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THE EFFECT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ON PUBLIC SPACE THROUGH SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS: THE CASE OF BEYAZIT SQUARE

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APPROVAL

This thesis titled THE EFFECT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ON PUBLIC SPACE THROUGH SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS: THE CASE OF BEYAZIT SQUARE submitted by SİNEM YILDIZ in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Architectural and Urban Studies Master Program in Department of Art and Design is approved by

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DECLARATION ON RESEARCH ETHICS AND
PUBLISHING METHODS

I, SİNEM YILDIZ; hereby declare

- that this Master of Science Thesis that I have submitted is entirely my own work and I have cited and referenced all material and results that are not my own in accordance with the rules;

- that this Master of Science Thesis does not contain any material from any research submitted or accepted to obtain a degree or diploma at another educational institution;

- and that I commit and undertake to follow the "Kadir Has University Academic Codes of Conduct" prepared in accordance with the "Higher Education Council Codes of Conduct".

In addition, I acknowledge that any claim of irregularity that may arise in relation to this work will result in a disciplinary action in accordance with the university legislation.

SİNEM YILDIZ

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Date (09/01/2023)

For those who resist in Beyazit Square...

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THE EFFECT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ON PUBLIC SPACE THROUGH
SPATIAL INTERVENTIONS: THE CASE OF BEYAZIT SQUARE

ABSTRACT

In this study, the effects of the spatial interventions of local governments on the transformation of Beyazit Square, a public space, were examined. Squares reflect the public lifestyle of their society as the areas where common living practices can be best observed. Therefore, Beyazit Square has been determined as a field of study both by its emergence as a public space in the historical process and by being shaped by the conditions of the period and society. The city policy of local governments is shaped by the period's political, economic, and social conditions. In this respect, the period of change that started in the 1980s, both in Turkey and in the world, was chosen as the starting year based on the 1984 local elections in Turkey, and the 2019 local elections were excluded and evaluated until this period. The five-year administrative processes of local governments in Istanbul, the political parties they are affiliated with, the conditions of the period, and their approach to the city were evaluated. The change that Beyazit Square has experienced with the interventions of the local governments has been examined based on the information reflected in the newspaper news, the annual activity reports of the metropolitan and district municipalities, the projects of the urban design competitions, and the upper scale plans prepared in the relevant period. Beyazit Square has always been a public space that municipalities, which are local governments, have been interested in. This is seen in the headlines reflected in the newspaper news of the period and the arrangements made throughout the history of the square.

Keywords: Public Space, Spatial Intervention, Local Government, Beyazit Square

YEREL YÖNETIMLERIN MEKANSAL MÜDAHALELERLE KAMUSAL ALANA ETKISI: BEYAZIT MEYDANI ÖRNEĞİ

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada, yerel yönetimlerin mekansal müdahalelerinin bir kamusal alan olan Beyazit Meydanı'nın dönüşümüne olan etkileri incelenmiştir. Meydanlar, ortak yaşama pratiklerinin en iyi gözlenebildiği alanlar olarak bulundukları toplumun kamusal yaşam biçimini yansıtırlar. Beyazit Meydanı tarihsel süreçte hem bir kamusal alan olarak ortaya çıkmasıyla hem de dönemin ve toplumun koşullarından etkilenerek biçimlenmesiyle inceleme sahası olarak belirlenmiştir. Yerel yönetimlerin kent politikası, dönemin siyasi, ekonomik ve toplumsal koşulları tarafından şekillendirilir. Bu açıdan hem Türkiye'de hem dünyada 1980'lerle başlayan değişim dönemi, Türkiye'de 1984 yerel seçimleri baz alınarak başlangıç yılı olarak seçilmiş ve 2019 yılındaki yerel seçimler dışarıda bırakılarak bu döneme kadar değerlendirilmiştir. Yerel yönetimlerin İstanbul özelinde beş yıllık idari süreçleri, bağlı bulundukları siyasi partiler, dönemin koşulları ve kente yaklaşımları ele alınarak değerlendirilmiştir. Beyazit Meydanı'nın yerel yönetimlerin müdahaleleriyle yaşadığı değişim, gazete haberlerine yansıyan bilgilerden, büyükşehir ve ilçe belediyesinin yıllık faaliyet raporlarından, kentsel tasarım yarışmalarının projelerinden, ilgili dönemde hazırlanmış üst ölçek planlardan yola çıkarak incelenmiştir. Beyazit Meydanı, yerel iktidarlar olan belediyelerin her dönem ilgilendikleri bir kamusal alan olmuştur. Dönemin gazete haberlerine yansıyan başlıklarında ve meydanla ilgili tarihi boyunca yapılan düzenlemelerde bu görülmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kamusal Alan, Mekansal Müdahale, Yerel Yönetim, Beyazit Meydanı

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKP:	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
ANAP:	Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
ANASOL-D Government:	Anavatan Partisi, Demokratik Sol Parti ve Demokrat Türkiye Partisi koalisyonu (The Motherland Party, the Democratic Left Party and the Democratic Turkey Party coalition)
CBD:	Central Business District (Merkezi İş Alanı)
CHP:	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
DP:	Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party)
DSP:	Demokratik Sol Parti (Democratic Left Party)
DYP:	Doğru Yol Partisi (True Path Party)
FP:	Fazilet Partisi (Virtue Party)
HDP:	Halkların Demokratik Partisi (Peoples' Democratic Party)
IMM:	Istanbul Metropolitan Municilipality
MDP:	Milliyetçi Demokrasi Partisi (Nationalist Democracy Party)
MHP:	Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Movement Party)
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organizations
RP:	Refah Parti (Welfare Party)
SHP:	Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti (Social Democratic Populist Party)

1. INTRODUCTION

On August 17th, 2019, Ekrem Imamoglu, elected as the mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in 2019, walked down to Beyazit Square from Saraçhane, where the municipality's main building is located. Imamoglu, who examined the square and its surroundings from the technical plans in an open-box pickup truck, said that there had been a renovation going on for years in Beyazit Square, which he stated is a precious area, and the car park was in a disused state, and the whole place is closed, and he instructed his assistants to complete the arrangement of the square within six months at the latest. He also stated that they would meet with the daughter of Turgut Cansever, who was the owner of the winning project of an urban design project competition in the 1960s, and that this project would inspire the square arrangement. He also added that they aim to complete the project in a short time and bring the region to tourism quickly, and transform the square into a place where Istanbulites can live history with pleasure (see, Figure 1.1.).

Figure 1.1.: Instruction for Beyazit [1] (Cumhuriyet, 17.08.2019)

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[1] "Beyazit için talimat". Translation by me.

In this newspaper article published in 2019, a few points stand out in particular; the fact that Beyazit Square has been under renovation for years is undoubtedly the first of these. Within the scope of this news published in Cumhuriyet Newspaper, this point can be understood with reference to an urban design project competition held in the 1960s. In other words, at best, we see that a project for the square was started about 60 years ago and yet, still needs to be completed, as stated in the news. Of course, this only shows what we can reach within the scope of the news content. In many other newspaper reports, we come across the unfinished renovation works of the square. Apart from newspaper reports, I have heard the complaints of Istanbul University students, who are neighbors of the square, many times. Because of my interest in the square, I spend a lot of time in Beyazit. My observations and experiences also confirm this unending story. Throughout this thesis research, I will also reveal other examples of the "organization" story of Beyazit Square and try to include the historical importance of the square and the changing forms of publicness through its relationship with power.

The second outstanding point is who the actors are mentioned concerning the arrangement of a square. Within the scope of this news, we see that these actors are the mayor, the technicians mentioned as his assistants, the architect, and the architect's daughter, who is said to be consulted for his project. Here, the names of university students who spend time on the square every day, those who are in the area to take action against the cost of living, the shopkeepers of the Grand Bazaar, those who come to the second-hand bookseller (known as Sahaflar Çarşısı) to buy books, those who are in the area for the libraries around the square, Hüseyin Avni Dede[2] who sells his books with the other used books in the square since 1968 under the plane tree, also those who just want to spend time on the square beyond all these openings, in short, no one who actually spends time in the area is mentioned. They are only the guests who are expected to come to the area after the square is designed. Suppose those who hold local government are at least those who intend to fulfill the requirements of representative democracy. In that case, these people may have the opportunity to complain about what they do not like about the organization of the square via the Internet. Or, if it is a local government that cares more

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[2] Hüseyin Avni Dede, one of the symbols of Beyazit, is a poet who has been making a living by selling his poetry books and antiques under a plane tree in the Sahaflar Çarşısı at the entrance of Beyazit Square for 58 years (see:https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/turkiye/sahaflar-carsisinin-sembol-ismi-huseyin-avni-dedenin-adi-58-yildir-altindan-ayrilmadigi-cinar-agacina-verildi-1995271).

about citizens participating in democratic processes, they can vote on the Internet for five or six options that come out of the challenge contest, where their processes are never announced. As can be seen, the issue of creating a public space is the issue of defining the relationship between democracy and citizens. Different public figures appear in different democracies. In my thesis, I will try to question the role of the power holders in the space by the hands of technicians to legitimize all projects in the field. At the same time, it will be one of the side issues of my thesis that the interventions of technicians, who are referred to as bourgeois public and described as experts in their field, in the construction of public and public space.

The third outstanding point is a continuation of the second topic in a way that has a specific weight in terms of its separation from the second topic. As the mayor put it, there is a dividing line between the users of the square and those who design it. As such, it is a continuation of the second topic. The part that defines who the users are requires opening a new case. The mayor says that when the arrangement of the square is completed, it will be opened to tourists and Istanbulites who will come and experience the history here. The first thing that catches the eye here is that tourists are mentioned as a user before Istanbulites. The second striking thing is to keep tourists and Istanbulites the same, to define them as "users," to state that they are not a subject in the construction process of the square, and to put them, especially Istanbulites, in a passive position.

Apart from these three prominent points, there are two more points that I would like to emphasize and that will form the subject of this thesis along with other titles. These two points are buried under different headings, even if, like the others, they need to be made more explicit by the mayor. The first is that there is no emphasis on the "public space" when discussing Beyazit Square. Accepting the square as a public space, a democracy, a citizen-state relationship, and the structure of the balance of power can be addressed. Although it is not explicitly stated that the square is a public space, the definition of actors, users, and problems lead us to this conceptualization. I can say that another point that is not clearly stated will be one of the main topics of the thesis; power relations and political attitudes behind all urban interventions. A mayor's statement that Beyazit Square has been under renovation for years, as soon as two months after he was elected, undoubtedly includes a criticism of the mayor, who was previously authorized to organize the square, the political party he is affiliated with, and the political tradition he represents. Here, it

can be said that the cores of a political and ideological understanding are desired to be re-established. The reference to Turgut Cansever's urban design project and the emphasis on the fact that space is precious can also be read in a similar way.

1.1. Aim of the Study

Beyazit Square has lost its quality of being a square in many respects. First, processes such as renovation, restoration, road construction, pedestrianization, reopening to traffic, and re-pedestrianization, which have been going on for years, damaged the sense of being surrounded and made it difficult to perceive the square. We know that municipalities are responsible for all these spatial interventions at the local level. In fact, a collapse story of the square was written by the local government. I define this collapse story as the "dissolution of the public space," and in this thesis, I aim to discuss the dissolution of Beyazit Square as a public space.

The "collapse story written by the local government" was, of course, used to bring the subject up. In my thesis, I will also examine the effect of the ideological approach of the local governments and the political party to which the local governments are affiliated on the local politics and its role in shaping the public space directly by intervening in the square spatially. In this thesis research, I will seek answers to the following fundamental questions;

- o What is the definition of public space, and where does this definition stand in the relationship between the government and the citizen?
- o How does the definition of the relationship between power and citizen emerge in the spatial practices of local governments?
- o What is the effect of these spatial practices on the dissolution of the public space?
- o How has Beyazit Square changed with the interventions of municipalities, which are local governments, and how has this change shaped the nature of the public space of the square?

I hope this research will highlight the value of spatial interventions as well as the normative approaches developed in the public space and cause the role of the actors who are locally responsible for these spatial interventions to be questioned. I do not want to

end my purpose of doing this research without revealing my personal motivation; Squares, in general, and Beyazit Square, in particular, have been a subject that I have thought about a lot by establishing a relationship with everyday life. The fact that the square has witnessed so many historical processes. Numerous factors inspired me to work on this location, including the fact that İlhan Berk once received the greetings of Sait Faik Abasıyanık at Küllük Kahvehanesi (coffeehouse), that the Küllük Magazine, inspired by the name of the coffeehouse, was closed due to Orhan Veli's lines "How can I forget you, my lover with Vesika"[3] such as the fact that it was the scene of the resistance of Turan Emeksiz and all other students, and that it is still the arena of the endless struggle of Istanbul University students. However, in the face of all this resistance and alternative publics, the spatial interventions of the power holders that want to restrain it and keep it under pressure are emptying the square. Recently, the phrases I heard the most from someone who passed by the square were "what did they do to this place," "the construction of this place has not been completed for years," and "we can't walk." But I would like to remind you that there is "the principle of hope"[4]. The analysis of this collapse, hopefully, will not only be an analysis but will at least give us insight into the ways we can build the rise of publicness together, as we once did in the Gezi Resistance or any revolutionary resistance in history.

1.2. Theoretical and Methodological Approach

The theoretical emergence of the notion of public space is based on political philosophy and political science. The answers given to the question "What is politics" reveal different views of publicness. There is much research on public space today, and in connection with this, there are as many public space approaches. These approaches are shaped between abstract theory and concrete historical analysis. In other words, the public space is used as a historical category that emerged in a certain period and is determined by the conditions in which it was born, and on the other hand, it is used as an abstract category that allows interpreting the historical process and transformations since Antiquity (Zabcı,

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[3] "Nasıl unuturum seni ben
   Vesikalı yârim?". Translation by me. "Vesikalı" means a woman holding an official permit to work in a brothel.
[4] The Principle of Hope (German: Das Prinzip Hoffnung) is a book by the Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch, published in three volumes in 1954, 1955 and 1959.

2012, p. 112). But space is not a given object. Ari Adut (2012) emphasized the spatial essence of public space by saying "Yet the dominant approach to the phenomenon, suffering from idealism and normativism, neglects the spatial core of the public sphere" (Adut, 2012, p. 238).

In the research text, two different terms are used "public space" and "public sphere." This is a difference arising from the normative and factual approach to the public space, which I briefly mentioned above. Eric Dacheux (2012) evaluated these uses in contemporary approaches as "theoretical approaches" and "empirical approaches" (Dacheux, 2012, p. 23). "Theoretical approaches" deal with the notion of public space in a bodily way. There are questions about the presence of the European public sphere, its conditions, the dysfunction of the democratic public sphere (media and institutional), or the theoretical possibilities of the existence of a virtual public sphere. It is criticized that it is based on ideological evaluations rather than the evaluation of the realities of the field on theoretical approaches. "Empirical approaches" consist of field studies. In most cases, the theoretical structure is intertwined with the existence of the events. The method of empirical approaches includes studies such as examining collective movements in the public space, public debates in the media, and examples of participatory democracy. Although empirical approaches are essential in terms of embodying the notion of public space in everyday life, they are insufficient in explaining structural problems due to the fact that they are individual studies. Undoubtedly, finding a balance between these two approaches is one of the most challenging goals of today's academic studies.

In the category of "theoretical approaches," there are philosophers such as Habermas, Arendt, and Sennett. Dacheux (2012) says that these philosophers approached the public sphere theoretically with their inquiries about the possibilities of the democratic public sphere. However, other scholars, like Habermas, place a high value on the historical study of the public sphere. Again, Sennett dealt with the public space with detailed spatial analysis and examined the effect of this spatial structure on publicness. In this respect, a notion may have multiple definitions emerging from different approaches, as well as multi-layered meanings associated with historical change that occurred within a single theoretical approach (Zabcı, 2012, p. 120).

Briefly, the difference between public space and the public sphere is stated as follows. The notion of the public sphere is generally defined as "everywhere or any place" where collective action and dialogue can take place. In contrast, the notion of public space is used to refer to a specific space. The public space is embedded within the public sphere and, of course, cannot be separated from each other. However, they offer different methods and tools in the study of publicness. Especially in Chapter I, where the literature review for the public sphere is introduced, I accepted the philosophers' own use of the notion. However, I used the notion of "public space" as constituted "public sphere" in Chapter III, where I evaluated the findings related to my thesis. Although the public sphere's conceptual and theoretical starting point is political philosophy and political science, this thesis analyzes the emergence and historical conditions of the public space in urban places rather than ideological discussions. However, this does not mean that ideological debates about public sphere are not seen. In this thesis, in which local government experiences are examined, especially considering that the public sphere as a political sphere is a reflection of state-citizen relations, it is stated that the actors of spatial interventions, the political party they are affiliated with and the relationship they establish with citizens ideologically correspond to the conceptualizations of the public space.

Another notion frequently mentioned in the text throughout the research is "publicness." Publicness has been accepted as one of the fundamental principles of normative democratic governance since the late 18th century. However, philosophers have adopted two different usages as publicness and publicity. For example, Arendt (1958/1989) uses the notion of publicity and explains it as "everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity" (Arendt, 1958/1989, p. 50). It would be insufficient to reduce the condition of publicness to the condition of general visibility. Publicness is more than just any form of visibility. It refers to a special communication structure that enables citizens to act communicatively in the "public space" (Splicha, 2016). However, as in the use of the notions of the public sphere and public space, attention has been paid to the use of the notion as used by the philosophers in their own works in this text.

As with most urban studies, studies on the public space are mostly related to the capitalist relations of production, socioeconomic lifestyles, and historical conditions of Western European and US cities. The level of abstraction that these studies offer to make sense of

the world, of course, provides us with a broad framework. However, the limitations of both approaches were discussed above when talking about empirical and theoretical research in the public space. Therefore, instead of directly adapting these approaches to academic studies in Turkey, analyzing local political dynamics, state-citizen relations, and production styles will make it easier to think about the possibilities of public space in Turkey. Lefebvre (1991) emphasized local experiences by saying, "the worldwide does not abolish the local" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 86).

Again, the content of the founding values of the public space is shaped by the conditions in a particular historical and social context. Urban space arises from the dialectical interaction of the social and the spatial. Therefore, the results of human activity and structural interventions produce urban space and public space. This production process is a dynamic, conflicting, and contradictory process. It is possible to study how public spaces, which are urban spaces, are generated and how the spatial interventions of the local government influence the public space when urban politics and municipalities are assessed within the framework of the production of space. Sonay Bayramoğlu (2015) states that today, the solution to local problems is left to the municipalities and that the most important decisions that make it possible for us to live together in the city at all hours of the day, starting from collecting garbage are made by the municipalities (Bayramoğlu, 2015, p. 21).

In this study, the spatial interventions of local governments in Istanbul, especially in the local elections from 1984 to 2019, were examined by focusing on Beyazit Square. In the research, in which the news reflected in the media was examined, the activity reports prepared by the municipality, the urban design competitions opened in the period, the high-scale plans and plan decisions about Istanbul, all small or large-sized physical interventions (pedestrianization, lighting, intersection project, flower blooming) made by the municipality, closed places, etc.) were discussed. First of all, I would like to explain the method by which I examine local governments, the year intervals selected for the study, and the reasons why archive scanning is so diverse.

I mentioned that municipalities, which are local governments, are everywhere in the city and their role in shaping everyday life. The view of urban politics, which is effective in shaping the city and urban spaces, is determined by the ideological approach of the parties

to which the municipalities are affiliated. Although there are municipalities and mayors that make policies contradictory to this ideological attitude, there is often a similarity of views between the local and the center in terms of urban politics, especially during the periods when the political parties holding power in the local and central are the same. In this case, first of all, the changing structure of local governments, which developed under the conditions of the period both in the world and in Turkey, and the ideological structure of political parties on a national scale, which developed with these conditions and local dynamics and became institutionalized under a political party, and how all these responded at the local level were investigated. Then, the urban interventions of the municipalities were examined. The changing perception towards the functioning of local governments has been reflected in a series of legal documents that define the areas of responsibility and authority of local governments. For this reason, national legal regulations that have been most effective in shaping the future of the city are also mentioned without going beyond the scope of the thesis. While dealing with local governments and their interventions, the interventions of the metropolitan municipality and the mayor on the square are mostly included. However, the developments in line with the powers of the district municipalities and the municipal council are also mentioned. However, it should be noted here that it has not been possible to reach all the decisions made in the municipal councils. It has been observed that most of the votes on the future of the city are in the municipal council, and the resulting decisions are not shared publicly. Especially after the 1980 coup, the liquidation of democratic participation mechanisms has been the biggest factor in this. In this respect, access to the decisions of the municipal council mentioned in this study is provided through secondary sources.

This method has been preferred since large-scale arrangements for squares are generally under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan municipality. Again, one of the factors affecting the publicness of the square is undoubtedly the changes in the immediate surroundings of the square. There have been a number of developments that directly or indirectly affected the square, such as the structures that have been closed for a long time due to the restoration processes, traffic regulations, the development of transportation vehicles, and the effect of the Grand Bazaar. In order to keep the scope of the thesis narrower, only some of them were mentioned, mostly the direct interventions in Beyazit Square were discussed.

In order to explain the importance of Beyazit Square, it is important to explain how it was constructed as a public square in the historical process, and the power relations staged over the square. In this respect, the changes that the square has undergone are briefly discussed historically. At this point, it should be reminded that this is not a history thesis, so many historical events are left out, and the developments that are thought to best reflect the publicness of the square and the scene of power relations are discussed. The way to understand and evaluate the understanding of municipal administration of a period comes from knowing the local government organization and legal structure as well as the practices of the previous period. In my thesis, the temporal process from the 1984 election to the 2019 election has been examined during the ruling periods of local governments. So much so that every five-year election period leaves its own management approach to the next period, both with the projects that have been accomplished and what has not been accomplished.

