Meydan as *Sahne*
Productions of Space and Expressions of Turkish Politics at Taksim Square (1950-1980)

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Abstract

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This thesis analyses the spatial history of Taksim Square in Istanbul, Turkey, focusing primarily on the years 1950 to 1980. As Taksim Square is a politically active urban space, the central argument of the thesis concerns how certain public spaces come to serve as a nation's performance stage for the expression of state politics and associated societal discourse. In this thesis Taksim's urban space is investigated as a medium of Turkish politics enforced through spatial practices. First, a sequential analysis of the production of Taksim's space is presented, from its origins as a graveyard site and garden space in 18th and 19th centuries to its role as an urban public square in mid-20th century. Next, the history of events and protests at Taksim is analyzed through their physical manifestation in Taksim's spatial form, its built environment, and the social use of its space. Thereafter, through the theoretical lenses of Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Space*, (1991) and *The Right to the City*, (1968), the thesis addresses questions of 'whose space?' It does so by examining the various uses and abuses of Taksim Square's space as various ideologies and social groups competed to find their identity in its spatial form during the period from 1950 to 1980.

Taksim Square during the 1977 May Day demonstrations.

Taksim Square in the 1930s.
(www.domusweb.it)

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Acknowledgements

The guidance I received from my thesis committee, Dr. Brian McLaren and Professor Jeffrey Karl Ochsner, during the course of this thesis has not only made this document and all that it contains possible, but it also fostered a process that generated a wealth of knowledge that will be a resource I will look back to forever and learn from each time. I would also like to recognize their patience with me and my process throughout our time together. It has been a great few months of collaborative thinking and effort.

My husband, Afsah Anwar, has been my greatest support since I've known him. He is my calm in a storm, and I am grateful of his unwavering support during this thesis, which coincided with other challenging times for him.

I'd also like to acknowledge the infinite support of my parents, Dr. Ahmed Zameer and Dr. Yasmeen Farhana, who among other things, had to send their daughter off to a distant continent amidst a global pandemic. I am sure they had to suppress all sorts of apprehensions and fears to let that happen.

This thesis is the first, formal, directed step I took towards my broad interest in conflict spaces I have been harboring over the last few years. I hope, my learnings from this process help me further advance my interests, now in a relatively systematic manner.

Saba Fatima
June 6, 2022. Seattle, WA

1.1 Occupy Movement: Occupy Wall Street demonstrators stage a protest near Wall Street in New York City on October 5, 2011.
(Emmanuel Dunand/AFP/Getty Images.)

Chapter 1
Introduction

This thesis presents a case study of Taksim Square in Istanbul, Turkey, to analyze and understand the nature of politically visible, and politically active public spaces. It makes the argument that certain public spaces serve as a nation's performance stage for the expression of politics and associated societal discourse. Through the study of Taksim Square, the thesis dissects the processes of production of public spaces that are categorized variously in literature as contested spaces, protest spaces, political spaces, and conflict spaces. Throughout this study, Taksim is investigated to identify claims regarding its physical form in relation to its political and social value.
The production of spaces in the public realm that are susceptible to civic occupation and contesting claims by social groups is a uniquely urban phenomenon. Therefore, the studies of public spaces, protests, and theoretical perspectives through Taksim Square as developed in this thesis are presented in the context of its urban setting.

1.1 Public Realms: their Occupations and Contesting Claims

There is a long history of contested occupation of urban public spaces by people. These occupations may be considered tactics of civic resistance. The occupation of public space leading to the 1770 Boston Massacre, the 1776 pulling down of George III statue in New York, and the occupation of Paris's public spaces during the French revolutions of 1789, 1830,

1848, and Paris Commune of 1871 are among early examples of modern city-space occupation.[1] The 'Occupy Movement' that took place between 2011 and 2012 is a relatively recent case where people in cities around the world used public spaces to protest against the effects of capitalism, against prevailing socioeconomic inequality, and against the lack of real democratic freedom that citizens were not accorded in various countries. Of the Occupy Movement, sociologist Richard Sennett remarked that the protests were able to take place in spaces where people would otherwise not belong. They took place in plazas of New York, on church steps in London, and inside shopping malls of Madrid — spaces where normally, people would not be granted the rights to assemble and publicly express their views (Fig. 1.1).[2] The movement, which spanned as many as 951 cities across 82 countries, in all six inhabited continents, was seemingly geographically and demographically unrelated; however, it was united by the working class's resentment of their quality of life due to unfair concentration of global wealth among the top 1% of income earners.[3] The mass protests and occupations of public spaces showed the power of citizens that were resisting, demonstrating, and demanding their rights through the power of mass assembly, and the power of their public visibility. It is this manner of occupation of public space, and the control of space by the authorities that is critically analyzed in this thesis. Thus, this thesis considers the Turkish public realm in multiple dimensions through Taksim Square, Istanbul — through its physical space, social space, and imagined space. According to Sennett, the public realm is a space where strangers meet and

1 Dunn, McPhee, Rudnick. Art, Protest, and Public Space. October 1, 2021. Webpage: https://www.metmuseum.org/perspectives/articles/2021/10/art-protest-public-space. (Accessed: May 2022)

2 Sennett, Richard. "The Occupy movements have dramatised questions about public space: Who owns it? And who can use it?." British Politics and Policy at LSE (2012).

3 Thompson, Derek (2011). "Occupy the World: The '99 Percent' Movement Goes Global". The Atlantic. Webpage: https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2011/10/occupy-the-world-the-99-percent-movement-goes-global/246757/. Accessed May 2022. See also Adam, Karla (2011). "Occupy Wall Street protests go global". The Washington Post. Webpage: https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/occupy-wall-street-protests-go-global/2011/10/15/gIQAp7kimL_story.html. Accessed: May 2022.

express themselves to one another.[4] For Sennett, the public realm is less political and more cultural than suggested by his predecessors Hannah Arendt and Jurgen Habermas.[5]

According to Arendt, everything that occurs in public can be seen and heard by everybody, and therefore has the widest publicity.[6] Such visibility helps produce a perceived reality – an image – of the public sphere. Furthermore, Arendt claims, "The presence of others who see what we see and hear what we hear assures us of the reality of the world and ourselves..." [7] Public visibility helps validate political and cultural feelings, sentiments, and opinions that people form in private, by allowing them to see and hear reflections of their views amongst the broader public. Validations through the public allow a sense of freedom that is derived exclusively from that which is public, rather than the private. Since the public space is a 'space of appearance' according to Arendt, it sheds light on the everyday affairs of people, acting, according to her, as a 'brilliantly lit stage' where the attention of the public eye is drawn. It is on this common stage that people interact with one another, discuss common affairs, propose events, and influence other events.[8] According to Arendt, the public realm produces a world which is uniquely durable. It surpasses the life of people that create it. Arendt claims that it is the publicity of the public realm that can absorb events and retain them for centuries, saving them from the natural ruin of time. Arendt discusses politics and culture in context of the public realm, emphasizing that

4 Sennett, Richard. "The public realm." The Blackwell city reader (2010): 261-272.

5 In *The Human Condition, 1958*, Arendt perceives the public realm mostly in terms of politics. Her theory considers all citizens in a public space to be free and equal due to their anonymity. According to her, anonymity is in part achieved when people leave behind their personal work and character while participating in a public space, thereby contributing to a unified front. Jurgen Habermas in *Knowledge and Human Interest, 1968* considers a public realm to be any medium, occasion, or event which prompts open communication between strangers. It can therefore also include cafes, newspapers, magazines, public art etc. Habermas does not exclude the personal from participating in the public realm.

6 Arendt, Hannah. "The Public Realm: The Common," in *The Human Condition*. University of Chicago Press, 1958: 50-58

7 (Arendt, 1958)

8 Canovan, Margaret. "Politics as culture: Hannah Arendt and the public realm." History of political thought 6, no. 3 (1985): 617-642.

both are products of the public world and take place in the limelight of the public realm – on a public stage.

Arendt's views on the public realm's role as both a medium and tool of societal processes in cities are reflected in the historical processes of Taksim Square, and its evolution as a public space through time. With the understanding that public space serves as a medium of interaction for city dwellers and accords visibility to their demands and ideologies, this thesis demonstrates Taksim Square's unique role as a center-stage for the expression of Turkish political ideologies, and as a stage for the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic struggles between contending social groups to publicly play out. Since this Square enjoys a significant status in Turkish history, it has been the subject of several studies through various vantage points and foci of study. Among them, its role as a political square, its significance in the long Ottoman-Turkish history, its restaurants, cafes, theatres, and other entertainment centers are a few focal subjects. In this thesis the focus is on matters of space – that is, how Taksim's physical space was produced, and how it evolved, as well as how the use of space was influenced by spatial practices of Turkish politics. The investigation includes the role of various built environment elements in Taksim Square; claims to space by society and government; the relationship of space and Turkish politics. It does not matter to this study who held the political power. Rather, the interest is what their spatial practices in Taksim were (in the mid-twentieth century context) and why.

1.2 Situating Taksim Square in the Public Realm of twentieth century Istanbul and Turkey

Istanbul, once known as Byazantion or Byzantium and then as Constantinople, is the largest city in Turkey. Situated at the junction of Asia and Europe, it has an Asian side, and a European side. The city geographically connects the two continents, with the Bosphorus Strait running north-south between the two sides (Fig. 1.2). Its rich history and strategic geographic

location made Istanbul Turkey's economic, historic, and cultural center for centuries, and it remains so today.

Istanbul served as the capital city for much of the Ottoman empire's 600-year-long rule (1299-1923; capital since 1453). Upon the formation of the new Turkish Republic in 1923, Ankara in central Turkey was made capital. This move politically signaled the new republican Turkey's break with its Ottoman and Islamic past politically and culturally.[9] Development was focused on Ankara and was curated to reflect the Republican regime's political ideology and cultural goals for the nation. Between 1923 and 1936, Istanbul was overlooked by the early Republican government in efforts to shift the attention of people to Ankara. Istanbul thus went into a state of neglect and decline. The population of the city reduced by almost half. However, in 1936 there was renewed interest on Istanbul by the Republican government who sought to create a new vision for the city. French urban planner Henri Prost was invited to redesign the city and he proposed a masterplan for Istanbul in 1936. Since it already had a rich history, Istanbul was soon able to regain its status as the most prominent city in Turkey.[10]

1.2.1 Istanbul and its Physical Public Realm

The three types of public spaces that present the dominant image of the public sphere in Istanbul are squares, bridges, and streets (particularly those that are pedestrianized). The life of the city is experienced through these three spaces. The three bridges across Bosphorous strait not only conduct traffic between different parts of the city, but also, they are spatial elements that help define the city's landscape. In addition, they served as market spaces at certain times in their histories and continue to do so in some capacity to this day. Since they form an important part of Istanbul's history, particularly the Galata Bridge, they are popular tourist and recreational spots.

9 Sadri, Senem Zeybekoglu. "The Scale of Public Space: Taksim Square in Istanbul." *Journal of Contemporary Urban Affairs* 1, no. 1 (2017): 67-75. See also, Bozdoğan, Sibel. "Modernism and nation building: Turkish architectural culture in the early republic." (2001).

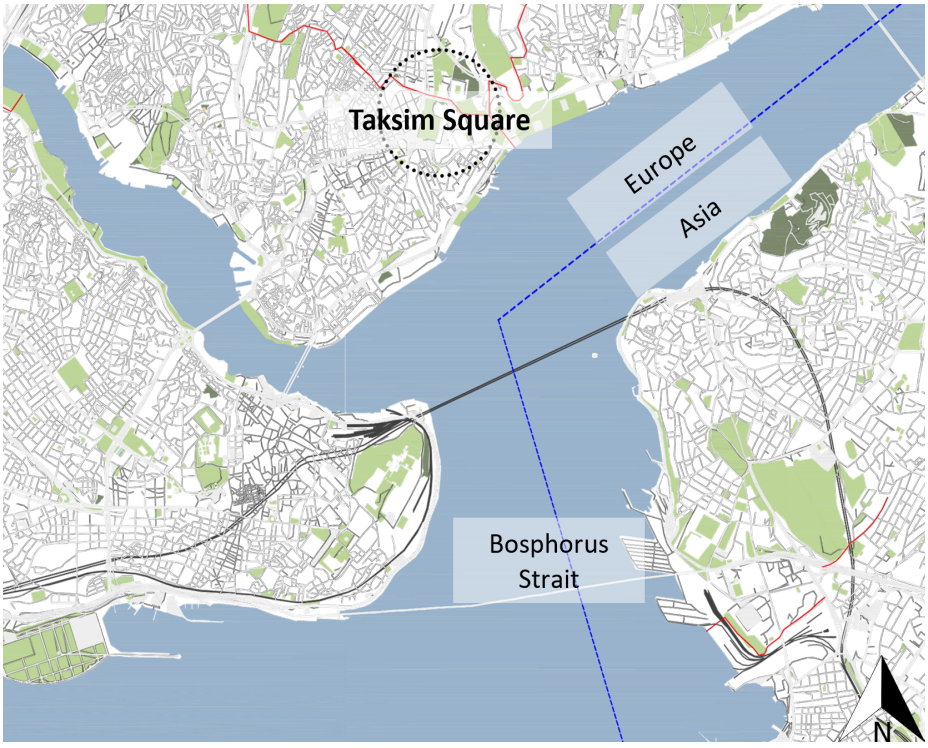
10 Çinar, Alev. Modernity, Islam, and secularism in Turkey: Bodies, places, and time. Vol. 14. U of Minnesota Press, 2005. See also, (Sadri, 2001)

Often, people go there just to be there.[11] The streets of Istanbul, especially ones that have been pedestrianized, are lively lengths of urban corridors with market activity and sites of public interaction. A major concentration of these pedestrianized streets can be seen in the older parts of the city — in the southern European peninsula — where the Aya Sofya (Hagia Sophia), the Blue Mosque, and the Sultanahmet Square are located. Istikal Street adjacent to Taksim Square is another such street.

Istanbul is a city of many squares — Aksaray Square, Beyazit Square, Eminonu Square, Galatasaray Square, Kadikoy Square, Sarachane Square, Sultanahmet Square are some of the prominent ones (Fig. 1.3). The Sultanahmet Square along with other public buildings of the historical peninsula was the locus of Istanbul for cultural and market activity. When the Republican government took over from the Ottomans, to emphasize a break with the Ottoman past, they relocated Istanbul's social and cultural center from the historical peninsula to the northern European side of Istanbul which had a more cosmopolitan character.

1.2 (below) Istanbul – Geographical context

1.3 (Opposite page) Prominent city squares of Istanbul
(Google Earth. Illustrated by Saba Fatima)

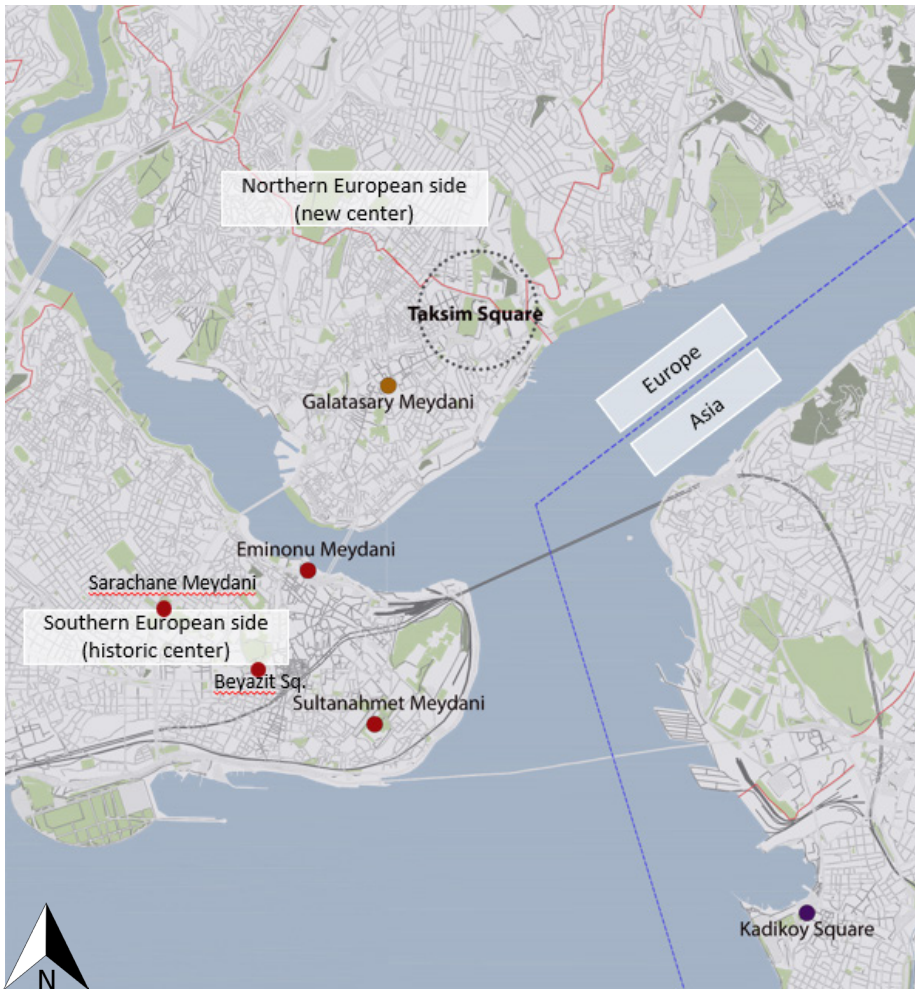


11 Eckardt, Frank, and Kathrin Wildner. Public Istanbul: spaces and spheres of the urban. transcript Verlag, 2008.

Careful spatial strategies were employed to transform the Taksim area to be symbolically representative of the new republican times, the ruling party, and a modern nation. Today, Taksim Square is the largest public square in Istanbul (about 387,000 square feet in area), and claimed to be the third largest public square in Turkey after the Republic Square (860,000 square feet) in the industrial city of Kayseri in central Anatolia, and Kizilay Square (590,000 square feet) in Ankara.

1.2.2 'Taksim'

Taksim is named after a water reservoir, the *Maksem Taksim*, used by the Ottomans to supply water to the European side of Istanbul. It is located in the northern European peninsula of Istanbul, in Beyoglu District. This region was previously known as Pera and it was the outskirts of the city.



Taksim acquired its public square characteristics in 1928, after a 'Monument of the Republic' was unveiled in the area. The monument, which stands to this day, was designed by Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica, and it paid tribute to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (1881-1938), his aides who fought for Turkish independence, and other Turkish and international figures. Atatürk earned the title, 'Father of the Turks' after the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923). Through its sculpture, design, and ornamentation, the Monument reflected a new culture for the modern Turkish nation and presented as a contrast to the preceding Ottoman culture. Taksim's geographic distance from the Sultanahmet Square, which historically was the Ottoman city center, along with Pera/Beyoglu's cosmopolitan demographic played a significant role in the choice of creation of a new Republican Square, and effectively a new city center for modern Turkey, in that space. [12]

Today, Taksim Square is Istanbul's most popular outdoor public space, and a famous tourist attraction. The central station of Istanbul Metro Network is at Taksim, making it the central node and heart of modern Istanbul. For the everyday citizen of the city, it is a busy commuter stop, a market place, and a leisure space. The various roles of Taksim's urban space in the larger city are a result of its history of careful spatial practices as well as its history of spontaneous outbursts of civic activity and engagement with the space. The area hosts several famous Turkish restaurant chains and cafes, top-star hotels, market spaces with flower and art vendors, cultural centers of foreign nations, as well as foreign consulate buildings. On the ground of Taksim is the historic Hagia Triada Greek Orthodox Church which was first opened in 1880, and the Taksim Mosque opened in 2021. Other spatial elements at Taksim relevant to this thesis are the Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM), and the pedestrianized Istikal Street opening into Taksim Square from the South. Each of their histories will be examined for their contribution to the production of Taksim's

12 Baykan, Aysegul, and Tali Hatuka. "Politics and culture in the making of public space: Taksim Square, 1 May 1977, Istanbul." *Planning perspectives* 25, no. 1 (2010): 49-68.

public realm.

1.3 *Meydan* as *Sahne*: Scoping this thesis

(*Meydan:* Grounds, Square; *Sahne:* performance stage)

Taksim Square, called *Taksim Meydani* in Turkish, is a public space that witnessed several civic occupations and contending claims to its space and memory. To understand how its attribution as a political square came to be, this thesis looks at events from its twentieth century history that defined its legacy, and became the departure points to influence future events within the space and across other public spaces in Turkey. Most of the events addressed in this thesis fall between the 1950s and the 1980s when Turkish politics was experiencing turmoil.

1.4 Taksim Square: Highlighting Key Spatial Markers.
Note Gezi Park (left foreground), a Bus Transfer Center with green buses (center), Ataturk Cultural Center or the AKM, the Marmara Hotel (tall building center), the Republican Monument (green circle in the center), and Istiklal Street.
(https://urbanlifesigns.blogspot.com/2013/06/you-may-have-heard-in-news-over-past.html.
Illustrated by Saba Fatima)

The Turkish Democrat Party (DP) won the national elections in 1950, marking the first time since Turkey's formation in 1923 that a party other than the Republican People's Party (CHP) held political dominance. Global events during this period also influenced spatial practices at Taksim Square. The end of World War II, the Cold War (1947-1991), and Turkey's attempts to become a member of NATO (1952) resulted in foreign interest and foreign intervention in the political and social matters of Turkey. These influences had direct impacts on the spatial configuration of Taksim. The Democrat Party's rule came to an end with the military coup of 1960, and the arrest and execution of prime minister Adnan Menderes (1899-1961), along two other cabinet members, for their alleged role in the 1955 anti-Greek pogroms. In the two decades that followed, multiple political parties fought to rule the country, and define the path forward for the relatively new nation state. Turkey also witnessed two more miliary coups during this period, in 1970 and 1980. This state of political tension produced outbursts of violence between contending political parties and their supporters. Civic demonstrations were held across the nation in public spaces, along with a simultaneous display of authoritarian control over city spaces. Taksim Square was one of the squares that became contested during these processes. Patterns of events that ascribed a political history on Taksim in this period may be placed in two broad categories – recurring events, and spontaneous events. The recurring events were usually celebratory, such as the Republic Day celebrations and the international workers day celebrations (May Day). Spontaneous events were often protests, demonstrations, and violent clashes between contending groups.

The quest for hegemony in twentieth century Turkish history is complex. Not only was there turmoil between political parties, but their attempts to create a homogenized Turkish nation from a previously heterogenous, cosmopolitan one led to the emergence of strong, conflicting ideologies among citizens. In line with Arendt's theories, these ideologies found visibility in the public sphere. Since the dominant social groups in the

country were ever shifting, the hegemonic struggles between these groups frequently played out in public spaces through the power of mass protests and demonstrations. It is from this complexity of events that the public space became a performance stage for the expression of political and civic struggles.

Therefore, this thesis is a study of the qualities that enable urban public spaces, such as Taksim Square, to become sites of contest, protest, civic expression, and policing. Through a juxtaposition of broader political changes and coinciding socio-cultural changes observed in the use of Taksim's public space, the thesis examines the role of public space in becoming a 'container' for expressing political ideologies and public opinion in the built environments, through demonstrations, protests, and celebrations. Taksim, like many other public spaces throughout the world, are city spaces where people come together to articulate their collective demands.[13] The goal is to identify processes of production of these selected urban spaces that make them so. Struggles of spatial politics reflect not only claims of representation for various identities in a heterogenous society such as Turkey's, but also claims of existence for their role in the social fabric.[14]

1.4 Organization of Chapters

The thesis first presents an account of the spatial history of Taksim during the twentieth century (Chapter 2), focusing on its transformation to a square, and the spatial changes during the focus period of 1950-1980. Chapter 3 narrates the corresponding history of events at Taksim Square. It includes a sequential analysis of the progression of events, how the space of Taksim Square was used during the events, and how each event may have informed future events at Taksim and informed the everyday use of space. In chapters 2 and 3, the complexity of processes through which a public

13 Harvey, David. Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution. Verso books, 2012.
14 Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the public sphere: A contribution to the critique of actually existing democracy." Social text 25/26 (1990): 56-80.

space was ascribed multiple meanings is considered. These ascribed histories influence the future design and use of the public space in question. Studies of production processes and spatial practices of such historical spaces have the potential to inform the field of urban design and planning. The methodology of the investigation comprises two parallel tracks of history gathering, and documentation; with the chronological evolution of spatial changes in Chapter 2 being examined alongside corresponding chronological documentation of events at Taksim Square and its vicinities in Chapter 3. Since architecture and the built environments in public spaces are not autonomous in form making, they are able to function as part of larger institutional, cultural, and social field with significant political implications. Through the creation of a clear historiography of the space, key built environment markers in the Taksim area identified, including Gezi Park, the Ottoman era artillery barracks, Istikal Street — which is a one-mile-long main street that leads to Taksim Square — and the Atatürk Cultural Museum (AKM). However, the study does not view these architectural markers as an unequivocal reflection of political ideas and cultural evolution that are claimed to have informed them.[15] Chapter 3 looks at Taksim Square's specific history as a site of contest, understanding hegemonic relations, and impacts thereof, between various cultures, people, and political ideologies in Istanbul, that are made tangible in the city space of Taksim. Mediating between the past and the future, the role of collective memory in citizens' identification and sense of belonging with their city and its heritage are studied.

Having presented Taksim's history from a spatial standpoint, and from the vantage point of events, Chapter 4 then applies Henri Lefebvre's theories of urban space and sociology to draw attention to the processes of production of Taksim Square as a political square. The main bodies of work relied upon were Lefebvre's *The Production of Space, 1974 (*translated 1991), and his essay '*The right to the city'* in his 1980 book '*Writings on Cities'* (translated

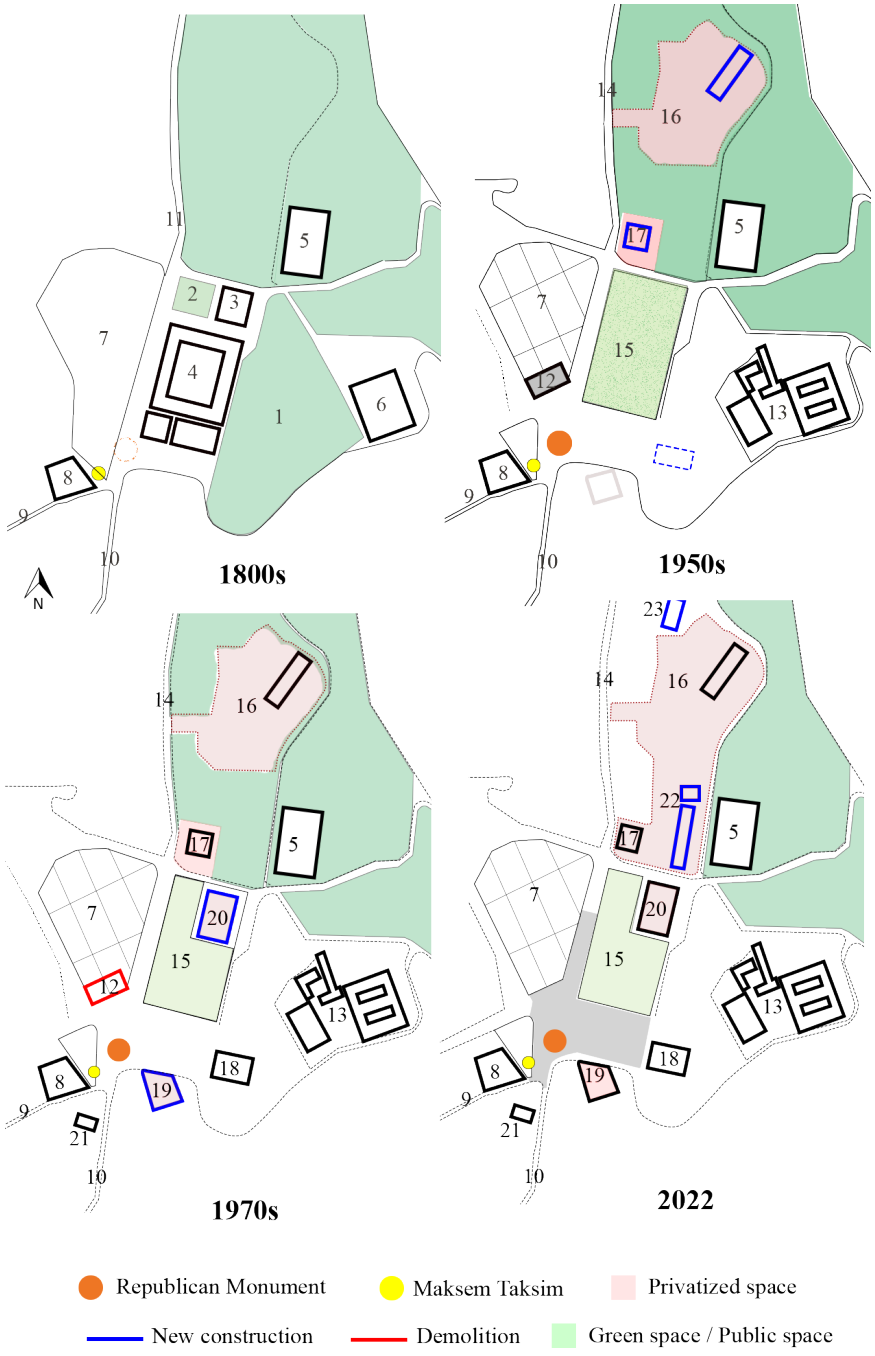
15 (Bozdoğan, 2001).

