

HETEROTOPIC PRACTICE OF SPACE:
TAKSIM GEZI PARK REVISITED

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TAKSIM GEZI PARK REVISITED**

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ABSTRACT

HETEROTOPIC PRACTICE OF SPACE: TAKSIM GEZI PARK REVISITED

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The primary aim of this thesis is the exploration of the term “heterotopia” coined by Foucault, in an urban design framework. With this aim, this thesis will trace the spatial urban usage and will demonstrate by exemplifications; how an open ended concept can be applied in an urban space, albeit there are no strict definitions, descriptions and directions in the related literature about how heterotopic thoughts can actually be injected to an urban space.

In postmodern urban life, many different cases can be considered as heterotopias by means of urban space usage, like political settlement e.g. Freetown Christiania–Copenhagen/Denmark or physical allocation for settlement e.g. mega events like Olympic Games, world cups, Formula-1, carnivals, festivals or EXPO’s and social and political collective movements regarding city rights and urban transformations e.g. V for Vinegar protests in Brazil and Gezi Park protests in Turkey in 2013. This thesis will also seek to answer the questions on postmodern urban space under the light of characteristics of heterotopia.

Turkey experienced a real life heterotopic occasion on summer 2013; Taksim Gezi Park Protests, which was a movement that can be considered as not only a physical urban heterotopia but also an amalgam of social, economic and political heterotopia.

Accordingly this thesis will analyze the spatial features of Taksim/Gezi Park Protests as a combination of social, cultural, institutional and discursive spaces in a context of Foucault's heterotopia. The different characteristics of the notion of heterotopia, e.g. intensity, contradiction, inconvenience-disturbance, transformation; which occur concurrently, will be examined on the spatial extent of the movement. Both the space of representation and the representation of space during the protests and post-protest period will also be examined under the light of heterotopic ideas and thoughts.

Keywords: Heterotopia, public space, practice of space, transformation of space, dissimilarity

ÖZ

HETEROTOPIK MEKAN PRATIĞİ: TAKSİM GEZİ PARKI'NI YENİDEN GÖZDEN GEÇİRMEK

Işıklılar, Damla

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bölümü

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Bu tezin ana amacı Michel Foucault tarafından adlandırılmış “heterotopya” kavramının kentsel tasarım çatısı altında incelenmesidir.

Bu amaçla bu tezde kentlerdeki mekansal kullanımların izleri sürülecek ve literatürde heterotopik düşüncelerin kentsel mekanlara gerçekte nasıl uygulanacağı konusunda kesin tanımlar, açıklamalar, çıkarımlar ve kurallar olmamasından dolayı bu ucu açık kavramın kentsel mekanlardaki uygulamaları örneklemeler ile kanıtlanmaya çalışılacaktır.

Postmodern kent hayatında birbirinden farklı pek çok durum, yer veya olgu heterotopik kentsel mekan kullanımı şeklinde değerlendirilebilir. Politik bir yerleşim olarak Kopenhag – Danimarka’daki “Özgür Christiania” veya fiziksel bir yerleşim olarak Olimpiyat Oyunları, dünya kupaları, Formula-1, karnavallar, festivaller, EXPO’lar gibi mega etkinlikler, ya da kent hakkı ve kentsel dönüşüm ile ilgili 2013’de Brezilya’da ve Türkiye’de eş zamanlı yaşanan politik ve sosyal toplu halk hareketleri birbirinden çok farklı birer heterotopya olarak adlandırılabilir. Bu tez aynı zamanda postmodern kentsel mekan üzerindeki sorulara heterotopyanın karakteristik özellikleri ışığında yanıtlar arayacaktır.

Bilindiği üzere Türkiye, 2013 yazında politik ve sosyal bir halk hareketi olması nedeniyle gerçek bir heterotopya olayı deneyimlemiştir. Taksim Gezi Parkı

Protestoları sadece fiziksel bir kentsel heterotopya deęil aynı zamanda sosyal, ekonomik ve politik bir heterotopyadır.

Bu bağlamda bu tez Taksim Gezi Parkı protestolarının mekansal özelliklerini sosyal, kültürel, kurumsal ve düzensiz mekanların bir kombinasyonu olarak Foucault'nun Heterotopya kavramı özelinde analizleyecektir. Heterotopya kavramının, aynı anda yaşanan yoğunluk (şiddet), çelişki, rahatsızlık, deęişim, dönüşüm gibi farklı özellikleri protestoların mekansal uzantıları üzerinde irdelenecektir.

Protestolar sırasında hem simgelenen mekan, hem de mekanın simgelenmesi ve protestolar sonrasındaki süreç heterotopya anlayışı ve düşüncesi ile incelenecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Heterotopya, kamusal mekan, mekan pratięi, mekanın dönüşümü, farklılık

*To my beloved family, the gg, Mother Nature
and Neptune*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
ÖZ	vii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	x
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. Overview and the Structure of the Study	2
1.2. Problem Definition and Significance	3
1.3. Aims and Expected Outcomes	4
1.4. Method of the Study	6
2. HETEROTOPIAS: SPACES OF DIFFERENCE AND OTHERNESS	9
2.1. Historical Development and Definition of the Term “Heterotopia”	9
2.2. An Overview to Urban Design from Global Perspective	19
2.3. Spatial and Temporal Observation and Comparison of Urban Components Under the Light of Foucault’s Heterotopian Approach	24
2.4. Exploration of the Reflected Images of Heterotopia in Urban Life	30
3. TAKSİM - GEZİ PARK PROTESTS REVISITED AND REIMAGINED AS HETEROTOPIA	53
3.1. Spatial Examinations	53
3.2. Taksim Gezi Park Protests as Heterotopic Practice of Space	56
4. DISCUSSION, CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FUTURE WORK	79
REFERENCES	87

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

Figure 2.1 State of heterotopia and reality between two extremes (utopia and dystopia)	14
Figure 2.2 Patterns of a kaleidoscope	24
Figure 2.3 Almshouses of Cambridge Street	26
Figure 2.4 Almshouses of Cambridge Street	27
Figure 2.5 Section of Bentham's Panopticon prison	28
Figure 2.6 Inside view of Presidio Modelo prison, Cuba	28
Figure 2.7 Heterotopias in cities / Urban design ecology models	29
Figure 2.8 Walled city of Kowloon aerial view	31
Figure 2.9 Walled city of Kowloon	31
Figure 2.10 Walled city of Kowloon	31
Figure 2.11 Infography of Walled city of Kowloon	32
Figure 2.12 Drop city, Colorado, U.S.A. / Joint system inspired by the geodesic dome	33
Figure 2.13 Plan of Burail village, Chandigarh, India	34
Figure 2.14 Exodus, Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture, a long strip having tall barriers, cutting through the urban fabric of London	35
Figure 2.15 Exodus, collage of "Perfect Acts of Architecture"	36
Figure 2.16 Organization diagram of Parc de la Villette	37
Figure 2.17 Parc de la Villette	38
Figure 2.18 Aerial view of Parc de la Villette	38
Figure 2.19 Illustration of Promenade Plantee	39
Figure 2.20 Shifting heterotopias	40
Figure 2.21 West 8 project: A new interpretation of the traditional Dutch canal houses, miniaturized heterotopias of illusion	43
Figure 2.22 West 8 project: Great variety of dwelling modes and maximum variety of architecture, Amsterdam, Netherlands	43
Figure 2.23 West 8 project: Renewal block diagrams	44
Figure 2.24 Mergeable urban block ideas for İstanbul, Turkey	44
Figure 2.25 Main entrance gate of Christiania	46

Figure 2.26 One of the old military buildings in Christiania, Copenhagen	47
Figure 2.27 One of the entrances of Christiania	48
Figure 2.28 Old military buildings and their new functions, Christiania	49
Figure 2.29 Christmas festival in Christiania	50
Figure 2.30 Old military building and reuse of them	51
Figure 3.1 Old Military Barracks	57
Figure 3.2 Gezi Park and its visitors	58
Figure 3.3 Taksim Military Barracks	58
Figure 3.4 The illustration of Taksim Pedestrianization Project	59
Figure 3.5 The pedestrianization and replacement project of Taksim Square and Gezi Park	60
Figure 3.6 A sketch showing the reconstruction project	62
Figure 3.7 Plan of the Gezi Park	63
Figure 3.8 Heterotopic façade of Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Taksim, İstanbul, Turkey.....	65
Figure 3.9 Graphical illustration of Gezi Park protests	68
Figure 3.10 Overview of administrative subdivisions of the park	71
Figure 3.11 Detailed facility and land use map of the Gezi Park during protests.....	72
Figure 3.12 Approximate locations of various groups according to their political and social perspective	73
Figure 3.13 The territory and locations of protests in Central İstanbul	74
Figure 3.14 Starting point and spreading density of occupy Gezi Park	75
Figure 3.15 Land use of the density and sprawl of Taksim Square and Gezi Park..	75
Figure 3.16 The collage of Taksim Gezi Park protest photographs and illustrations.....	77
Figure 4.1 Dreaming Gezi Park	82

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

“Space is not something objective and real, nor a substance, nor an accident, nor a relation; instead, it is subjective and ideal, and originates from the mind's nature in accord with a stable law as a scheme, as it were, for coordinating everything sensed externally” (Immanuel Kant, Inaugural Dissertation, 1770)¹

Space, as a complex medium and a complicated concept, has always been the focus of many research related to many professions that are conducted by many professionals including urbanists, sociologists, philosophers, and geographers. However, many urbanists, which in here are referred to as architects, landscape architects, planners and urban designers, have been attempting to develop a scheme in order to measure the qualities of this notion, before actually comprehending what it really means.

There are many important questions related to “space” which one can derive from Kant’s statement cited above. Is space real? or Is it ideal? or Is it a whole entity or a part of a whole entity? Is it directly dependent on the objects interactively related to one another or somehow independent of these relations? What is the relationship between space & time, space & mind, space & crowd? How those multifariousness overlap?

Space can be defined as a constitution transformed and flowing continuously from one state to another. Space and its complement, time, are not considered as only the abstraction or perception but also considered as the components of life itself. Space is not an empty and figural pattern. It finds meaning together with the existence of human being. On this scale, space and time are always dependent pairs, although they are separate constitutions. Eventually, one needs to recognize space and time,

¹ Quotation retrieved from: <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/kant-spacetime/>

conceptually, as a whole in plenty of domains like city planning and urban design, mathematics, sociology, philosophy, literature etc. In this respect space and time can be shaped by covering historical circumstances, social developments and human body as well. This fundamental thought is put forth by the French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre, who construed a philosophy with reformist characteristics that pertain to “space and city”. Although Lefebvre accepts that there is a continuous relationship between space and time, he developed a specific approach for space by putting it ahead. This approach is totally related with the productive characteristics of space together with the historical circumstances.

French philosopher Michel Foucault suggested the concept of “heterotopia” in “Of Other Spaces – Utopias and Heterotopias” (Des Espaces Autres) in 1967. In “Of Other Spaces” Foucault took a look at the historical development of “space” perception starting from middle to modern ages. He used the term “emplacement” in order to define the interactive relations (inner, outer, internal, external etc.) between the locations in space and according to him this is the basic principle of space perception. Foucault thought that these mutual relations are “strange” like reversing, suspending, neutralizing, balancing each other so he called them as “other places” or “heterotopias”, which are real places standing outside of known spaces. Heterotopias contain contrasts or the things, which do not usually stand together at the same time. Foucault gives mirror as an example since mirror is a place without a place while it is a real place. If this approach is applied to the daily city life; zoos, cemeteries, malls emerge as examples of heterotopia.

1.1 Overview and the Structure of the Study

The researcher’s interest of the quality of urban spaces and living environments, and the concept of urban sociology has concluded with the encounter of the term “heterotopia” of French philosopher Michel Foucault, and it has triggered an idea of the questioning of this term and its reflections and effects in a post-modern realm of urban planning and design approaches. Also, although many writers, academicians, artists and so on have shown an attention to and concentrated on this concept; there is no clear and certain definition of heterotopia in the literature. Therefore, this

condition has built up a passion to the researcher in order to explore, discuss, comprehend and interpret this concept.

This research concentrates on the exploration of the ongoing fascination with Foucault's brief, obscure and rather sketchy idea of heterotopia. Focusing on some key words and understandings of the different points of view from the most sustained interpretations of this curious spatio-temporal concept, it addresses weaknesses and potential contradictions and goes on to highlight tendencies and emerging themes in studies that incorporate the notion. The research argues that, although the uses of Foucault's accounts of heterotopia are confusingly diverse, heterotopias are most productively understood in the context of Foucault's insistence on 'making difference' and their adoption as a tool of analysis to illuminate the multifaceted features of cultural and social spaces and to invent new ones.

In this sense, a stunning variety of spaces has been explored and can be accepted as illustrations of heterotopia, including: Arab-Islamic architecture, environmental installations, libraries, museums, Masonic lodges, early factories, gardens, performance prototypes, women's colleges, landscapes, gated communities, Buddhist sites, pornographic sites, cybercafés, shopping malls, cemeteries, ships and the body of the vampire and even the Persian rugs. Hence, these instances are completely different from, but fundamentally connected to the rest of the places. Also, the literature and the internet seem to be suitable places for heterotopic spaces with the concept of "different spaces" of Foucault. The notion has been applied to anything from geo-political conflicts, to queer spaces, to fascist sites, to places of transgression, to disciplinary institutions, etc. and continues to find new interpretative twists and turns.

1.2 Problem Definition and Significance

Despite the existence of a significant number of research and studies in literature such as Foucault's *Of Other Spaces* (1967) and the compilation of essays in the book, *Heterotopia and the city: Public Space in a Postcivil Society* by De Caeter and Dehaene (2008), the way that the open-ended term heterotopia is used, perceived and

interpreted in an urban space is unclear and limited within a narrow framework in urban planning and urban design. The main problem of this thesis is to fathom into the application of this atemporal, juxtapositional, comprehensive and configurational term, which lacks a particular direction or a direct definition, into an urban space. Thus, which kind of spatial productions do heterotopias have, what kind of effects do they reflect to an urban space and urban life emerge as significant questions.

Heterotopias can be considered as both emergent and fictional. They represent and produce different phenomenon according to the context and conditions.

Also, they can be interpreted as realized utopias, perhaps; enacted utopias. If utopias are “none space (yok mekan)”; heterotopias become “much space (çok mekan)” (Çalışkan, 2015). Heterotopias produce differences, various patterns, fabrics and even tensions between these dissimilarities. Thus, heterotopias can be considered as the hybrid places, patchworked, kaleidoscopic and perhaps polyphonic places.

Besides, it is nearly impossible to create names or nouns about heterotopia, however adjectives can be produced in order to describe this term.

1.3 Aims and Expected Outcomes

This research is an exploratory study, which seeks to discover the influencing variables of the term heterotopia in postmodern cities. It also focuses on the case of Taksim/Gezi Park Protests that is an amalgamation of both spatial features and social, cultural, institutional and discursive spaces in a context of Foucault's heterotopia.

Being as a dining room, a building, a park, a mall, a city, a country or earth as a whole, space is not only a location having specific coordinates but also it is a measurable area and volume where human being assigns a meaning to it. Thus, place or urban space forms and makes sense. Edward Relph, a Canadian geographer, examined the identity of a place in his famous book *“Place and Placelessness”* (1976).

Relph's approach for this point (1976) was also cited in Seamon and Sowers (2008, p.45) as;

“By the identity of a place he refers to its “persistent sameness and unity, which allows that [place] to be differentiated from others” (Seamon, Sowers, 2008, p.45).

Relph describes this persistent identity in terms of three components:

- (1) the place's physical setting;
- (2) its activities, situations, and events; and
- (3) the individual and group meanings created through people's experiences and intentions in regard to that place. (Seamon & Sowers, 2008)

Actually, this research is a correlational study that examines human and urban spaces in their real life environments. Since heterotopias are complex structures as being whether social, people centric movement or physical settlement, they are manifested differently in different times and places in every culture and society. Their functions are different according to different situations. In addition, heterotopias include opposite characteristics in the same place and lastly heterotopias create opening and closing systems such as being porous and penetrable, within their surroundings and there are always direct relationships between heterotopia and time and heterotopia and other places. This study will discuss the “heterotopia” concept in urban space, show, examine and evaluate the spatial existence of heterotopias in our daily urban life by examining its characteristics.

In spite of the proliferation of books and articles that examine the term “heterotopia” in literature, almost none of them explains it clearly or draw a certain definition in terms of urban space usage. With this motivation, planned achievements of this study can be listed as;

- (i) having an understanding of heterotopias,
- (ii) interpreting this concept in the context of urban design,
- (iii) attaining a better understanding of social space usage as “heterotopias” in urban life,

- (iv) preparing a research in a high academic level, which can create a path to PHD programmes, and
- (v) developing a valuable study that has the power to influence urban designers across countries.

Expected outcomes of this study include;

- (i) a useful research that differs from traditional studies towards heterotopias and
- (ii) an important source of data derived from a comprehensive literature review and careful observations for the real life heterotopias like physical urban settlements (e.g. the Walled city of Kowloon in Hong Kong/China and Christiania Free Town in the middle of Copenhagen/Denmark, as well as social movements (e.g. Taksim/Gezi Park Protests).

1.4 Method of the Study

Main hypothesis of this thesis is that; different urban spaces show “heterotopic” characteristics.

The scope of this study is limited to explain heterotopic characteristics of social urban space usage by giving different examples

- (i) as physical usage; settlements, mega events
- (ii) as social movements

In this context, this study models for the following research questions:

- 1) How do heterotopias come over in urban life?
- 2) What are the main characteristics of heterotopias in urban life?
- 3) In what ways and what extent do heterotopias effect urban space?
- 4) How can one prove the existence of heterotopias in the urban space?
- 5) What kind of places, as physical practice, can be considered to involve heterotopias? And what are the typical examples for those kinds of places?
- 6) What is the role of heterotopias in urban life and practice?

- 7) What kind of spaces can be given as the specific examples according to Foucault's "heterotopia" concept?
- 8) Can Gezi Park Movements be accepted as a Heterotopia?
- 9) What were the particularities of Gezi Park Movement as heterotopia?
- 10) Whether this movement does fulfill the conditions for being a heterotopia or not?

This thesis is based on the abstract concept. This open ended concept can be interpreted in different disciplines such as; sociology, philosophy and even psychology more efficiently than in urban design. However, urban design includes both conceptual meanings and physical settings, to realize this study is restricted and hard. In other words, it is limited and difficult to concretize and make spatial such a theoretical concept as heterotopia. After an intense literature review, with some of physical examples in urban pattern, this concept is tried to evaluate and interpret ideally. This study is expected to shed light to or create a path for whom to study heterotopia within the perspective of urban design.

This research is composed of two main chapters apart from introduction and conclusion. It starts with a theoretical and literal framework of French philosopher Michel Foucault's term "heterotopia". It firstly considers on the definition of "heterotopia" and proceeds with a comprehensive explanation about this approach, afterwards historical development period of this term and ally and opposite thoughts on this new term are discussed. Then, this study continues with the heterotopic instances in terms of characteristics of different urban settlements in different countries in the world. Finally, it concentrates on the Taksim Gezi Park Protests in a heterotopic point of view and concludes with a discussion on the term "heterotopia" and its reflected images on the postmodern urban pattern.

The **Introduction Chapter** focuses on the main objectives of this research, the problem definition and its significance, and the flow of the research with outcomes and study methods respectively.

In **Chapter 2**, the overall outlook related to the concept of “heterotopia” in literature and its significance and features are provided. Firstly, the chapter points to define the term by analyzing the connected and related theories and thoughts with a historical background. Later on, the overview of urban design from global perspective by means of using the heterotopic approaches is examined with many real life cases. After the detailed enlightenments about the heterotopia concept, the chapter is continued by spatial and temporal observations and comparisons of urban components under the light of Foucault’s Heterotopian Approach. Finally the most important examples, for the author, which offering heterotopic meaning and importance conclude the chapter.

Chapter 3 begins with the spatial examinations with regard to the spatial practice, representation of space and perception of space with a theoretical framework. The chapter continues with the study of the Taksim Gezi Park protests by focusing its heterotopic details by means of both physical and social perspectives. It focuses on the spatial practice of Gezi Park protests within heterotopic point of view. Finally it concentrates the features of Taksim Gezi Park Protests. It discusses Foucault’s six main principles detailed in order to examine this demonstration was a typical “**heterotopia**” as a whole.

The **Conclusion part** summarizes the complete and overall discussion and findings. It continues with the comments on Gezi Park protests being an in-between heterotopic threshold in an urban pattern. Besides, it presents some fictional dream products about post-protests of Gezi Park incidents. Later on, it provides a final discussion on the concept of heterotopia and offers questions and suggestions in order to create effective solutions for design guidelines from urban design perspective.

CHAPTER II

HETEROTOPIAS: SPACES OF DIFFERENCE AND OTHERNESS

“... Unintentional beauty. Yes. Another way of putting it might be “beauty by mistake”. Before beauty disappears entirely from the earth, it will go on existing for a while by mistake...”²

2.1 Historical Development and Definition of the Term “Heterotopia”

Throughout history, theories of architecture, planning and design have been evolving basically, according to the changing circumstances, changing society and environmental conditions. The human being is in quest of creating and providing better living environments and standards.

From the middle 1700s till middle 1800s, with the Industrial Revolution, massive and influential transitions to new manufacturing processes, including development of machinery, chemical manufacturing, processes of iron production, increasing use of steam and water power, were witnessed. Industrialization began in Great Britain and shortly spread to the Western Europe and North America with its significant social and economic changes. Since almost every part of life was affected by industrialization, this transition can be defined as a major focal turning point in human history (Batuman, 2010). Before the industrialization, most work was done by animal and human force, but after that, energy came from oil and coal burning and steam engines. Much more work could be done in a shorter time with the inventions of the machines and mass production was one of the major innovations. Machine use in agriculture helped ease manpower labor and fewer farm workers were needed and the cities started to offer a wide range of many different job opportunities in

² Quotation retrieved from *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*, Milan Kundera, 1984, p.113

factories. So, a massive immigration from rural areas to urban areas was observed and population of the cities increased rapidly and average population reached over one million during this period (Gedikli, 2013). The Revolution led to the development of new forms of transportation; especially railway and marine transportation, and highly supported the domestic and international trade of goods and services to far distant locations quickly and cheaply than before. Improvement in road network, waterway network including canals and railway network allowed new ideas and approaches for urbanization movements and urban sprawl (Tokol, 2010). This situation caused the search for new spatial organizations in the industrialized cities. Unfortunately, with the massive increase in population, urban slums, pollution, lack of hygiene and problems in health and poor living conditions were increased as well (Gedikli, 2013).

The 20th century architecture and city planning was a reaction to the evil conditions of the 19th century. The concerns of the pioneers of design arose from the disordered situation of poor slums. On the other hand, this period was the search for form, utopic ideas and seeking for a creation of a new society through design, architecture and city planning with the emergence of new structures, new materials, new techniques and new technologies (Gedikli, 2013 & Erzen, 2015).

Besides, the World War I and its aftermath were also powerful effects on the development of the modern architectural and planning approaches. Many architects, designers and planners were missioned as soldiers. Their military backgrounds and experiences played significant roles on shaping the methodological, technical and theoretical issues and approaches (Tokol, 2010 & Erzen, 2015).

Actually the last decades of 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century can be described as the planet of slums by meaning of war, terrorism, spreading and increasing poverty and global warming. These situations led people to seek for requiem for a civil culture and urban civilizations (De Caeter & Dehaene, 2008).

As it is mentioned above, especially after the Industrial Revolution, the dense development of high technology and tendencies and intents for massive urbanization pushed people to dream and create new living systems, new patterns and orders. First, there were utopias, which is a theory of a community or society having desirable and nearly perfect qualities. As known, utopias are captured the figment of imagination of people with having certain orders or rules. Utopic thoughts encouraged the radical transformations from scratch, supported economic and political urbanization, highlighted justice, and believed in technology, technologic innovations and machine work in positive ways. Utopias included complete alternative societies and revolution that anything within a settlement, economy, politics, architecture and especially the professional planning practice and planning theory of that period (Barlas, 1992). Although they were never entirely realized, they had a large influence on the contemporary city planning and architecture. All of the plans and ideas of the utopias reflected the fear of the 20th century metropolis and the designers wanted to get rid of its evil conditions. Supporting the merits of technology and its developing, exciting and dynamic side and creating the ideal society with great expectations such as democracy, participation, cooperation, harmony were the common ideas behind the utopic thoughts.

Therefore, the characteristics of utopias help define antonym of utopias, anti-utopias; also known as dystopias, which can be considered as the undesirable, unwanted, dirty, horrible, very difficult to survive places. While utopias are the blueprints of ideal and even perfect societies and environments, dystopias take the stage of the fictional stories of the future just like the ones of post-apocalyptic movies. For instance, George Orwell's *1984* and *Animal Farm*, Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*, Ray Bradbury's many books, especially *Fahrenheit 451*, Katharine Burdekin's *Swastika Night*, Ursula K. Le Guin's *The Dispossessed*, Franz Kafka's *The Trial* and Anthony Burgess' *A Clockwork Orange*, are considered as the successful dystopic books, Mad Max and Matrix series, 12 Monkeys, 28 Days Later can be counted as very impressive dystopic movies, having frightening characteristics that modern life brought. In general, dystopias include dehumanized and perhaps alienated societies under a pressure of totalitarian governments,

settlements having environmental disasters and many features related with the horrible declines in society, environment, politics, economics, religion, ethics, family, identity, psychology, science and technology.

Unfortunately, as a Turkish citizen, it is not very hard to tell that, Middle East has become and faced a real-life dystopia carrying characteristics very similar to Orwell's *1984* nowadays.

Doubtlessly, with the postmodern understanding and developing contemporary world, some major problems like population growth, ecological puzzles, loss of culture and identity, widespread rough capitalism, economic and political ambitions and struggles occurred. Plus, these adverse conditions began to impinge on everyday living spaces in an urban platform.

While the identification of the sources of utopic and dystopic thoughts of human-beings during those periods are still being discussed by the intellectuals and professionals in planning practice and planning theory, French philosopher Michel Foucault coined the concept of “**heterotopia**” to spatial perspective. For the first time, he defined (an)other space in 1967, as stated above, in order to consider and respond to all problems that are indicated above, and many others related with the modern urban life (Dehaene, De Caeter, 2008). Foucault acquired this term from medicinal branch; pathology. It means a cell or a group of cells living and existing nonmalignantly within a distinct host cell or tissue (Shane, 2005).

Also, according to Oxford and Collins English dictionaries lexical definition of heterotopia is given below;

hetero·top·ia

/ˌhɛtəroʊˈtɒpiə/

noun: abnormal displacement of a bodily organ or part, the formation of a tissue in a part where its presence is abnormal.

word origin: c19, from New Latin; *hetero* + Greek; *topos*

Heterotopic spaces or heterotopias can be considered as the real physical and/or mental spaces, which act as other spaces together with existing spaces. That is to say, heterotopias are “single real places made up of several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible.” (Foucault, 1967, p.28).

Having stated that, it is important to introduce the concept of “heterotopia” and heterotopic thoughts.

Michel Foucault, as the father of the concept "heterotopia" in geography, describes the term as follows:

"There are also, probably in every culture, in every civilization, real places – places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real site, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them heterotopias." (Foucault, 1967, p.25)

Foucault simply describes the concept as a space having more than one meanings and relationships functioning in non-hegemonic states. As it can be understood from his statement, heterotopias can be defined as actually locatable or perhaps realized utopias. Even, one can say that, this term having real arrangements in everyday life, is the antipode of utopias, which are imaginary.

In fact, with respect to Foucault’s declaration, what makes the concept lack a certain definition is perhaps its being too encompassing, vague, uncertain and flexible in terms of classification. Many professionals from many different backgrounds argued about heterotopias in order to be able to fit this open-ended term in an accurate and appropriate definition.

Also one can define heterotopia as a point between the real-life condition and the utopic state.

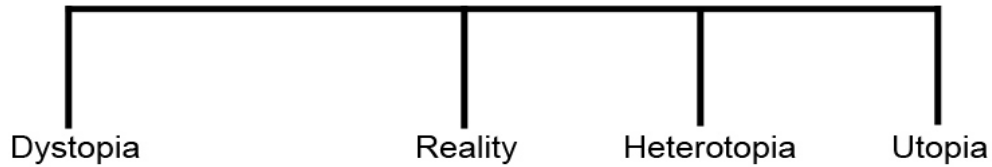


Figure 2.1 State of heterotopia and reality between two extremes (utopia and dystopia)³

Heterotopia can be addressed to a new cultural geography. Hetherington defines heterotopias as new modes of social ordering, spaces of alternate ordering and spaces of doing things in a different way (Hetherington, 1997).

" The term heterotopia originally comes from the study of anatomy. It is used to refer to parts of the body that are either out of place, missing, extra, or, like tumors, alien. For Foucault places of Otherness are spaces, whose existence set up unsettling juxtapositions of incommensurate 'objects' which challenge the way we think, especially the way our thinking is ordered. Heterotopia has a shock effect that derives from their different mode of ordering." (Hetherington, 1997, p.42)

At this point, it is important to understand how and in which conditions this theory had emerged. Foucault, while he was reading a story by the Argentinean writer Borges, encountered with a section, which divides animals into a strange taxonomy (Wesselman, 2013);

"(a) belonging to the emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) *et cetera*, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from a very long way off look like flies." (Foucault, 2002, p.16)

³ Image drawn by the author, 2016

In order to define this unusual taxonomy, he coined the term heterotopia for the first time and defined it as;

"...disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that, because they shatter or tangle common names, because they destroy "syntax" in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to and also opposite to? one another) to hold together." (Foucault, 2002, p.19)

Even though he was not describing a geographical feature, but rather a linguistic structure, with these words, this designation represents spatial heterotopia's infrastructure as it is used after a disturbingly irrational disorder. After using this term in linguistic studies, he proclaimed the age of space in his essay "Of Other Spaces" (1967), and used the concept heterotopia to define "other" spaces.

The year 1967 is acknowledged by many as the year of structuralism. (Saldanha, 2008) In fact, Foucault, as a post-structuralist, also admitted that he was under the influence of that movement while he was describing the term (Saldanha, 2008). However, as a counter argument, from the perspective of structuralists seeing and interpreting the space is strongly contradicting with how heterotopia describes its place on which it is located. Structuralism sees space and its structure as atemporal and has an understanding of aspatial conception of history, which contradicts all of the fundamental bases of the term heterotopia since this concept is a juxtapositional and configurational interpretation of space. In other words, structuralists perceive time as a linear and unidirectional element with the notion of society that evolves as a whole and all parts necessarily evolve with it.

Contrarily, heterotopias are accumulations, they appreciate history as a multiple, leveled entity in which a vertical break can be made any moment. Any break in the present is in a direct and immediate relationship with one another. Heterotopias embrace history as temporalities particular to various occasions such as politics,

economics, science, culture, architecture and art. Heterotopic thought requires perceiving all these processes as they follow temporalities specific to their physical nature.

Perhaps, that was why he didn't publish his essay "Of Other Spaces" and not talked much about heterotopias until his death. It may be true that because of these contradictions he was criticized a lot. In fact, Benjamin Genocchio, an Australian born writer, questions Foucault's work for whether anything and everything could be described as an example of heterotopia as it was described so open-ended (Johnson, 2012). He interpreted heterotopias as not bounded, as a matter of fact, he claimed, bounded notion of space misses the diversity and unevenness of spatial change, whereas, Henri Urbach (2010) in his article described heterotopias as discontinuities of volumetric organization which is bounded but still has effects beyond its borders.

Probably, David Harvey was the one who made strongest critics to Foucault's works (Alves, 2014). Harvey finds Foucault's work insufficient and shallow as he blamed Foucault for not describing what a more spatio-temporal utopianism might look like and how any kind of alternative might be constructed. Also, he thinks that the way Foucault followed in order to describe heterotopias were irrational because Foucault defines them as actually realized utopias. As a response to that notion, Harvey asks whether heterotopias can be considered as those spaces that promote a promise such as utopias? He questions whether heterotopias also hold any hopes, any resistance or liberation like utopias, or not.

Apparently, Henri Lefebvre was the one who came closest to Foucault's concept of heterotopia (Johnson, 2012). He provides a distinctive use of the related terms heterotopia and utopia. Lefebvre depicts heterotopia in two specific ways. Historically, it can be formulated as the place of the other in terms of marginality. It can be exemplified as caravanserais and fairgrounds.

Apart from this historical formulation, heterotopia can also be defined formally within a conceptual grid, as distinct from utopia within Lefebvre's (1991) understanding of space as;

- (1) spatial practice (lived space),
- (2) representations of space (conceptualized space),
- (3) representational space (experienced space).

In order to finalize thoughts on heterotopia concept as an introduction, it is significant and useful to conclude this section with 6 principles of heterotopia as Foucault (1967) defined:

1. Norms of behavior are suspended: He denoted that cultures created heterotopias and divided this principle into 2 categories which are; (i) crisis, (ii) deviance and illusion. Foucault described heterotopias of crisis as privileged, sacred and forbidden spaces reserved for individuals who are in relation to their society in crisis. These people can be adolescents, pregnant woman and elderly individuals. He exemplified this type with military services and boarding schools, where sexual virility takes place elsewhere rather than home. Also, it is important to highlight that; this kind of crisis heterotopias had disappeared with the development of modern society. Characteristically, heterotopias of deviances are where behavior is deviant in relation to the required norm, certain behavioral codes and can be exercised by professionals. This includes, prisons, courthouses, care homes and psychiatric hospitals.

2. Reflective of the society in which they exist: Heterotopias reflect their surrounding culture and its rules and orders. Also, a heterotopia constructed for one intention can function in a very different role and serve a very different purpose. That is to say, heterotopias have a shifting role; when the rules of the mentioned culture or environment change, the heterotopic site changes by means of function and form as well. According to Foucault, cemeteries are good examples in order to indicate this shifting role. They are attached to the culture in which they exist and individuals of that culture are somehow related with them.

3. Juxtapose several real spaces simultaneously: Bringing a whole series of places that are foreign to one other is the principle of heterotopology. Such as gardens which can encompass different families of plants that belong to different geographies. Also, cinemas and theatres, where the sequences of unfamiliar places are represented concurrently.

4. Linked to slices of time: It can be an accumulative time such as libraries, museums where history and now is exhibited simultaneously in a heterochronic way. Also, it can be a transitory time such as fairgrounds, as Lefebvre agrees, and festivals, which have limited times but repeated periodically.

5. Not freely accessible: Heterotopias are exclusive systems of opening and closing, both isolates them and makes them penetrable. Tickets, gestures and rituals are required. Perhaps the free access is only an illusion. However, this principle does not seem really accurate as gardens, cemeteries and other similar urban spaces were exemplified in previous principles.

6. Spaces of illusion that exposes every real space: According to Foucault, the heterotopias of illusion were related with computer and information age. It can be understood from his essay, he couldn't develop ideas more on that type because this technological era was just beginning. Heterotopic functions inside any urban systems act either as sites of freedom and illusion where the normative sites are reflected in a mirror-like environment, or as sites of compensation and discipline, where everything is real, perfect, conscientious and well arranged. However, he exemplifies brothels to illusory type of heterotopias as they dissipate and denounce bourgeois reality by showing it to be the real illusion. Second heterotopia type of this principle is heterotopia of compensation. He exemplified European colonies, which took part in geographic discoveries. These camps were perfected spaces where every action of daily life was scheduled in a meticulous manner.

As a final thought, Foucault gave an example of a ship as the heterotopia par excellence since it was covering all of these principles completely. He claimed, ships are the placeless places, flowing independently on the ocean and they reflect the idea of heterotopia in a perfect manner.

2.2 An Overview to Urban Design from Global Perspective

Urban design is a search for balance between architecture (human), landscape (nature), art (aesthetics) and facilitation (function). Architecture here represents culture, tradition, identity and specificity, while landscape indicates mutual living areas for every living organism without discrimination. Art, in this description, is responsible for beautifying the everydayness, co-operates with architecture and landscape to create a genius loci, whereas facilitation embodies primarily a strong infrastructure that eases the daily life.

A good urban design deals with both the inside and outside urban elements while indicating effective open spaces between the solid urban structure and a dynamic social life on that void infrastructure. When the quality of outdoor area is good, social activities occur with increasing frequency and it is that quality that injects spaces a timeless identity. What to mean by that, is exactly the European streets; born in medieval era, flourished in Baroque and Renaissance periods, and have been sick since 19th century, they represent that geography's culture in a perfect way. They got ill, as industrialization rose, and it was that mechanization what changed extravert-natured people of that era into introvert or even alienated people of 20th and 21st century. Consequently, public space lost its popularity, as private spaces were the new kid in town. In fact, most urban sociologists, such as Georg Simmel, Jurgen Habermas and Richard Sennett, criticized this condition and strongly opposed the lately emerging urban formation. American sociologist Sennett (1994), for instance, was desperately reminiscing about 18th centuries' narrow, dense and warm European streets by exemplifying William Hogarth's "Beer Street" and "Gin Lane". Nevertheless, even though these open spaces had lost some of its positive attributes, they are not dead yet and still represent the culture and identity in where they are located in that particular geography.

To demonstrate the point, a scenario in which someone has a minor concussion with remembering everything except where he/she is, can be imagined. That person can easily identify that he is in Europe, if he/she is actually in Europe. For instance, when one first comes to United States or Australia, that person would definitely say, this is not Europe, just looking at the facades of the buildings or discovering a simple clue with just a quick glance through the physical, built environment. Not in Asia as well, since mega-structures are not as dense as and as much as in that geography's urban settlements.

At this point, one feels obliged to state that it is perhaps the depth of history what gives a stronger identity to anything at hand. Furthermore, it is not only the social life or the street formations that give the culture and identity to a place, but also all the architectural components that were formed in centuries such as the building facades, windows, doors and ornamentations on structures. Therefore, if an urban settlement can succeed to preserve its social and architectural heritage, they eventually reflect a strong culture and identity.

As the void urban space got an incurable disease with the beginning of 19th century, the first steps towards a successful urban design as a response to the relapsed urban-related issues were taken by Ebenezer Howard in the end of that century. Even though his Garden City proposal had anti-city characteristics and was over controlled as Jane Jacobs (2000) criticized later on, his vision of systematically decentralizing the population of an industrial city, London, into a ring of organized garden cities surrounded by countryside and railroads to balance human and nature, was the first steps taken for a good urban design scenario (Beatley, & Wheeler, 2004). His 3 magnets diagram was an effective metaphor to response environmental problems and influenced many others. Lewis Mumford, who put considerable effort to build upon Howard's Garden City ideas, tried to respond to the problems of the overcrowded industrial city by advocating decentralization of population (Beatley, & Wheeler, 2004). He had a deep fear that mechanistic forces could devastate the humane values and relationships, which characterize pre-industrial cities (as depicted previously), and he could be right in terms of loss of culture and identity. He claimed an ideal

urban space must give importance to the relations and emotions of urban actors as well as the expression of aesthetic values (Critchley, 2004).

While scholars were dealing with anthropocentric problems, Aldo Leopold, for the first time, focused on the ecological problems that were recently emerging during World War II. He coined the term "land ethics" and clarified it, as "a thing is right when it tends to preserve the integrity of the biotic community. It is wrong when it tends otherwise. Therefore, conservation, which he believes is a state of harmony between man and land, of wilderness is a must for good urban design (Beatley & Wheeler, 2004).

This was when the term Metropolis was emerging as a mono-centered, coal-dependent and nature pollutant city model with its pioneering example of New York (Shane, 2011). It was the major enemy of the nature as wild capitalism was taking capitalism's duty with the rapid mega-structure development. There was, and still is, a delusion about separating human from nature.

City was getting more and more complex every decade and legibility of the urban environment was decreasing constantly until Kevin Lynch (1960) brought the idea of a mental map that consisted of 5 major elements, which were making it easier for urban people to understand their surroundings; paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.

Murray Bookchin, just after Leopold's notions, related root causes of urban problems with that capitalism. Bookchin saw capitalism as man dominating man, and because of that urge, he believed, a desire to dominate nature eventually and naturally occurs (Bookchin, 2004). He claimed that social and economic organization of humans can shape the relationships in an urban environment, where greenery is conserved, and he was right with his many arguments.

