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NEW MODEL OF PARTICIPATION AND EMERGING CITIZENSHIP IN THE CONTEXT OF TAKSIM PEDESTRIANIZATION PROJECT

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To my family.

ABSTRACT (ENG)

We are living in a period of significant transformations in the world since the global diffusion of neoliberal capitalism starting from the 1970s. In Turkey, the construction sector has been the dominant sector to promote economic growth and progress in the country. Istanbul has been at the center of this development due to its location as a bridge for international land and sea trade routes. Taksim Pedestrianization Project was one of the urban transformation projects in Istanbul in the lack of a participatory process. Gezi protests took place mainly in Istanbul and different cities during the summer of 2013 against the transformation of Gezi Park as a part of Taksim Pedestrianization Project. These protests emerged as an alternative to forms of public participation through the social media because people had no other channels to make their voices heard. As the project has been criticized for the lack of a participatory process, it is interesting to analyze new tools and methods of protests and its implications. In this regard, this research will discuss the ‘’New model of participation and emerging citizenship in the context of Taksim Pedestrianization Project and Gezi Protests.’’

Keywords: urban transformation, right to the city, citizenship, new social movements, collective actions and actors, Gezi

ABSTRACT (IT)

Lo sviluppo del capitalismo neoliberista a livello globale è la cifra dei nostri tempi. Le città sono il luogo delle ricadute spaziali delle trasformazioni che lo accompagnano e in parte lo alimentano. In Turchia, il settore delle costruzioni è stato il settore trainante per promuovere la crescita economica e il progresso nel paese. Istanbul è stata al centro di questo sviluppo grazie alla sua posizione strategica di ponte per le rotte commerciali internazionali di terra e mare. Uno dei progetti più contestati nella città e, successivamente in tutto il Paese, è il cosiddetto "Taksim Pedestrianization Project", lanciato senza alcun meccanismo di condivisione con la cittadinanza e alcun processo partecipativo. L'avvio del progetto con la tentata distruzione di Gezi Park, situato entro il perimetro di trasformazione di Taksim ha dato luogo ad una serie di proteste che, da locali, si sono estese in diverse città durante l'estate del 2013. Queste proteste sono emerse attraverso i social media come modello alternativo di partecipazione pubblica, quando le persone non avevano altri canali per far sentire la propria voce. Se da un lato le vicende connesse alla trasformazione di quella zona di Istanbul sono state critiche per per la mancanza di un processo partecipativo, dall'altro è necessario sottolineare quali strumenti e metodologie di voicing sono a disposizione al giorno d'oggi. A tal proposito, questa tesi presenterà e discuterà il modello di partecipazione e cittadinanza emergente nel contesto del Taksim Pedestrianization Project e delle proteste di Gezi, illustrando nel contempo, le caratteristiche dei nuovi movimento sociali. Gezi è stata l'occasione per una trasformazione delle proteste da locali a sovral ocali.

Parole chiave: trasformazione urbana, diritto alla città, cittadinanza, nuovi movimenti sociali, azioni collettive e attori, Gezi

1. INTRODUCTION

Urban settlements, all around the world, have been under the influence of ever-increasing numbers in population and high-volume global economy. While the change has been characterized mainly by technological and political developments, their influence on urban settlements remains quite dramatic, spatially unique and strikingly diverse. The researches address two critical facts about the numbers of the urban population all around the world; while the urban population in 1950 was 751 million, in 2018 it reached 4.2 billion[1] and 55% of the world's population live in urban areas which means virtually more than half of the total population.

Together with their urban and rural areas, populations and growing economies; planning, building and managing cities have never been more complex and problematic than it has been in the first two decades of the 21st century. Every day, cities set aims to be more competitive, more productive and more stupendous; being rich centers of the global market, being vivid focal points of production circles and being socially and spatially different hubs of international networks.

While rapid urbanization and population growth have been challenging the capacity and the ability of state and local authorities, ''*there has everywhere been an emphatic turn towards neoliberalism in political-economic practices and thinking since the 1970s''* (Harvey, 2005: 2). The term of ''neoliberal'' exploded in the 1990s (Rodrik, 2017) as the main driver of even today's global world where the cities have failed to provide equal services for its citizens. Especially in the metropolitan regions, cities have been suffering the consequences of being shaped by market-oriented policies and rant-focused managements.

The interplay between urbanization and society has been very vulnerable for the manipulation of economic and political power holders. This undying legacy of twentieth (possibly of the beginning of twenty-first) century has a rather simple equation: as the society becomes a profitable tool in the hands of economic and political supremacies (Goonewardena, 2007), the mobilization of the society has been triggered by the urban transformation processes. In response to the brutal and unfair methods which neoliberal systems apply in managing cities and shaping societies since the early 1990s, Harvey (2012) draws attention to the necessity

[1] The United Nations, 2018, accessed April 30, 2018.
https://www.un.org/development/desa/en/news/population/2018-revision-of-world-urbanization-prospects.html

and the relevance of democratic decision-making processes in planning, in shaping cities and most importantly in maintaining the quality of daily life. "The right to the city" has emerged from this very point as a part of basic human rights, since the neoliberal policies have destructive effects on everyday human life. Harvey (2012: 4) described "the right to the city" as ''*a right to change and reinvent the city more after our hearts' desire. It is, moreover, a collective rather than an individual right, since reinventing the city inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power over the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.*'' Thus, the neoliberalism has created a more aggressive and competitive environment for the cities, while it has also allowed for a more global discourse of urban protest with Right to the City slogan.

When Lefebvre (1996) defined the city as "*an oeuvre, a work in which all citizens participate*" (p.158), he refused to accept the monopoly of the state in shaping urban space. The city is where citizens take part in decision making about the use of local land and the reproduction of urban space –the participation act of citizens is actually the core sense of the "right to the city". Lefebvre (1996: 158) describes the right passionately as a right to "*urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete usage of … moments and places.*''

According to David Harvey (2012: 5) to claim ''the right to the city'' is:

" *to claim some kind of shaping power over the processes of urbanization, over the ways in which our cities are made and re-made and to do so in a fundamental and radical way. Cities have arisen through the geographical and social concentrations of a surplus product. Urbanization has always been, therefore, a class phenomena of some sort, since surpluses have been extracted from somewhere and from somebody while the control over the disbursement of the surplus typically lies in a few hands. This general situation persists under capitalism, of course, but in this case, there is an intimate connection with the perpetual search for surplus value (profit) that drives the capitalist dynamic. Since urbanization depends on the mobilization of a surplus product an inner connection emerges between the development of capitalism and urbanization.''*

Centeno and Cohen (2012: 318) identified three perspective of neoliberalism:

(1) a technical policy debate regarding the best mode of operating an economy;
(2) an institutionalized crisis containment strategy involving political choices and power;
(3) the rise of a hegemonic ideology or system of thought.

From the point of Centeno and Cohen, cities in the neoliberal world can be described as where the hegemonic projects of power-holders take place and where the resistance emerges against the hegemonic entities and the projects themselves.

Since the 1970s, the unavoidable neoliberal policies on urban issues, the daring privatization of urban lands, planning entities and implementation methods; the commercialization of public spaces and facilities and excessive safety measures of the surveillance and security of urban areas are among many other factors which have prepared the ground for urban movements. On this respect, Castells (2012) addressed the main contradiction of urban capitalism: while it causes urban movements, it is verified by them as well.

Since the characteristics of the capitalist city are the causes for the new social movements, the city is where the movements take place. On one hand, the opportunities which cities provide for ever-increasing quality of life are the main motivation pillars behind the urban transformations (however, the increase is never for all). On the other hand, social inequalities, regenerated through the undemocratic land-use and management, are the main motivation pillars behind social movements. Daily life in urban centers requires defined places, and capitalism is here to build them for/thanks to the power-holders.

Similarly, post-industrial societies have been through a transformative process where social, economic and political relationships were redefined. The emerging of contemporary social movements (post-1965) can be analyzed in the discourse of changing political context and shifting relations between the public and the private (Lentin, 1999).

Therefore, contemporary social movements, as products of the post-industrial era, demand reformation in two main area; increase in the quality of life for all and effective participation of citizens in the governance of cities (Pichardo, 1997). Hereby, contemporary social movements have emerged in the 1950s as a result of the dissatisfaction and the disapproval which citizens have against the living conditions, the quality of life, and the possessed lifestyle (Lentin, 1999). The last century witnessed the dramatic change in all the aspects mentioned above, while the neoliberalism came to the picture.

Neoliberalism and globalization have been taken its course in Turkey in the last three decades; one of the particular effects of them can be identified with the ever-growing sector of

construction. Urban transformation and urban expansion quickly became two very beneficial tools -economically and politically- which are used in the extreme construction endeavors in cities of Turkey. Today, around two million people employ in the construction sector in Turkey. And, Turkish construction firms are evaluated as the second most active operations after Chinese firms (Farooq, 2018). Urban transformation projects have some failures all over Turkey when it comes to provide certain degree of quality of implementation, livability of built environment and so, the well-being of the citizens. Cities that we live in, -especially cities like Istanbul where historical and cultural heritage together with overwhelming numbers of population take on-, on one hand, are the hubs of inequalities where the value of land is determined by market. On the other hand, they are our homes, parks, schools, streets where the value and the meaning are determined based on the density of human exchange and interaction. Cities became places where the aim of planning becomes profit-making, where urban transformation becomes the immediate and forceful imposition and where the fundamental human rights of the citizens are not prioritized, or worse, are ignored.

Istanbul has been characterized with power over the centuries, economically and politically thanks to its privileged location where Europe and Asia meet. After being the capital of Byzantine and Ottoman Empire, and with the foundation of Republic of Turkey in 1923, Istanbul has not lost anything from its economic, social and cultural significance in the global context. However, the city has been subjected to massive amounts of migration from all over Turkey and relatedly rapid, irregular and destructive urbanization. The transformation model through privatization of lands, facilities and uses, as a factor of globalization, shaped the urban planning processes and their implementation in Istanbul, and eventually the city itself. Istanbul, in 21st century, is the most significant metropolis in the region and an undeniable actor among global cities network. The economic, political and social infrastructure have been adjusted according to these developments both legally and illegally; with the campaign of promising an attractive center for foreign investors where local capital and entrepreneurial potential has also been stimulated by the global financial networks.

The 2011 elections became a turning point especially for the methods of planning, implementation and management of urban lands. The current government has adopted and advocated intensely an urban policy based on “mega urban projects” which are backed up by the construction sector and the manipulation of land value. ‘’Gezi Park Transformation Project’’, which is a part of the ‘’Taksim Pedestrianization Project’’, is one of the “crazy”

(mentioned by the prime minister of the time) urban projects. Academics, professionals and citizens have challenged with the claims of unfair economic profit of the project against the power-holders. The contemporary methods of urban planning and implementation were characterized by neoliberal policies to increase capital accumulation. They have been challenged by the protestors of Gezi Movement with slogans such as "Capital, go away! Gezi Park is ours". Gezi Park Transformation Project is not the only architectural transformation project which creates controversy; the Tophane Port area and Haydarpasa Train Station and Galataport, Third Bridge, Third Airport, Canal Istanbul Project and New City Istanbul Project have been produced, advocated and advertised by political and economic actors in response to the demands of global and local capital in Istanbul.

As these "crazy" transformation and privatization projects set an aim to make Istanbul a true "global city", the methods goals the displacement of low class, disadvantageous groups of people and communities from inner-city areas (as happened in Tarlabası and Sulukule Neighborhoods), destruction of green spaces and historical places. Most of these transformation decisions have met local resistance, have been challenged by writers, journalists in the intellectual levels, and have been criticized and studied by academics. However, none of them resulted in a significant social movement like Gezi Park Protests. The decision-making process did not include the participation of citizens, neither consensus among inhabitants, nor consultation to profession chambers such as planners, architects and engineers unions. The social and urban movement as a reaction to Taksim Pedestrianization Project, actually, was not the only focus of the protesters. It was a collective reaction to all the other transformation projects have taken place in Istanbul and all over Turkey where the same "crazy" ideals have been performed. The resistance was emerged in Gezi Park and became a nation-wide movement easily since the neoliberal policies have involved the whole country not only Istanbul. Consequently, one of the main slogans used by protesters "Everywhere Taksim, Everywhere Resistance" can be seen as an exemplary nation-wide act of collective actions.

The characteristic structure of the Gezi Park protests overlaps with the general distinctive features of new social movements such as the ideology and goals, tactics, structure, and the participants model of the contemporary social movements as Pichardo mentined (1997). Recently, similar demonstrations have been taken place in different parts of the world with various motivations; such as the anti-globalization protest in ''Seattle'' against the World Trade Organization (WTO), ''Arab Spring'' as an anti-government protests across the Middle

East in early 2011, ‘’Occupy Wall Street’’, and the protest against the economic policies in Spain, Greece and Italy. The common point for all of them was the fact that urban space, streets, squares, parks became the symbolic and physical tools to demand rights and change for all. From a broader perspective, Gezi Park Protests may be characterized by social movements of which main strength was being able to sustain a tight network among participants through social media and public space. As Diani (1992) describes the contemporary movements as a process that induces the mobilization between plurality of individuals, and groups or organizations; the Gezi Park protests can be defined as a social movement that had no class or leadership like the other new social movements. The common aspect of all these contemporary social movements is demanding democratic rights which had been ignored by power-holders during decision-making process. Gezi movement aimed to fix the same problem in Turkey, although it was spatialized as Taksim Square and Gezi Park.

As all social movements are unique in their motivation, methods and features, to detect the difference of “Gezi Movement” from others is not only necessary, but also informative and important. Gezi Movement had two main achievements at the end, the prevention of the destruction of Gezi Park and the claim of right to the city publicly which were violated by the top-down urban transformation projects of the past ten years.

1.1. Research objectives and questions

From the basic level, ‘’Gezi Project’’ is an urban transformation project as a product of neo-liberal policies. The reasons what made this issue crucial across Turkey and all over the world inspired me to do a comprehensive literature review about recollection of project documents, policy analysis, etc.

Taking its base from an academic motivation; the primary aim of this research is to examine the ‘’New model of participation and emerging citizenship in the context of Gezi Protest and Taksim Pedestrianization Project’’, as represented in the title of my thesis. It is crucial to understand ‘’how is the aspect of Gezi Park Protest both as a social movement and urban movement and which factors affected the process’’ to give an answer to this proposed dissertation. This interest leads to the following research questions such as: ’How and why did this transformation take place? How citizens have the right to speak about their future and which factors influence the quality of the decision-making process? What makes the new

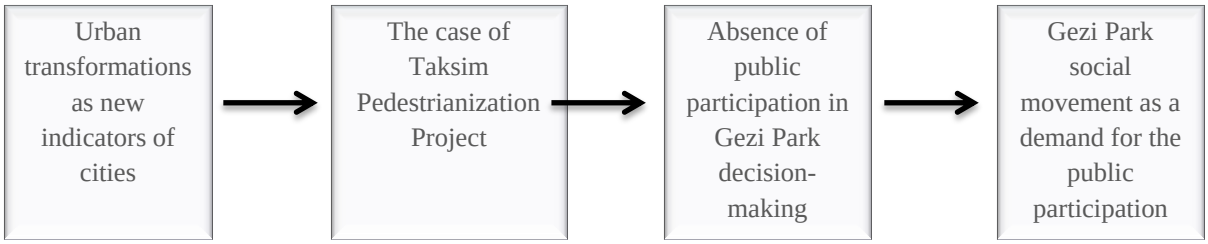
model of public participation operational for the emerging citizenship? What role social media takes on the new form of social movements?

All these questions are investigated in the context of ‘’ Gezi Park Protest and Taksim Pedestrianization Project.’’

1.2. Research methodology

To answer all these research questions, the thesis builds on its theoretical framework with an interdisciplinary approach on the ‘’Urban Transformation’’ literature, the concept of the ‘’ Right to the City’’, ‘’ New Social Movements Theory’’ and the progressive process of the case study. A qualitative methodology is used for the empirical part of this research with several data collection techniques. Firstly, I had comprehensive research on a national and global press review about the project and protests from 2013 to today's including newspapers, magazines and many websites that are all available on the references part. Secondly, I used some report and surveys like KONDA Research and Consultancy that was carried out on 6-7 June 2013. It surveyed 4.441 protestors at Gezi Park. Report by the Chamber of Environmental Engineers (2014) was also one of the resources I used for the theoretical and statistical data. However, these surveys gave some statistical data about the demographics of protestors and their political tendencies. Then, in order to understand the personal incentives of the protestors, I had semi-structured interviews through the open-ended questions with those who took part in the Gezi protests. These interviews mostly carried out privately because most of the interviewed did not allow me to mention their identities and to make audio recordings of the interviews. Lastly, I analyzed and used many interviews available on YouTube and in magazines (with many professions such as the architect, urban planner, politician, academician, and activist).

1.3. The thesis structure



The thesis is composed of eight main chapters. The thesis analyses the Taksim Pedestrianization Project both in urban and social context regarding how the urban movement transformed into the social movement. Within the scope of this thesis, the main features of the work such as research objectives, questions and methodologies, and a general introduction to the structure of the thesis is given at first chapter.

The second chapter investigates the emergence of urban transformation in Turkey and especially in Istanbul to understand the effects of urban transformation on cities. First the emergence of urban transformation is investigated all over the world to understand the reasons, how and when the urban transformation based on the neoliberal policies arises in Turkey as a product of the neoliberal economy. Secondly, the urban transformation process in Turkey and its changing laws is examined to interpret the role of the government in the decision- making process and the role of the citizens in public participation. Finally, the urban transformation process in Istanbul is investigated to analyse the Taksim Pedestrianization Project and Gezi Park.

In the third chapter, the Taksim Pedestrianization Project and Gezi Park as a part of the project is defined in the urban context.

In the fourth chapter, after knowing about the project as an urban transformation project, it is investigated the effects of the project on the city identity. Moreover, when it becomes a movement with the reasons explained in the previous chapter, it is examined what changed the face of protests from environmental aspect to the protest against capital and power.

The fifth chapter is the last chapter of the urban context of thesis, which has a comprehensive research on the ‘’right to the city.’’ This chapter introduces the right to city within the absence of participation in Gezi Park decision-making process. As a consequence, the social

movement is seen as a spatial defence against the participation process, and introduced a new form of public participation. Thus, the social context of the thesis starts.

The sixth chapter investigates the concept of new social movements, actions and actor to understand the Gezi Movement better before moving on to the next chapter. This chapter also gives the answers to some research questions such as: ‘’What makes the new model of public participation operational for the emerging citizenship? What role social media takes on the new form of social movements?

The seventh chapter analyses the case of Gezi Movement as a part of new social movements.

The final chapter presents the conclusions that summarize the whole and overall discussion and findings of my research.

2. AS A NEW INDICATOR OF URBAN SPACE

2.1. The Effect of Urban Transformation on Cities

As urban areas keep growing in the world, thanks to the “information age” they are more connected than ever. In other words, information is being transferred in/between urban areas regularly where the social and spatial change is constant. The shift from industrial to information age emerged capitalism as a critical change in the late twentieth century (Castells, 2012). The transformation from the industrial era to the global world has been reshaped cities over the second half of the twentieth century.

Cities play a significant role in shaping patterns of growth, innovation, and resilience which impact the social conditions and local economies. While causing several policy-based consequences, urban transformations are also the potential solutions for economic and environmental change. Since the 19th century, various urban transformation policies and interventions have sought solutions for with physical, economic, social and environmental problems of cities. The first urban transformation attempts have been shown in the 19th century due to the rapid urbanization thanks to industrialization (Sisman, Kibaroglu 2009). In this period, Haussmann's transformation of Paris between 1851 and 1873 was carried out. After the industrial revolution, inhuman living conditions of the working class in the European metropolis made many city planners, architects and philosophers consider and find solutions about it. Thus, it accelerated to emerge the first idea of "Urban Transformation."

The terms of ''Urban Transformation'' have a wide range of meanings and actions including many of intervention types, based on their vision, aims, strategies and methods. Urban transformation refers to the strategies and actions to improve the economic, social, physical and environmental conditions of urban areas where deterioration and destruction took place in different levels by implicating the intervention methods (Sisman, Kibaroglu 2009). Therefore, based on the concept, one might consider urban transformation as an essential aspect of “right to the city”. However, there are obvious differences between the aim and result of the project which may lead to the violations of the right to the city, particularly right to housing. Urban transformation projects, especially in squatter areas, cause severe problems and unjust treatment about the right to the city and right to the housing. Since the inter-connection between the development of capitalism and urbanization; ideals of urban identity, citizenship, and belonging of the expected coherent urban politics, already have been threatened by the

spreading malaise of the individualistic neoliberal ethics and it became much harder to sustain (Harvey, 2008).

By the time of progress; the political and economic structures of the urban transformation have changed urban planning process in the favor of global integration. Since the early stages of capitalism, spatial construction has become very important. Planning and creating new areas for housing, urban facilities, and transportation became a powerful tool and privilege in the modern world, like Haussmann's renovation plan was. This point can be observed in the first phase of the urban transformation, which is mentioned as a spatial construction of capitalist society, and also in the second phase of urban transformation which is relevant for the twentieth century.

The different stages of the industrial revolution in 18^{th} and 19^{th} centuries created new significant places and functions thanks to new resources coming from the increased number of factories. Thus, human labors were required for the factories, and the housing had to be provided for the workers. As Weber (1889) mentioned, industrial cities grew sharply due to the residential locations for the new workers and new managers of the factories. Urbanization was the dominant spatial intervention of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the industrializing world. Power and wealth shifted from the old port and merchant cities to the new industrial cities. Modernization and migration were the two aspects which shaped the population distribution together with urban expansion and macro forms (Thorns, 2000).