1996).[16] Interpretations of Lefebvre's works from other scholars[17] were consulted in developing the theoretical framework. There are four theoretical aspects related to Taksim Square that were analyzed based on Lefebvre's work. First, understanding the factors that contributed to the production of Taksim's space over time, and continue to do so to this day. Second, the symbolism of Taksim square itself, as well as the spatial elements within it such as the Republican Monument, and the Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM). Third, the thesis looks at how the rights of the people of Istanbul over their city space of Taksim were affected during times of political turmoil and unrest since several times, Taksim was made physically inaccessible to the people by the government. And lastly, this thesis considers the ever-shifting social fabric around Taksim square, and how struggles for dominance between various contending cultural groups saw societal variations in the occupation of the physical space around Taksim, particularly Istikal Street.

In the final chapter, the thesis concludes with the question of 'Whose Space?' This question is a thread that connects all parts of the thesis like a central spine, reflecting at each point on questions such as – 'Whose space is Taksim Square?'; 'Which social group can lay claims to its history?'; and 'Who decides how the space of Taksim is used?' Through the exploration of these questions, this chapter derives meaning from the history of Taksim Square, looking at how the space of Taksim was used, abused, adopted, adapted, and appropriated by various governments and civic groups. This discussion presents open-ended conversations about the spatial practices at Taksim in effect today, and its current history which continues to be contentious and relevant to discourse about citizens' rights to their cities.

16 Lefebvre, Henri, and Donald Nicholson-Smith. *The production of space*. Vol. 142. Blackwell: Oxford, 1991. Also see, Lefebvre, Henri, Eleonore Kofman, and Elizabeth Lebas. Writings on cities. Vol. 63. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

17 Scholars, whose interpretations of Lefebvre's philosophies were consulted are David Harvey, Sharon Zukin, and Stuart Elden among others.


1800s
1950s
1970s
2022
N
Republican Monument
Maksem Taksim
Privatized space
New construction
Demolition
Green space / Public space

Chapter 2
Taksim Square: A Spatial History

2.1 Introduction

Most existing published information on Taksim is organized according to Turkey's political history. However, this thesis focuses on Taksim's spatial history for defining the framework of the study. This chapter presents the history of Taksim Square primarily through its spatial lens. The periods of study are more arbitrary than discrete, with each spatial period merging into the next, and intersecting with other aspects of history, including politics.

Three periods of distinct spatial changes were identified based on the nature of use of Taksim's public space by the residents of Istanbul, and on account of significant changes to the urban fabric in and around Taksim. 'Taksim Square' is called *'Taksim Meydani'* in Turkish. Before its transformation to a city square, Taksim was a large open ground used by the military for training exercises, as well as for other entertainment activities. 'Meydan' in Turkish, Urdu, and Hindi translates to open 'grounds' in English. The transition of Taksim from a traditional meydan space or open grounds to a defined, bordered, city square in 1928 is a turning point in its spatial history. Thereafter, its gradual conversion into a political square over the course of mid-twentieth century spatial practices, social events, and political ascriptions is a second turning point in its recent history that has ascribed Taksim its notably political character (Fig. 2.1).

2.1 (opposite page) Spatial evolution of Taksim Square between 1800s and present day (2022).

1. Ayasapi graveyards; 2. Taksim Gardens; 3. Taksim Casino; 4. Military Barracks Complex; 5. Taksikla building; 6. Military hospital; 7. Talimhane neighborhood; 8. French Consulate & Cultural Center; 9. Istikal Street; 10. Siraselviler St.; 11. Pangalti Streeet; 12. Kristal Gazinosu (Casino); 13. Istanbul Technical University; 14: Cumhuriyet 'republic' street; 15. Gezi Park; 16: Hilton Hotel (1955); 17: Divan Hotel (1956); 18: AKM; 19: Taksim Marmara hotel (1976); 20: Sheraton Hotel (1975); 21: Hagia Triada church (1880); 22: Hyatt Regency hotel (1995); 23: Istanbul Congress Center (2009).

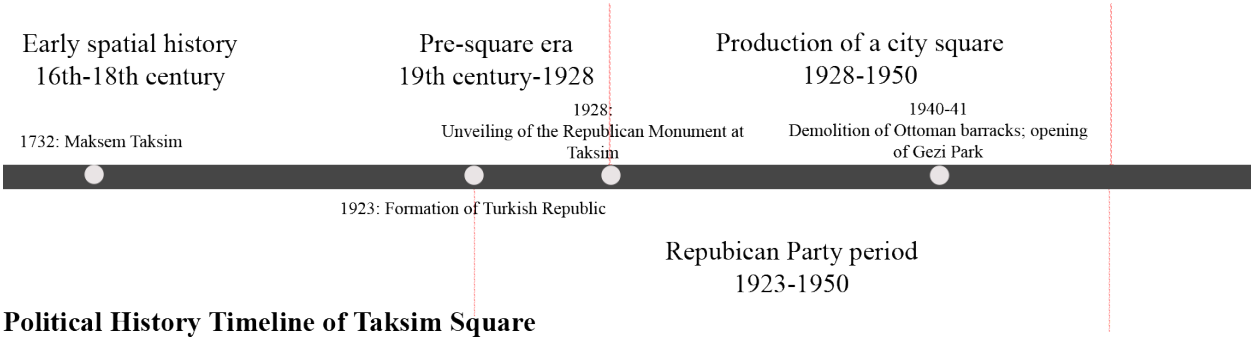
Illustrations by Saba Fatima

The three spatial periods distinguished in this thesis are the pre-square era (eighteenth and nineteenth century spatial history until 1928); (ii) the spatial production of a city square from a meydan (1928-1950), and (iii) the spatial production of a political square (1950-1980). These distinctions of spatial periods may only loosely be associated with their assigned, definite, time periods since as with many urban construction projects, the processes of spatial transformation in Taksim did not occur with linear continuity. Rather, they were carried out with several gaps and overlapping histories and timeframes. Moreover, the categorization of Taksim's spatial history is also influenced by other factors including events that took place at the Square. These events will be elaborated upon in Chapter 3.

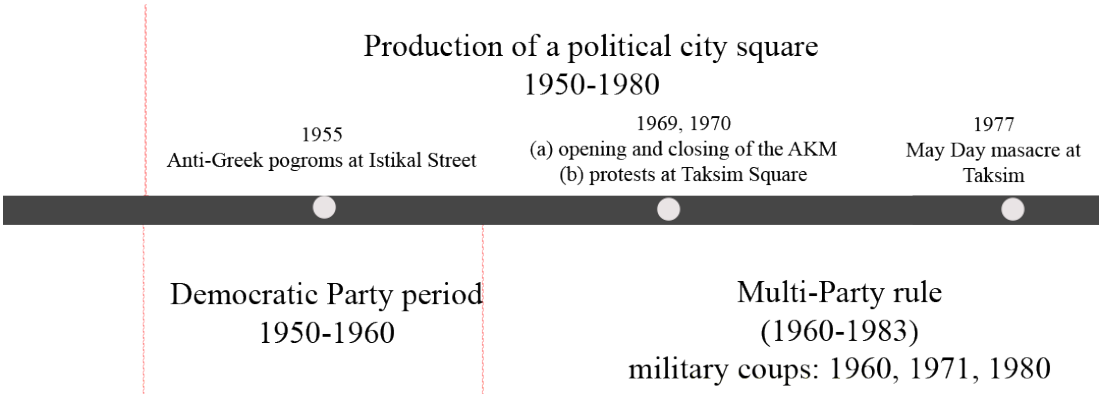
2.2 Timeline of the history of spatial evolution at Taksim Square, and corresponding Turkish politics.

Illustration created by Saba Fatima

Spatial Evolution Timeline of Taksim Square



Political History Timeline of Taksim Square



Modern Turkey was officially formed on October 29, 1923, after the Turkish National Movement, led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his comrades won the Turkish War of Independence waged between 1919 and 1923 against Greece, Armenia, France, and England who variously occupied different parts of the erstwhile Ottoman territories since the end of World War I. Atatürk became the country's first president. Between 1923 and 1950, there was relative political stability in Turkey with power shared by the early Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, CHP),* and the Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti, DP).*

The following political eras fall within the period of analysis of this thesis (i) Republican Period (1923-1950, 1961-1965); (ii) Democratic Party period (1950-1960); (iii) multi-party rule after 1960 including the Republican party (1961- 1965), Independent office (1965, 1971-1972, 1973-1974, 1974-1975), Justice Party (1965- 1971, 1975-19771977-1978, 1979-1980) and (iv) two periods of martial law between May 1960 and October 1961; and September 1980 and December 1983. The contentions between the early Republican Party, the CHP, and the democrat party, the DP, as well as contentions with military rule have had some causative effects on the spatial practices and social use at Taksim Square. Of note, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founding father of Turkey and Ismet Inonu, the first prime minister of Modern Turkey were affiliated with the CHP. Adnan Menderes, the first democratic prime minister of Turkey also played a significant role in Turkish political history.

Due to its geographic location as a gateway between the continents of Asia and Europe, and therefore various empires and countries, throughout its history the development of Istanbul has been influenced by an international diffusion of planning ideas.[18] There has been an export and import of ideas and cultural identities based on dominance of local and foreign powers on the global stage. When the Ottoman Empire was at the peak of its power

18 Ayataç, Hatiçe. "The international diffusion of planning ideas: The case of Istanbul, Turkey." Journal of Planning History 6, no. 2 (2007): 114-137.

in fifteenth century, its influence on its territories and surroundings was significant, as is seen in remnants to this day in European and Asian cities that used to be part of the Empire, such as parts of Sicily, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and North Macedonia.[19] However, when Europe began to industrialize in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the power balance shifted, and the Ottoman Empire began to lag behind Europe in innovation and development. Its identity then became that of a borrower of ideas.[20] In the years to follow, Ottoman rulers and planners looked towards the more developed nations and cities for political, cultural, and infrastructural development ideas. During the late-nineteenth century, the dominant influence on the Ottoman *Tanzimat* reforms were from Great Britain and France. During the early Republican period, French and German architects and planning experts defined the from of the city. Between 1950 and 1980, the United States influenced the development of Istanbul through the provision of funding, and through aid for the development of vehicles and road networks across Turkey.[21]

The following sections describe the spatial transformation of Taksim Square in each of the three spatial periods distinguished in this thesis. Developments at Taksim were part of larger urban transformation strategies put in place for the city of Istanbul, and for other Turkish towns and cities in both Ottoman times, and after the formation of Modern Turkey.

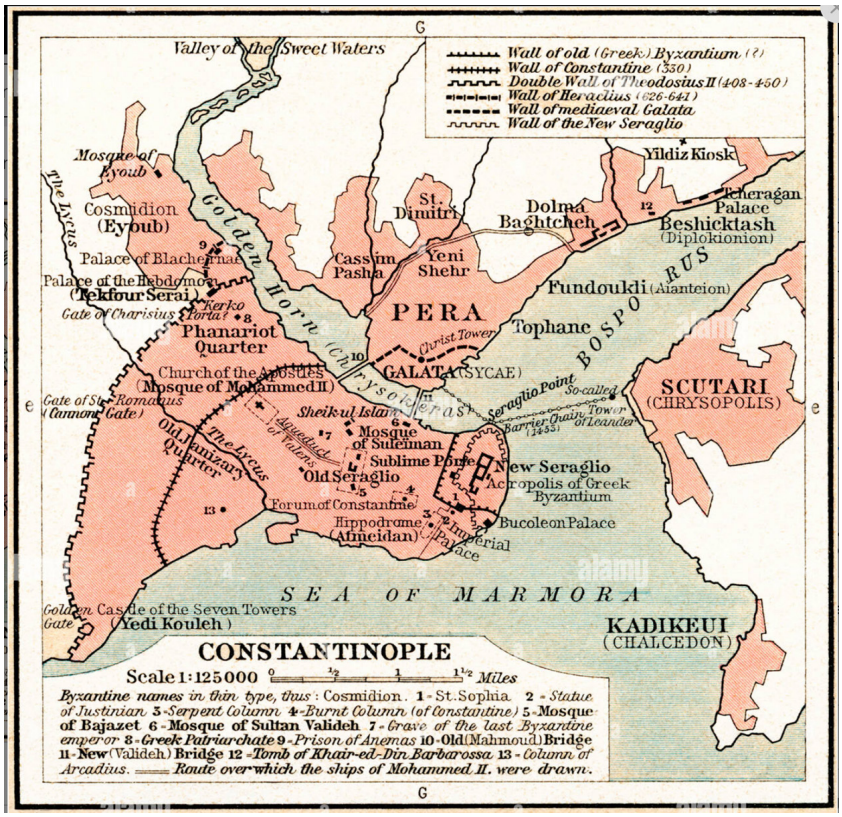
2.2 Spatial history of early Taksim and the Pre-square era (1700s-1928)

2.2.1 Early history of Taksim's space (15th-18th centuries)

In 1453, Constantinople fell to the Ottomans. Informally, the Ottomans began to call it 'Islambol' or 'Istanbul', meaning the city of Islam. The name 'Istanbul' was only formally designated in 1930. At the time Constantinople became part of the Ottoman Empire, the peninsula to the south of the Golden Horn, now known as the historical peninsula, was a walled city. To the north

19 Hussain, Tharik. "Minarets in the Mountains: A Journey into Muslim Europe." Bradt Guides. 2021.
20 (Ayatac, 2007)
21 (Ayatac, 2007)

of the Golden Horn, was the Pera district (Fig. 2.3).



2.3 A map of Constantinople. Circa fourteenth century (https://www.gordondoherty.co.uk/cityoftheblind.html)

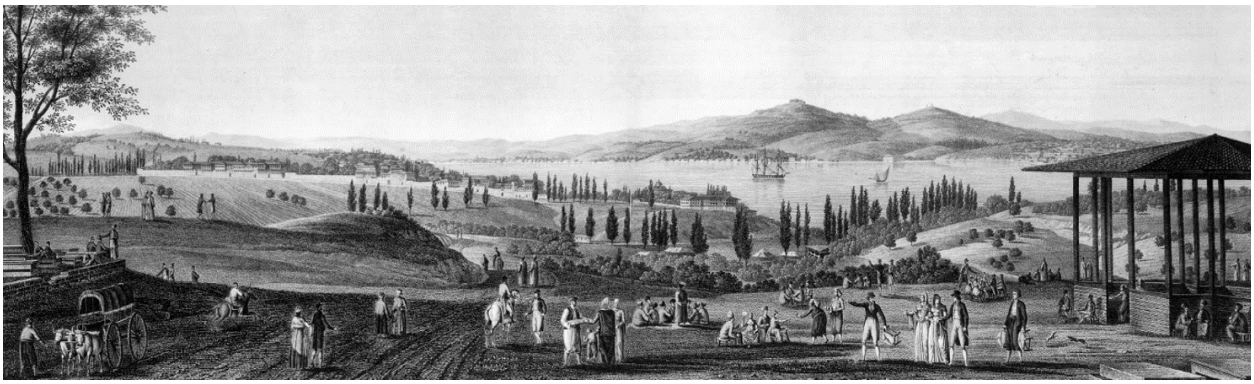
Pera rose to prominence in the thirteenth century while Constantinople was still under Byzantine rule, and saw increasing popularity during the Ottoman era.[22] However, until the nineteenth century, the larger part of the city was concentrated to the south of the Golden Horn where Hagia Sophia (Aya Sofya), the Sultanahmet mosque, and other famous historic sites are located. The Pera district consisted of the famous Galata tower, which opened in 1348 CE and stands to this day. To the north of Pera were graveyard spaces. These graveyards, which were beyond the city limits were exclusively used to bury victims of plague during the fifteenth century. With the passage of time, the risk of contamination reduced, and the plague-exclusive graveyards were opened to public. Since the landscape provided uninterrupted views from the graveyard space to Bosphorus on the east,

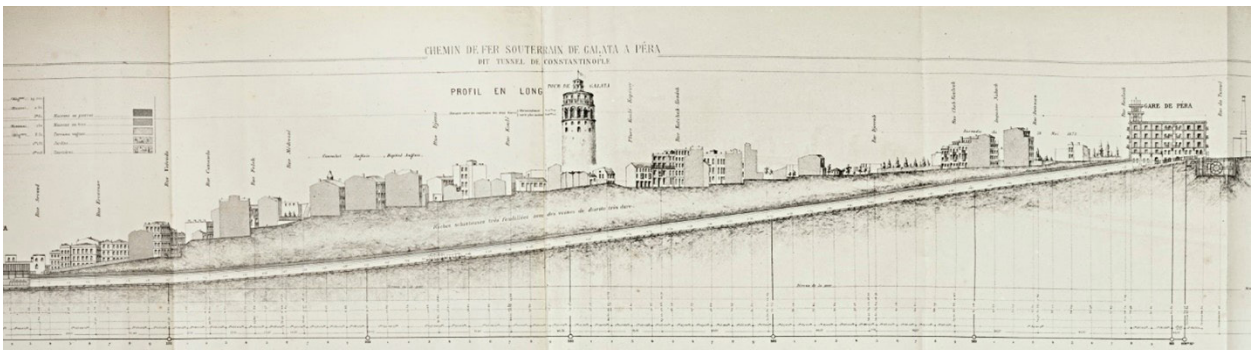
22 Kentel, Koca Mehmet. "Assembling 'Cosmopolitan' Pera: An Infrastructural History of Late Ottoman Istanbul." PhD diss., University of Washington Libraries, 2018.

over time the funeral grounds accommodated functions as garden spaces and promenades (Fig.2.4) . There were two main graveyard sites in Pera that encompassed burial grounds belonging to various religious groups. They were the *Grands-Champs des Morts* (predominantly non-Muslim burial grounds) and *Petits-Champs des Morts* (predominantly Muslim burial grounds). Over time, these cemetery spaces were cleared to make way for urban development. The Ottoman military barracks replaced the non-Muslim cemeteries in 1806. A 550 meters-long underground Tünel (tunnel) subway system connecting the port district of Galata to Pera replaced much of the Muslim cemeteries in 1875. The Tünel is the second oldest, still existing underground subway system in the world, after the London underground which was completed in 1863.

2.4 (top) Engraving of Pera's garden-graveyard fields by Antoine Ignace Melling, 1819 (https://blog.iae.org.tr/en/exhibitions/from-promenade-to-square)

2.5 (bottom): Section drawing of Tünel subway system. (Eugène-Henri Gavand - Chemin de fer Metropolitan de Constaninople au Chemin de fer Souterrain de Galata Pera dit Tunnel de Constantinople, Paris, 1876).



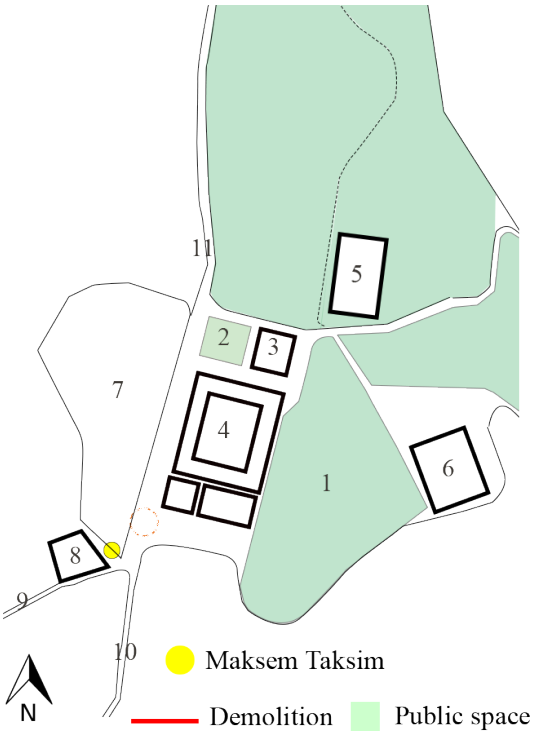


During the early period of history of Taksim's space, changes to spatial fabric and use were very gradual. From as early as fourteenth century until sixteenth century it only served the function of burial grounds. In the seventeenth century the use of space extended to garden spaces, along with the opening of a few coffee shops to serve garden-goers. In the eighteenth century, beginning with a strong French presence from the 1740s, the use of French became commonplace among the bourgeoisie of Pera region. Places were assigned French names that were thereafter used by other Europeans in the years to follow. As the population of Istanbul increased, and residents began moving to the north of the Golden Horn, the reigning Ottoman sultan, Sultan Ahmed III, commissioned the construction of a water distribution center to service the northern peninsula. This water distribution center was named 'Maksem Taksim'. This octagonal, coarse-stone, structure with a pyramidical roof was first constructed in 1732 and was later renovated in 1839 (Fig. 2.6). Thus, during seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this region in Pera, now Taksim, consisted of a water distribution center, garden and promenade spaces, a few coffee stalls to serve garden goers, and cemeteries. [23] The Maksem Taksim stands to this day and currently serves as a tourist information center for Taksim Square.

2.6: Maksem Taksim (https://nomadicniko.com/2018/10/11/taksim-square/)

23 Gülersoy, Çelik. Taksim: bir meydanın hikayesi. İstanbul Kitaplığı, 1986. See also, Polvan, Sinan, and NESLİHAN AYDIN Yönet. "Story of Taksim Square's Transformation:" From Death's Stillness to Life's Hubbub." In 14th IPHS Conference: 1-7. 2010.

2.2.2 Pre-Square era (nineteenth century – 1928)



Taksim Square during the 1800s

1. Ayasapi graveyards; 2. Taksim Gardens; 3. Taksim Casino; 4. Military Barracks Complex; 5. Taksikla building; 6. Military hospital; 7. Talimhane neighborhood; 8. French Consulate & cultural center; 9. Istikal street; 10. Siraselviler St.; 11. Pangalti Streeet;

2.7 Pre-Square era -Spatial layout of Taksim Square during the 1800s.

Illustrations by Saba Fatima

Beyond the early history of the space, in the nineteenth century, the Taksim area began to see profound spatial developments as the city limits of Istanbul began to expand and surpass the boundaries of Pera and extend farther North. Some of the key spatial markers relevant to this thesis have their origins during this century. The preexisting cemeteries of which the Ayasapasa cemetery remained until early twentieth century, Taksim gardens, coffee houses, Istikal Street, Pangalati Street which is now known as Cumhuriyet or Republican Street to the northwest of Taksim Square, the Ottoman artillery barracks complex, the development of Talimhane neighborhood, casinos, theatres, and various foreign embassies marked the spatial fabric of the space during the nineteenth century.

Taksim Gardens (1869 - 1940)

In the nineteenth century, Ottoman rulers began to initiate political and

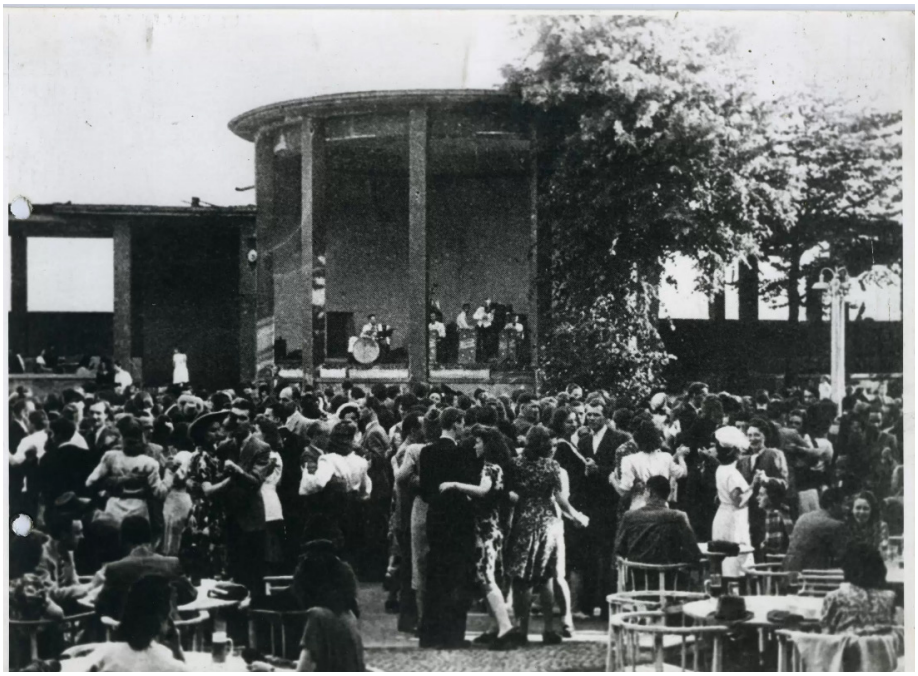
economic reforms known as the *Tanzimat* (1839-1876) aimed at modernizing the empire. As part of these reforms, the first municipal park or garden projects (*belediye bahceleri)* or 'people's gardens' projects (*millet bahceleri)* for the Empire were approved.[24] The graveyards of Pera at this time also functioned as outdoor recreational spaces. However, these graveyard spaces were linked to several cholera outbreaks in the 1850s and 1860s. In 1865, 30,000 people had perished in Istanbul due to a cholera outbreak. At this point, the city government began prohibiting burials within the city citing the threat to public health.[25] In the vicinity of the burial grounds of Taksim, and upon portions of the Grand Champ de Morts, a proposal for formal garden spaces was approved to be designed in an English style by Monsieur Deroin who was a horticulture expert and designer. Completed in 1869, the Taksim Gardens or Taksim Bahcesi was the first municipal garden to be opened in Istanbul. The entrance to the garden was on the adjacent Pangalti Street to the garden's west. Inside the gardens, a pool, a wooden casino building, a stage for orchestra performances with an octagonal roof, and a second casino building with terraces overlooking the views were built. Between these built structures, garden spaces were organically arranged. Other similar projects from the same period were the Camlica Millett Bahcesi in Usukdar opened in 1870; the Sultanahmet Millet Bachesi near the Sultanhmet mosque area opened in 1871; the Tepebasi Millet Bachesi to the southwest of Taksim opened in 1880 which was built upon a portion of the Petit Champs des Morts.[26] Most of the new park projects were designed after European models of gardens since the Ottoman society at the time was influenced by the modern turn of events in Europe at the time associated with industrialization.[27]

24 Gölönü, Berin. "From graveyards to the "people's gardens": The making of public leisure space in Istanbul." In Commoning the City, pp. 104-122. Routledge, 2020.
25 (Gölönü, 2020)
26 Çelik, Zeynep. The remaking of Istanbul: portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century. No. 2. Univ of California Press, 1993.
27 Laqueur, Hans-Peter. "Osmanische Friedhöfe und Grabsteine in Istanbul." Tarih İncelemeleri Dergisi 11, no. 1 (1993): 327-329. See also, (Çelik, 1993).

A difference in the use of informal promenade space preceding the nineteenth century, and the use of Taksim garden's formal space during nineteenth century and beyond is observable. The promenade spaces were sprawling, open fields with views of Bosphorous and people dispersed throughout the landscape as seen in French artist and architect Antoine Ignace Melling's engraving (Fig 2.4). Conversely, Taksim Gardens was a more formal, spatially defined space frequented by the upper class of the society. Both Taksim and Tepebasi gardens levied an entry fee on visitors. The activities inside were also consumer oriented, with eateries, cafes and bars, and theatres, orchestra, outdoor film screenings all of which required the expenditure of money. The new municipal Taksim gardens were therefore not fully open to public, and presented a space with class, gender, and religious segregations more so than the preceding promenade spaces according to written accounts.[28]

In this manner a new space was produced by and for the bourgeoise, eliminating the poor from it. This manner of transformation of spatial use and association also produced a bourgeoise, upper-class Ottoman society in the Pera region bordering Taksim. There were other picnic grounds and parks available to the public without an entry fee segregating public spaces in the city by class. Despite protests regarding the exclusionary nature of the public parks, it was the upper class who held the dominant power and narrative, it was possible for them to influence the spatial practices of these spaces.[29] Furthermore, since alcohol was served and consumed in the Taksim gardens, it is expected that pious Muslim men and especially women did not frequent the gardens. Taksim gardens were thus especially denied to the poor, and the Muslim women.