There are several reasons for choosing 1984 as the starting year of the research. First of all, the economic and political developments since 1980 shaped the urban politics vision of the mayor who was elected in 1984. In 1980, a program known as the January 24 Decisions, which included economic structural adjustments, was presented. It was not possible to implement this program under democratic conditions, and with the coup d'état on September 12, 1980, the functions of democratic institutions were suspended, and the program could be implemented. The public space is shaped by the relationship between the state and the citizen. The erosion of democratic institutions, the suspension of democratic participation processes, and the emergence of an oppressive environment have disrupted the public space and publicness practices. In this respect, focusing on this year provides a good starting point for analyzing the dissolution of publicness.

Again, in these years, with all these developments and the neoliberal accumulation process, it was given the establishment of metropolitan municipalities with legal regulation. With another regulation, the principles of the economic income of the municipalities were determined. While these regulations were effective in shaping economic accumulation forms such as "marketing locally" and "earning through local," they also shaped the urban space in this direction and paved the way for the commercialization of public spaces.

Undoubtedly, opposing publicity practices have also been shaped in the process, and Beyazit Square has become the field of action for these practices. This is also seen in archive scanning, which examines the news reflected in the media. However, these practices are excluded in line with the scope of the thesis. In this respect, the studies of Negt and Kluge, which theoretically deal with the counter-public sphere, the relations of production in the public space, and the class dimension, are less mentioned. However, in this research interval, where publicness emerges in various forms, Beyazit Square has been examined with different publicness approaches.

According to Kevin Lynch (1960), squares are intense activity centers created in urban spaces (Lynch, 1960). An example of the definition of squares as "intense activity centers" is seen in a news report that is reflected in the newspaper as "Squares that are witnesses of life (see, Figure 1.2.)." Based on this newspaper article, I would like to mention what archive scanning consists of and what limitations and problems are encountered.

Figure 1.2.: Squares that are the witness of life[5] (Cumhuriyet, 25.10.1992)

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[5] "Yaşamın tanığı meydanlar". Translation by me.

In this study, the newspapers, annual activity reports, upper-scale plans, and urban design projects published in the period were evaluated by content analysis method in order to interpret the effect of the spatial interventions made in and around Beyazıt Square with the authority of the local governments in the examined periods. The most general definition of content analysis was made by Bernard Berelson (1952), who made extensive contributions to the scientific use of the concept. Berelson describes content analysis as "...a research technique that makes unbiased, systematic (systematic) numerical descriptions of the disclosed content of communication..." (Berelson, 1952; cited by Aziz, 2014, p. 133). However, a more comprehensive definition was made by Klaus Krippendorff. Krippendorff (1984) defined content analysis as "A research technique that makes iterable and valuable inferences from the data in a message" (Krippendorff, 1984; cited by Aziz, 2014, p. 133). Although the content analysis method is a quantitative method that emerged with the positivist paradigm, according to Zaidman-Zait (2014), over the years, "it expanded from being an objective quantitative description of manifest content to a subjective interpretation of text data dealing with theory generation and the exploration of underlying meaning" (Zaidman-Zait, 2014, p. 1258).

The content analysis method has some limitations. The fact that the data selected for evaluation is the researcher's subjective preference may cause the reliability of the research to be questioned. In order to solve this problem, not only newspaper reports but also annual reports published by municipalities were added to the data set. In addition, urban design projects are also added to the data set, as they are publicly shared documents. It was observed that some urban design projects still needed to be implemented while others were partially implemented. In order to verify this, the information reflected in the newspaper news and annual activity reports was evaluated together.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper has been determined as the main data collection source due to its open access opportunities to digital resources. The collected data were divided according to the year intervals and compiled in six tables (see, Appendix A, B, C, D, E, and F). The news outside of the years focused on the research was also used to convey the social developments of the period (see, Appendix G). Newspaper news mostly covered a physical intervention in the square. In order to understand the political conditions of the period or to convey the ideological perspective of city politics in the statements made by the mayors, the statements of the mayors were used in some newspaper news, and they

were not included visually in the thesis. However, for some periods, the source could not be accessed from Cumhuriyet Newspaper, and various media organs were added to the data set. Especially after the 1980 coup d'état, it was observed that not much news was reflected in the media. Habermas also considers the means of communication as a public sphere. This shows us that in addition to examining publicness through a physical space, the media space is also interrupted as a public space, together with the constraints experienced in accessing information.

The biggest reason for choosing newspapers as a data source is that the urban interventions to be made by the municipality are not shared with the public beforehand. In fact, the citizen, who should be active in a decision about the city, sees these decisions after the project starts, either by experiencing them in the square or hearing them from the newspaper news. In this respect, many initiatives for urban intervention have been observed in newspaper reports. Some of these projects have not been implemented. However, in this case, the unfulfilled square arrangements were also included in order to reflect the urban approach of the municipalities.

After 2000, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality started to prepare annual activity reports. The first activity report for IMM was published in 2009, and the first activity report for Fatih Municipality was published in 2006. Annual activity reports were examined, and regulations regarding Beyazit Square were added to the data set. The urban development decisions of the upper-scale plans were added to the data set in terms of both giving an idea about the dominant urban approaches of the period and showing the regional usage decisions about Beyazit Square and its surroundings. After the proclamation of the Republic, the idea of designing the city with a design competition developed. It is seen that the understanding of "participation" is limited to urban design competitions. However, details about the competitions opened to the public were shared specifically by their architects. In this respect, it was added to the data set as relatively easily accessible information.

Meral Özbek (2015) states the following in the first paragraph of the first page of the book "Public Space," which is one of the cornerstones of the academy in Turkey, in which she compiles the discussions on the public space; "…Of course, it should be added that the proper handling of such a ramshackle subject is beyond the power of this review and that

making the concept useful in these lands requires a long-term and collective intellectual effort." (Özbek, 2015, p. 9).

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

In the introduction, the actors involved in the formation and shaping of the public space, based on a recent newspaper report about Beyazit Square, were conveyed in line with the mayor's statements, and the imaginations about the public space were categorized and problematized. In Chapter II, following the introduction, the emergence of the concept of public space and different approaches to the concept are summarized. In addition, how the concept began to be discussed in Turkey was conveyed in line with the influence of the prevailing political and economic conditions of the period, and some of the academic research centered on the concept were compiled. In the same Chapter, the relationship of the public space with everyday life and the role of local governments in influencing everyday life are mentioned. In the first part of Chapter III, the changes that Beyazit Square has undergone in the historical process, which is considered a public space, are conveyed through the interventions of those who hold power in the city. First of all, the location and importance of the square in Ancient Rome were discussed, and the functions that the square served as a public space were explained. After the end of the Byzantine Empire, the administrative buildings built in the square during the Ottoman Empire were mentioned, and the changing meaning of the square with the modernization movement in the Tanzimat Period was conveyed. Again, the developments in the management of the cities, which started to take place in the Tanzimat period, were discussed. After the proclamation of the Republic, the effects of the central-local union in the administrative administration of the city were discussed. The impact of prominent economic and political developments of the period, such as the single-party period, Adnan Menderes's zoning activities, the 1960 coup d'état, the communal municipality period and the January 24 Decisions, and the 1980 coup d'état, on the transformation of local governments and shaping urban politics, were examined and evaluated specifically for Beyazit Square. In the second part of Chapter III, starting from the local elections in 1984 until the elections in 2019, the 5-year power practices of the local governments in Istanbul, the political and ideological approaches of the parties, and the developments in the period are discussed.

The physical interventions in Beyazit Square were conveyed based on the news reflected in the newspapers, the activity reports of the municipalities, the urban design competitions, the upper-scale plans, and the influence of the local governments in the change of the public space quality of the square were questioned. In the conclusion part, the findings are discussed in a wide framework and interpreted with a theoretical approach to the public space.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW ON PUBLIC SPACE

Who built Thebes of the 7 gates?

In the books you will read the names of kings.

Did the kings haul up the lumps of rock?

And Babylon, many times demolished,

Who raised it up so many times?

In what houses of gold glittering Lima did its builders live?

Where, the evening that the Great Wall of China was finished, did the masons go?

Great Rome is full of triumphal arches.

Who erected them?

Over whom did the Caesars triumph?

Had Byzantium, much praised in song, only palaces for its inhabitants ?...[6]

(Willett & Manheim, 1976)

The public sphere, in its simplest form, describes the common life of people and the system they have established to build this common life together. The system established for the regulation of communal life, on the other hand, stands at the base of the debates on democracy and cannot be considered independent of politics. In this sense, every democratic and political system built has led to the emergence of different definitions of the public sphere. There are different definitions of the public sphere as well as the definition of public space where people come together to build a common life. Analyzing the public space is possible by examining the political, economic, social, and cultural conditions of the society in which it emerged.

2.1. History of Public Space

In the middle of the discussion of "public space," which is used as a mediating notion to explain both normative and historical phenomena, there is essentially the purpose of defining the relationship between democracy and citizens. Meral Özbek (2015) says that

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[6] Questions From a Worker Who Reads "Fragen eines lesenden Arbeiters" – translated by M. Hamburger in Bertolt Brecht, Poems 1913-1956, Methuen, N.Y., London, 1976, (Willett & Manheim, 1976).

it will be possible to understand how the public space develops in the modern sense, in which contexts different public space models emerge, and how these differences are associated with the understanding of democracy by removing the ambiguity of the notion (Özbek, 2015). In order to remove this ambiguity and do have a better understanding of how public space is instituted, various theories have been developed on the public space, some normative, some factual, and some standing at the intersection of these two. In this chapter, I will talk about the approaches that have developed on the idea of public space, explain what historical references these approaches have been analyzed in their own context, look at their reflection on the debates in Turkey, and question the role of local governments in producing space and building society through the public space. In doing so, remembering that the purpose of this thesis is not to discuss all models of the public space, I will mention some historical moments, the mention of which is essential for understanding the notion of the public space.

Seyla Benhabib (1996) conceptualizes three different "public spaces" corresponding to the three main conceptions in Western political thought. Benhabib has tried to make different models of public spaces talk and communicate with one another. I will discuss public space models through Benhabib's classification and explain the common points of these models and the areas where they differ. According to Benhabib, the first of these is the "agnostic" view. The ideas of this view, which are based on the "republican virtue" or "civic virtue," are mentioned by Arendt. Another is known as the legalistic public domain model. This model, which places the "just and stable public order" of the liberal tradition at the heart of political thinking, began to emerge with Immanuel Kant[7]. The understanding that imagines a democratic-socialist reconstruction of late capitalist societies also represents the third conception of the "discursive public sphere" (Benhabib, 1996, p. 72). This public sphere appears mostly in the works of Jürgen Habermas. One criticism of these three conceptions came from feminists. Seyla Benhabib adds this criticism, which first started with Nancy Fraser's approaches, to her classification of public space models. However, Benhabib did not add to his classification the "proletarian public sphere" and the class dimension of the public sphere, which are identified with

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[7] The acceptance of the public sphere as the basis of democracy refers to the concept of a self-constituted social relationship. This political acceptance of the public sphere has its roots in Emmanuel Kant's texts published in 1784 (Dacheux, 2012, p. 15).

Oskar Negt and Alexander Kluge. In this respect, we can say that there is an incomplete approach.

It can be said that the approaches examining the public sphere are common within the framework of a unity of purpose. All of these models of the public sphere, which I have briefly introduced, problematize political participation. However, they claim to solve the deadlocks of "representative democracy," and they explain the reason for the problems of representative democracy with the dissolution of the public sphere in advanced capitalist societies. Also, it can be said that public sphere models are built on the distinction between private and public and that each government and the opposition, which is a part of it, defines its field of activity in terms of how it handles these distinctions in line with its ideological approach. In addition to common points, we can say that they differ according to the way they view the public sphere and the historical references they refer to.

As the first model, we can consider the agnostic model of the public sphere, which is more commonly referred to by Hannah Arendt. Arendt (2012) defines the public sphere as a space of freedom in her book *"The Human Condition."* This space makes both individuality and equality possible (Arendt, 2012). In this sense, the public sphere is united by two principles, namely publicity, and partnership. She points to the principle of publicity when she says that everything in the public sphere becomes visible to everyone and that there is a common world for all of us except the one that belongs to us privately. According to Arendt, the public sphere should ideally be sought in the social relations that emerged in Ancient Greek cities. She categorizes human activities as labor, work, and action by centering the ancient Greek city of *Polis* and separates the areas where these take place as public and private.

However, the political life of the Ancient Greek Polis, idealized by Arendt, is based on an unequal social order (Tarhan, 2016). The condition for the freedom of the police and the emergence of free citizens on the political scene is the exclusion of women, slaves, laborers, and non-citizens from public life. This process, which Arendt describes and criticizes as "the rise of the social," took place with the beginning of the political participation of those who did not have the right to appear in the public sphere. In this period, who will appear in the public sphere and which issues will be brought into the

public sphere have been determined by the struggle of different social segments. The public sphere is precisely the domain of these struggles. The conceptualizations of "labor" and "work" involved in the private sphere and "action" in the public sphere remain incomplete in the context of modern public sphere discussions. Therefore, the greatest criticism of Arendt's theory has come not only because it exalts and idealizes these social relations but also because it excludes inequalities within these social relations. However, Arendt's emphasis on the concepts of active citizenship and plurality in her theory is very important in terms of the critique of modern society in which individual interests and alienation are dominant.

In Benhabib's classification, the second public space model is called the "legalistic" model. The basis of this model of public space, which belongs to liberal thought, is "public dialogue." According to Bruce Ackerman (1980), liberalism is a culture of political "public dialogue" based on some communication constraints (Ackerman, 1980). According to this view, citizens need the guidance of a liberal state to "reasonably" solve the problem of coexistence (Ibid). According to this guidance, citizens should be willing to participate in the existing debate about what is good. Although the liberal view has more than one definition of the public space model[8], their common point is to ensure the protection of the public space by applying and guiding the impartial rules of the state in the public sphere. In this sense, the liberal tradition defines the individual in the public sphere in a legal context (Yükselbaba, 2008).

Benhabib's criticism of the liberal dialogue principle is that although this concept expresses one of the basic principles of the modern legal system, it is too narrow and frozen to be applicable in real policy processes, namely in the public sphere (Benhabib, 1996). In a society governed by the principle of liberal dialogue, according to Arendt, not only will the agonistic (confrontational) dimension of politics be blind, but it will also harm the interests of oppressed groups. Zygmunt Bauman (1999) also states that liberal democracy is notorious for not being able to resolve contradictions with what he said about liberal democracy and the republic. Liberalism will be alone with a mass that is free but lonely, who has freedom of movement but has no right to speak in the society in which

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[8] It is possible to talk about Ackerman, Rawls, Hayek, Johen, Nozick and many more liberal theorists. As the classical examples of the contemporary liberal tradition, the views of Hayek and Rawls are very important.

they act, and cannot sense what purpose their freedom of movement will serve; He says that in such a society, contradictions will emerge between freedom and equality, between the individual and the society, between private and public welfare, which liberalism has been very successful in not being able to resolve (Bauman, 1999, p. 167).

The third public sphere model in Benhabib's classification is the "discursive public sphere," which is referred to by the works of Jürgen Habermas. Most contemporary debates on public space are based on the ideas of Habermas. In 1962, German philosopher/sociologist Jürgen Habermas published a book named *"Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft"* which was going to be translated into English in 1989 as *"The Structural Transformation of the Public Space: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society"* (Habermas, 1989) and into Turkish in 1997. The German term *öffentlichkeit* eludes a variety of meanings when translated into English as "public sphere." Both terms imply a spatial concept, the social sites or arenas. The "public," which is a constituted body, articulates, distributes, and negotiates the meanings in both. But while *öffentlichkeit* denotes a larger, reterritorialized, ideational substance or criterion meaning, "the English term "publicity" receive this sense only in its alienated form (Negt & Kluge, 1993 (1972)). Habermas's idea of public space describes the bourgeois society, which finds its roots in the 18th century.

The difficulty of the term "public space" comes from the duality of which built a meaning by including them (Özbek, 2015). The words have a history that points out the social developments and new paradigms of its field that they grow. All social classes and groups have different ways of seeing and interpreting them. The term "public opinion" seems very usual to us today, but it has a background that is gained its specific weight in bourgeois society. Habermas places the model of the public sphere within capitalism by examining its historical conditions. Accordingly, in feudalism, the representative public, then the literary public, and then the political public were discussed. His theory deals with the Hellenistic public, which is based on the direct participation of citizens in ancient Greece, the representative public, where the social status of the feudal lords is visible, and the bourgeois public sphere, which took its present form with the development of trade in the 17th century. Habermas (1989) didn't not only analyze the conditions of the nascency of the bourgeois society, which also other public space theories try to do but also, he made his assignments on the transformation and the disintegration of it

(Habermas, 1989). Therefore, he finally deals with the collapse of the public sphere in the welfare state. According to him, the public sphere has lost its publicity, and the private sphere has lost its autonomy (Yükselbaba, 2008).

Éric Dacheux (2012) analyzed the criticisms of Habermas's thesis under four headings (Dacheux, 2012). According to Habermas (1989), the public consists of equal and private persons who negotiate the public good together (Habermas, 1989). Bernard Floris (1996) objected to this: "The private public is always the product of mediation, whether public (family, business, associations, etc.) or communicative (television, communications agency, public opinion research institutes, etc.) (Dacheux, 2012). Likewise, Nancy Fraser (1992) draws attention to unequal access and the illusion of equality between people of different social statuses (Fraser, 1992). According to this republican vision, citizenship is not a right exercised by equal and free individuals through elections, entrusting public affairs to representatives, but a duty performed by each member of the community for the benefit of all (Dacheux, 2012).

The subject of another criticism is the distinction between private life/public space and public space/state. Habermas (1989) describes the bourgeois public sphere as a space where private individuals discuss public issues (Habermas, 1989). However, with this definition, the problem of determining the point where the private space separates from the public space arises. One of the biggest criticisms of Habermas's thesis has come from feminist theory. This approach, which stands out with Nancy Fraser's critique of Habermas's model of the public sphere, says that every theory on publicity, the public sphere, and public dialogue distinguishes between the private and public sphere. As a solution, Fraser defines the boundaries between private and public space as permeable. According to him, the existence of a public problem cannot be predicted in advance. An issue belonging to the private sphere can be brought to the public sphere by the negotiators. Again, Geoff Eley (1992) and philosopher Mitchael Walzner (2000) argue that the distinction between the state and civil society is not as clear as Habermas puts it (Dacheux, 2012; Eley, 1992; Walzer, 2000). According to Walzner and Eley, these concepts are complementary to each other as well as different from each other. In other words, the legal regulations determined by the state shape the public sphere and affect its functioning.

Another criticism is towards Habermas' claim to establish consensus based on universal norms through rational communication. First, various elements of social oppression prevent citizens from acting freely in public spaces. The other category of this critique focuses on the reason. Contrary to the view that man's rationality is limited by his own cognitive abilities and cannot solve complex systems, a systematic analysis of democracy defines society as the unity of autonomous subsystems that do not derive their origin from the people but that regulate themselves by interacting with each other (Dacheux, 2012; Luhmann, 1990).

Finally, there is criticism regarding Habermas's definition of the existence of the public sphere as a unique and singular sphere. Habermas described the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere with historical and normative references. This definition is universal, but in practice, it describes a conventional public space. However, Oskar Negt (2018) has criticized the universality but uniqueness of the public sphere, saying that if the bourgeois public sphere is capable of bringing to the surface a general interest, it is at the expense of an abstract generality that does not take into account the multiplicity of the concrete experiences of the citizens (Kluge & Negt, 2018).

Because of the limits of the bourgeois public space, which includes only "European, educated, proper man," the term wasn't enough anymore to understand the late capitalist modern society. The ideas of Habermas on public space needed to be extended to a broader scale. This leads us to another approach we know as the "proletarian public sphere." After ten years, in 1972, German philosopher Oskar Negt and German film producer and screenwriter Alexander Kluge published a book named *"Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung"* which was going to be translated into English in 1993 as "Public Space and Experience: Toward an Analysis of the Bourgeois and Proletarian Public Space" (Negt & Kluge, 1993 (1972)). While Habermas was describing the bourgeois public space and its structural transformation, Kluge and Negt were seeking the possibility of proletarian public space based on the experience.

Negt, Habermas's former assistant, says that experience, with wage constraints and a host of deprivations, is travail. That is why Negt, based on historical events such as the Commune or the German Revolution and their "workers' councils," introduces the concept of a "proletarian public sphere" as opposed to the bourgeois public sphere. These criticisms initiated a tradition of research, particularly in Angal-Saxon literature, which

refers to the concept of the "counter-public sphere" (Negt, 2007) which today can be translated into French with the expression "oppositional public sphere" (Dacheux, 2012).

The rapid growth of cities with industrialization requires revealing the relationship between the social structure and space determined by the relations of production. Analyzing the basic contradictions of capitalism in the first period of industrialization, Marx and Engels also deal with the city with a dialectical understanding. For them, the city is the place where the industry is concentrated, and workers are exploited, but on the other hand, it is an integrating ground where the labor force can come together and fight against exploitation. In this sense, although urban space is not yet emphasized as a common, it is an organizing force in the context of publicness. The public space is considered the space where the working class will establish their own oppositional publicness while living and working together.

Finally, it is necessary to mention a vision proposed by Richard Sennet in public space studies. Sennet (Sennett R. , 2011) in *Authority* questions the ambiguity of the boundaries between the private and the public realm. At the same time, he investigated the reasons for the emptying of public space and the return to privacy/private in the late modern period. Sennett says that in the late modern period, people increasingly established themselves without relating to each other. This is why he speaks of the collapse of the public man (Olgun, 2017). In other words, it deals with the collapse of public life, which gradually fades to the benefit of private feelings and turns into a place where passions are hidden, and appearance is the main concern (Dacheux, 2012). According to Sennett, in the late period, the public space turned into a dead public space. Individuals have now focused only on their inner worlds and have begun to avoid encountering strangers other than their own in the public space. At the end of the crisis of public life in the 19th century, the public man encountered industrial capitalism, fear of involuntary revealing of character, avoidance of emotions for defensive purposes, and increasing passivity occur in individuals (Sennett R. , 2010, p. 253).

Sennet (2010) also evaluates the deadness of public space through urban design. The possibility to interact with people in a public setting without having to conceal or impose one's own ideals, according to Sennett, is the city's most significant aspect (Bahçeci, 2018). he public space, which is the cornerstone of democracy, has gradually lost its real meaning with the new social relations and institutions brought by capitalism since the 19th

century, individuality has dominated instead of sociality, and radical changes have occurred in the behavior of individuals in the public space. With this process that brought about the "intimate society," the public space lost its vitality, and cities were divided into communities and ceased to be an extension of human life.

In examining the creation, development, change, and transformation of spatial forms and processes, as well as the tight connection between urban space and social dynamics, the idea of public space plays a significant role. Richard Sennett sees urban space itself as a large public space. In this respect, it differs from other approaches. Saying that the public space was formed in the 18th century, Sennett investigates how the public space has lost its function and how this affects urban social processes as comes to the present. The concept of public space mostly corresponds to a sociological and political meaning rather than a physical or geographical area in the literature. In Sennett, public space is a material space and includes concrete areas such as streets and squares. In addition to the symbolic and abstract content of the public space, its meaning has increased by giving it a concrete appearance. These public spaces are like the soul of the city. They are the tools to transform, shape, and rebuild the city physically, socially, and symbolically. The process of establishing the parameters of communal living, the moral principles upon which it is predicated, and the general direction of lifestyle is known as the public space (Keleş, 2012).

With the understanding of functional urbanism that developed since the middle of the 19th century, the traditional public space was replaced by a public space derived from the movement, and the function of the public space was reduced to the function of transportation and movement (Gökgür, 2008). In line with this, city planners have set it as a social goal to design urban spaces where "unconditional solidarity" and "direct relations" can be experienced. Sennett explains this situation by saying that the wide boulevards opened in Paris were designed with the function of easily transporting consumers who need new consumption spaces rather than merging different social groups (Sennett R. , 2013).

What Sennett is trying to explain is this; with the disintegration of the feudal period and the transition to industrial capitalism, it has created great changes in all areas of social life, especially in public spaces. The personal luxury that stood out until this period left its place to the collective luxury. Karl Marx (2021) explains this change with the

phenomenon of commodity fetishism (Marx, 2021). However, the unequal relationship between the worker who produces an object and the person who owns it is hidden, and the attention of individuals is directed to the objects themselves instead of the social and economic relations in which the objects are produced (Sennett R. , 2013, p. 194).

With the rapid increase in the activities related to mass production, the standardization of the appearance of the produced objects, and the attribution of private personality traits to material objects, the socialization of the lifestyle has begun, and the urban space has become functional as an ideological tool (Fırat, 2002). However, a new outlook emerged between capitalism and public geography in two respects. The first is referred to as the public-to-family retreat. The second is the questioning of the legitimacy of the public space and the destruction of its integrity, along with the mental and psychological transformation of public appearance (Sennett R. , 2013).

Eric Dacheux (2012) developed a combinatorial approach that takes into account the work of Habermas, Arendt, and Sennett and summarized the common points of these philosophers' theses on the public space under three headings:

1. The public space is where policies are justified. Through public spaces, citizens have access to the knowledge they need to debate, express their opinions on, and pick the person who will wield political power. Again, through the public space, they feel themselves not only as those who will abide by the legal rules, but also as the makers of these rules.

2. The public space is the foundation of the political community. Through the public space, individuals belonging to different ethnic religious communities form a common political community. The public space is a symbolic space that allows these relations to be established.

3. The public space is where politics become visible. Political actors perform in public settings where people may see and understand public concerns" (Dacheux, 2012, p. 21).

In Dacheux's attempt to try this definition, it is emphasized that the public space cannot be reduced to its institutional dimension. The public space is not an institution. It is a potential space open to all actors. It is not out-of-historical data but a social structure in development.

In every scientific discipline, some notions are sometimes left behind due to the economic, social, and cultural conditions they are in, and sometimes they come to the fore and become dominant in all kinds of social science studies. So much so that these notions are made functional from time to time to produce solutions to the problems of the day. The notion of public space, which I have discussed in my thesis and which I use to seek answers to today's problems, is one of them in terms of its use both in Western societies, where it originates and in Turkey.

It was mentioned that the notion of public space was used as a unifying concept for the discussions that developed around concepts such as cultural self-determination, pluralism, multiculturalism, and recognition of difference as a result of the developments in western societies, especially since the second half of the 20th century (Zabcı, 2012). As in Western academic literature, the influence of Marxism in political theory decreased in Turkey in the 1990s, and the dominant concepts such as "class," "imperialism," "exploitation," and "labor" were tried to be forgotten by the oppressive attitude brought by the political environment. However, by the end of the 1980s, there was a quantitative and qualitative increase in public space discussions in Turkey, as in Western capitalist countries and Eastern European countries. Particularly with the effect of the September 12, 1980 coup d'état narrowing the field of politics and suppressing the practices of action organized in the public sphere, debates on the public sphere have increased since the 1990s.

Güven Gürkan Öztan (2013) stated that with the effect of the coup d'etat, individuals are drawn to private life, and political action is excluded (Öztan, 2013, p. 172). Öztan says that thinking about the public space in the 1990s was an opportunity to explore the possibility of the political. In this period, it was thought that the debates in the public space, which were handled by intellectuals with liberal views, with Western literature, would be effective in solving Turkey's democratic problems (Ibid.). With the translation of Jürgen Habermas's book, a tradition shaped around his concepts of "transformation of publicity" and "communicative rationality" began. However, Habermas's definition of the public sphere, leaving many issues out, was insufficient to understand the practices of publicness shaped in Turkey. In particular, the concepts that Negt and Kluge first put forward as "proletarian public space" and then "counter-public space" could not be followed.

The book *"Public Space,"* compiled by Meral Özbek, which was first published in 2004, is a vast corpus that has brought together the debates on the public sphere both in Western academia and in Turkey. This book, which was expanded and reprinted after the Gezi Resistance in 2013, is the most widely discussed in the framework of the public sphere under three headings: "Conceptualizing the Public Sphere," "Public Space, Politics and Citizenship," Public-Private Space Separation, Public Culture and Media"[9] presents the main topics.

2.2. Role and Practices of Local Governments on Public Space

The obvious relation between everyday life and the development of public space leads us to think of the importance of local practices in the formation of public space, which will later create public opinion. Because the notion of public space, in its simplest form, emphasizes the common life of people, the creation of a public opinion about the shaping of this life and equal participation in these processes. The political power relations that build common life are constantly reproduced in everyday life. Urban residents locate and influence urban public spaces, which are weighted with the political connotations of being public, in their daily lives as both the subject and the scene of politics and political power relations.

In the introduction to their book published in 1972, Negt and Kluge (1993) mentioned the importance of the concept of experience by saying, "It is our political interest in this book to provide a framework for discussion that will open the analytical concepts of political economy downward, toward the real experiences of human beings" (Negt & Kluge, 1993 (1972)). Habermas also states that the conception of the public space provides a holistic framework that makes it possible to establish a relationship between historical structures and human activity and subjectivity, and which enables us to associate them not only with cultural and ideological forms but also with social structures while making historical analysis of actions and events (Habermas, 1996). Meral Özbek (2015) also states that the concept of experience comes from Marxist literature, and in this respect, we owe it to them. While grasping the social unity, the determining structure, the way of establishing

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[9] The headings were translated by me.

the relationship between culture (the way of life, experience, and interpretation) and action arises from Marxist approaches working mostly on class, culture, and history. Marxist approaches say that the social relations formed in the production process of material life are made sense by collective and individual subjects only by experiencing them (Özbek, 2015, p. 11). In this sense, experiencing space is one of the important stages in making sense of the space.

In his book *The Production of Space*, published in 1974, Henri Lefebvre (2014) states that the urbanization process should be understood as a space production process and that socially produced space also plays a role in the establishment and transformation of the social (Lefebvre, 2014). One of the socially produced spaces mentioned here is the public space. David Harvey (1988) has also developed a series of approaches that reveal the relationship between social relations and space. In his books *The Urbanization of Capital and Consciousness and Urban Experience* (Harvey, 1988), published first in 1985. Harvey provided a more comprehensive and concrete analysis, saying that capitalist urbanization constructs not only physical forms created by capital but also social relations and forms of political consciousness (Robinson, 1998). Neil Smith (1990), a student of Harvey, in his work titled *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space* (Smith, 1990), published first in 1984, combines Harvey's views on the relations between spatial structures and social relations with Lefebvre's concept of social space production and examines the relationship between the spatial and the social. In the framework of geographical differences-capitalist production, he systematized this link (Doğan, 2007, p. 12).

One of the actors of the publicness built in everyday life is the citizens, and another important actor is the political administrations that have the power to shape the space with their political decision processes and spatial interventions. These political processes are carried out through local or central government officials or institutions. As Lefebvre puts it, institutions that share the state and administrative power, devices responsible for the functioning and security of the state, centers of political discourse, local governments, and similar secular or religious formations are power centers that plan how the city should be, and transform the city by reproducing all views, whether dominant or not, in everyday life. Again, starting from Harvey's "historical-geographical materialist" approach, we can see that space is a material product of social relations, that is, the role of space in the

formation of social relations, the singularity of the local and the importance it attaches to the content of social space. In this respect, there is a parallelism between the views of Harvey and Lefebvre. The story of transforming, renovating, and changing Beyazit Square in Istanbul has been shaped exactly as Lefebvre pointed out.

Lefebvre (1991) developed a triple scheme of perceived space, conceived space, and lived space[10]. his diagram provides a framework for understanding how space is perceived and experienced by the state, capital, and the public in capitalist society. Lefebvre proposed the concepts of spatial practice, representation of space, and representational space as the spatial conceptualization of these elements (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 50). According to Lefebvre, spatial practice is concerned with space as a material reality, and the spatial practice of society creates its own space. Concrete areas such as buildings, trees, and structures are areas of spatial practice and can be observed empirically. Therefore, it is also associated with everyday life. But it also encompasses the production and reproduction processes of the physical built environment. Spatial practices allow the direct experience of space. Representation of space is the space of urban planners, technocrats, and architects. Representation of space is used in spatial textures with the knowledge and ideology of these technicians. Space representations are spaces organized according to the logic of political power, the dominant ideology, economic order, and discourse. Representational spaces are more difficult to detect than the other two. Because it is formed by complex symbols and is subjective, not objective, like the other two spaces. This scheme is important to us as it will establish an analytical scheme in the examination of public spaces shaped by the local government (Ibid).

Public spaces in the city are considered to be carriers of social values that undertake certain functions. These values are; the sense of citizenship, democratic ideals created by collective feelings, good citizenship, and social responsibility (Bahçeci, 2018). Contact based on interactions between various social groups is one of the public space's key purposes (Banerjee, 2007). Certain conditions are necessary for the public spaces in the city to fulfill their functions in a healthy way. Pelin Gökgür (2008) stated that there are three power centers in the urban space; economic actors, planners, and elected officials.

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[10] This scheme is only part of Lefebvre's theory. Another important pillar of Lefebvre's theory of space is the periodization of space. In academic research, this triple schema is frequently used in studies where capitalist social relations are ignored. In this respect, the schema causes the space to be viewed only from a descriptive perspective.

All of these power centers have very important effects on public spaces (Gökgür, 2008). However, there is no mention of the citizens who built the city and life with their actions and participation in the public sphere, as this is an incomplete expression. However, various social and economic processes can say that some of the power centers mentioned above come to the fore according to the conditions of the day when the public is not strong enough. As the subject of this thesis, it will be discussed that the spatial interventions of local governments and how the local governments shape the public space and, in connection with this, everyday life.

The functioning of participation processes is the subject of a democratic debate. However, public spaces are the spaces where these discussions are experienced and concluded. In the case of strong public opposition, they are spatial areas where the decisions taken are objected to with action. In this respect, democratic participation can be achieved, at least in the presence of a strong public. Özbek (2015) speaks of areas of direct or semi-direct democracy where everyone engaged in collective work participates in negotiations to determine the design and functioning of the work (Özbek, 2015, p. 129). A hybrid type of self-government in which representatives, managers, or planners are held to high standards of responsibility, at least by the recall[11], is referred to in this context as "quasi-direct democracy" by Özbek (Ibid).

When urban politics and local governments, which are municipalities, are considered within the framework of shaping public spaces as space production, the first thing to be said is that social classes and groups that have become actors by being politicized are trying to be effective in the comprehension and experience of social space with their spatial representation projects (Doğan, 2007, p. 20).

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[11] Recall is a system that guarantees that public officials, elected officials, and/or bodies who are unsatisfied with their work and transactions or who break their campaign pledges be removed from office by a certain number of people before the end of their regular term of office (Erdoğan, 2020).

3. A PUBLIC SPACE IN İSTANBUL: BEYAZIT SQUARE

The squares present navigates of the life of its inhabitants. They mostly reflect the power relations of the dominant ideology that affect the public opinion of those who live there. As Beyazit Square is a square where these power relations have been experienced since the Roman Empire Period, it stands in an important place in terms of understanding the development of the public space in the process that has survived until today.

3.1. A Brief History of Beyazit Square

It is possible to trace the history of Beyazıt Square back to the Roman Era. Even though there isn't much information about, especially everyday life, the place where Beyazit Square is located now, an outline of a narrative can be reached from mostly the foreign resources and from the travelers of that time. From the Roman Era to today, Beyazit Square has always had an important role in social and political life. The topographical features of the area where Beyazıt Square is located had a great impact on this. Beyazıt Square is located on the third of the seven hills of Istanbul. In studies on the history of Istanbul, the boundaries of the city are not always clear. Two main axes that define the development of the city have been formed in the region, which is within the borders of the old Byzantine, which can be expressed as the Golden Horn and the hills around the Golden Horn. Atmeydanı, Hagia Sophia, and Topkapı Palace are located on the northeast-southwest axis, while the southeast-northwest axis passes through Beyazıt Complex, Fatih Complex, and Edirnekapı. These axes connect the three platforms of Istanbul (Kiper, 2015). The aforementioned second axis has been an axis where power relations have been visible throughout history. Around this axis, daily life shaped by culture, education, and commercial activities also find its place.

The square was known as the Roman Forum Tauri (Theodosius) in the Roman Era and later the Forum of Theodosius in the Byzantian Era (Kuban, 1993; Müller-Wiener, 2001). The word Tauri means bull. It is known that the name of the bull was chosen for this reason for the area where the animal market was known throughout history (Kuban, 1993). In this respect, it is seen that the square had a commercial function. The forum

wasn't exactly where Beyazit Square is located today, but when it was built in A.D. 393 when under the reign of Theodosius I, it was the biggest square of the city.

The forums are known as the squares of Rome and are similar to the Greek agoras. For the Romans, forums were places where trade was plundered, entertainment activities were organized, politics were discussed, and social relations were established (Tümer, 2007). Although the imperial character of Rome was effective in shaping urban public spaces, some formal and usage differences emerged in Byzantine Rome.

With the conquest of Istanbul by Fatih Sultan Mehmet in 1453, construction activities started to create an Islamic city. The first palace building was built in the area north of the square, where Istanbul University is located today (the Old Palace). The kulliye[12] which was built in the name of Beyazit II, is one of these constructions. It is known that squares were used for many functions in the Ottoman city. These functions emerge as a set of different structures that are generally shaped around a kulliye, such as arches, inns, courts, soup kitchens, schools, and madrasas (Cerasi, 1999). Unlike the squares that generally develop around a specific function in Turkish and Islamic cities, Beyazit Square embodies these various functions. According to a classification made by Şebnem Önal (1994), after the 15th century, Beyazit Square has a "formal" feature as a government square where the administration and the old palace are located. On the other hand, it also carries an "informal" character with the services and commercial functions for the civil structure in the area (Önal, 1994). Beyazit Square is named after Beyazit Mosque (Yeşilkaya, 2003), which can give a clue of how religion, which is a topic of private space, has an effect on shaping the public space in Ottoman Era. In addition, the courtyard areas of the mosques were used as a public space, and the houses formed neighborhoods by locating around these mosques. The extent to which these public spaces are open to women informs us about the constraints of publicness.

Although there is not much information about how the square was used, especially on a local and small scale, from the 15th century to the beginning of the 19th century, it is known that it was a gathering place for various ceremonies. It is also known that the meeting place of great riots and, at the same time, the square served as a stage for

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[12] Kulliye is known as complex. It means the structures such as madrasahs, soup kitchens, public fountains, libraries, and hospitals built around a mosque.

punishment after these riots were suppressed. Again, it was reported by the traveler Petrus Gyllius, who visited the city a century later, that Fatih cut down the trees and bushes in the square due to a "security threat." Again, this is an indication of the interference in the public sphere by the power. The change in the historical process of Beyazıt Mosque, which was started to be built together with the Beyazıt Complex and completed in 1505, has been effective in the formation of the square. According to the information obtained from various sources, Beyazıt Mosque has an inner courtyard and an outer courtyard. Beyazıt Square was also located between the Old Palace, the outer courtyard, and the madrasa buildings. As a result of the restoration works carried out in 1797 and 1879, the outer courtyard of the mosque was destroyed[13]which caused the expansion of Beyazıt Square (Yeşilkaya, 2003, p. 103).

In 1826, Beyazit Square was started to call as Seraskerlik Square with the abolishment of the Janissary Corps (known as Vak'a-I Hayriyye, which means "auspicious incident") by Sultan Mahmud II. With this event, while the authority of Mahmud II over the empire was strengthened again, he destroyed the influence of the Janissaries on the capital. Beyazit Square turned into Seraskerlik Square, the administrative center of the new army, and became a prestigious stage of military ceremonies (Yeşilkaya, 2003). This incident is a good example as it shows that Beyazit Square is a scene of a power struggle.

The understanding of the governing-managed citizen of the period is effective in the emergence of the public space. This situation also plays a role in the formation of institutions. Especially after the Tanzimat Period, which started with the edict declared in 1839, institutions that constantly changed with the modernization movements were an actor in the shaping of the public space. When we look specifically at Beyazit Square, the environment of the square has been shaped by the changing institutions and structures, and in connection with this, changes have occurred in the purpose of use of the square, in everyday life, and in the practices of publicness. Doğan Çetinkaya (2008 says that the public sphere expanded with the emergence of the modern state during the 19th century. The emergence of a modern education system in the Ottoman Empire, the construction of a central bureaucracy, the increase in the activities of the merchant class, the growth

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[13] For more information on the effect of the historical changes of Beyazıt Mosque on Beyazıt Square, see the doctoral thesis titled "Transformation of a Public Space in the Nineteenth Century Istanbul: Beyazıt Square" written by Neşe Gürallar Yeşilkaya.

and diversification of the middle class, the fact that women began to become more active outside the household, the acceleration of journalistic activity are examples of the expansion and diversification of the public space (Çetinkaya, 2008).

Before the Tanzimat Period, local government services were carried out by guilds, foundations, and kadis, and municipal administration was based on Islamic principles (Keleş, 1991). It was not possible to talk about the democratic participation understanding of local governments, which were mostly dependent on the central government. Along with the modernization processes that came with the Tanzimat Period, the understanding of local government began to change. Many legal arrangements were made from the Tanzimat to the proclamation of the Republic, but urban policies were formed not by the demands of the bourgeoisie as in Western societies but by the state's will to control social life (Tekeli, 1983).

The first municipal organization, Şehremaneti, founded in 1855, is another institution established in the modernization process. This institution, which made arrangements for many squares after its establishment, was active in 1866 for the demolition of the Serasker[14] Office and the Old Palace structures on the north side of Beyazit Square (Hasol, 2014). The Ministry of War building, which was given to Istanbul University, was built in place of the structures that were later demolished. On this building's side facing Bakırclar Avenue, the present stores were constructed behind the garden wall, changing the architectural style of the square (Kuban & Kahya, 1987). Before moving on to the understanding of publicness that changed with the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, it is necessary to mention the importance of the 1908 Revolution, which is known as the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy among the people, which had an important effect on the expansion of the public space. Stating that politics started to use the streets and squares in this period, Çetinkaya (2008) says that the opposition movements in the period were reflected in the space, and in this sense, the functions of the squares gained importance (Çetinkaya, 2008, p. 133). Again, the first municipal elections were held in 1908, after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy. However, the square gained a different function after the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy and became the place where death sentences were applied to the opponents (Akın, 2021). In this sense,

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[14]Serasker means the title that was used between 1826-1908 and corresponds to today's Ministry of National Defense and the Chief of General Staff.

the square still exists under the authority of power as a place where symbolic power is also displayed.

With the proclamation of the Republic, there was no major change in the understanding of local government. Only during this period, the duties of local governments have been defined together with the legal regulations. In addition, a law that has been prepared defines the political rights of women. In this sense, we can say that the public space has expanded relatively, and women are included. In the single-party period of the history of the Republic, the party organization and social and administrative institutions were intertwined. Sometimes the party presidency and the mayorship were combined, and sometimes the local administrators assumed the functions of local government.

Tarık Şengül (2009) makes three different periodization regarding the post-Republican period in Turkey. The first of these is named "urbanization of the nation-state" and refers to the period between 1923 and 1950 (Şengül, 2009, p. 103). In this period, the state's centralization efforts and attempts to create a citizenship-centered society have critical spatial dimensions. Although this period necessitated a break from the Ottoman Empire, it had some continuity, especially in local governments. When the topography of the city is examined on the scale of Istanbul, problems such as the transportation network with dead-end streets arising from the organic city structure and the lack of sufficient means of controlling the local units of the center have shaped the post-Republic city formation and the functioning of the local governments (Tekeli, 1973). This situation caused the emergence of an institutionalized local government structure, especially in the first years of the Republic. Again, in this period, the relocation of the capital from Istanbul to Ankara for the construction of a new nation was another factor affecting the urban development in Istanbul and the structure of local governments. The Law of Municipalities of April 3, 1930, made municipalities responsible for the provision of many urban services. However, due to the lack of economic resources and personnel, municipalities have been unable to fulfill even their fundamental duties (Tekeli, 1982).

When the Republic was declared, Ali Haydar Yuluğ was serving as the local administrator in Istanbul. During the presidency of Yuluğ in 1923-1924, Architect Asım Kömürcüoğlu had a design prepared for Beyazit Square as part of the urban renewal project. With this arrangement, flower beds were built around a double fountain pool, also known as

"Haydar Bey Pool" among the people, and an intersection where the trams make turns was built around the pool (Gültekin, 1996) (see, Figure 3.1.). The pool adorned the city with its scenery, helped clean the sewers inexpensively, was used to prevent the growth of a possible fire, and helped connect the different levels of the square. However, as it stands, it was far from describing a public space.

Figure 3.1.: SALT Research, Photo Archive

Reşad Ekrem Koçu (1960) explained this situation as follows:

> Istanbul Municipality has killed the square by having a large pool and flower beds built around the pool, and has taken care of numerous roads passing through a treeless park. It should not be forgotten that the square is a flawless space in the city where the people of that city, good or bad, can gather. […] Squares are halls of rallies, great political demonstrations, revolutions, without walls and ceilings that gather tens of thousands of people; That is why tyrannical and despotic administrations did not like the squares at all. They tried to destroy the squares with pools, beds, trees, and to narrow the area where human feet could step as much as possible, under the name of enlivening and beautifying the squares[15]. (Koçu, 1960)

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[15] Translation by me.

The square was used as a traffic junction until the end of the 1930s (Gülersoy, 1999). In 1933, the War Office building was given to the university, marking a significant turning point in the square's history that has persisted to this day.

According to Tarık Şengül's (2009) urbanization periodization in Turkey, the period between 1950 and 1980 was named as "urbanization of labor power" (Şengül, 2009). The most distinctive difference of this period was the movement of large populations from rural to urban areas. In this period, the state primarily focused on rural development policies. However, especially with the modernization in the field of agriculture, a labor surplus occurred in rural areas, and this surplus labor population migrated to rural areas. The state's limited investments in urban areas caused local communities to be the dominant factor in urban development. This situation resulted in solving the need for shelter with slums and seeking unemployment in the informal sector (Şengül, 2009, p. 123).

The separation of the governorship and the municipality took place on 1 March 1956. Adnan Menderes was given the title of "Honorary Mayor of Istanbul" by the Municipal Council on 1 June 1957 due to his reconstruction works. In the 1950s, Menderes wanted to use a proposal submitted by Sedad Hakkı Eldem[16] for Beyazit Square in the arrangement of Beyazit Square, which was one of the large-scale reconstruction movements. In this period, the fact that the square arrangements lasted for a few years created a wide debate and resonated with the public. These construction activities changed the face of Beyazit Square, but Eldem's proposal was not used (Yeşilkaya, 2003). Eldem's project envisioned connecting the university level to the Ordu Caddes level with a series of stairs (see Figure 3.2.). The slope was used as design data in Eldem's project. However, this proposal left the space needed by a square in the background. That's why Eldem thought of expanding the square to the other side of Ordu Street (Bayrak, 2019). It was also planned to build a new pool on this street.

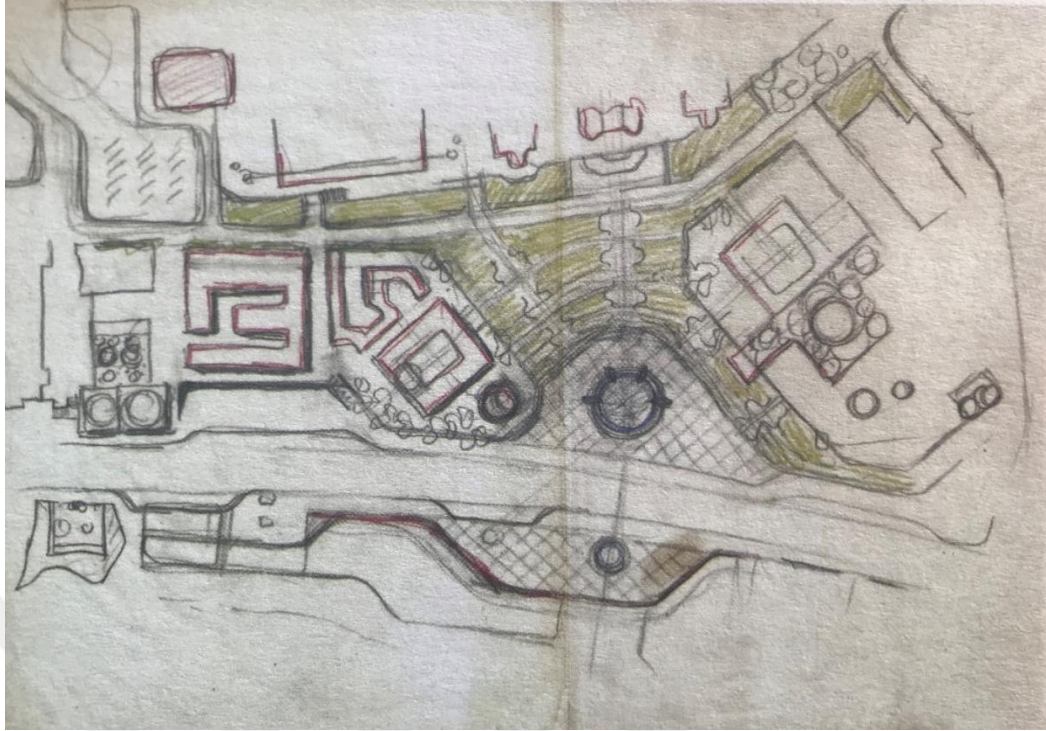[16] See Sedad Hakkı Eldem's proposal: (Eldem, 1983).

Figure 3.2.: Sketch by Sedad Hakkı Eldem for Beyazit Square in 1958, SALT Reasearh, Sedad Hakkı Eldem's Colleciton

Concerns that Beyazıt Square had lost its functionality both as a square and as a square resulted in the organization of a square competition in 1958. For the remodeling of the square, Prof. Luigi Piccinato, Prof. Hans Högg, and Architect Turgut Cansever had projects prepared, and Cansever's project was chosen to be implemented. Cansever's main goals for the square in his scheme are; pedestrianization of the square, which has turned into a traffic intersection, highlighting the monumental structures, arranging the contradiction of direction of the Beyazıt Mosque and university buildings, and making the description of the place (Bayrak, 2019). In this period, competitions for square planning again put the "competition" before the principle of democratic participation in the formation of public spaces. Turgut Cansever's project has not been fully implemented. Although the square was pedestrianized first, it was later used as a parking lot and bus stop (Gül, 2017). Again, the fact that the project still needs to be implemented shows that even the concept of publicity reduced to competition is not successful. Instead, publicity should be built with the active participation of citizens.

The mass that came together in Beyazit Square on April 28, 1960, to protest the political power carried out one of the most important political actions in Turkey's recent past. This

event is also the first of the student movements that will determine the political life of the country in the coming years. In this respect, this example shows the opposite publicness practices of the period. In these protests, a student named Turan Emeksiz lost his life as a result of the fire opened by the police. After the 1960 coup d'état, the idea of building a monument in memory of Emeksiz was put forward.

With the 1960 coup d'état, the mayorships were handed over to the governors and district governorships for two years. The period between the two coups appears as the period when Turkey was relatively free. In this period, we see that the public space emerges as a counter-public space that hosts oppositional movements such as opposition worker-student movements. This situation could also be followed by the news about Beyazit Square reflected in the media. In this period, it is seen that the news about the protesters who appeared in the square for protest rather than the intervention of the mayors or the municipality on the square took place in the newspapers.

The squatting brought about by the population increase along with the migration from the countryside to the city also shaped the political relations and local administration's understanding of this period. Especially at the end of the 1960s, two different approaches developed to respond to the demands of the society living in the slums. The first of these used tools such as amnesty, providing essential services such as roads, water, and electricity in order to obtain the vote of the communities living in the slums. Another period was the questioning of the slum problem in a radical framework and placing the issue within the problem of social justice by the section within the CHP that turned to a leftist line (Şengül, 2009, p. 132). Especially in this period, with the CHP's approach to a leftist line, the emergence of the Turkish Workers' Party, and the rise of effective opposition and opposition movements, the understanding of the urban problem as a justice problem has been shaped.

With the elections held in 1973, Republican People's Party (CHP) candidates won the mayorships and council memberships in large cities. For the first time, local government experiences have been strengthened with the coming to power of different parties in the central government. In this period known as "communal municipalism," new municipal principles such as "autonomy," "participation," and "social justice" developed. In this period local politicians under the roof of CHP developed new approaches that prioritized

slums and their needs in big cities and emphasized use value versus exchange value (Tekeli, 1992). The CHP, which won the local elections in 1977 in big cities such as Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, started to develop larger-scale and systematic policies for the management of municipalities. However, this period, which is also called "new municipalism," lost its effect over time due to reasons such as leftist orientation in local governments, the central government being generally under the control of right-wing and conservative parties, the emergence of a new form of economic accumulation, and is foreign to the struggle on the street.

3.2. Spatial Practices of the Local Governments on Beyazit Square from 1984 to 2019

In the second part of the study, the effect of municipalities, which are local governments, in shaping the space was mentioned. In this context, the bureaucratic development process of the municipalities in Turkey and the effective actors are discussed. In this chapter, the change, development, and effect of the local government's understanding in the process from 1984 to the last local elections in 2019 will be examined in Istanbul Beyazit Square. However, since the year 1980, there have been major changes that will affect the coming years, which is the subject of the thesis.

The period after 1980 was named "urbanization of the capital," according to Tarık Şengül's (2009) periodization of urbanization in Turkey. In this period, the abandonment of industrial investments to a large extent and the emphasis on the service sector caused large cities to become the focus of private and state assets. With the increase in the rent obtained from urban areas, especially in the 1990s, large and medium-sized investors started to invest in cities. In this case, it was seen that both central and local governments opened up administrative and legal space for them. Therefore, this period was when the urban space was commercialized, and the exchange value came to the forefront rather than the use value. The military regime played a fundamental role in transitioning from a "labor-centered" urbanization period to a "capital-centered" period (Şengül, 2009, p. 139).

The 1980 coup d'état was a major turning point in local governments as well as throughout the country. With the coup, all mayors were dismissed, and all local councils

were dissolved (Acaroğlu & Atauz, 1982). Along with a legal regulation[17], municipal revenues were increased by putting into effect financial regulations that could not be made during the civil administrations period, and with this practice, instead of boosting local administrations' authority, this method was intended to make it easier to solve urban issues that had gotten worse and to depoliticize local administrations (Koçak & Ekşi, 2010).

The practices of the military administration regarding the cities are not only aimed at ensuring urban order and security. The first steps of urban entrepreneurship that will dominate the next period were taken in this period (Keskinok, 1986). Again, with the outward open, export-promoting accumulation model known as the "January 24 Decisions", it was aimed to remove the industrial areas, especially in Istanbul, from the city centers. In this period, the infrastructure of the marketing of cities and their transformation into places of consumption by commercialization formed. For this purpose, plans such as strategic plans and regional development plans have been prepared in order to make cities compete in order to attract large capital to the city. With these plans, the city is divided into zones with function definitions, such as central business areas and tourism development areas. Also, in this period, the previous policy of local governments to provide urban services in favor of the poor was abandoned, and the strategy of providing services below the cost became the policy of all local governments (Güler, 1992).

Governors replaced the mayors who were dismissed after the 1980 coup d'état. In this period, they carried out more daily services and did not make large investments or constructions (İlkin & Tekeli, 2004). With the law on the establishment of Metropolitan Municipalities in 1984, additional financial opportunities were provided to metropolitan municipalities.[18] On the administrative scale, this situation has led mayors to become stronger vis-à-vis the municipal council and have a greater say in city politics as the sole actor.

With all these developments, the understanding of urban politics has been shaped. Especially in terms of urban interventions, great changes have begun to occur in these

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[17] Law No. 2464. Municipal Income Law
[18] Law No. 3030: Law on the Administration of Metropolitan Municipalities

years. In this chapter, from the local elections in 1984 until the elections in 2019, in line with the developments in the social, political, and economic fields on a national and international scale, the interventions of local governments, especially the mayors of Istanbul, in Beyazit Square will be examined, and the public space quality of the square will be questioned.

3.2.1. Quiet public space under the effect of 1980 coup d'état: marketing of the local (ANAP era from 1984 to 1989)

After the coup on September 12, 1980, the first general election was held in November 1983. The Motherland Party (ANAP), which was established under the leadership of Turgut Özal, obtained a majority of the valid votes, came to power alone with 211 deputies in the 400-member parliament (URL-1), and Turgut Özal became the prime minister. Having achieved great success in the general elections, ANAP also had a great impact on the local elections held in March 1984 and gained the management of many local administrations. At that time, the number of provinces was 67, and ANAP won local government elections in 57 provinces (URL-2), including Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir (Vural, 2005). In this period, Tahir Aktaş from ANAP won the administration of Eminönü District Municipality, which is the area where Beyazit Square is located. In the case of Istanbul, the prominent name in this period is Bedrettin Dalan, who was the mayor of the period. Describing himself as a "fixer"[19], Dalan has become the most important actor shaping the future of the city with its large-scale reconstruction operations.

It is aimed to attract large capital to the city by using the social and physical advantages of the local, with the accumulation model that is open to the outside and encourages exports and privatizations, which developed with the January 24 Decisions (Keyder, 2000, p. 22). City spaces were opened to trade in the period that was driven by the strategy of "development through localities" supported by the discourse of "competing cities." Sennett says although the birth of stores may seem like an ordinary event, it actually constitutes the essence of the paradigm of how the public space as an active shopping space is replaced by a more intense but less social public experience in human life

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[19] "Let's Unite... Let's Unite... Let's Look to the Future, Not the Past" (Tercüman Newspaper, 24.03.1984). Translation by me.

(Sennett R. , 2013, p. 191). As Sennett states, this commercialization undermines the experience of publicness.

Although the effect of the military administration on the city remained bureaucratic since 1984, the political authority of the period used the "silent public" of the coup period in the implementation of the decisions and carried out great destructions on the city. Again, during Bedrettin Dalan's mayorship period, international and national competitions were held for Beyazit, Taksim, and Üsküdar squares, but no results could be obtained.

Interventions of municipalities and local actors to space do not always occur with big projects or plans. Interventions on the structures that take place in the arrangement or perception of the space and form the memory of the space are also effective in the shaping of publicity. An example of this is the constant relocation of the statue of Turan Emeksiz, which was erected in the square in memory of Turan Emeksiz, who was killed during the protest action organized by the students to protest the Investigation Commission[20] formed by the Democrat Party (DP) government on April 28, 1960.

The statue, which was first placed at the spot where Emeksiz was shot and died, is at least as important as the statue since it is erected in a public space (see, Figure 3.3.). This statue, which can be seen from all over the square, has the quality of being a center. The surroundings of the monument, where student protests have been held for years, are also important in terms of creating a counter-public space where politics are spoken, and discussions are held. (Negt, 2007). The statue and its surroundings, which were built in memory of the laborer, became an area where opposing publics expressed themselves, especially the student movements that came to the fore in the period. It has been seen that leftist groups gathered around the statue for years, and actions and various commemorations took place in this area (Gülpınar, 2012).

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[20] The commission was established within the Grand National Assembly of Turkey in line with the proposal of the DP on April 18, 1960, and equipped with broad powers to investigate the allegations that the CHP (Republican People's Party) is preparing to rebel in order to come to power through non-election means. As soon as the commission was established, it banned all political activities as well as party congresses and meetings throughout the country (Eroğul, 1970).
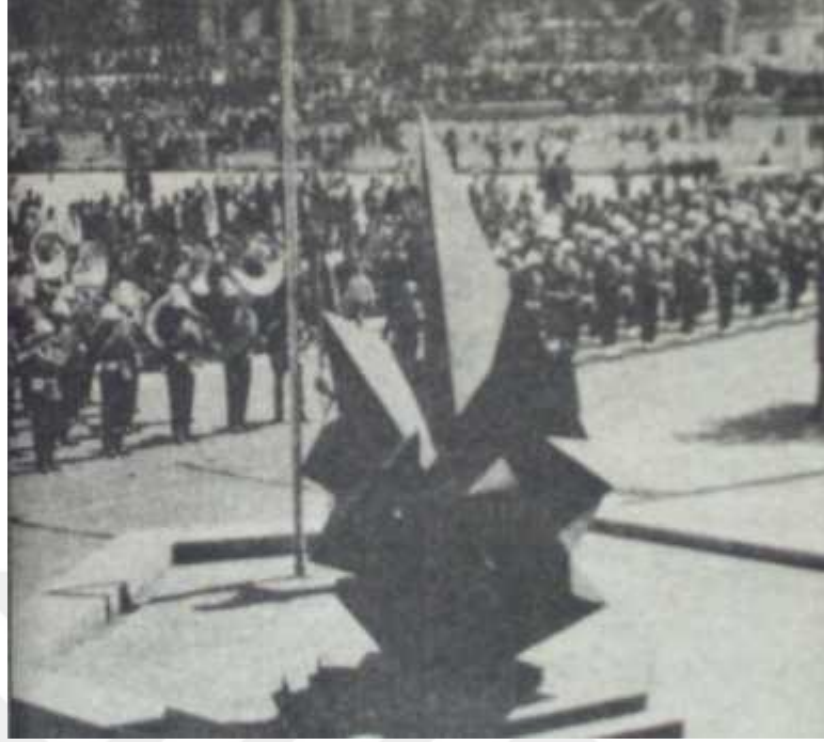
Figure 3.3.: Turan Emeksiz Monument, where it was first placed in Beyazit Square

The proposal made by Şirzat Ulusoy, a member of the Istanbul Municipality Council, to relocate the monument in January 1966 was carried out on April 21, 1985, after the September 12 coup. As a result, the monument was removed from its place and moved across the street to a terrace two meters above the ground (see, Figure 3.4.). After the relocation, the monument lost its features of being a center, defining the square, meeting, and action center. The statue, which was removed from the spot where Emeksiz was shot and placed across the street, in a spot that would not attract the attention of passersby, no longer reminds Emeksiz, the 28th April Events, or the students gathered in Beyazit Square (Gülpınar, 2012). From this vantage point, we can state that the memory war of the September 12 Coup was effective, and the effect of the central government realized this by intervening in public spaces through local governments. Benhabib (Benhabib, 1996) argues that government laws and policies should be guided by the public space and that the only legitimate governments are those who listen to the public space (Benhabib, 1996). In this example, it is seen that the ideas and actions that come out of the public sphere are ignored by the local government and even tried to be forgotten. Therefore, there is a transformative effect on the public space.

Figure 3.4.: Turan Emeksiz Monument, where it was placed in Beyazit Square in 1985

In this period, business areas were determined with the Tourism Incentive Law in order to attract domestic and foreign capital with the aim and discourse of "creating a world city." The first condition for this is the development of services related to transportation. In this respect, extensive transportation infrastructure works have been initiated.

In this news, which was reflected in the newspaper with the headline "Vedat Dalokay and Doruk Pamir received their awards," we see that the competitions for the arrangement of Taksim and Üsküdar Squares have concluded. Again, in the news, it is seen that the mayor of the time, Bedrettin Dalan, announced that an arrangement would be made regarding Beyazıt Square (see, Figüre 3.5.).

In 1987, an international competition was held by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality for the reorganization of Beyazıt Square. The project of Vedia Dökmeci and Yaprak Karlıdağ became the winner of the competition. The design envisaged a pool similar to the one found in the square in the early 1900s. At the same time, the plan aimed to take and synthesize the elements of the Roman Forum, the square in the Ottoman and modern periods (İşözen, 1980). The Square project and the pool proposal were never implemented.
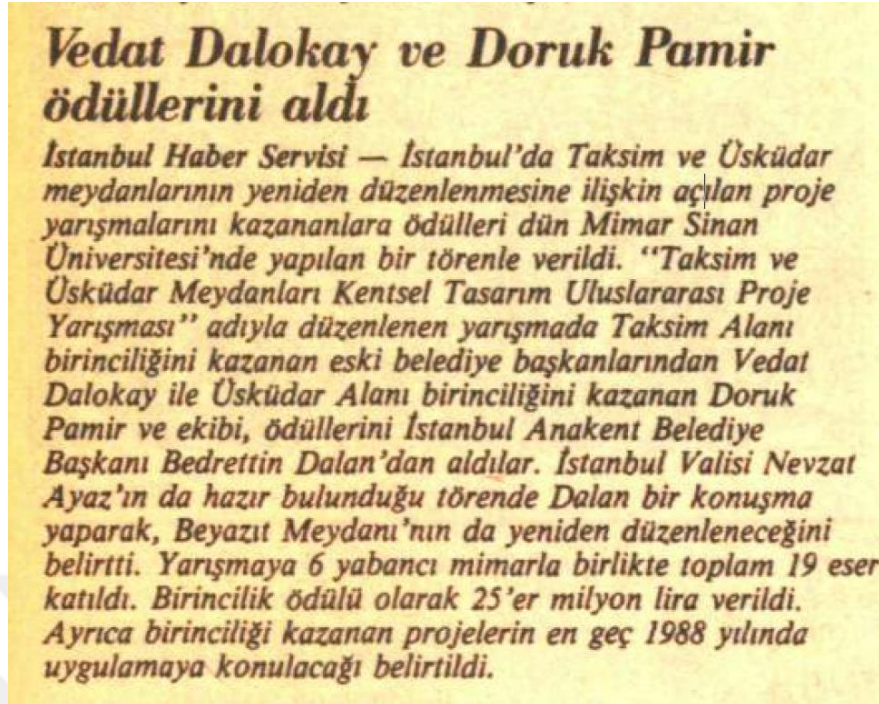
Figure 3.5.: Vedat Dalokay and Doruk Pamir received their awards[21] (Cumhuriyet, 30.12.1987)

3.2.2. Public space in the understanding of communal municipalism (SHP era from 1989 to 1994)

Before the local elections were held in March 1989, general elections were held in 1987. ANAP became the ruling party with 292 deputies. The Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) became the second party with 99 deputies (URL-3). The local reflection of these elections is important for Istanbul. In the local elections held two years later, the SHP gained power in the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (URL-4). The effect of this situation has caused the emergence of the local/central duality of two parties, both spatially and with two different ideological bases.

