

CHANGING PUBLICNESS OF URBAN PARKS THROUGH TIME
THE CASE OF GÜVENPARK, ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

ASLIHAN YILMAZ

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
URBAN DESIGN
IN
CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

DECEMBER 2015

Approval of the thesis:

**CHANGING PUBLICNESS OF URBAN PARKS THROUGH TIME
THE CASE OF GÜVENPARK, ANKARA**

submitted by **ASLIHAN YILMAZ** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Master of Science in Urban Design in City and Regional Planning Department, Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Gülbin Dural Ünver _____
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Çağatay Keskinok _____
Head of Department, **City and Regional Planning**

Inst. Dr. Funda Baş Bütüner _____
Supervisor, **Dept. of Architecture, METU**

Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin _____
Co-Supervisor, **Dept. of Architecture, METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin _____
Department of Architecture, METU

Inst. Dr. Funda Baş Bütüner _____
Department of Architecture, METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bülent Batuman _____
Dep. of Urban Des. and Landscape Arch., Bilkent Uni.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ela Alanyalı Aral _____
Department of Architecture, Çankaya Uni.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Deniz Altay Kaya _____
Dep. of City and Regional Planning, Çankaya Uni.

Date: 11/12/2015

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Aslıhan Yılmaz

Signature:

ABSTRACT

CHANGING PUBLICNESS OF URBAN PARKS THROUGH TIME THE CASE OF GÜVENPARK, ANKARA

Yılmaz, Aslıhan

M.S. in Urban Design, Department of City and Regional Planning

Supervisor: Inst. Dr. Funda Baş Bütüner

Co-Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

December 2015, 119 pages

This thesis discusses the evolution of publicness expressed through different spatial planning approaches and interventions over the history of the Turkish Republic. Urban space is ideological and they are produced in accordance with an ideology. Throughout history, urban spaces undergo transformation and change in accordance with changing economic and socio-political dynamics. These dynamics not only transform urban space, but also affect the conception of publicness in society. In a sense, intervention into urban space is intervention into ideas of publicness. Throughout the history of urbanization, urban space has been the scene of conflict between the state, capital, and the public, but from the 1980s onwards, as a result of new urban policies, urban space has become the subject of conflict, and conflict has transformed into spatial struggle. In this study, the evolution of urban space and publicness in Turkey will be examined in the case of Güvenpark. The transformation of publicness is discussed in parallel with the spatial planning approaches and interventions over the history of the Turkish Republic.

Keywords: Parks, Urban space, Publicity, Güvenpark

ÖZ

KENTSEL PARKLARIN KAMUSALLIKLARININ ZAMAN İÇİNDE DEĞİŞİMİ GÜVENPARK ÖRNEĞİ, ANKARA

Yılmaz, Aslıhan

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım Programı, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Öğr. Gör. Dr. Funda Baş Bütüner

Ortak Tez Yöneticisi : Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

Aralık 2015, 119 sayfa

Bu tez, Türkiyede kamusalığın zaman içindeki evrimini, farklı planlama yaklaşımları ve uygulamaları ile, tartışmaktadır. Kentsel mekan ideolojiktir ve belli bir ideoloji ile üretilirler. Tarihi süreç içerisinde değişen ekonomik-sosyal-politik dinamiklerle beraber, kentsel mekanlar da değişir-dönüşür. Bu dinamikler kent mekanını dönüştürürken kamusallık anlayışını da etkiler. Bir anlamda kentsel mekana yapılan müdahaleler kamusallığa yapılan müdahaledir. Kent mekanı, kentleşme tarihi boyunca devlet-sermaye-halk arası çatışmaların sahnesi olmuşken, 1980 sonrası uygulanmaya başlanan politikalar sonucu, kent mekanı çatışmaların öznesi haline gelmiş, çatışmalar mekansal mücadeleye dönüşmüştür. Bu tezde, Türkiyede, kent mekanının ve kamusallığın zaman içinde nasıl evrildiğini Güvenpark özelinde incelenmiştir. Belirlenen tarihsel aralıklardaki mekansal planlama yaklaşımları ve müdahaleler üzerinden kamusallığın değişimi tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Parklar, Kentsel mekan, Kamusallık, Güvenpark.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to express her deepest gratitude to her supervisor Inst. Dr. Funda Bař BÜTÜNER for her guidance, advice, criticism, encouragement and insight throughout this research. Also thanks to her co-supervisor Prof. Dr. Güven A. SARGIN for his advice and recommendations throughout this research.

The author offers sincere thanks to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Çağatay KESKİNOK for sharing personal written and visual documents relating to the study. Also thanks to examining committee members; Assoc. Prof. Dr. Bülent BATUMAN, Assist. Prof. Dr. Ela Alanyalı Aral and Assist. Prof. Dr. Deniz Altay KAYA for their guidance, criticism and encouragement, and sincere thanks to department lecturers Prof. Dr. Baykan GÜNAY and Adnan BARLAS.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
ÖZ.....	vi
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
CHAPTERS.....	1
1.INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Aim of the Study.	1
1.2 Structure of the Thesis.....	5
2.INTEGRATED HISTORY OF PARKS AND PUBLICNESS	9
2.1 Public Space and Publicness	9
2.2 Urban Parks as Public Spaces	16
3.URBAN PARK EXPERIENCES IN TURKEY.....	35
3.1 The Ottoman Period: the <i>Mesire</i>	36
3.2 The Tanzimat Period: The First Parks in Istanbul, 1839- 1923	40
3.3 The Republican Period: Parks in Ankara, 1923 -	44
3.3.1 Parks Created for Ideological Purposes.....	47
3.3.2 Parks Created for Social Purposes.....	48
3.3.3 Parks Created for the Benefit of Capital.....	50
3.3.4 Parks as Spaces of Resistance	52

4.THE CHANGING ‘PUBLICNESS’ OF GÜVENPARK: PLANNING APPROACHES AND SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS	59
4.1. The Period Between 1923-1950: The Construction of Güvenpark..	60
4.1.1 Construction of Ankara as a Modern Capital City: Public Space and Green Strategies.....	62
4.1.2 Construction of Güvenpark	66
4.1.3 Construction of the Publicness of the New Bourgeoisie	69
4.1.4 Construction of the Güvenlik Monument.....	71
4.1.5 Spatial Interventions.....	73
4.2. The Period Between 1950-1980: The Invasion of Güvenpark	74
4.2.1 Invasion of the City Center	76
4.2.2 Invasion of Güvenpark	82
4.3. The Period Between 1980 – 2011: The Deformation of Güvenpark	85
4.3.1 Planning Approaches and Projects	87
4.3.1.a Güvenpark Renovation Project of 1985	87
4.3.1.b Underground Car Park for Güvenpark	91
4.3.2 Spatial Interventions.....	94
4.4 The Period Between 2011 - Today.	96
4.4.2 New Barriers and Interrupted Space in Güvenpark.....	101
5.CONCLUSION.....	111
REFERENCES	121

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 1: Victorian Parks, Queenspark, London.	21
Figure 2: Victoria Park, London.....	22
Figure 3: Birkenhead Park Map.....	23
Figure 4: Birkenhead Park.....	23
Figure 5: Central Park, New York.....	24
Figure 6: 68 Generation, America.....	27
Figure 7: People’s Park Protests Berkeley.....	29
Figure 8: Parc de la Villette.....	30
Figure 9: Garden Bridge Project.....	31
Figure 10: Zuccotti Park during Occupy Wall Street protest.	34
Figure 11: Sadabat Mesire.....	37
Figure 12: Taksim Garden Map.....	44
Figure 13: Taksim Garden.....	44
Figure 14: Aerial view of Gençlik Park.....	48
Figure 15: Gençlik Park Plan 1936.....	48
Figure 16: Aerial view of Seğmenler Park.	49
Figure 17: Aerial view of Harikalar Diyarı.	51
Figure 18: Gezi Park, İstanbul.....	55
Figure 19: Gezi Resistance Slogans.	58
Figure 20: The Löcher Plan.	64
Figure 21: The Jansen Plan.....	65
Figure 22: Schönbrun Palace, Vienna.	67
Figure 23: Güvenpark Axis and Zonning.	67
Figure 24: Aerial view of Güvenpark, 1942.....	69
Figure 25: Aerial view of Güvenpark, 1947.....	69
Figure 26: Güvenpark, 1940.....	70

Figure 27: Güvenpark, 1937.....	70
Figure 28: Güvenlik (Security) Monument in Güvenpark.	73
Figure 29: Güvenpark After 1980's	76
Figure 30: Aerial view of Güvenpark 1982.....	76
Figure 31: A poster from the 1970s.....	78
Figure 32: A poster from 2013	78
Figure 33: Güvenpark in the 1975's.....	79
Figure 34: Güvenpark and the Kızılay Pedestrian Zones Project	81
Figure 35: The Yalçın-Beate Oğuz Project.	82
Figure 36: Aerial view of Güvenpark 1957.....	84
Figure 37: Aerial view of Güvenpark 1976.....	84
Figure 38: Kızılay Square and Güvenpark in the 1980s.	86
Figure 39: The Güvenpark Renovation Project.....	88
Figure 40: Güvenpark Renovation Project.....	89
Figure 41: News About Güvenpark.....	92
Figure 42: News About Güvenpark.....	93
Figure 43: News About Güvenpark.....	93
Figure 44: Aerial view of Güvenpark, 1988.....	95
Figure 45: Aerial view of Güvenpark, 1999.....	95
Figure 46: Tekel Protests, Güvenpark	99
Figure 47: Güvenpark, October 2015.....	104
Figure 48: Aerial view of Güvenpark (27.07.2011)	105
Figure 49: Aerial view of Güvenpark (25.07.2015)	105
Figure 50: Schema of current situation of Güvenpark 2015	106
Figure 51: Güvenlik Monument Reliefs.....	107

LIST OF TABLES

TABLES

Table 1: Table of 'Transformation of Güvenpark' Through Periods.	108
---	-----

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim of the Study.

In this thesis, the evolution of publicness is stated by discussing-analyzing the changes and transformations on an urban space throughout history, affirming that urban space reflects the perception of publicness as a base.

As a case study, the changes and transformations occurring in a public space through the effect of changing urban dynamics (political-economic socio-cultural dynamics) are examined through looking at Güvenpark in Ankara, Turkey. These spatial changes are handled in the context of both physical space and also the semantics of the space. Changes made to this urban area also contribute to changing our perception of its publicness. The publicness mentioned in this thesis is the ‘democratic’ publicness defined by Habermas. In this context, the way in which the perception of publicness in Turkey has evolved in parallel to changes in urban spaces is also a subject of this thesis.

Urban spaces are dynamic structures. They constantly transform and change together with society. Spaces and the public are always in interaction. Spatial changes and transformations show the direction in which our societies are evolving. In other words, though these spatial changes, it can be understood the direction in which the society is shifting.

Urban spaces are ideological. They reflect the ideology of the power of the period in which they were built. They give a message to society through their

architecture, meaning and functionality, while contributing to the transformation of society through these ideological approaches. In this context, urban parks, being some of the most important open urban spaces in cities, are also ideological and reflect the perception of publicness within a society.

Parks first appeared in cities through the discourse on publicness and public spaces. Parks are representative and also symbolic spaces of publicness. Since parks are symbolic spaces, in the context of publicness, they have been selected as the case study in this thesis.

Parks are indispensable components of cities. They emerged during periods of urbanization as representatives of nature in cities. As a concept, they emerged together with rapid urbanization following the industrial revolution in Europe, so in derivation they are fundamentally capitalist urban spaces.

Parks also symbolize the tension between the city and the countryside. Consequently, they are the opposite pole to the usual urban dynamics. Parks are an integral part of urban environments, but on the other hand, they represent a contrast with the urban when compared with other urban spaces. They represent nature, freedom, and equality, providing a reference to life before urbanization. Urban space in which there is freedom and equality, is a 'democratic' public space, as described by Habermas. Since parks inherently represent equality, freedom and nature, they form part of the intelligible space of democratic publicness in cities.

Parks also change together with the rest of the urban fabric as a result of changing circumstances and needs over time. They evolve together both physically and cognitively. All kinds of dynamics affecting the city also affect urban parks. Among these dynamics are political and economic changes, immigration, wars, and natural disasters.

Urban space is always an area of conflict. Urban parks are some of the spaces where the conflict between the state, the public and capital is most openly experienced. Especially after the new urban policies of the 1980s, urban space has become both the subject and space of conflict. These conflicts became a struggle for hegemony in urban space. In other words, the urban park became a space that could not be shared spatially between different actors. The public struggled to keep their common space, while capital and the state consider parks as potential areas of investment. Thus, this is a form of spatialization of the struggle for 'democracy'.

Over their histories, urban spaces change and transform under the effect of urban dynamics. Urban space is a space in which the state repeatedly demonstrates itself, while citizens also express themselves. The state keeps its hegemony through controlling society and it does this through various methods. Spatial intervention is one of them. Especially after the 1980s, as a result of the neoliberal policies of that era, capital spread over urban space, and urban space became a commodity. This also led to the production of commodified spaces. In another words, a partnership has emerged between the state and capital. As a strategy of globalized neoliberal policies, the 'security problem' has come onto agenda and the production of secure spaces has begun in cities. Gated communities and monitored spaces have entered our lives. In this period, the power of the police is also increased using the security problem as an excuse. Now, in case of necessity, the police are able to occupy these spaces and question citizens. This is, in a sense, one example of the reduction of democratic perception of publicness.

Today states are being gradually militarized and the security of the state is being placed ahead of public safety. States keep the people repressed in the name of 'security' through a variety of measures despite the continuation of resistance by the people. Nowadays, public space has become space for resistance and parks, as an urban space, have become symbolic space for this resistance. One of the parks that has played host to these forms of resistance is Güvenpark.

The reason for selecting Güvenpark as a case study in this thesis is that it was one of the first urban spaces in the history of the Turkish Republic and still exists today. Throughout history, it has witnessed and hosted many events as a public space and in this process, throughout changing urban dynamics and physical conditions, the meaning and function of the space has constantly changed. Therefore Güvenpark is an archetype for this study. The transformations that Güvenpark experienced over time show us how our perceptions of public space and publicness have evolved throughout the history of the republic.

As a method, we will seek to evaluate our changing perception of publicness over time through an analysis of Güvenpark's spatial, functional and semantic transformation. In order to perform this analysis, materials concerning each period, consisting of written documents (theses, articles, books, etc.), visual documents (maps and photographs), and other types of information (newspapers, web documents, etc.) were gathered. Interpretations were made by collating data collected from these resources with each other to create a full picture of the park in each period. These pictures were reached using data collected in different parts. A deductive reasoning logic was followed and a qualitative research method was applied.

The written and visual documents pertaining to each period, as well as planning approaches and interventions are analyzed and set out. Aerial photographs were used in order to reveal spatial variations. Spatial changes were compared and documented and a schema was prepared. Economic, political and social events and spatial changes were superimposed on the map and conclusions were reached through this comparison.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis.

This thesis consists of five sections.

After briefly stating the major intentions and structure of the thesis in chapter 1, the next chapter consists of a generic literature review of writing on urban parks and publicness.

Chapter Two is dealt with under two headings: first of all, public space and the publicness concepts are discussed in detail, in particular the definitions of Habermas and Sennett. There is a review of the literature encompassing how the concepts of public space and publicness have emerged and what these concepts mean today.

Under the second heading, there is a discussion of the importance of parks as an urban public space. Sennett's utilization of the park concept for his definitions of publicness and public space is also considered. The similarity between Habermas's definition of democratic publicness and the concepts that parks symbolically represent are revealed in this section.

In other words, the reason for focusing on parks in expressing transformations of the concept of publicness is explained by the common characteristics of parks and publicness. Hence, the argument that 'parks are symbolic spaces of publicness' is discussed in this chapter.

The ideological approaches toward the emergence and development of parks in Europe and America is mentioned, benefiting from Cranz's studies on parks and his park category. As a conclusion, it is considered how the perception of park creation has been evaluated across the world over time along with changing external dynamics. The fact that parks today are becoming spaces for action in parallel with changing conditions, with the 'Occupy' protests as an example, are also considered in this section.

In Chapter Three, the topics discussed in general terms in the second chapter are examined in the case of Turkey. First, reference is made to the utilization of green spaces and the perception of publicness in Ottoman times and later it is mentioned how parks were seen as urban space throughout the modernisation process in the Tanzimat Period. The first park, which was ‘Taksim Garden’¹ constructed in Istanbul, is given as an example.

The ideological differences between the emergence of parks in Turkey and Europe are considered. It is surveyed, what kind of ideology created the parks after the proclamation of the republic and in subsequent periods, as a result of changing dynamics, and consider how the perception evolved is put forward by looking at parks created at different times.

In the final period, as an extension of global neoliberal policies, how parks have begun to be perceived as areas for investment is considered. As a result of the invasion of parks by capital, social reactions, like the 'Gezi' protests, which are considered as an example, occurred. In other words, the appearance and transformation of the concept of publicness concept and parks in Turkey, through changing dynamics in history, is examined in this chapter. This information is given in order to sustain the historical spatial analysis of Güvenpark in the next chapter.

In Chapter Four, changes in our perceptions of publicness is examined by way of a spatial analysis of Güvenpark. This analysis covers the perceptions during the planning and creation of the park, and a comparison between the spatial interventions into the park throughout history.

Güvenpark was considered as the case study in this thesis. The mentality behind changes in urban space production and, in parallel, the perception of publicness as a result of changing urban dynamics are considered through the case of

¹ *‘Taksim Bahçesi’ in Turkish.*

Güvenpark. First, the spatial importance of Güvenpark is considered in terms of its place in Turkey's adventure in modernization, which began with the establishment of Ankara as the capital. In addition to this, the ideological approaches to the construction process of Güvenpark is discussed, the political-economic changes after it and its influence on Güvenpark.

These chronological changes are handled together with the important social and political events of the period. The historical timeline has been categorized into four parts according to different social periods since the declaration of the republic have. In addition to Şengül's classification, the Occupy movement, which affected the whole world, is accepted as another groundbreaking incident in this division of history.

- The period between 1923-1950. (Foundation and restructuring of republic, statist economy period, construction of Yenışehir, where Güvenpark is based.)
- The period between 1950-1980. (Transition to the multi-party system, military coups and import substitution economy policy period, social left actions, rapid urbanization.)
- The period between 1980-2011. (Transition to neoliberal policies, the globalization process.)
- The period between 2011- today. (Fully globalized economy, the occupy movements.)

The physical interventions (or attempts at them) in Güvenpark were evaluated within these four periods through the lens of changing urban dynamics and the changes in the meaning of Güvenpark's publicness were examined as an extension of these interventions.

The spatial change in Güvenpark is put forward schematically and weighed up within this schema. The interventions in Güvenpark are examined and it is shown how urban space gained a military aspect following the state's concern with

being the absolute power in public space after the social movements held demonstrations in urban spaces and parks.

In the last part, the aim of the study is fulfilled. The development of our public space and perception of publicness over time is evaluated in general and in conclusion, the perception of publicness today is discussed in this section. The mechanisms of control states have over urban space on a global scale is also discussed.

The emergence of a new conception of publicness after the Gezi protests is put forward. Parks are now being used as a gathering space and becoming the locus of this new publicness, which is expressed in relation to its history. It is mentioned how while one part of society is demanding and struggling for their public rights, the state applies various methods in order to suppress these struggles and public space gradually becomes more militarized; it is then considered how today states are increasingly approaching these issues on a global scale because public reactions are increasingly taking on these proportions.

CHAPTER 2

INTEGRATED HISTORY OF PARKS AND PUBLICNESS

One essential need of human beings is to position themselves in the universe. (Merleau-Ponty).² This existential need of individuals to express themselves³ is met via different spaces. Urban spaces are key factors in social life where individuals are able to express themselves. Communicating, sharing and debating with each other count as publicness and take place in urban public spaces. These urban public spaces transform physically, functionally and semantically over time due to changing socio-economic and political dynamics.

This section will form the basis for the main argument of the thesis by stating the general claims about the concepts of publicness and public space together with the importance of parks as public spaces.

2.1 Public Space and Publicness

The subject of publicness was first discussed in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* by Habermas, a political philosopher. Habermas dwelt on the relationship between the state and civil society while discussing the structural dimension of the transformation from the beginning of the industrialization process in the 17th century. He did this by comparing public spaces with private ones. To him, publicness began in intellectual environments, with the

² He was a French phenomenological philosopher, strongly influenced by Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger. Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maurice_Merleau-Ponty. (last accessed: 27.11.2015)

³ Expressing oneself, making oneself visible or in other words, positioning oneself in society is an existential need.

bourgeoisie producing dissenting opinions and provoking the people against the state in the 18th and 19th centuries (Habermas, 1962).

Habermas, in this work (*The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*) told about the historical development of publicness in the West. According to him, the distinction between public and private dates back to Ancient Greece. During that period, public life emerged from marketplaces and meetings where the people discussed their problems (Habermas, 1962). The Middle Ages did not witness the emergence of a different public sphere. In this period, the public sphere was the expression of the symbolism of those in power (kings, barons, lords, etc.). During this time, he says, the public sphere expresses the symbolic power of kings and lords at meetings and activities such as festivals and feasts where public participation is restricted. This public sphere, expressed by Habermas as the 'representative' public sphere, reflects the life of the monarchies of the 15th and 16th Centuries (Habermas, 1962).

With the development of commercial capitalism and replacement of feudal authority in the 16th Century, a shift is observed from a representative public sphere to a more democratic public sphere. Defined by Habermas as 'bourgeois public sphere', this new public sphere emerges as a new arena between the state and private sphere (Habermas, 1962). In this arena, the bourgeoisie discussed political issues among themselves. This new public sphere was not an extension of the powers in government, but a sphere standing against the powers in government. It was an environment of freedom that was open to everyone and free of restrictions on debate. The definition provided by Habermas for the public sphere is exactly reflected by this sphere; a platform where the individual is free to express their own opinions. In other words, "the public sphere, in one sense, is the political base of public opinion that is active in social life" (Sargin, 2002: 13).

According to Sennett, the word 'public' was used for the first time in France in the middle of the 17th Century to refer to the community of theatregoers. Unable

to express themselves in outside spaces, the audience found a means to express themselves at the theatre (Sennett, 1977).

Sennett, on the other hand, mentions in his work the need of the individual for self-expression in a society before publicness. This is related to affiliation to a place and group, the sense of belonging. Therefore, the need of the public to gather in urban spaces emerged. In particular, coffee houses were the main meeting points in metropolises such as London and Paris at the end of the 17th Century and beginning of the 18th Century (Sennett, 1977). According to Sennett, theatres and parks were the other places that were developing as public spaces. Sennett's work informs us about urban life and how the public used parks at that time. Urban spaces assumed great importance in the formation of a European public sphere. The societal events of the 18th Century and the strengthening of capitalism brought a wave of change to public life as urban spaces became the scenery of public life, and these developments gave these concepts their present meanings (Sargin, 2002).

According to Sennett, the city is the space where the public sphere is formed. Specifically, the outdoor public spaces that play an essential role in the formation of cities are spaces where people of different characteristics coming from a full range of social classes and cultural groups come together. In these public areas, individuals may come across new ideas that are different from their own and express themselves. The openness of public spaces to everyone (people from different cultures and groups) and the possibilities they provide for talking about subjects that belong to the social realm enabled the formation of groups or communities within this context. (Sennett, 1977)

Through the emergence of city states, the formation of spatial organization in urban space began to take on the distinction between 'public' and 'private'. Sennett explains the public sphere through this duality. Sennett states that the juxtaposition of 'public' and 'private' attained a form in the 17th century that is similar to its usage today. While the word 'public' refers to that which is open to

the use of everyone, the word 'private' means a secluded living zone delimited by the family and friends of an individual (Sennett, 1977).

Habermas defined the public sphere as the living sphere defined by tools, processes and spaces where private persons reason around a common issue of concern, are involved in rational debate and form common opinions as a result of such debate: public opinion. Habermas also considers the role of discursive practices in the space (Habermas, 1962).

'Public space' emerged in Europe in the 18th Century. In parallel with the changes and developments in European cities at the time, public areas also changed significantly. Over time, cities attained the power and ability to produce activity in both economic and cultural terms. According to Sennett, 'public spaces' within a city evoke the togetherness of different echelons and these emerge together with the metropolises of the 18th Century. As these cities grew, an increased need arose for new public spaces. Outdoor areas, streets and squares began to assume the specific functions of urban parks. Urban practices which had been aimed solely at the nobility were now no longer the monopoly of a small group of elites, they were disseminated to all echelons of society; in fact, even the proletariat started to use these urban spaces (Sargın, 2002; Aytaç, 2007).

Consequently, the new public space that emerged in the 18th Century and was maintained throughout the 19th Century (the bourgeois public space) was a cultural environment where the public-private duality was redefined, and individuals expressed themselves through new public behavioural patterns balanced by a withdrawn private life. In other words, it was an arena where the social system was dissolved, individuals emerged as social beings and public awareness was raised (Sennett, 1977).

According to Sennett, public spaces are places where individuals can meet. Through this, the individual becomes aware of the society in which they live in. Specifically, interactions among people from different cultures and classes are

important for the togetherness of society. A life in which groups are remote from and unaware of one another leads to the formation of clashing communities and the alienation and disintegration of society. People from different classes and cultures must meet one another and share the common public sphere, because these areas are spaces of freedom that belong to everyone and where everyone has equal rights (Sennett, 1977).

The public spaces of a city are the spaces which host the representation of the urban public. Daily life is established through these spaces and regenerated every day. Humans are social beings; they are also able to socialize while taking care of their daily needs (food and beverages, shopping, entertainment, etc.) in these spaces. Individuals find environments within these spaces to express themselves and to attain social status and gain reputations. They demonstrate their own identities and express this through their clothing styles and conversations. In other words, public spaces are where individuals become visible.

Urban spaces are also where the state reflects its ideology and becomes visible. This makes urban spaces (public spaces) the center of the conflict and negotiation between the state and the people. To Habermas, communication based on these negotiations is publicly political and this is what forms the base of democracy (Habermas, 1962).

Together with the 20th century, “democracy based on core values like participation, majoritarianism, and fundamental rights and liberties, which came in with the modernization process, caused major transformations in perceptions of public space as well”⁴ (Eren, 2005: 101). Today, we can talk about a more pluralist public space (Eren, 2005).

Urban public spaces form the arena in which daily life takes place and publicness is represented. Parks, squares, streets, cafes and malls are clear examples.

⁴ *Translated by the author.*

Although speeches do not usually take place on squares and agoras nowadays as they used to be in ancient history, urban spaces are still the stage for political acts and speeches (Bıyık, 2011). They have important roles in the reproduction and transformation of urban life (publicness) not just through their functional and physical characteristics but also through their meaning (symbolism). In this context, lead actors in shaping urban space play an active role in the production of urban life as well.

There is no such thing as an urban space that is not controlled and subject to attempts at manipulation by the state throughout history because the more it makes its mark on the space the more powerful it shows it is. The state imposes itself upon the society by doing that. In other words, urban spaces have always been ideological tools of the state. Capital, which has to continuously reproduce urban space, and the state, wanting to control the space, considers society as purely a consumer, forming the basis to reproduce itself through cooperation (Bıyık, 2011). Lately, the spreading of capital to urban spaces has caused public spaces to become spaces of consumption.

Publicness in the 20th century differs from that of the 18th century. Capitalism is especially efficient in transforming public space, and public spaces have begun to be privatized. Public spaces lost their meaning in the 18th century and private space gained importance. This condition, considered 'the collapse of public spaces', caused publicness to spread into various new arenas. Recently, with advancements in technology and communication tools, publicness has exceeded the space and this digital publicness has become a tool for organizing social movements on a global scale. Strengthened global statements against capitalism scares states. Thus, they try to control them as well, in order to maintain their power.