28 (Gölönü, 2020)
29 (Kentel, 2018)



2.8 (top and bottom)
Taksim Garden in the 1910s and 1920s
(https://librakons.com/taksim-bahcesi/)

Ottoman Artillery Barracks (1806 - 1940)

The Taksim Ottoman artillery barracks, '*Taksim Topcu Kislasi',* were first constructed between 1803 and 1806 on parts of pre-existing graveyard lands. The barracks were commissioned by Sultan Selim III. During their lifetime of about 134 years, the barracks underwent several modifications due to damage from military rebellions, attacks, as well as natural disasters. At its first construction, a mosque was planned at the center of the courtyard of the barracks, but this would disappear from later versions (Fig. 2.9).[30]

The barracks underwent significant remodeling during the time of sultans Abdulmecid and Adulazizz between 1861 and 1869. As shown in visual media before and after this duration, the latter design adopted noticeably Indian and Russian ornamental style with onion domes (Fig. 2.10, 2.11). The barracks at this time were expanded to include other military buildings becoming a complex of multiple buildings spread across the general Taksim area. Gümüşsuyu Barracks (Muzka-I Humayun Kislasi) to the south-east of the original buildings, and the Taskisla building (*Mecidiye* barracks) to the north-east of the original buildings were added. It was also at this time that the Taksim Gardens project was authorized, which as discussed earlier opened in 1870.

2.9: 1807 Kauffer Map showing the Ottoman Barracks (square buildings at the center of the image). Image is sourced from the Maps of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Vol1. 1844. (SDUK)

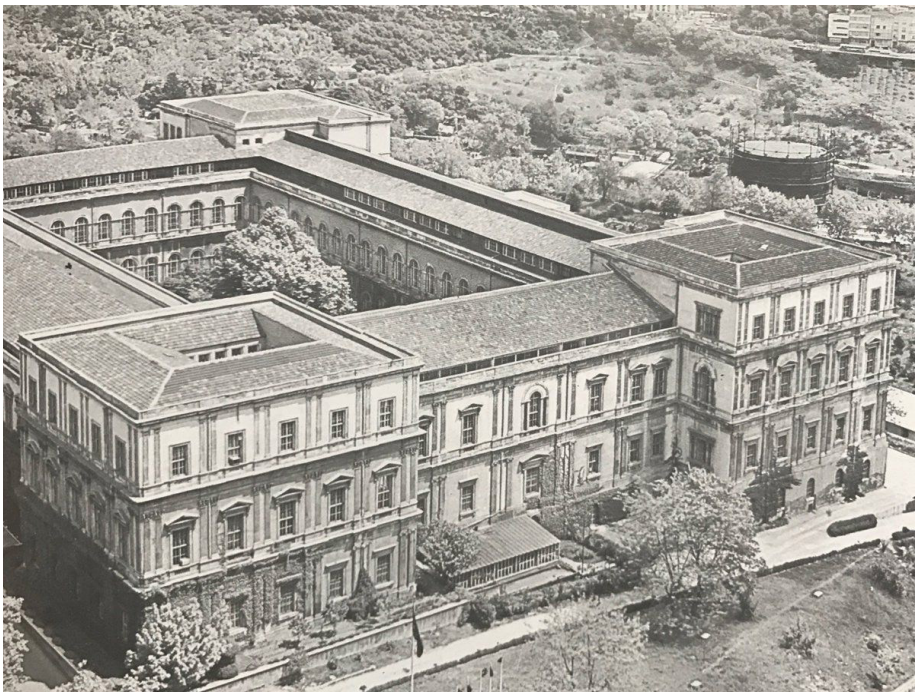
30 Kırbaş, Berrak. "Re-construction of ghost buildings: taksim artillery barracks." Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2014.

2.10 (top): Onion domes of the Cathedral of St. Sophia, Russia. (wikiarquitectura / https://en.wikiarquitectura.com/building/cathedral-of-saint-sophia-in-novgorod/)

2.11 (bottom): Postcard showing the façade of the Ottoman Barrracks at Taksim with 'onion' domes. (Ottoman History Podcast)

Events of 1909, more than a century after the barracks' opening, altered the trajectory of the Taksim Artillery barracks' life. During March and April of 1909, a military rebellion began in the Taksim Artillery barracks and Taskisla. A counter-army group under the leadership of Atatürk managed to suppress the rebellion, and damage to the building was restored. However, 1909 marked the beginning of the end of the Ottoman artillery barracks at Taksim.[31] The barracks remained active during the Battle of Tripoli (October 1911), the Italo-Turkish war (September 1911 - October 1912), and the Balkan wars (1912-1913) all of which involved the Ottomans. The damage to life and property suffered during these wars made the future of the barracks difficult to sustain. Unsuccessful attempts were made to sell the complex or to transform it into a city museum. Then, British, French, and Italian forces occupied Istanbul between 1918 and 1923 until the formation of modern Turkey in what is known as the 'Occupation of Constantinople.' This coincided with the Turkish War of Independence. During the occupation, French forces took over the barracks and renamed them McMahon barracks. It was at this time that the courtyard spaces and the open grounds of Talimhane began to be used for sporting activities, including horse races, football, and even golf, tennis, and baseball — which were not popular sports with the Ottomans.[32] By the 1920s the barracks complex lost its military function. In 1928, one of the barrack buildings, the Gümüşsuyu barracks, to the east, began to be used by the Istanbul Technical University (ITU) for their new campus at Taksim in 1928. The Taskisla building which was designd by English architect William James Smith in 1852 and served as the protection center for the Dolmabahce Palace to the north until early 1900s was used as a hotel for a period of time before being given to the ITU in 1989. It now houses the architecture department of the university and as a terminal for the Macka Gondola cable car line (Fig.2.12).

31 Kırbaş, Berrak. "Re-construction of ghost buildings: taksim artillery barracks." Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2014.
32 (Kırbaş, 2014)



2.12 Taksisla Building. (https://www.aksan-insaat.com/EN/11-projects/25-istanbul-technical-university-taskisla-campus-faculty-of-architecture/)

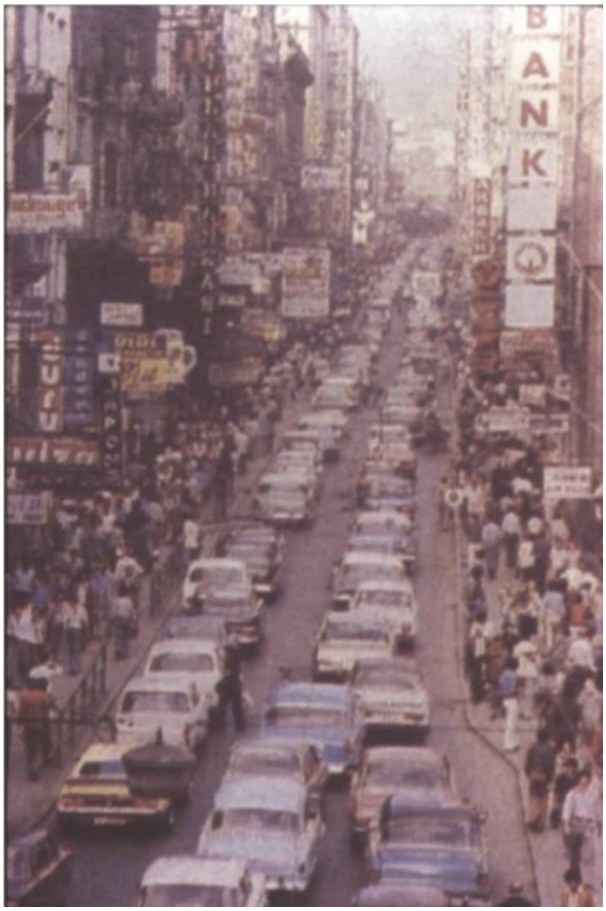
After the formation of modern Turkey in 1923, the courtyards of the main building continued to be used as football fields by the residents of the area. This became the first football stadium in Turkey. The stadium was played in by all major football clubs in the city as well as international matches until its closure in 1939. While the courtyard served as an entertainment space, the main building itself was used as a site to process opium. The opium produced here was meant for export to Europe and the United States. Opium production was legal and regulated by the Turkish government until its ban in 1933. However illegal production continued in the buildings until 1937, creating a negative perception of the general area. It became a less favorable place or families to visit, particularly during the darker hours.

The barracks complex, except for the Taskisla building, was demolished in 1940, and in its place the Inonu Esplanade Park or Gezi Park was opened in 1943.

Talimhane

To the West of the main barrack buildings, there existed large empty grounds where military drills and training exercises were held since the beginning of the use of Taksim's space as military grounds. This area was named *Talimhane*. The opening of the barracks in 1806 had impacts on the dispersion of residents and urban activity in Istanbul. The Taksim region became an important military zone. Settlements in southern Pera and Galata regions began to extend towards the north, where Taksim is located. Talimhane remained spatially empty grounds until the end of 1920s. The early twentieth century changes to the use of the barracks impacted the use of Talimhane grounds. When the military function was lost, besides sports, the grounds were used for flight tests, biking, and exhibits until their development into a residential district around 1925. These buildings were resided in by upper-class citizens of Istanbul.

2.13 Istikal Street in 1915 (bottom left), and in 1970s (bottom right).
(SALT Research Archives)



Istikal Street

Istikal Street, also known as Istikal Avenue or Istikal Cadessi, was also known at various points in its history as Cadde-i-Kebir and Grand Rue de Pera. The street connects Taksim Square in the North with Tünel Square in the South and has been with shops and cultural and economic spaces for most of its history. It was the longest route that connected the Pera and Galata regions during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. Its history pre-dates that of the Ottoman military barracks and Taksim Gardens. In the sixteenth century, during the era of promenade spaces in Pera, certain upper-class European trading societies began to live outside the city of Galata at some distance from the graveyard spaces. France moved its embassy from Galata to Pera at this time, in 1536, after which other foreign embassies followed. By the eighteenth century, the avenue was lined with Dutch, Venitian, British, and Swedish embassies among others. The embassies that lined Istikal Avenue were closer to the Galata region in the south than they were to the Taksim region up north. In the nineteenth century, when the Ottomans embarked upon a modernization project that the Tanzimat edict was part, they exploited existing foreign interpersonal connections in Pera and invited merchants, migrants, artisans, and intellectuals from all over the world who could contribute to further growth.[33] The Tanzimat included urban planning strategies to improve sanitation, health, transportation, and accommodate the increasing population of Istanbul.[34] Due to this rapid growth, according to Kentel, communities in Pera, were fused, and the region became a hub for local and international connection. This was also true for the residents, artisan shops, studios, and workspaces lining Istikal Street as the major street in Pera. People residing in this area came from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, spoke different languages, and were a mix of Ottoman Muslims as well as Ottoman-European non-Muslims. In 1870, there was a Great Fire of Pera where several buildings were damaged or destroyed. Only some were

33 (Kentel, 2018)
34 (Gölönü, 2020)

restored after, and the reconstruction process continued on until 1914.[35] From mid-twentieth century onwards, the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic character of Istikal quickly declined due to Turkish nationalist sentiments and political strategies, of which the 1955 anti-Greek pogroms were a major event.

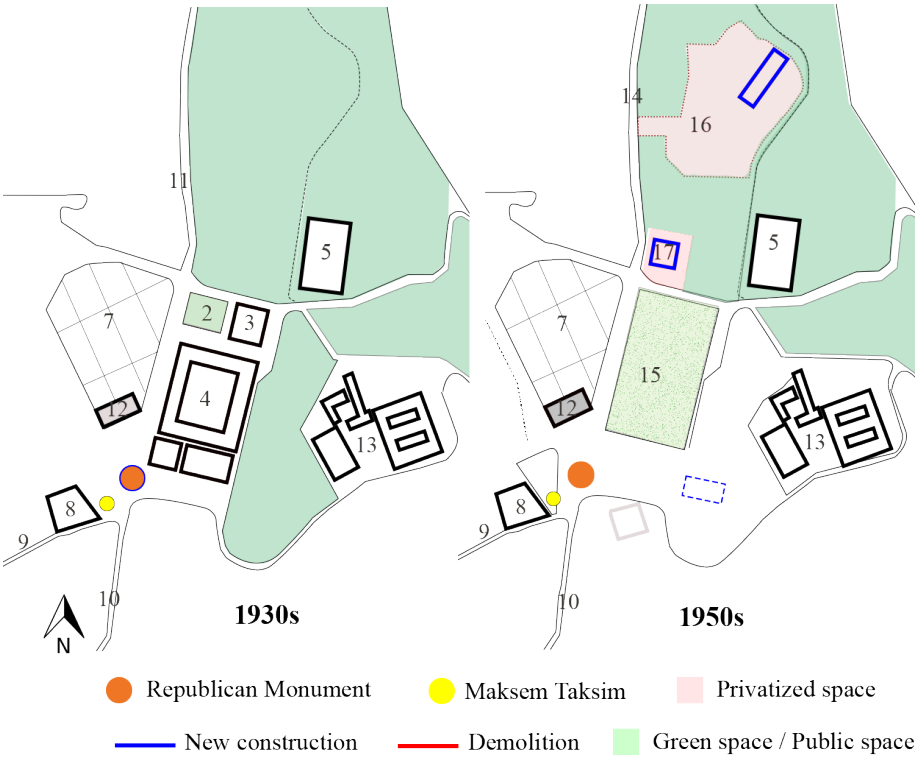
Beginning in the 1950s, Istanbul was the subject of rapid urbanization projects. Areas surrounding Taksim Square saw development of many high-rise hotel buildings, offices, and residences; and Istikal street was converted to a high-speed road. With several construction projects underway, there was capacity for employment for construction workers and other related jobs. This brought an influx of working-class immigrants from central Anatolia into Istanbul. The residences deserted by Greek ethnic groups and other non-Turkish ethnic minorities around Istikal Street and Taksim Square began to be occupied by these migrants. With the rich moving out, Istikal Street was less well managed and lost its previous market, trading, and cultural character. It was only in the late 1980s and 1990s that Istikal Street underwent a restoration process and was re-pedestrianized. Today, it is one of the most famous, and most frequented streets in Istanbul. It is a 1.4 kilometers long pedestrian street lined with a range of urban uses, including residences, boutiques, coffee shops, restaurants, libraries, galleries, and theatres.

2.3 Spatial production of a city square (1928-1950)

This section focuses on the production of a city square through the spatial practices at Taksim during the period between the unveiling of the Monument of the Republic at Taksim in 1928, and before the intense privatization processes that would take over the space at the turn of 1950 and beyond. Taksim acquired its public square characteristics after the 'Monument of the Republic' was unveiled in August, 1928, in the foregrounds of the Ottoman barracks (Fig 2.15). The Republican Monument which stands to this day also reflects through its sculpture, design, and ornamentation a new culture for the modern Turkish nation, presented as a contrast to the preceding

35 Gelmez, Elif, and Sedef Sav. "Istiklal Avenue's Intangible Dimensions Related To Cultural Memory." (2018).

Ottoman culture. Taksim's geographic distance from the Sultanahmet square, which historically was the Ottoman city center, along with Beyoglu district's cosmopolitan demographic played a significant role in the choice of creation of a new Republican Square, and effectively a new city center for modern Turkey in that space. [36]



1. Ayasapi graveyards; 2. Taksim Gardens; 3. Taksim Casino; 4. Military Barracks Complex; 5. Taksikla building; 6. Military hospital; 7. Talimhane neighborhood; 8. French Consulate & cultural center; 9. Istikal street; 10. Siraselviler St.; 11. Pangalti Streeet; 12. Kristal Gazinosu (Casino); 13. Istanbul Technical University; 14: Cumhuriyet 'republic' street; 15. Gezi Park; 16: Hilton Hotel (1955)

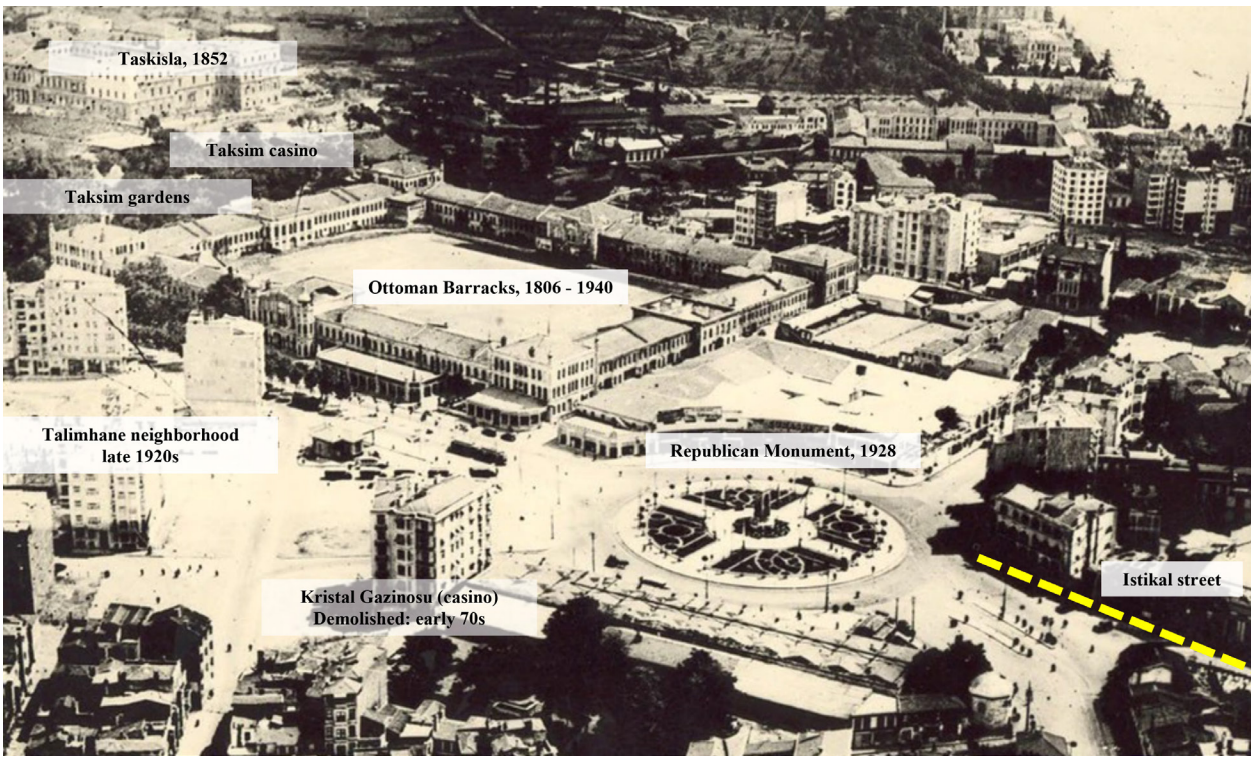
2.14 Spatial production of a city square - Taksim Square during the 1930s and 1950s.

Illustrated by Saba Fatima

It can be argued that unveiling of the monument was the most defining moment in the spatial and political history of Taksim Square. Thereafter, the boundaries of the urban space were carefully defined through demolitions and new constructions in accordance with French urban planner Henri Prost's 1934 redevelopment plans for Istanbul. The spatial changes at Taksim were designed to produce physical boundaries of a city square.

36 Baykan, Aysegul, and Tali Hatuka. "Politics and culture in the making of public space: Taksim Square, 1 May 1977, Istanbul." *Planning perspectives* 25, no. 1 (2010): 49-68.

The most prominent demolition was that of the Ottoman barracks, and their replacement by the Inonu Esplanade or Park Number 2 which later came to be known as Gezi Park, The barracks themselves, and their demolition have had a lasting, lingering impact to this day on Turkey's politics, and the role of urban, collective memory of space for the residents of Istanbul, and the larger Turkish citizens as well. Other demolitions during this period include that of the Krystal Gazinosu (Krysal Casino) and Taksim Gazinosu (Taksim Casino) along with the Taksim gardens.



2.15 Monument of the Republic in the foreground of the Ottoman Barracks. SALT Research Archive).

2.3.1 Monument of the Republic (Cumhuriyet Anıtı) at Taksim

The 'Taksim Monument' or 'Taksim Republic Monument', or 'Monument of the Republic,' was made by Italian sculptor Pietro Canonica after winning an international design competition held by Istanbul for the monument's construction. Canonica's expertise was in civic and religious monuments, often creating portraits and commemorative pieces for Italian and foreign clients. The Taksim Monument was commissioned in 1925 and was unveiled at Taksim on August 8, 1928. A twenty-one-year-old Turkish female

student sculptor Sabiha Ziya Bengütaş travelled to Italy to assist Canonica with the sculpting of the monument.[37] It is claimed that Canonica's model which originally did not include women figures, was modified after Sabiha Ziya travelled to Italy to work with him.[38] The monument's pedestal was built by Giulio Mongeri. Mongeri (1873-1953) was born in Istanbul to Italian parents and is identified as a Turkish person of Levantine descent by some sources, and as an Italian in other sources. He studied architecture in Milan and returned to Turkey to practice, going on to play an active role in the late Ottoman period as well as during early Republican Turkey.[39]

The unveiling of the republican monument at Taksim altered the dynamics of the public space greatly. To this day, the monument, as part of Taksim Square, is a central element in celebrations, official ceremonies, and protests. It is Istanbul's landmark of social and political life around with its surrounding Taksim Square. Constructed of stone and bronze, Canonica's monument is 11 meters tall, weighs 84 metric tons and has four faces. The North and South faces evoke contrasting symbolism, as do the East and West faces. The North side represents the War of Independence with Atatürk dressed in military attire. A female with a child in her lap, and miscellaneous figures representing Anatolians struggle for independence is portrayed. The South side, oriented facing Istikal Street, is representative of the modern republican nation, with Atatürk and his comrades dressed in 'modern' Western attire (Fig. 2.16). Both sides are adorned with soldiers and female figures. Notably on the East and West faces, one is engraved with a veiled woman, and the other with an unveiled woman (Fig. 2.17).

37 Karabay, Furkan. "Cumhuriyet Anıtı'na saldırının neden infial yarattığı bu tarihte gizli." [Trans.: "Why the attack on the Republic Monument caused outrage is hidden in this history." Webpage: https://www.odatv4.com/makale/cumhuriyet-aniti-na-saldirinin-neden-infial-yarattigi-bu-tarihte-gizli-27042015-182969. Published: April 2020. Accessed: May 2022.

38 Geocaching. "GIT KEŞFET by the Monument of the Republic (Taksim)." Webpage: GC6Y4BK GIT KEŞFET by the Monument of the Republic (Event Cache) in Turkey created by golamamuli (geocaching.com). Published: September 2017. Accessed: May 2022.

39 TRT World. Webpage: https://www.trtworld.com/life/a-walk-in-the-past-memory-palaces-at-bozlu-art-project-46292. Published: April 2021. Accessed: May 2022

2.16 Monument of the Republic – North (top) and South (bottom) sides. (http://maviboncuk.blogspot.com/2020/02/pietro-canonica-foreign-sculptors-of.html)

2.17 (opposite page): Monument of the Republic – East and West sides (http://maviboncuk.blogspot.com/2020/02/pietro-canonica-foreign-sculptors-of.html)

The people and figures depicted on the Republican Monument generate multiple symbolisms. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, İsmet İnönü, and general Fevzi Çakmak are a few early republican statesmen represented in figure sculptures.[40] Atatürk ordered the inclusion of the Russian ambassador at the time of the War of Independence, Semyon Ivanovich Aralov. He is situated among the group of people behind Atatürk on the Southern side. His figure dons a cap and is behind the figure of Ismet Inonu. The Soviet representation

40 Bibina, Yordanka. "Public Art in Turkey: Between Politics and Aesthetics." In *Colloquia Comparativa Litterarum*, no. 1, pp. 70-82. Софийски университет» Св. Климент Охридски «, 2017.

in the monument – two Soviet generals named Frunze (behind Inonu, holding a hat to his chest) and Vorosilov (behind Atatürk with his hands tied) is indicative of strong bilateral ties between Russia and Turkey at the time, particularly during the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1922), when Vladimir Lenin provided financial and military aid to the Turks.[41] Other individual figures included in the sculpture are Sabiha Ziya and Pietro Canonica himself. Canonica is placed behind İnönü and is the sculpture with a hat. It can be deduced, that the Northern face of the Monument, which originally faced the Ottoman Barracks, and depicts the Anatolian struggle for independence, was meant to symbolize Turkey's Ottoman past. The Southern face depicting Ataturk and his comrades, and oriented towards Istikal Street and the 'cosmopolitan' Beyoglu was meant to symbolize Istanbul and Turkey's 'modern' future.

2.3.2 Henri Prost's Plan

After the formation of Modern Turkey in 1923, the focus of urban development shifted to Ankara, the new capital. During the period of its disregard, Istanbul's population reduced by half. In the 1930s, the early Republican government redirected their attention to Istanbul to redesign the city to be more reflective of the new culture of Turkey. In the mid-twentieth century, Istanbul underwent two phases of reconstruction between 1936 and 1960.[42] In 1936, President Atatürk invited French urban planner Henri

41 Boncuk, Mavi. "Pietro Canonica | Foreign Sculptors of the Early Republican Era." Webpage: https://www.trtworld.com/life/a-walk-in-the-past-memory-palaces-at-bozlu-art-project-46292. Published: February 2020. Accessed: May 2022

42 Akpinar, Ipek. The Rebuilding of Istanbul after the Plan of Henri Prost,

Prost to create a masterplan for Istanbul. Over the next fifteen years Prost's masterplan for the city was implemented until the end of the first republican era in 1950. When the Democrat party came to power, Prost was dismissed, beginning the second phase of reconstruction for Istanbul. Although the second phase of reconstruction was presented as free from the influence of foreign experts, it was in fact a manner of continuation of Prost's initial 1936 plan with some changes.[43]

Prost's redesign plan for Istanbul was based on three principal aspects – transportation, hygiene and aesthetics.[44] His design consisted of Haussmanian boulevards, gardens, and parks that reproduced images from European cities, in a way a continuation of the nineteenth century Ottoman beautification project introduced as part of the Tanzimat (1839). He gave importance to open spaces and public parks working with both a conservative and a modern attitude. The largest public park he proposed was 'Park Number 2', also known as the Inonu Esplanade and later Gezi Park. Park Number 2 extended from Taksim Square to Macka Valley in the north and its construction was completed in 1940 (Fig. 2.18; 2.19).[45] Prost's masterplan for Istanbul reflected the secular reforms of the Turkish nation-state. Akpinar argues that the well-connected network of Haussmanian roads and large Greco-Roman public gardens were not only meant to beautify the city but also were used as a political tool to physically and tangibly visualize the new cultural and administrative reforms of the early Republic.[46]

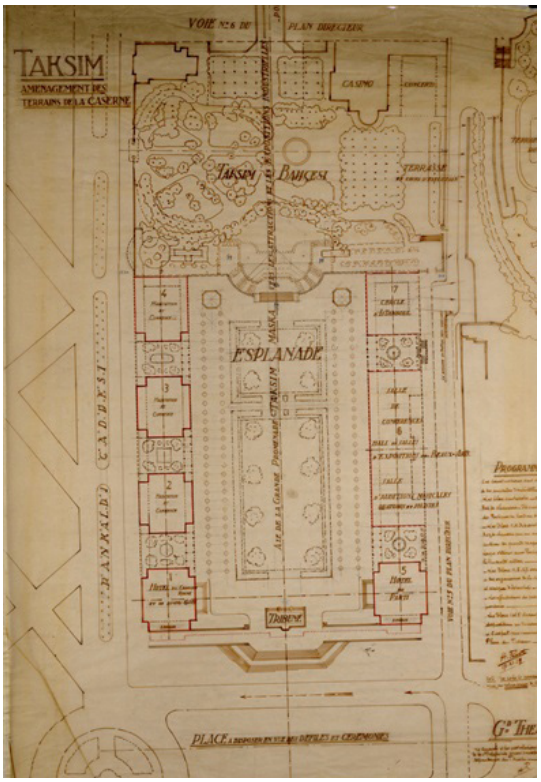
1937-1960: from secularisation to Turkish modernisation. University of London, University College London (United Kingdom), 2003.

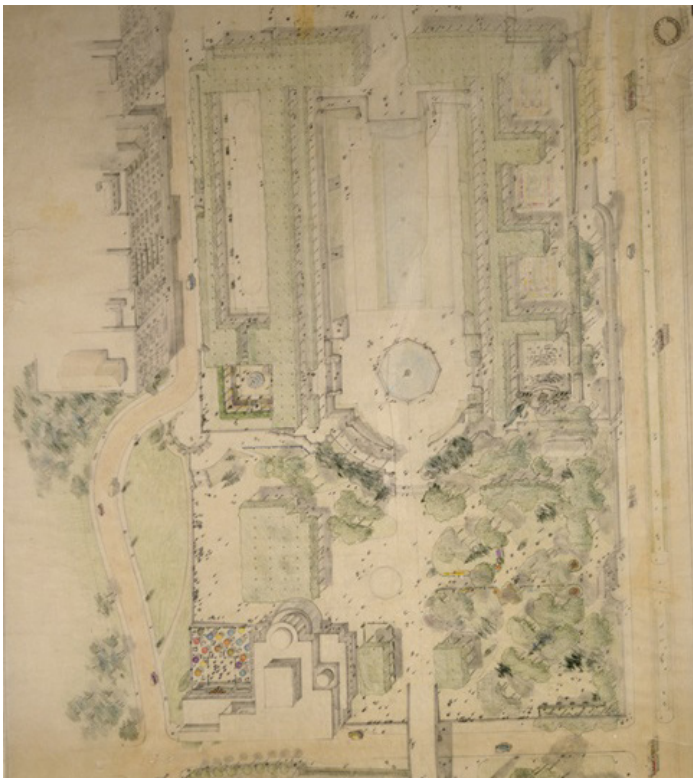
43 (Akpinar, 2003)

44 Bilsel, F. Cânâ, and M. Baha Tanman. "Espaces Libres: Parks, Promenades, Public Squares." From the Imperial Capital to the Republican Modern City: Henri Prost's Planning of Istanbul (1936-1951) (2010): 337-48.

