals' working together on a common task or problem spontaneously." Giving details Kahraman explains it; "It was completely spontaneous. There was no scheduled occupation. People occupied the park as a reaction to the burning of tents and police attempts to evacuate the area using gas bombs and violence. Therefore, all these spatial units were made possible through the contributions of the people there. For example, people ordered food or water online using their credit cards from any part of Turkey and sent them to the park without any sender name. These deliveries were received by whoever was there at that time. I remember one day a pizza delivery person came with ten pizzas in his hands; he didn't know who he should give them, so he gave them all to anybody sitting there at random."

Observations of the interviewees on makeshift practices highlight the issue of **"commoning"**. Karadağ says that "This was also not pre-organised, everyone shared what they got. On the other hand, not financial but physical contributions were accepted." Kahraman says that "There were discussions on an alternative economy as it was decided that no money contributions would be accepted; because money might in a way turn the movement into something completely questionable. Everyone set a list of things they needed and published them on social media as a message to the entire world and the contributions followed. This was an example of commoning in the sense that people can find solutions to provide for themselves collaboratively in the most primitive way possible without using money. In the context of utilizing the existing supplies and the space, when somebody used something only as much as they need and not asked for more, we had no problems and nobody asked for more than they needed."

In terms of representation of the protestors, both Kahraman and Karadağ mention that **"non-discrimination"** was of essential importance. Kahraman explains their efforts; "Even the politically opposing parties were kept in respectful cooperation without discrimination to turn the idea of this movement into reality. For example, these parties were allowed to talk one after another in the meetings and they even came to the point of praising one another. It was a place where nobody would try to cause conflict or find themselves in a situation where no solution was possible. Everything was done according to the rule of the fraternity."

Further, interviewees indicate that they have faced operational problems. For them, the most significant problem was the **"decision-making processes"** for announcements to be made and for the future of the movement. Karadağ gives other examples; "Hygiene, for example, started to be another major issue; no matter how people collected trash, this became major concern regardless. Also, there were some who tried to use electricity illegally in the park or there were instances of theft." Kahraman adds others; "Since this was a place that is open to public, there were some who came there merely to provoke people. Besides, although it was communal area, peddlers started to come and it was not right to have anything done for money. Certain attempts were made to solve these problems. For example, the peddlers were removed from the park or people started patrolling around the tents to ensure safety and security."

As the last, interviewees share their comments on experiences that movement provide for other future to learn from. Karadağ says that "People have realized what they are capable of, and environmental awareness increased in Turkey after the movement obviously. Besides, Gezi showed us the significance of **"being organized as a society"** and the **"expansion of struggle arena"** in terms of urban movements."

Kahraman concludes also considering their acquisitions. "In my opinion, the only victory officially won in the urban field is Taksim. The politics and the ruling party for the last 15 years had to step back for the first time. But I believe they are keeping the idea on hold and may bring it up again anytime in the future. We can say that, after the Gezi Park Movement, people now have a **heightened awareness** of the parks and green areas in particular; there's now a higher **potential that people will speak out** against such interventions. However, looking at the final outcome and recalling especially the demands of Taksim Solidarity, it is obvious that only one that has been met is the one that requires Gezi Park remain as a public park. But the people responsible for the violence here have still not been taken to court or punished yet. Suits filed against those taken into custody have not been dropped or finalized yet. Also, it's never been brought up that suits should be filed against the officials. People lost their lives, got injured, lost their eyes, but nothing has been done against those people that were responsible for this violence and misery right from the start."

Interviews show us significant results to learn from for the future. First, we see that spatial and semantical affordances of space; location and character are the catalyzators of such a movement. More importantly, we see that violence and ignorance in handling such massive objections not suppress but rather exacerbates more objections ironically.

Besides these, the spontenous makeshift practices and efforts for living without using money of 19-days are the most crucial responses that they gave the clue for the possibility of a new, different world order.

In accordance, taking advantage of social media is also ironic that its tools require the products of capitalism like cell phones, digital cameras, drones, etc. From many perspectives, the movement carries deep political messages to the world and the way people give these messages absolutely "reversive"; it is completely "primitive", "different" and it is the "game changer".