After the industrial revolution; increasing environmental pollution, disorganized industrial areas, dense housing and low standards of living and inadequate infrastructure services caused the inferior urbanization conditions. Thus, urban transformation practices have started first in the nineteenth century with urban regeneration of some regions in responding to the urban growths. The first urban regeneration projects have provided to increase the public space to create clean, healthy and livable cities. In the second half of the 19th century, ''The Parks Movement'' aimed at bringing the nature to the city. Thus, in 1844, the city of Liverpool engaged the gardener Joseph Paxton to lay out Birkenhead Park as the first urban garden, together with recreation areas for sports, open to the public, citizens of Liverpool (Akkar, 2006). Therefore, ''Central Park'' in the city of New York and ''Birkenhead Park'' can be seen as a part of the movements.

The second phase of urban transformation, which the approach of the social welfare state was dominated, was criticized by Lefebvre. He believed that in the second phase, urban planning

took a role to produce ‘*’an abstract space of the power’’* to guarantee the existence of a capitalist state. At the beginning of the 20th century, ‘’Modernist Movement’’ has led the way of urban regenerations. Modern architects faced with the problems of over-population conditions, traffic, inadequate light and air, poor sanitation, and lack of public spaces of the nineteenth-century city. Modernist Movement had also been active when it comes to the ‘’Urban Reconstruction’’ after the Second World War. Urban Reconstruction was associated with wartime damage. Urban Policies of the 1940s and 1950s for urban reconstruction provided the replacement of old urban uses by the new urban uses and provided to eliminate the physical problems of past. During this period, the reconstruction policies were suggested by the central administration. For example, in the United States in 1949, ‘’Housing Law’’ provided the institutionalization of urban reconstruction and the widening of social housing policies (Akkar, 2006).

At the beginning of the 1960s and 70s, the notions of ‘'Urban Renewal and Urban Improvement" were highlighted. In this term, it was agreed on the correlation between the physical and social deterioration. Thus, it was concerned with architectural and social preservation, with the emphasis on renewal and improvement. During this period, urban transformation projects have been introduced in the urban periphery and slums. The effects of those projects, considering the central administration were limited. However, those projects were essential by creating both physical space and its social impacts.

In the 1970’s, the mass production of Fordism developed a fiscal crisis, and it caused to the globalization of capitalism. Thus, the third phase of urban transformation has emerged, and as Kurtulus (2000) mentioned that the spatial occupation of capital in neoliberal urbanism has started. In contemporary globalization world, the impact of neoliberal ideology on cities as a transformative tool was discovered via urban transformation (Arslan, 2014). With neoliberal ideology, new service sectors have emerged in countries. In response to these developments, neoliberalism has changed the form, function, and user of the space. In the 1980s and 1990s, economic globalization created a new type of city called a ‘'global city’' which is supposed to encourage the contemporary global economy.

To understand the new global urban system, it is crucial to identify a set of significant changes occurred in the world's economy since the 1970s because it provides the contextual background from which a new global urban system has emerged. Generally, the most pronounced effect of globalization has been a shift in urban governmental policy from

managerialism to entrepreneurism, which views the city as a product that should be marketed (Vliet, 2002).

The most recent phase of globalization since the late 1970s and early 1980s has been characterized by enormous improvements in both transportation and communication technologies, dramatic increases in the openness of international capital and labor markets (Venables 2006). Moreover, the development of areas of global economic integration in which many nation-specific institutional structures are to differing degrees harmonized and merged between countries (McCann, 2009).

Since the mid-1980s, neoliberal urban policy (applied, for example, across the European Union) concluded that redistributing wealth to less advantaged neighborhoods, cities, and regions was futile and that resources should instead be channeled to dynamic "entrepreneurial" growth poles (Harvey, 2012). In the 1980s, the essential part of urban transformation projects has been aimed at providing economic development of evacuated, non-functional and collapsed spaces of cities. Most of the urban transformations of the 1980s were carried out with public-private partnership.

Since the 1990s, the most common intervention style has been ‘'Urban Regeneration.'' In the urban areas, the urban regeneration process deals with the problems of urban deprivation or deterioration, and it attempts to find solutions for them. The main characteristic of this term was associated with being multi-actor and multi-sector based urban transformation. In the 1990s, the local government played a crucial role in transforming. The urban transformation projects were realized by public, private and NGO partnership, focused on the social reality and so it became vital in regional and national levels as well.

After 1990, urban transformation approach has also changed. In the 1980s, urban transformation highlighted physical and economic part of the space. However, since 1990, the urban transformation could be public weal only if it has been considered together with physical, economic, social and environmental parts of the space.

In the late twentieth century, it has been witnessed that in many countries a retreat from the welfare state and a refashioning of the state-citizen relationship around a neo-liberal rights and responsibilities model rather than one of the universal entitlements (Thorns, 2000). This change has caused the reformation of the relationships between the public and private investors and the reconstitution of civil society. While urban areas are expanding with their

growth potential, the capital flow together with investments, human sources and ability of the spatial configuration has been drawn into these areas where inequality and wealth are rooted in. The main factor, technological developments in the post-modern era, increases the accessibility for the citizens to information and knowledge, while creating new ways and methods of business in different levels.

Cities, with their urban cores, tend to leave the most vulnerable populations under the biggest risks of environmental change. By the 2000s, the effects of global capitalism have been more apparent on cities. Globalization, based on the neoliberal policies, has changed the idea of the city. Cities have become attraction centers where the capital has been reproduced. Thus, global cities have enhanced, and the competitive markets of the neoliberal world have emerged among those cities.

While the urban redevelopment came to the fore in the global contest, inequalities in urban space and class differences also became obvious problems. Cities have started to transform to be a financial center and to create urban areas for neoliberal market logic.

After the 1980s, the real estate sector has played a crucial role in the new type of economy, urban development and urban transformation. In today's world, the globalizing urbanization process has not always resulted in development for citizens because the operation has been controlled by the dominant powers. A new form of capital accumulation commoditizes the urban landscapes, particularly in metropolitans. Thus, the new type of cities has been attracting particularly the real estate investors who do not take into consideration issues of livability and sustainability in their strategic decision-making. In the contemporary global world, they make changes in economic structure and their spatial reflection into consideration and not any local respond to them regarding urban sociology structure. By analogy with transformations in the fiscal system, the political answer is bound to be much more complicated in our times precisely because the urban process is now global in scope and wracked with all manner of fissures, insecurities, and uneven geographical developments (Harvey, 2008). What determines most in the world of radical development is the speed of the change and the city’s ability to answer this need of speed. In short, current globalization era can be summarized as the neo-liberal principles of ‘'free markets,'' the elimination of regulations and barriers that interfere with the proper operation of markets and the increased mobility of goods, capital and people across regions and nations. The effects of globalization

have also been observed in Turkey in the last three decades, so that the ongoing restructuring process.

2.2. Historical Development Process of Urban Transformation In Turkey

Urban Transformations can be defined as economical vitalizations of an inner city. Recently, social aspects gained importance as well as economic and physical issues for the single projects (Kundak and Turkoglu, 2011).The first known urban interventions in Turkey were in the last century of the Ottoman Empire (Yenice, 2014). Those were physical development plans towards the construction of fire zones. In 1950 and afterward, the disposal and improvement of illegal dwelling units replaced with the redevelopment of urban fire zones and reconstruction of war-damaged urban areas.

‘'Urban Transformation’’ in Turkey has first taken a significant place with the idea of creating ‘‘modern cities’’ in the Republic era[2] .The urbanization in Turkey started in 1950-1980 due to the rural-urban migration which is parallel to the industrialization. This urbanization caused a housing shortage and the emergence of infrastructure issues. After the 80’s, the concept of '‘urban transformation'' has become more popular as the economic policies of IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank have affected the structure of the cities. In this period, the indigenization and globalization in relation with the neo-liberal policies affected both the urban areas and urban life.

1950’s had been a new period in Turkey for the urban transformation. It has been a transition towards to a multi-party system and liberal economy period. On the one hand, that transition caused to the migration from rural to urban and rapid urbanization, and on the other side, it facilitated the emergence of the industrial cities. The urbanization movements which started in the Republic era have accelerated in the 1950’s based on the migration from rural to urban contexts. Inconvenient urbanization and housing have arisen because cities were not ready for the rapid urbanization. The inadequacy of the existing housing stock made the immigrants build illegal dwelling units called ‘‘Gecekondu’’- in Turkish- (literally ‘’built overnight’’) in the urban periphery. Meanwhile, preventing the illegal dwelling units called ‘’Gecekondu’’

[2] Republic period: It has started with the foundation of the Republic of Turkey in 29th October 1923. ‘’Mustafa Kemal Ataturk’’, the first president of Turkey and the founder of the Republic of Turkey, formed the ‘’Republic’’ regime of Turkish State with the modern constitution prepared by him.

and reconstructing the low-density built-up areas in the city center originated the urban transformation movements at the top of the agenda (Yenice, 2014).

In Turkey, the concept of ‘’transformation’’ has arisen in the 1980’s in urban centers and Gecekondu areas. In 1984, Law 2981 on ‘’Procedures to be Implemented on Constructions Contradicting Building and Gecekondu Regulations” and Law 6785 numbered on ‘’Amendments to an Article of the Building Code” played a crucial role at the process of transforming Gecekondu areas. Law 2981 was a conditional law based on the renewal and development plan by the municipality. In the late 1980’s, the urban transformation projects were the primary topic of the municipalities’ agenda. The urban transformation project of ‘’Dikmen Vadisi’’ was the first project for the urban transformation of Gecekondu areas (Karadag, 2008).

The big scale urban interventions, especially in Istanbul, managed the by central administration as well as interventions in Gecekondu areas, were essential to understanding the urban transformation approaches of the era. The essential part of those implementations was ‘’Construction Law 6785 and article 42 of this law’’ which was published in the official gazette on 16.07.1956, and was evoked on 16.01.1957. These implementations which were aiming at decreasing the vehicle traffic in Istanbul provided to enlarge some roads in the city. On the one hand, those implementations were criticized because they damaged the historic fabric of Istanbul and on the other hand, they initiated similar implementations in other large cities of Anatolia such as Konya and Kayseri, where the boulevard implementations were seen (Yenice, 2014).

In the post-1980 period, the approach of conservation and renovation were used together; in 2000 and later, the approach of conservation, renovation, improvement, and gentrification were used together. The changes in the way of implementing strategies were based on both the political characters of time and different factors of urban transformation. These changes on the implementation of urban transformation emerged because both the private sector became dominant on the urban transformation projects carried out by the public investment, and the public and private sector partnership emerged.

The cases of urban transformation are generally located in old industrial sites and ports, historical deteriorated areas in city centers, and old residential regions of developed countries (Yenice, 2014). In 1999, the Marmara Earthquake showed that about 60% of the building stock in Turkey was vulnerable to the earthquake. Therefore, after the 1999 Marmara

Earthquake, urban transformation cases in Turkey were focused on the vulnerable areas for earthquakes (Kundak and Turkoglu, 2011).

Mega transformation projects were announced for Istanbul before the 1999 Marmara Earthquake. Afterward, the earthquake occurred. Foreign investors took full advantage of the earthquake. Thus, the urban transformation became earthquake-focused urban transformation, and ‘‘Zeytinburnu’’ located in Istanbul was the first earthquake-focused urban transformation project.

The 1999 Marmara Earthquake caused the debated concept of urban transformation particularly in Istanbul because the municipalities used the earthquake risk as an excuse for urban transformation. The law 6306 on ‘‘Transformation of Areas at Risk of Natural Disaster,’’16.05.2012, accelerated the urban transformation activities. This law involved the transformation of functionless, damaged and disaster risky buildings or urban areas in the city center. However, it also included the transformation of legalized urban areas of the 90’s by reclamation and development, and especially in the urban peripheries (Okumus, Eyuboglu 2015).

After the 1999 Marmara Earthquake, the legislative amendments focused on the risky urban settlements. The 2011 Van Earthquake provoked different laws for the legal-administrative solution about the urban transformation in Turkey. However, it revealed the lack of a new and integrated legal framework (Yenice, 2014).

Urban transformation attempts regarding the Law 6306 were carried out by private investors or public-private partnership in Istanbul. If the private investor implements an urban transformation project, then the private investor could ignore the legal procedure of the Law 6306. Moreover, in the land development process, the private investor and the owner make an informal consensus for the land (Okumus, Eyuboglu 2015). In this case, the landowner could sell own land in exchange for having one or more flats on the sold land.

After Turkey’s 2002 general election, it was continued the effective economic policies that were introduced after a significant financial crisis in 2001. Thanks to these effective economic policies and a fifteen-year-old customs union with the EU and accession negotiations to EU, emerged in 2005, there has been a significant inflow of European direct investment in Turkey (Pierini, 2013). The country has developed as an integrated production platform for European manufacturing industries.

The primary strategy of the new government was to create new resources by privatizing public assets, and to gain an economic growth with the development of the construction sector as Yasar Adnan Adanalı mentioned in his interview (2015). Therefore, the productive public lands were the markets for the private sector.

According to Yasar Adnan Adanalı (2015: 155),

‘’*Since the current the government came to power in 2002, economic growth in Turkey has been heavily dependent upon the development of the construction sector. Turkey is experiencing an urban transformation at a massive scale. The expected number of housing units in Turkey to be demolished and redeveloped is around 7 million, a substantial part of Istanbul. In many instances, whole neighborhoods are being designated as renewal sites, demolished and redeveloped as gated communities or shopping malls. Much of the urban renewal process in Turkey can be associated with a lack of participation, and a failure to put the demands of the people who live in urban transformation areas at the center. The renewal process in Turkey is almost a textbook case of dispossessing the urban middle- to lower middle classes through renewal projects that are planned to make a profit.*’’

Another result of this strategy is that urban transformation projects radically changed the economic, social and physical structure of cities. There were two priorities for spatial transformations. Their primary purpose was the spatial transformation of Gecekondu areas and the protected historic housing areas to enlarge the activity of the market players over the city areas that are outside of the capitalist system. As a result of the neoliberal policies adopted by the public administrations in the recent years, it can be said that the interests of the private capital on the urban space have gained more power against the public benefit. In short, the marketing of the urban land have been continuing rapidly thanks to the "coalition" between the local or central governments and the large capital (Denec, 2014).

The principal way of applying these mentioned policies and implementing urban transformation projects by the central authority is the ‘’Turkish Mass Housing Administration’’ (TOKI) created by the government in the 1980s to provide low-income housing to municipalities. It was founded in 1984, and with the financial crisis in 2001, it became nonfunctional. However, it was restructured and reauthorized by the government. In 2003, the Prime Ministry decided to move its administration from the ‘’Under Secretariat of Housing’’ to ‘’The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement.’’ In 2004, TOKI formally

became an administration depending on Prime Ministry and has been assigned an independent budget[3].

TOKI has facilitated the government's attempt to renew, redesign, and to redevelop cities profitably. Moreover, several laws about TOKI were passed, changing the way of urbanization and the city development proceeds[4]. TOKI acts like private cooperation with unlimited authority instead of working as a public corporation. It manages the public lands with its rules. It projects by establishing partnerships with the private sector and makes profit by selling these projects (Denec, 2014).

From 2003 to today (2018), TOKI reached 837.572 units[5]. Thus; TOKI has become a key engine in the development and transformation of urban areas. Despite its claims to provide affordable housing, its focus has not been on low income housing. The municipalities' partnership with TOKI initiates through a request by the municipality. Priority is given to the transformation of high-risk areas, and suitability of the development site (Kundak and Turkoglu, 2011).

There are two different financial models that TOKI uses in producing the projects. The first one is ''tender offer'' to build social housings for the low-income groups. In this model, TOKI gets the land free from the public, and it offers the housing projects through Law No. 4734 on ''Public Procurement.'' When the housing is completed, TOKI provides beneficiaries to settle through the long-term and low-interest rate (Kundak and Turkoglu, 2011).

The second model is ''profit sharing'' that TOKI uses in producing the projects. In this model, TOKI takes the public land freely with the private sector partnerships. Afterward, it sells it to private persons and shares the revenue. This model applies especially in the metropolis like Istanbul and Ankara due to the high value of the lands (Kundak and Turkoglu, 2011).

Regarding these two model, it can be summarized that TOKI produces ''social housing'' by selling the public lands to the private sector. The only difference between these two models about the architecture is the materials of constructions and social facilities. Consequently, it was producing all the same type of housing all around the country. Since 2002, 817.089

[3] http://www.toki.gov.tr/kurulus-ve-tarihce, accessed March 12, 2018.
[4] http://www.kaee.uni-goettingen.de/mapping-istanbul/project/squatting-2/state-capitalism-neo-liberal-politics-toki-and-urban-transformation-in-istanbul-since-2002/, accessed March 12, 2018.
[5] https://www.toki.gov.tr/AppResources/UserFiles/files/FaaliyetOzeti/ozet.pdf, accessed March 12, 2018.

houses have been built in 81 cities. The goal is 1.200.000 houses within 2023[8]. Shortly, the main problem of this housing administration, which manages the housing policy of the country, is the lack of design principles as it mentioned above, and not serving the purpose of low-income housing to municipalities.

In Turkey, the subject of ''urban renewal'' was a topical issue mainly in the late 2000's. However, it was first discussed in the academic community in 2003 with the ''Urban Transformation Symposium'' organized by the ''Chamber of City Planners'' within TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects). In 2004 and later, the issue of urban transformation/renewal became essential in the law of harmonization code of the European Union (Genc, 2008).

The urban transformation projects that started to implement in the 2000s are mostly large-scale projects which are carried out by large-scale capital groups, primarily by TOKI. One of the large-scale urban transformation projects is the ''North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project'' in 2004. In Turkey, the most critical processes on urban transformation and local administrations occurred in 2003 and the following years. As a result, in these periods, the collaboration between the local administration and the private sector took a prominent place.

When the urban transformation in Turkey is analyzed spatially and functionally, it could be observed that non-residential urban transformations have arisen beside housing-oriented initiatives. However, nonfunctional housing zones have been still the most crucial issue of the transformation. Particularly the destructive effects of the 1999 Marmara Earthquake and 2011 Van Earthquake affected profoundly the legal and institutional structuring of the urban transformation. Moreover, the law 6306 ''Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk'' is known as an urban transformation law. From this point of view, the urban transformation areas could consider all parts of the city, and any legal reforms about urban transformation also have to consider all parts of the city (Yenice, 2014).

The urban transformation has evolved based on the socio-economic and the political developments. The transformation process initially was carried out by the public investments. Afterward, the process has been carried out by the increasing private sector or public-private sector partnership. Moreover, after the 2000's, the role of central administration has enhanced on urban transformation process. In this transformation process, after the 2000's, it was observed that the transformations were carried out more on the public spaces instead of the

risky urban settlements. These actions showed that the city identity, locals, and their participation were ignored in the decisions-making process of transformation projects (Yenice, 2014).

In Turkey, the urban transformation is limited with the transformation of physical space as a response to the urban decays. Moreover, the social, economic and environmental aspects of the urban transformation are ignored. However, the urban transformation can be successful only if it is considered as a whole.

In Turkey, it has been observed three approaches by the private sector on the areas where urban transformation is needed:

(1) big construction firms make the transformation of the lands with a high value of rent;

(2) small companies or property developers transform lands with less value of the rent, and the major transport axes or the periphery of luxury housing areas; and

(3) urban transformation cannot be made on the profitless lands of the city, but more in the urban periphery or Gecekondu areas near the industrial area (Sisman, Kibaroglu 2009).

Urban transformation seems to be the government's primary tool for disaster mitigation by guiding urban development and improving the quality of housing stock in Turkey. 5393 Numbered "Municipal Law" gives municipalities the power to initiate urban transformation projects, to rehabilitate urban areas and to mitigate disaster risk. On the one hand, Istanbul, with its more than 15 million populations is waiting for a big earthquake in the next 30 years; on the other hand Istanbul is subjected to several urban transformation projects (Kundak and Turkoglu, 2011).

2.2.1. Changing Laws to Speed Up Transformation

In Turkey as in the most countries, transformation projects in a city, interventions for the new or old buildings like erecting or demolishing, and developing natural spaces are regulated by national or local laws. Moreover, professional experts are also supposed to be involved. But, according to Prof. Cengiz Aktar, the Turkish government has been substantially amending the legislative, regulatory, and administrative frameworks for these projects. Laws have been changed, controls have been reduced, and the consultations have been forgotten. The aim has

been to speed up the process of urban transformation parallel to the government's political goals for the construction sector (Pierini, 2013).

In Turkey, the urban transformation has been officially shown in the laws after the 2000's. These are:

- **(2005) 5393 Numbered ''Municipality Law''**

The municipalities were authorized the first time about the ''urban transformation'' with this law. Especially, Article 69 about ''Land and Housing Production'', and Article 73 about ''Urban Transformation and Development Area'' increased the power of intervention by the municipalities.

Article 73 about ''Urban Transformation and Development Area'' has been changed by some new regulations in 2010. According to the last version of this article; the municipality with the decision of the city council has the right to apply the urban transformation and the development projects:

- to create residential areas, industrial areas, commercial areas, technology parks, public service areas, recreation areas and any social facilities areas;
- to rebuild and restore old parts of city;
- to preserve the historical and cultural heritage of the city or to take precautions against the risk of the earthquake.

According to this article, an area to be taken into account as an urban transformation and a development area has to have any of the reasons mentioned above, and has to be in the municipal boundaries or urban areas. Metropolitan municipalities are authorized to declare these urban transformation and development area in the municipal boundaries or urban areas. When the metropolitan municipalities approve, the district municipalities can apply the urban transformation and development projects in their borders[6]. In the new version of this article, the valid conditions to decide about the urban transformation and development areas were enlarged. Thus, new definitions have emerged such as a dwelling or non-dwelling regions with or without construction to expand the interventions. All in all, new urban transformation and the development projects took place, and the existing projects have accelerated since 2010.