45 Bolca, Pelin, Rosa Tamborrino, and Fulvio Rinaudo. "Henri Prost in Istanbul: Urban transformation process of Taksim-Maçka Valley (Le parc n 2)." In 24th ISUF International Conference. Book of Papers, pp. 759766-8. Editorial Universitat Politècnica de València, 2018.

46 (Akpinar, 2003)





2.18 (top left), 2.19 (top right) Henri Prost's redesign masterplan for Taksim Square, where he proposed 'Park No. 2' or 'Inonu Esplanade Park in the place of the Ottoman barracks. (Istanbul Research Institute)

Park No. 2 / Inonu Esplanade and defining the edges of Taksim Square

In his overall masterplan for Istanbul, Prost recognized the importance of heritage buildings and sites, that recorded Istanbul's Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman past. However, he viewed timber residences, predominantly from the Ottoman times, as unimportant as they clashed with his view of a 'hygienic' and 'aesthetic' city.[47] At the site of Taksim, he proposed the demolition of the Topcu Barracks or the Halil Pasha Artillery Barracks constructed in 1806. As discussed earlier, the barracks lost their original function in the 1910s. The Republican authorities had also expressed interest in using the space as the city center, and the main square for state celebrations in Istanbul.[48] In their place, Prost proposed the construction of Istanbul's Park No.2 and the development of its surroundings as residential settlements that were reflective of the new, Republican ideology. The slopes of Macka valley were redeveloped into a recreational area through a

47 (Bilsel, 2010)
48 (Bolca, 2018)

combination of buildings and public spaces. In his plan for Park No.2, Prost included a municipal club, the Dolmabahce Stadium, a sports and exhibition hall, and amphitheater. It has been speculated that the early Republican government, particularly Ismet Inonu, the first Prime Minister of Modern Turkey frequently declined proposals to assign the Taksim Barracks a new function or renovate them for continued military use. Scholars argue that this was due to the Republicans' need to reconquer Taksim as a Republican space, by producing a new space that overwrites its previous Ottoman character.[49]

2.20 (top) Gezi Park, 1940s. The Taksim Republican Monument is visible in the background, right.

2.21 (bottom) Defining the boundaries of Taksim Square. This image of Taksim Square captured by Henri Prost.
(Istanbul Research Institute)

49 Topal, Aylin. "Taksim Square: From the Ottoman Reformation Era to the Gezi Resistance." Urban Public Spaces. Leipzig: Spector Books (2016).

Other spatial changes introduced by Prost in his masterplan for Taksim included demolitions of buildings bordering Taksim, and their replacement with new buildings. A viewing terrace was proposed as well as a grand theatre at the borders of Taksim. Prost also proposed the construction of the Ataturk Cultural Center (AKM) at the southeast border of Taksim Square. By the 1970s, Taksim Square was no longer a remnant of the Ottoman barracks' courtyard. Rather, the urban space around the Republican Monument was the subject of ongoing urban development projects including the installation of wide roadways such as the under construction Tarlabasi Boulevard, the construction of several hotels, as well as entertainment centers. As part of ongoing developments, hotels were still being built and old structures were being torn down in line with continued efforts to redevelop Taksim's urban space. For instance, the early 1970s saw the demolition of the "Kristal Gazinozu" or Crystal casino, adjacent to Cumhuriyet or Republican street to the northwest of the Republican Monument. The Crystal Casino was on the periphery of the Talimhane neighborhood, and was one of the edges of Taksim Square. It was taken down and replaced with other high-rise residential buildings of Talimhane that catered to higher-income social groups. This impacted the boundaries of Taksim's 'Square' space. The 1970s saw another key spatial intervention in Taksim—the reopening of "cultural place," as Atatürk Cultural Center in 1977 after having been closed in the 1970 due to a building fire. It is thus through this process of change that a new public square for Istanbul was produced from the meydan or grounds of the Ottoman barracks.

2.4 Spatial Production of a Political City Square

In 1950, at the transfer of power from the CHP to the DP, Prost was dismissed from his role as the head of the redesign project of Istanbul. Prost's dismissal marked the beginning of the second phase of Istanbul's reconstruction. His masterplan was revised by an appointed group of Turkish architects and planners and implemented throughout Istanbul.

During this time, Istanbul became a stage for increased governmental activities, and socio-political outbursts of expression at Taksim Square and across Turkey. Although Chapter 3 discusses some of the key events that ascribe Taksim its political character, this section discusses two transformations of Taksim that contributed to its production as a political space. First, the construction and evolution of the Ataturk Cultural Center (AKM), and next the rapid privatization of Taksim's public space beginning in the 1950s.

The Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM)

The AKM was conceived as an idea in 1939; began to be constructed in 1949; and lived a contentious history between 1949 and 1969 when its construction was completed. Finally, it was opened in 1970 only to be burned down completely in 1971. Thereafter, its reconstruction lasted eight years; and the building reopened in 1983.[50] In 1939, Henri Prost had first introduced the idea of building an opera house in the Beyoglu district, allocating for it a space in the vicinities of Taksim. This suggestion had come along with those for the design of the square itself and the replacement of the Ottoman barracks with the Inonu Esplanade or Gezi Park as it is known today. Perhaps more than the architecture and the building itself, the history of its construction imparts political contention to Taksim's spatial history. It would be in 1949, ten years after the idea's first conception that construction would begin on the project, the design of which was commissioned to famed French architect

50 m-est editor. "The Performance of Modernity: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi, 1946-1977." Webpage: https://m-est.org/2013/04/01/the-performance-of-modernity-Atatürk-kultur-merkezi-1946-1977/. Published: April 2013. Accessed: May 2022.

Auguste Perret. Turkish architect Rukneddin Guney was responsible for overseeing the construction process. Construction was slow, marked by its funding and de-funding with changes to ruling governments, and by 1956, only the skeleton of the structure was completed. At this point, the project was transferred to Turkish architect, Hayati Tabanlıoğlu who had experience working on several theatre buildings in Germany between 1950-1956 and had written his doctoral dissertation at Hannover Technical University on the relation between the audience and theatrical plays.[51] Under his direction, the functional program of the building was extended to serve as a multipurpose performance space. Tabanlıoğlu propounded that theatre was not a luxury in the modern Turkish landscape, but a necessity, claiming it to be the highest cultural form.[52]

2.22 Ataturk Cultural Center (AKM) visible in the background of Taksim Square.
(SALT Research Archive)

51 Akcan, Esra. "How Does Architecture Heal? The AKM as Palimpsest and Ghost." South Atlantic Quarterly 118, no. 1 (2019): 81-94.
52 Tabanlioglu, "Bazi Anilar" and "Tiyatro Binalari."

In his version of the AKM's design, notably different from that of French architect Perret's initial version, was the addition of a multifunctional central auditorium space that was capable of hosting various types of performance arts and music. Large foyers were added to the design of the building which helped transform the space into convention halls, and a second smaller auditorium.[53] During his studies on theatre design, Tabanlıoğlu identified two key stage design distinctions – a central system exemplified by the ancient Greeks and Romans wherein audience and performers were coalesced into a single space, and an axial system characteristic of Renaissance and Baroque styles where the performers and audience were separated. Tabanlıoğlu waned to monopolize on the central system's fluidity between the audience and performers, as well as the axial system's excellent lighting and stage design. He saw this as his way of democratization of the theatre. Eventually, the design comprised of a flexible, movable, stage platform that could be adapted to each performance. The transparency of design, and the engagement of the entrance foyer with its previous histories made the AKM a stage and a viewing area for events that transpire in Taksim Square.

The AKM was a culturally and socially significant building for modern Turkey. Its completion in 1969, and then in 1977 was seen as a moment of pride by a generation of Turkish architects and theatre designers who strove to make a Turkish contribution to international theatre and performance spaces.[54] Akcan writes, "… the merging of the facades of the two buildings from two different periods is nonetheless an extraordinary phenomenon. From the inside, Taksim Square could be fully seen through the transparent glass. Due to its palimpsest character, the AKM not only staged theatrical performances, but it was also a stage and viewing area for real life in Taksim Square."[55] Therefore, the AKM's history is a political one that extends its political nature to Taksim Square.

53 (Akcan, 2019)
54 (Akcan, 2019)
55 (Akcan, 2019)

Privatization of Taksim's Public Space

Upon their accession to power in 1950, the Democrat Party's regime promoted populist democracy, shifting from secular authoritarianism, statist economic policies and national isolationism of the Republican people's Party from the last two decades.[56] With changes in global power systems, the meaning of 'Western' and 'Modern' in Turkish society's collective conscience shifted from 'European' to 'American'. Turkey's significance during the Cold War led to the country's inclusion in the Marshall Plan of 1947, as well as admittance to NATO in 1952. As American aid and investments sought to modernize Turkey through mechanization of agriculture, and highway development, Turkey began to become a symbol of successful model of urbanization. Capitalist expansion of Turkish economy ensued in the following two decades, bringing social change, demographic shifts, widespread urbanization, and with it, environmental degradation."[57]

2.24 Hilton Hotel
The original Istanbul Hilton, before later additions, on Republic Day 1959.
(Harry Pot / Anefo - http://proxy.handle.net/10648/a9a0d80c-d0b4-102d-bcf8-003048976d84)

56 Modernism, Post-War. "Populist Democracy." *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (2013): 105. Chapter 4.

57 Modernism, Post-War. "Populist Democracy." *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History* (2013): 105. Chapter 4. Pp. 106

With the involvement of US interest in Turkey, the United States advocated for the construction and opening of the first ever Hilton Hotel outside the United States. The project, funded by the US government, was the largest Hilton Hotel outside of the United States. The new Hilton is described by scholars as a monumental structure, enshrined as an object of art in an exceptional site. Its strategic, prestigious location positioned it at the edge of one of Istanbul's wealthiest neighborhoods, and in close proximity to Taksim Square and Galata, historical landmarks of Istanbul.[58] The opening of Istanbul in the surroundings of Taksim in 1955 produced a chain reaction of many new hotels to open in the area. Divan Hotel (1956) and Hyatt Regency (1995) to the north of Gezi, Taksim Marmara (1976) at the southern edge of the Square, and several smaller hotels and hotel chain opened in the years to follow. In 1975, a Sheraton Hotel was opened within the space of Gezi park, marking the reduction of space within the park itself.

2.25 Taksim Marmara or Taksim Intercontinental Hotel (tall building to the right-center).
Also visible in this image are the AKM building (Left background), the Monument of the Republic (right foreground), and the Taksim bus terminal (center, foreground).
(SALT Research Archive)

58 Okta, Birge Yildrim. "Taksim Square after 1950."

2.5 Conclusion

The spatial history of Taksim evolved from that of graveyard-gardens fields in fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to a military zone in the nineteenth century, and then to that of a space that was adapted to new functions in early twentieth century just before the formation of Modern Turkey in 1923. While the spatial transformation of Taksim to this point was gradual, upon the formation of the Republic, the processes of these transformations were more rapid. Taksim, its social meaning and functions began to evolve over the next few decades. It was transformed carefully, strategically, and politically into a formal city square in the late 1920s and 1930s. Along with spatial changes, events at Taksim and the spatial practices employed in its space, particularly between mid-1950s and 1980, contributed significantly to its political character. Some of these events will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 3
Taksim Square: History of Events

The unveiling of the Republican Monument at Taksim in 1928 was one of the first moments to ascribe a political meaning with Taksim - that of closeness to the Republican ideology and to Atatürk himself. Although after that event, Taksim Square became the preferrred city space for conducting state events and celebrations, between 1950 and 1983 it began to assume its current contentious, political character between 1950 and 1983.[59] During this period, Taksim played a significant role in the Turkish citizens' interaction with their city, nation, and state politics. Several factors contributed to the public-stage character of Taksim, including its geospatial location, its transformative Ottoman to Republic history, and the international gaze it invited as a consequence of the various hotels and hotel guests, tourists, and diplomats that visited or worked in nearby foreign embassies, offices, and cultural centers. This chapter details the forms of public expression that were orchestrated in mid-twentieth Taksim Square until the 1980s. This thesis views Taksim Square as a vessel or container of these socio-political events, and as a *'sahne'* or 'theatre' where state and civic interactions were tangibly and publicly expressed. While the previous chapter described the spatial history of Taksim Square, this chapter addresses the public events – state ceremonies, celebrations, riots, protests, demonstrations, and various acts

3.1 (opposite page): Unveiling ceremony of the Republican Monument. (SALT Research Archive)

59 Erbey, Dilek. "Changing cities and changing memories: The case of Taksim Square, Istanbul." *International Journal of Culture and History* 3, no. 4 (2017): 203-212.

of violence that took place in Taksim. Through focusing on selected events, this chapter presents an understanding of the use of Taksim's public space by people.

The selected events discussed in this chapter are (i) 1928: unveiling of the Republican Monument; (ii) 1955: Anti-Greek Pogroms; (iii) 1969 Bloody Sunday and 1970 trade union protests; and lastly (iv) 1977: May Day Celebrations and aftermath.

3.1 Taksim as Sahne: An Overview of Events

Events at Taksim Square were, and still are, of varied character. Over the years, Taksim has played host to state ceremonies such as the unveiling of the Republican Monument, Republic Day and Victory Day celebrations; civic events such as New Year's Eve and Labor Day celebrations; civil rights movements including feminist groups' demonstrations; as well as tragic violence, riots, clashes, and massacres that resulted in casualties and injuries. While some have been recurring events, with periods of consecutive annual occurrence and breaks, others were a product of civic expression, arising from the "cry and demand" from the streets described by Lefevre in his *right to the city* philosophy.[60]

The period of focus of this thesis (1950s to 1980) was marked by turbulent political changes, as well as spatial transformation of Turkey, Istanbul, and Taksim Square. While the various governments used the cityscape as their canvas to disseminate their political views among the Turks, the citizenry used public spaces – streets and squares – to voice their views to the state, and to each other. Public spaces became a platform for frequent interaction between various ethnicities (e.g.: Greek diaspora and Turkish nationalists), social groups (e.g.: trade unions), and the state. The changes in government politics, and related alliances, frequently shifted the power relations between social groups within civil society.

Beyond the adapted function of the Ottoman barrack courtyards as a

60 Lefebvre, Henri, Eleonore Kofman, and Elizabeth Lebas. Writings on cities. Vol. 63. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

football stadium inviting sports viewers and fans, one of the first uses of Taksim Meydan as an active space for public gathering and celebration was on May 1, 1912, when Labor Day (International Workers Day) was celebrated in the *Meydan* by the then-Ottoman nation. These celebrations, which were previously held in Skopje, North Macedonia, by the Ottomans, were moved to Taksim *Meydan* that year. The history of labor movements and the significance of Labor Day in Ottoman Turkey began with the Tanzimat Reforms. The Tanzimat Reform of 1839 catalyzed the industrialization movement in the Ottoman Empire. This prompted the first recorded workers' movements of the Ottoman times, which were a response against mass production. In 1851, women weavers attacked a mechanical loom in Samokovt, Bulgaria, a then Ottoman territory. In response, the mechanical loom was shut down and the business of weaving returned to handcraft methods. That was the first workers' movement in Ottoman Turkey, though others would follow. In 1871, a workers' foundations was established to help needy workers following which the Empire began to witness a rise in workers' strikes which were mostly due to overdue payments to workers.[61] The nature of early labor movements in Ottoman Turkey was not as contentious as later events, partly due to the initial stages of industrialization that Turkey was undergoing in the nineteenth century, and then due to the country's participation in various wars. Eventually, after the formation of the Modern Republic Nations, Labor Day celebrations, along with Republic Day and Victory Day celebrations, were recurring events in Taksim Square.

The Political Environment of Turkey between 1950 and 1980 – Military Coups of 1960, 1971, and 1980

Several internal and external socio-economic and political factors dictated the overall political environment of Turkey in the three decades between 1950 and 1980. External factors include the end of World War II

61 Ekinci, Ekrem Burga. 'A chronicle of labor movements in the Ottoman Empire.' Dailysabah. September, 2017. Webpage: https://www.dailysabah.com/feature/2017/09/22/a-chronicle-of-labor-movements-in-the-ottoman-empire. Accessed: June 2022.

(1945), the Cold War (1947-1991) between the United States and the Soviet Union where Turkey experienced attempts by both superpowers to influence the country's future development and political trajectory; as well as Turkey's attempts to become a NATO member nation. Turkey was also a recipient of US Marshall Plan Aid which was an initiative enacted in 1948, as part of the Cold War strategies, to provide foreign aid to certain European countries.

Internally, Turkish politics was in a state of turmoil, and the country was also experiencing a period of economic recession. There were several ruling parties that overthrew each other during these three decades, and Turkey also witnessed three miliary coups. The combination of these external and internal political and economic factors had a polarizing impact on Turkey's social fabric, and various contending social groups began to arise.

Brief descriptions of the socio-political environment of Turkey around the time of three military coups is described below to set the context for other events that specifically occurred at Taksim Square between 1950 and 1980.

3.2: Clashes between police and protesters in Taksim Square days before the 1960 military coup. (https://www.trtworld.com/turkey/may-27-1960-coup-against-democracy-113681)

1960: First military coup

The Turkish Republic witnessed its first military coup on May 27, 1960, with tensions running high between the Democratic party in office and the opposition. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes and President Bayar were accused of using religious politics to polarize the nation, after they had relaxed some of the strict Atatürk-eras laws on religion. Furthermore, the trials to hold those accountable for the anti-Greek pogroms of 1955 were under way, and the military junta claimed Menderes and his associates were involved in the riots. Menderes was executed and martial law was imposed in early 1960. General Cemal Gursel assumed power – as both president and prime minister – beginning a period of military-dominated politics that would last until 1965.[62]

1971: Second military coup

In March 1971, a second military intervention took place in Turkey, eleven years after the first military coup of 1960. This coup came to be known as the "Coup by Memorandum." In the aftermath of the first military coup, Turkey went into economic recession. Violence, demonstrations, labor strikes, and political assassinations became commonplace.[63] At this time, Turkish society was becoming increasingly polarized, and more contending social groups than before began to form. Newly formed left-wing groups and student movement groups were countered by other newly formed Islamist and militant Turkish groups, and Turkish nationalist groups. By the end of the 1960s, several bombing attacks, robberies, and kidnappings were carried out by left-wing groups across Turkey.[64] These were countered in equal magnitude by opposing groups. This created a nation-wide atmosphere of political turmoil and social uncertainty. By January 1971, the situation had deteriorated to the point that everyday life in Turkey was disturbed with universities and banks shutting down due to attacks, as well as attacks

62 Al Jazeera. 'Timeline: A History of Turkish Coups.' July 2016. https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2016/7/16/timeline-a-history-of-turkish-coups. Accessed: June 2022

63 Ahmad, Feroz. The making of modern Turkey. Vol. 264. London: Routledge, 1993.

64 Zürcher, Erik J. Turkey: A modern history. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017.

on intellectuals. There was growing anti-Kemalist sentiments across many sections of Turkish society. By the time the coup occurred in March, most Turks were not surprised. The Turkish Armed Forces gave Prime Minister Demirel an ultimatum demanding reinforcement of Atatürk-inspired views, and putting an end to the anarchy and socio economic unrest prevailing in Turkey. Demirel was forced to resign, and the military commanders assumed power over the country. However, Turkey's social unrest and violence could not be suppressed, and would continue over the next two to three years.

1980: Third military coup -military coup d'état

Turkish politics and economy continued to remain fragile after the 1971 coup, with the country changing prime ministers no less than eleven times in the 1970s. The economy continued to deteriorate, and Turkish currency lost value globally. Left and right-wing groups were often involved in violent clashes in the streets. Without proper legal structure, thousands of people were assassinated, and lawlessness prevailed. Thus, the military began discussing another possible coup in late 1979, and in March 1980 officers announced on state television that they were imposing martial law and dissolving the government. The coup of 1980 was in fact welcomed by many Turks who were by this time tired of the violence and socio-economic insecurity that marked the last few years. Although the coup itself did not result in any deaths, at least 50 people were later executed and around half a million were detained. In addition, several were tortured and died in state custody. A new constitution was implemented that gave nearly unlimited power to military commanders, and Kenan Evren, the senior commander of the Turkish army was elected president.[65]

Resistance to elitist Republican motives began in the early 1980s by the ordinary Turkish people who were asked to sacrifice increasingly more by the republican party for an eluding future. Bozdogan writes, "… by the 1980s, the situation had changed completely. The Turkish people, few of whom now

65 (Al Jazeera, 2016)

remembered the early years of the republic, had grown extremely suspicious of, and downright cynical about, the latest incarnations of the promises of 'enlightened and prosperous tomorrows.' Instead of making further sacrifices for a future that kept eluding them, they were starting to inquire about the histories, institutions, beliefs, identities, and cultures from which they had been forcefully separated."[66] Bozdogan further claims that this reorientation of the social compass of individuals spread to all segments of society, not only affecting people's political outlook but also influencing their everyday life, from the way they dressed, to their music, to the construction of houses and other buildings, and their interpretation of Turkish history.[67]

With this general context of Turkish political and socio-economic status across the period of study of this thesis, the following sections analyze five politically motivated events that occurred at Taksim Square, and the use of Taksim's space by people during those events.

3.3: Procession at Taksim Square during the unveiling ceremony of the Republican Monument.In this image, the Monument is being moved to its site of installation with a large crowd of spectators, before its unveiling. (SALT Research Archive)

3.2 1928: Unveiling of the Republican monument (August 8, 1928)

66 Bözdoğan, Günay Göksu. "Sibel Bozdoğan and Reşat Kasaba (eds.). 1997. Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey. Seattle: University of Washington Press, xii+ 270." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 19 (1998): 153-159.
67 (Bözdoğan, 1998)

As discussed earlier, the year 1928 was a turning point in Taksim's spatial history. Upon the unveiling of the Republican Monument, Taksim was transformed into a 'Republican' space. The adjacent Talimhane neighborhood was beginning to see the construction of around 6-story high-rise buildings. It is to the east of the Maksem Taksim, in the foregrounds of the barracks, that the Taksim republican monument was erected. Its placement, and the newly assigned "square" function for Taksim, did not mitigate the vast space in front of the barracks. Instead, it began to give it a loose spatial definition and political symbolism with the promise of a "modern" future. The rewriting of a visibly Ottoman space with a Republican space, and its intentional association with Atatürk and Republican ideologies ascribed Taksim Square its political connotations.[68]

The unveiling ceremony was a pompous state celebration, with thirty thousand people in attendance. It was the first large-scale gathering of its kind in Turkey and received wide media coverage by almost all national, and some international newspapers and journals.[69] The monument was unveiled by Istanbul's MP Dr. Hakkı Şinasi Pasha who had commissioned it about two and a half years earlier to its unveiling.

At the time the Republican monument was erected, Istanbul did not have a city square that could provide an arena for state ceremonies. City spaces like the Sultanahmet square in the old city functioned more as a mosque courtyard-space, and bazaar-space used for daily informal activities. The unveiling of the monument symbolized a change both in the meaning of Taksim space, and in people's interaction with their city and urban memory. As a number of scholarly publications have argued, built environments are often used as a canvas to make visible political power by those who are in control of it.[70] Turkish politics was no exception. Atatürk monuments and

68 Baykan, Aysegul, and Tali Hatuka. "Politics and culture in the making of public space: Taksim Square, 1 May 1977, Istanbul." *Planning perspectives* 25, no. 1 (2010): 49-68.
69 (Erbey, 2017)
70 (Kezer, 2009). See also, Bozdoğan, Sibel. "Modernism and nation building: Turkish architectural culture in the early republic." (2001).

statues were strategically and plentifully erected across Turkish cities to drive the idea of the Turkish nation and modernity into Turkish society. These monuments played a central role in the production and reproduction of national space. By dominating public open space, Faik Gur argues that they have even prevented the construction of local identities by city residents by way of *allegorical* representation of Turkish-nation history.[71] Taksim Square was the first square with the first monument to be planned and designed in the new republic.

3.4 (a): Ceremonies at the Monument of the Republic: Republic Day, 1931. The South face, symbolising the new, modern, Republican Turkey is the preferred backdrop for these events. (stanbul Research Institute)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This study makes the claim that the northern face of the Monument, which originally faced the Ottoman Barracks, and depicts the Anatolian struggle for independence, was meant to symbolize Turkey's Ottoman past. The southern face depicting Ataturk and his comrades, and oriented towards Istikal Street and the 'cosmopolitan' Beyoglu was meant to symbolize Istanbul and Turkey's 'modern' future. To emphasize this, it is observable that on occasion of state ceremonies and at times of protests, it is the southern face of the monument that is used as a backdrop or as the preferred setting in which to official ceremonies with (Fig. 3.4 a,b,c).

3.4 (b) opposite page, top: Ceremonies at the Monument: state ceremony in 1929

3.4 (c) opposite page, bottom: 1930s sttudent gathering at the Monument of the Republic (Istanbul Research Institute)

3.3 1955: Anti-Greek Pogroms on Istikal street

Taksim Square in the 1950s was a rapidly developing site, and had just began an intense privatization and industrialization phase. With the barracks demolished, and Gezi Park replacing them in 1940, the space had become an increasingly active, public, green space performing the functions of a city park as well as an attraction site. The opening of the Hilton Hotel in 1955 to the north of Taksim Square, and subsequently other hotels, were gradually transforming the space into a tourist hub, placing the Beyoglu District, and along with it Taksim, under the constant gaze of tourists and foreign officials visiting Istanbul.

When the Democrat Party (DP) came to power in 1950, they reinforced projects to homogenize Turkish society, which were previously put in place by the Republican party (CHP). In 1958, after the establishment of a strong private sector through import substitution policies enacted in 1957, Turkey went through a rapid industrialization phase, creating a thriving national market in contrast to the early Republican frugality. Industrialization led to mass migration, and eventually to the emergence of new social groups– urban working class and migrants. Workers employed in these projects began to reside in the city; with the mass internal immigration from rural areas to cities presenting a significant unplanned urbanization challenge.

Rapid changes in demographics and city population led to radical spatial transformations, particularly in the urban peripheries of major cities. A new experience of mass culture and modernity emerged, based on the everyday lives of millions of people coming into contact with the simultaneously liberating and alienating effects of urban life**.** Unlike early republican project of taking modernization to Anatolian towns and villages, Istanbul now became both the center stage and the leading actor of change with several urban development projects including infrastructure, power generation plants, and road construction.

In 1955, Istanbul's population experienced a 55% increase in the past five years reaching 1.5 million residents.[72] With a fast-growing population, and an influx of new residents, new social groups began to be formed. There was a growing Turkish nationalist sentiments, and non-major ethnicities such as Greeks, Armenians, and Kurds were increasingly marginalized. It was during this time that the anti-Greek pogroms took place all across Istanbul, beginning in September 1955. The pogroms were particularly concentrated along Istikal Street where several Greek diasporas were settled and had shops and businesses. Also, tensions were rife between Greece and Turkey over the fate of Cyprus. The events of 6-7 September 1955 transpired after rumors spread of a bomb going off at the Turkish consulate in Macedonia, which incidentally was the birth house of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In response, a mob of Turkish patriots vandalized property owned by Greek nationals and diaspora near Taksim Square and Istikal Street in Beyoglu district. The assault on the minority Greek community lasted for about 9 hours, resulting in the death of about a dozen Greek nationals. Since police were ineffective in containing the violence, a martial law was declared, and the army was sent in to disperse rioters. In addition, the Hagia Triada Greek Orthodox Church, completed in 1880, was damaged in fire, during a suspected arson attack.

72 Okta, Birge Yildrim. "Taksim Square after 1950."

3.5 (a,b): 1955 Anti-Greek pogroms at Istikal Street, and aftermath..
(SALT Research Archive)

Over the next several years, the Greek population in Istanbul declined steeply. The social demographic can be said to have been homogenized in this aspect. The Greek Orthodox Church destroyed during the pogroms remained in a state of disuse for decades, indicating the lack of claims to ethnic and cultural heritage, and sites of memory by the Greek community of Istanbul and Turkey. As Greek residents began to leave the surroundings, the continued infrastructural growth in the city, and labor demand for construction projects invited immigrants from rural areas to take up housing in the Beyoglu District, now devoid of residents. Gradually, Istikal Street fell into a state of disuse and abandonment in the years following the violence, after which it was converted into a high-speed roadway. The anti-Greek pogrom of 1955 influenced spatial changes to Taksim over the course of three to four decades.Eventually, renovation and pedestrianization projects for the street were initiated in the late 1980s and 90s restored its former use as active public space with bazaars, cultural institutions, museums, and a famous flower market.