CONCLUSION

Above, we have investigated the spatial and semantical production of Gezi Park together with Taksim Republican Square and Park No.2. They reflected social, political and economic tensions as they have been both the subject and the object of contradictions in four-period chronologically. First, as being the projects of nationalism, modernism and representations of state, second, the stages of civil demonstrations and unsolved tragedies and traumas, third, the commodities of capitalism and objects for privatization, and finally fourth, spaces of autogestion and rebellion.

First two of them produced the monumentality together; in the sense of "the fullness of a space beyond its material boundaries" (Lefebvre, 1970). Under the circumstances of political dominance of neoliberal urban policies together with oppressive and discriminative socio-political conjuncture, the third built the dominated space; "closed, sterilized and emptied out" (Lefebvre, 1974). Rising from the internal contradictions of the third together with the dysfunction of representative democracy, the fourth enabled the appropriation of space; "to serve the needs and possibilities of a group that it has been appropriated by that group" (Lefebvre, 1974).

In this sense, reaching the social boiling point of a society in less than a hundred-year of time since the declaration of Turkish Republic in 1923, Taksim Square and the Gezi Park were temporarily transformed into a heterotopic space by the constituents. This four-period process enabled to "juxtapose several emplacements in a single real place that are incompatible" (Foucault, 1967) and when the society "refuse to accept and force itself to master its conditions of existence, autogestion is occurred" (Lefebvre, 1979).

It involved making something "different" from the "required" order in the society (Foucault, 1967), creating the "collective subject" (Lefebvre, 1976) and the "mirror effect" to be seen as well as a call for direct democracy by "occupying the space" when there is no other option left for to be heard.

As we have mentioned above, the movement itself still carries significant messages both for Turkish politicians as representatives of the people and to the world. In terms of urban planning and design, for especially the professionals and the politicians as decision-makers, these messages are substantial for the future of our cities which are under the dominance of neoliberal urban development policies contemporarily. On the other hand, considering the various Occupy movements around the world, these messages should be taken seriously in terms of political representation as we might face a paradigm shift in the world order as the long-term results of these signs.

However, Lefebvre seems purely right by now as saying "anomic groups construct heterotopic spaces, which are eventually reclaimed by the dominant praxis" (Lefebvre, 1970). After a 3-year period, 14th Chamber of the Council of State has made a decision to reject legal appeals and to approve the project once again in January 2016 and served the decision to the concerned parties on May 2016 (Istanbul Haber Servisi, 2016).

"Solidarity" nourishes by the violence and ignorance to the massive objections that demand the right to the city. Hence, beyond heterotopia, utopia will continue to seek a place of its own hanging in the air as soon as the project(s) are kept.

Acknowledgement

This study was developed during the Meriç Demir Kahraman's visit as an international research scholar in Catholic University of Leuven - Faculty of Architecture in colloboaration with Burak Pak and Kris Scheerlinck and is a part of her Ph.D. thesis in Istanbul Technical Univesity.

REFERENCES

Akın, N. (1998). 19.yy İkinci Yarısında Galata ve Pera. Istanbul: Literatür Yayınları

Akpınar, I. (2010). "İstanbul'u (Yeniden) İnşa Etmek: 1937 Henri Prost Planı". 2000'den kesitler II: Cumhuriyet'in Mekanları/Zamanları/Insanları. Doktora Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Kitabı. E. Ergut; B. İmamoğlu (eds). Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları - ODTU yayınevi. pp.107-124.

Alp, V. A. (2012). "Mosque of the Republic & Museum of Religions". Retrieved from www.alparchitects.com.tr

Avermaete, T.; Teerds, H. (2007). "Architectural Positions on the Public Sphere". *The 2007 Delft Lecture Series, Places.* Vol 19:2.

Batuman, B. (2015). *"Everywhere Is Taksim: The Politics of Public Space from Nation-Building to Neoliberal Islamism and Beyond".* Journal of Urban History. Vol. 41:5, pp. 1-27.