[6] http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5393.pdf, accessed March 12, 2018.

According to the Article 69 of the ‘’Municipality Law’’ about the ‘’Land and Housing Production,’’ the municipalities have the rights to:

- produce the zoning areas with infrastructure;
- construct the housing or mass housing, sell or rent them, and buy the land for all these purposes;
- nationalize or exchanges the areas;
- collaborate with state institutions and organizations, and banks for all these projects.

This law has authorized the metropolitan municipalities to make decisions on the urban transformation. According to this law, the metropolitan municipalities have real decision making powers to transform cities and to apply the projects. Thus, the role of ‘’the Chamber of Environmental Engineers, the Chamber of Architects and Chamber of Urban Planners’’ have been reduced.

- **(2004) 5216 Numbered Law on ‘’Metropolitan Municipalities’’**

According to the Article 7 of this law, the metropolitan municipalities are also able to use the authorities of ‘’Article 69 and 73 on Municipal Law’’. Thus, both the municipalities and metropolitan municipalities are allowed to act like as an individual instead of an institution with the broad authority about urban transformation[7].

In addition to the authority to determine ''urban transformation and development project area,'' the metropolitan municipalities are also allowed for some broad authorities such as the planning and parceling on these areas, building license, and occupancy permit. These authorities are criticized because they deauthorize the district municipalities (Meshur & Ozdemir, 2011).

The district municipalities would apply the urban transformation projects only if the metropolitan municipal council acknowledges. Thus, it is discussed that the metropolitan municipalities can determine the urban transformation and development area without any limit, permit or supervision by any type of state organ (Mimarlar Odası, 2010).

[7] http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5216.pdf, accessed March 12, 2018.

- **(2005) 5366 Numbered Law on ‘’Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties’’**

When the title of this law is taken into account, it seems that it is more about to protect historical and cultural real property. But, the way of its application is more about urban transformation.

According to the Article 1 of this law, metropolitan municipalities and district municipalities within the municipality borders, provincial municipalities, the municipalities with minimum a population of 50.000, and provincial private administrations which is not in the jurisdiction of these municipalities have the right to:

- reconstruct and renovate the damaged and nonfunctional protected areas by following the development of the region;
- create the residential, commercial, culture, tourism and social facilities in these damaged and nonfunctional protected areas;
- take precautions against natural disaster risk, and thus to renovate and conserve historical and cultural real property.

According to the Article 2 of this law, the renovation area is defined by the provincial council in the provincial private administrations, and by the absolute majority vote of the city councilors in the municipality[8].

- **(2012) 6306 Numbered Law on ‘’Transformation of the Areas under Disaster Risk’’**

The Law of Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risks No. 6306 was published on 16 May 2012. This law aims to determine the rules and procedures, compatible with science and craft rules, about improvement, demolition, and renewal to create suitable, healthy and safe living environments[9] .It has been justified by the earthquake risk in many parts of Turkey. According to the law, the areas under threat are defined as the risk-bearing area causing the loss of life and property due to the soil structure and building on it. And, the risky buildings are defined as a structure, established within or outside the risk-bearing area, which has completed its economic life or has the risk of demolishing or getting damaged based on the technical data[9]. The evaluation of these structures can be done by

[8] http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5366.pdf, accessed March 12, 2018.
[9] http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.6306.pdf, accessed March 12, 2018.

"The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization" or institutions and organizations licensed by the Ministry for risky structure determination.

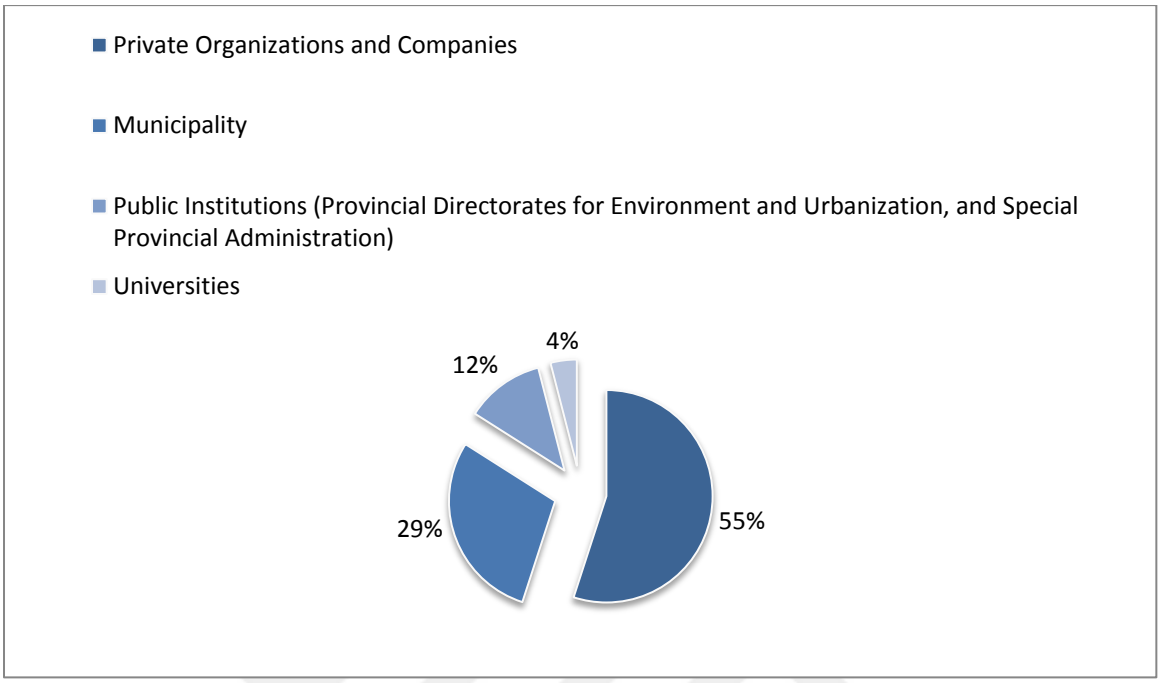


Figure 1: Institutions and organizations authorized by the ministry for the determination of risky structures within the scope of Law No. 6306[9]

When the institutions and organizations authorized by the ministry for the determination of risky structures are examined, it is seen that private firms and organizations form more than half of the authorized institutions (Figure 1).

According to this law, all the authority on improvement, demolition and renewal are given to "The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization". Municipalities, Special Provincial Administrations or TOKI have the authority only when the Ministry tasks them. Therefore, it is criticized because the Ministry has all the authority for deciding about the risky area, both preparing and approving the plan, its supervisory power, and its authority to make arrangements with particular standards[9].

- **(1984) 2985 Numbered ‘’Toki Law’’**

With this law, TOKI was authorized to obtain any plot of government land from the treasury to then privatize it. These lands can either sell it on the market or form a public-private partnership to transform these areas, e.g., as renewal areas. In other words: TOKI has almost absolute zoning and planning authority over every area in Turkey. This authority of TOKI

includes expropriation of entire districts, no matter if specific communities have inhabited those areas for decades[7].

- **(2004) 5104 Numbered Law on ‘‘North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project ’’**

The first direct legislation about urban transformation in Turkey is 5104 numbered “North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project” on 12 March 2004. This urban transformation Project considers the area from the highway of Ankara to North entrance of Ankara. This legislation aims to remove the Gecekondu district in the mentioned area to improve the field physically and environmentally and to provide a more healthy living space for the residents. Thus, it would also be an aim of this legislation to increase the public living standards (Daskıran and Ak, 2015).

This law aims at regenerating the Gecekondu district, located around the Esenboga Airport road, by giving its authority to Ankara metropolitan municipality. Thus, it was aimed to enhance the Gecekondu district physically and aesthetically. “North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project” was an urban transformation project authorized by Ankara metropolitan municipality and TOKI. In this law, any concern was not mentioned about the socio-economic effects of the transformation on the owners. The law was only focused on the physical side of the transformation. However, this law even aimed at physical transformation, it was lack of the social side.

All in all, it could be observed that even though the urban transformation attempts in Turkey have a legal procedure, they are deprived of an integrated approach. Moreover, they serve for the profit of some groups. Generally, the reason why there has been no permanent solution from past to present is that these legislations were copied and implemented with a top-down manner in the EU harmonization process. The Turkish government plays the a central role in making decisions about urban transformation projects and the way of their implementing with the neoliberal economics, top-down political decisions, and hurried schedules. Taksim transformation project has become a symbol of the concept of democracy as it will be detailed more in the next chapters.

2.3. Historical Development Process Of Urban Transformation In Istanbul

Today, with its more than 15 million residents, Istanbul is the biggest metropolitan and the most populous city in Turkey[10]. In 1850, the French novelist Gustave Flaubert predicted that Istanbul would be the capital of the world (The Guardian, 2014). Although it is not the capital of Turkey with its more than 15 million residents, Istanbul is the largest city of European cities[11] . It stretches across 2,060 square miles: four-and-a-half times the area of New York City (The Guardian, 2014). Istanbul is the only city in the world known as a bridge between the East and West. Istanbul has a cosmopolitan population due to its strategic position. Moreover, since the 1950s with internal migration, from a million to almost 15 million nowadays, Istanbul has been transforming and turning global with the uncontrolled and unsustainable urbanization and development.

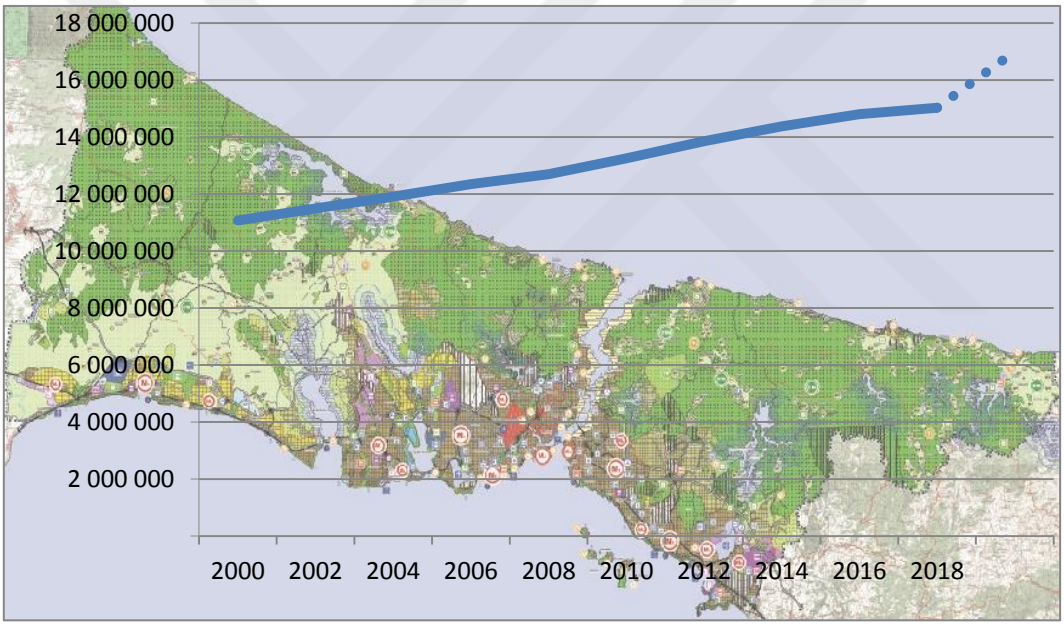


Figure 2: The population of Istanbul[10] (2000- 2018)

Urban transformation policies and applications in Istanbul can be discussed in three different periods with distinct features: 1950-1980, 1980-2000 and after the 2000s. From 1950 until the mid-1980s, the massive rural-urban migration to Istanbul because of the post-war state industrialization encouraged rapid population increase in Istanbul. Therefore, the migrants struggle with their housing needs with the self-build housing called ‘’Gecekondu’’ (literally ‘built overnight’). ‘’Gecekondu’’ is a development of a single story, low-density dwellings on the under-used land usually owned by the state. Thus, the urban transformation between 1950

[10] http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreIstatistikTablo.do?istab_id=1590 accessed July 12, 2018.
[11] http://worldpopulationreview.com/world-cities/, accessed July 12, 2018.

and 1980 focused on the regeneration and rehabilitation of ‘’Gecekondu’’ areas, and decayed urban areas in the city center (Torut & Yonet, 2016). In the meanwhile, migrants could not be able to afford legally constructed houses, and the state could not provide subsidized affordable housing for the migrants. In Istanbul, ‘’Gecekondu’’ development within the municipal boundaries started in Zeytinburnu (Figure 3) and sprawled between 1950 and 1970.

Figure 3: Zeytinburnu ‘’first’’ Gecekodu development in 1950’s[12]

The second period (1980-2000) of urban transformation policies and applications in Istanbul is the rapid socio-spatial transformation period due to the globalization and neoliberal policies. In this period, urban transformation policies and applications focused on the urban renewal and rehabilitation of the areas like preservation or gentrification of historical areas (Torut & Yonet, 2016). Since the 1980s, a significant exception to illegal development was the creation of the Mass Housing Administration (before referred as TOKI) that provides central government support to provide low-income housing for the municipalities. But most of these developments were also poorly constructed on the earthquake-vulnerable land. The 1999 Marmara earthquake was the turning point for the urban transformation. The 1999 Marmara earthquake showed us that about 60% of the building stock in Turkey is vulnerable for the earthquake. Therefore, after the 1999 Marmara earthquake, the urban transformation policies and applications in Istanbul and all around Turkey focused on vulnerable areas for the earthquake (Kundak and Turkoglu, 2011).

[12] http://kent34.com.tr/istanbul/zeytinburnu/1686/, accessed July 12, 2018.

The third period of the urban transformation policies and applications in Istanbul started after 2000. The focus of the urban transformation has shifted to the renewal and reconstruction of the housing stock. Moreover, after the 2000's, the local municipalities gained power in the urban transformation regulations and process (Torus and Yonet, 2016). Also, the globalization and privatization gave a dominant role to the private sector in the construction and urban transformation area. The government said that about $700 billion would invest in new infrastructure, plus $400 billion in urban renewal projects to reach its economic goals for 2023, that is planned to raise Turkey's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to $2 trillion (Farooq, 2018). In 2017, the GDP in Turkey was $ 851.10 billion[13]. All these developments have accelerated the urban transformation process and changed the leading actor from the public sector to private (Torus and Yonet, 2016).

These attractive conditions of Istanbul push the developers and government to build a more modern urban environment for the urban elites which has caused extensive destruction of historic neighborhoods of Istanbul. With the third period of the urban transformation in Istanbul as mentioned before, the tools for changing the city are "urban renewal projects" and ''mega urban development projects'' supported by national and municipal policies.

With approval of Law 5366 on the ''Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties'' by the Council of Ministers in 2005[8], the dynamics of the urban land transformation processes has caused a dramatic change in historic neighborhoods of Istanbul such as Tarlabası (Beyoglu) and Sulukule (Fatih).

In the 20th century, Tarlabası became a new mixed-use area for different ethnic groups. Tarlabası, historic neighborhood of Istanbul, is located at the heart of Istanbul, where the real estate is highly valued. In the 20th century, Tarlabası became a mixed-used area, and was housing different ethnic groups like Greek, Armenian and Jewish population. Most of the community was low-income groups. Tarlabası was also known mainly as being a host to marginalized groups such as drug users, dealers, etc. (Korostoff, Turanalp Uysal, 2015 and Ingin, Islam & Strutz, 2009).

[13] https://tradingeconomics.com/turkey/gdp, accessed August 18, 2018.

The first attempt occurred in 1980, and the mayor Bedreddin Dalan demolished 350 historic dwellings of these families in the narrow Tarlabası Street in Beyoglu district. In 2000's Tarlabası has been marked as a criminal area by the government.

Tarlabası Renewal Project was announced by Beyoglu Municipality at 2006 February by public-private sector partnership between the Municipality of Beyoglu and Calık Real Estate[14]. The goal of the project was to create a mixed-used urban development restoring the historical buildings and renovating the other buildings with a modern architecture style. The project is called ''Tarlabası 360 Project'', which is composed of luxury residences, offices, homes and commercial areas[14].

Figure 4: Tarlabası before Renewal Project[15]

Figure 5: Tarlabası after Renewal Project[14]

[14]http://www.taksim360.com.tr, accessed August 13, 2018.
[15] https://medium.com/karine-hikayeleri/tarlaba%C5%9Fi360-i%CC%87n%C5%9Faat-sinirindaki%CC%87-ya%C5%9Famlar-34c82a846748, accessed August 13, 2018.

- **Disturbing the social fabric?**

All these urban transformation projects also have massive cultural and socioeconomic effect, and led to different degrees of community reaction. One consequence is the marginalization of Istanbul's 2000-year-old Roma community which is an ethnic group that accounts for less than one percent of Turkey's population in Sulukule (Fatih). The Sulukule neighborhood in Istanbul was demolished for a renovation project, and inhabitants created a reaction for removal of their residents to high rise buildings outside the center city. A 2012 report by the Open Society Foundation concluded that:

''Evictions are about more than property; they interrupt the entire life, education, employment and the progress of a family, possibly irreparably, and hasten the decline of the Roma people. Evictions must be viewed and addressed in this light (Pierini, 2013).''

In Turkey, the gentrification and marginalization go hand in hand, and urban transformation, especially in Istanbul, has led to a form of social and spatial segregation of different groups.

Nilay Vardar who is a journalist interested with urban news said that (2017),

''*The most sufferer of the urban transformation is Roma people, because they cannot be organized, and their education level is really low. Therefore, it is effortless to dispossess them. They are willing to sell their dwellings with the price between 5000-10000 TL (Turkish Lira). Sulukule is a typical case in Istanbul, but the situation is the same for the Roma people all around Turkey, I also observed the same situation in Bursa. This ethnic group is divided into the different neighborhoods of the city. This division causes a serious problem. The other citizens living in the same neighborhood have never experienced to live together with this ethnic group, and so a new process begins in the neighborhood. However, the living conditions are not getting better but rather are going worse, and the residents rise against this ethnic group. The last time in Bursa, a group of 1000 people vandalized the dwellings of Roma people and their cars. It is a lynching attempt. The day after, the municipality arrived at the neighborhood, and it demolished five dwellings of the ethnic group with a ridiculous reason. In short, when there is no agreement reached, these Roma people are forced to move with some excuses. When they spread to different parts of the city, both it caused to the breakdown of solidarity between them and caused to this type of social conflict*. ''

The Fatih Municipality, in partnership with TOKI, used Law 5366 on ''Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by Revitalizing of Deteriorated Immovable Historical and Cultural Properties'' to implement the comprehensive redevelopment of the Sulukule neighborhood. Most of the ethnical group of Roma residents was relocated to a TOKI estate which is 40 km far away from the city center. But most of them neither liked their new environment nor were

able to keep up with the payments on the subsidized mortgages provided by TOKI (Gibson & Goksin, 2016).

Citizens with property rights negotiated with construction companies to agree their share of construction, and companies shared its rate of profit. But compensation between the construction companies and residents for ‘’illegal’’ dwellings like ‘’Gecekondu’’ has been still about quarter of their market value. The situation means that a subsidized mortgage was not affordable for many residents. However, new financial incentives like the reduction of VAT on construction from 18% to 1% provided support for citizens who have ‘’legitimate’’ property rights. Moreover, the rent support for the owners to pay for temporary re-housing during the redevelopment was another incentive. But tenants still had no re-housing rights and receive only temporary rent support with a contribution to moving expenses (Gibson & Goksin, 2016). Mücella Yapıcı who is an architect and participated in ‘Gezi Park Movement’ said (2013),

‘*’Since 2005 and especially recently we have seen serious urban violations in Istanbul and all around Turkey due to the neo-liberal urban planning, such as the cases in urban transformation in Tarlabasi and Sulukule neighborhood, third bridge project over Bosphorus and certain fill areas. We were trying to cope with these crazy projects that are not legal.*’’

The global economy of a city via mega-projects is strongly related to the absorption of the surplus product, and thereby helping to resolve the capital surplus absorption problem, as discussed by David Harvey (2012) with references from Haussmann’s Paris to Robert Moses’ New York metropolitan region. Harvey explains that since the urbanization depends on the mobilization of a surplus product, an inner connection emerges between the development of capitalism and urbanization. Following his opinion, Istanbul’s recent massive transformation has been very much related to the attempts of the government, which came into power following one of the worst financial crises in the county. The government attempts to overcome economic crisis via initiation of an ambitious urbanization process.

The rapid urban expansion of Istanbul has caused high pressure on the natural sources as well. The underground water resources are more abundant in the European part of the city than the other parts of the city. The crucial natural zones can be easily affected by disruption or the threat of urban development, and urban land can cover the underground water resources (Kundak and Turkoglu, 2011).

The urban expansion of Istanbul has mainly occurred on the East-West axis along the Southern coast. However, the northern part of the city is mostly covered by the natural reserve areas of the city such as catchment basins, forests, and productive agricultural land. The construction of the Third Bridge, new Northern Highway, and Third Airport pulled the urban development towards the Northern areas where the natural reserve areas of the city are richer. Moreover, Canal Istanbul Project and the New City Istanbul Project will pull more people, which substantially threaten fertile northern part of the city.