3.4 1969 and 1970: Protests at Taksim Square

1969 “Bloody Sunday”: Protests against the American Sixth Fleet

After the 1960 coup, a group of Turkish military officers took control of Turkey. Under their rule, labor tensions grew, and along with them, there was a corresponding rise in anti-American sentiment due to anti-capitalist movements by left wing groups in Turkey. The 1969 Bloody Sunday is an event that took place at Taksim Square whee groups of Turkish left and labor movements protested against US intervention inTurkey which they perceived as being propagated through capitalism and the arrival of US military to Turkey to use Istanbul as one of their bases. On February 16, 1969, 30,000 people marched towards Taksim Square to protest the arrival of the United States Sixth Fleet in Istanbul. Although police made attempts to break up the demonstrations along the way, the groups of thousands continued their march towards Taksim. It was at this point that a counter-revolutionary force attacked a large group of these protesters with knives and sticks. During this

confrontation, two protesters, Ali Turgut and Duran Erdogan, were killed.

The events of Bloody Sunday (Turkish: Kanlı Pazar) transpired in the following manner. At 11:00am more than ten thousand left-wing students and labor unions began to gather in Beyazıt Square. The route of the demonstration began at Beyazıt Square, went over Karaköy, Tophane and Gümüşsuyu and the Istanbul Technical University. Meanwhile, right-wing groups met at the Dolmabahçe Mosque to the north of Taksim, for the suppression of the leftist protest (Fig. 3.7 a). Police was already waiting at Taksim to disperse both marching groups of people. Around 4:00pm, when both groups reached Taksim, clashes broke out at the Square and turned the space and surrounding streets into a sort of battlefield. Batons and knives were used to attack each other, and Molotov cocktails were hurled. This day resulted in the death of two leftist people and about 200 injured.[73] Events of the 1969 Bloody Sunday became one of the first large-scale protests at Taksim that witnessed the eruption of violence in the square; thereby informing future use of space by both protest groups for demonstrations, and the state for policing the urban space.

3.6: 1969 'Bloody Sunday' - demonstrators at Taksim Square. The Bosphorous Strait, where the American Sixth Fleet was scheduled to dock is seen in the background. (http://halkinkurtulusu.net/?p=2506)

73 Güngör, Serap. "The Bloody Sunday of Isstanbul." January, 2016. Webpage: https://www.weloveist.com/the-bloody-sunday-of-istanbul. Accessed: June, 2022. See also, Kasaba, Reşat, Suraiya Faroqhi, Kate Fleet, and İ. Metin Kunt. The Cambridge History of Turkey. Vol. 3. Cambridge University Press, 2006.


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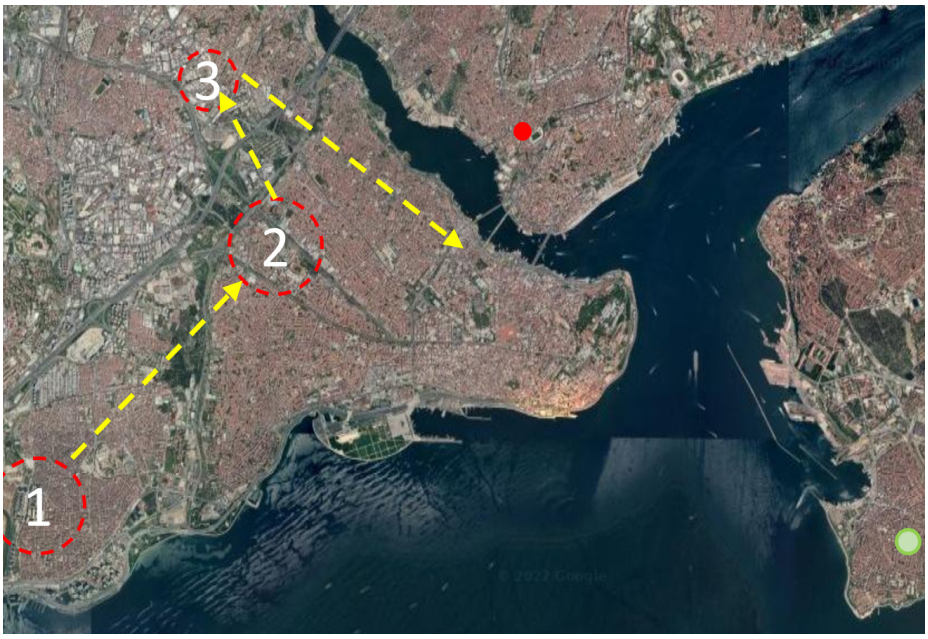
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3.7: Marching routes of 1969 (opposite page, top) and 1970 (opposite page, bottom) protests.
a**:** The route of the 1969 demonstrations began at Beyazıt Square (1)- Karaköy - Tophane - Gümüşsuyu - Taksim.
The right-wing group met at the Dolmabahçe Mosque (2), and moved to Taksim.
b: 1970 demonstrations route - Bakırköy - Topkapı - Sağmalcılar - Eminonu Square on the European ide. (Google Earth. Illustrated by Saba Fatima)

3.8 (right) Trade union groups and workers demonstrating during the1970 Trade union protests

(https://m.bianet.org/bianet/toplum/122755-direniste-oldurulen-uc-isci-mucadele-ruhuyla-anildi)

1970 Trade Union Protests

On June 15 and 16, 1970, a trade union march took place in Istanbul which became the largest actions of organized labor marches in Turkey's history until that date. For two days, 150,000 workers marched to the city center. The march, started on the Asian or Anatolian side of the city. The workers marched from Kartal district along the E-5 Ankara highway, while others joined them from other factories. Around Göztepe, Otosan factory workers joined them, and the march lasted until the evening of June 15. Another march route was in Beykoz. It started in Paşabahçe and proceeded towards Üsküdar. On June 16, the workers' march that had started from Gebze joined with the workers from Kartal and reached the square in front of Kadıköy Pier. On the European side of Istanbul, a march was held along the Bakırköy - Topkapı - Sağmalcılar route (Fig. 3.7 b). On 16 June, it joined up with branches marching in from other parts of the city and arrived at Eminönü Square which is located at one end of the Galata bridge. The bridge connects the north and south European peninsulas of Istanbul. The Istanbul Governor's Office had the two bridges on the Golden Horn held open, in a standing position at that time, to prevent demonstrators from crossing over to Beyoğlu.

When the workers occupied the Haymak factory, in which Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel's brother Şevket Demirel was a partner, the troops of the 2nd Armored Brigade in Kartal Maltepe surrounded the factory. Around 75,000 workers from many factories took part in the demonstrations. Although the reaction was mainly from Confederation of Revlutionary Trade Unions of Turkey (DİSK) member workers, many workers from other labor unions joined the marches as well. On the evening of the seconds day of the marches, the government declared a 60-day period of martial law. Many of the leaders of DİSK and its affiliated unions were arrested and tried by martial law courts. Workers were fired at from the barricade set up in front of the Fenerbahçe stadium, and many workers were injured in the conflict. Around Kadıköy Pier, the police opened fire on the workers killing several. The protests of June 15-16 are commemorated by the Left in Turkey to this day, as they are the first large-scale working class action in the country's history.

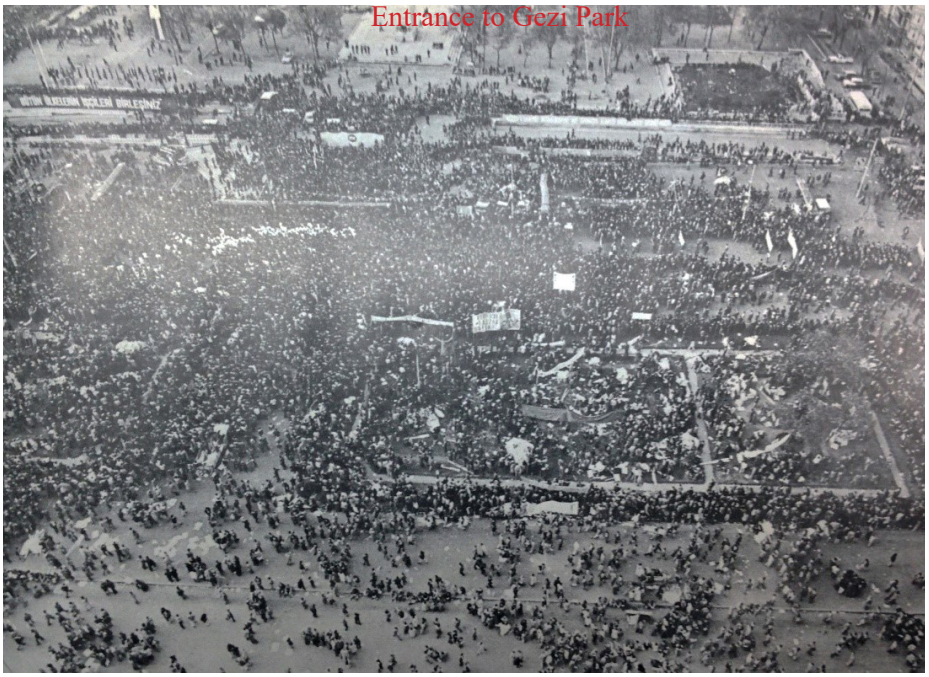
Based upon the argument that events that transpire in the history of a space influence future events and the spatial practices at play, the magnitude, and power of visibility and expression that the 1969 Bloody Sunday protests amassed influenced the government's decision to prevent the 1970 trade union march from reaching Beyoglu and Taksim. While these spatial strategies may be employed to maintain the peace and security of a city, they are certainly also applied to restrict the masses from exercising their rights to cities, and to hinder them from attaining maximum public visibility.

3.5 1977: Labor Day or May Day Celebrations and Aftermath

The 1977 May Day event at Taksim Square is arguably the most significant event to have ascribed it its contentious and political character. The political environment of 1970s in Turkey was characterized by frequent civic and political demonstrations. There was also considerable political instability, where militant left-wing and right-wing groups were in constant clashes and created chaos and anarchy in the streets, eventually terminating with the 1980 military coup. Labor Day celebrations were a recurring event in Taksim

Square after their first occurrence in 1912, with periods of consecutive years of annual celebrations interrupted by interrupted by periods where there were none. These civic celebrations were frequently superimposed with political control and policing. After the first May Day celebrations in Taksim in 1912, due to the declaration of martial law in 1913 and the subsequent beginning of the First World War, it was not until 1921 that the celebrations resumed. In 1925, the Law of Takrir-i Sükun, was enacted in response to Sheikh Said rebellion (Kurdish nationalist rebellion). It banned May Day public gatherings in Turkey, applicable to Taksim Square as well. Thereafter, there were no mass demonstration for fifty years, from 1926 to 1975.

3.9 May Day protests of 1977.
(Istanbul Research Institute)



3.10 (top): 1977 May Day demonstrations with AKM in the background.

3.11 (bottom): Aerial view of May Day Celebrations at Taksim Square, 1977
About 500,000 people in attendance. The entrance to Gezi Park is to the top of the image.

(SALT Research Archive)

In 1977, it is estimated that over 500,000 people participated in one of the largest May Day celebrations in Taksim Square. This large rally was organized by DİSK. The entire square was densely occupied by people. As the president of DİSK, was nearing the end of his May Day speech, gunshots were fired from the roofs of the building of Sular Idaresi, a water supply company, and from the Etap Marmara Hotel bordering the square. Panic ensued, and the large crowd began to scatter. A parked vehicle along the middle of the narrow Kazancı Hill was blocking exit paths for people causing a stampede. By the end of this day, 28 people died of suffocation or stampede, while 5 were shot dead. Approximately 130 others were wounded. None of the actual perpetrators of the 1977 May Day massacre were convicted, and the case remains unsolved to this day.[74]

In 1978, although there were restrictions to prevent public gathering at the Square, insurgent rallies and celebrations took place. In 1979, state authorities formally banned all May Day celebrations and declared martial law in Turkey refusing any demands to hold public May Day celebrations. Furthermore, on May 1, 1979, a curfew was imposed in Istanbul. After the 1980 military coup, the junta revoked the status of May Day as a public holiday in Turkey.[75] Insurgent demonstrations continued sporadically over the years (1988, 1989) and were met with police encounters until 1999, when the trade unions promoted an 'indoor' celebration after the death of a young girl the previous year in a police encounter.[76]

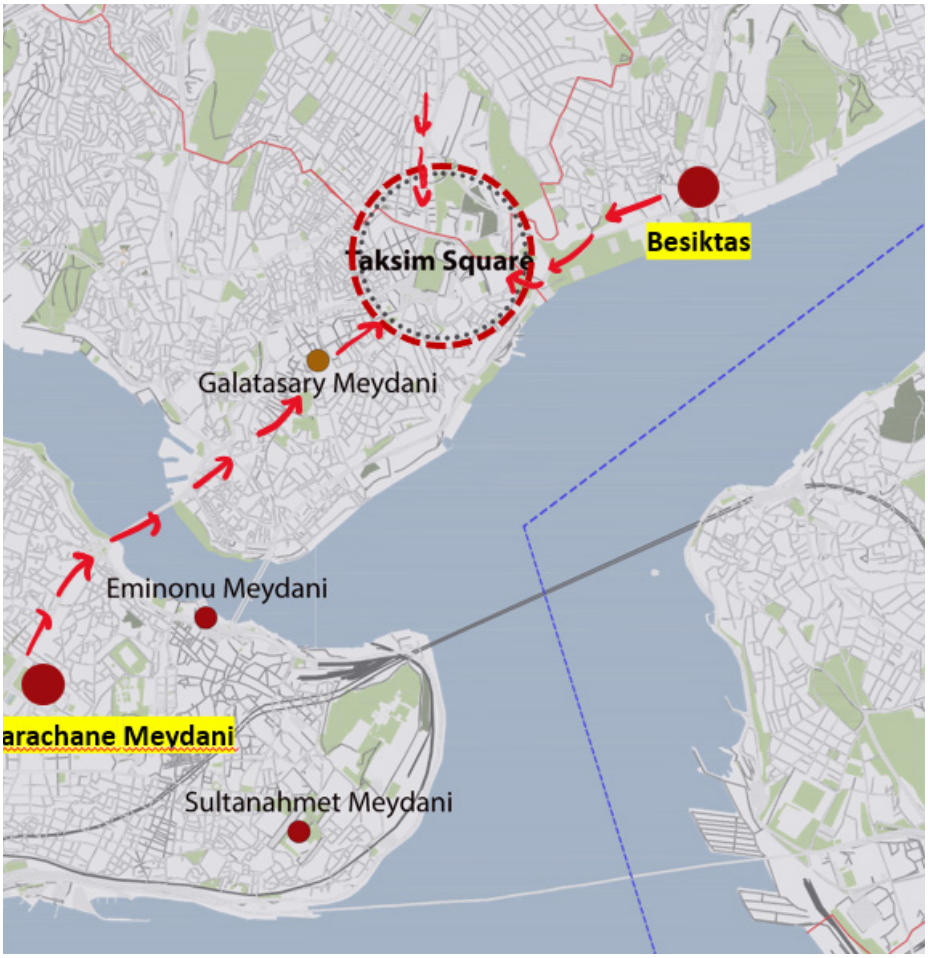
The May Day celebrations of 1977, originated in two points of Istanbul and converged at Taksim Square. Residents gathered in the Besiktas square on the northern European side, and in Sarachane Square on the Asian side. Travelling through the Barbaor Boulevard, and across the Golden Horn

74 Fırat, Derya. "Sites of Memory of the 1980 Military Coup in Turkey." *Excavating Memory. Sites of Remembering and Forgetting* (2016): 42-63

75 In 1996, the Turkish Grand National Assembly officially declared May Day a public holiday again. It was renamed "Labor Day" and "Solidarity Day", and the designated outdoor venue for public celebrations were moved from Taksim Square to Kadıköy Square on the Asian side of Istanbul.

76 Mavioglu, Ertugul; Sanyer, Ruhi (2007-05-01). "30 yil sonra kanli 1 Mayis (3)". https://web.archive.org/web/20070503012857/http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=219999

respectively, the meeting point was the large area of Taksim Square (Fig. 3.12). Since the origin points were well connected to public transport, and the demonstrators were routed through visible parts of the city, it encouraged more participation. Participants were not only from Istanbul but all parts of the country and were said to be a heterogenous mix: “and included, apart from DİSK members, unions from the TURKIS Confederation, members of the independent unions, teachers’ associations, technical personnel, architecture and engineering associations, authors, artists, lawyers, doctors, youth groups and women’s associations.”[77] Taksim Square was prepared with a stage equipped with microphones and adorned with flags and posters. The stage, which was situated at the entrance to the Gezi Park, created a focal point in the large space (Fig. 3.11).



3.12: Procession route of 1977 May Day demonstrations. (Google Maps. Illustrated by Saba Fatima)

77 (Baykan,2010)

As demonstrators marched through the city, young demonstrators partook in street performances, and people marched with unity demanding economic and democratic rights. The demonstrations were carried out in a festive and celebratory manner, embracing the city and onlookers along their route. By the time the procession from various parts of the city arrived at Taksim Square, they were delayed by around 2-3 hours. On this day, 20,000 security personnel were employed by the organizers of the event. These security personnel were dressed in red and were not carrying guns. As the shots were fired towards the end of the evening, the organized celebration disintegrated, and in its place, the day ended with, and was marked by, tragedy.

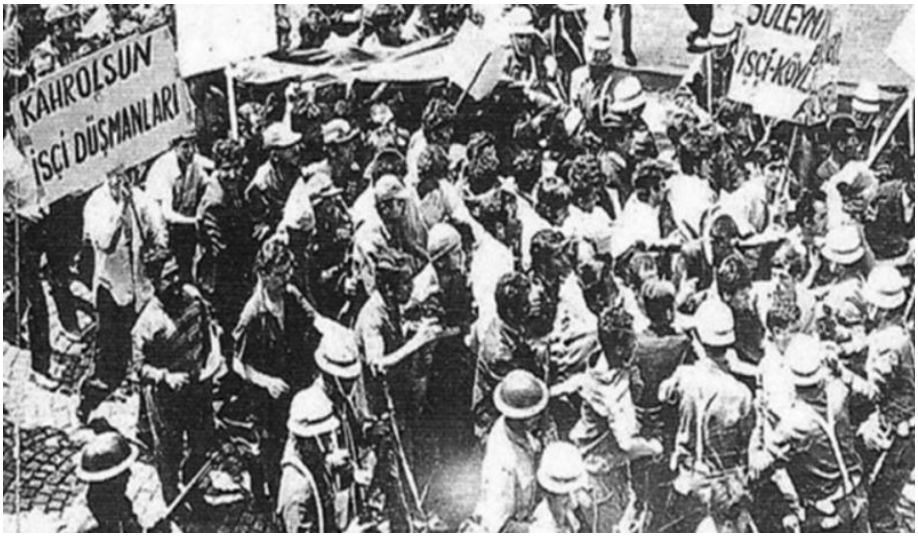
This day changed the discourse on protest and claims to the public space of Taksim, and it continues to have a great bearing on how people in Turkey remember the labor and socialist movements.[78] Inevitably, restrictions on mass gatherings, particularly in Taksim Square were resumed. Subsequently, the state and local administrations had intentionally intervened to transform Taksim Square into a place spatially inadequate for mass demonstrations. This was done through spatial practices such as the physical barricading of Taksim during public events, continued privatization of Taksim's public space with the construction of hotels and other institutions.

It was only in 2010, over 30 years after the 1979 ban, that people came together again at Taksim Square for May Day celebrations. This time, it was estimated around 140,000 people were in attendance.[79] The May Day event of 1977 changed the discourse on protest and claims to the public space of Taksim. Restrictions on mass gatherings at Taksim Square resumed. Spatial interventions were made to transform Taksim Square, and the aftermath has neither resolved nor reasoned with the event. It was a consequential moment in Taksim's history, and also the moment that unreservedly ascribed it a political and expressive character. The event also brings up questions about

78 (Fırat, 2016)
79 (Fırat, 2016)

the right of citizens to their city not only physically but mentally when a space is no longer accessible to them.

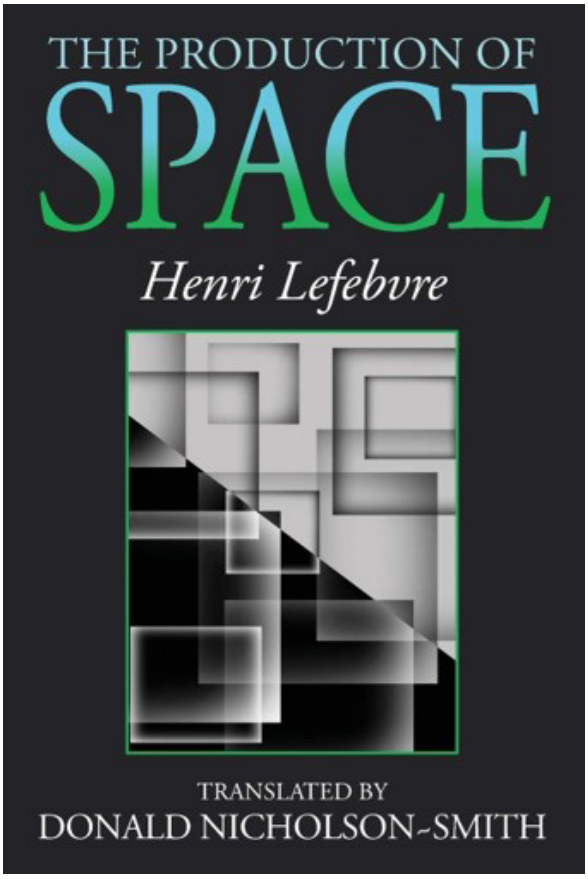
Having looked at the history of spatial evolution at Taksim Square in Chapter 2; and the history of events at Taksim that were motivated by politics in Chapter 3, the next Chapter uses theories and interpretations of the works of French philosopher Henri Lefebvre to analyze how multiple productions of Taksim's space occurred during its mid-twentieth century history.

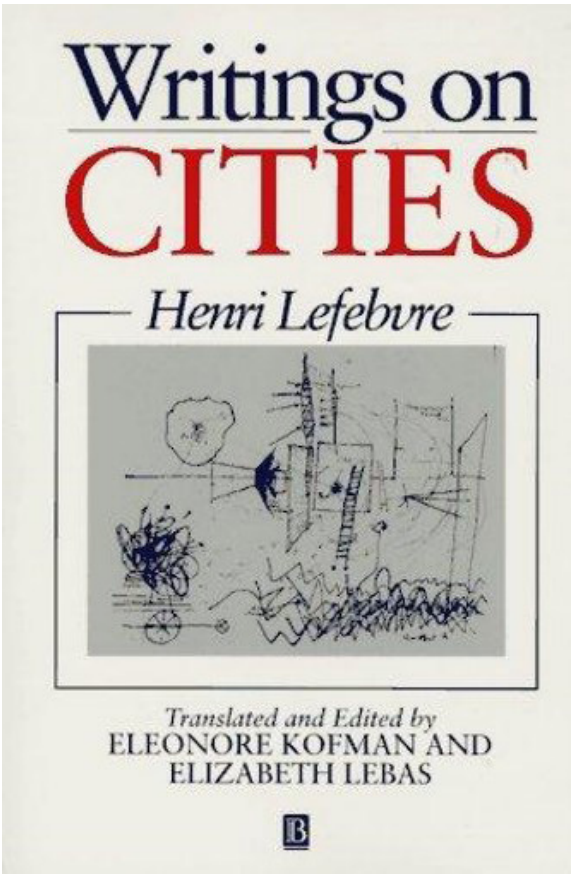


3.13 (top) 1969 Bloody Sunday at Taksim Square.

3.14 (center) 1970 trade unions march in Istanbul

3.15 (bottom) 1977 May Day demonstrations at Taksim Square


THE PRODUCTION OF
SPACE
Henri Lefebvre
TRANSLATED BY
DONALD NICHOLSON-SMITH


Writings on
CITIES
Henri Lefebvre
Translated and Edited by
ELEONORE KOFMAN AND
ELIZABETH LEBAS

Chapter 4
Theoretical Analysis of the Productions of Taksim Square through the works of Henri Lefebvre

This chapter draws on the critical works of Henri Lefebvre to conduct a theoretical analysis of Taksim Square. Lefebvre is examined in the context of Taksim's spatio-political history as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Henri Lefebvre (1901-1991) was a twentieth century French, Marxist philosopher whose theories were influenced by Hegel, Heidegger, and Nietzsche. Lefebvre's philosophy was also influenced by his experiences witnessing World War II and the French Resistance which fought the Nazi occupation in France.[80] Lefebvre held an interest in the relationship between idealism and materialism; enabling him to see both the mental (non-physical) and the material together. The mental here is taken to be that which is imagined, perceived, abstract, intangible, and social rather than physical, tangible objects. Among the over sixty books he published in his lifetime are his 1968 book *Le Droit a la ville ('The Right to the City')* where he introduces the concept of the right to the city, and his 1974 book La *production de l'espace (*'The Production of Space').[81] It is largely from these two texts, and their interpretations by eminent scholars that the theoretical

4.1 (opposite page): Publications of Henri Lefebvre used to conduct a theoretical analysis of the multiple productions of Taksim Square's public space.

80 Butler, Chris. *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial politics, everyday life and the right to the city*. Routledge-Cavendish, 2012.

81 Lefebvre, Henri, Eleonore Kofman, and Elizabeth Lebas. Writings on cities. Vol. 63. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.
Lefebvre, Henri, and Donald Nicholson-Smith. The production of space. Vol. 142. Blackwell: Oxford, 1991.

framework for this chapter, and thereby this thesis, is structured.[82]

Chapter 4 engages with the core of this thesis. It seeks answers in established theories of sociology and urban studies to questions about the processes that dictate the creation of physical space, its social use, the inter-dependent role of politics, and public's affiliation with certain urban spaces. After several years of analysis addressing the politics of the rural and the urban, in a 1970 conference, Lefebvre posited that space is both the node and the medium of struggle.[83] He claimed, "There is politics of space because space is political,"[84] and went on to say that space is shaped by historical and natural elements, *through* political processes.[85] In the use of Lefebvre's *The Production of Space* in this thesis, both terms of the title are critically examined in the context of Taksim Square and its spatial, political, and social histories. The chapter is organized to narrate the history of space, rather than the space of history, thereby reading the theories through spatial terms. The analysis looks at the production of things in space, as well as production of space itself across time, since "Every society (and therefore every mode of production with all its sub variations) produces a space, it can claim its own and identify with."[86]

There are four key theoretical aspects addressed in this chapter, the first two of which are concerned with understanding the processes behind the creation of Taksim's physical and social space. The next two subsections look at use of Taksim's space by various societies and across time. The following are the four sub-sections: (4.1) Production of space; (4.2) Production of symbols; (4.3) Legible spaces; (4.4) Cultural hegemonies and power relations among urban society. The chapter is organized to separate the theoretical

82 Interpretations of Lefebvre's works by scholars David Harvey, Stuart Elden, Sharon Zukin, and Chris Butler were considered for the theoretical application of his theories to Taksim Square. .

83 Elden, Stuart. "Between Marx and Heidegger: politics, philosophy and Lefebvre's The production of space." *Antipode* 36, no. 1 (2004): 86-105. **https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2004.00383.x**

84 Lefebvre, Henri. *The right to the city followed by Space and Politics*. Éditions Anthropos, 1972.

85 (Lefebvre, 1972)

86 (Elden, 2014); (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

explanations from the applied theories on Taksim, where theories discussed initially in each sub-section are specifically applied to the case of Taksim Square in the discussion that follows.

4.1 Production of space

At the center of Lefebvre's spatial theories is the departure from viewing space as a physical object that exists by itself. Instead, space is seen as a product of several factors and is therefore considered to be an entity that is *produced* and requires *production.* Lefebvre's *La production de l'espace* provides the conceptual framework for mapping the spatiality of politics and history, rather than merely explaining the politics and history of space as independent chapters in histories.[87] Space holds a multiplicity of dimensions for Lefebvre. It is not just a geographical or a physical location, or a commodity; rather it is a political instrument, as well as a means of creative and aesthetic expression.[88] Beyond the physical, space also consists of the mental and the lived – our ideas and affiliations with spaces, and our everyday lives that transpire within spaces. This triad of related dimensions of space (the physical, the mental, and the lived) is central to his theories in *The Production of Space.* It is contrary to dominant strategies of viewing space as a simple object or receptable, and then subsuming its physical and social properties into abstract mental formulations.[89] Such an ontology is in accordance with Lefebvre's opposition to fragmentation of space and its studies, as it forces us to view space as a living, transforming entity. In *The Production of Space,* he argues against fragmentation of various actors involved in the formation of space; he says, whenever a category is used independently of other categories, it is reductive to our understanding of space itself. [90]

'Social' space is another key aspect of Lefebvre's theories on the

87=
88 (Butler, 2012); (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991). See also Gottdiener, Mark. *The social production of urban space*. University of Texas Press, 2010.
89 (Butler, 2012)
90 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

production of space. According to him, social space is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and its characteristics cannot be reduced to that of a simple, physical object. He goes on to explain that social spaces are not, in fact, imagined spaces but the outcome of past actions that go on to then permit fresh actions to take place. Among these actions, Lefebvre says are actions of production as well as actions of consumption.[91] Actions of consumption are those that interact with the products of production themselves. A space is produced, and thereafter consumed upon its use. In his explanation of the terms used in the spatial triad framework, Lefebvre explains that spatial practice is that which embraces production and reproduction. This includes elements in space, and use of space itself that are characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and a level of cohesion.