Public spaces are stages for the state to dominate. They increase their pressure on daily life in an attempt to gain absolute control of public spaces. In our daily

life, public spaces became places shaped and transformed by the state and the capital.

Today, urban spaces have been shredded by the interventions they have been subjected to over time. This fragmented form has made open public spaces transition areas with little public use as a result of the strategic practices of the state authority. They try to make the space look like this is its only purpose (Bıyık, 2011). We do not recognize this condition much in our daily struggle, but it is actually the state's way of controlling the society by way of spatial practices. This is how they override people's efforts to become visible and make themselves.

The state gained the power to control public life and urban spaces a long time ago. It restricts public life mostly on the grounds of public welfare and public safety. However these restrictions also limit freedom of thought and expression, which are the fundamentals of a democratic society (Eren, 2005). When people try to be visible political actors in urban public spaces in defiance of the state's efforts to oppress society, this causes public spaces to become conflict zones.

Public Space is space where people seek to become visible in the eyes of authority in order to promote change and actively express themselves individually or collectively; in short, to use Arendt's words again, it is 'the space of *vita activa*', [i.e.] humanistic life space where people actively do things. However, especially in the recent years, states have undergone transformations in how acceptable they consider these activeness. They seek to suppress every conscious and intentional act in public spaces with police violence. Every act on a macro or micro scale is answered with excessive violence and this leads us to discuss the worrying progress of the state in extending its authority, and restricting and even destroying civilian life⁵ (Bıyık, 2011: 13-14).

Urban spaces are also fields of action, because although daily practices create constant communication with the state, an efficient dialogue is only possible via collective reactions (Bıyık, 2011). People use urban spaces as tools to show their

⁵ *Translated by the author.*

reaction in public forums. Especially over recent years, public spaces have become 'spaces of resistance' where people try to the state hear their voice and urban parks are also examples for that resistance spaces.

2.2 Urban Parks as Public Spaces

The spatial forms and functions of urban spaces inform our sense of publicness. Urban spaces transform spatially and semantically through the effect of dynamics which play out over time. These changes and transformations in these spaces demonstrate the development of our perceptions of publicness.

The open urban spaces in cities are streets and avenues (pavements), squares and parks. Parks are urban spaces which first emerged in industrial cities. Parks do not occur in medieval towns. They are the symbols of modern cities, such that they appeared at the time when the concept of publicness was first being discussed and become symbolic spaces of publicness. Thus, parks have great importance to urbanization, modernization and nation-building. Today, parks are essential spaces for cities, such that in every city, there is at least one urban park.

In the 19th century, rapid urbanization and the capitalist system had broken people's connection with nature. Marx argues that man should have a relationship with nature in order to maintain their lives.⁶ Thus, parks are built in cities as representatives of nature. They are artificially produced as a piece of nature within capitalist cities. In this context, they are ideological.

⁶ Marx's approach to this subject matter have a significant place in intellectual history. Marx argues that man should have a relationship with nature in order to maintain their lives. Although the discourse of Marx on this subject focuses on the criticism of the capitalist system, his dialectic approach to the nature and man preserves its significance today: 'Man lives from nature -- nature is his body -- and he must maintain a continuing dialogue with it if he is not to die.'. Marx and Engels are of the opinion that nature is the inorganic body of man. That is, nature and man constitute a whole. Nature is a part of man. Man must maintain unity with nature. The ideas of authors and philosophers such as Marx and Engels had an impact on the society (the public) and thus, on the urban space in their periods. Source: Clark, J. P., (1989), https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/EngelsDialectics_of_Nature_part.pdf (last accessed: 17.09.2015) In fact, some movements in urban planning such as E. Howard's 'garden city' concept at the end of the 19th Century changed approaches to urban planning.

Nature is a space of equality and liberty and does not belong to anyone. In the same way, its urban representative, parks, do not belong anyone and represent equality and liberty. This coincides with Habermas's definition of democratic publicness. Thereby, parks are one of the (democratic) public spaces Habermas mentions as symbolizing publicness.

Urban spaces are all ideological and carry their own symbolism. Parks are also ideological spaces by the fact of being loci of both publicness and the modern city and by representing nature.

Parks are open green spaces produced for the (social-psychological-physical) needs of individuals. Towards the end of the 19th century, rapid urban growth and unhealthy living conditions in industrial cities endangered the sustainability of industrial production. Sustainability requires better living conditions for the proletariat and that is why collective housing and the production of recreation space (open green spaces) are important elements in shaping the modern capitalist cities of the 19th century. In other words, parks took their place in the ideological setting of modern city from the 19th century onwards.

“The city, by itself, is the space of rationalism of production and social order”⁷ (Akış, Batuman, 2000: 23). Cities have taken their shape in order to organize and control the labor force required to provide sustainable production in a modern sense. This means the organization needs to take control of the urban space. It organizes where and how the urban citizen will live, how they will spend the weekend and where they will spend their earnings. In a way, it obliges the citizen (especially the working class) to become part of the capitalist system and thus ensures the sustainability of production. The organization of the city means the organization of urban spaces. And the most important urban spaces to be organized are parks, where citizens meet their recreation needs.

⁷ *Translated by the author.*

“Galen Cranz,⁸ draws attention to the recreational use of parks by the state, as a social element, as an ideological tool in times of social unrest”⁹ (Akış, Batuman, 2000: 23). During the great depression in 1929, activities were organized in parks for recreation in America (Akış, Batuman, 2000).

“Green spaces, as natural-living forms, remind the human mind stuck in an order of the appeal of the wild and free”¹⁰ (Akış, Batuman, 2000: 24). As mentioned before, parks have an ideological role in the urban setting as representatives of nature. This means the misuse of parks, which occurs on both a social and an individual scale. Political uses are an example of this. In other words, parks (green spaces), as representatives of nature, remind individuals of liberty and equality. They do not have a defined and fixed function or user unlike other urban spaces. They are open to various users and uses as spaces where control is weaker. One of these uses is 'anti-hegemonic daily practices' (Akış, Batuman: 2000).

Thus, (state) control is established by functionalizing these urban spaces (parks) and turning them into defined spaces which gain an ideological meaning. This space, so maladjusted to urban order, is used for various functions, securitized and surrounded with walls by the state in attempts to control the green spaces (parks). However, “parks sustain their existence as undefined relational networks by not being spaces controllable by a single agent”¹¹ (Akış, Batuman, 2000: 25). The emergence of these urban spaces (parks), which states today try to keep under control, was ideological.

“The term park is derived from the word 'parc' in French. It was first used to refer to an enclosed area for wildlife for the aim of hunting by the aristocracy”

⁸ “She is the author of *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (1982), which surveys the rise of the park system from 1850 to the present through four stages -- the pleasure ground, the reform park, the recreation facility and the open space system” Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Galen_Cranz (last accessed: 23.11.2015).

⁹ Translated by the author.

¹⁰ Translated by the author.

¹¹ Translated by the author.

(Botkin & Keller, 1995: 258). Thus, it can be inferred that parks emerged in Europe. The first parks were spaces restricted to the aristocracy, but later parks became public property over the course of time. This transformation occurred not only in parks, but also in urban space in general. A number of social transformations, revolutions, wars, changes of government, socio-economic changes, various movements and changes in urban policies have affected urban space throughout history and therefore, changes have been seen in public life, the use of public space and the needs of the people for public space. Urban parks have also evolved as a result of these changes and transformations, as has been the case for numerous urban spaces over the course of time.

Having represented aristocratic life until the 16th Century, the word 'public' was replaced by the 'bourgeois public' over the course of time (17th Century) and then came to represent the public at large. This is the same as the fact that the 'parcs', which were previously spaces belonging to the aristocracy, changed in meaning in parallel with 'public' and 'publicness' over time. In other words, parks, which had always belonged to the community, became public and urban property with changes in the meaning of the concept of community. Parks holding symbolic meaning in the development of 'publicness' also hold a symbolic meaning in the formation of urban publicness. Thus, a 'park' is a public space belonging to the city.

Parks have developed in parallel with a number of socio-economic, political and diplomatic events throughout the world. The change in parks and other urban spaces has been accompanied by political and economic changes and therefore, by social changes.

For instance, parks that emerged on the principle of the pleasure garden coincide with the emergence of the industrial revolution. The previous period (preparation) coincided with the emergence of the concepts of freedom, democracy and equality in society during the 1789 French Revolution. Social events and literary works regarding this subject matter played a critical role in

the formation of modern cities and resulted in the emergence of parks. Thus, 'parcs' and royal gardens, which were aristocratic spaces once, became public spaces.

Later, parks started to become different, in line with social needs at the beginning of the 20th Century. The use of urban space and therefore, the ways in which parks were used underwent a change due to the change in the position of the working classes in society together with advances in industrialization and modernism in particular¹². After the Second World War, the suburbanization that developed specifically in America affected the development of cities in many ways. As they began to live in suburbs, American people came across larger and more private green spaces, and the cities were occupied by low-income groups and the working class (Cranz, 1991). Therefore, urban parks came to be used more extensively by these groups. Some social movements affected urban spaces, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, and after the 2000s parks also began to be used as spaces of resistance.

As mentioned above, parks were one of the most important open public spaces in a city. In fact, it is no coincidence that the emergence of the concept of 'public space' coincided with the period in which parks emerged (the 18th Century). According to Sennett, the theatre and parks were the places that were developing as public space. Sennett's work informs us about the urban life and how the public used parks at that time.

A new arrangement was required for the city. This was the public park designed to facilitate the pedestrian walks and the movements of prairie schooners. In the 1730's, the construction of new parks and the transformation of neglected areas into parks and recreational places commenced in great earnest (Sennett, 1977: 121)...Many Londoners got accustomed to walking or riding at parks and at St James's Park in particular in the middle of this century¹³ (Sennett, 1977: 115).

¹² Along with industrialization, the housing issue and the unhealthy living conditions of the working class (lower-income group) in rapid-growing metropolises such as London became one of the main subjects of intellectual discussion. (Cranz 1991)

¹³ Translated by the author.



Figure 1: Victorian Parks, Queenspark, London.

Source: <http://www.queenspark.btik.com/ParkHistory>. (last accessed: 10.02.2015)

In 19th Century Europe, cities grew at an unhealthy rate as a result of rural migration to urban areas because churchyards, market spaces and existing open spaces left over from medieval times were no longer sufficient. Recreational green spaces were necessary in particular for migrating laborers. The main emphasis at this time was on the physical need for open space and the 'problem' of working-class recreation (Cranz, 1991).

Before parks, 'commons' were the traditional places for recreation. Most common land originated as the wastelands of a manor, with the ownership of the soil vested in the lord of the manor... With population growth, the commons in and near towns became used increasingly for recreation. Fairs, religious meetings, electoral meetings and a variety of sports took place on the commons... Botanic gardens and cemeteries are examples of public open spaces and therefore precursors of public parks (Conway, 1991: 23).

“The term could imply 're-creation', that is to say, refreshment of the mind and spirit necessary for the right development of our being” (Conway, 1991: 29).

Re-creation, with the aim of controlling and improving the lower classes, was entertainment for wealthier people. Since parks were tools of social control in the 19th century, class anxieties were always a part of their creation (Akış, Batuman, 2000).

In 1833, it was recommended that the commons become a park in London. In that period, Kensington Common, which had been used for recreation on

summer days, became a place for political meetings. Three years after the Charist Meeting (1848) at which 25,000 people gathered, the idea of turning the common into park was realized. Hyde Park, St James Park, and Kensington Gardens were the first gardens opened to public use by the royalty in England. In Paris, after the French Revolution, the royal gardens had also been open to public. (Conway, 1991) These landscape gardens, which had been the property of nobility or royalty, were only open for the public to walk through in certain cases and restricted periods (Şimşek, 2002).

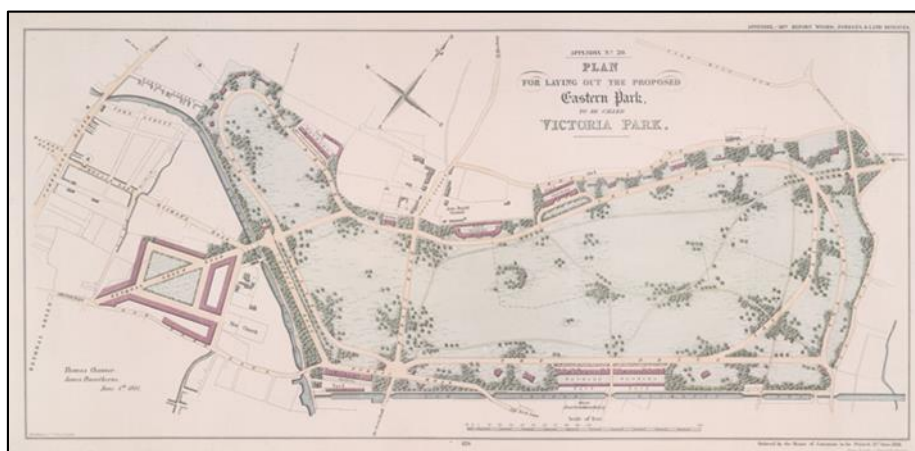


Figure 2: Victoria Park, London.

Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0c/Victoria_Park_proposal_1841.jpg (last accessed: 01.02.2015)

During that period, parks also used as a solution against increasing polarizing class system and social unrest between workers and employers.

The utilitarians believed that the working class saw the nobility and gentry solely as enemies...Contact between the classes would occur in parks and as a result social tensions would be reduced and social harmony promoted...The more they mix with one another, the more they will understand of one another (Conway, 1991: 35-36).

If the different classes were brought into contact with each other they would become aware of one another's common humanity. The matter of the need for public parks was approved by the parliament in England towards the end of the 1840s, and the public Victoria Park was built on 110 hectares of royal land in

south London (Figure 2). Thereby the recreation needs of the people in the area were met and the value of the lands were increased (Conway, 1991).

In this period, the 'municipal park model' was created and several parks were built in various districts of England. Likewise, Birkenhead Park in Liverpool was built to offset some of the negatives of industrialization in 1847 (Conway, 1991).



Figure 3: Birkenhead Park Map
Source: <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/courses/rsc/hwart/hist151s05/Enlightenment.htm> (last accessed: 10.02.2015).



Figure 4: Birkenhead Park
Source: Google Earth Map 2015.

At the beginning of 19th century, problems in American cities were similar to those of their counterparts in Europe. Industrialization and the capitalist system were also growing in the United States. As a result of these rapidly growing cities, the relationship between man and nature began to deteriorate. In addition to this, there were problems over the rights of immigrants and the working class, ethnicity, rights and issues of freedom on the new land. The urbanization of America, which does not stem from a single common historical background, happened differently to that of Europe. Parks were located in urban areas more programatically.

The 'municipal park model' of England became a pioneer of the 'pleasure ground model' in the United States (Şimşek, 2002). So the initial parks created in Europe can be counted as 'pleasure grounds'. These parks also affected the design of parks in the US.

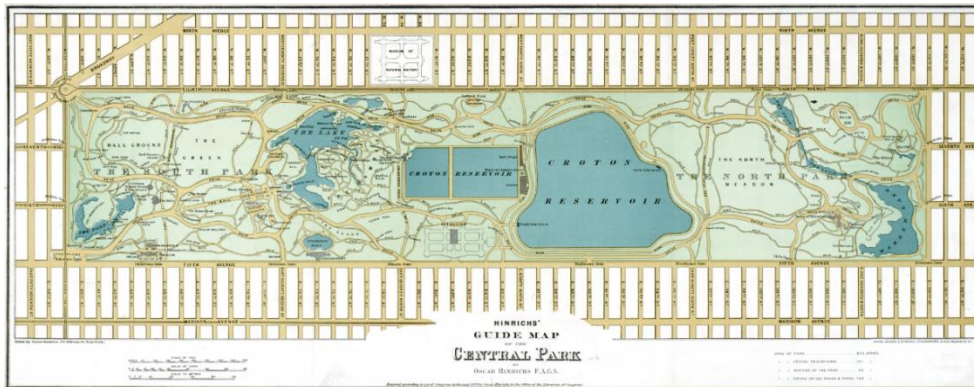


Figure 5: Central Park, New York.

Source: <http://www.arch2o.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Arch2o-NewYork-Manhattan-CentralPark-18.png> (last accessed: 10.02.2015)

There weren't any parks created from ruined palace gardens in America. But the first parks were created like the first parks that emerged in Europe. The most important of these parks is Central Park (Figure 5). Frederick Law Olmsted¹⁴ was the designer of the park. Before the construction of the park he visited Europe and he was very impressed, especially by Birkenhead Park (Şimşek, 2002). Parks in the USA gained pastoral appearances as representations of nature in the city, like the ones in Europe (Figure 3-4).

During the 19th century, social concerns were still at the forefront in the creation of parks. In particular the belief that 'families' were under threat from modern cities was very common. Hence, it was thought that parks should contain activities to build bridges between family members. In this period the different

¹⁴ "Frederick Law Olmsted, the designer of many of the great parks of this era, believed that the greatest counterpoint to urban form was pure wilderness, but this belief was tempered by his recognition of the impracticality of achieving the illusion of wilderness anywhere near a city. Consequently, he chose the pastoral landscape as the most pragmatic and appropriate way to provide relief from the city." *Changing Roles of Urban Parks. From Pleasure Garden to Open Space.* Source: <http://www.spur.org/publications/article/2000-06-01/changing-roles-urban-parks> (last accessed: 12.11.2015)

choices of employers and employees for settlement increased class discrimination.¹⁵ One purpose of the 'pleasure gardens' was uniting the different social classes. Urbanization and industrialization should not, it was thought, be allowed to corrupt the 'democratic' society. Although these parks were thought of as democratic public areas, they were favored more by the middle class (Conway, 1991).

When the 20th century arrived, increases in rural migration to urban areas caused 'slum districts' to form (Carr, 1992). To offset the negative factors in these districts, where mostly lower class households lived, 'little playgrounds' (reform parks) were built. The purpose of these playgrounds, built mostly for the younger population, was socially training the kids through games (Cranz, 1991).

While pleasure garden parks provided space for recreation, reform parks were equipped with recreational tools such as active playing fields, football, archery, and tennis grounds. Thus, reform parks mostly consisted of firm grounds instead of green areas and the pastoral illusion was completely abandoned with these parks (Cranz, 1991). Reform parks were built on parcels of land between buildings to make child access easy and to become places where the young could get together for various activities rather than families (Şimşek, 2002).

After the great depression in 1929, parks containing various recreational facilities began to be built to provide unemployed people with a place to spend their leisure time. During these years, ideologies focusing on solving urban problems through public parks were abandoned. Their new purpose was giving people a pleasant place to spend their leisure time. Active recreational fields were designed for adults and children alike. Swimming pools, picnic areas, football fields, gymnastic equipment etc. was provided in the new recreation parks. Also, the planning of parks were shaped in accordance with the

15 Changing Roles of Urban Parks, From Pleasure Garden to Open Space, Article, June 1, 2000. Source: <http://www.spur.org/publications/article/2000-06-01/changing-roles-urban-parks> (last accessed : 11. 10 2015)

organization of playing fields. Parks were being reprogrammed for sporting activity.¹⁶

Robert Mosses¹⁷, argued that planners should no longer use parks as a way to solve urban problems. The previous two models had been very heavily endowed with social agendas, whereas this one saw the park as 'just for fun of it' so instrumental justifications for parks and recreation were no longer offered. The new justification was fun, an end in itself because people want it. It was a market mentality: if there is a demand, supply it (Cranz, 1991: 120).

During World War II, parks were given to the military for drills, making them a site for war preparation in the middle of social life (Akış, Batuman, 2000). After the war, spreading suburban settlement changed urban life. Since the middle class had garden houses outside the city, parks were no longer needed and urban parks were left to the lower class in city centers. By the ideology of “parks ‘from reform to leisure’ in this period, the park departments became commercial producers of entertainment commodities” (Cranz, 1982; Şimşek, 2002: 56).

After the 1960s came an era in which reactions and displeasure arose against urbanization and the politics of states in American society. In this period, 'unbuilt' areas began to be seen as potential 'physical relief' areas for the people. Empty spaces between buildings and in the alleys were examples.¹⁸ “The underlying ideology of the open space system is that the city is an art form worth saving. This new attitude toward the city and its open space occurred precisely when the inner city was perceived as decaying.”¹⁹

¹⁶ *Changing Roles of Urban Parks. From Pleasure Garden to Open Space. Source:* <http://www.spur.org/publications/article/2000-06-01/changing-roles-urban-parks>. (last accessed: 23.11.2015)

¹⁷ *New York City Park's commissiner between 1930-1960. (Cranz, 1991)*

¹⁸ *Changing Roles of Urban Parks. From Pleasure Garden to Open Space. Source:* <http://www.spur.org/publications/article/2000-06-01/changing-roles-urban-parks> (last accessed: 23.11.2015)

¹⁹ *Changing Roles of Urban Parks. From Pleasure Garden to Open Space. Source:* <http://www.spur.org/publications/article/2000-06-01/changing-roles-urban-parks> (last accessed: 23.11.2015)

This new park perception differed from the previous ones due to popular participation. Society now wanted to be a key part of the process of creating urban spaces. The liberating effect of the protests of 1968 on this new formation is undeniable.

With suburbanization beginning in the USA after the Second World War, settlements spread to a wider area and this caused people to drift away from each other socially. Then, when they could not find the social life of the cities in the suburbs, the incidence of depression increased significantly. The actors of the 'protests of 68'²⁰ are the generation growing in those suburbs. After these protests, demonstrations varying in form and purpose took place in various parts of the country. In a sense, society woke up and made themselves heard by the state. The common ground between all these demonstrations was demands for democracy, freedom, equality and peace.

One of those demonstration was that for a 'people's park', which took place in San Francisco. Berkeley as a fight for public space between the people and the state. This demonstration, in reaction to the invasion of a park, may be accepted as the first 'occupy' demonstration.

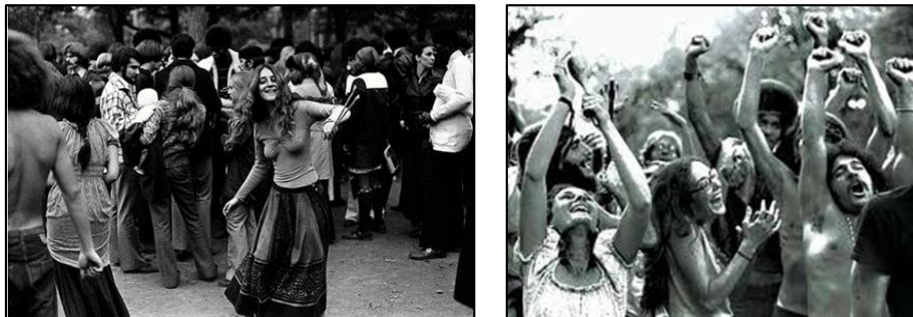


Figure 6: 68 Generation, America

Source: <http://www.dergibursa.com.tr/baharin-asi-cicekleri-hippiler/> (last accessed: 18.10.2015)

²⁰ The protests of 1968 began with the people rising against the invasions and massacres of imperialist countries which took place as a reaction to the freedom fight of colonies. When Martin Luther King was assassinated in 1968, black and white students alike invaded Columbia University. Laborers and students also demonstrated together and many lives were lost in conflicts between students and police forces. The very first incident of the 68 generation was the invasion of a building in the Sourbonne University, France by students. These protests were one of the biggest risings against the policies of the state. The slogan 'cruel emperialism' was widely used in those years.

In 1969, land which was supposed to be used as a dormitory and parking area by Berkley University (California) was occupied and turned into a park by the local community. During the occupation, various groups came together and the community named the park the People's Park (Mitchell, 1995).

Anti-war movements which begun in the 1960s such as the 'Free Speech Movement' began to be banned by university administrations in 1964. In this time period, the administration was prone to perceive every action as a communist protest (California was a place where anti-war and libertarian movements occurred in the 1960s. These kinds of movements reflect perceptions of social life) (Kardeş, 2014).

The government perceived these kinds of protests held by nonviolent and pacifist groups as a threat to its sovereignty. However, these protests were movements in reaction to events with the purpose of improving civil rights (Kardeş, 2014).²¹

Later on, more widespread protests started, and the police intervened in these protests. Different groups, such as the 'Free Speech Movement', the 'Black Movement', the 'Left Socialists', and the Rightists' came together and protested side by side. The authorities considered the protestors' attitudes as civil disobedience. The 'Black Movement' and 'Women's Movement' had great importance in changing social perceptions. The common wish of every one of these groups was 'to have a better world'. The park became the symbol of all protests and it brought together all social dynamics such as Oakland, San Francisco, and Alameda (Kardeş, 2014)²².

The park, became meeting points for the public, and meals were cooked and served without any charge. Different activities and amusements were organized within the park, and the young people planted trees and flowers. The public

²¹ Source: <http://viraverita.org/yazilar/tahammul-edilemeyecek-bir-deneyim-olarak-peoples-park>. (last accessed: 12.11.2015)

²² Source: <http://viraverita.org/yazilar/tahammul-edilemeyecek-bir-deneyim-olarak-peoples-park>. (last accessed: 12.11.2015)

created its own living area. Nevertheless, the American government at that period considered this living area to be a threat to its sovereignty; called the protesters ‘looters’ and sexual deviants and decided to dispel them.²³

On 'Bloody Thursday', Berkeley police officers entered the People's Park. Clashes occurred, and pepper gas was thrown at the people. A bystander was killed, and 123 people were injured. The site was cleared and they began constructing a fence. The town was completely invaded by soldiers. People were taken out of the park and a state of emergency was declared.²⁴ Afterwards, the students struggled to keep the park as it was. This struggle still continues between the students, public, universities and the government (Kardeş, 2014).



Figure 7: People's Park Protests Berkeley

Source: <https://www.google.com.tr/search?q=berkeley+people's+park+protests&hl=tr&rlz=1T4AVNH> (last accessed: 18.10.2015)

“The People's Park is regarded as a symbol of a libertarian spirit which stood against the authoritarian mindset of the 1960s”²⁵ (Kardeş, 2014). Today, this park is used as a common area in which homeless people live and the local people spend time.²⁶

²³ Source: http://wiedel.photoshelter.com/gallery/1969-BERKELEY-RIOTS-Peoples-Park-California/G0000r_Fe.kdWvaU/1. (last accessed: 12.11.2015)

²⁴ Source: http://wiedel.photoshelter.com/gallery/1969-BERKELEY-RIOTS-Peoples-Park-California/G0000r_Fe.kdWvaU/1. (last accessed: 12.11.2015)

²⁵ Translated by the author.

²⁶ Source: <http://viraverita.org/yazilar/tahammul-edilemeyecek-bir-deneyim-olarak-peoples-park>. (last accessed: 12.11.2015)

However, parks did not maintain this state against contemporary perceptions of urban space. Urban policies changed and parks began to be designed as cultural activity spaces in the 21st century. The interests of capital in urban spaces caused parks to become spaces for consumption and this became prominent in their design. Parc de la Villette may be named as one of the first examples of this.²⁷

The ideology of 21st century parks provide urban people with a place filled with cultural activity...Museums, restaurants, workshops, art galleries, playgrounds, open air theaters, where cultural invention rather than natural recreation was encouraged in the park (Şimşek, 2002: 86).



Figure 8: Parc de la Villette.

Source: http://architectuul.com/architecture/view_image/parc-de-la-villette/9521 (last accessed: 05.11.2015)

'Creativity' and 'attractiveness' were important in this era for parks. Parks began to emerge with different design concepts. They became seen as architectural structures, so began to be thought of as products of design. Parks became an object within cities. Now contemporary parks both have artistic value, and reflect modern technology.