Baykan, A.; Hatuka, T. (2010). *"Politics and Culture in the Making of Public Space: Taksim Square, 1 May 1977, Istanbul"*. Planning Perspectives. Vol 25:1, pp.49-68.
Baysan, B. (1999). "Aron Angel ile Istanbul, Prost ve Planları Üzerine Söyleşi". Mimarlık Dergisi. Vol 285, pp. 30-39.
Bianet. (2013, February 12). *"Gezi Parkı'nın 70 Yıllık Köprüsünü Yıktılar"*. Retrieved from http://bianet.org/bianet/kent/144303-gezi-parki-nin-70-yillik-koprusunu-yiktilar
Boynudelik, M. Gümüş, K. Tanbay, B. (2014, June 2). *"Demands of the Taksim Solidarity"*. Taksim Square and Gezi Park Construction Works, Turkey. Retrieved from https://ejatlas.org/conflict/taksim-square-and-gezi-park-construction-works-turkey
Butler, C. (2012). *"Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life and the Right to the City"*. Nomikoi: Critical Legal Thinkers. USA and Canada: Routledge.
Çelebi, M. (2006). *Dünden Bugüne Taksim Cumhuriyet Anıtı*, Istanbul: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi.
Çelik, Z. (1993). The Remaking of Istanbul: Potrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century. California: California University Press
de Solà-Morales, M. (1992). "Public and Collective Space: The Urbanisation of the Private Domain as a New Challenge". *Oase*. Vol 33, pp. 3-8.
Derviş, P. (2014). *"Reflecting Modernity: Atatürk Cultural Center"*. Places of Memory (for the occasion of 14th International Architecture Exhibition la Biennale di Venezia). Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
Ekinci, O. (1997). Bütün Yönleriyle Taksim Camisi Belgeseli. Istanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları.
Erhart, I. (2014). *"United in Protest: From Living and Dying with Our Colours to Let All the Colours of the World Unite"*. International Journal of the History of Sport, Vol 31:14, pp. 1724-1738.
Foucault, M. (1966). *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London and New York: Routledge.
Foucault, M. (1986) [1967]. *"Of Other Spaces"*. J. Miskowiec (trans). Diacritics. Vol 16:1, pp. 22-27.
Foucault, M. (1998) [1967]. "Different Spaces". Aesthetics, Method and Epistemology: Essential Works of Foucault. Vol 2. J. D. Faubion (eds), R.Hurley et al (trans), New York: The New Press.
German Blue Maps (in Turkish "Alman Mavileri"). 1913-1914 I. Dünya Savaşı Öncesi Istanbul Haritaları Vol 2. (2007). İ. Dağdelen (eds). Istanbul Büyük Şehir Belediyesi Yayınları.
Gezi Park Protests: Brutal Denial of the Right to Peaceful Assembly in Turkey. Amnesty International. October 2013.
Göğüş, B. (2014). Küreselleşen Kentlerde Kamusal Mekanın Dönüşümünün Sosyo-Mekansal Ayrışma Bağlamında İncelenmesi: Taksim Gezi Parkı Örneği. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Istanbul: ITU Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü.
Gülersoy, Ç. (1986). Taksim: Bir Meydanın Hikayesi. Istanbul: Istanbul Kitaplığı Yayınları
Güvemli, Ö. (2012, February 5). *"Ucubeye Dönecek"*. Cumhuriyet Gazetesi. Retrieved from www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com
Harvey, D. (2000). *"Cosmpolitanism and the Banality of Geographical Evils"*. Public Culture. Vol 12:2, pp. 529-564.
Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. Brooklyn – New York: Verso Books.
Hattam, J. (2013, June 7). *"Occupy Istanbul? Inside the Growing Mini-City at Gezi Park"*. CityLab. Retrieved from www.citylab.com/politics/2013/06/occupy-istanbul-protesters-build-their-own-mini-city-gezi-park/5829
Hetherington, K. (1997). *The Badlands of Modernity: Heterotopia and Social Ordering*. London: Routledge.
Istanbul Haber Servisi (2013, June 2). *"Kıtaları Aştılar"*. Cumhuriyet Gazetesi. Retrieved from www.cumhuriyetarsivi.com
Istanbul Haber Servisi (2016, May 13). *"Danıştay'dan Gezi Parkı ve Topçu Kışlası Kararı"*. Cumhuriyet Gazetesi. Retrieved from http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/533019
Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. (2012, October 31). *"Taksim Meydanı Yayalaştırma Çalışmalarına Başlandı"*. Retrieved from www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/Pages/Haber.aspx?NewsID=20709#.V0OEi_mLSM8
Johnson, P. (2006) *"Unravelling Foucault's Different Spaces"*. History of the Human Sciences. Vol 19:4, pp.75-90.