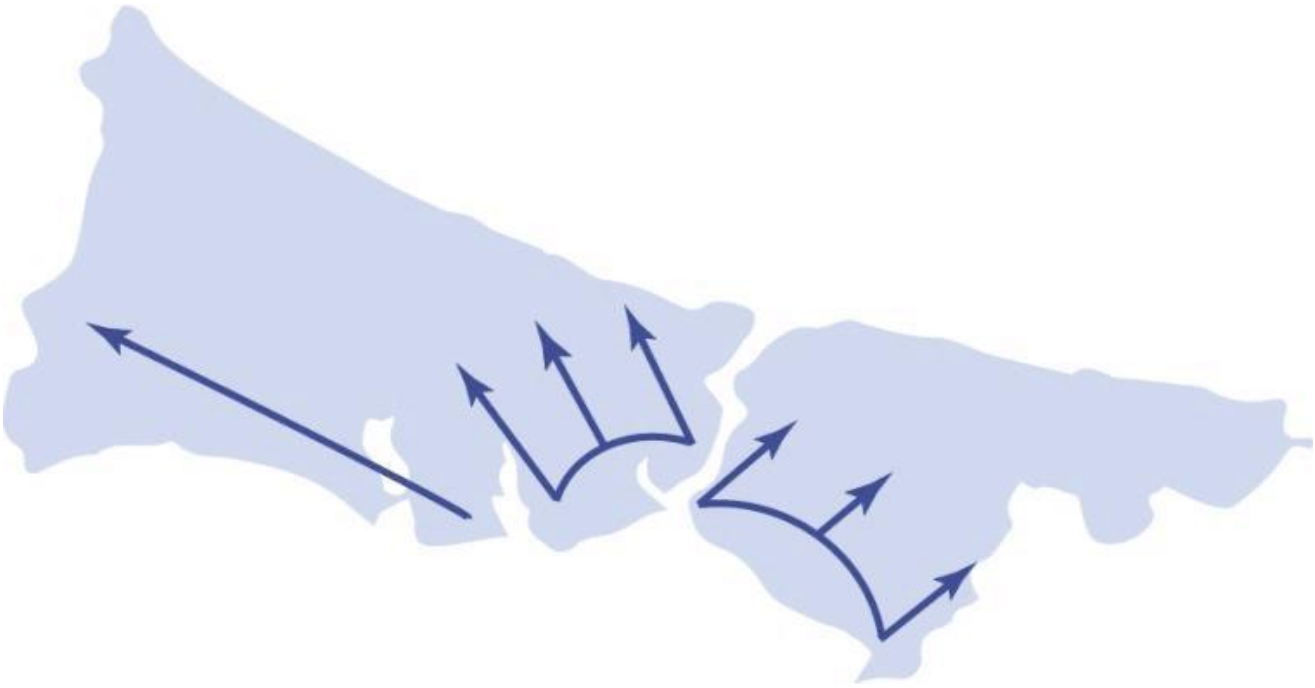


Figure 6: Urban expansion of Istanbul on the East-West axis along the Southern coast

Figure 7: The Green Reserve of Istanbul (1977- 2009)[16]

Figure 8: The Green Reserve of Istanbul in 2018 (Google Earth)

[16] https://www.politikyol.com/istanbulun-yesil-alanlari-azaliyor-kisi-basina-dusen-yesil-alan-viyanada-60-istanbulda-75-metrekare/, accessed July 12, 2018.

- **''CRAZY'' Urban Transformation Projects In Istanbul**

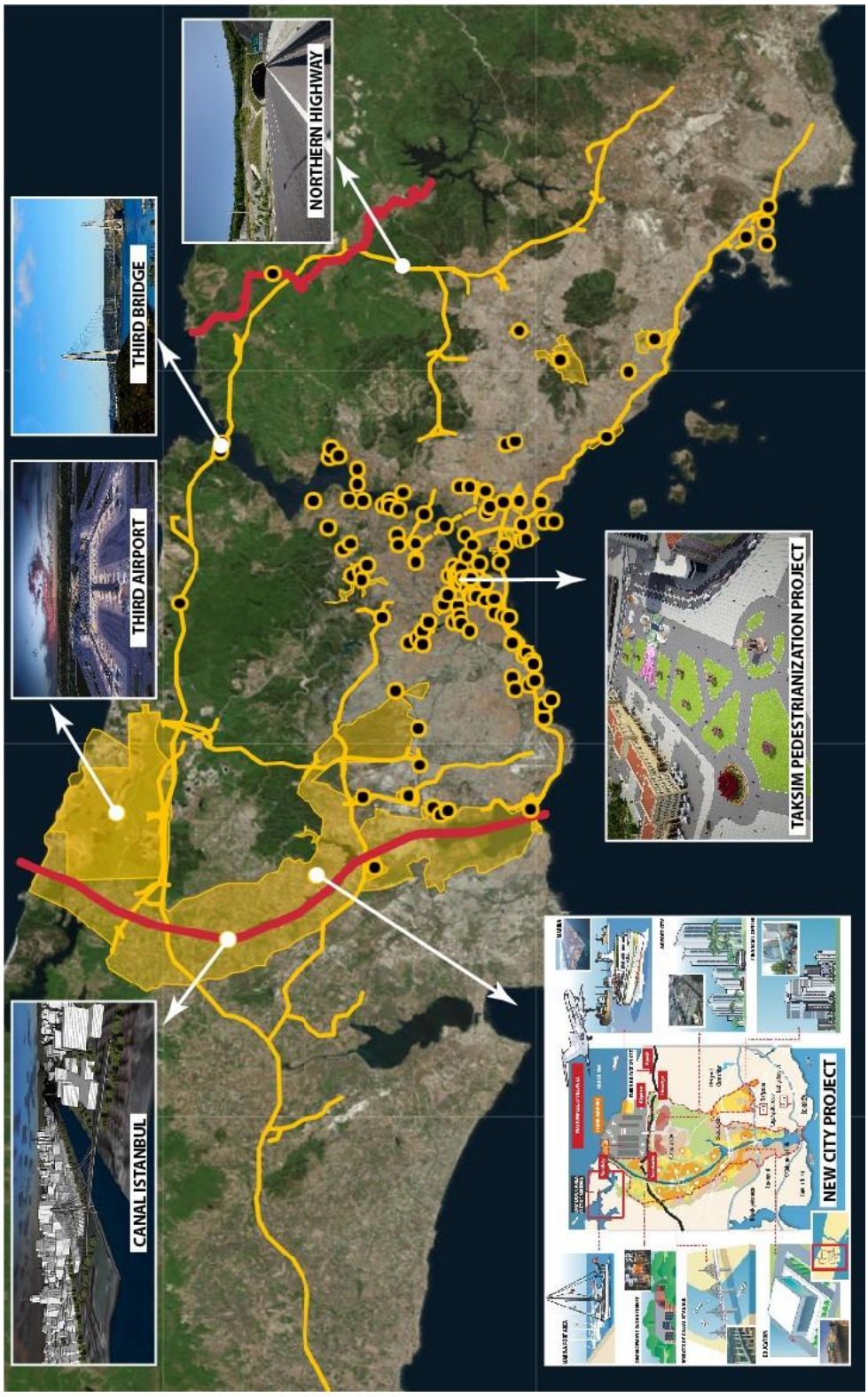


Figure 9: Mega projects that announced since 2011[17]

[17] https://en.megaprojeleristanbul.com/#, accessed August 5, 2018.

Since 2011 election, the government has targeted the ecological reserve areas on the North Istanbul with mega (crazy) projects such as the Third Bridge, new Northern Highway, Third Airport, Canal Istanbul Project and the New City Istanbul Project which is directly related to Canal Istanbul Project. The developers hopefully joined this ‘‘grande’’ vision and looked for the further urban land to develop with their speculative real estate projects.

In the case of Istanbul which is a symbol of megaprojects, the city can be now called as a ‘’mega-construction site’’ with its crazy projects. Canal Istanbul (Figure 10) in the European side of Istanbul between the Black Sea and Marmara is one of these crazy projects. Canal Istanbul is 35-40 km long, 200 m wide and 25 m deep[18]. It would provide an alternative route to the ships and tankers passing from Bosporus to the east. The project is estimated to finalize in 5 years, by 2023 (the 100 years anniversary of the Republic- 1923).

Figure 10: Canal Istanbul Project[17]

With this project, Istanbul will become an island and two peninsulas, which is the only one city in the world in which two straits of the sea are passing through it. Canal Istanbul will result in 350 hectares land of forest for the project (Farooq, 2018).

Filling the seashore to create a demonstration or concert area for over a million people, building a cross-continental underground metro tunnel, building the Third Bridge over Bosporus that stretches all the way along the Northern Forest of the city by cutting down millions of trees were just a few of those following crazy projects. At the time, the prime

[18] https://projedetaylari.com/kanal-istanbul-projesi/, accessed July 5, 2017.

minister referred to the Canal Istanbul, Third Airport, and new Northern Highway as his "crazy projects" to raise Turkey's GDP to $2 trillion by 2023[18]. The Taksim Pedestrianization Project which is discussed in the next chapters is one of the most controversial urban transformation projects on the urban agenda of Istanbul.

The most critical and crazy project, presented in 2015, after ''Canal Istanbul Project'' is to build two new cities in Istanbul, which is called as New City Istanbul Project (Figure 11). One of the cities will be located on the European side of Istanbul while the other will be located in the Black Sea. The one located in the European side of Istanbul includes a mega airport (Third Airport) for 60 million passengers a year and is connected to the Third Bridge. Moreover, this project can be interpreted as an election investment for the last election campaign and also for the next local elections at the end of 2018.

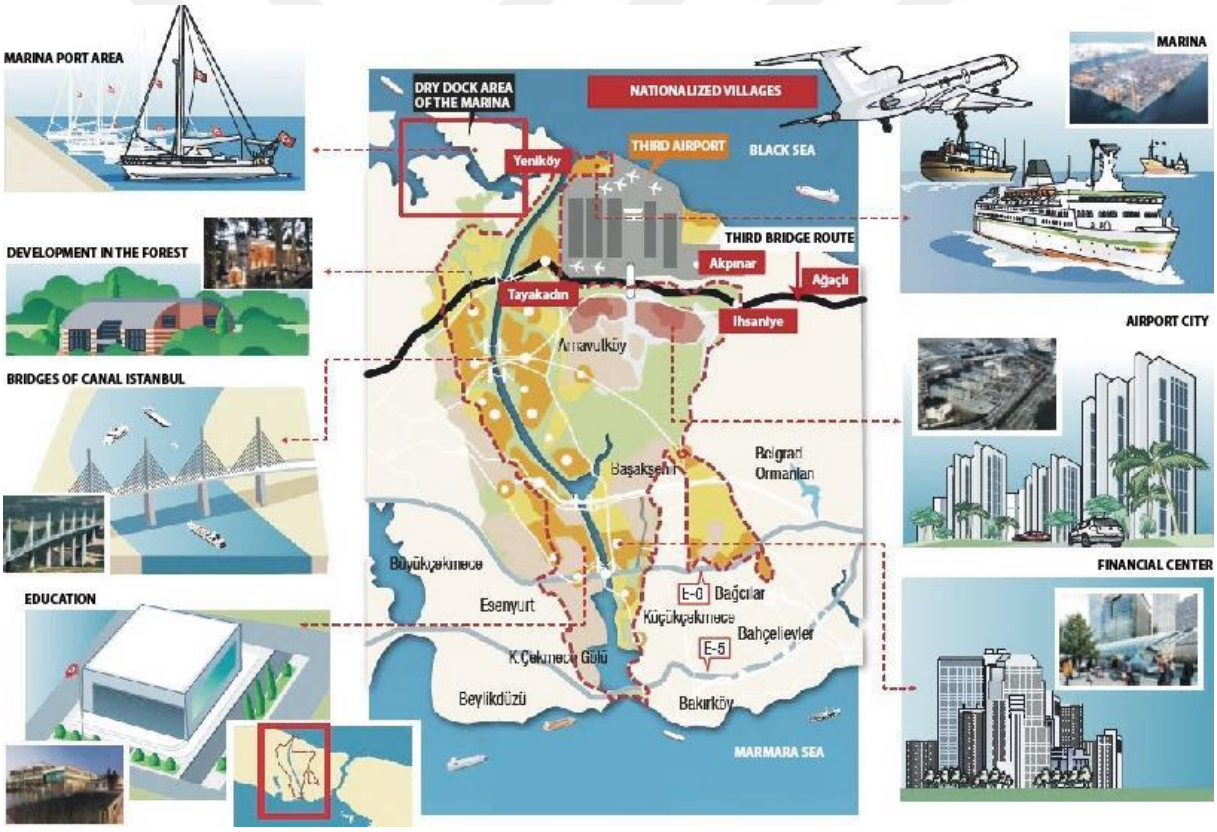


Figure 11: New City Istanbul Project[17]

Democracy?

This project and the way how it came into shows the limits to democratic decision-making process in Turkey. Civil society, political community, and the citizens living in Istanbul have not been part of the decision-making process of these projects. The decision was made behind closed doors hidden from the public.

Madness?

Istanbul has been already going through many other mega projects, which have been heavily criticized and opposed by urbanists, environmentalists, activists, citizens, etc. One of them is the Istanbul's Third Bridge Project over Bosporus, put into service in 2016, which stretches all the way along the Northern Forest of the city. The Third Bridge, completed in 2016, is a bridge brings an uncontrolled expansion of the city and loss of natural and water reserves, also invites real-estate development over the ecological reserve areas of Istanbul. Another crazy project is all those Gecekondu renewal projects that have already forcefully evicted thousands of poor inhabitants and transfer their land for real estate developers. And, many other transformation projects aim to privatize the public areas.

Ecology?

When all the projects (*Third Bridge, New City Istanbul Project, new Northern Highway, and Canal Istanbul Project*) on the Northern areas - the most productive natural reserve areas of the city - are considered together, the ecological impacts have to be evaluated carefully. The carbon footprint of Istanbul have been gradually increasing with these projects. Moreover, according to the Chamber of Environmental Engineers, especially ''Canal Istanbul Project'' will increase the current risk of the earthquake in Istanbul. This project will damage the ecosystem of the Sea of Marmara and Marmara Region. In the report prepared by the Chamber of Environmental Engineers in 2014, it was said that Terkos Lake which meets almost 50% of Istanbul's water needs have been exposed to be damaged because of the Istanbul's Third Bridge Project over Bosporus, New City Istanbul Project, new Northern Highway, and Canal Istanbul Project[19]. This situation shows that mega projects take precedence of the need for water.

[19] Report by the Chamber of Environmental Engineers, (2014). http://www.cmo.org.tr/resimler/ekler/a25ea7637c22d39_ek.pdf?turu=H&sube=2, July 12, 2017.

Equality?

These mega projects will not improve the social justice in the city but instead they will increase the inequality between citizens. Istanbul is already highly divided city between the rich and poor people. Rich people live in gated communities, and poor people live in Gecekondu neighborhoods and TOKI blocks. There is a massive gap between the poor and the rich even though there is a middle class. In Istanbul, while the middle and high income families have the percentage of *56.2*, the percentage of those who cannot meet even basic needs is *45.4* (TUIK, 2015). The difference between the rich and poor is gradually increasing, and now the Canal Istanbul Project and New City Istanbul Project will only contribute to enhancing this gap.

Sustainability?

The Canal Istanbul Project and New City Istanbul Project will inevitably attract the migration to the city with levels that no one can estimate. By 2023, with natural growth, the population is already expected to reach around 25 million in Istanbul and its neighboring towns. With these projects, probably it will reach over 30 million, which means further stress on the urban planning, development, and governance, as well as on natural resource.

3. THE DEFINITION OF TAKSIM PEDESTRIANIZATION PROJECT

Pre - Gezi Park

Taksim Square has a vital role in the city identity of Istanbul and in the memory of citizens. Taksim Square and Taksim Gezi Park, designed with Taksim Square, are some of the most important public space in Istanbul. The design of Taksim Gezi Park followed a parallel process with Taksim Square. Both Taksim Square and Gezi Park are an essential urban image spatially and functionally.

Taksim Square was an empty land until the 18th century. ‘’Artillery Barrack of Halil Pasa’’ (Taksim Artillery Barrack) has changed the face of the square in 1806 (Figure 12). It was designed for the artillerymen in Selim III (Sultan of the Ottoman Empire) period and located where Gezi Park is today. Taksim Artillery Barrack covered 38.000 m² areas. The building of Barrack was damaged after many wars and riots. Taksim Artillery Barrack lost its importance with expanding of Beyoglu district through the north, and it was transformed into ‘’Taksim Stadium’’ in 1922 (Figure 13). Moreover, Taksim Square was designed for the parades and formal ceremony on the national holiday. Taksim Republic Monument by Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica placed in August 1928. The radical changed occurred when Lutfi Kırdar, the governor and mayor of Istanbul, attempted the reconstruction. And, ‘’Taksim Artillery Barrack’’ was demolished in 1940.

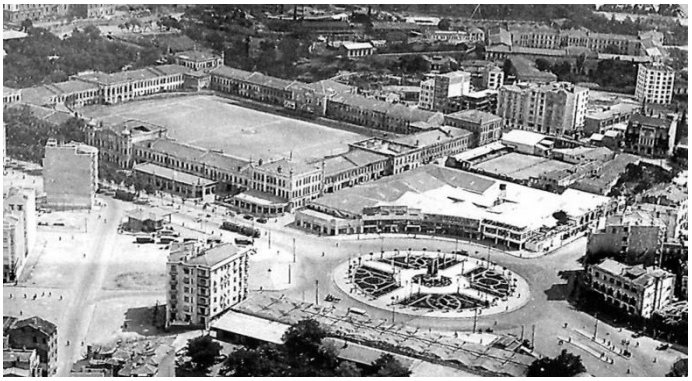


Figure 12: Taksim Artillery Barrack[20] (1932)

Figure 13: Taksim Stadium[21] (1923)

[20] https://www.istanbulium.net/2012/02/taksim-meydan-ve-cevresi.html, accessed 27 July, 2018.
[21] http://www.eskiistanbul.net/225/taksim-stadinda-topcu-kislasi-fenerbahcenin-ingiliz-isgal-birliklerinden-olusan-karma-takimi-2-1-yenerek-general-harrington-kupasini-kazandigi-mac-29-haziran-1923#lg=0&slide=0, accessed 27 July, 2018.

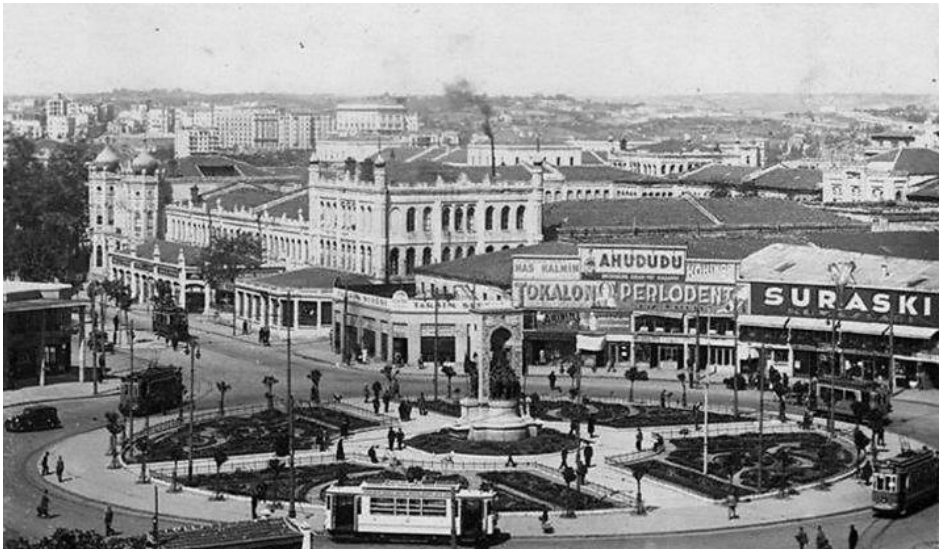


Figure 14: Taksim Square[22] (1932)

With the foundation of the Republic on 29th October 1923 and the declaration of Ankara as capital of the country, Istanbul had an opposite process than the other modern metropolis experienced. Thus, Istanbul suffered from a significant population decrease. In the 1930s and 40s, the Republican administration attempted to modernize Istanbul. In the 1930s, the buildings in Taksim Square were demolished to create a large public square for the first time. Moreover, in 1940, Lutfi Kırdar made radical changes in Taksim Square regarding Henri Prost's urban design project.

In 1936, a French architect and urban planner ''Henri Prost'' was invited to Istanbul by the by the governor-mayor of Istanbul to redesign and plan Istanbul (Bilsel, 2010). He remained in office until the end of 1950. He made a wide range of studies including the Master Plan for the European side of the city (1937), Master Plan of the Asian side (1939), the planning of the two coasts of the Bosphorus (1936-1948) and numerous detailed urban projects for plazas, squares, construction of new avenues, parks and promenades (Bilsel, 2010). He mentioned the urban policies of the historical and natural protected area around Istanbul, and for the new approaches to urban planning that combines the technological infrastructure required for a modern metropolis. According to Master Plan for the European side of the city (1937) proposed by Henri Prost, two parks in the old city and one large park in the city center of new development areas were proposed. Those parks were named as "Park No. 1" and "The Archaeological Park" on the historical peninsula, and "Park No. 2" located at the northern

[22] http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-7n5R982hTZg/TqXJ6l5JObI/AAAAAAAAHjY/1quzBZAepc/s1600/298767_10150323708992719_693782718_7872500_156445133_n.jpg, accessed 27 July, 2018.

section of the city, in Beyoglu district, that begins with ‘’Taksim Gezi Park’’. Prost imagined "Park No. 2" as the “recreation center” and “lungs” of new development areas, defined it as “Taksim’s Boulogne Woods.” Prost later added some other functions into his design of Park No. 2 such as Dolmabahce Stadium, Sports and Exhibition Hall, and the Amphitheater. In the Master Plan, Prost proposed a continuous green band, an esplanade at the center of Park No. 2 (Bilsel, 2010).