Through the effects of globalization and neoliberal policies, in competing cities, urban parks gained importance such that they became landmarks through their visual and design features. Now, 'contemporary' parks are tools used by municipalities for renovating and glorifying cities. It is not unfair to say that

²⁷ "Since its completion in 1987, the Parc de la Villette has become a popular attraction for Paris residents and international travelers alike. An estimated 10 million people visit the park each year to take part in an array of cultural activities. With its collection of museums, theatres, architectural follies, themed gardens, and open spaces for exploration and activity, the park has created an area that relates to both adults and children." Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parc_de_la_Villette. (last accessed: 05.11.2015)

these parks, varying in their concepts, came into fashion in cities.²⁸ Especially turning former industrial structures into parks became quite common. For example, the 'High Line'²⁹ in New York is an interesting park, attracting domestic and foreign tourists alike.

The 'Garden Bridge', with its eye-catching design, has come onto the agenda in London. However, London Lambeth Borough Council have taken an unusual measure for the use of Garden Bridge Park and stated that entering the park in groups of more than eight requires permission. Probably, this limitation in the use of a public space has arisen as a result of 'Occupy' demonstrations. There is no doubt of the fact that it is a rule aiming to prevent any kinds of protests. Governments are forced to take precautions against these protests and these precautions appear in the form of limits on the use of public spaces.³⁰ But, “now and throughout history, parks and public squares have been the go-to places for movements to coalesce and galvanize.”³¹



*Figure 9: Garden Bridge Project.
Designed by Thomas Heatherwick.*

Source: <http://architizer.com/blog/what-makes-parks-public/> (last accessed: 02.12.2015)

²⁸ *Source: <http://architizer.com/blog/what-makes-parks-public/> (last accessed: 02.12.2015)*

²⁹ *The High Line (also known as the High Line Park) is a 1.45-mile-long (2.33 km) New York City linear park built in Manhattan on an elevated section of a disused New York Central Railroad spur called the West Side Line. (F. Green and C. Letsch, Daily News. Retrieved September 21, 2014) Source: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Line_\(New_York_City\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Line_(New_York_City)) (last accessed: 02.12.2015)*

³⁰ *Source: <http://architizer.com/blog/what-makes-parks-public/> (last accessed: 02.12.2015)*

³¹ *Source: <http://architizer.com/blog/what-makes-parks-public/> (last accessed: 02.12.2015)*

As mentioned before, perceptions of park creation change according to changing urban dynamics across different periods. In this last example discussed, it is understood that the occupy protests, which spread around world in recent times, affected perceptions involved in park creation as a new urban dynamic. These protests, in many terms, have caused a rupture throughout the whole world.

The Occupy movement was a social and global protest beginning with the global economic crisis. People suffering from a long-felt crisis believed that something had to be done. In fact, the main cause of this problem was economic injustice (Chomsky, 2013: xvii). Within a couple of weeks, more people joined the movement and it spread first all over the country, then all over the world. Protests around the world interacted and 'occupy' protests were organized.

On September 17, 2011 almost 100 people, most of whom were students, gathered in Manhattan to invade Wall Street, the symbolic financial center of the USA. However, when they saw that the Wall Street was extremely well protected, they turned to the privately-held Zuccotti Park and pitched their tents there. This was the beginning of an occupation that would continue for months (Hammond, 2013).

The energy source of occupy protests was partly the anger of the people due to the ignorance against clear injustices. While millions of dollars taken from the people by way of taxes were being spent to rescue banks, the very same banks were kicking people out of their houses. This caused them to get more furious³² (Chomsky, 2013: xvi- xvii).

Most of the participants in the peaceful Occupy protests were well-educated young adults. The Occupiers created a communal life in the park. This was an experience open to everyone, with no leader, democratic and playing host to sincere social communications (Hammond, 2013). Protestors met their daily requirements by cooperating. Occupy Wall Street was actually a collective

³² *Translated by the author.*

awakening (Chomsky, 2013). Individuals managed to raise their voice as civilian subjects and participated in a social movement together.

Protestors were subject to interventions from some of the apparatuses of the state (the NYPD and New York City administration) and there were confrontations from time to time. “People who poured into the streets to raise their voices were met with tear bombs, tear gas, arresting and jailing”³³ (Chomsky, 2013: xvii-xviii). This brought the movement attention and the occupation spread to the USA and then to the world. Approximately 1,500 other places hosted similar protests and more than 7,000 people were arrested in 116 cities in the USA (Chomsky, 2013).

Meanwhile, the mass media was not giving much coverage to the protests despite how large they were, and when they did, they labeled the protestors Nazis, Communists and sex addicts to create a bad image in the public eye³⁴.

The target of the protests was Wall Street from the beginning, because it represented the financial institutions which dominated social life and American policies through being the national centers of finance. In a way, this was a movement against the rich (company owners). The main goal was to protest social inequalities and the power of financial institutions on the government of the USA (Hammond, 2013). Actually, it was a class struggle. Protestors used the slogan 'We are the 99%' (Chomsky, 2013).

Although the targets of each movement in the world were different to one another, their tactics were similar. While the Arab spring aimed to overthrow Arab governments, Europe was protesting harsh economic decisions and the Wall Street occupations were against the financial system and economic inequalities (Hammond, 2013).

³³ *Translated by the author.*

³⁴ *Source: <http://mediamatters.org/video/2011/10/19/foxs-bolling-occupy-wall-street-protesters-are/182836>. (last accessed: 23.11.2015)*



Figure 10: Zuccotti Park during Occupy Wall Street protest.

Source: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2011/nov/15/occupy-wall-street-occupy-movement> Photograph: Seth Wenig/AP (last accessed: 15.11.2015)

However, they all had “two things in common: having a blurry economic appearance and using social media”³⁵ to organize the protests (Hammond, 2013: 500). For example, the Tamer Park protests emerged at the center of the Hong Kong protests for democracy. Or in Istanbul, the Gezi Protests, which started as a resistance for the space of Gezi Park, then turned into a wider movement of resistance to the government. “This resistance is a part of an international rising against the neoliberal attacks on global masses, going on for almost a generation. I think all those movements are parts of a global reaction”³⁶ (Chomsky, 2013: xxiii).

In this chapter, the importance of parks as a public space and the concepts of public space and publicness have been expressed in general terms. The emergence and development of these issues in Turkey in particular are discussed in the next chapter.

³⁵ *Translated by the author.*

³⁶ *Translated by the author.*

CHAPTER 3

URBAN PARK EXPERIENCES IN TURKEY

It has already mentioned that the concept of a 'Park' has European roots. It is stated that the emergence and development of parks in Europe was in parallel to urbanization. The emergence of parks in Turkey was different from Europe and America. As the Westernization process started shortly before being accelerated in the Administrative Reform period, parks, and likewise other public places (theaters, cinemas, stage entertainment, cafes, etc.), emerged in the city center of Istanbul as the Ottoman Empire was declining. Later on, with the establishment of the republic, parks took their places in city planning within the modern Turkish concept of the city. In later stages of the republic, together with other urban spaces, which were transformed in parallel to changing socio-economic and political dynamics, urban parks representing different perspectives and approaches emerged.

Although Turkey was introduced to the concept of a park during the process of Westernization as a western space, green outdoor fields also existed in the Ottoman tradition called 'mesire', which served the same purpose.

These '*mesires*', which had important roles in Ottoman social lives, looked like today's parks; however, they were different in terms of their 'public' aspects. As the traditional Ottoman lifestyle was a closed lifestyle depending on the community system, '*mesires*' could be defined as outdoor green urban spaces used within a limited (restricted) public approach.

3.1 The Ottoman Period: the *Mesire*.

The '*mesires*', named after the Ottoman word for picnic, were attractive urban spaces in Ottoman society, especially during spring and summer. Gardens and *mesires* were laid out in Istanbul from the sixteenth century, during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, and some of these were open publicly to Ottoman citizens. The inhabitants of Istanbul used to walk, enjoy and rest on various promenades such as Golden Horn, Kagithane, Goksu, Langa Vineyards and Alibeyköy.³⁷

During the classical Ottoman period, Kagithane was one of the most attractive *mesires* of Istanbul. During the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent and Selim II, entertainment events with the participation of the most prominent inhabitants of Istanbul were organized there. During this period, daily life events such as entertainment, births, funerals, weddings and religious ceremonies or celebrations were participated in collectively; that is, the citizens were not alienated from the society. Therefore, *mesires* were communally visited spaces during those times.³⁸

Sadabad gardens were beautiful like heaven with their rose gardens and tulip beds. It was a big event to participate in entertainment events in Sadabad; there were feasts organized for large groups, where rifle exercises and various activities took place. During night events, turtles walking in the yards with candles on their shells enlightened the environment³⁹ (Evyapan, 1972: 51).

³⁷ Source: <http://tarihbelgeleri.com/2012/08/02/osmanli-devletinde-eglenceler> (last accessed: 02.08.2012).

³⁸ Source: <https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sadabad>. (last accessed: 13.02.2015)

³⁹ Translated by the author.

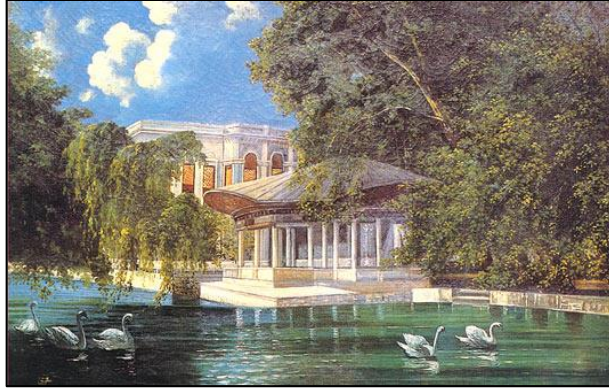


Figure 11: *Sadabat Mesire*.

Source: <http://bizimkagithane.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/sadabat.jpg>. (last accessed: 13.02.2015)

Ekrem Isin⁴⁰ refers to mesires in his article entitled 'Modernization and Daily Life in the 19th Century' as a means of collective entertainment as follows:

These spaces, which are closely related to the entertainment culture of daily life, were visited collectively and attracted mass participation. Although the entertainment styles of the community were individual, the purpose was to experience the time within a group of trustworthy people from the same community. While mesires were spaces of socialization, they also functioned as spaces for landscaping as well as chatting and gossiping. For both the elderly and young people, the main purpose was to see and hear others while also being seen. In this respect, they served as material for rumors and chat while setting spaces for observing and tracking the other⁴¹ (Günaydın, 2007: 56).

In this respect, although mesires looked like spaces where individuals addressed their need to hear from each other, watch each other and socialize as referred to by Sennett, they could be interpreted as restricted public spaces due to such actions solely taking place within a certain community, within collective action and without individuals being able to express themselves publicly. This change in the lifestyle of classical Ottoman culture began with the Administrative Reform and the shift from community system to individuality, which is 'publicness' in Western terminology, could be experienced and seen in urban spheres and mesires.

⁴⁰ Ekrem İşın, writer of the novel '*İstanbul'da Gündelik Hayat*', *Daily Life in Istanbul* 2003.

⁴¹ Translated by the author.

R. M. Ekrem⁴², in his novel written in this period called the Carriage Affair, explains this change in the traditional Ottoman lifestyle within a critical approach. The novel talks about mesires as spaces visited by ladies and gentlemen to display themselves to the people of the opposite sex. Additionally, they reflected the lifestyles of the upper class who presented a 'Western' life style in terms of their clothing and behavior (Günaydın, 2007).

The concept of publicness in Turkey has not been fully defined in terms of the definitions made by Habermas and Sennett. Up until the republican period, while public sphere had been a space with multiple areas accommodating different communities, the period beginning with the Administrative Reforms lead to the breaking up of this community system and publicness gained a meaning corresponding to the western concept along with various westernizing legal, financial and administrative reforms. During the republican period, due to the nation-building modernization project, elite groups in particular legitimized the western understanding of publicness within a republican approach as 'bourgeois publicness'.

The concept of 'community' concept that existed in Ottoman society until the Administrative Reforms and continued partially for a while after that until the declaration of the republic should be considered as a structure and mechanism of communication involved in shaping public life. Ottoman traditional life changed due to the Administrative Reforms and publicness in the western terms had also been introduced. Bourgeois movements were prominent and essential in this change. For instance, the 'New Ottoman' movement which began in 1865 (with the writers and journalists such as Namik Kemal and Sinasi) led to the establishment of the concepts of 'the public' and 'public opinion' in the Ottoman Empire from the 1880s. In this period, tools and institutions of communication (such as associations, masonic lodges, literary halls, periodical publications) were established and these were effective in the establishment of the concept of

⁴² 19th century, Ottoman (Tanzimat period) writer and poet.

publicness (Yıldırım, 2008). Also, the role of women in society began getting clearer in these years.

On the other hand, before the bourgeois publicness derived from industrialization and urbanization, it is possible to observe a representative 'public' in the Ottoman Empire, which is similar to the ceremonies and rituals of the European feudal period. The outside spaces of Topkapi Palace witnessed political and military ceremonies as 'figurative public'⁴³ spaces. Mosques represented the state by reminding the public of the sultans they were built by and they were true stages of public life due to Friday prayers⁴⁴ (Gürallar, 2009).

Although a concept of publicness began to be established with the Administrative Reforms in Ottoman times, during the classical Ottoman period we can talk of about a 'closed' publicity within a community-based social system. Many writers and intellectuals have stated that in the eastern culture, especially in Islamic societies, there was no publicness; however, there was a more limited publicness although it was not the same as what existed in the west. "Iris Young criticizes the idea that the concept of the public sphere alienates societies other than western societies by implying that the narrative culture of nonwestern societies did not involve emotional statements"⁴⁵ (Öztürk 2005: 100).

Ottoman mosques and their courtyards along with coffeehouses and bathhouses were the Ottoman public spaces where people gathered, met, became audible and visible and even discussed politics outside their houses and private lives. Coffeehouses⁴⁶ were spaces where public opinion emerged through discussions

⁴³ A "figurative public" as a category before modernization existed in Ottoman times. According to Habermas, in the figurative public arena, where "sovereignty is represented in public terms", political powers "represent their own sovereignties not "on behalf of" the public but "in front of" the public". This is not a "political communication arena; it indicates social status as a means of feudal authority". (Gürallar, 2009) Source: <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=364>

⁴⁴ Source: <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=364> (last accessed: 10.10.2015)

⁴⁵ Translated by the author.

⁴⁶ Source: In fact, "these coffeehouses, which are seen as important actors for the emergence of public areas and public opinions in the West, first appeared in the East. These spaces created a new opportunity for socialization apart from houses, barracks, marketplaces and mosques. Hence, after the termination of the Janissary Army, janissary soldiers gathered at coffeehouses and barbershops, and these places were

about administrators. The baths were public spaces; throughout history various movements and revolutions are known to have started in the baths.⁴⁷ (Gürallar, 2009). As movements for freedom began to emerge in the Ottoman Empire together with the Administrative Reforms, these brought more freedom to urban spaces, which had been the stage for a limited degree of publicness until then (Öztürk, 2005).

Coffeehouses were spaces from which rumors that disturbed the political administrators could emerge. In other words, coffeehouses were mediators as one of the dynamics of the public sphere connecting the state and private life (Öztürk, 2005). Public 'storytellers'⁴⁸ stories, such as rumors and shadow plays expressed Western-centered discussions, not through a rational-critical approach but through the productions of ordinary people, where emotions, entertainment and discussion intermingled. "As a result, this means that the dynamics of the public sphere existed in Ottoman times although not in the same way as the West"⁴⁹ (Öztürk 2005: 119).

3.2 The Tanzimat Period: The First Parks in Istanbul, 1839- 1923

The establishment of public spaces in cities, as we have already mentioned, derived from certain social, cultural, financial and political dynamics. Similarly, in the Ottoman times and the Turkish Republic, urban spaces experienced certain changes due to public and political events taking place in history. The most important of these was the Hatt-i Sharif of Gulhane⁵⁰ (Tanzimat Fermanı) in 1839.

demolished as they were seen as dangerous public spaces". (Gürallar, 2009). <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=364&RecID=2230> (last accessed: 11.11.2015)

⁴⁷ Source: <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=364&RecID=2230> (last accessed: 11.11.2015)

⁴⁸ Storytellers could connect the past with the present while embedding "modern political and financial events" in their stories. They could complain about expensive costs of living, comment on the leaders and politicians of their times and turn the "traditional" into the modern and contemporary" (Öztürk, 2005: 116).

⁴⁹ Translated by the author.

⁵⁰ One year before the declaration of Hatt-i Sharif of Gulhane (Tanzimat Fermanı) , the trade contract made with England and the Baltalimani Agreement, Ottomans open their doors fully to Europe.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, with the enlightenment that Europe experienced, there were great developments in the field of science, technology and economic improvements due to the processing of raw materials obtained from colonies established in other parts of the world. Over the last years of the 18th century, the French Revolution brought forward demands for independence and equality, which indicated the financial independence of the new middle classes. During this rapid change in European History, the Ottoman Empire experienced periods of regression and recession. Having stayed behind developments elsewhere in the world, the Ottomans could not continue to be a wealthy, expanding nation and lost a certain amount of land. The Ottoman Empire rejected the capitalist system for a long time and had difficulty obtaining tax incomes. In fact, what brought about the Ottoman Empire's end was the rise of the capitalism in Europe and the world. The Ottoman administrators, who were quite late in recognizing this situation, first declared Administrative Reforms and then a Constitutional Monarchy.

The Administrative Reforms involved reformist movements in finance and administration with a modernization of the army and the building of barracks. These were the first steps that Ottomans took towards adopting the capitalist system. With the trade contract made between the Ottomans and the English, foreign investors were provided with various opportunities. Ambassadors and authorities who went abroad within this period were impressed by western lifestyles. They started to admire the west and the Ottomans started to change their conception of publicness by way of the Administrative Reforms. These changes led to changes in urban spaces in Ottoman times.

Changes and transitions in Ottoman social life continued after 1876 within various dimensions. The declaration of a Constitutional Monarchy, the participation of the public in politics; the emergence of an organized opposition; attempts of controlling opposition groups through investigations, espionage, inspection and censorship; mass immigration experienced after the 1877-78 Russian War; significant changes in the demographic structure of the capital city and its neighborhoods; developments in the education system; demonstrations and delays due to

demonstrations⁵¹ in daily life; and the integration of new concepts, spaces and entertainment into daily life, such as apartments, hotels, malls, museums, cinemas, clubs, parks, telephones, photographs, passports, electrical trams and automobiles; and so the social structure and daily life of Ottomans gained totally different characteristics to the beginning of the century⁵²(Çelik, 2013: 170).

As a result of westernization in the 19th Century, western symbols in public space also observed with the changes in daily lifestyle.

First Parks in İstanbul 1869

A process of urbanization began in Istanbul following the Tanzimat Period. While apartment blocks were being built around Beyoğlu, parks, as a western-style urban space began to be seen in various places in İstanbul. As mentioned before, in England the 'park movement' began in mid 1840s, in the Ottoman state, municipal parks began to be created about 20 years later. Rather than an ideological approach like in Europe, the parks took place in urban space as an implementation of the western lifestyle in İstanbul, so the users of the parks were the Ottoman bourgeoisie. In other words, the first parks built in urban space were places where bourgeois could socialize and show off.

The concept of public parks entered into Ottoman terminology in the 1860s. In 1864, while the Taksim – Pangalti road was under construction, a park was planned in the area, which was left empty due to the relocation of Christian Graveyards from Taksim to Sisli (Çelik, 1998). It was located in the area of the Asker Ocağı side of Gezi Park today (the northern side of Gezi Park, opposite to the Divan Hotel).

⁵¹ *Capitalist relationships emerging in society united a class struggle that was quickly started by thousands of proletarians. Protests about high tax rates, alongside the wages at factories, began appearing in various districts of the empire after the 1800s. But the first major act of proletarians in the Ottoman Empire was sabotage, like breaking machines produced at the factories. As research shows, the first strike under the rule of the Ottoman Empire was in the Ereğli coal mines in 1863, although until the beginning of the 1970s, strikes did not become widespread. In 1872, after a one-day strike of British workers brought to work at the shipyard, telegraph office workers in Beyoğlu also went on a sympathy strike in February. 1 Source: <http://tr.internationalism.org/ekaonline-2000s/ekaonline-2011/osmanli-imparatorlugu-nda-sosyalizm-ve-isci-hareketi-1> (last accessed: 01.12.2015).*

⁵² *Translated by the author.*

It took five years to complete the construction of this park, which was the first of its type in the Ottoman capital. Due to pressure from the inhabitants of Pera on the 6th Department to complete this well-advertised location, the park, which was known as Taksim Park, was completed in 1869. It was a perfect rectangle in a symmetrical structure and there were formal beaux-arts designs at its center, which was decorated with picturesque motifs close to the sides (Çelik, 1998). After its completion, Taksim Park became a central attraction for the residents of Pera (Figure 12-13).

De Amicis stated “The park is full of people and cars on Sunday afternoons. The colorful world of Pera spreads out to the beer yards, cafes and places of entertainment. During the summer, people played musical instruments in the afternoons and French and Italian groups visiting Istanbul performed operas at the park”.⁵³

Parks in the Ottoman Empire were not the result of an ideology but an increasing connection with Europe. They began to be built to provide the bourgeoisie with an alternative way of spending their leisure time.

However, these modern changes realized in the Tanzimat era were limited to Istanbul. Anatolia and other parts of the empire benefited from these changes only in terms of economics and only partially. In this period, applications for building in urban spaces were local, and all design was focused on land arrangements⁵⁴ (Özcan, 2006). Thus, these changes were unable to go beyond architectural structures and spatial arrangements on land, in accordance with the sense of modernity of the era. Later on, with the proclamation of republic, modernist applications of park spaces became widespread.

⁵³ Source: <https://mechanicalturk.wordpress.com/2013/06/02/gezi-parki-the-first-public-park-in-the-ottoman-empire/> (last accessed: 09.10.2015).

⁵⁴ In this period (1839-1882) Istanbul was neither isolated from the dynamics forming architectural styles before the Tanzimat nor adapted to Western culture entirely (Özcan, 2006).



40. Plan of Taksim Park. To the left of the park are military barracks.

Figure 12: Taksim Garden Map
 Source: <https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/a5/fb/c0/a5fbc0ca.jpg>

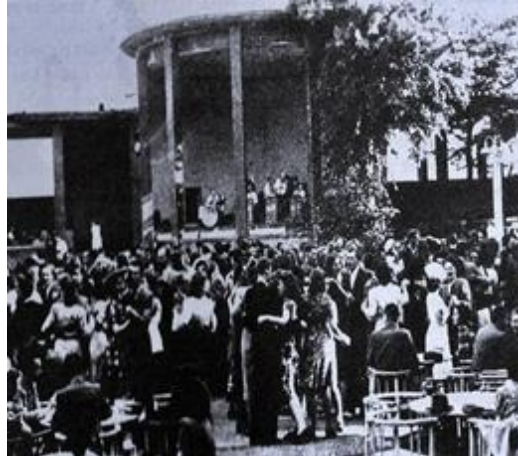


Figure 13: Taksim Garden.
 Source: <https://automaticturk.files.wordpress.com/2013/06/screen-shot-2013-06-03-at-12-37-33-am.png?w=590> (last accessed: 10.10.2015)

3.3 The Republican Period: Parks in Ankara, 1923 - ...

The proclamation of the republic moved Turkey into a new era. After that, 'modernization', which covered only some areas during the reign of the Empire, became an ideology and provided a basis for the formation of the Republic of Turkey. Westernization took the form of a model (modernism) instead of remaining as a mere admiration towards the west. The phenomena of Westernization turned into an ideology due to its implementation by certain reform movements.

The primary goal of the Republic of Turkey was to become an industrial capitalist nation state and this required renewal and modernization in all areas. This refoundation of the country beginning with Atatürk's reforms was a project to found a new nation state with the help of transformations affecting all institutions and society. This institutional-social transformation of the new Republic of Turkey revealed itself through modernist interventions into urban spaces (Tankut, 1993).

In this respect, Istanbul entered into a modernization phase and Ankara, as the new capital, began to be built within a modern city planning approach (Tankut, 1993). This modern city was planned as the basic structure for the construction of a nation state. While the avenues, parks, boulevards and etc. were constructed in the city center of Ankara, which was planned as a European capital, certain activities were held for the construction of publicness.

In this period, cities were constructed as part of the concept of a spatial representation of the republican ideology. In this respect, they reflected certain symbols of the ideology and gained the characteristics of a modern, western city in terms of its planning principles, approaches, architectural structures and new concept of modern urban life. Urban spaces should be considered not only as a product of design, but also as a social product. In other words, the modernization project of the new Turkish Republic should be interpreted as a social-spatial process (Tankut, 1993).

The community-based social life style, which was targeted for destruction from the Administrative Reforms until Republic, was replaced by the modern lifestyle which lead to changes in the understanding of publicness shifting towards the approach favored in Europe. In this respect, a new public individualistic model was created. Publicness and civil publicness in particular emerged in the Administrative Reform period ,was reflected in the urban lifestyle in the time of the Republic as a requirement of the project of modernism and as part of attempts to build a nation state (Tankut,1993).

Public spheres in Europe were victories won by the working class, which emerged from capitalism more empowered due to the enlightenment and industrialization, led by the European bourgeoisie with its concepts of social justice, equality and human rights. Publicness was legitimized as a result of the struggles for individual rights, freedoms and freedom of expression. In other words, publicness in Europe was obtained as a result of the struggle of the public against the government and capitalism.

In Turkey, publicness entered into the social life within a package of modernism prepared by the republican bureaucracy. Therefore, it took a certain time for the public to embrace. Although we can talk about publicness starting from the time of the Republic, it would not be in the full sense as defined by Sennett and Habermas.

While the modern lifestyle was being instilled into daily life in the early days of the republic, individualism was also encouraged. In other words, the modern Turkish citizen was created together with the newly constructed modern urban spaces. The project to plan the capital was a project which allowed for the creation of spaces (and citizens) to serve the representation of the ‘republican ideology’ while staging the practices of the new lifestyle.

Spaces created with ideological approaches after the proclamation of the republic turned into conflict zones hosting several competing social movements due to the rise of the proletariat as a result of a rapid increase in population and industrialization. In the 1960s, urban areas became the places where people expressed themselves and raised their complaints and demands, acceding to a form of publicness. With leftism gaining more power in the 1970s, urban spaces became more ‘society oriented’, rather than a reflection of the republican ideology.

In the 1980s, urban spaces became areas directed by capital as a result of changing urban policies and economies. It is possible to see this period’s reflection on urban space. Efforts aimed to ensure the maximum influx of capital rather than to secure public benefit. Urban spaces produced in this context began to become commodities for gaining a profit in any way.

3.3.1 Parks Created for Ideological Purposes

As mentioned before, while Istanbul underwent a process of modernization with the proclamation of the republic, and the new capital Ankara was built as an exemplary city within a modernist ideology. In this context, Ankara needed to represent a modern understanding of urban spaces and this led to the building of parks as they are symbols of modern capitalist cities. The main examples of these parks are Güvenpark, Zafer Park and Gençlik Park.

Zafer Park and Güvenpark, located on Atatürk Boulevard—the most important urban planning axis in Ankara—represent not just elements of modern cities but also the authoritarian and powerful Republic of Turkey, with their rational linear forms and sculptures. These parks, mostly used by the bureaucracy of that time, set the stage for modern public life.

While parks on Atatürk Boulevard were built as prestige spaces for the city, Gençlik Park in the old city, Ulus, was at the forefront thanks to its recreational characteristics. This park resembled recreational parks in the USA which were popular at that time, with various activities included. However its architectural form was more similar to french palace gardens⁵⁵ and its functional mission was completely different from both those in the States and Europe (Figure 15).

