

PLACE AND PROTEST:
THE “OCCUPY GEZİ MOVEMENT” IN ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

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IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

JULY 2016

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

PLACE AND PROTEST: THE “OCCUPY GEZI MOVEMENT” IN ANKARA

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July 2016, 179 pages

This thesis analyzes the occupy movement within the example of Gezi in terms of place and protest. The term occupy movement indicates a contradictory couple of static and dynamic strategies. While the literature attends this new wave of mobilizations through the lens of ‘occupy’ alone, the essential component ‘movement’ is neglected. Accordingly, the existing works on Gezi mainly study Gezi Park that overshadows the experiences of a movement spread to nation-scale. To be able to shed light to these experiences, the movement and changing dynamics of protest and identity in place, this thesis studies the contention at Ankara, namely at Kızılay Square, Kuğulu Park and various neighborhoods.

Key Terms: Gezi, Occupy, Movement, Place, Identity, Protest

ÖZ

MEKAN VE PROTESTO: ANKARA'DA GEZİ İŞGAL HAREKETİ

Şensönmez, Gökhan

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyoloji Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Katharina Bodirsky

Temmuz 2016, 179 sayfa

Bu tez işgal hareketlerini Gezi'deki mekan ve protesto üzerinden incelemektedir. İşgal ve hareket terimleri dinamik ve durağan stratejilerin çelişkili görünen bir birlikteğine işaret eder. Literatür bu yeni hareket dalgasının işgal kısmına yoğunlaşıırken hareket çoğu zaman görmezden gelinmiştir. Buna uygun olarak, Gezi literatürü de çoğunlukla Gezi Parkı'yla ilgilenmiş, ve bu durum ülke düzeyinde tecrübe edilen hareketi gölgelemiştir. Bu araştırma, gölgelenen tecrübelere ışık tutmak, hareket ve dinamik mekan – protesto ve mekan - kimlik ilişkisini açıga çıkarmak amaçlarıyla Gezi İşgal Hareketini Ankara'nın Kızılay Meydanı'nda, Kuğulu Parkı'nda ve çeşitli mahallelerinde inceler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gezi, İşgal, Hareket, Mekan, Kimlik, Protesto

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Assist. Prof. Dr. Katharina Bodirsky for her guidance, advice, criticism, encouragements and insight throughout the research.

I would also like to thank Berat Uygar Altınok and Şeref Anıl Kahvecioğlu for their creative comments that helped me to develop my ideas. Special thanks also to Bilal İnci who provided assistance with his expertise on English language and to Merve Üstaş who accompanied me during intense periods of work.

This thesis project or other academic accomplishment would not have been possible without the permanent support of my family.

And lastly, this thesis is completed with the infinite support and endless patience of Ceren Kulkul which I am forever grateful for. Her academic criticisms as well as emotional assistance made this thesis possible.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Prologue

On the last day of May 2013, I was in Kuğulu Park (*park with swans* in Turkish) in Ankara. There I saw familiar faces as well as strangers, the Republican People's Party (CHP) election-buses passing by, and bystanders looking at them with frowning faces. Some were there with their kids, some were old, and some were slightly younger than me. We talked about the situation, about the park and the police, and of course, about the government. Everybody seemed surprised to see such a crowd and dazzled by experiencing what Durkheim might have called a “collective effervescence” (1995). Somehow, a political event occurring far away – the protest in Gezi Park¹ – was able to concoct such a colorful crowd. In fact, the gathering was not spontaneous - a call for meeting at Kuğulu Park had gone viral on social media - but perhaps they hadn't expected that people would arrive in such great numbers (initially around 4000 people according to figures published in the liberal media)². As the hours passed, I realized that the meeting had no further

¹ The events at Gezi Park began as early as 27th of May with around 50 people occupied the park with tents. The tents were removed and raised once again, police intervened but the protesters preserved their existence at the park. However, the nation-wide aggregation occurred on 31st of May, after police intervened at dawn, burned the tents at Gezi Park and brutally expelled the protesters.

Source: 'Taksim Gezi Parkı'nda ağaçlar çatır çatır söküldü' (2013, May 28). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 11, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/taksim-gezi-parkinda-agaclar-catir-catir-sokuldu-23380375>

Source: Gezi Parkı'na şafak baskını. (2013, May 30). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 11, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gezi-parkina-safak-baskini-23396499>

² Source: Ankara'da Gezi Parkı'na destek eylemi. (2013, May 31). *Radikal*. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/ankarada-gezi-parkina-destek-eylemi-1135770/>

purpose; it was a meeting for the sake of showing support for Gezi Park and we were accomplishing that by merely standing there, chatting with our friends. We were experiencing politics in an unfamiliar manner, serious but joyful at the same time. We surely knew that Kuğulu Park was not in danger and the swans were safely swimming in their little pond.

Towards the evening, a friend called and said “Come down to Kızılay now, you’re missing history!” So I rushed towards the central square of Ankara, and on the road, I witnessed what he was talking about. I was about to turn the corner of Tunus Street when a crowd embellished with banners showed up, escaping the black of the riot police and the white of TOMAs (*Toplumsal Olaylara Müdahale Aracı* / Intervention Vehicle to Mass Events). The gas canisters were fizzing in the air while people regrouped and stood against the police at another corner of a street. There was no talk about the politics of Turkey, no color except black and white, and no swans either. If Kuğulu Park was like a happy carnival, the road to Kızılay seemed much like a battleground. Probably, it was another unfamiliar experience if it was your first time on the opposite side of the gas canisters. Within 5 minutes of walking, I was able to encounter two clearly distinct forms of political struggle articulated in the same movement.

On the following day I was at Kızılay Square among the numerous socialist and nationalist groups as well as various NGOs. That was the day Ethem Sarışülük shot on his head by a police officer in the middle of the square; that was the day the protests move beyond being related only to Gezi Park³; that was the day when Ankara had its own case and grievance. There I thought: so which one reflects the ‘true Gezi spirit’, the initial tranquil meeting at Kuğulu Park or the angry people and a working-class Alevi citizen who was shot to death in the middle of the

³ One might say that it was never only about Gezi Park and its trees, which I will explain a similar argument in a moment. Still, it cannot be denied that the events at Gezi Park, the burning of the tents and police’s brutal treatment were the straws that broke the camel’s back.

capital city? Or none of it as if the Gezi experience was only prominent in Gezi Park that transformed the space in a genuine carnivalesque commune. Gezi was a movement that only a minority of its participants was able to experience it at Gezi Park, and the rest of the places are framed in the literature as if they were lacking a genuine experience. This thesis explores the Gezi experience in places other than Gezi Park to be able to understand the overshadowed part of the protests.

1.2 Occupy – Gezi – Movement

2013's summer protests in Turkey acquired various names such as Gezi Protests, Gezi Resistance, Gezi Revolt, Gezi Uprising; each emphasizing different aspects of it. With the same concern, I prefer to use ‘Occupy Gezi Movement’⁴, three words to emphasize three features of the same phenomenon. ‘Gezi’ is the name of a small public park in Taksim Square, Istanbul. What makes it significant is that its intended destruction for Taksim Pedestrianisation Project that envisages building a shopping mall in guise of Ottoman-era artillery barracks triggered a series of protest events that began with the initial resistance at Gezi Park, then evolved into a nation-scale protest movement. As the anger of the people combined with the historical accumulation of dissent caused by AKP's policies and Prime Minister's rhetoric, solidarity demonstrations were held in all across Turkey. The Gezi Park was detached from state authority for ten days, while the violent clashes between police and protesters continued in Istanbul and other cities. Nevertheless, the entirety of the events covered under the name Gezi.

The word ‘Occupy’ refers to a style of resistance that was prominent in the Occupy

⁴ The usage of the term is borrowed Gambetti (2014) to emphasize the coexistence of mobility and immobility in Gezi. My choice of using this term rather than others is merely because of theoretical purposes explained below. None of the participants of my interviews used the term “Occupy Gezi Movement” (or its equivalent in Turkish – *Gezi İşgal Hareketi*). The interviewees used various combinations of the prefixes given above. Also calling it “Gezi” without any predicate is sufficient to signify the intended phenomenon during dialogue. Similarly, I use the name Gezi in numerous occasions in this thesis.

Wall Street protests in 2011 with “its tactic of week-long encampments in public spaces” (Lubin 2012: 185), but also was a widespread tactic in the Middle East and Europe (Tejerina et. al. 2013) during mobilizations that occurred previously. In other words, the term indicates appropriation of public space, to stay, to stand and to live the struggle. Gezi Park and Taksim Square were occupied and transformed to a beacon of resistance much like Democracy Village of London, Zuccotti Park of New York, Puerta del Sol of Madrid and Tahrir Square of Cairo. This style is linking Gezi to a global protest wave of Occupy Wall Street, Indignados and the Arab Spring, as well as its contemporary, the protests in Brazil of course with reserving their unique characteristics.⁵

The usage of the term ‘Occupy’ also implies a certain approach to the study of struggle. As Castells pointed out, occupy style “is charged with the symbolic power of invading sites of state power, or financial institutions” (2012: 10-11). Thus, the physical constructs such as state buildings and central squares are inseparable from the tactic of occupy. Yet, as Routledge put it, the study of protest in place is not a mere study of material environment and its effects on the protests. Explicitly, he argues that “a terrain of resistance is not just a physical place but also a physical expression” which indicates an amalgam of meanings infused to the place (1996: 517). Studying the occupations, therefore, requires the exploration of physical environment as well as attributions of meaning.

Furthermore, Harvey pointed out that Tahrir Square, as a significant part of this global wave of occupations, showed that “it is bodies on the street and in the squares, not the babble of sentiments on Twitter or Facebook, that really matter” (2012a: 162). For him, the study of occupy should prioritize the physical presence of the protesters in the public sphere. Accordingly, Juris reminds us with his reflections on the occupy movements that these “techno-optimistic narratives” that put their focus on the analysis of social networks neglects the importance of studying “histories and politics of place for understanding the dynamics of protests

⁵ See: Tuğal 2013

in concrete locales...” (2012: 260). While realizing the importance of social media throughout the occupy movements, this thesis focuses on the dynamics of protest performances in public places including the history of place. Overall these points, the term occupy will meet the prospects of this research that aims to study the meaning of places and protest performances displayed on those places.

Occupation as an act inevitably points out a place that shapes and be shaped by the activity of occupiers. For example, in Langman’s discussion on occupy as a ‘new new social movement’, the occupation of Wall Street resembles the “democratically organized, egalitarian community” that led to occupations in more than 1400 locations (2013:518). Similarly, Sotirakopoulos and Sotiropoulos (2013) analyzes the Syntagma Square during revolts in Greece as an occupy movement to analyze the demand of ‘direct democracy’ which appeared as an essential feature of this new wave of mobilizations. Moreover, Said (2015) mentions the importance of history and its effects on the protests in the example of the mobilization at Tahrir Square. The square appears as container of historical accumulation of social relations and collective action. Although these accounts use the same term ‘occupy movement’, what they are presenting is the study of occupy in a place, rather than a study of occupy movement in between different places. Moreover, while ‘occupy’ is understood as an act in these accounts, the term ‘movement’ does not indicate the activity of moving, a strategy of mobility, but it is used as an empty signifier that accompanies the strongly emphasized act of ‘occupation’. The occupations are treated as occurring within concrete temporal boundaries in concrete localities that the researchers approach towards. The problem with this sort of an approach is that it is not possible to comprehend the essential part of the protests occurring in the occupy movement that use mobility as a strategy where the strategy of occupation is available momentarily, or entirely unavailable. These places are not subordinate to the primary zones of occupation, but they simply project different experiences within the movement.

The usage of the term ‘movement’ with ‘occupy’ in this thesis is to indicate non-

static, evolving series of protest, and protesters which in the Turkish case were dispersed to other parts of Istanbul and across country, occupying different places, mobilizing and transforming multiple social and political identities, voicing diverse political claims and grievances. From a spatial perspective, occupy-movement appears to be a contradictory couple, while former is “immobile” and “investing to space”; the latter is “mobile” and “divesting from space”. According to Gambetti (2014: 91), the coexistence of these two distinct forms perfectly fit for Gezi. It was a movement where people were on constant move in between places: streets and squares, at the same time, it was occupying spaces to project a new form of political existence as well as rising out voices.⁶ The inclusion of the ‘movement’ as a strategy alongside with ‘occupy’ is essentially missing in the existing literature on occupy movements. This thesis, with its methodological as well as empirical approach, provides a dynamic analysis of protest that enables a better comprehension of the recent wave of occupy movements that should be understood as the coexistence of static as well as non-static strategies. In a way, they project a certain rhythm of protest as well as contingent and unique performances. Clearly, the primary occupy zones are important components of the movements (i.e. Zuccotti Park in the United States, Syntagma Square in Greece, Tahrir Square in Egypt, Puerta Del Sol in Spain, Gezi Park in Turkey), yet with the dynamic understanding of the protests that includes a spatio-temporal multiplicity, it is possible to understand an occupy movement that does not sustain itself only in one location and within a concrete temporal block, but generates different understandings of these places by inducing different meanings to various places at different moments. This thesis aims to move beyond the primary occupy zone and

⁶ For example, actor and activist Barış Atay reports the first day of the police-free Gezi Park: “As the Park opened in June 1, people began to enter to the park with great joy. There was an incredible crowd in the square; it was such crowded in a way you may hardly breathe. But I don’t think that anybody minded it. After few hours, people began to wonder around saying “There is a vicious attack in Dolmabahçe! People were saying “Provide support! We have to go down to Beşiktaş!” (Kana 2013).

to explore the possible ‘other’ experiences of an occupy movement. Specifically, the argument is that the study of Gezi Park alone is not sufficient to understand Occupy Gezi Movement.

The subject matter of this thesis, Occupy Gezi Movement, diffused to discrete places: to the squares, parks, streets and neighborhoods of Turkey. With local contentions all across the country, Gezi evolved from being an issue of Istanbulites to an issue of numerous urban dwellers who perhaps never interested in Gezi Park’s status but antagonized by numerous policies of the AKP government⁷ and angered by the disproportionate police violence imposed upon the ones at the Park during first few days⁸. Here, most of the studies focus on the initial occupy zone of Gezi, in a way of producing knowledge on the experiences of the Park, and fail to address the particularities of other places of other cities that were mobilized in the same movement. By excluding or overgeneralizing the characteristics of people who joined the movement after first days and the places appropriated by them as protest zones, a considerable portion of the Occupy Gezi Movement was left in the dark. While a careful attention paid to the history and physical space of and identities appeared during Gezi in the primary occupy zone (Gezi Park and Taksim Square), the protests in other places were mistreated as subordinate if they were treated at all. This thesis deprecates such approach by shedding light to the features of these ‘other places’ that constituted the majority of the movement. In other words, it should be remembered that ‘Gezi’ signifies not only the protests at Istanbul’s Gezi Park but also 4,725 protest events occurred in 80 of 81 provinces

⁷ For example, Kuymulu assess that this transformation is “a shift from a clear right to the city agenda to civil rights and individual and collective freedoms. The largest demonstrations were organized to condemn each murder and to commemorate the lost ones. With solidarity movements spreading both in and out of Turkey, the mobilization quickly came to embody every grievance people had against AKP government. (2014: 51)

⁸ The disproportionate police violence is a certain factor in the spreading and transformation of the movement. Bülent Eken reports this transformation as “As early as the fourth day of the police violence, the thirtieth of May, protests and fighting had spread to many other cities in Turkey and continued well after the occupation, targeting the government and the personality of the prime minister” (2014: 427)

including the capital city of Ankara that 3,454,000 people participated⁹ Accordingly, this thesis posits that what we might call ‘the Gezi experience’ is place-specific; this experience consists of the physical structure that affects the protests and at the same time the place-making repertoires of the protest that alters the physical structure but is not place-bound in so far as it reaches beyond the places and reflects the aspect of movement. In addition to these two intertwined processes, a third component appears as the identity formations specific to places of protest. To put it differently, material features of places affect practices, and practices changes the material features, but also both practices and material features constitutes identities on and identities of place. By analyzing these three place-related features of the protest, this thesis aims to understand the protests in Ankara that articulated to the initial resistance at Gezi Park. Another significant approach of this research is its focus on a multiplicity of places rather than a singular occupy zone. In other words, to be able to understand the reflections of Occupy Gezi Movement on the places following Gezi Park, this thesis does not provide an analysis of just another place. Instead, by including a multiplicity of places in Ankara, such as Kuğulu Park and Kızılay Square, the thesis enables the establishment of a comparative perspective to be able to reveal the difference experienced by the mobile protesters. Both ‘occupy’ and ‘movement’ will be analyzed throughout this work by looking at the projection of Gezi in Ankara. Before doing so, first I will present the context in which Gezi appeared as a historical phenomenon and then situate the subject matter in the course of events by embracing an episodic narrative.¹⁰

The movement started, in the first episode, with the protests at local scale (Gezi Park), jumped in the second episode to the national scale (to numerous parks, squares and streets in Turkey) and then diminished in the third episode to the local

⁹ Numbers are according to Ministry of Interior, reported in Özel (2014)

¹⁰ Alternative episodic differentiations in the Gezi literature can be found at the bottom of section 2.3.

scale (Camii-cemevi protests at Tuzluçayır and METU-Road protests at 100.Yıl) where the protests concentrate on local concerns that react to different construction projects. The episodic approach is used here mostly to support the narration of a phenomenon which includes multi-scalar, multi-spatial and multi-temporal events. The episodes are differentiated on the basis of protests altering in scales and in order to locate the subject matter in a complex temporal unfolding of events. The first episode is about the first few days of protest at Gezi Park that attempted preventing its destruction as well as the further constructions envisioned in Taksim Pedestrianisation Project (i.e. the Ottoman-era Military Barracks). This episode ends with the burning of tents at the park. The next episode begins on 31st of May when the movement jumped to the national scale with solidarity demonstrations held all across Turkey. This study does not expressly discuss the scalar change of the movement – although it is an underlying theme of the narration below – but focuses on the protests in the second episode that occurred in Ankara's different places. Yet, this does not indicate that the acknowledgment of protests in the first episode is restricted to the park, as the social media helped to disseminate the news at the park, increasing its visibility in a broader public and finally causing the nation-wide reaction to the brutal treatment at the park. To clarify once again, the separation between episodes made on the basis of the scale of protests in public spaces serves to understand the context when the protests in Ankara articulated to Occupy Gezi Movement.

Although the temporal line between the first and second episode was clear (the burning of tents at Gezi Park and the movement spreading to national-scale), the same cannot be said for separating the second and third episode, mainly because the movement was on decline during that period and sustained itself only in localities. Only Karasulu (2014) realizes protests in the third episode as a new wave of protests within Gezi, but she does not provide information on where she ends the previous wave. Also, the division between second and third episodes does not reflect a synchronic transformation, but occurred in different places, in

different times. For example, the neighborhoods of 100.Yıl and Tuzluçayır already engaged with the protests related with their local concerns while protests in Kennedy were continuing rhythmically in the second episode with its concerns, rhetoric and performances although the scale of the overall movement was on decline. The mobilizations with local concerns still belong to Occupy Gezi Movement chiefly for two reasons: first, there was a continuation of protest although the scale diminishes (i.e. protest encampment at Tuzluçayır lasted more than two months) and second, the people were using the local organizations (i.e. 100.Yıl İnisiyatifi) that were constituted during the previous episode of Gezi. The interviewees who were able to experience the third episode explicitly mentioned that these mobilizations belonged to their Gezi experience (only with one exceptional statement made by Burak, who thinks that the Camii-cemevi protests started before Gezi). Interviewees expressed the continuation of Gezi, but also realizing its decline to their neighborhood.

1.3 Accumulation of Dissent and the First Episode of Gezi

The reconstruction of Taksim Square¹¹ was planned as early as the year 2007 by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. In 2011, the project vocalized by Prime

¹¹ Taksim has always been an exceptional place for Turkish conservative politicians. The Taksim Mosque project first voiced by Prime Minister Menderes (of Democratic Party) during 1950s, it reappeared in the agendas of 'National Front Governments' in 1970s and previously Prime Minister Erbakan announced construction of a mosque in Taksim Square during his short rule between 1996-1997 yet unable to see its construction due to a military memorandum resulting in his resignation and banning of the Welfare (Refah) Party. At that time, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was the mayor of Istanbul, elected from this party.

See: Yeni Taksim Camii Başbakan'ın masasında. (2013, September 22). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved May 25, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yeni-taksim-camii-basbakan-in-masasinda-24761005>

Turkey clashes: Why are Gezi Park and Taksim Square so important? (2013, June 7). *BBC*. Retrieved June 12, 2016, from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-22753752>

Projede sira Taksim Camisi'nde mi? (2015, June 19). *Radikal*. Retrieved June 12, 2016, from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/projede-sira-taksim-camisinde-mi-1399593/>

Minister Erdoğan as one of the pre-election ‘crazy projects’¹², widely known as ‘Taksim Pedestrianisation Project’¹³, which includes the replacement of Atatürk Culture Center (*Atatürk Kültür Merkezi / AKM*)¹⁴ with a baroque style opera house and the reconstruction of the Ottoman-era artillery barracks as a shopping mall on the area of İnönü Promenade, or with its more prominent name: Gezi Park. The culture center and the park were structures not only named after the founding figures of modern Turkish Republic but they also represent the spaces that reflect the secular life-style where men and women can meet freely and enjoy art-forms of the Occident. The initial square and park were designed by French urban designer Henri Prost to represent Kemalist nation-building and rapid modernization that aims to remove any residue of imperial regime (Gül et. al. 2014). AKP’s intention of constructing an Ottoman-era building upon a modern public park is to leave ‘a permanent stamp’ by ‘architectural representation’ on Turkey (Akcan 2013). This stamp will indeed rigidify AKP’s neo-Ottomanism in the middle of the capital of the old Empire.

Taksim Square’s political history is another factor of planned reorganization, alongside with everyday activities. Most significantly, Taksim Square is the historical place for International Worker’s Day demonstrations and the place frequently caused conflicts between governments and labor unions¹⁵. Especially

¹² Those projects were fulfilling its ‘crazy’ label with planning the extravagant reorganization of Turkey’s geography such as opening a canal between Marmara and Black Sea. For a critical account see: Ertuna Howison & Howison (2012)

¹³ For more details on the project see:

İstanbul'un Mega Projeleri. (n.d.). Retrieved June 12, 2016, from <http://megaprojeleristanbul.com/#taksim-meydani-yayalastirma-projesi>

¹⁴ The AKM building’s destruction announced in 2007, still its fate remains undecided.

Sources: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi yıkılıyor. (2007, October 3). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 12, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ataturk-kultur-merkezi-yikiliyor-7414085>

¹⁵ AKP removed the ban on worker demonstrations in 1 May in 2010 as a ‘token of goodwill’. The ban reinitiated because of Taksim Pedestrianisation Project. (Batuman 2015a: 894)

after ‘Taksim Square Massacre’ of 1977¹⁶, the square became both a political and a sentimental place for Turkish left. The self-opinionated reorganization plan of the square triggered grievances in numerous groups: architects, urban planners, environmentalists, women organizations, leftist organizations, and local associations. Those opposing to the project formed an umbrella organization by 65 constituents in March 2012, and named it Taksim Solidarity¹⁷. Later on, this organization became an influential actor of the Gezi Movement¹⁸.

Apart from Taksim Square’s historic, symbolic and practical importance, Prime Minister Erdoğan and AKP’s authoritarian rhetoric and policies caused grievances on multiple groups through the days leading to Gezi Movement. The proposal banning abortion and informing the parents of pregnant women disturbed citizens valuing personal freedoms. Especially feminist groups raised their voices against the proposal. Environmentalists protested construction of nuclear and hydro-electric power plants across county (Yörük 2014). The law on selling of alcoholic beverages passed from parliament on 24th of May, banning their purchase between 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. The state-Alevi relationship was expected to be improving after governments ‘democracy package’ about Alevi rights, however, Alevi citizens felt disgraced as the President Abdullah Gül announced on 29th May that Istanbul’s third bridge will be named after Ottoman ruler Yavuz Sultan Selim¹⁹, alleged for

¹⁶ The massacre occurred on 1 May as a group of unidentified gunners opened fire to the immense crowd gathered in the square. Following the assault, police intervened to the people with armored vehicles that increased the casualties. 34 people are killed and hundreds injured during the catastrophe.

Source: 1 Mayıs 1977 Neden ve Nasıl Kana Bulandi? (2013, May 1). *Bianet*. Retrieved June 12, 2016, from <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/146248-1-mayis-1977-neden-ve-nasil-kana-bulandi>

¹⁷ For example, architect and Taksim Platform member Korhan Gümüş called the implementation of the project “an example of authoritarian urban management”. For his full interview on Taksim Pedestrianisation Project, see: Kılınçarslan (2012).

¹⁸ The number of constituent groups reached to 128. For full list see: <http://taksimdayanisma.org/bilesenler?lang=en>

¹⁹ Source: 3. Köprü için Yavuz Sultan Selim adı neden tartışma yarattı? (2013, May 29).

massacring Anatolian Alevis in the 16th century (Doğan & Çelik 2014).

AKP's police was as important as its policies on increasing tension in the society. Metin Lokumcu, a citizen protesting Prime Minister Erdoğan's Rally at Hopa, Artvin, died on 31 May 2011. His death caused by extreme use of tear-gas and water-canons triggering heart-attack.²⁰ The violence and discrimination on transgendered citizens were escalating on an institutional basis where police's 'Maul teams' were reported to wander the streets, picking up transvestites and leaving them in secluded places.²¹ In 12 December 2012, Middle East Technical University hosted Erdoğan for the celebration of the new Turkish satellite. The students gathered for protest faced with tear-gas and water-cannons from Erdoğan's escort army (2.500 policeman, 105 cars, 20 armored vehicles, 1 TOMA).²²

Returning back to Istanbul, as I stated, Taksim Square is the historical place for International Worker's Day demonstrations and the place frequently caused conflicts between governments and labor unions²³. Approximately a month before Gezi, Istanbul staged one of the most violent police interventions in May-day

T24. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <http://t24.com.tr/haber/sabiha-gokcen-havaalanina-in-yavuz-sultan-selim-koprusunden-gec,230901>

²⁰Source: Metin Lokumcu'nun otopsi raporu açıklandı! (2011, June 01). *Cnnturk*. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <http://www.cnnturk.com/2011/turkiye/06/01/metin.lokumcunun.otopsi.raporu.aciklandi/618605.0/>

²¹ Source: Behzat Ç.'ye Balyoz'dan Kim Bahsetti? (2012, January 25). *Bianet*. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/135687-behzat-c-ye-balyoz-dan-kim-bahsetti>

²² Sources: ODTÜ'de olaylar çıktı. (2012, December 19). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved May 29, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/odtu-de-olaylar-ciktig-22186623>

Castellano, P. (2016, May 31). Beyond Gezi: Remembering Ankara's silent protests in photos. *Research Turkey*. Retrieved June 1, 2016, from <http://researchturkey.org/beyond-gezi-remembering-ankaras-silent-protests-in-photos/>

²³ AKP removed the ban on worker demonstrations in 1 May in 2010 as a 'token of goodwill'. The ban reinitiated because of Taksim Pedestrianisation Project. (Batuman 2015a: 894)

demonstrations, arresting and injuring numerous citizens. Restricting access to Taksim Square, the historical place of international workers' day²⁴, is a factor deepening the cleavage between Turkish left and AKP. Police intervened to Beşiktaş Fans on 12th of May, firing guns in the middle of a cheering crowd, leading to intense street clashes between Beşiktaş fan group Çarşı and police.²⁵ Fenerbahçe Fans were already troubled with a corruption case imprisoning the club's president in 2011. On 7th of April, police intervened with pepper spray and TOMAs to people marching to protest the destruction of historic Emek Movie Theater in Taksim, first closed in 2009 for restoration and later on became a part of another shopping mall project²⁶. On 21st of May the theater was entirely destroyed²⁷. These events and policies antagonized a considerable portion of Turkish public.

Towards the days leading to Gezi, increasing use of brute force accompanied with AKP's unyielding and inexorable attitude was disturbing various components of Turkish public and Gezi was no different in attitude and treatment. Despite wide criticisms posed mainly by Taksim Solidarity, the Taksim Pedestrianisation Project had started at October 2012 with minor road arrangements, leaving the park untouched until late spring of the year 2013. On 28th of May, bulldozers entered Gezi Park, uprooted few trees. Police used pepper-spray to scatter the protesters including the famous 'lady in red' Ceyda Sungur, who became one of the most prominent figures of the protest (Musil 2014). With the help of Peace and

²⁴Source: 1 Mayıs 2013: Künye ve Bilanço. (2013, May 2). *Bianet*. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <http://bianet.org/bianet/yasam/146326-1-mayis-2013-kunye-ve-bilanco>

²⁵Source: Çarşı savaş alanına döndü. (2013, May 12). *Milliyet*. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/carsi-savas-alanina-dondu-besiktas-1707320-skorerhaber/>

²⁶Source: Emek yıkıldı! (2013, May 21). *NTV*. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/emek-yikildi,uE4GCgcoVE-pJa37I7gLYA>

²⁷ The theatre is rebuilt under the name 'Grand Pera'.

Source: İşte Yeni Emek Sineması. (2016, January 6). *Sabah*. Retrieved May 25, 2016, from http://www.sabah.com.tr/kultur_sanat/2016/01/06/iste-yeni-emek-sineması

Democracy Party (BDP) representative Sırı Süreyya Önder, the protesters managed to stop the destruction. At that night, a two-day long watch started in Gezi Park with about thirty tents (Kana 2014). At the dawn of 30th May, the dwellers opened their eyes with gas canisters, as the police brutally evacuated the park and burned the tents with personal belongings inside, concluding the first episode of Gezi events.

Next day, the areas around Taksim Square witnessed a day long clashes between protesters and the police. In this second episode, the numbers of the protesters were reached to a point that in 31st of May, police compelled to retreat from Taksim. For ten days, the Taksim Square became a self-regulating zone devoid of state authority. Much like Hardt and Negri theorized struggles of Autonomia in Italy, the urban guerillas transformed the city jungle, “liberating entire zones where new cultures and new forms of live were created” (2004: 80-81). Occupation of Gezi Park transformed a public space into a stage for a colorful coexistence of numerous groups and their festive performances.

1.4 The Second Episode: Gezi Park and Beyond

The second episode of Gezi Movement cannot be restricted neither to Gezi Park and Taksim Square, nor to Istanbul. By 31st of May, Gezi jumped to national scale; the people angered by the disproportionate police intervention and burning of the tents at Gezi Park, crowded the streets and squares all across the country (Batuman 2015, Eken 2014, Eşkinat 2013, Göle 2013). In words of Kuymulu, the Pandora’s Box was open “spontaneous solidarity demonstrations (similar to the one narrated in the prologue) were held in other cities, leading to full on uprising across urban Turkey” (2013: 275). Notably, this episode also contains the transformation of Gezi Park to a communal establishment with participation of numerous components of the society. As the movement spread to distant places, it was that sociopolitical event occurring the in the center of Turkey’s most populated city that attracted the attention of social scientists.

The literature provides us sufficient knowledge on Gezi Park thanks to the ones conducted ethnographic fieldworks in the occupied zone. Those accounts described the performances and identities in detail and revealed spectacular space of the Park's mixture of carnivalesque and commune, however as Gürcan and Peker asserted “a quick look at the poor neighborhoods that actively fought the police for weeks, and the modest background of the protesters killed in Istanbul, Ankara, Hatay, Eskişehir suggests a very different empirical reality.” (2015: 324) or as Bakiner stated “The fact that young working-class men were murdered by the police in Ankara and Hatay, hundreds of kilometers from Gezi Park, should be a constant reminder of the cross-class and national character of the protests and the sacrifices that resulted”.. On the one hand, there was the autonomous Gezi Park shined with its innovative performances and progressive image, on the other hand, there were relatively lower class neighborhoods, squares that resemble battlegrounds and parks that the performances at Gezi Park was followed and implemented to a certain extent. For example, the ‘occupy style’ with tents was not limited to Gezi Park. Tent cities established in Eskişehir (Espark)²⁸, Hatay (Sevgi Park)²⁹, İzmir (Gündoğdu Square)³⁰ and Ankara (Kuğulu Park and Tuzluçayır). Countless streets became protest zones where violent actions performed both by the police and protesters, with different repertoires embraced, places made and identities transformed. As Karasulu put it brilliantly:

The episode is multifaceted and multilayered in terms of actors, spaces, demands and repertoires of action. Peaceful protests went together with barricades, demands limited to Taksim and Gezi Park were coupled with those of resignation of the government and/or prime minister and a call for ‘freedom’ and ‘justice’ with varying

²⁸ Source: Eskişehir'de polis 250 çadırı söktü. (2013, June 17). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 12, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/eskisehirde-polis-250-cadiri-soktu-23523199>

²⁹ Source: Hatay'da direnişçi çadırları toplandı. (2013, June 22). *T24*. Retrieved June 12, 2016, from <http://t24.com.tr/haber/hatayda-direnisci-cadirlari-toplandi,234862>

³⁰ Source: İzmir'de direniş çadırları. (2013, June 7). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 12, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/izmirde-direnis-cadirlari-23449946>

attributes of concepts. (2014:165)With reference to humor and the peacefulness of the protests, and newly identified political actors, Gezi resistances appear as transgressive contention. Taking a step further and disregarding the protests elsewhere, the existence of the barricades in all the main entrances of the Square and the clashes with the police, the occupation of the Park and the Square by ‘a few looters’, and the commune days were glorified, or gentrified, as a new way of coexistence, and a new form of citizenship, apolitical, but innocent (2014: 168)

Karasulu’s argumentation highlights the difference of Gezi Park in double layers: first, the Gezi space actually transformed into a unique zone of humorous and peaceful protest performances. Yet, if one steps out of the park, a whole different discourse of action will be visible with barricades, similar with the story in the prologue. She argues that “the series of unexpected and unprecedented events and the resistance cannot be limited to Taksim Square or the occupation of Gezi Park, although it was the main site of resistance” (2014: 165). What she proposes is an analysis of multiplicity of events and places alongside with recognition of the importance of the park, which is shared by this thesis. Second layer refers not to an actual difference, but a representational one. Gezi Park, seen as the epicenter of the protests (Öztürkmen 2014, Batuman 2015a), overshadowed the continuing protests in Turkey’s other places .A certain portion of Gezi literature framed the movement to the singular space of Gezi Park in order to gentrify or glorify the protests. For example, Özdemir concludes that Occupy Gezi Movement was:

an anti-violent movement *par excellence* because of its individuality, humorous, ironic and pluralist features. The people involved in Occupy Gezi did not respond to the violence with violence; they faced it by creating an unprecedented political realm for their self-manifestation. (2015: 258)

The violent clashes, the damaging of public property and violent clashes were occurring meters far from Gezi Park³¹, yet these events were overlooked in order

³¹ Especially, the Prime Minister’s Office at Dolmabahçe were targetted by the protesters. Similar to Kızılay Square which will be explained below, the police violence increased in

to preserve the ‘peaceful’³² totality of the Park. For Özdemir to make this conclusion, he necessarily neglects the greater portion of Gezi Movement where this “unprecedented political realm” was not or could not be created.