The design process of Gezi Park was investigated in cooperation with Prost, and the other architects that worked in the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The first drawings related to the plan, section and axonometry of the project of the park were made in 1939. The design process of the park was improved in three years, and the last axonometric drawing of the project was in 1942. It covered 38.000 m² areas. In 1943, Lutfi Kırdar, the governor and mayor of Istanbul, inaugurated the’’ Gezi Park’’. This park was the first park constructed in the Republic period.

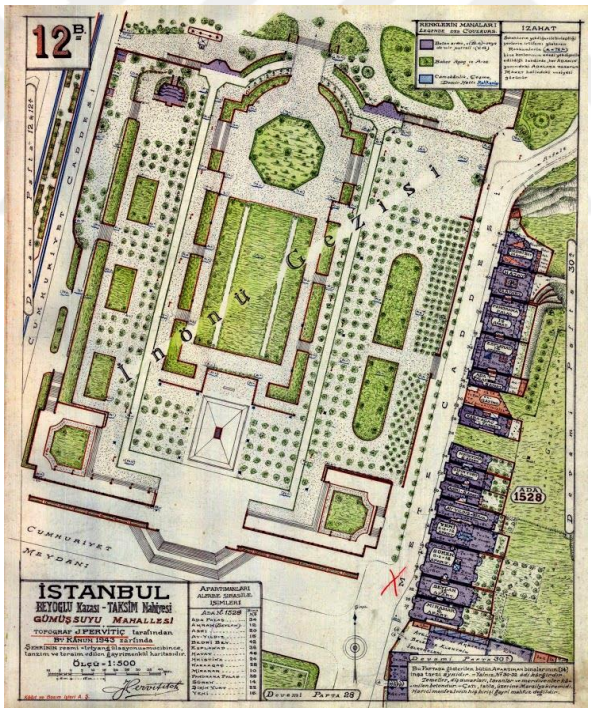


Figure 15: Pervititch Map[23] of Gezi Park in Henri Prost’s Plan[24] (1945).

[23] Pervititch Map: Jacques Pervititch insurance maps were drafted between 1921 and 1946 to learn about fire risk in different neighborhoods of Istanbul. These maps had an overview of Istanbul in the early Republican period, accessed from http://www.midafternoonmap.com/2013/03/pervititch-maps.html on June 14, 2018.

[24] https://photos.google.com/share/AF1QipOSSo9R6AK5F38UyuwotM199ewvWyrc2kB8DclzWyYgOGvW4VhiYzJVXJwrtHapWg/photo/AF1QipPH7Jswu-n253xDgSVkqBz8acYkhaxD8MbvLuQ?key=NkZKWmNRTml6MkdrQ2VqT1JwTGI4eXZPdUp6OG5B, accessed 27 July, 2018.

In the reports of Prost, all the parks, esplanades (les esplanades), promenades (les promenades), landscape terraces (les belvédères) and squares (les places et les squares) were designed as public spaces of contemporary urban life. In this sense, Taksim Gezi Park regarding the design of Taksim Square was the most successful model of Prost's design approaches (Ozaydın, 2012).

A 70-year-old pedestrian bridge, designed by Henri Prost, was connecting Gezi Park with the other side over Asker Ocagı Street. And, it was destroyed by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2013 to build a new ecologic pedestrian bridge connecting Gezi Park with Macka Park. Although there was no traffic congestion when the park was designed, Prof. Henri Prost designed a pedestrian bridge for the future. The pedestrian bridge was designed to provide a continuity of pedestrian movement by dividing the park over Asker Ocagı Street (Bayhan, 2013).

Spatial history of Taksim Square

Undoubtedly, Taksim is the heart of Istanbul in Beyoglu district, and Taksim Square is one of the most important public spaces in Turkey at the intersection of six routes coming together at the square, including the city's liveliest pedestrian main street, Istiklal, with over two million passers-by a day. Taksim square is also the intersection point of major public transportations such as bus lines, subway line and funicular line.

After the demolishment of ''Taksim Atelier Barrack'' and the new design solution of ''Gezi Park'' in the place, the construction works, and the infrastructure works for transportation around Taksim square started. Many hotels were constructed, and ''Atatürk Culture Center'' (AKM shortly in Turkish) was constructed in 1969. AKM is an important architectural heritage and a symbol of democracy, which took its name from the founder of Turkey Republic, ''Ataturk''. It was a modernist monument for the State Opera and Ballet and State Theatres. In 1980, the mayor Bedreddin Dalan demolished 350 historic dwellings of Greek, Armenian and Jewish families in the narrow Tarlabası Street in Beyoglu district. Thus, it caused the construction of Tarlabası Boulevard which isolates the district from Taksim and breaks the organic relation between Tarlabası and Beyoglu district. Since the late 90's, Taksim has turned into the ''hotels region.'' The transformation of Taksim into a hotels region continued with the pedestrianization and transformation of Talimhane. The most recent

project in Taksim Square and nearby is ‘’Taksim Pedestrianization Project’’ which was approved by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality with the consensus, in 16.10.2011.

Taksim Pedestrianization Project

Project Name	Taksim Pedestrianization Project
Institutions and Organizations	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IBB)
Publish Date	August 2007
Project Field Size	98.000 m²
Budget	51.555.370 TL- 6.962.143,66 €
Project Owner	Tümaş/On Tasarım
Construction Company	Kalyon GrupSanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş, Tümaş, On Tasarım
Location	Beyoglu District

Figure 16: Taksim Pedestrianization Project Features[17]

This project was introduced as a development project of a pedestrian zone with significant implications on the pedestrian movement in Taksim. It was first presented with some visual materials, and this project proposed a rerouting of the roads to Taksim Square bringing the massive traffic into the underground passing and rebuilding the Taksim Military Barrack of over the current Gezi Park.

According to the project, Tarlabası Boulevard merges into the pedestrianized Taksim Square and Talimhane. The bus station in front of McDonald’s in the square are taken underground, and exit points for the pedestrian are given from the underground. Moving the bus stations underground causes to bring the people underground like vehicles. This change would prevent the pedestrians’ access and connections to Taksim Square. Moreover, those who wait in the bus station are exposed to the exhaust gas of the vehicles, which means creating unhealthy places for the pedestrians. Many entrances and exits of the subway in the square are relocated along the Istiklal Street. When the transportation is taken underground, the square will lose its integrity for both pedestrians and those who are arriving by a vehicle. Physical activity of pedestrian will not be allowed by the roads which are planning to be connected to the square. That is why the square will be isolated from the people. But, most importantly, with the project, moving Taksim Square’s traffic into the underground through numbers of tunnels causes the square to be perceived as a piece of concrete jungle.

Figure 17: Taksim Square and Gezi Park before Taksim Pedestrianisation Project (2002)

Figure 18: Taksim Square and Gezi Park after Taksim Pedestrianisation Project (2018)

Figure 19: Visuals of Taksim Pedestranizaiton Project[17]

Moreover, this project, which covers the Taksim Square and Taksim Gezi Park, could create a risk for Istanbul which is located in the first earthquake zone. The square and the park are the essential open spaces in Beyoglu district which is one of the most crowded regions in Istanbul. When a possible earthquake occurs, the square and the park are the places where people would accumulate. According to the Taksim Pedestrianization Project, it may cause a severe number of human deaths on the square and at the bus stations under the tunnel. Instead of splitting the square with tunnels, and demolishing the park to construct it, it should be created more open spaces where people can accumulate in the case of a possible earthquake.

All in all, according to the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, the pedestrianization of the square is physically almost completed (99.72%)[25]. The project achieved the goal of 50.000 m² pedestrianization area[25]. However, Gezi Park transformation project (also known as Taksim Artillery Barrack Project) has not been carried out yet, although the prime minister said that it will be constructed[16] (July, 2016). Istanbul 10th Administrative Court annulled Gezi Park transformation project in 2017 regarding that the park is an urban protected area[16].

[25] https://ibbqr.ibb.gov.tr/taksim-meydani-cevre-duzenleme-insaati/#detayGrid, accessed 6 March, 2018.

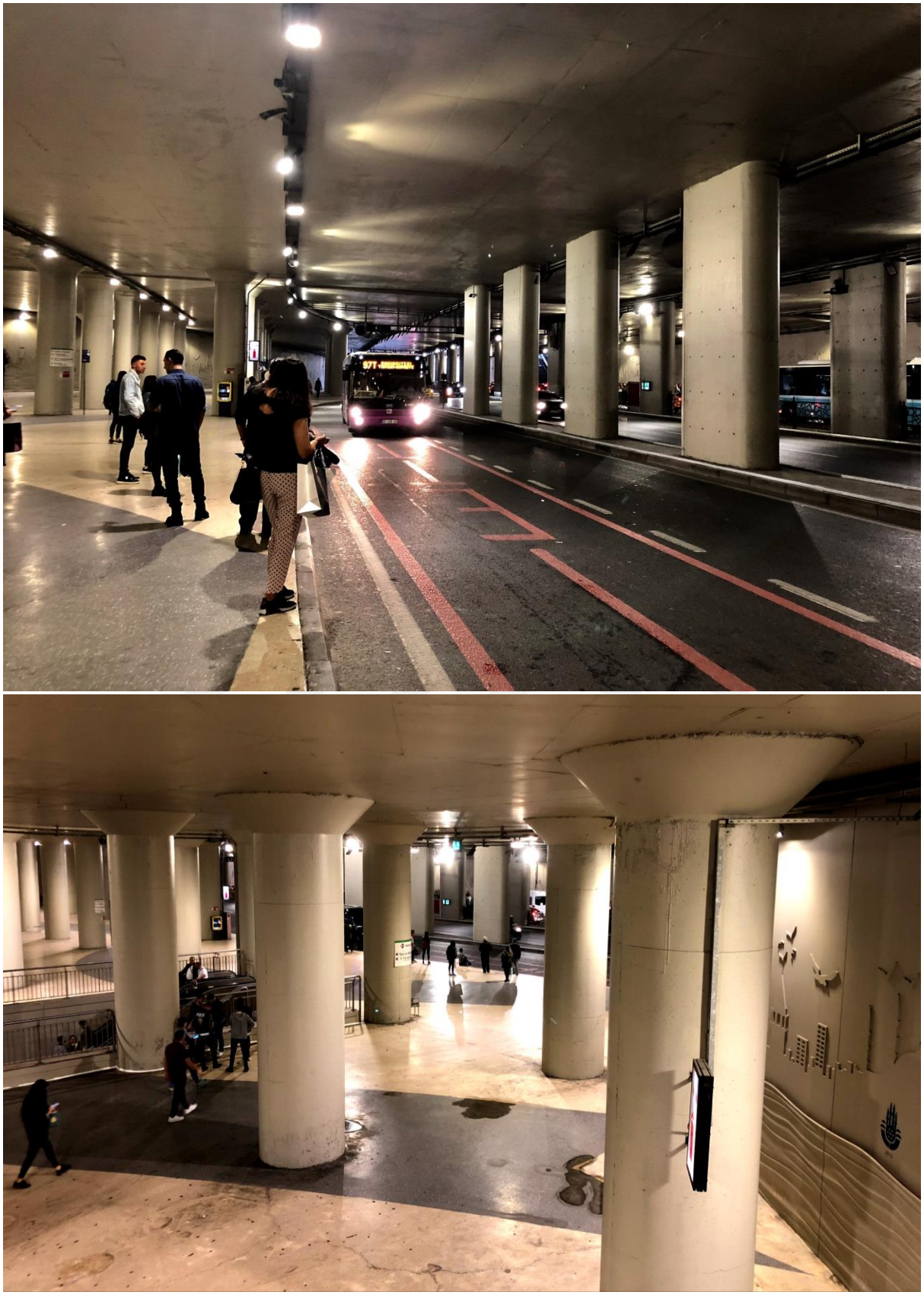


Figure 20: Tunnels of Taksim Pedestranizaiton Project

4. THE EFFECTS OF THE PROJECT ON THE CITY IDENTITY

A city is not only a perception of millions of people coming from widely different class and character, but it is also a product of many builders who are continually shaping and constructing the city for their reasons (Lynch, 1960).

Public spaces are components of the city where urban inhabitants share their cultural activities and experience being a part of the city through the social interaction. Well-designed public spaces offer many benefits such as increased level of cultural and social activities of the users.

Madanipour (1996: 145) defines public space as:

''the space that is not controlled by private individuals or organizations, and hence is open to the public. This space is characterized by the possibility of allowing different groups of people, regardless of their class, ethnicity, gender and age, to intermingle.''

Usually, a public space contributes to making the city memorable. Some examples that make the city particularly memorable may be listed as Times Square in the Midtown Manhattan, Central Park in Manhattan, St. Peter's Square in the Vatican City and Taksim Square in Istanbul. Those public spaces mostly bring a significant picture on the mind as an identity of the whole city. Certainly not all public spaces have the same impact, but surely mental images created on the mind are the most essential indicator of the city as Lynch mentioned (1960). Although urban spaces are just remembered for their physical characteristic, other factors also influence the identity of the space such as historical and social meanings of the area and its function.

Kevin Lynch, in his book, *Image of the City* (1960), explained how the form of the city could make the city more livable and memorable for people. He mentioned three components to analyze environmental image: identity, structure, and meaning. Lynch (1960: 8) explained: *"A workable image requires first the identification of an object, which implies its distinction from other things, its recognition as a separable entity. This is called identity, not in the sense of equality with something else, but with the meaning of individuality or oneness. Second, the image must include the spatial or pattern relation of the object to the observer and other objects. Finally, this object must have some meaning for the observer, whether practical or emotional*.''

All in all, the identity of a place is related to how people perceive the area, and what makes this place meaningful for the people. Urban squares are essential components of cities, which

give brief information about the city identity. In the upcoming paragraph, factors that make Taksim Square characteristic will be examined which help inhabitants to perceive the square.

What makes ''Taksim Square'' characteristic in terms of ''Urban Identity''?

The square was the first-way man discovered of using urban space. It is produced by the grouping of houses around an open space. This arrangement afforded a high degree of control of the inner space, as well as facilitating a ready defence against external aggression by minimizing the external surface area liable to attack. This kind of courtyard frequently came to bear a symbolic value and was therefore chosen as the model for the construction of numerous holy places (Agora, Forum, Cloister, Mosque courtyard) (Krier, 1979: 17).

Taksim Square has been a square for 280 years. It has been in the minds and hearts of inhabitants with its construction on the memorials of the Republican period. Taksim Square is a crucial ''node''. Lynch (1960) classified ''nodes'' as one of the five elements of the ''city images'' that are publicly visible to all people. Lynch (1960) identified ''node'' as strategic foci which are not only small spots but also squares - which have dominant features inside and defined with some surrounding characters as well. Taksim Square is one of the most critical nodes with its unique features and landmarks which are also classified by Lynch (1960) as another element in the contents of the city images, such as building, sign, store, or mountain.

Taksim Square has four main components as shown in the images that follow:

- Taksim Su Maksemi, located in Beyoglu at the crossing of Istiklal Street and Taksim Street (Figure 21),
- Republican Monument (Cumhuriyet Anıtı in Turkish), located in Taksim Square (Figure 22),
- Ataturk Culture Center (Ataturk Kultur Merkezi – AKM in Turkish), located on the east of Taksim Square (Figure 23),
- Gezi Park, located on the northeast of Taksim Square.

Figure 21: Taksim Su Maksemi[26]

Figure 22: The Republican Monument[27]

Figure 23: Ataturk Cultural Center[28]

Taksim Su Maksemi: It was built in 1732, the Ottoman Period. It was built as the water distributing point. On the octagonal façade, there is a verse meaning ‘’we gave the life to everything with water.’’ The monument does not exist today[26].

The Republican Monument: The monument, designed by Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica, was built in 1928. The monument was built by Giulio Mongeri, architect of the pedestal and surroundings. This monument is the first statuette to introduce Mustafa Kemal Ataturk and a new assembly organized with a figurative narration. One side of the monument represents the Turkish war of Independence, while the other side represents the Republic of Turkey.

Taksim Square, which contains essential symbols such as the ‘’Republican Monument and the Ataturk Cultural Center’’, has to be protected even just for those valuable symbols. The structuration of the square for any reason implies to ignoring its history, stated by the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board. Historical ‘’Taksim Su Maksemi’’, which give the privilege to the square, and ‘’Ataturk Cultural Center’’, which is one of the elements of historical identity, are officially registered by the Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board to be protected as cultural assets. The government announced that ‘’Taksim Su Maksemi’’ would be demolished and a mosque would be built instead as a part of ‘‘Taksim Pedestrianization Project’’. Taksim Square, also known as ‘’Taksim Rebuplic Square’’, and the adjacent buildings to the square means that not only ‘’Republican Monument’’ is a symbol of the Republic, but the square is a symbol of the Republic as a whole.

[26] https://www.istanbul.net.tr/istanbul-rehberi/yazilar/taksim-maksemi/124/1, accessed 17 May, 2018.
[27] https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taksim_Cumhuriyet_An%C4%B1t%C4%B1, accessed 17 May, 2018.
[28] http://nihanbora.com/sanat/ataturk-kultur-merkezinin-son-durumu/, accessed 17 May, 2018.

The new construction on the field of Gezi Park would destroy the identity of the square. When the Taksim Pedestrianization Project actualizes ‘’completely’’, it will ignore the historical background, cultural heritage, social, cultural, economic and physical conditions of the square. Which means all memories and values of the square will replace with a pointless one.

The architectural heritage of the Republic ‘’Ataturk Cultural Center’’, opened in 1969, and did not host any event for ten years[29]since 2008, was demolished on 30 May 2018. This structure with its historical, cultural and monumental value was a part of Taksim Square. It was an important architectural heritage and a symbol of democracy[30], which was named referring to the founder of Turkish Republic, ’’Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’’. It was a modernist monument for the State Opera and Ballet and State Theaters. In 1999, it was officially registered as ‘’cultural assets’’ by ‘’Cultural and Natural Heritage Conservation Board[30].’’ In 2005, the minister of culture proposed to demolish AKM reasoning that the building's economic life had been completed. In 2006, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism proposed to remove its registration to be protected. In 2008, AKM was closed due to the renovation and was not able to host any events or organizations for ten years. On 30 May 2018, it was finally demolished. The ‘’demolishing’’ AKM means more than destroying a building. It was a crucial action against the foundation of the Republic Period. This action may also interpret as a political show off or a power play which the Turkish government tries to express[26]. The new project is planned to be built in the same field where AKM was demolished, and it is supposed to be completed in 2019[28]. The new project aims to build an opera house which welcomes 2500 people. The new building will also serve as a concert hall hosting 800 people including theatre, libraries, cafes and restaurants. Murat Tabanlıoglu designed the new AKM project on behalf of ‘’Tabanlıoglu Architects.’’ The older AKM building was designed by his father Hayati Tabanlıoglu more than fifty years ago[31].

[29] http://www.mimarist.org/basina-ve-kamuoyuna-ataturk-kultur-merkezi-9-yildir-kapali/, accessed 15 July, 2018.
[30] https://www.tmmob.org.tr/icerik/mimarlar-odasi-istanbul-ataturk-kultur-merkezi-cumhuriyet-donemi-mimarisinin-simgesel-bir accessed 15 July, 2018.
[31] http://www.mimarizm.com/haberler/gundem/yeni-akm-projesi_128789, accessed 15 July, 2018.

Figure 24: Visuals of proposed ‘’AKM’’ building[31]

In the contemporary history of the Turkish Republic, Taksim Square has always been a political sphere, being as much as a historic urban center, on the city identity and the memory of the people. It has been a political sphere where the May Days celebrated, and any kind of protests or festival took place. Consequently, Taksim Square as Madanipour (1996) mentioned, has been a public space where the city identity is tangible, where human contacts and interactions take place, and where people carry out functional and ritual activities, politics or religious activities, and sports celebrations, etc. It can be said that the upcoming project will change the purpose of the square.

Developing technology, increased vehicle traffic based on the growing population, and other traffic regulations transform the square into the junction. Thus, the square has been confronted with the risk of losing its identity. Lynch (1960) identified ‘’paths’’ as another element of the city image. He defined paths as elements such as streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads, which people describe the city while moving through it. Taksim Square is considered as a ‘’node’’, a primary junction which connects important ‘’paths’’. The square is a junction of six routes coming together including the ancient roads, and the city’s liveliest pedestrian main street, Istiklal, with over 2 million passers-by a day. The routes were not only a crossing or convergence paths for the pedestrian, but also there is also slow-paced flowing car traffic before the ‘’Taksim Pedestrianization Project.’’ The square is node also for the urban transportation choices. There are many various sorts of access to urban transportation such as subway, funicular and buses.

All in all, ‘’Beyoglu District’’ is the historical center of Istanbul along with the historic Peninsula, and it has been transformed significantly since the 1980s. In this context, Taksim Square which is the essential part of ‘’Beyoglu District’’ and its surroundings are still undergoing changes and transformations today. Taksim Square is a central urban space that makes the city visible. It is no surprise that this square appeals investors’ to intervene, re-design and put their signature on the space. However, any intervention caused by globalization is likely to destroy the values and identity of the space. It takes time and affords for people to assign a meaning to contemporary scenarios. Instead, it is easier to preserve the existing one with plenty of reminders. Taksim Square, based on the Republican memories, has an image in the city with its elements and history. Before the Pedestrianization Project, the pedestrian and vehicle traffic was on the same grade, and this harmony was creating a liveable square. Moving Taksim Square’s traffic into the underground through numbers of tunnels following the project damages the identity of the square, and cause the square to be perceived as a piece of concrete jungle. The fact that bus stops located under the tunnel make both square and bus stations isolated. Such examples may be damaging the positive impact of Taksim Square on people’s mind. Even small changes strongly influence the society. Therefore, the Taksim Pedestrianization Project is more likely to be demolition instead of being a solution for vehicle and pedestrian access of Taksim Square and its surroundings.