Gençlik Park not only symbolized the ideology of the new republic, it also had a mission to develop the social life of the city. A Western modern lifestyle was being imposed on the people for the purpose of creating a new, modern form of civil society. It was an attempt to modernize the populace through western activities (Uludağ, 1998).

⁵⁵ “*Theo Leveau, designer of the park, used variety of trees, pergola over the curvilinear path (which strengthens the identity of quality of the path) in his design under the influence of french formal gardens, in the sense of overall image and major formations geometrical and symmetrical lines. Overall image of the park especially the axial and geometrical arrangement of the pool district*” (Akansel, 2009).



Figure 14: Aerial view of Gençlik Park.
Source: Google Earth Map 2015

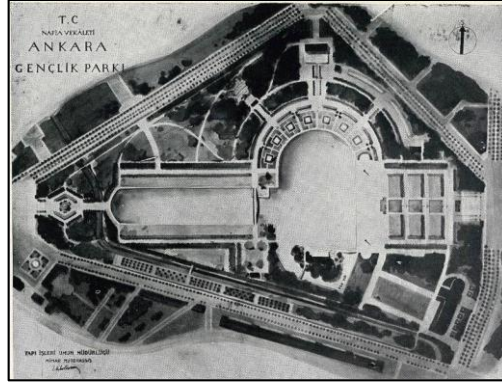


Figure 15: Gençlik Park Plan 1936
Source: Akansel, C.2009, :64, (TC Nafia Vekaleti, Bayındırlık İşleri Dergisi).

The park was an important recreational area for all seasons, a kind of gathering space. It staged certain activities such as swimming, sailing, rowing and races, ice-skating and also musical performances which were the principal activities of the new modern life. Everybody from all social classes (both the bourgeoisie and the public) benefited from the park for pleasure. It was not only an extension of nature but also a performance park with many functions and activities at the center of the city (Uludağ, 1998).

These parks built in the early years of the republic were produced with a strong ideological purposes and became places for the practice of modern public life.

3.3.2 Parks Created for Social Purposes

After the 1950s, under the effects of changing urban dynamics, the parks produced in the early republican period underwent a spatial, functional and semantical transformation while the new parks were built with different purposes.

These new parks were shaped more according to the society's needs than those of the authorities. Especially after the 1970s, a leftist approach was effective in the production of urban parks together with the municipal socialism of the era. Parks built in these years had more organic plans and were built with the pastoral illusion. When compared with those in Europe, one may say that they had more

of the characteristics of pleasure gardens. Functionally they served both the purposes of meeting the recreation needs of the public and preventing inner city squatting. In that period, sculptures in parks also represented society and their common emotional history: the Seğmenler Sculpture in Seğmenler, the Hands Sculpture in Abdi İpekçi Park, the Playing Children Sculptures in both Botanik Park and Kuğulu Park, the Kissing Couple Sculpture in Kuğulu Park, the Tunalı Hilmi Sculpture, etc.



*Figure 16: Aerial view of Seğmenler Park.
Source: Google Earth Map 2015*

Seğmenler and Botanik Parks⁵⁶ are the most important parks of that period. Also, the green space designated as a nursery in Jansen's plan became Kurtuluş Park, 50.Yıl Park, built as a nursery, and Abdi İpekçi Park, which later became the space for many political demonstrations, were other parks of that period.

Parks of this period have an organic structure, are permeable and integrated within the environment. Constructed with natural materials, these parks do not have any structures which set boundaries between them and the sidewalks. It is possible to enter these parks from any point. Demurely letting visitors in, these parks are also graceful on the inside and they do not have any structures besides their pools, trees and amphitheatres.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Botanik Park and Seğmenler Park, being located in the embassy district and close to the Presidential palace, provided an area for rough sleeping that saved the area from urban squatting. These parks, based on a natural valley before, was built in the time of AMANPB (the Ankara city planning bureau), as a part of (leftist) municipal socialism.

⁵⁷ As an example, Seğmenler Park does not have huge structural elements besides the amphitheatre. It was built compatible with the topography, to a proper scale and with natural materials. Also, it has a natural

These parks are clearly more populist in terms of their architectural approaches, functions and meanings. Hence, they were produced to meet social concerns. In this period, in which urban spaces were reflecting western publicness, social incidents began taking place in open public spaces in Kızılay, the city center. Zafer Park and Güvenpark were used as primary gathering areas for demonstrations and were the location of many incidents.

3.3.3 Parks Created for the Benefit of Capital

After 1980, the understanding of urban space production changed due to changes in urban politics. As a result of neoliberal policies, urban spaces became commodities and urban projects focused on how to earn the maximum profit. Commercial components were added to existing parks and new parks were created as commercial facilities. Walls were built around these parks, which now contained commercial structures. In this period, while 'security issues' in cities began to become commonplace as a strategy of neoliberal policies, spaces began to be privatized and urban parks began to be protected by security guards and screened by cameras. This prevented any incident outside of everyday norms taking place in these parks. Thus, one may say that these new parks are secured places offering various recreational activities.

The first park built in this period was Altınpark (1985). Later Harikalar Diyarı⁵⁸ in Sincan, Göksu Park in Eryaman and Mogan Parkı in Gölbaşı were also built according to this logic. These parks differ from previous ones by their size and offerings. They provide space for local people to carry out sporting, cultural and

appearance with the river allowed to run naturally, using natural rocks on pedestrian roads and walls, and not having much firm ground.

⁵⁸ *There are a lot of alternatives for cultural and sportive activities like a go-kart circuit, a skatepark, a flotation pool for model ships, a landing field for model planes (out of use), a racing track for model cars, astroturfs, basketball courts, mini golf courts, ping pong zones, tennis courts and Nejat Uygur amphitheatre with 5000-person seated capacity. Also there are picnic areas and it is possible to get on the train in the park. Besides, semi olympic swimming pool, handicapped swimming pool, handicapped daycare, library, volleyball and basketball courts, zones for playing chess, table soccer, pool, internet rooms, courses for playing instruments, language and pronunciation courses and fitness equipments are at the service of Ankara's youth in the Youth Center places on a field of 17.000 m². Source: <https://www.ankara.bel.tr/galeriler/parklar/harikalar-diyari>. (last accessed: 18.10.2014)*

entertainment activities in their leisure time with their open, closed, or semi-open structures. Located in open green spaces, these are recreational parks containing social facilities and entertainment venues.

The locations and plans of these parks and the socio-cultural structure of the local community are important for their usage and durability. When compared with similar places around the world, it is easy to see that these places are located far from city centers, in areas open to development and expansion (Dalkılıç, 2007). Several types of facilities are located in these parks. In almost every park there are youth centers, car parks, cultural facilities, wedding halls and amusement parks located at the edges of the parks to allow easy access for people outside the park to use them as well. Thus, most of these parks are based on firm ground. Picnic areas are the most heavily used parts of these parks.

Policies which abandoned leftist ideologies in order to protect the capital invested in them affected the parks of this period in line with the ideology of the time. Parks built in these years were produced with the benefit of capital in mind.



*Figure 17: Aerial view of Harikalar Diyarı.
Source: Google Earth Map 2015*

These parks may resemble theme parks or amusement parks in Europe. Sculptures placed in these parks, as well as goat sculptures placed in various other places around Ankara represent villages and resemble garden ornaments.

This new understanding of park creation is shaped around the spacial perceptions of the current state. The spatial form, function and semantics related to it depend on the municipality. Urban spaces and urban parks reflect the political views and ideology of the municipality.

Newly produced parks are located on the borders of the city. After the 1980s, the moving of housing away from city centers caused city centers to hollow out and fall into disrepair. The abandonment of city centers was a policy of the municipality in order to open cities up to the greater use of capital. Enticing people away from the center was also a conscious act by the state to prevent people from gathering and organizing social movements.

It is possible to observe that in Turkey, either through economic and social changes or through political incidents, public spaces in city centers have transformed over time spatially, functionally and semantically, and parks have been heavily impacted by these changes. Urban spaces were also affected by these developments while these political and economic changes and transformations continued. The modernist ideology could not continue to resist policy changes and the political pressures on the capital and began to be distorted over time.

3.3.4 Parks as Spaces of Resistance

In the 2000's, open green spaces began being seen as empty spaces with the potential to be monetized, while urban spaces became tools for economic rent as a result of neoliberal policies. In this period, in the name of urban transformation, projects prioritized by capital came onto the agenda, and thus several structures

and spaces that were built in the republic's period of modernization were transformed for the good of capital. In recent years, social reactions to these projects also began to occur.

Gezi Park, which was built in the place of Taksim Artillery Barracks (Topçu Kışlası) as a symbol of Istanbul's modernization during the formation of the republic, became a focal point for capital and the subject of several urban design projects. Recently, after the 'Occupy Protests' erupted on a global scale, the Gezi Protests in Istanbul occurred with similar actions as a public reaction to the invasion of urban space by capital.

The first urban park to be built in the republican era in Istanbul was Gezi Park. At the time, Istanbul entered a phase of modernization following the proclamation of the republic and underwent many transformations of its urban spaces. In a way, the rise of the Turkish Republic in place of the Ottoman Empire had to demonstrate itself in a spatial sense.

The Tanzimat period of the 19th century was the empire's westernization process and one of the most important reforms of the era was the military barracks built to modernize the army. The first and greatest of them was the Taksim Artillery Barracks⁵⁹ completed in 1806. The building, which lost its military importance in 1909-1914 and was left empty, began to be used as a football stadium in 1921. Modern events like classical music concerts, the Republic Ball and May 19th ceremonies took place in its central courtyard.⁶⁰

During the 1920s and 1930s, especially in Ankara and İstanbul, architectural and urban spaces began being constructed in order to reflect the Republican

⁵⁹ *The Artillery Barracks was built by the architect Kırkor Balyan by order of Selim III, on a green space containing the graves of Muslims and Armenians between 1803-1806. Source: <http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/taksim-topcu-kislasi-ve-31-mart-isyani/Blog/?BlogNo=418126>. (last accessed: 04.11.2015)*

⁶⁰ *Source: <http://www.futuristika.org/hayalet-yapilardan-hortlakra-taksim-topcu-kislasi-vakasinin-imageler-uzerinden-mekansal-politik-belirlenimi/>. (last accessed: 07.11.2015)*

ideology.⁶¹ It is thus not surprising that in 1936, French urban designer Prost was invited to design public spaces to meet modern Turkish society's need for open air spaces. One of the 18 urban parks in the (master) plan Prost completed in 1937 was park no. 2, combining Taksim and Gezi Park. (It was designed as a continuous green space that would contain Maçka Valley and reach out to Nişantaşı.) The park, built on the large space gained by the destruction of the barracks (1939), opened in 1943 (Göğüş, 2014).

The destruction of the barracks, particularly the fact that it was done to create space for a ceremonial ground for the representation of the modern Turkish government and a park, can be attributed to ideological reasons. One reason is likely that the March 31 Incident⁶² began at the Artillery Barracks in 1909, where Gezi Park is now. In a way, this may be thought as the construction of the new (Turkish Republic) in place of the old (Ottoman Empire).⁶³

Taksim Square and its surroundings could not escape the interference of governments whilst being an important urban space, affected by ideological and political dynamics, and being the host to lots of incidents.⁶⁴

After 1980, urban spaces began to be shaped by capital, as neoliberal policies were implemented. In this period, the construction of the Hilton Hotel in the middle of park no. 2, was a result of these policies. The park was closed to the public using security problems as an excuse, even though it was a public space, and after a while, the hotel was constructed. Following this came the Divan Hotel

⁶¹ Source: [http://www.futuristika.org/hayalet-yapilardan-hortlaktara-taksim-topcu-kislasi-vakasinin-
imgeler-uzerinden-mekansal-politik-belirlenimi/](http://www.futuristika.org/hayalet-yapilardan-hortlaktara-taksim-topcu-kislasi-vakasinin-imgeler-uzerinden-mekansal-politik-belirlenimi/). (last accessed: 07.11.2015)

⁶² March 31 Incident. Soldiers and clergymen joining this movement, against the second constitutionalists, sharing the power with the sultan, were demanding that the country ruled by sharia law. March 31 Incident was quelled by the Movement Army from Thessaloniki (selanik) and Abdülhamit II was dethroned and exiled to Thessaloniki. During the quelling strongest resistances were in Taksim Artillery Barracks and Taşkışla, where İstanbul Technical University is now. Source: <http://www.dw.com/tr/top%C3%A7u-k%C4%B1%C5%9Flas%C4%B1n%C4%B1n-tarih%C3%AE-anlam%C4%B1/a-16879025>. (last accessed: 27.11.2015)

⁶³ Source: <http://www.dw.com/tr/top%C3%A7u-k%C4%B1%C5%9Flas%C4%B1n%C4%B1n-tarih%C3%AE-anlam%C4%B1/a-16879025>. (last accessed: 27.11.2015)

⁶⁴ Best known of these is 'Bloody May 1'. After the coup in 1980 meeting at city squares and protests etc. were prohibited for a long time.

in 1956, the Sheraton (Ceylan Intercontinental) in 1975 and the Etap Marmara (The Marmara) (Göğüş, 2014).



Figure 18: Gezi Park, İstanbul.

Source: <http://www.farklibirbakis.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/taksim-gezi-parkinin-bugunkuhali.jpg>. (last accessed: 07.10.2015)

After the 1980s the effort to make Istanbul a city of the world, under the influence of neoliberal policies and globalization, was stepped up. Decisions⁶⁵ were made in the interests of capital, not those of the people.

In 1987, the contest 'Taksim Square Urban Design Concept Project'⁶⁶ was held. The project of constructing a mosque in Gezi Park that came up in 1994, while R.T. Erdoğan was the mayor, was rejected by the committee in 2001.⁶⁷

Capital began to spread in urban spaces, with urban projects becoming an important financial tool in the 2000s. One 'lunatic' project that the state devised in 2011 was the 'Taksim Pedestrianization Project'. One part of this project was the reconstruction of the Artillery Barracks to be used as a mall, a hotel or a museum. It is not surprising that the state is trying to realize a project like this when the political history and the place in social memory of the space is considered. In fact, a mosque construction project was brought to the table

⁶⁵ Moreover, in the Environmental Plan with a scale of 1/100.000, made in 2009, this area was declared a "tourism culture oriented region". Source: <http://www.futuristika.org/>. (last accessed: 06.06.2015)

⁶⁶ 'Taksim Meydanı Kentsel Tasarımı Avan Projesi'.

⁶⁷ Source: <http://www.futuristika.org/>. (last accessed: 06.06.2015)

previously. (Çekiç, Kurtarır, Ökten, 2013) Thereby, the square would become gentrified whilst being reshaped with an architectural touch, full of Islamic elements. Also, it would be a global sales tool (a tourist attraction), the previous users of the space would be alienated and the place would be taken under control, erasing its political history (Çekiç, Kurtarır, Ökten, 2013). After the High Council approved the project under pressure from the state, society began reacting more to the destruction of Gezi Park, and the privatization of a public space. On May 28, 2013, after a Caterpillar digger entered the park and began uprooting the trees, civil society organizations and individuals rushed to the park and stood in their way.

The protests, beginning with a group of activists who settled in the park with their tents the following day, turned into a civilian resistance spreading across the whole country after the police began using violence (using gas on protestors and burning their tents) on the night of May 30. When the word spread with the help of social media, the park filled with protestors on the night of May 31 and clashes began between protesters and police, while people began guarding the park. (Çekiç, Kurtarır, Ökten, 2013)

The police left the park on June 1 and the protestors, most of whom were young people, created a form of communal life in the park by camping there. This revealed that the 'alienation' policies of the state were not working anymore, and united people from various classes. Protestors showed that a democratic life where no leaders exist and everyone is equal was possible. In a way, publicness was redefined in the Gezi protests (Tekeli, 2014).

On the other hand, the mass media was reshaping the incidents in favor of the state and capital just like in all the other countries in which mass action had occurred. The protests were defined as illegal while protestors were called rebels, marginals, militants and members of illegal organisations. They said the police had been attacked by marginal groups. Also, they tried smearing the young protestors camping in the park by saying they were drug addicts.

The state maintained its headstrong attitude throughout the protests. As a result of the disproportionate use of force and tear gas, and the heavy handed attitude of the state, protests spread across the whole country and took on an anti-government angle. In Turkey, throughout the Gezi Protests, 8 citizens and 2 security guards lost their lives and more than 8000 people were injured (of whom 60 heavily) (Çekiç, Kurtarır, Ökten, 2013).

The 'Military Barracks' project was cancelled on June 6 by Istanbul Administrative Court No. 1 (İstanbul 1. İdare Mahkemesi) (Çekiç, Kurtarır, Ökten, 2013). On the evening of June 15, the park was cleared by the police, but on following days, forums were organized in other parks and people began living the public spirit that they had been missing for years. In this sense, parks became symbolic spaces of this new publicness.

Surely the 'Gezi Park Resistance' can be seen as an extension of the 'Occupy Demonstrations', primarily a global, anti-capitalist movement, though occurred in each country for different reasons.

The Gezi Protests differ from the Occupy Demonstrations for this very reason: because the Gezi Protests occurred as a result of a mass reaction to the attempt to turn an open public space, Gezi Park, into a private space unjustly and illegally. The subject of the resistance in this case was a space. Thereby, the Gezi Park resistance developed in a spatial way.

The Gezi Resistance grew up and spread from Taksim Square to the streets, neighborhoods and balconies of Istanbul, and from there to the whole country. This growth expanded both the reasons and the demands behind the resistance. The resistance was something more than the trees and the public space of Gezi Park: it became an anti-government movement resisting the authoritarian and stubborn⁶⁸ attitude of the state.

⁶⁸*On the other hand, the prime minister supported the police in their disproportionate use of force and said "The police successfully passed this test of democracy and almost made history with their heroic acts."*

This movement, born against the illegal transfer of a public space to capital, may be considered to be popular participation in politics. The state is not the only one who has a say in urban spaces. When it comes to public decisions, people also must have the right to speak up. In this context, the Gezi Park resistance represented an important struggle for 'publicness'. One may say that the Gezi resistance, in this respect, led to another social breaking point in our history of the republic.

These protests received positive reactions not only in Turkey but around the world as well. Similar protests with similar slogans emerged in support of Gezi Park. In Ankara, gatherings began on May 30, and on June 1, especially in Güvenpark and Kızılay, clashes began taking place.



Figure 19: Gezi Resistance Slogans.

Source:<http://www.melihguney.com/wpcontent/uploads/Dir-en-Gezi-Park%C4%B1.jpg>. (last accessed: 08.10.2015)

Source:https://36.media.tumblr.com/fe6a8b08d0822c0cf4ae85ff42cab36f/tumblr_mo644f0dUQ1s7alb0o1_500.jpg. (last accessed: 08.10.2015)

The emergence and development of publicness and perceptions of park creation in Turkey, has been put forth in general in this section. In the next chapter, publicness and the perception of park creation, which became an ideology after the declaration of the Republic, will be evaluated through time along with what kind of publicness has been experienced.

CHAPTER 4

THE CHANGING ‘PUBLICNESS’ OF GÜVENPARK: PLANNING APPROACHES AND SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS

Güvenpark is one of the most important urban-public spaces belonging to Ankara's republican period. It has historical significance as a symbol of the republic and the reforms which took place after the proclamation of the republic. Güvenpark is one of the first public spaces of the newly established capital, and was built according to a modernist ideology. The park, completed in 1933, has both witnessed and hosted many events throughout the history of the republic.

In this chapter, the economic and political policies and social events that have affected the physical condition and spatial meaning of Güvenpark and its transformation over time will be analysed. Güvenpark's physical and spatial form, its changes over time, and planning approaches show us the evolution of our understanding of publicness. In other words, the development and transformation of the concept of publicness in our society will be evaluated in the case of Güvenpark, an urban space.

In this dissertation, historical processes, together with the important social and political incidents of the period will be considered. In addition to Tarık Şengül's 3 periods, divided according to groundbreaking events after the republic's formation, this study considers political, economic and social incidents after 2011 as another breaking point. The incidents that took place in these four periods have formed urban dynamics, affecting the urban space across Turkey.

Tarık Şengül has split the history of the republic into three periods according to important breaking points: each indicating a major societal and spatial conflict⁶⁹ (Şengül, 2003; İlkay, 2007).

1923-1950 (the period of foundation and reorganization of the republic, a statist economy, and the construction of Yenışehir, where Güvenpark is based)

1950-1980 (the period of transition to a multi-party system, revolutions and import-substitution economic policies, leftist social movements and rapid urbanization)

1980-2011 (transition to neoliberal policies, and globalization)

2011-today (global economic crisis, radical Islam, and social movements)

Changes and transformations have been observed in urban spaces in parallel with socio-economic, demographical and political changes following the foundation of the republic and the process that began with the proclamation of the capital in Ankara. This urban space has changed, evolved and transformed in terms of physical appearance, sense and function over time. These changes reflected both on society and our publicness. Then we will evaluate these changes and transformations in the case of Güvenpark.

4.1. The Period Between 1923-1950: The Construction of Güvenpark.

As of 1923, the autocratic regime of the Ottoman Empire was abandoned and the history of the republic officially began. The proclamation of the republic and the reforms after it, brought economic, political and social restructuring together. This new era represented the formation of the modern Turkish republic, and it continued until the 1950s.

⁶⁹ “Political, economic and social changes are not the only factors shaping the spatial and social organization of urban space and therefore the transformation of public space. Since societal structures and their spatial patterns are products which are transformed through historical and social conflicts, each historical phase has a main conflict within different social layers of actors or structures. In addition, each layer has socio-spatial relations and structures” (Şengül, 2003; İlkay, 2007: 58).

One of the most important decisions made in this formational period was the choice of Ankara as the new capital.⁷⁰ This was not only a political decision but also a decision made as part of a new economic development project (Eraydın, Köroğlu, 2005). Ankara was imagined as the future financial center alongside the political. The heart of the new Turkish republic would be beating in Ankara's center terms of the economy and politics. This was the project for the creation of a new nation state and a national economy in which the lead actors would be the state and the bureaucracy.

During the 1920s, alongside the newly established political system, the new economic model and social structure began to form. The primary attempts to develop the national economy were industrialization efforts. For this, industrial enterprises were established in Ankara and Anatolia, and important projects were begun to connect residential areas and build railroads. In addition to these projects, the establishment of national financial institutions, banks and insurance companies were also important for economic restructuring (Eraydın, Köroğlu, 2005).

The period 1923-1950 is the period of economic development based on agricultural and commercial capital. The national economy was built during these years⁷¹ (İlkay, 2007). The trade centers of Ankara were still Ulus and Yenışehir, which were also the centers of modern civil society.

⁷⁰ Ankara declared as capital city on October 13, 1923 and there were several reasons for that. Alongside being at the center of Anatolia and an important (never invaded) zone during the independence war, having a patriotic population, being on the trade route and having ahi communities were some of these reasons. That is to say, Ankara was a rural town which already had an economic power during the 1920s.

⁷¹ Economy has been programmed once again and reconstructed in this period, after the Ottoman Empire. Investments have been made (railway network, plants) and country-city relation has rebuilt. We can consider this period as the liberal economy period. The income and expenses of the state have been tried to be balanced. In that period, 80% of the population was still living in countries and engaged in agriculture. Foreign capital establishments (of Ottoman period) have been nationalized and Turkish bourgeois has formed. After 1923, the economic, social and executive tools of the state aimed firstly to integrate with the national market. After the economic depression in 1929, Turkish economy had followed an inward-looking policy and statism era had begun. (İlkay, 2007)

Rural-urban immigration occurred due to the mechanization of agriculture after World War II. Whilst the need for manpower in agriculture was reducing, industries in the cities needed workers. However the migration was much more than needed. This unforeseen circumstance has caused problems in the cities. (Eraydın, Köroğlu, 2005:269).

The new republican government kept developing within the scope of Kemalist ideology despite economic and political difficulties and managed the social and spatial reconstruction of the whole country (Tankut, 1993).

It promulgated social, political and economical reforms with the aim of turn Turkey into an industrial capitalist nation state (a modernist approach) in which women and men were equal. Another important strategy was the process of urbanization; primarily urban capital was seen as a model for modern life. This way, spatial applications have had an important position in Turkish modernization. In a way, the modernization of the people was attempted through spatial interventions. This strategic approach was necessary for the construction of an industrial capitalist nation state (Tankut, 1993).

The development of this new republic's capital can be reckoned as one of the major reforms of the founder of the republic. Hence, the establishment of Ankara is a kind of materialization of the principles of modernization principles (Tankut, 1993).

Tankut described Ankara within an approach based on the production of public individual figures in Turkish cities. The design of Ankara shifting it from a small town with a population of twenty thousand into a modern city was not only structural but also social as foresight based on the planning of public individuals and their environments⁷² (Sargin, 2002: 35).

4.1.1 Construction of Ankara as a Modern Capital City: Public Space and Green Strategies

The project of transforming Ankara into a capital city, which began with the proclamation of the republic and continued with Atatürk's reforms, is a reflection of Turkey's national transformation. The planning of Ankara is not just an urban planning project but an urban organization project as well. It is going to be a

⁷² *Translated by author.*

model for urban life. Within the modernist agenda the country became the location of the nation state (Tankut, 1993).

Ankara, which was chosen as the capital of the new Turkish Republic, also became a symbol of the new life and new regime in this new country. Therefore, the newly established neighborhood of Yenışehir had to represent the ideology of the new Turkish Republic. This new ideology was the modern Turkey. In this context, all the tools of the modern city had to be used in Yenışehir too. There had to be boulevards, wide streets, theaters and parks. People were also going to become modern and be able to carry out the practices that modern life required. In a way, a new bourgeois publicness was to be produced. This new bourgeois class was going to be able to listen to classical music and take a walk in the evenings.

The planning project for the capital was a project which allowed for the creation of spaces to represent the republican ideology while staging the practices of the new lifestyle. “Observing the green fields, parks and avenues of Ankara would give an idea of to what extent the initial target of becoming a modern, European city was obtained”⁷³ (Kılınç, 2002: 153).

In this respect, Ankara was planned with a modern city planning approach and various projects were carried out. The first of these was the Löcher plan, which was followed by the Jansen plan. Both projects were similar to each other and reflected the city planning principles of those times. The most important of these principles were the 'green city' and 'garden city' approaches, which involved green areas, green arches and a central axis (Figure 20).

⁷³ *Translated by the author.*



*Figure 20: The Löcher Plan.
Source: Baykan Günay's personal archive.*

Jansen applied this green system principle in his plans according to the urban planning approaches of that time. It is possible to see the idea of the green belt—the combination of green areas with residential areas—forming a system; that valleys, physical borders, natural areas and areas with a high cultural value (Kazıkıçı Bostanları, İncesu, Hatip, Çubuk Çayı Vadileri etc.) were protected as large green areas. Jansen also valued an urban aesthetic and by centralizing the castle in the plans and linking the streets towards the castle, made this location effectively the city's silhouette (Ateş, 1985) (Figure 21).

The most important decisions in this urban plan were the protection of the castle and its surroundings; the linking of Ulus to Çankaya via a wide boulevard in a north-south direction; the construction of a ministry site containing parliamentary and ministry buildings between Ulus and Çankaya in the south; the division of low grade areas between Ulus and the station such as what is now Gençlik Park and the 19 Mayıs Sports Fields and Hippodrome into playing fields and recreational areas; and the use of high points in the city, like the castle, Kocatepe, Hacettepe, Rasattepe and Maltepe as viewpoints (Çalık, 2002).