As another example, Ors & Turan was quite explicit about the condition of the park, what sets Gezi movement apart from other political movements to them was the “cultural and political pluralism at Gezi (park) and its peaceful containment through what we call the manner of contention (2015: 453). Whereas the ‘peripheries’ of the movement is devoid of those manners and left for speculative and overgeneralizing arguments such as “while Gezi Park was the most peaceful, least militarist space of the protests, all other gatherings became the sites of similar demonstrations of “Republic Protests³³” (Yel & Nas 2013: 180). This approach ignores any permutations of various characteristics of places, and relatively protests and identities. Why should Gezi be something concrete, or at one side of a fissure? Peacefulness of sit-ins and violent face of stone throwing, factory workers

proximate locations of Government Buildings. Additionally, Bezmi Alem Valide Sultan Mosque transformed into a infirmary during these skirmishes. Later on, the government frequently alleged the protesters of drinking alcohol in the sacred place and entering in with their shoes.

Sources: Beşiktaş'ta ortalık karıştı! (2013, June 2). *Milliyet*. Retrieved June 13, 2016, from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/besiktas-ta-ortalik-karisti-/gundem/detay/1717677/default.htm>

Bezmi Alem Valide Sultan Camisi revire döndü. (2013, June 7). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 13, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bezmi-alem-valide-sultan-camisi-revire-dondu-23454455>

Erdoğan 'camiye içkiyle girdiler' iddiasını tekrarladı. (2013, June 10). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 13, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/erdogan-camiye-ickiyle-girdiler-iddiasini-tekraraldi-23468860>

³² What I mean by peaceful totality is indeed refers to the representation of the park in the literature. In fact, the groups at the park often faced with conflicts, especially when they were eager to expose their previously established identities the previous conflicts entered to the park. (i.e. putting up posters of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan)

³³ It was a CHP motivated protest wave for the most part, first organized in Ankara two weeks before the presidential election and against Abdullah Gül’s candidacy by emphasizing secular character of Turkish state. See: Huge rally for Turkish secularism. (2007, April 29). *BBC*. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6604643.stm>

and petit bourgeois, leftists and nationalists, environmentalists who want to protect a green space and those who want government's resignation can coexist in the same movement.

In its simplest form possible, the idea here is that neither Gezi Park nor any other singular spatial context can be held representative for the totality of the movement. There are a plurality of specific movements mostly experienced at urban scale that include a multiple number of protest performances and clearly diverse experiences of it and the total sum of these experiences are signified under the name Occupy Gezi Movement. By generalizing all other places as if they were identical, one cannot explain the spectacular novelty of other parks and squares occupied all across Turkey, one cannot explain why a garden in 100.Yıl, Ankara named after Berkin Elvan, or the difference between Kuğulu Park and Kızılay Square.

Throughout the literature, the importance of Gezi Park was frequently emphasized. The autonomous, carnivalesque, communal place was certainly a significant factor in 'the Gezi experience' limited to Gezi Park. What this thesis reveals are the forms of 'the Gezi experience' where Gezi Park with all of its features remains unavailable for the protesters. In other words, by looking at places of Ankara's participation, namely Kızılay Square and Kuğulu Park, this thesis is able to investigate the experience of Occupy Gezi Movement beyond Gezi Park. However, by establishing this approach, I am not suggesting a total revealing of 'the other places'. Precisely, the argument of the thesis is that each place – including Gezi Park – generated its own experience of the movement, with different material affects, place-making repertoires and identities transformed.

Lastly, one might argue that the forum experience is an important component of Gezi movement. In some occasions, such as the mobilization in 100.Yıl, the neighborhood forums played an important role in informing the residents and organizing the resistance. Admittedly, the contributions of this thesis in that manner are limited since an overall investigation on the topic exceeds the scope of the research.

1.5 Research Problem and Design

The tendency of focusing to the primary occupy zone, in this case Gezi Park, indicates two essential problems in understanding the experience of Occupy Gezi Movement. First, by analyzing a singular place of the movement disables the possibility of understanding place in relational terms and probable differences experienced by the mobile subjects. Neglecting the ‘movement’ part of Gezi, the focus on a singular place reflects the subjects of the protest as static as the trees at the park. Second, the focus on Gezi Park alone reflects as if the experience of Occupy Gezi Movement is limited to a certain place (I will dwell on this issue more in the literature review).

Gezi Park was framed by its users as a place of projecting identities, sharing solidarity both spiritually and materially. It was the literally best available entertainment in town; the Park attracted thousands of visitors (Öztürkmen 2014) and mixed the protest with festival. The place can be called as the center of style of ‘protestival’. In Turkish context, the carnivalesque protest style made its first appearance with Gezi, yet the term is essentially attributed to the previous wave of mobilizations called ‘alter-Globalization movement’ (Ainger et. al. 2003). Seemingly, drawing a striking contrast to occupy movements, the activists equipped highly mobile, nomadic strategies. As Hardt and Negri reflect in *Declaration* (2012), the migrant protesters moved from summit to summit to voice out injustices caused by ‘global power system’ whereas the occupy protesters embraced immobility as a tactic. This is exactly what is observed by the researchers looking solely the park, and therefore solely to Occupy Gezi without the essential component of ‘movement’.

Batuman (2013b) asserted that Gezi Park from other mobilizations occurring across the globe is different in being both the place and content of political action. However, I have already shown that in the second episode Gezi Movement grew larger than Gezi Park and therefore its experience cannot be limited to the park alone. With respecting the importance of Gezi Park in the movement, one needs to

investigate on other places to be able to reveal the overshadowed experience of a multiplicity of protest zones articulated to and transformed during Occupy Gezi Movement. In simplest terms, this thesis seeks answers to the following questions: if the experience of Gezi Park is a significant component of the Occupy Gezi Movement, what do the experiences of other places that were also components of the same movement indicate? In what ways the material features of space affects the protests on place? In what ways protesters transformed places to protest zones? And finally, to what extent the protesters produced identities on and of place?

The answers provided to these questions rely on three data sources. First of all, 15 participants of the protest events at Ankara were reached and interviewed. These interviews were semi-structured and mainly had two objectives: to be able to learn about the course of events in different places and to be able to understand the assessments of the participants on the places, how they were observing the spatial-difference, and identities produced. As I emphasized above, the participants of the Gezi Movement in Ankara were strikingly mobile in between places as all of the interviewees experienced and therefore able to provide information on Kızılay Square and Kuğulu Park. Additionally, 13 participants were participated to the protest at their respective neighborhoods (the exceptional two were dwelling in Kuğulu Park).

The data sample is collected with respect to the diversity of the places, and still reflects a collection of personalities with different political, social and cultural backgrounds although a majority of them were students during the events (10 out of 15 including high-school, undergraduate and graduate students). The students and people without strict work hours were able to participate to the events with relatively less temporal constraints (interviewees who dwelled at the tents of Kuğulu Park were either student or artist and the volunteers at Kuğulu Library was constituted by people with similar conditions) as the people with jobs could only participate to the events either at afternoons or at weekends. Here, the two different protest cycles appeared, one strictly conditioned by work hours as people

participated to the events during their leisure time and were subject to immense physical and mental fatigue, and the other one conditioned by personal decisions and physical fatigue (for example people dwelling at the park could spend some nights at their houses to rest). Also, a considerable amount of people were either still active or previous members of the Turkish Left (8 out of 15, four of them are still active in leftist organizations). This allowed me to analyze views of both organized leftists and people without political affiliations. Only one interviewee is a member of right-wing politics (a member of Nationalist Action Party), that delimits the representation of views of people coming from a conservative background.

One of the main shortcomings of this research is that its data lacks a first-hand narration of the events by a person who embraces destructive actions. All of the interviewees are advocates of peaceful protest and accept violent acts only in times of necessity. People engaged with destructive activities are represented only through second-hand information in this thesis. With regard to the kind of action they engaged with, the opinions of the people outside of such activity are already positioned against them – even though the interviewees make clear distinctions between necessary and unnecessary destruction (i.e. between people smashing glasses of bus stops and people harming street furniture to build a barricade). Second shortcoming of the data sample is that it lacks members of Kuğulu Initiative. This group's characteristics and opinions are extremely important for understanding the elusive solidarity of the park. While I reached more than 10 members of the Kuğulu Initiative, only two accepted to be interviewed, and those were constantly postponing meetings. Most importantly, the people that participated in the interviews were not able to suggest another member since a friendship network does not exist which ignites the curiosity on this group even further.

Although the data sources indicate certain limitations, the data sample does not contradict the crowd on streets during Gezi. However, this thesis also does not

claim representativeness on any specific strata (i.e. this is not a research based on the participation of leftists or students in the movement) but rather the interview data allowed me to explore the protest dynamics at different places. Every interviewee participated to the events at the Kızılay Square and Kuğulu Park with varying degrees, most significantly they were also living in different neighborhoods that provide insight to the local dynamics of Occupy Gezi Movement. Also, the mobility of the protesters that allows them to experience different places supported the discussion on the importance of ‘movement’ alongside with ‘occupy’.

Brief information on each of the interviewee is presented in the appendix – Interviewees. The names and identities were kept confidential as aliases attributed to each interviewee. These people were mainly approached via Facebook (through solidarity groups such as ‘100.Yıl İnisiyatifi’, ‘Çayyolu Direniş Forumu’, ‘Batıkent Birleşik Haziran Hareketi’, or event pages such as ‘Ankara Tunalı'da Kütüphane kuruyoruz’). With suggestions of the interviewees, I went to Dikmen and Tuzluçayır Halkevi (a leftist organization which was influential during the movement) and conducted interviews there.

As it can be derived from the prologue, I was also present in Occupy Gezi Movement in Ankara. I was involved from the first meeting at Kuğulu onwards, frequently visited the park and Kızılay Square, tasted the bitterness of the pepper-gas and ran from the police if need be. However, three years after the events I am confident to transform possible bias to an advantage of reaching for the people with diversity of viewpoints and experiences. What I was able to experience during Gezi was a small portion of what was actually occurring, so in this thesis (except prologue and epilogue) I am not relying on personal experience.

Conducting this research in Ankara provided certain advantages: chiefly the mobilization in Ankara sustained for more than a month, alongside with Hatay and Eskişehir. In the third episode when all the Gezi related contention was ceased in other cities, the mobilization in Ankara, despite locally, was still continuing at

Kennedy Street, 100.Yıl (METU-Road Protests) and Tuzluçayır (Camii-cemevi protests)³⁴. Second advantage is that distinct spatial contexts (such as Kuğulu Park and Kızılay Square) were in walking distance as well as being separated that allows the participants of the interviews differentiate the places rather clearly.

Nevertheless, three years after the events, the interviewees were could not clarify the dates of the events. To able to spot the events that were referred in interviews and also to be able to establish a detailed narrative, I frequently refer to the online newspaper articles. These articles were used merely for descriptive purposes and no opinion or speculative story is derived from these sources.³⁵ By using them, I was able to cross-check the stories told by interviewees, and ask for clarifications whenever necessary.

A third component of the data is analysis of a collection of video footage uploaded to the social-media site YouTube. The data enabled me to observe banners, events and slogans in addition to the interviewees' narratives. The additional info is presented in appendices under the section 'Videos'. The videos were numbered

³⁴ Similar to Gezi Park, these mobilizations named after their target of preventing a construction project: METU-Road and Camii-cemevi. Yet, these contentious events with their peculiar characteristics deserve individual focus on ethnic-religious and local tensions, so their in depth analysis will not be included here. Participants of the research, especially the ones engaged with these protests (100.Yıl for METU-Road Protests and Tuzluçayır for Camii-Cemevi Protests) clearly indicated that they view these events as part of the Gezi Movement as they have sustained their mobility for the following events, in other words, the mobilizations of the third episode of Gezi were occurred in the second episode which is the subject matter of this research.

³⁵ According to Freedom House, The freedom of the press status of Turkey was "Partly Free" in 2013 with a score of 56 (0 represents absolute freedom), in 2014 it was changed into "Not Free" status with a score of 62. The reprot starts with "Turkey received a downward trend arrow due to the harsh government crackdown on protesters in Istanbul and other cities and increased political pressure on private companies to conform with the ruling party's agenda." Today, Turkey continues to be in this category with a score of 71.

Source: Turkey. (n.d.). Retrieved June 14, 2016, from <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2014/turkey>

For a quantitative analysis on the newspaper coverage during Gezi see: Özel & Deniz (2015)

and information derived from them was referred in footnotes. 41 videos were analyzed in total length of 9 hours, 24 minutes. The videos only in 480p and above quality are selected (overwhelming majority are in High Definition) and analyzed to be able to avoid misleading footage, especially in noting the banners and locations.

1.6 A Brief Roadmap

In first chapter, a comprehensive literature review on Gezi Movement will be presented with underlying themes and main problematics where I will clarify the contribution of this thesis to the existing literature and establish the theoretical framework necessary for the research. Following this, the chapter will expand the theory on place and contention which is briefly mentioned here. The concepts of space, place, mobility and identity will be discussed respectively. The main body of the text is reserved for individual spatial contexts that appeared as significant protest zones such as Kızılay Square, Kuğulu Park. These chapters follow a certain blueprint: first explaining the history of the places through available sources, the physical structure that affects the protest repertoire, moving on to people's framings and adjustments to the physical space. Since these framings usually contradict each other, the issues that appear from diversity of framings will be mentioned and analyzed. The third chapter of the main body focuses on Occupy Gezi Movement in Ankara with an emphasis on the mobility. There I include the neighborhood mobilizations as well as the differences between Kızılay Square and Kuğulu Park. The discussions will be supported by various visual material including photographs and maps. The last part will conclude the discussion with overall remarks on Occupy Gezi Movement in Ankara.

CHAPTER 2

THE GEZI LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS

It is not bold to say that Occupy Gezi Movement was the most attractive social phenomenon in the recent history of Turkey. In this chapter, I present an account of literature on Gezi; discuss underlying themes as well as different approach to the subject by reviewing scholarly articles, books and various web-articles. Although being vast and manifold in its themes, these works mainly focused on the carnivalesque atmosphere of Gezi Park, or the solidarity economy established around Taksim Square. The overwhelming majority of the arguments on Occupy Gezi Movement depend on an analysis of Gezi Park and Taksim Square which neglects the national diffusion of the phenomenon.³⁶ On the other hand, the ones looking for national diffusion rely on commonsensical arguments, rather than proper and particular analyses of the places and protesters joined the movement. In this chapter, I will summarize the main themes, approaches and methods towards Gezi, and locate the place of this thesis in literature.

2.1 The Taksim Commune

Considering Gezi Park and Taksim Square, one of the most frequent themes is the communal life established within the area (Batuman 2015a, Ors & Turan 2015, Göle 2013, Yörük & Yüksel 2014, Gambetti 2014, Ors 2014). The term commune

³⁶ An exceptional article provided by Dinler (2015) where the locus of fieldwork is Istanbul's neighborhoods (Alibeyköy, Gazi, Okmeydanı, Nurtepe, Gülsuyu and Gülensu). Nevertheless the author is mostly concerned with the increasing degradation neighborhood culture rather than the experience of neighborhood dwellers in Gezi Movement.

An exceptional book provided by Yürekli (2016), and this work provides valuable information for this thesis, although it is a book on the neighborhood of Tuzluçayır, it covers the Gezi events and residents participation successfully. In Chapter 5, further information on the book will be provided.

refers to the economic solidarity and a self-sustained and non-commodified space. However, non-commodified space does not indicate an overall removal of commodities, but the money as a sign of exchange and the motive of profit-making. Ors and Turan refers to “the realm of free-exchange: money was removed from all activities in the park” (2015: 458). On the same line, Kuymulu reported: “they set up tents, put up banners, embellished the trees and set up a solidarity economy where the money, the universal form of power, was rendered irrelevant” (2014: 55)³⁷. Collective sharing of commodities such as “food, drink and medicines” was a specific character of Taksim Commune (Yörük & Yüksel 2014: 105). The structures are reported as tents, a public library, a museum, a botanical garden, a revolution market, discussion places, free-of-charge kitchen, a playground (Gambetti 2014: 96, Germen 2015: 19, Yıldırım 2014: 181, Ors 2014: 495, Öztürkmen, 2014: 51). These structures sustained the nourishment, entertainment and cultural activities of the park dwellers as well as the visitors of the park. Similarly, for the anti-capitalist character of the commune Kuymulu argues that one of the main pillars of the resistance organized in Gezi Park and Taksim Square was “the use value interests of ordinary inhabitants” against an

³⁷ Can Atalay, a lawyer and representative of Taksim Solidarity told his experience of the de-commodification process in Cennetin Düşüsü (Kana 2014):

“In the first place, we did not want this alcoholic drink sale, referred to with the slogan of “Remain Sober, Resist on your feet!”. Because it was really necessary for people to remain sober, as well as make them prefer remaining sober. We talked with the persons, who sell beer, and we had taken them out of the park. We were receiving too many solidarity materials. We were receiving lots of cleaning materials, various articles and food materials. After a while, we decided to not to sell food materials since we had plenty of food provided for support and since we were in opulence. Meatball sellers were the figures that were identified the most with food materials. As much as I can remember, meatball sellers were taken out of the park as below: there was too much smoke that sourced from meatballs. Meatball smoke was so disturbing, morning meetings were not commencing on time. These meatball sellers were Kurdish. Friends from BDP talked with those who were hardly being convinced and they were convinced too. After a while, we realized that it turned into a commune where one may keep on living, with no money, may access to medical services and may obtain water for free with Solidarity Security groups. There were people who didn’t care about Tayyip Erdoğan or Taksim Solidarity; they were living in the park happily.”

urbanism that favors exchange value (2014: 46). Supporting this, Gambetti stated that everyday life at Gezi was based upon ‘voluntary labor’ and desire for solidarity where “both the labor and the value belonged to everybody, and hence to nobody” (2014: 94). Collective laboring activity and removal of the possibility of profit making out of this communion resulted in the establishment of a communal space. By simply repelling the exchange-value out of a certain space and also by solely using that space in various activities the Istanbulites transformed a public park in the middle of the metropolis and reflected a life-style with in-itself antagonism to capitalism.

The term ‘commune’ reflects an anti-capitalist stance, perhaps with strong historical connotations with the Paris Commune of 1871 (Sönmez 2013). Bayhan criticizes this connection by arguing this “light Paris commune experience” exhausted itself in “stupid act of creating a revolution market” (2014: 55) presuming a contradictory relation between revolution and market.³⁸ Well, a market that does not sell but distributes commodities upon simple request of necessity is indeed reflects a revolution in a rather simple manner: “I am hungry” so, “here is a biscuit for you”. However, the cigarettes were collected and shared voluntarily, Yel & Nas (2013) reports that the alcohol consumed in park was purchased; contradicting the communal life. What they neglect, selling alcohol disrupted the image of the non-commodified space as a realm of free-exchange and accordingly the protesters took initiative against it. Indeed the selling of alcoholic beverages was temporary where the Taksim Solidarity decided to expel the beer sellers as well as the food trucks. Another criticism provided by Yayla, indicating the support of the wealthy who send “thousands of lunch bags to the protest side” (2013: 16) against the arguments of self-sufficiency and further

³⁸ Anti-capitalist character of Gezi Commune was criticised by some Marxist authors as well. For example Kızılık (2013) argued that the primary intention of the commune dwellers was self-satisfaction rather than struggling against capitalism. Güneş (2013) emphasizes the harmless display of the movement against capitalism and explains the support of the bourgeois as reflection of an internal conflict with government.

points out the discrepancy between a communal establishment and members from Turkish bourgeoisie materially supporting it. The establishment in and around Gezi Park depend mostly on the outside support in terms of sustaining itself, rather than experimenting an alternate way of production. In other words, the collective sharing of commodities and overall removal of the money as a sign of exchange indicated an alternate-egalitarian distribution. The carnivalesque atmosphere of the park exposed a new approach to the institutional politics, especially with experimenting direct-democracy and political humor.

2.2 Gezi Park: Carnival at the Heart of Istanbul

Numerous accounts recognized movement's carnival-like, festive character sprung from the Gezi Park (Abbas & Yiğit 2015, Ors & Turan 2015, Tugal 2015, Gambetti 2014, Öztürkmen 2014, Abbas 2013, Taştan 2013)³⁹. Carnivalesque is a term popularized by Mikhail Bakhtin in his critique on the novels of French Renaissance writer François Rabelais. According to Bakthin, carnivalesque is a certain time in medieval order when "all hierarchical precedence" is suspended which allows a "special type of communication impossible in everyday life" (1984: 10). With playful festivity and grotesque imagery, the order is temporally removed and relations emerged from its naturality. "These truly human relations" as Bakhtin states "were not only a fruit of imagination or abstract though; they were experienced. The utopian ideal and the realistic merged in this carnival experience, unique of its kind" (*ibid.*). The Gezi Park with its yoga-classes and cheerful display was the carnival at the center of Istanbul, both in the sense of

³⁹ Exceptionally devoting the theme to the population of Turkey, Yel & Nas indicates that the whole Turkish society can be called 'carnivalesque' since AKP's reforms and pluralistic approach, arguing that Gezi was made possible by AKP but ironically against AKP at the same time (2013:184). According to Yel and Nas, AKP's decade long economic stability flourished the middle class of the society who were mostly deprived of individual freedoms, rose up against its *causa prima*.

imaginary and physical constructs. The carnivalesque reflects an alternate way of revolution, by opposing its frequent understanding of “the great cataclysmic break” (Graeber 2004: 45). In the words of Raoul Vaneigem:

For whom carnival, not a subordinate nor temporary ‘second world’, was a separate, ideally autonomous, world generated in response to conditions in the official world. Contrary to the deferred revolution of Marxism, the carnival was the revolution realized, lived everyday. (1972: 175)

Gezi Park’s carnivalesque atmosphere reflects not the activity for the revolution; instead it is realization of activities as revolutionary, and therefore the revolution in Gezi Park does not contradict with establishing a market.

Theme of carnivalesque often coupled with accounts on ‘peaceful coexistence’ of different groups. The Gezi Park with its festive atmosphere brought various formal identities together. Namely, “environmentalists, sports fans, animal activists, students, artists, academics, feminists, LGBTTQ, Kurds, Armenians, Kemalists, Turkish nationalists, Muslim socialists, street children, investment bankers and all kinds of blue as well as white collar workers” were all present at the Park and the Square (Ors & Turan 2015: 455). Following this, Michael Hardt stated that Gezi Movement was an example of ‘multitude’ (Semercioğlu & Ayyıldız 2014).



Figure 1. A Display of Yoga Classes at Gezi Park. Photo: Mr.Ush / Flickr

Developed in his collaborative works with Italian philosopher Antonio Negri, the concept is defined as “rather than a political body with one that commands and others that obey, the multitude is living flesh that rules itself” (2004: 100). Gambetti also prefers to use the concept multitude referring to “the living multiplicity” at Gezi (2014: 97). These identities were showing themselves with flags and banners (Gambetti 2014: 91) therefore, rather than being unanimous protesters, groups at Gezi Park were eager to expose their identities.

On the other hand, one of the main features of the carnival is masking. According to Holmes, “during the carnival, as in rebellion, we wear masks to free our inhibition, we wear masks to transform ourselves...” (2003: 346). What makes us to observe this ‘living multiplicity’ is that they exposed their identities, rather than concealing. The prideful demonstration of identities and the possible conflictual co-existence is in a way nullified in this carnivalesque space. As Eken (2014) put it, the significance of the commune was not the multiplicity of identities but the understanding that identities constructed outside were not functional within where a ‘spirit of solidarity and humor’ endured. People were able to project their identities in myriad forms, but at the same time these identities were either specific to the space of Gezi Park or dysfunctional within the solidaristic collectivity. As Kuymulu reports, Kurdish and Turkish nationalists were not getting along well within the park, and they were located at different edges of the self-regulating space (2014: 52). Even though, there were no major incidents of theft or harassment (Ors 2014: 495), the conflictual groups were able to coexist in a space that their identities were diluted by the solidarity and humor.

The activists were sensitive about their autonomous condition, “when the demonstrators sensed that a political party or movement was imposing its agenda, the reaction was swift and angry” (Bakiner 2014: 66). The protesters at Gezi Park did not accept any authority imposed on them by the exterior organizations, or one of them taking lead. Instead, they formed an umbrella organization called ‘Taksim Solidarity’, constituting a bloc of opposition (Karasulu 2014: 166). Also, the

protesters in Gezi Park were cautious not to offend any particular group. For example the feminists were warning others about the curses that might disturb the women and LGBTQ protesters (Bakiner 2014, Yel & Nas 2013). In a way, protests went along with a learning process on how to protest.

Another theme associated with Gezi Park and Taksim Square's festive space is the practice of direct democracy. The space devoid of state authority was a fruitful opportunity for experimenting another way of existence and politics (Özdemir 2015, Farro & Demirhisar 2014, Gambetti 2014, Ors 2014). The citizens transformed a public square into a space for experimenting alternative political and social life. As Ors put it: "the public reclaims its space, the people redefine their democracies of the new age (2014:490). What Yardımcı-Geyikçi (2014) calls "Crisis of representation in Turkey" was opposed and inverted in the direct democracy practices at Gezi Park.

Overall, the features of the square and the park are best reflected in the words of Karasulu: "the protesters have built up a struggle in the lived space, against the way it was perceived by the concerns of the capital and authoritarian governance, and imagined a communal life" (2014: 170). The commune was to some extent 'imaginary', still it clearly presented an alternative to the gray of conventional politics with its joyful, carnivalesque experience.

In Lefebvrian terms, Gezi Park was reappropriated by its users as a counter-space that inverts the order outside. The condition of Gezi Park was similar to Zuccotti Park of Occupy Wall Street as in the words of Castells explaining the contention in United States, "a space where the protesters could come together and form a community beyond their differences. A space of conviviality. A space of debate... In sum a space of autonomy". (2012: 168). However, by embracing the Gezi Park's unique property of inverted order; we must remember that Gezi Movement also includes the spaces external to Gezi Park which indicates spaces of struggle with the established order as well as temporal autonomous spaces. The arguments above mainly focus on Gezi Park and Taksim Square, yet the question begs to be

answered: are these analyses valid for the totality of Occupy Gezi Movement or are they significantly related to Gezi Park only? This question bears further significance in the accounts identified the participants of Occupy Gezi Movement.

2.3 Identifying the Protesters with Class and Political Alignment

As for the class character of the movement, some arguments revolved around the proletariat (Boratav 2013, Tonak 2013) where the proletariat is vaguely defined, including almost everyone except the bourgeoisie⁴⁰. However, the majority of the debate revolved around the concept of ‘middle-class’. For example, Çağlar Keyder viewed the protests as a sign of new middle-class (2014), as millions of new graduates start working in modern workplaces with concerns similar to global middle-class such as consumption and leisure habits that took the streets. The youth is flourished with economic growth and Turkey’s globalization. What they were after is their basic rights (2013).⁴¹ The youth is sometimes called ‘PlayStation generation’ (Koca-Atabey 2016) or ‘Generation Y’ (Patton 2013) to indicate the apolitical and cynical attitude of the protesters as well their technological capabilities.

On the same track with Keyder, Louis Wacquant indicated the cultural capital of middle-class, the new intellectuals and their proposition of alternative forms of

⁴⁰ For instance, Korkut Boratav considers the youth in Gezi as potential working class members with high chances of being unemployed. Also the family background is quite important for determining the class position of the youth rather than their current occupation as students. On the other hand, after their graduation, the same youth becomes middle-class determined by their work according to Keyder’s argumentation.

⁴¹ It is tough to say that the majority of the graduates of Turkish universities enjoy a relatively privileged work where the unemployment rate of urban youth (aged between 15-24) was calculated as high as 21 percent (TUİK 2014), also Turkey has the longest working hours among all OECD countries (1855 hours a year where OECD average is 1765). 24 percent of the university graduates are unemployed, corresponds to 725.000 unemployed citizens with university degree.

See: OECD Index at: <http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/turkey/>

Also see: Sönmez (2015, January 26).

constructing the urban environment were the main pillars of Gezi Movement. For him the subjects of Gezi were ‘a fraction of Istanbul population’ (Göker 2014). For Gürcan & Peker, Wacquant’s the middle-class label is mainly caused by his “geographic blindness, which reduces the scope of the Gezi Park protests to Istanbul – and even to the Park itself – neglecting the millions who took the streets across the country” (2015: 323). If one concludes the overall properties of Occupy Gezi Movement by merely looking at Gezi Park, will eventually reach to a misrepresentative arguments like Wacquant.

Denying the frequent approach, some scholars argued that middle-class frame used as a strategic tool to indicate AKP’s success (Kuymulu 2014, Gürcan & Peker 2015)⁴². Saracoğlu (2015) also argued that the middle-class label is due to the limited perspective that considers solely the individuals at Gezi Park for the matter of analysis. As described in the introduction, the aggregation to the movement was



Figure 2. Taksim, AKM building during Commune days banners of numerous groups are visible . Photo: Cornucopia Blog.

⁴² For example, Francis Fukuyama correlates the economic success of Turkey in the last decade with the frustration and feeling of alienation from politics in the certain portion of the middle-class. For him, there is a more pious and entrepreneurial counterpart in the middle-class that supports AKP.

See: Fukuyama (2013, June 28)

not caused by AKP's success in economy or enlarging democratic freedoms. According to Özen, the groups infringed by the AKP government quickly articulated to the Gezi Park Protests and added their claims to the initial struggle to prevent Gezi Park's destruction (2013: 37) With these claims that extends to the popular slogan "government resign!", Gezi included a challenge to the government and furthermore, a demand of changing the ruling party (Ertan 2014: 71) How, then, we can understand the features and dynamics of these articulations that were neglected in the studies on Gezi Park? Is it feasible to argue that it was the emerging middle-class individuals at Gezi Park who were after their basic freedoms, and the ones belong to lower classes voiced rather straightforward demands such as government's resignation?

Yörük and Yüksel's analysis presented data that indicates 'class' cannot be a tool for the analysis since class character of protesters was representative to the general population while showing that the Park reflected slightly upward class character while the organized leftists groups were located in the Square. (2014: 119). The middle-class label is due to the "greater representative power" of those who were in the Park. (2014: 121-122). This place based differences influenced the Gezi experience, reflected in the works of Tuğal where he argues "the Gezi movement provided a non-commodified space (the barricades, the public park, the shared meals) where this (middle) class momentarily tasted the fruits of solidaristic life" (2013: 157) and yet again "the occupation triggered multi-class protests all over Turkey..." but "its prefigurative style survived only among the (relatively) privileged" (2015: 80). Therefore, he states Gezi was "an occasionally multi-class, but predominantly middle-class movement" (2013: 156) considering the Gezi Park as the main site of this new 'elusive' revolt. By looking at the 'relatively privileged' protesters of Gezi Park, the Occupy Gezi Movement is framed as a middle-class movement, mostly constituted by the youth that obtained their economic privileges with AKP's successful governance and frustrated because of their high cultural standards. If class is not an adequate tool for understanding the

dynamics of the movement outside of Gezi Park, what can be proposed in terms of situating the protests? Another attempt was made by categorizing the political alignment of the protesters.