It will not be possible to understand the municipal approach of the SHP period and the spatial practices of the local government without analyzing the activities of the ANAP period. In this period, every party and its leader, who were candidates for the metropolitan municipality power, came to the fore with their anti-Dalan and ANAP statements. There are constant rumors of corruption in ANAP municipalities in general, with its

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[21] "Vedat Dalokay ve Doruk Pamir ödüllerini aldı". Translation by me.

understanding of municipality, its approach to the state, its attitude in doing business, and the understanding of the party that enables them. In this period, the SHP came to the fore and gained power both with the "communal municipality understanding" it put forward in the 1970s and the discourses developed by Bedrettin Dalan against local government activities. In this period, Beyazit Square is still located in the Eminönü District Municipality area. Again, the Mayor of Eminönü District was Ahmet Naci Akgün, a candidate from the SHP.

When the SHP took the helm of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality under Nurettin Sözen, it made a series of practices to prevent the destruction created by the ANAP government with the understanding of neoliberal municipalism. Activities carried out with a social justice understanding of the municipality started to decrease after 1992. One of the reasons for this is the political changes that have developed after this year from the municipalities with the SHP. Situations such as the decreasing influence of the working class that brought the party to power after 1991, the increase in wages between 1989 and 1991, and the reflection of the costs of the war in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia to local governments can be shown as the reasons for this political change (Doğan, 2007, p. 75). According to Ruşen Keleş, a communal municipality should be socially just, allow all layers of people to participate in the decision process, act not only as a local government unit but as a local government, should not allow the formation of monopolistic rents in the city, and should exhibit economic resource-creating management (Keleş, 2000). According to Keleş, moving away from these characteristics of a communal municipality can also be cited as an example of these political changes and can be cited as a reason for the SHP to lose its influence and leave the political scene.

Of course, all these situations and economic difficulties have caused a regression in the physical interventions of the municipalities in the city, resulting in the absence of major spatial changes, especially in Beyazit Square, which is the study area of this thesis. When the newspaper news of the period is examined, it is seen that several headlines stand out (see, Appendix B). One of these newspaper headlines, which dealt with the interventions of local governments in the market established in Beyazit, was "The free market in Beyazit was abolished" (see, Figure 3.6.).

Wirth (1964) stated that the city is not just a place where houses and workplaces are located, it is a place that gathers and transforms many remote communities, different areas, people and activities of the world, initiates and controls the center of economic, political and cultural life (Wirth, 1964). As can be seen in this news, different activities in the public sphere are prevented and the solution is tried to be provided through prohibitions.

Beyazıt'taki serbest pazar kaldırıldı

İstanbul Haber Servisi — Beyazıt Meydanı'nda bulunan Polonya pazarı, Eminönü Belediyesi tarafından dün sabah saatlerinde boşaltıldı. Seyyar satıcıların ve özellikle Polonyalı turistlerin, araçlarını park ederek satış yapmaları yüzünden çevredeki esnaflar arasında rahatsızlık yarattığı belirtildi.

Eminönü Belediyesi Başkan Yardımcısı Arif Öztürk'ten alınan bilgiye göre, Beyazıt Meydanı'nın bitişiğindeki otoparkın uzun süredir özellikle Polonyalı turistlerce bir ''alışveriş'' merkezi haline getirildiği kaydedildi. Ayrıca, buranın otopark özelliğini yitirerek, çevreyi rahatsız eder bir duruma geldiği belirtildi.

Yabancılara ait Kumkapı'da bir otoparkın bulunduğunu söyleyen Arif Öztürk şöyle konuştu:

''Seyyar satıcılar, İstanbul'un en büyük sorunu haline geldi. Eskiden para cezası kesiyorduk. Ama bu yolla başa çıkamadık. Yabancılar da bu otoparka yerleştiler. Ne bulurlarsa, ne getirirlerse satıyorlar. Aslında bu polisin işi. Sattıkları malların ne tür mallar olduğunu araştırmak gerekir. Acaba, bu malların gümrükleri ödendi mi. Yabancı taşıtlar bundan böyle Beyazıt Meydanı bitişiğindeki otoparka alınmayacaklar.''

Yabancı taşıtlara izin yok- Beyazıt Meydanı'nın bitişiğindeki otopark, uzun süredir Polonyalı turistler tarafından alışveriş merkezi olarak kullanılıyordu. (Fotoğraf: Vedat Yenerer)

Figure 3.6.: The Free Market in Beyazit is Abolished[22] (Cumhuriyet, 27.10.1989)

In this news titled "Oh Çınaraltı Woe Çınaraltı" it is mentioned that Çınaraltı Kahvesi has been removed (see, Figure 3.7.). It was mentioned that on the aforementioned date, it was not clear who was selling what in the place of Çınaraltı, which was removed, and chaos prevailed. It was stated that Eminönü Municipality had a plan for the re-establishment of the cafe, but no attempt was made. Public spaces reveal the identity and historical accumulation of the city. They are also tools to transform and reshape the city physically, socially and symbolically. According to Sennett, public spaces, as the bearer of democracy, the heart of the city, the spaces where civic feelings, and memories take place,

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[22] "Beyazit'taki serbest pazar kaldırıldı". Translation by me.

lost their original meanings after they turned into a function that allows movement (Sennett R. , 2010). As in this example, it can be said that Beyazıt Square's potential to transform the city physically, socially, and symbolically has been interrupted based on the lost functions and daily life practices.

Figure 3.7.: Oh, Çınaraltı Woe Çınaraltı[23] (Kostantınıyye, 17.11.1990)

The newspaper article titled "Make-up for Beyazit Square" states that the most important square of Istanbul has been held for the third time since the Republic. It was stated that the project was prepared by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (see, Figure 3.8.). Within the scope of the project, it is mentioned that the square will be arranged for pedestrians to use it more comfortably, the Çınaraltı Tea Garden (also known as Çınaraltı Kahvesi) will be reopened, and an area will be created where newspapers, books, and antiques will be sold. There is no mention of the participation of the citizens who use the square or the people of Istanbul because it is an urban public space that concerns the

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[23] "Ah Çınaraltı Vah Çınaraltı". Translation by me.

whole city. In direct or semi-direct democracies, Özbek speaks of democratic structures in which everyone will negotiate to determine the design and functioning within a collective space or business framework (Özbek, 2015, p. 129). The quality of Beyazit Square, which is one of the squares expected to be this democratically constructed space, as a public space should be questioned.

İstanbul'un önemli meydanı, cumhuriyetten bu yana üçüncü kez düzenleniyor

Beyazıt Meydanı'na makyaj

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nce hazırlanan proje meydanın çevresiyle uyumunu bozmayacak şekilde düzenlenmesini öngörüyor. Tarihi Çınaraltı çay bahçesi yeniden açılacak.

REMZİ GÖKDAĞ

İstanbul'da ilk büyük yıkımları gerçekleştiren 47 yıl önceki belediye yönetiminin çıkardığı "Güzelleşen İstanbul" adlı kitapta Paris'in "Etoile" Meydanı ile kıyaslanan Beyazıt Meydanı, günümüzde de İstanbul'un en işlek meydanlarından biri olma özelliğini koruyor. Eskilerin "İş güç sahibi olup da Beyazıt Meydanı'ndan geçmeyen adam yoktur" sözü bugün iş güç sahibi olmayanlar için de geçerli.

Ancak günümüz Beyazıt Meydanı'ndan geçmek eskisi kadar kolay değil. Eminönü Belediyesi'nin bir bölümünü otopark alanı olarak kullandığı meydanda, kurulan seyyar satıcı tezgâhlarını aşarak bir uçtan diğerine gidebilmek için büyük bir uğraş vermek gerekiyor. 1889 ekiminde Alman İmparatoru 2. Wilhelm'in İstanbul ziyareti için iki gün içinde meydandaki baraka ve dükkânları kaldıran belediye, bugün de geliştirdiği bir proje ile meydanı daha rahat kullanabilmesi için yeniden düzenliyor.

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nce hazırlanan Beyazıt Meydanı projesine göre, tarihi Çınaraltı çaybahçesi yeniden faaliyete geçecek. Çevresiyle uyumu bozmayacak şekilde düzenlenecek meydan, yayaların rahat dolaşımını, oturup dinlenmesini sağlayacak biçimde düzenlenecek.

Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında yolları düzeltilip ortasına 2 fıskıyeli bir havuz yerleştirilen meydan, Harbiye ve Maliye Nezareti ile İstanbul Üniversitesi binalarının yerleştirilmesiyle yeni bir görünüm kazandı. 1940'lı yıllarda meydandaki baraka ve binalarının yıkılarak alan genişletme çalışmaları yapıldı. 1950'li yıllarda Beyazıt Meydanı önemli değişikliklere sahne oldu. Büyük bölümü kazılan meydanda yapılan rampalar yayaların kullanım alanını daralttı. Bu tarihten sonra çeşitli projeler hazırlanmasına rağmen uygulamaya konulamadı. Yılların ihmaliyle unutulan ve zamanla bir bölümü otopark haline getirilen Beyazıt Meydanı günümüzde seyyar satıcıların mekânı haline geldi. Kapalıçarşı'nın hemen girişinde olması ve iş merkezlerine yakınlığı nedeniyle yoğun yaya hareketine sahne olan Beyazıt Meydanı'nda özellikle Vezneciler ve Sahaflar Çarşısı girişinde kurulan seyyar tezgâhlar, yapılan bütün mücadeleye rağmen alandan çıkarılamadı. Seyyar satıcıları meydandan çıkaramayan belediye yönetimi tarihi Çınaraltı çaybahçesini kaldırarak alanın tarihi özelliğine darbe vurdu. Bütün bu olumsuzluklara izin verilen meydan, sonuçta İstanbul'un karmaşasını yansıtan, yayaların itiş-kakış yürüdüğü bir alan haline geldi.

Projesi tamamlanıp ihale aşamasına gelen Beyazıt Meydanı düzenleme çalışmaları, tamamlandığında Sahaflar Çarşısı'ndan Sultanahmet'e ulaşan ve Kapalıçarşı ile Nuruosmaniye Caddesi'ni de içine alan bir yaya yolu oluşturulacak. Projeye göre Sahaflar'ın hemen girişinde bulunan alanda Çınaraltı çay bahçesi yeniden düzenlenecek. İki ayrı yere daha çay bahçesi yerleştirilmesi planlanan meydanda, çeşitli bölgelerde oluşturulacak yeşil alanların etrafına oturma yerleri yapılacak. Alanın parke taşlarıyla döşenmiş zemini bozulmadan tuğla döşemeler korunacak. Meydana gazete, kitap ve antika eşyaların satışı için de portatif, görünümü bozmayacak satış yerleri yerleştirilecek.

Seyyar satıcıdan geçilmeyen Beyazıt Meydanı yeni proje ile rahat nefes alacak. (Fotoğraf: Uğur Saner)

Figure 3.8.: Make-up for Beyazit Square[24] (Cumhuriyet, 20.11.1990)

It was stated in the news, which was reflected in the newspaper with the headline "Beyazit is looking for its square," that the square was the scene of the most important events in the city and has been on the attention of local governments since 1926. It is also said that the square was affected by the reconstructions made by each municipality during the Republican period but still could not find its identity for 65 years and that the Eminönü Municipality allowed a part of the square to be used as a parking lot, which was effective

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[24] "Beyazit Meydanı'na Makyaj." Translation by me.

in alienating the square from its history. Again, it is seen that Nurettin Sözen, who was the mayor of the return, also stated that the square was losing its character and that he had plans to remove the car park and revive the historical Çınaraltı Tea Garden. In addition, it is stated in the news that the square reflects all the chaos of the city, that there is the confusion of functions due to the busy shopping centers, and that pedestrian movement is significantly restricted. In addition to the news, it is striking that Reşat Ekrem Koçu described the square arrangements made with the activities of Menderes in the 1950s as "an obstacle to the demonstration that can be held in the square" (see, Figure 3.9.).

Figure 3.9.: Beyazit is looking for its square[25] (Cumhuriyet, 29.03.1991)

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[25] "Beyazit Meydanını Arıyor". Translation by me.

In this news with the title "Sirkeci is getting a tram" (see, Figure 3.10.), the arrangement works of Istanbul Büyükşehir Municipality are mentioned. For the plan of a line that will pass through Beyazit Square, it has been stated that the area is not completely closed to transportation. As seen in all these examples, Beyazit Square and its immediate surroundings are in a state of blockade with constant arrangement and infrastructure work. Urban memory is formed by everyday life practices, and public spaces have great importance as the urban spaces where this memory is built. The fact that the square has undergone such a long period of change and transformation, and the limitation of these activities to everyday life, harms the formation of the urban memory of the square.

Figure 3.10.: Sirkeci is getting a tram[26] (Cumhuriyet, 07.01.1992)

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[26] "Sirkeci tramvaylı oluyor". Translation by me.

In the news titled "Beyazit is unable to settle down," it is stated that the square quality of Beyazit Square has become controversial. Again, ready-made kiosks, small sales units, fixed seating elements, and flower pools are mentioned. These arrangements, while disrupting the pedestrian flow of the square, also include the aim of bringing an aesthetic appearance to the square. Again, the opening of the parking lot on Ordu Street to the use of pedestrians can be considered as a change that affects everyday life practices (see, Figure 3.11.).

Beyazıt Meydanı kimi zaman yükseltildi, kimi zaman havuz kondu. Şu anda 'meydan' niteliği tartışmalı bir duruma geldi. (Fotoğraf: ERDOĞAN KÖSEOĞLU)

Tarihi meydanda yapılan düzenlemeler boşa çıktı. Seyyar satıcılar kol geziyor

Beyazıt dikiş tutmuyor

İstanbul Haber Servisi - Paris'in "Etoile" Meydanı ile kıyaslanan Beyazıt Meydanı, 1991 yılının yaz aylarında yapılan düzenleme çalışmalarına karşın kentin bütün kaosunu yansıtan bir meydan olma özelliğini koruyor.

Çevresindeki alışveriş merkezleri nedeniyle gün boyu yoğun yaya hareketlerine sahne olan meydan, bugünlerde fonksiyon kargaşası yaşıyor. Düzenleme çalışmalarından sonra belediyenin üç çay bahçesi yerleştirdiği meydanda, kurulan seyyar satıcı tezgâhları da yaya hareketlerini önemli ölçüde kısıtlıyor. Tarihi meydan aynı zamanda Kazakistan'dan Balkanlar'a uzanan geniş bir coğrafyadan İstanbul'a akan girişimci turistlerin 'serbest satış piyasası' durumunda.

Eskilerin "İş güç sahibi olup da Beyazıt Meydanı'ndan geçmeyen adam yoktur" sözü bugünlerde iş güç sahibi olmayanlar için de geçerli. Ancak, Beyazıt Meydanı'ndan geçmek eskisi kadar kolay değil. Meydanın üç yerine kurulan çay bahçelerini aşıp, seyyar satıcı tezgâhları arasından geçerek diğer uca ulaşmak için yayaların iyi bir mücadele etmeleri gerekiyor.

İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi'nce 40 bin metrekarelik alanda yapılan düzenleme çalışmaları 1991 yılının yaz aylarında tamamlandı. Yapılan çalışmalarla mevcut döşeme dokusu korunarak onarıldı. Meydana hazır büfeler, küçük satış birimleri, sabit oturma elemanları ve çiçek havuzları yerleştirildi. Ordu Caddesi'nde otopark olarak kullanılan alan yayaların kullanımına açıldı. Meydanın üç yerinde seyyar çay bahçeleri kuruldu.

Ancak yapılan bütün düzenleme çalışmalarına karşın meydan kentin bütün kargaşasını yansıtmaya devam ediyor. Özellikle Doğu Avrupa ve Rusya'dan gelen turistlerin "bavul turizmi" yaptıkları Beyazıt Meydanı'nda belediye ile satıcılar arasındaki mücadeleyi şimdilik seyyar satıcılar kazanmış görünüyor. Belediyenin, bir süre önce meydanın bir

köşesine diktiği, "Bu meydana seyyar satıcı giremez" yazılı tabelaya karşın seyyar satıcılar günboyu meydanı istedikleri gibi kullanıyorlar.

Belediyenin düzenleme çalışmalarının ardından Beyazıt Meydanı daha önce tanımadığı bir seyyar satıcı türüyle tanıştı. El arabalarında balık ve et türü maddelerin kızartarak satışını yapan bu satıcılar, bugünlerde meydanın köşebaşlarını tutmuş durumdalar.

İstanbul'un bu önemli meydanı cumhuriyet tarihinde üç kez düzenlenmesine karşın henüz kimliğini bulamadı. Kentin tarihinde önemli olaylara tanık olan meydan bugün de yerel yönetimlerin ilgisini çekmeye devam ediyor.

Figure 3.11.: Beyazit is unable to settle down[27] (Cumhuriyet, 28.01.1992)

When these arrangements are considered together, an area is formed where more people can pause in and around the square or shop at the aforementioned kiosks. Some of these pedestrianization works are carried out to preserve the historical texture, while others are

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[27] "Beyazit dikiş tutmuyor". Translation by me.

carried out to increase economic activities (Döllük, 2005). In the previous news, it was stated that the tram works were postponed in order not to affect the New Year's shopping. In this case, it can be said that it is aimed at bringing commercial activities to the fore in the field. The "identity" problem that still continues in the news was expressed as "Although this important square of Istanbul was organized three times in the history of the republic, it has not yet found its identity".

In 1994, the 1/50.000 scaled Istanbul Metropolitan Area Sub-Region Master Plan (see, Figure 3.12.) was approved by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor Nurettin Sözen. The plan is important in that it constitutes the legitimate source of the municipality's spatial interventions. In the plan, it is aimed protecting historical and cultural values and cleaning Istanbul of industrial areas. It is foreseen that Istanbul will be transformed into a mega city by 2010 (Şentürk, 2011).

Figure 3.12.: 1994 – 1/50.000 scale Istanbul Metropolitan Area Sub-Regional Master Plan

According to the 1/50.000 scaled Istanbul Metropolitan Area Sub-Regional Master Plan, Beyazit Square and its surroundings come to the fore with the commercial-oriented usage area called the Central Business District (CBD) (see, Figure 3.13.). In the previous parts of the study, I discussed that the commercial practice of Beyazit Square and its surroundings were organized many times in history. However, in this period, tourism also came to the fore as a service area that would generate income by withdrawing the industry from the city centers, so it is seen that the trade units in the area changed form to be offered to the services of the tourists. The concentration of trade in the squares, which are urban public spaces, has affected the daily use of the area and damaged the practices of publicness. The area's becoming a place to come and go, and short-term consumption by tourists has caused the local people to move away from the activities of everyday life in the area. This situation also caused a decrease in the use of the square at night and limited the use of the area with daytime consumption practices.

Figure 3.13.: Beyazit Square and its surrounding in 1/50.000 scale Istanbul Metropolitan Area Sub-Regional Master Plan

3.2.3. "Milli Görüş" municipalism (RP era from 1994 to 1999)

SHP, which was in power in municipalities in many large and medium-sized cities in Turkey between 1989 and 1994, moved away from the claim of the communal municipality before the elections, abandoned the understanding of participatory management, and hindered its activities for the collectivization of mass consumption services. In fact, with the foreign borrowing policy the party followed, it left both the SHP and the administrations to come after SHP under the burden of debt during his rule. Just like the center-right governments before the SHP, it procured the goods and services to be produced by the municipality with a project-oriented approach from the private sector, and in this sense, it started to get a share from the urban rents by doing "urban management" (Doğan, 2007, p. 77).

The economic and political atmosphere in the process leading up to the general elections in Turkey, which were held three years before the 1994 local elections, and the results of the general elections also led to the rise of the Welfare Party (RP), the representative of the Islamist line, which achieved success in the local elections throughout the country. Again, the stagnation of the workers' movements in this period, the dissolution of the Socialist Bloc in 1991, and the process that Korkut Boratav called the "transition to the dominance of international finance capital" (Boratav, 2004) are among the reasons that brought the RP to power. Tuğal called this period the Islamization of the informal city (Tuğal, 2002). During this period, Beyazit Square is still within the jurisdiction of Eminönü District Municipality. In the local elections in 1994, while the RP won power under the mayorship of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in the metropolitan municipality, ANAP came first with Ahmet Çetinsaya in the district municipality (Özgür & Cansever, 2022).

It is seen that the discourses about the future of the city on the basis of the Master Plan made in 1994 determined the election work to be done soon. Again, in this period, ANAP's candidate İlhan Kesici said that with the "21. With the "City of Istanbul in the 21st Century Project," it has aimed to build the third bridge and sports and touristic facilities in the north of the city, which is close to the third bridge, to close the tourist part of the Historic Peninsula to traffic, to produce new lands in the city and similar works. Bedrettin Dalan, the candidate of the DYP, also aimed to remove heavy industry from city centers and to plan city centers as history-tourism-culture-trade centers (Şentürk,

2011). In this context, it was reported that the Historic Peninsula would be opened to tourism with the intervention of the municipality and the urban interventions to be made. Again, it was seen that a bilateral coalition between politics and capital was planned by planning to meet some of the economic resources of these projects from the private sector and foreign capital. This goal, which brings about the privatization and commercialization of urban-public spaces, has been blocked by the municipality-private capital dichotomy, which damaged the spontaneous structure of public spaces and prevented citizens from forming a public freely.

In its election announcements, the RP promised that everyone would benefit from public services without discrimination, that the infrastructure problems of the cities would be solved, and that the city would be managed together with the people.[28] As an example of the Islamist line represented by the RP in Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan emphasized "clean administration" and "justice" in addition to the "world city" emphasis.[29] This justice includes not only the economy but also the social and public space. Again, with the addition of the goal of "the capital of the Islamic world" to these statements, the period when the tradition of Islamist municipalism was most evident began. The shaping of public spaces with religious references gained momentum with this process. Talking about the "second conquest of Istanbul in the sense of opening the darkness to the light," Erdoğan made a reference to the re-conquest of the city with Islamic references (Bora, 2000, s. 62).