As Okar mentioned (2013), it is clear also for the specialists from other disciplines, that the new construction of Taksim Artillery Barrack in the first proposed project is not desired for social memory and not needed for contemporary usage. He also claimed that reconstruction is not a preferred process as it is just an imitation of the previous one. Moreover, it causes loss of identity of the building and area. The public use of the Gezi Park is more advantaged than rebuilding the old Taksim Artillery Barrack as a copy of the original structure. ‘’Taksim Gezi Park’’, supposed to be removed, has significant value on the city identity and the memory of the people. Moreover, it is the only public sphere and public park, which has a direct connection to the Taksim Square[32].

[32] Eren Okar (Interview with an architect), (2013). http://www.arkitera.com/haber/15379/meslekten-kentliler-gezi-parki-hakkinda-neler-soyledi_, accessed 5 August, 2018.

4.1. From an Environmental Protest to the Protest Against Capital And Power

The Pedestrianization Project was promised to move Taksim Square's traffic into the underground through numbers of tunnels. By doing this, Taksim Artillery Barrack in Gezi Park area was planned to be reconstructed with plenty of stores, shopping malls, hotels, residences, city museum, etc. On that account, one night on May 27, 2013, bulldozers suddenly entered the park to ruin all environments and cut the trees for the project. The occupation of the park started on May 27, 2013, by cutting five trees inside the Park, and continued until 15th of June, 2013. In consequence of the action, nationwide protest emerged first by a couple of activists who lay down in front of bulldozers to resist the demolishment of the public space. Pınar Aksogan, who works for Greenpeace Turkey, stated why she participated in the environmental protests (2013):

''A movement that started peacefully to defend the only remaining green space in the heart of Istanbul met with police violence and tear gas. It was a protest in defence of "Article 56 of the Turkish Constitution" which states that we are entitled to live in a healthy environment and, that the state and its citizens must ensure that our environment remains healthy and clean. That is why we gathered in Gezi Park on 27 May to protect the last remaining green space in our neighbourhood[33] *''.*

Turkey is familiar to mass demonstrations, but, for the first time, the Gezi Resistance, an environmental sit-in turned into a social movement in Turkey. It started with a couple of people who have laid down in front of the bulldozers to resist in the night of May 27, 2013. Those people prevented the bulldozers from working, and they were on guard duty in the park until the morning. In the morning, the people met with the police intervention, and then more people arrived at the park to support the resistance. The police used tear gas to disperse those who were on guard duty in the park. The police burnt the tents of the resisting people, and thus more people gathered at the park hearing about it via social media. Once the police intervened brutally and used aggressive force against the occupiers using disproportionate force, the Gezi Park Movement, started by young people, gained momentum also by the massive support of the middle classes, and the protests spread nationwide. In this case, as Castells argued (2012), the availability of social media and the Internet have the decisive role in spreading of the social movements. Here, the activist became organized and come together on the streets quickly through Facebook and Twitter. The strong role of the social networks was due to the fact that participants mostly were young people. The age average of those at

[33] Pınar Aksogan, (2013). Greenpeace. http://www.greenpeace.org/turkey/tr/news/gezi-parki-sebep-degil-sonuctur-030613/, accessed 5 August, 2018.

the park was 28 (KONDA Report, 2014). When it is compared to the age average of Turkey (30.3) and Istanbul (30.1), it seems that the age average of those at the park represented the general average of Turkey (KONDA Report, 2014). People did not hesitate to come together on the streets even though the police violence, to occupy their cities' public squares and block avenues. Some other people participated to the protest from their balconies banging on pots and pans without any political slogans, just showing the peaceful means.

High level of disproportionate force and vice versa the high level of people's resistance against the police violence transformed the protest from environmental into the protest against the capital and power. At this point, demonstrations experienced the structural change. Thus, the resistance turned into a demonstration against governmental decision and privatization of this public place. Even though the protests started as an ecological and civic demonstration, they had political implications as well. The main reason for this was because the government kept giving priority to the construction sector on urban planning and policy instead considering public demands for a long time. Urban authorities and capitalism used the space to show their power and to be stronger. According to Rob Shields (1999), ''urban conflict should be transformed into a conscious and political struggle to control the social production of the space.'' In Gezi Park case, a mixed-use complex, planned to be constructed on the public space, has been the manifestation of urban authority and capitalism.

The protests peak up on 30th and 31st of May 2013. The protesters struggled to save the park and its environment, and the action ended up with their dominance on May 31, 2013. At that time, Gezi Park became a node where the public initiative had come together by singing, enjoying and sharing together. The park was providing all needs of people to live inside the park such as marketing, healing, reading, writing, praying, etc. for seven days, twenty-four hours. The process beginning with the occupation of the public space by citizens became an example of ''the production of space'' (Lefebvre, 1991).

Lefebvre (1991: 30) have looked at the space as a ''***social product***'', emerging from various forms of social interactions. In this sense, The Gezi Park represent the idea of ''social product'' of Lefebvre (1991) by producing space itself regarding the needs of actors in the park. Gezi Park Commune can be considered as a social product (Figure 25). Moreover, Lefebvre (1991: 57) considers the ''***abstract space***'' as *a space of the bourgeoisie and capitalism.* He states that that ''*abstract space functions objectally, as a set of things/signs and their formal relationships: glass and stone, concrete and steel, angles and curves, full*

and empty'' (p.49). Shortly, he considers the ''abstract space'' as a capitalist space to make more profit. From Lefebvre's point of view, Gezi Park is also an abstract space as a part of market-oriented transformation of the city. It is seen as an abstract space because capital and power produced this transformation project for the park. On the other hand, as much as Taksim Square and Gezi Park were abstract space; they also gained an identity of ''social product'' with its temporary Gezi Park Commune. According to the definitions of ''social product'' and ''abstract space'' of Lefebvre (1991), it can be interpreted that Gezi Park was a social product in the abstract space. During the Gezi protests, the park was transformed into a communal area through collective practices of the protestors regarding their need in the park, the living space of demonstrators.

Gezi Park was shaped in parallel with the needs and desires of people who spent their time inside the park. The occupants formed the outer boundary with the police barricades. The tents could be observed as the key element of the park, which provided to the park perceiving as a living space. Some occupants put up tents in the park to keep guard the park. The tents not only meant the need for shelter, but also they represented the sign of the humans' desires and critiques. Thanks to those tents which spread all over, the park was indicated as a common and public space instead of a ''private'' one. Thus, the feature of the park as a public space had never been ended, and the park was never abandoned. Moreover, a new setup of the space revealed different potentials of the public space such as painting workshops for children, yoga workshops, reading classes, manual training, etc. (Figure 25). Hence, the occupants kept producing, smiling, sharing and gathering inside the park as stated by a person that I interviewed.

''*Gezi Park, at that time, contained public libraries used by citizens and publishers each day, an internet hub, a TV and radio station, a journal, a dispensary, vegetable gardens, kitchens, solar power plant, garbage separation and disposal units, a vet, and even a museum of protest. Moreover, there were message posting walls, wishing trees, and various street markets. During all that time, it was likely to see several activities together such as reading, writing, gathering, singing, acting and even making Pilates and yoga sessions* (An interviewed).''

Figure 25: The services in the Gezi Park Commune[34]

One of the symbols of the protests was the '' Standing man (Figure 26).'' On the third weekend of the protests, police removed the tents of the activist from the park, and re-opened Taksim Square to the traffic, while holding the strong presence of the police protection. Activists were getting more creative to maintain their momentum. This creativity could have seen as the end of the protests until this man decided to stand in Taksim Square (Figure 26). On the 8th of July, 2013, the standing man (Duran Adam, in Turkish), Erdem Gunduz, kept standing stood for 8 hours passively ignoring the police and people passing by. His unusual way of protesting went viral and inspired other activists in Turkey and around the world for the same action. This action was a passive way of protesting in the public square showing his presence without any discourse.

[34] http://www.arkitera.com/haber/14858/gezi-parkinda-ne-nerede , accessed 15 August, 2017.

Figure 26: Erdem Gunduz (at the center), standing in Taksim Square[35]

The social interaction created the creative actions both inside the park and on the city-country basis. The creative citizens could show their feelings and thoughts in the cities where they lived. Gezi Park protests revealed the potential relationship between the public space and its users in which the opponent body replaced the passive body.

The citizens or protestors demonstrated their feelings, thoughts and desires on the cities through the graffiti. The various and unique sense of humour removed the cities' untouchableness and made the cities where the body established a relationship with the spaces. Thus, the protests not only remembered by the brutal violence of the police, but they are also remembered by the disproportionate intelligence, ironic and peaceful approach (Figure 27).

[35] https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2013/06/18/193183899/the-standing-man-of-turkey-act-of-quiet-protest-goes-viral, accessed 15 August, 2018.

Figure 27: The peaceful side of the protests[36]

[36] https://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/o-toma-ya-serenat-yapti-digeri-ani-olumsuzlestirdi-66293.html, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/gezi-kulliyati/pazar/haberdetay/07.07.2013/1733255/default.htm https://www.sondakika.com/fotogaleri/direniste-ask-baskadir/, accessed 15 August, 2018.

5. SPATIAL DEFENSE TO RIGHT TO CITY: THE LACK OF PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN THE PROJECT

In a democratic community, public participation is central to planning and policy reforms. Public participation is considered as a primary element for the sustainable development, and as a fair decision-making process in the contemporary urban planning word (Mahjabeen, Shrestha & Dee, 2009).When community groups are actively engaged in participatory planning and implementation processes, plans and projects are more likely to be addressed with stakeholders' needs, interests and expectations.

There are four primary reasons why public participation is advocated strongly in national and local governance. Firstly, public participation is seen as a way to strengthen the democratic autonomy of the governments by involving individuals directly in decisions that affect their lives. Secondly, it is believed that engaging citizens in local decision-making processes and bringing them together for the common interests can empower communities and help build the social cohesion. Thirdly, public participation is considered an essential tool to provide services which are better suited to people's needs. Finally, public participation is associated with personal benefits and development by learning new skills such as public speaking. Participation is thus associated with ''the social justice, more beneficial public services and a community with self-confident citizens'' as well as being an expression of active citizenship (Brodie, Cowling Nissen, 2009).

One of the fundamental classifications of participatory planning was developed by Sherry Arnstein (1969). He described the "**Ladder of citizen participation**" to better explain the role of community engagement in today's word (Figure 28).

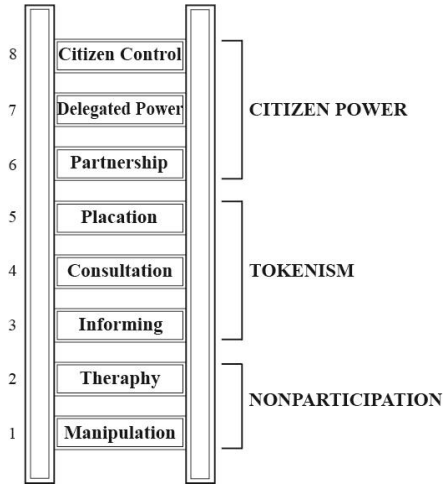


Figure 28: Ladder of citizen participation

Arnstein (1969) examined the participation within the eight rungs from the nonparticipation to the citizens' power. The bottom rungs of the ladder are (1) Manipulation and (2) Therapy. These two rungs are taken as a part of ''Nonparticipation''. These two lowest levels aim at excluding the citizens to participate in planning, but enable power holders to "educate" or "cure" the participants. Informing (3) and Consultation (4), a part of ''Tokenism'', allow the citizens to have a voice. When power holders make their voices heard, the citizens may be heard. However, the citizens cannot ensure that their view will be heeded. When the participation is limited to these runs, there is no guarantee of changing the status quo. Placation (5), the higher level of tokenism, allows the have-not to have a voice, and power holders keep the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice of the community. Partnership (6), the lowest level of ''Citizen Power'', redistributes the power between the citizens and power holders through the negotiation. Delegated Power (7) and Citizen Control (8), at the topmost rungs, the have-not gains the majority of decision-making seats or full management of the power.

All in all, the three phase of the Arnstein's model is considered parallel to the democratization in the socio-political structure. In the ''Nonparticipation'' phase, it's assumed that the citizens need to be educated, and power holders know the best. Therefore, the citizens are cured to be adopted by the power holders in their decisions. In the second phase ''Tokenism'', it's expected that some part of the citizens take part in the participation, but there is no institutionalized practice yet. At this phase, the local governments inform the citizens through the brochures, internet pages and discourse. As the citizens have the possibility to have a voice, they cannot ensure that their voices will be evaluated. Here, the power holders try to control the reactions of the citizens through the platforms, information pollution, baseless allegations, and indefinite but attractive projects. At the last phase, ''Citizen Power'', Arnstein (1969) emphasized that the political power should have transferred some of the authority to the citizen on the planning process. Moreover, the citizens should be the partner of the gains as well as the costs of the planning process. Finally, Arnstein foresees the effectiveness of citizen control over planning decisions and practices. This participation phase requires an independent judicial system to ensure that the applications are complete (Cekic, Kurtarır & Okten, 2013). From the view of Arnstein (1969), the decision-making process and participation model, before the Gezi Park protests might be considered as located in the second phase ''Tokenism''. But, during the Gezi Park Resistance, the participation might be seen as the first phase of the ladder, ''Nonparticipation'' which the power holders thought that

the citizens needed to be educated and cured. While the decision-making process and participation model of Gezi Park can be explained through the ‘’Tokenism and Nonparticipation’’, São Paulo would be an example of ‘’Citizen Power’’ that has a Right to the City Coordination (Perry, 2016). With this coordination, Brazil aims to create participative cities which provide equity in Brazil’s metropolitan centers in the form of right to the city.

“*We know that society is demanding new forms of participation,” says Esther Madeleine LeBlanc, the deputy coordinator of the initiative in São Paulo. “The right to the city is important in assuring human rights, and must be realized with more social participation, ensuring a democratic administration of the city. We want a city in which public space is central in social interaction among all citizens: a city made for people*’’ (Perry, 2016).

Lefebvre (1996) defined the city as “*an oeuvre, a work in which all citizens participate*” (p.158). Lefebvre did not accept the monopoly of the decision-making by the state in constructing the urban space for the dwellers because the right to the city gives the dwellers a right to participate in the use and reproduction of their urban space. The right to the city is a right to “*urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the complete usage of … moments and places*” (Lefebvre 1996: 158).

What happened in Gezi Park was a riot against the monopoly of the state in constructing the public space as well as the city. The uprising was spontaneously organized first by the young generations, who were mobilized and organized through the new social media such as Twitter and Facebook. The Gezi Park, located at the center of the city, was a voice of the citizen against the corporate world collaborating with the neo-liberal state.

How did the people participate in the Gezi Park Process?

The initial resistance that arose at Gezi Park had an explicit claim to reclaim the right to the city of citizens who use the value of the city. The contemporary cities, which value the capital accumulation above the people, have not surprisingly defined by the protests as happened at Gezi Park. People kept shouting the slogan ‘’Capital, go away. Gezi Park is ours’’ (‘‘Sermaye defol, Gezi Parkı bizimdir’’in Turkish) during the resistance. This slogan was a voice of those who reclaimed the right to the city against the capitalist system. People objected to the decision-making process in which they could not participate. The active citizenship during the Gezi Resistance represented a demand for the participatory democracy practices that have

been absent particularly during the decision-making process of new urban projects. *The whole process of Taksim Pedestrianization Project has to be analyzed to understand why the Gezi Resistance to reclaim the right to the city in the absence of participatory planning:*

The initial cases of the resistance were mostly based on environmentalist movement and the protection of the green space of citizens in Istanbul. These claims were, in fact, a challenge against the urban transformation project that was launched in 2011 before the election, when the prime minister of the time explained the Taksim Pedestrianization Project among ‘’crazy projects’’ as an election promise. Part of the Taksim Pedestrianization Project was the demolition of what is known as Gezi Park and to build a replica of the nineteenth-century Taksim Military Barracks. In 2011, after winning the elections, the comprehensive works were started for these ‘’crazy projects’’. In the meanwhile, the Taksim Solidarity Platform[37] (which is entirely independent of the political power) facilitated the information sharing and public participation in the decision-making process. Some professional bodies, architects, NGOs, citizens and artisans of Taksim, gathered by the Taksim Solidarity Platform, conveyed the thousands of appeals about protecting the park to Istanbul Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board. This solidarity platform also considered various events and protests with the Chamber of Architects and Urban Planners. This solidarity platform not only built activist events, but also made a declaration of strong criticisms over the functionality of the new project and the demolition of the only green spaces in the Taksim Square. Moreover, legal procedures have been initiated based on the objections. Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board rejected the transformation project (Taksim Military Barracks) of the park. However, the prime minister denied this rejection. In a short time, the decision of the High Council moved ahead of the decision of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board, and the High Council declared that the project was approved. Here, it was apparent the absolute authority of the political power over the urban space. From the view of the big picture, citizens demanded to use their fundamental rights, but they had difficulty transmitting these demands to the political power.

[37] Taksim Solidarity Platform: It is a solidarity group that shows its position against the construction in Taksim Gezi Park, including any people who want to participate.

All in all; the central features of the Gezi protest has similar characteristics with the other occupy movements that have emerged around the world. From Brazil to Spain, from the US to Tunisia, from Greece to Hong Kong, all these social movements had the same expectation of obtaining the ownership of the public space and demanding the right to democracy (Bee & Chrona, 2017). Moreover, this resistance strengthened the expectation of gaining the participatory, democratic and liberal local administration. The people showed that how it was possible to make a consensus during the resistance, and thus it was provided a basis of the participatory planning by the public and on the public.

Another similarity of the recent social movements has been the physical occupation of the public spaces which provided the dynamic interaction of people from diverse backgrounds and orientations. Active citizens engaged in the part of decision making and participatory democratic practice with self-organized projects such as a speaker's corner, a performance stage, a fire station, a free library, a revolution museum, open lectures, wish tree and many more components of a self-sufficient commune life (Vatikiotis and Yoruk, 2016). For Bee and Chrona (2017), what characterized the Gezi protests was that it was mostly based on the advocating of the fundamental freedoms and rights:

''*…the right to public space, foremost, and linked to this, the rights to express dissent and to gain ownership of policy processes. In short, we witnessed a demand to establish forms of participatory democracy through the manifestation of bottom up expressions of active citizenship. Throughout assemblies, public exhibitions, public events, etc., different social groups came together in a unique laboratory of democracy where views, opinions and lifestyles were confronted, debated, and most importantly exchanged''* (p.51).

The transformation of protests into neighborhood forums showed the civic potential of the urban movement that might have developed the direct participation of citizens. Protestors, during the resistance, practiced a deliberative democracy which they tried to defend their lifestyles, fundamental right, right to the city and other democratic rights (Ozkaynak, Ertor & Ertor-Akyazı, 2015).

This social movement was an indirect way of public participation in the lack of democratic participatory planning during the decision-making process of the project. Thus, particularly, the social media became a tool of the active citizenship for the democracy and civil rights underlining the citizens' "right to the city" during the Gezi protests. The role of social media could be observed as a tool for the enhancement of public participation (Bee and Chrona, 2017).

6. NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, NEW ACTIONS AND NEW ACTORS

What is a social movement?

Tilly (2004) defines the social movements as contentious performances by the ordinary people who made collective claims on others. Social movements mobilize the collective actors and organize them seeking to alter power deficits or challenge authority. For Tilly (2006), social movements are a crucial way for ordinary people's participation in public politics. He argues that there are three significant elements in a social movement (p.183-184):

(1) *sustained campaigns of claim-making;*

(2) *an array of public performances including marches, rallies, processions, demonstrations, occupations, picket lines, blockades, public meetings, delegations, statements to and in public media, petition drives, letter-writing, pamphleteering, lobbying, and creation of specialized associations, coalitions, or fronts – in short, the social movement repertoire; and*

(3) *repeated public displays of worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment (WUNC) by such means as wearing colors, marching in disciplined ranks, sporting badges that advertise the cause, displaying signs, chanting slogans, singing militant songs, and picketing public buildings.*

Diani and De la Porta (2006: 20) identified the social movements as a social process in which actors engaged in collective actions:

- *are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents*;
- *are linked by dense informal networks*;
- *share a distinct collective identity*.

Sidney Tarrow (2011) defines a social movement distinguishing it from the political parties and interest groups as "*collective actions that bring ordinary people into confrontation with opponents, elites, or authorities. Ordinary people challenge power holders, produce solidarities, and have meaning to particular population groups, situations, and national cultures''* (p.8).

''Old and New Social Movements''

- **Old social movements** struggled with the power holders and material resources
- **New social movements** struggle with the human rights, public rights, identity and cultural symbolic issues (Bhonagiri, 2016).

As Hardt and Negri (2012) mentioned, today's social movements have reversed the social order. Those who have been changing the order have already occupied the streets and the city squares. New actions and actor not only have threatened the rulers; but also have been creating the new visions for the modern world. New social movements are also seen as an outcome of always changing the social, economic and politic relationship in the society. New social movements are more structural reform showing the desires than the revaluation (Flynn, 2008). New social movements originate from the conflicts as an outcome of the changing political organization, and the shifting relations between the public and private spheres in the post-industrial societies (Lentin, 1999). According to Melucci (1996), new social movements have been originating from the social conflict that never discussed before, such as the age and gender differences, lifestyles changes, identity, health and environments relationship, a continuation of human descent, and so on. Today's people not only worry about the economic concerns and inequalities but also about the quality of life. While the old social movements engaged in class conflict, which caused the labor movements, the new social movements have been engaged in the political and social conflict as a result of the political and economic changes in the post-industrial societies.