Kauffer, H. (1786). "Plan De La Ville De Constantinople". Retrieved from http://www.envanter.gov.tr/harita/tarihi
Kılıç, B., (2013, June 11). *"Police Clash With Protestors in Istanbul"*. The New York Times. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com/slideshow/2013/06/11/world/europe/20130612-TURKEY.html
Kuruyazıcı, H. (1998). "Cumhuriyetin İstanbul'daki Simgesi Taksim Cumhuriyet Meydanı". 75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık. Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları. pp: 89-98.
Law No. 5892. Resmi Gazete. (2009, April 27). Retrieved from http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/main.aspx?home=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2009/04/20090427.htm&main=http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2009/04/20090427.htm
Lax, S. (1997). *"Heterotopia from a Biological and Medical Point of View"*. Other Spaces: The Affair of the Heterotopia. R. Ritter; B. Knaller-Vlay (eds). Dokumente zur Architektur. Vol 10, pp.114-123.
Lefebvre, H. (1991) [1974]. *The Production of Space*. D. Nicholson-Smith (trans). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
Lefebvre, H. (2001) [1979]. *"Comments on a New State Form"*. V. Johnson; N. Brenner (trans). Antipode. Vol 33:5, pp.769–782.
Lefebvre, H. (2003) [1970]. Urban Revolution, R. Bononno (trans). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Özsavaşçı, A. (1999). Taksim-Maçka Yeşil Alanının Değişim Sürecine Eleştirel Bir Bakış. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Istanbul: ITU Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü.
Pak, B. (2016). Strategies and Tools for Enabling Bottom-up Practices in Architecture and Urban Design Studios. Knowledge Cultures Journal, SPECIAL ISSUE (Learning, technologies, and time in the age of global neoliberal capitalism).
Pervititch, J. "Istanbul in the Insurance Maps".(2001). Z. Kılıç (trans). Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.
Pinon, P., Bilsel, C. F. (eds) (2010). From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951). Istanbul: Istanbul Research Institute Catalogues.
Saldanha, A. (2008). "Heterotopia and Structuralism". Environment and Planning A. Vol 40, pp.2080-2096.
Sandin, G. (2008). *"Keys to Heterotopia: An Actantial Approach to Landfills as Societal Mirrors"*. Nordic Journal of Architectural Research, Vol 20:2, pp.75-87.
Scheerlinck, K. (2013). *Collective Spaces Streetscape Territories Notebook*. Notebooks 2. Brussels: KU Leuven.
Shields, R. (1999). *Lefebvre, Love and Struggle: Spatial Dialectics*. London: Routledge.
Sohn, H. (2008). *"Heterotopia: Anamnesis of a Medical Term"*. Heterotopia and the City: Public Space in a Post-civil Society. M. Dehaene; L. De Cauter (eds). London: Routledge.
Soja, E. (1996). *Thirdspace: Expanding the Geographical Imagination*. London: Blackwell Publishing.
Taksim Dayanışması. (2013, June). *"Bileşenler"*. Retrieved from www.taksimdayanisma.org/bilesenler
Taksim Platform. (2012, February). *"Petition"*. Retrieved from http://www.taksimplatformu.com/english.php
Üzümkesici, T. (2010). Taksim Topçu Kışlası ve Yakın Çevresinin Tarihsel Dönüşümü. Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Istanbul: ITU Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü.
Vardar, N. (2015). *"AKM'ye 7 Yılda Ne Oldu?"*. Arkitera. Retrieved from http://www.arkitera.com/haber/24458/akmye-7-yilda-ne-oldu
Yılmaz, M. E. (2007). *"Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Fotoğraflar"*. Arkitera. Retrieved from http://v3.arkitera.com/g61-ataturk-kultur-merkezi.html?year=&aID=614

[i] In the mapping phase, aerial views of 1966, 1982, 2006 and 2015 are used and can be reached from; sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr