GUERILLA ART AS A COMMONING PRACTICE: A SOCIO-SPATIAL TALE OF THE *BINA*, ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

GUERILLA ART AS A COMMONING PRACTICE: A SOCIO-SPATIAL TALE OF THE *BINA*, ANKARA

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The 21st century has already witnessed many uprisings throughout the world, mainly caused by the neoliberal policies of governments, the increasing trend of force-based state dominancy over the public, and top-down decision mechanisms. The collaboration between governments and corporations has led to the privatization of the public sphere and common resources. The ever-expanding area of privatization and the capitalist idea of individualism resulted in the death of the public sphere and its public life. Commoning has been discussed since the 1990s as an alternative to the existing capitalist property relations. Based on the collective, autonomous act on a particular subject related to using a source or a space for the sake of a particular group in need, commoning practices illustrate why bottom-up approaches can be considered applicable and preferable for people.

This study investigates the commoning practices through a particular perspective – through guerilla art. Guerilla art has many motivations, such as neglecting the capitalist tyranny over art, interacting with the audience directly without any mediator, and revolting against being “legal” and “permitted.” The similarities between commoning and guerilla art practices are studied within this motivational

framework, and the commoning of guerilla artists is introduced. A vacant building in the center of Tunalı, Ankara, which had a significant place in the urban memory, is selected for a solid analysis. The guerilla art installations and organizations in the building are investigated within the framework of commoning practices. The potentials of commoning practices, especially in such vacant areas, are also examined in the study.

Keywords: urban commons, guerilla art, urban art, commoning, commoning practices

ÖZ

BİR MÜŞTEREKLEŞME HAREKETİ OLARAK GERİLLA SANAT: BİNA'NIN SOSYO-MEKANSAL HİKAYESİ, ANKARA

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Hükümetlerin neoliberal politikaları, gitgide artan bir trend olan kamu üzerinde güç temelli devlet hakimiyeti ve tepeden inme karar mekanizmaları sebebiyle 21. yüzyıl daha şimdiden pek çok ayaklanmaya şahitlik etmiştir. Hükümetlerin şirketlerle olan işbirliği ortak kaynakların ve kamusal alanın özelleştirilmesine yol açmıştır. Özelleştirmenin sürekli genişleyen alanı ve kapitalist bireycilik fikri kamusal alanın ve içerisindeki kamusal hayatın ölümüyle sonuçlanmıştır. Müşterekleşme 1990'lardan beri mevcut kapitalist mülkiyet ilişkilerine bir alternatif olarak tartışılmaktadır. İhtiyaç içerisindeki belirli bir grubun faydası gözetilerek, bir kaynağın veya mekanın kullanılmasına ilişkin, kolektif, otonom bir eylem biçimi olarak müşterekleşme pratikleri, neden tabandan gelen yaklaşımların insanlar için uygulanabilir ve tercih edilebilir olduğunu göstermektedir.

Bu çalışma müşterekleşme pratiklerini belirli bir çerçeveden, gerilla sanat çerçevesinden incelemektedir. Gerilla sanatın sanat üzerindeki capitalist tahakkümü reddetmek, izleyiciyle aracısız iletişim kurmak ve "yasal" ve "izinli" olmaya karşı olmak gibi pek çok motivasyonu vardır. Müşterekleşme ve gerilla sanat pratikleri arasındaki benzerlikler bu motivasyonel çerçevede incelenmektedir ve gerilla

sanatçının müşterekleşmesi sunulmaktadır. Daha somut bir analiz için Tunalı, Ankara merkezinde bulunan ve kent belleğinde önemli bir yere sahip olan atıl bir yapı seçilmiştir. Yapıdaki gerilla sanat yerleştirmeleri ve organizasyonlar müşterekleşme pratikleri çerçevesinde incelenmiştir. Çalışma içerisinde özellikle bu tip atıl alanlarda müşterekleşme pratiklerinin potansiyelleri de ayrıca irdelenmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kent müşterekleri, gerilla sanat, kentsel sanat, müşterekleşme, müşterekleşme pratikleri

To the decent rebels of Ankara,

who know how *to embrace*, and *to share*…

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> The cry was a response to the existential pain of a withering crisis of everyday life in the city. The demand was really a command to look that crisis clearly in the eye and to create an alternative urban life that is less alienated, more meaningful and playful… (Harvey, 2012, p. x)

In 'The Fall of Public Man,' Sennett (2002) explains that public life is dead because personal concerns have overtaken the public ones while individualism has replaced the public sense. He emphasizes the shift in the concepts before and after the effects of capitalism and modernism and states that, unlike the *ancient regime* that public experience was connected to the formulation of social order, the public experience has changed and connected to the formation of personality in the last century (Sennett, 2002, p. 24). Sennett's emphasis on individualism in society is a long-term agenda of capitalism. As the individual interests forecast the public ones, the notion of society has lost its influence. Although any form of social order neglecting the diversities within itself would eventually fail today, it is certain that the individualistic approaches harm more. The statements regarding individualism define the formation of an individual in modern society under the rule of capitalism; however, the current circumstances the world has experienced represent an altered point of view.

Today, we observe the negative effects of the global economy and dominant power mechanisms on ecology, natural resources, and disadvantaged groups of different societies. Corporates supported by neoliberal state policies violently attack resources, consume abusively, and lead to socio-economic inequalities. As a consequence, we have witnessed how the 21st century has been the age of global uprisings. The increasing demands of capitalist dominancy over the people and

everyday life, the governments' neoliberal policies resulting in the privatization of the public sphere, the autocratic, top-down decision-making processes neglecting the public urgencies, the oppression of state forces that systematically limit the area of free speech and public inclusion, and global financial crises of 2008 have led to depressed and outraged societies. All these policies based on free space limitation in various terms resulted in masses standing against socio-economic inequality and ideological oppression.

In the 2010s, the revolts have started with Arab Spring that has radically changed life in the Middle East and was followed by several revolts such as Occupy Wall Street in the U.S, anti-austerity movements in Greece, and Gezi movements in Turkey. All these urban movements had common agendas of socio-economic equality among the society, freedom of belief and speech, and the right to be the actor in decision-making processes. Harvey (2012, p. xv) indicates that the right to city is an 'empty signifier' and who would fill it is the primary concern here. As he states, "[t]he definition of the right is itself an object of struggle, and that struggle has to proceed concomitantly with the struggle to materialize it." (ibid.). The struggle is more visible today, and the potential agendas have been discussed among the communities.

1.1 Aim of the Study and the Problematic of the Thesis

For the last 30 years, commoning has become an engaging agenda for the communities searching for an alternative way of governing themselves and their sources. Based on the concept of common land, commoning is a struggle between the public and the private, a concept of collective action against the privatization of common resources and the public space. The top-down policies of governments favor and promote the neoliberalist interventions to the cities, the natural resources, and all the other rights that citizens should have, such as healthcare, education, and residence. Commoning practices, on the other hand, propose an autonomous governing mechanism and regard bottom-up decision-making processes. In such

practices thus, collaboration and resistance become a must. Within the ongoing capitalist hegemony, commoning makes room for the people in a certain need.

In some cases, it happens spontaneously but not unconsciously; on the contrary, a common motivation triggers it. It occupies and reclaims for a definite purpose. It is open to change and intervention since it changes and intervenes itself. Thus, the structure of commoning expresses a set of endless possibilities based on definite values and ideological priorities. In these terms, commoning practices illustrate alternatives to the existing management systems. The potentiality implicit in these practices excites many people who seek equitable life, not only for themselves but also for all people.

This study investigates the potentiality of commoning practices, as mentioned above. This investigation aims to illustrate the potentials of commoning practices and the future possibilities they propose. To do intense research, I limited the scope of the study to the urban commons. The discussions on urban commons are directly associated with the struggle on the right to the city. These movements are based on the same motivation - to reclaim the public space invaded by capitalist strategies. Suppose the production of space is the precondition and the result of social superstructures, as Lefebvre (1991, p. 85) states, and space is inherent to property relations. In that case, it might be assumed that the reconstruction of property relations would reproduce space. Commoning practices aim to reconsider and revise the conventional capitalist property relations.

The right to city movement involves many guerilla movements in the urban sphere, including guerilla art practices, guerilla gardening, occupy movements, etc. In this study, the relationship between commoning and guerilla art practices are investigated. Guerilla art also represents a standpoint against the capitalist hegemony in the public sphere. It declares the artist's right to the city and intends to establish a new form of artist engagement with the audience or the public sphere. It involves resistance, quick action, and temporality. Therefore, this study aims to establish a similarity between commoning and guerilla art practices by a brief inquiry analyzing

the guerilla art practices in the urban sphere through the perspective of commoning. Based on similar motivations and practices, guerilla art and urban commons share a mutual ground in the urban sphere. The similarities and differences are investigated regarding this ground. Besides, these two concepts are explained in a detailed approach supported by in-depth interviews with guerilla artists.

Recalling the reconstruction of property relationships, one can claim that the vacant areas are common grounds for guerilla art and commoning practices. Therefore, a noteworthy case is investigated in the study to make a solid analysis of these two. A vacant building in Ankara, named the Bina (*the Building*) among its users, represents an urban commons' characteristics and illustrates the examples of guerilla art in Ankara. The Bina has a significant role in the spatiality of subcultures in Ankara in the 1990s and the early 2000s. The Bina is a 'social space,' from a Lefebvrean terminology, representing diverse, multi-layered, and heterotopic qualities (Lefebvre, 1991).

Moreover, the Bina represents the conceptual characteristics of Soja's *Thirdspace*, "combining the real and the imagined" (Soja, 1996, p. 68). In addition, Bina's significance in Ankara's urban memory introduces a broader perspective to the study and enriches its scope. Besides the architectural qualities of the building that enabled its transformation as an urban cultural hub, its historical timeline and socio-cultural evolution are represented as a crucial input in the study.

Hence, this study embodies a standpoint nourished by diverse yet related implications on commoning, guerilla urban art practices, and their relationship. Right to the city has several dimensions. Similarly, commoning can occur by many approaches. This study claims that guerilla art in the urban sphere is an action that represents both of them. To support the main argument in the study, the introduction of the Bina is essential since the building exemplifies the interrelation of urban commons and guerilla art practices both in its unique existence and as a model representing a more general attitude in the spatiality of these practices. Its significance introduces a new discussion to the study and enriches its scope.

Theoretical Background and the Literature Review

Although the main scope of this study is the relationship between commoning and guerilla art practices, it represents a spiral of interrelation between many theoretical standpoints gathering around the standpoint of this study. Besides its unique literature, the theoretical background of commoning in the urban sphere cannot be distinguished from the critical urban theory, urban placemaking, and public space literature. Moreover, this study's involving guerilla art practices contributes another set of reading to the overall literature. Along with the discussions on art activism in the public space that can also be related to the critical urban theory, a slight introduction of contemporary art theory is also involved in this study. Therefore, this study introduces a wide spectrum of literature, including milestones of the fields and up-to-date publications by academics. A brief digital mapping of the literature survey processed for this thesis is studied to observe the interrelations between the commoning and guerilla art literature.[1] This mapping represents the 'commons' literature that I have investigated during this study and the interrelation, including authors, publishing, themes, cases, etc. This map is based on the emphasis of most repeated names and themes referred to in the readings. It demonstrates the main fields, i.e., *public sphere, commoning, urban art*, that this study is grounded and the vanguard figures in these fields, such as *Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Stavros Stavrides*. (See Figure 1.1) This section of the study, therefore, briefly introduces the prevailing literature and the figures. Although a detailed inquiry on commoning and guerilla art theories will be in the upcoming chapters, the urban theory will be introduced in this section.

[1] https://graphcommons.com/graphs/0db2f234-71c8-4cdb-beb7-b411c022a46e

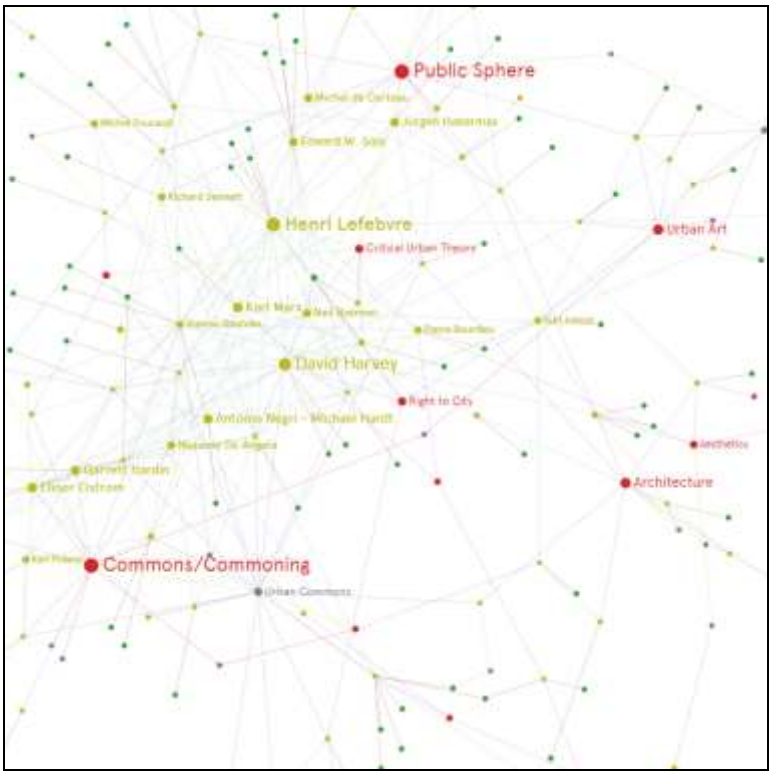

Figure 1.1. Thesis Bibliography Mapping (Source: developed by the author)

The former theoretical background of commoning is usually associated with economy-politics. Although the term 'common land' dates back to the 13th century in England, the early discussions related to commoning generally begin with Hardin's 'The Tragedy of the Commons' article published in 1968. These discussions are usually based on the organization of common resources. Hardin (1968), for instance, points out the excessive usage of the common resource by the commoners if the property relations are neglected. From this perspective, Hardin advocates the privatization of the common land and states that it is the only solution to the overconsumption of the common resource due to the increase in population (Hardin, 1968, p. 1244). From another perspective, Elinor Ostrom argues that, unlike Hardin's assumptions, the bottom-up approaches that the commoners develop lead to a balanced distribution of the resource among the contributors (Ostrom, 1990). In 'Governing the Commons,' Ostrom analyzes a set of field studies conducted worldwide, investigating the various commoning practices in different communities.

As a result of these studies and observations, Ostrom claims that instead of top-down regulations directed by the authorities, the bottom-up decision-making processes are more inclusive in covering the sudden conditional changes (Ostrom, 1990, p. 14).

The theoretical background of the commoning practices in the urban sphere, on the other hand, is related to many other theories and discussions, including the right to the city, public space, and social engagement, besides the economy-political discussions mostly based on Marxist discourse. Henri Lefebvre is one of the most significant theoreticians of urban theory and a presumably important figure in the commoning theory. According to Lefebvrean discourse, space is conceptualized under the triad of spatial practice, the representations of space, and representational space (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 38–39). This triad represents the perceived, conceived, and lived spaces. The lived (representational) space is the essence of social space discourse. The representational space is defined as;

> …space as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users', but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe. This is the dominated - and hence passively experienced - space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects. Thus representational spaces may be said, though again with certain exceptions, to tend towards more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39).

According to Lefebvre, unlike the representations of space that involve "subordination to a logic," representational spaces do not require any rules of consistency; it is a living space embracing the "loci of passion, of action, and of lived situations" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 42). Lefebvre's vision on theorizing the 'social space' and the production of space has enlightened the commoning discourse in the urban field and established its foundation. Lefebvre (1991, p. 86) defines 'social space' as emerging "in all its diversity – and with a structure far more reminiscent of flaky *mille-feuille* pastry than of the homogeneous and isotropic space of classical

(Euclidean/Cartesian) mathematics" and states that space is not produced as any other material. Still, the gathering of communities produces the social space.

Lefebvre's 'lived space' and 'social space' notions inspire many others while defining an action-based conceptualization in the public space. For instance, Marcuse defines critical urban theory as " analysis that flows from the experience of practice in developing the potentials of existing urban society," and it is "intended to illuminate and inform the future course of such practice" (Marcuse, 2009, p. 186). While investigating Lefebvre's right to the city, Marcuse asks, "Whose right to the city?" and explains that it is the right of the alienated and the oppressed (Marcuse, 2009, p. 6). Claiming the right to the city for these alienated and oppressed people, he encapsulates the critical urban theory, and manifests his ideas with the triad of *Expose*, *Propose,* and *Politicize*, explaining as below:

> Expose in the sense of analyzing the roots of the problem and making clear and communicating that analysis to those that need it and can use it. Propose, in the sense of working with those affected to come up with actual proposals, programs, targets, strategies, to achieve the desired results. Critical urban theory should help deepen the exposé, help formulate responses that address the root causes thus exposed, and demonstrate the need for a politicized response. Politicize, in the sense of clarifying the political action implications of what was exposed and proposed, and supporting organizing around the proposals by informing action. Politicizing includes attention to issues of organization strategy and day-to-day politics. And where appropriate, it includes supporting organizations directly with interventions in the media and sometimes raising issues within the critic's peer groups themselves, often academics (Marcuse, 2009, p. 194).

By this conceptualization, Marcuse represents another triad to the urban theories besides the spatial triads of Lefebvre and Soja and explains the methodology of critical urban theory. Similar to Marcuse's advocating of the right to the city for the alienated, Berman (1986, p. 480) claims that public space should be open-minded and open to the 'urban underclass.' Berman also questions the so-called "successful" public space, the criteria that define public space as successful, and indicates that this definition is for the real estate promoters, not for us. Instead, it means the

destruction of public life for us in the end (Berman, 1986, p. 481). Berman's 'open-minded' public space definition briefly demonstrates what one would imagine and anticipate;

> It would be planned to attract all these different populations, to enable them to look each other in the face, to listen, maybe to talk. It would have to be exciting enough and accessible enough (by both mass transit and car) to attract them all, spacious enough to contain them all (so they wouldn't be forced to fight each other for breathing space), with plenty of exit routes (in case encounters get too strained)... (Berman, 1986, p. 484)
>
> Open public space is a place where people can actively engage the suffering of this world together, and, as they do it, transform themselves into a public (Berman, 1986, p. 485).

Besides the physical aspects of a public space that everybody would agree on, Berman implies that public space does not act solely as a nest to the public but also develops and transforms the public. This ability of public space emerges from its inclusiveness and accessibility.[2] Similar to Marcuse, Berman's theorization of public space refers to Lefebvre's social space and Soja's Thirdspace. Referring to Lefebvre, Soja rejects the binary conceptualization of space and describes a "thirding" or an "othering" which facilitates the "way of understanding and acting to change the spatiality of human life, a distinct mode of critical spatial awareness that is appropriate to the new scope and significance being brought about in the rebalanced trialectics of spatiality-historicality-sociality" (Soja, 1996, p. 10). As well as Lefebvre's social space, Soja's thirdspace is shaped through interaction, gathering, and resistance.

Another keystone publication in the intersection of all urban theories is David Harvey's *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to Urban Revolution* (Harvey, 2012). In the book, Harvey establishes Lefebvre's vision about the spatiality in the

[2] See Brenner, Marcuse, Meyer, (2012) *Cities for People not for Profit* to enhance theoretical framework of critical urban theory with to-the-point discussions on the field.

city. Harvey defines this spatiality by Lefebvre's concept of heterotopia and states that;

> Lefebvre's concept of heterotopia (radically different from that of Foucault) delineates liminal social spaces of possibility where "something different" is not only possible, but foundational for the defining of revolutionary trajectories. This "something different" does not necessarily arise out of a conscious plan, but more simply out of what people do, feel, sense, and come to articulate as they seek meaning in their daily lives. Such practices create heterotopic spaces all over the place (Harvey, 2012, p. xvii).

The heterotopia is an essential concept in urban theory. The spatial character of a heterotopia indicates the conjunction and the accommodation of various groups and events. It expresses flexibility and interchangeability. Therefore, heterotopias involve the potential of change and resistance. While introducing Lefebvre's point of view regarding urban theory and the ongoing urban movements in the global arena, Harvey (ibid.) also reminds us that, although these urban movements recall Lefebvre's idea of *right to city*, they are much more important than it by stating that; the idea of the city does not arise out of intellectual fascinations, but it rises from the streets as a cry for help (Harvey, 2012, p. xi). From a Marxist perspective, Harvey briefly analyzes the global economic crisis in the 2010s, the urban roots of the crisis based on the capital accumulation in the cities. Harvey's work declares an inclusive description of the current situation in the urban sphere. The essential part of the book for this study is *The Creation of the Urban Commons,* in which Harvey defines the urban commons as 'the new forms of social relations' (Harvey, 2012, p. 67). He mentions the preceding discussions on commoning, criticizing Hardin for limiting the subject of commoning to the land instead of including the animals that use the land and appreciating Ostrom's proposal of organizing the governing of commons with a bottom-up strategy. These precedents in the theory of commoning shape the current agenda and methodology of new commons. Even the terminology represented in the discussions on urban commons is based on these precedent works.

As proof of the commons literature referencing urban theory literature, Dellenbaugh et al. relate Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city, which defines the city as an *oeuvre,* "an ongoing and collective work of art, created, used, and reshaped by its inhabitants," to the idea of the commons (Dellenbaugh, Kip, Bieniok, Müller, & Schwegmann, 2015, p. 16). In the commons literature, Stavros Stavrides is a significant figure. In *Common Space: The City as Commons,* Stavrides (2016) introduces the commoning with a brief set of spatial terminologies, such as the metaphors of threshold and enclosure, and re-defining other existing terminology in urban theory, such as urban archipelago and heterotopia. These repeating terms in many publications represent the mutual ground that the theory of commoning settles. Stavrides explains the commoning with several examples worldwide, representing the spatial transformations during these practices and the potentiality that commoning proposes. Stavrides' book is a comprehensive and inspiring source within the commons literature. Another pioneer of commons literature is Peter Linebaugh. Linebaugh's two milestone publications; *The Magna Carta Manifesto: Liberties and Commons for All* (2008) and *Stop, Thief! The Commons, Enclosures and Resistance* (2014) establish a detailed introduction to the theory of commons, its history, and ongoing progress, which will be investigated in detail in the upcoming chapter.[3] Linebaugh explains the emergence and loss of common land and the evolution of commons since the 13th century, including the determining events in history and the structural changes in society.

To investigate the local cases of commoning as well the international ones, one must take a glance at Pelin Tan's articles on commoning, and along with these articles, Tan's publications on art activism have also guided and enriched this study (Mouffe, Chantal, Tan, & Malzacher, 2016; Tan, 2008, 2015, 2017, 2018, 2019). Tan's analysis of the cases represents a unique perspective to the issue and fits the context

[3] For further up to date commons literature, see Dellenbaugh et al. (2015) *Urban Commons: Moving Beyond State and Market* and Dellenbaugh-Losse, Zimmermann, & de Vries (2020) *Urban Common's Cookbook: Strategies and Insights for Creating and Maintaining Urban Commons.*

of this thesis. Guerilla urban art practices have also been studied among many researchers within the framework of urban theory. For instance, Austin (2010, p. 37) claims that unauthorized graffiti art carries the spirit of the modernist avant-garde instead of the authorized pieces of art, whereas Iveson (2010, p. 436) believes that we shall not celebrate the diversity in the streets without a critical perspective. Riggle (2010), on the other hand, discusses an essential part of the concept of urban art; the theoretical distinction of 'street art' and 'public art.' This distinction is critical since street art need not have the motivation to address the public. Several artists interviewed during this study indicate that they do not have such motivation and the street is the medium for their performance. Yet, these approaches are categorized as a commoning practices in the study for being an urban practice reclaiming the public sphere although they do not have an emancipatory agenda.

The investigation of the Bina requires unique literature considering the space, identity, and performance. Besides the architectural qualities of the building, its social transformation is related to the study as the former phases of the Bina. While investigating the Bina, Hetherington's approach on the relationship between space and identity has broadened this study's horizon and mine as well (Hetherington, 1998). Hetherington defines the marginal space as the facilitator of a new identity's ordering for those who reject society's norms and beliefs (Hetherington, 1998, p. 124). Regarding Hetherington's definition, the Bina is evaluated as a marginal space within its urban context. The interviewee's testimonies support the inquiry on the building's historical timeline is supported by the interviewee's testimonies. Consequently, the theorization of spatial identity politics is investigated within Hetherington's conceptual framework. As a building that its users' identities had represented, the Bina should have been unfolded through such an approach.

Finally, along with many books and articles related to the commons literature, I would like to mention several theses that inspire this study. Firstly, it is essential to grasp at Altay's (2004) thesis on the *Minibar* in Ankara represents a unique study investigating the spatiality of a certain group of young people. It gives the clue of the subcultural spatiality in a shared period and population with the Bina.

Resuloğlu's thesis, on the other hand, represents a broader life span of Kavaklıdere and Tunalı district, introducing the development period of the area (Resuloğlu, 2011). One of the early works related to the commoning practices is Ergin's thesis focusing on the urban struggles and right to city movements in İstanbul due to rapid urban transformation (Ergin, 2014). Although they belong to different departments and disciplines, both Ateş's and Koçak's theses discuss the commoning practices and reclaiming public space on guerilla gardening (Ateş, 2015; Koçak, 2019). The theoretical foundation and local exemplifications of these theses enlighten this study. Köroğlu's recent study on commoning practices also illustrates that the potentiality of the commoning practices attracts many of us (Köroğlu, 2021). Köroğlu's study represents a comprehensive mapping of commons literature and spatiality, involving the local and international cases.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

This study aims to evaluate the possible discussions related to the main problem. The origin of this study is the interrelation between commoning and guerilla art practices. However, the spatiality of these practices introduced in this study and demonstrated with the Bina case requires another theoretical framework. Therefore, the body of this study consists of three chapters introducing various perspectives to the issue.

In *Chapter 2,* the theoretical background of commoning is introduced. The evolution of common practices is investigated starting from the former definition and the concept of 'commons. Although several concepts related to commoning are mentioned in this chapter, this chapter focuses on the urban commons since this chapter aims to relate the discussion to guerilla art practices. Urban commons' concept, derivatives, and the variances are explained in detail, including a brief introduction of the literature and the significant figures in the field. The theoretical foundation of commoning related to property relations and social structures in the city is investigated in this chapter.

The up-to-date commoning theory uses a unique set of concepts based on the prevailing commoning terminology and public space discussions. This set is represented in the thesis with detailed literature of commoning, illustrating several cases, especially in the urban sphere. Thus, the conceptual framework of commoning is aimed to be explained.

A noteworthy part of the commoning practices in the urban sphere involves the occupy movements in the 21st century. During these movements, we had a chance to observe the commoning in the symbolic squares of the cities. Gathering and forming a community, potential transformations of the space, and possible scenarios due to these transformations are demonstrated during these occupations. Therefore, these movements constitute an essential part of the chapter. Several significant cases of occupy movements are indicated in this chapter within the theoretical framework introduced previously.

In the final part of *Chapter 2,* several examples of commoning throughout the world and Turkey, especially in the vacant buildings, are illustrated. The potentials of vacant areas in terms of transformation and reuse are investigated. Thus, commoning practices in the vacant areas indicated here connect this chapter to *Chapter 3,* representing the case of the Bina.

Focusing on the vacant areas as a space for commoning, the Bina is examined through a chronological study in *Chapter 3*. It is essential to make a chronological analysis to introduce the case and clarify its unique relationship with its ever-changing context, its adaptation to this change, its deaths, and resurrections in time. Based on the functional classification, the overall life span of the building is divided into three parts:

- The early mortal life, when the building was built in 1960 and had functioned as a housing unit or for daytime commercial facilities and offices,
- The first transformation, when the building had become a rock bar complex and one of the most popular nodes in the nightlife of Ankara in the 1990s,

- The life after death, when the building had been evacuated and became a vacant building until it was destructed in 2017.

In-depth interviews with the former users of the Bina, including the regulars of rock bars, the staff, and the daytime users, are held by following an ethnographic research methodology. Although the interviews are held within a prepared set of questions, the dynamics of the interviews vary since they are intentionally in the form of a conversation to grasp a more intimate explanation of personal experience by the interviewees. The ethnographic research contains the disadvantage of the possibility of false assumptions or subjective data. Yet, it is critical to mention the meaning the Bina represents for its former users to observe the context of the case that lead this building to the conclusion of being one of the most significant buildings in the Tunalı district. Moreover, this context establishes the core of the study – structuring the relationship between guerilla art and commoning, their similarities, and shared motivations within the case of a vacant building.

In *Chapter 4*, this relationship between the commoning and urban art practices is investigated in detail. The concept of urban art, guerilla art in particular, and brief information regarding contemporary art activism in the 20th and 21st centuries are introduced in this chapter. Along with the critical urban theory discussions, several different points of view are represented in this chapter. The study presumes a shared motivation between commoning practices and guerilla art practices. Accordingly, this presumption is analyzed in a comparative framework in *Chapter 4*, considering the guerilla art acts in the Bina. The introspective questioning of guerilla art activists is derived from in-depth interviews to support the study's hypothesis. The questions related to the dynamics of public space performance, comparison of a gallery to the street, and the motivation and manifesto behind urban art are asked to define a theoretical framework within this study to the artists' performances. Besides the individual street artists who installed works on the Bina, several other interviews are held with art initiatives and graffiti tag artists. The potentiality of vacant space in guerilla activism is also discussed in this chapter.

Finally, the outcome of the study is explained in detail. After the summary of the study, possible future scenarios and potential fields of research within the subject of the study are discussed.

1.3 Methodology

The study investigates the guerilla art practices in the urban sphere within urban commoning practices. It analyzes the determinants of each practice, investigates the theoretical background of each subject, and establishes an interrelation between these two practices. This investigation is enriched by a case that would open up a broader discussion in the study regarding the spatiality of these practices. The case selected for the study is an abandoned building that had functionally transformed many times in the past.

To make a brief analysis of the case, I conducted qualitative research, including in-depth interviews with the former users of the building.[4] The questionnaires are prepared regarding two types of users; the users from the former stages of the building and the guerilla artists practicing in the urban sphere. The expected data derived from the interviews with the former users includes mostly their personal experiences with the building and the social environment, habits, perception of space, and social life. However, the street artists' questionnaire also seeks the motivational aspects behind their practice, the technical qualities, and artistic approaches. Therefore, the data derived from these interviews are gathered through the *Grounded Theory* method. Morse and Richards explain the grounded theory as below;

> There is an emphasis on detailed knowledge, constant comparison, and the trajectory of the event. The researcher consistently asks not only "What is going on here?" but "How is it different?" The method of grounded theory promotes a stance of refusal to accept a report at face value, a sort of

[4] See Appendix C for interview questionnaire.

> methodological restlessness that leads the researcher to seek characteristics, conditions, causes, antecedents, and consequences of events or responses as ways of drawing them together in an integrated theory (Morse & Richards, 2002, p. 56).

Since the main focus of the interviews is to gather the data based on personal experiences and the data beyond the solid facts, including motivations, thoughts, and feelings, the data is analyzed within a theoretical framework represented in the study. Charmaz states that;

> Grounded theorists' background assumptions and perspectives alert them to look disciplinary for certain possibilities and processes in their data. These assumptions and perspectives often differ among disciplines but nonetheless shape research topics and conceptual emphases (Charmaz, 2006, p. 16).

Similarly, the data derived from these interviews are interpreted within the anticipated perspective of the study. There are 17 official interviews held for this study in total. (See

Table 1.1) In addition, there have been many personal conversations related to the history of the Bina. The informal gathering of data through personal conversations is also mentioned in the study to enrich the outcome.

> A study may commence with an observational phase in the field or with interviews – narratives about the event, told sequentially from the beginning to the end. Such interviews are much more able to support the method than are semi-structured interviews or brief accounts (Morse & Richards, 2002, p. 56).

Although the data derived for this study comprises qualitative content, each data based on solid facts and used in this study is cross-checked with several approvals. The interviews are held mostly on virtual meeting platforms, whereas some interviews are conducted face-to-face. Each interviewee is informed about the process and the evaluation of the data via the voluntary participation forms. Each participants' names, nicknames, and pronouns are indicated by consent. The

interviews usually take 15-40 minutes for each. However, due to the intention of leaving the interviewees within their mental flow, without interrupting as much as possible, some interviews take more than an hour.

Table 1.1 Interviewee Profile

Int. No.	Age	Profession	Relationship with the Bina
Interviewee-1	43	Artist, Instructor	Former regular of rock bars period Artwork installer
Interviewee-2	48	Industrial Designer, Preschool Teacher	Former regular of rock bars period
Interviewee-3	41	Interior Designer	Former regular of rock bars period
Interviewee-4	44	Director	Former regular of rock bars period
Interviewee-5	43	Landscape Architect, Real Estate Agent	Former regular of rock bars period
Interviewee-6	35+	English teacher	Former regular of rock bars period
Interviewee-7	40	Architect	Former regular of LGBTIQ+ bars period
Interviewee-8	36	Musician, Guitar Teacher	Drum&Bass Studio regular
Interviewee-9	31	Tattoo Artist, Musician	Guerilla concert organizator
Interviewee-10	49	Musician, Instructor, Director	Former regular of rock bars period
Interviewee-11	32	Writer, Tag Artist	Artwork installer
Interviewee-12	36	Artist, Designer (Küf Project)	Artwork installer
Interviewee-13	45	Musician, Physics Teacher	Former regular of rock bars period Drum&Bass Studio partner
Interviewee-14	34	Graphic Designer	Artwork installer
Interviewee-15	33	Artist, Street Artist	Artwork installer
Interviewee-16	35	Artist (Avareler)	Artwork installer
Interviewee-17	34	Artist, Museum Director	Former regular of LGBTIQ+ bars period

1.4 Expected Outcomes of the Study

One of the several expected outcomes of this study is to clarify the relationship between urban commons and guerilla urban art in terms of aim, methodology, and results. Moreover, the dynamics affecting these practices in the urban sphere, the struggle with the dominant forces such as the global economy and neoliberal state are investigated within a theoretical framework. This study is expected to establish an interrelation between these similar practices and derive a potential field of study in the urban sphere. The main question of this study is whether guerilla art practices can be assumed as a subset of urban commons or not. Therefore, the investigation in this study is constructed around this assumption. The theorization of the study is organized to support the main argument.

One significant aspect of the study is that it involves a particular case that has an essential role in the urban memory of Ankara. The Bina acts as a cultural medium and a hub for urban culture and urban practices. I intend to enrich the study's theoretical perspective to a comprehensive level that might offer possible future projections through this case. Besides its significance in the urban cultural history of Ankara, Bina symbolizes the potentiality of abandoned spaces, urban voids, and other left-overs in the cityscape. Therefore, the possible scenarios are investigated in the study to propose a generative model for the spatiality of urban commons.

CHAPTER 2

A THEORETICAL INQUIRY ON THE COMMONING

Commoning has become a visionary agenda for the communities in search of a social order considering the equilibrium in the accessibility of a wide spectrum of resources, ranging from the very basic human rights such as accessibility to clean water, healthcare, and education, to an advanced level of accessibility to information and intellectual property (Hess, 2008, p. 15; Hodkinson, 2012, p. 516). On a local scale, commoning has proven its adequacy as a legitimate system of resource organization in many cases. Furthermore, besides the life-sustaining requirements of a community, commoning is a practice that can be developed in many social, organizational schemes, especially in the cultural arena. The practice proposes a bottom-up approach in the organization of resources for a certain community. As the framework suggests, commoning practices can be adapted to a variety of incidents. This study, however, focuses on the urban commons and a particular case in it – the guerilla art actions. Before demonstrating the relationship between commoning and guerilla art practices, this chapter introduces the historical background of the commons discourse, its history, and development schemes, especially in the 21st century. Establishing this study's foundation of the main discussion based on the practices in an abandoned building in Ankara, this chapter also mentions Turkey's commoning practices, particularly those in vacant spaces.

2.1 Introducing Commons: The Historical Background

> Commons (*n.*): the legal right of taking a profit in another's land in common with the owner or others
>
> a piece of land subject to common use: such as
>
> a: undivided land used especially for pasture
>
> b: a public open area in a municipality

(Merriam-Webster, n.d.)

The term "commons" was used for agricultural lands, woodlands, and meadows, mainly in England, open to the public where each commoner could release their animal for grazing. The first legitimization of the commons dates back to the *Magna Carta* in the 13th century, acknowledging the commoners and protecting the common rights of the forest that is the main energy source of the period (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 33). Magna Carta provided a set of regulations regarding the disadvantaged ones' rights in the Western-Christian society under the impact of the Catholic Church and the monarchies, including the commoners, the women, and the Jews (ibid.). Magna Carta is the first legal document considering the commoners and their rights against the privatization and enclosure by the feudal authorities of the time. In the 16th century, the dissolution of the monasteries led to a new class, the gentry, which would privatize the commons of the dissolved monasteries – a process that ended up with the commodification of the land in England (Linebaugh, 2008). From then on, Linebaugh (ibid., p.59) explains how the process started with the common waste's enclosure had transformed into a "mixed-economy of welfare" where the land owner or the farmer collaborates with the commoner. Although most common lands were not open-accessed commons as the modern termination indicates, and the land value of these open-accessed common lands[5] was low due to certain aspects such as being in hilly areas, they were still accessible by the poor for their use (Clark & Clark, 2001, p. 1033; Linebaugh, 2008, p. 51). Clark and Clark (2001) state that the common waste percentage had decreased due to the enclosure caused by privatization and Parliament enclosure movement in the 18th century.

Furthermore, as a result of the Industrial Revolution and the rise in the population accordingly, land prices rose relative to wages. Land use has become a privilege for

[5] Clark and Clark define this type of common land as 'common waste' and state that by the time that enclosure is in minimum level, common waste consisted the 5 percent of total common land in England.

the wealthy, and communal property has transformed into private property. The commoners and the peasants who could not afford the land use prices and the small land owners who could not afford the expenses due to the enclosure had to leave their lands and move to the cities. There, they would involve in a new form of economic relationship – as a part of the industrial economic growth (Hodkinson, 2012, pp. 502–503; Linebaugh, 2008).

In his milestone article, Garrett Hardin (1968) affirms the enclosure and privatization of the common land by claiming that it is the only solution to prevent the overconsumption of resources. He illustrates how a herdsman would constantly increase the number of the animals in his herd by gaining maximum value while sharing the negative utility with the other commoners. He clearly estimates an individualistic approach for each commoner in his theory and defines a 'rational' herdsman (or any commoner) who would consider his profit over the others (Hardin, 1968). Hardin's argument is understandable from a capitalist perspective that is conditioned to the individualist benefit. If the only variable changed in the equation is commoning the land and maintaining the rest of the private entities, overconsumption is inevitable. However, what Hardin neglects is that commoning discourse eventually suggests a total reform in the current system. Harvey (2012, p. 68), on the other hand, claims that if the herd is also common, it will regulate the use of resources among the commoners. According to his argument, the problem is "the individual utility-maximizing behavior" (ibid.). Instead, commoning should contain a wholesome practice including all the components subjected to it.

Another significant figure in the commons literature is Elinor Ostrom. She is an economist, an activist, and a political scientist working on the governance of commons. She was awarded the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences "for her analysis of economic governance, especially the commons" (NobelPrize.org, n.d.). Ostrom claims that if there is a community of commoners, this would manage the governance of the common sources and prevent inequality in resource use. She worked with several local groups all around the world for years to objectify her analysis. While challenging Hardin's thesis, Harvey mentions Elinor Ostrom and her

book ‘Governing the Commons’ in which Ostrom “seeks to disrupt some of the presumptions” (Harvey, 2012, p. 68). Examining a diverse set of commoning practices worldwide, Ostrom (1990) claims that instead of privatization of the common resource, which is an indefinite attempt in case of nonstationary resources, or the top-down institutionalization and the governance by the authorities, which would be insufficient to include the variety of the cases, the appropriators should develop their own organizational scheme for the distribution of the common pool resources, i.e., the C.P.R.s. Thus, Ostrom (ibid.) states that for each unique problem that may occur while sharing a C.P.R., the appropriators may find a unique solution and immediately take action based on consensus and explains the framework she develops, which would summarize the lessons learned from examining successful and unsuccessful efforts by C.P.R. appropriators as below;

> The framework identifies sets of variables that are most likely to affect decisions about continuing or changing rules. The framework can be used by theorists to develop more precise theories, and models of theories, of institutional choice. It can also be used to organize further empirical research to generate findings about the relative importance of particular variables in the context of other configurations of variables (Ostrom, 1990).

An autonomous organizational scheme for governing the commons proposes an efficient and reasonable re-adaptation considering the benefit of the community primarily. Replacing the individual interests with the communal ones, the community strengthens its bonds, and sustainability of the resource is provided accordingly. Moreover, as the decision-makers, the community would solve the conflicts with a commonly-decided policy based on consensus. Ostrom’s studies serve a broader perspective on the field of the commons in the economy, and her framework inspires the commons literature in other disciplines. The adaptability of certain principles in commoning practice has led to a shared terminology in different fields of commoning. This study focuses, particularly on the urban commons. However, the terminology used in the discourse of urban commons is conceptualized and resembles the predecessor descriptions about commons and commoning. The context changes; however, the framework remains.

2.2 Conceptualizing Urban Commoning: Triad of the Commons

In the 1990s, the theoretical background of the commons has proposed an immense viewpoint to increasing reclaim the city and the resources movements and led commoning to gain importance as an emancipatory agenda in the 21st century. As the neoliberalist policies have become more aggressive, the debates on commoning within many other alternative future agendas have received a major prominence in the field. Since commoning practices contain resistance and solidarity, they are embraced and practiced in various geographies facing the invasion of neoliberalism. In addition to the worldwide engagement of commoning in rural cases, the new enclosure concepts have led to the reconsideration of commoning practices in the urban field. Urban enclosures include privatization by fencing-off of a space, and new mechanisms of enclosures such as surveilled public space and malls are the parts of the system that would end up with social reconstruction. Similarly, considering the urban scale of commoning, Harvey states that;

> The recent revival of emphasis upon the supposed loss of urban commonalities reflect the seemingly profound impacts of the recent wave of privatizations, enclosures, spatial controls, policing, and surveillance upon the qualities of urban life in general, and in particular upon the potentiality to build or inhibit new forms of social relations (a new commons) within an urban process influenced if not dominated by capitalist class interests (Harvey, 2012, p. 67).

Therefore, commoning practices studied and conceptualized in the urban sphere have increased, especially in the 21st century. The urban commons involve a variety of resources that require a diverse set of commoning methods and practices. Moreover, there are certain differences between the commoning practices today and the commoning in the 13th century. Today, commoning does not only involve sharing resources; it also represents a collective action, an autonomous organization, and resistance. In various cases, commoning practices are held through local communities that stand against the patronizing actions of authorities. Each case requires a unique set of organizational input. Yet, certain determinants are defining

the commoning in general. In his interview with Stavrides, De Angelis indicates that commons are not solely the resources we share, and this is a definition that limits the issue (An Architectur, 2010, p. 2). Instead, De Angelis proposes the 'triad of the commons':

> First, all commons involve some sort of common pool of resources, understood as non-commodified means of fulfilling people's needs. Second, the commons are necessarily created and sustained by *communities* - this of course is a very problematic term and topic, but nonetheless we have to think about it. ... In addition to these two elements - the pool of resources and the set of communities - the third and most important element in terms of conceptualizing the commons is the verb "to common" - the social process that creates and reproduces the commons (An Architectur, 2010, p. 2).

The triad of commons is an agreed form of conceptualizing the current commoning practices. To better analyze the commoning of today, one should investigate these notions in more detail since they refer to various meanings in the current agenda of commoning. In the urban sphere, commoning is practiced on many fronts as a struggle for rights. Accordingly, the analysis of the terminology has to be enlarged to reach a comprehensive outcome. This analysis, therefore, will lead the study to the possibilities of commoning and expand the discussion to the main theme.

2.2.1 Common Resources:

In the 13th century, common resources were based on land use, including forests, woodlands, meadows, etc., that were open to the use of the commoners (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 25). Moreover, a certain amount of the common land, called common waste, was used by the disadvantaged part of the society, i.e., the elderly, the widows, and the children. Thus, the benefit of every part of society was assured by the common lands. In *Magna Carta Manifesto*, Linebaugh (2008) explains the privatization process in England regarding the dissolution of the monasteries, the distribution of the land to the soldiers as a reward, and the other incidents leading to the commodification of the English land. By the end of the 18th century, the common

resources had become endangered due to the increasing rate of privatization by the hand of the monarchy and the parliament (Clark & Clark, 2001, pp. 1032–1034; Linebaugh, 2008, pp. 48–49). In addition, in 1688, one-quarter of the total area of England and Wales was common land, whereas between 1725 and 1825, nearly four thousand enclosure acts appropriated more than six million acres of land to the politically dominant landowners (Linebaugh, 2014, p. 144). Similarly, Bauwens and Niaros (2017, p. 15) indicate that the welfare state model in Western Europe led most of the commons to be stateified and no longer be managed by the commoners.

Land use is a permanent agenda of commoning, especially in the rural cases; however, the common resources of today comprise a wider scope, especially in the urban sphere. Due to the city's ever-changing social structure and diverse parameters, urban commons have a wider range and various levels of struggle accordingly. Baviskar and Gidwani make a broad definition of urban commons as follows:

> Urban commons include so-called "public goods": the air we breathe, public parks and spaces, public transportation, public sanitation systems, public schools, public waterways, and so forth. But they also include the less obvious: municipal garbage that provides livelihoods to waste-pickers; wetlands, waterbodies, and riverbeds that sustain fishing communities, washerwomen, and urban cultivators; streets as arteries of movement but also as places where people work, live, love, dream, and voice dissent; and local bazaars that are sites of commerce and cultural invention. Indeed, the distinctive public culture of a city is perhaps the most generative yet unnoticed of urban commons (Baviskar & Gidwani, 2011, p. 43).

The primary struggle of commoning is against the privatization of these resources by neoliberal policies. As the states are replaced with the corporates by means of financial power and stability, more and more entities that should be within the responsibility area of the social state are submitted to the corporates, i.e., privatized. Brown (2015) defines neoliberalism as performing a group of economic policies that affirm free markets, including reducing welfare state provisions, privatized and outsourced public goods, converting every human need into a profitable enterprise,

and financialization of everything. Thus, neoliberalism invades each possible resource and privatizes it. De Angelis explains how neoliberalism favors the privatization of resources as below:

> Neoliberalism was rampaging around the world as an instrument of global capital. Structural adjustment policies, imposed by the I.M.F. (International Monetary Fund), were promoting enclosures of "commons" everywhere: from community land and water resources to entitlements, to welfare benefits and education; from urban spaces subject to new pro-market urban design and developments to rural livelihoods threatened by the "externalities" of environmentally damaging industries, to development projects providing energy infrastructures to the export processing zones (An Architectur, 2010, p. 3).

As a result of the globalization that started in the 1990s, neoliberalism has spread over many countries, especially those with uncultivated resources and inadequate economies. Mining companies have been scanning the underground of forest areas, deforesting the land, and polluting the water resources for their benefit, neglecting the population's rights or interests living in the area. Other energy companies do not hesitate to cut water resources that feed the agricultural lands of the villages nearby for constructing hydroelectric power plants. As healthcare and education are privatized and specialized for the privileged ones, inequality has emerged in these fundamental citizen rights. As the city center has been marketed as a potential profit arena, low-cost, affordable housing has become an imaginary scenario for those living there, and displacement has become a harsh reality. Instead of the existing housing areas and public spaces, "gated mega-development projects" have filled the city center (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 371; Hodkinson, 2012, p. 505). The displacement of the poor from the city center to the peripheries is the "very essence of the enclosure," leading to the commodification of labor power and the space as a highly valuable asset (Hodkinson, 2012, p. 504). The commodification of public space is another aspect of neoliberal enclosure policies. Brenner and Theodore (2002, p. 371) state that the neoliberal enclosure mechanism destroys the urban public spaces by "eliminating or intensifying the surveillance of it" and creates "new privatized spaces of elite/corporate consumption, gated communities, urban

enclaves, and other *purified* spaces of social reproduction." One can assume that the social reconstruction of society has been targeted through these attempts. The 'community' is divided into pieces alienated from each other; hence, it becomes effortlessly manageable. This assumption clarifies an essential reason for the state's embracement of neoliberal policies. Klein clearly summarizes the process of engaging neoliberalist agenda as below;

> In a period of 'unprecedented prosperity', people were told they had no choice but to slash public spending, revoke labour laws, rescind environmental protections – deemed illegal trade barriers – defund schools, not build affordable housing. All this was necessary to make us trade-ready, investment-friendly, world competitive. Imagine what joys await us during a recession (Klein, 2001, p. 4).

Thus, the common resources subjected to the practice of commoning cover each and every entity that the public can claim right. This broad definition actually widens the horizon of commoning and enables its adaptability in all cases representing violence of right and imposition of an enclosure by any authority. For instance, a guerilla art practice in the public space defines a form of resistance both to the privatization and isolation of public space and enclosure of the cultural property by institutionalization. It proposes a reclaim in the public space while commoning the artwork the artist produces simultaneously. In some cases, these practices are held in vacant areas and abandoned buildings that break the conventional property relationship in the cityscape. The area can be transformed into and declared as a commons by the practice itself.

2.2.2 Community:

While defining the 'community' conceptualizing the commons, De Angelis indicates that it is a set of commoners sharing the resources according to the rules they set for themselves, and the communities are not necessarily homogenous in their culture or material features, and they do not need to be local. (An Architectur, 2010, p. 2) In

this sense, De Angelis' definition of commons is based on Ostrom's concept of 'community.' Similar to Ostrom, De Angelis criticizes Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' for neglecting the notion of community and "commoning as a social praxis" (ibid.). As a result of the negligence of such an essential parameter, Hardin's statement remains idle and does not cover the up-to-date commoning practices. However, community represents the very essence of the commoning. Community in this context stands for a group of people gathered around a common agenda, sharing and resisting together. De Angelis' emphasis on heterogeneity is essential to describe the intention of the gathering. Commoning practices occur regardless of the similarities of the people participating. The common problem, the common resource, and the common opponent are sufficient for an organization.

On the contrary, Stavrides claims that the homogenous groups hold the risk of ending up as an enclosed community which would eventually lead to the loss of communication with other communities (ibid.). Therefore, Stavrides proposes to use the term 'public' instead of the community since the community refers to a homogenous group of people. The public emphasizes the relation of diverse communities, and the public realm is a space where different groups of people can merge (ibid.). On the local scale, the community sharing the commons consists of a manageable amount of people, sharing a mutual history and traditions, and being familiar with each other. As a result, one can assume that the consensus in local communities is straightforward. However, in the urban commons, we have to consider gathering a diverse set of people belonging to different economic, social, and cultural backgrounds, having different perspectives and sometimes intentions. In contrast to the local commoners, Kip (2015) states that urban commoners are "often not even aware of an entity such as the ecosystem, water, and electric supply, road usage and qualities such as silence being a 'common.'"

Nevertheless, the notion of 'being on the same page' in terms of gathering around a common issue eventually leads to collaboration and consensus. Commoning comprises all the debates, conflicts, and thought-sharings during the process. The conflict is inevitable yet fruitful in such processes. The essential aspect of

commoning is that the community, or the public in broader sense, acts with solidarity, wills to negotiate within itself, and resists in alliance.

Although the heterogeneity is proposed as a condition of the public by De Angelis and Stavrides (An Architectur, 2010, p. 7), certain cases represent a certain group's struggle on the commons. For instance, Federici (2019) narrates the story of women leading commoning practices and struggles worldwide. The history of female poverty, commodification, and exclusion from the workforce dates back to the 13th century (Linebaugh, 2008, p. 52), when women were deprived of their marital rights in widowerhood, commodified, and forced into prostitution. The struggle of feminism today collaborates with commoning practices when women's empowerment is aimed through communal land use and public space occupation (Federici, 2019).

To follow a similar example in the previous item, we can claim that the guerilla art initiatives represent a relatively enclosed community. However, the practice itself is divided into many sub-fields in which the contributors have different motivations and intentions. Moreover, the contributors of guerilla art need not be professionals in arts. The consensus in guerilla art is the belief that the public space belongs to the public. Therefore, one can assume a notion of a heterogenous community gathering around a common motivation and will.

2.2.3 The Practice of Commoning:

In the previous parts of the chapter, the two components of the triad of the commons are analyzed in detail; the common resource would be the subject of commoning and the community collaborating in operating this common resource. The final component of the triad, the commoning practice, stands for the alternative means that communities seek to access resources under the market circumstances driven by neoliberal policies. De Angelis states that the main problem is the transformation of individual interest to a common interest and indicates that common interests cannot

be postulated; they can only be constructed through the 'process of commoning' and asks the question: "Can we as a group, as a community or as a collectivity reflect our ideas and values in the form that we choose to carry out our struggle?" (An Architectur, 2010, p. 7) The question stands not only for the disadvantaged groups that are discriminated against, displaced, and deprived of their rights but also for the rest of the society, for all of us, since the commoning practices target the existing market structure and need collective action.

Urban commoning represents a key practice to challenge the interests of capitalist accumulation driven by rent and finance (Di Feliciantonio, 2017, p. 716). Capitalist accumulation is based on the property ownership structure, which manipulates the urban sphere to benefit through neoliberalist operations. There is no place for social welfare tools such as affordable housing, free public space, and collective production areas in this systematic manipulation. The public is methodologically detached, individualized, and exploited by the consumption mechanisms. The enclosure, as Hodkinson (2012) states, is not the result of capitalism but the essence of it since the enclosure is the solution that capitalism proposes for its ongoing crises and the resisting communities. The prevention of gathering in a physical environment or participating in a collaborative operation is provided by the new urban enclosures. Through a broader lens, Soja demonstrates the framework of the enclosure as below;

> Not only are residences becoming increasingly gated, guarded and wrapped in advanced security, surveillance, and alarm systems, so too are many other activities, land uses, and everyday objects in the urban environment, from shopping malls and libraries to razor-wire protected refuse bins and spiked park benches to stave off incursions of the homeless and hungry (Soja, 2010, p. 42).

Soja's mention of the precautions on homeless and hungry is particularly essential. The increasing privatization and gentrification of the public space alienate the people outside the capitalist mechanism. The new, sterile public space is, therefore, announced as in the service of a privileged group. If one cannot afford the rent, one gets immediately displaced, if one does not participate in labor, one does not get

insurance for healthcare, and if one is not a part of the capitalist workforce, one is nothing. Therefore, searching for alternative means of access to the resources is vital for an equal society in which participation, collaboration, and solidarity are the key concepts.

Dellenbaugh-Losse (2020, p. 13) defines commoning as "the interaction between commoners which includes the internal negotiation of rules" and distinguishes commoning from other resource use arrangements via this participatory process. This process aims to invert the conventional capitalist market relationship, which subjects the community to the consumer role and establishes a new form of the articulation of social production (An Architectur, 2010, p. 8). Indicating that urban commons are 'the material re-organization of a post-capitalist mode of exchange and production,' in which the infrastructure needed for this transition is commonified by the citizens; Bauwens and Niaros explain how commons reinterpret the existing market structure as below:

> The commons allows for a re-organization of the current destructive logic of production and value creation, by combining a global-local response to material and scientific challenges, and by creating sustainable logics of products and services that bypass the need for planned obsolescence. Second, the mutualization of infrastructures for human provisioning systems (shelter, energy, mobility) allows for a drastic reduction of the human footprint, augmented by the relocalization effects (Bauwens & Niaros, 2017, p. 21).

The methodology of commoning in the production cycle is an essential part of the discussion. However, within the scope of this study, it is more significant that the involvement of production within a commoning practice excludes capitalist market value and opens up new territories for a self-governed exchange of resources. De Angelis emphasizes the internal circulation of what is produced in the commons since it is essential to keep it to reduce the "capitalist circuits" (An Architectur, 2010, p. 8). Reduction of capitalist market and re-organization of the exchange establishes a new form of relationship in the community subjected to the commoning practice. Commoning is, therefore, where individual interests and differences are articulated

into common interests, and people produce to share and share what they produce (Hodkinson, 2012, p. 516).

As the new forms of resistance are developed by the commoning practices in the current market structure, De Angelis classifies how capitalism reacts to these alternative forms on three levels: (i) the criminalization of alternatives in every process of enclosure, both historically and today; (ii) a temptation of the subjects fragmented by the market to return to the market; (iii) a specific mode of governance that ensures the subordination of individuals, groups, and their values, needs and aspirations under the market process (An Architectur, 2010, p. 10). Capitalism's ever-inclusive character and slippery ground might easily swallow the well-intentioned but less-organized attempts of commoning in the existing market conditions. Moreover, the state guarantees the market – the two power mechanisms that are integrated into each other under the reign of neoliberalism – and the state might declare these commoning practices illegitimate. Similarly, Tan (2008) states that the neoliberal state "becomes a consummate agent of – rather than a regulator of – the market, the new *revanchist* urbanism that replaces liberal urban policy in cities.

To resist the market pressure supported by the state organs, Stavrides (ibid.) claims that the communities should struggle against the state dominancy since the State is the guarantor of the market and property rights. The important thing is the collaboration of communities in resistance instead of isolated communities in their own agenda during this struggle. We should rather understand ourselves as members of different communities in the process of emerging (ibid.). The new communities and the commoning practices in which sharing, negotiation, and self-decision mechanisms, as Ostrom (1990) proposed, are involved.

Lefebvre (1991, p. 90) states that the social space is produced through the gathering of the society and the collective action. Accordingly, the reproduction of the social space in the public sphere would be possible via the reproduction of the urban commons, which are not the shared resources but the resistance and solidarity.

Commoning practices, therefore, are essential in breaking the hegemony of neoliberal enclosures in the public space. Similarly, while pointing out the three fundamental norms of city life that urban commons might rely on, Hodkinson (2012, p. 516) states that "the city is also 'public sphere' based on human interaction, interdependence, and cooperation from which no one should be excluded." These statements also demonstrate the core principles of the decision-making process in commoning practice; collective action, inclusiveness, and consensus. Commoning practices encourage the direct participation in all decisions that produce urban space and regard the urban dwellers "right to appropriation, that is, to physically access, occupy and use urban space, including the right to produce new urban space to meet the needs of inhabitants" (ibid.).

Considering all the substantial aspects explained above, one can claim that urban commons are in various forms based on these key concepts. The main aim is to protect us against enclosure and market forces, enabling us to survive independently or with degrees of independence from wage labor (ibid.). Solidarity and resistance constitute the foundation we should gather at. As urban commons have various forms, so does the resistance. Occupation of public space, reclaiming the one once we own, happens in a diverse set of operations that we have had a chance to observe in several cases worldwide in the 21st century.

2.3 Commoning in the Era of Global Uprisings

In the 21st century, the world has witnessed the revival of public space, particularly by the occupy movements. The global economic crisis in 2008 and the changing political atmosphere have led to many uprisings in the 2010s. Starting with the Arab Spring, triggered by the governments' non-democratic, oppressive policies and ideological impositions, these uprisings in the Middle East have inspired and spread over different geographies in Europe and in the Americas. Although each case represents different reasons and methods within its context, the common ground for these uprisings was the public spaces, i.e., the squares, the parks, and in some cases,

the vacant areas, the limbos between the public and the private in the urban sphere. This part of the chapter investigates the commoning practices during the occupy movements of the 21st century and the spatiality of commoning. By this investigation, the common ground of the urban commons and the diversity of the spatiality will be represented.

2.3.1 The Occupy Movements

The wave of neoliberalism has dominated the world, especially in the 2000s when globalization has gained an acceleration. Western capital has been invested in the under-developed and developing countries for their resources such as work labor, improving construction and tourism sectors, and natural resources for the sake of corporates. The agreements between these corporates and governments have neglected the interests of the public by nature and eventually led to the violence of rights. The exploitation of the resources has ended up with social struggles that have been enduring for years. Exemplifying all the violations of citizen rights worldwide for the sake of the neoliberalist global economy, Klein (2001, p. 4) states that "it is trading democracy in exchange for foreign capital." Klein's examples include many different cases such as the NAFTA[6] in Mexico, the unsustainability of the oil companies, under-paid work labor, and deforestation for the sake of food chains, the child labor exploited by Nike in Asia, and against this exploitation, another form of reaction, different than the traditional party politics, have been developed by the communities resisting (Klein, 2001). Brown (2015, p. 21) states that although neoliberalism has some key features constant in each case, such as naming "a historically specific economic and political reaction against Keynesianism and democratic socialism" and being a "more generalized practice of 'economizing'

[6] The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was enacted in 1994 and created a free trade zone for Mexico, Canada, and the United States. Retrieved from https://www.trade.gov/north-american-free-trade-agreement-nafta on July 22, 2021.

spheres and activities," it has the capacity and ability to shape itself according to the changing dynamics and indicates that;

> Yet in its differential instantiactions across countries , regions, and sectors, in its various intersections with extant cultures and political traditions , and above all, in its convergences with and uptakes of other discourses and developments, neoliberalism takes diverse shapes and spawns diverse content and normative details, even different idioms. It is globally ubiquitous, yet disunified and nonidentical with itself in space and over time (Brown, 2015, p. 21).

The dynamics of neoliberalism have been changing; yet, the exploitation is constant. Similarly, the reactions against harsh neoliberal policies have distinct characters regarding the context and content, yet the discourse behind these reactions is common. Therefore, the solidarity infrastructure should be established worldwide, connected, including the local struggles and the global ones. As Klein states;

> Neoliberal economics is biased at every level towards centralization, consolidation, homogenization. It is a war waged on diversity. Against it, we need a movement of radical change, committed to a single world with many worlds in it, that stands for 'the one no and the many yesses' (Klein, 2001, p. 4).

In the light of these neoliberal economics, the USA experienced an economic crisis based on its mortgage strategy. Besides the economic reflections of the crisis, the ongoing gentrification and displacement programs caused by the neoliberal policies have led to social struggles between the authorities and the displaced communities. The real estate market crisis has led to a global economic crisis in 2008, affecting Europe and leading to several austerity programs obtained by the governments. This economic shift caused by the congestion of invasive neoliberal policies would be responded to by mass public opposition in many countries of Europe.

Another determinant that has triggered the social movements, particularly in the Middle East and North Africa, was the non-democratic actions of the governments. Although many other reasons were leading the public to revolt against the

governments, such as economic crisis and increasing unemployment, one can assume that the main reason for the uprisings was the non-democratic, authoritarian, oppressive, ideological, and religious policies. The uprisings started in Tunisia with the Jasmine Revolution[7], then spread out to several other countries such as Egypt, Libya, Yemen, Bahrain, and Syria. Citizens of these countries gathered in the city squares to witness the mass protests in the upcoming days. Tahrir Square was one of the symbolic public spaces of the movement. People from different economic backgrounds, religions and social groups met in Tahrir Square with the same motivation and desire to challenge the existing government for secularity and equality.

Figure 2.1. Tahrir Square during Arab Spring. Left: "Tahrir Square - June 2, 2012" by Jonathan Rashad; Right: "Tahrir Square" by Al Jazeera English. (Source: Left: https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/fa987ea6-fc30-4c3e-a7e8-aa916731e737; Right: https://search.creativecommons.org/photos/e68e32cb-d9f8-4507-a43d-210b037d94dc)

Simultaneously, the anti-austerity movements against these programs started in Greece and spread out Europe between 2010-2012. Greece has witnessed mass protests with the involvement of student collectives, NGO[8]s, and many other groups besides the public. Violent attacks of security forces increased the tension during the protests and caused many of the protestors injured and some dead. One of the

[7] Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/event/Arab-Spring on July 22, 2021.
[8] Non-Governmental Organizations

symbolic places of the occupy movement in Greece was the Syntagma Square. Thousands of people gathered around a common motivation and accommodated in the square for days. The Syntagma Square hosted protests and other civic organizations such as forums, workshops, concerts, etc. Stavrides explains the organizational scheme at the Syntagma Square as below;

> Syntagma Square developed into a network of connected micro-squares, each one with a distinct character and spatial arrangement, all contained or, rather, territorialized in the area of what was known to be the central Athens public square. Each micro-square had its own group of people who lived there for some days, in their tents, people who focused their actions and their micro-urban environment on a specific task: a children's playground, a free reading and meditation area, a homeless campaign meeting point, a 'time bank' (a form of exchange of services based on the elimination of money and profit), a 'we don't pay' campaign meeting point (focused on organizing an active boycott of transportation fees and road tolls), a first aid centre, a multimedia group node and a translation group stand, et cetera. There were various levels on which those micro-communities were connected and, of course, all of them had to follow the general assembly's rules and decisions (Stavrides, 2016, p. 166).

Figure 2.2. Syntagma Square Protests. Left: Syntagma Square Protest, taken on June 5, 2011, by George Ampartzidis; Right: Athens 15 October 2011, Syntagma Square by Odysseas Gp. (Source: Left: https://flickr.com/photos/ambageo/5820140057/; Right: https://flickr.com/photos/odysseasgr/6247253364/)

As the prime minister declared that Taksim Military Barracks would be restituted as a mall, on its former place where today Taksim Gezi Park is located within the Urban

Development Plan of İstanbul in 2013, the initial protest against the restitution project was on a local scale. When the police burned the tents of a few protestors accomodating in the park down and tear-gassed the peaceful protestors, they also lit the flame of the massive protests all around the country. Gezi Resistance was the final chain of an ongoing series of anti-democratic actions by the government since 2002 that Justice and Development Party was elected as the ruling party. These actions are including the ideological neglection of secularism, violation of citizen rights, the privatization and wasteful consumption of public resources, and systematic oppressions against the media, the universities, the women, the LGBTIQ+ community, the other ethnic and religious minorities, the political organizations, everything and everyone out of their ideological stratum. Therefore, it was not surprising when the masses from different parts of the society in Turkey gathered in Gezi Park and Taksim Square for the protests. The public reached up a social consensus based on citizen rights and built out a new form of sociality based on solidarity and resistance.

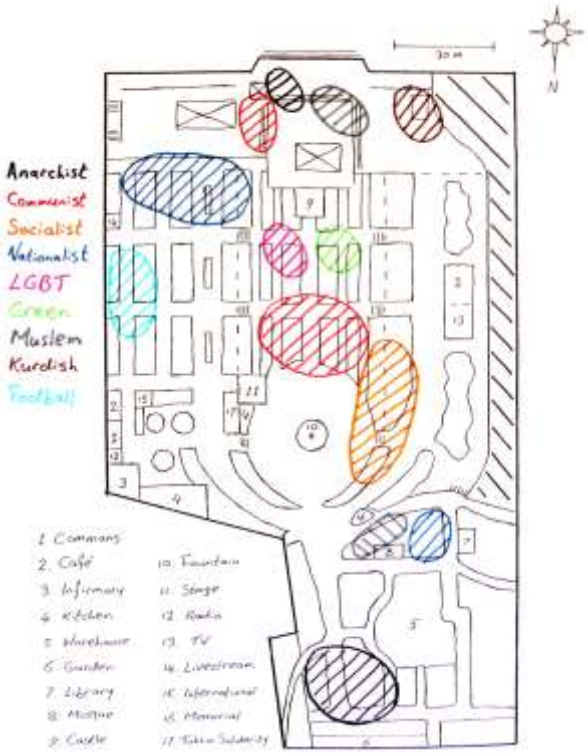

Figure 2.3. Gezi Park Encampment Map. (Source: https://occupygezipics.tumblr.com/)

A large group of people accommodated in Gezi Park, established a common kitchen, medico, and a library, and organized several activities such as yoga classes, music workshops, and forums to discuss the future of the movement and possible scenarios protests would evolve into. Besides the peaceful protests taking place inside Gezi Park, many protesters were fighting against the police brutality, the tear gas and water cannon attacks of the police, in different parts of İstanbul and other cities of Turkey. When police shot Ethem Sarısülük in Güvenpark, Ankara, the protests had reached a climax in the city and all around the country. The deaths of 22 young people during the protests have unified the various parts of the society belonging to different ideological positions.

Figure 2.4. Taksim Gezi Park during Occupy Gezi Movement. Left: Aerial view of Taksim Square and Gezi Park; Right: "My Gezi Workshop" for children, by Dada Verd, taken on June 10, 2013. (Source: Left: https://occupygezipics.tumblr.com/; Right: https://flickr.com/photos/dadaverd/9014611914/)

The square occupations are significant in this study since they demonstrate some of the major examples of commoning practices in the last decade. One can observe the mutual aspects of these events in terms of spatiality, organization, and motivation.

The occupation of a city square is in itself a common tendency when it comes to mass action. Linebaugh states that;

> Taksim Square, Tahrir Square, Syntagma Square, Puerto del Sol, Zuccotti Park, Oscar Grant Plaza, St. Paul's Cathedral: historically, the city grew around these places expanding concentrically. They came alive again as gathering places whose primary purpose was to spark discussion locally and globally. They were a commons inasmuch as internal relations were not those of commodity exchange, an anti-hierarchical ethos, or "horizontalism," prevailed, and basic human needs such as security, food, waste disposal, health, knowledge, and entertainment were self-organized (Linebaugh, 2014, p. 24).

In addition to these aspects assigning them in the center of commoning practices, the city squares offer the possibility of re-definition and reproduction of space by the communities. By collective action and spatial organization, Taksim Square and Gezi Park were re-defined to provide space for separate groups. The attending communities developed another form of relationship, a new possibility of a dialogue released from their differences. Stavrides (2016, p. 165) states that the common space created by the communities in movement is “open to anyone who participates in the actions and accepts the rules which were collectively decided upon.” In all the occupy movements, one can observe the collaboration of diverse groups despite their even conflicting believes and positions. The solidarity is the basis of conversation for these groups, and it is “the one no and the many yesses,” as Klein (2001) previously states.

2.3.2 The Spatiality of Urban Commons

The spatiality of urban commons has various dimensions with distinct features. The two significant cases of this spatiality are the public space, i.e., the parks, the squares, the streets, and the vacant areas in the urban sphere, i.e., the urban voids. The former represents the hegemonic scope of the authority, whereas the latter is a bug in the city’s rationality. Stavrides defines the common space in the urban sphere as a

"threshold," gathering the different parts of the society together and carrying the potential of being a mediator;

> In the occupied public spaces of the squares movement, common spaces became live, albeit temporary, urban thresholds. Such spaces neither define people who use them nor are defined by them. They, rather, mediate negotiations between people about the meaning and use of the space they share. Common threshold spaces thus correspond to a process of identity opening which characterized the squares experience (Stavrides, 2016, p. 170).

Therefore, the public space is reproduced as the common space in these cases. Unlike the public space, which represents the authority that defines and controls it, common space is an opened space in a process of opening towards newcomers (Stavrides, 2016). The communities reproducing common space establish their own decision-making mechanisms, resource-sharing policies, and many other rules and concepts essential for collective living. The people participating in commoning practices experience the autonomous organization and democratic participation based on the consensus, without ignoring the minor groups but considering their perspectives instead. Since commoning practices involve the shared motivation of reclaiming the public space, diversity is appreciated and promoted in these practices. Therefore, they are more inclusive than the traditional governing mechanisms. Heterogeneity of the community, thus, requires a non-hierarchical organization in which each individual and group are represented and considered equally. While conceptualizing "urban" within the commoning practices, Dellenbaugh-Losse states that;

> Having conceptualized the wide range of dimensions of the urban, we might sum up "the urban" as a spatial organization of society. It is comprised of structural aspects, i.e. the acceleration and densification of connections, which are materially embodied in the development of the built environment, but also cultural aspects, i.e. ways of dealing with difference and complexity, which are based in the micro-physics of the everyday encounter rather than sovereign planning (Dellenbaugh et al., 2015, p. 17).

Commoning practices offer an alternative method to the problem of dealing with difference and complexity. The negotiation-based, participatory decision-making processes facilitate the integration of the people from different sections of the society to the practice. The more active positions and responsibilities the community members take, the more embracement they feel to the public space they reclaim and transform and to the community itself. Soja (2010, p. 45) already states that the public space is "a localized urban expression of the notion of common property," i.e., the commons. The public space, therefore, represents that the public once had and lost to the privatization, displacement, enclosure, and gentrification policies that alienate the public from the public space. As the commoner detached from the commons and the production accordingly, the public has been detached from the public space, similarly for the benefit of primitive accumulation in the cities (Harvey, 2012; Hodkinson, 2012). As capitalism has been in crisis because of the blocked neoliberal methods, reclaiming the public sphere via urban commons has been more and more reliable every day. Soja defines community-based content of the urban commons as below;

> Actually, all these are zones of contention between public and private property rights and focal points for social action aimed at assuring residents' rights to the city, in the sense of collective access to the common pool of public resources the city provides. Extending these arguments to the scale of the metropolitan or city region is relatively straightforward, creating the foundation for what some now call community-based regionalism, regionwide coalition building for local community development and environmental justice (Soja, 2010, p. 46).

As is previously mentioned in this study, commons involve different scales. Moreover, representing collective responsibility, the urban commons have various scales, and they extend to involve "many geographical scales, starting with the property ownership itself" (Soja, 2010). The pre-admitted conventional capitalist property relationship that has been imposed throughout history usually prevents the public from acting outside the system. In other words, commoning practices in the urban sphere face the obstacle of private property when it is organized outside the

public space. However, alternative operating systems can be materialized in the unguarded parts of the system. For instance, Tan uses Augé's 'non-place' term to describe the urban voids in the urban sphere; however, unlike Augé, who defines non-places as the result of poor urban planning, Tan interprets them as the spaces that "fall out of the predetermined logic of the city" (Augé, 1995; Tan, 2008, p. 136).

Besides the empty lands caused by the urban planning, as Augé suggests, the concept of urban void in this study involves the vacant lands and the buildings that remained outside the capitalist transformation of the city due to possible property ownership problems. There are many lands and buildings that are the properties of some people but have remained idle for years. In that sense, they "*escape* being marked by power" (Tan, 2008, p. 136). Therefore, these areas in the midpoint between the public and the private propose a potentiality in terms of being reproduced as the urban commons. In fact, the public has already used these urban voids, i.e., publicized, in many forms, as a playground, a picnic area, waste disposal in some cases, housing for the homeless, canvas for the street artists... As a result, it is not unlikely to produce the spatiality of commoning in these vacant areas.

There are many examples of urban commons in the abandoned properties. One noteworthy example is the guerilla gardening movement spread out in the cityscape, especially in the last decades. Besides the examples in Europe and the Americas, Turkey has many examples, such as Yedikule Bostanları in İstanbul and 100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı in Ankara[9]. The struggles in Turkey have been ongoing since 2013 when the municipality decided to destroy Yedikule Bostanları that has been used as a gardening area for over 1500 years for a park project and canceling the gardening function.[10] As a result of the struggle organized by the residents of Yedikule and the NGOs, the municipality paused the project; however, they have not

[9] Bostan is the garden in Turkish, a term used especially for vegetable gardens.

[10] https://yedikulebostanlari.tumblr.com/post/137338317545/we-believe-that-the-municipality-should-stop-the

been canceled permanently. Yedikule Bostanları has been used as a community garden by an organized community consisting of residents and volunteers. Similarly, 100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı was settled as a community garden in 100. Yıl, a neighborhood where most of the residents are the students of METU and other universities, in 2014 (Ateş, 2015, p. 83). The garden was laid out on abandoned land in the neighborhood by the members of 100. Yıl Initiative, the neighborhood collective, and developed by the 100. Yıl community. Ateş (2015, p. 85) states that along with ecological concerns, the motivation behind the 100. Yıl Berkin Elvan Bostanı is "stimulating the sharing among neighbors and submitting a common ground for new acquaintances in the neighborhood" and the continuity of the sharing and social network via production. Guerilla gardening practices demonstrate the collective action, the production, and sharing of resources, dividing the responsibility and the essence of being an autonomous community on a local scale.

Another significant example is the squatter movement that involves many different reasons, such as the displacement due to gentrification and privatization of neoliberal policies and migration. Accordingly, some of the squattings are non-political and intend to propose a short-term solution for an emergency. However, some squatter movements are more organized and political, based on forming an autonomous community life. Cattaneo & Martinez explains the motivation behind political squatting as below;

> Self-produced and creative commons culture opposing intellectual property rights; space required for holding political meetings and campaigns; alternative exchanges of goods, foods and beverages; social interactions and debates without the pressure of paying with money, and similar phenomena are possible thanks to the availability, accessibility and openness of many buildings which have previously been occupied illegally. Regardless of the kind of social needs behind squatting, political squatters argue that is not legitimate to leave private property abandoned. The right of use should be prior to the defence of absolute private property (Cattaneo & Martínez, 2015, pp. 9–10).

Therefore, the abandoned buildings respond to the need for housing and the communal organization of that particular squatter group. The notable examples in Turkey were the squatter houses of the Yeldeğirmeni and Caferağa Solidarities. After the meetings involving the forums and discussions in Gezi Park have been transferred to the local neighborhood parks, each neighborhood established its own solidarity organization. Considering the continuation of the forums during winter conditions, the initiatives occupied abandoned buildings in their neighborhood and established their squatter houses. Until the solidarities have completely lost their effects as the Gezi Resistance has faded out, the residents of squatter houses have conducted many forums, discussions, workshops, and other cultural gatherings (Yılmaz et al., 2020). They have been the mediator in the decision-making processes in the neighborhood, encouraging the active participation of the residents of the neighborhood. The initiatives have demonstrated the possibility of establishing a collective culture, considering the community's needs, producing resources and solutions accordingly, and managing a democratic, community-based organizational scheme. Moreover, by occupying abandoned buildings (political squatting) and transforming them into a communal value, these initiatives represented the potentiality of an urban void for grounding a commoning practice. In an interview with Tan, Neil Smith declares that;

> Empty spaces represent the failure of capitalism. Not in our terms but in theirs. Empty spaces are good, socially, awaiting social creativity – a game, a circus, a debate, an encampment, children playing – but in a world run by ground rent, empty space is a crisis (Tan, 2008, p. 137).

Commoning suggests bottom-up organizations against the hegemony of dominant forces in various spheres. These practices require long-term resistance, a certain kind of dedication, and effort; however, success is not guaranteed. Yet, we should undoubtedly suggest a revolutionary agenda against the increasing oppressions that lead to violence by the dominant forces. By the time this thesis is written, a huge amount of forest area, including the forest villages in Western and Southern Turkey, is on fire, whereas there are massive and destructive floods in the Northern and

Eastern regions. Besides the solid fact of the global climate crisis fed by capitalism, it is undeniable that the governments' neoliberal and ideological policies in a wide spectrum are responsible for this conclusion. This spectrum includes isolating forests by decreasing the number of forest villagers, privatizing and idling the emergency response institutions, giving room for the opportunists by transforming every single part of the nature reserve into a commodity. Meanwhile, we face an undeniable invasion of the public sphere in the cities caused by privatization and disciplinary motivations.

Commoning suggests an emancipatory agenda against this violence of rights. The practice considers the need of the community, not only humans but also the rest of the living environment, and the future and sustainability of the resource simultaneously. As a result, it has been more and more visible and discussed every day. Urban commons support the disadvantaged people's struggle for rights in the urban sphere, propose equitable solutions. Therefore, Harvey suggests;

> The creation of a new urban commons, a public sphere of active democratic participation, requires that we roll back that huge wave of privatization that has been the mantra of a destructive neoliberalism (Harvey, 2003, p. 941).

Urban commons is practiced in a wide spectrum of events. Right to city struggle is the main pot, representing the common motivation. However, it is practiced as a resistance against the invasion of the public sphere, whereas in some cases, it is realized as a guerilla gardening movement. In other cases, it can reflect a minor group's motivation to obtain the urban sphere. Therefore, the spatiality of the practice suggests more than the practice itself. Urban commons occur in the in-between spaces of the city, in the thresholds that lead to coincidence, gathering, and resisting.

In some cases, it occurs at the urban voids of the city, undiscovered spaces that contain much potential. The practice itself transforms the space for the benefit of the practice itself, providing a temporal reorganization. Thus, the practice keeps the dynamism it intrinsically contains. Therefore, the upcoming chapter of this study

investigates an ‘urban void’ in Ankara, representing another form of urban commons. Its historical and cultural context causes the potentiality of the case. Hence, besides the practices that led me to evaluate this building within the urban commons framework, the phases that evaluated this building into an urban void should be mentioned.

CHAPTER 3

A THIRDSPACE IN ANKARA: THE BINA

3.1 The "Placeness" of Bina

> Man dwells when he can orientate himself within and identify himself in an environment, or, in short, when he experiences the environment as meaningful. Dwelling therefore implies something more than 'shelter'. It implies that the spaces where life occurs are *places*, in the true sense of the word. A place is a space which has a distinct character (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, p. 5).

In his milestone book, Genius-Loci–Towards A Phenomenology of Architecture, Norberg-Schulz (1980) defines *genius-loci–the spirit of the place* by the meaning it contains for the human being[11] that experiences it. It is a complex phenomenon, one of many, on which the theory of architecture is grounded. The author emphasizes "place" by defining "dwelling"–not a shelter but a space that involves much more than functionality. How an individual perceives the surroundings directly affects the behavioral habits based on spatiality, especially in the urban structural context. Starting from the most fundamental element of architecture, the notion of "place" dominates all the spatial design concepts. Based on Norberg-Schulz's discussion, we can assume that the proximity that an individual establishes with the urban context determines the places that will survive and be condemned to death. This assumption would be sufficient if the place is defined and sustained solely by human interaction. However, this assumption neglects the top-down interventions to the place by certain authorities. In the age of neoliberal policies, in which governments and capitalist

[11] Although Norberg-Schulz actually refers the subject of the book as "man", I will paraphrase it as "human-being", "person" or "individual" due to the intention<a" of gender-neutral language in this study.

corporations reshape the urban life and its manifestation in the public sphere, it might be optimistic and even naïve to presume that the individuals' tendencies define the place's or city's dynamics.

Although these suppressive policies and all the interventions under the light of governments and corporations mentioned in the previous chapter predestinate and dictate the urban sphere of today, there are certain exceptions of spatiality that deform the current logic of the city. To better conceptualize these exceptions in a theoretical framework, it would be useful to investigate the spatial theories on which this study is grounded. Lefebvrean triple dialectic, i.e., the "trialectic of space" has guided many focused on the theorization of space as a principle reference. The trialectic of space consists of spatial practice (perceived space), representations of space (conceived), and the representational space (lived space) (Lefebvre, 1991, pp. 38–39). The former two concepts refer to how we perceive the space through physical forms and structures and conceive it through signs and symbols. The latter one, however, is based on our experiences in the urban sphere. Therefore, social space is produced via interrelations, experiences, incidents, gatherings, and resistance (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre's trialectic of space is reformed in Soja's conceptualization and starts with the existing dual-mode of thinking as explained below;

> Firstspace perspective and epistemology, fixed and mainly on the concrete materiality of spatial forms, on things that can be empirically mapped; and the second, as Secondspace, conceived in ideas about space, in thoughtful re-presentations of human spatiality in mental or cognitive forms. These coincide more or less with Lefebvre's perceived and conceived spaces, with the first often thought of as "real" and the second as "imagined" (Soja, 1996, p. 10)

In addition to the existing duality, Soja introduces *Thirdspace* as "an-Other form of spatial awareness" that has emerged in the late 1960s and "the product of a *thirding* in the spatial imagination, the creation of another mode of thinking about space that draws upon the material and mental spaces of the traditional dualism but extends

well beyond them in scope, substance, and meaning" (Soja, 1996, p. 11). Thirdspace intersects the former two, involving the real and the imagined simultaneously. It represents the trialectic of Lefebvre's social space – with no one inherently privileged a priori (Soja, 1996, p. 68). Thirdspace, therefore, signifies a set of relations and experiences that are performed outside the margins of the top-down-defined urban life. Besides the heterogeneity that this broad definition proposes, Thirdspace represents the envisagement of a potential social structure. As Soja argues;

> Combining the real and the imagined, things and thought on equal terms, or at least not privileging one over the other a priori, these lived spaces of representation are thus the terrain for the generation of "counterspaces," spaces of resistance to the dominant order arising precisely from their subordinate, peripheral or marginalized positioning (Soja, 1996, p. 68).

The physical equivalent of social space or the thirdspace might vary within the cityscape. In some cases, the in-betweenness of a place leads to the formation of social space. For instance, a place that formerly lived and died resurrects more than once, changing its purpose and function each time and representing a significant role in the context it stands in each case. From one perspective, one can claim that this might be because of this place's genius-loci, that it has a spirit by nature, which puts it in the center of proximity and familiarity. However, from the perspective obtained in this study, this familiarity, proximity, and return calls are related to the place's heterotopic quality. Soja's Thirdspace demonstrates certain similarities to Foucault's heterotopia, such as the counter-sites, the "other spaces," the places outside of all places, absolutely different from all the sites they reflect or speak about (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). Heterotopia represents the parallel motivations that define the Thirdspace, such as otherness, heterogeneity, and marginality. Therefore, it gathers the 'others' in the society; the other people, the other actions, the other thoughts, etc., forming a counter-existence to the current.

Similarly, Sargın (2004) states that instead of defining the "superb place in the far," heterotopia is the "place" of reality, the "place-of-the-others (alternates)." The

conflict between the majority and the minorities, the central and the periphery, and the ordinary and the marginal, he explains, is the primary factor determining the heterotopic place (Sargın, 2004, pp. 53–54). Hence, one can claim that what makes a dead, abandoned, timed-out place revived is the in-betweenness it represents, the potential it involves, and the possibility of both convention and confliction. On the other hand, to clarify the distinction between the heterotopia concepts of Foucault and Lefebvre, Harvey defines the Lefebvrean heterotopia as below;

> Lefebvre's concept of heterotopia (radically different from that of Foucault) delineates liminal social spaces of possibility where "something different" is not only possible, but foundational for the defining of revolutionary trajectories. This "something different" does not necessarily arise out of a conscious plan, but more simply out of what people do, feel, sense, and come to articulate as they seek meaning in their daily lives. Such practices create heterotopic spaces all over the place (Harvey, 2012, p. xvii).

The key indicator in this statement is the possibility of an unconscious rise of "something different." The potentiality that these gatherings, encounters, and interrelations might propose much more than the actions within an agenda. In this sense, these gatherings are similar to the urban commons that occur as a sudden reaction by a certain group in society. Declaring a place in the urban sphere as a commons by the act, gathering around or inside it, and establishing a spatiality based on identity and practice through this Thirdspace will be investigated through the selected case in this study.

The case chosen for this study exemplifies the characteristics of a place that lives and dies more than once, as mentioned above. It is in the center of Kavaklıdere District, one of the most popular districts for Ankara's high-income level population. However, the building alienated itself from this conventional popularity; it had been vacant for years and hosted many underground incidents. As a result of this alienated spatial nature, the building had performed the characteristics of a Thirdspace, where social agenda defines the spatial necessities and leads to the formation of a certain kind of collectivity and commoning.

3.2 A Chronological Inquiry: The Three Phases in the Lifespan of Bina

Brand (1995, p. 17) claims that architecture means "unchanging deep structure," and it is an illusion since buildings constantly change from the first drafts to the final demolition; they are reshaped by usage, changing cultural currents, and changing real estate value. Each change that a building experience represents the dynamics that affect its timeline and the change in its urban context. Since this study is based on the human interaction and the intervention that transform the space, and lead to a social transformation in return, a comprehensive case demonstrating the these transformations is chosen.

Until 2017, if one would walk along Tunus Street, one would seize the ruin of an old, abandoned building at the corner of John F. Kennedy Street, covered with torn-out posters, graffitis, and other writings. One would also realize several art installations on the walls of the garden, which was filled with empty beer bottles, trash bags, etc. Considering its recent situation, one can claim that the building was not an attraction point for many. However, it has a significant place in Ankara's urban memory. It was called the Bina (the Building); among its regulars, the place once hosted many popular rock bars of Ankara. To better understand the motives that locate the Bina within the scope of the study, it would be useful to make a chronological analysis of the Bina, considering its context in the period and examining each phase in a socio-spatial framework.

The Bina has three particular phases in its life span; (i) first period is when Bina functioned as a housing block and day-time commercial facility; (ii) second is when the Bina transformed into a rock bar complex and a significant place in Ankara's subcultural night life; (iii) third and the last phase before it was demolished is when the Bina was abandoned and evolved into a shelter for the guerilla urban artists and possibly many others. Among the transformation within the building, the transformation of the context it is located also needs to be considered during the change evaluation. In Bina's case, the transformation of Ankara has a significant role; therefore, it will be briefly explained in this study. Furthermore, social

transformatios are also mentioned based on the interviews conducted with the former users during the study, besides the physical and functional transformations. The interviewees' personal experiences provide qualitative data regarding the physical qualities and social life in the Bina and their perspectives through the spatiality of the Bina and the subcultures it had hosted for years. Therefore, a brief spatial analysis of the Bina based on chronological phases is proposed in this chapter to ground the argument and open up a potential field of discussion.

3.2.1 Early Mortal Life: The Bina as a Housing Unit

The Bina was constructed as an apartment block for the family use by the Kardeşoğlu family.[12] The architectural application project of the building is dated 1959, and it was constructed in 1960 on plots no.13 and 14 of block 2517, Kavaklıdere District.[13] The building was located in a central position, close to Atatürk Boulevard, where many administrative buildings and embassies such as German, Italian, Austrian, and the U.S.A. are also located. Kavaklıdere District, and Tunalı Hilmi Avenue, in particular, have been a prominent location for the foreign residents on diplomatic duty in Ankara, especially after the 1950s. Resuloğlu explains the transformation of the district by the end of the 1950s as below:

> The existence of embassies along the neighboring Atatürk Boulevard played a significant role in the development of the Kavaklıdere District. They affected the increase in the number of foreigners living in the district, providing the increase in the number of new type of apartment blocks that they preferred on and close to the Tunalı Hilmi Avenue. The fact that foreigners, especially Americans, chose to live in the district also affected the formation of the Avenue as an urban sub-center, affecting daily life styles experienced there (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 100).

[12] Personal conversation with G. Kardeşoğlu Erdemli, one of the former owners of the block on the Plot-14, on July 20, 2021.
[13] For the documents obtained from Ankara Metropolitan Municipality archives, see Appendix A.

The multicultural demographic body of the neighborhood, the developing social life with new types of gathering spaces such as the pizza houses and cafes, as well as the shops and the cinemas have made Kavaklıdere neighborhood an attractive residential area, especially for the educated, intellectual, upper class of Ankara, consisting of the academicians, bureaucrats, artists, et cetera. The social life in the Kavaklıdere neighborhood was organized around the foreign, particularly American, culture and economy, and the residents of Ankara who would like to obtain a modern, Western lifestyle were charmed by it.

The building was located in the junction of two busy streets, Tunus Street and John F. Kennedy Street[14]. In addition, with the construction of the Türkiye İş Bankası skyscraper in 1977 and TÜMAŞ – Turkish Engineering, Consulting & Contracting Co. in 1983, business facilities in the area have gained importance. (See Figure 3.1) The area, therefore, could be assumed as a superimposition of the business district, the administrative district, and the diplomatic district. Furthermore, its closeness to the Ataturk Boulevard proposed a remarkable advantage since the boulevard has represented many features of modern life, as Resuloğlu states;

> *Atatürk Bulvarı* constitutes the spine of the capital city of Ankara. It is the modern appearance of the new spatial configuration and the new social life. It has a powerful symbolic value for the Republic of Turkey. As well as its symbolic meaning, the Boulevard has also practically affected the daily life (ordinary life) of Ankara (Resuloğlu, 2011, p. 72).

[14] Former name of John F. Kennedy Street was Boylu Street.

Figure 3.1. Bina in the 1960s. Left: Aerial view through Kavaklıdere District, Başkent Hotel, and Turkish Grand National Assembly. The Bina is marked at the front, 1969; Right: Construction of İş Bankası skyscraper, 1974-75. Bina on the right side of Boylu Street which is John F. Kennedy Street today. (Source: Left: Ankara Apartmanları personal archive; Right: Mustafa Çalışkan personal archive)

Figure 3.2. Tunus Street, (the Bina on the front left side), the 1960s. (Source: Eski Ankara Fotoğrafları Instagram page)

The Bina was a double apartment block that consisted of three stories and two units per floor of each block. Having a simple geometry with square windows and narrow balconies on the entrance facades of both blocks, lacking any kind of ornament or architectural tectonics, the Bina represented an extremely modest housing typology of its time. Unlikely, the building was located below the street level from which a stair reaches down to the main entrance. Although in the 1960s, the street level should have been lower, it is observed that the building entrance was still below that level. (See Figure 3.2) This characteristic would provide the building an exceptional situation during the later stages of its life.

The building on Plot-14 had the entrance from Tunus Street, whereas the building on Plot-13 was reached out from Kennedy Street, although it has a mirrored plan of the front unit. The former staircase connecting Kennedy Street to the garden appears to be replaced due to some structural transformations in time. The main entrances of both blocks were a half story high from the garden level, where two apartment units had direct entrances. The entrances of the other four units in each block were inside the block. The twin blocks in adjacent plots were strictly separated from each other via garden walls.[15] Kardeşoğlu Erdemli, who lived there until she was 5 or 6, recalls a decorative pool on the entrance atrium, next to the stairs from Tunus Street and the storage units under the entrance atrium, where they hung a curtain in front and presented theatrical performances with her cousin.[16]

[15] Personal conversation with G. Kardeşoğlu Erdemli, on July 20, 2021.
[16] Ibid.

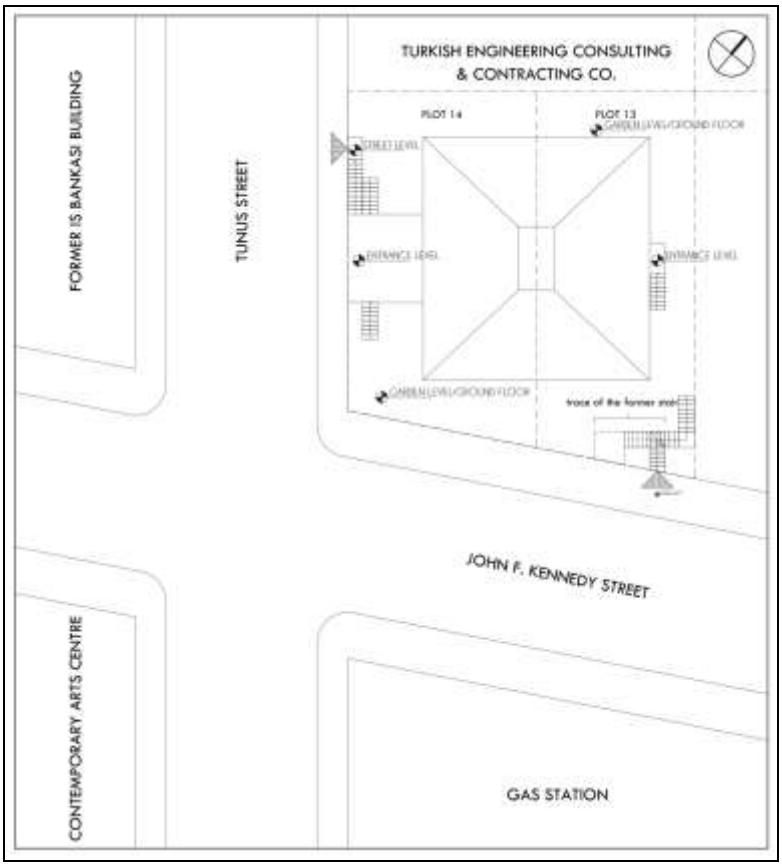

Figure 3.3. The Bina Site Plan 1/500 (Source: Developed by the author)

Although the application project is missing in the Metropolitan Municipality archives, an approximate plan layout is proposed according to the descriptions and the drafts of the interviewees.[17] The blocks have a compact vertical circulation core and a plan layout. Unlike the typical apartment units of the time, consisting of two or more bedrooms, in the Bina, each unit consists of one living room reached directly by the entrance door, one-bedroom, and the wet core opening to the living room and enlightened by a common skylight for both blocks. Balaban[18], who lived in the block on Plot-14 for one and a half years in 1976, recalls that they were accessing the

[17] The information given by the interviewees is cross-checked with the former residents of the building.
[18] Personal conversation with M.Y. Balaban on 25th of May, 2021.

building via stairs from Tunus Street. His apartment was on the first floor, with a corner living room facing both Tunus and Kennedy Streets, a kitchen on the left side of the entrance, and a bedroom. The apartment across was symmetrical of his apartment. (See Figure 3.4)

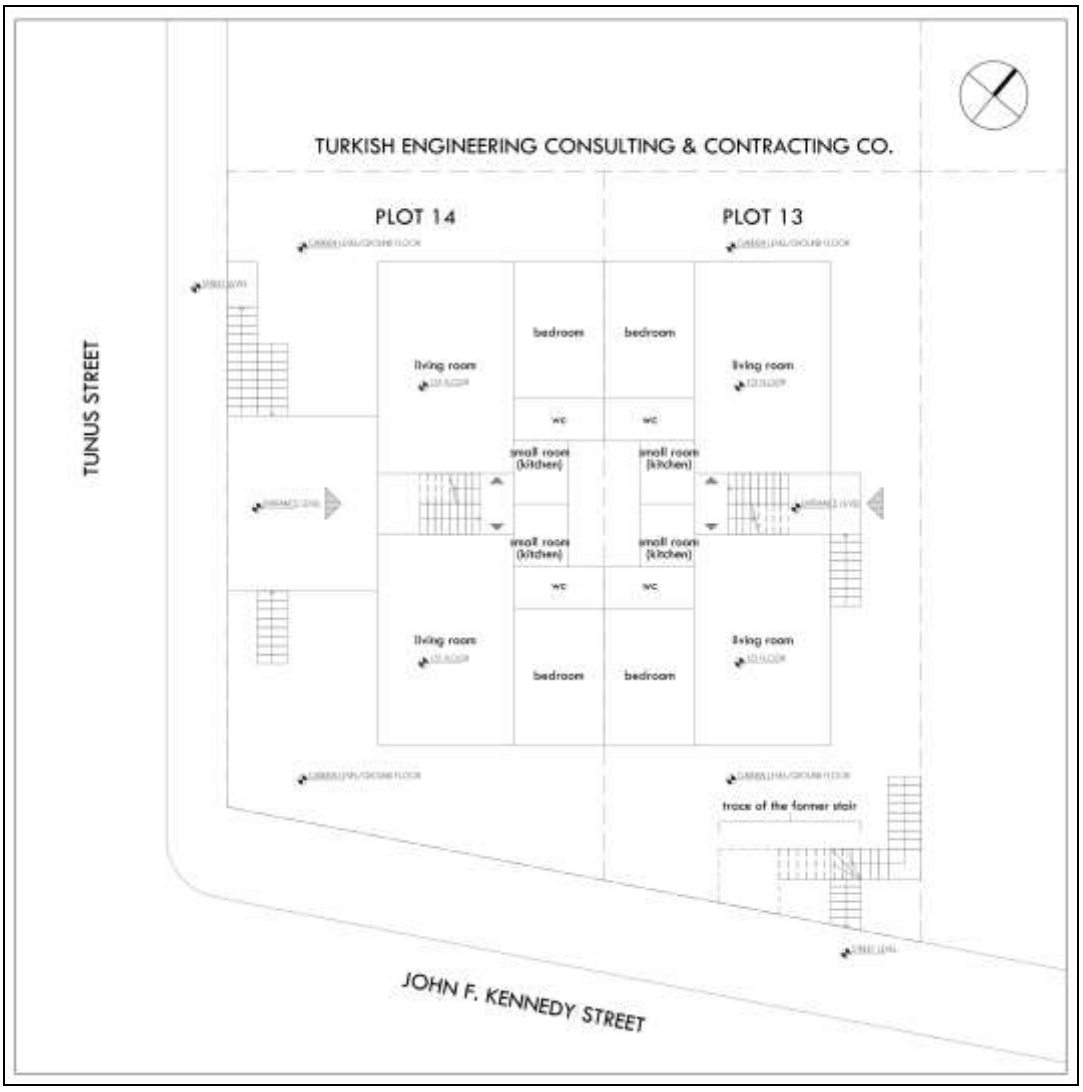

Figure 3.4. The Bina Former Approximate Plan Layout 1/250 (Source: Developed by the author)

The bedrooms receive daylight by square wooden windows, whereas the living rooms had both windows and french balconies following a symmetrical order at the

facades. The window organization of the circulation core distinguishes itself from the overall alignment of glazing. A typical pitched roof connects to the skylight at the top. With all these characteristics, Bina represents all but mundane existence as Önen signifies;

> For instance, when you enter some apartment blocks, they fascinate you. Or, the Apartments of Ankara Instagram account shares nice apartment blocks, and I already know them all. This building, however, was nothing like that. This building was extremely ordinary and had no meaning at all.[19]

Considering its features, one can assume that the Bina was designed as a rental apartment, not for family use but an individual one, possibly for the embassies' foreign personnel. However, Kardeşoğlu Erdemli indicates that the building was constructed by her grandfather as a family apartment block and had been used by the family members for a long time. She explains that as the family members moved to different parts of the city, the apartments started to get rented by the daytime work spaces such as a hairdresser or a translation and visa office.

Although there is no exact date of transformation, Gökaydın Yenal remembers when her mother regularly went to a hairdresser in the Bina and accompanied her in the 1980s. Despite the dullness that the Bina represents for many, Gökaydın Yenal recalls the building as "bright, clean, and nice."

> It was a pretty exclusive building. It was old then, too; however, it was well-maintained. Tunus was one of the special places in Ankara. My mother had a hairdresser of high quality in the building. I remember that the building was very bright. I assume there was a skylight. It had large windows with wooden frames; I remember it clearly.[20]

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[19] "Mesela bazı apartmanlara giriyorsunuz hakikaten cezbediyor sizi. Ya da şeyde çok güzel apartmanlar paylaşıyorlar, ben biliyorum hepsini zaten, Ankara Apartmanları'nın. ama bu binanın hiç öyle bir şeyi yoktu. Bu bina baya sıradan, bence hiçbir şey ifade etmeyen bir binaydı yani." (U.Önen), translated by the author.

[20] "Gayet hani seçkin, eski bir binaydı, yani o zaman da eski bir binaydı ama bakımlıydı. Tunus, hani, sayılı mekanlardandı Ankara için. Kaliteli bir kuaförü vardı annemin. Binanın çok aydınlık olduğunu hatırlıyorum, içinin mesela. O çocuk gözüyle baktığınız zaman. Sanırım bir aydınlatması vardı o çatıda olabilir. Camları büyüktü. Tahta çerçeveleri vardı mesela, o çok net aklımda." (Z.Gökaydın Yenal), translated by the author.

For Gökaydın Yenal, the Bina represents the characteristics of Ankara of her childhood before "transformation." Being an interior designer, she professionally describes Bina as follows;

> The spaces were floating in each other, like washing halls, hairdressing halls, etc. It had a spatial organization, let's say not deformed but alternated, caused by the transformation from a residential unit, but it was spacious. It had many nice windows that made you perceive the space as bright, spacious, and clean, although it was small. This specialty is something that I clearly remember. Moreover, I liked the stone floors, like the continuation of the building; I mean, starting from the entrance of the apartment block, the stairs take you inside, floating up and down, and you enter the unit, but the brightness does not change.[21]

Norberg-Schulz (1980) states that the meaning of a building is derived from its structure and its articulation which determines "how a building stands and rises, how it receives light." In addition to these characteristics, for Gökaydın Yenal, the meaning she assigns to the Bina includes her childhood, her love of former Ankara, and memories with her mother. She declares her aspiration to those times. These memories are why she intensifies Bina's transformation in the 1990s and states her disappointment and disturbance. Kardeşoğlu Erdemli relates the first transformation of the building with her aunt's death, stating that from then on, "things got spoiled." She indicates that her father had become the only owner of the building on Plot-14, except for one apartment that a famous contractor bought, as a strategic move to participate in the future transformation of the building. [22]

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[21] "Mekanlar birbirine akıyordu. Yani mesela yıkama salonu, saç yapma salonları... Bu evden dönüşümün getirdiği, böyle bir bozulma demeyelim de değişime uğramış mekansal kurgusu vardı ama çok ferahtı. Camları çok ve güzel camları vardı. Mesela bu mekana hep doğal ışığı getirdiği için küçük dahi olsa siz onu çok aydınlık, ferah ve temiz algılıyordunuz. Benim mesela direk hatırlayabildiğim şeylerden biri budur. Yerlerin de taş olması çok hoşuma giderdi, binanın devamı gibi. Yani mekandan mekana geçerken farklı malzemelerle değil de hani o apartman girişinden başlayarak sizi alan bir merdivenler, yukarı aşağı oynarken mekanın içine giriyorsunuz ama o mekanın aydınlık seviyesi de değişmiyor." (Z.Gökaydın Yenal), translated by the author.

[22] Personal conversation with G. Kardeşoğlu Erdemli, on July 20, 2021.

3.2.2 A Centre for the Subcultures: The Bina

Ankara had long been known for inhabiting many alternative sub-cultures, precisely in music. It was a time when the sense of belonging established by these sub-cultures defines the territorial habits for the youth in Ankara. The clash among rappers, rock music and metal music fans, punks, and other local and ethnic music fans lead to a new segmentation type. These groups settle in different parts of the city center while socializing, precisely in Kızılay and Tunalı, and define invisible zoning there.

During the interviews in the documentary 'Black, Not Gray: Ankara Rocks!' (Önen, 2019), several interviewees explain the spatial division of subcultures in Ankara, mentioning that all the hard rock and metal music listeners and performer youth of Ankara were wearing black leather biker jackets, had long hair, and were hanging out at the Yüksel Street in the 1990s, whereas, punks were skate-boarding at the Meclis Parkı (The Assembly Park, in front of the Turkish Grand National Assembly), and ethnic music listeners were mostly going to Sakarya Street in the meantime. All cases represented the identity these people chose for recognition, affecting their sociality, spatiality, and daily routines. In "Expressions of Identity: Space, Performance, Politics," Hetherington introduces "marginal space" and discusses the relationship between subcultures and the marginal space by stating that;

> For those who reject the norms and beliefs of society, such places facilitate the ordering of a new identity or identities. In this geography of the elsewhere, margins become centres, centres become margins, and the meaning of centres and margins becomes blurred. Those who see themselves as marginal or different are likely to see such places as socially central to their alternative values and beliefs (Hetherington, 1998, p. 124).

Hetherington's argument explains how the spatiality of these subgroups identified by their musical taste was organized in the marginal spaces in the city, in the parks, in the streets, or this case, in an old building. Their existence in these defined spaces signifies a construction of identity through spatial practice and freedom of self-expression and representation. The case of Bina, however, demonstrates a more

hybrid form of spatiality, involving separate identity representations merged within a mutual space. It represents a heterogenous spatial character with certain basic motives that lead to a flow within the space.

3.2.2.1 Bina as a Rock Bar Complex

At the beginning of the 1990s, the building had its first radical functional transformation. First, a rock bar named Roadhouse was opened on the left side, the ground floor of Plot-14. Within a few years, the whole building had converted into a rock bar complex. Immediately, the Bina had become a popular place for the alternative youth of Ankara, together with another bar in the district, Nicky's. Önen explains the reasons they prefer the bars in the Bina and Nicky's as follows;

> I think it was because we knew most of the people there. Even though you go alone, you would go there, and seven out of ten people in the place would be your friend. People kept saying "Hi, how are you?" to each other, and it took like half an hour, and it was like that for three or four days a week. People were acting as if they had not seen each other for years. I don't know why, but it was like that. I think we were going there because of this. The place meant nothing, but I would like to emphasize that, when Nicky's was opened, we said "That's it, this is the place!" because none of the places we used to go to with our friends played the music we liked. Nicky's was the first place that played rock and metal music loudly.[23]

Most of the regulars of these rock bars interviewed during this study describe the spatial organization in Figure 3.5. Roadhouse and Valör had their separate entrances

[23] "Bence orada herkesi tanıyor... Herkes tabi abartı bir laf da, çoğu insanı tanıyor olmak. O güzel bir şeydi. Tek başınıza bile gitseniz, gidiyorsunuz işte on kişi varsa çevrenizde en kötü ihtimalle yedisini tanıyorsunuz. Sürekli insanlar birbirleriyle "Vay, naber, nasılsın!" filan ilk bir yere gittiğin zaman yarım saat onla geçiyor. Bir de haftanın üç dört günü böyle. Sanki yıllardan beri görmemiş gibi insanlar birbirlerine "Aaaa" bilmem ne... Niye bilmiyorum ama öyleydi. Galiba onun için gidiyorduk. Mekanın hiçbir önemi yok ama şöyle bir şey var; özellikle altını çizmek istiyorum, Nicky's ilk açıldığında "Aaa" filan olduk biz, "Sonunda işte burası!" filan... Çünkü arkadaşlarımızla bir yere gidiyoruz ama istediğimiz müziği çalan bir yer yoktu. Nicky's ilk defa gürültülü bir şekilde bu rock-metal müziği çalan ilk yer, benim hatırladığım, Nicky's'di." (U.Önen), translated by the author.

that allow garden use as well. The other bars were accessed via the block's circulation core. Old School and Beer Park were neighboring places, although they embodied separate musical positions. Many interviewees recall Graveyard as it was placed on the whole floor. However, Önen indicates that there was a translation office that was constantly closed. Similarly, Kardeşoğlu Erdemli verifies the existence of the translation office that also worked as a visa consultant for the Austrian Embassy and was the only loyal tenant of her father.[24]

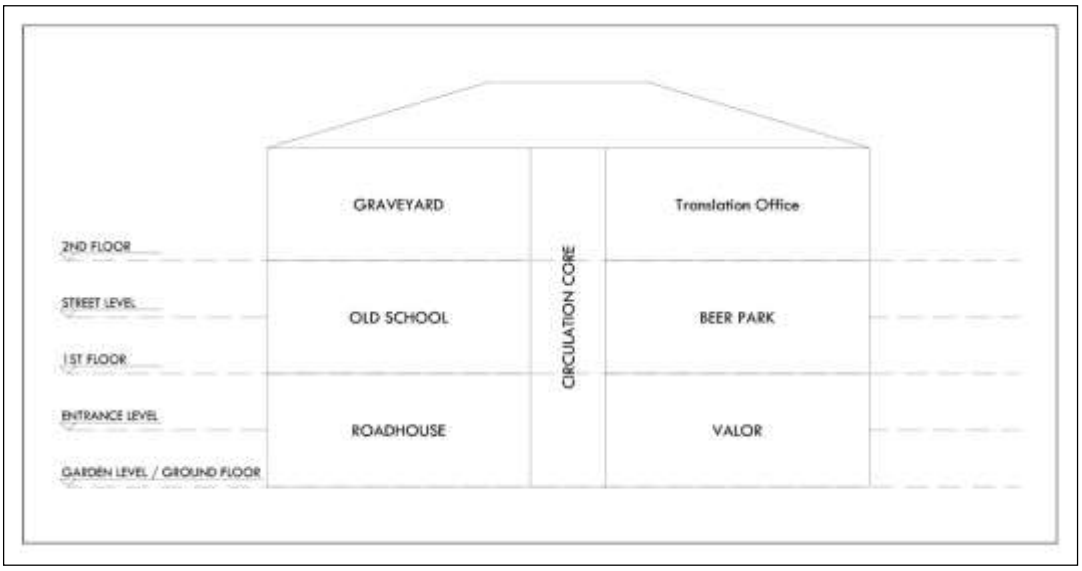

Figure 3.5. Section diagram of spatial organization on Plot-14 1/200 (Source: Developed by the author)

Each rock bar represented a different genre of music and a different audience accordingly. Roadhouse was playing hard rock at that time, which attracted a wide group of regulars. The place was the most popular one in the building, always crowded and noisy. Beer Park played nu-metal, grunge, hardcore, and hosted relatively younger people who usually went there for pogo. Yücel says that;

[24] Personal conversation with G. Kardeşoğlu Erdemli, on July 20, 2021.

> Actually, we were going there (Beer Park) for pogo, and the atmosphere inside was like Fight Club. We were apparently going there to be beaten. During pogo, we were laying into each other. I had my shoulder dislocated once, and I broke my nose another time, but we were already going there for this. It had a nice atmosphere. Although nobody knows each other, there was a concert atmosphere.[25]

In the meantime, Old School had an audience who like electronic music, and the place had D.J. performances from time to time. Its audience was "different" than the general profile, and the electronic music was "not favored" among the rock or metal fans. Yet, its location and neighboring with the Beer Park led it to participate in the overall circulation flow in the Bina. As its name recalls, Graveyard was the darkest place in the Bina, playing dark tunes like death metal or goth. Being a former regular of Graveyard, Alataş mentions that;

> It was a dark place. Yes, there was a dim light on the stairs, but even though you entered the bar... I don't remember proper lighting in any of the places in Bina. You enter, and the bar's location is clear since there is light. You take your drink and move on...[26]

Despite the darkness Alataş refers to Graveyard, she also defines the place as "cozy and lively; a place where you can freely enjoy and no one disturbs each other."[27] The perceived spatiality in the Bina explains the familiarity established among the regulars. It exemplifies how the marginal become central; the rejected by the mainstream becomes favored by the 'others.' The dark atmosphere, the doomed

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[25] "Biz aslında pogo yapmaya gidiyorduk oraya ve Bira Parkı'nda ortam biraz Fight Club gibiydi. Biz oraya dayak yemeye gidiyorduk resmen. O pogo sırasında otomatikman kafa göz dalıyorduk birbirimize. Benim bir kere omzum çıktı, bir kere de burnum kırılda orada ama bunun için gidiyorduk zaten oraya. Çok güzel bir ortamdı. Hiç kimse birbirini bilmese, tanımasa bile orada bir konser ortamı oluyordu." (G.Yücel), translated by the author.

[26] "Karanlık bir yer yani orası. Hani merdivenlerde loş bir ışık, tamam çıkıyorsunuz mekana ama, girdiğinizde de... Hiçbir mekanda ben öyle düzgün bir aydınlatma hatırlamıyorum. Giriyorsunuz, barın yeri belli zaten orada ışık var. Gidip bir içecek alıp devam ediliyordu." (S.Alataş), translated by the author.

[27] "Keyifli ve eğlenceli, kimsenin kimseye öyle bakmadığı, karışmadığı, rahatça eğlenebileceğiniz bir yerdi." (S.Alataş), translated by the author.

tunes, and the angry lyrics had been obtained and embodied as a part of the identity construction through gothic and glam make-ups and outfits independent from gender. Valör had a different concept regarding the rest of the Bina. The place did not represent a significant musical genre and was more like a pub or tavern, serving food and drinks like beer and rakı. Many regulars remember the live performances on Friday and Saturday nights in the early 1990s.

Figure 3.6. Graveyard Logo by Evren Veral, 1992. (Source: Private Facebook group Roadhouse – Bina – Ankara)

It is uncertain how the other half of the Bina on plot 13 was used in the 1990s. Some interviewees indicate a music rehearsal studio named ‘Bohem’ on the first floor. Moreover, many recall the kebab restaurant serving soup late at night on the second floor of the building. The restaurant was placed on the whole floor and had a direct entrance via a raised platform on the same level as Kennedy Street. On the other

hand, the rest do not remember how the building functioned or if there were any buildings at all.

The spatial quality of the bars in the Bina did not promise much in terms of design aspects. The design concept of the time is clearly different than today. Unlike the sterile, over-designed, fancy pubs and restaurants of today, all the bars in the Bina displayed a messy, dirty, and noisy atmosphere. A minimum effort is shown for the interior organization. Some of the descriptions of the Bina are as below;

> I remember that the toilets were extremely old, and I think the Bina did not have any restoration after a certain time. The approach was like, "Let's use it, it is already old, it would get older and the end." I don't remember anything new.[28]

> For instance, I had a girlfriend who I call "preppy," and when I proposed her go to the Bina, she refused. When I asked the reason, she told me, "That place smells urine." That was the exact reason I went there. ... There was no interior wall; they were removed. The Bina was composed of columns, beams, and exterior walls. ... [29]

> It was like a ruin. Even this thing happened once; its water was cut due to debt, and the Bina was called a "shitty Bina, shitty bar." The wise thing, of course, was to drink from the bottle. ... It was an extremely old building. I mean, it was in bad condition; it was a neglected building. Its oldness was not the issue; I'm not a person who thinks the new building is better than the old, just like some other people, but it was neglected rather than old; it was dismantling. I think that was the problem.[30]

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[28] "Tuvaletlerinin çok eski olduğunu hatırlıyorum ve Bina'ya bence belli bir yıldan sonra iyileştirme adına hiçbir şey yapılmamış. Sadece kullanalım, eski zaten, eskisin ve bitsin şeklinde bir yaklaşım vardı. Yeni yapılmış hiçbir şey hatırlamıyorum." (S.Alataş), translated by the author.

[29] " Mesela benim çok kısa dönem *tiki* diyebileceğim bir kız arkadaşım vardı, 'Hadi Bina'ya gidelim' dediğimde 'Ben gitmem oraya' dedi, nedenini sorduğumda, 'Çünkü orası sidik kokuyor' dedi. Tam da bunun için gidiyordum ben Bina'ya. ... İç duvar yoktu, iç duvarlar kaldırılmıştı. Zaten Bina'nın tamamı sadece kolon kirişlerden oluşuyordu. Bir de dış duvarlardan oluşuyordu, iç duvar diye bir şey neredeyse yoktu." (G.Yücel), translated by the author.

[30] "Zaten baktığınız zaman harabe gibi bir yerdi. Hatta bir dönem şey oldu, borcu varmış suyu kesildi, susuz bir bina haline geldi. O yüzden adı bir ara şeye çıkmıştı, boklu bina, boklu bar gibi şeyler söyleniyordu. Yani hani orada tabi ki akıllıca olan şişeden bir şeyler içmekti. ... Yok, baya eski bir binaydı. Yani kötü durumda, bakımsız bir binaydı. Eskiliği bence çok önemli değil. Hatta bazen şimdi

Roadhouse and Valör both used the garden where people sit on cheap white plastic chairs under the promotion gift umbrellas of beer sponsors. At the interiors, the paintings on the walls were peeling off, and there were several posters, graffitis, and other artworks on the walls. However, this giving up suggests user participation, which increases the embracement and sense of belonging. Önen states that;

> I think the thing was that, especially in "rock places," the place was opened somehow without so much investment in it. Cheap plastic chairs, plastic tables... It was already dark, and there was not any recessed fancy lighting as of today. One or two posters were hung on the walls, and you could also contribute, like "I have this poster," and everyone could do whatever they want. Frankly, it seems very intimate to me. The place starts to construct itself with the contribution of the regulars.[31]

In the 1990s, the Bina had been a favorite pit stop, especially for the time's rock and metal music fans. The nightlife for these subgroups was spatialized mostly in Kızılay and Tunalı. Among several other pubs like Manhattan, A Bar, and Graffiti at Çevre Street,[32] Gölge and Limon Bar at Sakarya Street, and Nicky's at Bestekar Street, the bars in the Bina hosted the alternative youth. Unlike the other places, the bars in the Bina were open until 4 a.m, and they offered cheap beer, which made the Bina popular, especially among the university students. The interviewees indicate that the building had a marginal look from the outside, especially for unfamiliar ones to this lifestyle.

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insanlar tutturuyor ya yani yeni bina iyidir, eski bina kötüdür, bazı insanlar öyle düşünüyor. Ben kesinlikle katılmıyorum ona. Hani eskiliğinden çok bakımsızlığı vardı, dökülüyordu yazık Bina yani. Sorunu oydu bence." (U.Önen), translated by the author.

[31] "Bence şöye bir şey vardı o zamanlar, özellikle hani bu "rock mekanlarında," orası bir şekilde açılıyordu işte el yordamıyla, çok da fazla bir yatırım yapılmıyordu. Baya bildiğiniz kötü plastik iskemleler filan vardı, kötü plastik masalar... Ondan sonra böyle süslü püslü gömme ışıklar yok zaten karanlık. İşte iki poster yapıştırılır, ondan sonra siz de katkıda bulunabilirsiniz, "Bende şu poster var", isteyen istediği şeyi yapabiliyordu. Açıkçası bana çok samimi geliyor. Mekan bir süre sonra kendi kendini yapmaya başlıyordu yani oradaki müdavimlerin katkılarıyla da." (U.Önen), translated by the author.

[32] The current name is Üsküp Street.

> If you were not a university student or if you had a conservative family, those types of places were frightening for those people; this or that might happen inside... Especially for Tesisler (she states that the Bina was called Tesisler, which means "Facilities" among her friends), I can say that because you wouldn't guess what was happening inside. One place plays a piece of music, and another one plays a piece of different music. Although I have never been into it, it was also a time full of fights.[33]

> The Bina was attracting the outsiders because of the people in front of and inside it. Because then the long hair (for men) was something "marginal," and it was attracting people. Most of them did not like it, anyway. So, as far as I see, there was a reaction to the Bina. It was not a favored place for many.[34]

The reaction to the Bina from the outsiders eliminated these people and led to a dense group of regulars in time. Most of the users knew each other and shared time apart from their subcultural identity. Although the clash among the subgroups based on music genres ended up in fierce fights in Ankara, sometimes absurdly in a punk festival organized in a wedding hall,[35] the Bina is known as an inter-mediating place for the youth. (See Figure 3.7) These conflicting groups, says Kılıç, were spending time together in the bars of the Bina;

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[33] "Üniversiteye gitmiyorsanız ya da tutucu bir aileniz varsa o tür yerler çok korkulan yerlerdi; işte başına bir şey gelir o gelir bu gelir... Özellikle tesisler için bunu söyleyebilirim. Çünkü gerçekten uzaktan baktığınızda hani ne oluyor orada? Bir yerden bir müzik sesi geliyor, başka bir yerden başka bir ses geliyor. Ben çok içinde bulunmadım ama bolca kavganın da olduğu dönemler." (S.Alataş), translated by the author.

[34] "Bina ilgi çekiyordu. Çünkü bence giren çıkan ve önündeki insanlardan dolayı ilgi çekiyordu. Çünkü o zaman uzun saç çok "marjinal" bir şeydi, insanların o çok ilgisini çekiyordu. Sevmiyorlardı da çoğu insan zaten. Dolayısıyla Bina'ya karşı, benim gördüğüm kadarıyla bir tepki vardı. Böyle hani pek bir sevilmeyen bir yerdi." (U.Önen), translated by the author.

[35] In the 1990s, the lack of a concert hall or venue, which would host these alternative concerts, led some amateur musicians to organize concerts in the wedding halls in Maltepe, a location where wedding halls and nightclubs are settled or in the theatres in Kavaklıdere. During the conversations with the mucisians of the era, it is mentioned that some of these punk concerts ended up with the raid of metal fans, or vice versa.

> I was a minor, so I was hanging out with them (rappers) in the day. Both hip hop and grunge, moving songs were played inside, and those people were hanging out at the same place. Weird.[36]

Figure 3.7. Handmade flyer of a punk concert at a wedding hall in Maltepe, Ankara, 2001 (Source: Saygın Ay)

The groups from different identities existed in a single space compared to the spatial segregation in the rest of Ankara. The dynamics affecting the communality have various determinants. For instance, Önen emphasizes mobility and circulation in the Bina. He believes that this is the main motivation that diminished the differences and integrated the users of the Bina. He indicates that;

> There was an extraordinary circulation. Nobody would spend time in one place during the night. Since there were no tables in the rock bars, you would buy your drink and pay for it. Then the second one at the second floor, the third one on the third floor. You could go on like that.[37]

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[36] "Yani ben gündüz yaşım tutmazdı bunlarla takılırdım. İçerde hem hiphop çalardı, hem de grunge gibi böyle zıplamalı şeyler de çalardı ve yani tipler hepsi aynı anda aynı yerde takılırdı. Çok acayip." (E.Kılıç), translated by the author.

[37] "... acayip bir sirkülasyon vardı orada. Kimse bir yerde durmuyordu. Bir de şey ya, böyle bir masa olayı yok, gidiyorsunuz bir içki alıyorsunuz parasını veriyorsunuz. Ondan sonra ikinciyi ikinci katta, üçüncüyü üçüncü katta devam edebildiğiniz için." (U.Önen), translated by the author.

This circulation eliminated the differences in the tribes of the Bina, as it eliminated the separation of individual bars. The building had become a single space consisting of sub-spaces amalgamated into each other and involving people from diverse identities. From a similar perspective but including the association of the Bina in his mind, Yücel explains the motivation behind his sense of belonging as below:

> Actually, one of the fascinating things about the Bina is that it was not designed as a concert venue or a gastronomic facility. It was an apartment block, and Old School and Beer Park were actual neighbors across. When we got bored of Beer Park or messed up after pogo, we went to Old School for a rest. The feeling was like running to the neighbor across when your mother beats you.[38]

The freedom and coziness that the Bina proposed for their users, the student-friendly prices, the musical quality and diversity, the people, and the friendships made it irreplaceable for the young generation of the 1990s. (See Figure 3.8)

Figure 3.8. Roadhouse in the Citadel yearbooks of Ankara American High School. Left: Image of Roadhouse in Citadel yearbook, 1996; Right: Image of Roadhouse in Citadel yearbook, 1998. (Source: http://www.e-citadel.com/)

[38] "Aslında Bina'nın bir büyüsü de oydu; burası bir konser mekanı olarak inşa edilmemiş veya ne bileyim bir yeme içme mekanı olarak inşa edilmemiş, konuttu ve Bira Parkı ve Old School karşılıklı iki komşuydu. Bira Parkı'ndan sıkıldığımızda veya işte ne bileyim kafayı gözü dağıttığımızda dinlenmek için Old School'a gidiyorduk mesela. Şey gibi, annenden dayak yiyip komşuya sığınmak gibiydi mesela yani o duygu." (G.Yücel), translated by the author.

Although the building did not propose much, it had been a stream bed for the good friendships, intellectual discussions, and share of interests among these people. The establishment of communality through flowing spaces and social interaction in the Bina proves that the building represents a form of social space produced by the interrelation of regulars. Livion[39] defines their existence in the Bina as a form of "postmodern tribes" divided within the buildings, representing diverse characteristics; however, they acted as one tribe when they were outside the Bina. Livion explains the notion of the *postmodern tribe* as below;

> It was as if we belong to the same place. Although each floor has different postmodern tribes, when we were outside the Bina, we had to become one tribe because we needed to defend ourselves outside since the city was not open to such people with long hair, chained necks, and eye makeup.[40]

Livion's statement clearly defines the form of identity, communality, and collectivity they established through the Bina. The representation of their identity as a spatial quality had been the essence of their sense of belonging. Re-establishment of the margins for the subcultures based on musical taste within the city involved Bina as a significant 'other space.' This involvement led Bina to become a *dwelling* in terms of Hetherington's definition – a space that provides a sense of belonging in a new type of ethically and effectually committed lifestyle with others (Hetherington, 1998, p. 127). One can assume that the Bina had always represented the identity of its users. It was a place for the subcultures who alienated themselves from society's de facto values and norms and tried to express their beliefs and thoughts through several mediums. Hetherington states;

> Looking at the relationship between space and identity will aid our understanding of the nature of what has been described as an emerging ludic

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[39] The interviewee prefers to use a nickname.

[40] "Aynı mekanın çocukları gibiydi herkes. Her ne kadar üst katta farklı bir postmodern kabile alt katta farklı bir kabile varsa da, dışarı çıktığında bu kez kendi bir kabile haline geliyordu. Çünkü dışarıda kendini savunması gerekiyor ve şehir o kadar kabule açık değil bu kadar uzun saçlı, boğazı zincirli, gözleri boyalı." (Livion), translated by the author.

> and transgressive politics, acts of resistance, and the creation of alternative lifestyles through which these Others ritually produce their identities in Other places. (Hetherington, 1998, p. 108)

At the beginning of the 2000s, the interest of former regulars in the Bina started to decline. The university students of the 1990s were graduated, and they had to face some changes in their lives. The daily and lifetime concerns such as finding a job, military duty for men, getting life into order, and earning money replaced the spare time spent in the Bina. The building lost its energy and was left to die until the upcoming phase.

3.2.2.2 Transformation and Abandonment of the Bina

As a result of the decline in the popularity of the Bina among its former regulars, some of the bars were closed, some of them were renamed, and some remained but transformed. Although the building was still working, it started to lose traces of the past. However, in time, the Bina transformed into a place for another subculture in the society; it was known as a complex for the LGBTIQ+ community. Roadhouse on the ground floor kept the name but updated its concept. It was known as a "trans bar," where mostly transgender people and their lovers were going. Bacıl[41] explains that;

> The one on the ground floor was Roadhouse, I guess, and this was where '*gacı'*s (trans women) were going. I have never been there, but some of our friends had been. But, it was a problematic place where someone got stabbed frequently. ... He (a friend) was also going to Roadhouse, maybe to flirt with the *'laço'*s (masculine, active gays) that the *gacı*s were hanging out with, or the music was nice.[42]

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[41] The interviewee prefers to use a nickname and no pronouns.

[42] "Alt katı Roadhouse'du galiba ismi ve alt katı 'gacıların' gittiği bir yerdi. Oraya ben hiç gitmedim, daha önce giden arkadaşlarımız oldu ama sürekli olay çıkan, sürekli hani birilerinin bıçaklandığı... O (bir arkadaşı) mesela Roadhouse'a falan da gidiyordu, hem gacıların bağlı olduğu 'laçoları' belki almak için falan böyle onlarla flörtleşmek için ya da müziği filan da güzel oluyordu." (Bacıl), translated by the author.

Another transformed bar was the Old School that became an LGBTIQ+ bar. Bacıl states that gay and lesbian bars have always been one at a time in Ankara, and Old School was the only one at that period. Although the audience has changed in terms of expression of identity, the spatial quality remained the same. Yet, Bacıl indicates Bacıl's engagement with Old School as below;

> Actually, the features used in the spatial organization were the ones I told you; the smoke, darkness, use of light, the color red, etc. Those were the things that attracted me. I mean... Or it was doing something secret. When it is about homosexuality, I was attracted and thrilled by darkness and the criminal atmosphere. I was excited to go there because I expected to find someone, as an ordinary 3rd-grade student, or gain attraction or be loved.[43]

The last bar that has transformed into a queer space was Valör, as Bacıl states, replaced by another 'gay bar' named Turuncu (Orange) in the 2000s. Emphasizing on the essence and the spirit of place, i.e., *genius-loci*, Bacıl compares Turuncu's atmosphere to Old School's as below;

> Turuncu was where everything is in orange; as if there is a concept intention, it was a more sterile place. It was preserving the spirit; however, it was not so original like Old School. Old School looked so natural and original, whereas the other one, Turuncu, was artificial.[44]

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[43] "Ya aslında mekanın organizasyonunda kullanılan elemanlar, anlattığım şeyler aslında, mekanın işte dumanlı olması, karanlık olması, ışık kullanımı, kırmızı vs. Bunlar falan böyle beni aslında kendine çeken şeylerdi ve... Gizli bir şey yapıyor olma ya da işte... O hani eşcinsellik falan gibi mevzularda hani böyle biraz dark bir yer olduğu için heyecanlandırması, kriminal havası, vs. açıkçası beni kendisine çeken şeylerdendi ve hani oraya giderken heyecanlandığım, yani ilk bile olsa, hani, birileri olsa, benim için bir hani ilgi, her üniversite 3. sınıf öğrencisi gibi, hani ilgi görebileceğim bi alan bulduğum falan böyle, kendimi sevdireceğim falan gibisinden bir alan bulduğum bir yer haline geliyordu." (Bacıl), translated by the author

[44] "Turuncu her yerin turuncu olduğu falan böyle konsept yapılmaya çalışılan, daha beyaz bir yerdi. Ama hani ruhu devam ettirmiyor muydu, ettiriyordu ama hani daha böyle, dediğim gibi, o kadar, şey, orjinal durmuyordu, Old School gibi. Old School çok doğal ve orjinal duruyordu. Ama diğeriyse biraz daha yapay bir hali vardı Turuncu'nun." (Bacıl), translated by the author.

Bacıl clearly separates the characteristics and the audience of Roadhouse and Old School. Bacıl states that, unlike Old School, Roadhouse involved prostitution, and it was a more criminal place than the other bars in Bina; thus, Bacıl did not prefer to go there. Akgümüş, who spent his adolescence and early 20s in the Bina, makes a similar clarification about the function of Roadhouse as below;

> Because Roadhouse was not a place of entertainment, not for transvestits either, there was their place of work. They did not go to Roadhouse for fun; they were working, eventually. Trans people do not usually tend to "Let's dress up and have fun with the people like us." They can easily go to a gay bar, and the gay people usually love them. They also have much fun in gay bars, but in Roadhouse, it was working hours for them, not leisure hours. Therefore, we were concerned about going there because people had fought there, throwing bottles, raising voices, etc. It is because the clients were going there all in all.[45]

Akgümüş declares that similar to Bacıl; he was a regular of the Old School at the same years. He, however, states that Old School had always been an LGBTIQ+ place camouflaged under a rock bar. Hence, the ones that would like to keep their gender identities anonymous to the outsiders preferred the place for social interaction. Akgümüş explains that;

> The rock bar image of Old School was so powerful, and it was important for a gay bar, especially in those years. I had looked inside its window for years in my early youth since it was in the middle of Tunalı. Because you are at the forefront, you are predicted if they see you entering there but going to Deep[46] made it easy for me. I got used to the Bina. Furthermore, Old School already had a rock bar image, and you are a rocker, you dressed up accordingly. Even

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[45] "Çünkü Roadhouse bir eğlence mekanı değil, travestiler için de değil. Orası onların iş yeri. Orada kesin, net bir ayrım var. Onlar eğlenmeye Roadhouse'a çıkmıyorlardı. Onlar çalışıyorlardı nihayetinde. Translarda böyle bir eğilim çok daha az yani "Hadi giyinelim, kuşanalım ve bizim gibi olan insanlarla sabaha kadar eğlenelim." gibi bir şeyleri yok. Onlar çok rahatlıkla gay bara gidebilirler, gayler de çok sever onları genellikle. Çok da eğlenirler gay barlarda ama orası onlar için çalışma saati, eğlence saati değil. O yüzden çok tedirgin olurduk. Çünkü kavgalar çıkardı, şişeler atılırdı, patlardı, bir şeyler olurdu, sesler yükselirdi. Çünkü sonuçta oraya müşteri gidiyor." (C.Akgümüş), translated by the author.

[46] A rehearsal studio performed in the place of Bohem studio, at the building on Plot-13 in the 2000s.

> if you go there for a date and see your classmate, you can wave hands and enter the building.[47]

The oppressions and security threats by the state and the society over the LGBTIQ+ community and the unacceptance and prejudices of the society have led the community members to hide their identities for decades. Therefore, the spatial expressions of their identity have always been important for the queer community. Moreover, distinct characteristics of the queer places in the Bina demonstrate the diversity in queer spatiality. This diversity and the inclusiveness of the Bina made the Bina as "the fortress of queerness" among the LGBTIQ+ community in Ankara. Particularly in the last decades, when social media and online communication tools were not as developed as today or did not exist, LGBTIQ+ people needed spaces where they could freely reveal themselves. Akgümüş explains that the older generations were meeting at the parks, the bars, or at the hammams where they can establish a face-to-face interaction. His generation usually uses social media, which might subject the queer individual to any form of violence. The marginal physical space, therefore, assures the existence of marginal identity by accomodating and symbolizing it. Thirdspace re-emerges in the Bina as the merge of both the real and the imagined (Soja, 1996, p. 10)

From the interviewees' statements, it is observed that the former circulation interacting with the audiences of different bars is interrupted by the involvement of certain dynamics, such as the change in the demographic structure, criminal activities, and the transphobic, alienating attitude to the newcomers. To compare these two stages of the Bina, one can claim that there was a relatively closed

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[47] "Yani Old School'un o rock bar imajı o kadar güçlü ki, bu bir gay bar için çok önemli, hele ki o yıllarda. Tunalı'nın ortasında, ben senelerce, o ilk gençliğimde, sadece camından içeri baktım. Çünkü herkesin gözü önündesin, oraya girerken anlaşılırsın, anlarlar ama işte Deep benim için onu yumuşatmış oldu. Ben o binaya alışmış oldum. Hele ki Old School'un bir rock bar imajı zaten olduğu için. Sen rockçısın, öyle giyinmişsin. Old School'a dateine gidiyorsun ama lise arkadaşını görsen el sallayıp içeri girebilirsin." (C.Akgümüş), translated by the author.

community of youth consisting of people belonging to similar demographic qualities in terms of income, education, and culture at the former stage of Bina when rock bars existed. However, the latter stage of queer spatiality expanded the demographic spectrum of the regulars, melting them in a pot.

One final aspect that makes the Bina significant among several subcultures is a unique physical quality: its formal relationship with the street level. As mentioned in the *3.1* section of the chapter, Bina's ground floor level was below the street level. The building was accessed via two stairs, one for each block. This physical aspect provided the Bina a certain form of privacy, although it is located in a popular location in the neighborhood. Livion mentions that it was as if the Bina did not rise three floors above ground but buried three floors underground. This perception triggers the notion of 'otherness' and alienation from the mainstream. Moreover, this aspect had hidden the ones who would like to hide. Indicating that the setting out typology is the main reason that makes Bina the space of subcultures, Akgümüş mentions that;

> The transparency of the Bina's location, its dual character of being both forefront and negligible simultaneously, the hidden spaces it contained... The main reason is the Bina itself.[48]

In the upcoming stage of the Bina, these spatial aspects had played a significant role for the future regulars. The potentiality it represented attracted a certain group of people searching for their spatial performances when the street had been stirring. The building had been evacuated due to the loss of attraction and technical problems caused by becoming old and led to the emergence of a new phase: the life after death.

[48] "O yüzden aslında Bina'nın o dönemki içine yapıldığı lokasyonun geçirgenliği, ne çok göz önünde ne çok göz arkasında, hem gizlediği alanların oluşu, bunların hepsinde sebep Bina'nın kendisi." (C.Akgümüş), translated by the author.

3.2.3 Life after Death: The Abandoned Bina as a Guerilla Art Place

The block on Plot-14 has been evacuated almost fully in the 2010s. The only place left open was the betting shop that replaced the translation office and was accessed via a raised platform similar to the adjacent pub on the second floor of the block on Plot-13. In the meantime, the block on Plot-13 had sustained its consistent existence with a pub that replaced the kebab restaurant on the second floor, a rehearsal studio named Drum & Bass Studio on the first floor, and carpentry at the ground floor. The twin blocks of the Bina, therefore, shifts their role in the 2010s. When life ended at Plot-14, the dynamics of Plot-13 changed simultaneously. Although this phase is called "life after death" since the former life of the Bina completely ended in Plot-14, the life of the other block remained nearly the same.

Egemen Ünal states that he established Drum & Bass Studio in 2004 after he returned from Austria. For ten years afterward, the studio hosted many musicians from diverse genres, and generations particularly drummers and bass players. Several amateurs and professional bands of Ankara were the regulars of Drum & Bass Studio, including Manga, Metropolis, Dengesiz Herifler, as well as the individual musicians as Akın Bağcıoğlu. Ünal explains the potentiality of the Bina in terms of musical production as below;

> The advantage of the Bina was that you would play drums at 3 a.m. No voices, no disturber. Who would complain about the noise? There is no place that you can play drums 24 hours a day. You can play at 3 a.m. or p.m.; nobody would say anything.
> Moreover, it is central, at Tunus Street. Later Sakal was opened, and it has become a fantastic place. They have done a good job. Thousands of people were hanging up in front of Sakal Pub, and we had a studio there.[49]

[49] "Bina'nın da şöyle bir güzelliği var, gece üçte gidip davul çalabiliyorsun. Ses yok, rahatsız eden yok. Kim bir şey diyecek ki, gürültü geliyor diye? 24 saat davul çalınabilecek ve o kadar merkezi olan bir mekan yok başka. Öğlen üçte gir çal, gece üçte gir çal, hiç kimse hiçbir şey demez. Artı merkezi, Tunus Caddesi. Sonradan Sakal açıldı, acayip bir yer oldu Sakal, acayip iş yaptı. Önünde binlerce insan sokakta takılıyor falan, bizim orada stüdyomuz var." (E.Ünal), translated by the author.

The thousands of people hanging out in the street that Ünal mentions a former tradition of Ankara called *minibar*. *Minibar* is a social practice conducted by the youth groups of Ankara, gathering on the empty spaces in the streets like the walls of the apartment blocks, the stairs, the pavements, the side of a tree, etc., to drink the beverages they have bought from the grocery shops, to chat and to have fun (Altay, 2004, p. 3). The crowd has usually gathered on the Tunalı Hilmi and Tunus Streets, John F. Kennedy street, and the secondary streets adjacent to these main streets, such as Bestekar and Büklüm streets. As most of the garden walls of apartment blocks in the neighborhood have been fenced to prevent the residence of Minibar, the crowd has transferred to Kennedy Street in the 2010s, where significant pubs of Tunalı are located, such as Sakal and Sekans. These two neighboring pubs re-organized the social life in the street around themselves in time. The Kennedy Street has become the center of the Minibar, especially in front of the Bina, starting from the junction of Büklüm Street and including the front garden of TÜMAŞ. Emre Alptekin, a former regular of Drum & Bass Studio and the guitarist of Dengesiz Herifler, recalls the dynamic atmosphere in front of the Bina that they are also a part of. Minibar is a lived social space produced by the youth of Ankara, representing a re-definition in the urban sphere (Altay, 2004, pp. 67–70). The Bina, therefore, had been at the center of a marginal space once more.

Figure 3.9. The Bina, İbrahim Karakütük, 2014. (Source: İbrahim Karakütük personal archive)

The dynamism and the potential of visibility that Minibar has brought to the spot of the Bina inspired many groups and individuals of guerilla street artists. After plot 14 was totally abandoned, the block had been covered with many artworks by the guerilla artists and casual writings, as well. There are particular reasons for guerilla practicing in an abandoned building. One of them is that an abandoned building provides an intermediate option between the public and the private. Therefore, it neglects the control of the state forces, eliminates the police intervention or municipality recovery.

Moreover, since the building is abandoned, it demonstrates the neglect of the property owner as well. As a result, the artwork installed on an abandoned building remains longer than the public space. The artists interviewed during this study indicate a similar motivation for practicing on the Bina as an abandoned place;

> It provides a comfortable environment during application since nobody intervenes. If the building doesn't have any security, the application becomes more practical. Moreover, the visibility of your work becomes longer, and it satisfies me, to be honest. Because I installed my works in Tunalı at night and if I haven't recorded, almost nothing remained in the next morning.[50]

> Then, when we passed by, we decided to work there (the Bina) because it is a prominent place at the crossroads. If we put something here, we can reach more people. That was a place we always saw and were around. ... In case of an incident, we were hiding there. For instance, during installation, if the police passed by, we were hiding in the garden. When the police went away, we were going out to continue the installation. That was a building that you could hide. It has an invisible quality because of the garden level.[51]

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[50] "Hem uygulamayı yaparken daha rahat bir ortam sağlıyor, çünkü karışan yok görüşen yok hani. Eğer bir bekçi vs. güvenliği yoksa uygulama çok daha pratik oluyor. Hem de yaptığınız işin görünürlüğü biraz daha uzun süre kalıyor, o da insanı tatmin ediyor açıkçası. Çünkü Tunalı'da yaptığım işlerde gece çıkıp yapmıştım. Neredeyse kendim kayıt altına almasam sabaha kadar hiçbir şey kalmamıştı yani yaptığım şeylerden." (A.Tanay), translated by the author.

[51] "Sonra akşam geçerken buraya da iş yapalım dedik çünkü görünen, güzel bir yer, dörtyolda hani. Daha çok insana ulaşabiliriz buraya bir şey yaparsak diye. Sürekli gördüğümüz sürekli orada olduğumuz bir yerdi yani. ... Bir şey olduğu zaman orada saklanabiliyorduk. Mesela iş yaptığımız zaman, polis geçtiği zaman hemen bahçeye iniyorduk, orada bekliyorduk. Polis geçiyordu, sonra çıkıp yapıştırmaya devam ediyorduk. Saklanabileceğin de bir binaydı, herkesin göz önünde olmayan bir şeyi vardı, kottan iniyordun ya bahçesine filan." (H., Avareler), translated by the author.

> People prefer it because it is easier. Because that building has an owner and that owner is not there at that moment, and nobody can intervene or complain about you painting the building. If you install your work on the street, someone is living there, the doorman sees you, you might have problems. If the police see you, you might have problems. Above all, there is the fact of taxi-driver-pragmatism.[52]

Figure 3.10. Wheatpaste artworks by Aykut Tanay, 2009. (Source: Metropolis – Karabasan song video, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vRRqan7831k&ab_channel=blumanta)

Besides these practical reasons, there are also motivational reasons to prefer the Bina for artwork installation. The flexibility caused by the abandoned buildings being in the limbo of public and private leads guerilla practicing artists to examine their performative limits. Kılıç, for instance, evaluates the Bina as an exercising arena for her practice. She explains that she was already familiar with the place via Drum & Bass Studio, and she intrinsically decided to paint the perimeter walls of the Bina;

[52] "Daha kolay olduğu için insanlar tercih ediyor. Çünkü o binanın bir sahibi var ve o sahibi o esnada orada değil ya ve kimse de o binaya iş yapıyorlar diye şikayet edemez ya. Şimdi, sokağa iş yaptığın zaman orada biri yaşıyor, kapıcısı seni görüyor, sorun yaşayabilirsin. Polis seni görürse sorun yaşayabilirsin, her şeyi geç, yıllarca taksici işgüzarlıklarıyla uğraştık." (C.Sonel), translated by the author.

> Then I said, "I can paint something larger here." I went to Hacettepe University to get a lousy scaffold, carried it with my car, and finished the whole painting in a week. Then we organized a gala, just for drinking.[53]

Figure 3.11. Murals by Ekin Kılıç. Left: "Mural" opening party in the Bina, 2010; Right: Kılıç painting the mural. (Source: Ekin Kılıç personal archive)

On the other hand, H. from Avareler explains how the Bina had been an irreplaceable canvas due to its location and the familiarity the group already established. Avareler used the Bina for many series they applied in the urban sphere. Since the group's main motivation was to express their thoughts, feelings, and proposals about politics to a broader audience via their artistic medium in the public sphere, Avareler obtained the Bina as a center for their practice. Among many works applied in the Bina, one of them was particularly significant. *Kale Arkası* (Back-Goal) was an installation placed on the balcony of the former Graveyard. The installation consisted of twelve mannequins with banner heads. Each banner indicated slogans and the messages that the group aimed to deliver, especially to the white-collar workers

[53] "Sonra da oturup şey dedim yani, "Ben buraya kocaman bir şey de yapabilirim." Hacettepe'den gittim iskele buldum ama çok dandirikti yani. Kendi arabamla onu taşıdım, bir haftada da yaptım o full resmimi. Açılışını yaptık, içmek için yapılan bir etkinlik yani." (E.Kılıç), translated by the author.

passing by in the morning. H. explains how the police were confused about the installation, assuming them as real people, then interpreting them as a political demonstration. Finally, the police seized them because in one banner it is written; “Make love.”

Figure 3.12. Kale Arkası (Back-Goal) by Avareler, 2012. (Source: https://www.boxinaboxidea.com/tr/post/avareler)

Along with these installations exemplified in the Bina, several other artwork installations, tags, and slogans filled the walls of the building. As a result of loose property ownership relations, the abandoned building had been a platform for free expression of any kind. One of the unique examples of a guerilla performance is the hardcore concert organized in the Bina. As the organizator of the concert, Aydın explains that he was already a regular of Drum & Bass Studio with his band, Exposed, and attracted by the spatial quality of the Bina, recalling the squat houses he stayed in Europe. Therefore, when a friend asked whether he could organize a concert for a French band on tour and planning to add Ankara to their program, he decided to organize that concert in the Bina.

Figure 3.13. International Underground Gathering Guerilla Concert poster by Mert Aydın (Source: Fırat Acu personal archive)

Despite the objections of the property owner, the concert was realized with a great attendance of people. Aydın explains how they prepared the space for the concert as below;

> The ground was filled with trash; we collected them. We collected the trashes, lit candles everywhere. We told people not to throw garbage and placed thrash bags, though people ignored our warning. The entrance fee was 5 Turkish Liras. We put a man at the entrance. How many people came, it was more than 300, and we were pleased if we had 100 people in a concert in venues. However, here, people couldn't even enter inside. It was overcrowded.[54]

[54] "Yerler çöp dolu zaten, o çöpleri de biz topladık. Aşağıda hakikaten çöpleri falan topladık, her yere mum yaktık. Çöp atmayın dedik, böyle şeyler koyduk, çöp poşetleri koyduk falan ama yine insanlar şey yapmadı yani. Giriş 5TL'ydi. O girişe bir adam koyduk. Kaç kişi geldi ya, hani 300'den fazla insan geldi ve gerçekten mekanda konser yaptığımızda en fazla 100 tane insan gelse seviniyorduk yani ama burada insanlar içeri giremedi. Tıklım tıklımdı." (M.Aydın), translated by the author.

Figure 3.14. Guerilla concert in the Bina – Rektal Tuşe performing, 2014. (Source: Uygar Ekeyılmaz personal archive)

Figure 3.15. Guerilla concert in the Bina – Warfuck performing, 2014. (Source: Uygar Ekeyılmaz personal archive)

As it is intrinsic to the genre of hardcore and grindcore, the concert was so wild that three ambulances arrived at the Bina to respond to the injured ones. The crowd was triggered by the performances and the spatial experience they had for the first time in such a vacant space that they had already known but never experienced. The illegality of the event in an abandoned building met with the underground character of the music and created a wave of revolt against all kinds of control. The performance was a one-time event for all the attendees, even for the French band, as they stated in their blog.[55] Through the guerilla concert, the temporal, lived space within a heterotopia was produced once again in the Bina. The building was transformed into a gathering space, representing the spatial aspects of a Thirdspace.

Parapets surrounded the Bina after a person fell into the garden.[56] However, it did not prevent either the trespassing to the building or the street art installations. (See Figure 3.16) The building was demolished in 2017, and the plot has been used as a parking lot since then.

Figure 3.16. Street art on the parapet of the Bina. Left: IN! by Cem Sonel, 2015; Right: Tag by Chaker, 2016. (Source: Left: Cem Sonel's Instagram account; Right: Chaker's personal archive)

[55] http://www.warfuckgrindcore.com/turquie-report/
[56] Personal conversation with G. Kardeşoğlu Erdemli, on July 20, 2021.

Although the primary existence of the Bina does not demonstrate a significance among other housing blocks in Kavaklıdere, the transformations it had experienced in time determined a particular value in the urban sphere of Ankara. As the Bina transformed, so did the practices and the communities inside. Each phase defined distinct spatial characteristics, demographic structures, and performances. However, after the first transformation, the common aspect of each phase is that the Bina provided space for the subcultures. First, it hosted rock and metal music fans and performers who represented themselves through certain images and perspectives. Secondly, it hosted the LGBTIQ+ community alienated from the society that embraced binary-gender definitions for decades. Their pre-admitted otherness had evolved into a diverse set of representations in the Bina, presenting a platform of self-expression within itself. Finally, it hosted various guerilla practices, including street art, illegal concert, and squatting. With these qualities, Bina had an essential role in this particular location in Ankara. The potentiality it contained resulted from its location and physical advantages and its neutral and adaptable character that allowed many forms of social interaction. The social interaction was established through diverse mediums, and the building had performed as a multi-layered space with a heterogenous population.

In the upcoming chapter, the final phase of the Bina will be investigated within the framework of guerilla art practices. Focusing on the guerilla urban art examples in Ankara and recalling the concept of urban commons from the previous chapter, Bina will be re-evaluated.

CHAPTER 4

COMMONING THROUGH GUERILLA ART IN THE *BINA*

Art has always been political. However, the relationship between art and politics, art and the public has always been subjected to interrogation. The well-known duality of "art-for-art" and "art-for-public" degrades the discussions on art to an unfruitful surface since this duality does not represent the actual statements of the parties. Instead, it should be considered that art production is a multi-layered practice that has many spheres, concerns, and objectives.

Starting from the Modernists that were followed by the *avant-gardes* of the early 20th century, art has been representing a stand against the authority, against the hegemonic power, the culture, and the mainstream. For instance, the Impressionists rejected compromising with the museums of the period and isolated art from the 'praxis of life.' They believed they would reach the autonomy of art represented by Kant and Schiller's aestheticism (Artun, 2021, p. 38; Bürger, 1984). On the other hand, this attempt and institutionalization of art have been criticized by the *avant-gardes* of the period, as Bürger states, for being isolated from the public (Bürger, 1984). Artun (2021, p. 40) indicates that Bürger's theorization of the avant-garde, defining it as a counter-argument to modernism, limits the avant-garde between two world wars and rejects its relationship with the history of modernism. Instead, Artun (2021, p. 40) suggests that art becomes political by declaring its autonomy and isolating itself from society, citing Adorno's statement:

> Much more importantly, art becomes social by its opposition to society, and it occupies this position only as autonomous art. By crystallizing in itself as something unique to itself, rather than complying with existing social norms and qualifying as "socially useful," it criticizes society by merely existing, for which puritans of all stripes condemn it (T. W. Adorno, 2002, p. 225).

Art is political by rejecting the dynamics of society and culture. Yet, art contains the ever-lasting internal conflict, surrounded by the fluctuating relationship with these dynamics and the other power mechanisms such as the state and the economic authorities. Based on the predecessor arguments of the *avant-gardes*, the institutionalization of art has been criticized by the postmodernists for engaging art to all instruments and cultural regimes that have been rejected throughout the history of modernism, including the market, the administrative, the communication design, and the micro-power policies of the corporates, the privatization and the financialization of culture and art, the neoliberal economic policies such as "cultural industries," media, and the fashion (Artun, 2021, p. 44). When postmodernists introduced pluralism instead of modernism and celebrated the 'end of art' with the end of modernism, they believed that from then on, everything would be art, and art was freed from its historical context. However, Artun states that postmodernism was 'merely a transition period ideology,' proving how organized and strong the autonomy of art is (Artun, 2021, p. 45). Postmodernism was a transition between modernism and contemporaneity. Yet, the spectrum of possibilities it introduced to art has been affecting contemporary art for years.

We experience today the reflections of globalization on art, enabled by the financial support of corporates that have economically replaced the nation-states in the 1990s (Tan, 2003, p. 14). As the dynamics of globalization have directed contemporary art and the corporates have sponsored the biennials, the conservatory form of an exhibition of art in museums have been replaced with the media-oriented art shows – a fact that has been foreseen by the postmodernists earlier (Artun, 2021, p. 44; Tan, 2003, p. 14). Both Artun (2021) and Tan (2003) indicate that contemporary art involves hybridization that breaks the central-periphery positioning in Western-oriented art. The biennials have become the arena for the 'others' to represent their art and emerge a new form of interrelation. Tan states that;

> The main aim of the biennials is to break the institutionalized art and the interpretation of art that is entangled in the gallery spaces, to establish a more interactive relationship with the audience, to elude the centralist approach,

> and to enable the artists to express themselves with their artwork independently in various spaces (Tan, 2003, p. 19).

Furthermore, it is essential to define spatial determinism in contemporary art based on postmodern pluralism. Since the expression or the embodiment of art stands on slippery ground, there should be certain parameters to define a piece as 'art.' Carroll (2002, p. 6) indicates that we assume that Marina Abramovic and Ulay sitting and staring at each other is an art performance because it happens at the MoMA.[57] Otherwise, we would think of them as a 'seated couple,' and once we categorize it as 'artwork,' we, as its audience, derive our responses to it accordingly (ibid.). The concept of art, aesthetics, and phenomenology behind the fact that defines our assumption of art is beyond the scope of this study. Yet, the determination and evaluation of an artwork, particularly in the public space, will be mentioned in further discussions.

It is a fact that biennials and international exhibitions reform the liaison of parties in the art 'market' by generating an arena of expression and a gathering space for a diverse group of artists and performances. The revolt against the system itself is frequently expressed within the spatiality of the market mechanism itself. On the other hand, these events also introduce a 'self-promotion' stage for these artists, which should be discussed within the market value of art. Although many biennials claim to have a standpoint against the commodification of art and many artists use this medium to criticize and revolt against the ongoing situation, it is arguable to defend this standpoint in the arena where the financial support is provided by a corporate. For instance, since 2006, Koç Holding has been the official sponsor of the İstanbul Biennial.[58] On the other hand, one can assume that contemporary art exhibitions represent a more decent attitude – at least none of the contributors deny

[57] Marina Abramović, The Artist Is Present (2010), Museum of Modern Art, New York.
[58] https://bienal.iksv.org/en/16th-istanbul-biennial/supporters-and-thanks

that these exhibitions are actually ‘art markets’ where upper-class elites crowd and scramble for ‘prestigious’ artworks.

4.1 Guerilla Art – Graffiti, Street Art, and Art Activism

In the current atmosphere of contemporary art, in which the kinesis of art-making and representation is shaped by capitalist supremacy, there is another group of artists that reject this atmosphere and engage with the audience via a common medium: the street. Public space has been used for self-expression by the subcultures, the minorities, namely the ‘others’ who aim to declare “We are here, too!” for decades. In the 1940s, the German group ‘The White Rose’ painted slogans against the Hitler regime, and in the 1960s and the 1970s, student revolts expressed themselves via posters and slogans (Ganz, 2004, p. 8). Using public space as the medium enables reaching a broader audience and directly at the targeted authority. Besides the political content of the street use, keeping the ‘art is political’ discourse in mind, artistic expression comprises a major part of street activism. Investigating and theorizing the graffiti and street art, Austin states that;

> … graffiti art emerged in a historical era in which even avant-garde aesthetic assumptions and possibilities were fragmenting, shifting, and perhaps decentralizing within the authorized, institutionalized New York City art world (Austin, 2010, p. 37).

The beginning of street art is, therefore, graffiti. Graffiti art is a social practice where the visual aspects are primary to the semantic content. (Austin, 2010, p. 35) Although graffiti dates back to even Pompeii, where election slogans, drawings, and obscenities have been found, the current version of graffiti was invented in the 1970s in New York and Philadelphia (Ganz, 2004, p. 8). According to Foth (2017, p. 2), marginalized and economically threatened communities should be enabled to engage with their neighborhood on their own terms and create their own urban imaginaries. Consisting of name tags and figurative representations of ethnic cultures, graffiti art demonstrates the ethnic communities, immigrants, and the poor living in the USA

and the heterogeneous structure of society. In this sense, Austin (2010, p. 36) declares that graffiti art belongs to the *Pluralist Era*, when the alternative possibilities of an aesthetic judgment and an art definition related to the historical frameworks of the past but proposing a new fragmented stage at the same time, were in search.

Graffiti art, therefore, was legitimized as 'art' in the USA when several street artists like Jean-Michael Basquiat and Keith Haring entered the galleries. New York art society received the fresh blood needed in these artists' works that resemble pop art. The embracement of graffiti art by the art society in the USA carried it to another level – a level that we still observe the effects in various artists' works or actions. The symbol of resistance, unacceptance, and reclaim for the 'others' were somehow carried in the white cube again for a privileged audience. The capitalist art market obtained graffiti, exhibited, and commodified it. Basquiat's works are worth millions of dollars, Haring's works are on many commercial products. The walls that British graffiti artist Banksy sprayed are ripped off and exhibited and auctioned in the galleries.[59] (See Figure 4.1)

[59] https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2013/feb/18/banksy-london-miami-auction

Figure 4.1. The graffiti, titled 'Banksy Slave Labor (Bunting Boy). London 2012', as it was on the side of Poundland store in Wood Green, London. Photograph: Matthew Chattle/Alamy
(Source: https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2013/feb/18/banksy-london-miami-auction)

Besides the popularity of graffiti among the art society of the 1980s, graffiti art has a local context that retains its principles among the local communities in different countries that are interconnected. Although a major part of the graffiti art consists of name tags, the primary motivation is to visualize the tag in a style that would be identical to the tag artist, namely the 'writer.' The identity and the territorial dominance, therefore, are the main objectives of the practice. Chaker[60] explains many stages and styles of name-tagging, such as the 'tag' itself, which is more like a signature, 'throw-ups' that are fast-produced works, and 'pieces' that are more complicated and colorful.[61] As the work becomes challenging, the writer's reputation among the community increases. Graffiti art has a closed community, involving

[60] The interviewee prefers to use the writer nickname.
[61] "Tag bizim yazdığımız şey aslında. Grafik de zaten oradan başlıyor. Tagler daha sonra throw-up dediğimiz daha hızlı çalışmalara dönüşüyor. Straight letter denilen daha düz harfler, daha okunaklı. Sonra işte piece dedikleri, daha komplike daha renkli... Ben genelde üç rengi geçmem, iki renk çalışırım. Tag şu an şu gördüğün (elindeki stickerı gösteriyor), imza diye düşünebilirsin." (Chaker), translated by the author.

secret identities due to the illegality of the practice itself and certain principles. For instance, Chaker indicates that one should not overwrite another tag, which is a disrespectful act, might lead to a battle, and even in some cases, it ends up with murder in the USA.[62] Furthermore, public buildings, such as mosques, churches, hospitals, and schools, are out of the scope. Chaker explains the reason as below;

> Let me explain; suppose that we sprayed the façade of a hospital. Cleaning of that writing costs approximately 700-1000 Turkish Lira in Turkey. That water-jet cleaner costs approximately this price. If I do that, I will cause an extra expense to the hospital budget, and it is almost one-fourth of a nurse's wage; I made the cost up, but anyway, I consider it. Most of us also consider it, also in the abroad. Once, we sprayed a hospital in Hong Kong, and the next day, we voluntarily cleaned it. It is not ethical. What we do is already misbehavior; at least, we should have principles.[63]

Graffiti symbolizes certain groups, cultures, and identities. It need not contain any political discourse; however, the practice itself is political regarding representational content. The guerilla action of graffiti practice neglects the authority's rules, challenges the property ownership, and reclaims the city, though it does not have an emancipatory agenda. On the contrary, the sole catalysts express the defined identity and challenge the others through territorial dominancy. Yet, graffiti art practice has its regulations and principles, which demonstrates collectivity in action. Indicating that graffiti art is practiced collectively within skilled and locally-organized subcultures, Austin states that;

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[62] "Birisi eğer senin üstünden geçmişse sen de onun üstünden geçebilirsin. O bir savaşa, çatışmaya döner. Ankara küçük bir yer olduğu için öyle sıkıntıları çok yaşamıyoruz. Benim üstümden geçen her yeni başlayan çocuğun ben üstünden geçsem onun motivasyonu ölür. Zaten şurada 20-30 kişiyiz. ... Amerika'da insan öldürüyorlar bunun için, şaka değil." (Chaker), translated by the author.

[63] "Şöyle anlatayım, hastanenin dış cephesini boyadık. Onu adam akıllı silmenin şu an Türkiye'de masrafı 700-1000TL. O su atan makineleri kiralamk filan aşağı yukarı öyle bir rakama denk geliyor. Şimdi ben onu yaparsam hastane bütçesine fazla harcama olarak girmiş oluyorum ben. Orada bir hemşirenin maaşının dörtte biri mesela, kafadan attım şimdi rakamı ama ben onu düşünüyorum. Çoğu kişi de düşünüyor yurt dışında filan. Bir sefer Hong Kong'da hastaneyi boyadık, ertesi gün biz gidip sildik, gönüllü olup. Etik değil. Yaptığımız zaten piçlik, en azından prensiplerimiz olsun." (Chaker), translated by the author.

> Graffiti art defaces the commonsensical, recognized, expected authority lodged in the property ownerships of classical (and neo-) liberalism, public or private, effecting a detraction of pleasure and security in some viewers. It performs a re-writing of foundational cultural symbols and materials (Austin, 2010, p. 44).

The irony in the commodification of graffiti art by the market is that it refuses all the dynamics determining graffiti itself. First of all, it neglects the fact that it is an unauthorized practice, based on the invasion of the surfaces of the cityscape, though there have been commissioned graffiti artworks in the public space in the last decades. The 'guerilla activist' content of the practice is eliminated. Moreover, the representation of graffiti in a legitimate art space shifts the artist's position and limits the audience to an exclusive group. The practice becomes individualistic, isolated from the community, the content is isolated from its context, and financial input is added to the process. Distinguishing the commissioned works from their ordinary practice and labeling them as the 'legal works,' Chaker informs that his friend Stak has been working with Sincan Municipality for a year and expresses that;

> Stak himself says that for every legal work he is commissioned for, he sprays two illegal ones. He knows that when you are commissioned, it is not graffiti. For one of them, you get paid and put that money aside; for the other, you do it rapidly, and the next day it is already closed. It's not a problem; it's in the nature of the work. When you go out regularly, you can be ever-lasting, if that's what you want.[64]

The potentiality of graffiti art is related to its contextuality in the urban sphere, its repetitiveness, and temporality. These factors determine the characteristics of graffiti art and the other forms of art in the public space.

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[64] "Stak kendisi diyor işte 'Legal yaptığım her çalışma için dışarıda iki tane illegal yapıyorum' diye. O işte para aldığı zaman onun graffiti olmadığını biliyor. Biri için para alıyorsun kenara koyuyorsun, öbürü çık çık hızlıca yapıyorsun, ertesi gün kapamışlar. Sıkıntı değil yani, işin doğasınada var. Düzenli olarak çıktığın zaman hep var olabilirsin, eğer hedefin oysa." (Chaker), translated by the author.

Performing art in the urban sphere comprises an entirely discrete set of dynamics than the conventional artistic production and representation. As a relatively new concept compared to graffiti art, 'street art' emerged in the 2000s (Radosevic, 2013, p. 9). Street art is a diverse, comprehensive set of artistic activities in the urban sphere, including graffiti, installations, ceramics, dance, and other physical performances. It does not contain certain technical rules or principles;[65] however, certain aspects define the process of performance. Similar to graffiti art, street art is an unauthorized practice of art in the urban space. Due to the state security mechanisms in the city, these practices usually need to be rapidly produced and striking at first glance. Political content is not a must; individual, artistic, self-expression performances are also a part of street art. However, street art is a frequently used medium for the artist's political manifestation and critique of the city's ongoing political agenda.

In the 2010s, the political atmosphere in Turkey was stirring up. As the existing government's ideological policies started to intervene and oppress the lifestyle of the citizens increasingly, and neoliberal policies of the state invading the public sources and neglecting the citizens' rights for the sake of a certain privileged group of proponents have become more and more visible every day, the objecting voices have become louder gradually. Besides the ongoing protests of political organizations and civil initiatives, another group started to express themselves in the public sphere – the street artists. Although many art initiatives used the streets for political engagement, this part of the study particularly focuses on the art initiatives in Ankara. Since Ankara is the capital and the fortress of the bureaucracy, the dynamics affecting the artistic production in the streets are slightly different from the other cities. Firstly, the content is more political. Stating that although some of the

[65] https://www.tate.org.uk/art/art-terms/s/street-art

installations are more personal, H. from Avareler[66] explains the main argument in the group's works as below;

> But usually, it was about the street culture, the street, and the problems of public space and the city. It was more like, "This city is yours; you should use it!" Most of our slogans were based on this; all the writings we found, the visuals, the installations... All of them were about it.[67]

Similarly, Sonel from Küf Project explains how they got disappointed with the re-election of Melih Gökçek in 2009, former mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, and how this disappointment transformed into a guerilla action which would end up with the Küf Project as below;

> It was 2010 local elections, I suppose, [2009], Melih Gökçek was re-elected. Then he had the slogan, "You are Ankara, think great!" We truly got devastated and decided to do something. We used the office hours in the agency to prepare something. Our boss was not at the office that day, so we prepared simple stencils. Since I knew the technique from school, we prepared single-layered stencils. … I designed a man with a bulb-head and hands clasped behind the back, the sheep behind that man, and the slogan "You are Ankara, graze!" We felt relieved that day. You finished school, the agency literally exploits you, but you don't have the strength to resist. Also, Melih Gökçek is in charge, again. It became a motivation for us when we were demoralized. It was a euphory for me and Ç. It was then; we actually decided to go on.[68]

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[66] Since the group prefers to be anonymous, the initial of the interviewee's name is used in the study.
[67] "Ama genelde şey vardı, sokak kültürüyle ilgili şeyler, sokakla ilgili, kamusal alanla ilgili dertler vardı, şehirle ilgili dertler vardı. "Bu şehir senin, bu şehri kullanmalısın!" gibi. Hep sloganlarımız bunlar üzerine dönüyordu yani bulduğumuz yazılar, görseller, enstalasyonlar hep onunla ilgiliydi." (H., Avareler), translated by the author.
[68] "Tam 2010 seçimleri miydi Melih Gökçek geldi. O dönem "Sen Ankara'sın büyük düşün" diye bir sloganı vardı. Bizim çok canımız sıkıldı yani tekrardan karaları bağladık. Bir şeyler yapalım dedik. Ajansta hemen kendi mesaimizden çalıp bir şeyler hazırladık. Patronumuz da yoktu o gün ofiste, basit stenciller hazırladık. Tekniği de ben daha öncesinde okulda vs yaptığım için basit tek katmanlı stenciller hazırladık. … Ben de elleri arkasından bağlı kafası ampul olan bir adam yaptım arkasında koyunlar olan "Sen Ankara'sın otla" yazan. Biz o gün kendimizi çok nefes almış hissettik. Her şey işte üniversite bitmiş, ajansta resmen sömürülüyorsun ama gücün yetmiyor baş kaldırmaya. Bir de Melih Gökçek gelmiş falan. Moraller çok bozukken bize bir anda moral motivasyon kaynağı oldu, bir öfori geldi Ç. ile beraber. Biz aslında aşıyı orada aldık." (C.Sonel), translated by the author.

Street art is a medium for those motivated to express their thoughts, emotions, critics, and manifestations through art. A graphic representation of an issue through an artistic perspective catches much more attention than a sole manifestation. Moreover, there is a certain distinction between the audience of a sterile art environment such as a museum or a gallery and the audience in the street, namely the public in scalar terms. Besides the other dynamics differentiating between these two spaces, this distinction affects the work's content, technique, and timing. All these artist interviewees mentioned in this chapter of the study produce artworks both for street and gallery. Unlike the individual artistic production of an artist that finds its audience in the galleries, artistic quality or genuine in street artworks are not the primary concerns for the initiatives. However, individual street artists still consider the identicality of their work. Sometimes an image from our shared past awakes the vague feelings that once felt, and reanimating these feelings relates to the artwork more than expected. Therefore, most street art initiatives and the sole artists prefer to use common images that the audience would find relatable, such as public figures, artists, movie characters, and cartoon characters. Although most of the figures are well-known public figures, the message they transfer is associated with the authors, expressing the anger, the revolt, and the disappointment in a maneuvered method. For instance, Avareler uses Yeşilçam[69] movie characters to criticize the popular media hegemony or propose musicians, poets, writers, and political figures as the administrative staff for a so-called political party before the local elections in 2014. (See Figure 4.2) Each work of Avareler represents the group members' personal interests, imaginaries about Ankara, reminiscences about their childhood, and desires. Yet, the issues they declare about Ankara are relatable, especially for the people of their generation. These issues vary in a wide range, including the prejudices about the city and the wasteful exploitation of it and their anger for the oppressiveness they face as the young adults of this country.

[69] Yeşilçam term represents the Turkish cinema between the 1950s and the 1980s.

Figure 4.2. Posters by Avareler. Left: "Luckily Acun Ilıcalı was not born then," 2011; Right: Cemal Süreya as the mayor candidate of Honey Badgers Party, 2014. (Source: Left: https://laankara.com/ankara-duvarlarinin-renkli-yuzu-avareler/, Right: https://www.boxinaboxidea.com/tr/post/avareler, retrieved on July 17, 2021)

Kaptan[70] reinterprets the symbol of MonAmi oil pastels in his works. By this figure, he recalls his elementary school years and the economic inequality he realized with the accessibility of this oil pastel brand. Kaptan explains his association with the MonAmi figure as below:

> For many generations in elementary school, MonAmi… You wear the uniform, go to school without understanding what's going on. You are in an oppressive thing; they teach you things by beating. They pull your ears; they slap you, etc. Also, you learn how life is, and you learn about the rich and the poor. You learn who has the money. The main reason for the MonAmi figure is that it introduced me to this situation and the world.[71]

Kaptan's realization of the economic gap in society and his environment combined with his upbringing, adolescence, and worker-student experiences brought him a unique perspective that he reflects in his works. He associates himself with the

[70] Gökhan Tüfekçi uses Karagözüktükaptan nickname, which will be reduced to Kaptan in this study.
[71] "Monami de bir sürü neslin ilkokulda... İşte o üniformayı giyiyorsun, gidiyorsun, ne olduğunu anlamıyorsun. Baskıcı bir şeyin içerisindesin, döve döve sana bir şey öğretiyorlar. Kulağından çekiyorlar, tokat yiyorsun, bilmem ne. Bir de hayatı öğreniyorsun işte, zengini-fakiri öğreniyorsun. Kimin parası var öğreniyorsun. Monami'nin en büyük nedeni, bu durumun, dünyayı bana tanıtan şeyin o olmasıydı." (Karagözüktükaptan), translated by the author.

subcultures of Ankara and salutes the similar people of his generation. (See Figure 4.3)

Figure 4.3. Street artworks by Karagözüktükaptan. Left: MonAmi, 2021; Right: Bombing, 2020. (Source: Left: Karagözüktükaptan's Instagram account; Right: Courtesy of the author)

Ranciére (2010, p. 135) states that by showing us revolting things, art constrains us to revolt. Therefore, the public interacts with the familiar figures revolting against the government's oppressive policies, economic instabilities, increasing economic, ideological, and cultural gap between the authority and themselves, and embraces the artwork, which is an urban-hacking practice in the city. Hence, these small gestures of resistance in Ankara were engraved in the city's memory.

The potentiality of street art for change and resistance is one of the main reasons it should be open to a wider audience. Instead of transforming into an art form existing in the white cube, Austin (2010, p. 42) steps forward and states that graffiti art is already the continuation of modern art since it emerged as a response to the changes in the common experiences of the modern environment and indicates that illegally placing work on public walls is a "significant contribution to modern art." The innovative spirit demonstrated by the *avant-gardes* of the period is revived in graffiti

art. Therefore, graffiti art and other forms of street art should be independent of the gallery or the museum that commodifies the artwork. Similarly, Ranciére (2010, p. 135) states that when it is taken outside the workshop or the museum, the artwork mobilizes, and "it incites us to oppose the system of domination by denouncing its participation in that system."

On the other hand, some argue that the autonomy of art should be enacted through the sole artistic production instead of politicized art. Art should be political by isolating itself from politics. Ranciére (2005) states that art is political "to the extent that it remains faithful to the autonomy of its sphere and insofar as it gets out of itself and weaves the fabric of a new common life." To establish the art's relationship with the 'real world' and the politics, Ranciére argues that;

> Art does not enact politics by reaching the real. It enacts it by inventing fictions that challenge the existing distribution of the real and the fictional. Making fictions does not mean telling stories. It means undoing and rearticulating the connections between signs and images, images and times, or signs and space that frame the existing sense of reality (Ranciere, 2005, p. 3).

The artist's position between the ongoing capitalism-sauced hegemonic relationships in the conventional art spaces and the total reduction of such a system and re-establishment of an artistic expression medium in an autonomous sphere is ever-fluctuating. There are certain differences between these two mediums in terms of the representation and content of the artwork. H. explains the significant differences in his street art dynamics and gallery dynamics as below;

> When I crawl into my shell and try to produce something unique, some people are interested in that unique work. I am fine with it. When we put artwork on the public space, we had to use mainstream subjects for everyone's understanding, though we made our unique, personal additions. It was not a must; however, we placed them in our own style but regarding the current agenda or creating one. Or we were placing something about Ankara or our problems. There, they were open to the others; everyone could have done anything on it, take it out, whatever; it was like, "I put it here, and I don't care what happens to it afterward." On the other hand, the high-art atmosphere is

> like, “You are unique, so special, so valuable, and could you please open your special world to us? If you do, this is the quality and price we charge for it.”[72]

Besides the content that differs between the two artistic mediums, artistic production processes also vary. Since individual production is a more “personal” practice in an intimate working environment, it requires different dynamics than an urban installation. For Kaptan, the content is not different in both mediums. He explains the differences between his practices as below;

> The only difference is the moment of production. One is in an enclosed environment, in your house, without anyone seeing it. You wait for months to reach a conclusion; you cover it if you don’t like it. On the other, you don’t have that chance. If it is okay, it is okay; otherwise, it is not, and in this one, you produce it open to the public. You are open to every kind of danger. Sure, the heartbeat is entirely different; the excitement of the work is different. For instance, I do not prepare sketches prior to the production, like “I prepare the sketch at home, and then I paint it at the street.” It happens seldom. Usually, I put the sprays on my backpack and start to go around wandering; I take my chance...[73]

For many artists, the duality between two spheres, namely the gallery and the street, imposes a selection of either one of them. However, there are artists using these

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[72] “... kendi içime çekildiğimde daha biricik bir şey çıkarmaya çalışıyorsam ortaya, o biricik şeyi merak eden insanlar var. Burayı kabul edebiliyorum ben. Orada da şey oluyor birazcık daha mesela kamusal alana iş yaptığımız zaman, tamam kendi içimizden kendi biricik şeylerimizi de katıyorduk oraya, o kesin ama birazcık daha herkesin bildiği şeyleri yapmak zorunda kalıyorduk. Zorunda kalmak demeyelim de, o an gündem neyse ona göre bir şey bulup kendi tarzımızda yapıyorduk oraya veya bir gündem oluşturmak için bir şey koyuyorduk oraya. Ya da Ankara’yla ilgili, bir derdimizle ilgili bir şey koyuyorduk oraya. Ora başkalarına açıktı, isteyen istediğini yapabilir, al sök, “Ben bunu buraya koydum artık ne olacağı umrumda değil.” gibi. Diğer tarafta şey mevzusu var gibi, yüksek sanat mevzusunda, “Sen biriciksin, çok değerlisin, bizim için çok güzel bir sanatçısın sen ve senin kendin için yaptığın, o özel dünyanı lütfen bize açar mısın? Açarsan da işte değeri bu, kalitesi bu.” (H., Avareler), translated by the author.

[73] “Aradaki tek fark üretim anı. Birisi çok kapalı bir ortamda, evinde, kimseler görmeden. Bir sonuca ulaşması için aylarca bekletiyorsun, beğenmeyip kapatıyorsun. Öbüründe öyle bir imkanın yok. Öbüründe oldu oldu, olmadı olmadı ve birisinde halka açık şekilde üretiyorsun, her türlü tehlikeye de açıksın. Tabi ki kalp atışları çok farklı oluyor, işin heyecanı da çok farklı oluyor. Ben mesela “Önden eskiz hazırlayayım, evde eskiz hazırlayıp sokakta boyayayım” gibi bir şey yapmıyorum. Çok nadir oluyor o durum. Çantaya atıyorum boyaları, dolanmaya, gezmeye başlıyorum, ne çıkarsa...” (Karagözüktükaptan), translated by the author.

diverse mediums for separate expressions. Moreover, re-politicizing art in the public space searching for reality does not always represent an honest political standing (Ranciere, 2005, p. 3). In contrast, in some cases, an artwork inside a sterile art space is a hand-grenade without a pin. Mouffe defines the art activists as 'artivists' and states that she is in favor of both "artists who want to make a political intervention" and "activists who use artistic strategies" (Mouffe, Chantal et al., 2016, p. 36). Instead of being critical towards artists working in the art world, Mouffe states that "one should try to occupy all the places where one can make an intervention" and indicates that;

> Artistic activism is important, but it is not enough. It can play a role in creating new forms of subjectivity and designing new forms of social relations but those practices cannot be a substitute for more traditional forms of political involvement, trying to gain power, occupy the state and attempt to transform society from there. ... We need to fight within the institutions. From the counter-hegemonic perspective you have to try to transform the existing institutions, because they won't simply go away (Mouffe, Chantal et al., 2016, pp. 37–38).

Mouffe's statements bring a broader perspective to the autonomy and activism issues in art. To reform the institutions, art activism should be integrated into these institutions. Although the comfort area that an art institution proposes to the artist might be a risk, the interventions from the outer sphere of these institutions do not seem to change them. On the other hand, unlike the galleries with the moneyed and tasteful bourgeois audience, the urban sphere contains the new possibilities of the audience, the art form, and the critics (Austin, 2010). The public space suggests an endless set of alternative surfaces, collectivities, and perspectives. It enables to meet a wider public with diverse demographic aspects. An artwork represents an honest and critical approach to a certain issue. Hence, an artwork in the public sphere might denote much more than any other conventional manifestation tool. This potentiality is the essence that distinguishes street art from others and places it in an exceptional space. It is the potential of resistance and revolution. As Austin states;

> Whether the revolution will be televised is still an open question, but we can be certain that the revolution will not be offered for authorized purchase or display (Austin, 2010, p. 43).

4.2 Commoning Practices and Guerilla Art

Urban commons is the act of collective action based on the shared motivation in the urban sphere. The practices are centered around the ‘right to city’ concept, claiming the public space for society's use. They are organized against the privatization of the public space, standing against the segregation, displacement, and gentrification via the neoliberal urban enclosures. Although the intentions vary, the common ground of these practices is the discourse that the public space belongs to the public. To reclaim the public space, communities resist either with mass actions or with local scale guerilla practices. One particular example of these guerilla practices is guerilla art. This part of the chapter investigates the similarities between guerilla art and commoning practices. This investigation is based on certain aspects in terms of the ‘right to city’ concept, their responses to enclosures, and their structural aspects such as bottom-up organization, collective action, and temporality.

First of all, guerilla urban art is a form of urban commons within the framework of ‘right to city.’ When the street artists place their installations of the writers or tag artists sprayed the surfaces on the public sphere, it is an act of resistance and reclaiming. When governmental authorities invade the public sphere with billboards and other advertising tools for profit or self-promotion, they impose an ideology of themselves and the capitalist impetus. Guerilla artists’ occupation of advertising media, therefore, is hacking the signifier for their self-expression. Iveson (2010, p. 436) argues that “graffiti writers demonstrate by their actions that they do have a right which is denied them by law – the right to use the surfaces of the city as a medium of public expression. The ‘right to the city’ is a cry, a demand and a lived experience in the face of exclusion.”

During this study, the street artists interviewed significantly expressed their opposition to these billboards and propaganda mediums and indicated their approach to these items. For instance, explaining how he hacked the candidate posters on the refuge of Eskişehir Road, Chaker explains his motivation as below;

> I was blackening them entirely. When someone sees it, it disturbs this someone. But when I see that man, it also disturbs me. It's sad because I probably paid for that poster. We already pay it, and we also pay to blacken it. I wonder if they are even legal. I presume the youth branches of the parties are placing them. Whatever if hanging them is important to them, blackening it is important to me.[74]

When a guerilla artwork occupies a billboard or another advertising tool, a transformer unit in the middle of a sidewalk, it demonstrates the artists reclaiming the public space invaded by authorized interests. These practices emphasize what has been imposed on us in the public space and triggers our perception. When Avareler painted several objects varies from billboards to trash cans, sculptures, transformer buildings, and an overpass with a mediocre hue of pink, they flashed them around the citizens of Ankara, intending to awake them from their everyday routines and make them realize their urban environment. (See Figure 4.4)

[74] "Baştan aşağı karalıyordum. Birisi de onu görünce rahatsız oluyordu işte. Ben de o adamı görünce rahatsız oluyorum. Üzücü bir şey, ben ona cebimden para harcadım yani. Zaten kendi cebimizden çıkıyor bir de ona ekstra çıkıyor. Onlar acaba yasal mı? Onu da merak ediyorum ben. Gençlik kolları falan yapıyordur. Neyse, onlar için asmak önemliyse benim için de yapmak önemli." (Chaker), translated by the author.

Figure 4.4. The Pink Serie, Avareler, 2011. (Source: https://www.mashallahnews.com/pembe-serisi-avareler/)

H. indicates that as an artist practicing in the public sphere, he is in constant search of new surfaces in the city, and the billboards attract him in these terms. He expresses that it is a part of the public sphere which actually belongs to him as a citizen and states that;

> You see it as a surface, but you are constantly imposed on an image there. "Today, buy the cheese; tomorrow, the watermelon is in discount; look, the elections are coming!" The billboard constantly tells me something. Then you think that "Shall I tell someone something by this billboard, or a space, or a wall..."[75]

Investigating the guerilla art installations of the art initiatives of the same period, Avareler and Küf Project, one can assume that although their perspectives are clearly different, these groups share a similar motivation and an attitude towards the impositions in the urban sphere. When the municipality covered Kuğulu Underpass with baby-blue ceramics with swan figures resembling the retro bathrooms of the

[75] "Sen orayı bir alan olarak görüyorsun ama sürekli sana bir görsel dayatılıyor orada. "Bugün peynir al, yarın karpuz indirimde, bak seçimler olacakmış!" Bana bir şeyler anlatıyor hep o billboard. Sonra şey diyorsun işte, "Ben de mi birilerine bir şeyler anlatsam bu billboardda veya bir mekanda, bir duvarda..."" (H.-Avareler), translated by the author.

1970s Ankara apartments, most citizens have already recalled the same image of a bathroom and criticized the mediocre design accordingly. (See Figure 4.5)

Figure 4.5. Figurative ceramic wall applications. Left and middle: The swan figures on Kuğulu Underpass; Right: A typical bathroom of the 1970s Ankara apartment. (Source: Left and middle: http://mimdap.org/2007/10/renkli-tathyt-alt-gecitleri-ankara/; Right: Mimarlık Tarihi Facebook account)

This resemblance inspired the Küf Project team, and they placed a polystyrene urinary on the municipality logo and added a public restroom price tag. By emphasizing the resemblance that most people are aware of, the group engaged their work in the public sphere as a signifier of common sense, made it visible to the public. (See Figure 4.6) The Urinary work drew much of the public attention since it was considered a bomb and blasted by the police's bomb disposal unit. The group's name was in the evening news, and the risk of unanonimity emerged as a threat to the group.

Figure 4.6. Küf Project "Pisuvar" [The Urinary] work. Left: The urinary on the logo of the municipality; Right: The model urinary blasted by the police. (Source: Küf Project Facebook account)

Although Sonel practices individually since 2013, he expresses an ongoing motivation for his works in the public sphere. He uses his art to engage with the public; however, he indicates that he doesn't have a political message concern and adds;

> The only message I would like to give is that the public is ours. If someone doesn't ask my permission while placing a billboard there, I don't have to take permission to paint in the public space. Yet, if you create a bit of a ripple in one's feelings when one sees your work, this is a highly motivating type of communication. This communication is one of the greatest pleasures of street art.[76]

These street artists' common perspective on the capitalist approaches in the public sphere and their common responses reveal that guerilla street art proposes a method of opposition to the ongoing hegemony. Therefore, guerilla art practices demonstrate a similar approach to urban commons by occupying the public space and hacking the instruments of neoliberalism.

Secondly, in addition to the resistance against neoliberal urban enclosures and commodification of public space, guerilla art practices also compete against the enclosure of culture via the institutionalization of art. Hyde (2010, p. 56) states that copyright and patent are the easiest cases to describe the enclosure of the cultural commons, for in these cases, the changing rules are a matter of record, and their context has a long history. Through these tools, the intellectual productions are commodified and enframed to prevent free distribution. Similarly, the certificate of authenticity proves the 'originality' of an artwork, assuring its uniqueness and value. Furthermore, the edition quantity of a printed artwork is one of the primary

[76] "Tek mesaj kaygım var, kamu hepimizin. Biri oraya reklam tabelası asarken bana sormuyorsa, ben de resim yaparken kimseye sorma ihtiyacım yok demek aslında ama şu çok büyük bir motivasyon; biri oradan geçerken duygularında ufak bir kıpraşım yaratabiliyorsam bu çok motive eden bir iletişim tarzı. Bu sokağa iş yapmanın en büyük hazlarından biri." (C.Sonel), translated by the author.

determinants of its value. The institutionalized art, therefore, ensures its impetuses via these enclosures.

Although it cannot be oversimplified for each case of the practices, neglecting the institutionalization in art is one of the initiators of guerilla art. Some artists prefer to represent their art directly to the public through the public sphere, without any mediator in between. The artist's engagement via art in the public space is itself a form of commoning the artwork, publicizing it, opening it to any kind of intervention within the living organism of the street. Therefore, the artist accepts that the artwork need not be permanent, unique, and valued by commodification. In contrast, it shall be temporary, ever-changing and transforming, and reproducible. By occupying, hacking the urban sphere, the artist establishes a new form of relationship with the city, in which "the city's fixed visuals, structures, objects, and areas no longer represent the end result of an urban design process, but the beginning" (Burnham, 2010, p. 138).

Besides these motivational similarities between guerilla art and commoning practices, there are also structural and characteristic resemblances. To begin with, both practices contain bottom-up organizational approaches. As is previously mentioned, both practices stand against certain authorities, representing the disadvantaged in a hierarchical relationship. To establish a self-ruling body within and realize the practice in an effective manner, both urban commons and guerilla art practices construct their autonomous decision-making mechanisms, rules, and perspectives. One common aspect for the guerilla urban artists is to consider and respect each other's efforts in the arena by not tagging or painting another artist's work. All interviewees declare painting or installing on another street artwork as disrespectful, assuming that those are unaware of the principles of the street. Instead of superimposing one artwork or tag on another, these artists prefer to represent themselves on a genuine spatiality that would increase the work's value while encouraging the others. Therefore, these guerilla artists define a commonality in the public sphere.

Thus, another structural resemblance is the communality resulted from collective action for both practices. Besides the tendency to consider and respect each other, the street art itself contains collective action and cooperation, although there are many individual street artists. Along with the guerilla art initiatives consisting of several members, the individual street artist coincides with others and form a gathering. Sonel narrates the time that he, Kaptan, and several other graffiti artists gather and 'bomb' a wall at night;[77]

> Normally, the writers and the street artists don't get along, for instance, in İstanbul or else. However, we had a nice atmosphere in Ankara. We were going out as 5 or 6 people, two writers, three painters, or vice versa. We were bombing a whole wall altogether and then going to my place in Tunalı for drinking and fun.[78]

Similarly, H. defines Avareler's '40 Haramiler' guerilla exhibition[79] as a collective claim to the right to city of artists. The exhibition was an autonomous representation of artists choosing to express themselves in an independent medium they choose, creating a spatial possibility apart from the conventional art spaces and engaging a broader audience without any mediator. One other form of collaborative practice by Avareler is the birds on the perimeter walls of an institutional building at Eskişehir Road. H. indicates how their installation has evolved in time as below;

> When we installed that work at first, it consisted of a boy playing zurna and the birds coming out of it, black and white. It had stayed like that for two years. Then the students of METU added red birds, among others. We loved it and thought that it was evolving. Someone came and supported our work

[77] Bombing: An act of painting many different walls inside one city area or train within a very short timeframe. Retrieved from https://berlinstreetart.com/graffiti-words/ on July 26, 2021.
[78] "Normalde İstanbul'da falan writerlarla sokak sanatçıları falan pek anlaşamazlar, iki taraf birbirini boklar falan, Ankara'da çok güzel bir ortam oluştu. Biz çıkıyoruz işte 5-6 kişi, iki tane writer var üç tane resim yapan var, ya da tam tersi. Çıkıyoruz, bir gecede bir koca duvarı boyuyoruz Tunalı'da, hop patlatıp sonra benim o dönem Tunalı'daki evimde buluşuyoruz, içiyoruz, kaynatıyoruz falan." (C.Sonel), translated by the author.
[79] 40 Haramiler [40 Robbers] street exhibition was held in 2012 with involvement of 40 artists and 80 artworks in total. The artworks, consisting of posters, manifestos, collages, photographs, drawings, etc. were prepared as blueprints and placed on the billboards and electronic advertising scroller units in Çankaya, Ankara.

> instead of spoiling it. So we kept their birds as a gesture and revised the work as two people with birds coming out of their chests. ... This time, we did it colored; at first, it was black since we were out of money.[80]

One can claim that such examples of collective action in guerilla urban art practices do not refer to any emancipatory agenda for the society as usual in urban commons. However, these practices demonstrate the possibility of an alternative form of representation, collectivity, and production in art. Tan states that being aware of the symbolic changes of public space, resisting the instrumentalizing role of public art in urban spaces, and creating artworks that intervene in normative social spaces can genuinely lead to socially engaged artworks (Tan, 2008, p. 137). They represent a critical perspective to the existing and propose a potential route to follow. Moreover, Iveson (2010, p. 437) states that the insistence that graffiti writers and artists show on the use-value of urban space suggests "strategies to both enliven and democratize the city."

The final resemblance between the guerilla art and urban commons practices is the temporality of both practices. Urban commons represent a quick reaction to a sudden action in the urban sphere. Since most commoning practices occur on a local scale, though they might address a larger problem, they last until the moment of consensus or oppression. Furthermore, in the ever-changing agenda of the societies, urban commons change forms and methodologies accordingly. Similarly, guerilla urban art is temporal as a result of its spatiality. The street's dynamics are also ever-changing. The street is alive, transforming, growing. The artwork, therefore, is affected by external dynamics, including the interventions of other artists, the weather conditions, the property owners, and the authorities. However, this affection

[80] "Biz o işi yaptığımız zaman bir kişi zurna çalıyordu zurnanın ucundan kuşlar çıkıyordu, siyah beyaz. Sonra o iki yıl kaldı. Sonra ODTÜ'lüler oraya kırmızı kuşlar eklemişler o bizim kuşların arasına. Bizim çok hoşumuza gitti, aa dedik bak gelişebilen bir şey. Biri de gelmiş bizim işimizi bozmamış, destek çıkmış. Biz de onlara jest olsun diye onları kuşlarını bıraktık. Sonra şey yaptık işte, göğsünü açmış iki kişi böyle, göğüslerinden kuşlar çıkıyor. ... Renkli yaptık biz onu, ilk yaptığımızda paramız olmadığı için siyah spreyle yapmıştık." (H., Avareler), translated by the author.

transforms the artwork, as well. The artwork becomes engaged to the public space and adapts to its progress. Even if the artwork is lost, this is also a part of the progress. Each guerilla practice means a bite from the invaded public space, and bit by bit, the public space would be restored as a space of expression and existence for the community. Burnham states that;

> These interventions, at their core, are more than a creative play between the artist and the physical city, and could be seen as a nascent form of DIY urban design. They signal a step-change in not only the street art scene but in the relationship between the power of the individual and the aesthetics of the city (Burnham, 2010, p. 137).

The transformative potential of guerilla practices proposes a new urban sphere agenda, both in social and spatial aspects. As these practices are formed in a diverse spatiality, they lead to a certain kind of consciousness to the latent aspects of the neglected areas in the cityscape. One common field of application for urban art is the abandoned buildings. Located on the margin of public and private, these grey zones involve an imaginable scenario for the intersection of commoning and guerilla art practices. Bina had been a significant example of this intersection, demonstrating an exceptional form of urban commons, though it had never been declared one.

4.3 Re-Interpreting the Abandonment of the Bina

> Among the city's signs, urban voids and uncertain places – those land masses that break the continuity of the urban logic and appear as sites without a specific identity or usage – become exotics, uncanny spaces that challenge the very idea of the well-defined, planned city. They represent spatial potentialities and possibilities and lend themselves to speculative readings and artistic interpretation. ... What I mean here is that, aside from their physical peculiarity and their seemingly arbitrary existence in the urban sphere, those spaces could have or produce a specific relation to individuals and other particular social cases (Tan, 2008, p. 136).

As Tan states, the in-betweenness, the limbo-state of space, might suggest many potentialities in the urban sphere. The evolution of Bina represents how an

abandoned space in level zero might adapt to the dynamics set by the users. In its early stages, Bina was a symbol for the subcultures obtaining the place as a *dwelling.* Hetherington explains dwelling as belonging, "aiming to create alternatives to conventional modes of living, to create new lifestyles and become someone else" (Hetherington, 1998, p. 128). In this sense, Bina embodied the spatial equivalents of the identity structures and provided an arena for self-expression. It also contained the diversity within a subculture, allowed individual spatialities and performances while gathering them under its roof. Different musical genres were represented through separate bars during the rock bars period, similar to the LGBTIQ+ period when the spatiality of different queer communities was represented in distinct spaces, as well. The heterogeneity it involved led to a wide range of possible social interrelations. Moreover, it contained dynamism through heterogeneity.

The conditions that led to its abandonment provided an alternative life for the Bina. The emergence of the limbo state in terms of property ownership, being in-between the public and the private, resulted in the occupation of the Bina by several groups for different purposes and sustained this occupation for a long time. As the Bina was left to its fate, the decision-makers had become the actors actually practicing in the building. The Bina, therefore, gained a significant role in the spatiality of guerilla urban art practices. Many urban art installations have been on the abandoned buildings in Ankara, particularly in Çankaya, where wild urban transformation occasionally leads to these "urban voids" in the cityscape. Furthermore, some cases have been abandoned for a long time and transformed into 'an academy for the new-beginner street artists,' such as Büklüm Street, No.53. (See Figure 4.7)

Figure 4.7. Artworks at Büklüm Street, No.53 (Source: Courtesy of the author)

Besides the practical reasons, such as the lack of control and intervention, leading street artists to install artwork on abandoned buildings, there are common motivational reasons that trigger the occupation of an abandoned building. Kılıç and Chaker explain how their former relationship affected their motivation to occupy Bina. Their familiarity with the Bina led them to consider the building as a canvas and maintain its relationship through their own mediums. Kaptan, on the other hand, explains how he establishes a relationship with an abandoned building during his practice as below;

> There are many characteristic buildings in Ayrancı; I'm especially after them. Besides painting it easier, my main aim is to communicate with the building's architect. Because when you enter that abandoned and vacant building, I think you face the core of the architect's art. That naked concrete where nobody lives, and there is someone that designed it. I think the spirit of the building summons when nobody lives there. In a sense, the experiences form it; however, it continues to live when abandoned. I prefer those buildings.[81]

Kaptan's motivation is significant since it demonstrates the artist's intimate relationship with the abandoned building, proving that this motivation contains emotional aspects. The Bina, as Kaptan states, continued to live after it was abandoned. It represented a new adaptation to the changing environment and program that was attributed to it. Therefore the Bina represents the characteristics of lived social space in Lefebvrean perspective and Thirdspace in Soja's theorization of the space (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). Soja explains the similarities between the social space and the Thirdspace as below;

> They are the "dominated spaces," the spaces of the peripheries, the margins and the marginalized, the "Third Worlds" that can be found at all scales, in

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[81] "Çok karakteristik binalar var Ayrancı'da, özellikle kovalıyorum yani. Daha rahat boyamanın dışında asıl amacım o mimarla da bir iletişime geçmek. Çünkü o binanın metruk halinin içine girdiğin zaman, terkedilmiş halinin içine girdiğin zaman, bence binanın, o mimarın öz sanatıyla karşılaşıyorsun. O çıplak, kimsenin yaşamadığı betonlar ve onu tasarlayan birisi var. Bence kimse yaşamadığı zaman binanın ruhu daha rahat ortaya çıkıyor. Bir yerde yaşanmışlıklar onu oluşturuyor ama terkedilince de o yaşamaya devam ediyor. Öyle binaları tercih ediyorum." (Karagözüktükaptan), translated by the author.

> the corpo-reality of the body and mind, in sexuality and subjectivity, in individual and collective identities from the most local to the most global. They are the chosen spaces for struggle, liberation, emancipation (Soja, 1996, p. 68).

The practices, the gatherings, and the incidents in the Bina illustrate the potentiality derived from its multi-layered heterogeneity. Combining all the discussions abovementioned in this study, the question is, therefore, apparent: Could this potentiality evolve into a medium of autonomous practice? How? Tan argues that artists searching for free relation and action between the individual and space would end up in social spaces not defined by the global economy or neoliberal state (Tan, 2008, p. 138). Therefore, it is possible to organize an autonomous practice in such abandoned spaces. Due to the temporality of the practice and the adaptability of the space, abandoned spaces might propose a generative platform for artistic performances in the public sphere. The collective action is intrinsic to guerilla art practices. Even though the artist performs individually, the artist considers the other artists and their works. This consideration is a principle of coexistence in the public sphere. This new form of communality through places, infrastructures, and buildings, as Tan states, is the essence of commoning practices that enforce collective action in the urban sphere (Tan, 2019, p. 140).

Consequently, the abandonment of Bina shall be reconsidered as a spatial transformation that led to the emergence of multi-layered interrelations. Its powerful yet modest existence enabled many experiences and gatherings that would inspire future practices in the field. Its assigned architectural quality did not promise much. However, its evolution in time with each incident leading its transformation and each gathering defining its spatiality as a lived space demonstrates the potential scenarios. It suggests a broader perspective and a fresh point of view in evaluating these left-over pieces in the cityscape.

Guerilla urban art practices can be assumed as the artists' "right-to-city" manifestos in the urban sphere. These practices demonstrate the artists' reaction to the ongoing

hegemonic power relations in the public space and art institutions. They propose the possibility and the resistance of 'another.' Moreover, it proposes a possibility of autonomy against institutionalized art. By collective action and self-decision-making mechanism, guerilla urban art neglects all kinds of authority and establishes its own organization. The practice is intrinsically temporary; it neglects the commodification of the artwork. The artwork is applied in the public sphere, open to any kind of intervention. Therefore, its duration and consequence are uncertain. However, the essential part of the practice is not the artwork's stability.

On the contrary, it might be and should be integrated into the public space's dynamics. Performance is an essential concept in practice. The core motivations behind the practice are installing artwork in the public space, participating in collective action, and engaging the urban sphere via an artistic medium. Ignoring any type of mediator between the artwork and the audience, guerilla artists represent their work directly to a broader audience. Therefore, the dynamics of the practice are revised accordingly.

All these determinants of guerilla art represent a parallelity to the urban commons. The common aspects of guerilla art and urban commons are the temporalities, collective action, bottom-up organization, reclaiming the urban sphere, and negotiation. Therefore, this study suggests that guerilla art practices are part of the spatial, motivational, and organizational characteristics of urban commons. The spatiality of both practices is organized in places outside the hegemonic stratum of the authorities. Urban voids and abandoned places represent the in-between spaces in the urban sphere. Therefore, these spaces can be assumed as a potential arena for guerilla art and commoning practices that might be evaluated with a generative platform of expression developed via these spaces, demonstrating the adaptability in the ever-changing dynamics of the urban sphere. It has been progressively urgent to search for the alternatives of the current system for a fair, ethical and equitable life. Therefore we need to evaluate our possibilities within the system itself.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

> Only when politics focuses on the production and reproduction of urban life the central labor process out of which revolutionary impulses arise will it be possible to mobilize anti-capitalist struggles capable of radically transforming daily life. Only when it is understood that those who build and sustain urban life have a primary claim to that which they have produced, and that one of their claims is to the unalienated right to make a city more after their own heart's desire, will we arrive at a politics of the urban that will make sense (Harvey, 2012, p. xvi).

The ever-changing structure and organization of the city have been affected by the market dynamics that led to the city's capitalism-centric transformation, especially by the neoliberal policies in the last decades. Privatization of resources, the commodification of land, and the replacement of people by the hand of governments for the sake of the market signify the priority order in today's world from the governments' perspective. The current course of events illustrates that Lefebvre's argument that the destruction of urban society is the common strategy of state powers and economic interests is still valid today (Lefebvre, 1996, pp. 128–129). The economic gap between social classes has been increasing as access to resources is limited by privatization and allowed to use the privileged. With the invasion policies of powerful states and corporates on the urban scale, among other global interventions, which occur on a micro-scale, gentrification has become a reality for the lower class groups living in the city center. Both ideological and economic factors considered by the State and the corporates led to the displacement of minorities to the city's periphery. As a result, the city center is 'sterilized' and 'restored' for the benefit of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is certain that under the reign of the capitalist and ideological hegemony, there is no place for a righteous, autonomous way of living prioritizing human life.

This study aims to represent a focused perspective to the emancipatory agendas based on commoning practices in the urban sphere. As the main scope of the study, guerilla art practices are investigated through urban commons. Based on the presumption that guerilla art practices are a form of commoning in the urban sphere, this study investigates the interrelation of these two practices.

To signify the resemblances between urban commons and guerilla art practices, a brief introduction to urban commons forms the second chapter of the study. Among many movements that have stood against the violation of rights in the urban sphere organized around Lefebvrean discourse of "right to city," the reclaim of urban commons and the commoning practices are the main scope of this study. Based on a local organization for distributing common resources among the appropriators, commoning practices aim to restore the inequality while building up a relationship based on consensus in society. Although commoning practices may vary in a wide spectrum, they have the triad of these inputs; a common resource should be governed and shared, the community that will share this common resource and the practice itself. Thus, commoning proposes autonomous self-organization within a community on a resource apart from the existing capitalist property relationships.

In the urban scheme, the commoning involves various spatial practices. Harvey (2012) defines this spatiality by Lefebvrean heterotopia concept and explains how the practices based on what people do, feel, and sense create the heterotopic place. Another significant theory based on Lefebvre's trialectic of space is the Thirdspace introduced by Soja. This spatial concept proposes a third dimension of the real and imagined spaces, an in-between space constructed via interrelations and gatherings (Soja, 1996). The bottom-up approaches, emerging heterotopic places, and lived social spaces, as a result, represent the spatiality of commoning, such as squatting movements, guerilla gardening, and guerilla art movements.

In the third chapter, an abandoned building in the city center of Ankara is selected as a case to investigate to rationalize the discussion. Among the aspects, it represented as a heterotopic place and a lived space regarding Lefebvre's and Soja's

conceptualization, the Bina had a significant place in Ankara's urban memory for certain subcultures in particular. Hence, this study should have mentioned its history, which led to questioning the role of a sense of belonging as an aspect of a heterotopic place. Although there have been many studies and inquiries on the relationship between guerilla art and commoning, this study might distinguish itself from the rest by involving this particular case of the Bina. Besides the fact that the Bina has never been investigated in such detail, its existence and significance in the history of many subcultures, its lives, deaths, and resurrections assign it an importance in the urban memory of Ankara. All the interviewees who have experienced the Bina declare their sense of belonging with the building and express their gratitude for witnessing its existence and the sadness caused by its destruction. Although their motivations to experience Bina are varied and determined by the Bina's period's dynamics, they all mention its potentials and possible scenarios that would have changed its destiny. Therefore, the involvement of the Bina enriches the scope and the field of the study. It allows looking up into the fertile minds of Ankara, most of whom somehow encountered in the Bina.

In the fourth chapter, guerilla art practices are investigated in Ankara. The spatiality of guerilla art requires an inquiry involving discussion of public space, community participation, and the artist's engagement with the public through art. The motivations leading to guerilla activism in art contain the artist's perspective on the urban space and politics. Guerilla art is represented as a stand against the institutionalization and commodification of art in this study. Although guerilla artwork need not represent a political standpoint, the installation of artwork on a public surface is by and of itself political. Most of the artists interviewed during this study indicate their intention to claim a right on the public space. The public space is invaded by the tools of economic interests, such as billboards, scroller units, or the OSB boards framing the construction sites. The installation of artwork using these tools of capitalist hegemony over the public sphere is the artist's tactic of reclaiming the city. The moment of performance represents resistance.

In some cases, the content of the artwork represents a manifesto of the artist. Instead of existing in the public space as a visual element, the street artwork signifies a common problem and conveys the public. It triggers the thinking of the audience. Thus, the dynamics affecting guerilla movements involve the artist's or the art collective's approach, both as artists and citizens. Along with the external dynamics, including the state-force oppression or economic reasons, the tension between this duality directly affects the end product and the temporality of the movement. The methodology and the process of street art require unique techniques and approaches due to its intrinsic temporality. Due to the illegality of the performance, the installation is usually processed at night for a short period. Therefore, some artists prefer to place their artwork on abandoned buildings. These buildings represent an in-between character – both demonstrating the characteristics of public and the private. An abandoned building is more accessible than private property, and it is out of the state forces' assigned area. As a result, the practices in abandoned areas are more flexible and enduring than those in public space, whereas they are equally visible and open for the audience. Another criterion for the desirability of abandoned buildings is the mediator between the artists and the city in their memories. Most of the artists establish a connection with the building they installed artwork. The building's architectural quality, its existence in the cityscape, and its characteristics as a *lived space* affect its selection as a canvas for street art. In Bina's case, it is significant that the building's architectural characteristics made it an attraction point for several artistic performances.

The study, to summarize, clusters around three main concepts: the urban commons and commoning practices, the Bina and its heterotopic quality, and the guerilla art practices in the urban sphere and abandoned buildings. The latter concept comprehends and harmonizes the former two and consequently develops the main argument in the study. First, urban commons are investigated within a theoretical framework to analyze the structure of the practice and its motivations. This analysis is essential to explain the possibilities of urban commons in a wide spectrum of practices. Guerilla urban art is claimed as a commoning practice in the study due to

this aspect of urban commons. Secondly, the selected case, the Bina, is represented in a comprehensive framework, including its architectural qualities, historical timeline, and socio-spatial aspects within the urban context of Ankara. Hence, the case features an essential part of the study. Finally, the guerilla urban art practices are investigated in detail; in artistic, political, spatial, and performative contexts.

Based on the abandoned character of the Bina, this study questions the potentiality of abandoned buildings in the cityscape as a generative ground for commoning. During the investigations of guerilla urban art practices in Ankara, I observed that many installations are on the abandoned buildings. This observation is questioned and supported with several interviews with the practicing artists. The result derived from this study represents a unique character of abandoned buildings as the canvas of such practices and proposes a possible ground for commoning practices. One particular result that derived from this study is a potential definition of the spatiality of urban commons. The abandoned buildings represent another version of a heterotopic place on the margins. In this sense, this study has a genuine aspect for representing an alternative perspective to the spatiality of urban commons.

Moreover, the potentiality of abandoned buildings might demonstrate a generative model for the autonomous art organizations, which address another form of commoning. For the artists willing to detach themselves from the institutionalized art community, self-governed mechanisms might be realized through commoning practices. Accordingly, similar to the guerilla art practices, the heterogeneity and the *thirdspace* character of the abandoned buildings and areas might encounter the spatial requirements of these self-governed art communities.

Besides the generative models investigated, this study has an archival quality since it investigates a popular yet never-examined building in Ankara's urban culture. Bina had been a well-known figure in the urban life of Ankara in many aspects. It had been a cultural medium for the generations in the last decades and an arena for urban practices. In addition, the interviews with graffiti and urban artists strengthen the archival quality of the study. Considering these qualities, this study represents a

comprehensive approach involving various discussions merged into each other. As a result of this comprehensiveness, this study might evolve into a wide range of possible fields. The assumptions derived by this study can analyze several other commoning practices in Ankara and Turkey. Although each has a different plan and context, the common patterns of these practices might be analyzed to determine a system of commons in Turkey. In the presentation part of the Turkish translation of Harvey's *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*, Temiz mentions that in the minds of the citizens of Turkey, a public land, building, or a natural resource refer to *terra nullius*,[82] a legal gap which is nobody's responsibility instead of common property.[83] This mindset and its reflections on the commoning practices might be investigated within an architectural and urban theoretical framework. The study might involve the active participation of a community by conducting a series of workshops so that the concrete outcomes would support the thesis statement.

Another possible field for the future projection of this study is the spatiality of the subcultures. This study has briefly introduced the spatiality of subcultures, especially in the 1990s and the 2000s in Ankara. According to my research during this study, I can claim that rock and metal music fans and performers have their own spatial mapping in the city. This mapping can be investigated through a brief theoretical analysis and a field study to enrich the inquiry. Unfortunately, Ankara has failed to preserve an urban memory against the aggressive urban transformation. Being a relatively new city and the Republic symbol, Ankara has witnessed an inadequately planned and processed urban transformation that represents the current government's tendency of an ideological shift in Turkey.

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[82] no man's land. Translated and defined by the author.
[83] Harvey, D. (2015) Asi Şehirler: Şehir Hakkından Kentsel Devrime Doğru, çev. Ayşe Deniz Temiz. Metis Yayınları.

Along with other neoliberal policies affecting the city for the last 30 years, Ankara's modern urban identity has lost most of its unique qualities that have been constructed since the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, under the dominance of current cultural and ideological hegemony, it has been severely difficult to maintain the relationship with the city as social life has been transferred to the periphery or to the shopping mall, which is another solid fact of Ankara today, the city center has been abandoned. Hence, an archival study following the traces of the spatiality of social life in Ankara from the perspective of a particular subculture would propose a genuine contribution to the literature.

In addition to all the qualities they represent mentioned above, these alternative future projections allow a multidisciplinary framework including architecture, urban politics, visual studies similar to this study. Since architecture is a multidisciplinary practice (or praxis), it can converge into many other fields. This convergence proposes fruitful collaborations and opens up new perspectives. The city is a complex composition of structures, relations, and incidents. Therefore, urban dynamics should be discussed and theorized within a collaborative mindset.

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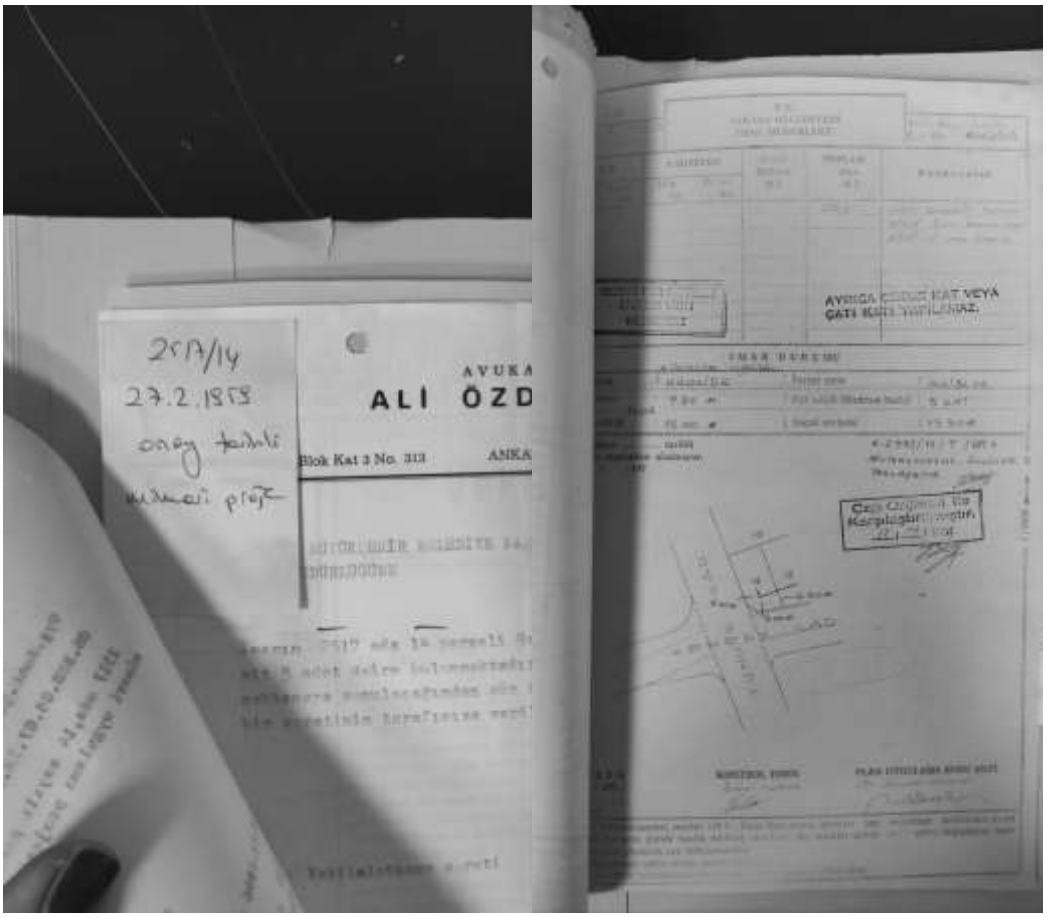
APPENDICES

A. Building Zoning Documents



B. Ethical Committee Permission Document

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14 NİSAN 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof. Dr. Güven Arif SARGIN

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız İrem Senem BÜYÜKKOÇAK'ın "INVESTIGATING COMMONS THROUGH THE PERSPECTIVE OF URBAN ART IN ANKARA: GUERILLA ART PRACTICES IN BINA" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **128-ODTU-2021** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Dr.Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
İAEK Başkan Vekili

C. Questions for Interviews

I. Questions for Interviews with Regular Users

1. How can you describe your relationship with the Bina?
2. For what purpose have you been in the Bina? (Customer, staff, resident, artwork installer)
3. Between which years have you been in the Bina?
4. How did your relationship start with the Bina?
5. Could you describe the architectural qualities of the Bina in terms of its relationship with the surrounding?
6. Could you describe the spatial organization between the apartments in the Bina?
7. Could you describe the spatial organization inside the apartment?
8. Could you describe the social interaction in the Bina?
9. Was there any conflict regarding differences?
10. Could you describe the gender based relationships in the Bina?
11. Could you describe the social life in Ankara by the time you were in the Bina?
12. When did you stop going to the Bina?
13. Is there any particular reason for you to stop going to the Bina?
14. Do you feel any sense of belonging of familiarity to the Bina?

II. Questions for Interviews with Guerilla Actors

1. How can you describe your relationship with the Bina?
2. For what purpose have you been in the Bina? (Customer, staff, resident, artwork installer)
3. Between which years have you been in the Bina?
4. How did your relationship start with the Bina?
5. When did you start practicing as a street artist?
6. What are the motivations of street art?

7. What are the technical requirements in the practice?
8. What are the challenges you face during practice?
9. How can you compare the guerilla street art and conventional artistic production?
10. Do you think that guerilla street art is a form of reclaim in the city?

D. Drawings Received from E. Alptekin