New social movements, a product of the post-industrialism, demand the quality of life issues as consequences of the shift to the post-industrial economy. The first claim of ''New Social Movements'' differs from old movements in characters such as *the ideology and goals*, *tactics*, *structure*, and *the actors* (Pichardo, 1997). The most fundamental aspect between them, which make the new social movements different, is the ideology. The contemporary social movements (post-1965) focus on the quality of life and lifestyle concern, which ignores the wealth-oriented materialistic goals of industrial societies. New social movements also represent the democracies that limit the citizen participation in governance (Pichardo, 1997).

Sociologist used the '' ***New Social Movement Theory***'', which refers to a new paradigm of social movement activity and collective action, to explain the role of the new movements in the post-industrial societies. New social movements' theorists and scholars explain the new movements as arising from the growing importance of information in the knowledge-based

society. New social movements began to emerge in the 1950s including the movements that result from the conflicts in the post-industrial revolution society and economy (Flynn, 2008).

In the late 1960s, some actions showed that the world was apparently meeting the deep changes. These actions were: ‘’*American civil rights and anti-war movements, the May 1968 revolt in France, students' protests in Germany, Britain, or Mexico, the worker–student coalitions of the 1969 "Hot Autumn" in Italy, the pro-democracy mobilizations in locations as diverse as Francoist Madrid and communist Prague, the growth of critical Catholicism from South America to Rome, the early signs of the women's and environmental movements* (Della Porta and Diani, 2006: 1).*’’*

In the past decades, social movements have criticized the interventionist state which causes the potential for conflict (Della Porta and Diani, 2006). According to Tilly and Tarrow (2015), the possibility of the occurrence of the new social movement depends on the type of the regime along two principal axes: governmental capacity and democracy. While the governmental capacity explains ‘’*the governmental actions that affect the distribution of populations, activities and resources within the government's jurisdiction*’’, the democracy explains ‘’*the extent to which persons subject to the government's authority have broad, equal rights to influence governmental affairs and to receive protection from arbitrary governmental action*’’(p. 57).

Tarrow (2011) emphasized that ‘’*Contention collective action*’’ is seen as the base of all social movements, protests, rebellions, riots and revolutions. The reason why it has been served as the basis is that because it is the main way for the ordinary people to demonstrate their claims against the powerful states, and bring them into a confrontation with opponents, elites, or authorities. However, the movements build the organizations, socialize and mobilize the constituencies, and engage the members in self-development and the construction of collective identities. In the past decades, the movements engaged in the ‘’*Contentious politics*’’, which is produced when threats are experienced and opportunities are perceived, when the existence of possible allies is demonstrated, and when the vulnerability of opponents is exposed (Tarrow, 2011: 33). Thus, movement leaders have been skilled at combining contention with the participation in institutions as happed in the ‘’Tea Party Movement’’ that emerged in 2009 in the United States (Tarrow, 2011). Citizens of the contemporary movements; from the ‘’Arab Spring’’ to the ‘’Occupy’’, and to the protest against the

economic policies in Spain, Greece and Italy, showed their demands on the streets. Never mind if their outputs have been successful, they eventually gave the new incentive to a long-standing area of interest in the ‘’Contentious Politics’’.

To sum up, new social movements, which differ from the labour movements of the old-time social movements, have emerged in the 1950s, and have dramatically changed in the last century against the neoliberalism. The first know ‘’new’’ social movement is ‘’Seattle WTO protests’’ in 1999 against economic globalization. ‘’Seattle WTO protests’’, global justice action, has marked as a turning point for Internet-mediated activism (Pierce, 2011). The activists of the protest used the Internet as a key communication tool between them keeping participants informed and providing the coalitions between the activists. Seattle WTO protests proved that the Internet represents the new frontier for the new social movements to educate and organize. The Internet as a tool provides updated information points, and facilitates the communication through Facebook, Twitter and open forms. The other following movements against neoliberal policies with similar facts and tools emerged after ‘’Seattle WTO protests’’. Here, it is essential to emphasize the role of the ICT (Information and Communication Technologies) which gives the momentum for social movements and collective behaviours that will be detailed in the next chapters.

6.1. Changed Actions and Actors of New Social Movements

Melucci (1996) described the contemporary cities that ‘’ *put the individual at the centre of its focus as a subject of actions*’’ (p. 91). Thus, the actions of the contemporary world emerged the new social movements. Human in the contemporary life have needed to reclaim their individuals’ right and ‘’right to the city’’ against the neoliberal approaches, and define their identities against the new policy and society of the post-industrial world.

The break between the old social movements of the industrial society and the new movements of the post-industrial society was stressed by the German sociologist Claus Offe (1985). In his view, the civil initiatives against neoliberal globalization have always been heterogeneous, because they were addressing many various issues such as child labor exploitation, human rights, and military interventions by Western powers, and so on. Offe (1985) stressed that while the old social movements were focusing on the action about ‘’workers’ movement’’, the action of the new social movements were challenging the social order, participatory structure

in the politics, the solidarity against the elites and authority, and the reclamation of autonomous spaces. As it can be observed from his view, the new actions of the social movements do not primarily focus on the materialistic issues; but mainly on the cultural and social conflicts, and then political issues. That is to say, going beyond the economic interests, the new social movements make claims for some needs and desires coming from the norms and values. ''*In this sense, the action is not rational, but reasonable''* (Diani and Porta, 2006: 11).

Offe (1985) explained the new social movements with the mode of action, involving two aspects: ''*internal mode of action*'' and ''*external mode of action*''. By saying the ''internal mode of action'', Offe (1985) mentioned *collective actor*, different individuals acting together, in contrast to the organizational form or social class of the old social movements. Concerning the ''external mode of action'', he meant *the demonstration tactics* which are mobilized groups of actors, and physical forms of action making.

Changed actors of new social movements

The other outstanding feature of the new social movements is their changed actors. That is to say, new actors are not classified as working class/middle class, poor/wealthy, etc., and they do not categorize themselves with the political ideologies such as left/right, modern/traditional, etc. as the actors of the industrial society's social movements either. Their political conflicts for the movements are much more about the issues such as gender, age, locality, human race or in the case of the environmental issues. Moreover, the new actors are heterogeneous based on the ''collective actor'' as mentioned above by Offe (1985), they are leaderless, they especially resist the political intervention in daily life, and they defend their autonomy. New actors are tied together with solidarity to build a democratic and transparent decision-making process that gives a voice to the citizens for the participation. The aim of the actors is not to attempt to overthrow the government, but they challenge the state power over their lives, and put the pressure on political decision makers.

The shift to the post-industrial activities broke the workers' tendency to act as a class, and this shift emerged the ''*new collective actor*'' (Diani and Porta, 2006). Since the 1980s, the production sector has moved from the large factories to smaller ones, which brought the

decentralization of the production process. This shift caused the breaking of the working class. Thus, as Diani and Porta (2006: 38) said ‘’*collective solidarity derived from the carrying out of the same duties has been weakened as a result*.’’ With a noticeable decline in the industrial work and increase in the tertiary sector emerged the ‘’ new middle class’’ which is engaged in the lifestyle changes. The new middle class is different from the homogenous group of the industrial society. With the shift into the capitalist economies, the inequalities causing the conflicts like the wage differentials between men and women in the most straightforward term have emerged. At the beginning of the new millennium, conflicts on the labor issues were seen again in the new forms such as the protest against neoliberal reforms, unemployment protest, privatization of public services, cuts in public health and education. The global justice has been perceived as a recent tendency in the labour movement, and the trade unions with the extend solidarity began to join into the various movements. In this phase of mobilization, the labour movements met the new movements such as environmentalist, feminist, urban, and so on (Diani and Porta, 2006). To sum up, increased inequalities gave the rise of solidarity movements and collective action.

Since the ‘’Information and Communication Technology’’, ICT, has been developing through the last decades, it has affected the participation of the citizens into the collective actions, simplifying the process and resulting in better communicative interaction. The discourse of Manuel Castells (2012) strengthens the effects of ICT on the social movements:

"The characteristic of communication process between the individuals engaged in the social movement determine the organizational characteristic of social movements itself: the more interactive and self-configurable communication is, the less hierarchical is the organization and the more participatory is the movement. This is why the networked social movements of the digital age represent a new species of social movement" (p. 15).

Although the individuals decide their own to take part as a collective actor in collective action, the social networks give momentous to the mobilization. Considering collective identity as a ‘’*network of active relationships*’’ (Melucci 1996: 75), social networks affect the people’s decisions to participate in the collective actions, and increase the individuals’ chances to be involved. Thus the new social movements, managed by the social networks, can

be seen as a process which is a network of spontaneous interactions by those who are engaged in the political or cultural conflicts (Diani, 1992).

From the anti-globalization protest in Seattle against the World Trade Organization (WTO) to Occupy Wall Street, Arab Spring and Gezi Park, the social media can be seen as a new way to organize and participate in new social movements.

6.2. The Role of Technology and Organizational Structure of New Social Movements

Information and communication technology plays an essential role in organizing the social movements through the information channels such as the press, websites, text messages, Facebook, Twitter, and other platforms. The flow of the resources in the new social movements depends on the interactive relation between the actors. The Internet facilitates the information transfer through the channels, and provides the increasing participation in the collective actions unless the information channels are not banned as happened before in some cases which will be discussed later.

''Movement participants assume that the collective action will be more effective in pursuing their common goal when they take the attention of media and government officials than individuals acting on their own (An interviewed).'' The digital media have become the primary tool of a social movement to encourage and mobilize the participants establishing a communications network. Thus, they can have a voice, indirect participation in the decision-making process, organize events, affect the decisions of the government, present their agendas to the political leaders, and inform the other citizens about the action. However, the political leaders can gain the control over the media because the media can shape the public's views about the particular movements, and influence a movement's success or failure. Some examples will be investigated to demonstrate the effects of the media on the social movements:

The Tea Party Movement (Figure 29), emerged in 2009 in the United States, was a political movement opposing the excessive taxation and government intervention in the private sector, while it was supporting strong government's control over the immigration. The movement took its name from the Boston Tea Party, (December 16, 1773), which was an incident in

which the chests of tea belonging the British government were thrown its chests by ships into the Boston Harbor. The Americans were protesting the tax on tea. The Tea Party Movement was not managed with a clear leader, but it was composed of more than fourteen hundred localized groups. The Tea Party gained national attention through the media, and thus the media provided Tea Party candidates' even to win the elections in 2010. The main news bulletins gave a big part to Tea Party protests presenting the live mass meetings and showing some identical figures of the protest. Moreover, an online community organization for the movement was provided. It could be observed that the successful outcome of the action is based on the role of the media[38].

Figure 29: Members of the Tea Party movement protesting the health care reform legislation, and taxes in Washington[39].

Although Seattle resistance (Figure 30) may have seemed that it was a spontaneous movement through the mass media lens, in truth its preparations had started months before with considerable mobilization through the Internet. A range of groups and hundreds of activists co-ordinated the actions through the Internet and media, and came together against the social, economic and environmental injustices. There were common advantages of ICT to all groups, including the widespread and global resources, networking and fast and low-cost way of interaction. Moreover, the *Public Citizen* constructed the mobilization websites: *SeaatleWTO.org* and *Seattle99.org*, offering the education and accommodation for activists, and guaranteeing affordable housing for the protestors. These communication tools facilitated to connect information, places and organizations, and increased the groups' trust and their

[38] http://open.lib.umn.edu/americangovernment/chapter/8-4-social-movements/, accessed 18 August, 2018.
[39] https://www.britannica.com/topic/Tea-Party-movement, accessed 14 August, 2018.

arguments' capability. That is to say; the Internet communication provided a significant advantage to this global action of Seattle (Pierce, 2001).

Figure 30: Seattle WTO protests[40].

Another networked based movement was the protests in Iran in June 2009. The thousands of people, mostly the young, were in the streets to protest the presidential election that was the rigged poll on behalf of the existing regime. When the government tried to stop the protestors and prevented the newspapers demonstrating these protests, the power of the ICT became visible through the text messages and Twitter. The protestors used these tools as a way to warning the others about what the Iranian police were doing, helping the demonstrators to plan and coordinate their next steps.

The protestors transmitted all the photos and videos of protests and police violence through the Internet on their cell phones, and thus many of the videos and photos ended up on YouTube. When naturally the government tried to block the accesses to the websites like Twitter, YouTube, and so on, the protestors and their allies outside Iran took some electronic precaution to prevent the blocking. In short, the Iranian protests against the rigged poll in June 2009 revealed the power of the electronic media to shape the dynamics and outcomes of the protests[41]. It could be observed the differences between the examples of the social movements to use the ICT as a right in a democratic and non-democratic way. While the protestors in Seattle used the ICT tools creating ''open forms'' as a part of public interaction and participation, the protestors in Iran even did have some difficulties to express their idea, and

[40] http://www.becomingacitizenactivist.org/wto-battle-seattle/, https://www.seattle.gov/cityarchives/exhibits-and-education/digital-document-libraries/world-trade-organization-protests-in-seattle, accessed 14 August, 2018.
[41] http://open.lib.umn.edu/sociology/chapter/21-3-social-movements/, accessed 19 August, 2018.

to show the reality of the police violence through Twitter, YouTube, and so on, because of the government interventions over the Internet and social media.

Figure 31: Many protestors were holding the were on placards written ‘’Where is my vote?’’ about a million missing votes[43] .

Figure 32: Tens of thousand of people the street to protest[42]

ICT strengthens the power of the network as in the ‘’All Out’’ global movement. It is a global movement which lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender demand equality. This movement mobilizes thousands of activists from New York to St. Petersburg to Kampala through their website, *allout.org* to stand up for LGBT rights. When a Ugandan lesbian living in the U.K. was threatened with deportation for days, ‘’All Out’’ mobilized more than 60,000 people in 160 countries to take action. This global action shows us the power of the network technology.

The Arab Spring, the rise of West Asia, emerged in 2011 spring, with the solidarity of at least eight countries that enveloped the Middle East and North Africa. It was a series of pro-democracy uprisings with the great participation of protestors demanding reform and regime changes. It began first in Tunisia and spread to Egypt, Yemen, Bahrain, Libya and Syria within weeks. The only ‘’ success story’’ with a new constitution from a human rights perspective even though the human right are still under attack, and reforms still are needed. The most stable authoritarian leaders including Hosni Mubarak in Egypt and Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali in Tunisia were swept from power[41].

[42] https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2016/01/arab-spring-five-years-on/, accessed 19 August, 2018.
[43] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8106207.stm , accessed 19 August, 2018.

The most outstanding success of the ‘’Arab Spring’’ was the role of social media on the collective actions. Since the mass participation from the youth, the social media played a vital role in spreading the protests to other Arab nations. The rapid spread of the protest could not be completed without the effective use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter to get and share information. First, the social media is fast, reliable and current. Second, it is an information exchange between the users of Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp and YouTube. It is a global channel to open up to the world as it happened in Arab Spring, connecting the demonstrations, showing the real face of the protests with images and videos through YouTube. However, in Egypt, the new social media channels and traditional media tool like Al-Jazeera accompanied each other in facilitating the protests (Segev, Sheafer and Wolfsfeld, 2013).

Figure 33: A protest was against Lebanon's rubbish crisis and government corruption in Beirut[45].

Figure 34: Protesters gathered in Tahrir Square[44].

All in all, social movements based on the collective action bring individuals together. The media is an essential tool to attract the attention of the collective actors to these collective actions, which can enhance the participation in the movement, thus take notice of the political leaders. ICTs have had a significant impact on social movements, both to promote the actions and communication. The role of the social media was most famously illustrated in the Gezi Park Movement. In the next chapter, it will be investigated the role of social networks in Gezi Park Protest.

[44] https://www.vox.com/2016/1/27/10845114/arab-spring-failure, accessed 14 August, 2018.
[45] https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/05/arab-spring-happened-160501124150288.html, accessed 14 August, 2018.

7. GEZI RESISTANCE AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Gezi Park Movements, as a consequence of ‘’Taksim Square Pedestrianization Project” in İstanbul on 27 May 2013, can be considered as a ‘’new social movements’’. The characteristic of the Gezi Park Movements corresponds to general characteristic features of the new social movements in the post-industrial period. It may be summarized the similar features of Gezi movements with the other new social movements that mentioned in the previous chapter:

(1) it was politically leaderless, and not organized or class-based;

(2) it focused on neither economic nor class demands, but indeed focused on the environment, human rights, individual freedom, peace and the right to the city;

(3) it was based on the ‘’collective actors’’ and ‘’collective actions;’’

(4) it used the ‘’information and communication technologies’’ as a tool to be spread nationally and globally.

Considering the Gezi Park Movement as a social movement based on the general features, firstly it is important to know the reason why it has emerged, and then how it became a movement. At first sight, the occupation of the park was to prevent the demolishment of trees in the park, which was related to the demolishment of the historic Gezi Park. Later, the environmental resistance changed dimension with the brutal police intervention in people’s living spaces within Gezi Park such as burning the tents of the resisting people, and destroying the banners and posters. The violent behavior of police became the turning point of the movement. Thus more people, who thought that the government’s regime had direct effects on their lives, identities and ideologies, gathered at the park hearing about the violence via social media. The protest, started in Istanbul, made an overwhelming impression over the people and it spread all over the places country-wide and globally (Figure 35). It was the most prominent social uprising that Turkey had never experienced before.

Figure 35: Many citizens in other cities across Turkey joined the protests in the solidarity[46]

Gezi movement was a collective movement that represented the new form of movements as a collective action and collective actor. It means that collective movement did not primarily focus on the benefit to the individual members but instead more on the desire for collective actors. The actors from diverse ideologies and politics chose to gather mainly around the common demands as mentioned before rather than the individual ideologies. The content of the actors included all people, from different beliefs, generations, economic profiles, and sexual preferences. The first factor to keep people together was the police violence, and the primary tool to keep those, who decided to take part in the collective action together, was ICT. Therefore, as Diani (1992) mentioned, the networked social movements could be described as a process that induced the mobilization between the plurality of individuals, and groups or organizations, engaged in political or cultural conflicts.

Moreover, while those collective actors were protesting for the common demands standing shoulder to shoulder, they were also experiencing to share their social lives. One of the most

[46] http://everywheretaksim.net/category/images/resistance/, https://www.memurlar.net/haber/378780/taksim-gezi-parki-nda-sagduyu-vakti.html, accessed 15 July, 2018.

distinctive features of Gezi Movement compared to other new social movements was its festival side which could be considered as a part of its pluralistic and diverse structure. Festivals and the multiplicity of the space also showed how the citizens would love to see their own public space. While the participants of the movements transforming the Gezi Park into a habitat through the graffiti walls, libraries, collective kitchens, music venues, conference venues, book fairs, utopic streets and squares, and democratic forums, they have participated in a Piano Recital by a German pianist, Davide Martello (Figure 38).

Figure 36: Gezi Park tents[47]

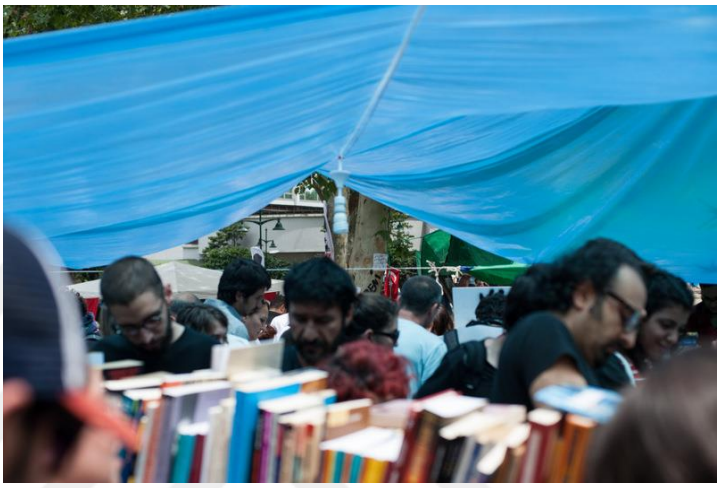


Figure 37: Gezi Park library[49]

On 13 June 2013, two days before the Taksim Gezi Commune was destroyed, Davide Martello came to the center of Taksim Square and began performing that lasted for 14 hours (Figure 38). The open recital was surrounded by the people quickly as a symbol of solidarity. On the following day, the event later turned into a festival with the participation of other musicians, performance artists, and audience members. The German pianist played in the same spot (Ay and Miraftab, 2016). Unfortunately, the police moved into the Taksim Square and cleared the people on the square with tear gas. Davide Martello's idea was ''to inspire politicians through the music'' (The Guardian, 2013). Unfortunately, the police seized his piano. ''The Turkish police seized my piano, my car and my iPhone. I need help!!! '' Martello, posted on Facebook (The Guardian, 2013). The piano recital actually might have given the new meaning to the Taksim Square in the context of the use of the public space.

[47] http://everywheretaksim.net/category/images/, accessed 18 August, 2018.

Figure 38: Davide Martello performed for 14 hours in Taksim Square[48].

Figure 39: Music performance in Gezi Park[49]

The protests of Gezi Movement had a unique feature to bring together many different groups from various politic, cultural and ideological backgrounds, but it brought the people together whose common ground was their opposition to the government regime. The different backgrounds considered the presence of religious and ethnic minorities (i.e., Kurds, Alevis, and Armenians), radical left parties and groups, feminists groups, LGBT activists, Muslims, anarchists, nationalists, and Kemalists. The Gezi Movement was politically leaderless, not organized or class-based, urban, heterogenic, cosmopolite, spontaneous, looking apolitical but highly politicized, and thinking individualistically but acting empathetically.

Although the participants of the movement had different politic, cultural and ideological backgrounds, they were able to come together for a common goal. The demolished ‘’Ataturk Cultural Center" building, located at the center of Taksim Square, had represented the pluralistic side of the protests. Its façade was covered with various political banners.