Ete (2013) and Bayhan (2014) nominated three sub-groups namely the environmentalist demanding participatory democracy, CHP supporters and radical leftists aiming to “terrorize the society” (Ete 2013:20). Taştan (2013) also provides three sub-groups such as atypical CHP voters, antisystemic radicals and supporters of the political parties below the threshold. Atay’s work (2013) argues that the movement was a reaction of secular-minded people of Turkey. “The elite-secular elements into the revolt” in the words of Tuğal, attenuated the initial thrust of the movement (2015: 77). The narrative in those works indicates a pure, innocent starting point, yet eventually grew and transformed something broader and transformed into something else, for some it was overwhelmed by secularists/CHP supporters, for some it was influenced by outside actors⁴³. On the spreading of the movement to the national scale, I have already mentioned Özen’s argument that the groups infringed by the AKP government quickly articulated to the Gezi Park Protests and added their claims to the initial struggle to prevent Gezi Park’s destruction (2013: 37) and further directed movement towards a more comprehensive anti-authoritarian direction (*ibid.*, 43, Gürcan & Peker 2014). As Yoruk (2014) put it, the ‘multitude’ this time refers to not only the protesters in Gezi Park but in the whole country, which was already active before Gezi. Each group had different problems and conflicts with the AKP’s increasingly authoritarian governance.⁴⁴

⁴³ I have no intention to further discuss theories that claim the movement was “hijacked by multiple international and external actors with various motivations” (Ete 2013: 21) without substantial proofs or disproved allegations such as “the violent acts against veiled women during the demonstrations” (Yel & Nas 2013: 186) These works echo the government’s rhetoric that aims to stress the negative properties attributed to the protesters. For a detailed work on the rhetoric during Occupy Gezi Movement see: Kuşdil et. al (2014)

⁴⁴ The anti-authoritarianism of the movement is a recurrent theme in the literature, coupled

A much more simplified narration is presented by the scholars presenting episodes of contention. These works were speculative rather than scientific as they depend on commonsensical arguments and totalized concepts attributed towards 4,725 reported protest events and 3,454,000 reported participants according to Ministry of Interior. For example, the episodes reported in Abbas were the first four-days in the park where environmentalist groups peacefully performed a sit-in. Then, the scenes turned violent, where “peaceful protesters” replaced by “more active demonstrators who were prepared to engage head-on with the police in face-to-face combat and attempt to destroy property” (2013: 20-21). This argument oversimplifies and overgeneralizes a phenomenon that is rich and complex in its content, and surely includes a violent component. In other words, without showing significant evidence, these accounts argue that Gezi transformed into something that is entirely harmful. Again, Gezi Park with an attribution of peacefulness significantly differed from the other places of protest. Similarly, Topak (2014) provides three episodes: first, the initials days where environmentalist demands were prominent, second, the days between 31st of May and 14th of June when environmentalist discourse faded and most of the injuries and public damage occurred. And third, the period after Prime Minister’s speech in mild tones, which lowered the tension to a great extent. The remaining people on streets clearly protesting AKP government and the initial protesters were entirely replaced (2014: 1941). Here the question of how the author can distinguish people who were staying on the streets from the initial environmentalists? Perhaps it was the same citizens that changed their manner of action in response to their treatment by the police? An identity shift was certain but these accounts do not explain the reasons behind that shift.

As for the works that rely on scientific data on the growth and transformation of the movement, avoids such grand generalizations on both spatial and temporal

with the critique of neoliberalism (Kuymulu 2013, Farro & Demirhisar 2014), with conservative Islamism (Gürçan & Peker 2015, Gambetti 2014), or both (Yoruk 2014).

dynamics of identities. For example, Yoruk and Yuksel (2015) extended their analysis (cited above), by including enlarged data sets (surveys by KONDA, SAMER and a self-conducted media review) to their quantitative analysis. In this work, they emphasize that there is a significant difference between protesters who went to the Gezi Park and the rest of participants in terms of occupation and education. The protesters in the park were mainly educated professionals but this composition changed into a proletariat dominated one as the movement spread to distant neighborhoods (2015: 157). Therefore, it can be said that in the second episode, the protesters were mostly constituted by blue-collar workers and the middle-class style was on decline, yet not entirely vanished, at least during the occupation of Gezi Park between 1st and 10th of June.

2.4 Locating the Research in Gezi Literature

Hitherto, the literature on Gezi tells us mainly two things: first, the place-specific features of Gezi Park and Taksim Square such as carnivalesque, commune, practice of direct democracy, solidarity, humor, peaceful and colorful coexistence. It can be said that these properties of Gezi Park is well attended in the literature. Second, the Gezi Park cannot be held representative for the totality of the movement simply because the participations following Gezi Park is different in rhetoric (i.e. requesting governments resignation rather than demanding individual freedoms), different in identities (i.e. with more working class participation, more secularist and republican), different in repertoires (i.e. more active and violent in comparison to the peaceful-passive resistance at the Park). The main problematics of this dualism is that although the former respects (and often glorifies) the Gezi Park's history, place-making repertoires and identities of place, its generalizations lead false representation of other places (i.e. middle-class movement, Y Generation). The latter (the one respects the episodic transformation), does respect the changing character of the movement but this time, it neglects the characteristics of place and identities of places. On the one hand, the place-frame

is recurrent theme for the analysis of Gezi Park, yet when it comes to considering other places that articulated to the movement, the literature ends up with ‘drowsy’ and ‘lazy’ generalizations, rather than attending to the properties of other ‘specific’ places, that were parts of the same movement.

Consequently, this thesis is a combination of the positive aspects of the two approaches. By analyzing the places of Ankara mobilized during Gezi, namely Kızılay Square and Kuğulu Park, the research sheds light to the material effects of these places, place-specific repertoires, place-making practices and identity dynamic to discover the properties of the Occupy Gezi Movement in ‘other places’. With the help of this work that focuses on the individual places articulated to the Gezi, it will be possible to analyze another kind(s) of ‘Gezi experience(s)’ occurred at and conditioned by places other than Gezi Park. Furthermore, the research does not only capture the individual places, but especially with the fourth chapter, it will reveal the mobility in the urban scale during Occupy Gezi Movement in Ankara. Next, I will explain the theoretical background of the research and establish a relational gaze upon, space, place⁴⁵ identity and mobility.

2.5 Space

This section aims to develop an understanding of space as it relates to the understanding of place, which is the main concept throughout this research. The term “space” is often used in a specific meaning that differentiates it from place and each theorist develops his/her own understanding of space and place. Authors indicate similar conceptualizations under the name of either space or place. For example, the conceptualization of space by Lefebvre is quite similar to the conceptualization of place by Massey. Although the discussion appears to follow

⁴⁵ Of course, place is not the only spatiality of and for experience. For example, Martin and Miller (2003) define space, place, and scale as spatialities of social relations. Leitner et. al (2008) includes place, scale, networking, socio-spatial positionality and mobility to the spatialities . Jessop et. al (2008) mainly dwells on four spatialities: territory, place, scale, and networks and provide the relationship among them.

the track of space towards place, these two theories complement rather than contradict each other. First, I will sketch the Lefebvrian response to the passive conceptualization of space and the uses of this concept in the literature of protest studies and then discuss Massey's contributions under the subsection 'place'. In addition to the theoretical brilliance of these two important figures of geography, they were the ones providing a conceptual framework that supports this thesis in capturing dynamic nature of the occupy movement.

Space is often defined as a null field in-itself but where everything necessarily contains on it⁴⁶. À la Kant, experience is always an experience of phenomenon, and space, in this sense similar to time, is a condition of experience that enables things to appear. Yet as Foucault put it, "space was treated as the fixed, undialectical, the immobile" and "time on the contrary, was richness fecundity, life, dialectic" (1984: 70, quoted in Harvey 2000: 538). It was another French philosopher, Henri Lefebvre⁴⁷, who rejected the view of space as a formal container of experience, and implicated the concept as a genuine historical experience (Elden 2007: 108). For him, "today, the analysis of production shows that we have passed from the production of things in space to the production of space itself" (Lefebvre et.al, 2009: 186). In his account on this production, three aspects of space are defined: spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces⁴⁸.

'Spatial practice' is an insurance of continuity and cohesion in the social world

⁴⁶ For example, Cambridge Dictionary defines space as first: an empty area that is available to be used and second: the area around everything that exists, continuing in all directions.

Space. In *Cambridge Dictionary*.

Retrieved June 16, 2016, from <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/space>

⁴⁷ Yet, it is though to say that Lefebvre was first to deal with such issue as he announces influences mainly by Gaston Bachelard (especially with his work *The Poetics of Space*) and Martin Heidegger (Lefebvre 1991: 121).

⁴⁸ For further clarification, Stuart Elden equates spatial practice with concepts "perceived – physical", "conceived-mental" and "lived-social" respectively. (2007: 110)

“which embraces production and reproduction and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation” (Lefebvre 1991: 33). According to Harvey, it is “the space of experience” a tangible asset of daily life “mastered and appropriated” by the society (2012b: 8). In other words, it is the material aspect of space, used and adjusted by people. ‘Representations of space’ is “the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of certain type of artist with a scientific bent” (Lefebvre 1991: 38). It is basically the abstract representations of maps and graphs, the space that is represented on another space as well as the symbols and knowledge of spaces.

Yet, Lefebvre argues that space is not only about materiality regardless of actual or represented. The third aspect of space, ‘representational spaces’ indicates “space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of ‘inhabitants’ and ‘users’... this is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate it” (Lefebvre 1991: 39). The appropriation by the users of space opens up the possibility of generating counterspaces, a space that is able to challenge the established order. These spaces can contest the state and “create independent territorial entities capable to some degree of self-management” (*ibid.* 382), and with this addition Lefebvre opens up a possibility of contention over space.

Hitherto, Lefebvre developed three essential ideas on space: first, space is not a null field ‘for’ experience, but there is an experience ‘of’ space. Second, space has three aspects of material, representational and lived which are embraced, appropriated, challenged by designers and users alike. Third, space is something produced and reproduced that could possibly be inverted against the dominant order as a counterspace with the help of its practitioners. Although the domination is a passively experienced in space, the imagination of the dominated is potent to reverse the spatial dynamic.

The Lefebvrian theory is illuminating in context of recent occupy movements, especially on Gezi Park where a public place felt victim to the juggernaut of

neoliberal urbanism and its temporary reappropriation by the users as a counterspace. For example, Kuymulu (2014) and Batuman (2015a) mainly dwell on Lefebvrian theory to explain Occupy Gezi Movement's relation with the neoliberal urbanism and its discontents. The aim of this research is different in its investigation to capture the mobility and immobility and therefore static and transitional spaces within a social movement. Especially to capture mobility and different experiences, therefore an investigation that includes a multiplicity of places is required. Lefebvre already provided three aspects of space that are "independent facets of the same unit" and "they cannot exist independently of one another" (Cenzatti 2009: 80). So, what can be the interrelation between these aspects of spaces? And further, what can be derived from this interrelation in terms of social protest?

For Harvey, the spaces of representation are spaces 'of popular spectacles, street demonstrations, riots (1987: 266) and the features of material space shapes, motivates and delimits the space of representation. For him, it is clear after the recent mobilizations that:

Certain urban environmental characteristics are more conducive to rebellious protest than others – such as centrality of squares like Tahrir, Tiananmen, and Syntagma, the more easily barricaded streets of Paris compared to London or Los Angeles, or El Alto's position commanding the main supply routes into La Paz. (2012a: 117)

Clearly, the physical construct of a square is advantageous for crowded demonstrations; parks with their smooth soil enables the tents to be set up; police's entrance to narrow streets can easily be blockaded by protesters.

Also, the representations of space (signs and knowledge of spaces including maps, graphs) produce certain limitations and motivations for protest. For example, demonstrations organized in front of White House bears legal limitations that restrict the number of people that might attend to a protest at that particular

location.⁴⁹ Another example is the law banning any demonstration around Turkish Grand National Assembly's one kilometer radius⁵⁰. Although these laws restrict the demonstrations, the buildings physically present the center of the State or government as the target of protest and thus affect the experience of the space. Certainly, protesting at Syntagma Square is symbolically important for its proximity to Greek Parliament and infuses a political meaning to the place that might aggregate the protesters in a certain place. Same argument can be made for Kızılay Square which I will detail in the next chapter.

Overall, protest performances, like every other social practice, occurs in space and at the same time it is shaped by it, as Martin and Miller put it quite similarly to Lefebvre's premise: "like time, space is not merely a variable or container of activism" (2003: 145) or in words of Auyero "space is sometimes the site, other times the object and usually both the site and the object of contentious politics"⁵¹ (2006: 567, quoted in della Porta et. al. 2013: 28). For example, Sewell argued that the study of space in contentious politics includes "the ways that spatial constraints are turned to advantage in political and social struggles and the ways that such struggles can restructure the meanings, uses, and strategic valence of space" (2001: 55). The sites and objects are intertwined in protest events, yet the events do not simply occur on empty, abstracted, and meaningless spaces. The two following

⁴⁹ Demonstrations in front of White House are limited to 100 people at the sidewalk and 500 people at the Lafayette Square across the building. (No 1953)

⁵⁰ For example, similar restrictions are in force around the European Parliament, the parliament, the national assembly and state parliament of Austria, legislative bodies of Czech Republic, the state parliaments of Bavaria and Lower Saxony in Germany.

For further information see the report prepared for the Helsinki Committee, 'Comparison on the Rights, Limitations and Procedures Related to Public Gatherings and Demonstrations Across Europe' (DLA Piper 2013)

⁵¹ The term first defined in the collaborative work of McAdam, Tarrow & Tilly as "episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when (a) at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a party to the claims and (b) the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants." (2001: 5)

chapters were analysis of protests in places with particular histories, physical constructs and symbolic meanings infused within.

2.6 Place

Place is defined as “the terrain where basic social practices... are lived out. Place is where everyday life is *situated*” (Merrifield 1993: 522, emphasis in original, quoted in Martin and Miller 2003: 147). These sort of interpretations of place as a ‘terrain’ is similar to the conceptualization of space as ‘empty a container of experience’. However, the use of the term here emphasizes two essential features: meaning and momentariness. The place also defined as “meaningful segments of space – locations imbued with meaning and power” (Cresswell: 2006: 3) that “social movements often seek to strategically manipulate, subvert and resignify places that symbolize priorities and imaginaries they are contesting...” (Leitner et al. 2008: 161). Therefore, place is clarified as a spatiality that is imbued with meaning, it does not indicate any portion of ‘space’. However, by introducing Lefebvre’s theory, I have already denied the definition of space as an empty ground for meanings to fill in that will end up with a portion of it called ‘place’. On the same track, for geographer Doreen Massey this approach is indeed a tabular conceptualization of space and place:

It runs clearly against the injunction that space be thought of as an emergent product of relations, including those relations which establish boundaries, and where ‘place’ in consequence is necessarily *meeting* place, where the ‘difference’ of a place must be conceptualized more in the ineffable sense of constant emergence of *uniqueness* out of (and within) the specific constellations of interrelations within which that place is set and of what is made of that constellation. (2005: 68, emphasis in original)

This understanding of place indicates unique moments of encountering between ensemble of social relations, history and materiality of space both as conditions and outcomes. In other words, this elusive conceptualization of place indicates the unit of spatio-temporal experience, “as woven together out of ongoing stories, a

moment within power geometries, as a particular constellation within the wider topographies of space, and as in process, as unfinished business” (*ibid.*: 131). In this sense, place is essentially momentary; and the analysis of a particular place inevitably the analyses of moments within space, the snapshots of becoming rather than static beings. The constellation at place includes histories, material constructs, and meanings are accompanied by place-making repertoires.

Here, Massey’s conceptualization of place as ‘meeting’ point requires further clarification since there are already existing spatialities with certain signifiers that appear outside of this constant production of momentary meetings. For example, Kızılay Square appears as a place recognized in everyday language but it also signifies the unique moments of place. In the third chapter, I frame the analysis under the title ‘Kızılay Square during Occupy Gezi Movement’ referring to the temporal continuity of spatial practice of protest. Still, the place showed unique characteristics in each gaze towards it, and this usage appears as a mere necessity of narration, dwells on an underlying continuity of Lefebvrian material and representative space of the square.

In her recent work, Deborah Martin developed ‘place framing’ as a focal point on “how activists produce places as bases for and sites of contention; the processes in/to which they respond, use and discourses they employ. The focus is not on place as some fixed entity, but on ideas of place as grounding or situatedness for some sort of activism (2013: 90-91). By embracing the activists’ point of view, it allows the researcher to discover the impact of place on contentious politics, why the protest took place on that specific location and not somewhere else, and why a certain repertoire is embraced while others are not (*ibid.* 90). Place-frames explain the “common experiences among people in a place” (Martin 2003: 733). In addition to her conceptualization of place-framing from the perspective of the protesters but, significantly the existence of counter-measurements that aims to restrain the protest taking place in a specific location affects the repertoires and especially the identity formation. As della Porta et. al. put it “participation

becomes more intense when faced with a perceived external aggression, described by activists as an act of war against a peaceful community.” (2013: 33) For example, a strong police presence and constant threat of police violence affects the protest repertoires significantly and also, it produces a certain motivation for the establishment of a solidaristic identity as it was in the case of Kızılay Square which I will detail in the next chapter.

The addition of the concept of place on top of the space which Lefebvre conceptualizes and which already denies the empty and static conceptualization might cause confusion. This thesis mainly dwells on the concept of place discussed above because this conceptualization includes Lefebvrian dynamism as well as the multiplicity of possible experience of space, and emphasizes the temporality and meaning attribution better in studying an occupy movement. Therefore, the theoretical concepts of space and place are not binaries but they specify references to certain understandings that complement each other.

2.7 Mobility

Furthermore, one of the claims of this thesis is to capture mobility, as well as immobility. The addition of mobility alongside with place based analysis is mainly a requirement rooted in the nature of the occupy movement. As I stated before, all of the interviewees reached out for this research experienced Kızılay Square and Kuğulu Park. In other words, subjects of the movement are indeed place-based, but not place-bound. Accordingly, this research should be place-based, yet it is ought to be open for a multiplicity of places and repertoires transcend the place. If one cannot understand Occupy Gezi Movement merely by looking at Gezi Park, I will not be able to present the contention in Ankara by merely looking at Kızılay Square, or Kuğulu Park. As once Harvey said, “an event or a thing at a point in space cannot be understood by appeal to what exists only at that point. It depends upon everything else going on around it” (2005: 96). Although the Gezi events appear with continuous reference to Taksim Square as in the slogan “everywhere is

Taksim, everywhere is resistance”, these events could be understood with the history of the place (Batuman 2015), and with the inclusion of other places as relation with each other.

Thinking on spatialities in relational terms may further complicate the theoretical approach, it might increase the amount of labor required to understand a phenomenon in place. Yet, this approach enables the advance on collective actions that could not be boxed out in a map or a graph. Harvey continued: “If I ask the question: what does Tiananmen Square or “Ground Zero” *mean*, then the only way I can seek an answer is to think in relational terms” (2005: 97, original emphasis). To be able to understand what Kızılay Square, or Kuğulu Park means, one must explore not only their unique characteristics, but also the relation between them, explore the difference in every aspect of the experience including the history, material environment, the place-making and transformation of identities.

The study of place by threatening them as “discrete, more or less self-contained, self-identical ensembles of social-ecological interactions” results in the fallacy of ‘*place-centrism*’ (Jessop et. al. 2008: 391). This epistemological tendency can be attributed to several accounts on Occupy Gezi Movement that solely focuses on the Gezi Park. On the other side of the coin, the movement was experienced in the national scale which is also attended in the literature often with oversimplifications and over-generalizations. Between local and national scales, the analysis that covers the urban scale is essentially missing in the literature. The significance is apparent in my interviews on the experiences of people that indicate a striking mobility within urban scale, between Kuğulu Park, Kızılay Square and a respective neighborhood. To be able to contribute to the lacking area, fifth chapter will discuss the mobility of the protesters of Occupy Gezi Movement in Ankara with neighborhood mobilizations as opposed to third and fourth chapters that discuss specific places.

Thus, what does mobility mean? Creswell defined it rather simply: “mobility is the

dynamic equivalent of place” (2006: 3)⁵². Is this analogy indicates that mobility does not have a place? Not necessarily, if one adopts Massey’s conceptualization that already approaches to place as essentially dynamic phenomenon comes forward as a result of intersecting relations. So what is the difference between the place and mobility if one rejects the attribution of fixity to the former and dynamism to the latter?

My conceptualization of mobility is an act without a fixed place, as Foucault once argued that ‘the boat is floating piece of space, a place without a place...’ (1986: 27). Therefore, the protests in mobile forms (such as marches) constitute a materially transitional place which is not fixed in absolute space. With movement, the protesters are able to transform mundane locations to protest zones as they pass by, triggering reactions by their relation to the immobile constituents of the protest, namely the residents who appear in the windows, chanting and supporting their mobile counterparts. They might be considered as different from popular places of protest, such as Kızılay Square or Kuğulu Park, yet what is at stake is that protest places are ‘produced’ as a result of mobility, as it was in the case of Kennedy Street that was known as the protest place of Ankara. I will further analyze the street in the fourth chapter.

2.8 Identity and Becoming

The last component of the Gezi experience is the transformation of identities. The identities of the protesters were as much attractive as the places of the protest in the Occupy Gezi literature. As I mentioned above, various accounts listed the different groups at Gezi Park to underline the aspect of peaceful coexistence. Yet the identity formations within Gezi Park was best attended by Eken (2014) where he argued that the identities formed outside of the Park was not functioning in the

⁵² He also analytically separate mobility from movement, which considers movement as an abstract form of mobility, such as between point A and point B, between contentless and meaningless spaces.

new atmosphere experienced by the protesters. There he observes a place-based identity formation par excellence. On the other side of the coin, the arguments on the totality of the movement were dwelling on the outside identities such as CHP supporters, marginals, mobs as if the constituents of the movement were only formed an identity within Gezi Park, but nowhere else.

Instead, what I propose here is an approach to the identities in form of becoming, of what Foucault argued on the anti-authority struggles that struck in between individualizing and de-individualizing forms of power:

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are. We have to imagine and to build up what we could be get rid of this kind of political “double bind”, which is simultaneous individualization and totalization of modern power structures (1982: 785).

What he proposes for the individual is not only the emancipation from the state, but also the emancipation from type of individualization of the state. The revelatory approach of Foucault, although it might seem as focusing on becoming of individual subject, was to some extent prominent in Occupy Gezi Movement, with the protesters refusing an overarching identity imposed by the government or again to some extent they restrained the already-established identities by removing banners, or forming an identity based on labor that I will examine in next chapters. Furthermore, Razsa and Kurnik approached to the Occupy Slovenia in which they seek for the “forms of open-ended subject making that are embedded in and constitutive of collective struggle” (2012: 241). Similarly Barry argued on the method of studying demonstrations:

I suggest that if we are to understand such actions and to take them seriously as political events, we should not look for the existence of political identities or ideologies or social movements which lie behind such actions, but rather look to the actions themselves (2001: 176)

For him the identities are “forged and reforged around a mutation and proliferating set of on-going conflicts” (ibid. 185). Embracing the Foucauldian refusal,

protesters were able to escape from totalizing identities imposed upon them as well as surpassing their individuality by forming solidarity. The non-identity (as opposed to established-static identities) is certain strength of a movement, as Agamben argued: “what the state cannot tolerate in any way, is that singularities form a community without affirming an identity, that humans co-belong with-out any representable conditions of belonging” (1993: 84-85). The transformation of identities on basis of solidarity is a certain weapon in the arsenal of the protesters. Of course, similar to the places made during the contention, the production of identities is momentary. As Juris put it on his investigation on Occupy Boston:

These individuals may subsequently forge a collective subjectivity through the process of struggle, but it is a subjectivity that is under the constant pressure of disaggregation into its individual components – hence, the importance of interaction and community building within physical spaces. (2012:266)

The physical spaces, such as squares and parks can provide basis for the identity formation of the protesters. However these formations are not place-bound as Massey put it:

The differential placing of local struggles within the complex power-geometry of spatial relations is key element in the formation of their political identities and politics. In turn, political activity reshapes both identities and spatial relations. Space, as relational and as the sphere of multiplicity, is both an essential part of the character of, and perpetually reconfigured through, political engagement. And the way in which that spatiality is imagined by the participants is also crucial. The closure of identity in a territorialized space of bounded places provides little in the way of avenues for a developing radical politics. (2005: 183)

The formation of identity can surpass territorial boundaries, but immediately affected by the consideration of space on the protesters point of view. For example, existence or lack of violence in place necessarily affects the consideration of space by protesters that cause a differentiation in the perspectives of the participants and eventually a differentiation among protesters themselves. However, this viewpoint encloses the identity to a spatial fix that overlooks the multiplicity of performances

that reflect a combination of violence and peacefulness, such as the coexistence of lethal confrontations between police and the protesters and dances, singing songs and cheering.

Explicitly, what I am referring as identity dynamic is the becoming of identities through collective action during the protests. The individual identities and their process of becoming indeed transcend the temporal boundaries set for this research which is mainly the second episode of the movement and require a comprehensive investigation on the events occurred after Gezi.

With this complex theoretical investigation on space, place and mobility, the next chapters will provide individual analyses of Kızılay Square, Kuğulu Park and lastly will describe the mobilization in Ankara to explore the overshadowed but essential component of Occupy Gezi Movement in terms of history, physical space, place-making repertoires and identity dynamics.

CHAPTER 3

KIZILAY SQUARE

In recent years, numerous public squares of the capital cities staged the global occupy wave. From Cairo to London, the central squares transformed into arenas of protest. These sites are significant power zones with their proximity to the State institutions as well being the direction of everyday life practices. With respect to Occupy Gezi Movement's nation-wide diffusion, the central square of the capital city of Turkey transformed into a protest zone during the second episode. The square was temporarily occupied by the movement of the protesters flown at the place from all directions, which exemplifies the coexistence of occupy-movement couple.

Furthermore, Kızılay Square was an important place for Ankara before Occupy Gezi Movement, functioning as the center of the city. In other words, it might be argued that Kızılay Square was a place before Gezi, and today it is a place also. However, previously I have argued that this thesis does not treat space, place and identity as they were static. With respect to the theoretical framework established in the previous chapter that seeks for the 'meeting place' of various ensembles of relations, what I will analyze below a combination of effects, first the physical space on which the protests were occurred alongside with the historical development of that materiality and history of protest then I will describe the protest events during Occupy Gezi Movement, and discuss the place-making and identity dynamics at the square.

3.1 Physical Structure and Protest History

Kızılay Square is the current center of the metropolis of Ankara. It was first named as Kurtuluş Meydanı (Liberation Square) which was the place for the cultural

practices for the new republic in 20s (Batuman 2002). The concerts of Ankara Municipality Brass Orchestra around Havuzbaşı (Poolside) attracted the new citizens of Ankara to the place. After the construction of the headquarters of Kızılay (*red-crescent*) in 1927, the square began to be called ‘Kızılay’ and the Havuzbaşı began to be called ‘Kızılay Park’.

The square was planned as the central hub for the emerging new city during 1950s as a part of a designed shift from the old city center Ulus. (Batuman 2012: 580). Initially considered as an upper-class neighborhood for the republican elite and a center for new bureaucracy (Bayraktar 2013), the area became increasingly multicultural with the immense migration to metropolitan areas. In 1959 Turkey’s first skyscraper, Emek İşhanı, was completed. Alongside with the various bank branches, the area featured as a center of business and finance (Bayraktar 2013). In 1960 the square was renamed as Hürriyet Meydanı (Liberty Square) yet it continued to be called as Kızılay by the citizens. The new building of Turkish Grand National Assembly was opened in 1961, which rigidified the central importance of the square in Turkish politics. When Turkish Red-crescent Building demolished in 1979 alongside with the Kızılay Park, the symbol of the square was removed from existence. The construction of a new structure started in 1998, and finished in 2011. The colossal Kızılay Shopping Center now occupies the north-western corner of the square. Overall, the finance, business and politics are spatially present, in other words Kızılay is “...a square, close to where many of the



Figure 3.Kızılay Square during 60s and 2013 respectively. Photos: Atilim Üniversitesi Ankara Dijital Kent Arşivi & İpek Akin.

levers of power are centered” (Harvey 2012a: 161). On the other hand, the physical environment gradually turned from green grass to grey concrete, and the comfort of the vehicles favored over the comfort of pedestrians.

A significant rupture was noted after Melih Gökçek took office as Ankara’s Mayor in 1994. For Keleş and Duru, Ankara transformed from being an example of planned urban development to day-to-day decisions, populist policies and extravagant investments during Gökçek’s rule (2008: 40). Presently, he is serving for 5th consecutive terms by winning the last local elections in 2014. Certainly his disjunctive rhetoric is a certain factor that increased the tension between the state and protesters but more importantly Gökçek’s presence as Ankara’s mayor transformed the city in accordance with AKP’s neoliberal urban vision and construction-led growth model.

Accordingly, the Kızılay Park was replaced by a shopping mall. Across the boulevard, Güvenpark remains as the only green space left in the area yet it is shared by pedestrians and subway entrances, bus stops, buses, and dolmuses. Despite their occupation of the green space, remembering Harvey’s argument on the relative advantages on protesting at certain places, the availability of several transportation possibilities from all around Ankara increases the accessibility of the square for citizens which may result in rapid aggregation of protesters.

Although the place called a square; the material space does not provide a pedestrian friendly environment let alone being an appropriate site for mass



Figure 4. The image of Güvenpark populated by vehicles.

Photo: HaberAnkara.

demonstrations. The sidewalks are parallel to four lanes of vehicle traffic in each direction across Atatürk Boulevard. According to Sabuktay (2008: 166), the strategy of the metropolitan municipality is to allow the rapid crossing of vehicles through the city center and to minimize the slowing effect of the pedestrians. To achieve that, the pedestrians are blocked by physical barriers such as chains and pools, their walking space is reduced, the traffic lights arranged for long waiting for them and less waiting for vehicles. This strategy is also reinforced by the construction of 93 overpass bridges for pedestrians (Öncü 2009). Yet, they remain idle as the pedestrians walk beneath the bridge and through the traffic (Batuman 2012, Sabuktay 2008). It is a clear example of the dialectical tension between spatial practice and representations of space, most specifically between planners and users in this case. On the one hand, the domination over space is challenged by the appropriation of the users of space. On the other, the appropriations result in more physical restrictions in form of barriers, or other obstructions to in a way ‘herd’ people to the planned direction.

Moreover, it is not only the urban plans that restrict the movement in space of Kızılay. On the southern edge of Güvenpark starts the Government Quarter including the Prime Minister’s main office and Ministries of Interior Affairs, Education, and Justice alongside with the headquarters of Turkish Supreme Court. The Government Quarter facing Turkish Grand National Assembly on the other side. Each branch of the state, executive, legislative and judicial, is present at Kızılay which creates a security sensitive area. Correspondingly, there is a specific legal barrier for protests at Kızılay Square. Even though Turkish Constitution’s 34th article grants all citizens the right to peacefully assemble without requiring any permission, the 22nd article of current ‘law on meetings and demonstrations’⁵³ bans meetings on main roads and parks, sacred places, in public buildings and their attachments, and in 1 km radius of Turkish Grand National Assembly. During

⁵³ See: Resmi Gazete issue no: 18185, 8 October 1983.

meetings on public squares the people and vehicles should be allowed to pass in accordance with orders of local governor. Kızılay Square is both within the one kilometer radius and it is a central hub of vehicle traffic. The place does not allow a crowded demonstration unless protesters enclose the boulevard. In accordance with Lefebvrian conceptualization of space, the dialectical tension between spatial practice and the restrictions based upon knowledge of space (Figure 5) is apparent at the square. The prohibition of protest in one kilometer radius around the parliament attempts to delimit spatial practice, yet with moments of protest, the order can be resisted, if not inverted, as protesters constitute a counter-space at the Square.

Correspondingly, despite these physical and legal drawbacks, Kızılay has a long history of protest. During 60s and 70s, Kızılay Square was an active place for student demonstrations. The square functioned as the center of anti-Democratic Party events in the early 60s, escalated with the opening of Justice Party headquarters and continued legally up until 1963's legislation on meetings and demonstrations (İlkay 2008)⁵⁴. Even they were prohibited, the meetings continued targeting Kızılay Square. In late 1970s the location was affected by the increasing street violence by being a contested place for distributing flyers and hanging up banners (*ibid.* 138-139). Conflicting groups often fought for the control of Ankara's metropolitan center. After 1980 coup d'état, the street politics was rapidly vanished from Turkish scene alongside with the reappropriation of frequent protest zones. During 90's the square repopulated with activists who took advantage from weak state However, AKP's strict policies of creating an urban public space devoid of political content affected the area. (Batuman 2013a: 84).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Democratic Party (DP) was overthrown by 1960 military coup d'état; three ministers of the government including Prime Minister Adnan Menderes were executed. Justice Party led by Süleyman Demirel appeared as a predecessor of DP who served as the 9th President of Turkey in between 1993-2000.

⁵⁵ For instance, AKP's meetings against the protesters (entitled "Respect to the National Will Rallies") occurred in Kazlıçeşme (Istanbul) and Sincan (Ankara). These locations are

Nevertheless, the protests at Kızılay continued but they were mainly occurred at the vehicle-free streets of Kızılay but not at the square.