Thereon, Ian Mcharg (1969) contributed to these environmental concerns by proposing eight natural features ranked in an order of value to the operation of

natural process to create a good, sustainable urban design. According to him, the reciprocal of the order of this group of features would constitute an order of suitability for urbanization. Components of this group were elements such as surface water, floodplains, marshes, aquifers, steep slopes, forests and woodlands.

In addition to the degradation problem of the ecosystem, by the end of 60s, when cold war was on, growth in population was once again a problem as well as economic stagnation caused by oil shocks. Robert Moses brought Le Corbusier's Radiant City model to New York as a response to the population boom and financial problems (Teber, 2011). As a result of this understanding, mega structures played a central role for Americans in this period of capitalism (Shane, 2011). On the contrary, Jane Jacobs criticized Moses as well, claiming that this urban model of Corbusier was highly favoring automobiles (Teber, 2011). Refusing the vehicle dependency, new towns created after WWII was embodying a transit-oriented development (TOD) as a response to the transportation problem. A TOD was basically a mixed use community within a range of 600 meters walking distance of a transit stop and core commercial area (Beatley & Wheeler, 2004). Its mix residential, retail, office, open space and public uses in a walkable environment, making it convenient for residents and employees to travel by transit, bicycle, foot, or car. This was when the term "Megalopolis" emerged as multi centered cities contrarily to the "Metropolis" (Shane, 2011). However, as a result of the oil shocks, "Fragmented Metropolises" soon took place over the Megalopolis with offering more stable economics with smaller urban patches financed by global cooperation (Shane, 2011).

Christopher Alexander, in 1977, published his book "Pattern Language" in order to describe how good urban design can be addressed by ordinary people, by approaching urban problems in a patterned way. Perhaps, it was the first rhizomic approach to an urban place even though Derrida and Guattari had not described the term by then.

It was the late 80s when Richard Foreman published his book on Landscape Ecology to address increasing problems related with the environment. His inspirational study based on a "patch-corridor-matrix" system, was to address ecological problems of the

modern urban life. This system is still used by the landscape architects and it is fascinating considering its broad ecological logics.

As the century ended, global cooperation that was dominating the Fragmented Metropolis started to suffer financial crisis. It was simply because of the ecological problems; global urban population was shifting to Asian style "Megacities" where energy and resource consumption is considerably lower comparing to the Northern-American lifestyle (Shane, 2011). There is now hegemony of these "Megacities" which are sheltering great numbers of population with carefully organized public transportation networks that can accommodate this amazing human density.

To sum up, a good urban design must add both social and ecological values to the project and leave it in better conditions than it was before. It is the time to finally understand the belief that the city is an entity apart from nature has dominated the way in which the city is perceived. Tradition has set the city against nature, and nature against city. As Bookchin (2004) stated, it is simply caused by the intrinsic human desire to dominate. Capitalism worsens that condition by not only devastating the greenery in the city, but also by eradicating the architectural heritage. Most urban settlements are suffering from culture and identity loss as mega structures are believed to be the only (beneficial) way to address population growth. Attached to the population problem, transportation gets more complicated to resolve and that increases the reliance on cars.

Therefore, the city must be viewed as a single, evolving system within nature, duplicating the solutions that nature addresses to the problems it encounters with. Perhaps, this is why a heterotopian approach can resolve many issues related with the modern urban life, as heterotopias tend to respond their surroundings in an organic, and rhizomic manner.

2.3 Spatial and Temporal Observation and Comparison of Urban Components Under the Light of Foucault's Heterotopian Approach

As it is indicated above, according to Foucault; heterotopia can be addressed as a type of utopia, which actually exists in a society, and “not imagined places but real places that almost delete themselves from public consciousness.” (Foucault, 1967)

Everybody's childhood fun; kaleidoscope can be helpful to describe urban heterotopia. Kaleidoscope is a cylindrical object having mirrors and movable colorful particles such as beads, pebbles and fragments of glass inside. When the spectator looks into the tube from one end, light that entering from the other end creates colorful patterns, different shapes and arrays of beautiful forms with the reflection of the mirrors. A kaleidoscope is an optical instrument, which has been working with the principle of multiple reflections of the light. Different incredible virtual patterns are formed on the display according to the light conditions and it is not only a toy for children but also a work of art having an extreme craftsmanship for adults. Kaleidoscopes are also used in lighting systems for creating efficient light distribution. Kaleidoscopes have special characteristics rather than the other toys. They create virtual, imaginary spaces for the observers vary from one to another. As a result a kaleidoscope takes the its observer away from usual and ordinary time to a virtual festival by isolating him/her from environment.



Figure 2.2 Patterns of a kaleidoscope ⁴

⁴ Image retrieved from: <http://www.meipokwan.org/Art/Kaleidoscope.htm> - last access date: 18.08.2016

As French sociologist and Foucault's student Prof. Daniel Defert, describes heterotopia, these visual spaces also offer "ruptures in ordinary life, imaginary realms, polyphonic representations" (1997, p.275).

Now it is important to continue with further demonstrations to examine what heterotopia is with some particular case studies, and finally, to address some guidelines for one to create a heterotopic space in urban design practices.

The concept "heterotopia" deserves and requires dozens of pages to describe and exemplify however, a heterotopic place can simply be explained by; a strange, unusual combinational system of enclaves constituting an enclave that alters space over time. In other words, a heterotopia is a miniature of the whole entity, which it is located in another whole entity, such as Chinatown in San Francisco. In a sense, heterotopias can be considered as hybrid miniature cities within the city. However, they have their own specific characteristics. Heterotopia relates to the totality of one particular social system having certain objects, relationships, people, taboos, rituals, things and so on. These elements of course, cannot be left out from a society. Hence, heterotopia can be addressed as an exclusive space and a created alternative space, which is occupied by the excluded community (Shane, 2005). It mirrors that society wherein, therefore the specific culture in which it belongs, in an original manner with incorporating history as a spatial feature. This original manner refers to a space, which has an illusory effect that allows visitors of it to see what they cannot see with the naked eye (Shane, 2005). In fact, as Foucault (1967) stated in his article "*Of Other Spaces*", mirror is a perfect example to make a metaphor, as mirrors enable us to see the parts of our body, which we cannot see naturally (eg.: face). In addition to its illusive aspect, heterotopias contest with all other spaces within that culture, offering a new form of living that contradicts with the usual or familiar (De Cauter, & Dehaene, 2008). In other words, it inverts a notion, a common understanding of something, which is widely accepted. Finally, they have a compensatory nature to correct what is wrong, like when one looks at the mirror and dream about how herself/himself can look better, contesting with the image that one see in front of them, searching for a perfection, maybe with a makeup, or with a tattoo, or even with

an aesthetic surgery to compensate for their ugliness (De Caeter, & Dehaene, 2008). Hence, heterotopias' aim is to create perfected spaces. It doesn't necessarily perfect the heterotopic space itself; it can also make another space perfect that it is cooperating with. Yet, they shouldn't be compared with Thomas More's famous term "Utopia", heterotopias offer more modest roles than utopias do, and, perhaps, that is why they are actually locatable (EAAE, 2005).

As David Grahame Shane (2005) describes it perfectly in his book *"Recombinant Urbanism"*, although it is possible to see some heterotopic instances before, the historic evolution of heterotopias began to take place within the medieval city, which he calls the "archi-citta" (H1 – Heterotopia of crisis). Almshouses and Oxbridge colleges are the perfect examples of such medieval heterotopias. They are the perfect fits for what Michel Foucault meant by "Heterotopia of Crisis". Almshouses, for instance, built for widows, were houses, which were gathered around a communal space. They were privileged spaces reserved for widows who were believed to be in relation to their society in crisis. It was voluntary to get in or out. Similarly, Oxbridge colleges were places, which were defined by scholars with specialized libraries forming a specialized agglomeration of cells around a commonly shared space. Students might or might not choose to live in these spaces (Shane, 2005).



Figure 2.3 Almshouses of Cambridge Street⁵

⁵ Images retrieved from: <http://streetsofliverpool.co.uk/cambridge-street-almshouse/> - last access date: 24.05.2016



Figure 2.4 Almshouses of Cambridge Street⁶

As technology and at the same time modernity developed through decades, heterotopias of crisis had turned into heterotopias of deviance (Shane, 2005). Bentham's Panopticon model for a recently emerged place, "prisons", can be seen as the ignition of this transformation. There was a desire in his model to dominate the social outcasts, and therefore all points were coded and sorted around the single, dark center – making every part a discrete pavilion and mono functional compartment, all radiating outward from the center of the system (Shane, 2005). Thick cell walls prevented prisoners from talking to each other and they were even prevented from seeing each other's faces. Getting in or getting out was not voluntary, and there was a punitive nature of these new spaces. Similar examples include asylums and clinics, which were controlled by skilled professionals.

⁶ Images retrieved from: <http://streetsofliverpool.co.uk/cambridge-street-almshouse/> - last access date: 24.05.2016

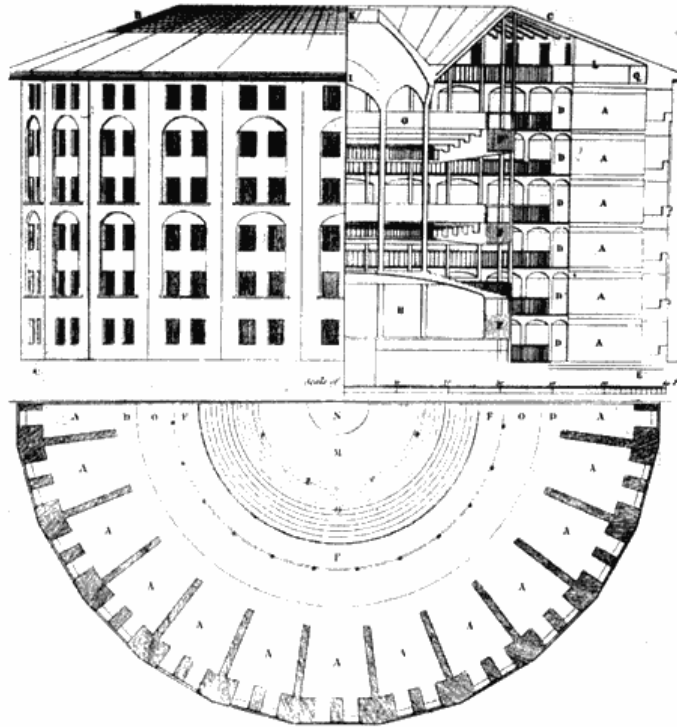


Figure 2.5 Section of Bentham's Panopticon prison⁷

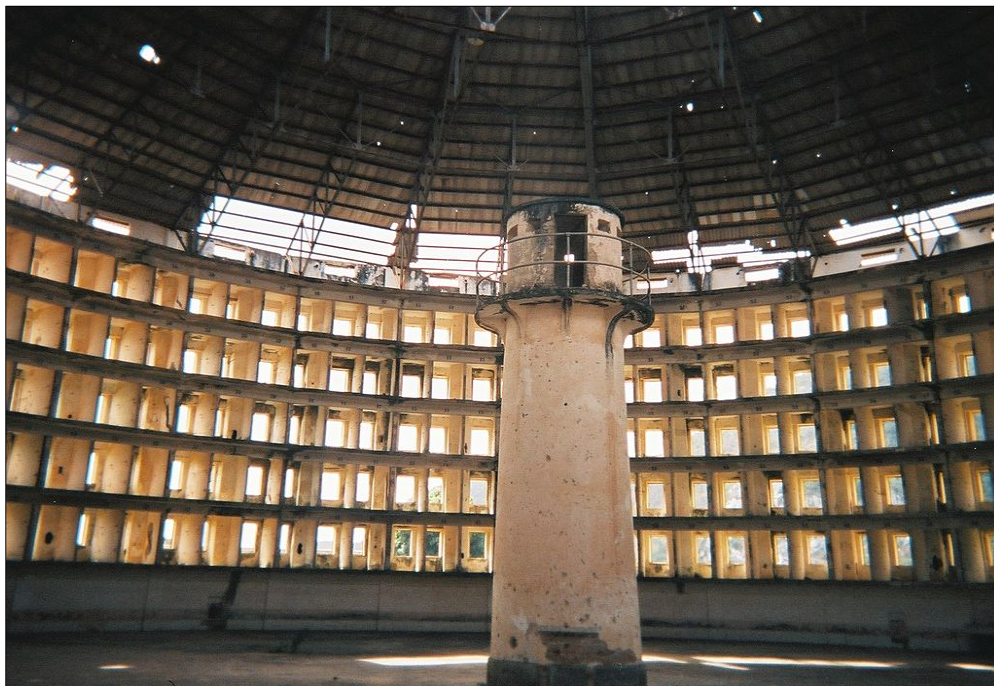


Figure 2.6 Inside view of Presidio Modela prison, Cuba⁸

⁷ Image retrieved from: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panopticon> - last access date: 24.05.2016

⁸ Image retrieved from: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Panopticon> - last access date: 24.05.2016

An apparent transformation to heterotopias of illusion from heterotopias of deviance had started with the industrial city, "cine-citta" (H2 – Heterotopia of deviance) as Shane named it, in 19th century, even though they took place as religious spaces and theatres from the very beginning of human civilization. These new heterotopias were dominated by illusive elements, which can change over time by the urban actors. Illusion was dominating the deviance that was hidden intentionally to attract individuals of that era (Shane, 2005). This was when heterotopias of deviance were dominating the cine-citta model with armatures.

Technological developments in that period of time made it possible to capture the time with cameras, and consequently movie theatres started to proliferate. Also, libraries and museums, which were open to public use, were beginning to grow in the city fabric.

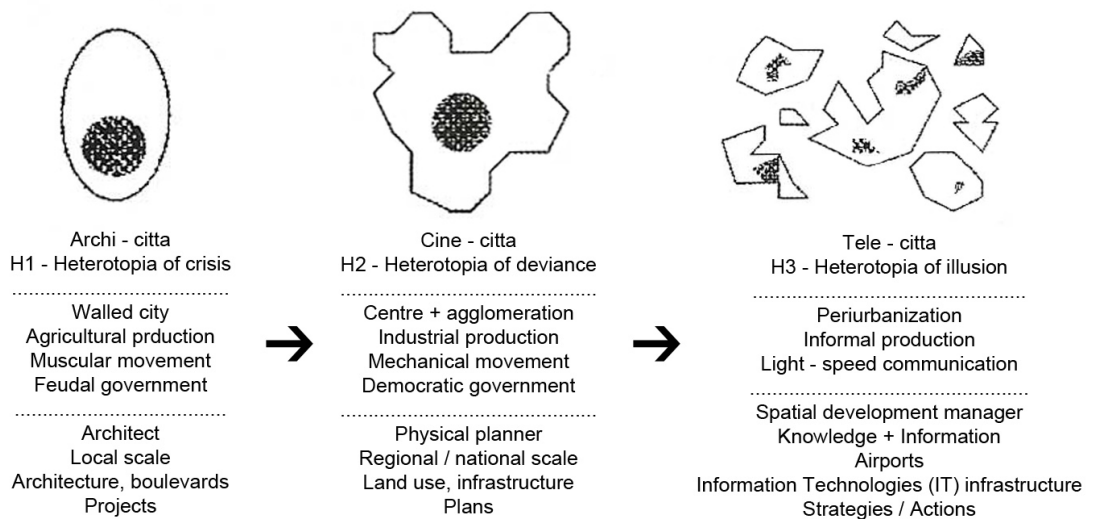


Figure 2.7 Heterotopias in cities / Urban design ecology models (Image drawn by the author based on David Grahame Shane's drawing from "Urban Design Since 1945: A Global Perspective", 2011, p.40)

However, the most conspicuous heterotopias of illusion in those days were the brothels of bourgeoisie. Between the years of 1815 and 1914, bourgeoisie was the hegemonic social order of the colonial nations in Europe. Men were seen as the thinking head, the worker, and the real citizen, whereas women were the feeling heart, the wife and the mother (Magraw, 1986). There was a distinct sexual double

standard as men were expected to be sexually experienced and contrarily, women must remain unsoiled and intact. Husbands could actually kill adulterous wives (Magraw, 1986). Prostitutes, in that span, played a key role and can ironically be seen as the spine of bourgeoisie. As it can be anticipated, these women were coming from lower class, but mostly from colonial immigrants. Their role was to protect the purity of bourgeois women (wives and daughters). It is exactly that social injustice, what makes brothels a great example for heterotopias of illusion. Even though bourgeois brothels may seem like a public space, it was not actually one. In fact, it was a semi-public space, refusing colonial immigrants as a customer, denying bourgeois women as if they were objects for the bourgeois men, they were only servicing for the sexual amusement of men. Which is why, they contested with by creating an illusory space that dissipated and denounced bourgeois reality by showing it to be the real illusion (De Caeter, & Dehaene, 2008). That could be the reason why Foucault sees brothels as heterotopias of illusion.

All of these urban elements were the indicators of the recent, complicated and complex heterotopias of illusion that are coded by the electronic communication and information technologies.

2.4 Exploration of the Reflected Images of Heterotopia in Urban Life

Before exemplifying such "brand-new" heterotopias, it is valuable and useful to make a short time trip starting from 1950s until current times to demonstrate how heterotopias of illusion evolved in the post-modern city.

In the beginning of 1950s, just after the WW II, an unintentional heterotopic occurrence, such as Taksim Gezi Park instance in Turkey, came up as a response to the injustice and inequality in social order in South Asia. That was, The Walled City of Kowloon in Hong Kong. Shane (2005) describes it as a self built, vertical, skyscraper shantytown (heterotopia of illusion). This unusual place arose after WW II on the site of a military camp (heterotopia of deviance) inside what was then the British Colony of Hong Kong. The land officially belonged to China, but there was no way to reach it as it was surrounded by UK forces. As a result, the site fell

between jurisdictions. Therefore displaced immigrants and refugees of Walled City of Kowloon created their own institutions and organizations. However, the site both mirrored and inverted the normative codes of HK with a development on vertical axis but unlike Hong Kong, no one owned the land (Shane, 2005). This (an)other space continued to shelter many social outcasts until it was destroyed in the beginning of 1990s.



Figure 2.8 Walled city of Kowloon aerial view⁹



Figure 2.9 Walled city of Kowloon¹⁰



Figure 2.10 Walled city of Kowloon¹¹

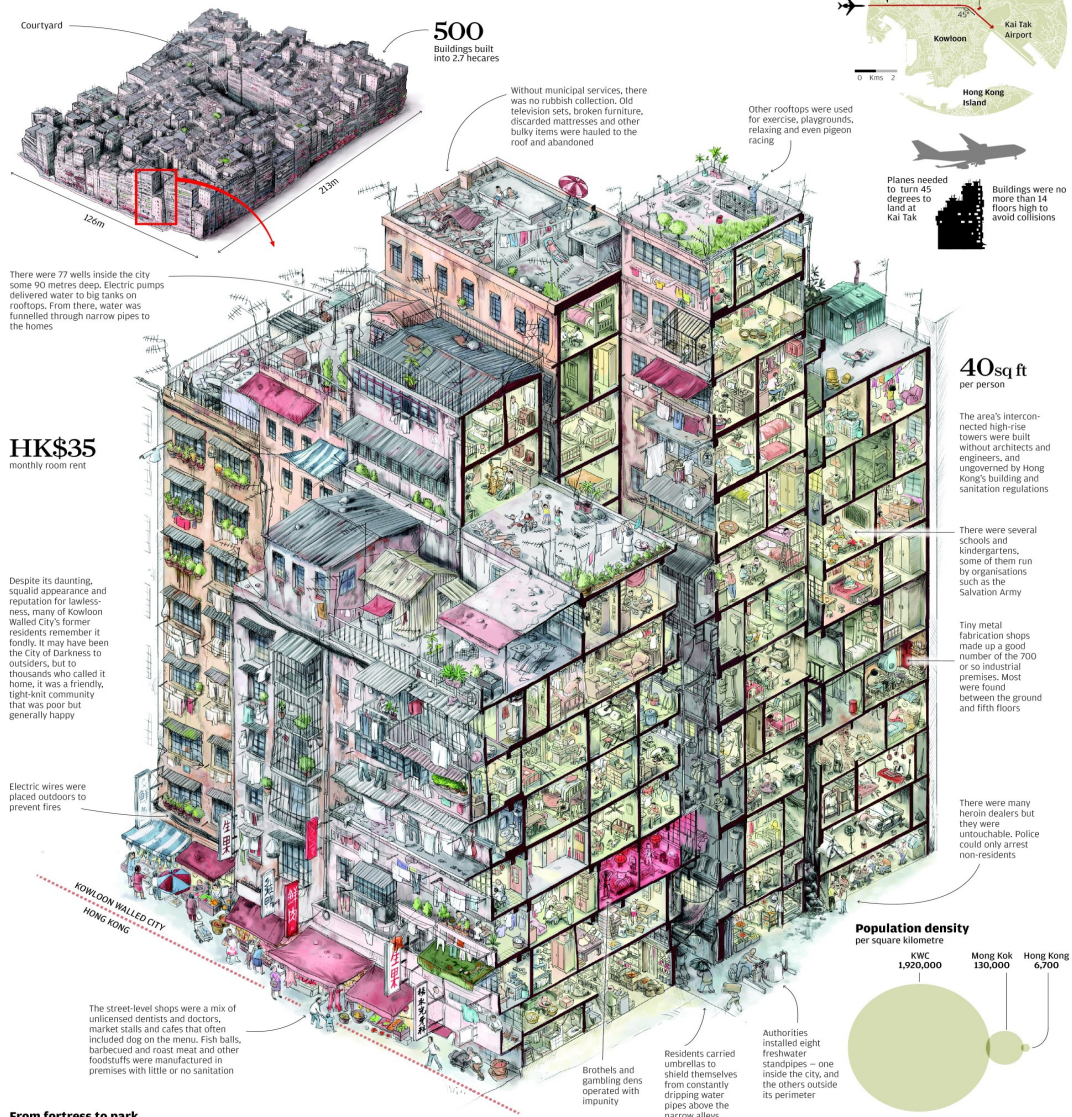
⁹ Image retrieved from: <http://99percentinvisible.tumblr.com/post/36086263396/episode-66-kowloon-walled-city>
last access date: 28.06.2016

¹⁰ Image retrieved from: <http://99percentinvisible.tumblr.com/post/36086263396/episode-66-kowloon-walled-city>
last access date: 28.06.2016

¹¹ Image retrieved from: <http://www.imprintculturelab.com/kowloon-walled-city-revisited/> - last access date:
28.06.2016

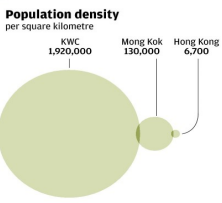
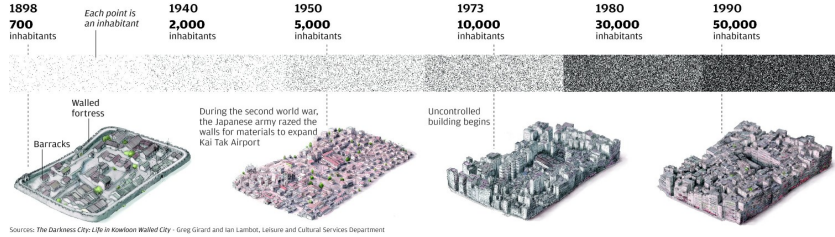
City of anarchy

Kowloon Walled City, located not far from the former Kai Tak Airport, was a remarkable high-rise squatter camp that by the 1980s had 50,000 residents. A historical accident of colonial Hong Kong, it existed in a lawless vacuum until it became an embarrassment for Britain. This month marks the 20th anniversary of its demolition.



From fortress to park

The Walled City underwent a dramatic transformation in the final decades of the 20th century



Fresh start

In March 1993, the settlement was demolished and a park that looked like a typical Chinese garden was built in its place. But it kept a few original elements from the Walled City, such as old cannons and remnants of the South Gate and its entrance plaques



Figure 2.11 Infography of Walled city of Kowloon¹²

¹² Image retrieved from: <http://www.archdaily.com/361831/infographic-life-inside-the-kowloon-walled-city> - last access date: 29.11.2016

Similarly, developed as a response to a critique to the codes of the society of that era, Drop City in Colorado U.S, was built by four art students from the university in Kansas in 1960s (Jencks, 2011). Inspired by the architectural ideas of Buckminster Fuller, Drop City's structures were based on geodesic domes made from salvaged materials such as lumber, bottle caps and chopped out car tops (Grossman, & McCourt, 2012). This unintentional heterotopic occurrence attracted international attention as residents of this place were celebrating the creative work. Many acknowledge this space as the first rural hippie commune in the world (Grossman, & McCourt, 2012). Drop City was actually a counter site that inverted the normative codes of capitalism, contesting with the deep notions of it, and residents of this site rejected all materialistic products as well as the dependency for money.

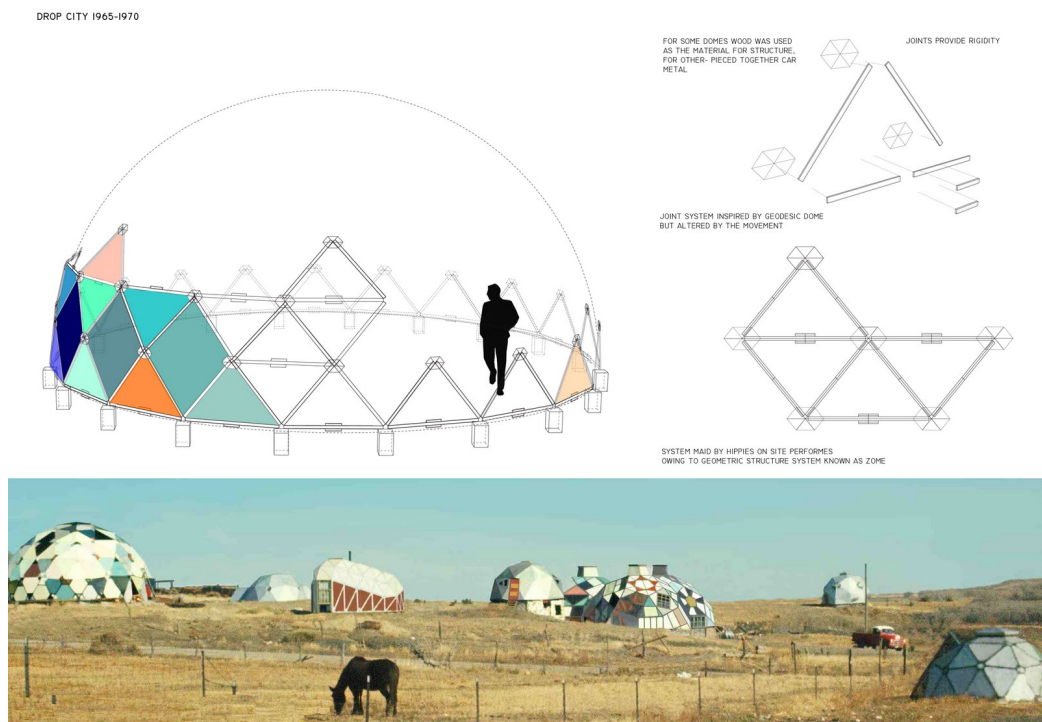


Figure 2.12 Drop city, Colorado, U.S.A. / Joint system inspired by the geodesic dome¹³

After these unintentional heterotopic occurrences, in 1952, Le Corbusier's Chandigarh came up to the stage with becoming an Indian city unlike any other. The plan of Chandigarh was mainly architect centric. Actually the city was transformed into an important site for the expression and negotiation of the visions of modernity

¹³ Image retrieved from: <https://athome201.wordpress.com/tag/drop-city/> - last access date: 17.06.2016

(Perera, 2004). Le Corbusier's plan was a division of sectors, which are neighborhood units and working together as a machine. Especially the region – Burail, located in the Sector 45 of the city, is a real heterotopia. Through time, Burail village became the production focus of Chandigarh, especially citizens visit there in order to find mechanical parts, electrical equipments and agricultural products such as fresh vegetables. Also, the village is a perfect shelter for immigrants. Just like the Walled City of Kowloon, Burail transformed into a proletarian fortress building-city having variety of social and cultural features. (Perera, 2004) The existence of Burail can be accepted as an extraordinary and literally a heterotopic example in Le Corbusier's machine design.



Figure 2.13 Plan of Burail village, Chandigarh, India¹⁴

Therefore, it was Rem Koolhaas, who was able to grasp the absolute heterotopian thought in an urban design project for the first time in 1972. He named that project Exodus: The Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture. Even though his intention was not to create namely a "heterotopic" space, his proposal was the heterotopia par

¹⁴ Image retrieved from: <https://thefunambulistdotnet.files.wordpress.com/2014/01/burail-funambulist.jpg> - last access date: 29.11.2016

excellence considering the comprehensiveness of the principles and the definition Foucault used to describe heterotopias. Koolhaas, actually, was a master's student when he proposed this heterotopic design and was asked to make a site trip to get inspiration before making his proposal. He decided to see the Berlin Wall, which he was fascinated with, and this was when he first discovered the powerful side of architecture (De Caeter, & Dehaene, 2008). It caught his attention that absence in architecture was stronger than its presence, when he observed an extremely solid structure, which divides one city into two parts (De Caeter, & Dehaene, 2008). He realized that, with his words, "Where there is nothing, everything is possible, where there is architecture, nothing (else) is possible" (Koolhaas, 1985, p.156). Berlin Wall, was actually cutting the city through a north-south axis and at the west side, there were UK, USA and French forces where residents of Berlin saw it as a better, prosperous place, and at the eastern side, there were the U.S.S.R forces who were believed to be despotic.

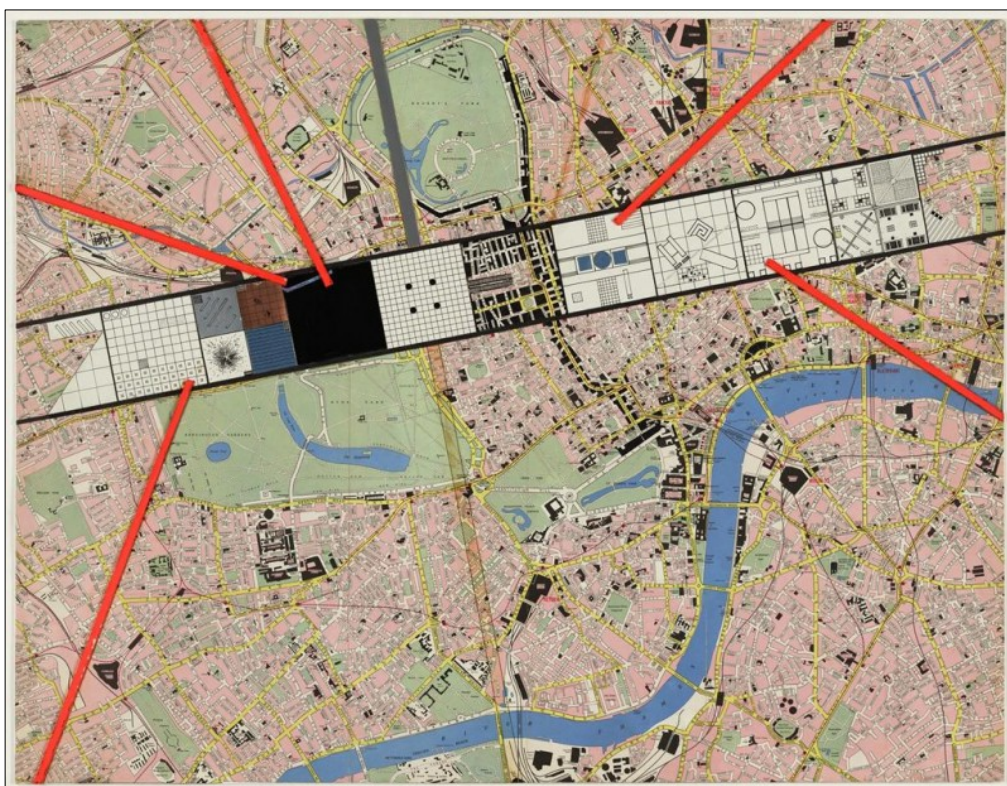


Figure 2.14 Exodus, Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture, a long strip having tall barriers, cutting through the urban fabric of London¹⁵

¹⁵ Image retrieved from: <http://socks-studio.com/2011/03/19/exodus-or-the-voluntary-prisoners-of-architecture/> last access date: 19.08.2016

Hence, there was a constant flow and a desire to escape from the east and reside in the west. In order to stop that migration, authorities determined to build the Berlin Wall. It was that notion, what Koolhaas based his idea on and it is what makes his project a heterotopia par excellence. He inverted this theme and proposed a strip of metropolitan desirability; cutting across the heart of London. The proposal was protected by walls from the rest of the city (De Caeter, & Dehaene, 2008). However, unlike the Berlin Wall, anyone and everyone were welcome in this place. Walls were only barriers for the urban fabric, not for people.

There was a distinct contestation with the rest of the old city, as Exodus was a critique to the shortcomings of contemporary architecture; such as the mega-structures of capitalism. Also, Koolhaas used luxurious materials to subliminally instill contentment and gratitude to residents (Carson, 2012), which can be accepted as a perfect way for compensation.

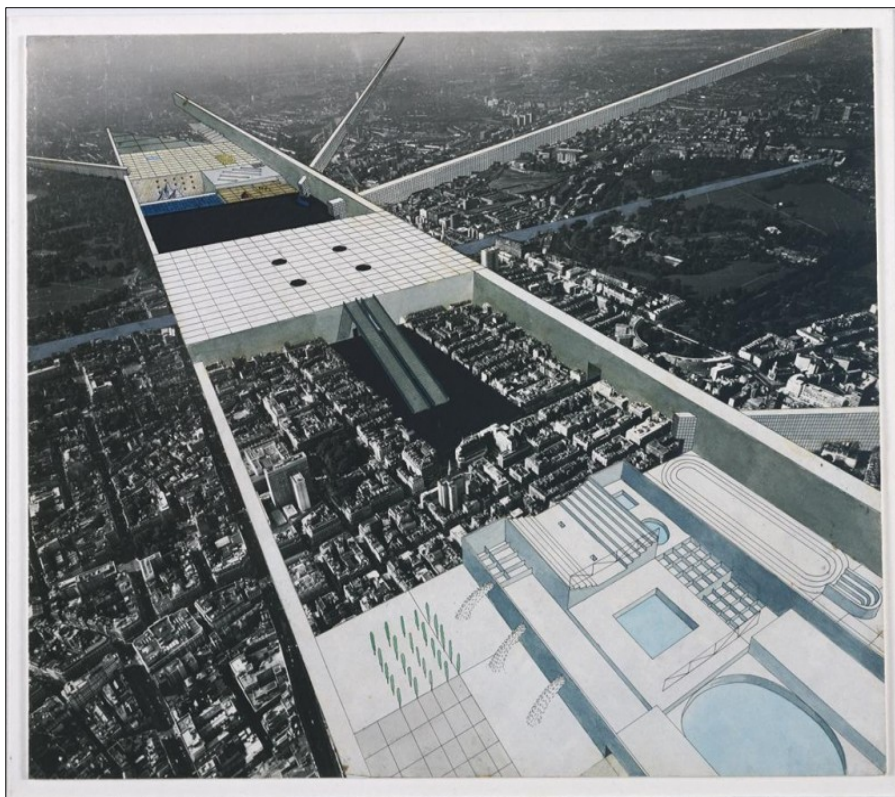


Figure 2.15 Exodus, collage of “Perfect Acts of Architecture”¹⁶

¹⁶ Image retrieved from: <http://socks-studio.com/2011/03/19/exodus-or-the-voluntary-prisoners-of-architecture/> - last access date: 19.08.2016

A decade after Koolhaas's inspirational work, Bernard Tschumi, in 1982, proposed a park, which can be claimed as one magnificent example of heterotopic thought as well. It was 1987, when the Parc de la Villette of Tschumi was completed in city of Paris and at that time he was highly criticized as his project was another space, a park which refused the traditional understanding of how a park should be designed (Hejduk, & Marrou, 2009). He inverted all conventional approaches of landscape architects and urban designers by suggesting a construct without a precedent. His architectural approach while he was designing Parc de la Villette was highly influenced from Jacques Derrida's deconstructivist ideas (Tschumi, 2012) and maybe this is why this project is such a good example for the heterotopian thought. Allowing surprisingly unexpected spaces under his solid structures - follies- that he proposed in the park, urban actors can encounter with each other coincidentally. Themed gardens juxtaposed in the park permit visitors to change their activities instantaneously.

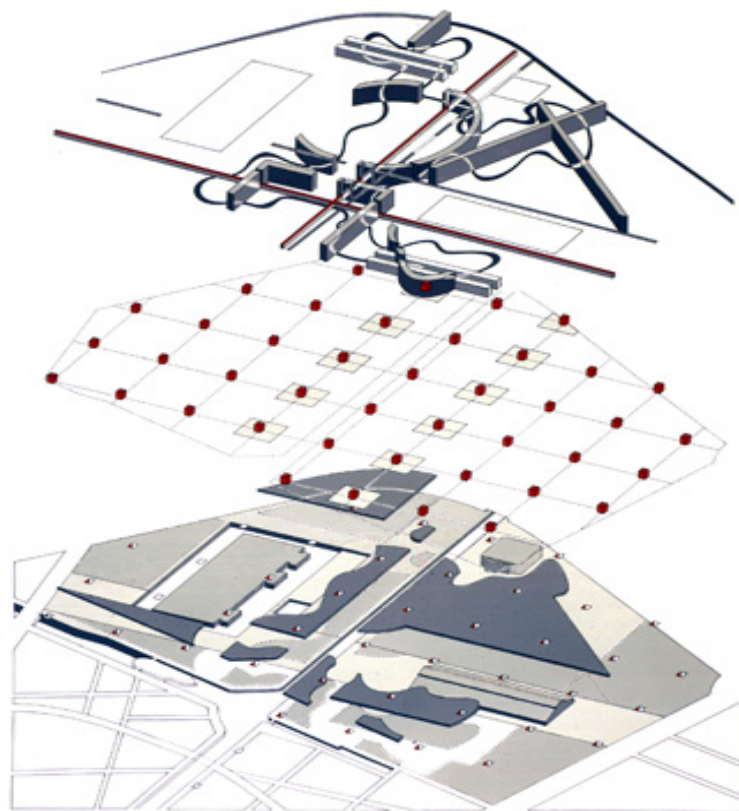


Figure 2.16 Organization diagram of Parc de la Villette¹⁷

¹⁷ Image retrieved from: <http://www.tschumi.com/projects/3/> - last access date: 21.08.2016

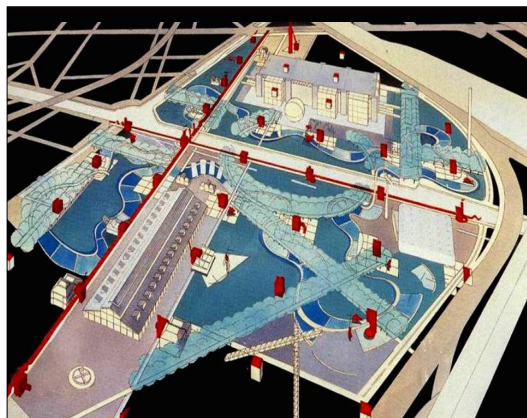


Figure 2.17 Parc de la Villette¹⁸



Figure 2.18 Aerial view of Parc de la Villette¹⁹

Six years after the completion of Parc de la Villette, in 1993, another fascinating example for the absolute heterotopian thought was born in the same city, Paris, where the father of the term "heterotopia" spent most of his life and died because of AIDS (Roach, 2009). This was also a park, called Promenade Plantee, designed by un-believable undervalued landscape architects Jacques Vergely and Philippe Mathieux (Heathcott, 2013). Unlike the common belief, High Line in Manhattan was not the first elevated park in the history; it was Promenade Plantee (Heathcott, 2013). In fact, most innovative ideas underlying in Promenade Plantee's proposal were duplicated in High Line. These two projects show many similarities. However, Promenade Plantee was the precedent, therefore this section is allocated for that project. In that, Promenade Plantee was built on a former railway, which was an extremely important part of the industrial Paris (Heathcott, 2013). Vergely and Mathieux incorporated that historical feature of the city in their design and used the railway as a spatial element of landscape through the promenade. Like Parc de la Villette, Promenade Plantee was also a successful inversion of the traditional park understanding as it was suspending all over Paris, contesting with the underlying city fabric. Time, also, suspends on this bridge-like structure because besides its transit function from one place to another, Promenade Plantee offers another place completely different than the rest of city by its beautiful views, which makes its visitors impossible to just pass by in a rush.

¹⁸ Image retrieved from: <https://thearchiblog.wordpress.com/tag/france/> - last access date: 21.08.2016

¹⁹ Image retrieved from: <https://lavillette.com/en/history/> - last access date: 21.08.2016

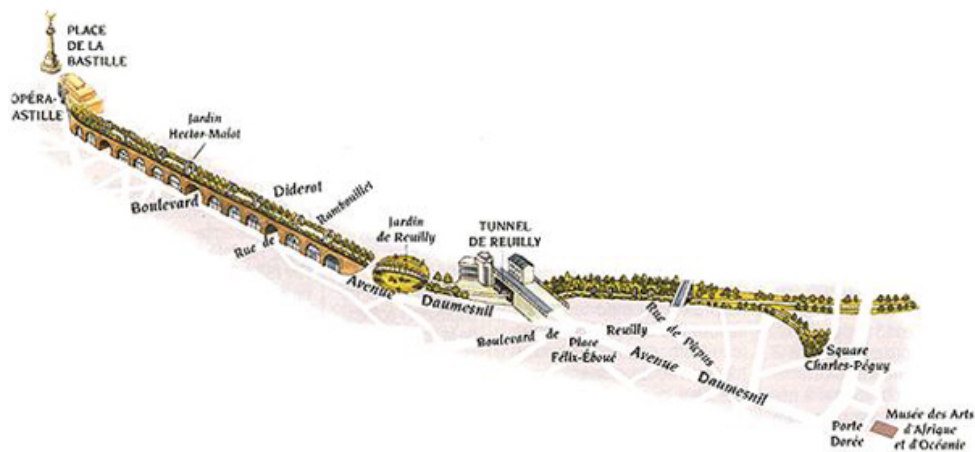


Figure 2.19 Illustration of Promenade Plantee²⁰

Getting closer to the 21st century, capitalism held no tethers and turned into a wilder understanding of economics. Private developers who have closer relations with their governments are constantly purchasing state lands, and widen their wealth by the mega structures they have been building on those lands. Hence, it can be said that bourgeoisie has not really come to an end, but rather dimensioned, or upgraded. Shopping malls, which can be described as means of production in bourgeoisie terminology, have been proliferating in the urban fabric as large, enclosed and suffocating enclaves. Perhaps it would be more correct and appropriate to consider them as rough and loud enclaves, unlike Deheane and De Cauter, and not to regard them as heterotopias. They can only be pseudo-heterotopias as they cover only one aspect of a heterotopic space; juxtaposition. The main reason underlying the point is; heterotopias should be decommodified spaces, without an exchange value. They can function fully only in that way. "Use" is the value of heterotopias and they do not serve to a capital, instead they contest with that macro understanding of economy. However, in this context, local places like Grand Bazaar in Istanbul, or Covent Garden in London shouldn't be compared with these latest products of wild capitalism as they reflect perfect examples for heterotopias. Individualistic profit making has been the main agenda of these spaces and they have mirrored their society's culture impressively for centuries. Nevertheless, contemporary

²⁰ Image retrieved from: <http://www.urbangardensweb.com/2011/09/23/the-high-lines-french-ancestor-la-promenade-plantee/> - last access date: 21.08.2016

understanding of the shopping mall, unfortunately, has managed to acquire an important place in the post-modern urban fabric of 21st century.

Currently, a contemporary post-modern city refers to a place where communications between urban actors and information technologies constantly reform the urban fabric. Shane (2005), names these new cities, which are recently emerged with computer age phenomena, as "tele-cittas" (H3 – Heterotopia of illusion) as mentioned previously. According to him, these cities are mainly consisted of "heterotopias of illusion", where illusion dominates deviance. These H3 type heterotopias dictate all armatures and enclaves within the urban realm (H3=i/d where i: illusion of freedom/d:deviance or compensatory discipline). Since illusion is a dominant factor in H3's, and therefore in "tele-citta's", it is important to comprehend how this illusive effect can be injected.

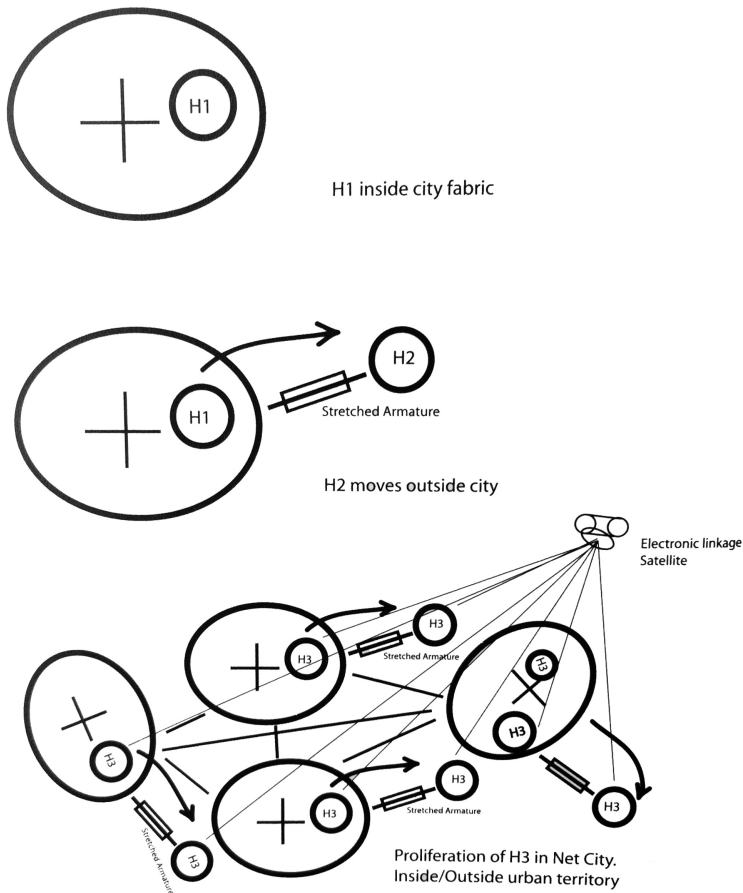


Figure 2.20 Shifting heterotopias ²¹

²¹ Image drawn by David Grahame Shane, "Urban Design Since 1945: A Global Perspective", 2011, p.72

In order to infuse that illusory impact, 3 key principles are going to be described; **(1) mirroring the culture and society, (2) integrating scenographic elements to streetscape, (3) creating a rhizomic assemblage.** Firstly; as stated formerly, **mirrors** reflect image in another space (dimension), and provides a vision that permits to see what is hidden, or unable to see by the naked eye like one's face. In order to reflect the society by means of a form, history of that culture can be used, which is there already, but cannot be seen if it is eradicated, or hard to notice, if it is partially demolished. Nevertheless, regardless if it has been abolished or not, history is still a segment of the identity as demonstrated before; it is a part of the emergent whole, a component of the city itself. As an example, incorporating history as a spatial future can take place by involving the heritage places and buildings, and create (an)other space with them to celebrate the historical development as the face of the city *per se* that makes other places to identify. Another aspect is the future of the city, since it is actually a piece from the whole as well. This approach can refer to a heterotopic proposal to embody traces of how the city may look like in the future. That can be designating new architectural facades for the proposed buildings which has components that reminisces the culture's history (as a post-modernist approach), but at the same time giving clues about the forthcoming appearance of the city.

In addition to the mirror impact, second principle for the illusory effect can be the use of **scenographic elements**, which attract urban actors, as David Grahame Shane (2005) instanced in his book "*Recombinant Urbanism*" with Las Vegas casinos. Modern brothels can be another good example for that principle, as they operate as massage parlours, strip clubs or bars (because of legal restrictions) having appealing and glossy signboards, concealing the deviancy and behavioral codes of the subject place as a hidden agenda.

The third and the final principle of illusion aspect can be to create a **rhizomic assemblage** rather than a dendritic, hierarchical assembly. In fact, Deleuze and Guatarri (1987) in their book "*A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*", defines a rhizome as a self organizing matrix, a system that responds flexibly to its environment and take different forms under different conditions. Based on the image

of the roots of the plants, the philosophers see creative dynamics in networks emergent from unusual assemblages, combinations, merged incorporations and associations, which are only to a little extent tied to existing cultural meanings or relations. How this perspective can be integrated to the project is crucial. As a starting point, the term "flexible" should be taken into consideration. As a matter of fact, flexible urbanism is still a blurred issue and not yet fully addressed by the practitioners. However, flexibility in an urban design framework can only be addressed by a Situationist approach. It can be injected to the urban form only with an ephemeral understanding, as Situationist Internationals like Guy Debord suggested. Debord stated that there is no eternal essence of architecture, but rather it is something under constant negotiation (cited in Sadler, 1998). This statement indicates that, alongside with architectural components, immortal aspects of the city are compiled by human interactions and their complex interrelationships, which cannot be foreseeable by planners/designers/architects. In practice, that approach can be exemplified as pavements, materials and attachments for the void element, while it can embody mergeable buildings and blocks for the solid component of the city. Mergeability here can be achieved by adjusting the skyline image coherently with avoiding a dynamic view. In other words, heights' of the buildings should be sequacious to its adjacent, ready to merge with it, and roofs should permit for possible additional storeys. Similarly, blocks should be designed with futuristic concerns, designated to celebrate what incidence, occasion or situation is forthcoming. Another element of Rhizomic Assemblage can be the unforeseeable relations of urban actors. Any individual can interact with another under surprising coincidences, which are directly emerged after actions that are taken by urban people. These actions can or cannot be seen as the former group generally appears in the solid form of the urban environment while the latter can simply be a single word, which is sufficient enough to be responded in multiple ways. Such as in the Borneo-Sporenburg urban design project by West 8 between 1993 and 1996, mergeability is realized on the two peninsulas in the eastern part of Amsterdam docks.



Figure 2.21 West 8 project: A new interpretation of the traditional Dutch canal houses, miniaturized heterotopias of illusion²²



Figure 2.22 West 8 project: Great variety of dwelling modes and maximum variety of architecture, Amsterdam, Netherlands²³

²² Image retrieved from: http://www.west8.nl/projects/urban_design/borneo_sporenburg/ - last access date: 22.08.2016

²³ Image retrieved from: http://www.west8.nl/projects/urban_design/borneo_sporenburg/ - last access date: 22.08.2016

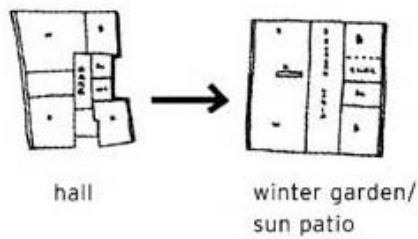
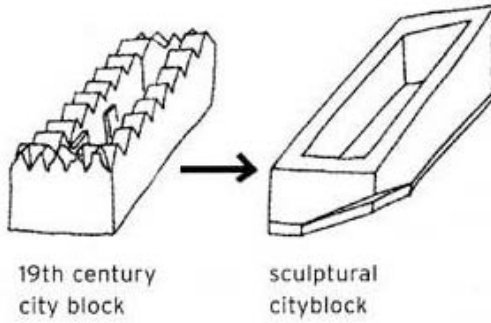
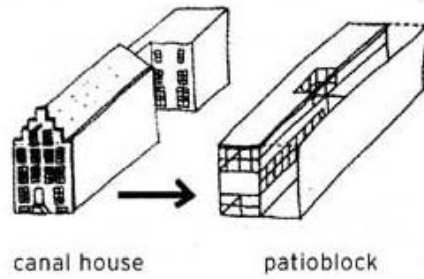


Figure 2.23 West 8 project: Renewal block diagrams²⁴

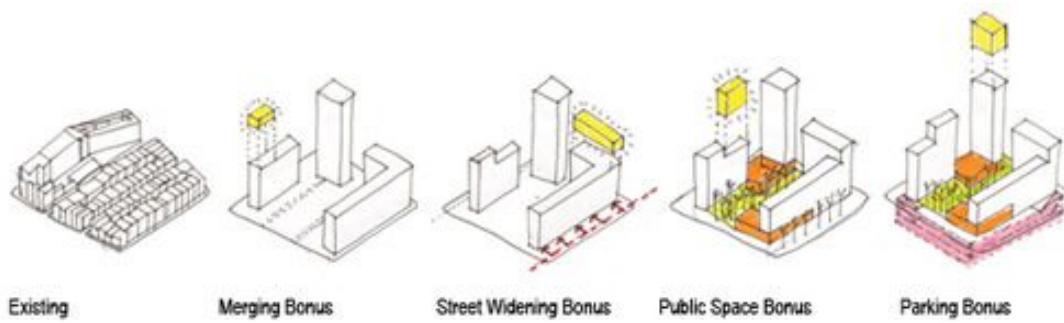


Figure 2.24 Mergeable urban block ideas for İstanbul, Turkey²⁵

²⁴ Image retrieved from: <http://proiektuak4.blogspot.com.tr/2012/02/west-8-borneo-sporenburg-amsterdam-1993.html> - last access date: 22.08.2016

²⁵ Image retrieved from: <http://futurecapetown.com/2012/11/istanbuls-idea-to-merge-city-blocks/> - last access date: 22.08.2016

After explaining the illusory aspect, **contestation** can now be defined. Pollution, corruption and self-interest attached to the global economics of 21st century make urban life necessary to be deterritorialized as Deleuze and Guatarri (1983) describes. Contrarily to its latest descriptions to make the term coherent with globalization, deterritorialization should be perceived as Deleuze and Guatarri's explanation, which they suggested in the first place. It should be seen as the living inside unbounded flows and networks, as a rhizomatic life of constant, nomadic movement. This approach requires examining the place in larger assemblages with its surrounding neighborhoods, suburbs, districts, and cities. Only with this way economic dynamics affecting a subject place can be understood.

Final aspect of how these theories portray heterotopian thought in urban form is by means of compensation. Additionally to the compensatory outcomes of "Illusion" and "Contestation" to the society by attempting to correct the issues, this aspect aims to create a perfected living sphere by resolving the rest of the problems.

In conclusion, the important point in here is to understand none of these three aspects can operate independently. That is why, the following of the examples herein below are important while depicting each elements to form a heterotopic space. As all heterotopias are specific to the culture in which they are located, the examples are particular to their own society, in a framework of their identity. It does not necessarily address the issues of a place with the interpretation that suggested for the instances, even though these problems for the modern urban life, which are defined are global. As they are all highly interpretable, like the term heterotopia, any urban designer can his/her own understanding of;

1. Illusion: 1.a. Mirroring the Culture, 1.b. Integrating Scenographic Elements to Streetscape, 1.c. Creating a Rhizomic Assemblage,
2. Contestation: 2.a. Deterritorialization, 2.b. Inversion, and
3. Compensation: 3.a. Recompensing, 3.b Perfectifying.

In contrast to the hybrid mega developments mentioned above, it is significant to continue with a typical heterotopic example of the community of Christiania. Freetown Christiania is an autonomous, self-organizing and self-proclaimed community of squatters, founded in 1971 by a group of social-housing activists, in the borough of Christianshavn of the capital of Denmark, Copenhagen. (Magognoli, 2015) This instance is similar to the Walled City of Kowloon by means of having a former military background and being heterotopia of illusion. This free town should be considered as a special and interesting instance, which is an extraordinary illegal and unplanned settlement exception, since Copenhagen is a small-scaled capital city with regards to other European capitals, having a strict tradition of democratic and participatory city planning approaches and design standards. (Shane, 2005)



Figure 2.25 Main entrance gate of Christiania ²⁶

For long years, this town has been a space of cultural critique in the heart of Copenhagen (Shane, 2005). However, recently, it is a small free town, where people

²⁶ Image retrieved from: <http://www.museumofthecity.org/project/christiania-commune/> - last access date: 24.08.2016

live friendly and peacefully. One can experience the perfect heterotopic and even utopic thoughts and notions, while visiting this town.

This free town is the representation of a movement of radical freedom, creativity and disparity through the Scandinavian countries. This site became the heterotopic space where contestation over imaginary of space having own identities against monotony and similarity. This is a place of difference with the manifest of spatial dynamics. Christiania is the physical real space of resistance allowing the modes of paradox and participation in democracy (Shane, 2005).



Figure 2.26 One of the old military buildings in Christiania, Copenhagen²⁷

Christiania's community profile of the activist citizens and self-governed structure of independency can be addressed to the form of heterotopia of deviance. Searching for personal freedom, political agency and new identities in Danish culture is the preliminary notion of the norm of behavior (*Principle 1*). Also, Christiania is the

²⁷ Image retrieved from: <http://www.baldur.info/blog/copenhagen-philharmonic-christiania-hammers-toy-pianos-and-penguins/> - last access date: 24.08.2016

counter-side or Foucault’s “enacted utopia” (1967, p.25) containing inverting, contesting, compensating, challenging Danish culture and fashion (*Principle 2*).

Christiania citizens or squatters have an organizational discipline for integrated new industrial and agricultural reforms for Danish economy. They created school, park and organic farm units for their community. These urban elements also serve the surrounding neighborhoods. Consequently, both the physical structures and social components are brought a whole series of juxtaposition (*Principle 3*).



Figure 2.27 One of the entrances of Christiania²⁸

This free town was developed as an alternative, began from a community of squatters and ended with an example of social experiment in Danish welfare state. Throughout time, Christiania has been transformed into one of the most wanted and desired area

²⁸ Photograph taken by the author, 2015

in Copenhagen with its marginal social and political understanding (Shane, 2005). Also, in the history of Christiania, the actor shift between the location of criminals and drug users and space for art and culture (*Principle 4*).



Figure 2.28 Old military buildings and their new functions, Christiania²⁹

Even though Christiania is open to public and very attractive point for tourists, the access is permeable. The entrance of automobiles to the site is strictly forbidden in order to provide a favorable space for pedestrians and bicycles (*Principle 5*).

According to squatters, youths, foreign, minority groups and all kind of people, this town allows them the flexibility and possibility to fulfill themselves, even it is a primitive way of living (Shane, 2005). With the large groups of trees, recreated old military buildings, cooperative arrangements of small-scaled freestanding structures instead of large massive buildings, multi family houses covered with bright coloured graffiti and murals, the smell of the marijuana, Christiania is the example of space of illusion that exposing real space. The living standards and the safety within this small

²⁹ Photograph taken by the author, 2015

anonymous heterotopic space provide this real illusion. In the contested space of Christiania, the social and even psychological imagines and fantasies come to stage in everyday life practice (*Principle 6*).



Figure 2.29 Christmas festival in Christiania ³⁰

Christiania can be described as the realized utopia – heterotopia, where appearance of the opposite and even critical views and voices of Danish society in order to create an alternative and radical space with a spirit of hope and optimism, in this modern society. Hence, heterotopias of illusion like Christiania, are the simultaneously real, imaginary and symbolic spaces. Also, this free town is a unique example for worldwide squatters, favelas or slums, since its survival although official disapproval from the government. That is to say, the notion of this and that; is easily visible here in a mixed up position by means of being active and passive or peaceful and violent. With rejecting the comprehensiveness, the free town Christiania is the “space of alternate ordering” which “organizes a bit of the social world in a way different to that which surrounds them” (Hetherington 1997, p.viii).

³⁰ Photograph taken by the author, 2015



Figure 2.30 Old military building and reuse of them³¹

³¹ Photograph taken by the author, 2015

CHAPTER III

TAKSİM – GEZİ PARK REVISITED AND REIMAGINED AS HETEROTOPIA

“Hayır. Hükümetlerimiz, yasalarımız yok, pekâlâ! Ama görebildiğim kadarıyla, düşünceler hiçbir zaman yasalarla ve hükümetlerle denetlenememiştir, Urras’ta bile.”³²

3.1 Spatial Examinations

As it is stated above, spaces gain special identities via their surroundings, settings, activities, actors, situations and events on them and meaning created through people’s experiences about them.