The Gezi Movement can be considered as a new social movement in terms of its demands and discourses. The protests were not limited to some particular demands even though the protests had started as an occupation to prevent the demolishment of Gezi Park. The protestors have engaged with the issues based on the political and economic changes, which have tremendous effects over the lifestyle concerns and democratic civil rights. The main reason why the initial occupation became a social movement against the political power was that the government was ignoring the demands of the people for a long time, and the government gave priority to the construction sector on urban planning and policy ignoring the effects of this priority over

[48] https://www.aksam.com.tr/guncel/taksim-gezide-piyano-resitali--12-haziran/haber-215230, accessed 18 August, 2018.

people's lives. The Gezi Movement has been an exceptional case for the history of Turkey due to its politically leaderless and non-institutional support. Therefore, the collective movement represented also some individual fight of different groups within the democracy and autonomy such as women's rights. The women came together to support the resistance and to protest the harassment and murders of women, hotly-debated discourse of the government against the freedom and lifestyle of women, and especially against the police violence over the women during the protest (Figure 45).

Figure 40: Women's protesting[49]

On July 9, 2013, the first day of Ramadan, after more than a month had passed since the start of Gezi movement, people of Gezi gathered around "Table on Earth", as they named it, in Istiklal Street. These people of Gezi who were fasting during the protests and the others reproduced their own space, Istiklal Street, (Lefebvre 1991). The people created a dinner table calling ''Table on Earth'' hosting hundreds of people sharing their food with one another. The people showed their solidarity gathering around the Table on Earth. Some of them were breaking their fast while others were there sitting around the table to show their solidarity to those who were fasting. This creative act formed the longest and most different table ever set in the middle of the most vibrant neighborhood in the city with many restaurants. This practice of Table on Earth was a complex social construction based on collectively shared meanings and values. Producing new spaces for resistance and solidarity, people claimed and practiced their right to the city, a ''*right to change [them]selves by changing the city*'' (Harvey 2008: 23); and this transformation inevitably showed the exercise of collective power.

The Gezi Movement has been compared the other social movements in Europe (Indignados in Spain), Middle East (Tahrir Square in Egypt and Arab Spring) and USA (Occupy Streets) through the history. The common aspect all of these movements is that they had tremendous effects on the decision-making process. Gezi movement represented the same element in Turkey. On the one hand, the Gezi Movement is part all of these movements, on the other hand, none of them. As in the other cases, Gezi was a civil initiative occupying the public squares and streets. For some, the Gezi Movement resembled the occupation of Tahrir Square against the political regime and the Arab Spring Movement. However, the political structure of Turkey is not the same, which is a parliamentary system holding a free election since 1946. In the case of the Arab Spring, the protests were against the authoritarian regime and demanding the democracy, but in the case of Gezi Movement, the protests were criticizing the absence of democracy.

Moreover, Gezi Movement was not anti-government although it was anti-governmental policies and anti-authoritarian attitudes of the Prime Minister. For others, the Gezi Movement had similar aspects of European demonstrations which were against the global economic powers. Turkish protestors were not the victims of the financial crisis as happened in Spain in 2011 called ‘’los indignados’’ (Taylor, 2011) the May 15 Movement, but they challenged to be a pion of the neo-liberal economies. It is essential to see the ‘’Gezi Movement’’ as a particular case with its unique features different than the other social movements. The Gezi Movement not only prevented the demolishment of Gezi Park, but it was a challenge against the extreme and top-down urban transformation projects of the past ten years. Lastly, Gezi Movement was not an organized initiative like in the Occupy Wall Street, but Gezi occurred spontaneously.

7.1. The Role of Social Network in Gezi Movement

Gezi Park movements through the traditional media tools:

The Gezi protest developed as a networked movement due to both the availability of information and communication technologies for the protesters and the lack of local mass media. During the demonstrations, new digital media tools, particularly the social media channels, accelerated and facilitated the flow of information. Gezi Park Movement caused debates and conflicts within the media. The mainstream media failure to broadcast the

occupation on 27th May 2013, starting day of Gezi Movement, and the significant part of society follow the news on the global media. The traditional media tools like local mass media, including primarily the TV channels and daily newspapers, met the government pressure to decide including or not of the Gezi uprising. This case included the TV channels and newspapers of Dogan Media Group, along with other relatively independent channels and newspapers, such as Haberturk and NTV. However, the pro-government mainstream media chose to ignore the movement, but when the movement became global and took a part on the global media, the pro-government mainstream came up with the disinformation, and defamation campaign against the protestors. Only some nationalist and anti-government channels, (1) Halk TV- founded by the oppositional party, CHP (Republican People's Party) and (2) Ulusal Kanal- owned by Yeditepe Iletisim Hizmetleri reported as news the uprising (Bulut, 2013, Vatikiotis and Yoruk, 2016).

During the Gezi Movement when the protests were at their most intense stage, ''CNN Turk'' news channel continued to broadcast a documentary on ''penguins'', which caused the channel to be widely criticized. Moreover, the penguins became a symbol of the Gezi Movement. The local mass media was criticized via this symbol, penguins (Figure 45).

Figure 41: Taksim Protests in Antarctica on CNN International watching by a penguin vs. Penguin documentary on CNN Turk[49].

[49] http://www.bidoluhaber.tv/aydin-dogandan-penguen-itirafi.html, accessed 23 August, 2018.

Turkish Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTUK), is a public corporation that controls all radio-television broadcast in Turkey. It has the authority to penalize the issues and has always been a state apparatus for the control of independent and dissident media. The media channels which reported news during the Gezi Movement were penalized heavily by the punishment of fine and closed down. Moreover, the history magazine programme NTV Tarih got closed down by its administration due to preparing a unique programme about the Gezi Park protests, "NTV Tarih," 2013, (Vatikiotis and Yoruk, 2016). According to the Turkish Journalists' Union, 22 media workers got fired, and 37 media workers were forced to resign since 27th May 2013, the starting day of Gezi movement (Turkish Journalists' Union, 2013). As a result, the local mass media chose to maintain the usual broadcast stream instead of covering the demonstrations all around the country and world. In return, protesters went to the media building to demonstrate and campaigned for the boycott of mainstream media.

In Turkey, if you are interested in soccer and especially if you are fanatic, it is more likely to have ''*DigiTurk*'' channel, that broadcasts soccer games every week. When the two major Turkish teams, Besiktas and Galatasaray, had the soccer game, DigiTurk had a live broadcast of this soccer game. The soccer fans in the stadium shouted the slogan ''*Everywhere Taksim, Everywhere Resistance*'' (Her yer Taksim, Her yer direniş in Turkish) at the 34th minute of the game. This behavior of the fans showed their support for the Gezi resistance because ''34'' is the license plate code of Istanbul. However, the channel managers of Digiturk had silence during the slogans. The people watching the soccer game at home thought that it was a technical problem, but in reality, the channel managers decided to mute the voice settings not to be punishment by RTUK because of the slogans which represented the anti-government attitude (Bulut, 2013).

In the case of the Turkish local mass media during the Gezi movement, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) could be seen as the most trusted tool to reach the information, to motivate participation in protests and to bond protestors together. Since the emergence of ICT in the 20th century, it has a visible effect on human relations and social structures worldwide. Today, in the context of new social movements, ICT has been becoming fast one of the primary tools of social movements around the world to advance their causes (Ojedokun, 2016).

Gezi Park movements through the social networks:

When the traditional media channels and newspapers decided to keep quiet about the Gezi protests, or not to give the accurate information, this attitude accelerated the use of social networks tools effectively. The riot was spontaneously organized by any youngsters who were mobilized through the new social media such as Twitter and Facebook. Garrett (2006) argued that ICTs have promoted the collective actors across a dispersed population, and have created online communities that assist the mobilization as happed in Gezi protests. The social media channels were used as a central communication device or platform during Gezi Park protests, which is also referring to the technological age we are in. In the first ten days, more than 143 million tweets were posted, and the active user count increased five times more than usual[50] (Figure 47).

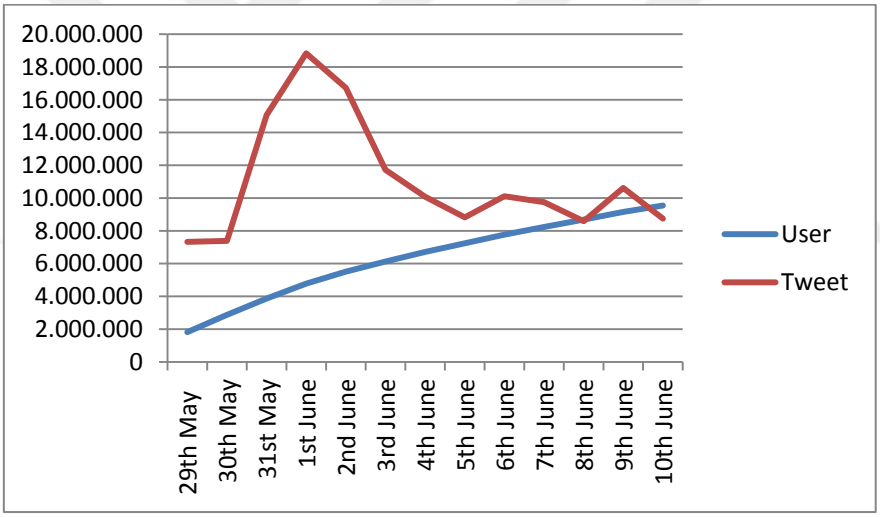


Figure 42: Users and tweets in the first ten days[54]

It can be observed increased participation of leaderless actions on 29th May because of first police intervention, and it reached the highest level of participation on 31st May because of the mass police violence. Between 29th May 2013 and 10th June 2013, in Turkey, Twitter users per day increased from 1.8 to 10 million. More than 20 hashtags related to the Gezi protests became the most popular trend topics worldwide. According to the social media analysts, the total number of tweets regarding the Gezi protests reached more than seven

[50] http://everywheretaksim.net/tr/insan-haber-gezide-sosyal-medya-istatistikleri/, accessed 24 August, 2018.

billion (Vatikiotis and Yoruk, 2016). According to KONDA Gezi Park Report (2014: 26), 69% of those who participated in demonstrations followed the actions from the social media, and 8.6% of them via followed the actions by online news sites while only 7% of them followed through the television. Protesters, who gathered in the streets, squares and in Gezi Park, not only gained the information through the social media, but also protestors informed each other about many various needs like shelter, food, and which path to follow not to meet the police.

In the context of the Gezi Protests, there was a wide variety of information circulation by the diverse channels of social media, and it became a challenge for the protestors to judge whose information was reliable. In the Gezi protests, the risks associated with the information circulation was about the personal safety because many provocative groups also took place during the protests. In this point, being physically active in the protests could be both a criterion to be able to judge the flow of information on the social media and an actor who provides the trusted information to the other by social media tools such as WhatsApp, Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. Most of the interviewees indicated that they trusted information more which came from their close circle of friends who were in the field most. It could be observed that the physical existence of participation in the Gezi Protests became a criterion for social trust building. However, the social networks provide people a platform easily and fast besides being in a place where people come together.

Thanks to Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs), a significant number of people can be organized in a short time to protest on the streets accessing many people just by a click as it happened in Gezi protests. The new media technologies give the opportunities of a new framework that hasn't been thought in terms of citizenship and democracy up to now (Arslan and Sezer, 2014).

To sum up, in Gezi protests, social media channels were used both as the main information source and communication device. The social media channels not only had a major role in the protests, but also in the political life of contemporary societies as a whole. The social media platform has provided an indirect way to participate in the decision-making process besides assisting the people during the movement. People had a chance to hear about others' voice, to discuss, to find solutions and to act together through the online forums, Facebook groups, and Twitter.

7.2. Cosmopolitanism of Gezi Movement

Gezi movement was a civil initiative by a group of people originating from different political and ideological background. These active citizens included all kinds of people such as environmental activists, members of the union of Turkish engineers and architects (TMMOB in Turkish), and members of the chamber of city planners, politicians, trade unions, radical left parties and groups, feminists groups, LGBT activists, artists, academics, Muslims, anarchists, nationalists, Kemalists, Kurds, Alevis, soccer fans, secularist organizations such as the association for supporting contemporary life, and several others gathered in Gezi Park, located in Taksim.

Gezi Park movement also represented the social discontents of the social order, and the fragmentation of social life. The discontents were including the environmental destruction to the aggressive gentrification of urban spaces, the Kurdish problem, economic conditions of Turkey, the media and social media censorship, and so on. Therefore, active citizens of the protests were originating from different political and ideological background. All these different types of people were there to express their individual discontents, and to demand their fundamental rights and social demands. These people were the unemployment because of the neoliberal system, workers without the job security, students concerning for their future, victims of urban transformation, immigrants, and so on. Thus, it has been created the civic consciousness or public awareness, and many people gathered in the Gezi Park and Taksim Square (Vatikiotis and Yoruk, 2016).

Some of the people at the Gezi Park and Taksim Square have never taken a part in any protest or demonstrations, and some of them identified themselves as apolitical. However, the other people, who have taken part any protest or social movements before, have never experienced to sit side by side with the various groups of people as represented at Gezi Park (Navaro-Yashin, 2013).

The first time different type of citizens had a chance to relate with each other and recognize the others. The multidirectional communication helped them understand the reasons of the others. This communication not only allowed to develop better solutions through the different knowledge and profession, but it has also changed the one's perception against the other, making participant less privileged with the individual, and more with common goods (Kaya, 2017).

Gezi Park community inside the park with their tents could represent the living collectively with diversity rather than homogenizing or individualizing any groups represented in the park. They practiced the peaceful co-existence regarding daily activities within the park commune, such as the park forums that provided the experience of direct democracy within the commune. The political manifestation of the Gezi community with its communal practices in the absence of state authority represented "*the demand to be counted, named, and recognized*'' (Ay & Miraftab, 2016). The active citizen in cooperation with each other rejecting all kinds of hierarchies created a multiplicity of spaces within the Gezi community, such as graffiti walls, public libraries, collective kitchens, music venues, conference venues, book fairs, utopic streets and squares, and the most importantly the democratic forums (Kaya, 2017). In the community, citizens from different political and ideological background had the chance to experience a form of deliberative democracy. At Gezi Park, the protesters also displayed a practice of respecting differences during the demonstrations. As Kaya (2017) said ''*this utopia brought a form of solidarity, which is cross-culture, cross-religion, cross-ethnicity, cross-class, and cross-gende*r.''

Figure 43: Cosmopolitanism of Gezi[51]

[51] http://everywheretaksim.net/wp-content/gallery/gezi-parki/20130529_0158.jpg, accessed 19 August, 2018.
https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2013/gundem/namaz-kilanlari-korudular-309855/, accessed 19 August, 2018
http://www.gazeteemek.com/gundem/gezi-parki-eylemlerine-katilan-kadinlar-anlatti-gercek-bir-devrim-h3862.html, accessed 19 August, 2018
http://arsiv.mimarist.org/odadan/3110-taksim-dayanismasi-ndan-basin-aciklamasi-29-mayis-2013.html, accessed 19 August, 2018.

8. CONCLUSION

The research aimed to understand the new model of participation and emerging citizenship in the context of Taksim Pedestrianization Project by analyzing Gezi protests both as a social movement and an urban movement. In order to tackle this issue, it is crucial to embed the urban and social aspects together since the protests changed its characteristics from an environmental issue to a point against capital and power. Hence, the first aim was to explore ‘’*how and why this transformation took place*.’’ In order to answer to first question, an interdisciplinary theoretical framework was adopted.

We are living in a period of significant transformations in the world since the economic globalization starting from the 1970s through the end of the last century. In many contemporary societies, the sweeping changes of economic globalization have developed some policies integrating neoliberalism all around the world where the cities have failed to provide equal services for its citizens. Since the increasing influence of neoliberalism on cities, the protests are the outcome of the period to seek alternatives for a better urban environment.

Some sectors like agriculture, animal breeding, mining, energy and manufacturing were progressively abandoned following some IMF (International Monetary Fund) agreements in the 1980s (Strutz and Cavusoglu, 2014). Now, the construction sector is believed to be the energy of the Turkish economy. Thus, investments in this sector were the only short-term solution to sustaining growth and development. Istanbul has been always at the center of this development due to its location as a bridge for international land and sea trade routes. As a result, several urban transformation projects, called ‘’Crazy Projects’’, were announced in 2011 by the prime minister of time. The so-called ‘’Taksim Pedestrianization Project’’ including the transformation of Gezi Park was also one of these crazy projects. Despite its diverse nature, Gezi Protests first showed the spatial framework as a part of urban movement. Thus, it became a symbol to resist against the new spatial order of neoliberal capitalism threatening urban commons of citizens. From the demolishment of Taksim Military Barracks in 1940 to the origin of Gezi Park by Henri Prost in 1943, and today to the reconstruction project of the park, the park has always been both a product, and a symbol in the city identity. Its role in Taksim Square's history regarding the country’s political and public disposition places it as both as a product, and as a symbol in the city identity.

In short, as much as Taksim Square and Gezi Park being a product as they were designed, decided and produced by power and capital, they also gained an identity in the sense that they were owned, used, and practiced by the citizens. This feature of them, apart from being a product led the second question of the thesis: '' *How citizens have the right to speak about their future and which factors influence the quality of the decision-making process*?''

To answer the second question, in the fifth chapter, I devoted to make a comprehensive research on the ''right to the city.'' I introduced and discussed some concepts related to the wider "right to the city" in the absence of democratic participation in the Gezi Park transformation decision-making process. I mainly pointed out the concept of ''Ladder of citizen participation" by Sherry Arnstein (1969), and the concept of *right to the city* by Lefebvre (1996) to trace Gezi Park transformation decision-making process. The self-organized Gezi protests emerged with the common features of other contemporary social movements demanding democracy, freedom and fundamental rights in a democratic decision-making process. Since public participation and the fair decision-making process in the contemporary urban planning word are considered as primary elements for the sustainable, it is crucial to address citizens' needs, interests and expectations in "making the city". In this sense, contemporary social movements emerged to establish a democracy of participation, which can be seriously threatening to the status quo and the power of centralized political parties.

Taksim Pedestrianization Project and the transformation of Gezi Park have been planned through a undemocratic and no transparent decision-making process. During the Gezi protests, the people objected to the decision-making process in which they could not participate. Active citizenship during the Gezi protests represented a demand for the participatory democracy practices that have been absent particularly during the decision-making process of new urban projects.

This social movement as a demand for democratic public participation was an indirect way to participate in the decision-making process of the project. Thus, particularly, social media turned to be a crucial tool for the active citizenship to underline the "right to the city" during the Gezi protests. The role of social media could be observed as a tool for the enhancement of public participation. As a consequence, this social movement has been seen as a spatial defence against the lack of participation, and introduced a new form of public participation.

Thus, the social context of the thesis started with the third question: ‘’*What makes this new model of public participation operational for the emerging citizenship*?’’

To answer the third question, in the sixth chapter I analyzed concepts that arise in the literature of new social movements, and I focused on some actions and actors to understand the Gezi Movement. This social movement itself made the new model of public participation operational for the emerging citizenship opposing to non-participative planning policy, implemented by the government. ‘’Collective actors and actions’’ as new paradigms of ‘’New Social Movement Theory’’ were the key elements of this social movement within the contentious politics. ‘’Collective actors and actions’’ provided to make this movement operational through the social media tools. This social movement brought together a certain number of individuals to make a claim on their rights are. The lack of organized political alternatives made people find their solutions to voice their values and to position them ideologically. Thus, the participants of Gezi, the faces and voices of millions of ordinary people, communicated a collective identity of being leaderless including face-to-face organizations like street forums. In these street forums, people talked about their future, discussed the national problems, and made decisions on various subjects.

Thanks to the interviews I have done and other interviews collected by media, it emerges that a collective action approach through acts of solidarity made a group of people come together and create a relevant change that benefits them all. Interviews indicated that participants believed that they increased political solidarity during the park occupation. Collective action experiences within Gezi protests were a powerful way to take steps toward social justice all around Turkey. The mobilization of these self-organized actions led the last question of the thesis: ‘’*What is the role of social media in new social movements like Gezi protests?*’’

The role of social media was observed as a tool to enhance the public participation during the movement as happened in other contemporary social movements such as Seattle WTO protests, Occupy Wall Street, Arab Spring and Indignados Movement. Information and communication technology have become the primary tool of contemporary social movements as it facilitates speed information transfer through the channels, and mobilize the participants. Protestors of Gezi used the digital media and social media technologies more to mobilize and manage the participation and coordinate goals, rather than expressing personal interpretations of problems. Instead, social media tools in Gezi protests were more likely to create a broader public engagement using interactive digital media, rather than helping citizens spread the

word over their personal networks. Thus, direct and online communication methods assisted in organizing protests by collective actors. Individuals tried to take the control of their own lives through the ICTs instead being global system's pawn. Without social media's mediation, Gezi protests, like other contemporary social movements, could never have been what they are now. In Slaatta's (1999: 37) words, "*Media is an important stream in the manifest of public sphere*." I argued in conclusion that the Gezi protests, like other new social movements, can transform the public sphere, in which the role of the media, and particularly the social media.

To conclude; Gezi protests emerged spontaneously with the occupation of the park to protest against the Taksim Pedestrianization Project which was planned with a nondemocratic decision-making process. While it was designed in the lack of democratic participatory planning to achieve construction-based economic growth and make Istanbul one of the world's top cities, it has affected directly the private lives of citizens on the public sphere. The uniqueness of Gezi Movement is that it showed how and why we live can live altogether within the solidarity and peace, how we share common goods. Last but not least, it reminds us that cities should be ours, and we shape them according to our desires.

''Yaşamak bir ağaç gibi tek ve hür ve bir orman gibi kardeşçesine''

''Living like a tree alone and free, and like a forest fraternally''

NAZIM HIKMET

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