In this period, explanations were made for the re-use of the Hagia Sophia Museum, which had an important meaning for the re-conquest of the city as a mosque.[30] In this context, priority was given to Islamic artifacts in the preservation of historical artifacts in Istanbul during the Erdogan government. However, this was not applied within the scope of criticisms of the religious issues associated with the private sphere to remain in the private sphere, as in the Ancient Greek Period, but with the aim of building religion as a form of domination, a way of life, and direct publicness. The symbolic conquest of space is also one of the ways of regulating the public sphere-citizen relationship. For this purpose, monuments suitable for Islamic representations were erected in public spaces, urban

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[28] 16.03.1994, Hürriyet Newspaper.
[29] 17.01.1994, Hürriyet Newspaper.
[30] 07.08.1996, Hürriyet Newspaper.

furniture such as plastic trees and portable waterfalls were placed, and the newly built streets and avenues were named after Islamic scholars (Doğan, 2007, p. 87).

In this period, unlike other periods, we see the Welfare Party's approaches that include segments that were previously excluded from public spaces. We see that this approach has been partially achieved in urban infrastructure works and in the arrangement of public spaces. In this period, the proliferation of public spaces and especially their opening to the use of lower and lower-middle-income groups enabled all citizens to benefit from urban space. In other words, the low-income population and the immigrant population also took place in the urban space (Şentürk, 2011). However, this understanding of publicity has served an understanding that excludes other citizens and social segments who are not liked by the power holders.

In this period, we see those public spaces such as Beyazit Square, Gülhane Park, and Topkapı Palace were reorganized. The news that was reflected in the newspaper with the headline "Pool for Beyazit Square" reflected the decisions taken by Erdoğan on the square alone and without the implementation of democratic participation processes (see, Figure 3.14.).

Figure 3.14.: Pool for Beyazit Square[31] (Hürriyet, 31.05.1997)

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[31] "Beyazit Meydanı'na Havuz". Translation by me.

Erdogan states that he sees the old state of the square in a photograph. He says that he sees a large pool in the square in this old photograph and that the tea gardens in the square will be removed and a giant pool will be built as in the past. The fact that the mayors, as local actors, convey their projects about urban public spaces to the public using precise expressions causes the democratic content of the public space to be questioned.

In this period, special attention was paid to the realization of urban interventions according to the city plan. The Istanbul Master Plan made during the Sözen period was revised shortly after the elections. With the 1/50.000 scaled Istanbul Metropolitan Area Sub-Regional Master Plan (see, Figure 3.15.) prepared in 1995, the surroundings of Beyazit Square again come to the fore as a commercial and tourist center.
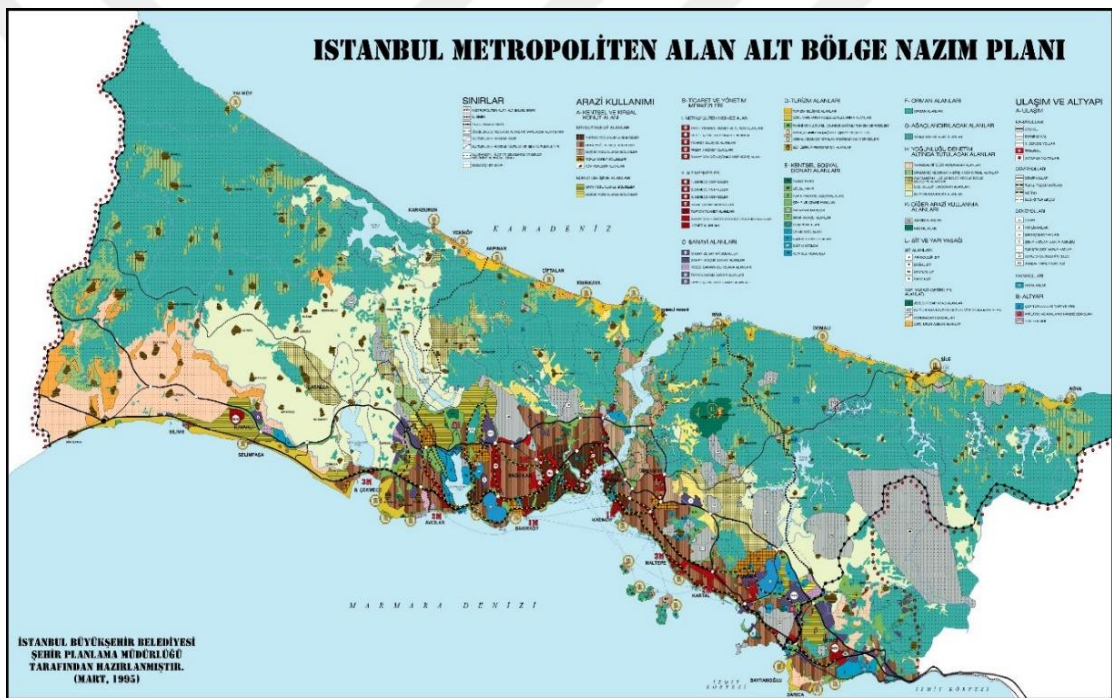
Figure 3.15.: 1995-1/50.000 scale Istanbul Metropolitan Area Sub-Regional Master Plan

In this news report with the heading "Parking fraud in court" (see, Figure 3.16.) about the corruption of the parking lot, we see that Eminönü District Mayor Çetinsaya and 12 other district mayors were prosecuted for "abuse of office." First of all, it catches the eye that the squares are used as parking lots here. Apart from this, we see that lands belonging to the municipality are leased to foundations for the use of parking lots.

Figure 3.16.: Parking fraud in court[32] (Cumhuriyet, 30.08.1997)

3.2.4. "World City" vision (FP era from 1999 to 2004)

In the general elections held in December 1995, RP emerged as the first party with 158 deputies, followed by the True Path Party (DYP) with 135 deputies and ANAP with 132 deputies (URL-5). In the process of forming a government after the election, the Refahyol Government was established between the RP and the DYP under the presidency of Necbettin Erbakan. However, after the February 28, 1997, military memorandum, ANASOL-D Government was established, in which ANAP leader Mesut Yılmaz was the prime minister, and the Motherland Party, the Democratic Left Party, and the Democrat Turkey Party participated. The next general election and local elections were held on the same day in 1999. In this respect, there has been a period in which local election studies and general election studies were carried out together, and the discourses made in the

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[32] "Otopark yolsuzluğu yargıda". Translation by me.

name of urbanization throughout the country showed a clear similarity in locales in this direction.

The understanding of municipalism, which included Islamic references, of the previous period changed its form with the February 28, 1997, military memorandum. Although the new political approach embraced the legacy of its predecessor with the establishment of the Fazilet Party after the closure of the RP, this period was a period in which different approaches to urban interventions emerged. The "Milli Görüş[33] Municipality", which has risen since 1994 in Istanbul, continued to show itself and rise in the understanding of municipality, although Ali Müfit Gürtuna was not from this tradition. Despite the effect of the February 28, 1997, military memorandum, the rise of this understanding showed itself in local government experiences. The victory of the Virtue Party (FP), which comes from this tradition both locally and in the metropolitan municipality, shows this. In this period, Beyazit Square is still within the borders of Eminönü Municipality. In Eminönü Municipality, Lütfi Kibiroğlu, who was from the FP, was the mayor of the district. The lawsuit filed in 1999 with the allegation that FP is the continuation of the RP and that it carried out acts contrary to the principles of the secular republic was concluded, the FP was closed, and since 2001, Gürtuna has continued to serve as the mayor independently (Sevinç, 2000).

Sözen and Erdoğan Era is known as the period when the city focused on infrastructure problems (Şentürk, 2011). In 1999, a period of intense superstructure work began under the chairmanship of Ali Müfit Gürtuna. At the same time, in this period, the new issue that the parties focused on was "city management" (Kirmanoğlu & Güvenç, 2009). Therefore, we can talk about a period in which the citizen-government relationship was tried to be rebuilt with the authority of local governments. During this period, Gürtuna announced his visions for the city that would make Istanbul a global city. When he was

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[33] A number of Islamist groups, including a religious-political movement called Millî Görüş, also known as "National Outlook" or "National Vision," were influenced by Necmettin Erbakan. It makes the case that Turkey may advance with its own human and economic might by defending its fundamental beliefs, having faith in God, and taking faster advances by competing with the Western nations. Numerous political groups in Turkey, including the National Salvation Party, New Welfare Party, Felicity Party, Virtue Party, Welfare Party, and National Order Party, accepted the concept.
See: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mill%C3%AE_G%C3%B6r%C3%BC%C5%9F

elected as the mayor, he talked about the "Istanbul 2023 Vision Projects" and stated that he would try to ensure the development of Istanbul as a city of culture, art and trade.[34]

When the urban interventions of this period, which were reflected in the newspaper, in particular Beyazit Square, are examined, it is seen that the headgears diversified. However, in this period, it was observed that the urban interventions against Beyazit Square were not directly reflected in the newspapers as in other periods, and it found its place among Gürtuna's promises. As a matter of fact, the period when Gürtuna was mayor was a period when interventions in the square were not intense. Gürtuna's plan was featured in Milliyet Newspaper with the headline "Bus only for women" (see, Figure 3.17.). In addition, promises about intervention on the square were given with the sentences "Sultanahmet, Beyazit, Taksim, Edirnekapı, Üsküdar squares will be reorganized, and Istanbul will turn into a city with squares"

Figure 3.17.: Gürtuna: Bus only for women[35] (Milliyet, 12.03.1999)

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[34] 15.04.1999, Hürriyet Newspaper.
[35] "Gürtuna: Kadınlara özel otobüs". Translation by me. https://www.milliyet.com.tr/the-others/gurtuna-kadinlara-ozel-otobus-5254854

The news, which was reflected in the Cumhuriyet Newspaper with the headline "Sahafs (second-hand bookseller) await attention," mentions the interventions in the square (see, Figure 3.18.). With the subtitle "The Sahafs (second-hand bookseller), which connects the past with the future, has begun to lose its identity," the indifference to the second-hand booksellers located between the Grand Bazaar and Beyazit Square is highlighted. It was stated that the bazaar lost its cultural function in 1977, as the municipality temporarily placed the street vendors who occupied Beyazit Square in the Sahafs (second-hand booksellers). This and similar "securitization" and "cleaning" objectives of the municipalities have caused the loss of one of the prominent values of the square, as seen in this example.

Figure 3.18.: Sahafs (second-hand bookseller) await attention[36] (Cumhuriyet, 01.11.1999)

NTVArchive's news in 2003 was published with the title "Istanbul gets its squares" (see, Figure 3.19.). The approach of local elections has led to an increase in the promises of

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[36] "Sahaflar ilgi bekliyor". Translation by me

physical intervention in the squares, which are the visible and public spaces of the city. In the news, not only the projects to be built in Beyazit Square but also the plans and projects for other squares are mentioned. As in this example, it is seen that the public spaces used by all citizens are functionalized for local election promises. Again, in this news, it is seen that the mayor made a decision about an area that concerns the whole city. In particular, the emphasis on the identity of the square is observed in every political period change. From this, it can be deduced that the identities of the squares are actually tried to be shaped by local governments.

Figure 3.19.: Istanbul gets its squares[37] (NTVArşiv, 16.12.2003)

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[37] "İstanbul meydanlarına kavuşuyor". Translation by me. http://arsiv.ntv.com.tr/news/248385.asp

3.2.5. "Unending" AKP era (from 2004 to 2019)

The three-part coalition government (DSP-MHP-ANAP), which was formed after the 1999 general elections, ruled the country for three years, and after the political partnership between them broke down, a re-election process was prevented. The 2002 general elections, which were held two years before the 2004 local elections, also affected the results of the local elections in this sense. The establishment of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) by a group of politicians under the leadership of Erdoğan after the closure of the RP was the beginning of a long process that would affect both the local and general elections and the policies to be developed regarding the organization of the city. AKP, which came to power in 54 of 81 provinces (URL-6), both throughout the country and especially in big cities, will continue to rule until the 2019 local elections. In the general elections in 2002, the AKP, a newly formed party, gained the most votes as a result of the political and economic situation in this process.

All these developments have formed the AKP's view of urban politics at both the central and local levels. The decrease in the impact of the financial crisis that the country entered in 2004 accelerated the urban interventions and led to the start of the planning process on a large scale. In this period, the vision of the city was defined within the scope of large-scale plans, and important interventions were made in social and cultural areas as well as infrastructure works. Again, interventions were made to make the city an international event/organization and tourism center. In addition, both foreign and domestic capital was encouraged to invest in urban space (Şentürk, 2011). In this period, the interventions towards the city gained momentum. One of the reasons for this is the relative political stability in the country and the similarity of the means of intervention in the city due to the political consensus between the center and the locals. At the same time, the center-local unity caused the problems arising from the differences in political views to decrease. Again, in this period, a series of legal arrangements were made in order to prevent the problems arising from the differences in authority regarding urban interventions, and the majority of the powers of the urban interventions were concentrated in the hands of the Metropolitan Municipality. The neoliberal understanding of municipalism, which has been going on since the previous periods, and the perspective that aims to obtain rent from the whole city are the most important features of this period.

3.2.5.1. AKP era from 2004 to 2009

In the 2004 local elections, AKP and SHP did not announce their candidates for the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality until the deadline. During this period, it was announced that Kadir Topbaş was the candidate for AKP, Sefa Sirmen was the candidate for the CHP, Masum Türker was the candidate for the DSP, Ahmet Vefik Alp was the candidate for DYP, and Meral Akşener as the candidate of the MHP (Tuncer & Kasapbaş, 2004). Looking at the candidates of the parties, it can be said that they are in a race for the Istanbul local elections, and they wanted to make their power visible here. During this period, Kadir Topbaş made politics by using the influence of Erdoğan, who was the mayor before him.

The AKP demonstrated its success in the 2002 general elections in the Istanbul local elections as well. AKP won the elections with 45% of the votes (URL-7). Beyazit Square and its surroundings are affiliated with Eminönü District Municipality until 7 March 2008. After this date, the square remained within the administrative borders of the newly established Fatih District Municipality.[38] Again, Nevzat Er, who was nominated by the AKP, won the elections in Eminönü, which is the district municipality.

According to Doğan, this period ushered in a new phase of neoliberal Islamist municipalism (Doğan, 2011). Doğan explains the reason for this with the process of transition from religiosity to conservatism with the addition of the logic of global capitalism. This started a process in which urban spaces and public spaces were decorated with Islamic motifs, while at the same time, commercialization was not blocked by any religious value. On the one hand, construction and zoning activities continued by using Islamic capital. On the other hand, the entrance of national and international large capital to the city was ensured by the municipality. In this period, it was seen that sociological changes, the construction of a new citizen, and publicness were aimed at the physical

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[38] According to article 2, paragraph 2 of Law No. 5747 on Establishing Districts within the Boundaries of Metropolitan Municipality and Amending Some Laws, Eminönü district was abolished; In accordance with the first paragraph of the temporary article 2 of the same law, the legal entity of Eminönü Municipality was abolished and joined Fatih Municipality with its neighborhoods.
See. https://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5747.pdf

plans and projects that intervened in the city. This approach is also seen in Kadir Topbaş's "Healthy city, healthy life, healthy environment, healthy generation" equation.[39]

Starting from this period, during the AKP rule, when we look at the news about Beyazit Square, it is seen that there were many interventions to the square. However, in the period when Kadir Topbaş was first elected, not many findings were reached. Pedestrianization projects come to the fore in the news, which is reflected in the Cumhuriyet Newspaper with the headline "Impositions in the Capital of Culture" (see, Figure 3.20.)

Figure 3.20.: Impositions in the Capital of Culture[40] (Cumhuriyet, 17.11.2007)

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[39] 06.08.2007, Hürriyet Newspaper.
[40] "Kültür Başkenti'nde dayatmalar". Translation by me.

Again, in this period, when the annual activity reports of the municipalities are examined, it has been determined that a number of spatial interventions have been made regarding the square, mostly on a small scale. The first of these is the intervention to prevent sidewalk occupations by removing peddlers from the area (see, Figure 3.21.). As seen in this example, there are not only physical interventions in the public space but also prohibitions, obstructions, restrictions, and punishments.

Dilencilerle Mücadeleye Yönelik Denetimler

Seyyar Satıcılara Yönelik Yapılan Denetimler

İstanbul'un ana arterleri ve meydanlarına yönelik olarak belediyenin yapmış olduğu çalışmalar sonuç vermiş ve seyyar satıcı ve kaldırım işgalleri büyük oranda engellenmiştir. Özellikle Eminönü, Beyazıt, Aksaray ve Kadıköy meydanları seyyar satıcılardan arındırılmıştır ve sürekli kontrol altında tutulmaktadır. İşyerlerinin kaldırım işgallerine yönelik yapılan çalışmalarda da Kabahatler Kanununa istinaden cezai müeyyideler uygulanmaktadır.

Figure 3.21.: Inspections for Itinerant Vendors in 2009 IMM Annual Activity Report

The 1/100.000 scaled Istanbul Provincial Environmental Plan, approved in 2006, also explains the development decisions regarding Beyazit Square and its surroundings as a high-scale plan (see, Figure 3.22.). According to the map, it is seen that Beyazit Square and its surroundings are the historical and commercial centers. Again, in the synthesis report of the map, it was determined that one of the neighborhoods with the most

commercial activities on the European Side of Istanbul is the Beyazit District, where the square is located (1/100.000 ölçekli İstanbul İl Çevre Düzeni Planı Sentez Raporu, 2006)[41]
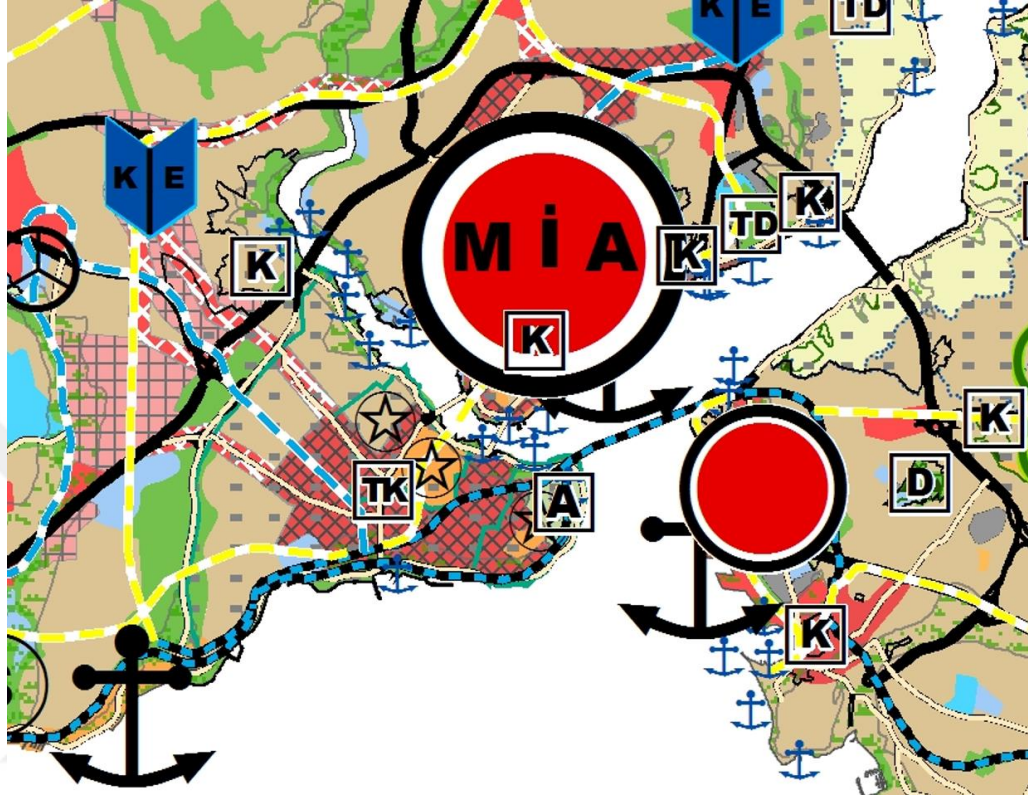

Figure 3.22.: 2006 - 1/100.000 scale Istanbul Provincial Environmental Plan

In the Research Report of the Environmental Plan, Beyazit Square is stated as "another creator of the image of Istanbul, the focus on the converging and intersecting roads, one of the most important center-focal points emphasizing the image and aesthetics of the Province of Istanbul" (1/100.000 ölçekli İstanbul İl Çevre Düzeni Planı Araştırma Raporu, 2006, p. 847). Again, in his research report, it is mentioned that the people living in Istanbul lose interest in the history of Istanbul, but that history always directs people. It is seen that citizens are put in a passive position in changing this and speaking about the future of the city by ascribing a role to public spaces and their symbolic values, saying that "it does this with its topography, great monuments, roads, and squares." Despite all this, the 2006 Istanbul Environmental Plan is known as one of the most detailed planning studies for Istanbul.

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[41] 2006 - 1/100.000 scale Istanbul Provincial Environmental Plan

In the synthesis report of the Istanbul Environmental Plan, one of the strategies for culture and tourism is related to the arrangement of the existing squares of Istanbul. The following target is stated in the relevant article:

> The process of increasing and disseminating social projects with the active participation of NGOs for the renewal of neighborhoods and districts beyond the area scale such as Beyoğlu, Tarlabaşı, Cankurtaran, Beyazit, Yedikule through the 'Improving and Developing the Stock of Cultural Heritage and Buildings in the Metropolitan Area' program. In this article, non-governmental organizations are shown as participants in the construction of public spaces. (1/100.000 ölçekli İstanbul İl Çevre Düzeni Planı Sentez Raporu, 2006)

This approach, in which there is a distinction between civil society and citizens constituting the public, limits the participation processes to certain groups. Güven Gürkan Öztan explains this situation by stating as "Because governments want to make politics within the borders they have determined, they tend to narrow the political space and curb participation" (Öztan, 2013, p. 167).