In the use of theories from *The Production of Space,* first comes the examination of both keywords in the title – 'production', and 'space'. By 'production*'* Lefebvre implies that humans design the space in which they make their lives. The processes of production involve an interaction of various classes, experts, the grassroots, and other contenders.[92] Another quality of the produced is its attribution to goods and economic value. Space and that which it contains can be bought and sold, associating with it, and attributing it economic and capital value.

Space for Lefebvre transcends its physical limits and constraints. Far from treating it as a container or a neutral setting in which life and activity transpire, he credits space with forming the link between the elements, activities, and users that it provides a medium for. For instance, walls and roads allow certain activities and inhibit others. Beyond the physical elements of space, there are the intangible, abstract, and perceived elements - symbols, styles, character, routines of life, and such. Space is therefore not merely

91 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).
92 Molotch, Harvey. "The space of Lefebvre." (1993): 887-895. Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/658004

inherited from one time to the other, it is produced and reproduced through human actions and intentions. These may have unanticipated consequences in addition to deliberate ones and may have influences from other spaces far beyond its physical location and constraints. Similarly, a space can have an influence(s) on other spaces that are not necessarily geographically within the same boundaries.

To study the production of Taksim's space, four aspects of production and its processes are analyzed – (i) space as a product of its history, (ii) the historical and its consequences, (iii) products in space and discourse on space, and (iv) situating the role of global capitalism in spatial production. All four aspects are derived from Lefebvre's introductory chapter titled 'Plan of the Present Work.'[93]

(i) **Space as a product of its history**

Lefebvre claims that since space is a product, our understanding of it must be expected to "reproduce and expound" the process of production.[94] Among his descriptions of the processes of spatial productions, he distinguishes between the semantics of creation and production. Production involves labor; creation does not. Nature creates (not produces since nature's methods are unlaborious to itself) humans; humans produce their lives through the course of living. The distinguisher here is labor, struggle, tediousness of process. Such is usually the characteristic of a historic urban space – it is produced laboriously through actions, events, struggles over time. Furthermore, Lefebvre details that unlike the unit production of products such as sugar or cloth, space is both a precondition and a result of social superstructures. That is, although it is a product to be used and consumed, it is simultaneously a means of production, producing networks and relations, both physical and social.[95] Thus, space is a product of its

93 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).
94 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).
95 Social relations among people, physical paths for commute and exchange of commodities. (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

history. Its existence is a result of actions or inactions of the past on it, and in a similar fashion it informs that which is to come.

The urban space of the present-day Taksim Square is similarly both a product of processes of history on it, as well as an informant and means for what is to come there in future. The central city space now known as Taksim was a vast, green field on the outskirts of the city of Pera during the Byzantine and early Ottoman eras. Due to its spatial distance from Istanbul's settled population, it was a befitting burial place for victims of the plague of the sixteenth century. Thus, space as a geographical unit existed, but a lived, absolute space was yet to be produced. With the passing of time, and with it the elimination of the threat of contagiousness of the burial site, it became burial grounds in the seventeenth century, used by various religious and ethnic groups of Istanbul.[96] Large, common, and multi-ethnic graveyards gradually became a site of frequent visitation by families and loved ones of those buried there. The panoramic views of the Bosphorus river from this site in Pera enhanced its garden-like character producing a promenade space just outside of the city limits. Additionally, it can be safely assumed that the space held sentimental value to those residents who had loved ones buried in one of the multiple graveyards in the two cemetery complexes – the 'great' cemetery, and the 'small' cemetery – which provided them a reason to visit the space every so often, as is customary of Islamic as well as other Eastern traditions.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Pera's graveyard fields were transformed into large, active, garden spaces over two centuries. Since these fields consisted of burial sites of people who had relations to the residents of Pera, it can be argued that some residents of Pera possessed a degree of sentimental value and attachment to the fields where their loved ones were buried. As the city limits expanded, and the dangers of contagiousness of plague from the burial sites reduced, the burial-grounds became not only physically closer

96 Polvan, Sinan, and NESLİHAN AYDIN Yönet. "Story of Taksim Square's Transformation:" From Death's Stillness to Life's Hubbub." In *14th IPHS Conference*:. 1-7. 2010.

to the city, but also more accessible with the negation of threats to health. Pera's promenade space was thus produced, aided by the natural landscape and scenic views. To continue to maintain this space as an active one, convenience stops serving garden visitors such as coffee stalls, and public restrooms would need to be produced of which there is evidence of the former by the eighteenth century. As the use of space predominantly shifted to garden-goers rather than burials, the city sought to curate a planned garden with the amenities to accommodate travel and entertainment needs of the residents of Pera.[97] An English-style Taksim garden was opened in 1870. The space of Taksim thus became a passive locus of social life, social relations, and even everyday life for a few.

From its documented beginnings as an empty space, its relevance limited to geographical and geometrical units, the area evolved into an active garden space from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. This demonstrates a slow-paced transformation from essentially a meaningless space to a space with new meanings and characters ascribed to it. It can also be posited that multiple meanings began to be attributed to the space, over 200 years – graveyard space, garden space, entertainment space, a getaway space from the city. Further, the opening of the Maksem Taksim in early eighteenth century (1731 CE) for distribution of water in a growing city became the starting point of a new history of the space and can be considered as the originating point of the current Taksim Square. It was the first construction in the space and is the origin point of the production of Taksim's spatial history. With this began the gradual incorporation of the graveyard-garden region of Pera into Istanbul's city limits. Throughout the processes of Taksim's spatial transformation, space was continually, albeit gradually produced as well as consumed by those who participated in its use.

For the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the space was rapidly

97 Boncuk, Mavi. "1940 | Taksim Garden/Taksim Bahcesi," 2021. Accessed: April 17, 2022. http://maviboncuk.blogspot.com/2021/02/1940-taksim-gardentak-sim-bahcesi.html

transformed relative to the first 200 years described above. The graveyards were moved or razed to accommodate the Ottoman Artillery Barracks in 1806. Still at the periphery of the city, this would have been an ideal location for Ottomans to establish military training grounds and infrastructure. The military complex then dictated the development of the adjacent Talimhane neighborhood, producing a residential space for military personnel. The razing of graves and establishment of state infrastructure altered the character of the space from welcoming, open-to-all, civic space to a more authoritarian, restrictive space. Until their demolition in 1940, it is evident from Taksim's historiography (see Chapter 2), that these barracks played a dominant role in defining the use of space in their vicinity, even after they stopped functioning as barracks and were instead used for entertainment and opium production.

The unveiling of the Republican Monument in 1928 overlaid a republican Turkish character on the Ottoman and post-Ottoman character of the space. Taksim was carefully crafted over the years to speak the language of a new state and a new culture through the incorporation of Henri Prost's 1935 urban plan. The AKM, the Gezi Park, and the republican monument, helped by the pedestrianization project, dominated the square's physical and social space. It is due to attempts made by the state to associate the space with ideas of nation, national unity, and modernism that the seeds of political production were sowed at the site of Taksim. In time the process of political production would be catalyzed by other events, that will be discussed in following sub-sections.

Thus, the space of Taksim was constantly, continually, concurrently, and cumulatively produced during each era, whether by the state or by the people. The use of space was both constant, and constantly transformative. It was simultaneously Ottoman, and Turkish. It was not only a graveyard site but also a site of entertainment. In essence, Taksim has been a palimpsest since the eighteenth century when cemetery complexes began to be modified into city park spaces. It was a social space of visible expression that was produced

and consumed by the state as well as society, often juxtaposed against each other. It was both a site of expression, and a site of fear and repression during the twentieth century, particularly during the middle years of the century.

(ii) **The historical and its consequences**

When space is examined as a product of its history, one can identify 'moments', which Lefebvre claims are departure points in time that incite a change or a revolution that influences the history of the space to follow. He states: "The historical and its consequences, the 'diachronic', the etymology of location in the sense of what happened at a particular spot or place and thereby changes it – all of this becomes inscribed in space."[98] To elaborate, he speaks of places or locations, and the way they move and evolve through time. The "etymology of location" implies that the origins of a space are not the same as its present, and that its journey through time has witnessed actions, moments, and events, that have inscribed themselves into the history of the space; with each inscription, transforming it and producing a new physical and/or social space. Lefebvre then speaks of the moment of emergence of an awareness of a space and its production, that is, the moment when, where, why and how a knowledge or reality began to be recognized and thereby inscribed in space.[99] To illustrate, an urban space may be the site of one or more tragic events that compel a change in its design, or compel a physical or tangible reaction by people to the events. These tragic events also get intangibly inscribed in the perceived image of the space by people. For instance, frequent acts of violence at a particular location or space automatically associate the space as an unsafe space. This perceived image of space may be held by both individual and collective entities of society. Lefebvre's theory encourages discourse on which events in a space carry the magnitude of being moments or departure points that cause significant changes to its future history.

Chapter 3 discussed Taksim Square's role as a stage for various

98 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).
99 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

events in Turkish history. These events include state celebrations, protests, clashes, and unrest around the time of Turkey's military coups. Although all of these events were inscribed into Taksim's social space and Istanbul's history, albeit with varying magnitude, it is not necessary that all of them warrant a physical change or become a turning point in Taksim or Turkey's history. Similarly, not all events that transpire in an urban public space get inscribed in the collective memory of its residents. It is this variation in magnitude that differentiates events from what Lefebvre describes as moments. Through a Lefebvrian analysis of moments as departure points, and consequences of that which is historical, the production of Taksim as a political square is explored, highlighting key events that catalyzed its political production. Through a sequential analysis of how one event informed another, the genesis of Taksim as a political square and site of protest is proposed. This is rooted in the idea that moments become inscribed not only in the history of space, but also get inscribed in social space, and the collective memory of the people and city. The events of Bloody Sunday in February 1969, and the June 1970 Worker union marches, the May Day massacre of 1977 were moment in Taksim history that influenced one another and the future design and use of Taksim's urban space. These events influence the use of space in their aftermath, and further influence use of space far beyond their spatial or geographical units. For instance, the eruption of riots in Kadikoy Square puts the city on alert for violence in other squares.

In the case of Taksim, May Day or Labor Day celebrations are the most prominent and consistent event associated with the Square (refer Chapter 3). The first Labor Day celebrations in Taksim in 1912 is a clear moment or departure point in the square's history of association with Labor Day/May Day celebrations. The subsequent government prohibition of celebrations in Taksim during martial law is indicative of the connection or relationship that had already been established between the physical space of Taksim, the event, and corresponding social space produced. The 1977 Labor Day celebration

would become the second departure point in its history after the high amount of participation by people in the rallies (500,000) and the tragic killings of 28 individuals and wounding of 130 more. It would become the first large-scale incident of violence and tragedy to occur at the Square in modern Turkish history. The transformation of a relatively peaceful demonstration and celebration where the working class voiced their demands and expectations for the everyday life into a place of terror upon the firing of shots and then the misfiring of police into the crowds created a negative association Taksim's space. Thus, a new social space of Taksim was produced, one which "… subsumes things produced and encompasses their interrelationships."[100] It was the outcome of a clear sequence and set of operations. Not to be taken for an imagined space, Taksim's new violent, political, and negative social space was an outcome of actions of the 1977 May Day which went on to produce a new space, both physically and socially – spaces that were both produced and consumed.[101]. A spatially restrictive environment was produced, with government control over access to space. In the collective memory of Istanbul, Taksim began to be associated as a space of terror. Not only was a space of violence produced due to these associations, but it was also consumed during insurgent rallies (1978, 1988, 1989), attacks, killings, and violence perpetuated in the following months and years, that were associated with May Day.

A third departure point in Taksim's history of association with the May Day celebrations can be linked to 1996, when after years of banning the celebration of the day and its observance as a public holiday, the Turkish grand National Assembly re-declared it as a public holiday. However, the celebrations would no longer be held at Taksim, but rather at Kadikoy Square in Istanbul. Attempts to disassociate the space with the social event are clear. There may be more than one intention in doing so. Besides being an

100 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).
101 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

attempt to disassociate the physicality of Taksim with the political nature of the event, it may also be aimed at disentangling the physical space from the tense, violent social space that was created over the years with the May Day celebrations.

Bloody Sunday at Taksim may be compared to similar events elsewhere. The 1972 'Bloody Sunday' in Northern Ireland involved the British army killing 14 civilians while shooting into a crowd of civil rights demonstrators calling for greater equality for the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. This event is generally considered to be a turning point in Irish history that marked a shift towards parliamentary violence.[102] Events of 1905 Saint Petersburg, 1920 Dublin, 1938 Vancouver, are among those that have come to be known as 'Bloody Sunday' in modern history. Each of them was provoked by similar social and/or political conflicts resulting in loss of civilian lives and causing injuries to others. One such 'Bloody Sunday' (Turkish: *Kanli Pazar)* tragedy took place in Taksim on February 16, 1969. Much like the depiction of the Northern Irish Bloody Sunday in literature, theatre, cinema, music, and monuments,[103] the 1969 Bloody Sunday of Istanbul became the subject of documentaries, extensive media coverage, and formation of new and the strengthening of existing socio-political groups in Turkey, notably the 'Anti-Capitalist Muslims'.[104]

Although the Bloody Sunday of Istanbul was spatially and politically

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102 Rigney, Ann. "Differential memorability and transnational activism: Bloody Sunday, 1887-2016." Australian Humanities Review 59 (2016): 77-95. http://www.australianhumanitiesreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/AHR-59_Rigney.pdf

103 Herron, Tom, and John Lynch. After Bloody Sunday: Representation, Ethics, Justice. Cork: Cork UP, 2007.
Coverage of Bloody Sunday, Northern Ireland, 1972: includes poems by Seamus Heaney ('Casualty', 1979) and Thomas Kinsella ('Butcher's Dozen', 1972), work by video-installation artist Willie Doherty (30 January 1972, 1993), plays by Brian Friel (Freedom of the City, 1973) and Frank MacGuiness (Carthaginians, 1988), films by Paul Greengrass (Bloody Sunday, 2002) and Richard Norton-Taylor (Bloody Sunday: Scenes from the Saville Inquiry, 2005), and songs by John Lennon ('Sunday Bloody Sunday', 1972) and U2 ('Sunday Bloody Sunday', 1983).

104 Coverage of Bloody Sunday, Istanbul, 1969: Documentary film, *Bloody Sunday (Kanli Pazar 1969);* film *Deadlock,* Muammer Ozer, 1970; documentary, Mehmet Ali Birand. Can Dündar, Bülent Capli, Demirkirat: Bir Demokrasinin Doğuşu, trt, 1991 türkiye, parts 1,5,7, 10; Coverage (in Turkish): HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/WATCH?V=IM597KZVCAC&AB_CHANNEL=32.G%C3%BCNAR%C5%9FIVI ;

unrelated to the other Bloody Sundays mentioned above, they are all part of a tradition of civic massacres that followed the first such example in modern history that took place at the Champs de Mars in Paris in 1791.[105] Another observable pattern is the association of these and other similar events with city squares and public parks linked to the modern conditions of urban living.[106] To Lefebvre's arguments concerning complex relationships between elements of physical and social space, these events belong together as a canon. Through discourse on them, their after-effects on their respective political and social histories, as well as the semantics of their naming, they are linked to one another through spatial violence. They are different from other types of state violence such as warfare in that these events invariably involve multiple actors that include at least one demand aspect, and one suppressor or oppressor actor. For instance, workers' rights, civil rights, rights to national self-determination suppressed by state actors or counter-demand actors.

The violence and failure of the state to effectively control or manage the 1969 Bloody Sunday protests at Taksim Square influenced the Governor's reaction of blocking the bridge-routes to Taksim during the 1970 march. Among the consequences of the 1969 Bloody Sunday events were the government's control of Taksim's space during city marches.

(iii) **Products *in* space + Discourse *on* space**

> As it develops, then, the concept of social space becomes broader. It infiltrates, even invades, the concept of production, becoming part – perhaps the essential part – of its content. Thence it sets a very specific dialectic in motion… Here a unity transpires between levels which analysis often keeps separate from one another: the forces of production and their component elements (nature, labor, technology, knowledge); structures (property relations); superstructures (institutions and the state itself). – Henri Lefebvre[107]

105 (Rigney, 2016).
106 Examples of civic massacres in urban public spaces: 1887 Trafalgar Square, London; 1919 massacre at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, India; 1977 May Day massacre at Taksim square; 1989 Tiananmen Square, Beijing; 2014 Maidan Square, Kiev.
107 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

Lefebvre expands on the meaning of social space as he progresses through his theory. He explains that physical space is comprised of various elements that contribute to the visual production of that space plus the associated activities that take place in them. As noted above, physical spaces simultaneously produce corresponding social spaces. This is possible through the interaction of physical and social elements that the geographic space contains within itself, and by which it is influenced, which extend beyond its geographic limits. Products in space refers to the physical products, or objects, or architecture and the built environment that are located within the physical, tangible constraints of geography of a space. Discourse on space refers to the multiplicity and variety of narratives, discourse, experiences and lived environments that those physical objects create around them, through them, and because of them – both in their immediate vicinity and beyond the spatial limits, even across cities, nations, and globally, in a ripple-effect manner. One could say that the stronger an object grounds its presence in space and engages with its users, the wider the effect.

When products are introduced in space it is almost always to serve pre-determined functions – a public park to serve as an outdoor public space, a pedestrianized street to primarily serve those on foot, planning urban downtown centers as commercial hub of cities, and a monument to remind onlookers of specific persons, events, histories. The meaning that these spaces acquire as people begin interacting with them and using them individually and collectively as a society can often differ slightly or greatly from the intended meaning and use. For instance, downtown centers are frequently known to be hotspots for homeless persons. The same can be said for public parks. Public fountains designed for aesthetic purposes may serve additional purposes not perceived during the planning stages, such as seating around the rim of the fountain. Similarly, monuments built to commemorate certain histories may may become controversial or may even generate retaliation by some or most sections of society. Uprisings and retaliations against the Confederate

monuments in the United States in recent years can serve as examples here. Changes in collective perception or narratives about such products in space can arise many years after their inception. The discourse on space can also be deciphered through accounts of visual media, news, travelers, and through the residents of the area.

Products in space and discourse on space refers to the production of architecture and the built environment in Taksim's space as well as the perception of Taksim's physical and social space by the public and state societies. In the case of Taksim Square, there are several products in the Taksim area that are subject to a multiplicity of discourse on them in Istanbul, and across Turkey. Not all products in space create the same magnitude of discourse related to them. The Maksem Taksim for instance seems to have progressed through history in fairly balanced perceptions, avoiding contentious historical narratives and urban meaning to state and society. However, products such as the AKM, the Monument of the Republic, and the Gezi Park do not offer similar histories and seem to generate greater discourse.

Monument of the Republic

The Monument of the Republic at Taksim Square, unveiled in 1928, can be recognized as one of the most pivotal departure points of Taksim's history. It was then that Taksim gained its 'Square' character, making it 'Taksim Republican Square' or popularly 'Taksim Square'. The Republic Monument functions like a smaller place within the larger square disseminating a character and symbolic meaning of its own.[108] The monument's unveiling garnered considerable media attention within Turkey with many newspapers and journals reporting on the unveiling ceremony and the monument. One of them was *Resimli Gazete*, a weekly illustration magazine. It included a photograph of the Northern face of the statue as its

108 Kırmızı, Meriç. "Taksim Republican Square: a field study on socio-economic, form, use and meaning dimensions." Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2011. http://etd.lib.metu.edu.tr/upload/12613398/index.pdf; https://hdl.handle.net/11511/20655

front cover, and a photograph of the Southern face of the statue as its back cover, titling the images '*Taksim'de Kusad Edilen | Inkilabimizin Abidesi'* (Translation.: The Monument of Our Revolution | Inaugurated in Taksim).

Reflecting on the presence of the republican monument in space, it continues to garner strong, yet mixed reactions from people that interact with it deliberately or sub-consciously. The monument acts a node, a gathering point for daily activities, tourists, commuters, shoppers to meet at. For some, it is a meaningful symbol of Turkey's Republican past. For others it is merely a spatial marker along their daily routes.[109]

4.2: Front and back cover pages, Resimli Gazete or "Illustrated Gazette," (https://steemit.com/monument/@yasemin-gencer/today-in-1920s-turkey-18-august-1928-a-monument-to-the-republic-opened-in-taksim-square)

The Republican Monument, as a product in Taksim's space, has remained a fixed object and survives unchanged since its unveiling in 1928. During its lifetime, pluralistic meanings were ascribed to it by people based on their views a that time. It travelled through time ascribing for itself

109 Respondents from a 2011 field survey at Taksim Square claimed that there is only one Atatürk monument in a city square of Istanbul. Therefore, no other square compared to Taksim according to the respondent. A second respondent shares similar sentiments, showing concern for the under-cared statue of Atatürk. There are those however, who do not resonate with the monument and the square with equally nationalistic, republican sentiments. The republic and national unity value is lost to them in the chaos of the Square's urban scale and layout.

pluralistic meanings. It is a source of dialectical discourse in a pluralistic society. Although it was unveiled with the intention of propagating and enhancing a new material and political culture for Turkey, it is evident that its perception by people and the production of its social space is varied and does not necessarily fulfil the original intended purposes of producing a new culture for the Turkish Republic in all scenarios. Some of the factors influencing its ascribed meaning are time, political era, and age of person (the older a person, the likelier their prospects of relating to the monument's ideological functions). It can be assumed that the variations in its perception by individuals can also be applied more generally to larger urban social conditions during contending political environments—such as during political hegemony of the democratic party. This phenomenon is made apparent in other products in Taksim such as the AKM, with periods of funding and de-funding based on the ruling government and attempts by each ruling party to redesign Taksim Square and its buildings to be more reflective of their political and national ideology.

The Atatürk Cultural Center (AKM)

The AKM project was taken up by architect Hayati Tabanlioğlu in 1956. The cultural center opened to the public in 1969 but had to close down a year later due to a building fire inside the AKM that destroyed the building. The building's design was conceived as a cultural necessity by Tabanlioğlu, and the state which commissioned him for the project. Tabanlioğlu emphasized, "no matter the regional colors, theatre brings people, nations and races together."[110] His motivations indicate a predilection towards art and theatre as a unifying cultural factor in encouraging national unity. Akcan suggests that Tabanlıoğlu must have believed in the power of art to incite change in society based on several of his narrations of dramatic stories of dedicated artists and passionate audiences.[111] He was a scholar of Western

110 Tabanlioglu, "Tiyatro Binalari," Part II.; Tabanlıoğlu, Hayati. n.d. "Tiyatro Binaları" ("Theater Buildings"). Parts I and II. Manuscript conference text and report. Tabanlıoğlu Architects Archives. Istanbul, Turkey

111 Akcan, Esra. "How Does Architecture Heal? The AKM as Palimpsest and

history of theatre building, writing extensively of examples from ancient Greece, Rome, England to contemporary Germany, Finland and America.

Tabanlıoğlu attempted to democratize the theatre through design by merging the ancient Greek and Roman amphitheater's direct interaction system with the Renaissance and Baroque prototype that excelled in stage lighting design. These design connotations aimed to bring Turks and their culture together in a unifying spectrum. Since his design was redeveloped on French architect August Perret's original scheme without making significant changes to the overall structure, Tabanlioğlu designed the AKM's façade to be 'transparent' in that the structure of the original Perret design was visible just behind the new glass façade, superimposed in a manner characteristic of Taksim Square itself. Furthermore, Akcan writes, from inside the AKM, Taksim Square was on full display through the transparent glass. The AKM thus became a stage and a viewing area for the everyday life, the 'moments', and the activities transpiring in Taksim Square.[112]

Furthermore, its transparent glass walls were often used to hang banners, and therefore communicate with the protestors and persons occupying the Square during various demonstrations in the 1970s. Large banners in support of the workers' movements were hung from the transparent, glass front façade of the AKM during the May Day rallies of the late 1970s.[113] It is in this way that the AKM inscribed itself in the urban collective memory of the Left-wing politicians and supporters, and managed to stay relevant in the discourse of Istanbul's history and cultural heritage to this day.

Ghost." South Atlantic Quarterly 118, no. 1 (2019): 81-94.
Tabanlioğlu, "Tiyatro Binalari," 5; Tabanlıoğlu, Hayati. n.d. "Tiyatro Binaları" ("Theater Buildings"). Parts I and II. Manuscript conference text and report. Tabanlıoğlu Architects Archives. Istanbul, Turkey

112 (Akcan, 2019)

113 (Akcan, 2019)

4.3 (a,b): the AKM. (https://m-est.org/2013/04/01/the-performance-of-modernity-ataturk-kultur-merkezi-1946-1977/)

The discourse created by the AKM in the short duration of it being open to public use (1969; 1977-2008) was that of interaction not only with theatrical culture produced inside the multi-purpose performance space, but also a visual interaction with the physical and social space of Taksim. The AKM has also played another role in the political discourse of Taksim Square, through the funding and de-funding of its construction with changes in the ruling governments (See Chapter 2). Beginning with its first conception by Henri Prost in 1939, the AKM either remained under construction, under demolition, under repair or unused for most of its existence. Despite its lack of use, it has managed to become a significant actor in Istanbul and Taksim's political discourse, particularly enjoying the approval of common citizens. Upon the completion of the re-construction of its central performance space, Turkish architects had remarked that it had been the proudest moment for a generation of Turkish architects and designers due to the AKM's contribution to the global collection of impressive theatre designs. Thus, the AKM, situated in Taksim, produced discourse nationally in Turkey as well as globally. The discourse on AKM was not just architecture-related; it generated a political discourse as well through means of its design and architecture.

iv Situating the role of global capitalism in spatial production

> The advent of capitalism, and more particularly 'modern' neocapitalism, has rendered this state of affairs [social production] more complex. Here *three* interrelated levels must be taken into account: (1) *biological reproduction* (the family); (2) the *reproduction of labour power* (the working class *per se*); and (3) the *reproduction of the social relations of production* – that is, of those relations that are constitutive of capitalism and which are increasingly (and increasingly effectively) sought and imposed as such.[114]

According to Lefebvre, in capitalist societies, social space is produced through the inter-relationships of the daily life, and the actions of the working class. He claims that social space is also produced in capitalist societies from interactions between various social groups in society. Lefebvre

114 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

claims, precapitalist societies have two modes of production – biological and socio-economic – that together allow for social reproduction. That is, in the reproduction of a society from generation to generation, space plays the role of continuity and decisiveness. This generational reproduction is manifested in space through conflict, feud, strife, crisis, and war.

Since land, and thereby space, is an economic commodity, its planning and physical construction is influenced by capital investment. It is common for state powers to align themselves with projects that allow capital gains. The working class tend to take an anti-capitalist stance since the state-supported capitalist projects are seldom beneficial for the working class. This creates an environment of thesis and antithesis, of dominance and subaltern, and ultimately of contending classes—leading to social hegemonies within societies. (See 4.4). In Lefebvrian terms, as the capitalist system produces a space that is specific to itself, the revolutionary strategy must find another mode of producing space, by means of collective reappropriation of the city, and reappropriation of the daily life. In the capitalist production of social space, dominated space would be the experienced space, that is, the space which society lives in and experiences. Representational spaces, or daily life spaces, are pushed to the background. However, Lefebvre claims that it is here, in the urban daily life, where the stakes of revolutionary struggles are formed.[115]

Capitalist spaces constitute commodities, global influences and strategies, the power of money, and of the power of the political state. Capital production of space relies on banks, business centers, and investors. More than any space preceding it, capitalist space depends on consensus since it is a space that needs to be produced and consumed while generating capital or profits. In a capitalist mode of production, space is both a product and a

115 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991). See also, Grégory BUSQUET, « L'espace politique chez Henri Lefebvre : l'idéologie et l'utopie » ["Political Space in the Work of Henri Lefebvre: Ideology and Utopia", translation: Sharon MOREN], justice spatiale | spatial justice, n° 5 déc. 2012-déc. 2013 | dec. 2012-dec. 2013, http://www.jssj.org.

tool of capitalism often relying on consumers to generate profits. According to Lefebvre, under capitalism, the means of production belong to the individual capitalist and/or to the bourgeoisie as a group. This group, through their power over capital, monetary investments, and processes of production exercise control over the working class, to make them work.[116]

Lefebvre's applicability of the role of capitalism in spatial production at Taksim is observable in the transformation of Taksim's public space into an increasingly private one during the 1950s and in the following decades. These spatial strategies were not only influenced by external and internal political factors, but also due to state interest in producing a well-developed, modern, space at Taksim which would serve as an entertainment space not only for tourists, but also local residents.[117] The transition of Taksim's urban space from an open, free, public, garden space (late Ottoman era) or a public park space (late Ottoman-early Republican era) into a multi-purpose, commercial, tourist space can be associated with, among other things, the rise of global capitalism and the effects of the Cold War following the end of the two world wars. The urban space of Taksim Square and its vicinities was rapidly transitioned from a free-to-all space to a commodity for capital generation over the course of four decades (1950s-1980s). This process is evident in the type of changes to Istikal Street's spatial fabric. There was a sudden increase in the number of high-rise buildings and hotels in the vicinity of Taksim Square during the 1950s.