The streets of Kızılay staged an example of protest encampment during TEKEL Resistance on December 2009. As a reminder of class struggle (Ozugurlu, 2011), the TEKEL workers protested the closing down of the previously state-owned company that is gradually privatized and more than 18,000 employers fired. However, the movement did not target the Kızılay Square. Instead, they raised their tents nearby Tuna, İnkılâp and Bayındır streets which are mainly pedestrian

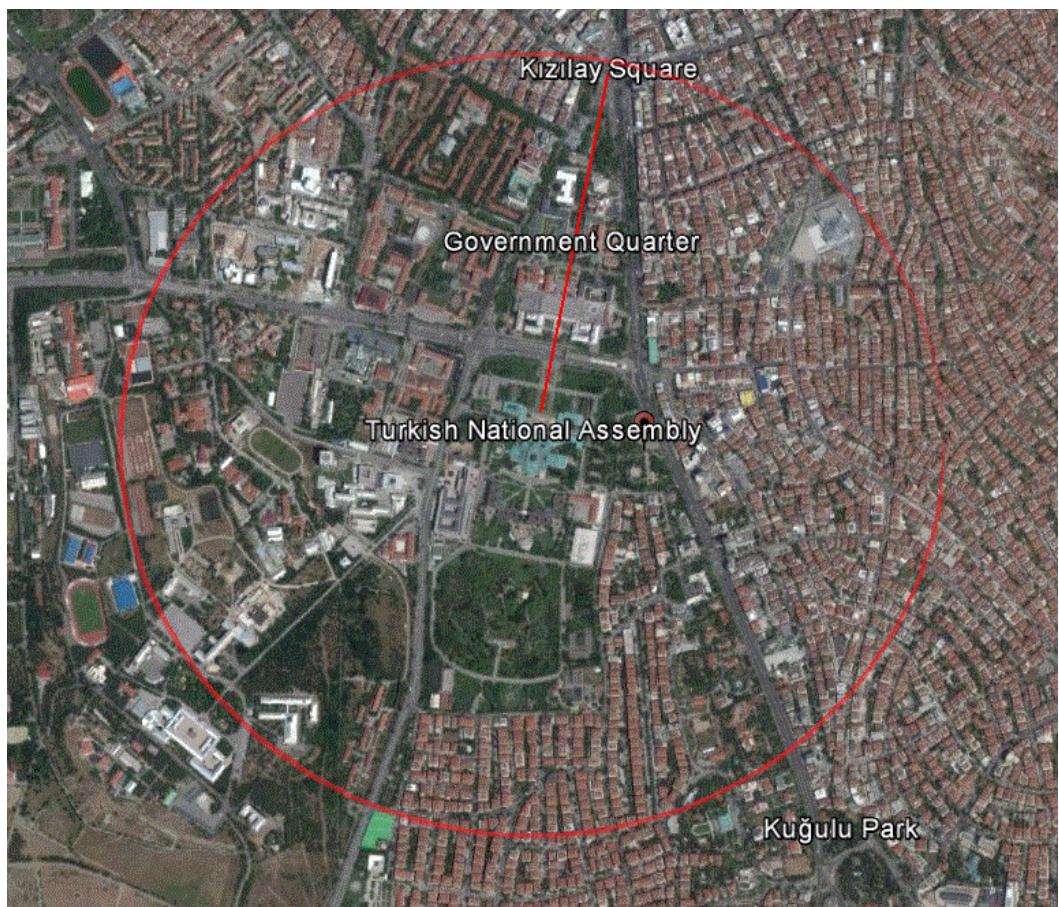


Figure 5. Bird-eye view of Kuğulu Park and Kızılay Square together. The circle represents one km radius around TBMM. Image: Google Earth.

kilometers far from city center.

zones (Batuman 2013a: 87-88). The encampment and the solidarity practices (i.e. sharing food and shelter with strangers) inspired the occupy style Gezi protesters not at Kızılay but at Kuğulu Park which I will describe and discuss in the next chapter. The physical structure of Kızılay Square is not entirely inappropriate for an establishment of a tent-city given that Güvenpark is large enough to sustain such encampment. However, its proximity to the Government Quarter contains constant risk of police intervention as well as being in the one kilometer radius of National Assembly.

Despite these drawbacks, the protesters were able to temporarily occupy the square, and especially during first day, police was compelled to retreat but never entirely removed and functioned as the outside motivation for people to establish a solidaristic identity. However, this advancement also resulted in the death of a protester, which further caused place-making performances that marks and embeds meaning to the place. The arguments in the next sections will detail these occurrences in terms of events, place-making repertoires and identity dynamic relying on my interviews with the protesters, online newspaper articles and video footage on YouTube referred in the footnotes as V1, V2.

3.2 Kızılay Square During Occupy Gezi Movement

Although the first gathering was at Kuğulu Park, the protests did not contain there and immediately targeted towards the city center. There are a number of motivations appeared in the interviews for the protesters to gather in Kızılay Square. First of all, Kızılay was considered as an essential direction for the movement with its centrality. This centrality refers to the city-center as well as its proximity to the important buildings such as Prime Minister's Office. For example, Serdar, a young protester who was active in throughout the movement, indicated that the Government Quarter provided a 'target' for the movement which is

significantly lacking in other parts⁵⁶. Physical presence of state institutions provided a tangible target for the protesters to reflect their grievances. The interviewees frequently mentioned the square's central position thinking that its occupation will empower the protests. By occupying the center of the city, the movement became visible to a wider public since these locations are already crowded in everyday life. Secondly, similar to Said's account on Tahrir during the Arab Spring⁵⁷, Kızılay Square was framed as a natural direction for the movement that indicated a bandwagon effect. For example, Mustafa, a young and inexperienced protester before Gezi, tells his motivations to go to the square as:

Kızılay was the place of protest for syndicates and numerous other organizations before; it is a huge area after all. Honestly, I didn't ask why, it was predetermined. The biggest crowd was there and I wanted to go to the most populated place. It was more logical to concentrate in a single location and make more noise than being scattered in tiny little pieces.

The predetermination mentioned above is the 'calls for protest' coming from various leftist organizations. Without being exact in sources, the interviewees with leftist background were talking about these calls. So it is safe to say that the calls for protest to Kızılay created a bandwagon effect that aggregated people to the place. Thirdly, political meetings were banned in the square for more than fifty years. The occupation of the place represents a rupture point for the opposition in Turkey to retrieve its self-esteem since only with large numbers; the protesters are able to demonstrate against police oppression in the square. This reflects a double bind rooted in the material space: the place with its large and wide physical space

⁵⁶ Especially in his comparison with Kuğulu Park which I will discuss in the fourth chapter. Having a target for the movement is important as the resistance will not become resistance for the sake of resistance. See: Bonefeld 2012

⁵⁷ Said concludes after his interviews with protesters "I asked them all the same question: why did you go to Tahrir Square? The answer, again and again, was that when the protests began in January 2011, they just knew to head there; Tahrir was simply understood as where the revolution would take place, where the protesters knew the action would be." (2015: 348)

allows the protesters to gather there as thousands, but at the same time, if the numbers are not that high, the police will disperse the protesters with relative ease. The words of Filiz, a young protester living in Batıkkent, summarized her feelings of being at the square:

It felt good to be at Kızılay since everybody goes there, it is a central place. It is important to organize such grand scale protests in the center. For a long time Kızılay was forbidden, naturally it is important to enclose the center. Yet, we return from there at the evening to Batıkkent, it is also important to protest there since lots of people were hesitating to go to Kızılay, the elders etc.

Again, Filiz's words reminds us the movement at the urban scale⁵⁸ that even though the protesters aimed at occupying the square, the protest was not devoid of movement as its dynamism targeting at mobilizing the maximum number of citizens who may not be able to attend at the events in a particular location. In this case, the mobility was directed backwards to the neighborhoods. Yet, the initial occupation was a result of the mobility from neighborhoods. Therefore, the example of Kızılay Square reflects the coexistence of occupy and movement *par excellence*.

With high participation on the first day of June that thousands of protesters repelled police out of the square after extremely violent clashes (the only occasion of a protester shot by a police with gun which I will detail below)⁵⁹, the long suspension of demonstrating at the capital city's center was surmounted and temporarily a counter-space was established. The marches from neighborhoods, in a way, snowballed towards the Kızılay Square as people became part of the crowd

⁵⁸ See: Chapter 5.

⁵⁹ According to Ankara Medical Chamber (ATO), announced that on 1st of June there were 414 people treated in hospitals and nearby infirmaries, 15 of them were serious injuries and 30 of them were police officers.

Source: 1 Haziran Cumartesi Güvenpark ve Kızılay Meydanı Eyleminin CAN BİLANÇOSU. (2013, June 2). *Ankara Tabipler Odası*. Retrieved June 22, 2016, from <http://ato.org.tr/basin-aciklamalari/detay/296>

as individuals as well as groups along the way. For example, Mahmut a middle-aged worker who was already active in street politics before Gezi, tells that a march started from Tuzluçayır with only around 200-300 people. As it got closer to Kızılay Square from eastern-side (on Ziya Gökalp Street), their numbers swelled up around 2000. This reflects a significant character of the marches during Gezi that mobility resulted in immobility, marches transformed into occupations and occupations transformed into marches in other places.

On the other hand, it was quite an unusual scene for the protesters that the police compelled to retreat as the mass was determined to advance. It was a memorable experience reported in the words of Mahmut:

People have always been afraid of the State. That day as we marched we had two to three thousands of people. Against the police pressure with tear-gas, people did not flee as they saw the police and marched forward, showed that they are not afraid. That was a memory from Gezi... it was beautiful scene, to see the police retreat.

Mahmut's account shows us that this event at the square reflects a significant milestone for the protesters, a long awaited 'moment' of triumph against the state.

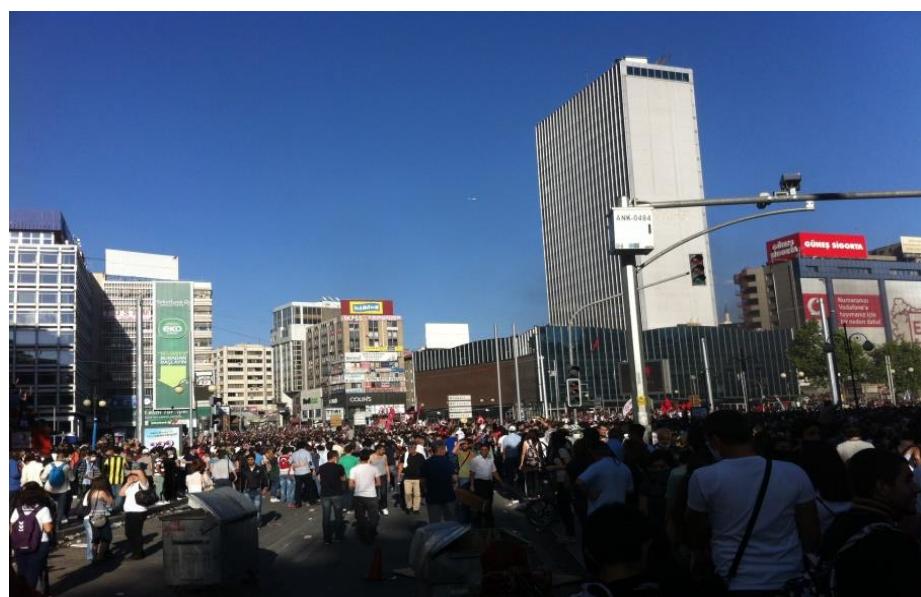


Figure 6. Protesters arriving at Kızılay Square after hours long skirmishes on 1 June. Photo: Gökhan Şensoñmez

At that specific moment, a unique experience of place emerged through collective efforts of the protesters. After police completely retreated to the Government Quarter, people arrived to Kızılay Square from all four directions and met at the center. This meeting is important since the square has become a Lefebvrian counter-space where a temporary autonomous zone is detached from State's sovereignty, besides it was only meters far from the heart of institutional politics. On that day protesters occupied the square entirely and did not allow any vehicle traffic. For almost 24 hours, the protesters roamed the square and neighboring streets by yelling aggressive slogans.⁶⁰

In contrast with Taksim Square which sustained its autonomous status for about



Figure 7. The bird-eye view of Kızılay Square and important locations during first days of the second episode of Occupy Gezi Movement. Image: Google Earth.

⁶⁰ See: V1, V2, V4, V10, V14.

two weeks, the occupation of Kızılay was short-termed. Even if police temporally retreated from the square; they advanced in the sunset to retake the square from protesters, except 1st of June. On the second day, the police sustained a buffer zone between protesters and the State buildings and observed the moves of the protesters with a helicopter⁶¹. They were positioned between the square and the government quarter and did not advance towards the protesters on day-time. Embracing a defensive position the police repelled the protesters with tear-gas as they approach near the Government Quarter. Güvenpark and the Meşrutiyet Street's intersection point with Atatürk Boulevard were borders between protesters and police⁶².

To a certain hour, police held its defensive stance and gas canisters were only used to stop the progression of protesters. Towards the sunset, the scene was changed as the police advanced to the square with TOMA's and a randomly targeted bombardment of gas canisters. When the crowd in square dissolved and regrouped around, the streets of Kızılay became new and temporary battlegrounds. Police extended their barricades towards the entrances in the following days of Ziya Gökalp Street and Meşrutiyet Street to prevent demonstrations at Kızılay Square⁶³. On Monday the 3rd, and the days following it the numbers of the protesters gradually dwindled in the square. As the high-school and university students organized marches⁶⁴, the labor unions declared strike⁶⁵, the protests around the square continued. Yet, the police established control over the square, reopened it to vehicle traffic and did not let any occupation to take place by barricading the

⁶¹ See: V4, V11.

⁶² See: V3, V15,

⁶³ See: V16

⁶⁴ Source: Ankara yine karıştı. (2013, June 3). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 23, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara-yine-karisti-23426620>

⁶⁵ Source: Sendikalardan 'Gezi' grevi. (2013, June 5). *NTV*. Retrieved June 23, 2016, from <http://www.ntv.com.tr/ekonomi/sendikalardan-gezi-grevi,-Eeo9MMmUkCW0BeY7Cj13g>

entrances from boulevards⁶⁶. In the next section, I will analyze the moments of protest performances and place-making repertoires during the temporal demonstrations at the square.

3.3 Protest Performances and Place-Making in the Square

The performances affect and affected by the material components of space. In this section I will describe notable performances and their relationship with the material aspect of space. If I am to refer a certain meaning embedded to the alterations on space, not as mere results of the performances (i.e. shattered glasses that indicate violent actions, but not the motivations or provocations towards that violence), I will call it ‘place-making’ since it reflects a ‘moment’ of meaning attribution rather than a parcel on a bigger place (i.e. Ethem’s representative grave at the square or the damaging of the elevator for disabled citizens as an outburst of anger).

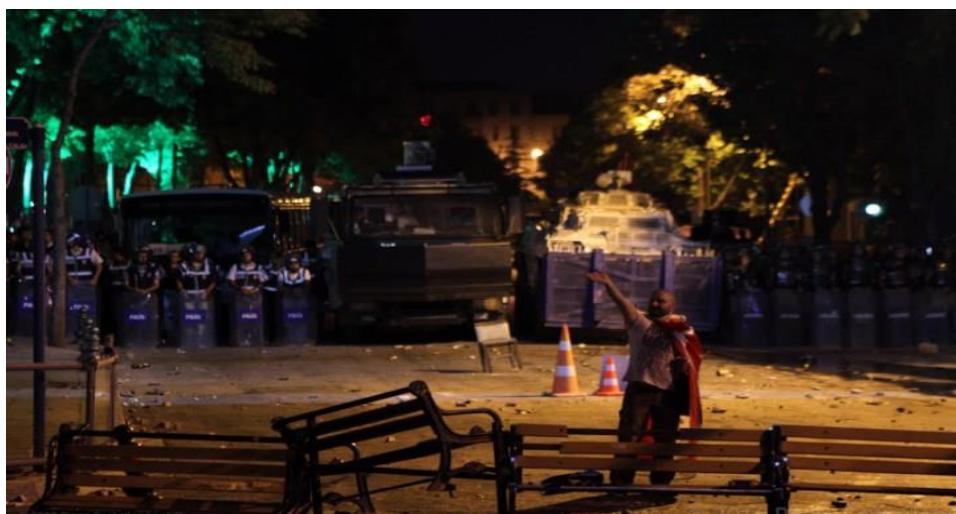


Figure 8. Police barricade in front of the Government Quarter. 1 June 2013. Photo: Piero Castellano.

⁶⁶ Source: Ankara savaşı: 170 yaralı. (2013, June 3). Hurriyet. Retrieved June 23, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara-savasi-170-yarali-23429747>

Also see: V7, V16, V17

The repertoire of the protesters at the square projected different meanings to the place that their coexistence transcended any totalizing claims. For example, the protesters performed dances (including a traditional form: halay) reflecting a celebration of being in that place. People danced at the center of the square, while the tear-gas thrown towards the protesters at the frontier⁶⁷. Now, is this place a peaceful or a violent one? My answer is that the multiplicity of the performances contributed to the ‘moments’ of place which is not necessarily consistent. A place can reflect tranquility with people dancing and cheering, a momentary experience of place shared by a portion of the protesters at the square, and it can be violent with people physically struggling with each other and damaging their physical environment. Yet, a place can be both peaceful and violent and therefore neither of them, with the simultaneous coexistence of a collection of performances, cancelling the totalizing claims on it.

A notable performance was added to that collection as people made noise by



Figure 9. People singing and dancing while at the the frontier (middle-left side) the tear-gas is visible. 2 June 2013. Photo: Gökhan Şensönmez.

⁶⁷ See: Figure 9.

hitting to the metals which plenty of them was embedded into the physical environment. One could hear the clinking sound all around the Kızılay Square⁶⁸ as a manner of protest without words. By hitting a stone to the metal barriers, the protesters reflected an unspoken, pure reflection of anger and discontent. The square imbued with the meaning of visibility and bodily presence regardless of the political and ideological features of the protest. People outraged by the state occupied the central square of the capital and stood there for hours. The important point in this performance is not only its shape, but also its objects: the barriers which were placed at the square to delimit people's movement, to direct them to a direction desired by who Lefebvre calls 'urban planners, subdividers'. People not only changed the spatial practice, but also actively rose against the provisions on the place.

In previous chapters, I have frequently indicated the gentrifying attitude towards Gezi in the literature. The idea here is not producing a meta-narrative of Gezi as peaceful or violent but to understand the dynamics of the movement. Of course, the repertoire of the protesters contained violent actions that left material traces behind. According to the Metropolitan Municipality (which is in no way of a perfect source of information), 16 municipality buses, bus stops, sidewalks, subway entrances, elevators for disabled individuals, six fruit juice trucks were harmed during the first days of the protests in and around the square.⁶⁹ During the interviews, people told about some of these events. For example, Mustafa recalled the memory of children grabbing stones on the ground and smashing the elevator designed for disabled people. Semih told me about the Ankaragücü supporters breaking faucets at Kızılay, and using them to smash bus stops:

I was at Kızılay with a Göztepe scarf (a football team of the city of Izmir), a group of Ankaragücü (a football team of Ankara)

⁶⁸ See :V1, V2, V10, V13

⁶⁹ Source: Eylemin iki yüzü. (2013, June 5). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 23, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/eylemin-iki-yuzu-23420606>

supporters broken the faucets and with them they were damaging to the bus stops. I tried to stay away from them but they approached at me and took my scarf while uttering insults.

Semih left there without further physical contact as another fan group of Karşıyakaspor arrived and saved him⁷⁰. Moreover, Nilay mentioned the burning of buses, Özgür mentioned the burning of cars on Meşrutiyet Street, Nuray told about her memory on the people smashing billboards and bus stops, Filiz memorized the shattering of shop windows.

An important commonality between the mentioned acts is that they were not directed towards a target while the ones having a target are perceived as acceptable. In other words, the smashing of shop windows and burning of vehicles were only expressions of anger, often attributed with the expression: ‘unnecessary’. According to the interviewees these acts certainly harms the ‘rightfulness’ of the protests. Yet, certain acts that bear necessity, even though they damage public property, were embraced by the protesters. For example, none of the interviewees complained about the injuries done to public property caused by detaching stones from the sidewalks, or street furniture dragged to strengthen the barricade.

Furthermore, these actions cannot be understood by merely looking at the protesters where the police was an important actor at that place. In fact, protesters’ violent performances were fueled by police’s aggression and extreme use of tear-gas and water-canons. Whenever the police shot gas-canisters randomly upon the crowd, they reacted with stones and, collective and individual cursing⁷¹. Several municipality transportation buses harmed alongside with some people damaging random property.

⁷⁰ His story is quite interesting since Karşıyakaspor and Göztepe are the greatest rivals at İzmir and I think that the unnecessary aggressiveness of Ankaragücü supporters played a certain role on their aid to Semih. Yet this does not prove that being an Ankaragücü supporter breeds aggressive performances.

⁷¹ See: V6, V7, V12, V13

The square staged rare examples of minor lootings in the whole Occupy Gezi Movement. The protesters did not sack banks or shops and no money was stolen, though occasionally the available goods were consumed. For example, one of the municipality's fruit trucks is plundered as the protesters ate the oranges as Serdar reported:

I couldn't understand why they destroyed the poor orange juicer (laughs). A guy put the oranges in front of us, like go ahead guys eat it. You can eat the oranges but it was better if we didn't break the juicer.⁷²

Another example was that an ice-cream fridge was cracked open and suddenly a group emerged in the square with ice-creams in hand. As Yaşar, a middle-aged student told me the story as:

When I participate to a protest, I will be selective about the public property. For instance, I won't sack a store. These kind of things happened at Kızılay. People sacked the ice-cream fridges, these were not seen but it happened. I recall that when we went there at Saturday (1st of June) everyone around me had an ice-cream in hand. They have cracked the fridge open (laughs).

Clearly, the performance of looting is devoid of any profit-motive. Small scale plunders were not directed towards looting of money or any sort of non-tangible asset but the loots were used and consumed immediately. Remembering what Kuymulu argued about the Gezi Park, the protesters were interested in the use-value of these commodities, rather than exchange-value. Also, it is significant to note that the interviewees were reporting these incidents with joviality, even though their opinions are against such actions.

On the other hand, the interviewees reflected a clear rationale on the destruction of public property that excludes the irrational acts. The criminal status of such acts caused difficulties of reaching out to such persons for interviews. The destructive character only appears as a third party in the interviews which results in a partial

⁷² See: V10

representation throughout this section. Certainly, the actors of such performances also have certain motivations; among the interviewees, only Nuray speculated about these motivations, which she related with poverty.

The performances on the square not only destroyed the material constructs, but also appropriated them and built new ones whenever necessary. Even though, the square was devoid of any occupy structures such as tents and kitchens, there were ways in which the protesters engaged in making of places. For example, a signboard at the square was overwritten as ‘Taksim’ (Batuman 2015a), emphasizing the connection between Kızılay and the initial protest zone, symbolizing Kızılay’s support to Gezi Park, barricades constructed and lit while the broad roads of Kızılay Square were reclaimed by the pedestrians⁷³, even the idle overpasses in the streets around the square were used by the ones eager to look at the crowd. Furthermore, with regard to Sewell’s argument on performances that transform spatial constraints to advantages,⁷⁴ protesters were able to see movements of riot police by standing on these overpass bridges that are built to force them to climb up steep stairs just to cross a ten meter wide street.

Around the square, certain buildings were appropriated as infirmaries such as, on Yüksel Street, Mülkiyeliler Derneği was a fussy place during the days of clashes, it was transformed to an infirmary and it is proximate to zone between protesters and the police at the square. A car crashed through the protesters and escaped, leaving three people severely wounded behind.⁷⁵ There were so many injuries during the protests⁷⁶ that Chamber of Architects’ flat also became an infirmary on 2 June. The

⁷³ See: V1, V4, V5, V6, V10, V11

⁷⁴ See: V11

⁷⁵ Source: 3 eylemci aracın altında kaldı! (2013, June 2). *Milliyet*. Retrieved May 29, 2016, from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/3-eylemci-aracin-altinda-kaldi-/gundem/detay/1717679/default.htm>

⁷⁶ According to the report published by Turkish Chamber of Medics on 7 June, the total number of injured people who went to a hospital was 1155.

Source: Başkent Ankara Günlerdir Direniyor. (2013, June 10). *Ankara Tabipler Odası*.

places appropriated around the square to provide medical care with the help of voluntary doctors. Then, the protests generated an unusual meeting place for the doctors and their patients.

Alongside with infirmaries, the cafes around the square became temporary shelters for the protesters after police interventions. Nuray, a middle aged protester who lives in Tuzluçayır, told her story of taking shelter in a café near Olgunlar Street, her memory was without any negative treatment. Similarly, Elif, a university student, told in the interview on the manners of the shop owners and workers around Kızılay:

When the barricades were setting up, incidentally, the waiters of Mülkiyeliler Derneği ripped the door off and added it to the barricade. I was locked in Leman Kültür (a café on Konur Street). They set the lights off, it was my first day and I was just eating there. Suddenly they (police) started to take everybody they found on the street. The owner of the café hid us in and closed the shutter... We were afraid... for the first time I've faced with the state violence. I was so afraid that I erased everybody from my phone... That day I survived because of the shop owners.

On the contrary, Nilay told her memory of unpleasant treatment by the shop owners:

We escaped to a café on Konur Street. The owner was like... ‘Leave as soon as possible’. He told us: “Okay, be calm friends, I looked outside and saw nobody, let’s go downstairs altogether”. We went down and the plastic bullets and gas canisters were fizzing in the air.

These temporary shelters were indeed risky places to hide and the treatment of the owners was different from each other that protesters occasionally faced with unwelcoming attitude. Thus, not only the square itself, but the buildings around it were appropriated to serve different purposes directly as a result of police violence. Temporarily, some became places for hiding; some became places of aid and medical treatment. Protesting at the square transformed the peripheries of the

Retrieved June 23, 2016, from <http://ato.org.tr/basin-aciklamalari/detay/299>

square.

Overall, the alterations on the physical space were limited to the temporary reappropriation of the square as the protest zone, smaller performances that resulted in construction of barricades and damaging the public property in and around the square and again temporary reappropriation of the cafes and association buildings as shelters and infirmaries. Moreover, a clear place-making performance was at stage at the location of Ethem Sarısülük's death that I will describe in the last section of this chapter since it involves a clear example of identity suspension as well.

Hitherto, the protest performances were a combination of violence and peacefulness; the place-making repertoires were mostly results of necessity rather than a well-considered exposition of the movement that significantly contrasts the place-making at Gezi Park. As I argued, the place-making was not only about producing new physical constructs, but changing the meaning of the space that includes destructive elements. The destructive repertoires included the reflections of anger that led to unnecessary damage on public property, but also the practical appropriations in construction of barricades.

3.4 Identity Dynamic at the Square

The identity formation is an essential component of the protest movements. For the case of Kızılay Square, there are two main branches that affected the identities produced through collective action: the spontaneous coexistence that led to a practical alliance, and limited non-identification through negotiation that led to practical anonymity. The different groups emerged into the square, merged into each other in the process of protests, shared common experiences and involved into place-making that resulted from necessity (barricades, infirmaries), or outbursts of anger and search for relief (destruction and damage of property), or displays of solidarity (collective struggle against the police) and anonymous collectivity (removal of banners). Significantly, the constant threat of police

intervention pushed the people to leave aside their previous identities and conflicts inherent to these identities, and produced an anonymous solidaristic collective identity.

As I put it above, the cracking noise in the square was a constant exposition of anger and discontent. On the other hand, the square was not devoid of any vocalized resistance. People cheered slogans old and new such as “shoulder to shoulder against fascism!”, “revolt, revolution, freedom!”, “everywhere is Taksim, everywhere is resistance!”, “we will achieve by resisting!”, “look Tayyip, count how many we are!”, “Jump! Jump! Who one does not jump is Tayyip!”, “government resign!”⁷⁷ These slogans were indicating the articulation of different targets of grievances but also embracement of an encompassing rhetoric. The struggle against fascism, and utterances on revolt and revolution were essentially rooted in leftist discourse, but also people wanted the government to resign, and immediately targeted the Prime Minister. The slogan wants everybody jumping is rooted in football and stadium culture.⁷⁸ The significant feature of these performances is that there was no analytical separation between people chanting this or that specific slogan such as ‘leftists chanted for revolution while secular-Kemalists demanded Prime Minister’s resignation’. As it can be seen in the video footage referred above, the slogans were shouted in turn and each drew similar attention by the protesters.

The banners of mainstream CHP, leftist parties of ÖDP (Freedom and Solidarity Party) and its youth organization Gençlik Muhalefeti (Youth Opposition), TKP (Turkish Communist Party), SYKP (Socialist Refoundation Party), HKP (People’s Liberation Party), SDP (Socialist Democracy Party), leftist organizations of Kaldıraç, Özgür Lise, Partizan, Halkevleri, SGDF (Federation of Socialist Youth Associations), SDH (Permanent Revolution Movement), worker unions of DİSK

⁷⁷ See :V1, V2, V3, V4, V7, V10, V14, V15, V16, V17

⁷⁸ The phrase originally refers to a homophobic content frequently chanted during football games as “jump, jump, the one does not jump is gay”.

(Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) and KESK (Confederation of Public Workers' Unions), TTB (Turkish Medical Association), Kemalist nationalist İP (Worker's Party), ADD (Atatürkist Thought Association), TGB (Youth Union of Turkey), nationalist MHP⁷⁹ (Nationalist Action Party), extreme nationalist HEPAR (Rights and Equality Party) and Gökbörüler⁸⁰, were visible in and around the square. To be clear, these banners and names of the organizations do not enclose any possibility of presence of any other group or individual supporting some other specific ideology. Furthermore, banners and categories derived from them can only capture a static state of being. Only, they allow us to observe that numerous leftist organizations and some extreme right-wing organizations were present together which marks the Kızılay Square as a strange place of encounter. Especially several interviewees were surprised to see people making 'bozkurt' symbol⁸¹ with their hands and carrying material to the barricade at the same time. It was an absolutely novel image for those who were directly experienced or told of the civil war between the leftists and right-wing nationalists during 70s. For example Nilay, a middle-aged protester who was active in the leftist organizations during her years at college, described her experience of the encounter:

⁷⁹ MHP initially supported the protests with a cautious manner against PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party who were fighting with the Turkish State for about 40 years) although they were not represented officially. Yet as the Kurdish nationalists showed their presence, MHP immediately reacted against. As a result it is not represented with flags and banners. The nationalist banners and hand signs (see next footnote) were mainly belonging to extremist nationalist groups such as 'Gökbörüler' with flags of wolf figure on turquoise.

Source: Devlet Bahçeli'den Gezi Parkı açıklaması. (2013, June 7). *Haberturk*. Retrieved May 27, 2016, from <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/850763-devlet-bahceliden-gezi-parki-aciklamasi>

⁸⁰ These groups were either mentioned by the interviewees or visible in the video footages.

See: V1, V3, V10, V14

⁸¹ The hand sign refers to the image of a wolf which was embraced by Turkish Idealist's (as known as Ülküüler or Grey Wolves) (Østergaard-Nielsen 2003: 52) shared by the idealists and other extreme nationalist groups.

I saw the MHP supporters. We all stunned, frankly not knowing what to do. When I was a student, I was affiliated with the left and all of our lives we did not talk with these people. We didn't even say hi to each other, in the end, they were our enemy... The young ones were carrying a trash can to the barricade with their hand signs, they wrote on the can 'ccc'⁸² (laughs). It was quite extraordinary.

This extraordinary encounter did not cause physical confrontation besides the surprising effect. On the contrary, it supported a feeling of solidarity, hope and to some extent a self-criticism in words of Nuray who was also active in the left:

When I heard MHP supporters were clashing with police at Sıhhiye, I couldn't believe it. In fact this is not a good thing (for me). That is my self-criticism. This is not my country alone and those people were hurt too.

It can be argued that, temporarily the old political categories were abolished at the square not only for those who fit there categories but also the non-aligned citizens. Mustafa, a young protester without a political organization background indicated the importance of this coexistence as:

There were banners before they banned it. I've seen the supporters of MHP, CHP, TKP, and HDP (Peoples' Democratic Party)⁸³ together. I said these were the people shooting each other in streets in between 70-80. It was the ideologies that caused our mothers and fathers say "we went through hard times" and they came together for the same cause.

These accounts prove that the old political categories were not functional to describe any sort of action, for example it cannot be argued that those who were clashing with the police or constructing the barricades were only leftists, or right-wing extremists. This argument will exclude people who put their bodies in the square and shared a common experience. As it was discussed in the Chapter 1, the protests went along with a learning process on how to protest. The decision on the

⁸² Three crescents are the symbol of MHP.

⁸³ During Occupy Gezi Movement, the name of the party at the parliament was BDP (Peace and Democracy Party) but it is transformed into HDP in 2014 (however it is founded in 2012). Sometimes the interviewees did not consider this transformation.

removal of banners was a perfect example on people's effort to sustain the solidarity and the practical abolishment of the exposition of established identities that reminds of the conflictual history between different groups. Serdar, a protester who is active in the movement along with his leftist organization, explains the logic behind the decision which he became part of:

Banner is a boundary. It means that we are a hundred people at the protest with a hundred banners. But our cause is to start the protest with a hundred but finish with three hundred people. We need to discuss the meaning of the banner. Will people say "wow, look at its beauty?" The abolishment of banners is the abolishment of boundaries.

What Serdar is indicating is that the banners of certain groups expels the others and might discourage them to further participate in protests. For example, Eray, a young idealist and a member of MHP put his reaction to the dominating presence of leftist organizations:

I don't have a problem with EMEP so to speak but if they are raising banners and attempt to claim the protests, there I have a problem. I am not one of yours, and you are not one of mine. We are not arguing the same things. You are trying to gain benefit out of this. If I wasn't trying to make idealist propaganda, you shouldn't either.

Furthermore, as Eken (2014) put it for Taksim Commune, the identities determined outside were not functional within the space of Kızılay Square which was under constant police threat and violence. Furthermore, the display of those identities was to some extent detrimental to the unanimous identity produced during the protests. With these kinds of arguments, the enabling effects of a place should not be neglected. Since, the people at the square were being posed a constant threat of police violence, the segregations based on identities lost their effect. In other words, the threat of police violence brought them together and nullified the past categorical distinctions in practice. For example, Mert who is active in a leftist organization recalls his encounter with the MHP supporters:

They were friends of my friend and they had a great enmity against the police. On the police intervention on 1st of June at Güvenpark, they were cursing the police... they clashed, I saw it myself. When I talked with them, there was an extreme hatred against the government. It was like they put their hostility against us aside.