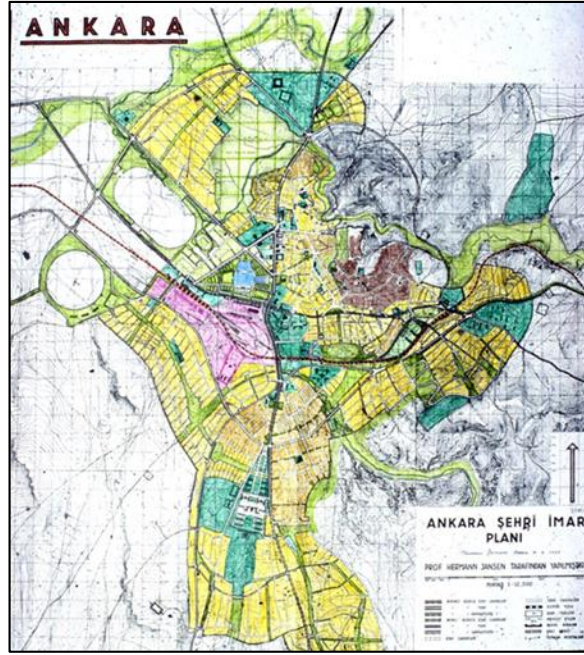


Figure 21: The Jansen Plan
Source: Baykan Günay's personal archive.

The main arterial road linking the old part of the city (Ulus) to Yenışehir is Atatürk Boulevard. The urban spaces of the new modern life were placed on this artery. This boulevard intersected with other arteries at squares placed on some points. The most important of these were Havuzbaşı (Kızılay) and Zafer squares. Also, the parliament building that would be built later and the wedge shaped block that would host the ministry buildings were located on this important line.

From the first years of the republic to the 1930s, Ankara's city center was Ulus, with its bureaucratic and political features. Kızılay was not a center within Yenışehir, which was a residential area at that time. “However Havuzbaşı had become the most important civilian space of that time as the spatial expression of the new modern life for the people of Ankara”⁷⁴ (Bayraktar, 2013: 31).

Towards the 1950s, Kızılay began to transform into a bureaucratic and political center through the consecutive construction of ministry buildings. As a result of this transformation, Kızılay Square and Güvenpark with its surrounding, gained

⁷⁴ *Traslated by the author.*

the characteristics of public space for the new inhabitants of Ankara, most of whom were bureaucrats (Bayraktar, 2013).

In this period, Kızılay Park right in front of the Kızılay building, had become the gathering area of the people of Ankara (Ertuna, 2005). After the proclamation of the republic and Atatürk's reforms, Ankara, as the capital, continued changing and transforming together with the changing economy and politics. Urban space also changed parallel to the permutations of socio-economic life and new policies.

4.1.2 Construction of Güvenpark

One of the spatial elements of the project to 'transform Ankara into a capital' was Güvenpark. It is an open public green space at the center of the modern neighborhood of Yenışehir in the newly established capital.

Güvenpark was an important space in Jansen's integrated urban plan. It was one of the spaces that ensured a continuity of green areas, which was one of the main principles of the plan. It is placed on Atatürk Boulevard, which is one of the most important axes forming the city and one of the main focal points of the urban plan. It is a prestigious park which is a part of a block in which government buildings are located. Güvenpark is a structure that also defines the city center spatially. It is the transitional area between government buildings (bureaucracy) and public space. The pedestrian axis, located in the middle of both the park and the block, is a structural element that combines public space with bureaucracy in a way. This planning approach represents the administrative mentality of the new Turkish Republic. The bureaucracy consisted of individuals chosen by the citizens (among the citizens) and they all mingle in urban spaces. The most important of these urban spaces is Güvenpark.

In Jansen's and Löcher's plans, Güvenpark is located at the end of the block that contained the government buildings. It is the final part of this construction complex. This wedge-shaped, administrative structure hosting a block of buildings ends with a park (Güvenpark), a monument and a pool at the end. The tip of the wedge points towards the old castle. This block is one of the most important elements of the Jansen plan, forming a highly strong axis together with Atatürk Boulevard. It is one of the main decisions that forms the modern city of Ankara and it represents the transition from the old to new, the stronger and more decisive attitude of the new compared to the old. However, it does not turn its back on the old; instead, it preserves its visual and emotional connection (Figure 24-25).



Figure 22: Schönbrunn Palace, Vienna.

Source: <https://twistedifter.files.wordpress.com/2014/06/schonbrunn-palace-vienna-austria-from-above-aerial-satellite.jpg>. (last accessed: 06.07.2015)

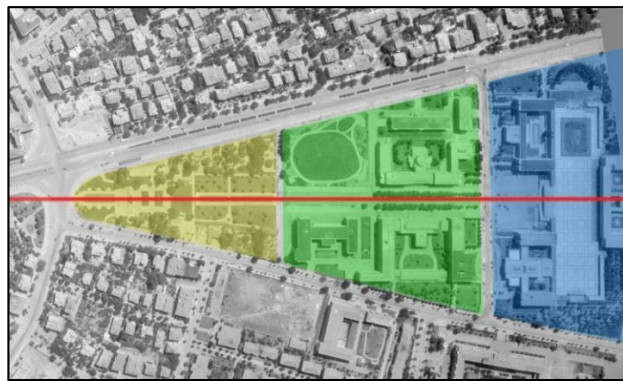


Figure 23: Güvenpark Axis and Zoning.

Aerial View of Güvenpark 1957. Source: T.C. M.S.B Harita Genel Komutanlığı, Sayısal Hava Fotoğrafi.

In Jansen's plans, a strong pedestrian axis can be seen going through the midsection of the wedge-shaped block designed for government buildings. The buildings in the government project designed by Holzmeister, are located symmetrically around this axis. Besides, there is zoning in a horizontal direction. At the top of the zone is the parliament building, in the middle of the zone are the ministry buildings and at the bottom of the zone is Güvenpark. (Figure 23) The axis ends with the Güvenlik Monument and a pool. This planning approach resembles the aesthetic of palace and garden planning in Europe (such as strong pedestrian axes, buildings and gardens in geometrical forms, zoning located on the main axis, symmetrical buildings, a final element at the end of the axis, a gate or a sculpture, water in certain places etc.) (Figure 22). The whole setting is a spatial expression of the strong bureaucracy of the new Turkish Republic and Güvenpark is possibly the most important part of it. As mentioned before, urban spaces are ideological and Güvenpark represents the ideology of the new Turkish Republic; it not only represents it, but also forms the stage for the new modern life.

However, due to the interventions over time, the physical connection to other zones and the strong axis that Jansen planned have been lost. After other interventions, the borders of Güvenpark have lost their precision and it has been combined with Kızılay Square. Especially the tip of the wedge, hosting the monument and the pool, became concrete and integrated with the pavement. Güvenpark must hence be considered a unit with Kızılay Square such that, it is also to be included in incidents happening in Kızılay Square.

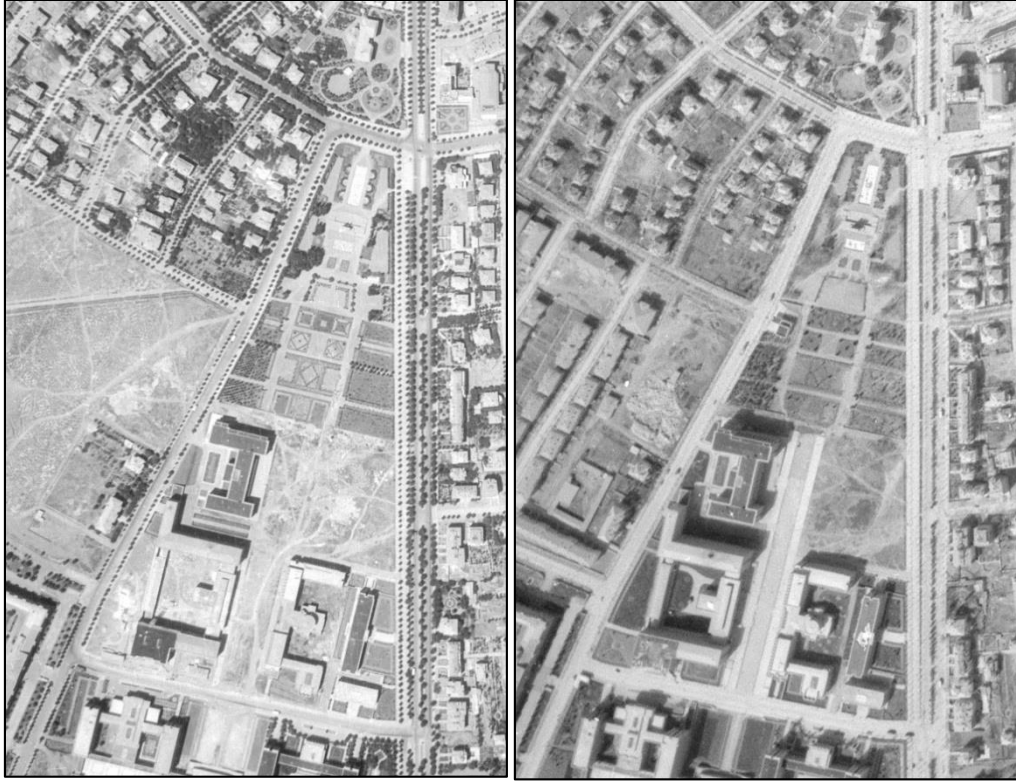


Figure 24: Aerial view of Güvenpark, 1942

Figure 25: Aerial view of Güvenpark, 1947

Source: T.C. M.S.B Harita Genel Komutanlığı, Sayısal Hava Fotoğrafı, 2015.

4.1.3 Construction of the Publicness of the New Bourgeoisie

Kızılay Square is named Republic Square in Löcher's plans. In 1930, after the construction of the Hilal-i Ahmer (Red Crescent in Ottoman) building, a garden was built in front of it. When the garden became an important gathering area, the square began to be known as Kızılay Square instead of Republic Square (Cengizkan, 2002).

In fact, it is no coincidence that the Kızılay Building was built at the center of Yenışehir as a central building before the construction of the government buildings. Kızılay (The Red Crescent) is a semi-governmental agency and in this period, public life, not having gained full independence yet, was still under the protection of the bureaucracy (the state) (Batuman, 2002). It is reflected in spatial terms through institutions, urban life and structural elements.

The desire to create a civil society was spatially centered around Kızılay, the center of Yenışehir. Kızılay was where the republican ideology became institutionalized, where the Turkish bourgeois identity and lifestyle would be formed. In the early years of the republic, the Turkish national bourgeoisie did not gain its legitimacy through struggle. In no political arena did it organize against the state. In fact, on the contrary, they formed a close relationship with the state (Batuman, 2002). Thereby, Yenışehir became a part of the public network on which the bourgeoisie identity and lifestyle would be built.

The public space itself is not limited to public expressions and practices. Publicness may only exist through the organization of a spatial network wrapped in the desire to create a new and modern, civil society which would accept the bourgeois life style on a collective and individual scale⁷⁵ (Hetherington, 1997; Batuman, 2002: 45).

It is fair to say that Yenışehir is a (public) spatial network organized for civil society, which was the intention at the time it was founded.



Figure 26: Güvenpark, 1940

Source:<http://www.vekam.org.tr/upload/iles/iles/bayraktar.pdf> (last accessed: 11.10.2015)



Figure 27: Güvenpark, 1937

Source:<http://digitalcollections.library.ku.edu.tr/cdm/search/searchterm/venpark> (last accessed: 11.10.2015)

Kızılay Park, the most remarkable public space in Yenışehir in those years, gave way to Güvenpark, built right across from it, after a while. The park in front of Kızılay Building was completed in June 1933 and in September, Güvenpark was opened. This park was the project of Clemenz Holzmeister, an Austrian architect

⁷⁵ Translated by the author.

who designed lots of projects in the ministry area.⁷⁶ This park became a space for ministry officials and their families to spend idle time and also took its place within the urban space as a stage on which the daily life of republic ideology was displayed (Ertuna, 2005).

At that time, Yenişehir was an isolated area beyond the railroads, where men were not allowed to walk around without a tie. In the 1930s, Kızılay Park and its surroundings came alive. Radio and movies became integrated into public life, then movie theatres and bookstores began to open there (Batuman, 2002).

The formation of publicness in Turkey was realized through the bureaucracy just as it was constituted through parks. It took time for the bourgeois public sphere, which was being artificially constructed in Yenişehir, to find its real meaning in the early republican period. But the attempts of this period formed a basis for the publicness that would be formed afterwards. In other words, it was the preparatory phase for the journey of social democratization.

4.1.4 Construction of the Güvenlik Monument

Monuments and sculptures are essential for modern cities. City centers are ideological places and reflect both current and former ideologies. They do that through spatial organization and structures. Since monuments are structures, building a monument, proper for the capital Ankara's civilian new city to Güvenpark, was required.

The project of constructing this monument was given again to Holzmeister. On December 2, 1929, in the paper *Hakimiyeti Milliye*, a report was published that

⁷⁶ *Holzmeister has become famous in those years with these prestigious projects as an architect in Turkey. Holzmeister, especially with axial, symmetrical masses (neoclassical elements) and with an architectural approach emphasising monumentality, has revealed the spatiality that republic ideology has desired. He reflected the power of new Turkish Republic onto the space. Ankara applications, constituting the most important part of his professional life, carry the characteristics of modern architecture as well as monumental classicism (Ertuna, 2005).*

said a 'constabulary (zabita) monument' would be built by the pool in Yenişehir (Ertuna, 2005). “The monument will be described with a peaceful and happy family and constabulary forces surrounding and protecting them”⁷⁷ (Batuman, 2002; Ertuna, 2005: 6). But it is interesting that the monument was not shaped as it was instructed.

Yenişehir was a place where the national bourgeois identity was designed and attempts were made to shape it throughout the early years of its construction in the 1930s. While Ulus was the symbolic space of the state, the new city in Yenişehir was designed to be a symbol of the civil bourgeoisie. In this context, one may expect that the monument of Güvenpark would be inspired by the civil bourgeoisie. However, although the declaration in the newspaper “Hakimiyeti Milliye on December 2 in 1929” (Ertuna, 2005: 6) confirms this expectation, the constructed monument was a strong male figure instead of a symbolical representation of the peace and safety of the civil bourgeoisie. The monument, representing the law enforcement officers who will protect the citizens, creates the image of Yenişehir residents being constantly watched over by the state (Batuman, 2002). In other words, what we see represented on the monument is the state, not the civil bourgeoisie.

“The truth to be faced here is that the new national identity does not contain a self-sufficient political will”⁷⁸ (Batuman, 2002: 52). In this regard, individuals of the bourgeoisie that failed to demonstrate their independence, left their representative positions to a competent power (the state). The theme shifted from constabulary officers, those who protect security, to the notion itself, and the constabulary monument became a security monument (Batuman, 2002).

⁷⁷ *Translated by the author.*

⁷⁸ *Translated by the author.*

In 1935, the Güvenlik Monument⁷⁹ with its backside facing the ministry area, was also completed, and has become one of the new reference points of Ankara in all its glory. Young people began gathering in Güvenpark at nights with their guitars and accordions⁸⁰ (Ertuna, 2005: 12) (Figure 28).



*Figure 28: Güvenlik (Security) Monument in Güvenpark.
(Design of block by Clemenz Holzmeister. The design of the statue and reliefs by Anton Hanak, 1931-1934; monument finished by Josef Thoroak, 1934-1936)
Source: Personal archive of Çağatay Keskinok.*

4.1.5 Spatial Interventions

The first landscape of the park was based on geometrically shaped garden islets. In those years, similar places in Ankara were structured like this, inspired by the palace gardens of Europe. Later, in the 1950s, the park's landscaping was altered and took a form similar to its current form.

During the 1940s, a single story structure was built where the bus stops are today. Within ten years of its opening, this structure was placed on one of the islets and the rest of the area was organized so as to allow cars to enter and exit. This might be considered as the first spatial damage done to Güvenpark.

⁷⁹ The monument and the reliefs designed and constructed by Australian artists Josef Thoroak and Anton Hanak. The body of the monument was made of a T shaped andesite. Bronze and stone reliefs are on both sides. At the bottom side of the body writes 'TÜRK, ÖĞÜN, ÇALIŞ, GÜVEN' with bronze letters (Ertuna, 2005).

⁸⁰ Translated by the author.

The Kızılay building, Kızılay Park and some ministry buildings were already there, together with villas with gardens and chateaux with towers on Atatürk Boulevard. These houses began turning into 3-or-4 story buildings in the 1940s. There was a bicycle lane and wide sidewalks on Atatürk Boulevard, which became a 'place to be seen' in those years. The residents of Yenışehir would walk down the boulevard after work and hang out in the cafes or at the park, listening to music outdoors. Yenışehir was still a residential area outside the city, in which the houses had gardens at that time (Batuman, 2002).

Güvenpark, built as a stage for the modern Turkish Republic and to reflect its ideology, began to be damaged by changing urban dynamics after the 1950s. As mentioned before, urban spaces are ideological and are affected by political structures and social incidents, and change accordingly.

4.2. The Period Between 1950-1980: The Invasion of Güvenpark

As a stage for the modern Turkish Republic, Güvenpark, built to represent the republican ideology, began to become deformed after the 1950s. As mentioned before, urban space is ideological. It gets affected by the political formations and social events of the time and changes.

One of the most important incidents of the 1950s was the transition to a multi-party system (in an effort to bring about democracy). It was a painful process. Together with this, economic problems in Turkey and throughout the world, the transition to an import-substitution economy and problems occurring as a result of that first affected the big cities. Rural-urban migration into cities which lacked of the infrastructure to handle this rapid population growth brought employment and housing problems in themselves. One of the most important problems of the 1950s, was irregular and rapid urbanization, and the accompanying increase in economic rent⁸¹ (İlkay, 2007). In the 1950s, urban space became not just a space

⁸¹ *"This urbanization was not a form of modern urbanization for sure. This urbanization process may have begun but the economic breakthroughs were not sufficient and the population growth was well above*

that the urban bourgeoisie was using, but also a space that immigrants were passing through. In this period, when Jansen's plan were no longer sufficient, Yücel Uybadin's plan attempted in 1957. However, this was not a solution either; Ankara kept growing irregularly and forming according to speculative construction (Ertuna, 2005).

In the 1950s, development policies were observed to have changed compared to previous years. Marshall Aid (after the Second World War) and agricultural mechanization provided larger agricultural areas but a decrease in the need for agricultural labor, caused rural-urban migration.⁸² Besides this, Ankara and other cities after 1950s created new industrial areas more slowly. When economic depressions in the 1960s were added to these factors, a different economic model was adopted. The import substitution model brought “consumer-based industrial enterprises” with it and these enterprises were mostly established in Istanbul. However these new enterprises were also unable to employ enough people, creating unemployment (Eraydın, Köroğlu, 2005).

Ankara maintained its importance as an administrative and service center. Half of the working population were employed in ministries and relevant institutions, local authorities and municipalities, or social services like education, health and culture (Eraydın, Köroğlu, 2005).

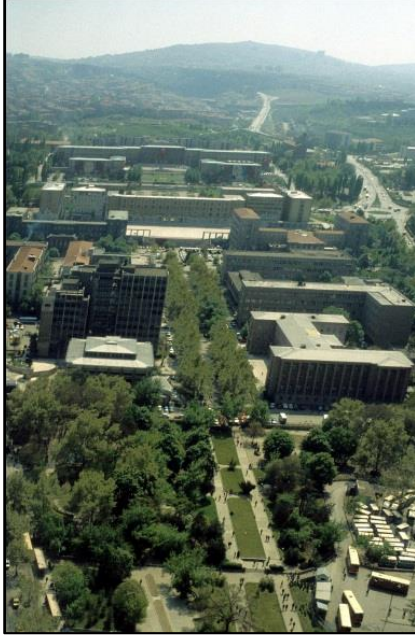
While the DP (Democrat Party) were in power, political chaos transformed city centers into battlefields.⁸³ In the 1960s, city centers were being used as areas for left-wing protests. Against these social movements, the police began to become visible in urban spaces as an effective actor and there were clashes between police and the public. Public spaces, designed as prestige spaces, became arenas

estimations” (Torunoğlu, 2009). Thus, the low growth estimations in Yücel Uybadin's plans, made after Jansen's plan, meant they quickly became superseded by events.

⁸² *This immigration did not cause social or economical transformation in real terms but did cause a population spurt and uncontrolled expansion in cities (Torunoğlu, 2009).*

⁸³ *Between 1950 and 1960, the import substitution economy continued with a strategy relying on foreign borrowing. Then, foreign borrowing spiralled out of control and as a consequence; the Turkish lira began losing its value, unemployment increased and investment came to a stop. The military coup of the 27th of May, was one result of this tension (Ilkay, 2007).*

for social conflicts; their meaning, function and spatial forms changed in the context of publicness (İlkay, 2007). Actually these spaces (Güvenpark etc.) have found their meanings by themselves as the democratic public spaces that Habermas mentioned.



*Figure 29: Güvenpark After 1980's
Source: Ç. Keskinok's Personal Archive*



*Figure 30: Aerial view of Güvenpark
1982*

Source: T.C. M.S.B Harita Genel Komutanlığı, Sayısal Hava Fotoğrafı, 2015.

4.2.1 Invasion of the City Center

Rapid increases in population and the uncontrolled growth of the city began to transform the city center as well. The new city began forming with decisions made according to land speculation instead of as a planned settlement (Ertuna, 2005). As a solution to this urban problem, Yücel-Uybadin construction plan decisions put into practice in 1957, after that building density and story height in Güvenpark and its surroundings began increasing. Again in this period, Kızılay was accepted as the business center of the city and gained approval for constructing new type of buildings (Batuman, 2002). Along with this new usage, new user types occurred. Yenişehir was no longer a place where bureaucrats and

officers were living a suburban life. Now, it was also a space used by migrants. Thereby, with this new social diversity, Kızılay and Güvenpark gained a completely new public identity (Ertuna, 2005).

“...the public area itself transforms into an arena defined by a broad right to participation including the lower classes, from being a show of displays by the elites”⁸⁴ (Batuman, 2002: 56-57). Low income groups began to officially use Kızılay and Güvenpark and thereby, urban social contact turned into a political confrontation.

“At that time, together with the construction of various state institution buildings and the opening of the new parliament building in 1961, Kızılay officially turned into a bureaucratic and political center”⁸⁵ (Bayraktar, 2013: 28). At the beginning of the 1960’s, movie theaters and bookstores opened around Kızılay and Güvenpark and this area, which hosted ministries and new residential areas, gained the characteristics of a cultural center and by the opening of bank branches, the district also became a financial center. While Kızılay Square, which is largely used by middle and high income groups, was reinvigorated by this new role, the Emek Commercial Complex built right across Güvenpark, redefined and change the scale of the square (Bayraktar, 2013).

With the arrival of the 1960s, economic problems in the country had also increased the political tension. A serious opposition to the Democrat Party had begun to form. Over time, Güvenpark and the monument, together with Kızılay Square, became the center of demonstrations. The square and Güvenpark were spaces in which significant incidents began happening towards the end of Democrat Party era (Ertuna, 2005). In 1962, a mass labor protest took place in Kızılay Square for the first time. In May, 1960, a march by military college students, the manhandling of Menderes by students, and the 555K gathering all took place in this public space (İlkay, 2007).

⁸⁴*Translated by the author.*

⁸⁵*Translated by the author.*



Figure 31: A poster from the 1970s
Source:https://pbs.twimg.com/profile_images/5/P8_NPMFw.png (last accessed: 21.09.2015)



Figure 32: A poster from 2013
Source:<https://s-media-cache-ak0.pinimg.com/736x/9b/8/54.jpg>
(last accessed: 21.09.2015)

At the end of 1970s, a substantial part of Güvenpark was converted to bus stops and thus, the recreational area was turned into an entrance to the city center and Kızılay Park, mainly designed as a stage for republican publicness, was first turned into a flower patch by being shrunk and later in 1979, turned into a parking lot through the demolition of the historical building (Batuman, 2002). So the image of the square which was identified with its name got destroyed (Bayraktar, 2013).

The loss of the image of the square also affected Güvenpark, which began losing its prestige. These operations ruining the public space were part of the government's efforts to control the urban space. A policy for preventing incidents beyond its control through spatial interventions also altered its function in other ways.

Apart from the spatial intervention, towards the end of the 1970s, the Güvenlik Monument and its surroundings gained a different function and became a 'human market'. This space, where the daily workers waited together to be chosen for casual work by employers, was also used for a different kind of 'trade'. Such a trade in the city center, while decreasing the prestige of the space, also demonstrated social class distinctions (Gürbüz, Ertuna, 2004).



Figure 33: Güvenpark in the 1975's

Source: <httpwww.inankara.com.tr/uploadsfotoalbum856>. (last accessed: 12.10.2015)

In this period, the symbolic meanings of Güvenpark, Kızılay, Ankara and the context of republican attitudes to publicness underwent a serious transformation.

Although the destruction of public space as an arena, along with its spatial pattern, its physical and spiritual form, is the most possible radical suggestion in an attempt to eliminate the conditions for the existence of a social opposition, its legitimacy is open to discussion.⁸⁶ (Batuman, 2002: 75).

Municipal Socialism (1973-1980)

While, the city center was being destroyed, an important period of democratization emerged in terms of municipal (local) administration called 'municipal socialism'. This period between 1973-1980 is referred to as the Vedat Dalokay and later the Ali Dincer period. The work carried out within the scope of this movement, still sets an example for today. (Bayraktar, Penbecioğlu, 2008).

While in the 1930s, during the early years of the republic, a mentality of “for the people, despite the people” was dominant during the construction process of the new Turkish Republic; in the 1970s, a mentality of “for the people, together with the people” (Vedat Dalokay's and Ali Dinçer's municipal mentality) became

⁸⁶ *Translated by the author.*

municipal policy. They tried to implement a policies based on urban democracy and recognizing all classes of society in the decision-making process (Bayraktar, Penbecioğlu, 2008).

The socialist perspective in that period was at the heart of the sense of municipality, urbanism and planning.⁸⁷ They tried to turn the process of reconstruction of urban space to the benefit of the working class, which made up a huge part of society. Communal areas for urban residents were organized in consideration of the interests of everyone, not just the high income groups. The Batıkent project and work on the urban center of Kızılay clearly reveal these tendencies (Bayraktar, Penbecioğlu, 2008). After the 1980s, especially after the reform of local authorities, work carried out in line with the Municipal Socialism, was rapidly destroyed by their successors, first ANAP and then the AKP (Torunoğlu, 2009).

Again in this period, the projects of reorganizing Seğmenler Park, Abdi İpekçi Park, 50. Yıl Park and Kuğulu Park (bringing swans to the park for the first time) were the most important urban public projects for the construction of green areas after Jansen (Bayraktar, Penbecioğlu, 2008).

Kızılay Pedestrian Zones Project

Another important project of the period was the 'Kızılay Pedestrian Zones Project' created in 1979. Pedestrian zone projects were predicted to make the city center a real public space, not just a traffic intersection, by closing many streets in Kızılay to traffic and opening them to pedestrians only.⁸⁸ (Atabaş, 1994;

⁸⁷ Primarily, they adopted the urban plans of AMANPB, which opened the city up to the outskirts, and tried to carry these plans out. They designed projects responding to the urban problems of the era such as the need for housing for middle and low income groups, public transportation, air pollution, pedestrianization, the reorganization of the city center and popularizing the use of public spaces. The municipal socialist interventions of this period were public-oriented and aimed at all the classes of society without discrimination. Public participation in administration tried to be provided. Thereby, the citizens began to have a say in administration and became able to express their requests and complaints (Bayraktar, Penbecioğlu, 2008).