Istikal Street is argued to be the most heterogeneous space in Istanbul to this day, but even more so during early and mid-twentieth century. It was there that the most conflicting political, economic, and societal processes of Istanbul were experienced in its long history as well as in the everyday life of Istanbul's residents'.[118] Since the 1850s, Istikal Street, began to play a

116 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).
117 such as the Cold War and Turkey's attempts to become a NATO member
118 Tekin, İlke, and Asiye Akgün Gültekin. "Rebuilding of Beyoglu-Istiklal Street: A comparative analysis of urban transformation through sections along the Street 2004-2014." METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 34, no. 2 (2017): 153-179.

prominent role in Istanbul's urban network, functioning as one of the main arterial roads of the city. At the time of the formation of Republican Turkey in 1923, Istikal Street and the abandoned artillery barracks were active, creative spaces, with migrants from Europe and Russia setting up livelihood in addition to the Ottoman-era wealthy, cosmopolitan mix of residents already residing in the Beyoglu district. By several accounts, the character of Istikal Street was a lively one, with a variety of shops, art, and photography studios. With the modernization of Turkey, capital was invested by the state to elevate the urban fabric of Istanbul so it could contend with other modern, global cities. Istikal Street, leading up to the new city center at Taksim, was expanded and paved in the 1930s. A necessary change to keep up with changing time and technology, this also marked the beginning of a gradual process of production of capitalist spaces. As part of the widening project, old structures were demolished, and new buildings were constructed.[119]

After the effects of Turkish nationalist sentiments that enveloped the socio-political atmosphere from 1930 to 1955, resulting in the Anti-Greek pogroms of 1955, Istikal Street fell into a state of disrepair for decades (See, Chapters 2 & 3). The non-Turkish minorities gave up their residence and moved out of Beyoglu. With the outflux of bourgeoisie, the abandoned houses were taken up by an influx of Anatolian migrants through the 1960s. This altered the social fabric of Istanbul's city center. Along with changes to the social demographic, there came corresponding changes to the spatial fabric – night clubs and brothels replaced the earlier commercial and creative spaces. Beginning in the 1930s and then the 1950s and beyond, Istanbul's many urban hubs were undergoing a transformation fueled by tourism and consumption. The deterioration of Istikal Street, a hitherto historically, socially, and economically thriving street was counter-productive to the

119 Kartal, Asiye Nisa. "Changes, Losses, and Challenges on Transformation of the Urban Place: A Narrative on Istiklal Street, Istanbul from the 1900s Until Today." urbe. Revista Brasileira de Gestão Urbana 13 (2021). https://doi.org/10.1590/2175-3369.013.e20190335

city's growth. Under the mayorship of Bedrettin Dalan (1984-1989), Istikal Street was subsequently pedestrianized. On the larger scale Dalan's urban renovation projects also included the opening of Tarlabasi Boulevard, the demolition of old town structures predominantly made from wood, and removal of small-scale, local, commercial stores. These demolitions were planned to make room for investments by private entrepreneurs. These actions resulted in loss of architectural heritage from the Ottoman Empire, and the move was protested by Turkey's Chamber of Architects. However, the changes were welcomed by Turkish nationalists who viewed Pera as a representation of European capitalism.[120] Dalan's top-down projects incurred a wide-displacement of the lower and lower-middle class social groups. Besides the pedestrianization of Taksim, the most popular project Dalan authorized was the redevelopment of the Golden Horn. Along its shores was a major industrial area that developed? between 1950 and 1970. That industrial city was razed to create a clean city. Dalan had claimed after his election to the post in 1984, "[the color of the waters of the Golden Horn] will be as blue as my eyes."[121] During his term, he demolished hundreds of warehouses, factories, slums, shipyards along the waters displacing the living and work environments of many. In their place, a green-belt was created with playgrounds and parks – producing clean, aesthetic public spaces for the city. Simultaneously opportunities for economic activity along the waters arose. The gentrification of large parts of Istanbul which began in the mid-twentieth century, is a process which is ongoing to this day. It is thus, in accordance with Lefebvre's theories on capitalism and urban space, that those in power retain control over capital, monetary investments, and processes of

120 Tekin, İlke, and Asiye Akgün Gültekin. "Rebuilding of Beyoglu-Istiklal Street: A comparative analysis of urban transformation through sections along the Street 2004-2014." METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture 34, no. 2 (2017): 153-179. See also, Bartu, A. and Keyder, Ç., 1999. Who owns the old quarters? Istanbul between the global and the local, New York/Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, pp.31-45: 38

121 Ekenyazici Guney. "A Study on the Effect of Transportation Systems to the Evolution of the City Image: The Case of Istanbul." CAUMME 2012 International Symposium, Global Impacts and Local Challenges (2012). 372-391: pp. 381 URL: http://www.ek.yildiz.edu.tr/images/images/yayinlar/caumme.pdf. Accessed: 4/24/2022

production. The state, the capitalists, and the wealthy of the city dominate the urban-scape, pushing the working class to the margins of the city.

In the production of Taksim, two broad types of capitalist spatial production can be observed - one that is detrimental to a minority bourgeoisie, that is, an ethnic minority, albeit wealthy residents; and the other that is detrimental to the working class of society through gentrification and an increase in unit price of commodities due to private investment. The first category involves the expulsion of non-Turkish minorities, many of whom were wealthy, despite their wealth. The second category includes displacement of people due to gentrification and urban renewal projects. Although all aspects of spatial production were interlinked, strong connections existed between capitalist production of space and processes of cultural hegemonies (See 4.4).

Another example of capitalist production of space at Taksim is its transition over the course of three to four decades from a space which prioritized the residents of Istanbul, to a space that prioritized visitors of Istanbul first, that is, a tourist hub. As stated above, the 1950s accelerated capitalist production of space at Taksim. With the opening of the Hilton Hotel in 1955 near Dolambache palace to the Square's North, many hotels were constructed in the following years. The construction of the Hilton project was advocated by the United States, to leverage Turkey's ideological support in their Cold War against Russia. This was during Turkey's Democratic party rule, and the government undertook relentless efforts to re-face the urban fabric of Istanbul. In fact, the Hilton Hotel's construction on the grounds of Gezi Park was made possible by the park's privatization by the ruling government.[122] In time, Taksim became the site of three major hotels – the Hilton, Sheraton, and Marmara hotel. Art historian Annabel Wharton writes, it was evident in Menderes's speech that little care was heeded to

122 Okta, Birge Yildrim. "Taksim Square after 1950." n.d.

the fact that the hotel was an invasion of people's public space. Menderes said, "These hotels are not a front to the people who welcomed us with open arms but a challenge to the supporters of the lifestyle that is propagated by the communist world."[123] In the 1970s, the Marmara Hotel to the South of Taksim Square replaced another historic nineteenth century house, designed by Alexander Vallaury for the chief executive of the Ottoman bank. After that, the Sheraton Hotel replaced the Taksim Casino which had stood at the center of Gezi park. Just outside of the immediate vicinities of Taksim, a Ritz-Carlton Hotel was added to the group of international hotels in 1998. What began as a strategy to take advantage of the surge in international tourism, transformed the identity of Taksim Square from a public city space, to one that catered to tourists – with several smaller hotels emerging in the area.

4.2 Production of Symbols

> The most striking thing about monuments is how little they are noticed. Nothing in the world is as invisible as a monument. Although they are erected to be seen, to draw attention to themselves, some substance seems to render them attention-proof.
>
> Robert Musil, *Essay on Monuments* (1927)

Regarding monumental space, Lefebvre suggests that such spaces offer each member of the society an image of membership to the society or community, and his/her social visage. Feelings of belonging, attachment, territoriality, and relatability are essential and constitutive of the building blocks through which members of society participate in their social and spatial processes. Place-attachment and feelings of territoriality harbored among residents of a nation or city produce a strong and united socio-cultural image of that state. Spatial elements and practices have historically been leveraged to produce this social image, and for the dissemination of the dominant political ideology among the citizens. Monuments, symbols, and symbolic

123 (i) Wharton, Annabel Jane. Building the Cold War: Hilton International hotels and modern architecture. University of Chicago Press, 2004; Okta, Birge Yildrim. "Taksim Square after 1950." n.d.; Mehmet, Altun. *Hilton Istanbul,* (Istanbul: Ofset Yapimevi, 2010),

events are part of the spatial elements and practices used for the production of such a social or monumental space. Monuments and monumentality constitute a collective mirror for society to have what Lefebvre calls a recognition effect. Monuments, he says, create an environment of a generally accepted power and a generally accepted wisdom to their users, thereby creating a consensus of dominance among users of a space. To explain, he uses the case of the cathedral. Visitors become aware of their footsteps as they walk in the echoing halls of a cathedral; they listen to the murmuring sounds of other church-goers, to hums, and to the singing of choirs. Through their involvement in their surroundings, they partake in its ideology while contemplating and deciphering the symbols around them.[124] The example of the cathedral illustrates how a space can evoke a sense of order, authority, or control in users of that space.

Another aspect of monumental spaces is its durability. Lefebvre points out that durability is characteristic of the most beautiful and eternal monuments that transcend death and temporal limits. Durability of a monument however does not automatically help it achieve the total desired illusion. Monumental durability merely replaces brutal reality with materially realized appearances. The stronger the physicality of a monument, the greater its durability. Durability in monuments evokes a sense of permanence, favoring the development of feelings of attachment and territoriality, or even counter-attachment. Since perceptions of monuments and symbols are subject to the onlooker or user, while monuments may achieve a sense of permanence due to their durability, they do not necessarily invoke the intended sentiments in the user. For instance, the Monument of the Republic at Taksim has met the test of durability. Although it creates a dominating monumental space, perceptions of what it stands for in context of Turkey's changing political, ideological, social environments are not necessarily the same as its original, intended purpose – even more so during the 1950s-80s

124 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

when Turkey's political environment was in a constant state of turmoil.

Monumental spaces allow interactions between ordinary conversations that transpire privately between individuals, as well as facilitate conversations that constitute the larger public discourse of lectures, sermons, rally-chants, theatricals, and more. They form spatial connections between various city centers and nodes, and mental connections through social relations and discourse on the nation. Seemingly regular buildings can also produce a monumental space, such as the AKM in Taksim in Istanbul, and in the Turkish context. This is due to their ability to generate a strong discourse about them among citizens, professionals, and the state. Lefebvre separates regular buildings and monuments, or buildings that produce monumental space by likening the difference to that of the contrast between everyday life and festival; products and processes; lived experiences and perceived experiences.

Monuments and symbols are urban design tools to make tangible existing power structures of society through spatial means. The manner of planning and design of cities is reflective of ideas concerning organization and structure of control and power. This process involves the utilization of signs, symbols, monuments, and monumental spaces in the everyday life-space. According to David Harvey, the symbolism of space and time help persons develop place attachment and an understanding of their relationship with society. Spaces are ascribed with social meanings in time, and the assigned meanings are reflective of society's social order.[125] This conceptual framework is often exploited by the state to disseminate its agenda among society. The landscapes of the nation-state thus formed have historically been read through sites that directly represent state action, such as monuments and public landmarks. The bulk of modern state planning strategies is observable in the everyday space – that is, in streets, squares, neighborhood parks, schools,

125 Harvey, David. "Between space and time: reflections on the geographical imagination1." *Annals of the association of American geographers* 80, no. 3 (1990): 418-434. See also, Zieleniec, Andrzej. "Lefebvre's politics of space: Planning the urban as oeuvre." Urban Planning 3, no. 3 (2018): 5-15. doi.org/10.17645/up.v3i3.1343

playgrounds, government hospitals and even offices.[126]

Monuments, monumental space, symbolism are all tools to produce a new material culture for the nation state. There may be several motivations to produce a new culture, among which are attempts for national integration, such as, the use of material culture to help achieve national unity in a culturally and ideologically fragmented state. Through the use of materials, objects, and symbols in the built environment, national integration is perceived as a spatial process. The new material culture produced by the state is dispersed through citizens' everyday spaces. They are designed to fade into the background whilst making them ubiquitous and unremarkable. These qualities are precisely what make such places effective. Their familiarity makes covert, the intentionality of their design."[127] Symbols construct a language of social identity. The visibility and viability of a city's symbolic economy plays a significant role in the creation of place and in feelings of place-attachment, territoriality. Lefebvre underscores, monuments are not limited to a set of symbols and signs, sculptures, an object, or a collection of objects. Monuments may also be objects in the everyday space that evoke a political, cultural, social, or religious symbolism.

By the end of Ottoman rule, the people of Turkey had experienced a series of wars, some successful, such as Gallipoli, but most not. There was a widespread sense of war fatigue among the people by the time Turkey was facing up to its occupation by the Allied forces of World War 1 (1919-1922). People lacked concern for cities and states beyond their immediate, physical, proximity with a "Let each town struggle for itself" sentiment shared among them. This however was not an acceptable stance to nationalists such as Halide Edip Adivar who, in her memoirs of the Turkish War of Independence, wrote a great deal about the challenges of gaining support to fight the war even in Ankara by the locals, despite the town being

126 Kezer, Zeynep. "An imaginable community: the material culture of nation-building in early republican Turkey." Environment and Planning D: Society and Space 27, no. 3 (2009): 508-530.
127 (Kezer, 2009)

generally supportive of the Nationalist Movement. Furthermore, loyalties among the Turkish groups were severely divided, with many remaining loyal to the Sultan-Caliph, who staged uprisings against the Nationalists after having agreed to the Armistice of Mudros with the Allies. Consequently, the Turkish War of Independence was a conflict against the Allied occupation as well as against the many divisions among the people of Turkey. Thus, the early Republican party, under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, inherited a divided social demographic and had to take make strong interventions to create a homogenized, nationalist landscape of Turkish society. Under the pretext of the modernization of Turkey, he embarked on a careful strategy to create a spatially, culturally, and socially cohesive Turkey. Thus, a need for national integration was identified, and strategies to achieve it through means of spatial elements and practices was devised, particularly in the early republican years (1923-1940).

The production of two categories of monumental space is evaluated – (i) first, the monumental space of the everyday, produced by flags, signs, symbols, architectural elements that is fused with the everyday built environment, (ii) and second, that which is produced as a product of the Monument of Republic at Taksim Square. In Turkey, the government of the early Republican party treated the Turkish geography as their landscape of intervention, taking up the challenge of national integration through spatial processes in addition to socio-political strategies, such as the introduction of new laws and codes of social conduct. Extensive expansion of railroads was carried out along with the construction of new town centers during the formative years of modern Turkey. New architecture was not only designed to serve utilitarian purposes, but also to impart symbolic meanings, to be inscribed in the popular imagination.[128]

128 (Kezer, 2009)

4.4 Decoration of public buildings with symbol evoking Turkish nationalistic sentiments.
(Turkish Historical Society Library through Kezer, 2009).

The Kemalists proclaimed that a new nation was to be born from the ashes of the dissolved Ottoman Empire.[129] To produce a new material culture, there was a sense of urgency in producing new symbols, music, national holidays, architectural language, and various arts that could be associated and absorbed as modern Turkey's cultural identity. During this time, there were several parades across Turkey, their routes overlapping? through the everyday space. The aim was to send a direct and subtle reminder to Turkish residents of their membership and participation in a broader community – one which stretched beyond that which is visible. Such practices grounded the abstract concept of nationhood in the real world, everyday life experiences of Turkish society.[130] Public squares, streets, buildings and other infrastructure were fitted with smaller symbols of the new Turkish state such as the new crimson, red, flag, and banners. These were evident with the everyday spaces of citizens but were emphasized during public holidays and state ceremonies, when the squares and monuments would be heavily adorned with symbols of the modern Turkish Republic.

129 T. Parla and A. Davidson, "Corporatist Ideology in the Kemalist Turkey." (2004). Syracuse, NY.
130 (Kezer, 2009)

As discussed, the modern Turkish landscape is littered with numerous public monuments and statues, particularly of its founder, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Their presence is felt not only in Ankara, Istanbul, and other major Turkish cities, but also in smaller Turkish towns. Taksim Square, however, is the only public square in Istanbul with a monument referencing Atatürk. Dr. Faik Gur, scholar of Turkish and Middle Eastern politics at Ozyegin University, claims that public monuments exemplify the most effective instruments of modernity projects. In the Turkish scenario, they reveal ways in which Atatürk and his political comrades attempted to portray a new official history and culture of Turkey. These monuments have played a crucial part in the formation and reproduction of Turkish nationalism since 1923.[131] First, a monumental space reminiscent of post-Ottoman culture was created by the unveiling and installation of human sculptures at Taksim and in other places around Turkey. Situating a modern, Republican symbolism to contrast with Islamic symbolism characteristic of the Ottoman era, by itself was a political and ideological statement?. While the Ottomans had erected victory monuments in their empire, in accordance with Islamic principles, human and animal figures, sculptures, and monuments were never publicly erected. Atatürk and his political aides thus produced a new typology of monumental space for the nation, and with it expectations of a new culture.

The production of a new monumental space, one that was at odds with the most dominant social, and religious group of the nation (that is, Islam) was counter-intuitive to achieving national integration. The new monumental narrative would create a conflict of religious and cultural values. Therefore, to minimize adverse effects, it can be argued that as a unifying strategy, the narrative of each of the over six public, republican monuments erected between 1926 and 1936 portrayed the ways in which Atatürk fought alongside members of the Ottoman military, political, and intellectual aides, and thereafter emerged victorious during the War of Independence to establish

131 Gur, Faik. "Sculpting the nation in early republican Turkey." Historical Research 86, no. 232 (2013): 342-372. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2281.12000

a secular, modern, united Turkish nation.[132] Since war is a collective effort, and its consequences contribute in the formation of a collectively shared national consciousness, its strategic use to soften a stark cultural transition seems to have occurred in the production of modern Turkey's new material culture and monumental space.[133]

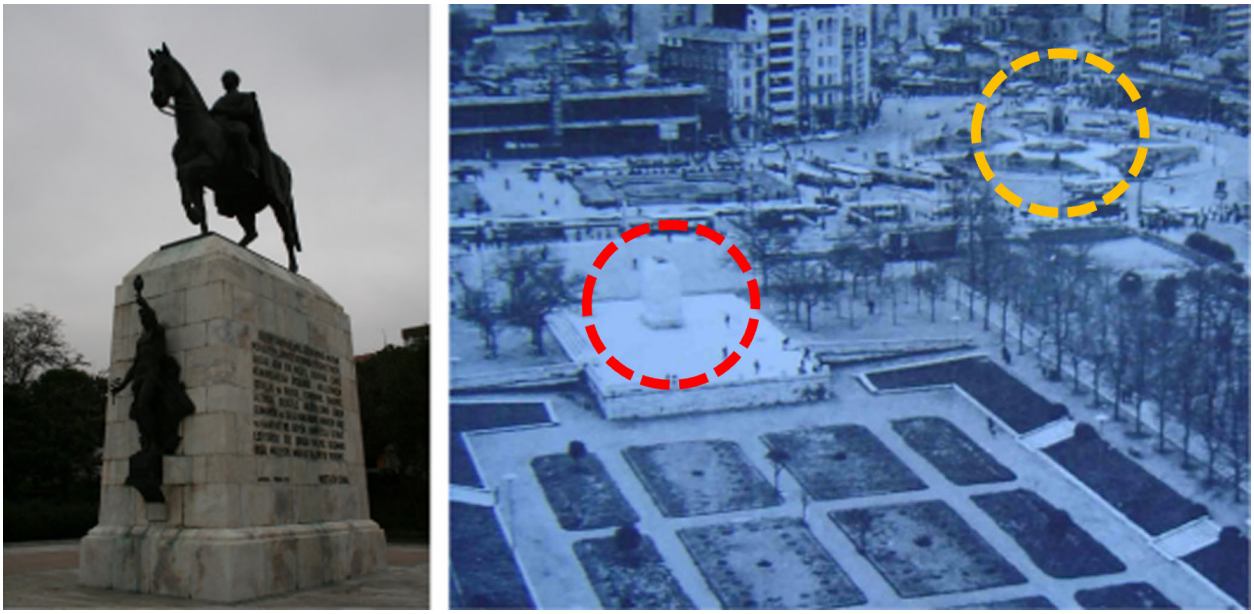
Space is a product of its history, and histories get inscribed in space. After the erection of the Monument of the Republic in Taksim Square in 1928, with pompous state celebrations, the urban space of Taksim was accorded a monumental value. Subsequent Republic Day celebrations at the Square further strengthened its monumental status. Events of 1942 support this argument. After the death of Atatürk, Ismet Inonu succeeded to office. Inonu had made attempts to achieve a similar glorified status in Turkey's history, and attain the same popular public approval as his predecessor. After the demise of Atatürk, Rudolf Belling, a German sculptor, carved Ismet Inonu's first major monument in 1942. Gezi Park (then Inonu Esplanade) was proposed to be its location, contending with the symbolism and monumental environment produced by the existing Atatürk Republican monument at the adjacent Taksim Square. The base pedestal of Inonu's monument was completed and placed in Taksim Square for a short period of time before it was eventually moved. Inonu's sculpture was never displayed at Taksim due to public concerns of the overshadowing of Atatürk' Monument of the Republic.

These events indicate that Taksim Square had already acquired the status of a unique monumental space not only due to the physical presence of the Atatürk monument, but also due to its strong connection with Taksim's space in the urban collective memory of Istanbul. That is, for residents of Istanbul, the social and mental space of Taksim was firmly connected with Atatürk. Disruptions to the legibility of Taksim's physical and monumental space were thwarted by the people. Thus, monumentalism and symbolism

132 (Gur, 2013)
133 F. Fanon, "The Wretched of the Earth." (1963).

was ascribed to Taksim.

Monuments and symbols do not always produce the desired intended perception. The early Turkish monuments, Gur argues, dominated open spaces in a manner that prevented residents from constructing local identities. Instead, the monuments forced representations of the history of their cities.[134] This aspect of monumental spaces produced through monuments, sculptures, or authoritative historical narratives through objects is contrary to what Lefebvre would classify as ideal monumental spaces – those which allow citizens to envision himself/herself in the visage of the city and produce an environment of conflict between ideologies in society.



4.6: Inonu's sculpture pedestal in Gezi Park. On the left image is İsmet İnönü's first major monument sculpted by Belling. Notice that the pedestal of the monument was first placed in Taksim (lower left, circled in red). In the upper right is the Taksim Republican monument (circled in yellow)

Image is modifieed and reproduced from Dr. Faik Gur's collection; (right):. Gülersoy, Taksim: Bir Meydanın Hikayesi (İstanbul, 1986))

134 (Gur, 2013)

4.3 Legible spaces, and the right to the city

This section, centered on Lefebvre's theories on the right to the city, explores the legibility of urban space in a physical space, social space, mental/imagined space framework. Concepts of the right to the city originate in the writings of Henri Lefebvre (1996 [1968]).[135] Thereafter, several urban sociology scholars, including David Harvey have expanded on those theories. Lefebvre's theory considers the city as an oeuvre – produced through the daily actions and labors of the everyday life of citizens. To have a right to city allows one to have a say over its development and changes, its formation, organization, regulations, and its use. The right to the city acknowledges the need to reassert rights of all inhabitants, and not merely the rights of those who control capital and power. The right to the city includes the right to occupy and use urban space, and the right to co-exist in that space with other residents of the city. In Lefebvre's writings on the right to the city, the rights of citizens are broadly and categorized into three - (i) the right to inhabit the city, (ii) the right to produce urban life, and (iii) the right of inhabitants to remain unalienated from urban existing, ongoing urban life. Since Lefebvre's initial, brief inception of these ideas, scholars have explored the extents of these rights described above, expanding their applicability to rights to housing, rights against police (state) abuse, rights to public participation in urban design, and more.[136]The discourse of right to what, and right to whom is varied. Lefebvre scholar Mark Purcell asserts that right to the city is applicable, first to city residents – those who 'live in the city, who contribute to the body of lived experience and lived space.'[137] David Harvey asserts that the right to the city is applicable to a collective,

135 (i) Lefebvre, H (1968) The Sociology of Marx, translated by Guterman N. New York: Vintage Books. (ii) Lefebvre, H (1996 [1968]) Writings on Cities, edited and translated by Kofman E and Lebas E. Oxford: Blackwell.

136 Attoh, Kafui A. "What kind of right is the right to the city?." Progress in human geography 35, no. 5 (2011): 669-685. https://doi.org/10.1177/0309132510394706.

137 Purcell, Mark. "Globalization, urban enfranchisement, and the right to the city: Towards an urban politics of the inhabitant." Unpublished manuscript. Seattle: University of Washington (2005): 14.

and not to individuals.[138] Lefebvre's theories on the right to the city therefore accord a conceptual flexibility, producing a multiplicity of interpretations and applications to urban and sociology studies.

Right to the city originates in the cry and demand of the city streets. For citizens to identify with their cities, and to be able to participate and exercise their respective rights to the city, cities themselves need to be legible. The legibility of cities implies legibility through physical, spatial organization as well as through the production of relatable, legible social spaces. Legibility implies a clarity of reading, analysis and perception. In the spatial context, it a formative element of urban design, implying a coherent, imageable organization of urban environment. Two aspects – (i) characteristics of space, (ii) characteristics of observer – interact to produce spatial information.[139] Spaces have both subjective and objective dimensions that render them legible. Kevin Lynch, in whose theories concepts of urban legibility first appear defines a legible environment as that which can be organized in a coherent, recognizable pattern. The degree of legibility is influenced by the ability of space, through spatial markers, to form a mental image.[140] Perceptions of space and imagined spaces are those that are informed by sensory inputs and meaningful experiences in space.

Both the right to the city, and legibility of city spaces are perceivable to a resident of the city and to the collective urban society through notions of spatial ordering and social identity. Spatial ordering consists of the physical design of cities, with its edges, nodes, districts, and paths built to benefit all sections of society. Often, in metropolitan cities, low-income groups suffer due to their marginalization from city spaces, pushed to pockets of lands that are ill-connected to transportation means and routes (paths), and their districts ill-equipped with daily need centers (nodes). From a right to the

138 Harvey, David. "The Right to the City, in «New Left Review», 53." (2008): 23-40.

139 Koseoglu, Emine, and Deniz Erinsel Onder. "Subjective and objective dimensions of spatial legibility." Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences 30 (2011): 1191-1195.

140 Lynch, K. (1960). The image of the city. The MIT Press

city standpoint, these spaces are then rendered illegible since their spatial ordering is disadvantageous to certain sections of societies. Social identity is achieved through place-attachment, and the ability of individuals and groups to identify culturally and socially with their city spaces.

> Legibility and identity are interdependent. Spaces are formed by capital investment and sensual attachment; both who pays for building and rebuilding and the gut feeling of being in and of a specific city… Nearly all cities use spatial strategies to separate, segregate and isolate the Other, inscribing the legible practices of modernism in urban form. – Sharon Zukin[141]

Beyond cultural affiliations, through concepts of legibility, the construction of physical and political narratives of a space may render it (in) accessible in the eyes of the public. Acquiring knowledge of space demands an understanding of its interlinked constituent pieces. That is, to change a space physically or functionally, knowing how it was produced to begin with is necessary. For Lefebvre, the right to create space was fundamental to any 'right to the city.' He asserted that social change, and changes to the everyday life enacted in the public sphere, enable a self-transformation of the production of space, and thereby the space itself. The right to the city recognizes the need to assert the rights of all inhabitants. Lefebvre underscored the right of citizens to engage in the production of their living and working spaces. He claimed, "[t]o change life, [is] to change society'. Therefore, multidimensional accessibility to, and legibility of urban spaces enable the exercising of various rights to the city by urban residents.