3.2.5.2. AKP era from 2009 to 2014

In the election held on March 29, 2009, the AKP decided to continue with Kadir Topbaş, who was already in office. Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu was nominated by the Republican People's Party (CHP) in this period. With the assertiveness of the candidates of the two major parties, this election period was more contentious, and the promises about projects and plans for the city came to light during this time. Kadir Topbaş became the Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality with 44.35% of the votes in that election (URL-8).

During this period, the area where Beyazit Square was located remained within the administrative boundaries of the newly established Fatih Municipality. Mustafa Demir, who was the mayor of Fatih in the previous period when Eminönü and Fatih districts were separate, continued his duty as the mayor of Fatih after the merger of the districts. In the 2011 general elections, which took place between the 2009 local elections and the 2014 local elections, the AKP came back to power with a high vote rate of 49.83% (URL-8). This situation also reinforced the power of local governments, and in this direction, acceleration and scale expansion were experienced in urban interventions. Especially the

urban policies discussed over Istanbul have been a determining factor in this general election.

While the pace of urban interventions increased in the whole city, the city was tried to be shaped with large-scale projects in some regions, and partial approaches called zoning amendments in some regions. In this period, the newspaper news included the interventions made to make Beyazit Square and its surroundings a touristic place and to market it. For example, in the newspaper article titled "They said 'We will not harm,' then they cut down 12 trees", it is mentioned that a film shot in the region has damaged the natural and historical monuments in the surrounding area (see, Figure 3.23.).

Figure 3.23.: They said "we will not harm", then they cut down 12 trees[42] (Hürriyet, 18.04.2012)

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[42] "'Zarar vermeyeceğiz' dediler, 12 ağacı kestiler". Translation by me.
https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/zarar-vermeyecegiz-dediler-12-agaci-kestiler-20369499

According to the news, the institutions responsible for the supervision of the process are the Ministry of Culture, the Governorship of Istanbul, and the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Interventions like these for the purpose of "marketing the cities" both affect the daily use of the space and cause the loss of the public space quality by being commercialized. In addition, historical and natural beauties become a commodity that will only be the subject of movies with this approach.

In the tourism supplement of Cumhuriyet Newspaper, it is seen that a tour company advertises a travel route called "Conquest 'or' Fall: Fatih's Reconstruction of Istanbul" consisting of Beyazit Square, Bayezid Mosque, Panoroma 1453 History Museum, Yedikule Fortress, Walls, Fatih Complex, Tekfur Palace, Mahmud Pasha Mosque (see, Figure 3.24.). The first point that draws attention here is the finding and marketing of a historical region in the tourism supplement of a newspaper. Another important point is that some events selected from historical processes form spaces organized according to the logic of power, the dominant ideology, economic order, and discourse, as Lefebvre states.

Figure 3.24.: History trips with FEST[43] (Cumhuriyet Tourism Supplement, 14.11.2012)

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[43] "FEST'le tarih gezileri". Translation by me.

In a column published in Cumhuriyet Newspaper in the period, it is mentioned that squares are places that create opposition and political space to undermine the power of the government (see, Figure 3.25.). The publication date of the newspaper coincides with the days of the Gezi Resistance. While projects are being carried out on the local government's marketing of the city and squares, on the other hand, the evaluation of the power of counter-public space practices that emerged in the Gezi Resistance to undermine the power of the squares is reflected in the media. In addition, it was stated in the article that Adnan Menderes struggled a lot with Beyazıt Square, but could not succeed, and the mass demonstrations that started at the end of this brought his own fate. Then, again, it has been commented that the political powers are afraid of the "opposition to the square" to the extent that they weaken, leading the governments to close the squares. Examples such as the continuous renewal of Beyazıt Square by every power in the historical process, leaving it under construction, and closing it with bans are a response to the comments reflected in this newspaper article.

Figure 3.25.: The power of the squares[44] (Cumhuriyet, 06.05.2013)

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[44] "Meydanların iktidarı". Translation by me.

In the IMM Annual Activity Report published in 2012, it is seen that the Urban Design Idea Project for Beyazit Square was tendered (see, Figure 3.26.). Also, the tender processes or results related to the urban design project are shared with the public after the project has been implied. Although the annual reports prepared are a report of the urban services that the municipality is responsible for, information such as that the projects were not shaped by the participation processes beforehand, how much budget is required for the tasks, and from where this budget is met are not shared.

Tablo 13	Tamamlanmış Cephe ve Zemin Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projeleri			
Proje Adı		İlçe	İhale Tarihi	İşin Bitiş Tarihi
Esenler İlçesi Tem-E5 Bağlantı Yolu (Esenler Kavşağı-Gazi Cad. Güzergahı) Zemin Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi		Esenler	2011	2012
Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Fikir Projesi		Fatih	2012	2012
Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Fikir Projesi Maket Temini		Fatih	2012	2012
Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Fikir Projesi Animasyon Temini		Fatih	2012	2012

Kaynak. Etüd ve Projeler Daire Başkanlığı, 2012

Figure 3.26.: 2012 IMM Annual Activity Report

In the IMM Annual Activity Report published in 2013, it is stated that 30% of the Beyazit Square Urban Design Implementation Project has been completed (see, Figure 3.27.). Between these two published reports, information was not found about the details of the project. The local government has not officially issued a report on the progress in Beyazıt Square, a public space. However, information about urban projects can be obtained from newspaper reports that include statements made by mayors.

TAMAMLANAN VE DEVAM EDEN CEPHE VE ZEMİN REHABİLİTASYONU KENTSEL TASARIM UYGULAMA PROJELERİ					
İlçe	Proje Adı	İhale Tarihi	İşin Bitiş Tarihi	Fiziki Gerçekleşme	Açıklama
İstanbul Geneli	Mihenk Taşları Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2011	2013	%100	444 Adet Anıt Niteliğindeki Eser veya Alanın Alanların Tarihini Anlatan, Kimlik Niteliğinde Türkçe ve İngilizce Bilgilendirme Pano veya Kaide Şeklinde Tarihi Doku ve Kent Estetiği Kapsamında Projelendirilmesidir.
Bağcılar Esenler Sultangazi	Bağcılar, Esenler, Sultangazi İlçeleri Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2012	2013	%100	961 Adet Binanın Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi
İstanbul Geneli	D100 Karayolu Güzergahı, Boğaziçi Köprüsü Arası Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2012	2014	%80	1.305 adet Binanın Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi
Beyoğlu	Galata Bölgesi Kentsel Tasarım Rehberi Hazırlanması, Çatı ve Sokak Arayüzleri Sağlıklaştırma Kentsel Tasarım Projeleri	2013	2014	%40	Kentsel Tasarım Rehberi Hazırlanması, Çatı ve Sokak Arayüzlerinin Sağlıklaştırıl-ması ve 100 Adet Çatının Sağlıklaştırılması
Şile	Şile İlçesi Terminal Meydanı ve Üsküdar Caddesi Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2013	2014	%35	189 Adet Binanın Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi
Fatih	Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2013	2014	%30	16.250m²'lik Bölgenin Zemin ve 235 Adet Binanın Cephe Rehabilitasyonu İşidir.
İstanbul Geneli	İstanbul İçin Kent Mobilyası Tasarım Çalıştayı	2013	2013	%100	Kent Mobilyası Tasarım Modellerinin Hazırlanması İşidir.

Kaynak. Etüd ve Projeler Daire Başkanlığı, 2013

Figure 3.27.: 2013 IMM Annual Activity Report

Facade rehabilitation projects are prepared in order to bring a modern appearance to the main arteries of the cities, to contribute to urban aesthetics, and to put an end to the visual pollution on the facades of the buildings. In the IMM Annual Activity Report published in 2014, it is seen that 30% of the project is still completed (see, Figure 3.28.). This information in the report shows that there has yet to be any development regarding the ongoing project regarding the square in the past year. In addition, the details of urban design requirements and principles are determined by the technical teams that realize these projects. Again, details such as the area to be covered by the signs, notices, and advertisements on the facades of the buildings and which materials can be used are also determined by the technicians under the authority of the local governments.

İlçe	Proje Adı	Başlama Tarihi	Bitiş Tarihi	Fiziki Gerçekleşme	Açıklama
İstanbul Geneli	D-100 Karayolu Güzergahı, Boğaziçi Köprüsü Arası Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2012	2014	%100	1305 Adet Binanın Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi
Beyoğlu	Galata Bölgesi Kentsel Tasarım Rehberi Hazırlanması, Çatı ve Sokak Arayüzleri Sağlıklaştırma Kentsel Tasarım Projeleri	2013	2014	%100	Kentsel Tasarım Rehberi Hazırlanması, Çatı ve Sokak Arayüzlerinin Sağlıklaştırılması ve 100 adet Çatının Sağlıklaştırılması
Şile	Şile İlçesi Terminal Meydanı ve Üsküdar Caddesi Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2013	2014	%100	189 Adet Binanın Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi
Fatih	Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2013	2014	%30	16.250m²'lik bölgenin zemin ve 235 adet binanın cephe rehabilitasyonu işidir.
Beyoğlu	Beyoğlu İlçesi Taksim Meydanı Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2014	2015	%35	189 Adet Binanın Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi
Fatih	Sultanahmet Meydanı Ses ve Işık Tasarımı Projesi	2014	2014	%100	Sultanahmet Meydanında Ses ve Işık Tasarımı Yapılması
Şile	Şile İlçesi Deniz Silüeti Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2014	2015	%35	181 Adet Binanın Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi
İstanbul Geneli	Kentsel Tasarım Rehberi Arama Konferansı	2014	2015	%1	100 Kişilik Kentsel Tasarım Rehberi Arama Konferansı

Kaynak. Etüd ve Projeler Daire Başkanlığı, 2014

Figure 3.28.: 2014 IMM Annual Activity Report

The first images of the urban design project were shared in this report published in 2014 (see, Figure 3.29.). The report regarding the visuals shared as "suggestive design" states that 30% of the project has been completed. In this sense, it is seen that the public does not participate in the design processes, and even the decided design is not shared.

Figure 3.29.: Beyazit Square Urban Design Application Project, Proposal Design, in 2014 Annual Activity Report

3.2.5.3. AKP era from 2014 to 2017

The 2014 local elections were held after the 2013 Gezi Resistance, one of the most massive protests in the history of Turkey. Both during and after the Gezi Resistance, the social opposition created park forums and various political discussion grounds, thus expanding the use of public space and claiming to re-establish the citizen-state relationship. Güven Gürkan Öztan talks about the effect of the spirit of solidarity and togetherness that emerged during the Gezi Resistance, which goes beyond the given antagonisms, shakes the dominant bourgeois values and the security-law template, thus

transforming the social and political from a libertarian perspective (Öztan, 2013). The Gezi Resistance was, of course, discredited by the governments and tried to be forgotten. Especially Gezi, which is one of the most massive movements to shake the AKP's years-long power, has been tried to be erased from both memories and cities with various prohibitions and policies. We can say that during the Gezi Resistance, a contrasting public space construction, as defined by Negt and Kluge, was dominant (Negt & Kluge, 1993 (1972)). However, due to the subject of the study, it is necessary to look at how this opposing publicity was eliminated in the process leading to the local elections and in the urban policies of the victorious sovereign after the elections.

It is seen that the parties gave importance to the province of Istanbul in the 2014 elections. In particular, the influence of the Gezi Resistance, which I mentioned above, and the opposition to the AKP's years-long rule, have led to more intense work on local elections in Istanbul. Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), which had an important place in the political arena during this period, also put forward a candidate for mayor in Istanbul. As the alternative and opposing public struggles that emerged during the Gezi Resistance could not be collected under the umbrella of a political party, the AKP again retained the mayorship of Istanbul with a high rate of 47.92% (URL-9). In this period, Kadir Topbaş was nominated again.

The urban opposition that emerged in this period struggled against the conservative policies of the government and urban interventions. The AKP's interventions in city politics in Beyazit Square and its surroundings were reflected in the news under various headings. The target shown as a "participatory municipality" in the AKP's election manifesto does not reflect the truth when an article about Beyazit Square is examined in the Cumhuriyet Newspaper (see, Figure 3.30.). A CHP councilor of Fatih Municipality stated that the public, students, and professional chambers were not included in the process regarding the project announced by the metropolitan municipality in Beyazit Square. As can be seen in this example, it is seen that no actor who has the right to speak on the square participates in the process, and intervention in the public space is necessary by the municipality, which holds power. Again, in the news, it was stated that the square turned into a construction site due to the restoration and that Istanbul University students reached the school with the guidance of hand-drawn signboards placed in the surrounding area. In addition, it has been stated that the Vezneciler Underpass, located in the entrance

area of the square, has been renewed. The shops demolished for the underpass construction will also join the square site.

● Beyazıt Meydanı yenileniyor

Meydan bittiğinde bu şekilde görünecek.

'Halka da bir sorsaydınız'

İstanbul Haber Servisi - İstanbul Üniversitesi'nin (İÜ) ana giriş kapısı ve Beyazıt Camisi'nin de yer aldığı Beyazıt Meydanı yenileniyor. Restorasyan nedeniyle Beyazıt Meydanı şantiye alanına döndü. İÜ öğrencileri, inşaat alanının çevresindeki paravanlara **"el çizimi yönlendirme levhaları"** yerleştirmek gibi alternatif çözümler üreterek okullarına ulaşmaya çalışıyor. Fatih Belediyesi'nin CHP'li üyesi **Soner Özimer, "Proje yapılırken halka, öğrencilere ve meslek odalarına sorulsaydı daha iyi olurdu. Umuyoruz eski Beyazıt Meydanı'nı bize arattırmaz"** dedi.

Beyazıt Meydanı'ndaki restorasyon çalışmaları kapsamında İÜ'yü meydanla buluşturan ana kapı önünde bulunan tarihi merdivenler geçici olarak kaldırıldı. İÜ ana kapısından Elektrik İdaresi'ne kadar olan bölüm sac levhalarla kapatıldı. Meydan'da bulunan tarihi Beyazıt Camii'nde de restorasyon çalışmaları başladı. Öğrencilerin üniversitenin bölümlerine ulaşmak için, uzun bir yol katetmesi gerekiyor. Eski ismi Darülfünun altgeçidi olan Vezneciler altgeçidi de yaklaşık 5 milyon liraya yenilenerek yüksekliği 2.90 metreden 4.70 metreye çıkartıldı. Meydandaki dükkânı olan esnafa yıkım için tebligat gönderildi. Proje ile dükkân alanları da Beyazıt Meydanı'na katılması planlanıyor.

Figure 3.30.: Beyazit Square is Renovated "Wish you would asked the public"[45] (Cumhuriyet, 28.01.2015)

In the Annual Activity Report published in 2015, it was stated that the Beyazit Square Urban Design Implementation Project, which was said to have been tendered in 2012, will be completed in 2016 (see, Figure 3.31.).

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[45] "Beyazit Meydanı Yenileniyor – 'Halka da bir sorsaydınız'". Translation by me.

İlçe	Proje	Tahmini Bitiş Yılı
Bağcılar	Bağcılar Meydan ve Zeminaltı Otopark Elektrik Revize Projesi	2016
Bahçelievler	Şirinevler Kent Meydanı ve Çevresinin Düzenlenmesi ile Otopark Projesi	2016
Bakırköy	Bakırköy Özgürlük Meydanı Düzenleme Projesi	2016
Beşiktaş	Beşiktaş Ortaköy Meydanı ve Çevresi Düzenleme Projesi	2016
Beşiktaş	Beşiktaş Meydanı Düzenleme Projesi	2016
Beylikdüzü	Beylikdüzü Kafeterya ve Meydan Düzenleme Projesi	2016
Beyoğlu	Seyr-i İstanbul Haliç Alternatifinin Siluet Çalışması	2016
Beyoğlu	İstiklal Caddesi Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2016
Beyoğlu	Tophane ile Kasımpaşa Arasında Fetih Yolu'nun Canlandırılması Projesi	2016
Eyüp	Eyüp Meydanı Ve Yakın Çevresi Kentsel Tasarımı	2016
Fatih	Fatih Aksaray Meydanı ve Yakın Çevresi Kentsel Tasarım Projesi	2016
Fatih	Molla Zeyrek Camii Yakın Çevresi Cephe ve Zemin Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2016
Fatih	Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2016
Fatih	Sirkeci Demiryolu Hattı Cephe Rehabilitasyonu Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi	2016
Fatih	Eminönü Altgeçit İçi Dükkanlarının Cephe ve Altgeçit Zemin Tasarım Çalışmaları	2016

Figure 3.31.: 2015 IMM Annual Activity Report

In the same report, another visual about the project was included (see, Figure 3.32.). After the annual report published in 2014, this is the third visual shared with the citizens. In this sense, it is seen that the public does not participate in the design processes of a square that concerns everyone and cannot access public information about a design decision to be made by the municipality.

Figure 3.32.: Fatih, Beyazit Square Urban Design Application Project in 2014 IMM Annual Activity Report

It is seen that Beyazit Square is also included in the "Completed Facade and Ground Rehabilitation Urban Design Implementation Projects" in the IMM Annual Activity Report published in 2016 (see, Figure 3.33.).

	İlçe	Proje
1	Fatih	Beyazıt Meydanı
2	Beyoğlu	İstiklal Caddesi
3	Beyoğlu	Tepebaşı Otoparkı
4	Fatih	Haliç Metro Geçiş Güzergahına Bakan Binalar
5	Ümraniye	Alemdağ, Sütçü İmam ve Mithatpaşa Caddeleri

Kaynak. Etüd ve Projeler Daire Başkanlığı, 2016

Figure 3.33.: 2016 IMM Annual Activity Report

In the same report, a visual from the square was shared by giving details about the completed project (see, Figure 3.34.). The annual reports published in 2013 and 2014 shared that the facade rehabilitation was 30% completed. The annual report published in 2016 states that an urban design implementation project for facade rehabilitation has been prepared. In the project, it is striking that a pool was placed in the middle of the square.

Beyazıt Meydanı; Beyazıt Meydanı ve çevresini içeren bölgenin 16.250 m²'lik alanının zemin rehabilitasyonu ve bölgede yer alan 235 adet binanın cephe rehabilitasyonuna ilişkin kentsel tasarım uygulama projesi hazırlanmıştır.

Figure 3.34.: Beyazit Square Urban Design Application Project, Fatih in 2016 IMM Annual Activity Report

In the news, with the heading "Darülfünûn Underpass in Vezneciler will be rebuilt," it can be seen that the underpass, which has created a big problem in the perception of Beyazıt Square, has been renewed (see, Figure 3.35.). The news stated that the Darülfünûn Underpass in Fatih-Vezneciler will be demolished and rebuilt due to its insufficient height and damage to the underpass by high vehicles. However, there is no

information on the effect of this destruction process. As Richard Sennett stated, urban spaces that do not have a function-purpose relationship are transformed into "neutral spaces" by using them only as a transition area (Sennet, 2002). For this reason, one of the most significant factors that prevent squares from being a transition area is the continuity of the functions of the square space and the structures that make up the square. Furthermore, functional continuity provides the emergence of urban identity by creating rituals for the community in the urban space (Krier, 1979).

Figure 3.35.: Darülfünûn Underpass in Vezneciler will be rebuilt[46], (Hürriyet, 05.08.2014)

This term ended with Ahmet Selamet acting as deputy for six days, replacing Kadir Topbaş, who resigned from his position as the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Mayor on September 22, 2017, without explaining the reason.

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[46] "Vezneciler'deki Darülfünun Altgeçidi yeniden inşa edilecek". Translation by me.

3.2.5.4. AKP era from 2017 to 2019

After Kadir Topbaş's resignation, in the first two rounds of the election held at the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Council for the Metropolitan Municipality, one of the candidates could not be elected as the chairman because two-thirds of the council members did not receive the vote. Ekrem İmamoğlu, who was nominated as a CHP candidate in the third round, received 125 votes, while Mevlüt Uysal, who was nominated by the AKP, received 179 votes and was appointed as the mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

In this period, the heritage taken from Kadir Topbaş as a city policy was continued. In his speech at the Istanbul Design Summit in 2019, "It is the design that gives cities identity and spirit. It shows what kind of cultural climate we live in. Cities are places where design flourishes. In this respect, Istanbul is actually a city of design." He established his approach to the city through the concept of design. When we look at the news reflected in the media about Beyazit Square, we see that Uysal announced that the ongoing project about the square would be stopped (see, Figure 3.36.).

Figure 3.36.: Work for square has stopped[47] (Cumhuriyet, 02.03.2018)

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[47] "Meydan çalışması durdu". Translation by me.

In the IMM Annual Activity Report published in 2018, it was stated that 40% of the "Beyazit Square Landscaping" project was completed (see, Figure 3.37.).