The moment of intervention does not allow any preexisting category to appear. Every ideology, class, profession, political party, gender and sexual preference vanishes during the heard-like escape from tear-gas. The survival instincts were accompanied not only by a feeling of solidarity but also the acts of solidarity such as people lifting the fallen ones to prevent possible stampedes. By being subject to a kind of violence that is not selective; the protesters momentarily forgot about the previous identities and produced an unstable, temporary, yet solidaristic identity based on common experience.

Outstandingly, when mentioning about an undesirable act, the protesters were quick to identify its subject with something that can be externalized from the movement, such as people from a distant-unknown neighborhood (for Özgür, people coming from Sincan), fans of a certain football club (for Semih, quoted above, Ankaragücü supporters), provocateurs (for Elif), Melih Gökçek's agents (for Serdar), or undercover policemen (for Elif and Semih). Regardless of exactly who they were, the reactions of the protesters appeared during the interviews were in the form of 'blaming the other'. However, there is no evidence that these people were strictly excluded from the solidaristic identity. These individual accounts are based on either their partial identification of a larger collectivity (such as people from Sincan or Ankaragücü supporters) or suspicions that identify the subjects of unwanted behavior (Melih Gökçek's agents, provocateurs, or undercover policemen). Clearly, there was no exclusion imposed towards an identity, there was no reaction to Ankaragücü supporters or people coming from neighborhoods distant from the center.

Moreover, Nuray described the destructive characters at the square as "masked young fellas". Here, the philosophy of masking I mentioned in the first chapter

was not relevant to the carnivalesque atmosphere, but clearly to an anonymous subject of destruction in a violent atmosphere. The outburst of anger was a certain motivation behind these actions that contradicted the purposeful place-making of the protesters.⁸⁴ However, this anger is tied to the destructive character acting on an emotion basis rather than a rationale that resulted in contradicting opinions on this sort of place-making. For example, Mert stated that:

I observed the destruction of several bus stops. For my opinion, I do not think it was right. Why are you attacking to an inanimate object? You can reflect your anger in a different way. Damaging the environment both harms our just cause and it looks gross.

Özgür reported his quarrel with a person damaging the bus stop:

I asked him why you are breaking the glass of the bus stop. Why? They were not the guys breaking things to make a barricade. I don't want to stereotype people but you know people at Sincan, "why you look at me" attitude... they were some of them.

Yet, Nuray reflects a different gaze on the destructive character she encountered with:

These were teenage children, and I understood their reaction. Because they are poor, this is what I was going to say in the first place. Why would a person vandalize? Because they are ambitious, they can't manage their anger... this is a way of releasing the tension.

The existence of destructive performances in the square caused different reflections upon the identities and motivations of the subjects of these actions. As I put it above, although they participated a great portion of place-making performances, these performances were excluded from the solidaristic identity. Nuray's speculation that reflects on these people as victims of poverty could only be one of the possible motivations behind destructive acts. What can be derived from this argument is not who these people are and what their motivations might

⁸⁴ None of my interviewees participated in such actions that my arguments on the character depends on the observations of the protesters.

be, but essentially the attempts to express a peaceful community that engages in destructive acts only rightfully. If police was throwing tear-gas randomly, the idea here is that the protesters can respond proportionally by throwing stones. Occasionally, people reacted to such destructive acts that they found provoking the police to further implement violence on the protesters. For example, as some people threw stones at the police standing in front of the protesters, people reacted with anger and curses: “those, who are not one of us, go away!”⁸⁵ This ‘us’ is indeed not rigidly defined and forged as an identity, but some of its features appeared momentarily as excluding certain performances, in this example it was unnecessary aggression that may legitimize a more violent response, which will eventually victimize the people who did not take part in it. Furthermore, as Mert stated above, these destructive acts, especially as imposed upon material environment, displayed a negative image of the protests. Again occasionally, people shouted “do not harm the property”⁸⁶ perhaps knowing that the government might use these acts to manipulate public opinion against the protests as it was done in the Mayor’s Vandalism Museum.⁸⁷

The identities are transformed during the protest with collective experience of the place and joint practices of place-making. The existence of police violence acted as a catalyst between people coming from opposite fringes of the political spectrum and with the abolishment of banners and collective struggle against police constituted a solidaristic identity only in a way of suspending the display of the previously established identities. Especially, the interviewees coming from a leftist background were surprised by their being togetherness with the people supporting right-wing politics and approached them with caution. However, solidarity is limited to the purposeful place-making while the angry destruction resulted in exclusion from the solidarity, leaving a singular minority at the place.

⁸⁵ See: V7

⁸⁶ See: V6

⁸⁷ See: the next footnote.

The central square of the city became a stage that protesters consciously suspended the display of their identities that introduced the momentary meaning of solidarity into the place. Finally, the martyr of the square, Ethem Sarısülük forged the last chain to the collective solidarity.

3.5 On Ethem

I want to reserve the final part of this chapter for a special emphasis on Ethem Sarısülük since his death triggered a chain of spatio-temporal events in the square that covers the main topics discussed in this chapter, namely the place-making repertoires, temporary identities produced and motivations beneath place selection for protest. Ethem Sarısülük was shot in the 1st of June at the square's southwestern edge. The exact location of the incident was surrounded by the protesters with tapes, flowers, stones that resemble a grave. A message for the passengers of the imitated-grave said "Here, police shot a protester with a bullet". The epitaph did not indicate any name or category besides protester and police.

Ethem Sarısülük passed away on 14th of July after staying two weeks at coma. Ankara's Mayor Gökçek raised a banner where he was shot by a police officer saying "Dear Turkish Police, Ankara is proud of you".⁸⁸ Few days later, it was

⁸⁸ Source: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Melih Gökçek'ten teşekkür pankartı. (2013, June 14). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved May 26, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara-buyuksehir-belediye-baskani-melih-gokcektentesekkur-pankarti-23504987>

He also declared the construction of a 'vandalism museum' constituted by the damaged vehicles of municipality during Gezi protests.

Source: Ankara'ya vandalizm müzesi. (2013, July 13). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved May 26, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankaraya-vandalizm-muzesi-23718815>

During the local election campaign of 2014 a helicopter flew across Ankara, carrying a message from Gökçek: "we won't leave Ankara to Gezi supporters" alongside with his portrait.

Source: Ankara semalarında ilginç pankart. (2014, March 18). *Haberturk*. Retrieved May 26, 2016, from <http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/930837-ankara-semalarinda-ilginc-pankart>

covered by a stand in an unusual manner since the location of it is also on a crosswalk⁸⁹. A day later, the stand was removed. A struggle of place-making and on the meaning of place was in process on this specific location. It was an example of what Sidney Tarrow calls ‘mobilizing around death’ (2011: 45). Especially on such violent deaths, people react together on the basis of solidarity and grief. The incompatible part of Tarrow’s argument is that he expects some sort of a hesitation of police intervention on such occasions. On the day of Ethem Sarıslük’s funeral, 16th of July, which was planned to be at where he was shot, the police controlled the square where they did not let the crowd gather at that place. Even though it was populated as the first two days, the immediate intervention with tear-gas and water-canons prevented the meeting. Lastly on 25 July, people gathered to the place where he was shot, to honor his memory and to protest the releasing of the police officer who shot him.⁹⁰ Notably, people framed the specific location of Ethem Sarıslük’s death as a place for both protest and collective mourning. On the Batıkent side of the protests where his funeral march started but immediately was blocked by the police, an interesting slogan was chanted “Everywhere is Kızılay, everywhere is resistance” alongside with “Everywhere is Taksim, everywhere is resistance” that proves the protesters’ framing of Kızılay as equal, if not more significant than, with Taksim.

To conclude this chapter, it is significant that Kızılay Square continued being a protest place of Occupy Gezi Movement, even almost a year later in protests after Berkin Elvan’s death which will be detailed on the epilogue depending on my own experience. Yet, it is tough to say that it preserved the extraordinary atmosphere of first days. The police expelled from the square on these days, but unlike Taksim

⁸⁹ Source: Ethem Sarıslük'e büyük saygısızlık. (2013, June 20). *Sozcu*. Retrieved May 27, 2016, from <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2015/gundem/ethem-sarisuluke-buyuk-saygisizlik-864433/>

⁹⁰ Source: Ankara Ethem Sarıslük için Güven Park'ta. (2013, June 25). Radikal. Retrieved June 3, 2016, from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/ankara-ethem-sarisuluk-icin-guven-parkta-1139118/>

Square the threat of police intervention was never absent. This created and sustained the proliferation on previous identities, softened the edges and established solidarity based on survival at Kızılay. The place is also appropriated in accordance with the survival and sustainment at the place, the infirmaries and pepper gas went along with noise, dances and slogans. The scene of burning cars and buses added to the scene of burning tents at Gezi Park. Most importantly, it was an act of occupation in meters far from the heart of institutionalized politics and that provided an offensive target for the protesters similar to the Prime Minister's Office at Dolmabahçe, Istanbul.

By looking at Kızılay Square, five main arguments come forward about the movement beyond Gezi Park. First, it is pausible to argue that the occupy and the movement were following each other in the case of Kızılay as the marches end up with occupations of a place and vice-versa. The emphasis on the 'occupy' at Gezi Park drawn the image as if the protesters appeared at the park and stood there. With the case of Kızılay during Gezi, the movements through space were continuous and related to the mobilizations in other places. Kızılay was fruitful for that observation since its occupation, in contrast with Taksim Square, were temporary that enlightens the movements of the protesters with its constant transformation between a protest place and a state-controlled, protester-free place. Second, the place-making and temporary reappropriation was not only prominent in Gezi Park where protests at Kızılay Square resulted in the transformation of cafes and flats of organizations into infirmaries and shelters. Third, the encountering and peaceful coexistence of different established identities that were attributed to Gezi Park are also valid for Kızılay Square, but the encounter was without a physical conflict mainly because the presence of a common enemy constantly felt. Accordingly, the relative consideration of the performances and exposition of identities (in this case with relation to police presence and violence) were visible. Fourth, the existence of Government buildings was a certain factor embedded in the place and functioned as a target for the protesters. These physical

targets were rarely found in the larger movement, since as I have described the events in the introduction, Gezi Park was a target itself that its protection became one of the most important elements in the movement according to Taksim Solidarity's demands. Yet, this approach is indeed defensive and protective whereas the Kızılay case provided that the movement also included offensive acts towards important government buildings that were verbally targetted with slogans. Finally, the death of Ethem Sarısülük activate place-making performances, and infused meaning to the place which is contested and attempted to be removed by the authorities.

CHAPTER 4

KUĞULU PARK

On May 31 Friday, people from all around Ankara met at Kuğulu Park to protest the injustices done at Gezi Park, the burning of tents and police's brutal treatment. Yet, Kuğulu Park was not only the venue for the first meeting at Ankara, but also it was the place where the performances resembling Gezi Park's festivity took place in the following days. During the second episode of Occupy Gezi Movement, Kuğulu was the place of occupation where people settled the area, it was the place for Ankara's second experiment for the emerging occupy style struggle (first was at TEKEL resistance); it was an example of emulation of protest forms from Istanbul to the capital city and it was an example of movement's dynamic nature where days and evenings significantly differed from each other in terms of protest forms and identity formations. By merely bringing Kuğulu Park into the discussion one can prove the existence of similar forms of protest in other places than Gezi Park that articulated to the movement in the second episode. Including the further investigation on the relation between aspects of space and their effects on the protests and the effects of the protests on the material space, as well as place-making performances, I will contribute to discussion on the Gezi experience with this 'meeting place', and analyze the contention there in the form of becoming.

4.1 Physical Structure and Protest History

If one walks south from Kızılay Square on the Atatürk Boulevard, in around 15 minutes one will arrive at Kuğulu Park (*Park with Swans* in Turkish) on the left. The park named after the swans gifted by Municipality of Vienna, and it is a legally protected area for its natural properties. Although it was first appropriated in 1958 as a park, it only became popular during Vedat Dalokay's mayorship that

brought the swans from Vienna and renamed the near street after Tunalı Hilmi in 1964.⁹¹

The park is at the corner between the boulevard and Tunalı Hilmi Street which is populated with bars and cafes as well as small shops. The area is popular among university students as well as metropolitan middle-class by being one of the few urban shopping and entertainment areas around city center as opposed to the newly constructed suburban centers. The park includes the statue of Tunalı Hilmi, the statue of ‘kissers’, a cafeteria, a fountain and a pond for swans⁹². With benches and green-grass areas, the park provides a quite resting place in the middle of metropolitan noise. In 2009, a restaurant café opened within the Park, and some of its material space was commodified.

Unlike Kızılay Square, there is no legal restriction on protesting at Kuğulu Park, it is outside of 1 km radius of Grand National Assembly and certainly protesters do not block the passing of non-protesters and vehicles in a park structure. Even though, compared to the Kızılay Square, Kuğulu has a rather brief protest history. In 2006, the reconstruction at Atatürk Boulevard as part of a grand scale highway-ization of the city center threatened the park. This project aimed at uninterrupted vehicle traffic while interrupting most of the pedestrian paths. The tranquility of the park was intercepted by car noise and exhaust smoke. ⁹³ Kavaklıdere

⁹¹ Sources: Yeni Mezunlardan Kuğulu Park Projesi (2001). *Maydonose*. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from <http://www.bilkent.edu.tr/bilkent-tr/general/basin/bb-habers33.html>

Ankara'nın kalbinin attığı yer: TUNALI HİLMİ. (2004, February 13). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankaranin-kalbinin-attigi-yer-tunali-hilmi-202354>

⁹² Ironically, the swans were evacuated by Çankaya Municipality to protect them from tear-gas on 7 June to Ördekli Park (*Park with Ducks* in Turkish).

Source: Kuğulu Park'tan kaçan kuğular Ördekli Park'a sığındı. (2013, June 07). *Radikal*. Retrieved May 28, 2016, from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/kugulu-parktan-kacan-kugular-ordekli-parka-sigindi-1136659/>

⁹³ Source: Kuğulu Park Trafik Adası Olmasın! (2006, September). *TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Bülten*. Retrieved May 30, 2016. From <http://www.mimarlarodasiankara.org/dosya/bulten-42.pdf>

Foundation protested against the cutting of 50 year old trees along Atatürk Boulevard.⁹⁴ The local foundation treasures the park and the Kavaklıdere district. The park also staged protests about political issues such as people gathered in the park to protest Abdullah Gül's candidacy for president in 2007.⁹⁵ These protests were quite limited in comparison to Occupy Gezi Movement. Overall, it is still a relatively tranquil place for meeting, and also a place fit for relatively less crowded demonstrations - at least in comparison with Kızılay Square.

Hitherto I have summarized the physical space, the atmosphere and rather brief protest history of Kuğulu Park. Similar to the chapter on Kızılay Square, the discussions below depends on online newspaper articles, video footage uploaded to YouTube and referred as V1, V2 in the footnotes, and the data collected via semi-structured interviews conducted with 15 people. One significant lack of the interview data is that I was unable to reach to the people called tent-crew by other interviewees. I have invited ten people to interview, only two responded and those two did not show up the meetings, postponed the dates, and did not respond about the further plans on interview. Significantly, two of my interviewees are also dwell in the park during Occupy Gezi Movement, yet their relationship with the tent-crew did not endure in the aftermath of Gezi that they were unable to refer to any specific individual that I can contact with. I will discuss this issue and the reasons of this division in the identity section below. Next, I will provide the historical narration of the mobilization at Kuğulu Park.

4.2 Kuğulu Park During Occupy Gezi Movement

For four days, the park continued its spontaneous state of being a gathering place after the initial meeting on 31 May. Yet on 4th of June, the image changed where

⁹⁴ Source: Kavaklıderem'den Kuğulu protestosu. (2006, October 4). *Sabah*. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from <http://kavaklıderem.org.tr/icerik.php?no=155>

⁹⁵ Source: Kuğulu Park'ta protesto. (n.d.). *Milliyet*. Retrieved May 30, 2016, from <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/kugulu-park-ta-protesto/siyaset/haberdetayarsiv/27.04.2007/197549/default.htm>

with few tents and a library began to transform Kuğulu Park. The idea of building a library was inspired by Gezi Park as Veli, one of the founders of Kuğulu Library report. Initially, the area in front of the Kızılay AVM, later on Yüksel Street was chosen but when the organizers realized that there is another organization that aims to settle with tents at Kuğulu Park, they decided to meet there instead of Kızılay⁹⁶. On the other hand, the protesters arriving with tents motivated by the initial gathering at the Kuğulu Park as if it was an incidental starting point similar to the arousal at Gezi Park.⁹⁷

Eventually, tents rose up, and right next to them the library was opened by a group



Figure 10. The condition of library at first day alongside with the first tents. Photo: Cansu Dinc

⁹⁶ The discussions among participants of library are available online at:

<https://www.facebook.com/events/178852495609155/permalink/182915978536140/>

⁹⁷ The initial call to Kuğulu Park was made in this words: “Since the movement started here, since the protests in Ankara triggered by the events here and since our passive and rightful resistance faced police terror, it is necessary to establish a permanent camp at Kuğulu Park. Lets voice our resistance and rightful demands here in a way of civil disobedience and peace, lets rebel against the state terror here. Come with your books, tents, chairs, hammocks on Tuesday evening.” Source: Occupy Kuğulu. (4 June, 2013). *Wherewent.com* Retreived May 30, 2016 from <http://www.wherewent.com/detail/Ali-Serdar-Gultekin-Occupy-Kugulu>

See also the Facebook event on 6 June 2013 calling people to Kuğulu Park at: https://www.facebook.com/events/150373321814289/?active_tab=posts

of protesters for the use of visitors and occupiers alike. It started with few shelves and few books and magazines brought by the group. Yet with the help of local vendors, the municipality of Çankaya (held by CHP) and the generous donations, the library grew larger. Even the bookstores sent unused books to the library. Semih, a protester who dwelled in the park during Gezi states the outside support as:

Çankaya Municipality, CHP representative Miss. Aylin (Nazlıaka) came. They helped us there, provided food to the food stand. Helped the library, took care of the people, and supported us.

Similarly Burak, a young protester who led the library-crew for a while, mentioned the visits of Mayor of Çankaya as well as donations to the library:

There was a sort of bureaucratic atmosphere, the parliament representatives and Mayor of Çankaya visited frequently. Since we were a library, we had to lay the books to the ground and the Mayor sent us a shelf, we put the books in it. Among the books, there were such that you can call it artifacts, the ones no longer being published, the ones that collectors may pay lots of money to buy.

The presence of the politicians will be further discussed in the section devoted to the identities of the Park. Nevertheless, the library was receiving such a high amount of books; the volunteers at the library had to organize them according to genres to be able to achieve a better presentation for the visitors.

On the other hand, the library did not only receive books, but it also received lots of food supplies. To be able to organize these supplies, a kitchen was established right next to library, paving the way for the protesters interaction with ordinary passengers. For example, Elif, a young architecture student, reported in the interview that everyday 200 sandwiches had been donated anonymously, additionally one day 20 pizzas sent to the protesters. Since the park is not that populated, the protester-librarians started to distribute the donations to the visitors. Notably, the CHP representatives in parliament were among the donators. People were generous and the library had become the positive image of the protesters at Kuğulu Park. At the same time, the librarians faced difficulties in managing the

income; the payments in large amounts invoked the profit motive whereas large amount of donations in tangible goods did not disturb the volunteers.

On 4th of June, alongside with the voluntary librarians, another group arrived to Kuğulu Park: the tent crew. These people aimed at constituting a tent-city similar to the one at Gezi Park. Later on, the tent crew formed ‘the Kuğulu Initiative’, organized forum meetings and published its demands following Taksim Solidarity. According to the declaration, the park is occupied in order to support Gezi Park Protests and to protest police violence, the limitations on democratic freedoms of life-style, meeting and demonstration liberties, the policies that defy environment and environmental organizations, the mainstream media that extorts people’s freedom to know the truth of things, this resistance style is defined as peaceful and passive civil disobedience which does not exclude women, transsexuals, gays and lesbians, sex workers, different ethnic and religious communities, animals. They embraced the demands of Taksim Solidarity. Additionally they demanded the abolishment of the construction project at Atatürk Orman Çiftliği (AOÇ)⁹⁸ which they see as similar to Taksim Pedestrianisation Project. Lastly, they demand the revision of Turkish Electoral System that has a 10 per cent threshold. All demands, except the one about AOÇ, are reflecting the diffusion from Gezi Park to Kuğulu. It was a third party that constituted most of the population at Kuğulu Park: visitors. The park visited by thousands during Occupy Gezi Movement. On day time, people arrived with their kids, dogs, and university and high-school students as well as retired citizens showed up as individuals or as groups to breathe the

⁹⁸ During 2013, the new Presidency Palace or ‘Aksaray’ were under construction on Atatürk Orman Çiftliği (Atatürk Forest Farm). This construction first made public as the Chamber of Architects published satellite images they purchased. The extravagant project that includes more than a thousand rooms cost approximately 350 million dollars. However, the project mainly opposed within the Gezi circle with an emphasis on the plunder of nature and commons. The demand on the preservation of AOÇ was not a local issue indeed as it represents the relocation of the Presidency of Turkey, but the resistance remained at the local scale. The protesters added AOÇ issue to their opposition pallet but did not intend to take action at the location. The struggle is organized around visuals, in a way of what Batuman (2015b) calls ‘non-occupy strategy’.

atmosphere. Amongst the visitors were the frequent users of the park before Gezi, actors and singers; and as I mentioned above, politicians: the representatives of CHP in the parliament and the mayor of Çankaya Municipality. Frequently or not, all of my interviewees went to the Kuğulu Park.

4.3 Place-Making at Kuğulu

The solidarity of the park was disturbed by the coexistence of different identities and different ways of place-making. Initially, there were no strict separation between tents and library as they were standing next to each other. The decision-making process and the division of labor were spontaneous for the most part as the library founder Veli put it:

Daily, we were making tiny little meetings on how to manage things but nobody asked for a division of labor, you do this and you do that. Everything was natural like a reflex... We weren't experienced in any of this. The only similar protest I witnessed was the TEKEL resistance, the tent-city, the sharing of the soup. With that inspiration we tried to do something.

There were no libraries at the TEKEL resistance, albeit its style and solidarity practices inspired the Kuğulu dwellers. The political encampment at TEKEL is a rare example and we do not know whether it affected the Gezi Park itself. Nevertheless, we can observe a historical diffusion of protest forms and practices at Kuğulu Park. The library-crew aimed to establish a library for developing the intellectual part of the protests as well as projecting a positive image with the books. The shared books exceeded the spatial limits with the application of 'Gezici Books'⁹⁹. Images prepared with a message "I am not lost, I am a Gezici book. Read and leave me" and distributed to the visitors. As it was mentioned before, the bookmarks were on sale at the library. Yet, only for practical purposes, they engaged in economic relations and did not aim to gain any profit out of the

⁹⁹ A double entendre that refers to first, the mobile book and second, book from Gezi Movement.

transactions.

Exceptionally, the forums at Kuğulu Park projected an important meaning imbued to place. It was the tent crew's main activity to organize the forum meetings under the name of Kuğulu Initiative. The first meeting was held on 18th of June: protesters met at the park and discussed the stance of the movement. The forums continued frequently with different titles such as "Yurttaşım. Hakkım Var" (I am a Citizen. I Have Rights), "Gezi Direnişinin Tarihsel Önemi" (The Historical Importance of Gezi Resistance), "İletişim ve Eylem Biçimleri" (Communication and Protest Forms), "Forum Moderasyonu ve Etkili İletişim" (Forum Moderation and Affective Communication), "Ankara'da Sivil Deneyimler" (Civil Experiences at Ankara), "Biz Kadınlar Neden Direniyoruz" (Why we, women are resisting), "Çocuklar için Ütopya Atölyesi" (Utopia Workshop for Children), "Gezi Olaylarının Olası Psikolojik Etkileri ve Başa Çıkma Yolları" (the Possible Psychological Impacts of Gezi Events and Ways of Overcoming)¹⁰⁰. These forums continued for a month and produced a place of educating the protesters, the children, and the citizens. The Kuğulu Park became a place with practice of direct democracy where the decisions were made through discussions where each protester had a chance to raise his/her opinion as the microphone came to their hands.¹⁰¹ Some even denominated the place as 'Ankara's new parliament'¹⁰² as an alternate to the institutional politics, signifying a Lefebvrian counter-space.

The success of these forums signified Kuğulu Park as the meeting place of all other forums created in the neighborhoods of Ankara. On the 30th of September, an exceptional forum was organized under the title "Ankara Hayallerini Konuşuyor"

¹⁰⁰ For the full list of events see: <https://www.facebook.com/kuguluinisiyatifi/events>

¹⁰¹ Kuğulu Park'ın demokrasi açılımı. (2013, June 28). *T24*. Retrieved August 16, 2016, from <http://t24.com.tr/haber/kugulu-parkin-demokrasi-acilimi,232993>

¹⁰² Ankara'nın yeni Meclis'i Kuğulu Park. (2013, June 21). *Cayyolum*. Retrieved August 16, 2016, from <http://www.cayyolum.com/haber/Ankara-nin-yeni-Meclis-i-Kugulu-Park.html>

(Ankara Discussing its Dreams) with participation of Anıtpark Forum, People's Assembly of Atatürk Orman Çiftliği, Ayrancı Forum, Çayyolu Üç Fidan Park Forum, Çayyolu Atapark Forum, People's Assembly of Çayyolu Türkkonut, Eryaman Forum, Ethem Sarısülüük Park Forum, Güvenpark Forum, Seğmenler Park Forum, 100.Yıl Forum and Tuzluçayır Solidarity.¹⁰³ This meeting not only reminds us of the immense grass-roots mobilization at the urban scale of Ankara organized with Gezi, but also their ability and will to act in solidarity. Kuğulu Park hosted the event with respect to its central importance of being a catalyst, as people from various neighborhoods participated in collective discussions (Sancar 2013). Similar to the situation at Kızılay Square different groups came together, but this time it was through discussions rather than standing in front of the police. As I stated before, the thesis lacks first-hand information from the organizers of these forum meetings. Although I have been able to locate and contact several people from Kuğulu Initiative, they either did not respond to the interview request or postponed the scheduled meetings constantly, which imposed a certain limitation for the understanding of the dynamics of these forum meetings.

Among the interviews, only Mustafa and Nilay mentioned their participation to the Kuğulu Forums when asked about their activity at the park. Mustafa participated to the forums at Kuğulu mainly because it was the closest one to his neighborhood. In contrast with Mustafa, Nilay went to Kuğulu Park even though it was not on the route between her office and house. Unfortunately, these accounts only experienced the forums passively that they lacked the knowledge on the organization of the forums. The members of the library-crew that might provide knowledge on the organizational dynamics are mostly disinterested in the forums. For example, Elif found forums lacking seriousness in content, Semih argued that he decided to leave the forum after 10 minutes as he saw that the discussions were

¹⁰³ Ankara forumları hayallerindeki Ankara'yı konuştu. (2013, September 30). *Sol*. Retrieved August 16, 2016, from <http://haber.sol.org.tr/kent-gundemleri/ankara-forumlari-hayallerindeki-ankarayı-konustu-haberi-80334>

leading to nowhere. Significantly, they only mentioned the forums when asked about the activities of the tent-crew and they did not embrace the activity despite their frequent presence at Kuğulu Park.

In addition to the Kuğulu Forums, on 20th of July, a panel was organized by KESK with participation of persons from various political, civil and media organizations. The noticeable people who spoke at the panel were CHP (MP İlhan Cihaner), Anti-capitalist Muslims (İhsan Eliaçık), Birgün newspaper (Doğan Tılıç-moderator), Evrensel newspaper (Fatih Portakal) and exceptionally the brother of Ethem Sarısülük, Mustafa Sarısülük who requested more attention to the trial from the public.¹⁰⁴ Again, this meeting showed the importance of Kuğulu Park as a place with meaning of collective discussion, a scene for the intellectuals to appear on and for raising public attention towards the martyrs of the protests.

However, with the popularization of library and forums and the swarm of visitors at Kuğulu Park, the residents were facing difficulties at sharing the space. The park occupies a space of 7,743 m²¹⁰⁵ and a considerable portion of it is reserved for the ponds and there were not enough space for the tents, the library, the kitchen and the visitors. Eventually the tent crew decided to move to the relatively quiet southern-edge of the park.

The remaining protest performances in the place resembled a festival. LGBT individuals were ornamenting the park with hearts and balloons and rainbow colors while people danced around the ground fountains near the Statue of Tunali Hilmi, operated by the guard of the park, sang songs from a variety of genres, the national anthems of 10.Yıl (an anthem written for the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the republic), Gençlik Marşı (Anthem of Youth), İzmir Marşı, independence war songs such as “Ankara’nın Taşına Bak”, or songs of the left

¹⁰⁴ Ankara'da 'Gezi'ye 'İslam' Yorumu. (2013, July 20). *Amerikanın Sesi*. Retrieved August 16, 2016, from <http://www.amerikaninsesi.com/a/basket-te-gezi-ye-islam-yorumu/1705589.html>

¹⁰⁵Source: KUĞULU PARK. Retrieved May 28, 2016, from <http://www.cankaya.bel.tr/pages/291/KUGULU-PARK/>

such as Çav Bella (Turkish version of Bella Ciao), Gündoğdu Anthem, ‘Mamak Türküsü’ and the tune of “Entarisi Ala Benziyor” that was re-lyricized by the Boğaziçi Jazz Choir during Gezi: “Çapulcu musun vay vay”. They listened to melodies coming from a guitar, a trumpet or a violin and cheered along a rhythm played by a drum player. They borrowed books and read them while lying on the grass.¹⁰⁶

Much like Gezi Park, the place imbued with the meaning of colorful enjoyment in protests that respects beliefs and values, a direct response to the gray of institutional politics. For example, on Miraç Kandili (One of the holy days of Islam) the volunteers at the park offered ‘kandil simidi’ to the visitors to be able to present themselves better in the eyes of the public. As another example, the anti-capitalist Muslims organized a funeral prayer for the fallen protesters, Abdullah Cömert, Ethem Sarısülük and Mustafa Sarı.¹⁰⁷ In the festive atmosphere, the performances resembling a Kemalist-secular character melted together with performances that not only respects religion but also contributes to these cultural activities.

During evenings the protesters emerged from all around Ankara to celebrate their participation to the street politics. With Turkish flags and slogans, they occupied Tunalı Hilmi Street; the drivers accompanied the cheering with the horns of their cars. The library and the kitchen were closed during on evenings. They pack up and store the books to protect them against a possible police intervention and ironically, from the visitors. As the park attracted more people, the visitors started to spoil natural properties of the park. The swans were already removed from the park but the flowers were stomped; the library shelfs and the covers of the books were overflowed with empty beer bottles during evenings. On 9 June, a post on

¹⁰⁶ See: V17, V18, V20, V21, V22, V27

¹⁰⁷ See: V28

Facebook page of library organization states¹⁰⁸:

It is my request for the people coming tomorrow, please produce posters saying “do not drink alcohol, do not make an open-air party while Kızılay resists”. You get the idea. The situation of Kuğulu Park is hopeless. Tomorrow there will be some musicians there, in my opinion this makes it even worse. I am sure that you are disturbed by the vuvuzela noise, whistle noise, constant slogans, littering people, the beer bottles and the overwhelming of trash everywhere. We need to find a way. Please let's work on that tomorrow.

While the festivity attracted many to the place, it resulted in a change in the meaning and the protest form at the same time. The image of alcohol consumption in Kuğulu Park functioned towards internally and externally antagonizing the protesters who aims to preserve the worthiness¹⁰⁹ of the protests. Some of the interviewees mentioned their fear of a possible police intervention. On the one hand they argued that drunkenness certainly reduces the survivability during intervention; on the other hand, the person cannot donate blood whenever necessary. For some, the memory of deaths and injuries were still fresh and they saw nothing to celebrate. For example, Pınar, a middle aged protester with leftist organization history, told his experience of the park as:

There were different people, the political party representatives trying to distribute newspapers. There was a group of youth, bulky male guys... After a certain hour, when they put up the beers and cheered ‘Salute Tayyip’, I thought this is over... this is too much and there is nothing ever come up from something like this... They were in the hippie mood: people sitting on the ground, playing guitar, singing song and drinking beer left and right... it was about a reaction to the restrictions imposed upon their lifestyle. At about 2 o’clock in the night, a TOMA entered to the place and I saw that guys who were drinking beer and lying on the ground only a

¹⁰⁸ See Facebook thread on the organization of library at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/178852495609155/permalink/182915978536140/>

¹⁰⁹ Worthiness is one of the WUNC displays of the social movement repertoire listed by Tilly, including “sober demeanor; neat clothing; presence of clergy, dignitaries, and mothers with children” (2005: 309).

moment ago, transform into militants.

Throughout the thesis, I emphasize the importance of perceiving the identities not as static. If I frame the event solely to the intervention, I would have misrepresented the people as violent. If the frame was set to pre-intervention, again they will be misrepresented as peaceful. In fact, they were both, and it clearly depends on the moment that a place and people at that place reflects performances in relative terms, in this case in relation to the police violence, we see the same subjects embracing a different sort of repertoire with the available means (such as throwing the empty beer bottles).

On the other side of the coin, the quote reflects that the festivity was not devoid of political content. The alcohol consumption is frequently considered as a form of protest against the recent restrictions on the selling of alcoholic beverages by the interviewees. People drank beer in the streets and parks while yelling “Cheers Tayyip” (Şerefine Tayyip) to protest the restrictions to their freedom and interventions to their life-style. For example, Filiz expressed her ideas on the alcohol consumption during protests:

I never did that personally since I am organized and didn't feel the need. The consumption of alcohol is totally about the restrictions. If you intervene to people's life styles to this extent, it becomes a form of protest. It was funny that everything became the part of the protest.