In this section, principles of the right to the city, and of urban space legibility – that is, clear perceptions of space – are applied to perceptions of Taksim's space by the residents of Istanbul. Taksim Square's spatial history has experienced multiple periods of spatial productions through

141 Zukin, Sharon. "Space and symbols in an age of decline." In *Re-presenting the City*, pp. 43-59. Palgrave, London, 1996.

controversial, contending, and conflicting spatial and social processes. As a palimpsest, it is both a spatial marker and a graveyard for several urban collective histories. For instance, the evolution of the Ottoman artillery barracks into a public park, and thereafter the privatization of parts of the public park, to then produce capitalist international hotels narrates a spatial history of changes within the span of a century. Taksim is also the site of several 'former' spatial markers – the barracks, a larger public park, as well as a literal graveyard. Production of a contentious monumental space generated multiple vantage points of cultural and historical association. Various groups of societies associate differently with Taksim's physical and social space – Kemalists revere the space, while ethnic minorities such as Armenians and Greeks have negative associations due to past events at the Square and at Istikal Street. To the individual city resident, the physical space may be legible. However, to the collective urban society of Istanbul, as often is the case with large, cosmopolitan cities, the physical space of Taksim, and associated multiplicity of social spaces, is not uniformly and evenly legible.

The case can be made that Taksim Square's general mental image in the urban collective is dualistic. It varies in the everyday life of citizens versus on occasions of public events such as public holidays, state celebrations, marches, protests, and demonstrations. Taksim's association as a political and monumental square has already been established. During the everyday processes of life, Taksim's mental image in the urban collective is that of a transit hub and an everyday commercial space with restaurants, shops, and market spaces. It has also acquired the mental image as one of Istanbul's tourist hubs. However, at times of large public gatherings and events, the mental image of Taksim is that of a controversial space, where opposing ideologies and parties are at conflict. Particularly during the 1950s-80s, Taksim was either at the center of several conflicting events or was perceived as a 'forbidden space' or 'dangerous space'. This was due to its volatile history which made it susceptible to acts of political and social aggression

and violence. For the common resident, Taksim would therefore become a forbidden space, a space to abstain from for fear of safety. For the state, signs of political and social unrest in Istanbul or Turkey were precursors to unrest at Taksim Square. These precursors therefore warranted the physical barricading of the Square to prevent any demonstrations or unrest. The state also held the power to render Taksim physically inaccessible to express and demonstrate civic disapproval with the ruling government. Examples include the 1970 Trade Union March, when marchers were prevented from reaching Taksim from various parts of Istanbul. Others are the long hiatuses between May Day celebrations during years of martial law, and the years succeeding the tragic outcome of the 1977 May Day celebrations – which are examples of state control over physical and mental legibility (access) of Taksim for the urban collective memory.

Here arise concerns over the right to the city. The right to the city originates from the cry and demand of the city spaces and its residents. Turkey's citizens have a right to the urban public space at Taksim, which has been periodically denied to them for long stretches of time. This prevents them from their right to inhabit the city. Beyond taking up residence in cities, this right includes the inhabitation and use of public spaces and services which become forbidden. The right against police brutality is also violated time and again during the 1950s-1980s. At time of unrest, a scenario of domination and subaltern persists, where the higher, more powerful groups (usually the state, the police, or the bourgeoise) assert power and dominion over various subaltern groups often comprised of minorities, low-income persons, and the working class. The subaltern loses their right to production of urban life during such times. In the case of Taksim Square, the subaltern had to resort to demonstrations at the Square that incurred tragic consequences, or give up their right to urban processes by avoiding public space due to safety concerns.

Lefebvre's right to the city asserts people's right to determine how

their city develops and changes. In the case of Taksim, particularly during the 1950s-1980s, it was determined through accessibility to the physical space of and events in Taksim. Taksim's physical space became a medium of production of a larger political and social environment. It also created a mental/imagined urban space of concerns for safety in the urban public, political volatility, and spatial violence associated with the state in the urban collective of Istanbul and Turkey. In legible spaces, the concern is with the struggles for the ideal – the cry and demand from the city streets by all inhabitants of the city seeking their right, not accounting for their cultural affiliations and attempts at cultural placemaking. It is a conflict between the state and the civic, the bourgeoise and the proletariat, the politically dominant and the subaltern. In contrast, cultural hegemonies (4.4) looks at the processes of the struggle to achieve dominance.

4.4 Cultural Hegemonies and Power Relations

> A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space. – Henri Lefebvre[142]

In the capitalist production of space, Lefebvre posits that capitalism influences practices and practical matters related to space. That is, construction of buildings, investment distribution, division of workforce are all influenced by capital and capitalism. However, Lefebvre objects to the equation of capital to merely money and its powers. He ascribes class hegemonies as the dominant form of capitalism notwithstanding its involvement with money itself. [143] Attributing the conception of hegemony to Antonio Gramsci, Lefebvre associates hegemony with repressive violence. Hegemony, he says, is exercised over society as a whole, including its culture

142 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).
143 (Lefebvre and Nicholson-Smith, 1991).

and knowledge. It is exercised through human mediation in the form of politics, policies, political leaders and parties, as well as intellectuals and experts. Hegemony, for Lefebvre, is exercised over that which is physical, as well as that which is mental.

The theoretical ideas of the right to the city, imply rights by all sections of the society to and over the city. These may easily be considered utopian, yet ideal in the practical modern world subjected to capitalism. Lefebvre himself points out that the city is subject to dominating powers of representation more than it is to the possibility of free, creative expression. Particularly since urban space is the mode through which capitalism survives, it is here that conflict and social change occur most frequently and in the most domineering manner. Thus, hegemonic relations are imposed on all those who reside in urban spaces, and these hegemonic attributes flow into the lived experience and everyday use of space.[144] And thus, rather than free inhabitation and use of space, which is social and public, urban inhabitants must endure an environment created by and for the needs of capital.[145]

When there are contending actors in space, there is an unvarying potential for conflict over the use of space. Beyond use, cultural value, ascribed meaning, and affiliations attached to said space are contentious. It is usually the case that religion and politics are the source of contention among varying parties.[146] In a trial by space manner, values, ideas, histories, cultures, and architecture confront one another, each vying to generate or produce a space of their own. Different ideologies seek to inscribe their social vision on territory "as a vehicle to sustain and build a culture."[147] The Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem; and Babri masjid/Ram mandir, India are strong cases where hegemonies of power are enacted and experienced in the everyday

144 Zieleniec, Andrzej. "Lefebvre's politics of space: Planning the urban as oeuvre." Urban Planning 3, no. 3 (2018): 5-15. https://doi.org/10.17645/up.v3i3.1343
145 (Zieleniec, 2018)
146 Mitchell, Don. "The end of public space? People's Park, definitions of the public, and democracy." Annals of the association of american geographers 85, no. 1 (1995): 108-133: 115
147 Molotch, Harvey. "The space of Lefebvre." (1993): 887-895. Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/658004

urban space and corresponding activities of life. Frictions between various contending actors are kept at an equilibrium, albeit in imperfect balance: "Whatever the origins of any public space, its status as 'public' is created and maintained through the ongoing opposition of visions that have been held, on the one hand by those who seek order and control and, on the other, by those who seek places for oppositional political activity and unmediated interaction.[148] Space is thus by itself a battle ground according to Lefebvre, where fights over ownership, cultural meaning and value, and its use occur.

Thus, each society, and each social group endures the processes of struggles to produce a space of their own. Urban space and society is therefore constantly engulfed in these social struggles manifested in space. When two or more groups attain similar levels of dominance, violence erupts between the contending groups, to attain the foremost dominant status. Thereafter, a period of relative peace ensues with ongoing hegemonic struggles conflicting at more basic, less violent levels. In this manner, hegemonic relations of culture, power, and society continually influence processes of spatial production across time.

In the case of Taksim Square, the friction between Ottoman and post-Ottoman histories, Republican and Democratic political parties, secular and non-secular ideologies, as well as religious groups are at play. Taksim's space is dominated at various times by various groups: European, non-Muslim, the high society or the elite, upper-class, the proletariat during Istikal's deterioration, and at times state control. This analysis of Taksim through Lefebvre's theory on cultural hegemonies sheds light on various contending parties and actors that influenced and experienced Taksim's public and social space at each time concurrently. It differs from the contending groups analyzed in the previous section in that, here, the focus is on conflicting social groups within the society contending to produce their own space – a space they identify with, and a space that mirrors their ideology. This process is

148 (Zieleniec, 2018); (Mitchell, 1995)

not always fair or just and is influenced by the dominant social group and political ideology of the time.

The processes of cultural hegemony and power relations were rampant in Taksim during the 1950s-1980s. First, the Greek minorities were deposed of their bourgeoisie and residential status due to growing Turkish nationalistic sentiments. A wealth tax was levied on all non-Muslim minorities, along with a decrease in the association of social space by minorities of Istanbul and Turkey. All non-Turkish minorities, including ethnic groups like the Kurds and Armenians were reduced to occupy the subaltern status in society beginning in the 1930s, but prominently in the 1950s through the 1960s. As the previously wealthy, ethnic minority residents were pushed out of their residences in Beyoglu district and Istikal Street, a new dominant social group in the Taksim area - the proletariat, emigrants from eastern Anatolia - began to emerge and occupy the physical and social space of the Northern-European-Istanbul city center. In accordance with Karl Marx's conflict theory, from which Lefebvre draws heavily, every society remains in a constant and continual state of conflict, wherein various contending social groups are competing for limited resources. Social order, according to Marx, is maintained through the balance of domination and power, and not through consensus.[149] Furthermore, society is always in a state of conflict- with one party vying for domination of power and resources. Once achieved, they remain in power, until overthrown by the next domineering social group. Thus, the emigrant, working class remained housed in Istikal Street for two decades, until the state's urban renewal and privatization projects of the late 1980s under the Mayorship of Dalan gentrified the district, unhousing them. This initiated widespread gentrification of Istanbul's old and residential quarters, displacing many low-income, and lower middle-income societal groups, thereby shifting the

149 Heyes, Adam. Conflict Theory. Investopedia. February, 2022. URL: https://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/conflict-theory.asp#:~:text=Conflict%twentietheory%2C%20first%20developed%20by,than%20by%20consensus%20and%20conformity. Last accessed: 04/22/2022

hegemonic equation in society once again.

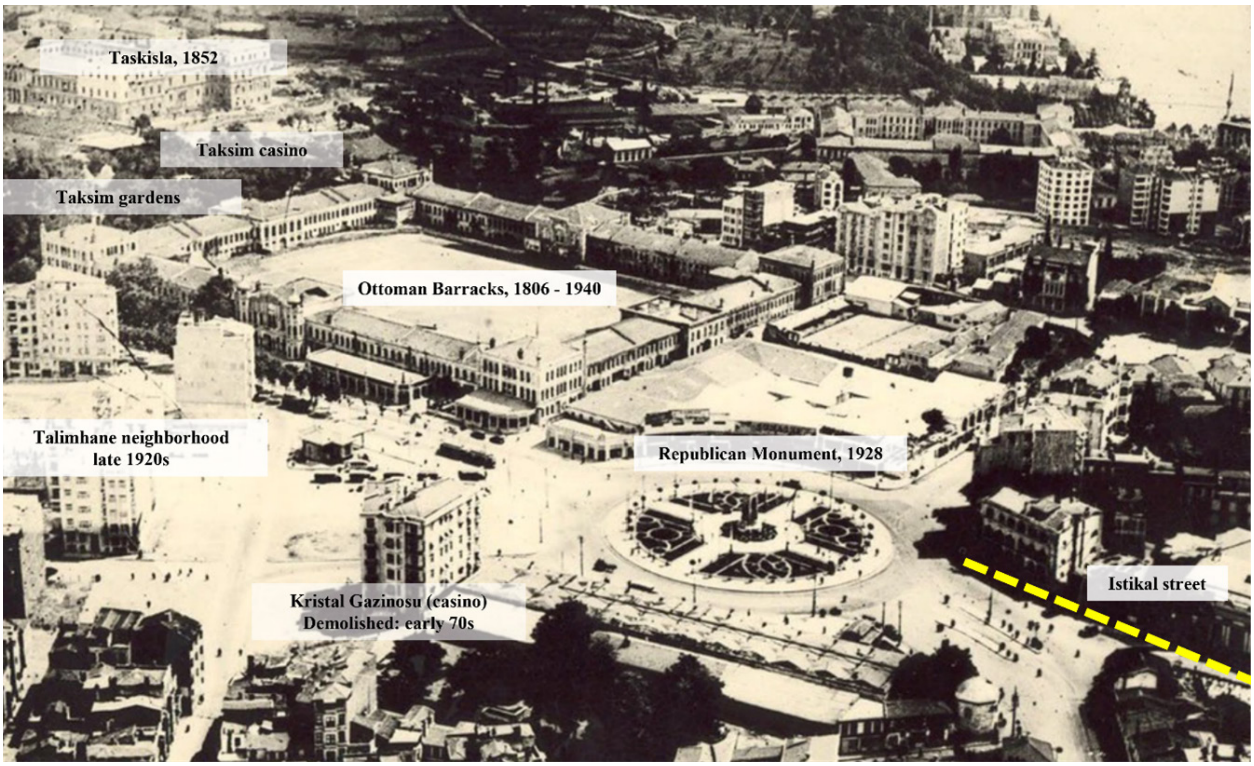
At the site of Taksim, the domination of its physical public space is not merely on the basis of power of an ethnic majority or wealth. Domination of its space may also be through the ability of a social group to use that space, and approporiate it to speak for their cause through demonstrations, protests, and other forms of ideological expressions. When such groups are successful in achiving wide public visibity in a space, they establish a hegemonic association with that space, which they are able to use to their advantage in future. The success of trade union groups such as DİSK to conduct demonstrations at Taksim Square multiple times, and attract the widest public visibility reveals their hegemonic domination of Taksim Square's physical space. It also reveals their hegemonic domination of Taksim's social space, by means of their permanent association with its past history. There are hegemonic and counter-hegemonic dynamics associated with the public space of Taksim. During the 1969 Bloody Sunday, right wing Islamist groups contended with left-wing groups; each not only physically vying to overpower the other in the grounds of Taksim, but also trying to make widely visible, their ideologies and social causes.

During its history, Taksim Square has withnessed multiple productions of physical and social space. It has also been a site for the production of political ideologies and symbolism through the the Republican Monument and the AKM as noted earlier. Historical and consequential events at Taksim inform spatial practices in the square to this day. Due to its politically volatile nature, it is a space under constant supervision by the state through policing. The public space of Taksim Square has been threatened with growing privatization since the 1950s, continuing on to this day with construction of several hotels and private buildings in its surroundings. The ever-present and ongoing threat of privatization is indicative of attempts by state authorities to restrict its free, public use for various socio-political expressions by the civil society. It is also indicative of threats to citizens rights

to their city.

Based on the analysis conducted in this chapter, the final chapter will reflect on the question, ‘Whose space is Taksim?’, attempting to reason with the question - and simplify the factors that inform its possible answers - through the understanding of Taksim’s city space from the conceptual and theoretical framework of Lefebvre applied above.

4.7 Bloody Sunday, 1969 at Taksim Square. Hegemony over Taksim’s physical and social space.


Taskisla, 1852
Taksim casino
Taksim gardens
Ottoman Barracks, 1806 - 1940
Talimhane neighborhood
late 1920s
Republican Monument, 1928
Istikal street
Kristal Gazinosu (casino)
Demolished: early 70s

Chapter 5
Conclusion: Questions of Whose Space

In bringing this thesis to a close, it is important to simplify, if not answer, critical questions on Taksim Square relevant to studies of urban sociology and spatial politics. In light of the examination and scrutiny of multiple productions of Taksim Square's public space that has already been conducted, this chapter addresses the question of 'Whose Space?' With several groups laying claim to Taksim's physical and social space, it is important to consider how citizens' rights to their city, and their public spaces are not only upheld, but also marginalized amidst a constantly changing spatial history, social meaning, and spatial function.

A space like Taksim Square is a palimpsest, with one history built over the other. The essence of such a space is that it is a product of all its previous histories. Its multiple histories invite questions of claims over Taksim's space, and corresponding contestations. Although the answers to these questions are in flux, reflecting the competing claims that have been made through time, one of the primary associations of Taksim's space is with the Republican ideology and Atatürk. Indeed, if the character of a space is continually reconsidered, it can be said that the space is always in flux. Answers to these kinds of questions are ever shifting, which is one of the most consistent factors about public spaces like Taksim Square. The understanding and interpretation of Taksim Square of one generation may

5.1 (opposite page): Taksim Square – a palimpsest with one history written over another. (Istanbul Research Institute)

be reconsidered or superseded by a succeeding generation. Throughout the historical period and events narrated in the previous chapters, spatial form and use is informed by claims over Taksim's space by contending social groups. At any given time, the physical space of Taksim Square is dominated by only a part of society, inherently excluding the rest of society from contributing to Taksim's spatial and historical narrative at that time. Each period of political dominance, or dominance of an ideology or social group, has attributed meanings and histories to Taksim Square.

Reflecting on Taksim's past and current history, the following sections make concluding remarks on the power of visibility Taksim offers to demonstrators that occupy it, and the association of Taksim's social space with competing ideologies and social groups.

5.1 Taksim Square and the Occupation of its Public Realm

Arendt's perspectives on the visibility and timelessness of the public realm can be experienced at Taksim Square. Since everything that transpires in the public space can be seen and heard by everyone, the visibility characteristic of Taksim Square was adopted, adapted, and appropriated by the citizens and politicians of Turkey alike to disseminate their ideologies among the larger society. These ideologies lived and continue to live a life longer than their creators. Taksim Square is the largest square in Istanbul and the third largest in Turkey. It is also an urban node and an urban hub of Istanbul. Multiple streets routing through various parts of Istanbul converge at Taksim Square, making it the center-space, particularly on the northern European peninsula. The streets that converge at Taksim Square include Tarlabasi Street, Siraselviler Street, Cumhuriyet Street, Inonu Street, Mete Street, and the pedestrianized Istikal Street. This helped in the procession of protest marches on foot towards Taksim..

On the basis of its large physical dimensions and holding capacity of at least about 500,000 persons at a single time, Taksim Square became a large and obvious choice of *sahne* or stage for public mass demonstrations. The

physical capacity of Taksim to hold thousands of demonstrators, and its design as the center of multiple converging streets add to its public stage character. Through the occupation of its space, Taksim has lent visibility to masses of demonstrating people. During its history, Taksim has also imparted visibility to other events in its space, including state celebrations. While other city squares in Istanbul were also available for these demonstrations, the physical design of Taksim Square played a significant role in its collective perception as a truly 'public' space.

5.2 Claims over Taksim's space

The investigations in this thesis suggest that there can be no one constant claim to the physical space of Taksim nor its social space by any group. It is neither an exclusively Republican space, nor an exclusively majority Turkish ethnic space. It serves as an entertainment space, a tourist space, a religious space, a political space, a transit space, and even a popular space for food. It is also a space that allows its mass users to monopolize the power of visibility and expression it offers. Although it does not solely belong to anyone, two dominant claims can be made with regards to its space – first, the broad mental image of Taksim Square, and its social space, is strongly associated with Atatürk and the ideas on which modern Turkey was founded in 1923; second, Taksim belongs to the people of the city. This is visible in the way that the citizens of Istanbul have adopted, adapted, and appropriated the space throughout its history. It is also visible in that despite the constant policing of Taksim's space and people in that space, residents of Istanbul have time and again appropriated the spatial elements at Taksim Square to speak for their cause.

Atatürk and Republican association with Taksim

Reflections on various dominant claims to Taksim's space reveal that it was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's Republican Party (CHP) that was able to produce the most dominant association with Taksim Square. Since the unveiling of Kemal's Monument of the Republic at Taksim in 1928, and the

Taksim ground's transformation into a designated public square, Kemal's republican ideologies and Taksim Square have become strongly associated. Until 1950, the Republicans dominated Turkey's political scene and heavily controlled the production of a new Turkish culture which they sought to disseminate through a combination of art, architectural style, and behavioral protocols for the public. Taksim Square, with the government's proposals for the AKM and the Gezi Park within its boundaries, was curated to reflect ideas of a modern society that were symbolic of the new culture. The association was cemented so strongly, that despite the intense political upheaval that Turkey experienced in the next few decades, Taksim Square has retained its Kemalist, Republican association to this day. Although for many of the recent generations, the history of Republican association is diluted, it still occupies a significant place in the older generations' urban memory of Taksim and Istanbul.

5.2: May Day celebrations at Taksim Square, 2010 for the first time since 1977. 170,000 people in attendance.
(Getty Images.)

The presence of Atatürk, and his revolutionary ideas is felt stronger in Taksim Square than any other urban space in Istanbul. It is the idealistic symbolism associated with Atatürk and the Republican Monument that makes it a centripetal force that attracts people, media, and visibility during any political or social event in Istanbul. Regardless of political association, the monument is seen as the centerpiece from which to disseminate statements of politics and justice. The monument itself is appropriated and occupied, and used to hoist flags and banners during demonstrations, particularly on its southern face which is representative of Modern Turkey.

The domination of Taksim Square's public realm by Kemalists Republicans does not discount from its history of the times when other social groups contended to produce their unique space. After the fall of the Republican party in 1950, and the coming into power of Menderes's Democratic government, and until the military coup of 1980, Taksim was a constant battleground of social groups laying claims to their public space. During the 1950s it was the Turkish nationalists that lay claim to it by sterilizing the space of any non-Turkish identities. The 1960s through the 1980s saw multiple contending groups, none holding significant dominance over the other. These included the right-wing Islamists groups, the trade unions and working class, as well as the reigning governments and military during periods of military rule. While some of these groups – including the trade unions groups or the right-wing Islamist group – were not necessarily trying to produce a space synonymous with their identity, they nevertheless were trying to utilize the political power and visibility of a space like Taksim and dominate its symbolic realm through the propagation of their ideologies.

Taksim belongs to the people

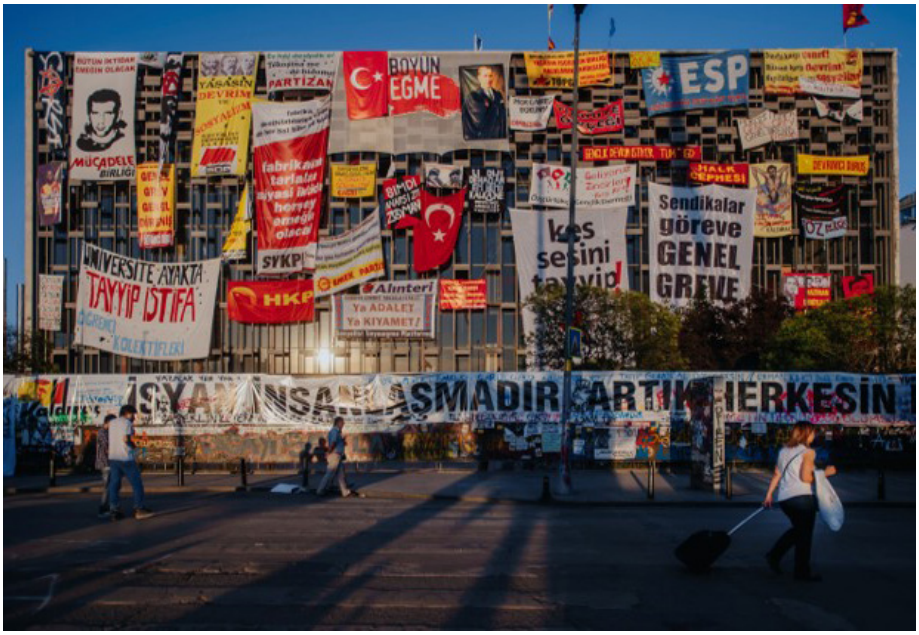
The second dominant claim over Taksim's space is that of all people of Istanbul. Taksim belongs to the people of the city. This is visible in the way that the citizens of Istanbul have adopted and adapted to the space over

time, across generational changes. It is also visible in the fact that despite the constant policing of Taksim's space and people in that space, residents of Istanbul have time and again appropriated the spatial elements at Taksim Square to speak for their cause. The physical layout of Taksim, as the center of converging streets not only makes it an easy-to-access public space for protests, but also makes it difficult to police due to several entry and exit paths. Although Taksim is a heavily policed and controlled space, it is also an extremely difficult space to police and control once protests, demonstrations, or violence reaches within its limits. As a result, it is usually closed-off during days of major political events, to prevent any potential uprisings.

Residents of Istanbul and occupiers of Taksim have adapted to its changing uses from generation to generation. They have also adapted to the various spatial practices enforced at Taksim Square, which also change frequently. Whether access to its space was disallowed during times of protests, or there was a ban on mass gatherings at the Square at certain times, these spatial practices of the government were reflective of their recognition of the agency of Taksim Square's public realm to grant wider visibility to a cause and thereby wider participation and engagement in discourse, and its volatility in political processes. These spatial practices also reflect the success of Taksim in lending wider visibility to events that occur in it.

Taksim Square, along with the AKM and the Republican Monument, are appropriated, at times of protests, by demonstrators who attempt to disseminate their message at a wider scale. Despite being in a state of unuse for most of its life, the AKM has been an active participant in almost all demonstrations at Taksim. Demonstrators hang banners from the glass walls of this pseudo-transparent building to disseminate ideologies and engage in visual discourse with the furthest spatial limits of the square, and by means of multimedia and visual reproduction. These displays take advantage of Taksim's high level of visibility and the visibility of the AKM from all vantage points in the square.

5.3 (top) Use of tear gas by police at Taksim Square , 2013.
(https://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/12/world/europe/disputed-square-in-istanbul-turkey.html)



5.4 (bottom) Banners and Posters hanging from the Ataturk Cultural Center (AKM) during the Gezi protests of 2013.
(http://marcus-simaitis.de/gezi_park/)

In considering Taksim's power of visibility, it is especially the Republican Monument, with its human-scaled sculptures of Atatürk and his comrades on the southern face that is appropriated at times of demonstration. People occupy the monument itself, by climbing the pedestal and standing along with the sculpture figures to shout out their causes and slogans, hang flags and banners, and visually communicate with those who are not only in the Square itself but also through means of visual media reproduction in the news and over social media. People make their causes known in the presence of Atatürk's sculpture who is reminiscent of the modern and democratic ideas on the basis of which Turkey was formed in 1923. Although the physical surroundings around Taksim have continually evolved and changed throughout its history, the place of the Monument of the Republic at the center of Taksim has remained unchanged since it was first erected there almost one hundred years ago. The monument acts as an anchor, and as a fulcrum for all that surrounds it, and for the expression of political ideologies as well as democratic rights of and by the people of Istanbul and Turkey.

5.5: Occupation of the Republican Monument - May Day celebrations at Taksim Square, 2010.

5.3 Significance of questions of 'Whose Space?'

> The ambiguity of urban forms is a source of the city's tension as well as of a struggle for interpretation. To ask 'Whose city?' suggests more than a politics of occupation; it also asks who has a right to inhabit the dominant image of the city. This often related to geographical strategies as different social groups battle over access to the center of the city and over symbolic representations in the center.
> – Sharon Zukin[150]

Through reflections on questions of 'Whose Space?' (as evidenced through actions of forced spatial practices), Taksim's history reveals a clear pattern of spatial practices used by all governments, including the present one, to rid Taksim of its public and easily accessible character. There are indications of recent attempts to take away the urban space from Istanbul's public realm and prevent its future democratic occupation and claims. In a 2013 interview with Turkish news outlet *Hurriyet Daily News,* Turkish architect and urban planner Korhan Gümüş spoke of the processes of the production of Taksim Square. From the early Republican government's scoping of the urban space as a spatial marker of their government in Istanbul, it has become a piece of land that presented itself as a canvas to each ruling government party. The canvas presented an opportunity to dominate the city's image, and indirectly the Turkish cultural and political landscape. Despite the re-introduction of a cultural and recreational space reminiscent of Taksim's early history as a promenade-space, according to Gümüş the processes of production of the Inonu Gezi Park did not involve civic participation and engagement. Instead, the Republic viewed Taksim as a prestige project, rather than its prioritization as a people's space. Although many of Istanbul's public, cultural establishments are located in the area, the management model adopted for Taksim Square was a private one that has continued to this day.[151] Gümüş pointed out that each government proclaimed

150 Zukin, Sharon. "Space and symbols in an age of decline." In Re-presenting the City, pp. 43-59. Palgrave, London, 1996.
151 Hurriyet Daily News. "Taksim is a Site of Struggle for Ideological predominance." June 03, 2013. Webpage: https://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/tak-

they knew better what was good for their people and acted in a manner to suggest that since they were elected by the people, they were free to do as they wish.

Throughout its history, citizens of Istanbul and Turkey were able to continually adapt and respond to the spatial practices forced upon them by the authorities to their advantage. At each time, despite great suffering, the cause of the people demonstrating at Taksim was permanently etched into the Square's history. These events in turn have had, and will continue to have, influences over current events and future histories of Taksim's space and other urban, public spaces in Istanbul and Turkey. While the question of 'whose space?' might not be allowed a definite answer, Taksim's history shows that the most important thing might be the ability of society to ask that question. The greatest concern might be when the space shuts down or the questioning stops. Lastly, the answer to 'whose space is Taksim?' is as fluid as its history. Taksim and the Republican Monument lend themselves to the people of Istanbul, to be appropriated for their cause. The space of Taksim offers to be occupied, and acts as a canvas that offers itself to be re-painted uniquely at each event in its past and present history.

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