Gottdiener (1993, p.130) mentions in his article that dialectical moments are expressed as three terms. It is actually the reason why he proposed a unitary theory of space that ties together the physical, the mental and the social: a Spatial Practice, a Representation of Space, and a Space of Representation. Spatial Practice in here refers to a space, which can be revealed through the empirical and experiential deciphering of space (Lefebvre 1991, p. 38) while Representation of Space indicates a space as developed cognitively by architects, designers, landscape architects, planners and urban designers (Lefebvre 1991, p. 39). Finally, Space of a Representations stands for lived experiences space, the lived moment of space (Lefebvre 1991, p. 135). Before, examining further these moments of space, it is important to understand how Lefebvre describes space. Lefebvre explains his understanding of space, and this is also one of his widely known quotes, which he developed on the path of how he understands space, as: “Every society produces its own space, and (social) space is a (social) product” (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26). He justifies this claim in a perfectly sophisticated manner until the very end of his book by keeping his focus on urban economics. However, Castells criticizes his work

³² Quotation retrieved from *The Dispossessed*, Ursula K. LeGuin, 1974, p.144

about being too concerned with economics that he is drifting apart from sociospatial concerns (1977, p. 89). While that may be true, much of Lefebvre can be justified quickly in such manner as well. To give a quick basic sociospatial justification to “every society produces its own space”, one can consider a high quality urban space, where functions quite well within the particular society in which it is located. This space may not operate as effectively as it does in its original location, such as in different cultures, traditions and spatial practices, if, figuratively speaking, that place is subtracted and inserted to another urban space of another given social entity. Besides this point of view, Lefebvre continues describing how he perceives his urban space as following;

... an apparent hyper-complexity, embracing as it does individual entities and particularities, relatively fixed points, movements and flows and waves – some interpenetrating, others in conflict. These interpenetrations, many with different temporalities, get superimposed one on another in a present space; different layers of time are inscribed in the built landscape piled upon each other, intersecting and buried, palpable and distorted within three dimensional objective forms. (1991, p. 88)

According to him, there are three moments of space: (i.) Spatial Practice (Perceived Space), (ii.) Representations of Space (Conceived Space), and (iii.) Space of Representations (Lived Space) (1991, p. 35). Merrifield, also, brings a magnificent explanation to spatial practices:

“... have close affinities with perceived space, to people’s perceptions of the world, of their world, particularly its everyday ordinariness; it structures lived reality, including routes and networks, patterns and interactions that connect place with people, images with reality, and work with leisure.” (2006, p. 110)

Actually, spatial practice is not mentioned in literature, and even neglected by many, including David Harvey, as he explains spatial practice in few words by “material experiential space” (2006, p. 125) – presumably equates it with absolute space – which is not even accurate. However spatial practice is the one that is responsible

from and has the very potentials to variety, uniqueness and the genius loci. Instead of being experiential, as the lived is responsible for it, spatial practice is the empirical moment of space. It is the everyday ordinariness, as Merrifield states, and everyday ordinariness have roots till the very first ancestors of a given society, which adds an ethnographical dimension herein below, to spatial practices. It derives from experiments and observations rather than theory.

Spatial practice is the space moment where Japanese dining on ground with chopsticks, where Arabic writing through leftwards, where Brazilian enjoying football, where English driving right-steering, where Turkish not entering their homes with their shoes; the point here is, because of these different spatial practices, each society is idiosyncratic, thus has particular and peculiar spatial requirements and arrangements. Therefore, it can be said that, heterotopic incidences comprise of cultural spatial practices. Yi Fu Tuan, a Chinese – American geographer, focuses on the feelings, thoughts and experiences of people, about space and place in the lived world and how these components are affected through time. One of the dialectics according to him, “place is security, space is freedom” (Tuan, 2001, p. 3). The perspective of experiences, rituals, perceptions and conceptions are shaped by the spatial values and realities.

Representations of space, is the conceptualized space, the space of planners, designers and scientists (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 35). All of who identified what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. It is the dominant space in any society, and therefore are representations of power and ideology, of control and surveillance (Soja, 1996, p. 67). It is the space of epistemology and authority. Whereas, the lived, space of representations, is the space of experiential (Merrifield, 1995, p. 297) and is the most complex and complicated one. It is directly lived spaces, the space of everyday experience (Merrifield 2006, pp. 109-110). It is distinct from two other spaces and encompasses them (Soja, 1996, p. 67). It has clandestine and underground aspects (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 35). This is the dominated – dominated by the representations of space – and hence passively experienced or subjected space. Within representations of space, there is very little lived, as lived experience is crushed and vanquished by the conceived.

From this point of view, urban space is not only integrity of physical units. One can consider it as a course of action or a process. It can only be formed as consequence of social practices and experiences of mutually related, dependent, totally involved societies. The public culture, tradition, solidarity and social awareness can be reflected as spatial meaning in an urban life. Urban life is always dynamic since the socio-cultural formation of the cities is dynamic. Mobilizations like protests, demonstrations etc. show their own characteristics and they also reflect the social profile of the urban life.

3.2 Taksim – Gezi Park Protests as a Heterotopic Practice of Space

*“...Yaşamak! Bir ağaç gibi tek ve hür
Ve bir orman gibi kardeşesine,...”³³*

The Taksim Square in Istanbul, as being the heart of the city and even Turkey, has always been a very important place throughout history, where the events actualized by means of a combination of a representation space, a focus of casual routines; such as parades and New Year celebrations etc., meetings and the utilization area of the city. That is to say, Taksim Square is the defacto square of Turkey.

Taksim Square is also a very popular place for both domestic and foreign tourists and residents. Istiklal Street which is totally pedestrian area starting from Taksim Square and end at Tunnel which is the world’s second oldest subway established on 1875 (Tayfur, 2014). There are many shops, banks, 5 star, 4 star, 3 star, 2 star hotels, restaurants, cafes, pubs, bars, travel agencies around Taksim square and Istiklal Street. Atatürk Cultural Center (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi) and Monument of Republic are also located in the Taksim Square. Besides, Gezi Park is an ordinary, small urban park next to Taksim Square. Although it has mainly hard landscape, it is still one of the last green space in Beyoğlu district of Istanbul. It is located at the former site of Halil Pasha Artillery Barracks (Tayfur, 2014). This complex was square shaped military barracks which was constructed on former Grand Champs des Morts in 1806 and played a active role during 31 March incident. Then in 1921, the barracks

³³ Quotation retrieved from “Davet” *Bu Memleket Bizim, Nazım Hikmet, 1974, p.104*

transformed into Taksim Stadium by building of wooden seats into the barracks and the Turkish National Football team played its first formal football match with Romania here. In 1936, Henri Prost, the French architect and city planner was invited to Turkey by President Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in order to prepare Istanbul's urban planning and he worked for this till to 1951 (Tayfur, 2014). Prost completed Taksim Square plans in 1939 and then Lütfi Kırdar, the governor and the mayor of Istanbul during that time, demolished the barracks buildings between 1939 and 1940 in order to reorganize the area as Taksim Gezi Park in accordance with the Prost's plans. Prost predicted much larger park covering of 30-hectare area starting from Taksim passing through Nişantaşı, Maçka and extended to Bosphorus but it has never been realized. The construction of Gezi Park was completed in 1943 and opened in honour of İsmet İnönü, the second President of Republic of Turkey and named as “İnönü Esplanade” (Tayfur, 2014). The area of the Taksim Gezi Park minimized during the following years with the construction of luxury hotels. Today there is Ceylan Intercontinental Hotel at the north of Taksim Gezi Park and The Divan and Hyatt Regency Hotels are located at the road across (Tayfur, 2014).



Figure 3.1 Old Military Barracks ³⁴

³⁴ Image retrieved from: <http://www.dunyabulteni.net/guncel/264310/kirdar-gezi-parki-60-yil-oncekine-cevrilsin>
last access date: 19.11.2016



Figure 3.2 Gezi Park and its visitors ³⁵



Figure 3.3 Taksim Military Barracks ³⁶

³⁵ Image retrieved from: <http://blog.iae.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Şek.-8.jpg> - last access date: 19.11.2016

³⁶ Image retrieved from: <http://www.cnntrk.com/2013/guncel/05/31/gezi.parkinin.tarihi/710199.0/> - last access date: 19.11.2016

In 2013 Taksim Pedestrianization Project has been announced by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. According to this project; vehicle traffic is taken underground in order to expand the Taksim Square and Halil Pasha Artillery Barracks will reconstruct in the place of Gezi Park and barracks will serve as shopping mall and include restaurants, cafes, hotels and residences.



Figure 3.4 The illustration of Taksim Pedestrianization Project ³⁷

³⁷ Image retrieved from: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/taksimdeki-kisla-donduruldu-1117414/> - last access date: 19.11.2016

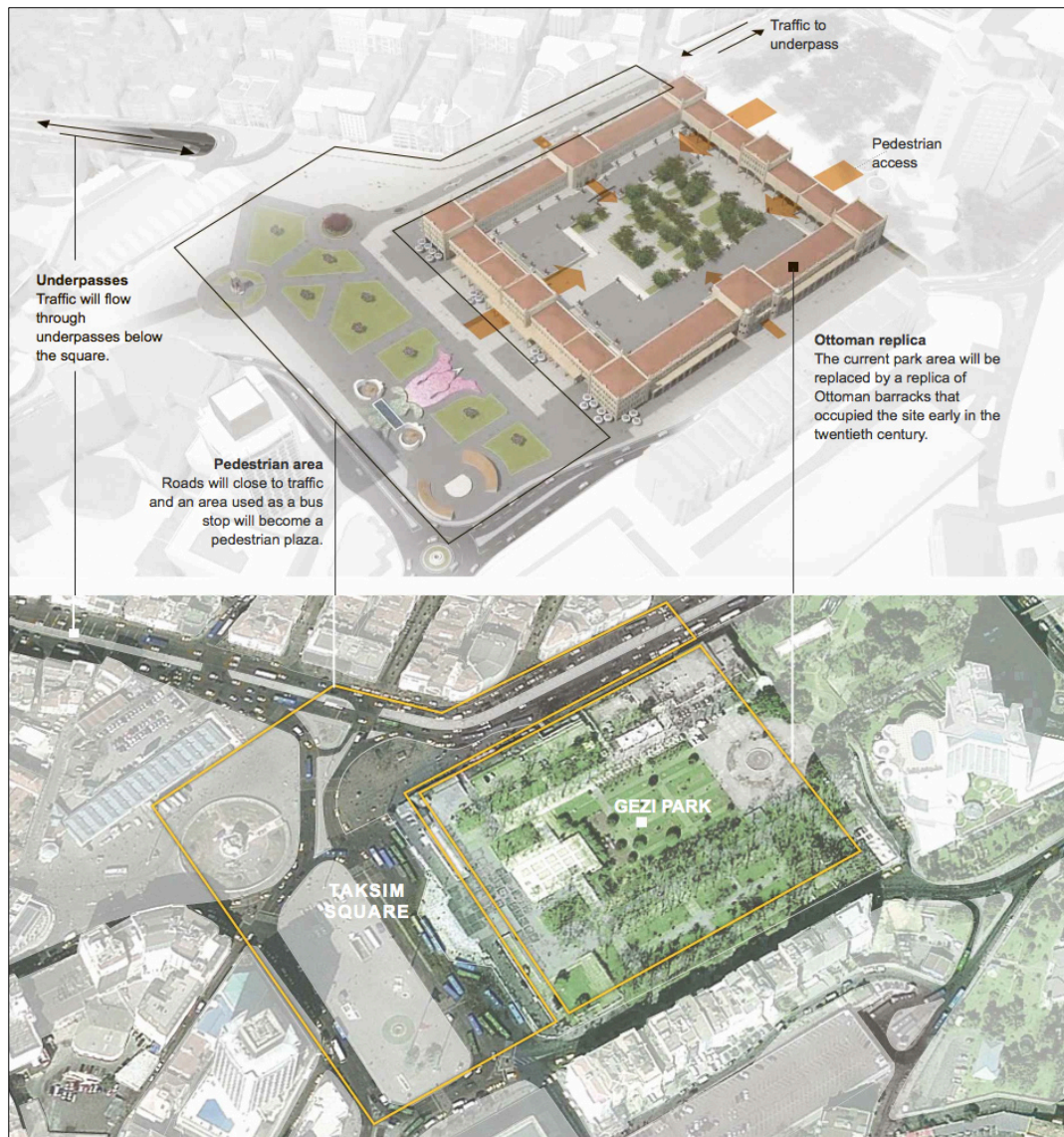


Figure 3.5 The pedestrianization and replacement project of Taksim Square and Gezi Park³⁸

Landscape architecture and urban design are indispensable concepts in urbanism understanding of socially and culturally developed societies. Municipalities should work in order to create livable spaces by considering landscape architecture and urban design as very important parts of the construction sides in the metropolises like Istanbul. The green areas are not perceived as possible construction zones for mega-structures in the metropolis. On the contrary, the green areas must be increased in order to get rid of the complexity and stress of big city life. But usually this is not the case. The municipalities should set forth the needs and the problems of the

³⁸ Image retrieved from: http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2013/06/07/world/europe/The-Plan-to-Change-Taksim-Square.html?_r=1& - last access date: 23.08.2016

metropolis with open heartedness by including the residents and find most accurate solutions by providing the widest participation of the residents, related civil society organizations etc. without worrying about the quickest profit. This will be the most optimum way to solve the problems. Currently two major urban design projects are under construction in Istanbul; a third bridge that connects the Asian and European side of Istanbul as a response to the transportation problem, and a third international airport in Arnavutköy district. Are the needs determined correctly? Are the places chosen for those mega projects most proper? Are the social and natural damages semtinized? Is a general consensus provided? Are all side and environmental effects reviewed? While starting mega projects in the metropolis, social and cultural priorities should be considered, not profit concerns.

Because of the third bridge, 381.096 trees were cut down while 2.330.012 trees were destroyed for the construction of the airport. Although these mega projects are necessary and useful, it is essential to evaluate social, financial and environmental benefit - cost analysis by taking their future situations into account while planning. These projects and many others can be accepted as the trigger of the famous and perhaps the most violent civil unrest in the past decades; Taksim, Gezi Park incident in Turkey in the early the summer of 2013. It took place after government decided to cut off a single tree, which was located in the subject park, to build a shopping mall, after the projects, which were mentioned above were begun to be built already.

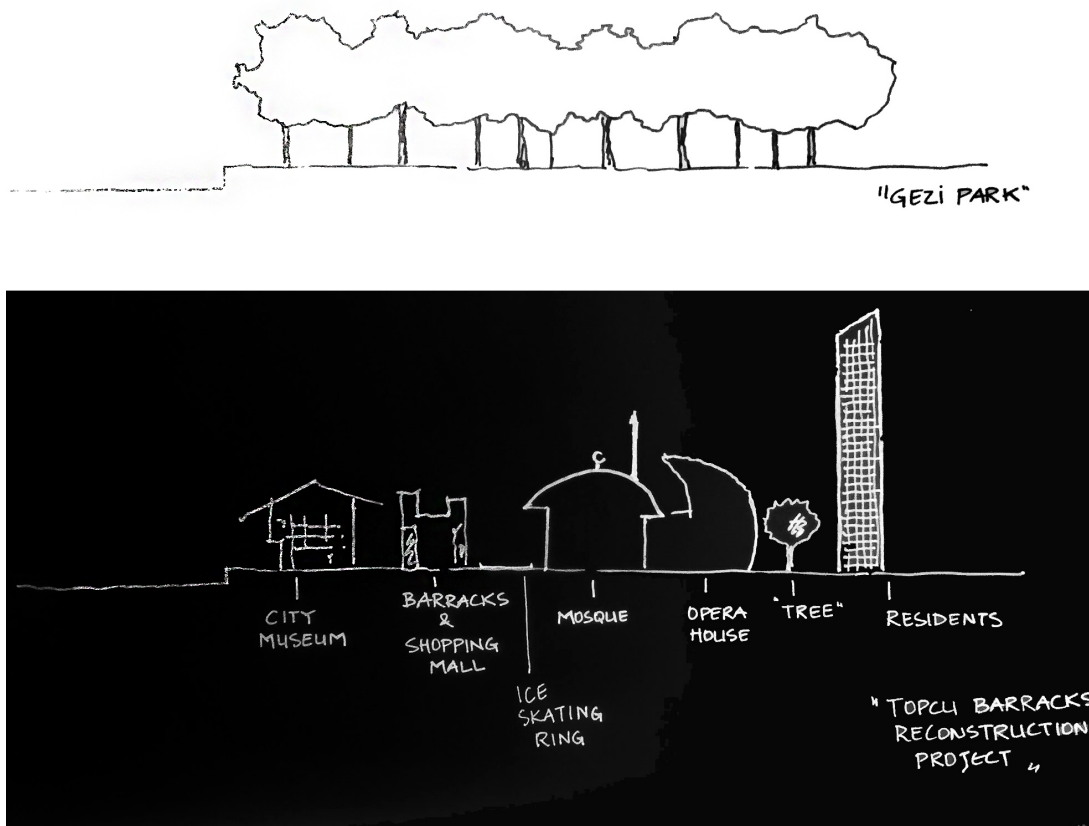


Figure 3.6 A sketch showing the reconstruction project ³⁹

The protests started against to reconstruction of artillery barracks on 28th of May 2013 and continued till the end of September 2013 with the participation of many different people, establishment, organization, foundation having different social status and political views.

As it is known, demonstrations had lasted approximately 9 months. Consequently, it is estimated that there were 11 fatalities, at least 8,163 injuries (63 in serious or critical condition with at least 3 having a risk of death), and over 3000 arrests as a result of government using excessive and brutal police force on citizens. In the end, government suppressed it, as it was expected. The previous prime minister, now the president, stated that, "Whatever you do, we have made our decision and we will implement it". This was a tragic experience to see how an urban design project can result in a negative way.

³⁹ Sketch drawn by the author, 2016

The people were actuated via social media during 29-30th of May and the population of the protestors grew. Famous and prominent people like politicians from different parties, journalists, singers, actress, actors, environmentalists, came to the Gezi Park and joined to the protests. The police used water cannons, plastic bullets and tear gas in order to disperse the protesters. The protests transformed into riots when people started to occupy Taksim Square and the police tried to suppressed the demonstrations by using force. The protests spread first to Ankara and İzmir then to other cities. The protesters, indiscriminately, were requesting “freedom of assembly and freedom of expression” and they were defending the secularism of Turkey. With the effect of this movement, new protest movements also occurred in other countries like Brazil.

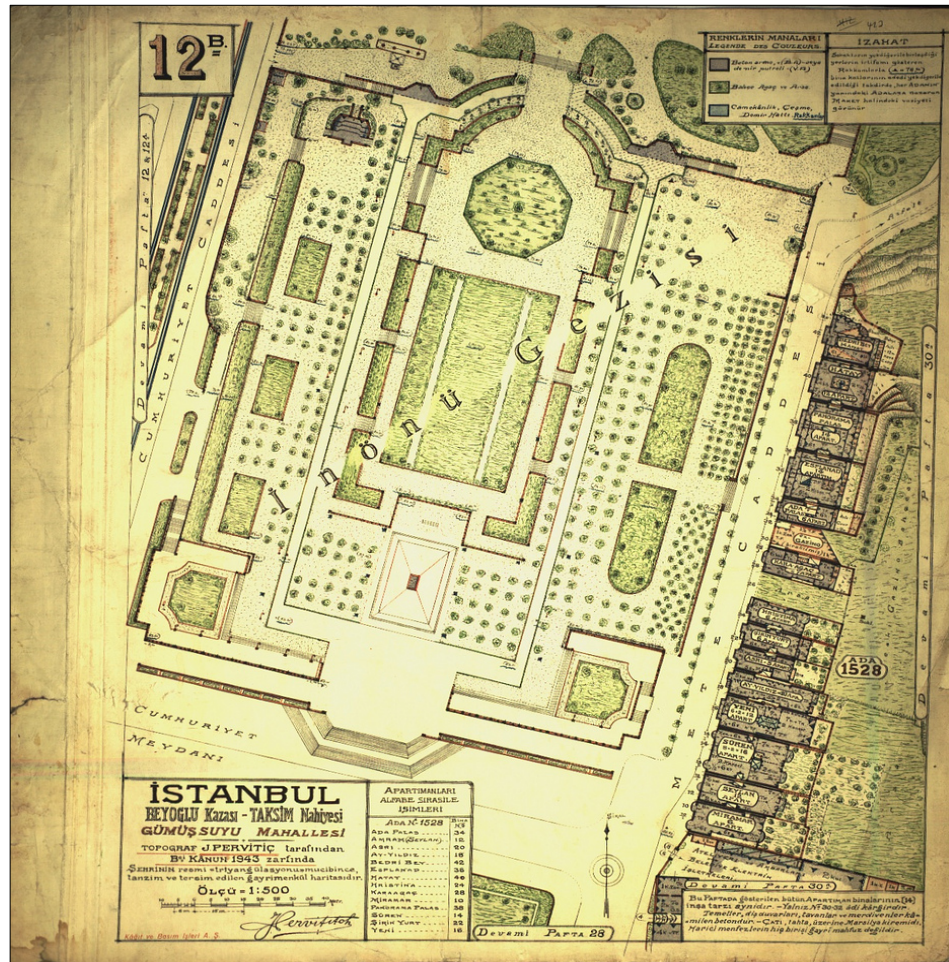


Figure 3.7 Plan of the Gezi Park⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Image retrieved from: <http://www.atlasdergisi.com/kesfet/kultur/gezi-parkinin-gecmisi.html> - last access date: 21.08.2016

To talk about heterotopia, is the Gezi Park movement considered as a “heterotopia” by means of spatial practice? Yes it is. When this example is analyzed in depth, in terms of its features, it can be accepted as a perfect concretized example for spatial practice of concept of heterotopias. Gezi Park occupation as an example; can be helpful for better understanding of concept of heterotopias since for its characteristics, which provide inputs to be perceived as “heterotopia”.