In this case, I must say that being organized is not a criteria for the consumption of alcohol as other organized interviewees participated in such performances.

The tent-crew was spatially and ideologically distant from the library crew and their performance drastically differs from any other protest form: by simply relocating everyday life to Kuğulu Park, these people transformed their mundane practices like sleeping into a protest action since sleeping in a public park with a tent is forbidden; they consumed alcohol as a protest action since drinking in a public park is also forbidden. They established an information desk and a rival library. Unlike the library-crew, they were strictly against money form; the

donations were only accepted as tangible goods. Few times police intervened to the park and dismantled the tents but they were re-established and the tent-crew preserved their existence after the dismantling of the People's Library.

Apart from being a peculiar protest form, one still cannot argue that it was merely an occupy style. In this protest wave, we have the tendency to resemble tents with a static repertoire as Hardt and Negri (2012) did. However, the tent also resembles nomadism, a life devoted to movement, a life of antagonism in-itself. Psychiatrist Cemal Dindar (2013) referred to this resemblance and argued that the reflex of the authorities towards tent city of Gezi Park was rooted in a representation of 'nomadic culture' which is mainly embraced by minorities throughout the history. In Turkish there is a word fit for this description 'konargöçer' (an adjective 'camps and migrates'). This protest style is a perfect example of coexistence of occupy and movement, momentariness of antagonism.

However, this protest form lacks a target other than temporally transforming every-day life. It is important since there were protesters who were actually resisting a material pressure in the form of police violence or cold weather in the case of TEKEL encampment. The protest-style summarized of motto "to live is to resist" is open for criticism if not segregation from more active protesters as a recurrent theme of the interviews.

Alongside with the library and the forums, I mentioned the kitchen became the symbol of the communal life at the park. By communal life I do not refer to a self-sustaining and self-governing place detached from the capitalism. David Graeber commented on the failures of such establishments as:

A revolutionary strategy based on direct action can only succeed if the principles of direct action become institutionalized. Temporary bubbles of autonomy must gradually turn into permanent, free communities. However, in order to do so, those communities cannot exist in total isolation; neither can they have a purely confrontational relation with everyone around them. They have to have some way to engage with larger economic, social, or political systems that surround them. This is the trickiest question because it has proved extremely difficult for those organized on radically

democratic lines to so integrate themselves in any meaningful way in larger structures without having to make endless compromises in their founding principles. (Graeber 2009: 210-211)

These words follow Harvey's idea on relational thinking of space. These 'temporary bubbles of autonomy' were not independent and in fact enabled by the exterior and larger structures. By the means of donation, not production, Kuğulu Park established a part of communal life. Indeed, theoretically it was not a commune but the solidarity and the sharing were there to experience. One of the interviewees called it quite rightfully 'an unintentional commune'. However, the crowd attracted the food-selling trucks as interviewees' report, beer sellers who were there with the motivation of profit making and neither the initiative nor the library had any authority to expel them out as Taksim Solidarity did in Gezi Park. The protesters at Kuğulu Park, including the Initiative with the demands listed above and the library, were clearly following Gezi Park and emulate the performances to their protest place. Elif puts this as:

For the library, Kuğulu was providing a shelter. It was a fruitful place. But for the forum meetings it wasn't appropriate. The space is already limited that you cannot organize a meeting that will have an influence. We were really following Gezi (park) and try to replicate what they were doing there, somewhat it was leading us. Of course, there were spontaneous differences, you can't totally control it, and it was an organic being after all... They (tent-crew) were not able to set up too many tents (in comparison to Gezi Park), there were at most 15 tents maybe and when there were tents, people couldn't gather.

The library itself was a product of this emulation as Veli, the founder of the library stated:

We were following the events and thinking about what we can do. Inspired by the library at Gezi Park, I thought why we are not establishing a library at Kuğulu Park?

Additionally, the establishment of tents was an example of diffusion of a protest style that was also apparent in other cities such as Hatay, Eskişehir and İzmir.

For the place-making performances, it is safe to argue that the physical space of Kuğulu Park functioned with motivations as well as limitations. The park was a fruitful place for people to gather peacefully and with less police presence in comparison to Kızılay Square the occupy structures such as library, kitchen and tents could be raised. These structures were sustaining themselves with donations (except the sale of bookmarks at library) Also, the park allowed the festive performances such as singing, dancing and dining together. On the other side of the coin, this festivity also motivated the alcohol consumption that resulted in conflictual place-making repertoires between entertainment and worthiness of the



Figure 11. Kuğulu Park and the positioning of important structures.
Image: Google Earth.

movement.

4.4 Identity Dynamic at the Park

For the sake of clarification, the groups divided not on an identity based on already established identities but the way of protest performance: the librarians, tent-dwellers. First, every group hung a banner in front of their tent to indicate their identity and the atmosphere was open to internal and external conflicts. Especially the environmentalists and LGBT took responsibility for sustaining the solidarity at the park. Veli indicates the efforts of environmentalists to cope with the demands of the visitors:

We should give the credit to the environmentalists at the very start. They were more conscious and more educated. Once a wife of a military officer showed up and asked about the whereabouts of Mustafa Kemal Portraits. Well, it was the environmentalists that solved the problem. They were more sincere to keep this unity.

The efforts to sustain the solidarity can be performed by the environmentalist and LGBT since they were ‘neutral’ identities, the newcomers of the political arena. It is significant since the tension between certain groups was intrinsic to the movement. For Kızılay Square, I argued that the previous identities were dysfunctional in a space where threat of outsider invasion is constant. Kuğulu Park did not share the same condition with the square. At the park the divisions between groups were more vivid and actual. For example the group from ODTÜ prepared a huge poster saying “the children of the earth are nobody’s soldier” against the frequent slogan of “we are Mustafa Kemal’s soldiers”. The Kemalist TGB group wanted to hang up an Atatürk portrait in between two trees at the park. Afterwards, the Kurdish nationalists wanted to hang up a portrait of Abdullah Öcalan. Semih reports this as:

Among the tent-crew there was a group of HDP supporters and there were members of TGB. They put up banners in front of their tents. Once they hung a Turkish flag and Atatürk Portrait in between two big trees at Kuğulu Park. Then after an internal conflict, they

removed it to manifest that everybody was there, to show that there were Atatürkists, not only Turks but Kurds, and LGBT. For that purpose they removed their banners.

On the same issue, Elif mentioned the efforts to sustain the solidarity at the park when I asked her about the presence of nationalists:

Calling them *ulusalcı* rather than nationalist is more accurate. On that, we were having such kind of a complication: there were no such thing as HDP at that time, but there were people calling themselves Kurdish nationalists. They wanted to hang Öcalan portraits and we were telling them: brother please don't, there will be trouble. The others were exposing Atatürk portraits, and then they (Kurdish nationalists) came and complain about it. We asked them to remove it (Atatürk portrait) also.

In the end, they removed them both with the realization that the solidarity could not be established with the total reflection of their identities and ideologies. Similar to Kızılay, they realized that this exposition of identities harms the solidarity in the park. On the other hand, the LGBT prevailed to hang a rainbow flag and nobody protested against since it was a symbol that is inclusive rather than exclusive. They intervened to soften the conflicts. In contrast to Kemalist and Kurdish nationalists, they were able to expose their identities. The tent crew established fragile solidarity in sharing of the space.

On Kızılay, I argued that the police presence and constant threat of violence was a certain factor on the transformation of identities. This time the lack of police presence appeared as an obstacle on the establishment of solidarity at Kuğulu Park.

Veli points out the discontents of lack of police presence:

We spend a peaceful week here. After the common enemy vanished, the human ego, the 'I know better' attitude started to crack us... After a week without the police, we have started to attack each other.

However, the park was not devoid of any police intervention. The police

intervened to remove the tents at 7th of July¹¹⁰, but next day the tents, library and kitchen were re-established. The internal struggles were omitted in the face of police as well as visitors. Yet when the police intervened again with the same cause on 12th of July¹¹¹, People's Library of Kuğulu Park decided to dismiss itself. If the park will be a battleground for the next days, the books will be seriously harmed. Alongside with that, the interviewees mentioned that people were simply tired of their efforts and wanted to rest for a while.

The kitchen was functioning as a place for gathering of two opposite camps at the Kuğulu Park. The library-crew and tent-crew were meeting in the front of the kitchen and consumed the shared supplies. This communion at the park is told in words of Burak:

I have never known that people can help each other to this extent since I was born. People were sharing their food, water, pastry, lemons and milk. I wasn't buying one bottle of water; I was buying fifteen bottles, thinking that someone might need it. However, I am no such person; I have always been selfish because life taught me and all others that you have to fight alone if you are to survive. Actually, there we saw that it was a deception.



Figure 12. The image says: “#FlagfreeKuğulu – No politics, we are all siblings”. Image: Cenk Danniel.

¹¹⁰ Kuğulu Park'ta çadır gerginliği. (2013, June 7). Radikal. Retrieved June 1, 2016, from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/kugulu-parkta-cadir-gerginligi-1136656/>

¹¹¹ Polis Kuğulu Park'ta. (2013, June 12). Cnnturk. Retrieved June 1, 2016, from <http://www.cnnturk.com/2013/guncel/06/12/polis.kugulu.parkta/711438.0/>

By sharing tangible goods, the solidarity is vitalized in the park. People were bonding their experiences with each other and most significantly by collective consumption rather than production, the feeling of community was reached.

For the library crew, no exposition of identities was necessary or important. The solidarity was based on voluntary labor where the members of the People's Library of Kuğulu Park were preserving a positive image of the establishment as well as the books itself. For example, they were not smoking or drinking alcohol in and around the library, they were trying to propose books in accordance with the visitor's demands, such as child books for children. The preservation of the books required additional effort. Occasionally they were dealing with greedy visitors who aimed to collect books and sell them somewhere else and the librarians only allowed two books given at a time. Furthermore, since the library was closed during the evenings, the books were packed and stored to keep them protected from possible rain or police intervention and lastly from the visitors of the park at night. To be able to do so, the voluntary librarians took night shifts and slept at the park. Even though they were also dwelling in tents, they felt not as part of the tent-crew mainly because the formers condition was of necessity while the latter was performing a protest action by dwelling in tents at the place again following the "to live is to resist" motto. The anti-capitalist stance of the library crew is limited to the donations. Although donations received can meet a variety of needs, some of them had to be bought by the volunteers. To be able to finance such needs, they prepared small bookmarks and sell them at the library without any rigid price set which resulted in some extraordinary payments as Elif put it:

People were paying 2 liras, 3 liras but someone paid 100 liras and we were panicked (laughs). What are we going to do now?! I remember that very well, we all panicked and everyone was giving the money to the other. Seriously, the people were generous.

People were generous and the library had become the positive image of the protesters at Kuğulu Park. At the same time, the librarians faced difficulties in

managing the income; the payments in large amounts invoked the profit motive whereas large amount of donations in tangible goods did not disturb the volunteers.

Located at the opposite edge of the park, the tent-crew was constituted by people coming from different walks of life. First they made their appearances with banners of established organizations, yet eventually embraced an identity born out of practice. The self-missioned challenge was to survive in the park space solely with donations. However, the information here relies on the observations of other protesters where no one from the tent-crew agreed on sharing their experiences in Kuğulu Park. Also, the photos of the park clearly indicate that the tent-crew was strictly against the form. They emphasized that the donations only in form of commodities are accepted.

Allegedly, these people appeared in 100.Yıl's encampment against METU-Road, and were not welcomed there according to Nilay, who led the organization of the protest there. The performances that include alcohol consumption or alleged drug-use terrified the protesters coming to protect their neighborhood. When the residents discovered one of the tent-crew carrying a gun, the conflict escalated to the point of expelling them out of the encampment. Furthermore, their alcohol consumption became a problem on the Kandil day at Kuğulu Park as Nilay reported her attempt to hide the beers from the sight of the visitors that may harm the respectful image of the park.

The tent dwellers at Kuğulu Park are still a puzzle that these people did not respond to my invitations to interviews that I might get their perspective. Even the librarians next door do not know them in person or endured any kind of friendship during the protests. The interviewees often talked about them with negative connotations which they despise their ineffectiveness and careless attitude. For example, Serdar and Yaşar called them as 'vagrants'. Indeed, not all of them were 'rather privileged' ones in the society as Tuğal (2015) equated the novelties of Gezi Movement. Among them interviewees argue that there were homeless people

and therefore ‘rather underprivileged’ were also able to experience the novel protest forms.

As I put it before, LGBT and environmentalists were able to project their identities even after the banners were removed. As another example, the fan-group Çarşı was present at the first meeting on 31st of May¹¹², yet they organized a visit to the park with some members travelling from Istanbul on 7 June.¹¹³ With their lead, the groups marched towards Kızılay Square next day. People welcomed the new actors to the political scene and they were tolerating the exposition of these identities. The same tolerance was not shown to the already-established actors, to numerous leftist organizations or CHP. Of course, mass was not expelling them out of the movement if we consider CHP representatives as the main donators to the kitchen that sustained the essential needs of the protesters, but certainly they were not

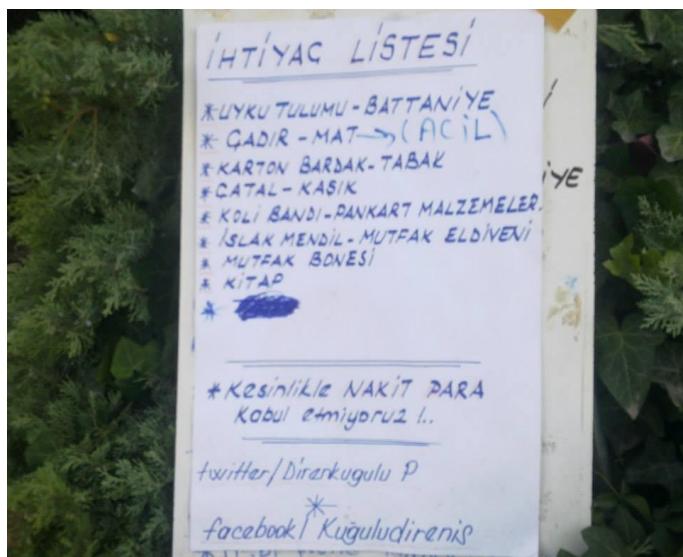


Figure 13. The list of needs of the tent-crew, notes that money will not be accepted as a donation. Photo: Kuğulu Direnişçileri

¹¹² See: V39

¹¹³ See: V40

Also see: Fenerbahçe ve Beşiktaş taraftar grupları Taksim'e yürüdü. (2013, June 8). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 24, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/fenerbahce-ve-besiktas-taraftar-gruplari-taksime-yurudu-23462125>

supported as LGBT, environmentalists or Çarşı.

The direct democracy practices within Kuğulu Initiative remained rather limited to the tent-crew where fundamental cleavages prevented the park developing a shared identity. In fact, the dwellers were decomposed according to niches rather than a solidaristic body with particular functioning organizations. Notably, the exposition of identities went along with the changing population of the protest-place. The protesters were constantly replacing one another. What can be derived from this fact that the attribution of established identities to a certain place, such as Y-Generation or middle-class for people at Gezi Park, necessarily presumes that the people were the same ones during the movement. In the example of Kuğulu Park, some people were active in certain time periods and then leave the park. What remained were the place-making repertoires that transformed Kuğulu Park of Ankara.

4.5 The Soil of Gezi Park

Overall, Kuğulu Park was framed as Ankara's Gezi Park. The major example of it was that framing materialized as the protesters transferred earth from Gezi Park and it was planted on the soil. On 27 June, CHP representative Aylin Kotil, together with Cem Bağcı and Ecem Derici, brought the earth after her walk from Istanbul to Ankara to protest the 10 percent threshold of Turkish Electorate System.¹¹⁴ This performance reminds the Lefebvrian conceptualization of space and the importance of physical space that can carry a meaning that transcends the materiality. By bringing the soil from Gezi Park to Kuğulu, the symbolic meaning of the former infused to the other.

Obviously, Gezi Park was initially occupied to prevent its destruction which attributes a unique status among other occupy centers. One might even argue that

¹¹⁴ Source: Kotil'den Gezi Parkı eylemlerine anlamlı destek. (2013, June 27). *Radikal*. Retrieved June 25, 2016, from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/kotilden-gezi-parki-eylemlerine-anlamli-destek-1143711/>

occupying Gezi and preventing its destruction is the aim of the movement, in fact at some point Occupy Gezi Movement succeeded on that premise. Truly for this reason, Peter Marcuse's criticism (2011) of Occupy Wall Street's fetishized attachment to Zuccotti Park is not relevant for the Gezi Park case. It was fetishized from the moment-zero as a reflex to prevent its destruction. Yet, the fetishization of Gezi Park space, in this case of transferring the soil, is apparent at Kuğulu Park. The resistance at Kuğulu Park was certainly in search of an issue that will bind the protesters to the Gezi Movement. For example, Nilay, an experienced protester put it:

They were not resisting anything at Kuğulu. With ambition they envied the Gezi Park, like lets live in the tents, here we are living in communal manner etc. and they failed because if you do not have a perspective, an argument about the world, you cannot succeed.

In this act of planting the soil, this need of seeking a cause is visible on the small announcement placed on the soil saying: "Gezi earth is here, try to make a barracks here". In Kızılay chapter, I argued that the existence of Government Buildings provided a target for the movement. Here, this lack is attempted to be fulfilled by plantation of Gezi soil to the place.

Overall, without paying a single penny (unless you want to donate to the library by buying bookmarks), one could dine at the Park; rest on the grass while reading a book chosen from many alternatives and spend the night there as well. The park enabled such experience until police finally dismantled the library on the morning of 12 June. Yet the other groups stayed and sustained their existence for about a month. The tent-crew even stayed at the park more than any other group. Eventually, police intervened on 23 August, and removed the tents, the ones resisting were taken under custody¹¹⁵.

The park was a cultural counter-space against the black and white of politics where the already established organizations and identities diluted if not entirely vanished

¹¹⁵ See: V41

in the park's carnivalesque atmosphere. Conversely, the emerging actors of Turkish politics such as LGBT, environmentalists made their appearance and exposed their identities without difficulties. Yet, same thing cannot be argued about the Kemalist-secularists and Kurdish nationalists. The existing literature valorized the coexistence of the identities in conflict peacefully in the Gezi Park. As an outcome of this investigation on the experience of Occupy Gezi Movement beyond Gezi, these identities only endured a co-existence by removing the symbols of their past identities.

Nevertheless, the people at Kuğulu Park shared the limited space with minimum conflict. On one side of the park, the volunteers at People's Library sustaining their existence with practical measurements and projecting an intellectual profundity to the movement meanwhile on the other side of the park, protesters dwelling in tents were experimenting the occupy style protest with a clear stance against capital in money form. The visitors of the place merged protest with celebration of protest, a festival in downtown organized solely by the citizens of Ankara. Although, the notable presence of CHP representatives and mayor limits the extent of



Figure 14. The earth from Gezi Park planted with the writing: "Gezi earth is here, try to make a barracks here". 27 July 2013. Photo: Kuğulu Direnişçileri.

antagonism against representative politics, the park enabled direct democracy practices within Kuğulu Initiative.

CHAPTER 5

MOBILITY AND NEIGHBORHOODS IN ANKARA

At the very beginning of this thesis, I have emphasized that Gezi was about movement and occupy. The previous chapters were place-based analyses of the protest events but they are not devoid of ‘movement’. By the way of studying Kızılay Square and Kuğulu Park, I frequently mentioned that these events were the results of mobility, and they further caused mobilizations, especially in the neighborhoods. First, I want to clarify the aspect of mobility where it connects with place, to be able to evade the pitfall that Gambetti pointed on the analysis of Gezi Park: “this place-based depiction of the zones of struggle, however, does injustice to the striking mobility that characterized the Occupy Gezi movement” (2014: 91). In the introduction, I have criticized the accounts that connect occupy movements with place-bound analyses. Then, this thesis is in need of answering the question: how can we understand mobility in terms of place and place-making? I will answer this question within the context of neighborhood mobilizations.

The place is not fixed in either time or empty-space, but it is an outcome of a manifold of meetings as different ensembles of social relations encounter each other. Previously, I argued that the encounter between people coming from left and right-wing politics, their further encounter with the police force are the important features of the Kızılay Square as a place for protest. Similarly, I have shown that the meeting of tent-crew and library-crew generated a dynamic making of place, made and remade through their further encounter with the visitors of the park. Each occasion drew a different picture of these places with unique characteristics that emphasizes the importance of conducting a dynamic research of the occupy movements. While describing the events at the park and the square, I referred to the component of neighborhoods affecting the mobilizations at these places. For

example, the marches organized towards Kızılay as well as the meeting of local-organizations at Kuğulu Park generated different moments of place. In this chapter, I will focus the trajectory of the discussion to the neighborhoods and analyze them with concepts of mobility, place and identity formation.

The conceptualization of place as a spatio-temporal meeting point is in accord with the concept of neighborhood if we are to perceive them not only as territories or units of the city. The neighborhoods are “socially constructed in particular times and places, and there they are not fixed and specific” (Martin 2003: 732). Similar to Massey’s conceptualization of place, Martin indicates that neighborhoods are not fixed entities, but generated spatially and temporally. As I put it before, the mobility does not indicate a place fixed in absolute space yet again, this does not mean that mobility is devoid of place. Like the boat analogy of Foucault, the place of mobility floats and transforms its surroundings. The neighborhoods with their streets, squares, apartments and shops constitute the places of this striking mobility.

Before delving into discussing these places of mobility, I must stress that the aim of this chapter provides certain challenges. As it is mentioned above, capturing neighborhoods is more difficult than capturing the mobility in a certain place such as Kızılay Square or Kuğulu Park since it encompasses a multiplicity of transitional places. Second, neighborhoods with various socio-economic and cultural properties pose different effects on the idea of neighborhood. Each neighborhood is a unique participant of Gezi that requires cautious approach towards them. Unfortunately, there is no sufficient literature and data on the historical background and demography of these neighborhoods. In that manner the discussions is limited in comparison to the in depth investigations of neighborhoods such as Şükrü Aslan’s substantial research on 1 Mayıs Mahallesi (2004) or the recent publication by the young scholar Yelda Yürekli on Tuzluçayır (2016).

To be able to understand the mobilization patterns, people from a number of

neighborhoods are contacted and interviewed. Namely, the residents of Dikmen, 100.Yıl, Batıkent, Tuzluçayır were directly reached out. Certainly, these were not the only neighborhoods mobilized during Gezi. Yet these were the ones with longest sustainment among others: in the second episode, people of Dikmen were on streets continuously for a month, Batıkent hosted Ethem Sarısülüük's funeral which people from different districts of Ankara participated. 100.Yıl experienced METU-Road protests and Tuzluçayır experienced Camii-cemevi protests as a continuation of their participation to the second episode of Gezi mobilization. The significant mobility of the Gezi Movement is certain assistance in gathering information on neighborhood mobilizations since 13 out of 15 interviewees were participated to protests in their respective neighborhoods. On the other hand, this participation does not entirely overlap with being a resident at a particular neighborhood. At certain times, protesters participated in events in far places such as Ethem's Funeral at Batıkent, or Camii-cemevi protests in Tuzluçayır.

Furthermore, some of these names do not officially indicate a neighborhood. Tuzluçayır (of Mamak), 100.Yıl (Officially İşçi Blokları Neighborhood of Çankaya, should not be confused with 100.Yıl neighborhood at Küçük Esat district) are neighborhoods but Batıkent (of Yenimahalle) and Dikmen (of Çankaya) are districts constituted by of a number of neighborhoods. Yet, the categorization is made with respect to the residents framing of a neighborhood identity. It is something constructed and it has more content than the ones in representations of space. Moreover, the protesters in those neighborhoods are constituted by a number of different residents (i.e. people from Nato Yolu mah. and Ege mah. met at Tuzluçayır). By keeping these limitations in mind, I will describe and discuss the places of mobility in the example of Batıkent, Tuzluçayır, Dikmen and 100.Yıl neighborhoods of Ankara.

5.1 Neighborhood Mobilizations

The neighborhood mobilizations were started immediately after the first meeting at

Kuğulu Park on 31st of May. Batıkent, Tuzluçayır, Dikmen and 100.Yıl joined to the protest wave during the following night with the cracking noise coming from pots and pans. For instance, around 3 a.m. people of Batıkent started to blow horns of their cars and gather around the metro station. On the same night, people of Dikmen were on their feet, made noise with clinking pots and pans, and pressing to their car horns as they walk northward to the city center.

The next day was the day that the marches started from neighborhoods towards the city center. As Mahmut, an organization leader at the neighborhood reported that on the morning of 1 June the people at Tuzluçayır were already on the streets of the neighborhood. Yet, according to Mahmut, their numbers were not enough to make a presence at Kızılay, so they decided to meet again at 12 o'clock. At midday, the first march from Tuzluçayır to Kızılay has started and continued for more than three months - although diminishing in numbers and frequency.

On the evening of the same day, with students coming from METU dormitories and other neighborhoods along the way, the residents of 100.Yıl marched towards AKP's headquarters at Söğütözü. Next day, the protesters coming from METU joined with the people of 100.Yıl and marched to Kızılay through Eskişehir road. The police stopped the march kilometers away from the destination point. On the evening, another march is organized, this time residents of Çiğdem neighborhood also joined with METU and 100.Yıl. Eventually, police entered to the neighborhood and after a night of skirmishes, the mass advancements from 100.Yıl towards the city center were ceased but the marches within the neighborhoods continued.

People of Dikmen walked towards Kuğulu Park and joined to the protesters there. The next route was Kızılay but the police confronted them on Kennedy Street entrance of Atatürk Boulevard.¹¹⁶ As an important feature, the district is relatively closer to Kızılay and Tunalı which allowed the protesters to participate to the

¹¹⁶ ANKARA'DA GEZİ PROTESTOSU. (2013, June 16). Hurriyet. Retrieved June 2, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankarada-gezi-protestosu-23517143>

events in the city center as masses. Since the police was waiting them at Kızılay, the walks usually end up with tear-gas and water cannons. Gradually, the police advanced to the neighborhoods and started to intervene to the marches at Dikmen. During this period of neighborhood-scale protests, some organizations such as Halkevleri started to carry their banners and attempted to sustain the mobilization. A protester recalls his memory of the end of the protests:

We started to protest with only 10 to 20 people. Nobody was coming and we were the ones clashing with the police. Then, we gave up. They have placed riot police in critical points. After that we couldn't make any demonstration. 2 weeks went like that and then they invaded our place, arrested my friends. It ended at that point.

The protests at Dikmen continued until the end of June and ended with police arresting protesters already diminished in numbers. Apparently, the police was preoccupied with the protest events occurring at the city center, and simply they did not have the force to intervene to the neighborhoods. When the protests at the center diminished, police advanced towards the peripheries. This means that although temporally, the protesters were free to express their dissent and the police presence was not a factor especially in the early demonstrations at neighborhoods. Accordingly, the elders and children participated to the protests and the Occupy Gezi Movement reached beyond the ones who are ready to face with police violence thanks to the marches in neighborhoods.

In these marches that endured for more than a month, the occupy movement is performed in its entirety. The places of mobility appeared as the streets were occupied by protesters in motion; each step added a temporary meaning of antagonism to the place designed for mundane activities of walking and driving, they lit fires, singed and danced around it. The performance of marching is mainly on public sphere, people walking as they yell slogans, holding Turkish flags, making noise with the car horns. Yet, there were also performances during the marches that occurred in the private sphere: clipping houselights, or in the border

of private and public sphere: clinging pots and pans through their windows. Especially the latter signifies an interesting strategy of abusing the verges of planned, Lefebvre's conceived spaces; the human body legally stays within the borders of private sphere and therefore protected by the shield of constitutional private property right, the police cannot intervene into private space without a proper warrant. But at the same time, the body is being involved into a protest performance in the public space. The private sphere is not only used for protest, but also provided a safe zone in times of arrests. People opened their houses to others; brought them under the protection of private sphere.

Furthermore, in each neighborhood a place became the point of meeting, an example of Harvey's indication of a physical construct that is more fruitful for demonstration. Here, Lefebvre's idea of materiality affecting the course of action is vividly illustrated. These meeting-places were easy to access and frequently used in the everyday activities of the residents. For example, the people of Batıkent were gathering in front of the GİMSA shopping center on the crossroads and near metro station, the meeting place for the residents of 100.yıl was the Migros grocery store on the crossroads, the people of Dikmen were gathering on the intersection point between Dikmen Avenue and Mimarlar Street¹¹⁷, at Tuzluçayır the meeting place was the crossroads called 'yolağzı'. Since the neighborhoods lacked a vehicle-free square for gathering, they experienced difficulties during protests and to prevent this, they enclosed the roads when they reach sufficient numbers. At Dikmen, protesters enclosed the road and performed dances in circles around the barricades on fire. At Batıkent, the security became is an important issue since the marches mainly occur on high-speed roads and meetings on cross-roads. When they enclose the road, this time the ones who want to go somewhere else by using that road protested the protesters. In the words Filiz who lives in Batıkent:

¹¹⁷ Ankara'da gaz ve su. (2013, June 28). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 2, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankarada-gaz-ve-su-23613082>

For security reasons, we had to enclose the road sometimes. People were warning each other on this issue. Some argued for single line of traffic, some for a complete enclosure since when you allow it, Mehmet Ayvaltaş died that way. Even some cars were driving towards people and afterwards those cars were seriously harmed. We warned them too (laughs).

The protesters, sometimes through arguments, sometimes with brute force, tried to sustain and securitize their presence on the streets of Batikent. After 9 p.m., the municipality of Ankara stopped sending buses to Batikent¹¹⁸ against the occupation of the roads. Similarly, when people gathered in Tuzluçayır to protest the recent events at Diyarbakır, Lice,¹¹⁹ a municipality bus was burned and the mayor Melih Gökçek cancelled the Tuzluçayır route as an act of compensation.¹²⁰ Overall, people were on streets with Turkish flags, and mostly uttered nationalist slogans. Yet, this patriotic rhetoric and performances were disrupted occasionally and resulted in the decline of the protests at Tuzluçayır. Though never been present considerably, police was completely retreated from Tuzluçayır in the heat days of Gezi as multiple interviewees explained. During this absence of state authority, the pro-Kurdish group PKK made a fearless appearance in the center of the neighborhood. With banners of BDP, YDGK-H and PKK the masked group threw Molotov bombs and stones to banks and cash machines, performed halay and marched on the streets while yelling the slogans such as: “PKK is the people, people is here” (PKK halktır, halk burada), “Long live leader Apo” (Biji Serok

¹¹⁸ Batikent ve Eryaman 21.00'den sonra ringsiz. (2013, June 29). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 1, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/batikent-ve-eryaman-21-00-den-sonra-ringsiz-23609541>

¹¹⁹ Despite peace negotiations between PKK and Turkish State, the construction of fortifications in the southeastern Turkey did not cease. Medeni Yıldırım (18) died on 7 June as the military opened fire upon people protesting a fort construction at Lice.

Source: Lice'de ölen genç defnedildi. (2013, June 29). *BBC*. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from http://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler/2013/06/130629_lice_cenaze

¹²⁰ Source: Melih Gökçek geri adım attı. (2014, July 10). *Sozcu*. Retrieved May 21, 2016, from <http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2014/gundem/melih-gokcek-geri-adim-atti-553301/>

Apo), “Thousand greetings to İmralı” (Selam, selam İmralı’ya bin selam), “Long live YPG” (Biji YPG). Still the most famous motto of the Gezi was uttered in a different way: “Everywhere is Taksim, everywhere is Kurdistan”.¹²¹

This description of a momentary event enlightens only a part of the conflict between the pro-Kurdish groups and secular-nationalists during these gatherings. The overwhelming majority of the residents were voting for CHP and similar to Batıkent and Çayyolu, most people were fond of the slogan “We are Mustafa Kemal’s soldiers” even though the other organizations attempted to prevent it (Yürekli 2016: 234-235). This nationalist mass was not happy with the presence of BDP and PKK and their posters and slogans in Kurdish. They tried to expel them from Tuzluçayır and the hatred reached to the point of burning BDP’s bureau (Yürekli 2016: 235-236).

According to Yürekli, after this incident, the meetings at Tuzluçayır resembled a festival and lost its political sharpness since some people thought that the treatment of Kurdish nationalists were unjust, others thought that the political



Figure 15. The tents at Tuzluçayır which lasted for 73 days, longer than any other encampment of Gezi Movement except the tent-crew at Kuğulu Park. 20 July 2013. Photo: Tuzluçayır Direniş ve Dayanışma Çadırları

¹²¹ See: V29.

agenda of the movement were heading to a pro-Kurdish direction. Although the presence of tents and entertaining events continued to attract the people of Tuzluçayır, the political gatherings slowly exhausted with few exceptional dates such as Ali İsmail Korkmaz's 40.day commemoration. Still, Tuzluçayır sustained the resistance up until the end of Camii-cemevi protests. As an interesting case for those who resemble the tent city of Gezi Park with a middle-class bourgeois character; there was a protest encampment at Tuzluçayır raised on an idle estate. The encampment led by leftist organization AKADER and lasted for 73 days (Yürekli 2016: 240). Strangely, despite its endurance, none of the four interviewees who experienced protests at the neighborhood mentioned this encampment that this research lacks the information on the actors who sustained the performance. The occupation ended after police intervention during Camii-cemevi protests started on 7 September 2013.