⁸⁸ The first application in Ankara was made in Ali Dinçer's period. The Pedestrianization Plan of Sakarya Street and its surroundings were prepared and the district was pedestrianized in the same year. In the

Gürbüz, Ertuna, 2004). “Surely with this project, Güvenpark was going to get its share and regain its prestige by being at the center of these pedestrian zones” (Ertuna, 2005: 14). But the 'Pedestrian Zone Project', created before 1980 by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, was canceled after the coup in 1980 (Ertuna, 2005) (Figure 34).



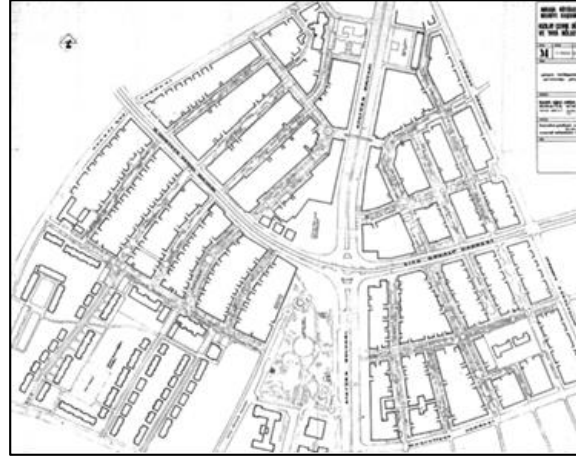
Figure 34: Güvenpark and the Kızılay Pedestrian Zones Project
Source: Öncü, 2009 Dosya 11: 4-6

After the coup, pedestrianization efforts began anew in the city center neighborhood of Kızılay. In 1986, the Ankara Kızılay Landscaping and Pedestrian Zones Project was awarded to Yalçın-Beate Oğuz's company by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (Oruçkaptan, 1990). This project included suggestions for Zafer Square, Kumrular Street, Güvenpark and İzmir Street, in addition to current pedestrianized zones. (Ayoğlu, 2010) (Figure 35).

In the proposed project, minibus stops present in Güvenpark were to be removed but an underground car park was to be added and also, pedestrian exits were to be placed in various points of the park. Vehicular entrances to the car park would be located on the intersection of the middle axis of the Historical Administration

project, seating groups, fountains, exhibitions and vending areas were designed and built to meet the requirements of pedestrians and citizens for urban spaces in addition to parks. After that, in 1982, with the Pedestrian Zones Analysis Work prepared by the General Directorate of EGO, it was suggested that Sakarya, İzmir and Yüksel Streets and those around them (Fevzi Çakmak 1 and 2, Sümer 1 and 2, Menekşe 1 and 2, Şehit Adem Yavuz, Konur and Karanfil) be pedestrianized. However, the municipality of those years under Mayor Süleyman Önder was unconvinced, and thus it did not come to fruition (Öncü, 2009).

Complex (Tarihi Hükümet Kartiyesi) and the street on which the flower-sellers are located. The axis through the center of the park would be destroyed completely under the proposed landscaping arrangements; they also suggested changing the angle of the monument and thereby enlargening the square (Ayoğlu, 2010).



*Figure 35: The Yalçın-Beate Oğuz Project.
Ankara Kızılay Landscaping and Pedestrian Zones Project (Kızılay Çevre Düzeni ve Yaya Bölgeleri Projesi).*

Source: Oruçkaptan, 1990-Ayoğlu, 2010 p:50

In 1987, in place of the Yalçın-Beate Oğuz project, designed upon the request of the Metropolitan Municipality; the Dr. Turgay Ateş⁸⁹ project was put into practice by Çankaya Municipality. But this project, which was begun in 1987, was ended after a year without being completed. (Oruçkaptan, 1990; Ayoğlu, 2010).

4.2.2 Invasion of Güvenpark

As mentioned before, Kızılay had undergone a structural and functional transformation since the 1950s to become a political and cultural center. High-rise buildings were taking the place of four or five story houses with gardens. As more people began to use the area, the roads became insufficient.

⁸⁹ Turgay Ateş was an urban designer landscape architect and also the designer of the Sakarya Pedestrianized Zone.

The modern main street that Jansen had planned in the 1950s, (Atatürk Boulevard) with its wide sidewalks, central refuges and bicycle lane, was widened in this period. This widening operation was carried out by deforming Kızılay Park and Güvenpark and adding the bicycle lane to the boulevard, narrowing the sidewalks, removing the central refuge and adding part of Güvenpark to the road and the intersection. In the process, trees were destroyed in substantial numbers (Figure 36-37).

In the 1970s, the intersection was widened again. Also, Kızılay square was under construction for a long time, the part of Güvenpark overlooking the center (with the pool and the monument) was severely deformed, and the pool was shortened and added to the sidewalk over these years. Again in the same period, bus stops were erected on the boulevard side, the necessary space for the vehicles to enter and exit was taken from Güvenpark and in 1979, Kızılay Park was completely turned into a parking lot.

It is not surprising to see this kind of interventions into the park and the square, which were the places where social movements had gathered over these years. Parks are urban spaces and always open to deformation and abuse.

Parks are also urban lots. Beginning from the 1950s, they became arenas in which people gave voice to their public demands. In other words, the interventions, the ruining of the square, is an effort to destroy green spaces on which uncontrolled activities easily grow⁹⁰ (Batuman, 2002: 67).

One of Ankara's biggest problems at that time was public transportation. The need for a bus station at the center of the city was fixed again by deforming Güvenpark. In the mid 1970s, the bus and minibus stops took up some of the park. In the mid 1970s, a roundabout was put on Kızılay square (Vedat Dalokay's well-known roundabouts) and an overpass built connecting Meşrutiyet Street to the ministry side of Güvenpark.

⁹⁰ *Translated by the author.*



Figure 36: Aerial view of Güvenpark 1957
(T.C. M.S.B Harita Genel Komutanlığı, Sayısal Hava Fotoğrafı, 2015)



Figure 37: Aerial view of Güvenpark 1976
(T.C. M.S.B Harita Genel Komutanlığı, Sayısal Hava Fotoğrafı, 2015)

After the 1980s, Kızılay was weakening as a bureaucratic and political center, had lost its cultural centrality due to the opening of malls, but preserved its financial and commercial importance.

In this period, Kızılay square was completely turned into a traffic intersection, while Güvenpark was transformed into a transition area for pedestrians and a bus stop, losing the prestige and publicness it had had at the beginning. Together with the continuous construction of high-rise buildings, the chaos created by minibuses and buses made it poorly functioning as a recreational area. Güvenpark was deformed physically, functionally and conceptually during the 1980s. On the other hand, in the context of publicness, the use of this important urban space as a protest area for the democratic demands of society has to be considered as an important step towards democratization.

4.3. The Period Between 1980 – 2011: The Deformation of Güvenpark

With the coup on 12 September 1980, a new era began in Turkey. Turkish political, economic and social life entered a different stage. With this overthrow of the government, Kızılay and Güvenpark took major blows both publicly and physically. Neoliberal policies (the January 24 decisions) advocated by the IMF since the 1970s were officially put into practice with this era. Thus, the free market economy was embraced in place of the import substitution economy (İlkay, 2007).⁹¹

“The military coup in the year 1980 also damaged the ideological public structure of Turkey”⁹² (Çaha, 2004: 8). Prime Minister and later President Turgut Özal, in the late 1980s, enabled a transition back to civilian government. Özal provided freedom in the economy, politics and religious issues and prioritized concepts such as open society and civilian government in his statements, which led to the revival of the economy (Çaha, 2004).

Özal’s efforts to disseminate capital to the social base, his policies for a free world market, the 24 January decisions and his concept of governance led to the transfer of state power to disparate units. In this period, non-governmental organizations consequently became more important (Çaha, 2004).

It was soon possible to see the reflection of this era in cities and urban spaces. In the meantime, the powers of local administrations were 'reorganized' and cities became new markets. Urban services were commercialized through privatization and foreign capital policies.⁹³

⁹¹ After 1980, with the guidance and encouragement of imperialist formations such as the IMF and World Bank, the import-substitution economy was abandoned and a free-market oriented model of industrialization was adopted. Through these economic reforms, also called neoliberal policies, the new actors in our economy (IMF - World Bank) became legitimated. Thus, the cities of Turkey began to adjust in line with the demands of the markets of the imperial centers (globalization) (İlkay, 2007).

⁹² Translated by the author.

⁹³ Interventions into the built environment were made by both the state and the private sector. Especially in big cities, state investments and the private sector, telecommunication and transportation infrastructure, areas of consumption etc. were transferred into the built environment (İlkay, 2007).

Thereby, urban spaces and public spaces in cities became the main tools of the privatization program. As a result of these, citizens became 'customers' and municipalities were incorporated (Torunođlu, 2009).



*Figure 38: Kızılay Square and Güvenpark in the 1980s.
(http://wowturkey.com/tr687/k_Hamza_BASYURT_kizilay.jpg)*

The neoliberal approach requires a serious restriction of the expenses of the state. In particular, it seeks cuts to the expenses made in public fields such as education, health, transportation and physical infrastructure that are also known as the expenses of the social state. This implies abandoning a social state mentality and leaving income distribution to market mechanisms (Kurul, 2001). In other words, the priority of the public interest was given up in this period in local administration policy in favor of capital-oriented strategies (instead of organizing urban services for the benefit of the city, the aim became providing services at low cost).

Therefore, the pedestrian zones project developed in the public interest by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality before 1980 was shelved due to the new economic policies after the coup (Gürbüz, Ertuna, 2004). Güvenpark and its surroundings began to be seen as potential areas for making economic rent by civilian mayors.

4.3.1 Planning Approaches and Projects

After 1980, Güvenpark and its surroundings continued to be filled with incessant construction. In 1985, municipality made a new attempt to transform the physical and social structure of the area under the name of the Güvenpark Renovation Project. (Ertuna, 2005). This project was a true reflection of the urban policies after 1980.

In this project, there were plans to build a car park and a shopping mall underground, which would severely damage Güvenpark, but for the first time in history, a huge social resistance emerged to protect the park and meanwhile it was rescued by a court decision (İlkay, 2007).

4.3.1.a Güvenpark Renovation Project of 1985

Güvenpark Renovation Project was a project of redevelopment thought up by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (Mehmet Altınoy's term) in 1985. The project was designed by the architect Sezar Aygen and project proposal phase was completed in 1986⁹⁴.

This project included an underground mall that would be built under the park with 160 stores, a supermarket, bank branches, a post office, cafes and at the bottom levels a parking lot for 1,500 vehicles with a depth of 20 meters by destroying green area (İlkay, 2007) (Figure 39-40).

Additionally, with this project, new adjustments were proposed to the existing park: a model of Ankara castle would be placed in the park, the creation of an 'April 23 Wood' and 'October 13 Nature Park' and playgrounds, the alteration of the location of the Güvenlik monument to face the traffic junction, the

⁹⁴ Source: <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/535/7899.pdf> (last accessed: 10.10.2015) translated by the author.

building of an amphitheater behind the monument, and the placement of a clock tower into the original place of the monument. “There will be seimeni [models in traditional military garb] able to move with the music; when the clock strikes, the seimeni will dance” (Architect S. Aygen).⁹⁵ The project had the characteristics of a theme park in a way. As in Altınpark, which was built in the same period, has a similar theme.⁹⁶

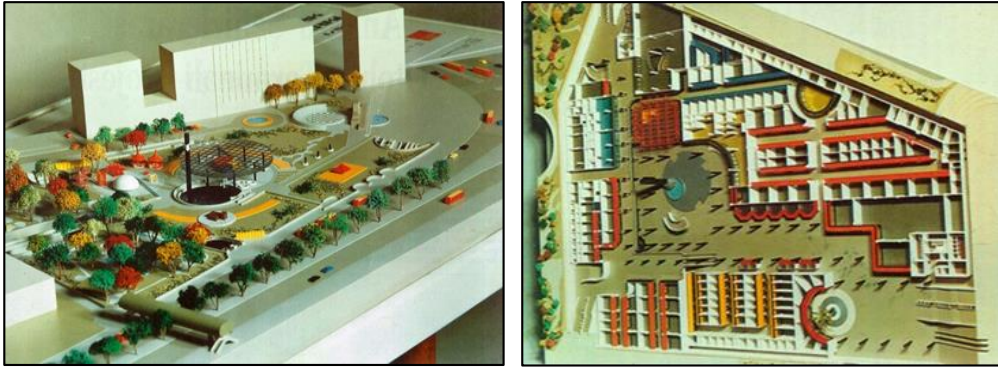


Figure 39: The Güvenpark Renovation Project
Source: <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/535/7887.pdf>. (last accessed: 11.09.2015)

The project as it was offered: (1) lost all the spatial texture and historical meaning of the space (there would have been nothing remaining from the past in the park); (2) turned the physical and conceptual characteristics of being the city center into an intersection; (3) turned a public space into a semi public one by transforming it into a mall and a parking lot, destroying the identity and publicness of the park completely; (4) would have caused traffic jams in the already problematic surroundings of the park and Kızılay Square; (5) would probably have lead to the destruction of the present trees; (6) would change the user profile of the area; (7) It is not clear how the surrounding transportation would have been organized within this plan. Where would the irreplaceable minibus stops be located on Kızılay Square?

⁹⁵ Source: <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/535/7899.pdf> (last accessed: 10.10.2015) translated by the author.

⁹⁶ In 1989, Atakule mall was built at the Çankaya end of Botanik Park, an important park in Ankara. In 2015, the mall part was demolished. Gençlik Park was also subjected to similar interventions and transformed. One part of Zafer Park was turned into an underground mall in the mid-60s <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/535/7899.pdf> (last accessed: 10.10.2015)

The transformation of this monumental park into something else through this project would have been nothing less than the destruction of history. This space, the witness and residue of an era, is an artwork that needs to be preserved for future generations.

In a period in which the impacts of September 12 are still present, three brave people—Aydan Erim, Akin Atauz and Mehmet Adam—started a petition. 60,000 participants signed this petition on tables placed in the park. Every Saturday, the people of Ankara filled Güvenpark. They gathered to defend their park in the city center in a festival mood similar to the one we witnessed in Gezi Park today. I still remember the cartoon contests, guitar players, and people flying balloons to this day (Mumcu, 2013).⁹⁷

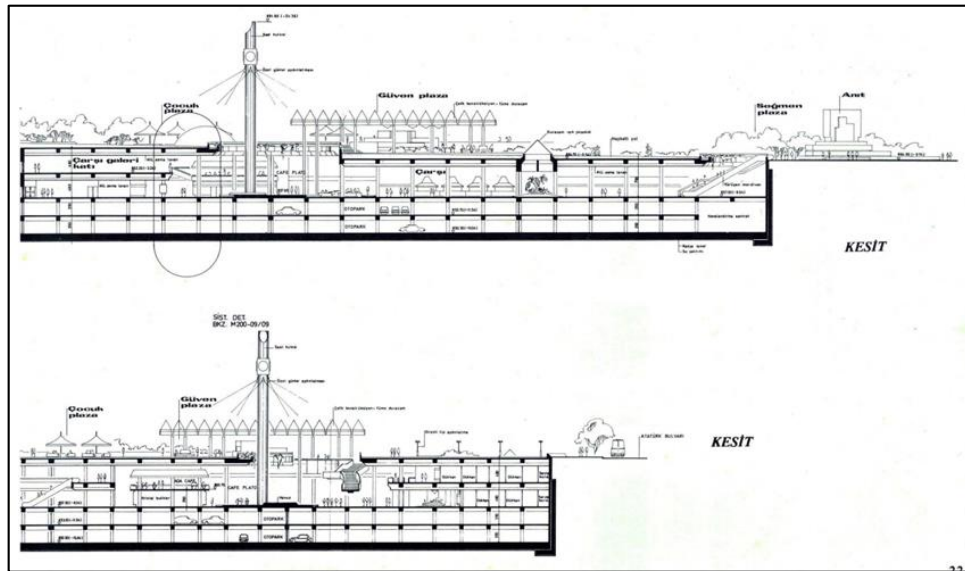


Figure 40: Güvenpark Renovation Project
Source: <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/535/7887.pdf>

Fortunately, the protests and resistance started by a group called the 'environmental conscience group', the project was canceled. The group collected 60,000 signatures with the slogan 'Güvenpark not parking lot' and the project was eventually canceled by a court decision. This social resistance movement was the first act begun by a civil community in Turkey for an urban space (Ilkay, 2007). This space, essential for the history of the republic and Ankara, was

⁹⁷ Source: http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/ozgur_mumcu/guvenparktan_gezi_parkina-1137387. (last accessed: 10.10.2015) Translated by the author.

embraced by the public. The public protected their public space using their democratic rights.

By the 1990s, Kızılay Square was aging, “as most of its commercial and clerical functions shifted out towards the boundaries of the city and new residential areas were formed in the outskirts, the square itself having been transformed completely into a traffic junction”⁹⁸ (Bayraktar, 2013: 31). Güvenpark also became a transition area.

The construction of the shopping mall project⁹⁹ which was the winning project of a contest held in 1980, began in 1998, causing a new debate about the square. In particular, the scale of the building was incompatible with the square, a historically valued urban space, and its surroundings (Bayraktar, 2013).

Güvenpark and Kızılay Square gained another feature by being at the city center. These urban spaces were the most important spaces in which political protest meetings and demonstrations took place from the 1960s to 2001. It was important as a meeting point for people with similar opinions and a space for performing publicness. Güvenpark and the square continued to be a space contested between the public and the government, despite the fact that it was closed to political meetings in 2001. Today, however, it still hosts a lot of illegal meetings and demonstrations (Bayraktar, 2013).

The spatial deformation of Kızılay and Güvenpark continued throughout the 1990s and the park and its surroundings became an informal marketplace. Peddlers and hawkers began to invade the area. This was inevitable for a city growing unplanned. However, these implementations became the planned projects of the local administrations in order to depreciate the place (Ertuna, 2005).

⁹⁸ *Translated by the author.*

⁹⁹ *The architects of the Kızılay Mall Project are N. Yatman and A. Yatman..*

4.3.1.b Underground Car Park for Güvenpark

Ankara Municipal authorities have made several attempts at pushing through a 'car park' project, which has been on the agenda since 1985. One of these, a project for which the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality gained approval from the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board by altering the master development plans, was cancelled on appeal in court in 1998¹⁰⁰. However this did not stop attempts to transform Güvenpark into a parking lot and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality acted once again in 2013¹⁰¹. But, with Çankaya Municipality and professional trade unions reacting every time, this attempt also led to failure. Finally, in 2015, the Municipality asked unions affiliated with TMMOB to design a project for an underground multi-story car park and restrooms, including moving the minibuses stops underground as a part of a renovation of Güvenpark.¹⁰²

The Ankara Branch of Chamber of City Planners (Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi) filed a report¹⁰³ in reply to this demand. One point made in this report was that it was a mistake to use the term 'car park' for a parking space for minibuses. If this project was thought of as a car park, it is clear that it is meant for cars. “And building parking lots for cars at the center of a city contradicts all

¹⁰⁰ “The Metropolitan Municipality created another project in 1998 for building a parking lot under Güvenpark. For this project, a master development plan change of 1/5000 has been made on urban block number 9441, on which Güvenpark was located, and has gained approval from the Metropolitan Municipality Council. The Municipality created the Güvenpark Restoration Project on a scale of 1/500 in consequence of this change. Due to the fact that the district was a first-degree protected zone, the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board sent the project back to Metropolitan Municipality on the condition that it was carried out properly. The Metropolitan Municipality made a second master development plan change according to the decision of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board with a plan of 1/5000, and the project was approved as it was. However, Çankaya Municipality canceled the project in a court appeal.” Source: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/guvenparka-yer-alti-otoparki-24746512>, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/24746512.asp> (last accessed: 28.11.2015)

¹⁰¹ “Ankara Municipality claims that the current minibus and bus occupation of part of Güvenpark can only be solved by the construction of an underground car park. In 2013, a different underground car park project emerged. In this one minibuses and buses were to go underground through different entrances, waiting rooms were to be constructed and the upper part was to be left as a green space as a part of Güvenpark.” Source: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/guvenparka-yer-alti-otoparki-24746512> (last accessed: 28.11.2015)

¹⁰² Source: http://www.flasgazetesi.com.tr/haber-12313-guvenparka_yeralti_otoparki_ve_tuvalet_yapil_cak.html (last accessed: 22.11.2015).

¹⁰³ ‘Yıl: 2015 Mekan: Güvenpark. Ankara’da Yitmekte Olan Bir Kamusalılık; Mekan İnsan’

universal principles of transportation.”¹⁰⁴ Also, they reminded the municipality in this report that the principles of systematically reducing areas for cars and parking lots in the city center had been approved by the relevant authorities in 2009 and thus these projects aimed at building an underground garage in Güvenpark contradicted these decisions.¹⁰⁵

With the practices carried out or attempted for years, urban spaces are being shaped in ways contrary to the common interest of society and class discrimination is intensifying. Also, the historic fabric and cultural heritage of cities are being ruined. People are encouraged to consume and being confined to malls, concrete parks are being built, and publicness is being destroyed through these kinds of interventions. “...We urge the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality Administration to criticise themselves and work heartily to reverse this destruction and carry out some actions in favor of the common interest.”¹⁰⁶



Figure 41: News About Güvenpark
Source: http://www.yapi.com.tr/haberler/guvenpark-yer-alti-otopark_112526.html
(last accessed: 12.10.2015)

¹⁰⁴ Source: TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi.
http://ankara.spo.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1486:-melih-goekceke-cevabmzdr&catid=39:basn-acklamalar&Itemid=72. (last accessed: 22.11.2015)

¹⁰⁵ Source: TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi.
http://ankara.spo.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1486:-melih-goekceke-cevabmzdr&catid=39:basn-acklamalar&Itemid=72. (last accessed: 22.11.2015)

¹⁰⁶ Source: TMMOB Şehir Plancıları Odası Ankara Şubesi.
http://ankara.spo.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1486:-melih-goekceke-cevabmzdr&catid=39:basn-acklamalar&Itemid=72. (last accessed: 22.11.2015) Translated by the author.

GÜVENPARK'A DEV DÖNME DOLAP

Kızılay Güvenpark'ta bulunan 800 metre karelik boş alana Londra'nın simgesi London Eyes gibi dev bir dönme dolap yerleştirmeyi planladıklarını ifade eden Başkan Gökçek, "London Eyes 125 metre yükseklikte, bizimki Ankara Eyes mı olur bilmiyorum ama 135 metre ve dünyanın en büyüğü olacak. Gelecek senenin ortalarında binme imkanı bulacaksınız. Yazın soğuk, kışın sıcak olacak. Rahatlıkla arkadaşlarınızla istediğiniz zaman 45 dakikalık bir tur yapabileceksiniz. Londra'da 135 lira... Türkiye'de böyle olmayacak" diye konuştu.

Hayvanat Bahçesi ve tema park ile ilgili dünyadan örnekler gösteren Başkan Gökçek, çağ öncesi hayvanların dünyada fazla kullanılan bir tema olduğunu belirterek, alışveriş festivaline bazılarını getirmek istediklerini kaydetti.

Üniversitelilere de çağrı yapan Başkan Gökçek, gönüllü olmak isteyen genç sanatçılara, bu çalışmalar sırasında görev verilebileceğini ifade etti.

Figure 42: News About Güvenpark
Source: İl Gazetesi 16 Subat 2012

THE PROJECT WILL GO OUT TO TENDER IN A FEW MONTHS¹⁰⁷

We definitely need to build an underground parking lot there. Now, we have them design another project, and the project is ready. The tender will be made in a few months. In this project, we will move the buses and minibuses underground. There will be respective entrances and exits for buses and minibuses. Also, waiting areas for citizens will be built. The above part will be the continuation of the park. Not like a square but a green space.¹⁰⁸

İDARE MAHKEMESİ KARARINI VERDİ: "GÜVENPARK'IN PEYZAJ BÜTÜNLÜĞÜ BOZULAMAZ, PARK'IN ALT VE ÜST KOTLARINDA YAPILAŞMAYA İZİN VERİLEMEZ."

TMMOB Peyzaj Mimarları Odası olarak Ankara Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu'nun, 4 Mart 2005 tarihli, "Güvenpark'a ilişkin minibüs ve otobüs durağı olarak kullanılan alanın alt kotlarında yapılaşmaya izin verilmesine imkân tanıyan kararını dava etmiştik.

Ankara 12. İdare Mahkemesi kararını 4. yıl sonra nihayet açıkladı. Mahkeme, Ankara Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu'nun, halen dolmuş ve belediye otobüslerine durak olarak ayrılan sahanın altına yer altı çarşısı ve garaj katları yapılması ile mümkün kılan 4 Mart 2005 tarihli kararını iptal gerekçesinde "GÜVENPARK'IN PEYZAJ BÜTÜNLÜĞÜNÜN BOZULAMAYACAĞI, PARK'IN ALT VE ÜST KOTLARINDA YAPILAŞMAYA İZİN VERİLEMEYECEĞİNE" dikkat çekmiştir.

Figure 43: News About Güvenpark

Source: (15 Aralık 2008 , Kategori Basın Açıklamaları, Kent ve Yaşam, <http://politeknik.org.tr/basri-119/> (last accessed: 12.10.2015)

¹⁰⁷ 'Birkaç Aya İhaleye Çıkacak' Source: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/24746512.asp>. (last accessed: 21.11.2015) Translated by the author.

¹⁰⁸ Source: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/24746512.asp>. (last accessed: 21.11.2015) Translated by the author.

4.3.2 Spatial Interventions

Towards the end of the 1990s, the green fields of Güvenpark were destroyed again. Despite the registration of Güvenpark and Güvenlik Monument as a First Degree Protected Zone and Monumental Sculpture respectively by the Ankara Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board, the chestnut trees by the pool were destroyed during the construction of the subway.¹⁰⁹ The side on which the monument and the pool existed was completely concreted over. The ventilation shafts from the subway ruined the form, appearance and usability of the park. Again in this period, kiosks and similar structures, the entrances and exits of the subway, billboards, ATMs, phone booths, colorful lighting in the park and peddlers inside and out decreased its' physical, functional and historical value and damaged the park's reputation. Besides this, billboards were placed in the way of the monument, blocking it out from its surroundings.

The roundabout, built in Vedat Dalokay's time, was cancelled (left turns are not allowed on the square anymore). The opening of the Kızılay Shopping Mall, built on part of Kızılay Park, finally opened in the 2000s after protracted troubles (Figure 44-45).

After the construction of metro, the lower side of Kızılay Square was transformed into a heavily controlled urban space with security guards, cameras and security regulations. The mall, built right across from Güvenlik Monument where Kızılay Park used to be, was already dominating the area with its size and giant screen on top, increasing the perception of chaos on the square. In other words, the square and the monument began to be chaotic parts of the city center. (Batuman, 2002)

¹⁰⁹ Source: <http://v3.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2002/05/18/guvenpark.htm> (last accessed: 10.10.2015)



Figure 44: Aerial view of Güvenpark, 1988



Figure 45: Aerial view of Güvenpark, 1999

Source: T.C. M.S.B Harita Genel Komutanlığı, Sayısal Hava Fotoğrafı, 2015

Apart from these changes, Güvenpark became a frequent area for municipality celebrations. Since 1997, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has set up a tent in the park every Ramadan to give out food for free. The square and the park maintain their status as a “space of appearances” and reflect the state’s ideology. “The capital of the Republic and its symbolic center Güvenpark are again political stages, this time demanding legitimacy for an Islamic identity.”¹¹⁰ (Batuman, 2002: 73).

Structural interventions and regulations, together with the police and cameras around the square, brought Güvenpark and its surroundings under control. This is a reflection of the 'security problem' which is a political strategy by the state that came into agenda from the 1990s onwards. With these interventions, areas for public circulation and entrance points became defined. However, the

¹¹⁰ Translated by the author.

publicness of the space is left open to debate, since it becomes a space on which only permitted events may happen.