- From the standpoint of the participants: they were belong to different political views. They were from different social status. They were in wide range by means of age and gender distribution, educational attainment level and employment status.
- From the standpoint of the spaces used: urban and public spaces are always used when the polarization increases in the society and reflection of this polarization, which occurs as a result of the changes in social dynamics and otherization, on everyday life.
- From the standpoint of scale: It can be considered as national movement having similar characteristics of international “occupy” movement against the neo-liberal system. There are many international and ideological similar cases worldwide.

Turkey experienced a real life heterotopic occasion with this protests, which was a movement not only a physical urban heterotopia but also social, economic and politic heterotopia. Taksim Gezi Park, as a matter of fact, had been turned into a heterotopic formation, an unintentional heterotopic occurrence. It was the urban space to explore what it means to be a citizen. It was reinventing the term city, as David Harvey indicated, dependent upon the exercise of collective power over the urbanization. It was re-claiming the public space, which was expected to be decommodified by nature. It was the unpleasant encounter of public and private. Like all other examples of such encounter throughout the history, all normative codes of the society in that act were suspended under a roof deviance (*Principle 1*).

This counter-action was a reflection of the society, their demands, needs and rights (*Principle 2*).

Demonstrations for that cause were taking place simultaneously in several spaces with juxtaposing strange occasions that are not expected to be seen together (*Principle 3*).



Figure 3.8 Heterotopic façade of Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, Taksim, İstanbul, Turkey⁴¹

As it can be understood, these protests were not occurred after the cutting off of that single 70 years old linden tree, but rather, it was the sudden appearance of the repressed feelings accumulated over a long period of time to the despotic approach of government to the nature, including humans and all other creatures (*Principle 4*).

Actually, demonstrations were not open to everyone. People those who were supporting the government (conservatives), were not welcomed (*Principle 5*).

Thus, ironically and illusively, it was a semi-public movement whose intention was to claim the rights of the public (*Principle 6*).

⁴¹ Image retrieved from: [http://aykiriakademi.com/media/images/corredor\(2\).jpg](http://aykiriakademi.com/media/images/corredor(2).jpg) - last access date: 06.11.2016

As mentioned above, an environmental activist group having 50 activists accumulated in Gezi Park against devastation process on 27th of May 2013. The protests started as a small-scale park occupation, then in a very short period of time it grew into national magnitude. This movement was the first public activity in Turkey over the 30 years or may be more. This mass mobilization deserves paying much attention on since it was one of the best example for social and physical heterotopia by means of spatial practice and experiment of urban parts by completely different, irrelevant groups such as young people, students, academics, housewives, workers, entrepreneurs, activists, press, police, actors, celebrities, soldiers, supporters, football clubs, Kemalists, Kurds, nationalists, socialists, peaceful protesters, ecologists, LGBT groups, people who are modern, traditional, non-covered, covered with turban, etc. The participations were consist of heterogeneous population such as; different ethnical roots, different religious belief, different educational levels, different revenues, different life styles, different political thoughts and different appearances.

Besides they created many different methods to protest actively or passively. Such as, while standing man was a very special example for passive resistance, a red dressed girl harshly exposed to tear gas, a boy playing guitar against a T.O.M.A. (Intervention Vehicle to Social Events), a couple standing and dancing in front of T.O.M.A. were very dramatic, and even artistic active reactions.

The Gezi Park Protests were the place where differences meet. The diversity of the groups, collaboration, work sharing, arguments or conflicts between the groups, demands of the groups, huge supporting process to the groups, very effective and broad usage of social media, starting in a very small park and spread rapidly country wide, having no certain leader, simultaneous irregularity and harmony, solidarity and nonofficial characters of the movement show it was a typical sample for heterotopic social and physical urban space usage. Also, sympathetic, cute, pleasant, contrary, unforgettable characters came into prominence. The movement is started by informal, non-structured, spontaneous gathering of the activists from non-governmental organizations and in a little while transformed into not organized,

semi-structured, simultaneous, collective, having contradistinctions action of organizations and public. Thus, the Gezi Park Protests was a typical heterotopic public movement and should be considered as “heterotopia”.

While a broad literature review performed herein above, it is sometimes mentioned in the Chapters; heterotopias can be accepted or perceived as “realized utopias”. Yes, why not? The people might realize their own ideological and spatial utopias, which they dreamed of via this movement. There is a life experiment and an alternative space practice arose. People based, spatial based and/or circumstance based very rare features, which are not practiced in daily life, such as; sharing everything, self-management, self-control, self-confidence, usage of whole places where rules and regulations suspended, working and creation of conscious structures together, tranquil and peaceful behaviors, having high awareness, active and passive resistance etc., might suddenly occurred, experienced and verified at the same time by the people giving hand in hand but having completely different ideologies and life understandings.

The main strategy of the #occupygezi movement was to literally occupy the city center, where the pressure of the political power has been felt deeply. As in Gezi Park, people occupied the real public space in order to demonstrate the public space is a common area for the citizens of the city. This can be seen in vary similar occupy movements throughout the world such as El-Tahrir Square in Cairo, Puerta del Sol in Madrid, Syntagma Square in Athens, Wall Street in New York City and V for Vinegar movements in various Brazilian cities. (Gümüş, 2013, p.25) These movements and riots should be perceived as the extraordinary experience of the recent periods. In all these movement examples, people showed up in streets and city squares with their own ideological thoughts by means of their social, cultural, historical and political conditions. However, even all these thoughts differ from culture to culture, they all shared and experienced a common spirit. (Gümüş, 2013, p.25).

The practical relationship between heterotopic theory and this movement is very important. Actually Gezi Park movement is also considered as heterotopias by means of spatially, progressively, and relationally. There were some elements that were attempting to exploit the case during the movement. Their products are directly added and joined to the existing urban inventory and a city become richer with those experiences. This kinds of opposite (utilitarian and innocent) and different actions occurred at the same time in all of the aforementioned #occupy movements throughout history.



Figure 3.9 Graphical illustration of Gezi Park protests ⁴²

⁴² Image drawn by the author, 2016

By the way, if spatial practice of these movements is examined in terms of instrumentalism and utilitarianism, can these movements produce different forms of behavior and give a chance to reflect these behavior patterns? Yes, Gezi Park movement can and this can be explained only by heterotopic point of view because under the repressive circumstances, the actors, who have different notions and do not know each other before, came together with a sudden impulse, occupied a public space and built a completely different space and life practice as a result of this action.

All the actors, truly, built and realized their own utopias individually. The space, used, transformed into a hybrid urban space. The space was not only a place for a politic gathering but also it evolved to a transitional, recreational and even artistic place. The most important point here is related with the characteristics of the space, used, since it became ambiguous, uncertain, undefined, in-between situation. It was not only a space, it turned into a situation; an eclectic situation. It was a spot that symbolizes eclectic convergence and has been embodying itself. Actually it was not a spot but rather a zone that has no certain thresholds, borders, limits. It was a heterotopia, that influenced the whole city even whole country, with lots of different symbolic places, sovereignty places, spatial connections and the access corridors having created interfaces between them (Beşiktaş - Çarşı Group - Beyoğlu, Divan Hotel etc.) Only the term “heterotopia” can be used to describe the fact. Certainly, the resultant case was a phenomenon that can be entitled as “the transformation of the park” is the creation of literally socialized place to receive different identities with open arms. At this juncture, with a changing structure, there is a situation that is socialized and even commodified with spatial meanings. It is seen that corporate, instrumental and individual identities, which want the best for the society are gathered together. The most important points are to create a collective, anonymous and autonomous spatial and urban culture, to change the everyday life by using spaces, to perceive the value of space, and to reflect the dynamic and practical new ideology by using the space as an instrument or as a tool. Interfaces are significant here, by means of interaction mechanisms. Can Gezi Park be considered as an interface? Making decisions jointly and informally, self-organized network management, open source cooperation, massive knowledge and sharing elements,

radical transparency, culture of do it yourself or maker, and participation can be described as in-between and interfacial resources. Essentially, Gezi Park heterotopia was an innovation, creativity, and even art-focused reflective practice of a living urban laboratory. When it is evaluated from the perspective of daily life, an unusual construction of different life stages and planning practice takes place in this example. In addition to the individual relationships between the people and the relationships they have established with their environment, creation of different user profiles and continuous structural self-evolving process into a heterogeneous structure is in question here.

In general, the city rulers want to homogenize city-dwellers and work for it. They have fictions on managing communications of citizens with their own cities. Everybody works between 09.00 am and 06.00 pm, transportation facilities are overloaded during rush hours but after an hour from the evening either it is hindered or there is no public transportation, leisure areas are, unfortunately, only placed at the shopping malls, there are not enough parks and green areas, parking lots are closed, lighting get off early at nights etc. This can be explained only by putting restrictions on the lives of urban actors since it is so easy to manage cities having city-dwellers behaving similarly. But in the mega cities, literally living 24 hours, there is chaos. Despite, Gezi Park phenomenon may be considered as an annoying and disturbing chaos, cannot it be perceived as a promising example of heterotopia?

Heterotopia, as having adjectives like “karma”, “mixed”, “hybrid”, “complex”, “combined”, “other”, “another” “alternative” etc., is an approach that reproduces or creates new space perception by holding the space with a different perspective. Some say that the different causes disturbance. But this is not a discomfort, it is a marginal fiction, both political, spatial and cultural different points may appear as different settlements in micro scale, but all live and work together. Spatial, axial, superficial patterns provide integrity and a new three-dimensional patterns occur. Knowledge, experience and thought are becoming spatial via this integration. If Taksim Square and Gezi Park together are examined spatially, it is easily seen that this place is a representation place, center of daily routines and encounters so it is the area of living

practice for the city. The geographical exploration of the Gezi Park during protest can be helpful in order to evaluate its heterotopic features. The first two maps, (Figure 3.11 and figure 3.12) indicates the administrative subdivisions of the park. As in the Figure 3.11, the park was divided into three sections; uptown, midtown having west and east sides and downtown. The uptown part was the main area having political stands and facing the Taksim Square. The midtown area was a heterotopic mixture of residential zones and socio-political stands. While the east side housed the logistic, political and residential services, the west side was consisted of social facilities life cafes and novice broadcasting studio, Çapulcu Tv, controlled by Taksim Solidarity. The memorial in the honor of the falling ones was located on the border between midtown and downtown. Different from the grid planning system of the rest of the park, downtown had the organic layout having warehouses. Medical needs, foods, and many other supplies were distributed from the warehouses, donated by the Istanbul citizens and even rest of the cities and world. A temporary library and a mosque were built here, by using tents.

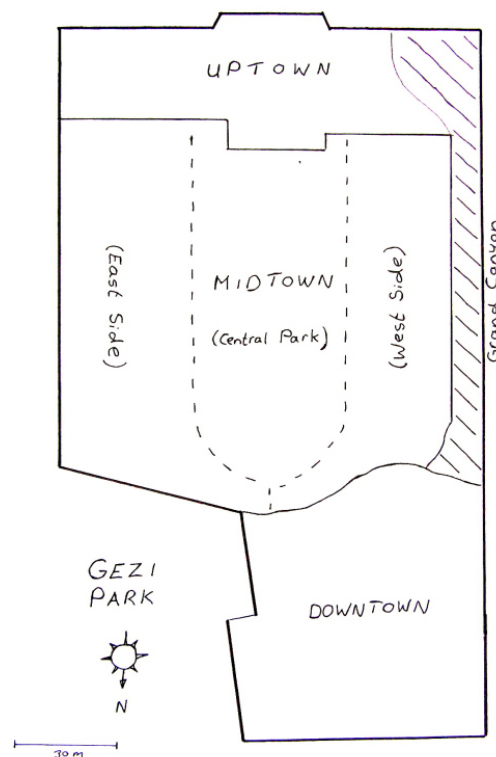


Figure 3.10 Overview of administrative subdivisions of the park⁴³

⁴³ Image retrieved from: <https://postvirtual.wordpress.com/2013/06/27/historical-atlas-of-gezi-park/> - last access date: 24.11.2016

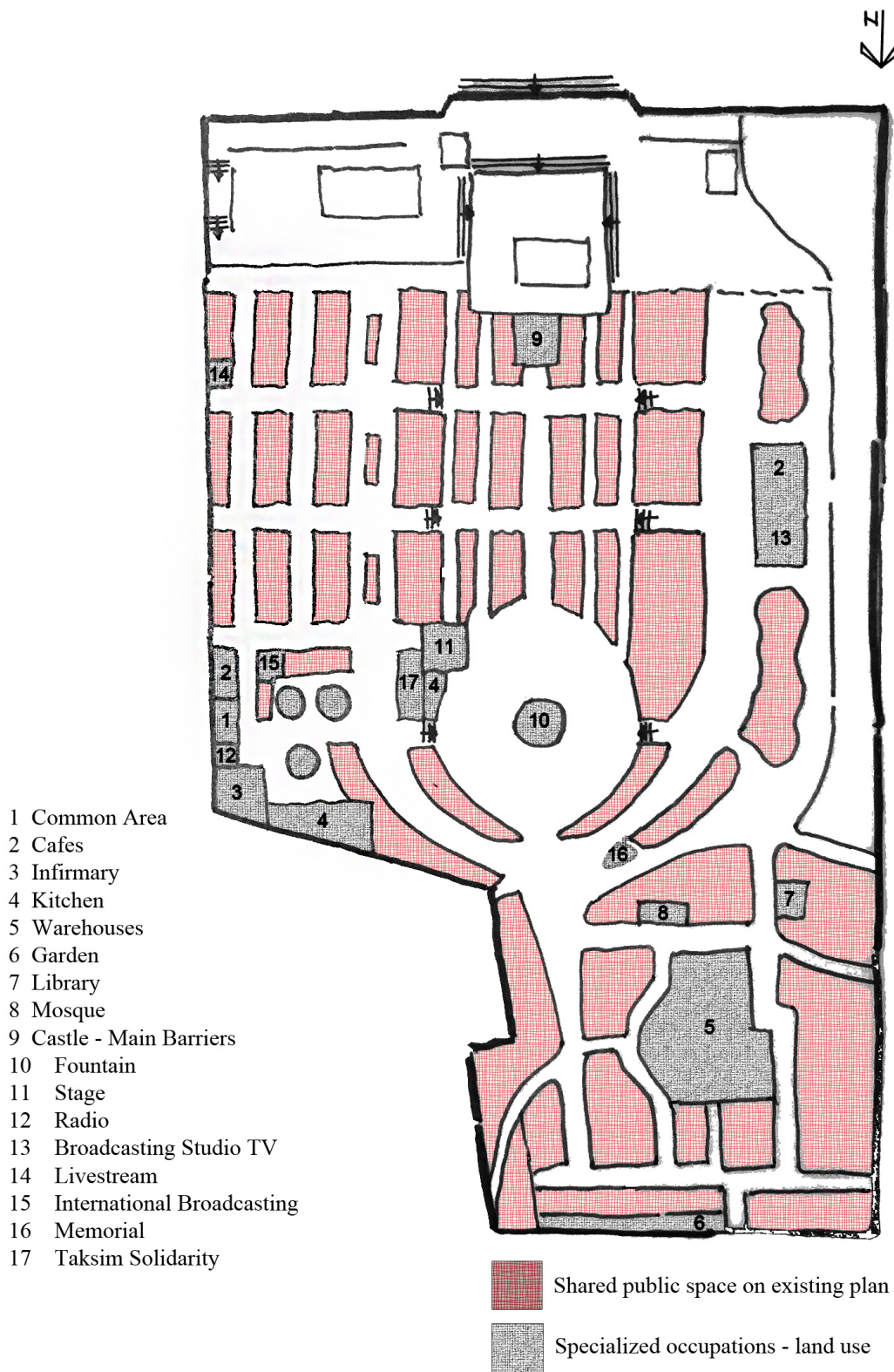


Figure 3.11 Detailed facility and land use map of the Gezi Park during protests⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Image drawn by the author, 2016

According to the Figure 3.12, everything started in the Gezi Garden (6) on May 28th. Taksim Solidarity members defended the park against uprooting trees and deconstruction. Cultural events organized that day, members, green supporters and ordinary citizens just like the park, occupied the land with their tents. They kept watch and read books in front of the riot police. Throughout three days, police attacked with water cannons and tear gas to these people continually. Unfortunately police set on fire their books and tents. After these incidents affected the citizens of İstanbul (Yiğit, 2013). Actually the milestone of the protests in Gezi Park was the 31st of May. Over 100.000 people came to Taksim Square and Gezi Park from all directions. This was the day that, the protests spread all over the country, not limited in İstanbul. (Notos, 2013, p. 30-33)



Figure 3.12 Approximate locations of various groups according to their political and social perspective⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Image retrieved from: <https://postvirtual.wordpress.com/2013/06/27/historical-atlas-of-gezi-park/> - last access date: 24.11.2016

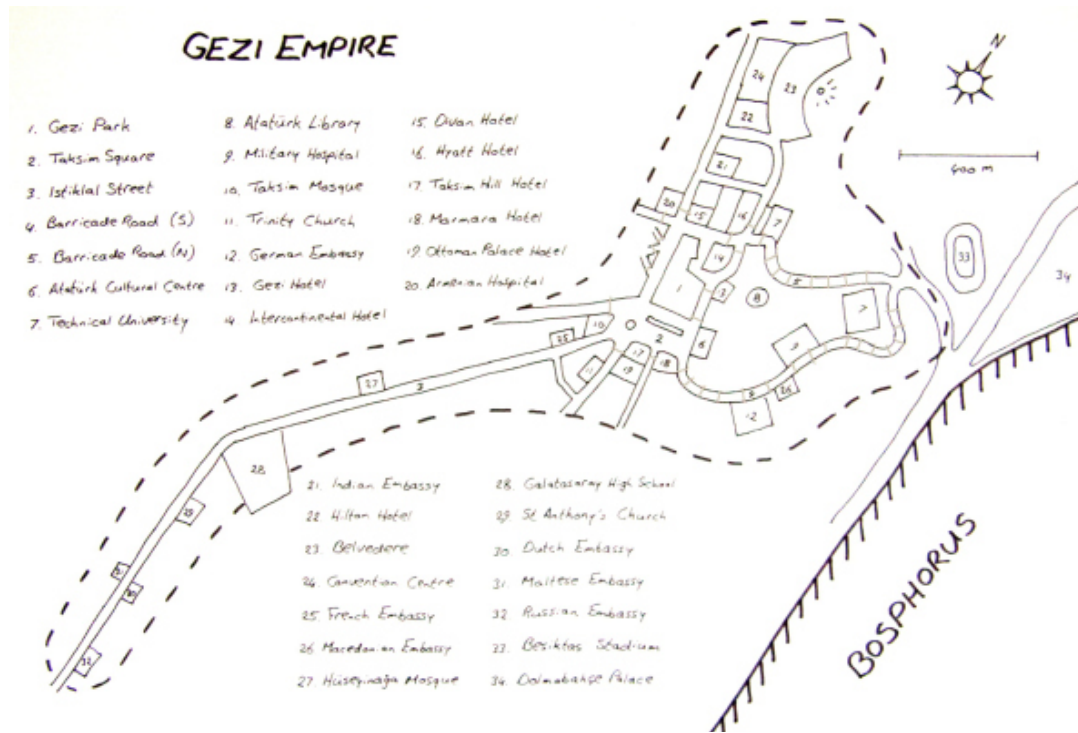


Figure 3.13 The territory and locations of protests in Central Istanbul⁴⁶

The collocation of different political views and deployment of them can be accepted as a heterotopic instance. Generally, the people having various political views, used to dislike and even fight with each other, however they were really together during the protests. They were represented as one. Socialists, communists with different ideologies such as Marxists, Leninists, Maoists, Stalinists, Trotskyists, and even different sorts of these ideologies, Nationalists, Kemalists, Kurds, anticapitalist Muslims, Christians, Jews, Armenians, Ecologists, LGBT members, and supporters of three rival football clubs in Turkey; Fenerbahçe, Galatasaray and Beşiktaş and members of many kind of NGOs, stood as one and practiced the space hand by hand (Yiğit, 2013).