On the other side of Ankara, Batıkent hosted a rare event in neighborhoods occurred during Gezi where people coming from different parts of Ankara participated. It was Ethem Sarıslük's funeral at Batıkent Pir Sultan Abdal Cemevi on midday of 16 July. Although the initial call was presuming a meeting at Kızılay Square, the police intervened to the groups and did allow them to gather¹²². After few hours of clashes, the protesters realized that the Ethem's funeral could not arrive at Kızılay. At Batıkent, the police blocked the escort and would not let them pass and the funeral returned back to the cemevi. Meanwhile the groups emerging from Kızılay Square gathered around it. Although the police did not allow the passage of the funeral, the protesters marched towards Batıkent Metro Station. On this march, people yelled "Comrade Ethem is immortal!" (Ethem yoldaş ölümsüzdür!), Dictator resign! (Diktatör istifa!) and an interesting slogan "Her yer

¹²² Ethem Sarıslük'ün cenazesine müdahale. (2013, July 16). NTV. Retrieved June 1, 2016, from <http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/ethem-sarisulukun-cenazesine-mudahale,7QTWUvLkwki1uWW3MMJZwA>

Kızılay, her yer direniş!” alongside with “her yer Taksim her yer direniş!¹²³”. We can see that people framed Kızılay as an important protest zone as Taksim. On the night, there was a second march, this time populated mostly by the residents of the district as a part of the protest routine. For the first time, it was crowded enough to enclose the Istanbul road. For about 10 minutes, the road was filled with protesters as an example of occupation but still there was no police presence. It was the most notable day of Batıkent’s participation to Occupy Gezi Movement. Later on, a park named after Ethem Sarısülük on 11 July 2013 that rigidifies the place-making in a way of naming the place¹²⁴. In this case, we observe the funeral of a protester resulting in synchronic events in two distant places, Kızılay Square and Batıkent, as a direct result of movement in the urban scale.

Overall, the exploration of the places of mobility at Ankara’s neighborhoods showed following conclusions. First, the neighborhood mobilizations are constituted by the components of occupation and movement: the coexistence of temporal occupations of certain streets as a result of marches. As protesters lit fires and barricaded the streets, they were performing the strategy of occupation, and when they march with slogans and banners, they were performing the strategy of movement. Second, these marches transformed not only the places of the public-sphere, but also they affected and articulated the places in the private sphere as people showed support from their houses in various ways. Third, some locations were appeared as meeting places for the protesters. The places contain features of easy accessibility and centrality that made them fruitful for gatherings. Yet, it also signifies that the places are not vehicle-free public squares that imposed danger of getting hit by a car when the protesters began their marches. Lastly, the police interventions eventually advanced to the neighborhoods and ceased the demonstrations. However, the protesters experienced a police free protest

¹²³ See: V30

¹²⁴ Ethem'in adı yaşayacak. (2013, July 11). *Hurriyet*. Retrieved June 1, 2016, from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ethem-in-adi-yasayacak-23695268>

environment especially during the first days. Yet, the Tuzluçayır example have showed that the absence of police force also paved the way for demonstrations held by illegal organizations that resulted in the diminishing of the popularity of movement. Again, related with the police, in the example of Ethem Sarısülüük's funeral, the intervention took place in two locations simultaneously, Batıkent and Kızılay Square, to prevent the protesters to gather and pay their respects to the martyr of the movement. This perfectly shows the movement of the protesters at urban-scale Ankara.

5.2 Neighborhood as the Basis of Identity

The neighborhood mobilizations were partially based on the formation of an identity rooted in sharing the place of dwelling. Protesters meet at the frequently used locations functioning as the center to be able to mobilize more people and roamed the streets to present their activity to the neighbors sitting at their homes. Actually, the meaning of term used for neighborhood dweller (*mahalle sakini*)¹²⁵ is turned vice-versa: by clinging pots and pans and bringing children to the protest, people brought the passive neighborhood identity to an active demonstration. Yaşar, a resident of 100.Yıl neighborhood, tells his experience of that night-march of the residents and their first intersection with the police:

We were at least two thousand people, marching down the street of Çukurambar. Some were stayed at the neighborhood, but along the way people were joining us. We went under the bridge at Eskişehir road, towards the AKP Headquarters. Of course, police appeared and shot tear-gas immediately. Then someone from the crowd run towards the police and said "stop, these people are from neighborhood!" ("durun bu insanlar mahalleli!")

¹²⁵ According to the dictionary of Turkish Language Association (TDK) the principal meaning of the adjective 'sakin' refers to 'immobile, static'.

Sakin. In *Türk Dil Kurumu*. Retrieved June 4, 2016, from http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_bts&arama=kelime&guid=TDK.GTS.5752f7b0d40d53.50731654

The unusual confrontation resembled mixed feelings of anger and a neutral identity. Marching towards the headquarters of the ruling party of Turkey is indeed a serious act but the residents were acting with emotions and they did not calculate the possible consequences. The crowd dispersed and run off from tear-gas to different directions. What this story tells us that people viewed the neighborhood identity as a neutral ground for a collection of people having different political alignments. Even against the police, the neutrality of the concept of neighborhood is embraced.

Furthermore, the meetings at the neighborhoods strengthened the social bonds between residents, they met and greet in the protest place where they were frequently using without knowing each other. On that issue, the neighborhood organizations played a notable role. For example, Serdar, a protester who lives in Çayyolu which is a district mostly populated by gated communities, put his thoughts on the issue as:

I think it (Gezi) has such kind of a success: people knew that they can act collectively at their neighborhoods. We discovered an alternative to demonstrating at Konur (a street at Kızılay)... I am living at Çayyolu, Türkkonut and we do not know anybody there. People's houses became mere buildings, without a social life. They come, they eat, and they leave. It is no different from a hotel. In such an individualized age, these organizations are valuable, for the friendships.

Notably, the mobilizations were showing strong Kemalist and patriotist character besides the neighborhood identity. The salient presence of Turkish flags and Turkish flags with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk portraits, the recurrent voicings of national anthems and independence songs indeed resembled the Republic Protests of 2007. Solidaristic identities were forged not on an entirely new basis, but in the form of merging with the Kemalist-secular elements. From Çayyolu to Tuzluçayır, the slogan “we are Mustafa Kemal’s soldiers” was often uttered and embraced by

the protesters¹²⁶. The political organizations (presumably the leftist ones) tried to prevent it by determining the slogans beforehand but they failed (Yürekli 2016: 235)

The meetings and marches became opportunities for the protesters to engage in collective actions with their fellow neighbors. Eray, a protester who lives in the neighborhood tells his first participation to a protest at Dikmen:

I participated at the march at Dikmen since I didn't go to Kuğulu that day. At the crossroads people with Turkish flags made their demonstration, there weren't any police intervention. There is a Police Lodge and they were positioned around it. From the upper side of the district, rather poor people were coming to the march, both I know them by person and I saw the old and modified cars. It was really good, they accommodated in and there were no intemperance, no vagrancy. Frankly, I was proud of where I live that showed such civilized manner.

The protesters coming from different socio-economic backgrounds coexisted in the protests without any noticeable segregation.

The slogans reflected a clear character of belonging to a certain neighborhood, and a visibility that ensures that character. The constant adaptation of the slogan “everywhere is Taksim, everywhere is ‘neighborhood’” is a certain remainder of the collective identity production through contiguity. In these neighborhoods, the slogans were not only a mixture of patriotism, leftist rhetoric, anti-government and Gezi specific character but also included phrases related to their neighborhoods. In Batıkent, Kemalist-nationalist slogans of “happy is who says I'm Turk!” (Ne Mutlu Türk'üm Diyene!), “we are Mustafa Kemal's soldiers!”, “this road does not end, liberty or death!” (bu yolu sonu yok, ya istiklal ya ölüm!), “Batıkent do not sleep, protect your country!” (Batıkent uyuma vatanına sahip çık!), “this country is ours, and it will be!” (Bu vatan bizimdir bizim kalacak!) and national marches such as 10.Yıl Marşı and Gençlik Marşı were accompanied by slogans of “shoulder to shoulder against fascism!” and “everywhere is Taksim, everywhere is

¹²⁶ See: V32, V35

resistance!” and leftist Gündoğdu Marşı. It must be noted that a significant amount of slogans were devoted directly to the Prime Minister’s personality. The slogans such as “Tayyip where are you? God damn you!” (Tayyip nerdesin? Allah belani versin!), “Tayyip resign!” or the homophobic “Gay Tayyip!” (Top Tayyip) indicates the focus of people’s anger as the Prime Minister Erdoğan.¹²⁷

Similarly in Dikmen, people yelled: “We are Mustafa Kemal’s Soldiers”, “shoulder to shoulder against fascism”, “Jump, jump, the one does not jump is Tayyip” (Zıpla, zıpla, ziplamayan Tayyip)¹²⁸, “Tayyip resign”, “This is just the beginning, continue the struggle” (Bu daha başlangıç, mücadeleye devam), “Dikmen is ours and it will be” (Dikmen bizimdir, bizim kalacak)¹²⁹. These vocal repertoires of contention are a certain indicator of the colorful participation to the Gezi protests in Dikmen. Significantly, the identity of the neighborhood is added to the already spicy flavor. Yet, when they arrive, they made their presence known by slogans such as “Dikmen is here, where is Tayyip?” (Dikmen burada, Tayyip nerede?).¹³⁰ For Tuzluçayır, the slogans reported by Yürekli (2016) were “Mamak uyuma, direniş sahip çık”, “Tuzluçayır uyuma, direniş sahip çık”, “Her yer Taksim, her yer direniş”, “Hükümet istifa”. Clearly, the emphasis was on the neighborhood and the district as the target of mobilization.

Police presence was an important variable in production of place-based identities. I have mentioned the police as a certain factor that functioned as the common threat that brought people together. Accordingly, the neighborhoods were not under continuous threat of intervention. Only if they march towards the city center as masses, the police intervened and scattered them. The center was occupied by the police where TOMAs transferred from other cities reinforced Ankara’s security

¹²⁷ See: V32,

¹²⁸ The phrase originally refers to a homophobic content frequently chanted during football games as “jump, jump, the one does not jump is gay”.

¹²⁹ See: V24, V25, V26, V33

¹³⁰ See: V23

forces. Thus, the neighborhoods were mostly without any police control that allowed peaceful marches occur, as well as the lack of police enabled parading of PKK in Tuzluçayır. It is plausible to say that the overall character of the movement in neighborhoods was a mixture of secular-Kemalist patriotism and particular neighborhood framings with a taste of leftist rhetoric.

5.3 Kennedy Street: An Ankara Obstinance¹³¹

Here I would like to mention the striking mobility at Kennedy Street which staged protests consecutively for more than a month and indicating the direct result of the movement's ability to create places alongside with the appropriation of already existing ones. Located in between Kuğulu Park and Kızılay Square, the street was overflowed with protesters hence it was physically impossible to gather in Kızılay. The spontaneous protest activity turned into persistent clashes between police and protesters¹³². They enclose the road sometimes with barricades, sometimes with mere human bodies. They stand sometimes with beers in hand chanting "cheers Tayyip".

The street is a perfect example of Massey's definition of place as the moments of interaction between social relations. On day-time, the street was used by the citizens of Ankara as a part of their everyday life. However, towards the evening, the protesters started to gather on the street, and momentarily transformed it to a place of protest. These protests were occurring almost every day that the street started to be recognized as a protest place, Özgür, a protester who lives at the location explains it as:

The area was stirring at about 6-7 p.m. since the protesters expelled from Kızılay coming to Kennedy. The evening protests of Ankara

¹³¹ This title was inspired by this newspaper article: Bir Ankara inatlaşması: Her gece aynı sokakta eylem ve müdahale. (2013, June 14). *Radikal*. Retrieved June 30, 2016, from <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/bir-ankara-inatlasmasi-her-gece-ayni-sokakta-eylem-ve-mudahale-1137615/>

¹³² See: V8, V12, V23

were occurring at Kennedy.

The consecutive moments introduced into the protest routine of Ankara. Similarly, Pınar who was present at mostly Kızılay and Kuğulu Park mentioned the situation of the street:

Kennedy became an issue towards the end. People were waiting for hours for the police to intervene. Police intervenes, cleans up everything (barricades etc.) and leaves. A different atmosphere was endured there.

Indeed, what Pınar was pointing out is that the protesters persistently gathered at the street, even that they knew that police will intervene at some point and scatter them. Nuray, a protester from Tuzluçayır with a leftist background was surprised from the continuous activity there:

The protest started at Kuğulu Park then dispersed to the small streets around. But afterwards, tremendously people regrouped at the Kennedy Street and even after midnight people were still clashing with the police. Believe me, some leftists despises those kinds of people because they were more fancy looking, 'lumpens'. So we flout them. Yet, they manifested an enormous resistance there.

Perhaps, the location bears a petite bourgeois character, with its bars and cafes located in the middle of two extreme cases of entertainment: the streets of Kızılay



Figure 18. The immense crowd at Kennedy Street, 15 June 2013. Photo: Odatv

populated by hole in the wall restaurants and honky-tonk places, and the upper-class nightclubs of Gaziosmanpaşa district. Yet, with this enormous resistance, Kennedy Street became a protest place of Ankara with striking sustainment, providing finest examples of place-making during Occupy Gezi Movement. This place also reserves significance on the protest routine of Ankara.

A mundane street without any symbolic value, apart from being named after a president of United States, transformed into a place of continuous struggle with police forces blocking the access to the Atatürk Boulevard. The protesters embedded the place with meaning of showing endurance and obstinacy. Previously, it was a mundane street on the route of Kızılay Square and people only passed through the street. Yet, as the police enclosed the road to prevent any possible accumulation of people at the square, the street became a place for protest. After that, people started to gather on the street, only to stand against the police.

5.4 Movement in the Urban Scale of Ankara

With an overall assessment of the interview data, a summary of Ankara's movement routine can be made. The participants working in stable jobs were able to participate to the events at Kuğulu Park and a respective neighborhood after work. On the weekends and on specific occasions (such as Ethem Sarışülük's funeral) Kızılay became a more frequent place of protest. On daytime, protesters mostly constituted of high-school and university students who were not pre-occupied with schoolwork during summer.

Kızılay Square with its vast area that reclaimed by the pedestrians staged the most populated meetings of Occupy Gezi Movement in Ankara. Yet, the interviewees' memories on Kızılay mostly constituted of violence and rush that sometimes functioned as a repellent factor. In words of Veli, the founder of Kuğulu Library:

I participated to the protests at Kızılay few times. Hence, I tried to devote my time to here (Kuğulu Library). And there is this reality: I am not a brave soldier; I have no use in fights.

As I put it in the third chapter, Kızılay hosted the violent events alongside with more active protesters. For Filiz, “Kızılay was more mobile, and people there was younger and more reckless” in comparison to her observations at Batıkent. The movement in between places affected protesters’ attribution of meaning; Kızılay was mentioned as the place for violence for some because they were able to observe relatively peaceful protest elsewhere. Still, this does not imply that every act at Kızılay Square was violent, or protests at Batıkent or Kuğulu was entirely peaceful.

Again, Gezi was not only about the places, but about the people’s movement that produces those places as meeting points of social relations. The mobility was constituted by arrivals and departures of groups with different protest styles that results in constant transformation of the collective identity of a place. For instance, Elif who volunteered for Kuğulu Library explains her time choices on being at the place:

People were gathering at Kızılay. They arrive to Kuğulu Park on the evening, that’s when I leave the park. They drank lots of alcohol and the protest transformed into an entertainment.

On day time, Kuğulu was telling a different story, exposing a different identity and meaning. As the scattered and tired protesters retreat to the Kuğulu Park the face of the place transforms into a carnivalesque one. People enjoyed the festive atmosphere while the some are disturbed by the exaggerated entertainment and left the place. Yet, for Nuray it was Kuğulu Park among others that she found interesting:

Kızılay is determined by the political organizations. The place was steadier, with strong man and women stand in the frontier. The slogans were determined by the spirit of the moment, according to the name of the event, and the call for protest. However, I am much more interested in and felt better in Kuğulu. People were coming to have fun, with drinks in hand. That’s what I liked the most. To participate to the protests is not the same thing with going to war.

According to Nuray's description, the Kızılay and Kuğulu Park significantly differed but her views contrasted the one provided by Elif above. Again the comparison between places made available by the mobility aspect of Occupy Gezi Movement. The views differ from each other, yet empirically it is proper to argue that the movement enabled such diverse views on Gezi and its places with distinct spatial properties that further enabled a more complex and more encompassing experience of an occupy movement by its actors. The protesters experienced the police violence, solidarity and sharing during their movement between places. Foucault's boat-like place moved back and forth in between these protest zones, and as they move they produced Massey's 'meeting-places' in neighborhoods and city-center alike. The continuous movement enabled the experience of distinct spatial contexts and contributed new features to the protest experience. It is quite significant for me to see during my interviews that meeting with a person mainly to collect information about a place can result in additional information on unexpected places. A protester told me about Dikmen as well as Kuğulu Park and Kızılay, the founder of Kuğulu Library was present at Ethem Sarısülük's funeral at Batıkent, a protester who lives in Tunalı Hilmi district told me about the protests at Tuzluçayır, a protester from Tuzluçayır provided information on Kuğulu Park and Kennedy Street, and all this enabled by the salient movement during Occupy Gezi. To mention Lefebvre once again, the physical space, the representations of space and experience of space significantly differed in each of these places, on Kızılay, Kuğulu Park, Kennedy Street and various places of neighborhood mobilizations. The existing literature attended to the multiplicity of identities (although, the ones mostly established previous to Gezi), the multiplicity of episodes, and here my contribution is about the multiplicity of places.

For the experience of Occupy Gezi Movement in the second episode signifies another important empirical fact: the coexistence of different spatial contexts, all mobilized and transformed into protest zones with different features. In contrast with the singular analysis of Gezi Park, this point indicates the experience of the

movement place-based. Certain identities with certain performances were apparent in a place, whereas the same people acted differently, and exposed different sides of their identity in other places. Although their participation signified certain emphasis on a spatial context (Kuğulu, Kızılay or a neighborhood), they were able to experience the different places of the movement.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis is result of a contradictory couple: occupy and movement. While the contemporary accounts focus on the ‘occupy’ as a popular style of resistance that settles in a place and by both being influenced and investing to the space, the meanings are challenged and inverted, the new life-styles are projected, their works overshadow the ‘movement’, an ancient form of antagonism that derives its power from mobility, by sometimes being evasive, and sometimes being determinate. The two incompatible meanings together perfectly defines Gezi, in contrast with the overwhelming majority of the literature that limits the movement to the occupation of Gezi Park.

The temporal unfolding of events was so complex that it might be difficult to follow. To be able to provide a simple narration of the events and where they stand in a movement, I divided the movement into three episodes: first the local-scale first episode within the boundaries of Gezi Park, beginning with the establishment of the encampment and ends with the destruction of the encampment. Second episode began on 31 May, at both Gezi Park and in other cities with violent clashes between the protesters and the police. I have argued that the Occupy Gezi Movement was not only about the park and the environmental concerns but also about a historical accumulation of grievances that made Gezi’s scalar jump possible. Significantly, this thesis focuses on the protests at Ankara, which only emerged with the second episode indicating movement’s spread to the nation-scale.

Before delving into the analysis of the protests at Ankara, I have established a theoretical framework that will be helpful in understanding the multiple and dynamic events occurring in different places. With the help of Lefebvre’s three-

partite conceptualization of space with history and Massey's definition of place as moments, I was able to develop a perspective of protests in spatio-temporality. The third addition was the concept of mobility that complements the movement part of the protests; I suggested that it also has a place, despite being elusive. Lastly, I have provided accounts that perceive identities as dynamic, shaped and negotiated during collective action. The intersection point of all these theories is that they emphasize dynamism within the concepts of space, place, mobility and identity.

The empirical chapters are constituted by the analyses of Kızılay Square, Kuğulu Park and the neighborhood mobilizations in Occupy Gezi Movement that sheds light to the overshadowed part of the protests. The existence of different places and mobile protesters who experienced those places indicated multifaceted opinions on Gezi. Protesters were able to experience violent performances at Kızılay Square as well as the festive atmosphere of Kuğulu Park that transcends attributions of totality. In fact, this thesis have shown that each physical space that staged the Occupy Gezi Movement has its own significant features, and differences. The performances at the square were not only about violence or the performances at the park were not only about the carnivalesque festivity.

Overall, the protests in Ankara diffused to discrete places, appropriating them as temporary protest zones. The movement of the protesters brokered these zones into the same movement: Kızılay Square framed as the natural direction of the movement as a meeting place of history, the physical structure and diverse performances and temporal transformation of identities. These previously established identities negotiated on the basis of solidarity and against police violence as well as discontent against government. Kuğulu Park was the stage of performances resembled Gezi Park whereas the neighborhoods were the transitional places of outrage and dissent with a striking mobility. Alongside with these two, the neighborhood mobilizations essentially became part of the Occupy Gezi Movement with varying performances that puts the 'movement' component forward.

The concluding argument is that Occupy Gezi Movement is a place-based social movement, however to understand its components, the analysis of Gezi Park is indeed essential, but at the same time not sufficient. Each place in 80 of the 81 provinces of Turkey shares this place-based feature of the movement, and therefore requires similar attention with Gezi Park. This thesis partially fulfills this requirement in the capital city, presenting the conflictual coexistence of a multiplicity of places, articulated into the same movement.

While acknowledging the complexity of the phenomenon analyzed, the numerous appearances of it in various contexts, the research is based on the coexistence of different places in the same movement. To be clear, this thesis is not on social movements –although the subject matter is an essential part of it- , but it focuses on dynamics of protest. The place based analysis is not special to this research but the existing works are extensively devoted to the Gezi Park which is of most value since they are attempts of understanding the place that named the phenomenon. Still, Occupy Gezi Movement is not only about Gezi Park, or any other place, it is about a network of places that are temporally occupied as a result of people's constant movement.

Apart from its analysis on the empirical data, this thesis suggests an alternative methodological approach to occupy movements. First, by focusing on the tactic of 'occupy' that signifies the most recent wave of mobilizations, the 'movement' component should not be neglected. Indeed, these mobilizations inherited numerous features from the alter-Globalization movement and merged these with the new tactic of occupying public places and researchers should investigate these places by realizing that people were not static on those places and these mobilizations are direct results of movement between places. Thus, secondly, investigation of a singular place – in this case Gezi Park – can only explore a portion of the phenomenon. This research's methodological approach seeks for understanding a multiplicity of places where people move in between, transform the places and also be transformed by those places. A square, a park and various

neighborhoods were described and analyzed in this thesis with respect to the mobility of the actors of Gezi who produced protest zones everywhere they went. Thirdly, the constantly changing nature of the movement suggests that temporality is as important as spatiality. What is at stake here is that moments of coexistence, those different ensembles of social relations meet at a place at a given time that draws a picture of the protest. Therefore, at a different time and place, a different picture was possible that this thesis might have missed. A total representation of such a phenomenon is impossible; underlying patterns might appear but always with deviations. For example, Gezi is not entirely a peaceful movement, or a violent one. It is not entirely driven by leftists or secular-Kemalists. All these components met in a place at a particular moment that gave us the picture of the protest. Fourthly, the identities of the movement's actors necessarily indicate a certain walk of life, a personal history that affects their behavior. This thesis does not focus on, for example, leftists' participation in Gezi Movement. In contrast, here the analysis is on how they produce an identity as a result of their collective action. These actions are not entirely related to who these people were, but indeed about what they become in their encounter with a broader collectivity and the police in a certain place. Alas, these identities were never static; they are produced and negotiated according to the course of events. Especially, I found that police presence is a certain factor on the production and display of the identities, shaping the behavior that is mostly denominated as 'violent'. The destructive character is fueled by the disproportionate police interventions and segregating rhetoric used by the government but most importantly by the protesters themselves. The protesters searched for a rationale behind such actions, and if they could not find any, there will be immediate exclusion from the collectivity.

A certain limitation is that the public opinion changes in Turkey rapidly unfortunately because of the disasters occurring in the country almost every month. The interviews are made in between October 2015 and May 2016. On 10th of October, terrorist organization ISIS killed 107 people who were demonstrating

for peace and democracy. On 17th of February, another bombing struck the civilians and military officers on Ankara's Merasim Street, this time undertaken by terrorist organization TAK, killing 29 people. On March 13, TAK strike again to Kızılay Square, killing 36 citizens. Within five months, three bombings occurred at urban Ankara that left deep wounds in the collective memory. The interviewees and their opinions were certainly affected differently since some interviews are done at different times in between those terrible events. Yet, I believe it is impossible to conduct a research without such difficulty, especially in a country such as Turkey where the political atmosphere changes dramatically. The author of this text is certainly not immune to the repercussions of these events. Especially after the bloody coup attempt on 15th of July, this time orchestrated by another terrorist organization, FETÖ, the whole society experienced a trauma where the citizens of Ankara and İstanbul experienced the clashes personally and 265 citizens felt victim to the coup attempt.

Then, what does Gezi tell us about contemporary Turkey? Honestly, not much. Currently, a state of emergency is at force in all across Turkey. The country is under siege by three different terrorist organizations. In this context, one might argue that mass participation to street politics is not entirely abandoned but mostly postponed to an indeterminate future. Dissent is enduring within society; however it is compelled to retreat with terrorism and countermeasures of terrorism. Most surprisingly, the street politics are currently reinforced by the government and the president Erdoğan with free transportation to the protest zones which are strictly banned back in Gezi days. Ironically, three years after Gezi, the crowd – this time significantly different at displaying their identities – is on the streets and squares to support the elected government in 'Democracy Meetings'. Perhaps further studies will provide a comparative perspective on the changing of the street politics in Turkey.

In my interviews, the concluding question was "did you enjoy your time at Gezi?" and all replied with a confident yes. Although their experiences varied, the places

of their experience differed, every one of them were enjoying their participation to Gezi since they were able to reflect their personality in an event with a just cause that they were conscious of its historical importance and actually they were entertained despite all the violence and lost lives. In my personal view, the enjoyment in street politics is nostalgic in the contemporary Turkish context that appears as grimmer than ever.

6.1 Epilogue

On March 12 of next year, I was at the Kızılay Square, once again for Gezi. A 15 year-old boy, Berkin Elvan, was dead after staying 269 day at coma. He was the only remnant of the movement, and now it was lost. The gathering did not resemble an ideal, which was different in all of us but it resembled an emotion, not anger but grief truly. There were no talk of politics, no joyful coexistence and we stood at the middle of the square in silence. The long summer of politics was over and Ankara was cold and gray as usual.

Then, the police appeared with TOMAs and rained tear-gas all over the square. They were experienced as well, especially on how to scatter the protesters which they managed to accomplish in seconds. In herd-like escape we lost each other, and a kid whom we never knew in person. That day was the last of the Gezi days.

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APPENDICES

A. VIDEOS

Video 1 Title: Birinci gözden 1 Haziran 2013 Ankara Kızılay Güvenpark

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9PGwS1sffVs>

Uploader: Mert Bursalı

Published on: Jun 2, 2013

Length: 28:33

Video 2 Title: Ankara Kızılay Meydanı Gezi Parkı Direniş Olayları

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=27Gv2lomlcI>

Uploader: GeziParkiOlaylari

Published on: Jun 1, 2013

Length: 0:56

Video 3 Title: Birinci Gözden Ankara - 2 Haziran Ankara Kızılay Meşrutiyet Caddesi

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QGDKdKdaIHg>

Uploader: Mert Bursalı

Published on: Jun 2, 2013

Length: 9:38

Video 4 Title: 1 Haziran Ankara Gezi Parkı'na Destek Protestosu Görüntüleri

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uXJaPwK9eDI>

Uploader: guzelmarmara

Published on: Jun 2, 2013

Length: 15:46

Video 5 Title: 2 Haziran Ankara Gezi Parkı'na Destek Protestosu Görüntüleri

Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w11eKUr6_aU

Uploader: guzelmarmara

Published on: Jun 3, 2013

Length: 23:53

Video 6 Title: 3 Haziran Pazartesi - Ankara Gezi Parkı'na Destek Protestosu

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7GNXNZVEp4Y>

Uploader: guzelmarmara

Published on: Jun 3, 2013

Length: 21:36

Video 7 Title: 4 Haziran Salı - Ankara Gezi Parkı'na Destek Protestoları

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6bf8TjiPnq0>

Uploader: guzelmarmara

Published on: Jun 4, 2013

Length: 19:20

Video 8 Title: 6 Haziran Perşembe - Ankara Gezi Parkı'na Destek Protestoları - Pasif Direniş

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kvpmdbtFh2s>

Uploader: guzelmarmara

Published on: Jun 6, 2013

Length: 2:27

Video 9 Title: 7 Haziran Cuma - Ankara'da Pasif Direniş

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v8L8fLZQ4Zo>

Uploader: guzelmarmara

Published on: Jun 8, 2013

Length: 5:41

Video 10 Title: Taksim Gezi Parkı Olayları - Ankara / 2

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xL8ZBTWBxhw>

Uploader: balgatankara.com

Published on: Jun 3, 2013

Length: 22:57

Video 11 Title: Taksim Gezi Parkı Olayları - Ankara / 1

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ySTMbHg4z7o>

Uploader: balgatankara.com

Published on: Jun 2, 2013

Length: 31:46

Video 12 Title: 8 Haziran Cumartesi - Kennedy Caddesi

Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=is_37WbScX4

Uploader: guzelmarmara

Published on: Jun 8, 2013

Length: 12:30

Video 13 Title: Ankara Kızılay Meydanında Büyük Olay - TOMA Müdahaleleri

Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z_OPBpShM

Uploader: balgatankara.com

Published on: Jun 17, 2013

Length: 30:09

Video 14 Title: The RIOT in Ankara Kızılay Square Evening 01.06.2013

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYjRQGZkkLo>

Uploader: Sedat CANLI

Published on: Jun 1, 2013

Length: 14: 39

Video 15 Title: The RIOT in Ankara (PART 2) Kızılay Square Evening 02.06.2013

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1TmWw0Sddqc&spfreload=10>

Uploader: Sedat CANLI

Published on: Jun 2, 2013

Length: 13:16

Video 16 Title: Diren Kızılay

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jSY9FyxOT84>

Uploader: Çağatay Yılmaz

Published on: Jun 4, 2013

Length: 15:26

Video 17 Title: DİREN ANKARA - KIZILAY

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tNO9kwtWOAE>

Uploader: Çağatay Yılmaz

Published on: Jun 5, 2013

Length: 12:39

Video 18 Title: Diren Ankara – Kuğulupark

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SpNqgeTKORY>

Uploader: Çağatay Yılmaz

Published on: Jun 9, 2013

Length: 9:55

Video 19 Title: Diren Ankara - Tomalı Hilmi Caddesi

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4HGrHr4C0eE>

Uploader: Çağatay Yılmaz

Published on: Jun 10, 2013

Length: 12:56

Video 20 Title: 18 haziran 2013 | kuğulu park çapulcu orkestrası

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ytYFd5fyPtA>

Uploader: Çağlar Çağlayan
Published on: Jun 18, 2013
Length: 14:36

Video 21 Title: türkülerle, şarkılarla, halaylarla, horonlarla DİRENİŞ (12.06.2013 - KUĞULU PARK)

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qW7NqFHYWLw>

Uploader: Sahip Çık Gazete
Published on: Jun 13, 2013
Length: 17:17

Video 22 Title: 05 haziran 2013 tunali

Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_s-3v9IW-3o

Uploader: Sibel Tekin
Published on: Jun 6, 2016
Length: 9:18

Video 23 Title: Gezi Parkı Ankara Direnişi - Dikmen'den 1000 kişilik grubun Kennedy'e inmesi - 5 Haziran 2013

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NTMjrTKnGCM>

Uploader: Diren Gezi Parkı
Published on: Jun 6, 2013
Length: 1:30

Video 24 Title: Ankara Dikmen Caddesinde Korsan Gösteri ve Polis Müdahalesi

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6KabEnPSE-c>

Uploader: Abdullah ortaç
Published on: Jun 23, 2013
Length: 11:04

Video 25 Title: DİKMEN CADDESİNDE GEZİ PARKINA DESTEK EYLEMİ

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jAVjr-Dx-g4>

Uploader: Abdullah ortaç
Published on: Jun 23, 2013
Length: 9:15

Video 26 Title: ANKARA-DİKMEN CADDESİ 01.06.2013 GECE YAPILAN GEZİ PARK DESTEK EYLEMİ -GÖRÜNTÜLERİ

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QPNCXt7WQKU>

Uploader: Abdullah ortaç
Published on: Jun 2, 2013
Length: 7:51

Video 27 Title: Ankara Kuğulu Park #direnankara
Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LnuMtxjbetw>
Uploader: Deniz Ercan
Published on: Jun 7, 2013
Length: 6:26

Video 28 Title: Anti Kapitalist Müslümanlar Kuğulu Park'ta #direnankara
Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=suuc54k3pdE&spfreload=5>
Uploader: Deniz Ercan
Published on: Jun 7, 2013
Length: 3:22

Video 29 Title: YDGK-H ve YDG-H'den Ankara TUZLUÇAYIR'da Molotoflu Eylem (13.06.2013) - Kürdistan'a Selam Olsun!
Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sCA8QGiA7z8>
Uploader: Devran Arhat
Published on: Jun 14, 2013
Length: 11:18

Video 30 Title: Ethem Sarisülük Cenazesinde Sonu Görülmeyen Kalabalık
Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ByClN1wQm4>
Uploader: PrometheusTitans
Published on: Jun 16, 2013
Length: 1:57

Video 31 Title: Ankara Batıkent-Meydan'da Gençler Gezi Parkı İçin Eylemde (3 Haziran 2013)
Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wD_mfEkkGQY
Uploader: PrometheusTitans
Published on: Jun 3, 2013
Length: 0:59

Video 32 Title: Ankara Batıkent - Taksim için Direniş
Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7c674LwHvwY>
Uploader: Deniz Fidan
Published on: Jun 2, 2013
Length: 52:56

Video 33 Title: dikmen gezi park destek
Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q4I6dnu9fQc>
Uploader: koray özsoy
Published on: Jun 1, 2013
Length: 2:45

Video 34 Title: Dikmen Ankara Direnişi, Müdahaleye Rağmen Tekrar Toplandı

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4OiUbSvRfHk>

Uploader: balgatankara.com

Published on: Jun 22, 2013

Length: 19:32

Video 35 Title: Dikmen 02.06.2013 GEZİ PARKI EYLEMLERİNİN DİKMEN

AYAĞI

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J5kb87lP9eI>

Uploader: nrengin sazak

Published on: Jun 3, 2013

Length: 6:56

Video 36 Title: 100.yıl GEZİ PARKI için kırlaya yürüyor

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bgNch8YwGew>

Uploader: o6m6k6

Published on: Jun 1, 2013

Length: 5:33

Video 37 Title: gezi park 100.yıl Çukurambar ODTÜ ANKARA

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XdN66WyaM9c>

Uploader: Cumhur Kaya

Published on: Jun 3, 2013

Length: 4:04

Video 38 Title: Ankara 100.Yıl

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cSmCpLk3Q1o>

Uploader: aycan kaya

Published on: Jun 3, 2013

Length: 4:10

Video 39 Title: Çarşı Ankara kuğulu park

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VrAGgDK7PVo>

Uploader: erhan eren

Published on: May 31, 2013

Length: 2:20

Video 40 Title: Çarşı Ankara: "her yer Taksim her yer direniş"

Link: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Vn72TcpjMY>

Uploader: TGB Haber

Published on: Jun 10, 2013

Length: 2:39

Video 41 Title: 23 Agustos Kugulupark Mudahale ve Gozaltilar

Link:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mHFRstPKU74&feature=youtube_gdata_player

Uploader: Sibel Tekin

Published on: Aug 24, 2013

Length: 8:36

B. TURKISH SUMMARY

Türkiye'deki 2013 yazı protestoları, Gezi Protestoları, Gezi Direnişi, Gezi Ayaklanması, Gezi Kalkışması gibi isimlerle anılmış, çeşitli yönleri vurgulanmıştır. Bu tez de başka bir vurgu amacıyla olayları Gezi İşgal Hareketi şeklinde adlandırmıştır. İşgal (occupy) ve hareket (movement) Gezi'nin içinde barınan ve aslen bu tezin temelini oturtacak çelişkili bir strateji birliktelğini gösterir. Literatürde işgal durağan, hareketi reddeden ve son dönemde popülerleşen, Arap Baharı ve Occupy Wall Street gibi halk ayaklanması işaret eden bir konseptken, hareket bir gezinirlik, göçebelik yani kısaca sabitliği dışında bırakılan anlamlar taşır. İki terimin birlikteliği kanımcı Gezi'nin karmaşık yapısını, hareket ve durağanlığın birleşimi noktasında ifade etme yetisine sahiptir. Gezi'nin aktörleri bu iki stratejiyi harmanlamış, kimi zaman polis şiddetile kimi zaman kendi amaçları doğrultusunda dönüşümlü olarak kullanmıştır.