These policies, ongoing since the 1980s, have damaged the use, meaning and physical structure of urban spaces. Kızılay, the city center, began getting old. After a while, it became the policy of the current government to turn this urban space decrepit. Both Güvenpark and the Güvenlik Monument were neglected, leaving the urban space considerably bereft. Although this functionally, semantically and physically-worn urban space has been proclaimed as a 'first-degree natural protected area'¹¹¹, it remains possible that a new decision will be taken to make it just another commercial element of the center of Kızılay.

4.4 The Period Between 2011 - Today.

Today, globalization, which makes itself evident in all areas of life, has allowed social incidents, economic and political problems, to emerge on a global scale. As of 2011, 'Occupy Protests'¹¹² occurred around the world for various reasons, but mainly as part on the struggle against capitalism, created a tremendous impact and put many states in a tight spot.

These protests, beginning with the Gezi Park resistance¹¹³ (2013) spread to the whole country. "They arose as an uprising to primarily tyrannical violence,

¹¹¹ "Güvenpark and the Security (Güvenlik) Monument were declared 1st Degree Natural Protected Areas by the Ankara Board of Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage (Ankara Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Kurulu) on 07.13.1994 by decision number 3591. (Oruçkaptan, Ayşegül TMMOB Peyzaj Mimarları Odası Yönetim Kurulu Başkanı)

¹¹² (See Chapter2- Urban Parks as Public Spaces :32-34). These protests that are known as the 'Occupy Movement' began with Wall Street demonstrations in reaction to the global economic crisis in the US, spread to Europe as different demonstrations and became some sort of a rebellion in Middle Eastern and North African countries through protests known as the "Arab Spring", which demanded democracy and demonstrated anti-system characteristics. There is no doubt of the fact that these movements caused a rupture all around the world, and were parts of an international riot against neoliberal politics which had already ruled the world for a long time (Chomsky, 2013). On December 24, 2010, the first protests against the reign of Bin Ali, the president of the republic of Tunisia, began in Sidi Buzid. This was the spark for the Arab Spring. In just a few weeks, the two long term allies of the West in North Africa were overthrown. Source: http://tr.sputniknews.com/turkish.ruvr.ru/2013_12_24/Arap-bahari-ishte-bashladi/. (last accessed: 09.10.20159)

¹¹³ (See Chapter3- Parks as Spaces of Resistance: 52-58). The protests in Gezi park were about the trees at first but after the "my way or the highway" attitude of the prime minister and the state, and their previous interventions into the public and even private lives of people caused tens of thousands of people to hit the

ignoring the right to an honorable life by changing society in the interests of capital".¹¹⁴ (Chomsky, 2013: xxi)

In the case of Turkey, the economic and political transformations need to be analyzed which preceded these incidents. Turkey had gone into a huge economic crisis parallel to the one worldwide in 2001. While this crisis was still ongoing, the AKP, which appeared to be a continuation of other right wing parties that had taken power after 1980, came to power. As mentioned already, Turkey had gone through a structural transformation both in political and economic terms with the January 24, 1980 decisions. Beginning in the 1980s, an export-based economic model was integrated into the global economy, so as to meet the requirements of neoliberalism¹¹⁵ (Boratav, 2014).

Just like former governments, the AKP has caused the economy to rely solely on external sources. The use of these external sources of capital invigorated consumption and growth increased remarkably¹¹⁶ (Boratav, 2011). This economic relief¹¹⁷ gained the AKP even more power after the 2007 elections.

Turkey was not only hugely dependent on external sources of capital, but also extremely fragile within the turmoil of the world economy. Unemployment and absolute impoverishment increased together with growth¹¹⁸ (Bozkurt, 2014).

streets, both expanding and derailing the protests. The Ankara protest were sure not about the trees but the attitude of the state. As in Istanbul, almost every single person who was tired of these policies (students, academics, journalists, the proletariat, political parties, LGBT individuals.

¹¹⁴ (Translated by the author)

¹¹⁵ As of 2002, these reforms have eliminated the social state completely and marketized all public services. In addition to these, the flexibilization of labor and privatizations have also become important policy tools for the AKP. After the global crisis of 2008, they stuck with the IMF's macro economic stabilization goals and applied budget constraints. They looked after the interests of the bourgeoisie. <http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/kusbakisi-ekonomi-81003.html> (last accessed: 10.10.2015)

¹¹⁶ Source: <http://haber.sol.org.tr/yazarlar/korkut-boratav/bir-lale-devri-son-bulurken-46060>. (last accessed: 13.10.2015)

¹¹⁷ The so-called growth of our economy is nothing but an illusion, since alongside insufficient investments and lower national savings, it is also foreign-dependent. In other words, economic growth is solely based on external sources of capital. Foreign capital inflows are unstable and speculative. Turkey is rated "fragile" in the eyes of international finance markets. Source: <http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/kusbakisi-ekonomi-81003.html>. (last accessed: 13.10.2015)

¹¹⁸ According to research carried out by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Turkey is one of the most imbalanced countries amongst its members in terms of income distribution. Source: <http://www.yeniduzen.com/Ekler/gaile/228/neoliberalizm-gezi-olaylari-ve-akp-nin-hegemonya-krizi/650>. (last accessed: 13.10.2015)

With the neoliberal policy of privatization carried out on enterprises formerly belonging to the state, several institutions were handed over to foreign companies and this led to downsizing and unemployment (Koç, 2012).

The working classes suffered from these policies, and took action. One of these actions was the Tekel Protests. The Tekel Protests in Turkey were amongst the movements that created a tremendous impression. After privatization, Tekel laborers, who were formerly permanent, were forced to work as temporary personnel and without social security, under C4 status, according to the resistance. On December 15, 2009, the laborers came to Ankara from various cities around Turkey by bus and began their demonstration, which continued for 78 days. Students and coal miners also participated in the protests, which gained international support¹¹⁹ (Koç, 2012). Protestors pitched tents in front of Türk-İş bank and went on hunger strike. The state made the protests look like illegal acts and protestors appear to be members of marginal leftist organisations in the public eye. Police interfered with the protestors and used tear gas and pressurized water on them (Koç, 2012).

On December 28, 2009, members of the board of Türk-İş and some union administrators walked to Güvenpark from Türk-İş Headquarters before visiting the MHP in the Turkish parliament. The gathered crowd protested against the government's indifferent attitude towards the laborers. Then union officials issued a press statement. After that, the laborers were not allowed to march to the Parliament building and clashes with the police took place in Güvenpark.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ *The alcoholic beverages department of Tekel kept changing hands after 2003 and was finally, in 2011, handed over to a British company at a price 7 times its initial offer price. After this privatization some laborers were discharged and others assigned to rolling tobacco enterprises affiliated with the same institution. In 2009, after the closing of businesses affiliated with this institution, it was declared that the laborers were to work in public enterprises with a C4 status. The protests began subsequent to this declaration. (Koç, 2012)*

¹²⁰ *Source: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/tekel-iscilerinin-eylemi-14-ncu-gununde-13330180>. (last accessed: 11.10.2015)*

‘Everywhere Ankara, Everywhere Resistance’¹²¹, ‘Tekel Workers Are Not Alone’¹²² ran some of the slogans.



Figure 46: Tekel Protests, Güvenpark

Source:<http://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/119829-emekciler-turkiye-nin-her-yerinde-tekel-iscileri-icin-sokaga-cikiyor>. (last accessed: 17.10.2015)

In addition to 'privatization', the state developed different economic policies as an extension of the global neoliberal economy. While the AKP was in power, the construction industry¹²³ was supported as government policy and a “construction-based growth model” was adopted in 2002. This trade has become an important tool for providing capital flows, especially in metropolises. 'Crazy Projects' are being carried out by the state under the name of 'urban transformation'. To speed this flow, all necessary actions have been taken and related laws curtailed¹²⁴ (Dincel, 2015).

On the other side, AKP went beyond its traditional base of the adherents of political Islam and gained more power with the support of the second generation bourgeoisie, which had grown up under conditions of globalization¹²⁵ (Bozkurt,

¹²¹ 'Her Yer Ankara Her Yer Direniş'.

¹²² 'Tekel İşçisi Yalnız Değildir'

¹²³ The term “construction-based growth model” term is ideal for describing the period 2002-2014 in Turkey. Over this period 7 million houses, 700 thousand of which were council houses, were built. (8.5% of these belong to state-owned TOKİ and 1.5-2% to large corporate firms, but 89-90% were buildings of 15-20 apartments belonging to small and medium sized enterprises. (Dincel, 2015) Source: http://www.tskb.com.tr/i/content/2342_1_TSKB_BuyumeBaglamindaInsaatSektoru_Ocak2015.pdf (last accessed: 11.10.2015)

¹²⁴ Source:http://www.tskb.com.tr/i/content/2342_1_TSKB_BuyBaglamindaInsaatSektoru_Ocak2015.pdf (last accessed: 11.10.2015)

¹²⁵ Source:<http://www.yeniduzen.com/Ekler/gail/228/neoliberalizm-gezi-olaylari-ve-akp-nin-hegemonya-krizi/650> (last accessed: 15.10.2015)

2014). In 2011, the AKP was returned to power with 49% of the vote, and was able to begin realizing its 'hegemony project' more openly. In addition, its domestic policy became more authoritarian. 'Islamic politics' got more radical and religious symbols began to be used more widely. As a result of this, reactions built up against anti-democratic politics. Society began to be disturbed by inequalities in income distribution, the neglect of laborers' rights, suppression of the media, and the use of ethnicity as political material.¹²⁶

The neo-liberal ideology of the state showed itself clearly in urban transformation projects. What is called 'urban transformation' is actually the destruction of public parks, green areas, and historical buildings providing no economic returns; the separation of the poor from city districts whose rents are increasing and building malls, offices, skyscrapers (i.e. in the capital) instead¹²⁷ (Bozkurt, 2014). (Transforming Gezi Park into a mall or a hotel, building mosques in parks (as in Validebağ Grove), splitting up and selling off Ankara's large green Atatürk Forest Farm, and selling off lots of public or treasury-owned spaces as building plots are amongst the state's urban transformation projects.)

Whilst the state was rapidly transforming urban spaces, people began to struggle for their public space. That put the state and the people at loggerheads, this led to social history's groundbreaking Gezi Protests¹²⁸ (May 28, 2013). The state's attitude and police violence caused these protests to spread to the whole country and even across borders. The protests started in Ankara on the 1st of June.

¹²⁶ *On the inside, trials of coup (September 12) perpetrators began. In 2013, Ergenekon and Balyoz trials were concluded. Also, February 28 was also considered as an attempt for a coup and trials have begun. Afterwards, the relationship between Fethullah Gülen community and secret government was revealed and operations realized in police forces. Again in this period alcohol prohibition, abortion issues and December 17 scandals remained on the agenda for a long time. Bag bill. The law allowing the sale of formerly forested lands by treasury approved. Discussions on cancelling the principle of separation of powers (HSYK), presidential system and changing the fundamental law are important internal issues.*

¹²⁷ *Source: <http://www.yeniduzen.com/Ekler/gail/228/neoliberalizm-gezi-olaylari-ve-akp-nin-hegemonya-krizi/650> (last accessed: 15.10.2015)*

¹²⁸ *(See Chapter3- Parks as Spaces of Resistance: 52-58).*

4.4.2 New Barriers and Interrupted Space in Güvenpark

When considered symbolically, the relation between Gezi Park and Taksim may seem similar to the spatial relation between Güvenpark and Kızılay in Ankara. In other words, the spatial reflection of the Gezi Park protests could be seen in Güvenpark, Ankara. However, that did not happen. The police showed no mercy to the protesters in Ankara. While people gathered at and left the parks from time to time, there was no chance of permanence. This made the Güvenpark resistance look more like the one on Taksim Square.

The most important comparison between Istanbul and Ankara is in terms of violence on public spaces. The condition caused by a partial spatial pattern in Ankara actually cannot escape from a corresponding situation where 'high' politics is the determining factor. That the protests in Kızılay Square pale beside others requires us to question the square as a space of resistance and the dominance of institutionalized politics in terms of organization and action¹²⁹(Batuman, 2013: 8).

To understand the Ankara (Güvenpark) resistance, one has to see the difference between the Gezi Park and Taksim Square resistances. The protests spread to Taksim, leaving Gezi Park, because of the symbolic differences between the two spaces. It is striking how the police interfered differently in these places and how these two were used during the protests.

Whilst Gezi Park continuously hosted a commune-style life (for almost a month), Taksim Square maintained its characteristics as a public space by being invaded on-and-off, in accordance with its history. Gezi Park represented a new publicness (and its space) through the commune life created there while Taksim Square was the stage for specific protests and was therefore invaded occasionally. In other words, Taksim Square maintained its characteristics as a political zone but could not be freed from the police's excessive use of force (Batuman, 2014).

¹²⁹ *Translated by the author.*

Thus, the interference of the state and its police were not the same for Gezi Park and Taksim resisters. Whilst Taksim Square constantly witnessed clashes and attempts to purge it of protesters (successfully on June 11), Gezi Park resisters were able to stay there until mid June (Batuman, 2013).

On the other hand, in Ankara, police showed no mercy to protesters in Güvenpark from the first day onwards and gave no respite, using force without hesitation. On June 1, 2013, after shooting protester Ethem Sarısülük, police withdrew and people walked from Kızılay to Tunalı (Erdoğan, 2015).¹³⁰

On June 1, people gathered at Ankara Yüksel were showered with tear gas. Kızılay Square was surrounded. The police turned the center of Ankara into a gas cloud. Tens of casualties were taken to hospitals by ambulances and cars. Ethem Sarısülük was shot in Güvenpark¹³¹ (Erdoğan, 2015).

Surely, the reason that police used such excessive force in Güvenpark was that the Prime Ministry Building is located there. Protests were not allowed, and the Prime Ministry was to be protected at all costs; indeed, the police did not even hesitate to use their guns. In fact, the police officer who shot Ethem was later released. Therefore, when we look at the Ankara example, we may say that the resistance there was located in Güvenpark as an extension of the Taksim resistance rather than the Gezi Park resistance.

¹³⁰ On June 1, 2013, TOMAs (water cannons) set up a barricade on Atatürk Boulevard towards Tunalı and people began marching from Kolej, Ulus and Demirtepe to Kızılay. Organized and aggressive police forces were already blockading the square from these three directions. With Güvenpark beside ministries and next to the Prime Ministry, and the military General Staff 150 meters away, it was an uphill struggle. Again on the same day, Ethem Sarısülük was shot in front of YKM store with a bullet from a police officer's gun and after that, the police retreated and people began marching from Kızılay to Tunalı. Police forces were authorized to use as much violence as they wanted in defending the Prime Ministry. The death of Ethem Sarısülük is an example of that. Also, several people were wounded by the police. Considering most people living in Ankara and other cities did not even know where Gezi park is, it is fair to say that the reason was not the trees but that the Gezi and Taksim resistance became the symbol for other protests both in Turkey and around the world. (Erdoğan, 2015). Source: <http://geekyapar.com/konular/guncel/2-yildonumunde-gezinin-unutulan-sehri-ankara/> (last accessed: 21.10.2015).

¹³¹ Source: <http://geekyapar.com/konular/guncel/2-yildonumunde-gezinin-unutulan-sehri-ankara/> (last accessed: 21.10.2015). Translated by the author.

As Batuman states, whilst the slogan 'Resist Gezi'¹³² was being transformed to defending the commune from its original meaning defending the park; the slogan 'Everywhere Taksim, Everywhere Resistance'¹³³ carried Taksim to every corner of the country and even further afield, creating an expansion of the social areas by allowing the possibility of the construction of a 'new public space' (Batuman, 2014).

In fact, this difference is heard in the slogans, 'Tayyip Resign'¹³⁴, 'Government Resign'¹³⁵. The state does not like people gathering in the squares or streets. Mass movements outside its control are signs of the weakness of its hegemony: a loss of power. It is understood that such a movement taking place on Güvenpark—in the district of the ministries, at the heart of the bureaucracy, is terrifying for the state—by looking at the police occupation of Güvenpark that still continues. Two years have passed, and the police are still standing in the park.

Güvenpark has witnessed many interventions throughout its history and finally, with the police invading a large part of it, took its current form. The park, already forming a border with the monument, the ventilation shafts of the subway, the subway entrances and exits, kiosks, billboards, ATMs, phone boxes and minibus stops placed in the 2000s, became an even more bordered and controlled space with its latest extension, the police barriers. The entrances and exits of the park, and the circulation area inside are very clearly defined. The definition of public spaces as spaces of freedom is not valid for Güvenpark anymore. The street between the ministries and Güvenpark, where the METU bus stop used to be (adjacent to the flower-sellers) is ready to be closed at any minute. The playground inside the park is also in the police zone, controlled by the police. They are limiting the use of the park even further by parking their patrol cars inside the park. Police officers are allowed to question citizens whenever they

¹³² 'Diren Gezi'.

¹³³ 'Her Yer Taksim, Her Yer Direniş'.

¹³⁴ 'Tayyip İstifa'.

¹³⁵ 'Hükümet İstifa'.

find it necessary to perform identity checks. Güvenpark seems like a police state with its police barriers, police cars and riot police. (Figure 47)



Side walk on the Atatürk Boulevard. (on left side Güvenpark, on right side Atatürk Boulevard).



Vendors, Square side of the Güvenpark.(Opposite to the Kızılay Shopping Mall)



Main artery between the Atatürk Boulevard and dolmuş stations, through the Güvenpark.



Inside the Güvenpark.



Police barriers, between Güvenpark and Ministry Complex.



Cars at the center of Güvenpark.

*Figure 47: Güvenpark, October 2015.
Source: Personal Archive.*



*Figure 48: Aerial view of Güvenpark
(27.07.2011)
Source: Google Eart Map*



*Figure 49: Aerial view of Güvenpark
(25.07.2015)
Source:Google Earth Map*

This public space has clearly been invaded by the state and the space, separated from public space by becoming a 'security zone'. The rest of the park is under partial control (with CCTV cameras and undercover police forces). Currently, a buffer zone has been constructed between the people (the public park) and the state (the prime ministry) (Figure 50).

Spatial control is actively established by the police now, not merely through structural elements. Police in the park are ready to defend their position all the time, on standby for a protest. The prime ministry is also under heavy guard. The state is using the space and its police forces for its struggle for hegemony. As a result, Ankara Güvenpark-Kızılay has become a militaristic urban space.

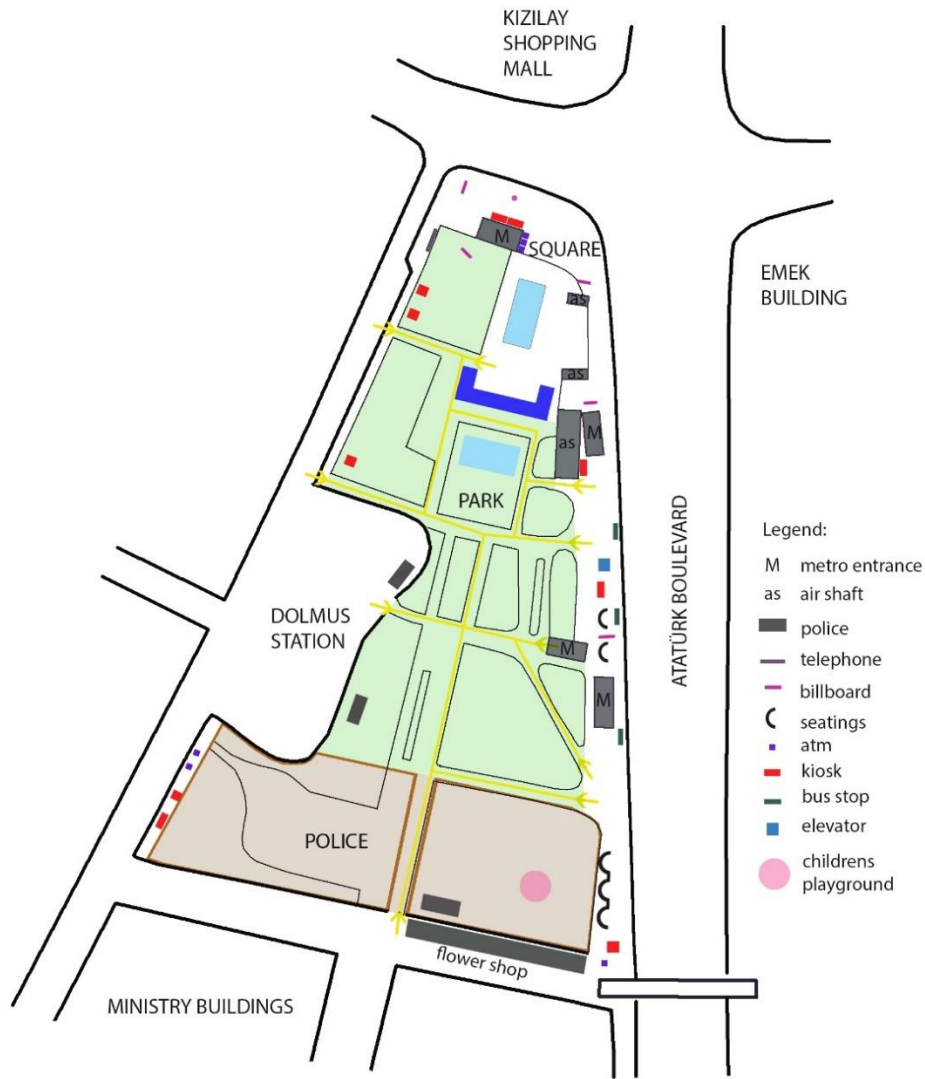


Figure 50: Schema of current situation of Güvenpark 2015

In the republican period, the park was solely built to represent civilian life and continued for years as a symbol of modern public life. Such that a pedestrian axis with trees was built from the center of the park to the ministries. Thus the state was connected with its people and a spatial permeability was obtained.¹³⁶ However now, the ministries (and particularly the prime ministry) is separated from the people with barriers and made into a security zone. This makes it impossible for the state to hear its people. In a way, this is a rejection of democratic publicness.

¹³⁶ (See Chapter 4- Construction of Güvenpark: 68-70)



Figure 51: Güvenlik Monument Reliefs.

Source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8e/G%C3%BCven_park_an%C4%B1t%C4%B1_sa%C4%9F_r%C3%B6lyef.jpg. (last accessed: 20.10.2015)

Reliefs showing policemen and gendarmes protecting and helping people stand face to face with police barricades, creating a symbolic contradiction in the space.

Table 1: Table of 'Transformation of Güvenpark' Through Periods.

	1923-1950	1950-1980	1980-2011	2011-....
Ideology of the period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Republican ideology · Modernist ideology · Republic of Turkey against Ottoman Empire 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Leftist & rightist ideologies · Populist period · Nationalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Neoliberalism · Postmodernism · Islam 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Neoliberalism · Radical Islam
Urban dynamics of the period (incidents)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Atatürk's Reforms · Construction of the state · Construction of Ankara as the capital · Construction of the new economy · Construction of Yenisehir · Construction of the new bourgeoisie 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Transition to the multi-party system · Rapid urbanisation · Migration-unemployment-housing problems. · Import substitution economy collapses · Political chaos · Rebellion movements · Demonstrations · Millitary coups · Municipal socialism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Neoliberal Policies · IMF-Word Bank · globalism · The 1980 coup · Non-governmental organisations · Commercialization of urban services through privatization and foreign capital policies. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Globalism · 2007 economic crisis · Occupy movement · Neoliberalism · IMF-Word Bank · Urban transformation projects. · Middle East crisis · Arab spring
Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · State-Bureaucracy · Designers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · State-Bureaucracy · Police · The people (laborers-students-immigrants) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Municipalities · Capital · The people · Non-governmental organizations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Capital · The people · Non-governmental organizations
Economy of the period	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Statist economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Import substitution economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Free market economy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Integration into global economy
Planning approaches and projects for Güvenpark	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Designed according to Western modernist approach 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Expansion of the boulevard. · Bulding of Emek Office building. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Güvenpark Renovation Project, 1985 · Car park projects for Güvenpark 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Car park projects, · Some commercial projects.
Meaning Of the space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Public stage · Prestige venue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Public space · Güvenpark gains a public identity · Battleground 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · An urban land. · Güvenpark and its surroundings begin to be seen as rent areas by civilian mayors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · Occupied urban space movements. · Operations for transforming Güvenpark into a disreputable space

Table 1 (continued)













Function of the space. (spatial usage)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A venue to exhibit the Western lifestyle 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meeting space. • Action space. • Recreation space • It has become a junction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transition space • Recreation space • Action space 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Space for civil disobedience • Transition space • Waiting area for police • Municipal event space
Actors in the space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bureaucracy • New domestic bourgeoisie 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bureaucracy • People (laborers, police, students, officials) • Immigrants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police • Society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police • Society
Position of the space in the city	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Under construction 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New city center • 1952, Kızılay accepted as a business center • 1957, building density and story height increased. • 1961, Kızılay has officially turned into a bureaucratic and political center. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City center • Transportation center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Downtown • Transportation center
Spatial implementation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Implementation of modern planning principles in urban spaces. • Construction of Administration Complex and Güvenpark 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atatürk Boulevard extended in this period. Part of Güvenpark been added to the road. • 1970s: bus and minibus stops built on part of Güvenpark. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Metro construction. • Addition of billboards. • Lightings. • Addition of vendors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Invasion of space by police
Changing publicness of space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Symbolic publicness ‘Pretending’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finding the meaning of publicness ‘real publicness’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The collapse of publicness 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The birth of a new publicness
Aerial view of Güvenpark				

Table 1 (continued)

<p>Schema: Güvenpark</p>				
<p>Contextual diagram of Güvenpark and its Surround- ing</p>				

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Throughout history, urban spaces have been important for states to reflect their ideologies and power, and to shape, govern and control their societies. They are shared spaces, where individuals are able to express themselves and make themselves visible, i.e., where publicness takes place. Therefore, urban spaces have always been conflict zones where the state and the people fight for hegemony. In one sense, these conflicts may themselves be regarded as publicness, if there is no conflict means there is oppression, a society under the tyranny of the state and a (limited) publicness under pressure.

Urban spaces have changed and transformed through history, due to changing dynamics; the lead actors in these changes are the state, capital and the people. Spaces are some of the subjects of these changes. This spatial change-transformation reflects changes in society's sense of publicness in a way. Parks, as public spaces in modern capitalist cities, are important spaces where the change in expressions of publicness can be observed and discussed.

In this regard, the spatial transformation of Güvenpark, a public space located in the city center that has hosted many incidents throughout the years, reflects changes in our perception of publicness.

The domination of the state in public spaces began in the very first years of the Republic of Turkey. Cities were produced by the bureaucracy (the state) within the scope of a modernist ideology, and Güvenpark was built as a part of this understanding at the center of the new neighborhood of Yenışehir as an

important urban space. Yenişehir was designed to produce a 'civil' space and Güvenpark became a stage for this new civil society. The sense of publicness in this period was symbolic and more like a preview of a forward-looking goal (becoming a democratic civil society). However, over the following years Güvenpark and its surroundings subject to various interventions and the space's spatial orientation, function, appearance and meaning were transformed as a result of changing politics. These changes made it possible to read the evolution of the perception of publicness through the space.

The 1960s and 70s are the years in which social movements became widespread and the proletariat began organizing, as a result of rapid industrialization and increasing urban migration. This period is regarded as when social publicness was experienced in real terms. Also, the coups in these years affected the social order. Security forces (the police), as effective actors, began taking place in urban spaces as a buffer between the state and the people in this period, while social movements became visible in urban spaces.