⁴⁶ Image retrieved from: <https://postvirtual.wordpress.com/2013/06/27/historical-atlas-of-gezi-park/> - last access date: 24.11.2016

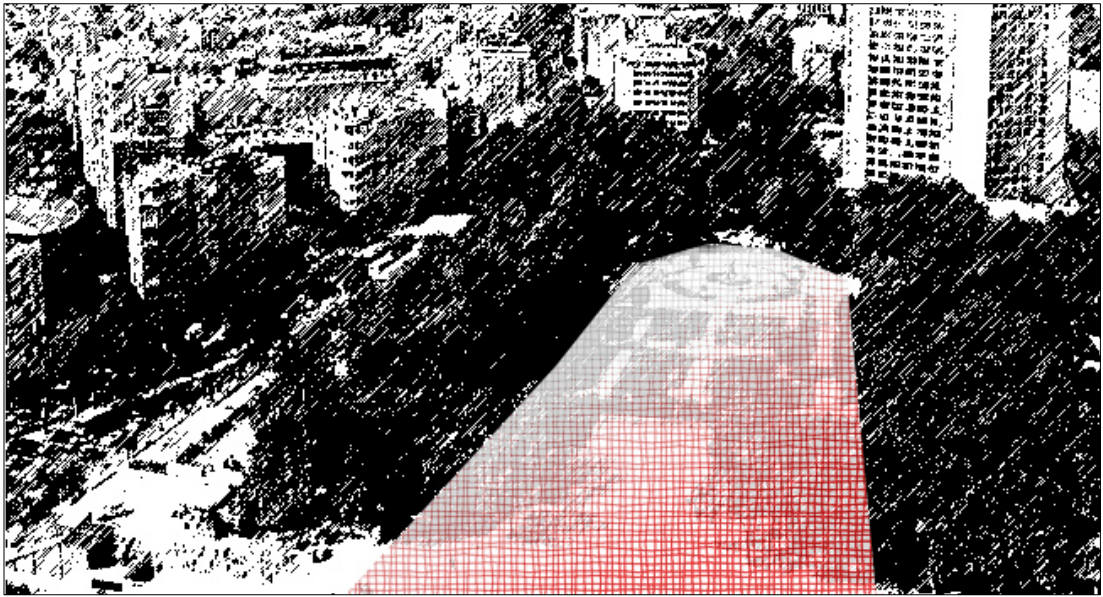


Figure 3.14 Starting point and spreading density of occupy Gezi Park ⁴⁷

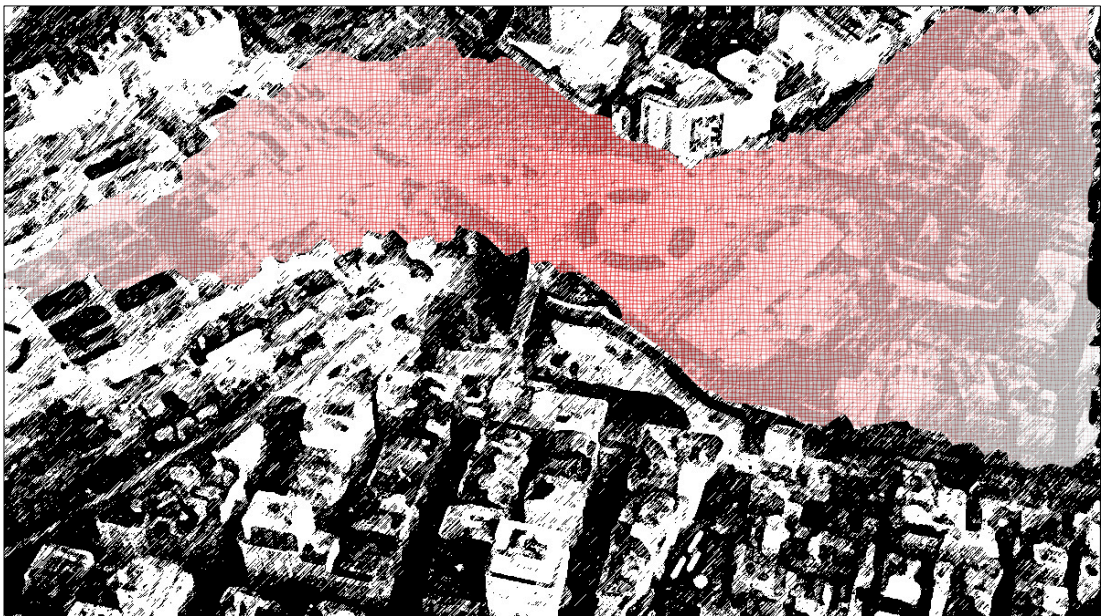


Figure 3.15 Land use of the density and sprawl of Taksim Square and Gezi Park ⁴⁸

Obviously one can describe this movement as a threshold in social life as well as in social space opening towards a more developed urban life here, the concept of heterotopia can be explained as a collective experience of discrepancies and/or as a practice of penetrating new forms of urban collective life (Stavrvides, 2010).

⁴⁷ Image drawn by the author, 2016

⁴⁸ Image drawn by the author, 2016

As a consequence, it should be accepted that this mobilization increases the consciousness, openness and self-confidence among the Turkish society.

The movement was the reflected image of a heterotopia in urban life and had the heterotopic characteristics by means of spatial practice and presentation of the place, interactive relation of the place with the people. Besides, effective social media usage was one of the main characteristics of the Gezi Park movement. The platform of social media is a heterotopic space all its own. Therefore social media like Twitter, Facebook and YouTube were used as communication and interaction channel during the protests and this highly interactive social media usage transformed the events from small scale environmentalists protest into large scale social, nationwide and political movement. Individuals, social groups, organizations, other actors shared their needs, opinions, remarks, warnings, experiences, demands by using specially Twitter. This very active social media use of the participants created a simultaneous virtual space use at the same time with the physical use. This existing of virtual and real space usage at the same time reminds Foucault's famous mirror example for heterotopia.

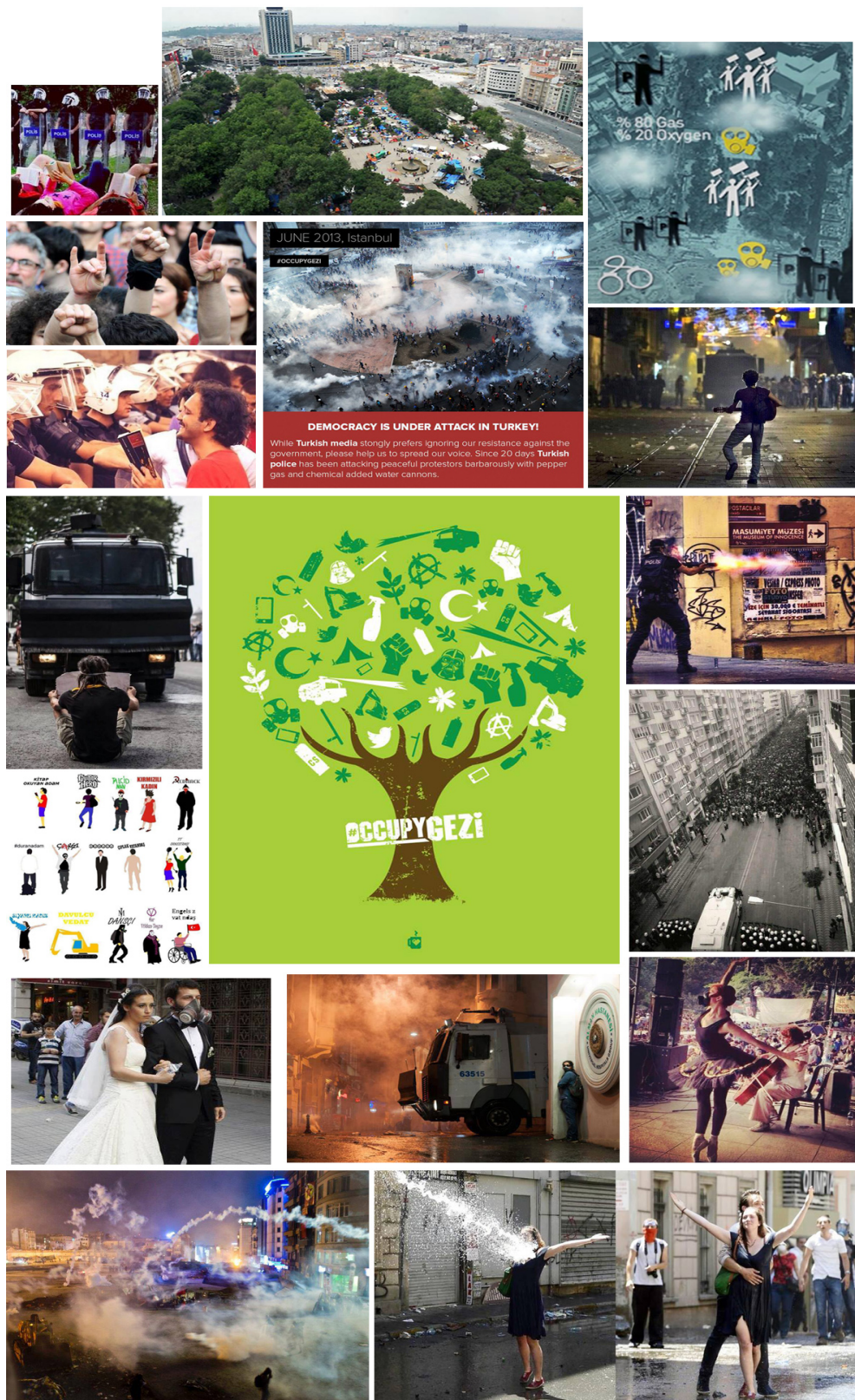


Figure 3.16 The collage of Taksim Gezi Park protest photographs and illustrations⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Images retrieved from anonymous archives and the collage made by the author, 2016

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION, CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FUTURE WORK

While utopias point to imaginary places, heterotopias are the real places of difference; hybrid, polyphonic, patch worked, kaleidoscopic phenomenon. Foucault defines them as the “sites with no real place...sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of society. They represent society in a “perfected form, or else society turned upside down” (Foucault 1967, p. 24).

Heterotopias can be said to exist in physical settings such as the Walled city of Kowloon, Free-town Christiania, or settings that include worldwide effective occupy movements like Gezi Park Protests. They exhibit the simultaneously real and representative spaces that have emerged from the very founding of society and the culture. As Foucault’s mirror example, heterotopias are something or somewhere counter-sites, enacted or even realized utopias. They should be described as the real places, which originate in the culture they belong to, and places that are simultaneously represented, converted, inverted, contested, compensated and illusioned. Heterotopias are not designed, threshold, in-between ambiguous spaces, where social, cultural and spatial elements are held together.

As it is stated, first, heterotopias, as being indispensable parts of every culture, every society and every urban pattern, are externalized unlikely, differently, separately and independently in a nick of time in different places and times. Second, their functions are generally different in different situations and they behave differently with respect to the conditions that cause for their rise. Third, heterotopias reveal a juxtaposition of many real and different spaces simultaneously collected in the same setting; such as, zoos, botanical gardens, museums, libraries and even cemeteries. The fourth principle of heterotopias is that there is a relationship between heterotopia and time. Foucault describes this linkage as a “heterochronic” relationship. Heterotopias break

someone from their daily life for a while. For instance, festivals or libraries are perfect examples to the heterochronic relationship, where one can observe the accumulation of time. Also, during the spatial developments of urban spaces, cemeteries, for instance, that were placed in the middle of the towns are pushed out as the time passes and towns grow bigger. The fifth feature of a heterotopia is that they are always supposed to exist in a form of opening and closing system, which make them isolated and also penetrable. Heterotopias also have contradictions and oppositions inside. Generally, being in the heterotopia is like an illusion. Lastly, heterotopias, which create a space of illusion in every real space, combine functions that are related with the function(s) of their surroundings.

While this study was being prepared, as mentioned in the introduction chapter, a highly abstract or intangible concept of heterotopia of sociology was tried to be overlapped with the concrete or tangible concept of space in urban fabric. The limitations of the sources and the information that can be accessed and study with abstract and concrete concepts can be appreciated as difficult work.

As highlighted in the section 2.4, the examples of Drop City, Exodus, Parc de la Villette and Promenade Plantee can be addressed to designed and intentional heterotopias, which could be atopic for a future study. That is to say, they could be used in order to answer the following question; “Can heterotopia be designed?”

In this research, under the light of these six main characteristics, Foucault’s concept of heterotopia is examined as:

- i) physical usage; settlements, mega events and
- ii) social movements

Imaginary orders, which are the real products of heterotopias and their relation with time and other spaces, are evaluated in each example in this research. In developing countries like Turkey, which have heterotopic structures and irregularities by default, why not use them as positive opportunities for better quality of life? Turkey experienced a real life occasion in the summer of 2013, Taksim Gezi Park protests.

When the government tried to suppress citizens' voices and offered shopping malls with the light of capitalist ideas, the act of defending a public park turned into disobedience and a fight for rights, for freedom, for justice and for democracy. If one visits the Taksim Square, he/she can really feel "sad and disappointed", since the square was transformed into a grey sea of concrete having a few numbers of scrawny trees in flowerpots. Briefly, the adverse feelings of anger can emerge about these kinds of urban transformation and regeneration approaches and ideas.

What if Gezi park movement was successful? Can it be described as a safe zone? With the transformed structure of space and spatial meanings, it was a creation of anonymous, collective and autonomous urban culture. People changed the life by using space. People perceived, experienced and practiced the real value of space.

It was such an accessible movement that, not only an integration of many marginal elements, many variables and differences was evident, but also a threshold segregation of these elements and practices. The answer could have been positive, if it had succeeded, and could well have been remarked as a realized utopia. Actually Gezi Park is an ordinary urban park having more hard landscape elements than soft landscape. However, it is the only green zone within the dense sea of concrete in urban pattern of Taksim, Beyoğlu. Even the park did not have a significant and symbolic role in that pattern; uprooting of the sources of oxygen was the last straw for citizens. Actually, Taksim Square is the public space of Turkey. This movement could not take place but Taksim Square. If the #occupygezi movement was not suppressed in Gezi Park, imagine, with the increased trees, do it yourself structures, urban infills, in-between spaces, urban plug-ins, artistic occasions, correlation between people, participation, laughter, dynamism, energy and festival like atmosphere, the park would have transformed into an alternative heterotopia of utopia. Besides, it can be classified as the **heterotopia of experience**. Wouldn't it be nice to have such an illusive reality? Gezi Park would realize and afford such a utopia, which was a result of the rising energy and dynamism created by heterotopic space. Also one can attach relations and meanings of being mediatopic, infotopic, psychotopic, utilitopic and fluxotopic to this heterotopic pattern. (Şentürk, 2015)



Figure 4.1 Dreaming Gezi Park⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Image reillustrated depending on Gezi Park by the author based on the drawing retrieved from: <http://archident.nl/portfolio/westerveld-cemetery/> - last access date: 07.12.2016

While thinking about the role of space for transforming the potential freedom of society, radical thoughts and actions, space includes the total social life, determines and defines the limitations. People not just experience the space, but also think and imagine via space. So, space does not only form the existing physical, cultural and social world, it really shapes the possible, alternative social worlds consisting collective dreams. Hence, heterotopias can be considered as agents of change and flexible in-between threshold spaces, which communicate between the inside and outside, defines one and other mutually.

Heterotopias are the threshold spaces where the existing system, order, dominance and control are questioned by means of space and time. Also it is possible to specify all the experiences appeared in heterotopias as the structure of temporary thresholds, which carry on itself to the future as otherness. However these heterotopias, or in-between spaces, are also exposed to inconsistency of social change (Stavrides, 2010). Similar to what Foucault thought, heterotopias include more than one, various and irrelevant spaces simultaneously in one real space. That is to say, it is possible to conclude, heterotopias enable creation of different imaginations, horizons and anti-order spaces.

Moreover, to mention about Turkish metropolitan urban open spaces, it is not hard to observe the pseudo public spaces such as private properties, gated communities, malls and monopolized lands, where commodification takes place rather than humane and ecological values. However, at this point, the aspect of contestation as regards heterotopias can be taken as a factor that can reinforce what Deleuze and Guattari have put forth as the deterritorialization approach. So, this can break down the conventional understanding of the CBDs. A micro-economy, which can be formed on a horizontal axis instead of vertical armatures as macro-capitalism demands, can address many profound issues related to economics. This intention does not necessarily discourage the formation of high rises and skyscrapers in a CBD, instead, it encourages a restriction. Micro economy, in this case, may refer to small businesses, local markets, street vending, kiosks, carts and stop-go markets where students, artists, craftsmen, adolescents, teenagers, immigrants, retirees and all

other individuals regardless of their knowledge base, can be employed, or even start their own business. Perhaps, on the pedestrianized open spaces, such as in many European cities, many performing street artists, attract urban actors and turn these urban enclaves into a people condenser. This can revitalize the economy.

As there are hundreds of possibilities to occur as a result of human activity, it is only with this way that a rhizomic assemblage can be achieved. It is what makes the quality of an urban space; lively streets that embraces an identity and culture. It is not only the artists who increase the vibrancy of these kind of open spaces in the urban fabric, but also the small business units, where people interact with each other constantly and flowingly unlike in shopping malls. So why not embrace this notion and turn it into an architectural typology? In these cases, community groups should take part, as they are the defenders of the rights of these individuals. With this way, urban actors can take part in decision making of their urban framework in a flexible environment as described in the previous "illusion" aspect. This approach can indicate what Deleuze and Guatarri meant by deterritorialization, as it merges top down and bottom up approach. Hence, in Turkey, the harm, which is inflicted upon nature, is terrifying. Compensation in this example, can be proposing a link, or a system of corridors and patches between ecosystems via the exemplified horizontal space for business of contestation aspect. At this point, it is useful to highlight that; this approach is not dividing nature into two parts as humans and other living beings.

The current decades can be characterized as trans urban and metro-zoning periods, representing the lack of paradise or even utopia of suburbanization and heterotopias of urban industrialization. Therefore, heterotopias can achieve the metro-zoning theme, which can be described as a spatial production of postmodernist industrialization, with paradigm shift from "either/or" to "as well as" situations. Heterotopias open new rooms and opportunities for the metropolis, which is the junction of international cultures and global production as well as contrasts and tensions, by decreasing the conflict and tension between the different components of urban society.

What is not interpretable is the fact that the current understanding of urban design is not sufficient to create a sustainable way of living. In this case, adding both social and ecological values to an urban project must be the ultimate goal of every urban design proposal. In order to be able to achieve such outcomes, and keep away from unintentional heterotopic occurrences such as the Free-town Christiania, Taksim Gezi Park and the Walled city of Kowloon, absolute (intentional) heterotopian thought seems like the only rational way to be able to address problems of the modern urban environment. If heterotopia is an open-ended term that lacks definition and is too encompassing, as it is criticized, why not use it as a broad, comprehensive doctrine, which can be used to resolve issues of daily life?

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