İlçe	Proje	Tahmini Bitiş Yılı	Fiziki Gerçekleşme (%)
Arnavutköy	Fatih Caddesi, Eski Edirne Asfaltı Caddesi ve Bağlı Yolların Düzenleme	2019	93
Arnavutköy	Gaziosmanpaşa Caddesi Düzenleme	2019	94
Bağcılar	Bağcılar Meydan Düzenleme	2019	71
Bağcılar	Maslak Caddesi Düzenleme	2019	96
Bahçelievler	Şirinevler Ulucamii Yanı Meydan Düzenleme ve Zeminaltı Otoparkı	2019	1
Beykoz	Beykoz Meydan Düzenleme ve Deniz Yapıları	2019	1
Beykoz	Kanlıca Meydanı Düzenleme	2019	1
Beyoğlu	Şişhane Meydan ve Çevre Düzenleme	2019	80
Eyüpsultan	Eyüpsultan Meydanı Ve Yakın Çevre Yolları Düzenleme	2019	43
Eyüpsultan	İslambey Caddesi Düzenleme	2019	90
Fatih	Beyazıt Meydanı Çevre Düzenlemesi	2019	40

Figure 3.37.: 2018 IMM Annual Activity Report

In the news, the heading "The latest version of Beyazıt Square was viewed from the air" says that the works in the central areas of the city have gained momentum recently, and the pedestrianization projects of the squares and public areas are mentioned. It states that the "Beyazit Square Urban Design Application Project," implemented by IMM with the statement, "In order to achieve the best results in terms of urban aesthetics as well as functional, it is aimed to carry out an accessible urban design study that is sensitive to urban identity" and works in a certain part of the square starting from the stairs of Istanbul University can be seen (see, Figure 3.38.).
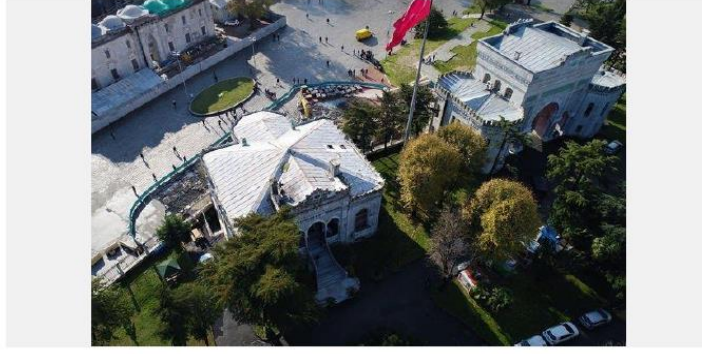
Beyazıt Meydanı'nın son hali havadan görüntülendi

Giriş: 12.12.2017 - 03:58 Güncelleme: 12.12.2017 - 07:03

İstanbul'un meydan projelerinden biri olan tarihi Beyazıt Meydanı'nda iki yıl önce başlatılan çalışmalar sürüyor. İstanbul Üniversitesi ana giriş kapısı önünde yoğunlaşan çalışmalar havadan görüntülendi

İstanbul'un merkezi bölgelerinde son dönemlerde hummalı bir çalışma söz konusu. Kentin işlek meydanlarını trafikten arındırarak yayalaştırılmayı ve modern bir görünüm kazandırmayı hedefleyen çalışmalar kapsamında Taksim, Üsküdar ve Kabataş gibi meydanlarda düzenleme projeleri yürütülüyor. Çalışmaların devam ettiği alanlardan biri de tarihi Beyazıt Meydanı.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde saray meydanı olarak kullanılan Beyazıt Meydanı çalışmaları havadan görüntülenerek projenin son durumu gözler önüne serildi. İBB'nin "Fonksiyonel olduğu kadar kent estetiği açısından da en iyi sonuçlara ulaşmak amacıyla, kent kimliğine duyarlı, erişilebilir bir kentsel tasarım çalışması yapılması hedefleniyor" açıklamasıyla hayata geçirdiği 'Beyazıt Meydanı Kentsel Tasarım Uygulama Projesi'nde İstanbul Üniversitesi merdivenlerinden başlayarak meydanın belli bir kısmında çalışmalar yürütüldüğü görüldü.

Figure 3.38.: The latest version of Beyazıt Square was viewed from the air[48] (Haber Türk - 12.12.2017)

It was determined that Uysal, who remained in office for a short period of 2 years until the elections in 2019, did not have any other spatial intervention plan, especially in Beyazit Square.

This section examines the process from the local elections in 1984 to the local elections in 2019. In every five-year administrative period, when there was no extraordinary situation, local governments developed many projects related to Beyazıt Square. It has been seen that some of these projects are implemented, and some of them are presented as a promise, especially during election periods. The process, which started with the military coup in 1980, led to the narrowing of the public space, the dissolution of participation mechanisms, and the lack of transparency in administrative processes. Each period has used the cores of the executive, legal and political dissolution left by the previous period, creating a cumulative disintegration in the public space quality of Beyazıt Square.

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[48] "Beyazıt Meydanı'nın son hali havadan görüntülendi". Translation by me.

4. CONCLUSION

This news headline, which was reflected in the newspaper in 1991 as "Beyazit is Looking for Its Square ", makes a reference to Beyazit's "lost" square. Although the emergence of the square dates back to Ancient Rome, it can be said that the quest to become a square is just as old. In this thesis, Beyazit Square as a public space and the change in the public character of the square are examined within the scope of the spatial interventions of local governments. The public character of the square is sometimes lost and sometimes interrupted by the changes in the space. The reasons behind these have been investigated, with the focus on the process that started with the local elections in 1984.

First of all, the theoretical approaches developed on the notion of public sphere and the discussions that developed within the framework of this concept were discussed. In this context, I started this study, which I suggest that Beyazit Meyanı is a public space, by investigating its functions in the Ancient Roman Period, when the square emerged as a "forum". "Forum Tauri", as a gathering place, where everyday life is spent and where political discussions are carried out, has the quality of a public space in this respect. After making this decision, I assessed the publicness of the present by summarizing the historical modifications that have been made to this square, which, in my opinion, has lost its publicness.

In this newspaper report, which was reflected in the media with the headline "The power of the squares," it was discussed through the examples that the governments wanted to have the squares, and it was stated that the squares, which were the scenes of social resistance, were tried to be disrupted by the rulers with spatial arrangements. Beyazit Square has been an area where power relations have been staged since the day it emerged. The square, which confronts us as an area where these power relations are questioned and shaken from time to time, especially in terms of being the square of the student movements that started in the 1960s, was also used to stop these counter-publics. An example of this is the punishment of dissidents, especially in Beyazit Square, after the 1908 Revolution. Again, in the 1950s, turning the square into a crossroads, terracing it

with flowers, and building a pool in the middle was among the spatial interventions made by the rulers to stop these social movements. In my thesis, the concept of power is embodied in municipalities, which are mostly local governments and mayors who hold power.

The economic and political developments of the period, both at the international, national, and local scale, and the approaches of the political parties, which are the institutionalized form of the ideological infrastructure, to the city determined the urban policies of the municipalities. These factors have been effective in shaping the public space. The neoliberal economic accumulation regime, which was dominant both in the world and in Turkey after 1980, brought an understanding of the city that aimed to market the cities and generate income by increasing tourism activities. In Turkey, it is seen that this understanding has grown with the January 24 Decisions and the 1980 coup d'état that followed. In this period, upper-scale plans were prepared, aiming to bring the industry out of Istanbul in order to open the city to tourism. Projects for the pedestrianization of Beyazit Square have also been prepared in order to facilitate the commercial use of tourists. The understanding of municipalism of the tradition of "National Vision," which prevailed after this period, was formed by Islamic approaches. Examples of this include the Hagia Sophia Museum's transformation into a mosque and the Islamic-inspired decorations in the squares. As a result of the convergence of the Islamic approach with neoliberal consumption practices, public spaces have begun to be designed in a way that will shape daily lives with conservative codes and open to consumption. In this period, in which priority was given to infrastructure works, it is seen that more emphasis was placed on the management style of the municipality. This means the reorganization of democratic participation processes.

This headline, which was reflected in the media as "Wish you would asked the public," expresses criticism towards democratic participation processes. The nature of the public space also defines the citizen-state relationship. As reflected in various newspaper reports, only municipalities, municipal councils, and mayors have a say in Beyazit Square. In some newspaper reports, it was stated that NGOs, university students, and professionals should also express their opinions about the square. This approach still describes a limited understanding of participation. Again, in the annual activity reports prepared by the municipality, it was seen that an urban design project related to Beyazit

Square was tendered. However, there is no information about the details of the design, its cost, and the use of public resources, let alone the square's shaping with public information sharing. A few simply prepared visuals of the urban design project were shared in the annual reports published in the following years. In this respect, the publicity of knowledge should also be problematized by local governments.

In a news report titled "Beyazit is unable to settle down," it was stated that despite all the interventions of the local governments, the square lost its character of being a square, and it had a chaotic appearance due to the peddlers covering the entire square. As can be seen in this example, the self-developing publicness, embodied by peddlers, was interrupted despite all the interventions of the power-holder municipalities, its political content was emptied, but it could not be completely prevented from appearing in everyday life.

In order to summarize some key findings;

o Beyazıt Square has been a public space in social life since its existence.

o Beyazıt Square, which has been shaped for different purposes in different periods, has always been a public space shaped by power and power relations.

o Municipal governments, which are the power holders at the local level, have been shaped by administrative, legal, and political developments, and this has led to the formation of public spaces where the state-citizen relationship is clearly observed.

o In the case of Beyazıt Square, it has been shaped by spatial interventions specially held by local governments.

o The loss of Beyazıt Square's character as a public space and its dissolution in this sense has been a cumulative ongoing process since 1984. The economic, legal, and administrative infrastructure and favorable conditions of the dissolution process of public spaces were prepared in the process, and each administration used the favorable conditions it received from the previous period through spatial interventions for the ideological transformation of public spaces.

In this thesis, the multi-layered structure of the public space has been examined by taking local governments to the center. However, this multi-layered structure of the space requires examining political, social, economic, and cultural developments on a different scale. I hope that this research, which I have done by centering Beyazit Square, will contribute to examining the effects of municipalities, which are local governments, on the

debates on public space. This would only address a tiny fraction of the actors in the public space, though. The power to shape the public space still rests with the people.

... A victory every page
Who cooked the victory feasts?
A great man every decade
Who paid the bill?

So many reports
So many questions[49]
(Willett & Manheim, 1976)

[49] Questions From a Worker Who Reads "Fragen eines lesenden Arbeiters" – translated by M. Hamburger in Bertolt Brecht, Poems 1913-1956, Methuen, N.Y., London, 1976, (Willett & Manheim, 1976).

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APPENDIX A: SOURCES BETWEEN 1984-1989

Year	Political Party Ruling the Municipality	Mayor	Political Party Ruling the District Municipality	District Mayor	Projects	Source	Media	Source
1984-1989	ANAP (Motherland Party)	Bedrettin Dalan	ANAP (Motherland Party)-Eminönü Municipality	Tahir Aktaş	Square design project (1987)	SALT Research	MDP Candidate First Job Beyazıt Square (Before the elections)	Tercüman Newspaper - 24.03.1984
							Remains in Memory…(Renamed Beyazıt Square to Hürriyet Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 27.04.1985
							"The Love Boat" in Istanbul (Foreign TV series also shot in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 26.08.1985
							The most important thing is the old ones (the flea market that moved from Beyazıt Square to Topkapı at the end of the 1960s)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper -Journal Supplement - 29.03.1987
							Vedat Dalokay and Doruk Pamir Received their Awards (Bedrettin Dalan's statement regarding the reorganization of Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 30.12.1987
							Taksim Republic Area Projects! (They played with Beyazıt Square. They ruined the memories of our youth. You know what the square has become!)	Cumhuriyet Gazetesi - 05.01.1988
							Let the kites fly... (Memoir about Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Gazetesi -14.08.1988
							"Balkan Camping" was established in Beyazıt	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 28.08.1988
							"…I'll strain my eyes!" (Here is Beyazıt Square, here is the Golden Horn, which we have been organizing continuously for 30 years)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 04.10.1988

APPENDIX B: SOURCES BETWEEN 1989-1994

Year	Political Party Ruling the Municipality	Mayor	Political Party Ruling the District Municipality	District Mayor	Upper Scale Projects	Media	Source
1989- 1994	SHP (Social Democratic Populist Party)	Nurettin Sözen	SHP (Social Democratic Populist Party)-Eminönü Municipality	Ahmet Naci Akgün	1994 – 1/50.000 scaled Istanbul Metropolitan Area Sub-Region Master Plan (https://sehirplanlama.ibb.istanbul/arsiv/)	Beyazit Square is a Free Zone	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 24.10.1989
						Free Market in Beyazıt is Abolished	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 27.10.1989
						Oh Çınaraltı Woe Çınaraltı	Kostantıniyye Newspaper (Bizim Şehir) - 17.11.1990
						Make-up for Beyazit Square (the most important square of Istanbul has been held for the third time since the Republic)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper- 20.11.1990
						Beyazit is looking for its square	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 29.03.1991
						They litter the square	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 28.04.1991
						Peddlers (Description of Eminönü Mayor)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 29.06.1991
						Istanbul's Destruction Plan? (Pedestrianization projects)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 09.11.1991
						Operation peddlers	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 13.11.1991
						Sirkeci is getting a tram	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 07.01.1992
						Beyazit is unable to settle down	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 28.01.1992
						Squares that are the witness of life (intersection-square difference)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 25.10.1992
						The call for demonstration remained unanswered (a large number of police officers were deployed in the square after the call for action in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 12.03.1994

APPENDIX C: SOURCES BETWEEN 1994-1999

Year	Political Party Ruling the Municipality	Mayor	Political Party Ruling the District Municipality	District Mayor	Upper Scale Projects	Media	Source
1994- 1999	RP (Welfare Party)	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	ANAP (Motherland Party)-Eminönü Municipality	Ahmet Çetinsaya	1995 – 1/50.000 scaled Istanbul Metropolitan Area Sub-Regional Master Plan (https://sehirplanlama.ibb.istanbul/arsiv/)	A lament for the country that lost its people (Turkey is a Beyazıt Square, where university students were smashed by a bomb)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper -12.01.1995
						"Black Cat..." (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 26.04.1996
						The Islamic section evaluated the "Gündüz Incident" (Reactions of Islamist groups "when Beyazıt Square turned into a political square")	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 07.01.1997
						3 years in prison for 433 students who protested against YÖK (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 14.02.1997
						Protest against the fascist attack (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 27.02.1997
						Pool for Beyazit Square	Hürriyet Newspaper - 31.05.1997
						Parking fraud in court	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 30.08.1997
						Followers of sharia are provoking (protests in Beyazit Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 09.08.1997
						If you don't have a square, you don't have a history	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 31.08.1997
						1633 young people were detained in 7 years, dozens of students were injured (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 07.11.1997
						Clash in Istanbul (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 07.11.1998

APPENDIX D: SOURCES BETWEEN 1999-2004

Year	Political Party Ruling the Municipality	Mayor	Political Party Ruling the District Municipality	District Mayor	Media	Source
1999 - 2001	FP (Virtue Party)	Ali Müfit Gürtuna	FP (Virtue Party)- Eminönü Municipality	Lütfi Kibiroğlu	Gürtuna: Bus only for women (Square projects)	Milliyet Newspaper - 12.03.1999
					The moment February 28 said stop - The reactionary movement took to the streets to gain the positions it lost (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 14.05.1999
					Sahafs (second-hand bookseller) await attention (interventions made to the square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 01.11.1999
					YÖK's birthday: Beating the leftist (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 06.11.1999
					Square magic	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 11.04.2000
					They buried YÖK in Beyazıt (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 07.11.2000
					Destroyed newspaper: Tan (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - Journal Supplement - 03.12.2000
					Shariaist demonstration in Beyazıt (Protests in Beyazıt Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 13.10.2001
					Time in Beyazit	Cumhuriyet Newspaper -21.07.2002
					Call from University Councils	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 06.11.1003
2001 - 2004	Independent when the FP was closed		Independent when the FP was closed		Istanbul gets its squares	NTVArşiv - 16.12.2003
					New Year's enmity of bigots	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 01.01.2004

APPENDIX E: SOURCES BETWEEN 2004-2017

Year	Political Party Ruling the Municipality	Mayor	Political Party Ruling the District Municipality	District Mayor	Projects	Source	Upper Scale Projects	Media	Source	Annual Activity Report
2004 - 2009	AKP (Justice and Development Party)	Kadir Topbaş	AKP (Justice and Development Party)-Eminönü Municipality	Nevzat Er			2006 – 1/100.000 scaled Istanbul Provincial Environmental Plan (https://sehirplanlama.ibb.istanbul/arsiv/)	Impositions in the Capital of Culture	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 17.11.2007	2009 IMM Annual Activity Report
							2009 – 1/100.000 scaled Istanbul Provincial Environmental Plan (https://sehirplanlama.ibb.istanbul/arsiv/)	What will be Beyazıt Square really?	Hürriyet Newspaper - 21.02.2012 https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/beyazit-meydani-ne-olacak-hakikaten-19962485	
2009 - 2014	AKP (Justice and Development Party)	Kadir Topbaş	AKP (Justice and Development Party)-Fatih Municipality	Mustafa Demir	IMM-Beyazit Square Urban Design Competition	2012 IMM Annual Activity Report		They said "we will not harm", then they cut down 12 trees (movie shoots) https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/zarar-vermeyecegiz-dediler-12-agaci-kestiler-20369499	Hürriyet Newspaper - 18.04.2012	2011 IMM Annual Activity Report
								History trips with FEST	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - Tourism Supplement - 14 November 2012	2012 IMM Annual Activity Report
								The symbol of Beyazit is the books	Hürriyet Newspaper - 09.08.2012, https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/yunanistanda-infial-turk-kahvesi-tatlarini-kacirdi-42183395	
								The power of the squares	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 06.05.2013	2013 IMM Annual Activity Report

Year	Political Party Ruling the Municipality	Mayor	Political Party Ruling the District Municipality	District Mayor	Media	Source	Annual Activity Report
2014 - 2017 (resign)	AKP (Justice and Development Party)	Kadir Topbaş	AKP (Justice and Development Party)-Fatih Municipality	Mustafa Demir	Library-e Turkey in the Week of Libraries	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 02.04.2014	2014 IMM Annual Activity Report
					Darülfünûn Underpass in Vezneciler will be rebuilt	Hürriyet Newspaper - 05.08.2014	
					Historical Beyazıt Square is Reconstructed	Gergerhaber - 09.09.2014, https://www.gergerhaber.net/haber-arsiv-5458.html	
					Protest against pouring concrete into the Byzantine cistern	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 27.11.2014	
					Beyazit Square will be like this	CNN Türk - 27.01.2015	
					Beyazit Square is Renovated "Wish you would asked the public"	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 28.01.2015	2015 IMM Annual Activity Report
					Restoration work in Beyazıt Square started without the decision of the conservation board	T24 - 18.02.2015, https://t24.com.tr/haber/beyazit-meydanindaki-restorasyon-calismasi-koruma-kurulu-karari-olmadan-baslamis,287711	
					They are also 'resetting' Beyazıt Square	Arkitera - 27.02.2015, https://www.arkitera.com/haber/beyazit-meydanini-da-sifirliyorlar/	
					Everything is in the 'square'	BirGün Newspaper - 19.03.2015, https://www.birgun.net/haber/her-sey-meydan-da-79437	
					Historical Beyazıt Square viewed from the air	AA Haber- 27.03.2015, https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/pg/foto-galeri/tarihi-beyazit-meydani-havadan-goruntulendi/0/22375	
					Bird's Eye View of Beyazit Square	Cumhuriyet Meydanı - 28.03.2015	2016 IMM Annual Activity Report
					Will your child be the prime minister (terrace construction for Beyazit Square)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 04.06.2015	
					31st Book and Culture Fair Opened in Beyazit Square	Basın Yayın Birliği - 01.01.2017, https://www.basyaybir.org/basin/31-kitap-ve-kultur-fuari-beyazit-meydani-nda-acildi/1/76	
					Ordu Street in Beyazıt is closed to traffic	Milliyet Newspaper - 10.04.2017, https://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/beyazittaki-ordu-caddesi-trafige-kapatiliyor-2429958	
					30 square projects for Istanbul	Newspaper Duvar - 22.05.2017, https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/gundem/2017/05/22/istanbula-30-meydan-projesi	
2017 - 2017	Independent	Ahmet Selamet (Deputy mayor)					

APPENDIX F: SOURCES BETWEEN 2017-2019

Year	Political Party Ruling the Municipality	Mayor	Political Party Ruling the District Municipality	District Mayor	Projects	Media	Source	Annual Activity Report
2017 - 2019	AKP (Justice and Development Party)	Mevlüt Uysal	AKP (Justice and Development Party)-Fatih Municipality	Mustafa Demir	IMM-Beyazit Square Urban Design Competition-2018	The latest version of Beyazıt Square was viewed from the air	Haber Türk - 12.12.2017, https://www.haberturk.com/beyazit-meydaninin-son-hali-havadan-goruntulendi-1750917	2017 IMM Annual Activity Report
						Beyazit Mosque, which is under restoration, viewed from the air	En Son Haber - 14.12.2017, https://www.ensonhaber.com/emlak/emlak-projeleri/restorasyonu-suren-beyazit-camii-havadan-goruntulendi	
						Mevlüt Uysal gave instructions, landscaping works stopped in Beyazit Square	CNN Türk - 01.03.2018, https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/mevlut-uysal-talimat-verdi-beyazit-meydaninda-cevre-duzenleme-calismalari-durdu?page=12	2018 IMM Annual Activity Report
						Work for square has stopped	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 02.03.2018	

APPENDIX G: SOURCES EXCEPT THE RESEARCH YEARS AND THE MAIN SUBJECT

Media	Source
It was decided to establish a temporary city council (Beyazit Square is being reorganized, the construction of the Opera House will be accelerated)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 05.01.1961
Özal's policy becomes concrete (ANAP's party policy is nationalist-conservative. Before the elections)	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 26.02.1984
MDP Candidate First Job Beyazıt Square (Before the elections)	Tercüman Newspaper - 24.03.1984
Fair and clean administration	Hürriyet Newspaper - 17.01.1994
Public Guarantee from the Welfare Party	Hürriyet Newspaper - 16.03.1994
Ali Müfit Gürtuna	Hürriyet Newspaper - 15.04.1999
Gürtuna 2nd Man	Hürriyet Newspaper - 07.08.1996
37-year-old book fair will not be held this Ramadan	Newspaper Duvar - 03.05.2019, https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/kultur-sanat/2019/05/03/37-yillik-kitap-fuari-bu-ramazanda-kurulmayacak
The symbol name of the Sahafs (second-hand bookseller) is in trouble	Sözcü - 19.07.2019, https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2019/gundem/sahaflar-carsisinin-sembol-ismi-zor-durumda-5238467/
Instruction for Beyazit	Cumhuriyet Newspaper - 17.08.2019
Ramadan meant book fair	Yeni Şafak - 15.04.2021, https://www.yenisafak.com/hayat/ramazan-demek-kitap-fuari-demekti-3618566

CURRICULUM VITAE

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- Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Migration Unit / Project Manager / since September, 2021