The concepts of 'state security' and 'public order' were redefined following the incidents of this period. In those years, while maintaining their status as the effective force in urban spaces through regulation, states carried out practices that would affect the social order through new laws and regulations. Especially after the 70s, Kızılay and Güvenpark, which were open public spaces where anti-hegemonic actions took place, became exposed to spatial interventions. Outside these interventions, the state created regulations through its ideological apparatus and one of these was restructuring the duties and authority of the police. In this period, the police were given more authorization to controlling and repress 'threatening' social movements and police forces began gaining power (Tesev, 2013).

However, during the foundation of the new national state, police and constabulary forces were assigned for the security of public with the aim of being a part of civil society. In this regard, the police was tasked with establishing

safety and order, protecting the people and establishing 'the safety and welfare of the state' in the 1930s. Built at the center of Ankara and representing the importance of the security forces in civil society, the Güvenlik Monument depicts police and security forces helping people¹³⁷.

After the 80s, with capital focusing on urban spaces as a result of changing political and economical policies due to a transition to neoliberalism, the production of urban spaces began to be shaped in favor of capital. The state, freed up the circulation of capital via changes in structural regulations, invigorating the economy, controlling spaces and reflecting its ideology on public spaces. The people were ignored amid this mutual relationship between the state and capital.

While spatial interferences were performed according the decisions of the state, capital began dominating public space after the 1980s and several projects involving public space were born. Towards the 2000s, whilst Güvenpark and its surroundings were also being deformed by capital, the state took the chance to expand its spatial control mechanisms through the intervention of capital.

After society was reshaped by neoliberal policies, the police were called out to quell social movements occurring as a result of the downsides of economic changes and to maintain a positive mood among investors. Civil society movements, unions and the opposition within society were suppressed, and terrorist acts and clashes significantly increased in these years. Expanding the duties and authority of the police once again in this period was a strategical decisions made in support of the (neoliberal) policies of the time. 'Riot forces', equipped with state-of-the-art weapons, were formed in a military structure and tasked with quelling social movements (Tesev, 2013).

¹³⁷(See Chapter4, Construction of Güvenlik Monument: 73-75)

In the 1990s, 'security' problems was a major issue in cities. Various laws regulating the security of society were passed and enforced. Police authority grew day by day. Towards the end of the 1990s, 'the security problem' became an important tool of neoliberal economy policies; and practices aimed at creating safe spaces became a tool of capital.

States, especially after 1980, adopted a strategy of “demonization” (Graham, 2010) and tried to govern the people by discriminating between them. Urban spatial practices of this period were formed according to this pattern as well. Public spaces were privatized and the wealthy echelons of society were separated from the lower class and began living in 'secure' complexes. In one sense, this situation could be interpreted as the collapse of publicness.

In the 2000s, where neoliberal policies were implemented throughout the global economy, the 'security problem' became global as well. Again, as a strategy of neoliberalism, states had to create enemies (threats) for themselves. According to their geographical position, this threat was either terrorists or anti-system anarchists (as protestors were also classified) (Graham, 2010).

It is possible for the security forces to occupy urban spaces, to perform identity checks and to cancel social activities and demonstrations using terror and other security problems as excuse. This causes public space to be seen as being under threat at all times. Thereby having police forces there and their interference in public space were normalised and the 'security problem' was internalized. This is the present situation in our Güvenpark example. The urban space comes to look like a militarized city.

Just as Graham tells in *Cities under Siege*, cities begin to become militarized when, following security threats, states begin using this as a way to control the people. According to Graham “...military concepts developed for the purpose of controlling urban masses on the global periphery - are quickly imitated to

discipline groups and social movements deemed dangerous within the heartlands of the imperial metropolis” (Graham, 2010: 23).

On the other hand Hayek states that this understanding would keep the people under control by making them feel scared and threatened all the time through a continuous 'security syndrome', and take the society to an order where people are organized in a military fashion. Enemies are made up through security syndrome, and the existence of the society and the state depends on the struggle to dispatch those enemies. To Hayek, security perception is the biggest threat that will narrow down the space of individual freedom and finally destroy it.¹³⁸ (Hayek, 1999; Çetin, 2004: 10).

The spatial control of the state has improved and increased over time. New techniques, advancing technology, control over communication and information networks (media and the internet), and monitoring spaces with cameras are also being used as ways of interfering with the urban space, in addition to reshaping it through its structural elements.

“...networked electronic control and surveillance devices are now distributed throughout society; everyday urban life is now modulated by a sense of ever-present tracking, scrutiny, and electronic calculation. Contemporary societies, are 'societies of control...’ (Graham, 2010: 63).

The media has become an important tool for the state in governing society. The state is able to create any perception it wants by way of the media. Incidents are narrated so as to serve the state’s own interests, and otherwise, the state penalizes the persons or institutions. These practices harm the understanding of democratic society. “...by manipulative media reports misrepresenting protestors simply as hordes of violent anarchists or terrorists, threatens to de-link the historic relationship between democracy and cities.” (Graham, 2010: 123).

In 2011, inequalities caused by global capital and the number of its victims both increased. People began hitting the streets as a result of the negative effects of

¹³⁸ *Translated by the author.*

globalization and neoliberal policies. These demonstrations, which was called 'Occupy Movements', occurred for various reasons in various countries of the world but they all had a common ground, due to being a global reaction against the current system. In a sense, this is the globalization of social opposition against the globalized crisis of capital. The state labels these movements as if they were against democracy and the regime, and the police uses violence on the protestors to repress them. In other words, the deeper the neoliberal crisis, the more the police violence and more the state becomes militarized (Chomsky, 2013).

As Graham explains; “Military-style command and control systems are now being established to support 'zero tolerance' policing and urban surveillance practices designed to exclude failed consumers or undesirable persons from the new enclaves of urban consumption and leisure.... What Robert Warren calls 'pop-up armies' are organized transnationally to preemptively militarize cities facing major anti-globalization demonstrations” (Graham, 2010: 23).

Hammond says that the word 'occupation' brings to mind an act against enemy forces. To him, whilst a military occupation means conquering lands (spaces), or dispatching enemies or rebels; occupation as a social movement means the actions people take to free spaces by ignoring the marginalizing and suppressive attempts of authorities. Occupation is also a demand for legitimacy on behalf of forms of publicness. People make their demands using the space in the context of publicness through occupation. In a sense, occupation is a democratic practice, a practice of freely existing in public space (Hammond, 2013).

However, authorities prevent society from using this right using various means which debase democracy. These tactics are labeled as acts that disturb the peace and hence, police violence becomes justified. Consequently, the police and the people begin to clash (Hammond, 2013).

As already mentioned, the inequality caused by neoliberal policies and countries run by the institutions of global capitalism have caused similar situations to

occur in different countries. With the help of social media, these movements were able to connect with each other over time. The Gezi resistance appeared as an extension of these 'occupy' movements as well, with some distinctions.

The Gezi protests showed that a different publicness is possible. Young people experienced a democratic society there. Individuals from various classes, ideologies, sexual orientations and ethnicities lived together in solidarity for a month. Seeing this caused the people to reject the 'demonization' policies implemented by the state.

İlhan Tekeli points that the publicness that occurred in Gezi was very different from the politic movements we are used to. Strangers lived and resisted together in Gezi and this caused the collapse of “marginalization” strategies within politics. “...this did not happen on the squares, it happened in the park¹³⁹...The 'Occupy' movement in New York, the US, was also in a park. A new publicness was produced there. This new publicness is one that exterminates the old politics.”¹⁴⁰ (Tekeli, 2014).

Following the Gezi protests, forums were organized, first in Abbasağa and Yoğurtçu parks and then in other parks and cities. This new form of organization, which used social media effectively, formed in some sense a new social opposition. “A new and dynamic publicness that began with Gezi but did not remained limited to its symbolism came into existence.”¹⁴¹

Parks became the symbolic spaces of this new publicness created by society. Appearing as a symbolic space of publicness throughout history, parks have

¹³⁹ *It is meaningful to revive rural life before capitalism, which is based on sharing and exchange, as a demonstration of anticapitalism, and especially doing this in a park, the symbolic space of nature in the city.*

¹⁴⁰ *Source: <http://www.moblogankara.org/subemizden/2014/3/28/yerel-seim-sreci-gezi-ve-demokrasi-ilhan-tekeli-hizmetin-tesini-talep-etmek> (last accessed: 05.11.2015) Translated by the author.*

¹⁴¹ *Source: <http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=387&RecID=3242>. (last accessed: 05.11.2015) translated by the author.*

become the symbolic spaces of this new/different publicness as well. They have become spaces of resistance.

Meanwhile, the resistance in Güvenpark, close to the spaces of high politics (the prime ministry) was not tolerated at all and was met with an extreme use of violence by the police. The practice of such publicness was not allowed there.

These demonstrations are threatening for the state. They mean the loss of power and control. The social effect of demonstrations in public spaces grows immediately. Protests took place in almost every city in Turkey and the fact that more than 3 million people participated in them prove their importance. This is the reason why the state wants to quell them before things get out of control, and it does that by controlling the space. As seen in Güvenpark, which is located next to the prime ministry in the capital Ankara, the police are always occupying and do not allow any demonstrations. In fact, even everyday practices now take place under the shadow of the police force. 'The safety of the state' is established by the continuous existence of the police in the space. It is not acceptable in a democratic society to restrict the rights and freedom of citizens in order to protect the state, nor prioritizing the state before its citizens (Tesev, 2013).

After the Gezi protests, new regulations were made and the authority of the ideological apparatus of the state, the police, was expanded once again. Their interventions have now been legalized. Also, these new laws¹⁴² limit the democratic right to demonstrate. This new security understanding is out of line with democratic publicness. What the state is trying to achieve with these practices is to scare people and make them obey the state without question. On one hand, movements against the state are made impossible, and on the other hand protestors are suppressed. The state uses these practices to secure its power against the resistance of the people, and becomes militarized. But no matter how hard the state tries, people keep fighting for their democratic rights.

¹⁴² The "Internal security package" approved in April, 2015.

As Noam Chomsky has said, rights are gained, not given. No state will offer democratic rights to its people. People will earn these rights only if they demand and fight for them. This fight requires resistance and “Turkey is resistant more than you can see from the west”¹⁴³(Chomsky, 2010).

¹⁴³ Source: <http://www.cafrande.org/noam-chomsky-turkiye%E2%80%99-de-bati%E2%80%99da-goremeyecegimiz-kadar-direnis-kulturu-var/> (last accessed:21.11.2015) Translated by the author.

REFERENCES

Akansel, C., (2009), Revealing the Values of a Republican Park: Gençlik Park Deciphered in Memory and a Monument, Master of Architecture Thesis, METU.

Akış, T., Batuman, B., (2000), “Kentsel Mekan Olarak Doğa: $\sqrt{-1}$ ”, Dosya: Ekobaşkalaşım, Mimarlık, 2000, sayı 291, (23-25).

Atabaş, K., (1994), “Şehrin Merkezini Tanımak Biraz da Şehrin Kendisini Tanımak Demektir”, Yerel Yönetimler ve Mimari, Boyut Kitapları, s: 18, İstanbul.

Ateş, T., (1985), Ankara Kenti Yeşil Sisteminin Planlanmasında Mogan Gölü-Akköprü Arasındaki Göl Akarsu Sistemi Çevresine İlişkin Potansiyel Ağırlığın Saptanması ve Değerlendirilmesi Üzerine Bir Araştırma, Ankara Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Peyzaj Mimarlığı Anabilim Dalı, Basılmamış Doktora Tezi, Ankara.

Ayoğlu, B., O., (2010), Zafer Anıtı–Güvenpark–TBMM Kent Aksı’nın Varolan Durumunun İrdelenmesi ve Cumhuriyet Aksı Olarak Yeniden Tasarımı, Ankara Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Peyzaj Mimarlığı Anabilim Dalı, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara.

Aytaç, Ö., (2007), “Kent Mekanının Sosyo Kültürel Coğrafyası”, Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, Cilt 17, Sayı 2, (199-226), Elazığ.

Batuman, B. (2002), “Mekan, Kimlik ve Sosyal Çatışma: Cumhuriyet’in Kamusal Mekanı olarak Kızılay Meydanı”, Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri,

Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler (derleyen Sargın, G. A.), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Batuman, B., (2014), “Gezi’nin Söz Hali: Mekan, Temsil, Dil”, Dosya 33, 2014/1, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi. Dosya Kimlik Yer.

Batuman, B., (2013), “Meydan, Sokak, Park: Direnişle Yeniden Üretilen Kamusal Mekân”, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, Bülten, s: 107, 2013.

Bayraktar, N., (2013), “Tarihe Eşzamanlı Tanıklık: Ulus ve Kızılay Mekanlarının Değişim Süreci”, Ankara Araştırma Dergisi, Haziran 2013 (20-35) Journal of Ankara Studies.

Bayraktar S.U., Penbecioğlu, M., (2008), “Başka Bir Kentsel Gelişme Tahayyülü Mümkündür! Özgün Bir Yerel Liderlik Tecrübesi Olarak 1977-1980 Arası Ankara Belediyesi Ali Dinçer Dönemi”, Mülkiye 2008 Cilt: XXXII Sayı: 261

Bıyık, Z., (2011), “Kamusal Mekanın Kent Mekanından Soyutlanması ve Devlet Otoritesinin Yaratmış Olduğu Dokunulmazlık Algısının Bu Süreçteki Rolü”, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İncelemeler Yüksek Lisans Programı, Yüksek Lisans Tezi.

Boratav, K., (2014), “Sol çevrelerde, AKP iktidarının kaderini ekonomideki bozulmalara, bazen olası bir krize bağlayanlar var”, <http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/kusbakisi-ekonomi-81003.html>

Boratav, K., (2011), “Bir Lale Devri Son Bulurken”, <http://haber.sol.org.tr/yazarlar/korkut-boratav/bir-lale-devri-son-bulurken-46060>

Botkin, D.B., Keller, E.A., (1995), Environmental Science, Earth as a Living Planet, John Wiley & Sons, USA.

Bozkurt, U., (2014), “Neoliberalizm, Gezi Olayları ve AKP’nin hegemonya krizi”, <http://www.yeniduzen.com/Ekler/gaile/228/neoliberalizm-gezi-olaylari-ve-akp-nin-hegemonya-krizi/650>

Carr, S., (1992), Public Space, New York, Cambirdge University Press.

Cengizkan, A., (2002), “Kurgu, Tasarım ve Kullanım: Cumhuriyet Dönemi Kamusal Mekanları İçin Bir Çalışma Programı”, Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler, (düz. Sargın, G.A.), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul

Chomsky, N., (2013), Occupy/İşgal Et, Gezi Direnişi Brosürleri:1, Agora Kitaplığı.

Clark, J. P., (1989), “Marx’s Inorganic Body”, Env’romental Ethics 11: 243-258. https://www.academia.edu/2903908/_Marxs_Inorganic_Body (Last accessed: 21/11/2015).

Cranz, G., (1982), The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America, Cambridge, MIT Press.

Cranz, G., (1991), “Four Models of Municipal Park Design in the United States”, Denaturated Visions Landscape and Culture In 20th Century. Ed. W.H. Adams. The Museum of Modern Art Publishment. New York.

Cranz, G., (2000), “Changing Role of Urban Parks”, <http://www.spur.org/publications/article/2000-06-01/changing-roles-urban-parks>

Conway, H., (1991), *People's Parks The Design and Developmet of Victorian Parks*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Çaha, Ö., (2004), "İdeolojik Kamusal Alanın Krizi", *Açık Toplum Yazıları*, Liberte Yayınları, Ankara; 62-80.

Çalık, E., (2002), *Ankara Metropolitan Alanı İçin Açık ve Yeşil Alan Özelliklerinin Belirlenmesi Üzerine Bir Araştırma*, Ankara Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Peyzaj Mimarlığı Anabilim Dalı, Basılmamış Doktora Tezi, Ankara.

Çekiç, T. İ., Kurtarı, E., Ökten, A. N., (2013), "Katılımın Yokluğunda Gezi'de Direniş", *Planlama* 2013, 23(1):45-51 doi: 10.5505/planlama.2013.58077.

Çelik, Y., (2013), "Osmanlıda Toplumsal Yapı ve Değişim", *Osmanlı Devletinde Yenileşme Hareketleri (1703-1876)*, Editör Akyıldız A., T.C Anadolu Üniversitesi Yayını.

Çelik, Z., (1998), *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlı Başkenti, Değişen İstanbul*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Çetin, H., (2004), "Özgürlüğe Karşı Güvenlik: Hayek'in Kölelik Yolu Eserini Yeniden Okumak", *C.Ü. İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi*, Cilt 5, Sayı 1, (10).

Dalkılıç, E., (2007), *Eğlence Parklarının Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Planlama Kriterleri*, Ankara Üniversitesi, Peyzaj Mimarlığı Anabilim Dalı, Yüksel Lisans Tezi, Ankara.

Dincel, G., (2015), "Büyüme Bağlamında İnşaat Sektörü", *Ekonomik Araştırmalar*, http://www.tskb.com.tr/i/content/2342_1_TSKB_BuyumeBaglam_indaInsaatSektoru_Ocak2015.pdf

Eraydın, A., Koroğlu, B.A. (2005), “Ankara’nın Yeni Gündemi: Ulus Devletin Başkentliğinden Küresel Ekonominin Dügüm Noktası Olmaya Uzanan Yapısal Dönüşüm Çabaları”, Cumhuriyet’in Ankarası, derleyen Şenyapılı T., ODTÜ Geliştirme Vakfı Yayıncılık ve İletişim A.Ş.Yayımları, Odtü Yayıncılık.

Erdoğan, Y., (2015), “2. Yıldönümünde, Gezi’nin Unutulan Şehri: Ankara”, <http://geekyapar.com/konular/guncel/2-yildonumunde-gezinin-unutulan-sehri-ankara/>

Eren, A., (2005), “Özgürlükler Mekanı Olarak Kamusal Alan”, AÜEHFD, Cilt IX, (3-4).

Ertuna, C., (2005), “Kızılay’ın Modernleşme Sahnesinden Taşralaşmanın Sahnesine Dönüşüm Sürecinde Güvenpark ve Güvenlik Anıtı”, Planlama/2005/4.

Evyapan, G. A., (1972), Eski Türk Bahçeleri, Özellikle İstanbul Bahçeleri, METU.

Göğüş, B., (2014), Küreselleşen Kentlerde Kamusal Mekanın Dönüşümünün Sosyo-Mekansal Ayrışma Bağlamında İncelenmesi: Taksim Gezi Parkı Örneği, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü Anabilim Dalı, Kentsel Tasarım Programı, Yüksek Lisans Tezi.

Graham, S., (2010), Cities Under Siege: The New Military Urbanism, Published by Verso 2010, London, New York.

Günaydın, A. U., (2007), Tanzimat Romanında Kamusal Alan ve Serbest Zaman Etkinlikleri, Bilkent Üniversitesi, Türk Edebiyatı Bölümü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi.

Gürallar, N., (2009), “Kamu - Kamusal Alan - Kamu Yapıları - Kamusal Mekân: Modernite Öncesi ve Sonrası için Bir Terminoloji Tartışması”, Gazi

Üniversitesi, Mimarlık Bölümü, Mimarlık Dergisi, Sayı: 350.
[http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=364
&RecID=2230](http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=364&RecID=2230)

Gürbüz, Y. E., Ertuna, C., (2004), “Ütopyaların Nostaljiue Dönüştüğü Süreç Bir Simgenin Öyküsü; Ankara Güvenlik Anıtı ve Heykeltraş Anton Hanak”, *Kebikeç*/18.

Habermas, J., (1962), Kamusallığın Yapısal Dönüşümü, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, çev. T. Bora - M. Sancar, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 1997.

Hammond, J. L., (2013), “The Significance of Space in Occupy Wall Street”, *Interface: A Journal for About Social Movements*, Vol.5 (2): (449-524).

Hayek, F. A.von (1999), *Kölelik Yolu*, çev: Feyzioğlu, T. - Arsan, Y., Liberte Yayınları, (5), Ankara.

Hetherington, K., (1997), *The Badlands of Modernity*, s: 84, Routledge, London and New York.

Ilkay, Y., (2007), *The Political Struggle on and at Public Space: The Case of Kızılay Square*, Master of Science in Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, METU.

Kardeş, Y., (2014), “Tahammül Edilemeyecek Bir Deneyim Olarak People’s Park”, URL: <http://viraverita.org/yazilar/tahammul-edilemeyecek-bir-deneyim-olarak-peoples-park>.

Kılınç, K. (2002), “Öncü Halk Sağlığı Projelerinin Kamusal Mekanı Olarak Sıhhiye”, *Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri, Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler* (derleyen Sargın, G. A.), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Koç, N. K., (2012), “Türkiye’deki Yazılı Basında Tekel İşçi Eyleminin Sunumu”, Çalışma ve Toplum 2012/4.

Kurul, N., (2001), “Neoliberalizm Kent ve Kent Okulları Üzerine Düşünceler”, Yeniden İmece Magazin, 2009, sayı 23, (39-43).

Mitchell, D., (1995), “The End of Public Space? People’s Park, Definition of the Public, and Democracy”, Annals of the Association of American Geographers, vol. 85, no: 1, (108-133).

Oruçkaptan, A. İ., (1990), “Kızılay Meydanı Çevresindeki Yaya Bölgelerinin İrdelenmesi ve Geliştirilmesi Üzerine Bir Araştırma”, Ankara Üniversitesi Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara.

Öncü, M.A., (2009), “Yetmişli Yıllardan Günümüze Ankara Kent Yönetimlerinin Ulaşım Politikaları ve Uygulamaları”, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi, Dosya 11, Bülten 67, (4-5-6).

Özcan, K., (2006), “Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Türk İmar Sisteminin Kuruluş Sürecinde Erken Planlama Deneyimleri (1839-1908)”, Osmanlı Bilim Araştırmaları VII/2.

Öztürk, S., (2005), “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kamusal Alanın Dinamikleri”, Gazi Üni. İletişim Fak. Radyo ve Televizyon Bölümü, İletişim 2005/21.

Sargın, G. A., (2002), “Kamu, Kent ve Polytika”, Ankara’nın Kamusal Yüzleri, Başkent Üzerine Mekân-Politik Tezler, (derleyen Sargın, G. A.), İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul.

Sennett, R., (1977), Kamusal İnsanın Çöküşü, *The Fall of Public Man*, çev. S. Durak – A. Yılmaz, Ayrıntı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010.

Şengül, H. T., (2003), “On the Trajectory of Urbanization in Turkey: An Attempt of Periodisation”, *International Development of Planning Review*, 25, 3,153-168.

Şimşek, B., (2002), *A Study On Recent Approaches in Production of Public Parks in Western Cities*, The Department of City and Regional Planning, Master of Science in Urban Design, METU.

Tankut, G., (1993), *Bir Başkentin İmarı Ankara: 1929-1939*, Anahtar Kitaplar, İstanbul.

Tekeli, İ., (2014), “Yerel Seçim Öncesi, Gezi ve Demokrasi Hizmetin Ötesini Talep Etmek”, *Bülten Blog*, TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Subesi.

TESEV, (2013), “Polis Yasaların Ruhu: Mevzuat Söylemler, Araçlar ve Zihniyet”, *Tesev Demokratikleşme Güvenlik Sektörü Siyasa Analiz Serisi 5 Rapor Yönetici Özeti*, Yazarlar: Gönen, Z., Berksoy, B., Başer, Z., Uçum, M.

Torunoğlu E., (2009), “29 Mart 2009 Yerel Yönetim Seçimlerine Doğru Toplumcu Belediyecilik Anlayışı”, www.politeknik.org.tr, 20 Ocak 2009

Uludağ, Z., (1998), *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Rekreasyon Alanları ve Gençlik Parkı Örneği*, 75 Yıllarda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık, İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul.

Yıldırım, Y., (2008), “Osmanlı Modernleşmesinde Cemaat-Toplum Yapılaşması Yeni Osmanlı Düşüncesi Örneği”, *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Cilt X, Sayı 3.

INTERNET SOURCES

<https://www.ankara.bel.tr/galeriler/parklar/harikalar-diyari>.

http://ankara.spo.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1486:-melih-goekceke-cevabmzdr&catid=39:basn-acklamalar&Itemid=72.

<http://v3.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2002/05/18/guvenpark.htm>

<http://architizer.com/blog/what-makes-parks-public/>

<http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/taksim-topcu-kislasi-ve-31-mart-isyani/Blog/?BlogNo=418126>

<http://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/119829-emekciler-turkiye-nin-her-yerinde-tekel-iscileri-icin-sokaga-cikiyor>

<http://www.cafrande.org/noam-chomsky-turkiye%E2%80%99-de-bati%E2%80%99da-goremeyecegimiz-kadar-direnis-kulturu-var/>

[http://www.dw.com/tr/top%C3%A7uk%C4%B1%C5%9Flas%C4%B1n%C4%B1n-tarih%C3%AE-anlam%C4%B1/a-16879025,](http://www.dw.com/tr/top%C3%A7uk%C4%B1%C5%9Flas%C4%B1n%C4%B1n-tarih%C3%AE-anlam%C4%B1/a-16879025)

<http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/535/7899.pdf>

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maurice_Merleau-Ponty.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parc_de_la_Villette

http://www.flasgazetesi.com.tr/haber-12313-guvenparka_yeralti_otoparki_ve_tuvalet_yapilcak.html (last accessed: 22.11.2015).

<http://www.futuristika.org/hayalet-yapilardan-hortlaklara-taksim-topcu-kislasi-vakasinin-imgeler-uzerinden-mekansal-politik-belirlenimi/>

<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/guvenparka-yer-alti-otoparki-24746512>

<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/tekel-iscilerinin-eylemi-14-ncu-gununde-13330180>

<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/24746512.asp>

https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/EngelsDialectics_of_Nature_part.pdf

<http://mediamatters.org/video/2011/10/19/foxs-bolling-occupy-wall-street-protesters-are/182836>

<https://mechanicalturk.wordpress.com/2013/06/02/gezi-parki-the-first-public-park-in-the-ottoman-empire/>

<http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=387&RecID=3242>

<http://www.mimarlikdergisi.com/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=364>

<http://www.moblogankara.org/subemizden/2014/3/28/yerel-seim-sreci-gezi-ve-demokrasi-lhan-tekeli-hizmetin-tesini-talep-etmek>

http://www.radikal.com.tr/yazarlar/ozgur_mumcu/guvenparktan_gezi_parkina-1137387

<http://www.spur.org/publications/article/2000-06-01/changing-roles-urban-parks>

http://tr.sputniknews.com/turkish.ruvr.ru/2013_12_24/Arap-bahari-ishte-bashladi/

[https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sadabad.](https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sadabad)

[https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Line_\(New_York_City\)](https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Line_(New_York_City))

[http://tr.internationalism.org/ekaonline-2000s/ekaonline-2011/osmanli-
imparatorlugu-nda-sosyalizm-ve-isci-hareketi-1](http://tr.internationalism.org/ekaonline-2000s/ekaonline-2011/osmanli-
imparatorlugu-nda-sosyalizm-ve-isci-hareketi-1)

[http://wiedel.photoshelter.com/gallery/1969-BERKELEY-RIOTS-Peoples-
Park_California/G0000r_Fe.kdWvaU/1](http://wiedel.photoshelter.com/gallery/1969-BERKELEY-RIOTS-Peoples-
Park_California/G0000r_Fe.kdWvaU/1)

[http://tarihinbelgeleri.com/2012/08/02/osmanli-devletinde-eglenceler.](http://tarihinbelgeleri.com/2012/08/02/osmanli-devletinde-eglenceler)

[http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2011/nov/15/occupy-
wall-street-occupy-movement](http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2011/nov/15/occupy-
wall-street-occupy-movement)