Gezi İşgal Hareketi Gezi Parkı'nın yıkımına karşı çıkan az sayıda insan tarafından başlatılsa da, hareket kısa zamanda tüm Türkiye'ye yayıldı, birçok mekanı sahnesi haleni getirdi. Şüphesiz AKP'nin toplumda biriktirdiği rahatsızlıklar, vatandaşların yaşam tarzlarına yapılan müdehaleler, ayrıştırıcı dil, kentin neoliberal politikalar yörüngesinde talanıyla birleşti ve hemen hemen her kesimden insanı sokağa döküldüğü bir protesto zincirine sebep oldu. Fakat Gezi literatürü hızla büyürken analizler Gezi Parkı ve Taksim Meydanı'yla sınırlı kalmıştır. Bu tezin Gezi literatürüne birincil katkısı tam da bu noktada Gezi Hareketine parkın dışından bir yerden, Ankara'dan bakmasıdır. Bu bakış açısı hali hazırda üretilmiş bilginin merkezini değiştirerek, o merkezin gölgdede bıraktığı alanları, o alanlardaki protesto, mekan ve kimlik ilişkisini açığa çıkarmayı amaçlar.

Gezi Hareketine Gezi Parkı'nın dışından bakarak ne elde edebiliriz? Bu açı işgal-hareket birlikteliği hakkında, eylemcilerin kimlikleri hakkında, ve Başkent özelindeki Gezi Hareketi hakkında ne gibi çıkarımlara yol açar? Bu sorular

araştırmacıyı bir sosyal hareket analizinden çok bir mekan-protesto analizini yapmaya itiyor. Dolayısıyla tez yer (space), mekan (place), hareketlilik (mobility) ve kimlik (identity) terimlerini özel anlamlar atfederek kullanmakta. Space terimi Türkçe'ye pasif bir anlamı olan boşluk olarak da çevrilebilir fakat Lefebvre'nin kavramsallaştırması bu anlayışa karşı çıkar ve yerin tarihselliğine vurgu yapar. Lefebvre'in üç yüzlü yer algısı, üzerinde aynı anda bulunan farklı sosyal ilişki toplamlarını işaret eder. Mekan ise Massey'in tanımladığı şekliyle Lefebvre çok yakın bir noktadan, fakat bu kez zamansallığa yaptığı vurgu açısından bu tez için daha elverişli bir anlam taşır. Massey mekanı sosyal ilişkilerin yer ve zamandaki buluşma noktası olarak düşünür ve hareketi de içinde barındabilecek bir kavram sunar. Massey'e göre mekan sonsuz sayıda benzersiz anlardan oluşur. Bu nedenle bu tez bir kaç yer hariç Lefebvre'nin yer kavramından çok Massey'in mekan kavramı sallaştırmasına ağırlık veriyor. Hareketlilik ise tüm olayların içinde bazen arka planda, bazense ön planda anlatımsal olarak karşımıza çıkıyor. Aslında Massey'in mekanı da bir kısıtlamayı (place-bound) değil, bir temellenmeye (place-based) vurguluyor. Böylece hareket ve durağanlık teorik bir çerçeveye oturtulabiliyor. Hareketliliğin mekanları, özellikle mahalleleri inceleyen son bölümde ön plana çıkıyor, Gezi örneği üzerinden çekişmeci siyasetin coğrafyasına dair de gözlemler sunuyor. Bu analizde bir diğer önemli kavram ise kimlik. Gezi'nin aktörleri elbette ki farklı kimliklerden, farklı geçmişlerden ve düşüncelerden gelen insanları barındırıyor fakat bu tezin irdelemeyi amaçladığı şey hangi farklı kimliklerin olaylar esnasında nasıl davranışları değil, olayların bu kimlikleri nasıl etkilediği ve nasıl değişimlere uğrattığıdır. Foucault'nun da deyimiyle, belki de Gezi'nin gösterdiği şey insanların kim oldukları değil, kim olmayı reddettikleriyle ilgili. Kimlik bu noktada sürekli değişim halinde ve yalnızca Gezi eylemcileri tarafından değil, polis gibi dış etmenlerden de bir hayli etkileniyor. Tüm bu kavramsal yorumlamaların ortak özelliği belli derecede bir dinamizm içermeleri, değişken fenomenleri anlamakta perspektif sunmaları ve durağanlığı reddetmeleri.

Bu tezde temel argüman Gezi tecrübesinin mekansal bir temelinin olduğu fakat bu boyutun yalnızca Gezi Park'ına bakılarak anlaşılmaya çalışılmasının eksik ve yanlış genellemelere yol açığıdır. Bu nedenle araştırma sırasında birden fazla mekan incelenerek hareket konusu irdelenmiş işgal üzerine yapılan tartışmayla harmanlanmıştır. Mekanların ve olayların fazlalığını analitik bir anlatıma kavuşturmak için Gezi bölgülerden oluşmuş bir hikayeyleştirmeye oturtulmuştur. Belirtildiği gibi, hareket önce İstanbul Gezi Park'ında başlamış, ve 31 Mayıs akşamı çadırların yakılmasıyla birlikte birinci bölüm tamamlanmış, takip eden bölüm, ölçüği tüm Türkiye'yi kapsayacak şekilde devam etmiştir. Ankara Gezi Hareketi'ne bu bölümde katılmış, uzun, şiddet dozu ve katılımı yüksek bir dizi protesto eyleminin mekanlarını içine katmıştır. Bu noktadaki ayrım hareketin ölçüği temel alınarak yapılmıştır. Gezi Park'ındaki ilk günler yerel ölçekte bir hareketi işaret ederken, ikinci bölümde Gezi ülke-ölçeğine yükselmiş ve uzun bir süre tüm Türkiye'de devam etmiştir. Üçüncü bölüm ise ikinin yavaşça sökümlenmesinden sonra Ankara'da iki yerel hareketin (Tuzluçayır'daki Camii-cemevi protestoları ve 100.Yıl'daki ODTÜ yolu protestoları) Gezi'ye eklenmesinden oluşur.

Analiz edilen konunun karmaşıklığı, aktörlerinin, motivasyonlarının ve mekanlarının fazlalığı ve olayların üzerinden üç yıl gibi hatrı sayılır bir zamanın geçmiş olması beni birden fazla kaynaktan elde edilen veriyi incelemeye mecbur kııldı. Ankara'da eylemlere katılmış onbeş kişiyle yarı-yapıldırılmış mülakatlar yaptım ve katılımcıların kimliklerini tamamiyle gizli tuttum. Bu noktada mülakatların ulaşamadığı iki aktör var. Birincisi, Kuğulu İnisiyatifbünyesinde forumları düzenleyen insanlar. Bu insanlara tüm çabalarıma rağmen ulaşmadım. Bir kısmı ya tezi ilgi çekici bulmadığından ya da siyasetten tamamen uzaklaştıkları için çağrırlara cevap vermezken, cevap veren iki kişi ise türlü bahanelerle görüşmeleri ertelemiştir. Bu nedenle forumlar ancak katılımcılarının gözünden kısmı bir şekilde irdelenebilmiştir. İkinci olarak, Kızılay'da bulunan yıkıcı karakterler. Bu aktörler malesef yapılan mülakatlarda bir üçüncü şahıs olarak

ortaya çıkmış, neredeyse tüm katılımcılar irrasyonel şiddeteye karşı bir duruş sergilemiştir. Bu duruş Gezi'nin kimliği üzerine birçok şey söylese dahi şiddet eylemlerine katılan insanların eksikliği tartışmayı belli derecede önyargılı bir kaynaktan yürütmemeye sebep olmuştur. Ayrıca, mülakatların yapıldığı dönem (Ekim-Haziran 2016) Ankara halkı korkunç olaylara maruz kalmış, kamusal alanlarda ard arda patlayan bombalar katılımcıları değişen derecelerde etkilemiştir. Bu tezin yazarı olarak ben de bu gelişmelerden bir hayli etkilendim.

Mülakatlara ek olarak, Türkiye'nin liberal sayılabilen gazetelerinin (çoğunlukla Hürriyet, Radikal, t24) internet üzerinden yayınıladığı haberlere sıkça referans verdim ve tezin anlatımına ekledim. Bu ekleme tamamıyla anlatımsal olup, herhangi fikri bir atıf içermemektedir. Bunlara da ek olarak, eylem dinamiğini anlamak, katılımcıları ve davranışları ortaya çıkarmak için dokuz saat aşan bir video analizi yaptım. Bu videolar çoğunlukla katılımcılar tarafından YouTube'a yüklenmiş ve manipülatif içeriği kısıtlı, yüksek çözünürlüklü amatör kayıtlardır. Analizlere tez boyunca atıfta bulunulmuş, video bilgileri tezin sonuna eklenmiştir. Ankara'da Gezi 31 Mayıs günü insanların Kuğulu Park'ta Gezi Parkı'ndaki adaletsizliği protesto etmek için toplanmalarıyla başlamıştır. Bu günün bir diğer özelliği ise Metin Lokumcu'nun ölüm yıldönümü dolayısıyla bazı sol kesimlerin hali hızırda sokakta olmasıdır. Toplanmadan sonra bazıları Kızılay'a yürümüş, bazıları ise mahallelerine dönüp orada eylemliliklerini sürdürmüştür. İlk gününden itibaren, Gezi İşgal Hareketi Ankara'da farklı mekanlara yayılmıştır. Bu olayların ve eylemlerin özneleri sürekli bir değişim içerisinde olduğundan, takip eden bölümler bu dinamizmi yakalamaya çalışmaktadır. Ana gövdede iki mekan, Kızılay Meydanı ve Kuğulu Park bireysel olarak incelemiştir.

Kızılay Meydanı yeni cumhuriyetin Ulustan sonraki ikinci merkezidir ve cumhuriyet döneminde birçok değişimler geçirmiştir. Havuzları, yeşil alanları ve konserleriyle seküler şehirciliğin yöneten elit tarafından idealize edildiği yerdir. Zamanla, meydan birçok güç odağına komşuluk yapar hale gelmiştir. Meydana komşu olan alışveriş merkezleri, iş hanları, banka şubeleri, finans merkezleri ve en

önemli devlet binaları mekanı bir güç merkezi haline getirmiştir. Meydan, Melih Gökçek'in belediye başkanlığı sırasında trafiği asgari düzeye indirmeyi amaçlayan bir otobanlaşmaya maruz kalmış, meydan çevresinde 93 üst geçit kurulmuş, kalan son yeşil alanı da dolmuşlar ve otobüs duraklarında işgal edilmiştir.

Kızılay Meydanı'nı diğer tüm eylem mekanları arsasında özel kılan ise Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin bir kilometre yarıçapındaki eylem yasağının içerisinde kalmasıdır. Yine de, meydan birçok eyleme tanıklık etmiş, Ankara'nın geleneksel bir eylem mekanı olmuştur. Bu gelenek, 1 Haziran günü Gezi'yle devam eder, polisin sürekli baskısına ve müdehalesine rağmen, sayısız bayrak ve flamayla marjinal soldan aşırı sağa kadar tüm grupların biraraya gelerek eylem yaptığı bir alan olur. Göstericiler Ankara trafiğinin ana alterlerinden birine bedenlerini koyarak Hükümet binalarına yürümüş ve Gezi'de esine az rastlanacak bir olaya, polisin geri çekilmesine sebep olmuştur. Yaklaşık bir gün boyunca, meydan, kurumsal siyasetin merkezinden yalnızca metreler uzakta, devlet otoritesinden koparılmıştır.

Sağ ve sol gruplar arasındaki kırılgan birliktelik polis şiddeti karşısında bir kimiksizlik stratejisine dönüşmüştür, bayraklar ve flamalar kaldırılmış, ayırtıcı sloganlar ve hareketler azaltılmaya çalışılmış ve meydanda hayatı kalmak üzerine bir Gezi kimliği oluşturulmuştur. Özellikle sol gruplarla MHP'lilerin karşılaşması onyillardır süregelen bir karşılığın meydan üzerinde, bu kez ortak bir amaç uğruna bir araya gelişine sahne olmuştur. Meydan önemini uzun süre korumuş, fakat zamanla polis toplanmayı engellemeye başlamıştır. Ethem Sarıslük'ün cenaze gününde bile polis göstericilerin toplanmasına izin vermemiş, çok şiddetli müdehalelerde bulunmuştur.

Meydan fazla sorgulanmayan, hareketin doğal yönü olarak çerçevelenmiştir. Meydanın devlet binalarına yakınlığı eylemcilere fiziksel bir hedef sunmuş, hükümet karşılığının binalar vasıtıyla cismleşmiştir. Sol gelenekten gelen sloganlar Kemalist-vatansever sloganlarla birleşmiş, kitle ikisine de katılım göstermiştir. İstenmeyen davranışlar çoğu zaman bir ötekiye atfedilmiş, bu

ötekileştirilen davranışlar hareketin dışına itilerek hareket bu açıdan temiz tutulmaya çalışılmıştır. Tekrar etmek gereklidir ki, bu noktada ötekileştirilen eylemlerin aktörlerinin ifadelerinin bu tezin içerisinde yer almaması göze çarpan bir eksikliktir. Öte yandan küçük çaptaki yağmalar paradan çok metalleri hedef almış, yağmalanan metaller oracıkta tüketilmiş, çıkar amacı güdülmemiştir.

Kızılay'ın ev sahipliği yaptığı bir önceki direnişin (TEKEL direnişi) aksine polisin sürekli müdehalesi nedeniyle meydanda çadırlar ya da diğer işgal yapıları kurulamamış, ancak bu müdehaleler başka mekanların dönüştürülmesine sebep olmuştur. Örneğin Mülkiyeliler Birliği ve Mimarlar Odası'nın bulunduğu daire revire çevrilmiştir. Gönüllü olan doktorlar yaralılara hızlı bir şekilde müdehale etmeye çalışmış, meydandaki direniş diri tutulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bunların yanı sıra bir çok barikat sokak mobilyalarını kullanarak kurulmuş, hatta Mülkiyeliler Birliği'nin kapısı bile sökülderek barikata yerleştirilmiştir. İstisnai olarak, Ethem Sarıslük'ün vurulduğu nokta eylemciler tarafından bir mezarı andıracak şekilde düzenlenmiş, çevrelenmiş ve içerisinde çičekler yerleştirilmiştir. Buraya bırakılan not (polis burada bir eylemciyi öldürmüştür) meydandaki kimiksizliğin birleştirici unsurları hakkında da ipuçları verir.

Kuğulu Park meydandan birkaç noktada ayrıılır. Birincisi, park meydana kıyaslada uzun ve sürekli bir işgale sahne olmuştur. Gezi'yle sembolleşen çadırlar parkta yükselmiş, bunların yanına bir kütüphane ve bir mutfak kurulmuştur. Eylemler ve eylemlerin biçimleri açıkça Gezi Park'ındaki gelişmeleri takip etmiştir. İkincisi, Kuğulu Park da kendi işgal amacını aramış ve bunu Ankara'nın eylemlere katıldığı ilk gündeki spontane toplanma mekanı olmasında bulmuştur. Ayrıca, park hareketin entellektüel özelliklerinin sergilendiği, birlikte yaşamın ve esprili siyasetin tecrübe ediliği bir mekana dönüşmüştür. Üçüncü olarak, meydanın aksine, polis tehdidinin azlığı yahut hiç olmayı bir yandan farklılıkların rahatça sergilenebilmesine, bir yandan da birlik kimliğinin kurulmasının zorlaşmasına neden olmuştur.

Park kendisini bağışlarla, ve ek olarak küçük satışlarla ayakta tutmuştur. CHP

milletvekillerinin parka sürekli yaptığı yiyecek bağışları, Gezi Park'ında gözlemlenen kurumsal siyasete gösterilen tepkiyi, Kuğulu özelinde sınırlandırmıştır. Diğer bir yandan, park birlikteki çok ayrışmaların mekanı olmuştur. Kütüphane ekibi faydacılık üzerine kurulmuş bir rasyonalle hareket ederken Çankaya Belediyesinden yardım almayı, gerektiğinde kitap ayrıracı satmakta problem görmemiştir. Çadır ekibi ise para formuna tamamen karşı çıkmış, işgali gündemleştiren “yaşamak direnmektir” sloganıyla hareket etmiştir. Bu grup parkta yapılan birçok öğretici forum etkinliğini düzenleyen Kuğulu İnisiyatifi'nin de temelini oluşturmaktadır. Forumlara ek olarak paneller düzenlenmiş, geniş kitle katılımlı tartışmalar organize edilmiştir.

Parktaki kimlik gösterileri ancak siyasetin yeni aktörlerine karşı tolere edilmiş, eski siyaseti ve onunla beraber gelen eski çatışma konuları parkın dışarısında tutulmaya çalışılmıştır. Bunun en büyük örneği, Mustafa Kemal posteri asılmasına karşı parktaki Kürt milliyetçileri tarafından Abdullah Öcalan posteri açmak istemesinin iki posterinde kaldırılmasıyla sonuçlanmasıdır. Tüm bunlar yaşanırken, LGBT parkı gökkuşağı renkleriyle, çiçeklere ve kalplere süslerken zorluk yaşamamıştır. Aynı bağlamda, anti-Kapitalist müslümanlarında katılımıyla parkta kandil günü özel etkinliler düzenlenmiş, Gezi'de ölenler için gıyabi cenaze namazı kılınabilmiştir.

Tüm bu resim akşamın olmasıyla büyük farklılıklar gösterir. Park işten çıkan insanların da katılımasıyla bir festival çerçevesine oturtulmuş, şarkılar ve danslarla bir şehir eğlencesini andırmıştır. Aynı zamanda ciddi miktarda alkol tüketimiyle hareketin siyasi içeriğinin seyreldiği söylenebilir. Fakat, parkın bu eğlenceli hali kurumsal siyasetin griliğine tüm renkleriyle cevap vermiş, “Şerefine Tayyip” sloganıyla birlikte siyaset ve eğlence Gezi teması altında birleşmiştir.

Son olarak, Gezi Park'ının sembolik değeri CHP Milletvekili Aylin Kotil tarafından Kuğulu Park'a taşınan toprakla cisimleşmiştir. Kuğulu Park işgal için gerekçeler aramaya devam etmiş, mekan Gezi toprağının eklenmesiyle bir nevi Gezi'ye materyal olarak katılmış ve eylemciler tarafından Ankara'nın direniş

merkezi haline getirilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Araştırmacıın üçüncü ayağını ‘hareket’ kavramı ve mahallelerdeki Gezi eylemleri oluşturmaktadır. Kızılay Meydanı ve Kuğulu Park’ın aksine, mahalleler spesifik bir lokasyona işaret etmez. Mahalle kavramı sosyal inşa sürecinde farklı yerlerde ve farklı zamanlarda oluşturulur. Bu nedenle mahallelerdeki eylemleri ve mekanlarını kavramak zorlaşır. Buna istinaden, dört mahallede (100.Yıl, Batıkent, Dikmen, Tuzluçayır) Gezi eylemleri araştırılmış, pratikler tanımlanmış ve mekanları analiz edilmiştir.

Mahalle eylemlerinin mekanları yürüyüşler için sokaklar, evlerin camlarının önleri, buluşmalar için ise günlük hayatı da mahallelinin kesişme noktası olan market ve alışveriş merkezlerinin önleridir. Eylemciler yürüdükle yolları ve meydanları geçici olarak işgal etmiş, kimi zaman barikatlarla araç trafiğine kapatmış, kimi zaman araçlarıyla eyleme katılan insanlarla beraber yürümüştür. Bu yürüyüşler apartmanlardaki ışık açıp kapatmalara, davullu zurnalı eğlencelere, danslara dönüşmüş, kim zaman ise eylemciler merkezdeki protestolara toplu katılım göstermiştir. Bu eylemlerin en büyük özelliklerinden biri günlük hayatlarında birbirine yabancı olan mahalleliyi toplu aksiyonlarla birlikte kaynaştırmış, Ankara’nın birçok mahallesinde hala aktif olan toplulukların olmasını sağlamıştır. 100.Yıl İnsiyatifi, Çayyolu Halk Meclisi, ve bir çok mahalede bulunan Birleşik Haziran Hareketleri bunlara birer örnektir. Bugün toplulukların aktiviteleri siyasi eylem niteliği taşımasa dahi, mahallenin sorunlarının konuşuldu, çay toplantılarının, pikniklerin düzenlendiği, mahalleli kimliğinin yeniden inşa edildiği organizasyonlara işaret eder.

İstanbul’dakinin aksine, mahallelerdeki çoğu eyleme bırakın müdehale etmeyi, o eylemleri gözlemlememiştir bile. Bunda Ankara’nın merkezinin eylemcisi ve çalışma bağlamındaki yoğunluğu, polisin devlet binalarının korunması stratejisi etkili olmuştur. Mahalleler uzunca bir süre merkeze inmemek kaydıyle serbestce eylem yapmış, ancak merkezdeki olaylar sökülmeye başladığına polis mahallelere müdehale edebilmiştir. Polisin yokluğunda mahalleli, genciyle

yaşlısıyla eylemlere katılmış, Gezi geniş bir tabana yayılma imkanı bulmuştur.

Gezi'nin işgal ve hareket stratejilerini birleştirmesi Ankara'da farklı mekanlarını ve o mekanlardan doğan farklı protesto tecrübelerini ortaya sermiştir. Eylemciler Kızılay Meydanı'nın agresif ve şiddetli atmosferini de, Kuğulu Park'ın festival havasını tadabilmiş, mahallelerinde bambaşka dinamiklerle de olsa Gezi'ye dahil olabilmiştir. Bu nedenle Gezi'nin tek tip tecrübe yoktur. Aksine her mekanda farklılaşan, mekanı ve kimliği değiştiren sayısız Gezi tecrübe vardır. Aynı şekilde mekanlar farklı dinamikleriyle kimlik oluşumunu etkilemiş, bazı davranışlar bazı mekanlarda hoşgörülürken, bazı mekanlarda dışlanmış hatta eylemciler tarafından yasaklanmıştır. Kimlikler katı sınırlarla belirlenmeksizin, genel anlamda eski kimliklerin olabildiğince resmin dışına çıkarılmasına ve böylece geçmişten taşınacak sorunların mekanlardaki birlikteliğe zarar vermesinin engellenmeye çalışılmasıyla değişime uğramıştır.

Gezi'nin dönüştürüldüğü mekanların yanı sıra, Kennedy caddesi örneği saf bir mekan üretiminin örneğidir. Meydana inmeye çalışan göstericilerin önü Atatürk Bulvarı'yla Kennedy caddesinin kesişiminde kesilmiş, eylemciler burada direnişe spontane bir şekilde inatla devam etmiş, cadde Gezi denince akla gelen mekanlardan biri olmuştur. Çok uzun bir süre bu mekan direniş rutininin önemli bir parçası olmuş, özellikle akşamda doğru eylemcilerin doldurduğu cadde diğer tüm mekanlarda sökümlenen protestoların aksine eylemlerin mekanı olmuştur. Bu noktada artık eylemciler barikatı aşıp Kızılay'a ulaşmaktan çok, polisin müdehalesine karşı durmak için toplanır hale gelmiş, mekan kendiliğinden bir protesto anlamı kazanmıştır.

Gezi İşgal Hareketi mekan temelli bir tecrübeye işaret eder. Gezi Parkı harekette önemli bir yere sahip olsa da, yalnızca ona bakarak Gezi gibi tüm ülkeye yayılmış ve binlerce mekanı eylem alanına dönüştürmiş bir hareketi anlamak mümkün değildir. Bu tez Ankara eylemcilerinin oluşturduğu mekanların bazlarının inceleyerek bu tecrübeyi kavramaya çalışmıştır. Genel olarak mekanların anlık değişimleri, türlü kimliklerin sergilenesmesine ve özellikle hali

hazırda oluşturulmuş kimliklerin kısıtlanmasına neden olmuştur.

İsgal ve hareket birbirini tamamlayan iki strateji şeklinde ortaya çıkmış, meydanların ve parkların işgali mahallelerdeki hareketlilikleri beslemiş, mahalleler de geniş katılımlarla bu mekanlardaki işgalleri sürdürülebilir kılmuştur. Dolayısıyla işgal hareketlerini anlamada birden fazla mekanın incelenmesi gereği bir kez daha gözler önüne serilmiş, hareketlerin altında yatan bazı ortak noktalar olsa dahi mekansal ve zamansal olarak bir çok benzersizlik ortaya çıkmıştır. Polisin 31 Mayıs günü geri çekilişi, Ethem Sarıslük'ün Kızılay Meydanı'nda vurulması, Gezi toprağının Kuğulu Park'a taşınması gibi önemli olaylar mekana yüklenen anlamlar açısından çok önemlidir..

Sonuç olarak, bu tez işgal hareketlerini anlamak için alternatif bir metodoloji sunar. Birincisi, işgal stratejisi her ne kadar bu hareketin sembolü olmuş olsa dahi, bir strateji olarak ‘hareket’ gözden kaçırılmamalıdır. Bilinmelidir ki, bu son hareket dalgası alter-Globalization hareketinden bir çok ögeyi içerisinde almış ve bunu kamusal mekanın işgaliyle birleştirmiştir. İkinci olarak, tek bir mekanın analizi fenomenin yalnızca bir kısmını anlayabilir. Bu tezin metodolojik yaklaşımı birden fazla mekanı inceleyerek insanların hareketlerini takip etmeye çalışmış, insanların mekanı ve aynı zamanda mekanın insanları dönüştürmesini incelemiştir. Bir meydan, bir park ve bir çok mahalle Gezi eylemcileri tarafından süreli protesto mekanlarına dönüştürülmüştür. Üçüncü olarak, hareketin sürekli değişen doğası zamansallığı en az mekansallık kadar önemli kılmuştur. Burada önemli olan, Massey'in de işaret ettiği gibi, farklı sosyal ilişki güruhlarının mekan üzerindeki anlık birlikteklilikleridir. Dolayısıyla, farklı bir zaman ve mekanda çok farklı protesto resimleri elde edilebilir. Bu durum, protesto – mekan ilişkisinde herhangi bir kapsayıcı argüman oluşturmayı da zorlaştırmaktadır. Bu fenomenin tüm unsurlarının temsili neredeyse imkansızken, ortak görünen noktalar mutlaka kendinden sapmış örneklerine gözler önüne sunar. Örneğin, Gezi tamamiyle barışçıl ya da şiddetli bir eylem değildir. Gezi tamamiyle solcuların ya da Kemalist sekülerlerin yönettiği bir eylem de değildir. Tüm bu etmenler belli bir zamansallık

ve mekansallıkta birleşmiş ve bize özel bir protesto resmi sunmuştur. Dördüncü olarak, hareketin aktörlerinin her biri belli politik görüşlere ve hayat tecrübesine sahip olmakla birlikte kimlikleri geniş bir toplulukla olan karşılaşmalarında, özellikle ortaklaşa yapılan eylemlerde değişime uğramıştır. Bu kimlikler hiçbir zaman durağan değildir. Aksine kimlikler bu karşılaşmalarla üretilmiş ve müzakere edilmiştir. Özellikle, polisin varlığı bu üretimde önemli rol oynamış ve şiddetli diye tanımlanan bir çok eyleme sebep olmuştur. Yıkıcı karakter polisin orantısız müdehaleleriyle ve hükümetin ayırtıcı diliyle alevlenmiştir. Diğer bir yandan, eylemciler yıkıcı performanslara mutlak bir mantık çerçevesinde yaklaşmaya çalışmış, çevreye verilen zararlar ancak meşru bir zemine oturtulduğunda Gezi'ye dahil edilmiştir. Bu çerçevenin dışarısında kalan performanslar hareketin dışarısına itilmiş ve bir ötekiye atfedilmiştir.

Tüm bunlara istinaden, Gezi bugünkü Türkiye hakkında çok az şey söyler. Hali hazırda tüm yurt genelinde olağanüstü halin varlığı, ülkenin üç farklı terörist organizasyon tarafından (IŞİD – PKK – FETÖ) sürekli bir saldırı altında olması ister istemez toplumsal muhalefette ve sokak siyasetinde geri çekilişe neden olmuştur. Her ne kadar rahatsızlıklar devam etse dahi, terör ve teröre karşı alınan önlemler eylemleri belirsiz bir geleceğe ertelemiştir. Vatandaşlar sokak siyasetine katılmaya büyük oranda çekinmektedirler. Bilinmelidir ki, burada kastedilen çoğunlukla Gezi'ye katılan kitlelerdir. Oysa ki, Gezi'den üç yıl sonra meydanlar hükümetin organize ettiği 'Demokrasi Mitingleri'yle dolmuş, Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'ın çağrısıyla insanlar sokaklara dökülmüştür. Dolayısıyla, gelecekteki çalışmalar için iki eylem zinciri arasında bir çok konuda kıyaslama imkanı doğmuştur. En basitinden Gezi zamanı toplu taşıma araçları çalışmazken, bugün taşıma hizmeti ücresiz olarak sağlanmaktadır.

Tüm mülakatların sonunda katılımcılara Gezi'de geçirdikleri zamandan keyif alıp almadıklarını sordum ve hepsi kendinden emin bir şekilde evet cevabını verdiler. Tecrübeleri, katıldıkları mekanlar farklı olsa dahi, tüm katılımcılar Gezi'den belli derecede bir keyif almışlardı çünkü kişiliklerini meşru gördükleri tarihsel bir

hareketin içeresine katmışlar, tüm şiddete ve ölen insanlara rağmen tecrübelerini heyecanla anımsamışlardır. Kişisel görüşüm, bu durum günümüz Türkiye'sinde ancak bir nostalji niteliği taşıyabilir. Gittikçe karanlıklaşan siyaset ve bir yıldan az sürede yüzlerce vatandaşın ölümüyle sonuçlanan terör eylemleri bırakın sokak siyasetinden keyif almayı, eylemlere katılmayı bile bir korku unsuru haline getirmiştir.

C. TEZ FOTOKOPI İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

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Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Şensönmez

Adı : Gökhan

Bölümü : Sosyoloji

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Place and Protest: the 'Occupy Gezi Movement' in Ankara

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılsın ve kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla tezimin bir kısmı veya tamamının fotokopisi alınınsın.
2. Tezimin tamamı yalnızca Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi kullancılarının erişimine açılsın. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)
3. Tezim bir (1) yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olsun. (Bu seçenekle tezinizin fotokopisi ya da elektronik kopyası Kütüphane aracılığı ile ODTÜ dışına dağıtılmayacaktır.)

Yazarın imzası

Tarih

